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Diplomacy and Empire in the Age of Charles V: Johannes Dantiscus in Spain, 1519-1532

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Diplomacy and Empire in the Age of Charles V: Johannes Dantiscus in Spain, 1519-1532

By

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Committee in charge:

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Professor David Frick
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Professor Timothy Hampton

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Abstract

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This dissertation describes the culture and practices of Early Modern European diplomats in their work, their travels, and the personal networks they developed to help them with both. The protagonist of this study is Johannes Dantiscus, Polish-Lithuanian ambassador to the Court of Charles V in Spain; his experience shows the integration of Eastern Europe into the Northern Renaissance and its diplomatic culture. Because of a shared concern about Ottoman power—for Poland this threat was located in the Balkans and the east, for Spain and Italy, it was in the Mediterranean—Dantiscus participated in an influential circle of courtiers around Imperial Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara which developed a vision of empire for Charles V that began in opposition to the perceived Turkish menace and expanded to include the whole world. Early modern advancements in organization and communication allowed one ruler, for the first time since the fall of Rome, to reach that far. The language these diplomats used in the imagination of such a universalizing polity came from both the classical Roman and Medieval Christian traditions. However, the other European powers, especially King Francis I of France, opposed it, preferring to ally with the Muslim Turks than to support Catholic Charles. In the following centuries, both the desire for far-flung empires and the mutual rivalry of European rulers shaped the development of statecraft and global history of the modern age. Therefore, the Early Modern State—from sprawling empires to circumscribed city-states—had roots in a pan-European, Renaissance humanist culture and also a Christian effort that minimized borders aiming at the triumph of a shared Christendom united behind the emperor.

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Introductory Chapter: Renaissance Humanists in Diplomacy and the Creation of European Empires

Extension of Central Authority in Early Modern Europe

Johannes Dantiscus (1485-1548), Poland-Lithuania's first resident ambassador in Spain, was born at a time which historians assign to both the Late Medieval and the Early Modern categories of European history. The transformations that took place during Dantiscus's lifetime—the printing revolution, the Protestant Reformation, the discovery and conquest of the New World, the developments in navigation, trade, and military technology—had pushed Europe not only past the temporal limits of the Middle Ages, but also beyond its geographic borders and onto the world stage. Europe was becoming *The West* and its history, global history. Dantiscus was part of a generation that included Charles V and Henry VIII, Erasmus and Luther, Cortés and Magellan, Machiavelli and Castiglione, Galileo and Copernicus—and Dantiscus knew most of these—who witnessed and participated in the change. Admittedly, such a big transition can only be detected in a teleological spirit and from a great distance; those who lived through it did not recognize the shift, for it was not visible from the ground and through the cloudy confusion of human events.

In 1485, this little corner of the planet—for so long as Columbus had not yet stumbled upon the New World, the Atlantic was an *edge* and so Europe a *corner* of the Old one—was relatively poor and weak. No European polity, nor all of them together, could rival the magnificent state of Ming China or the spreading Ottoman Empire (in 1485, reaching from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Danube) in power or unity, in cultural or material wealth. Thirty years prior, in 1453, the Turks had conquered Constantinople, extinguishing the thousand-year-old Byzantine Empire, a trauma that would dominate European political thought for the next century. Not only did European Christians mourn the loss of this ancient city, but they feared its conquest was to be but one craterous footprint in the approach of a warlike colossus who would step next onto the Italian Peninsula (Otranto, 1480), then the Balkans (Belgrade, 1522), the Hungarian plain, (Mohács, 1526) and even Vienna (1529). Looking back, Dantiscus would judge that since "the conquest of the Byzantine City with so much carnage, the power of the Turks has been growing ever greater."[1] Dantiscus and his contemporaries, feeling the shadow of looming invasion, lamented European division and myopic squabbles, and cried out for a united Christian defense.[2] He had become convinced that the best hope for Christendom was to unify behind Emperor Charles V (1500-1558, r. 1519-1556) and undertake a crusade against the Turks. By continuing to fight each other, Dantiscus argued, the Europeans were inviting the destroyer at "the threshold of the house" to "invade the innermost chambers."[3]

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[1] Johannes Dantiscus, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, 1529 (IDP 41), ll. 71-72: "*Hinc Byzantina tot caedibus urbe subacta/ Turcarum vis est semper adaucta magis.*"

[2] Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 5, describes the threat as "palpable."

[3] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 305-306: "Already the enemy has gained the threshold of the house; if you do not make a stand, he will invade the innermost chambers." (*Nec mora te tardet! Iam limina possidet hostis;/ Si non obsistes, in penetrale ruet.*)

Dantiscus would indeed have been surprised to learn that the opposite would happen. Out of those religious and dynastic wars that spilled so much blood, and so much ink as well, the very weakness of Europe was removed. The violence of rival princes cost lives and treasure, but paid out dividends of ingenuity. Warring potentates pursued technological advantage with the urgency that comes from existential danger.[4] Each better cannon led to a stronger fortification, which in turn led again to improved artillery.[5] Rulers spent all that they had—and much that they did not—on larger and better equipped armies, increasing the size of the infantry by ten-fold between 1500 and 1700, arming their soldiers with first pikes and then muskets, and drilling them to act in concert.[6] As they annexed new overseas territories, they adapted new resources to the war machine, both materially (timber, fisheries, whale oil, potatoes, maize) and economically

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[4] Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987), 17, 24-25, and more broadly his chapter "The Rise of the Western World," 3, 16-17. Kennedy calls the decentralized and competitive political organization of Europe a "patchwork quilt," which will strike anyone who has looked at a map of the Holy Roman Empire (Germany) as an apt metaphor. Before the Hundred Years War and the consolidation of French, English, and, with Ferdinand of Isabella, Spain, the entire continent resembled the Holy Roman Empire with its "middling, small, or even tiny polities." (Thomas A. Brady, Jr. *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650*. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 8.)

Geoffrey Parker has compared this period to developments in China during the period of Warring States (770-221 BC), when armies increased dramatically in size and a mass conscripted infantry replace aristocratic charioteers. The logistical challenge of this reorganization created the need for a bureaucracy—replacing the "large household" model of administration—of civilians with Confucian principles. In European terms, this is the shift of personal loyalty to the ruler by his territorial vassals, to a centralized "state." (Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; 2nd ed., 1996], 1-3); Kennedy, cf. 22-25.

[5] Kennedy, 23-25, 36-48; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1996), 85-86.

Machiavelli described the importance of artillery in capturing cities as well as strategies for fortification (and ways to undermine them) already in 1521. (Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Art of War* [1521, *Arte della guerra*], trans. Ellis Farneworth [New York: Da Capo Press (2nd ed.), 2001], 90-99, 183-201.) He was also greatly in favor of citizen armies instead of mercenaries whose loyalty was only to their purses. Furthermore, he laid out a number of ideas for drilling infantry units based on the extant manuals of the Roman legions, and his own (short-lived) experience as a militia captain.

[6] Geoffrey Parker, 15-20. Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992,* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990), 78-79. The practice of drilling to improve fighting as a unit was already used in infantry during the fourteenth century, and such units of pikemen could, under the right conditions, even defeat armored horsemen, as Clifford Rogers explains in "The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War." *The Journal of Military History,* Vol. 57, No. 2 (Apr., 1993), 241-278.

The efficacy of this practice is illustrated in Cortés's assault upon the Aztecs (Mexica) in 1519-1521. While many historians judiciously attribute other factors, from disease, to native (Tlaxcala) allies, even to flexibility of language and understanding in the face of the New (Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest,* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2003]; Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* [New York: Norton, 2005]; Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999]), they tend to agree that European military strength—the 'guns' and 'steel' and also horses—was not decisive given how small the band of conquistadors (fewer than 600) was. However, when we consider the style of warfare, the issue is problematized anew. Aztec warriors fought individually as a display of prowess to win honor, even to the point of "dancer warriors" charging one at a time (see Inga Clendinnen, "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty': Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico," *Representations 33* [Winter 1991], 65-93: 77-84). When compared to the tactical practice of the Early Modern European infantry unit, it becomes clear that even a 600 could men could consistently 'outnumber' tens of thousands who attacked one at a time.

(gold, silver, spices, sugar, indigo, coffee, tobacco, furs).[7] Other European innovations—as immediate as putting cannons onto ships, or as structural as developing joint stock companies and maritime insurance—propelled the West to new levels of power. What was especially modern about this was the flow of money to the ruler. Rather than levying fighting men indirectly through his vassals, the prince could hire a professional army or contract mercenaries through *condottieri.* Money, more than landed fealty, was becoming power, and especially the power to make war.[8] Royal appetite for specie was driven by continental campaigns but satisfied (if only for a time) by mercantilist empires, trade monopolies, and treasure fleets. So, just as the powerful but complacent Ming authorities dismantled their Indian Ocean Fleet—there was simply not enough incentive for the Chinese in their splendor and security to waste time on commerce with distant and barbarous people—Europeans were getting started.[9] They had everything to gain from it. Necessity led to invention and, since no one ruler ever had a comfortable lead over his antagonists unlike the lords of China or Turkey, all continued to be driven by ambition and fear to develop, discover, and expand.[10]

The Age of Secretaries

With the increasing reach that rulers enjoyed from the coercive power of money and the overseas trade empires that created it, emerged the new professional sections of government making both possible. Like the hired soldier (who admittedly often went unpaid), the diplomat exerted the unmediated will of the central authority beyond its borders. The secretaries, scribes, couriers, and envoys all prepared and carried letters. More than one historian has called the early sixteenth century "the age of the secretary," a time when *literati*, *letrados*, or "super-clerks" allowed the monarch to communicate directly with his lieutenants in far-off lands.[11] These agents were both

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[7] Kennedy, 24-29, calls this incorporation of maritime, imperial possessions into the adaptive one-upmanship of European rivalries "sustained organization."

[8] This is the argument that Charles Tilly makes in *Coercion, Capital, and European States*: states ("coercion-wielding organizations," which were different from households or clans, and had "substantial territory" and "priority" over others) emerged when the concentration and centralization of coercive power, made possible by capital (money) that could be raised through cities; i.e. because of commerce, and that category of professional administrators that was created with it. What is more, Tilly argues that this was because of war: "war made states" and states made war. (Tilly, *Coercion,* 1, 14-22, 46-79, 163-164; *The Formation of national States in Western Europe* [Princeton, University Press, 1975.]) Joseph Strayer has examined an anteceding example of this mechanism—i.e. war requiring an increasingly centralized administration—in the Hundred Years War (so, over a century earlier) in the case of England and France in *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton: University Press, 1970).

[9] Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* (New York: Norton, 2006), 109-122; Kennedy, 3-30.

[10] A recent monograph illustrating this trend is Antonio Barrera-Osorio's *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006). Barrera shows how Spanish settlers and explorers adapted their thinking to the realities of the New World in developing efficient ways to extract silver, labor-saving tools (oyster rakes, bilge pumps), and navigational methods (how to find longitude with lunar eclipses). They also found new dyes and medicines. It is in the institutionalization of teaching these techniques that they extended and safeguarded knowledge, while also developing their bureaucratic structure (in ordering tests and surveys, and granting licenses) to support settlers and increase profits.

[11] John Headley is one of these and Paul Dover is another (John Headley, *The Emperor and His Chancellor: A Study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara.* [Cambridge: University Press, 1983], 15; Paul M. Dover, "Introduction: The Age of Secretaries" in *Secretaries and Statecraft in the Early Modern World,* Paul Dover, ed. [Edinburgh: University Press, 2016], 1; the term "super-clerk" is also from Headley, 15). Dover describes these

nerve impulses and nerve pathways by which the monarchical brain controlled its distant appendages. Charles's son, Philip II, was called by detractors "the paper king" (*el rey papelero*) or, worse still, "the black spider of the Escorial" because he sat in the center of his web receiving signals and sending missives in all directions and on every subject.[12] And while rule by letters depended on the army of secretaries sending and receiving correspondence, at the end of the change there was a representative who spoke for the king—an ambassador was most commonly called *orator*—and faithfully carrying out his royal will.

Johannes Dantiscus was one of these. He traveled for King Sigismund I (r. 1506-1548) to the court of Emperor Charles V in 1519 and 1522 and remained there, as resident ambassador, from 1524 to 1529. Then, he traveled with Charles to Bologna for the imperial coronation from late 1529 to mid-1530, and then onto Germany and the Netherlands, finally returning to Poland in 1532. Before 1519, he had been a royal secretary and envoy, and after 1532 he retired to his bishopric where he remained active in political and literary circles. This dissertation is focused on his Spanish decade, a period which overlapped with Luther's Reformation, Cortés's conquest of Mexico, and the Habsburg-Valois wars in Italy, including the Battle of Pavia (1525) and the Sack of Rome (1527). It was a dynamic time. That Charles could conduct simultaneous campaigns in multiple theaters—in Germany, France, Italy, Mexico, and North Africa—is also a testament to the political consolidation of his reign.

Charles, Always August Emperor, king of Germany, of Castile, of Aragon, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Hungary, of Dalmatia, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Seville, of Mallorca, of Cerdaña, of Córdoba, of Murcia, of Jaén, of the Algarabes, of Algerciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the Indies, islands and terra firma of the Ocean Sea; Archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, of Brabant, Lotharingia, Carinthia and Carniola, of Luxembourg, of Limburgh, of Guelders, Athens and Neopatria; Count of Brisna, of Flanders, of Tirol of Habsburg, of Artois and Burgundy; Count Palatine of Hainault, of Holland, of Zeeland, of Ferut, of Fribuque, Amuque of Rosellón and Cerdaña; Landgrave of Alsace, Marquis of Burgundy and of the Holy Roman Empire, of Oristan and Gociano; Prince of Catalonia and Swabia; Lord of Frisia, of the Marcas, of Labono, of Puerta, of Viscaya, of Molina, of Salinas and of Tripoli.

Fig. 0-1. An engraving of the coat of arms of Charles V at the University of Salamanca (1525) and the "enumeration of his titles."[13] *(The badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece is at the base of the escutcheon; there is a crown above, not pictured.)*

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secretaries as "custodians of institutions that sought to capture the world in writing" who were so numerous in and indispensable to "merchant companies, universities, religious institutions, and above all, governments" (1).

[12] *James M Boyden*, *The Courtier and the King: Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 64; Geoffrey Parker, Philip II* (B*oston: Little, Brown and Co., 1978), 24. Parker and also J.H. Plumb (in the foreword) write that there was partial truth in this Protestant epithet for the king who sat "endless hours" at papers (billetes) in his "cell" in the Escorial (xiv, xviii, 24).*

Philip II was also a micromanager who gave detailed instructions on innumerable small maters which ultimately led to "information overload" and a confounding dissipation of the royal attention span (Geoffrey Parker, The Grand Strategy of Philip II [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998], esp. 48, 282).

[13] The photograph is by Mark Rentz (http://www.trover.com/u/mark.rentz, reproduced with permission) and this English translation is by Rebecca Ard Boone ("Mercurino di Gattinara [1465-1530]: Imperial Chancellor, Strategist of Empire," in Dover, *Secretaries and Statecraft*, 45) with minor changes.

The previous century had been difficult for governance, one of civil war and chaos, of "[b]ad government, exactions, the cupidity and violence of the great, wars and brigandage, scarcity, misery and pestilence."[14] Iberia was finally pacified by Charles's grandparents, Isabella and Ferdinand, and again by Charles after the *Comuneros* Revolt of 1520-1521. To the north, France was recovering from the Hundred Years War and England from the War of the Roses; their strong kings, Francis I (r. 1515-1547) and Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547), could look outwards for the first time to pursue martial glory in the European theater. But Charles was more powerful still. With Castile and Aragon came Mediterranean and Atlantic possessions; with his Habsburg patrimony came territories in Austria, Germany, and Burgundy, and—in 1519, after much lobbying and expense—the imperial dignity. Each of Charles's letters began with a paragraph of titles strung together, and quite imposing when read out loud. His coat of arms was a mosaic of variegated tiles, each one representing a polity (see *Fig. 0-1*, above). At an earlier time, such scattered interests would have been ungovernable centrally. Previous emperors from Charlemagne to Charles's great grandfather, Frederick III, travelled continuously to be present and to assert authority. To be in one place too long would invite rebellion in more distant lands; to appoint a powerful lieutenant (as through *appanage*) to a province risked losing it to a family member. Thanks to the secretaries, ambassadors, and cadre of *letrados*, Charles lands became a "power-aggregate."[15] Europeans had not seen such far-reaching power since the Roman Empire, and the comparison was not lost on Charles and his advisors.

Charles's imperial chancellor, Mercurino Gattinara (1465-1530), famously charged him as "the greatest emperor and king who has been since the division of the empire" to "lead back the entire world to a single shepherd."[16] It was a vision that combined the authority of *two* universalizing philosophies: the Roman Empire and Christendom. Everything became his responsibility: fighting for his dynastic interests in Italy, ruling the pagans of the New World, opposing the Lutheran heretics in Germany, and most of all crusading against the Turks in the Mediterranean (who likewise felt they had a universalizing mandate of world empire). What were the characteristics or this 'World Emperor'?

> (1) *Dominatio.* The World Emperor had the duty to expand European possession to the New World, converting its people to Christianity, and expand his trade to Africa and Asia (where Christianity was already known).
>
> (2) *Imperium.* The Emperor was supposed to lead *but not conquer* his brother-kings in Europe. He had been elected and there was a presumed equality of rivals in Charles, Francis, and Henry, even (or especially) in their constant warring—war for prestige and honor, not for existence or even territorial gain. The "modern state system" (an anachronistic term in 1519) was a club of Christian Princes and none of the members were to be eliminated.

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[14] Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954, orig. 1924), 30.
[15] Mattingly, Garret, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2008, orig. 1955), 125.
[16] Headley, John M, "The Habsburg World Empire and the Revival of Ghibellinism" in *Theories of Empire,* ed. David Armitage (Ashgate, 1998), 50.

The contrast between the two orientations of authority become clear when one compares the capture of Moctezuma II in 1520 with the capture of Francis I in 1525 at the Battle of Pavia. Moctezuma was killed (this had not been Cortés's wish but, even so, it was not a problem or a scandal), while Francis, and later his sons, were kept in honorable custody.[17] Even when Francis reneged on the conditions of the 1526 Treaty of Madrid, there was never a question that his sons, the hostages, would be in danger. Nor was there ever a question of France losing territorial integrity; Charles expected to gain Burgundy for himself and Milan for his ally, the Duke of Bourbon, neither of which were part of France proper. And finally there was never any question of a change in ruler and dynasty, let alone regime. In general, the theorists creating the vision of empire did not wish undermine the laws on which they stood. Charles conformed to the traditions and requirements of each of his several kingdoms, each after its own custom. Even so, the aspirations of Charles and his ministers were so contrary to Francis's desire that the French king included the Ottoman emperor into the club of allies. The king of Poland also had a history of pragmatic truces with the Turkish sultan.[18] At the same time, the Religious War in Europe, and the ongoing hostility between Catholics and Protestants, changed the boundary again, so that heretics could be described with the greatest conceivable animosity.

Thus, while this universalizing 'world empire' and the particularizing 'state system' (the club) seem like complete opposites, they were both predicated on professional, administrative, and legal structures that governed both the process and the spoils of conquest. Governance and war were becoming less personal. They had the same need for a professional class of bureaucrats, soldiers, and diplomats. Both strengthened the center of at the expense of magnates and local lords. Both required an efficient system of communication, which in itself was universalizing. And finally, and perhaps paradoxically, since both ends had the same road, one could aspire to both at once, or alternate between one and the other as occasion, or mood, dictated.

Early Modern Political Identity

The kings and princes of Europe had a mutual respect that prefigured the modern state system. It was not a national mentality but a dynastic one. Charles Habsburg had been duke of Burgundy but moved to Spain to be its king; his brother Ferdinand, raised in Spain, moved to Austria to be its archduke, and would later add Bohemia and Hungary to his possessions. When the Lithuanian Jagiellon dynasty died out in 1572, the Polish nobles imported a French prince to be their king, and then a Transylvanian. Kingdoms and duchies could be exchanged, and rulers were continuously trading up as their fortunes in war and marriage would allow.

Meanwhile, their people were connected primarily to locality—a city, or a part of the countryside. The idea that people in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have about

[17] Cortés wrote that some of Moctezuma's own people had thrown a rock that killed him ("*le dieron una pedrada los suyos en la cabeza*") when he was trying to address them on behalf of the Spanish (Hernán Cortés, *Cartas de Relación de la Conquista de Méjixo,* Vol. I [Madrid: Calpe, 1922], 131).

[18] There is also the case of Hieronim Łaski (1496-1542) Sigismund's ambassador to France, who left Polish service without permission and helped to engineer a Hungarian-Ottoman alliance against the Habsburgs. (Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant [1204-1571], Vol. 3: The Sixteenth Century, [Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984],* 320-321.

belonging to a nation is new.[19] The connection recently with the ending of big global empires and the advent of mass culture (with its public school and television news). A sixteenth-century person knew the people he of she saw every day.[20] For Johannes Dantiscus, to encounter a "countryman" abroad meant someone from Gdańsk.[21] And he only took the name 'Dantiscus' (literally, 'the man from Danzig') once he left home. Ethnically, Dantiscus was a Prussian German and his city that belonged to the Hanseatic League, and used a Low German (*Plattdeutsch* or *Niederdeutsch*) spoken in cities along the Baltic littoral and resembling Dutch.[22] That economic connection to merchants in northern Germany, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia overlapped with Gdańsk's political loyalty to Cracow and Vilnius, and the wealth of the north complemented the military strength of the south. But the burghers of Gdańsk felt only antagonism for their fellow Germans in the Teutonic Order and the Holy Roman Empire who meddled with their Hanseatic and Polish relationships. To be 'Polish' was for Dantiscus a political category. Certainly, he spoke Polish, but it is difficult to guess how well. He received number of Polish letters (37 are extant) in a time when it was just as easy to write in German or Latin, so clearly he could read it, but there are no letters of his own in the Polish language; the majority of Dantiscus's letters were in Latin, many in German, and a couple survive written in Spanish.[23] Rather than '*Polanus*' he called himself '*Sarmata*,' belonging to a mythic classical Sarmatian tribe, which now served as an "umbrella identity" that included the many peoples, ethnically and confessionally diverse, who were subjects of Poland-Lithuania.[24]

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[19] Tilly differentiates between the 'nation state' and the 'national state': the first one is "a state whose people share a strong linguistic, religious and symbolic identity," and the second is a state governing multiple contiguous regions and their cities by means of centralized, differentiated, and autonomous structures." It is a useful distinction; however, in the present example it does not matter: Dantiscus felt neither a strong connection to the people Poland-Lithuania in its entirety, nor to any ethnic-German polity beyond, but rather to his king and to Prussia, which was for him his city of Gdańsk, or perhaps a decentralized group of cities, with three big ones (Gdańsk/Danzig, Toruń/Thorn, and Elbląg/Elbing) but none with any strict authority over the others or the surrounding countryside. Tilly observes that throughout history—the last hundred years being the notable exception—"most states have been *non*-national: empires, city-states, or something else (*Coercion, Capital, and European States,* 2-3).

[20] In some cases, national groups are able to gain a national state (Slovaks, Eritreans), while in other cases not yet (Kurds), and other times something nominally autonomous that remains occupied (Chechens).

[21] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806); this letter and terms used is examined more closely in Chapter 4.

[22] It is revealing that a Dutch dictionary is at least as useful as a German (*Hochdeutsch*) one when reading Dantiscus's German correspondence. For example, in a petition to the city council to rule in favor of his mother in an inheritance dispute, he began his second paragraph with this phrase, "Therefore, it is my earnest wish that you will take up my case," written so: "*Derhalven is myne vlitige bede, szo wollet in myne szake shen*." Several of the words are closer to modern Dutch than German:

Dantiscus's word	English	Dutch	German
derhalven	therefore	derhalve	deshalb
vlitge	industrious (earnest)	vlijtige	fleißig
bede	prayer (wish)	bede	Gebet
szake	matter (case)	zaak	Sache
sehn	see (consider)	zien	sehen

Johannes Dantiscus to the Gdańsk town council (IDL 6264).

[23] Dantiscus also received letters in Italian and French, but, as with Polish, none of his own writing in those languages (if ever there was any) is extant.

[24] Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569-1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9, 95, 217.

Just as King Sigismund was the shepherd for the variegated sheep of the Sarmatian fold, so did Dantiscus wish the Emperor Charles to take on that pastoral role for all of Christendom.[25] The shared language for all Christian *literati* was Latin, which allowed Dantiscus and his peers, to travel the continent and seek employment in any court; that is, Latin literacy and speech allowed a man to fit in everywhere, giving him mobility both geographic and social. Thus, Johannes Dantiscus could be a German-speaking Polish-Lithuanian ambassador in Spain at the court the French-speaking German emperor from the Burgundian Netherlands. That court was staffed with the emperor's people from Burgundy and Spain and Italy. Because they all spoke Latin (more or less) and because rulers themselves were "foreign" it was natural for the talented men-of-letters to follow work to distant courts.

This is how, in the early sixteenth-century, the Italian Renaissance became a European phenomenon, travelling with the brilliant Italians, especially Florentines, who found employment in ultramontane courts (e.g. da Vinci and Cellini in France, Berrecci and Buonaccorsi in Poland). At the same time, many northern humanists traveled south to study in Italy and then return home (as Dantiscus did); there a number of such exchanges. Through his competence and hard work, equipped with a humanist education, Dantiscus enjoyed positions at the courts of two Holy Roman Emperors, Maximilian I (r. 1484-1519) then Charles V, both of whom ennobled him and bestowed upon him coats of arms, and three Polish kings (John Albert, r. 1492-1501, and his brothers, Alexander I, r. 1501-1506, and Sigismund I, r. 1506-1548) who later rewarded his decades of service with his elevation to Bishop of Chełmno (Kulm, 1530) and Prince-Bishop of Warmia (Ermland, 1537).

Renaissance Diplomacy in the North and East

With so many humanists traveling to Italy for study or out of Italy for advantageous posts, intellectual and cultural exchange created a European Renaissance—it would become a *Republic of Letters*. They served abroad as diplomats or royal tutors or professors and shared a common elite culture in a time when travel and communication were difficult. So wherever they found themselves living, the humanists wanted to talk with others who could appreciate their specialized erudition and could help them grow in reputation. Courts and universities were the nodes of the net, and none of its leaders was greater than Erasmus of Rotterdam. He enjoyed the highest reputation of his day, most particularly in Spain, but also in Poland, where he corresponded with 22 different literary and political leaders, including Dantiscus and the king.[26] But the *Republic of Letters* was vast.[27] The humanists relied on each other for intellectual exchange, for hospitality, for news, for professional help, for recommendations and mutual admiration, for passing along greetings and remembrances, and the reticulated permutations are great. They supported each other, and strengthened their reputations in the process. And because their jobs were politically influential, and because writing was their chief activity, some took it

[25] These identities and their ramifications are the subject of Chapters 2 and 6, respectively.
[26] Glomski, 21-22.
[27] See also *Biow, Douglas, Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), and also A*nthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From humanism to the humanities: education and the liberal arts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

upon themselves to record, to codify what they did, e.g. Castiglione (*il Cortegiano*), Barbaro (*De Officio Legati*), and all of those writers *before Machiavelli* who wrote a book called *The Prince* or *The Mirror of Princes*, in addition to the instructive works of Erasmus, More and Guicciardini.

Over time, this culture became a structure. To use the terminology of Fernand Braudel: a cultural development is fluid and contingent (*l'histoire conjectural, l'histoire éventementielle*) but with repetition it settles into a pattern, then into a convention, and then a *mentalité.* It becomes more deeply established until it is an institution, or even a paradigm, not to be defied except with great will. It becomes a structure (hence, *l'histoire structurale*).[28] To ignore 'common courtesy' or 'filial piety' takes rebellious energy; to engage in commerce without 'capitalism' takes imagination.[29] Just as a river may carve a canyon, and one's good or bad habits strengthen neural pathways, so do social structures gain depth through iteration.[30] On this theme, Karl Brandi writes, in reference to the *letrado* officials under Fernando of Aragon and Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros, that "a political structure, based on a spontaneously increasing class of professional officials, does in fact possess exceptional powers of resistance as long as its foundations remain undisturbed. It will create its own theory, as it were, its own code of ethics, and strong in this inner solidarity it will outlast the changing chances of skillful or clumsy governments."[31]

The Early Modern European diplomats were a subset of the Renaissance humanists. Traditionally, since Garret Mattingly wrote his foundational *Renaissance Diplomacy* in 1955, historians have considered modern diplomacy to have grown out of precocious but compact Italian city states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the pope in Avignon (1309-1378) and the Schism (1378-1417) and the emperor in Germany (who came to Italy only to collect his crown like a "tourist"), the city states were regional rivals without a dominating power.[32] The biggest ones, Genoa and Venice, could fight at sea, but the others fought local, small-scale wars, usually carried out by mercenaries, and generally worthwhile. In this climate, diplomacy could make a difference by turning one enemy against another. It was their small size and concentrated populations, Mattingly emphasizes, that made diplomacy possible and profitable. In contrast, large northern kingdoms "lacked the resources to organize stable states on the national scale" until the sixteenth century.[33] Mattingly situates the first unofficial resident ambassadors in the fourteenth century between Mantua and Milan, and the first accredited, reciprocal ambassador to have gone from Mantua to the Holy Roman Empire from 1425-1432, so exactly 100 years before Dantiscus went to Spain.[34] Soon after, Venice and Florence commissioned their own resident ambassadors. Of the great kings, Ferdinand of Aragon was first to use this modern diplomacy. In 1480 he sent two representatives to Rome, the first permanent

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[28] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* trans. Siân Reynolds, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 14-22.
[29] Capitalism is the example that William Sewell gives in his discussion of structure (*Logics of History. Social Theory and Social Transformation*, [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005], 151).
[30] Sewell, *Logics*, 127, 125-127.
[31] Brandi, Karl, *The Emperor Charles V: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World-Empire,* trans. C. V. (Wedgewood, Oxford: Alden, 1939, orig. German, 1935), 67. And again, on p. 85: "In Spain, unlike Burgundy, the modern theory of state, developed by a learned bureaucracy."
[32] Mattingly, 55-60.
[33] Mattingly, 55.
[34] Mattingly, 71-76.

resident ambassadors outside the exchanges of Italian city states.[35] Mattingly considers this an "experiment […] in the new Italian style."[36] The benefit of the increasingly complex network of resident ambassadors was the avoidance all out peninsular war from the Peace of Lodi in 1454 until 1494 when the duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, invited the French king, Charles VIII, to invade.[37] Milan offered to help France take once-Angevin Naples, if France would help Milan against Genoa. This was was the beginning of the Italian Wars, the "woes" caused by "the ambition of princes," that would dominate the next fifty years and the shared preoccupation of Charles V and Francis I during Dantiscus's tenure in Spain.[38] Mattingly's story regards the origins of modern diplomacy and the state system as an unmistakably Italian contribution.

Sixty years later, historians have begun to revisit Mattingly's model. John Watkins, in a 2008 collection articles, questions the "Burckhardtian dichotomy" of Italian Renaissance diplomacy bringing modernity to a "dreaming or half-awake" medieval north.[39] Watkins sees greater similarities than differences over time in papal diplomacy, for one thing; for another, he is troubled that some historians paint more recent east-west distinctions back to the north-south of five hundred years ago.[40] In his edited volume, Watkins has organized literary and art historians to join him in an interdisciplinary investigation that brings refreshing nuance to an old subject. The inclusion of more of women, even great queens such as Elizabeth I and Catherine the Great, participating more directly in their own diplomacy shows there is much to be written on the subject of 'unofficial' negotiation.[41] Catherine de' Medici is the subject of such an essay in

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[35] Ferdinand's agent, the bishop of Gerona, stayed in Rome from 1481 to 1493 and was accredited ambassador to all Italian states; he was a political representative and was stationed there *in addition* to Bartolome de Veri, an appointee of Ferdinand's father, King John II (Garrett Mattingly, "The First Resident Embassies: Mediaeval Italian Origins of Modern Diplomacy," *Speculum*, Vol. 12, No. 4 [Oct., 1937], 439). Veri was an important Aragonese statesman who had been a royal councilor, the high chancellor, and regent for Naples, and also represented his king in Tuscany, Lombardy, and Venice (Joaquín María Bover de Rosselló, *Nobiliario Mallorquin, etc.* [Palma (Majorca): Pedro José Gelabert, 1850], 419).

[36] Mattingly, 139.

[37] Mattingly, 83-93, 133-137. Mattingly calls this period "the Concert of Italy" (91), an allusion to comparable period of increased diplomacy and decreased belligerence between 1815 and 1914.

[38] Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy,* trans. ed. Sidney Alexander (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 191. Gregory Hanlon writes, that Guicciardini explained the "catastrophes befalling Italy after 1494 in terms of secular *realpolitik.* (Gregory Hanlon, *Early modern Italy, 1550-1800: Three Seasons in European History* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000], 39.)

[39] John Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, No. 38 (Winter 2008 38), 1-2. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore, (London: Penguin, 2004, orig. 1860), 89.

[40] Watkins gives the example of the diplomatic efforts of Pope Eugenius IV in 1437 to settle the Hundred Years War and unite the Christians against the Turks. Because it resembles Clement VII's rhetoric in 1530—and indeed because some form of it can be mapped back onto Urban II's exhortations in 1095 in Clermont—Watkins is correct in this point; however, we cannot help but notice that it says nothing about Mattingly's thesis on resident ambassadors and state formation. The second point is harder to resist. Watson quotes a 1993 work, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy,* by M. S. Anderson, that judges "the Scandinavian countries, Poland, Russia […] Scotland and Portugal" as places "where diplomacy was less important and diplomatic organization more primitive" offering only "slender links" to the center. Of Andersons's list, in the sixteenth century, it is only Scandinavia and Russia that go underrepresented in the correspondence (of either Dantiscus or Erasmus), naturally a function of distance, population, and climate. (Watkins, 4, quoting, M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* [Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1993], 27-28. The first chapter in Anderson's book is a summary of Mattingly, which is what likely caught Watkins's attention.)

[41] Watkins, 7.

Watkins's collection, evaluating her as a manipulative negotiatrix who used emotional and other wiles to prevail upon her Huguenot opponents.[42] This work should be understood to add material and shades of meaning to Mattingly's model, but not to replace it entirely.[43] An example of how historians can do this is the monumental Ladies' Peace (*Paix des Dames*) of 1529, in which Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) and Louise of Savoy (1476-1531) negotiated the Treaty of Cambrai on behalf of Charles V (Margaret's nephew) and Francis I (Louise's son). It gets barely a mention from Mattingly.[44] But, in her recent study, Joycelyne Russell shows the great capabilities of these women and the diplomatic innovation—and brilliant move—it was to leave this work to them. The ladies were more effective than official ambassadors could have been since they were genuinely interested in peace (Russell argues), and because they could maneuver along avenues that were closed to the men: first, since Charles and Francis had challenged each other to a duel that would never take place, they could not speak of peace without losing honor; then, the ladies could act without consulting the pope, the English, or other allies who had an interest in endless delays; finally, their gender gave political cover to the men because whatever they agreed to the men could later disparage as the work of women, saying it had been against their wishes, but then go along with it in their magnanimity and in the interest of peace.[45]

In the same spirit, this current study of Johannes's Dantiscus's years in Spain, his writings, his friendships, and the details of his life, should give narrative detail to the Mattingly framework that is not wrong, just incomplete.

Methods and Sources

The method for approaching the culture of diplomacy is to examine the letters by Dantiscus and his correspondents found in the *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus Texts & Correspondence*, created by Professor Anna Skolimowska (the director), Magdalena Turska, Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, and a number of philologists and technical staff at the "Dantiscus Lab" in the *Artes Liberales* Faculty of the University of Warsaw.[46] This project, when conceived in the 1980s, was to be a printed work, but the advent of the internet has allowed this team to transcribe Dantiscus's

[42] Denis Crouzet, "'A strong desire to be a mother to all your subjects:' A Rhetorical Experiment by Catherine de' Medici," in Watkins, 103-118.

[43] Mattingly happily concedes that Catherine de' Medici "inherited the brunt" of French rule and diplomacy during the tenure of her sons, but he does not see her "diplomatic finesse" as being equal to the demands of embattled France (Mattingly, 94).

[44] Mattingly, 177-178.

[45] Joycelyne G. Russell, "Women Diplomats: The Ladies' Peace of 1529," *Diplomats at Work* (Wolfeboro Falls, NH: Alan Sutton, 1992), 94-152, esp. 107. The term for putting the blame on another is "*gecter [jeter] the chat aux jambes,"* to throw the cat at the (royal mother's) legs (107).

[46] Access to all of this material is freely to registered users (also free) at http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl.

Both Professor Skolimowska, the director of the project, and Professor Turska, the technical editor, have been very generous in replying to my email correspondence and sending PDFs of secondary sources that I had difficulty locating. I have further benefited from collaboration with Bryan Kozik, a doctoral student at the University of Florida, who was at the Dantiscus Lab in 2015 and 2016.

When quoting from Dantiscus's correspondence, I will use the abbreviation IDL (*Ioannis Dantisci Litterae)* and the number; for poems the prefix is IDP and for speeches ('texts') it is IDT. Some of these letters are available in bound, printed volumes that re very convenient to read the correspondence between particular actors. These are Jerzy Axer and Skolimowska's, *Corpus Epistolarum Ioannis Dantisci, Part II Amicorum Sermones Mutui,* and there are several volumes: one for Herberstein, one for Schepper, and one for Valdés.

letters, photograph the manuscripts, and add annotations and hyperlinks. This is the source, more than any other, upon which this dissertation stands. All English translations of Dantiscus's letters (and also his poetry) used here are my own. The total number of letters in digitized archive is 6120, but only 480 for the years Dantiscus was in Spain.[47] Either he found far more time to write as a renowned bishop than as a scrappy diplomat, or he was better at keeping records then, or both. Dantiscus's literary works, especially his *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva* (1529-1530) are at the center of this project; my translation of the *Silva* and of his *Vita* and two other shorter poems are included here as appendices. These are the first English translations of these Latin works, though there are two existing Polish translations. Other published letters from Charles V and members of his court, from Erasmus, and other work from prominent scholars of the Polish Renaissance (Helius Eobanus Hesse, Conrad Celtis, Justius Decius) have been useful as well. In addition, I found a several relevant documents in the archives in Simancas.[48]

These rich, primary texts tell the reader a great deal about both the cultural and political work of the Early Modern European ambassador. In addition to Dantiscus's movements, professional goals, and ever-present financial stress, these letters also reveal much about his daily life. Historians who work with letters agree that the writings of actors present at an event are typically the best source of understanding not only what happened, but also how they felt about it.[49] The revelations they offer about the life of a sixteenth-century European diplomat, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, are the goal. Secondly narrative elements that are exceptional or surprising can serve to articulate or even punctuate the pattern of the narrative.

Just as literary production and autobiographical work can reveal the "normal things" in an oblique way—this is the tradition of *New Historicism*—so does visual art. For example, no ambassador has taken the time to record his garments, not thinking about the investigators 500 years in the future, but it is recorded whenever he sits for a portrait. In the same spirit, Dantiscus's letters reveal much about Early Modern Travel, not just because he included rich details (as when Dantiscus described haggling for passage across the English Channel or reported that his horse was stolen), but also simply because each letter has a date and names the place it was sent from, and so his path can be, more or less, reconstructed. It is to be hoped that these small pieces will fit like shards of tiles into a large collaborative mosaic in historians' growing understanding of Early Modern European life. The big picture will be constructed over

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[47] The 480 includes all letters from the beginning of 1519 to the end of 1529, so naturally many of them have nothing to do with Spain, being instead from Dantiscus's time in Poland or from the road, etc.

Of the 6120 extant letters in total, Dantiscus wrote 1697 and received 4423; 3374 are in Latin and 2653 are in German. 39 are in Spanish (of which he wrote two), and 37 are in (or contain some) Polish, 17 in Italian, 4 in Czech, 3 in Dutch, and 2 in Italian (of which he wrote none). There was a total number of 657 correspondents, 592 senders, 317 addressees, most of whom belonged to both categories.

[48] These come from the *Estado* section, in *legajos* 496: Flanders; 635 and 636: Germany; and especially in 1553 and 1554: *Diversos Dispachos*.

[49] Steve Ozment writes that "direct accounts of contemporaries are the bedrock of historical knowledge," and Henry de Vocht, that the "most reliable, and, at the same time, by far the richest sources of information about the life and acts, opinions and thoughts, facts and aspirations of personages in the XVIth century, are the familiar letters in which the writers express in full veracity and in earnest sincerity their experiences as well as their views and judgment." (Steve Ozment, *Magdalena & Balthazar: An Intimate Portrait of Life in 16th-Century Europe Revealed in the Letters of Nuremburg Husband & Wife,* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 11; Henry de Vocht: *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish Friends as revealed by their correspondence, 1522-1546* [Louvain: Librairie Universitaire; W. Vandermeulen, 1961], 5.)

time by many historians reporting on different parts of it. And looking at a subject from multiple perspectives helps the viewer see its contours. And holding many points at once creates a constellation, or an intersecting history (*histoire croisée*).[50]

Some important work has already done on Dantiscus, but the historiography is fairly short. In the 1930s, Henry de Vocht, a philologist from Louvain began collecting Dantiscus's letters in his European travels. He catalogued hundreds of these before he was interrupted by the Second World War, and then hastily assembled them toward the end of his life in his wonderful *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish friends: As Revealed by their Correspondence, 1522-1546: Published from the Original Documents.* De Vocht's collection along with published Polish archives, the *Acta Tomiciana* (named for Dantiscus's friend and patron, Vice Chancellor Archbishop Piotr Tomicki) became a source for philologists at the *Artes Liberales* institute in the University of Warsaw, mentioned above, who have since built the digitized online *Corpus*. In 1995 they had published printed catalogues of thousands of Dantiscus's letters and collaborated with Spanish historians on a Spanish-language edition of selections entitled, *Españoles y Polacos en la Corte de Carlos V*.[51] In addition to these direct examinations of the ambassador's letters, there is a 1982 Polish biography by Zbigniew Nowak; it is comprehensive and insightful, but unfortunately it was written before footnotes became fashionable in Poland so the text is entirely without citations.[52] There are also some Polish translations of his neo-Latin poetry.[53] Interest in Dantiscus is increasing even now. The "Dantiscus Lab" has recently produced a number of academic articles.[54]

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 is divided into two halves. The first is about the Hanseatic port city of Gdańsk, the largest and most prosperous in the Poland-Lithuania, the gateway to Europe for incoming ideas and goods, and outgoing grain and timber. Dantiscus's father was a well-to-do burgher who made his fortune here. He paid for his oldest son to have an excellent humanist education, believing it to be the means to advancement—and he was right. The second part of this chapter, then, explores the humanistic education and sixteenth-century university life. It is argued that both (1) the burgher ethos and trade and (2) humanist education plugged Dantiscus into Europe

[50] Joel Harrington, "Historians without Borders? *L'Histoire Croisée* and Early Modern Social History," *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations, Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady Jr.* edited by Christopher Ocker, Michael Printy, Peter Starenko, and Peter Wallace, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 81-87.

[51] Antonio Fontán and Jerzy Axer, eds., *Españoles y Polacos en la Corte de Carlos V: Cartas del Embajador Juan Dantisco,* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994).

[52] Zbigniew Nowak, *Jan Dantyszek: Portret Renesansowego Humanisty* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, 1982).

[53] Two are: Dantiscus, *Pieśni,* ed. trans. Anna Kamieńska (Olsztyn: Pojezierze 1973), and Dantiscus, *Utwory Poetyckie,* ed. Ryszard Ganszyniec and trans. Jan Michał Harhala (Lwów: nakładem Filomaty, 1938). This 1938 book is not the one tends to show up in library systems: that one is *Księga Hymnów*, published by the same people in 1934, but I have not found an extant copy; email correspondence with Academic booksellers in Poland indicated that no copies of the 1934 survived World War II.

[54] 59 recent articles are listed on the *Corpus* website under "Other Publications" 17 in English, 17 more in Polish, nine in Spanish, eight in German, and one in French. The ones that are in English trend heavily toward the most recent articles, showing that Dantiscus scholarship is more accessible now to world scholarship, not just regional interest. Of the 59 articles, four are from 2016, one from 2015, three from 2013, for from 2012, one from 2011, six from 2010, four from 2006, five from 2005, four from 2004, one from 2003, one from 2002, nine from 2001, and thirteen more from the previous century.

as a continental culture. These gave him a membership in a society that transcended regional borders and vernaculars.

Dantiscus's father's father moved off the land to Gdańsk to escape the ravages of the Thirteen Years War against the Teutonic Order. There he became a rope-maker (*Flachsbinder*). That his son would be a prosperous brewer and his grandson a diplomat and a bishop, illustrates the social mobility possible for burghers. The main character of the story, however, is not these men but the city: Gdańsk (Danzig, Dantiscum, Gedanum), "the diamond in the crown" and the "Venice of the North." Its cosmopolitan openness also represents the success of the Sarmatian identity that allowed the Catholic Polish king to rule many peoples of many faiths. That the German-speaking merchants of Gdańsk should rebel against the German (Teutonic) knights who ruled them and fight to be Polish subjects instead is evidence that toleration and wealth were more important to them than ethnic (or at least linguistic) identity. This city, by the sixteenth century an important participant in the European economy and indispensable for the Polish-Lithuanian grain trade, had in previous centuries been trapped in a simmering crusade of the Teutonic Knights against the "Saracens of the North," purporting to seek pagans in an already Christianized Baltic. The crusading impulse was clearly strong, and indeed constituted a medieval variety of European universalism that Dantiscus would later tap into when composing his own crusading polemic against the Turks in 1529.

Equipped for his career with a humanist education, Dantiscus began to serve his king as a secretary and an envoy. He traveled on the king's business to Prussia, and accompanied important courtiers to war and to the court of Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1486-1519) in Vienna. It was Maximilian who crowned Dantiscus poet laureate of the empire in 1515 and first ennobled him. Dantiscus also studied in Bologna and embarked on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The second chapter follows Dantiscus on his European travels and serves as a bridge between his formative experiences and his diplomatic service in Spain. In addition to avoiding brigands and war zones during these travels, Dantiscus was actively establishing diplomatic and literary. The comparison of two different journeys, one as a young man going on a private pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and one as royal emissary going to Spain on embassy for the king, is useful. A young student of modest means, it turns out, could travel even to the Ottoman east with only moderate inconvenience while an accomplished royal emissary could find himself a target because (not in spite) of his good connections. Cultivating his humanist network was also a way to build up havens along the journey.

Finding safety on the road was one benefit of belonging to the Republic of Letters; another was developing political influence that would later be useful in the service of a princely employer. This is the subject of the third chapter, which picks up the story when Dantiscus reached Spain and undertook his mission in earnest. King Sigismund had married an Italian princess, Bona Sforza (m. 1518), and expected to receive her dowry from the Kingdom of Naples. But a cash-strapped emperor, deeply embroiled in Italian Wars, found it expedient to forget about this obligation; it was Dantiscus's job to change his mind. Because everyone knew that Dantiscus's request, however justified, would be a drain on the imperial coffers, the Polish ambassador found it difficult to gain access to the emperor, more difficult still to get the emperor to assent to the request, and most difficult of all to turn that agreement into money. Dantiscus made alliances with like-minded courtiers especially in the chancellery to help him negotiate the tempestuous

and aggravating court; the discussion of these friendships is the topic of the fourth chapter. Imperial Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara became for Dantiscus the patron he needed to gain access and achieve his ends. Gattinara's secretary and writer, Alfonso de Valdés, was Dantiscus's closest friend in Spain. These allies worked together and helped each other in diverse circumstances. They also shared an admiration for Erasmus but they adapted his pacifism to suit their imperial agenda.

The final chapter is situated in the context of Charles's imperial coronation on February 24, 1530 in Bologna. It is the culminating event of this story. First, this event represents a reversal in Pope Clement VII's (r. 1523-1534) posture toward the emperor after the War of the League of Cognac (1525-1529). It inaugurated an era of cooperation, mutual benefit, and Spanish influence on Italy and the Roman church that lasted until the eighteenth century. Second, the imperial coronation infused the tradition of classical Roman triumph with the authority of the Catholic Church, renewing both in a modern vision of world empire. In this spirit, Dantiscus dedicated his meandering panegyric, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, to Charles and Clement exhorting them to unite all Christian monarchs in a crusade against the Turk. This was not new—polemics against internecine Christian violence precede the first crusade—and it was not even an accurate representation of Sigismund's position: the Polish king had a friendly truce with the sultan, and reserved his belligerent energies for the Muscovites. But this *silva* exemplified the logic of universal empire, papal authority, and Spanish exceptionalism that was part of the spirit of the age, especially with the Conquest of Mexico and (soon after) Peru. (In fact, Dantiscus was especially proud to send this poem to his friend, Hernán Cortés.)

The Emperor Charles did not return to Spain after Bologna, but continued north to oppose the Turks at Vienna. In 1535, he conquered Tunis and made an attempt to conquer Algiers in 1541 that was thwarted by storms at sea. In 1547 he defeated the Lutheran Schmalkaldic League. His son, Philip II, was not Holy Roman Emperor, but ruled a Spanish Empire that was greater even than his father's. The universalizing peace of empire did not succeed in the body of Christendom, and Europe continued to fracture into near continuous war that did not let up until the nineteenth century only to return to still greater violence in the twentieth. The legacy of sixteenth-century humanist politics was not the political agenda that Gattinara and the others dreamed up. It was the professional culture of state functionaries with their recording of events and reporting back to the center. These sinews of power, as practiced in their formative phases by professional secretaries and diplomats, supported the European empires of the next 400 years.[55] All empires required extensive administration, the Ming and the Romans and the Persians. The early modern diplomat may also have wanted a great single power; Dantiscus certainly wanted it to crush the Turks. In a sense, the Ottoman Sultan, and the Russian Tsar, also pretended to this kind of hegemony.[56] But that is not what happened in Habsburg Spain or Western Europe. Despite such aspirations and despite unifying vision of Christendom, the early

[55] Political scientist John Brewer uses the term "sinews of power" in exactly this context for the title of his book about the origins of the fiscal military organization of empires, though it seems quite likely that the term is older (John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1793* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.])

[56] H. G. Koenigsberger and G. L. Mosse, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), 174-178.

modern European diplomat and the system he was a part of, was the one which led to the jigsaw puzzle of sovereign states that is the world today.

Chapter 1: The Burgher Ethos and the Northern Renaissance

The story of the Renaissance—how Europeans remembered their Roman past and undertook to recreate it with arts and letters, with buildings, and finally with discovery and conquest—and how it influenced the modern state with its centralization and professionalization of government, and also global trade, migrations, and colonies, are all together a very big story, a macrohistory. Yet this small study of one Renaissance humanist through his personal, literary, and political writings during his decade at the center of Habsburg power in Spain touches upon many of its themes. Johannes Dantiscus was both a product of his environment and a shaper of it. Because he moved from the edges to the center of this political movement, his example allows the student of history to look at one thing from two angles, and thus in three dimensions.

Johannes Dantiscus was from remote, even exotic, Poland-Lithuania, and he liked to joke, when he had grown tired of his mission, that the Spaniards kept him around as a cultural curiosity, "so that people might say, 'here is a man from the king of Poland,' a term which was unknown among the people before my arrival."[57] At the same time, he was also from the richest and most populous city in that vast commonwealth: Gdańsk (Danzig), a Hanseatic trading port on the Baltic coast, integrated into German and Netherlandish economic networks. Gdańsk was situated at the extreme west of the Polish-Lithuanian territory that reached a thousand miles to the Black Sea. Like many Gdańsk burghers, Dantiscus was from a German family that had likely settled in Prussia centuries earlier during the Christianization of the Baltic region and its conquest by the crusading Teutonic Knights.[58] Dantiscus's grandfather was a peasant who took shelter in Gdańsk to flee the carnage of the Thirteen Years War (1454-1466) between the Polish king and the Teutonic Order.[59] Once in the city, Dantiscus's father became a prosperous brewer, a burgher, and made enough money to give his son a first-rate humanist education, continuing the upward mobility of the family.[60] That this boy, the grandson of a refugee peasant, the son of a brewer, should represent the Polish king at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, is—as will be argued below—a tribute to (first) the *burgher ethos* of the Gdańsk citizens who turned wealth and solidarity into political autonomy, and (second) the power and currency of his *humanist education.* These two forces, Jürgen Habermas has argued, are at the root of our modern state system: the burghers because their long-distance "traffic in commodities and news" contributed to public opinion and because their capitalism created the wealth that expanded their own possibilities and those of their monarchs, and the humanists because they separated authority from the manorial lands, moving it to a central court.[61] Additionally, their Latinity and training equipped the humanists to serve in the kind of influential offices, such as those Dantiscus would hold, in the young bureaucracies of the Early Modern state. How these two forces, burgher

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[57] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 17, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 146): "*hic esse aliquis a rege Poloniae, quod nomen ante meum adventum penitus vulgo fuit incognitum.*"

[58] William Urban, *The Teutonic Knights: A Military History* (London: Greenhill Books, 2003), 49, 105-107; Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: University Press, 1993), 134-145; Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland,* Vol. 1: *The Origins to 1795* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1984), 49, 82-84. Nowak takes an educated guess here and suggests that Dantiscus's family settled in Ermland (Warmia) in the fourteenth century (Nowak, 40).

[59] Nowak, 43-44.

[60] Nowak, 45-49.

[61] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991, orig. 1962), 15, 9-12.

capitalism and Renaissance humanism, propelled this protagonist into his diplomatic career is the subject of this chapter.

Additionally, this chapter (and this dissertation) aims to extend our understanding of what—and *where*—the Renaissance was. Following Paul Oskar Kristeller, and without discounting any of the important developments of earlier or subsequent centuries, it is correct to talk of the "intellectual leadership" of Italy ("and with it the Low Countries") in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe.[62] This is where humanist learning began. Its defining feature was the *studia humanitatis*, a program of study oriented to classical Latin and Greek authors and their "grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy."[63] Without abandoning their Christian theology, European elites looked to classical antecedents for cultural authority, their art and architecture recalling and restoring the glory of Rome.[64] When northerners joined the Renaissance, they did not only import an Italian cultural trend, but they added their distinctive elements. Italy had the first word, but the Renaissance became a European conversation.[65] Northern Universities, for example, focused more on theology and arts, while Italian ones tended to specialize in medicine and law.[66] The northern universities trained a generation of German humanist theology professors who in turn were the authors of the Protestant Reformation from its inception and in its first century.[67]
At the same time, northerners could not minimize the authority of Renaissance Italy. Francis I (king of France, r. 1515-1547) imported Leonardo da Vinci and Benevenuto Cellini to his court.[68] Dantiscus's master, King Sigismund I, did the same thing when he brought in a

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[62] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), 4.
[63] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources.* ed. Michael Mooney (New York, Columbia University Press, 1979), 22-23.
[64] Habermas, 4: "Since the Renaissance this model of the Hellenic public sphere, as handed down to us in the stylized form of Greek self-interpretation, has shared with everything else considered 'classical' a particularly normative power."
Professor Kristeller writes that "humanism and Aristotelian scholasticism were not so much two ideologically opposed currents, let alone representations of a new and old philosophy, but two coexisting areas of interest" in *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, 4.
So inclusive were Renaissance authorities that J. F. Leibell gives a number of examples where Renaissance popes were so "enamored of the new learning" that they "willingly overlooked" not only immoral "irregularities" and "anomal[ies]" but even blasphemies of their humanist courtiers. "The Church and Humanism," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Oct., 1924), 340-342.
[65] Harold Segel, for instance, has emphasized the cultural *change* of the north over the cultural *lag* in his *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 2-3. Alison Brown, focusing on England and France, frames a comparison between Italian influence and northern "cultural developments that *closely paralleled* those in Italy" (my emphasis) based on local growth in literacy and culture. (*The Renaissance* [New York: Longman, 1988], 78.)
[66] Paul F. Grendler, "The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation," *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Spring, 2004), 3-8.
[67] Grendler, 14. Grendler also shows how the universities in the north had more formally organized administrations (rectors, deans, senates), while Italian professors enjoyed near-total autonomy. This meant that Italian freedom fostered independent research while German order led to social change (10-12), as "the University of Wittenberg under the leadership of Martin Luther did." (12)
[68] Bertrand Jestaz, "Benvenuto Cellini et la Cour de France (1540-1545), *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, Vol. 161, No. 1: *Art et Artistes en France de la Renaissance à la Révolution*
(January-June, 2003), 71-132.

Florentine, Bartolomeo Berecci, to expand his royal residence in Cracow's Wawel Castle.[69] Other artists with telltale names like 'Johannes Fiorentino' and 'Il Padovano' did work for Polish magnates.[70] And over 100 Italian courtiers joined Sigismund's court in the train of his Italian queen, Bona Sforza (r. 1518-1557).[71] Northerners hurried to Italian universities to finish their training, and then became vectors of humanist diffusion. So Dantiscus learned from Italian, Polish, and German professors at the University of Cracow; he also went to study in Bologna. He participated in a literary society in Cracow and cultivated an epistolary friendship with leading humanists of his day (including Erasmus, Melanchthon, Cornelius Schepper, and Alfonso de Valdés), as well as traveling all over Europe in royal service and to Jerusalem on pilgrimage.

This chapter's purpose is to provide the requisite background and to make the argument that this well-traveled and well-connected diplomat enjoyed a career made possible by the cultural conditions associated with Early Modern Europe: the *burgher ethos* of Gdańsk that included capitalism, civic participation, and social mobility. Gdańsk's history of fighting the Teutonic Knights and their supporters in the Holy Roman Empire turned these ethnic-German burghers away from their fellow-Germans and invested them with a steadfast loyalty to the Polish king, which Dantiscus exhibited too, and which they kept throughout all of Poland's conflicts with its western neighbor.[72]

Gdańsk under the Teutonic Knights

Gdańsk, Danzig, or Gedanum (or Gyddanyzc, Gydanie, Danczik, or Dantzig)—the many names for this city reflect not only a time before standardized orthography or cartographic records, but also the contested space of Prussia. The name Prussia (*Prusy, Preußen*) comes from the "original" *Bruzi* who lived there, a western Baltic tribe.[73]

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[69] Karol Estreicher, "Polish Renaissance Architecture," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 86, No. 502, Polish Number (Jan., 1945); Kenneth F. Lewalski , "Sigismund I of Poland: Renaissance King and Patron," *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 14 (1967), 49-72, esp. 61-65.

[70] Both of these were sculptors: 'Il Padovano' worked on the ornamentation of the roof of the house belonging to Sigismund's banker, Seweryn Boner, and 'Fiorentino' made tomb slabs in red marble for the primate of Poland, Archbishop Jan Łaski. (Jacqueline Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature in the Age of the Jagiellons: Court and Career in the Writings of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentin Eck, and Leonard Cox* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007], 16.)

[71] Kot, Stanisław, *Polska Złotego Wieku wobec Kultury Zachodniej* (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwerstytetu Jagiellońskiego [Jagiellonian University Press], 1932), 16-17.

[72] Karin Friedrich emphasizes the unwavering loyalty of the Polish king's Prussian subjects—civic Poles though ethnic Germans—in the long history of their membership in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In Poland's war against the Cossacks and Swedes in the seventeenth century and right up to is ultimate dissolution at the end of the eighteenth, they embraced the "Sarmatian mythology," making sacrifices and fighting for the Commonwealth. This Sarmatian myth served as a unfying supranational identity that included and incorporated all of the diverse peoples who were subjects of the Polish king; it was based on ancient, perhaps imaginary, nomadic horse lords called the Sarmati. (Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and liberty, 1569-1772* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000], 120, 136-137, 216-217.) "The political raison d'être for the Danzig burghers was the preservation of all their privileges which secured their general well-being. The city was fighting for a Commonwealth which guaranteed the liberties of more than just its noble citizens." (137)

[73] Anthropologists use the term 'Baltic' to describe an ethnic group as well as a terrain feature. The word itself, *baltos,* is the Lithuanian word for *white* and refers to the sea. Marija Gimbutas's anthropological survey, *The Balts* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1963), describes how the neologism was invented in the nineteenth century for the

They were known for their crafts and for trading in the region's plentiful amber, "northern gold" that they gathered on the Baltic shore.[74] The lay of the land also shaped settlement and warfare. Aggressive newcomers, the Slavs and later the Germans encroaching on the Balts, were drawn to the coast and from the hinterland, which was full of tangled marshes and difficult to settle. Limited by the terrain, the groups fought almost continually but in a low-intensity way, establishing a Baltic pattern of raiding.[75] The belligerents where seeking not land but tribute and especially slaves, either for their own use or for export to the Muslim world.[76] Over time, a growing Polish kingdom gained a tenuous overlordship over the Pomeranians (western coastal Prussians) in the tenth century, and 'ruled' over them through unreliable local potentates who were mostly seeking Polish support against Saxon invaders from the west.[77] But this all changed in the thirteenth century with the arrival of vigorous new belligerents.

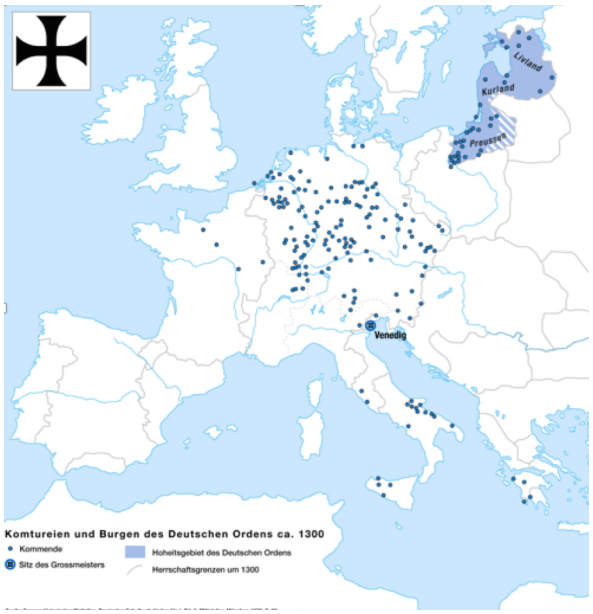

Fig. 1-1: The possessions of Teutonic Knights in Europe c. 1300, i.e. after the fall of Acre in 1291 and the end of active crusading in the Holy Land. (Map created by Marco Zanoli, 2009, for Wikipedia.)

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ethnicity, neither Germanic nor Slavic, of peoples who settled along the coast of the *Mare Balticum* in the Bronze Age (the second millennium before Christ. Gimbutas's categorization of Balts is linguistic, around an Indo-European language group including the Lithuanians and Latvians, who exist today, but also Old Prussians, Curonians, Semigallians, and Selians, who do not. (Gimbutas, 21-27). Eric Christiansen writes that the Balts "by 1100 had lived there for at least 3000 years" in his *The Northern Crusades* (London: Penguin, 1997), 36; Mary Fischer concurs in her introduction to Nicholaus of Jeroschin, *The Chronicle of Prussia: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190-1331* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

The name of "Prussia" first appears in the travel writings of a merchant from Spain, Ibrahim ibn Jakub, whose "Brûs" or "Burûs," became "*Bruzi.*" He wrote that they had their own language and fought fiercely against the Vikings (Gimbutas, 24). The Western half of Prussia was called Pomania; delineated by the rivers Oder to the west and Vistula to the east, it took its name from a Slavic tribe, the Pomerani, though its Polish name *Pomorze* is simply "by the sea" (Carl Tighe, *Gdańsk: National Identity in the Polish-German Borderlands* [London: Pluto Press, 1990], *xiii*). The same etymology holds for Pomerelia, which is the eastern half of Pomerania and includes Gdańsk.

What is known of the early Prussians comes as much from archeology as it does from contemporary chronicles. They practiced an earth-venerating animism oriented to local features: sacred hilltops, groves, springs, fields, and individual trees. (Gimbutas, 179; Christiansen, 39-40.) Likewise, their political organization was local, each town with its own chieftain or "king" (according to Archbishop Rimbert of Bremen-Hamburg's ninth-century work, *Vita sancti Anschari,* in Gimbutas, 142-143). Tacitus's first-century *Germania* tells how the king drank mare's milk, and the poor drank mead. Tacitus also claims they worshipped the sun goddess and wore boar masks (Gimbutas, 25).

[74] They made tools and ornaments out of the metals they obtained in exchange for their amber, samples of which have been found even among Mycenaean grave goods (in Greece, before 1100 BC). (Gimbutas, 54-59. Tighe, 6-7.)

[75] The Germans came from the west and north, and the Slavs from the east; they practiced this pattern of warfare between the eighth and tenth centuries (Tighe, 6-9).

[76] Christiansen, 39; Vlasto, 97, 144-145.

[77] The first Polish ruler, Mieszko I (r. 960-992), who established the Polish nation with his baptism, succeeded in gaining Pomerania through an anti-Saxon alliance, though Polish authority did not survive him. His descendant, King Boleslaus III Wrymouth (literally "twisty-mouth": Bolesław Krzywousty, r. 1107-1138), managed to regain

The crusading order of Teutonic Knights, came to Prussia at the request of a Polish duke, Conrad of Mazovia (r. 1194-1232), seeking help in his border wars with Prussian pagans.[78] These *Deutschritter*, or the German Order of St. Mary (*Ordo Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum*), had been founded in 1190 to tend wounded German crusaders in the Levant. Like the Templars and Hospitallers on which they were modelled, they became an efficient military force with significant advantages over lay crusaders: their members had no worldly obligations (lands, family) and had taken vows of chastity, poverty, and "obedience to God, Holy Mary, and you, to the Master of the Teutonic Order, and your successors, according to the rules and practices of the Order, obedience unto death."[79] One Teutonic Knight, Nicholaus of Jeroschin (c. 1290-1341) writing a history of the Order's entrance into the Prussian theater, praised the expiating discipline: "In God's name they uncomplainingly endured heat, frost, hunger and thirst, wounds, chains, and bitter death, so that their many courage in the fires of martyrdom was never tainted by unbecoming behaviour."[80]

The fractured Prussian tribes could not resist the Teutonic war machine, nor the Order's strategy, forged in the crucible of the Holy Land, of consolidated gains by building fortresses. By creating a network of strong places, the Knights were able to operate in the forest swamp. A comparatively small force men could capture and control a large territory and the local inhabitants.[81] The forest was thick, but the knights could travel by waterways and, in the winter,

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this royal authority with great effort and in cooperation with Bishop Otto of Bamberg, at the cost of reorganization of Pomeranian lands in the German ecclesial orbit. Boleslaus also bought peace from the Holy Roman Empire by resuming his neglected tribute. But again these successes did not last beyond his lifetime because he divided his lands—and so his power—between his four sons. (Tighe, 9-13.)

[78] Conrad was looking for man-power to enhance his position in a fractured kingdom. Polish territory had been divided (intentionally, by a king with four sons) and independent princes were engaged in internal and external warring. (Tighe, 13; Davies, 72, 84, 93. Harold T. Cheshire's essay, "The Great Tartar Invasion of Europe" expands on the consequences of this division in *The Slavonic Review*, Vol. 5, No. 13 [Jun., 1926], 89-105, esp. 94-95.) Conrad was trying to do much with little: rule four territories, gain the high throne in Cracow (he would ultimately succeed in 1229), and subjugate the Prussian tribes to his north (Tighe, 14-15; Davies, 88). His expedition against the pagans in 1222-23 had failed, as had a smaller knightly order, the brotherhood of Dobrzyń. (Davies 88. William Urban describes the Knights of Dobrzyń as poor warriors in the service of the bishop in comparison to the Teutonic Knights who were a large, international, well-endowed order (Urban, 79-82; cf. Bartlett, 18).

[79] This oath is in Urban, 18, and also Christiansen, 82. See also Urban 18-22; Bartlett, 30; Davies, 87-90; and Christiansen, 77, 82-92: "The only objective was efficiency, to get the squadron of knight-brothers acting as one man under the absolute authority if the marshal. Therefore, the marshal could use his club on the Brothers in battle, and his rod in camp." (87). See also Indrikis Stern, "Crime and Punishment among the Teutonic Knights," *Speculum*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Jan., 1982). 84.

[80] Nicholaus of Jeroschin, 26.

[81] The first fortress they built *Vogelsong* was built on a hill by the river—i.e. an accessible place because of the waterway, especially during the winter when it was frozen—either on an island in the Vistula or on a hill next to it. It was named after the mournful song of a bird, e.g. a swan, because "they had given up the blessed land where they had been born and brought up and gone far off into a strange land where they had to endure great hardships of all kinds all their days with no hope of seeing the land of their birth again. They had left well-established, fruitful, calm and peaceful lands and come to a land of horrors and wilderness, which no-one tended. It was completely joyless and full of hard fighting, and to put it bluntly: for God's sake they had abandoned freedom, hour, family and all the joys of the world and given themselves to a miserable existence…." (Nicholaus of Jeroschin, 62-63). Compare this language to the "desert land" and "howling waste" of Deuteronomy 32:10 (*invenit eum in terra deserta in loco horroris et vastae solitudinis circumduxit eum*).

over frozen ground. They had also had experience fighting a similar campaign against pagans in Hungary a few years earlier.[82]

In the earlier Hungarian campaign, after they defeated the pagan tribes, the Teutonic Order suffered a reversal at the hands of the Christians and were driven from the country by an ungrateful and jealous king; it was a mistake they would not make again. In Prussia, they made certain to secure the promise of land that would be their base of operations.[83] Then they imported German settlers. In addition, they obtained papal sanction, recruitment, and indulgences—the Knights became a popular cause with adventurous volunteers from all over Europe who could no longer go to the Holy Land but were looking for a crusade to join.[84] Knights errant—warrior tourists—could come for a fighting season, a *rejs*, and then return home.[85] In addition to

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[82] At the request of King Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1205-1235), the Knights had taken arms against Cuman pagans in Transylvania with great success. Their strategy of building stone castles to protect territorial gains, together with organization and zeal, yielded victory upon victory. The knights also imported German peasants to resettle the captured lands. Unfortunately for the knights, they were "too successful too quickly" and caused resentment and suspicion among the Hungarian nobles. (Urban, 34-36.) When the Grand Master Hermann von Salza (r. 1210-1239), sensing growing Hungarian disapproval, obtained protection for these lands from the pope (Honorius III, r. 1216-1227), King Andrew joined with his nobles to drive the Knights out.

[83] Nicholaus of Jeroschin was careful to emphasize this point, which shows that it was a sensitive question a hundred years later when he was writing his history and the Poles had long grown tired of their militant guests: "When Conrad received their report, after mature deliberation and with the advice of counselors, as we have described before, of his own free will and without any reservations, and with the support of his wife, the Duchess Agafia, and his sons Bolesław, Casimir and Siemowit he gave the Teutonic Order the following lands to possess in perpetuity: the first is known Kulm and the second as Löbau, and in addition all the lands which they might conquer thereafter with the help of God and take from the control of the heathens, with all the rights and uses which he and his family had possessed and handed down from the beginning of time." (Nicholaus of Jeroschin, 46)

[84] Christiansen, 83. Urban describes the Teutonic Knights' prudent reconnaissance and successful recruitment that preceded the surge in numbers (51-56).

[85] One famous example was Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV of England (b. 1367, r. 1399-1413); he came twice in the 1390s with hundreds of other Englishmen including invaluable bowmen. Henry, then Earl of Derby, distinguished himself both in combat and also in feasting—the music, the games, and the exchange of presents connected with the crusade. (See Bryan Bevan, *Henry IV* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994], 1, 24-27.) Likewise, Chaucer's knight from *the Canterbury Tales* "proved his worth in his lord's wars,/ in which he had ridden as far as any man both in Christendom and in heathen lands," fighting in Alexandria and in Granada, and also he "sat at the head of the table in Prussia, above knights of all nations; /he had campaigned [*reysed*] in Lithuania and in Russia,/ More often than any other Christian man of his rank." (Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (New York: Bantam Books, 1964. Orig. 1400.), 4-5.).

Another famous crusader was the Burgundian knight errant, Guillebert (Gilbert) de Lannoy (1386-1462), who wrote a primary account of the war against the heathens (*contre les mescréasns*), the "Saracens (*Sarrasins*) of the North." (Giullebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy, chevalier de la Toison d'or, seigneur de Santes, Willerval, Tronchiennes, Beaumont et Wahégnies. 1399-1450,* edited by Constant Philippe Serrure [Mons: Typ. d'E. Hoyois, 1840], 11-12, 15.) He, like Henry Bolingbroke, enjoyed the warm reception, the fellowship of chivalry, and the good food (*bonne chière*), and managed to distinguish himself in battle (Giullebert de Lannoy, 14, 15-16.) His account also reveals that the crusaders fought not only pagans, but Prussian Christians too, as when on one four-day raid into Pomerania, Guillebert's companions burned fifteen towns with *bell towers*—i.e. an edifice that was proof that of his victims' Christianity—and carried off the livestock. (Guillebert de Lannoy, 15: "*costiants les frontiers de Poulane de entrèrent à puissance en la duché de Pomere où ilz furent quatre jours et quatre nuitz, où ilz ardirent bien cincquante villes à cloquiers et prindrent proye de bestial grant nombre*.") When later he traveled into Lithuania, he remarked that there were twelve bishops there (*et y a où dit pays de Létau douse évesques*, Guillebert de Lannoy, 24.) Guillebert attributed Lithuanian conversion to the force of the crusading orders, but in fact it had taken place forty years before his *rejs* as part of the alliance with Poland, created to oppose the Teutonic Knights. (Guillebert de Lannoy, 24. Davies, 116-117.) Even into the sixteenth century, the Teutonic Order

German, Polish, and Pomeralian Christians, knights from France and England joined the fight; their heavy cavalry, coordinated infantry, armed with crossbows repeatedly routed the pagan warriors who fought individually with primitive weapons and "berserk courage."[86] The outsiders fought in a style founded on long experience of the crusades and continental wars, the fruit of European integration.[87] They enjoyed material support from their lands held land all over the continent (see Fig. 1.2, above), and they received pious donations and earnest volunteers from all quarters.[88]

Whether the Teutonic Knights brought the light of Christianity and civilization or the darkness of barely-disguised predation remains an enthusiastic debate for historians, reflecting nationalistic

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was still fighting Christian Poles and Lithuanians, and Johannes Dantiscus would himself raise objections to this continued practice in his discussions with fellow Germans, especially those connected to the Church. During his travels in the summer of 1522, for example, Dantiscus confronted supporters of the Order with the pointed question of how the Teutonic Knights could oppose the Christian king of Poland when Muslims were hammering away at the "bulwark of Christendom" (*antemurale Christianitas)*. He spoke this way first to Cardinal Matthäus Lang of Salzburg, then Frederick II, Count Palatine of the Rhine, at Nuremberg, and then a representative for the Teutonic Order from Marburg at Cologne. According to Dantiscus's version of events (reporting back to his king), none of these three made him an honest reply but instead changed the subject to muddle the conversation (IDL 157, July 18, 1522, from Nuremberg, and the third in IDL 163, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp). (Dantiscus would address this problem of Christian disunity that so troubled him in his long poem promoting a joint anti-Turkish enterprise—see Chapter 5.)

[86] Urban, 56 (crusader advantages) and 48 (native military traditions).

This difference, Robert Bartlett has explicitly argued (*The Making of Europe*) resembled and foreshadowed the difference in the conquest of Mexico. A smaller, better armed and better coordinated fighting force of newcomers defeated a larger local one despite its unfamiliarity with the land.

[87] Bartlett, 267. Elsewhere, Bartlett generalizes these superior tactics and technologies as "Frankish", which the crusades originally were too. But, indeed, it is a cultural export: after all, the Norman "Franks" conquered England and Southern Italy, they trained all crusaders in their ways, and even "By the late Middle Ages 80 per cent of Europe's kings and queens were Franks" (42). We may call this "European" (or at least "Western European") warfare.

By way of comparison, Inga Clendinnen comments on the incongruity of Spanish (modern) warfare with Aztec (traditional) demonstrative courage, and instances where dancing warriors showing their prowess were met with a Conquistador's bullet (or harquebus ball). "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty': Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico," *Representations,* No. 33 (Winter 1991), 65-93, esp. 80-84.

[88] Even though most of its Knights were German, the Order had territory (including grants from the German emperor) all over Europe (Christiansen, 78: "Both emperors and their friends, but particularly Frederick [Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (r. 1220-1250)], made donations of land in Italy, Greece, Germany and Palestine. From 1190 to 1210 the Order received eighteen recorded donations, from 1211 to 1230 sixty-one, of which seventeen came from Frederick and his son."). Likewise, crusaders from many countries flocked to their banner, fulfilling at once their spiritual duty and their earthly ambition, while also following the exhortation of the influential St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Bernard's *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militia* (c. 1120), praised the military orders, a "new knighthood" that "reconciled spiritual and earthly warfare," sanctioning a glorious outlet for what the warriors of Christendom wanted to do anyway by directing their violence against the enemies of God (Christiansen, 75-76.). The Teutonic Knights received volunteers not only from the Poland or Prussia, but also from England, France, and the Netherlands—knights who came to Prussia, but could just as easily have gone to the Holy Land or to Spain. One draw for the Prussian Crusade was that it was closer than the other destinations, therefore less expensive or risky to join.

This map was prepared by Marco Zanoli using the *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas: Vol. 2: the Middle Ages* (Munich: Bayrischer Schulbuch-Verlag Hg.: 1970), 82, and may be accessed on-line in the public domain (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teutonic_Order#/media/File:Deutscher_Orden_in_Europa_1300.png).

This may be only a partial representation; Bartlett, for example, in making the point that the Knights has a pan-continental presence, alludes to possessions at Higares on the Tagus (267); Christiansen also tells us that Ferdinand III of Castile, having married a German princess, gave the knights three castles and estates near Toledo (79).

quarrels between Poles and Germans in later centuries. The former often saw the Teutonic Order as wolves in sheep's clothing, opportunistic and greedy hypocrites bringing murder and slavery to fellow Christians. The latter have tended to argue that these sincere crusaders, in a spirit of pious self-abnegation, brought the light of the Gospel and western civilization to the darkest forests winning them for both Christendom *and Germany*.[89]

All agree, however, that Prussia—including Gdańsk—was transformed by Teutonic rule. Under the Knights' influence this territory was integrated into Europe and to a large extent Germanized. The the English or Burgundian knights errant headed home after a winter or summer *rejs*, but the Germans stayed to keep watch and consolidate their gains.[90] Second, the Teutonic Knights imported German peasants and settled them in new lands to improve them (through 'cerealization,' the introduction of grain-based agriculture), both providing for the garrison in the castle, and benefiting from its protection.[91] Third, the Teutonic Knights had been originally funded by German merchants in Hanseatic Lübeck, and it was a continuing relationship in their possession of Hanseatic Gdańsk, and the use of Lübeck law.[92] The linguistically contiguous Low

[89] Poland-Lithuania defended its claim (with the strong support of the Prussian burghers) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but an ascendant German Prussia and later German Empire took it in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and some of the first half of the twentieth-century. The German defeat in World War II meant a correction of the borders in Poland's favor along with the expulsion of the descendants of those German settlers who had been moving in since the early part of the millennium. And it is in that more recent history, that historians have been making their assessments.

Marija Gimbutas is critical of the Teutonic Order; she puts 'crusade' "in quotation marks, since it entailed slaughtering of people and a complete devastation of villages and fields" (173). Norman Davies calls them "the incarnation of the most un-Christian elements of the Christian world" that "systematically manufactured the violence on which they thrived," using "calculated ferocity" and "blood and coercion." The offense lies in that the knights behave like "average, brutalized nobility of Europe" and not like an order "licensed to spread the gospel of charity." (90-91). Carl Tighe describes "a state the nursed enormous territorial ambition" that used crusade as "a license to loot and murder sanctioned by Papal dispensation" (15).

William Urban is more sympathetic to Teutonic Knights, observing that we "easily accept contradictions in our own behavior but demand a consistency from medieval man that makes him either a saint or a brutal imposter. The knights […] were neither" but "saw themselves as part of a divine plan [….] Their duty lay in acceptance and obedience – and, fortunately for them, the divine voice usually told them what they wanted to hear." (20).

For a longer discussion of this rich topic, see Barbara Bombi, "The Debate on the Baltic Crusades and the Making of Europe," *History Compass,* Vol. 11, No. 9 (September 2013): 751-764.

[90] Urban, 56-57: "Celibate knights, pledged to poverty and obedience, were willing to serve through the wet seasons and the long cold winter nights. Secular knights who preferred a hot drink and a warm woman (or the other way around) were not eager to patrol dark paths in the forest or endure the freezing winds atop a lookout tower above lonely ramparts."

[91] Bartlett, 139-141, 152-153, 300; cf. Tighe, 15: "The Knights established 54 towns, 890 villages, 19,000 farms – all stocked with German settlers."

[92] David Abulafia, "Lübeck and the Hanseatic League," *History of Capitalism Series* (10 February 2016), 5. (PDF: https://lif.blob.core.windows.net/lif/docs/default-source/default-library/lubeck-and-the-hanseatic-league-with-david-abulafia-lecture-transcript-10-february-2016-pdf.pdf?sfvrsn=2). Cf. Abulafia, "Mediterranean History as Global History," *History and Theory*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (May 2011), 220-228, esp. 220-221.

In the case of Lübeck, Hanseatic historians have argued that the burghers *of* Lübeck were more instrumental in the formation of the League than the city as a polity: "towns were members of the Hanse through their burghers, not the other was round" writes Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz in "The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe" (12) referring to the argument of Carsten Jahnke that Lübeck took on political significance later when it became a place for German traders to collectively assert trading trading rights and collaborate (petty nobles, traders, and artisans working together), i.e. that a Hanseatic—let alone German—identity did not exist in the early stages of the league, but did emerge when it was weaker and challenged. ("The City of Lübeck and the Internationality of Early

German world of Baltic commerce—as evinced, for examples, in Dantiscus's letters to the Town Council—was not, however, the same as the southern German used by the Teutonic Knights.[93] Finally, though outnumbered by Poles and native Pomerelians, the Teutonic Knights favored Germans for important posts and church benefices, and they used German law (imported from Lübeck and Magdeburg) which also formed culture and identity.[94]

The Teutonic Order's captured Gdańsk in 1308. Possession of this city anchored them in the Baltic and caused the Grand Master to move his seat to Marienburg (Malbork) from Venice.[95] Once again, the Knights came ostensibly to the rescue of a Polish Duke who was suppressing a rebellion (involving a powerful Gdańsk family and Brandenburg troops), but—also once again—they did not leave when the job was finished but consolidated their hold on the city with violence.[96] Polish historians refer to a "Gdańsk Massacre" but it is unclear how many were killed and who; archeological evidence shows that a large part of the city was burned.[97] This acquisition connected the Knights' lands in Prussia with Germany by land; conversely, it blocked the Polish kingdom from the sea. For the next century the Teutonic Knights would be free to expand and consolidate their power without much concern for the Poles.[98]

There was a second long-lasting political consequence. In their strategic concerns, the Polish kings found an ally in the Archdukes of Lithuania. Both were wary of the Teutonic Knights in the north, the Muscovites in the east, and later the Ottomans. They chose to confront them together, as well as to stop fighting each other, through the 1385 marriage of the Lithuanian archduke Jogaila (now baptized Władysław Jagiełło) and the Polish queen Jadwiga (or king, since she remained *rex* and never *regina*). The Jagiellonian dynasty—later consolidated into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or Republic (*Res Publica, Rzeczpospolita*)—was a personal union.[99] Over the next century they whittled away at the Teutonic Knights—who had lost the pretext of crusade with the Lithuanian Conversion—in the Great War (1409-1422) with its dramatic Polish victory at the Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg, 1410), and the Thirteen Years War (1454-1466). It was at this time that Gdańsk and the Prussian estates transferred their

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Hanseatic Trade," 37-58.) Both essays are part of *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[93] Abulafia, "Lübeck", 5; Christiansen, 92; Friedrich, 21.

[94] Bartlett, 173, 221-225, 299; Tighe, 13; Davies, 49.

[95] Venice represented a staging point for a potential return to the Holy Land after the fall of Acre in 1291. But Marienburg, the fortress about 40 miles southeast of Gdańsk, was a suitable command post for their Baltic conquests. The move also took place during a political moment that was hostile to military orders: the king of France (Philip IV, r. 1285-1314) had just kidnapped the pope (Boniface VIII, r. 1294-1303) in 1303 and then moved the papal seat to Avignon, and then destroyed the Templars in 1307 with charges of heresy and "grotesque and improbable crimes" (Urban, 117).

[96] Edmund Cieślak and Czesław Biernat, *History of Gdańsk,* trans. Bożenna Blaim and George M. Hyde (Gdańsk: Fundacja Biblioteki Gdańskiej, 1995), 44-45. Tighe, 15, says that the rebellion involved Danes and that the Teutonic knights bought the rights to the city from the Danes; then, as they entered the city, the rebellion "melted away."

[97] Tighe reports that subsequent "commentators" say it was a "general massacre" of 10,000 Slavs (16); Cieślak and Biernat believe "over a hundred" (45); Urban believes it was German artisans and merchants who suffered most (116). All agree that there was a fire.

[98] Tighe, 18; Urban, 116.

[99] The first union was a personal union through marriage, the Union of Krewo in 1385; the second union was formal and political, the Union of Lublin (*Unia Lubelska*) in 1569; before that, it is anachronistic to speak of a Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, so here Poland-Lithuania is used.

loyalty from the Teutonic Knights to the Polish king.[100] The Crown guaranteed and extended their privileges, including the right to mint money, and appoint local officers, also it increased the city's income from the great mill, awarded additional territory and villages, and removed the tariffs of the Teutonic Order.[101]

In the Thirteen Years War, the burghers of Gdańsk and the Prussian Confederation showed their strength. Their swearing allegiance to the Polish King was the act of rebellion that started the war. Their wealth—since both sides employed mercenaries—allowed them to end it. Gdańsk hired privateers at sea to protect their supply lines and sequester the Order's shipping. They also *bought* the Order's castles (at Malbork, Tczew, and Iława) out from under them by paying of the mercenaries entrusted to garrison the fortresses but who had not been compensated as promised for their services.[102] Financial exhaustion, combined with the attrition of war and a outbreak of the plague brought all sides to the negotiating table. The defeated Teutonic Knights were not destroyed but their territories were divided in two: half became Polish land (hereafter Royal Prussia), and the other half they kept and administered as a Polish fief (Ducal Prussia). And though the Teutonic Order would never regain its previous strength, they remained a nuisance and threat—reflected in Dantiscus's letters—until their final demise in 1526 when then Grand Master Albrecht Hohenzollern converted to Lutheranism and turned his Catholic Order into a Protestant Duchy.

In the context of this history, the feeling of the Gdańsk burghers, including Dantiscus, was that the Knights had been predatory tyrants who stifled the natural freedoms of the city. That they were "fellow" Germans meant little, since they spoke a different kind of German and, more importantly, language was not tied to identity or allegiance.[103] And, for that matter, ethnic and religious identities were not tied to "national" loyalty: the sixteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth included—with considerable overlap and mixing—Polish and Lithuanian Catholics, Ruthenians who were Eastern Orthodox Christians and Eastern Rite Uniates, Lutheran and Calvinist Prussians and German immigrants, Jews and Kariates, and pagans.[104] In fact, these identities were changeable, not only with religious conversion, but as a cultural and linguistic adaptation: the grandchildren of Slavs could be Germans and vice versa.[105]

At the same time, though the Teutonic Order had no interest in extending the burghers' civic and commercial liberties, it nonetheless made a real contribution in the city's development: better streets and city walls, sixteen gates with draw-bridges, twenty towers, churches, hospitals, the majestic Town Hall, port infrastructure, drainage, and artisanal shops.[106] The knights also

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[100] Davies, 122-124; Friedrich, 20-23; Cieślak and Biernat, 74-100.
[101] Friedrich, 23.
[102] Cieślak and Biernat, 88-89.
[103] Friedrich, 22-23; Urban, 110.
[104] Tighe, 18. It is Tighe's judgment, furthermore, that "Polish rulers do not seem to have thought in terms of national identity, but rather in terms of their territory as a personal income-generating possession." (19.)
Karen Friedrich has used the adroit term "umbrella identity" to describe a "Sarmatian mythology" that unified such heterogeneous groups in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (217-221). In her historiography of Polish Lutheranism, Natalia Nowakowska begins with the ethnic diversity of Sigismund's Poland, in "Forgetting Lutheranism: Historians and the Early Reformation in Poland (1517 – 1548)" in *Church History and Religious Culture*, Vol. 92, No. 2/3 (2012), 279.
[105] Bartlett, 197.
[106] Tighe, 19.

brought western culture: superior warfare, chivalry, organization, and taming of the wilderness, especially at the beginning when they did in fact help the Poles overcome the Baltic pagans.[107] The period of collaboration against those woodland 'barbarians'—and in a robust military alliance against the the Mongols during the thirteenth century, especially as at the Battle of Legnica (1241)—had been just as long as the period of bitter contention that followed it.[108]

Gdańsk and Burgher Prosperity

Fig. 1-2: Map of the the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sixteenth-century. The larger image is a section of Abraham Ortelius's map of Europe from the late sixteenth century. The smaller image is a projection of the Commonwealth's political boundaries on the physical map of Europe from Wikimedia Commons. Gdańsk (here, Danzik) is located at the extreme west of the Commonwealth (here, Polonia, Lituania, Russia, and Podolia).

The Gdańsk of Dantiscus's boyhood was the largest and richest city in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. With a population approaching 40,000, this Baltic port was more than twice the size of Cracow, the royal capital.[109] It was also on the northwest coast of a territory that reached south and east for a thousand miles. Every port (*portus*) is a gateway (*porta*) to the wider world, and this was doubly true of Gdańsk because it was situated on the delta of the Vistula, connecting the riverways of Poland to the sea. All Polish grain traveled down (north) on the Vistula and all her tributaries, through Gdańsk, and west where it would feed growing European

[107] This argument is artfully made by Ludwik Stomma in his essay "Krzyżacy" in *Polskie Złudzenia Narodowe.* (Poznań: Sens, 2007), 5-14.
[108] Stomma, 9.
[109] Edmund Cieślak and Czesław Biernat estimate that this population grew from 20,000 in the mid-fifteenth, to 26,000 by the early sixteenth-century, to 40,000 by the mid-sixteenth century (i.e. by the end of Dantiscus's life), basing these figures on the expansion of neighborhoods and incorporation of new areas into the city (*History of Gdańsk,* trans. Bożenna Blaim and George M. Hyde [Gdańsk: Fundacja Biblioteki Gdańskiej, 1995], 103). Eric Lindberg, citing Keyser's *Deutches Städtebuch*, puts the figure around 30-40,000 in "Why Danzig and Lübeck Failed in the Early Modern Period" *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Aug., 2009), 609.

cities. In exchange came European goods and ideas, bringing the 'West' into the vast and ethnically and confessionally diverse Poland-Lithuania.[110]

Fig. 1-3: Section of the the Baltic Coast from the Olaus Magnus's Carta Marina *from the first half of the sixteenth century. Here King Sigismund sits enthroned between the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania though the individual possessions are again labelled severally. He is the* Rex Polonie *and also the* Magnus-Dux-Lituanie*; he is praised here as incomparable (*non fuit rex similis ei*). To the right are some bears, giving local color, and to the left are three grain barges (*naves frumentarie*). Another economic detail is the amber (*sucinum*) harvester gathering the precious material from the coast just east of Gdańsk (*Gedanum, Dansik*).*[111]

Fig. 1-3 detail: the king, the river grain trade, bears

Fig. 1-3 detail: Gdańsk, amber harvesting

This sixteenth-century map by Swedish historian and cartographer (and friend of Dantiscus's) Olaus Magnus (1490-1557), emphasized shipping and the use of rivers to connect the sea to the productive heartland.[112] Grain and forest products were Poland-Lithuania's contribution to the European economy and most of it went through this single Baltic emporium. Łukasz Górnicki (1527-1603), a courtier and literary figure (much like Dantiscus, though later in the sixteenth century), listed some of these forest products while also noting the imbalance of having only one great port in his *Conversation between a Pole*

[110] Norman Davies, 256.

[111] This larger image is from Wikipedia Commons (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ea/Carta_Marina.jpeg); the detailed sections are from the University of Minnesota copy (https://www.lib.umn.edu/apps/bell/map/OLAUS/TOUR/indext.html); see also the University of Uppsala Library (http://www.ub.uu.se/collections/selections-of-special-items-and-collections/carta-marina).

[112] Dantiscus had a correspondence (Skolimowska has 19 letters listed in her database) with Olaus Magnus in the mid-1540s, i.e. toward the end of Dantiscus's life, and with Olaus's older brother Ioannes in the 1530s. The older Magnus had been the exiled Archbishop of Uppsala living in Rome, instead of Lutheran Sweden, and Olaus followed him in this nominal post. Dantiscus wrote about this in his 1534 poem *De Haeresi*.

and an Italian. "Now your riches come only from Gdańsk," the Italian tells the Pole, "but not all may succeed in getting to Gdańsk. But if there were many towns, not one, then they would provide a place for the landowner to sell grain, cattle, wool, hemp, linen, mead, hides, tallow, wax as well as various dairy products, straw, hay, finally kindling and cane."[113] There was also honey, furs, and precious amber (see Olaus Magnus's map, *fig. 1-3*, detail) to this list.[114] Also timber grew in these forests for building ships or to be rendered into charcoal or pitch.[115] The mighty spruce gets its English name—it has been suggested—from the Polish "*z Prus*" ("from Prussia").[116]

That the East should have been shipping bulky commodities while importing artisanal crafts and luxury items has led some historians to place it in a subordinate role, even a "virtual colonial appendage" of the West.[117] But this an erroneous and teleological argument, a nineteenth- or twentieth-century concern imposed upon sixteenth-century trade system. Such a characterization might well be made for the silver mines of Zacatecas or Potosí where there was political control, but not in the Baltic. This trade enriched the burghers of the Hanse and, through them, their potentates. Because of this wealth, the Gdańsk burghers were able to *choose their own master* when they formed the Prussian League and threw off the rule of the Teutonic Knights in favor of the Polish king in the fifteenth century; their wealth and the mercenary armies it afforded proved victorious in an expensive war of economic attrition.[118] The power of money in Early Modern warfare is clear when one considers that the Teutonic mercenaries sold their masters' castles to their Polish and Prussian enemies.[119] Rather than thinking in colonial terms, it would be more useful to consider Early Modern Gdańsk as part of a polycentric urban system.[120]

The Hanseatic network had been moving Polish grain to feed the growing cities of Northern and Western Europe since the fourteenth century; by the sixteenth century, it was their chief source

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[113] Andrzej Wyrobisz, "Power and Towns in the Polish Gentry Commonwealth: The Polish-Lithuanian State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Theory and Society, Vol. 18, No. 5, Special Issue on Cities and States in Europe, 1000-1800* (Sep., 1989), 611-630: 616. Wyrobisz cites Lukasz Górnicki, *Pisma* (*Writings*), vol. II, ed. R. Pollak (Warszawa, 1961), 458-459. An early edition of Górnicki's text (Cracow, 1616) is available on-line through the digital library of Lower Silesia (http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=8617&from=publication). The full title is *A Conversation of Elections, Freedom, Law, and Polish Customs, written during the Election of His Majesty Sigismund III* (*Rozmowa o Elekcyey, o Wolności, o Prawie y obyczaiach Polskich Podczas Electiey Krola Iego Mci Zygmunta III czyniona [...]*.)

[114] Peter Oliver Loew. *Danzig: Biographie einer Stadt.* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2011), 30.

[115] Kazimiera Chojnacka, *Handel na Warcie I Odrze w XVI I w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznański, 2007), 9, 23-24.

[116] Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland.* Vol. 1: *The Origins to 1795* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1984), 29.

[117] Steven Rowan, "Urban Communities: The Rulers and the Ruled," in *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Later Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. I, edited by Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 197-198. Rowan goes on to argue that this grain trade "[stunted] small urban centers in favor of large entrepôts," i.e. that the heat of the Gdańsk trade consumed all of the oxygen for other cities; thus, Professor Rowan makes Early Modern trade a zero-sum game by ignoring that the very demand for grain depends on the existence of large cities.

[118] Cieślak and Biernat, 107, 87-89.

[119] Ibid., 89.

[120] Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500 – 1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 253-257.

of imported grain.[121] These cities could not feed themselves without long-distance trade, and the significance of the Baltic grain trade grew with urban populations that were developing as centers of trade and artisanal production.[122] Between 1000 and 2000 ocean-going ships left Gdańsk each year, capacious Hanseatic cogs to be replaced in later years by even larger Dutch vessels.[123] Over the course of the sixteenth century, the volume of grain leaving Gdańsk increased ten-fold, fueling a "period of economic prosperity and rapid general development."[124]

On the return trip the ships brought herring and salt from the Baltic, wine from France and Portugal, more wine and also glassware from the Rhineland, woolen cloth from Flanders, and colorful *maiolica* ceramics from the Mediterranean.[125] Silk came first from Byzantium and then directly from Asia.[126] For once the Portuguese rounded Africa to reach India and the Spanish conquered the New World and crossed the Pacific to the Philippines, commodities from the other side of the planet—e.g. spices that were both costly and light-weight—could enter Europe by the Atlantic coast. Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, and England were developing their trading empires just as Ottoman conquests in Asia minor made the traditional overland route more difficult, and the Mediterranean trade of Italian city-states declined in importance. Antwerp and Lisbon with their appetites for Polish grain were suddenly the most direct links to the exotic east. Antwerp especially was growing into the principal entrepôt for northern Europe by virtue of access to English woolens, German metals (silver and copper), maritime Atlantic trade and overland European fairs, all fed by Baltic grain.[127]

The growing commerce of Early Modern European cities was tied by reticulated financial systems: banking and credit, both private and public.[128] Whenever Dantiscus found himself short on cash while abroad, he was able to get money from his king or his patron, Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki, through banking houses in Augsburg, Nuremberg, of Antwerp, all cities close to the size of his native Gdańsk (see *Fig. 1-4* below).[129] A city of 20,000 or 30,000 people in 1519

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[121] It was in the mid-fifteenth century also that grain surpassed forest products in volume and value, report Cieślak and Biernat, 107.

John Munro writes that, "by the early modern era, the Baltic zone had become Western Europe's primary source of imported grains (Prussian rye, barley), forest products, naval stores (flax, hemp, pitch), copper, and iron." In "Patterns of Trade, Money and Credit," *Handbook of European History,* 160.

[122] David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London: Longman, 1997), 279 and also 306-307.

[123] Cieślak and Biernat, 118. Nowak, 23-24.

[124] Maria Bogucka, "Economic Prosperity or Recession and Cultural Patronage: The Case of Gdansk in the XVIth-XVIIIth Centuries," chapter XII in *Baltic Commerce and Urban Society, 1500-1700; Gdańsk/Danzig and its Polish Context* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), XII/49. Originally published in *Economic History and the Arts*, edited by M. North (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996).

[125] Cieślak and Biernat, 113; Loew, 30; For the *maiolica* (glazed, colorful tile and other ceramics), see David Gaimster, "A Parallel History: The Archaeology of Hanseatic Urban Culture in the Baltic c. 1200-1600," *World Archaeology*, Vol. 37, No. 3, Historical Archaeology (Sep., 2005), 408-423.

[126] Loew, 30.

[127] Munro, 165.

[128] Munro, 173. Munro argues earlier that though letters of credit existed in medieval times, among the Venetian, Genoese, and Champaign merchant elites, the "use of late medieval bills of exchange was […] restricted to a very small coterie of wealthy merchant-bankers, chiefly Italian, who operated a closely knit, international network, and had full confidence in one another." (153)

[129] One letter from Dantiscus to Tomicki shows that it was enough for him to mention his need, explaining why he could not support himself in a manner commensurate with the dignity of his position, and also mention that the

was quite large and an important center of banking and commerce.[130] (The only city north of the Alps to have a population significantly bigger was Paris, its 100,000 people putting it in the league of contemporary Italian cities.) The German, Netherlandish, English, and Spanish cities where Dantiscus carried out his work were about the size of his native Gdańsk. And Gdańsk was so small (less than a square mile), that everyone would have known everyone else, which contributed to the intensity of communal feeling and mutual loyalty.[131] This urban system worked because merchants and bankers knew and trusted each other in a spirit of mutual gain that turned into solidarity and civic virtue. Having a good name and a reputation for fair dealing had made life richer and sweeter than the possible gain from a one-time swindle.[132] Within their cities, the burghers were connected to each other and the space itself. The health of the city economy was the source of their wealth and power; the space was their home. They invested heavily in the order, cleanliness, and beauty.[133]

Fuggers and Welsers both had representatives (*factores*) in town. Those two juxtaposed 'facts' were enough to get the point across: Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, June 25, 1519 or earlier, probably from Barcelona (IDL 5899): "If ever I get out of here, I will give an account of all my spending which will be admired by Your Most Reverend Lordship. Since I am here on a mission to see the king, from whom I hope for nothing, and nothing is given to the ambassadors, how will I be paid? I have spoken with this ambassador of the duchess's [Goffredo Caraciolo, ambassador of Isabella of Aragon, duchess of Milan]; he says, his entire commission is to *check* my expenses—*not* to pay me anything. Therefore, I humbly beseech Your Most Reverend Lorship to deign to intercede for me with the king, and make my condition known to his lordship George Thurzó [the Fugger agent in Augsburg], that in the honor and name of His Majesty, I might return to (a position reflecting) that same honor and majesty. There are Fugger and Welser agents here." (*Si aliquando rediero, ponam calculum, quem Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima multum admirabitur. Si hinc a rege expediar, a quo nihil spero, nihil enim oratoribus datur, quomodo mihi erit redeundum? Locutus sum cum isto dominae ducis oratore, qui dicit, quod nihil aliud habeat in commissis, quam quod hic mihi expensas faciat. De reditu nihil. Supplico igitur Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae, dignetur pro me ad ⌈regiam maiestatem⌋ intercedere, ut mihi conditionem faciat apud dominum Georgium Turzonem, ut sicut hic fui in honore nomine suae maiestatis, cum eodem honore ad suam maiestatem redire valeam. Sunt hic factores Fuggarorum et Welzerorum.*)

[130] Andrew Pettegree, calls the city of Augsburg with its 20,000, a "major banking metropolis" and "a principal hub of the northern European information network" in *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 113. Pettegree's book is a study of newsletters written later in the sixteenth century, but Dantiscus's request underscores the centrality of this commercial city in the urban system. Its political importance as an imperial city is reflected by the diets held there by Emperors Maximilian (1518) and Charles (1530), and that it served as the city where Maximilian preferred to hold court (Kamieńska, 8).

[131] Bogucka, XIII/211. Professor Bogucka writes 200 hectares which is 0.77 miles. Moreover, the population would greatly increase over the century.

[132] Dierdre McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 126-140, esp. 133.

[133] McCloskey, 79-87, who, in articulating this argument, refers frequently to Simon Schama's study of the Dutch prosperity and civic character: *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage Books,1987).

Estimated European Populations at 1500.							Seville *	25,000
Principal Cities of Poland-Lithuania[134]		*Populations of Important European Cities, especially those visited by Dantiscus*[135]					Barcelona	29,000
							Valencia	40,000
Gdańsk	30,000	Naples	150,0000	Paris	100,000		Nuremberg	36,000
Cracow	15,000	Venice	100,000	London	40,000		Cologne	30,000
Lwów	8,000	Milan	100,000	Antwerp	40,000		Augsburg	20,000
Elbląg	8,000	Florence	70,000	Ghent	40,000		Vienna	20,000
Thorn	8,000	Genoa	60,000	Brussels	35,000		Hamburg	14,000
Poznań	6,500	Rome	55,000	Utrecht	20,000		Königsberg	8,000
Lublin	6,500	Bologna	55,000	Amsterdam	14,000		Mainz	6,000
Warsaw	5,000	Mantua	28,000	Rotterdam	5,000		Innsbruck	4,000

Fig. 1-4: Estimated populations of European cities at the start of the sixteenth century, at the time that Dantiscus was beginning his diplomatic career. On the left are the main cities of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Royal Prussia (Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Thorn); these populations are taken from Polish sources (see footnote). On the right, are the cities of Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries; the figures come from Jan de Vries's European Urbanization *(1984). Except for Barcelona and Valencia, Spanish cities do not many of which (e.g. Toledo, Valladolid) were quite small; in other cases, it is difficult to be confident in the numbers.*[136]*

[134] I take these figures from Jeannie Łabno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2011), 19, who cites Maria Bogucka, "Polish towns between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries," in *A Republic of Nobles. Studies in Polish History to 1864,* ed. J. K. Fedorowicz *et al.* (Cambridge: Univesity Press, 1982), 135-56, and also Henryk Samsonowicz, "Polish Politics under the Jagiellonian dynasty" in the same volume, 49-69. These figures are consistent with the populations quoted by Zbygniew Nowak, 23; Nowak gives higher numbers for a later time, i.e. populations of 40,000 for Gdańsk, 15,000 for Elbląg, and 12,000 for Toruń, about fifty years later. I have changed a few numbers: I report Poznań and Lublin as 6,500 (instead of "6,000-7,000") and I made Warsaw 5,000 (instead of "5,000-6,000") tempered by Norman Davies's figure of 4,500 at the same time (Davies, 310). These authorities put Cracow at 18,000, but Paul Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning": The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), believes that figure to be correct only in the mid-century, and that 14,000-15,000 is correct for the beginning. Jan de Vries, whom I cite below for the comparative populations of other European cities, would consider these Polish numbers to be overestimates. He puts Gdańsk at 20,000 (not 30,000) and Cracow to be under 10,000 (not 15,000 or 18,000). Conversely, he puts Elbląg at 10,000 (not 8,000). Another outlier is Howard Louthan's estimate of Cracow in 1500 to be 20,000, the highest of the lot (in "A Model for Christendom? Erasmus, Poland, and the Reformation," Church History 83:1 [March 2014], 24). These historians of Poland—all respected and currently active—therefore differ in estimated of the populations of Cracow: 8,000, under 10,000, 14-15,000, 18,000, and 20,000.

[135] Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500 – 1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 270-278; Professor de Vries's figures are available online where they are cited by some of these figures are available on-line where they are also cited by Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: Volume 1: A Millennial Perspective and Volume 2: Historical Statistics* (Paris: Development Centre Studies, OECD Publishing, 2006), 56; Maddison's text is available from the OECD: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/the-world-economy_9789264022621-en.

[136] Professor de Vries lists Madrid as 'under 10,000' and both Valladolid and Toledo as 'unknown'. Granada is the largest city in Iberia, according to this account, with 70,000 people in 1500. Jan de Vries cites B. Vincent, 'Recents travaux de démographie historique en Espagne (XVIe – XVIIIe siècles)', *Annales de démographie historique* (1977), 463-491 (available online from *Persée*, the open access digital library of the French Ministry of National Education: http://www.persee.fr/docAsPDF/adh_0066-2062_1977_num_1977_1_1367.pdf), but this seems too high given the upheaval with the conquest of Granada in 1492 by Isabella and Ferdinand and the subsequent expulsion of the Moors. David Coleman estimates that population *before* this traumatic exodus was 50,000, and tells us that the first royal census of the city in 1561 should that there were 15,000 remaining Moriscos and 30,000 new immigrants

The Venice or the Florence of the North

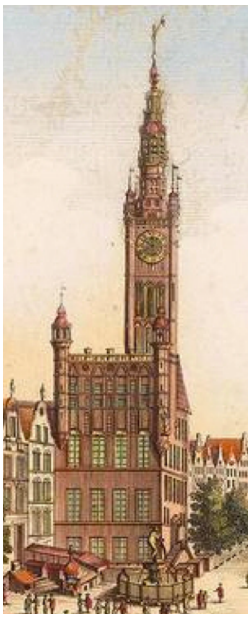

Fig. 1-5: section of an eighteenth-century lithograph of the Danzig Town Hall (reflected image) by Balthasar Friedrich Leizel.

Neither Gdańsk nor any other Baltic, Polish, or German city approached the size of the great Italian commercial city states, and yet it did have the same role as a financial and cultural centers, in its self-governance, its republican government and the civic humanism it encouraged. Jacob Burckhardt called those Italian states a work of art, because culture shaped government, and because they evolved from autocratic to republican states; and the same is true of Gdańsk.[137] And like in Italy, the wealth of the city sustained its liberty and culture by paying for mercenary armies and fortifications and also for public works and beautification.[138] And, like the great Italian cities, Gdańsk connected the wider world of commercial trading networks with the hinterland.[139]

The Gdańsk city archive shows how money was spent: 25% went to the purchase of lands and buildings, 20% to construction, and another 20% to the king. Mercenaries were hired as needed; it was the same with improvements to the walls, or the purchase of artillery. Likewise, functionaries were paid when it was time to raise taxes. In military and civic expenses, all payments were incidental. Even fire-fighters were paid for services rendered, after having turned out with a bucket in hand, rather than as a standing brigade. So, there was nothing regular about government spending; instead of recurring budgeting, the authorities spent per project so that their expenses could grow or shrink with the year's grain profits.[140]

(mostly Castilians) in *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 15.

* The population of Seville was in flux as the the treasures and opportunities of the New World drew many to this gateway. Professor de Vries gives the population as 25,000 in 1500, 65,000 in 1550, 90,000 in 1600, back down to 60,000 in 1650, and fluctuating thereafter. (The reputation of Seville a wild and booming city are captured in contemporary picaresque fictions, for example Miguel de Cervantes's *Rinconete y Cortadillo.*)

[137] Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, S. G. C. Middlemore, trans., (Penguin, 1860), 65-71; Gene A. Brucker. *Renaissance Florence (*New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969), 160.

[138] Brucker, 27-34.

[139] Even though Florence was not on the coast, it was connected to coastal Pisa by the river Arno, and also to the Appenine interior.

[140] These figures come from Max Foltz, *Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushalts* (Danzig: A. W. Kafemann, 1912). At the time of this publication, Gdańsk, the Baltic coast, and northern Poland belonged to the Empire of Germany (*Deutsches Riech*); the Republic of Poland, partitioned and removed from the map at the end of the eighteenth century, would reappear on the map after World War I in 1918; Bogucka, XII/50.

In 1530, the first year for which Foltz has numbers, the town took in and spent 37,054 Prussian Marks (Foltz, 473. For the itemized reckoning that follows, see 462, 473, 479, 481, and 489). 7500 went to the king of Poland, with another 2806 for travel expenses and 162 for diplomatic gifts. The greatest portion went to physical improvements to the possessions of the city: 9215 for the acquisition of buildings and lands, 7722 for construction, and 1458 for improvements to the Town Hall. While 3025 was spent for the raising of the revenue in the first place, surprisingly little was spent on any other administration: only 313 for the salaries of council officers and servants and 274 for the chancellery. The budget also included 406 marks that the council spent on drinks and snacks (*Wein und Bier,*

Fig 1-6. Langer Markt *by I. Dickmann, a 1625 print of the town center.*

Some critical civic institutions were not supported by the funds of the town council at all. Poor relief at Gdańsk's nine hospitals—more social welfare than medical institutions—was supported directly by income from hospital lands (with peasant villages to work them); one of these, St. Elizabeth's, also had an orphanage. The hospitals and the Home for Children were additionally supported by donations and endowments from wealthy merchants. Some of the guilds—and there were many ("furriers, tawers, cartwrights, wheelwrights, coopers, pailmakers, carpenters, pewterers, nailmakers, gunsmiths, cutlers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, butchers, ship carpenters, bricklayers, saddlers, beltmakers, and potters")—also provided rooms and dispensaries for their own members, and many of the guilds also provided a sick room, as did "journeymen's

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Krude). It was a budget that was oriented toward building and expanding but *not yet* toward bureaucracy. Even more surprising is that only 54 marks went to churches and schools and 103 to military preparations (and that for artillery). But churches of course had income from their lands, and so would not have been in the purview of the Town Council. Schools, as in Dantiscus's experience, were paid for by parents. And the military figures were unusually low in 1530; for example, in 1540, the council spent 1920 marks on artillery and 546 on improvements to the Vistula Fortress (*Festung Weichselmünde*) and in the late 1540s they spent 6428 on their city walls (Foltz, 481). The figures also show an increase in cultural expenditures. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the city regularly spent between a couple dozen and a couple thousand marks on scholarships for students. By the end of the century they added the categories of musical instruments, alms for the poor, and a fire department to annual expenses, and the money expended for churches and schools swung wildly (from a low of 32 in 1554 to a high of 2456 in 1576) which, again, seems to indicate that the council took on projects as needed rather than funding permanent departments (Foltz, 489). In this spirit, the council rewarded citizens who turned out to fight a fire with a reward, they subsidized monastics with food and drink, gave an annual disbursement to the poor (on July 22, St. Mary Magdalen's Day), and other small outlays that would "often disappear under the categories of 'miscellaneous' or 'petty' costs." (Foltz, 156-162; 156: "*Warhrend heute allgemein Schule und Armenpflege die größten Anforderungen an den städrischen Haushalt stellen, waren bis zum Ende der polnischen Zeit die Ausgaven der Stadt für diese Zwecke sowie für Kirchen, für Wissenschaft und Kunst, für Gedunheits- und Wohlfahrtspflege äußerst geringe; sie verschwinden vielfach unter den Titeln,'verschiedene Ausgaben' oder 'kleine Unkosten'.*") Interesting too is that while money for the big-ticket building expenses fluctuated with the fortunes of the council and its income for a given year, the smaller subsidies for art and culture never decreased once they had started, showing that the authorities took patronage seriously and "believed it would be possible to save the social and political image of the town if cultural accomplishments were maintained despite the economic decline." (Bogucka, XII/51.)

brotherhoods" and "a network of inns."[141] None of these efforts appeared on the Town Council's balance books and they reveal that the church and citizens' organizations did much of the work of caring for those in need.[142]

The Town Hall (*Rathaus, ratusz*) was a vehicle for Gdańsk's self image and its projection to the world. In medieval times, it was a shared space for administrative, judicial, commercial, and social utility. It housed the council, of course, but also a market hall, the town scales, the guards, the jail, an inn, a hall for festivities, and a bar. After the Thirteen Years War when Gdańsk transferred allegiance from the Teutonic Knights to the Polish Crown, the Town Hall took on greater political importance. Three other (rival) halls were closed to concentrate power at one center. The burghers added on a third story as a royal residence where two kings would stay (Casimir Jagiellon in 1457, and Sigismund I in 1526), and moved non-government functions (commercial, social, even legal) to the adjacent Artus Hall and the jail to the Prison Tower. Later, after a fire in 1556, they would rebuild the Hall in the Renaissance style by architects from the Netherlands (Wilhelm van den Meer, Dirk Daniels, and Anthony van Obbergen) intended to impress visitors with the city's wealth and magnificence—consciously imitating the Doge's Palace in Venice—and also convey the spirit of burgher cooperation and prosperity. (This is the building, therefore, pictured in *Figures 1-5* and *1-6*, and not the one Dantiscus would have known.) A Latin inscription, *Praecedit labor, sequitur honor* ("Hard work comes first, honor follows"), announced the recipe for success, and so did the allegorical painting *Apotheosis of Danzig* by Northern mannerist Izaak van der Blocke showing the prosperity and that came with God's blessing (see *Fig. 1-7*, below).

The hand of God, labeled "Yahweh" (יהוה), rests upon the city which stands upon both a rainbow, the symbol of God's covenant after the Great Flood, and a Roman Triumphal Arch. This explicitly Vitruvian structure refers back to the triumphs of in Roman times of victorious generals and celebrating emperors.[143] The prosperous burghers in the foreground congratulating each other in mutually-beneficial business arrangements, together with heavily laden grain barges coming into port from the right and ships bringing goods from Europe enter on the left, show that the triumph of Gdańsk was a commercial one. Other works celebrating civic cooperation and freedom from tyranny also adorned the hall.[144]

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[141] Maria Bogucka, "Health care and poor relief in Danzig (Gdansk)," chapter XIII in *Baltic Commerce and Urban Society, 1500-1700; Gdańsk/Danzig and its Polish Context* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), XIII/205-206, 211-212. Originally published in *Labour and Leisure in Historical Perspective*, edited by Ian Blanchard (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1994).

[142] Bogucka, XIII/206-207.

[143] Marcus Vitruvius Pollio was a military engineer turned architect during the reigns of Julius Caesar and Augustus; he wrote ten books on architecture which were printed in 1486 by Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli.

[144] Maria Bogucka, "Town Hall as Symbol of Power: Changes in the Political and Social Functions of Town Hall in Gdansk till the End of the XVIIIth Century" chapter XIV in *Baltic Commerce and Urban Society,* XIV/27-38. Originally published in *Acta Poloniae Historica, 75* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 1997).

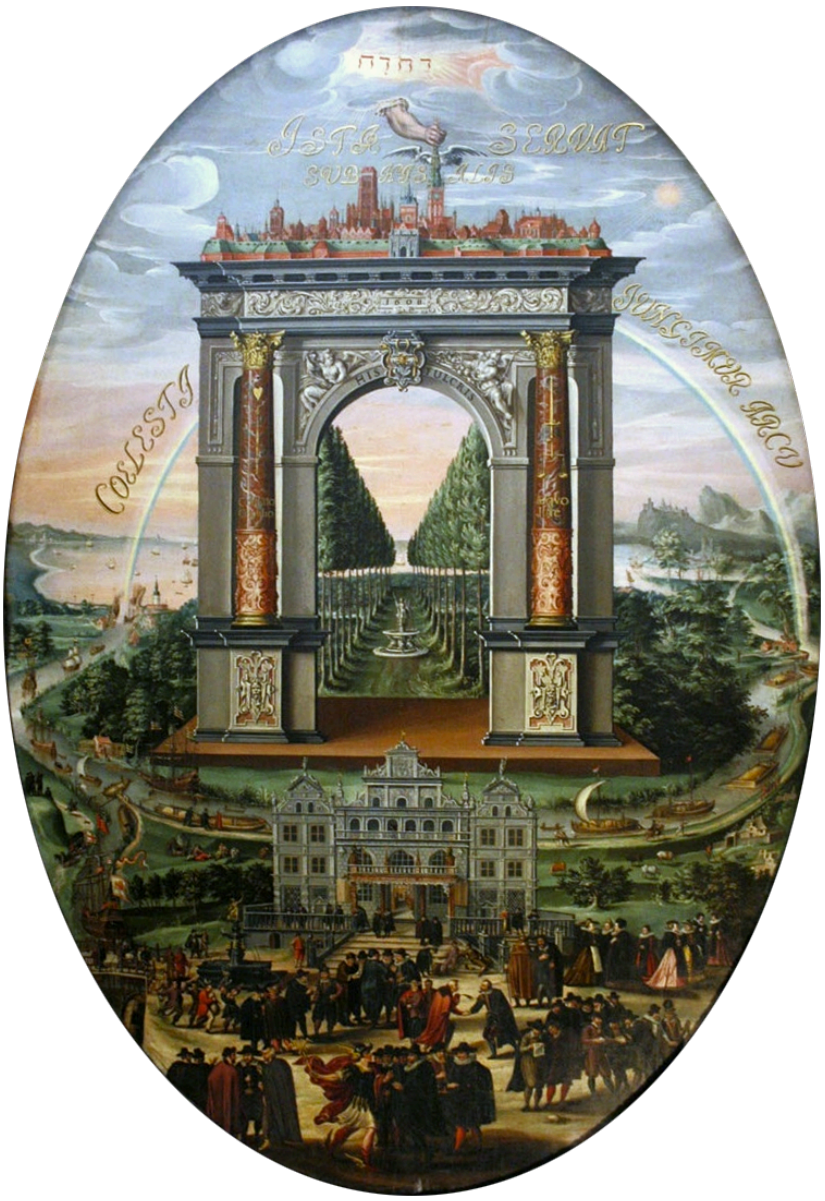

Fig. 1-7: Izaak van den Blocke's 1608 Apotheosis of Danzig, *painted on the ceiling of the Great Chamber in the Town Hall, shows the Vistula grain trade (right) and maritime commerce (left) and a cooperative civil society (foreground) that—with God's blessing (above)—opens a gateway to a rich and peaceful garden. God's hand rests on the spire of the Town Hall; next to it are the words* "ISTA SERVAT SUB HIS ALAS" *(This does He protect under His wings). The entire scene is framed by a rainbow, the symbol of God's covenant since the Great Flood (Genesis 9:12-17), with the words* "COELESTI IUNGIMUR ARCU" *(We are united by the Heavenly Arch).*

In commissioning this painting on the ceiling of their town hall, the burghers of Gdańsk were following the fashion of the royal court in Cracow during the sixteenth century, during which time many Italianate and classical Vitruvian projects were undertaken by sculptors and architects.

The use of the arch in Renaissance Poland in King Sigismund's funerary monuments (Fig. 1-8, left) by Santi Gucci (c. 1530-1600), situated in Sigismund's Wawel Chapel built Bartolomeo Berecci (1480-1537). Both men were Florentines. (This photograph is by 'Poznaniak' on Wikimedia Commons.)

The old high altar of Wawel Cathedral (Fig. 1-9, above) by Giovanni Cini of Siena (c. 1530-1600), like the triumphal arch on the ceiling of the Gdańsk city hall, combines classical Roman architecture with Christian imagery. (The photograph is by Andrzej Mroczek on Worpress.com.)

This Gdańsk city hall belonged to the people of the city. It was testament to their shared prosperity (even for the poor), honoring the spirit of pluralism, worldly connections, and the human effort that generated wealth through craft and trade.[145] Renaissance cities in general were places of increased social mixing and cultural exchange. It is (first) because people of diverse stations and trades mingled in the streets, in taverns, in churches, in commerce, and in law courts; they passed the time of day, they exchanged news, gossip, and jokes.[146] This is (second) also because merchants and migrants were continuously coming and going and cities and social mixing was continuous. The merchant sojourner was made welcome in shared houses or neighborhoods by people of his nation or his trade; the permanent migrants could enter the society through marriage, godparent ties, guardianships, and apprenticeships.[147] Thus, the populace of Gdańsk was a mosaic of Prussians (both Slavic and Germanic), people from other regions of Poland-Lithuania and of Germany, also Dutchmen, Flemings, Scots, Swedes, Danes, Englishmen, and Frenchmen.[148] This mixing and cooperation for mutual gain both required and created a spirit of toleration and openness.[149]

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[145] Nowak, 25-26, writing explicitly of the "burgher ethos" (*etos mieszczański*); Davies, 256-279.
[146] Alexander Cowan, "Cities, Towns, and New Forms of Culture," *The Renaissance World,* edited by John Jeffries Martin (New York, Routledge, 2007), 108-113.
[147] Cowan, 114.
[148] Nowak, 25.
[149] This argument is expounded by historical anthropologist Alan Macfarlane in *The Riddle of the Modern World: On Liberty, Wealth and Equality* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Macmillan Press, 2000), 270-275, and Dierdre McCloskey in *The Bourgeois Virtues: Ethics for an Age of Commerce*, (Chicago: University of Chicago

Although cosmopolitan, the teeming Renaissance city was not sanitary; in Gdańsk, after all, over 30,000 people all lived in an area of less than a square mile.[150] The brick-lined Hanseatic buildings and the fresh sea air ameliorated matters, but the wet climate and the mounds of refuse were inescapable. Given that only the richest citizens had discrete water-closets and most waste was thrown into the streets, and that most people slept packed to the room and to the bed, and shared eating vessels and utensils, it is easy to see how contagion spread.[151] Then there were the human contributions: the injuries connected to moving cargo and working in artisanal shops, and the venereal diseases that sailors, raftsmen, and traders contract and pass along in a city filled with traveling bachelors.

A late sixteenth-century poem by Sebastjan Klonowicz that captures the excitement of the Vistula boatmen who have floated their grain downstream and arrive at last at the big port.[152] After describing the approach and convergence of multiple branches of the Vistula (Szkarpawa, Leniwka, Nogat) with their islands, mentioning the "lighthouse" (really a tower in fortress), some nearby farms, and then landmark taverns (the Red Inn, the White Inn, the Rome Tavern, the Goose Inn) where the bargemen may wish to pass the time until the river barrier is opened to them, we enter the big city:

> Here you will see ingenious grain elevators, and other wondrous machines for binding grain, and grain storage, and grain merchants.
>
> The Green Bridge and constructions, cranes, strange wheels and lifts, scales, a covered market, merchants' stalls, and strange business of all kinds, various diversions.
>
> Here you will find ocean-going ships with canvas wings, cunning goods of every kind from across the sea, tall masts—crowned with crows' nests—reaching for the stars.
>
> You will encounter bold boatswains in their jerkins, and merchants from far-off lands, and country gentlemen. Sell, buy, deal, clap hands at a bargain, make yourself a profit.

Press, 2010), 3-4, 24-28. Language reveals these deeply held cultural values, where some of our words for normalized good behavior—'civilized' and 'urbane'—come from 'city' (*civitas* and *urbs*).

[150] Bogucka, XIII/211. Professor Bogucka writes 200 hectares which is 0.77 miles. Moreover, the population would greatly increase over the century.

[151] Bogucka, XIII/211.

[152] Sebastjan Fabjan Klonowic (or Klonowicz), *Flis, to jest to jest Spuszczanie statków Wisłą i inszymi rzekami do niej przypadającymi* (1595). A Polish edition (Chełmo, 1862) is available here: https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Plik:PL_Klonowic-Flis_to_jest_spuszczanie_statk%C3%B3w_Wis%C5%82%C4%85.djvu. An English version was published by Marion Moore Coleman as *The Boatman: A Voyage down the Vistula from Warsaw to the Green Gate of Danzig* (Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania: Alliance College, 1958); it is an excellent translation and captures the spirit of the poem as well as the meter. My own sections of translation, below, do not keep to the meter and form, but are therefore able to be more literal (if less literary).

Talk up your wares when you sell and find fault when you buy; seek out a dull-witted buyer, none too clever, who doesn't know much about hay or rye, nor can sense when it starts to go bad with mold.[153]

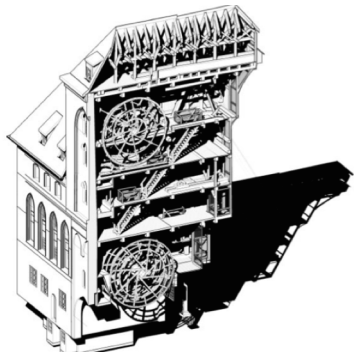

*Fig. 1-10 & 1-11: A watercolor (left) of the Crane (*Żuraw, Krahn*) in Gdańsk that served to load ships and also to set masts in place.*[154]

A country boy would have been impressed by the quayside machinery, the great ships, and the commotion, and would have been wise to be cautious in the fast-moving big city. Next, the narrator warns his listeners against parting with his grain for letters of credit or promissory notes instead of cash, lest he spend the rest of his journey trying to redeem them and racking up court fees. He also tells the Polish boatman that he needs to speak passable German to do business in Gdańsk ("You'll need to *sprachen* if you can") or else fall back on his little-understood Latin, and then launches into a humorous mixture of the three (Polish, German, Latin) in which the boatman who has accepted an IOU tries to advocate for himself at the mayor's office, incurring only court fees and translation fees, and winds up with nothing but delays.[155]

Johannes Dantiscus, the son of a brewer, was familiar with the grain traders on the waterfront as the son of a brewer. He was also a troublemaker as a boy, spoiled by his parents: "he used to loiter about the outskirts of town at night, weapon in hand, to harass the peaceful townsfolk."[156]

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[153] Klonowic, stanzas 413-417 [ll. 1653-1668]: "*Tu już przyjedziesz do misternej windy/ Tu ujzrzysz dziwnych rzeczy na przebindy/ Jakom powiedział, już tu masz śpichlerze/ Masz i machlerze./ Masz Zielony most, cel naszej roboty./ Tu wzwody, wschody, dziwne kołowroty,/ Masz wagę, trety, ławy, dziwne sprawy,/ Różne zabawy./ Tu masz okręty z płóciennemi skrzydły,/ Tu masz z Zamorza trefne, szydły widły/ Maszty wyniosłe z bocianiemi gniazdy/ Pod same gwiazdy./ Tu w stradyjektach masz śmiałe bosmany,/ Masz z dalekich stron kupce i ziemiany./ Przedawaj, kupuj, handluj, bij dłonią w dłoń,/ Zysk sobie ugoń./ Chwal przedawając, gań kupując; kupca/ Niechciej mądrego, szukaj sobie głupca,/ Coby kostrzewy nie znał i dla rymy/ Nie czuł stęchliny.*"

[154] This painting was done in 1942 by L. Kinfons in 1942, so before it was burned down (the central wooden portion) by the Red Army in 1945. It resembles closely older images (woodblock prints) of the crane. It has since been rebuilt. (Image from www.wayfarersbookshop.com.)

This cross-section (right) shows the winch mechanism and is from the National Maritime Museum of Gdańsk, found on the website of Gazeta Wyborcza, "*Krzywy Żuraw w Gdańsku. Naukowcy ustalili, że sławny zabytek odchyla się od pionu*" (May 10, 2013).

[155] Klonowic, stanza 418, l. 1670-1671: "*Abo więc, jeśli umiesz, sam z nim szprachaj,/ Mędrka się strachaj."* The squabble goes on from 422-448.

[156] Nowak, 45-6: the author describes his character, "*lekkomyślny, krnąbrny, niespokojny i po prostu rozpuszczony przez rodziców*" (45), and his nocturnal pursuits: "*Wałęsał się nocną porą po przedmieściach, niekiedy z bronią w ręku, i zakłócał spokój mieszkańców.*" (45-6)

But when he began his own career his own business took him rather to the cosmopolitan town center.

Dantiscus, the "Man from Gdańsk," and his overlapping identities

When, in his writing, Dantiscus called himself a Sarmatian poet (*vates Sarmata*), he was associating himself with an idea as well as with a place and a polity. [157] The name came from an ancient tribe thought by Strabo to live somewhere between the Dnieper and the Danube; it had been appropriated by Renaissance humanists to mean the Poles (just as Russians were to be called Scythians and the French, Gauls).[158] Because there really were no Sarmatians, anyone could decide to be one: for Dantiscus it meant celebrating his membership—a subject and also a *citizen*—in both the Renaissance humanist *Respublica Literaria* and the Polish-Lithuanian *Respublica.* The same principles operated at the court of Charles V, where Dantiscus (*Juan Dantisco*) spent the prime of his professional life.[159] There he enjoyed the the exoticism of his Sarmatian identity, claiming to have been "born under the icy Pole, where the Great Bear stands bristling."[160] The description was not his creation; he was borrowing them from Conrad Celtis, the German humanist and former professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (where Dantiscus would later be a student; more on this below), who wrote of a time when he "traveled through the cold Sarmatian land, close to the icy sky where the Pole Star, carrying with it Ariadne's radiant diadem, sleeps between the two bears, moving round the while in its slow circuit."[161] Of course, it was very normal in the period to borrow from others, especially more reputable sources, and most of Dantiscus's work is peppered with flecks of Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil to give it flavor.[162]

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[157] Dantiscus, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*, ll. 1-4, 511-514.

[158] János Harmatta, *Studies in the history and language of the Sarmatians* (Szeged: publisher not identified, 1970), 12-13.

[159] Emperor Charles V had possessions in Spain, Italy, Germany, Burgundy and the Netherlands, the Atlantic, and the New World, and Dantiscus attended court alongside representatives from all of these dominions.

[160] Dantiscus, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*, ll. 511-512: "*Sarmata vel Latios quod perstrepit inter olores/ Sub gelido natus, qua riget Ursa, polo,*"

The allusions to polar ice and bears reminds us that, though Dantiscus was a cosmopolitan humanist, he was aware of and played up his peripheral exotic status as a *Saramata*. The Great Bear, *Ursa Maior*, the northern constellation circling the pole star is described as standing rigid (*riget*) which may be that her fur is bristling, standing on end, as I have rendered it, or that she is numb with cold, further playing on the extremity and exoticism of Dantiscus's homeland.

[161] Conrad Celtis, *Selections from Conrad Celtis, 1459-1508*, Leonard Forster, ed., trans. (Cambridge [Eng.] University Press, 1948), 28-29: from "To Sigismund Fusilius of Breslau: What the Philosopher of the Future Ought to Know" (*Ad Sigismundum Fusilium Vratislaviensem: De his quod futurus philosophus scire debeat*) ll. 2-6: "*Dum peragranti Sarmatarum/ Terra lustratur gelido propinqua/ Frigida coelo/ Qua guas torpet polus inter ursas/ Arcticus pigro revolutus orbe*,"

Ariadne's diadem refers to the northern constellation *Corona borealis* and so the two bears are *Ursa Maior* and *Ursa Minor*, and not actual bears as it is possible to interpret from Dantiscus's version. That Olaus Magnus included bears climbing trees as a decorative element for the Polish-Lithuanian section of his map (see Fig. 1-3) shows that the association of bears with the wild north was perfectly natural in the sixteenth century.

[162] In general, the Renaissance humanists were striving to capture the Latinity of the ancients, and so they intentionally copied as much as they could from them. The great fifteenth-century humanist and pedagogue, Guarino Guarini da Verona, crafted his introductory lecture by "[weaving] every cliché he [could] steal from [Cicero's *De officiis* into an] elegant if platitudinous sampler." (Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, 2-3.)

His name *Dantiscus* (*Dantyszek*), the "man from Gdańsk," placed him geographically as Early Modern toponyms were intended to do—as with Erasmus *of Rotterdam*, or Raphael *of Urbino*. Gdańsk made his father's fortune and his career; it opened up the world to him and launched his career. He called it "the royal city" (*der koniglichen stadt Danczke*) and his "fatherly land" (*mynem vaderlikenn landen*).[163] In one letter to the Town Council he declared attachment to them, reminding them of their long-standing friendship from earliest youth to adulthood.[164] These letters, Dantiscus signed as Jan Flachsbinder (John Rope-Maker, also 'Flasbinger,' or 'Flaxbinder'), since it would have been ridiculous to call himself Dantiscus in writing his fellow Danzigers. Later, when he had learned a little Greek, he would render Flachsbinder into Greek as 'Linodesmon.' As Jan (or Johannes or Hans) Flachsbinder, he was honoring his grandfather, a peasant who had fled with his infant son to the walled city of Gdańsk during the carnage of the Thirteen Years War against the Teutonic Knights.[165] Dantiscus's grandfather then started his new life as a rope-maker, a useful trade in the expanding maritime economy.[166] Dantiscus's father started as a "very poor servant" who married a humble serving girl; but, after his father's death, in the booming Gdańsk merchant economy, he began take part in the grain trade and ultimately became "a prosperous brewer."[167] This upward mobility continued as the elder Dantiscus enrolled his son in the best available schools, starting with grammar school at age seven at Chełmno (Culm) instead of the local school; his cohort here would include several future statesmen and prelates.[168] He had an additional year of preparation at Grudziądz (Graudenz). In 1499, Dantiscus began at a new, rising university at Gryfię (Greifswald) and a year later continued on to the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, one of best schools in Central Europe as it was entering the height of its prestige.[169] Perhaps, Dantiscus enjoyed the concentrated resources of his family because he was the oldest son, but his five siblings did quite well too. All three of his sisters (Catherine, Ursula, and Anna) were married, which means they were provided with a sufficient dowry, and both brothers (Bernard and George) were active in city politics (Bernard) and the church (George). Their ages are unknown, but they were younger since Dantiscus's letters to Bernard begin in 1530 and to George in 1539. Dantiscus wrote to his brothers chiefly in his native Low German, though also sometimes in Latin, revealing their shared level of education.

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[163] Johannes Dantiscus to the Gdańsk Town Council, June 8, 1512, from Cracow (IDL 6244).

[164] Johannes Dantiscus to the Gdańsk Town Council, November 14, 1514, from Vilnius (IDL 5819): "*Ik bin um(m)ers by iw erwasszenn(n) unnd in der erstenn(n) jagenth getagenn(n)." [Ich bin immer bei Euch erwachsenen und in der ersten Jugend getan.]*

[165] Nowak, 40-44.

[166] Segel, 162.

[167] Nowak, 44-45: "*ubożuchny sługa*"; Nowak is drawing on a family history written by Filip Frencking (fl. c. 1600), the son of Dantiscus's niece; cf. Segel, 162: "both humble and impoverished"; de Vocht, 6, tells us about the prosperity, which is also demonstrated by the father's investment in the son's education.

The best primary source for all of this family information and background—besides what we infer from Dantiscus's letters—is the history written by his niece's son, Philip Frencking in 1605: *Epigrammata Alludentia Ad Nomen Inclytum Illvstrissimi Et potentiss. principis ac Dn. Philippi II cognomento Alphonsi II Ducis Stetini, Pomeraniæ &c* (Dantisci Rhode, 1605). No recent or editions or digitizations of this work are available, but it appears in the notes of historians writing in Poland; Nowak refers to it frequently in recounting Dantiscus's family history.

[168] Jan Konopacki (d. 1530), bishop of Culm, Tiedemann Giese (1480-1530), also bishop of Culm and prince-bishop of Ermland, Achacy Czema (1485-1565), governor (*wojewoda*) of Malbork, and Piotr Firlej (d. 1554), governor (*wojewoda*) of Russia (Lwów). (Nowak, 47.)

[169] Nowak, 44-49.

Like the loyal city itself, Dantiscus would become a true servant to his king, with one foot in the German north, one in the world of Cracovian courtiers and university men. On the one hand, that he should have entered this world makes sense: where else would the royal court find educated men of the world if not the cosmopolitan north? On the other hand, that the grandson of rope-maker and son of brewer should enter royal diplomatic service, ultimately rising to prince-bishop of Ermland, is impressive. Only 10% of Polish-Lithuanian *literati* came from burgher families (as opposed to to noble ones), and he attributes this to the rising power of cities and mercantile wealth and a spirit of meritocracy in the diplomatic corps.[170] There is a revealing passage in one of Dantiscus's letters to his king where he was—as usual—asking for money and he invoked his family origins. Having just explained the very high costs he had so far incurred on his journey, he reminded his king that he was a faithful servant and not an aristocratic spendthrift. "My ancestors not of the sort," Dantiscus wrote of his pedigree, "to cause Your Most Sacred Majesty to grant me to this post. Rather, I am from a family humble but honest, and worthy of trust, born of of parents who are like me good subjects."[171] What kind of place was the royal court in Renaissance Cracow? And what kind of preparation did Dantiscus have to thrive there?

The Renaissance: From South to North

The term 'Renaissance' was coined in the nineteenth century by Jules Michelet, but 'humanism' was used by the humanists themselves in reference to program of study, the *studia humanitatis.*[172] The fivefold curriculum of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy was building with the bricks of classical authors, both Latin and Greek.[173] Cicero was the preferred authority for he was both eloquent and wise and, by 1500 (so, by Dantiscus's lifetime) was firmly entrenched in this position.[174] Virgil also would hold a place, both as a pagan anticipator of Christianity (in Eclogue 4) and later as an apologist for empire (in the *Aeneid*).[175] But the whole canon of Latin writers were held in reverence and, as humanist

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[170] Nowak, 89-90, estimates this figure at 15%, but Wyszczański thinks it is closer to half that, or 6 out of 71, so 8.4%; he also gives a prosopographical list, which makes his number the more credible. Andrzej Wyczański, *Między Kulturą a Polityką: Sekretarze Królewscy Zygmunta Starego (1506-1548),* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe: 1990), 24-33.

[171] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Non sunt mihi tales maiores, qui idonei essent Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae pro me dare fidem, cum sim ex humilibus, sed tamen honestis et fide dignis, natus parentibus, una mecum subditis Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae*."

[172] Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance bazaar: from the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford: University Press, 2002), 21. Ronald G. Witt, "The Humanist Movement," *Handbook of European History 1400-1600,* Vol. 2*,* edited by Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 93.

For a helpful historiography of the term 'Renaissance' see Jo Tollebeek, "'Renaissance' and 'fossilization': Michelet, Burckhardt, and Huizinga, *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September, 2001), 354-366.

[173] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources,* edited by Michael Mooney (New York, Columbia University Press, 1979), 22-23. Professor Kristeller *excludes* other areas of study—mathematics, astronomy, logic, theology, medicine, law, and natural philosophy (science)—to illustrate what humanism was *not* and demonstrate that the term is not merely synonymous with education.

[174] Kristeller, 29; Witt, 101.

[175] Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: education and the liberal arts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), *xv-xvi*: Here Grafton and Jardine quote from T.S. Eliot's 1944 essay, "What is a Classic?": Virgil's "peculiar kind of comprehensiveness, is due to the unique position in our history of the Roman Empire and the Latin languages: a position which may be said to conform to *destiny*" coming from "an empire and a language with a unique destiny in relation to ourselves"

philologists and pedagogues built annotated commentaries, the *corpus* became ever richer and increasingly dialectical.[176] Though after the fall of Constantinople, more Greek texts and Greek teachers made their way to Italy, knowledge of Latin always far exceeded that of Greek because of the Medieval Church tradition.[177] Dantiscus did not write in Greek (except for a word or expression here or there), though some of his friends did.[178]

Though it began as a literary movement—already in the thirteenth century scholars were devoted to close study and imitation of classical Latin—humanism took on a political aspect, becoming a vehicle for improving the world by learning about the civics and ethics of the Romans.[179] The reasons for the shift are not mysterious. First, by learning about the past, the mechanisms of republican governance or the glories of empire, the humanists started thinking historically and about the possibilities of the present.[180] Secondly, as masters of learning that had become fashionable among the aristocracy, humanists often became tutors to the scions of the great. Every intellectual seed they planted in the minds of the future leaders was pregnant with political possibility. For example, Guarino Guarini of Verona (1374-1460), who would develop an influential school, was first the teacher of the young Leonello d'Este (the future Marquis of Ferrara) and used classical texts *as preparation* for a life of service and leadership in his community—a civic life and an active life (*la vita attiva*).[181] It was the "*ideology* of Renaissance humanism" that through rigorous study of ancient texts, the student becomes 'a new man.'[182] Certainly this was true for Dantiscus and his contemporaries in the diplomatic service (Machiavelli, Castiglione, Guicciardini, Valdés, More, Schepper, Navagero), the well-tutored Renaissance monarchs (Charles V, Francis I, Henry VIII), and Renaissance popes who

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(i.e. its European heirs). See also Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons. eds. trans., *The Battle of Lepanto* (Cambridge, Mass.: I Tatti Renaissance Library; Harvard University Press, 2014): "The Vergilian Tradition," *xvi-xvii.*

[176] Kristeller, 26.

[177] Kristeller, 26-27.

[178] Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574) of Bamberg, for example, included a twelve-line poem in Greek within a book praising Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488-1540), a friend and rival of Dantiscus, though otherwise the book is entirely in Latin.

The Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, in a letter to Erasmus, switched from Latin to Greek when complaining of the politically charged factions "from both sides" (i.e. conservative Catholics and Protestant reformers) who preferred their fighting to the "peace of Christ," so as to minimize getting into trouble lest his letter fell under the wrong glance. This is a trick that Erasmus employed himself on several occasions. (*The Correspondence of Erasmus*, [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971], translated by Alexander Dalzell and annotated by Charles G. Nauert, Jr., 32-33, 67n8.)

Dantiscus did adapt his family name Flachsbinder (rope-maker) into Latinized Greek 'Linodesmon.' He also included a Greek term here and there. There is one example in in the opening of his Song for Alliopagus, "Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum," IDP 53 l. 3: χιάζειν, *chiazein*, to cross out. There is another example late in life when he wrote to Thomas Cranmer, though I have not been able to decode the meaning; it seems to be a warning about something, so could well be a proper noun (IDL 2337). Dantiscus's friend, Knobelsdorf (Alliopagus) also included the occasional Greek phrase (e.g. Eustathius Knobelsdorf to Johannes Dantiscus, December 17, 1541, from Paris, IDL 2518: "*γλαυκας εις Αθηνας*" a proverb from Cicero about "teaching Athena" i.e. the unqualified presuming to school his betters.) But if this scattered smattering of Greek examples shows anything, it is that Greek knowledge was slight and its use in communication extremely infrequent.

[179] Those early classical scholars who preceded Petrarch can be called "protohumanists." Most were from the Veneto. (Witt, 94.)

[180] Witt, 94.

[181] Grafton and Jardine, 1-9.

[182] Grafton and Jardine, 3.

patronized humanists and artists (Nicholas V, Pius II, Sixtus IV, Julius II, Leo X, Adrian VI).[183] What had begun as a direction and approach of study was, by the sixteenth century, the way that the powerful and the learned understood and talked about the world. Their shared language, references, symbols, allegories gave them an integrated understanding of their continent and its history and possibilities for its future. They also shared a religion and (at least until the Reformation) a church.

How did these ideas reach Poland, represented by Dantiscus and Celtis as wild and frozen Sarmatia? Can one speak of *Re-naissance*, when *Naissance* might do—given that the lost and yearned-after Roman Empire never reached beyond the Danube or the Rhine? For the Italians, the Renaissance was a matter of digging into their past—and into the earth—to reclaim the culture of ancient Rome. Petrarch in 1337, standing among the cows that grazed in the *forum Romanum*-turned-*Campo Vaccino*, first lamented, "Who are more ignorant today of Rome's glory than the Romans themselves?" and then predicted, "Who can doubt that it will rise again at once if Rome begins once more to know herself?"[184] It is the sense of loss in these words, a sense that he developed traveling about a world of ruins, that spurred his great project. The revival of classical Roman arts—literature, rhetoric, architecture, sculpture—meant faithfully reproducing what had been (and not inventing it).[185] Not so for Poland. 'Poland' did not even exist when the Roman Empire (the western, or Latin, half) was destroyed. Poland was born during those regrettable interim centuries that the very term *Renaissance* insists were a cultural death—a period formerly called the Dark Ages though nowadays it is preferred to say, with more sensitivity and precision, a time of "dramatic economic simplification."[186]

In the year 966, the Polish ruler, Mieszko I, was baptized, the event marking the traditional start of Poland. His tribe, the *Polanie* (people of the plains or grasslands), existed the week before, the year before, and very probably the century before. But, in baptism, they entered the awareness and records of literate neighbors; and what came before is prehistory or legend.[187] The proselytizing religion and the Latin language it brought were two bonds that then held the continent together, albeit loosely. Both were left over from the Romans, and both tied Poland into this heritage. Moreover, Poland defined itself in opposition to the pagan past and its pagan neighbors, fighting them back, as with the Prussians, or converting them, as with the Lithuanians. The Polish-Lithuanian union of 1386 gave the crown the military strength to carry

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[183] Leibell, 333-343. Leibell reminds us also that Eugenius IV (r.1431-1447) "placed at the disposal of humanism the vast erudition of Bessarion" who "more than any other man, made the real Aristotle known in the West," and that Nicholas V (r. 1447-1455) a "new spirit" and "a universal patron of art," and even more of literature and history when he founded the Vatican Library that was greatly expanded by Sixtus IV (r. 1471-1484) who believing that "humanists were necessary for the papal court […,] gathered about him the most cultured men of the age" (340), while Julius II (r. 1503-1513) commissioned the building (or, rather, destruction and rebuilding) of St. Peter's Basilica, and Michelangelo's painting of the Sistine Chapel, and "the court of Leo X (r. 1513-1521) held the most brilliant assembly of literati in all Europe" (334).

[184] Eva Matthews Sanford, "The Destruction of Ancient Rome (Continued)," *The Classical Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 17 (Mar. 10, 1947), 131; John A. Pinto, "Speaking Ruins: Travelers' Perceptions of Ancient Rome," part of "Evoking the Past: The Landscapes of Ruins," *Sitelines,* Vol. 11, No. 2 (Spring, 2016), 3; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 24.

[185] Witt, 94: "imitation of ancient Latin authors [was] *the* aesthetic goal." [emphasis in the original]

[186] Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000,* (New York: Viking, 2009), 95-96.

[187] Davies, 61-69.

out the former and the holy mission and political obligation to perform the latter. And the *Collegium Generale* in Cracow, later known as the Jagiellonian University, established in 1364 and enjoying thereafter royal support, would produce the men who could achieve these goals.[188] Just as in other European courts, the educated elites who administered the church and the royal government derived their favorable positions from their Latin education and, for this reason, enjoyed solidarity with distant Europeans doing similar things. And so, the Italian Renaissance, in building that Latin culture of Early Modern Europe, benefited scholar-elites, and therefore also belonged to them all. They marked their allegiance at every turn by taking Latin names, incorporating turns of phrase from Ovid or Virgil into their letters and poems wherever possible, along with allusions to classical myths and histories.

The advent of the printing press in the fifteenth century only accelerated the spread of the Renaissance across the Alps and to the rest of Europe. Poland was by this time not merely imitating established Italian forms, as argued above, but contributing to them creatively. Dantiscus and the other Polish humanists were writing at the same time as Erasmus and the Dutch, Thomas More and the English, and Garcilaso de la Vega and the Spanish. They also traveled and corresponded with each other, leading to fruitful cross-pollination unprecedented in Europe. The Renaissance, in its celebration of primary sources, critical analysis, discovery, debate, the human spirit and creativity, opened many doors when it spread across Europe. The most consequential is the Protestant Reformation which shook up the continent for over a century in controversy and war but barely penetrated into Italy. On the other hand, Nicholas Copernicus, living in Polish Royal Prussia (a close associate of Dantiscus), could publish his heliocentric theory (1543) without consequence which would, in Italy, land Galileo Galilei in trouble, though many years later (1610).[189] Likewise, one of the earliest influences on Polish humanism was the Italian exile Filippo Buonaccorsi, called Callimachus (1437-1496), who took refuge in northern parts when he had been accused of participating in a plot to kill Pope Pius II in 1468.[190] He had been a member of the *Academia Romana,* Pomponio Leto's school of humanism and classical studies but none of his humanist friends came to his defense.[191] He fled as fast and as far as he could, heading east. In Constantinople, he met Arnolfo Tedaldi, a salt merchant who

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[188] Segel, 5.

[189] When Dantiscus was bishop of Warmia, Copernicus was a cannon in his diocese; Dantiscus put pressure on Copernicus to give up his concubine, without success. Notwithstanding Dantiscus also penned two epigrams for Copernicus's books, one of which was published in *De lateribus et angulis triangulorum* (Segel, 186-188). Also, the epigram is IDP 57 in the *Corpus*, and Copernicus's reply is IDL 6832 but listed as 'lost,' yet this is an error because both can be read in Henry de Vocht, *John Dantiscus and his Netherlandish Friends as revealed by their correspondence, 1522-1546* (Louvain, University Press, 1961), 339. Copernicus is appropriately grateful and gracious to his bishop in acknowledging this literary gift. <<<

[190] Segel, 38-43.

[191] On the contrary, Buonaccorsi was disowned and maligned by Leto who had been in Venice during the investigation and was extradited for the investigation (which may not have been the worst thing for him since Leto was facing a pederasty investigation in Venice). Bartolomeo Sacchi, called Platina, was also under investigation and identified Buonaccorsi as the head of the conspiracy, though in later years would say that Buonaccorsi was "incapable of contriving any such thing, much less planning it, since he was wanting in counsel, persuasion, power, solicitude, accomplishments, supplies, followers, weapons, funds, and finally eyes." (Segel 41). Buonaccorsi had poor vision, earning him the pseudonym "Caeculus" (little blind one, probably also from Sacchi). Another companion, Giovanni Antonio Campano, however, wrote that he had the eyes of a lynx and saw what others did not. (*Plura videt, quam linx […]/ Cumque alii videant, que sunt tantum modo, suevit/ Quaeque etiam non sunt cernere Callimachus.*) (Segel, 39). His second Latin name, Callimachus, fortunately was the one that stuck, and perhaps is taken from the Greek poet by the same name who lived in Alexandria in the third century BC.

resided in Cracow, and returned with him to the Polish capital. It is not difficult to imagine why Cracow would have appealed to the fugitive Callimachus: it was a university town in the Catholic world with a community of Italian merchants, yet beyond the reach of the long arm of the papal police.[192] The distance from church authority, therefore, gave air to the wayward ideas plots that northern humanists were kindling in their mind—be they Protestantism, heliocentrism, or rebellion—that would have been punished in Italy as intellectual arson.

That cultural diffusion that attracted that nourished this movement began with a few forerunners, had seminal leaders and moments, and culminated with a shift in mentality, and we will discuss these below. It also required receptive institutions and/or political elites, which in Poland were the university and the royal court in Cracow. The university was founded in 1363 by King Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz III Wielki, r. 1333-1370) with the aim of training ministers to run the state that Casimir's father had (re-)united.[193] After a period of decline, the university was revitalized with personal fortune of Queen Jadwiga upon her death in 1399, and expanded with a religious faculty, that was well endowed with ecclesial benefices.[194] Neither the lawyers nor the theologians were interested in humanism and its classical sources, but they did read Latin, and their university would make fertile soil for the seeds of humanism they arrived on the southerly winds of cultural diffusion a century later. Likewise, both church and royal court would provide employment for men of letters.

Fig. 1-12. Woodcut image of Cracow in Hartmann Schedel's Liber Chronicarum *(1493).*[195] *The perspective if facing southwest, so the separate royal city of Kazimierz (*Casimirus*), established by Cassimir III the Great, is to the left (south); along with what was probably a Christian majority, it contained the densely-populated and culturally rich Jewish district. The royal castle, Wawel, is on the hill in the center rear (southwest), and the university is close to the wall along the extreme right (west). Unlike today, the university would not have been a group of structures as much as a community that happened to be lodged in them.*

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[192] Segel, 43-46. Stinger, 8-9.
[193] Jacqueline Glomski, "Fifteenth-Century Humanism in Poland: Court and Collegium," in *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe,* edited by David Rundle (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012), 119-121; Segel, 5.
[194] Davies, 118; Segel, 6; Glomski, "Fifteenth-Century Humanism," 130-131.
[195] Image from Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. (www.RareMaps.com); also in Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning,"* 44.

Fig. 1-13. A second picture of Cracow by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg from Civitates Orbis Terrarum, *Vol 6 (1617) with the title,* Cracovia: Minoris Poloniae Metropolis (Cracow: Capital of Lesser Poland [*Małopolska*, *sometimes rendered "Little Poland"*]) *shows that 124 years later the city has kept within its walls. The point of view here is facing northwest, so Kazimierz is off to the right and not pictured. This map is also more faithful to the individual structures, including the City Hall (*Ratusz, Rathaus, *figure F, "*praetorium*") and St. Mary's Basilica (figure H); the basilica remains today and so does the tower (but no more) of the* Ratusz, *and these look as they do here.*[196]

Italian diplomats came to the Polish-Lithuanian capital as the country was growing in power.[197] Likewise, Italian merchants resided in Cracow, wealthy, and cosmopolitan, and comfortably established in the center of the city, frequently came into contact with political and cultural leaders in the royal capital.[198] This Italian community in Cracow increased dramatically in the sixteenth century after an Italian princess, Bona Sforza (b. 1494, r. 1518-1548), became queen of Poland.[199] She was the daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, the duke of Milan, and Isabella of

[196] Image from Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc. (www.RareMaps.com).

[197] In 1412, the humanist Paolo Veneto came from Venice; he was a philosopher and a professor. In 1423, Giulino Cesarini was there from Padua representing a cardinal and papal legate; he was doctor as well as a diplomat. The following year, the Polish king and queen heard congratulatory speeches for their wedding banquets from Italian delegates. From Tadeusz Ulewicz, "Polish Humanism and its Italian Sources: Beginnings and Historical Development," *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, edited by Samuel Fiszman (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1988), 216-217.

[198] Remember that Buonaccorsi (Callimachus) found his way to Cracow with an Italian salt-trader he met through his family in Constantinople. The Italian wine-traders were fewer, but they had the most advantageous position in the lucrative trade; wine was a luxurious drink compared to beer, and these merchants would have come into contact with aristocrats and urban elites. F. W. Carter, "Cracow's Wine Trade (Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Oct., 1987), 569.

[199] Six hundred visitors came to witness Bona's wedding to Sigismund in 1518 and "quite a number settled down in Cracow for the rest of their lives." In addition, the royal court would import Italians talent—the architects Bartolomeo Berecci and Francesco of Florence, the theologian Carlo Antonio de Montecenere, literary men Giovanni Silvio de Mathio of Palermo and Constanzo Claretti de Cancellieri of Bologna, and the king's new legal advisor, Garcia Quadros; see Janusz J. Tomiak, "The University of Cracow in the Period of its Greatness: 1364-1549," *The Polish Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Summer, 1971), 89.

Aragon who was the daughter of King Alfonso II of Naples. (Johannes Dantiscus would spend the better part of a decade in securing Queen Bona's Neapolitan inheritance from the Emperor Charles V; see Chapter 3.)

Most influential on Polish humanism were the ecumenical councils held in the first half of the fifteenth century. To the Council of Constance (1414-1418), which saw the resolution of the papal schism and also the burning of Jan Hus, the Poles sent a large contingent to present their cause against the Teutonic Knights. Several of these delegates had been students in Italy and were well received at Constance by their Italian colleagues, including the famous Paduan professor associated with humanists, now papal representative, Cardinal Francesco Zabarella (1360-1417).[200] Even though the Polish delegates were all schoolmen and their Italian colleagues were humanists, the high regard Poles had for their colleagues made them receptive to new ideas. The Council of Basel (1431-1449, taking place in Basel, then Florence, and finally Ferrara) was the beginning of a literary and amicable correspondence between Polish Cardinal Oleśnicki (1389-1455) and Aeneus Sylvius Piccolomini, eminent humanist and the future Pope Pius II (1405-1464, r. 1458-1464).[201] Oleśnicki was an influential statesman and prelate whose career was an example for Dantiscus. At age 20, he had distinguished himself at the Battle of Grunwald, defending his king with quick action, at age 34 he was a bishop, and at 50 a cardinal; he was a royal secretary and diplomat his whole career, often acting on the king's behalf.[202] In his letters with Piccolomini, Oleśnicki adopted the humanist style.[203] The humanist pope praised his work as "*litterae et ornatissimae et humanissimae*" and more Athenian than Polish.[204] His secretary, Jan Długosz (Johannes Longinus/Dlugossius, 1415-1480), was also a cleric and diplomat who traveled many times to Italy, but would be most famous for writing the history of Poland (*Annales seu cronici incliti regni Poloniae*) over the last 25 years of his life, in which he followed the style of Livy with some humanist influences.[205] Długosz was also royal tutor to Casimir's sons, three of whom would later be kings Dantiscus would serve.[206]

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[200] Both Paulus Vladimiri (Paweł Włodkowic of Brudzewo), the rector of the University of Cracow, and Andrej Łaskary (Laskary), Bishop of Poznań, had been his students in Padua. Others had studied in Bologna, including Bishop Jakub of Korzkiew and lawyer Piotr Wolfram. In fact, Paulus Vladimiri quoted his teacher, Zabarella, in his refutation of a point in Dante's *De Monarchi* that said the emperor was independent of the pope authority (he did this, in his arguments against the Teutonic Order) to deny the emperor's right to convert pagans through force. (Ulewicz, 216; Segel, 6-7.)

[201] Segel has put Zarabella squarely in the humanist camp (Segel, 7), but Knoll has challenged this categorization, even though there is no question Zarabella kept company with Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, and others (Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning,"* 544).

[202] Davies, 125: "He was perhaps the greatest of a long line of great political bishops which included Mikołaj Trąba (1358-1422), Archbishop and Vice-Chancellor; Jan Łaski (1455-1531), Archbishop and Chancellor; and Piotr Tomicki (1469-1531), Bishop of Przemyśl, Poznań, and Cracow, and Vice-Chancellor." Tomicki supervised much of Dantiscus's work—and he too was a 'political bishop.'

[203] Glomski, 122.

[204] Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning,"* 551.

[205] Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning,"* 552-554, and Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature,* 123-125, esp. 123: "Długosz's Latin is generally not considered to be humanist in style, even though his writing shows that he knew the works of Petrarch, Boccacio, and Æneas Silvius Piccolomini. Długosz, moreover did set Livy as his model and imitate that authors vocabulary, phraseology, and syntax; at the same time, he was also influence by the Vulgate." Ulewicz, 221, calls him "a man of transition," who knew the humanists and their work, who had visited the tomb of Dante in Ravenna, but in his own intellect disposition inclined to "fifteenth century religious piety."

[206] Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature,* 125. Casimir IV (r. 1447-1492) was succeeded by his sons John Albert (r. 1492-1501), then Alexander I (r. 1501-1506), then Sigismund (r. 1506-1548)

Already by 1440, there were some humanists in Poland. John of Ludzisko (Jan z Ludziska, c. 1400-c. 1460) had gone to Padua to study medicine but was drawn to rhetoric. He spent time in Rome and, it is thought, took the opportunity to study with Guarino Guarini of Verona (1374-1460).[207] While in Italy, he filled a notebook with the orations of leading Italian humanists and, upon his return, he adapted them to his own use. He became the official orator at the university and gave frequent speeches in the humanist style.[208] Like his master, Guarino, John borrowed liberally from others' writings.[209] And, also like his master, he was not afraid to use rhetoric in the service of an active, civic agenda, as when he exhorted his king to emancipate the serfs, down-trodden Christians who toiled like "the sons of Israel in Egypt," and in doing so, by extension, was comparing the Polish king to the pharaoh.[210]

Around 1470, Filippo Buonaccorsi, the fugitive Callimachus, arrived from Constantinople in the company of his Italian salt-trader friend.[211] He found a safe haven with Gregory of Sanok, Archbishop of Lwów, a well-connected and well-traveled patron of the humanists, who was a friend of Pope Eugenius IV and the Hungarian royal family.[212] There Callimachus wrote beautiful Latin verse celebrating his protector and also the ladies at his court.[213] By 1472 he was in Cracow and, with the support of his patron the archbishop and of Cardinal Oleśnicki, would (like Ludzisko) become a tutor to the royal princes.[214] By 1474, he was a royal secretary and, by 1476, he was carrying out diplomatic missions, returning again to Italy, and serving two Polish

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[207] Bronisław Nadolski, "Rola Jana z Ludziska w poskiem odrodzeniu," *Pamientnik Literacki: czasopismo kwartalne poświęcone historii I krytyce literatury polskiej* (January 4, 1929), 200-202. Nadolski believes at John of Ludzisko studied with Guarino Guarini of Verona because (1) John's oratory borrows a lot from this eminent pedagogue, and (2) Guarino sent an edition of Plutarch's *De assentatoris et amici differentia* to the Polish King (Władysław III Warneńczyk [of Varna], r. 1434-1444) at this time by way of a student of his named John; cf. Ulewicz, 220; Segel, 7.

[208] Nadolski, 200-201; Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature,* 129.

[209] Grafton and Jardine, 3. Glomski, *Patronage and Humanist Literature,* 129: "Although he composed his orations in the quattrocento style, relying on such authors as Guarino da Verona, Gasparino Barzizza, and Poggio Bracciolini for models, his originality was limited, for in many instance his compositions ended up as a pastiche of the Italians. In spite of his lack of originality, Ludzisko's writing reflected new, humanist cultural currents and was linked to contemporary events in Poland." Ulewicz, 220-221, shows that in his *De laudibus et dignitate eloquentiae* (1440), i.e. in praise of eloquence, Ludzisko's oration was "a mechanical repetition of the well-known statement by Leonardo Bruni from the prologue to St. Basil's Homily to the Youth, a key patristic text important in the Renaissance, on the need for a knowledge of classical pagan literature from which healthy fruit may be culled."

[210] Nadolski, 204. And, likewise, in Grafton and Jardine, 2, we read that Guarino's "platitudinous sampler" of clichés (see previous note), was also the vehicle by which "he explicitly argues that his pupils' studies would equip them for and active life and in the end directly benefit the society they served."

[211] Ulewicz, 222, considers this event to be the "threshold" of Polish humanism.

[212] Segel, 21-24, 30. Archbishop Gregory's motivation for sheltering fugitive was not only to help a kindred spirit but also to assert Polish sovereignty within the kingdom's borders, a continuous fight for him against the papal legates who meddled, in Gregory's view, with internal matters.

[213] His amorous *Fannietum* for Fannia Świętochna wrapped him in the luxurious cloak of scandal (Ulewicz, 222); it was "the first poetry written in Poland on erotic themes" (Segel, 51). Gregory's protection was necessary after the Polish diet agreed to his extradition; the grateful Buonaccorsi wrote *Vita et mores Gregorii Sanocei* (1476), attesting to Gregory's patronage to himself and others and to his intellectual contributions to humanist and learning in Cracow and at his palace ("an atmosphere far more reminiscent of a humanist court than an ecclesiastical residence") in Dunajów (Segel, 18-19, 33-34). At the same time, Archbishop Gregory was dedicated to ecclesial reform and the moral improvement—sobriety and education—of his priests (Segel, 24).

[214] Ulewicz, 222.

kings as an advisor.[215] From Poland, he maintained a lifelong correspondence with Italian humanists, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino (whom he called a "co-Platonist," *complatonicum*), also the eminent Lorenzo de' Medici, and Cardinal Bessarion, bringing their ideas and prestige to the Polish elites through the intellectual circles of royal Cracow, including his participation in a vibrant debating society.[216] When Callimachus's library was destroyed in a fire, these humanist friends sent him books to maintain the arteries that fed their Republic of Letters. Callimachus wrote a number of political tracts including his *Consilia* (1492) advocating for a stronger monarchy at the expense of the power of the nobility, a work which—it has been suggested—may have been influential to Machiavelli.[217] He was also a patron of the university in Cracow.[218]

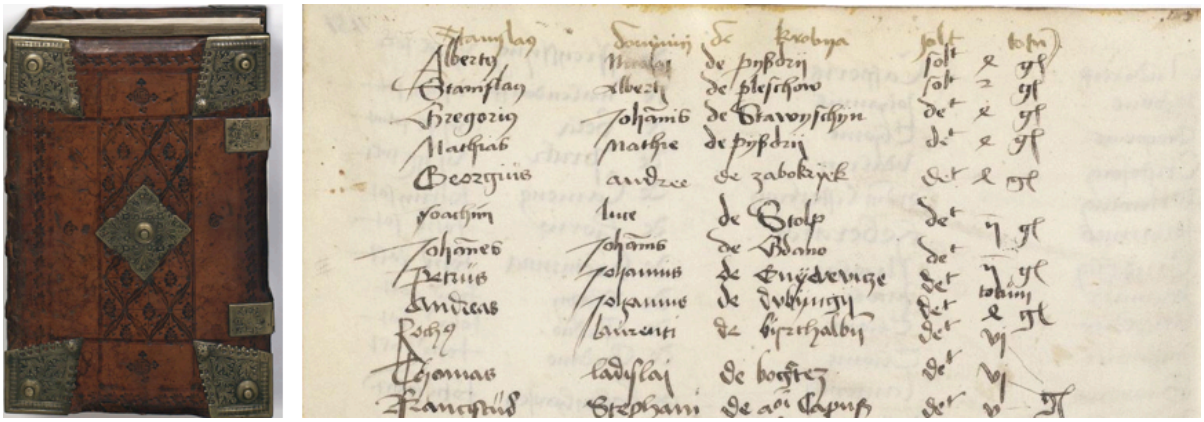

Fig. 1-14 and 1-15: The registry of students: Johannes Johannis de Gdano is the eighth name from the top of page 452.[219]

Dantiscus enrolled at the Jagiellonian university in Cracow in the summer term of the year 1500, before he was fifteen years old. He matriculated into the Arts faculty (*artes liberales, sztuki wyzwolone*), the biggest of the four faculties at Cracow (and propaedeutic for all of them); the others were Theology, Law, and Medicine. On page 452 of the registry of students, for the

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[215] Ulewicz, 222; Segel, 47-50: Buonaccorsi had been threatened with extradition though he was advocating with a powerful member of the diet who was in a position to reverse this danger, when in 1471 Pope Paul II died and was replaced by Sixtus IV who was more favorably disposed to Buonaccorsi and the Accademia Romana.

[216] Ulewicz, 223: This club was organized by Jan Heydecke-Mirica, a city council lawyer, in his gardens. Ulewicz quotes Florentine humanist Giovanni Battista Cantalicio (1450-1515) who captured the reversal of fortune that turned Buonaccorsi from friendless desperado into celebrated intellectual and courtier when he punned that he fled from the "fury of Barbos [Pope Paul II, Pietro Barbo]" to turn a "barbarian kingdom [Barbara regna]" into a Latin one: *Callimachus Barbos fugiens ex Urbe furors,/ Barbara quae fuerant regna, Latina facit.*

The term "co-Platonist" comes from Segel's discussion of the correspondence between Buonaccorsi and Ficino, about spirit, nature, sin and (of all things) demonic possession (Segel, 73-78).

[217] Ulewicz, 226. Segel, 58-59, 66-67: "the work is informed with the spirit of Machiavellianism *before* Machiavelli wrote *The Prince*," but, Segel continues, the question is problematic since we have no extant original and the versions we have have been polluted by editors, often Callimachus's detractors. At the same time, in his *Attila* (1486-1488), Callimachus portrayed the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus, as a formidable rival of his own master and "the embodiment of the ideal prince (and this before the *Principe* of his countryman Machiavelli)."

[218] His financial investment of 100 florins that he left in bequest for the university upon his death in 1496, indicates an intellectual and personal investment from his days as a court diplomat. (Knoll, 7.0)

[219] This image is a facsimile of the original, on the CD Rom attached to *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400-1508,* file 0449; the cover is of the book is file 0002.

summer of 1500, and under the supervision of Rector John of Reguły, Dantiscus's name is found among the *intitulati*.[220] The inscription, "Johannes Johannis de Gdano de$^{t.}$ ij gr.," i.e. "John son of John from Gdańsk gave two *groszy* (*dedit ii grossi*)," placed him toward the less wealthy end of the students who paid according to their means between zero and eight *groszy* and sometimes more for registration. [221] (At the beginning of the sixteenth century 30 *groszy* were 1 *złoty* which was about a florin or a little less, and a florin was about a ducat or a little less.[222])

Dantiscus set out to earn the degree of Bachelor of the Arts (*baccalaureus artium*), which was a two year program; while there were some students who completed it in only one year, the average time for all students from 1500 to 1509 was 2.79 years.[223] (Unlike university students in the present day, neither bachelors nor masters, *magister artium*, specialized in a field; it was only in pursuing a doctorate that students focused on theology, law, or medicine.) Completion alone of the BA put Dantiscus in the top fifth since only 22% of students finished the program.[224] Others found the course of study to be too onerous, or were drawn away to a good job as soon as the qualified for it. Because a notary's position paid as well as the most senior faculty, a good Latinist was making a material sacrifice for the satisfaction of remaining in academia.[225] The Arts Faculty prepared students for a career in teaching or in administration of church or secular government and consisted of the *trivium*—grammar, rhetoric, and logic—and *quadrivium*—mathematics, geometry, astronomy, and music. The first three were most important to Dantiscus in his career. Aristotle, simply "the Philosopher," was the supreme authority and much of the university education depended on working through his ancient texts in dialectic exchange with the commentaries of later scholars. For logic, Aristotles *Categories* and *On Interpretation* were the foundational texts and Cracovian Professor John of Głogów (Johannes Glogoviensis, 1445-1507) supplied the commentary. The introduction to *Categories,* written in Greek by Porphyry in the third century BCE and translated into Latin by Boethius around 500 CE were also important. Rhetoric texts also included Cicero's *De Inventione* and Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana.* And the study of grammar was being revised with just as Dantiscus arrived at the school by the Cracow professors, John Sommerfeld the Elder (Johannes Aesticampianus, 1457-1520) who had written a more humanistic Latin grammar text, and John of Stobnica who lectured between 1498 and 1514, on grammar and also logic, influenced by John Duns Scotus.[226]

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[220] *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, Tomus II* (*Ab anno 1490 d annum 1551*), Adam Chmiel, ed. (Cracow: Academia Litterarum, 1892). The heading is on 57 (original pagination 436). Dantiscus's name appears on page 60 (original pagination 452). There were also from Gdańsk a Johannis Thome (60/451), a Johannes Luce (62/455), then, in the winter, a Johannes Caspari (64/459), then the following winter of 1501, a Johannes Laurenti (73/468) and a Johannes Henrici (73/469) and, in 1502, a second (or the same again) Johannes Henrici (77/476). That means there were a few of "John from Gdańsk" (literally what Johannes Dantiscus means) at the University at the same time. Though Dantiscus did have another name These are printed also in *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400-1508, Tom I*, Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabel Skierska, eds. (Cracow: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2004),

[221] Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning*,*"* 185-186, 553. There was both a "Poor Man's Dormitory" (*Bursa pauperes*) and a "Rich Man's Dormitory" (*Bursa divitum*).

[222] Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning*,*"* 71.

[223] Ibid., 194-196.

[224] Ibid., 196.

[225] Ibid., 53-54.

[226] Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning*,*"* 287-339.

One of the most influential professors of the previous generation was the German humanist, Conrad Celtis (1459-1508), mentioned above because his exotic image of icy Sarmatia was later used by Dantiscus. Celtis had studied at Cologne and then Heidelberg with the famous Rudolf Agricola. He traveled through Italy, and returned to Germany to be crowned with poetic laurels by Emperor Frederick III—the first German (indeed the first non-Italian) to receive this distinction.[227] (Dantiscus would later receive the same honor from Maximilian I.) Celtis was drawn to Cracow by the astronomer and mathematician Albert Blar of Brudzewo (Wojciech z Brudzewa, c. 1445 – c. 1497), who was also Copernicus's teacher, and whom Celtis may have known earlier in Germany.[228] Together with Blar and Callimachus, Celtis founded a literary academy in Cracow, the *Solidalitas Litteraria Vistulana*, where humanists gathered to enjoy food, drink, and cultivated discussion.[229] Celtis, however, never quite felt that he was in Poland, but rather considered the Vistula to be the natural eastern frontier of Germany, and Cracow to be Teutonic Croca, the last civilized outpost of the empire.[230] Thus, he was happy to move on to teach in Ingolstadt and Nuremberg and finally Vienna where championed the humanist curriculum and promoted Greek studies, and also founded the *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana*.[231] There had been other visiting professors in Cracow (e.g. the Florentine Petrarchan Latinist Jacopo Publico as early as 1470), but Celtis with his *Sodalitas* was especially influential on the next generation of humanists—those who would carry the torch into the sixteenth century.[232]

In 1503, a few years after Aesticampianus's new grammar text (above), classical Latin finally replaced Medieval Latin in the pedagogy of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow.[233] Conrad Celtis's students and friends continued his literary society, though it suffered with his departure. One of these, the Silesian Laurentius Corvinus (Laurentius Rabe, Wawrzyniec Korwin, 1465-1527), a Virgil expert, would overlap with Dantiscus as when the two competed in a

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[227] Leonard Forster, "Introduction" in his edition *Selections from Conrad Celtis, 1459-1508*, (Cambridge [Eng.] University Press, 1948), 3-6. Forster judges Celtis's teacher, Rudolf Agricola, to have been the "foremost humanist north of the Alps" in his day.

[228] Segel makes this conjecture (86) because Albert had studied with German astronomers, Georg von Peuerbach (1423-1461) and Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller von Königsberg, a Bavarian Königsberg and the not the more famous Prussian one, 1436-1476).

[229] Segel, 91-92, further opines that this sodality was established "possibly in the model of Pomponio Leto's Accademia Romana" and "in all likelihood [included] the company of women."

[230] The Poles are primitives ["*crudus Sarmata*"] living beyond this border (Segel, 89). Moreover, in speech to that he would later deliver at the University of Ingolstadt, Celtis lamented the Polish possession of Gdańsk: "O free and powerful people [you Germans], O noble and valiant race, plainly worthy of the Roman empire, our famous harbor is held by the Pole and the gateway of our ocean by the Dane!" (*O liberum et robustum populum, o nobilem et fortem gentem et plane dignam Romano imperio, cuius inclitum maris portum et claustra Oceani nostril Sarmata et Dacus possident!)* Celtis, "Oratio in Gymnasio in Ingelstadio Publice Recitata," in Fortster, 46-47.

[231] Segel, 105-106. He also had founded the *Sodalitas Litteraria Rhenana* and other "similar societies in the carious provinces he visited on his wanderings" (Forster 8), marking out a German world of Renaissance humanism—something that was at once proto-nationalistic and paradoxically universalistic. Celtis did the same thing with the women he loved: by writing about Elsula of Regensburg, Ursula of Mainz, and Barbara of Lübeck, and Hasilina of Cracow, he envisioned "composite women" of the cardinal directions, representing the four ends of Germany (Forster, 7; Segel, 97), although they were also quite real, as we can surmise from his explicit erotic poetry (see Forster, 79-83; Segel, 97-101).

[232] Ulewicz, 223, tells us of the visiting professor from Florence; Segel, 105, recounts how Celtis received letters from Johannes Aesticampianus (Jan Sommerfeld, 1457-1520) and Laurentius Corvinus (*Laurentius Rabe, Wawrzyniec Korwin*, 1465-1527).

[233] Segel, 21 n.

"tournament" celebrating the royal nuptials of King Sigismund to Queen Bona.[234] Paul of Krosno (Paulus Crosnensis, or Ruthenus, c. 1472 - 1517), was more important as a pedagogue and an enthusiastic humanist than for his literary achievements; later he was among Dantiscus's teachers.[235] Paul was an effective imitator of classical forms (and in his religious poetry, medieval ones), and taught Ovid, Persius, Claudian and Seneca at the university, lecturing on poetry.[236] He also lived for a time in Hungary and would cultivate the intellectual relationships he made there during the rest of his career.[237] He received help from his Hungarian patron and helped a Hungarian humanist friend publish in Poland, thus promoting his Renaissance network at a moment of Polish-Hungarian cooperation when the new king, Sigismund I, was taking a Hungarian wife (Barbara Zápolya).[238] (After Queen Barbara died in 1515, Sigismund married Bona Sforza.) He was especially dear to Dantiscus, as evinced by the ode that Dantiscus composed for him (which is translated in its entirety into English as Appendix 1). And the ideology of political activity (*vita attiva*) of civic humanism is apparent in Dantiscus's praise of his teacher, Paul. It was above all for his involvement that Dantiscus honored him and only secondarily for his erudition, rhetoric, or love of the classics:

> You are called by everyone the guardian of the fatherland and its salvation;
> you provide many gifts through your wise counsel.
>
> Sagacious loyalty, probity of spirit, virtuous mind, boundless skill, a firm love
> of service,
>
> Attending with much diligence to the management of great affairs as to the
> sweet pronouncements of your eloquent heart—
>
> All of these qualities make you beloved and worthy of honor, and especially
> to learned men and to the Muses.[239]

In the next line, Dantiscus honored Paul as a teacher by naming another famous student of his: "at your side and in your care is Cricius, whom Apollo himself taught the ways to bind sweet

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[234] Ibid., 107-109.
[235] Ibid., 112.
[236] Janusz J. Tomiak, "The University of Cracow in the Period of Its Greatness: 1364-1549, *The Polish Review,* Vol. 16 No. 3 (Summer 1971) 88-89. Segel, 110, 113, 116.
[237] Another example of the Polish-Hungarian humanist connection is Jan Antonin, physician to the king and two bishops, student from Padua and correspondent of Erasmus. These letters (nos. 1660 and 1698) are in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), translated by Alexander Dalzell and annotated by Charles G. Nauert, Jr.
[238] Originally, taking refuge abroad from the plague, Paul found an important patron in Gábor Perenyi, who would later ask Paul to help publish poetry of János Csezmicei (Ioannus Pannonius) the leading Hungarian humanist author of the time and a student of Guarino Guarini in Ferrera, 110, 116-117.
[239] Johannes Dantiscus, "In Laudem Pauli Crosnensis," 1512 (IDP 20), ll. 13-20: "*Diceris a cunctis patriae tutela salusque;/ Consilio praebes commoda multa tuo./ Cana fides, probitas animi, mens recta, profundum/ Ingenium, solidus dexteritatis amor,/ Rebus et in magnis industria multa gerendis/ Dulceque facundi pectoris eloquium/ Te cunctis carum faciunt cunctisque colendum,/ Praesertim doctis Pieriisque viris."* This translation is mine. Two Polish translations are available, one by Jan Harhala (Jan Dantyszek, *Utwory poetyckie* [Lwów: Nakł. Filomaty, 1937], 77-79) and another by Anna Kamieńska (Jan Dantyszek, *Pieśni* [Olsztyn: Pojezierze, 1973], 84-87).

words in delightful harmonies."[240] This Andreas Cricius (Andrzej Krzycki, 1482-1537) was an outstanding humanist, and would become the court poet of King Sigismund, then Bishop of Płock, and ultimately the Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland. Cricius, like Dantiscus and many other Poles, corresponded with Erasmus.[241] And yet, in their university days, Cricius and Dantiscus devoted their energies to merry-making and dissipation.

The Society of Drunks and Gluttons (*Bibones and Comedones*), founded by Korybut Koszyrski (d. 1528), a jolly nobleman at court.[242] Like Celtis's *Sodalitas Vistulana*, the *Bibones* attracted many humanists at court who dedicated their evenings to eating, drinking, and writing bawdy neo-Latin about the pleasures available to them in the brothels. In one Falstaffian mockery of a last will and testament, Cricius wrote as Korybut on his deathbed that he would leave his red and swollen nose as a lamp for the prostitutes and his phallus to mark their doorways; and what little money he had left after a life of dissipation to pay the bar tabs of his surviving friends.[243] In another poem, he prayed for his appetites to never diminish; elsewhere he took on the persona of Zoffka (Sophie), "memorable among brothel sisters" to sing the praises of the diversely-shaped members of their clients.[244] Yet these riotous wags would advance to very high positions and remain connected over their careers. Cricius would become Archbishop of Gniezno; Dantiscus was Polish ambassador to the Emperor Charles and later prince-bishop of Warmia; Jan Zambocki (1480-1529) and Nicholas Nibschitz (1483-1541) would be diplomats as well. Sometimes in their correspondence they would refer back to their wilder days ("I remain your glutton and drunk," Zambocki assured Dantiscus before writing about a rebellion in Gdańsk in 1524).[245] This humorous give-and-take aside, Dantiscus continued to congregate with friends in this spirit as an accomplished adult, and the sharing of wine was often a useful vehicle for meetings with courtiers and diplomats.[246] That they would mellow and grow conservative with age as ecclesiarchs—as when Bishop Dantiscus would write his litany against the many sins of Gdańsk (*Ionas Propheta*, 1535), telling the city to cover up in modesty, to cast off luxurious clothes, to "quit pleasures," and "defeat gluttony by fasting"—does not reverse the benefits of their youthful association.[247]

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[240] Johannes Dantiscus, "In Laudem Pauli Crosnensis," 1512 (IDP 20), ll. 21-22: "*Te penes est Cricius, docuit quem Delius ipse/ Dulcia dulcisonis nectere verba modis,*"

[241] Glomski, 21-22.

[242] Leonard Lepszy, *Lud Wesołków w Dawnej Polsce* (Cracow: W.L. Anczyca, 1899), 99. Segel, 194, translates *Bibones et Comedones* as "Guzzlers and Gobblers."

[243] Segel, 194.

[244] Segel, 194-196. See also, Andrzej Krzycki, *Poezje,* trans. Edwin Jędrkiewicz, ed. Antonina Jelicz (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1956).

[245] Jan Zambocki to Johannes Dantiscus, June 10, 1524 (IDL 120), from Cracow: "*valemus et reliqui lurcones combibonesque tui.*"

[246] In one letter to Sigmund von Herberstein, Dantiscus explained that could not write any more because he was impeded by the "giant sea of wine" he had drunk (*obstat mihi ingens pelagus vinum*), July 6, 1522, from Klamm, Brand-Laaben, Austria (IDL 155).

And years later, as elder statesmen, they were still at it, as seen in one letter from Cornelius Schepper to Dantiscus complaining of another letter from their mutual friend, Nicholas Nibschitz, that had come and was illegible because it was evidently written under the debilitating influence of alcohol: May 25, 1529, from Brussels (IDL 430): "*Litterae huc ab Nyptzichz missae pervenerunt, quas nemo novit legere, nisi id tantum constat, quod mero* [strong, undiluted wine] *indulgens scripserit.*"

[247] See my translation of this poem. Dantiscus takes the voice of Jonah, calling upon the Ninevites to repent.

That university administrators should be impatient with disrespectful and drunken students is not unheard of today and it was nothing new in the sixteenth century. An indignant sermon by a university rector in 1401 heaps accusations on his distracted charges who are more interested in feasting, drinking, gambling, wearing dapper clothes and chasing women than attending to their studies or going to chapel.[248] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the contrast between correct behavior and profligacy was starker because of the expectation that students would follow a semi-monastic regimen. The student wore long dark buttoned-up tunics, they lived in dormitories, ate lentils twice a day, and were expected to rise before dawn for classes.[249] The clerical style of dress and conduct carried over from student days to professional life in a natural way (see images of diplomats and their austere style of dress in Chapter 3, Fig. 3-15) for many of the university educated men took holy orders to advance in ecclesial careers or were rewarded with benefices by powerful patrons and so became, at least nominally, men of the cloth. Rambunctious undergraduates like Dantiscus and Krzycki would, as seen above, mature into sober ecclesiarchs. This was a question of funding. The church had land and therefore income. The king or one of his ministers could fund a protégé without any cost by promoting him within the ranks of the church. Dantiscus's direct patron was Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki, who was also bishop or Przemysl, the bishop of Poznań, and finally archbishop of Cracow. Tomicki's patron in the church had been Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon, the king's brother.

The Intersection of Renaissance Humanist Education and the Gdańsk Burger Ethos

By the time Dantiscus came to Cracow, Renaissance Humanism was securely enthroned at the university and the royal court. He had the education, the personality, and the wit to advance in that intellectual climate and did. He also had the good fortune to be born in Gdańsk at a moment of great prosperity, mobility, and allegiance to the king.

When, on March 6, 1454, the burghers of Gdańsk and the Prussian League had voted to rebel against the "tyranny" of the Teutonic Knights, they accused them of "perfidy and violence [that] nullified all previous treaties and obligations," judging their government to be "unlawful"; for these reasons and to protect their "properties, laws, liberties and prerogatives," the Prussians chose to integrate themselves into the Crown Poland.[250] In their view, a government that trampled (what would later be called) the rights of the governed forfeited its authority. When viewed in comparison with the concurrent, top-down model of authority, the Prussian document seems almost Jeffersonian.[251]

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[248] Stanisław of Skarmierz's "Speech about the Bad Students" (*Stanisława ze Skarbmierza mowa o złych studentach*, in Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning,"* 203.)

[249] Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning,"* 201-206.

[250] Friedrich, 22-23: "*reintegramus, reunimus, invisceramus et incorporamus et ad usum participacionem omnium bonorum, iurium, libertatum et praerogativum … regni Poloiae*"

[251] We could make a comparison with the discussions on how to deal with the Spanish New World, where the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas and Francisco de Vittoria grappled with the question of whether Indians had rights. When Columbus claimed the New World for the crown of Castile all of its inhabitants became instantly subjects and vassals of the queen, any refusal to comply with royal authorities—after they had been read the *Requerimiento*—was therefore rebellion.

To speak of rights for people who did not have the fully-formed concept is both convenient and anachronistic.[252] Still, the burghers were citizens before they were subjects and their political language was the fruit of civic humanist political thinking which had grown and ripened in the sun of the Polish Renaissance.[253]

That Polish Renaissance is usually called in Poland the Golden Age (*Złoty Wiek*), just as the comparable time is in Spain (*el Siglo de Oro*). In both cases the name means 100 years, even though most agree that these centuries were "long centuries" with blurry beginnings and endings. However, most will also agree that the Renaissance beyond the Alps lasted a significantly shorter time than the Italian one. While Shakespeare and Cervantes tend to be included into the rolls of Renaissance giants in acknowledgment of their elevation of the human spirit, but they did not write in Latin, let alone devote themselves to classical letters. The seventeenth century belongs to vernacular writers, to nations, to confessions. Because the sixteenth-century humanism wove together that European universalist fabric, the seventeenth could slice it up along political lines without losing the whole: the tapestry became a quilt, but the picture was still there. The seventeenth century with its baroque culture, wars of religion, and increasingly absolute monarchies, all came out of (respectively) the Renaissance, the Reformation, and particularizing use of the vernacular. It was the Europe-wide exchange of ideas of the Northern Renaissance that made it possible.

[252] Samuel Moyn argues that, before the seventeenth century, people thought more about the *duties* concomitant with Natural Law than *rights.* That is perhaps because without a state to guarantee those rights, for they should transcend personal loyalties, a person would not be able to count on his rights and that would negate their point in the first place. See Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 20, also Samuel Moyn, "Rights vs. Duties: Reclaiming Civic Balance," in *Boston Review* (May 16, 2016): https://bostonreview.net/books-ideas/samuel-moyn-rights-duties.
[253] Friedrich, 22.

Chapter 2: Early Modern European Travel in the Service of the State

The first chapter of this dissertation looked for formative influences in the early years of Johannes Dantiscus, the Early Modern European diplomat, courtier, and Renaissance humanist. The third and fourth chapters will investigate his life at the court of Charles V in the 1520s. This second chapter will bridge the two, describing Dantiscus's travels and his efforts to establish his diplomatic and literary networks. Learned men who possessed the skill of good written Latin, then comparatively scarce, were professionally set apart to enjoy gainful employment, state service, and ecclesial benefices. When they traveled in the service of their lords, leaving behind university halls and chancellery walls, that separation became only more acute. Connected to distant people by an elite language, they practiced cultural island-hopping in a sea of vernacular speech (not yet writing) and local loyalty.

This chapter seeks to establish the conditions of travel in the service of the early modern state to gain insight into the mentality of its practitioners. It will reconstruct two journeys—Dantiscus's sea-voyage in the Eastern Mediterranean in 1504, and his overland journey through Germany in 1522—and describe some of the real (physical, material) pressures on the diplomat's daily life. In the first case, Dantiscus was eager to go; he set sail on a pilgrimage of his own volition. In the second instance, he was deeply reticent to travel, and stubbornly provided a series of justifications for why it should be in the king's best interests to let him remain at home. He feared that this travel would endanger not only his life, but something almost as dear—his purse. It is also surprising to see how comparatively easy it was to sail to the Holy Land, into the Muslim world, yet how much more trouble it was for this ethnic German to cross Germany, in the very heart of Europe nominally under the rule of the Holy Roman Emperor. This incongruity illuminates the contrast between the orderly functioning of both Venetian and Ottoman territories in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the tangled patchwork of Germany filled with warring factions. It is an illustration of the influence of state power (or lack of it) on the lives of Early Modern people. This chapter will also argue that, because of the difficulty of traveling beyond the influence of a given secular or ecclesial court, its agents learned to rely on each other, to cultivate networks and friendships by personal visitation, exchange of gifts or letters, conscientiously paying into a bank of mutual esteem with the expectation of collecting later in the form of help—be it physical (shelter), professional (employment), or political (influence)—and constituting a club that has since come to be called the *Republic of Letters*.

Early Service and the Spontaneous Pilgrimage

Dantiscus finished his Bachelor of the Arts degree at the age of eighteen, but he had been working already for three years as a secretary in the king's chancellery in Cracow, the site of both his university and the royal court. There were about ten or eleven secretaries (and "secretary" was a term used interchangeably with "scribe" or "notary") in attendance at court, though fewer when the king traveled.[254] The Italian-styled court and his humanist professors propelled him into the culture of European politics.[255] Although very little of Dantiscus's early

[254] Wyczański, 60-63. The number would fluctuate though gradually increasing to about 20 later in Sigismund's reign, with a total of 71 different secretaries serving at different times over the course of 48 years.
[255] Nowak, 69-75.

writings remain, it is known that after the death of King John I Albert (d. 1501), and the ascension of his brother, King Alexander I (r. 1501-1506), he moved to the episcopal court of Chancellor John Łaski.[256] At that point, Dantiscus went on campaign against the Tatars and then the Moldovans which he referred to in his long, autobiographical *Poem for Alliopagus*: "And as a young man, I was a soldier in the time of war against the Dacians and the Getae and the Borysthenes."[257] That he wrote these two lines and moved on to other subjects has led some historians to surmise that his role as an *aide-de-camp* was unremarkable.[258] More likely, however, was that he had little need to send out letters for his official function (very different from being an ambassador) or private correspondence (since he had not built up his connections across Europe), and so the lack of evidence should not itself be taken as a verdict about the importance of the event in Dantiscus's eyes. It is also true that the war did not go well, and that the Poles were stymied and brought to the negotiation table by the superior tactics of their comparatively weaker Moldovan adversary.[259]

To build on his baccalaureate degree, Dantiscus then continued to Italy, to undertake a master's.[260] As an older man looking back, he would later claim that he was also rebelling against the indulgent life of a courtier and seeking moral renewal; the dissipations of his literary drinking club, the *Bibones et Comedones*, come to mind when reading his words:

> I tremble in remembering the times of my early life, which—I admit it—I squandered in terrible sins.
>
> In my tender years at court, I was carried off by pride and self-regard—everyone knows how it is coming from school—and now I regret the way I was.

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[256] Nowak, 90.

[257] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 171-172: "*Iunior et belli contra Dacosque Getasque/ Atque Borysthenidas tempore miles eram.*"

The classical tribal names—Dacians, Getae, Borysthenites—refers to people living in the eastern Balkans, along the banks of the Danube and south of it, and at its Black Sea Delta. (cf. Herodotus, *Histories* IV, chs. 93, 53).

[258] Nowak, 90-91.

[259] Moldovan prince (*voivode*), Stephen the Great (Ştefan cel Mare, r. 1457-1504), managed to keep his little country one step ahead of his mighty neighbors (the Ottoman Empire, Hungary, and Poland-Lithuania) by playing them off one another, using his well-organized military advantageously in instances of asymmetrical warfare, as when he compelled Poland's exhausted, under-supplied army to withdraw from an aborted siege of Suceava in 1497 and then ambushed them in the wooded valley of Cosmin Forest. Although Stephen also tried to rally his coreligionist monarchs against the Ottoman Turks—he stopped paying tribute to the Ottomans and resumed hostilities with them—he never got support from other Christians, and so resumed payment in 1502-1503. Instead, he resumed his conflict with Poland and (re)captured the city of Pokucie (Pocuția). These border wars continued at the end of John Albert's life and into King Alexander's reign, and these are the campaigns that Dantiscus must have participated in. (Jonathan Eagles, *Stephen the Great and Balkan Nationalism: Moldova and Eastern European History* [London: I. B. Tauris, 2014], 30-32, 40-62; Eugen Denize, *Stephen the Great and His Reign*, trans. Stela Tinney [Bucharest: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2004], 20-28, 173-202; Tadeusz Grabarczyk, "The Battle of Cosmin Forest" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, ed. Clifford J. Rogers (Oxford, University Press, 2010), online version: http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195334036.001.0001/acref-9780195334036-e-0265?rskey=2F4M27&result=261.)

[260] See Nowak, 56-58 for Dantiscus's studies in the liberal arts, then 59-61 for his trip to Italy, and 61-68 for a summary of his pilgrimage.

> The court—that curse of humanity and great mire of wickedness—taught me this, silencing my sense of decency by its command.
>
> Accordingly, when I left the court, heading out for the land of Latium, I wanted to associate myself with good people.[261]

When he reached Venice, however, he was moved to go in a different direction. Observing that a ship of pilgrims was preparing to depart for the Holy Land, he seized the moment and joined them. "When I had crossed the Alps," he recalled, "I found myself not far from the wide sea [….]"

> And when I got there and I saw a group of companions with a ship all ready and fitted out to depart for Jerusalem, a place where I had the intention of going at some point before long,
>
> And next I had a certain feeling divine will come upon me which commanded me to join this voyage immediately.
>
> I boarded the vessel, paying the entire fare, and a favorable wind filled the sails, pulling them tight.[262]

It should be remembered that he set this account of events to paper 30 years after they transpired. His memory was likely selective and some of the details important in 1504 had faded in 1535 or been transformed in the service of his moralistic didactic goals (as a Prussian bishop, retired from politics, interested chiefly in scolding the world for its moral decay). Even so, the impetuosity with which he took this decision invites questions. How easy was it to travel to the Holy Land in 1504? How much did it cost? How safe was the journey? Dantiscus's account makes it seem not difficult at all. Venice had long been the main point of departure for the Holy Land. Crusaders had sailed from Venice centuries earlier. And even the Teutonic Knights who were driven from Acre in 1291 (see previous chapter) but had not yet established their crusader state in Prussia, made their capital in Venice for this reason: it allowed them, at least symbolically, to keep a foot in the Holy Land even as they retreated from that sacred field of battle.

Dantiscus was carrying some sum of money with him since he was planning to continue his education in Italy. Evidently travel to the Holy Land was normal enough that by paying his fare, and without any additional planning in advance, Dantiscus could board the ship and depart.

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[261] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 65-72: "*Horresco memorans aetatis tempora primae,/ Quae quibus absumpsi, sunt mihi nota, modis./ In teneris annis tumidam sum raptus ad aulam,/ Scilicet ex doctis, quod modo plango, scholis./ Aula, lues hominum sentinaque larga malorum,/ Me docuit, pudor hic quae reticere iubet./ Hanc igitur linquens Latiasque profectus ad oras/ Me volui studiis consociare bonis.*"

[262] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 73-82: "*At secus evenit, cum iam penetrasse per Alpes/ Me vidi, latum nec procul esse fretum./ Euganeos adii conclusos undique ponto,/ Qui tria regna sua sub dicione tenent./ Hic cum vidissem socios navemque paratam/ Ad Solymas, mihi mens quo fuit ante diu,/ Mox illam subiit vis numinis impete quodam,/ Quae iussit comitem me simul esse viae./ Conscendi, pariter persolvens debita nauli,/ Optatis ventis velaque tensa dedi.*"

Although Dantiscus did not record the cost, another pilgrim, friar Antonio de Lisboa, paid 72 ducats in 1507 for the the entire trip, including the sea passage, the hired animals (donkeys and horses), the fees to the Muslim authorities, and other costs, excepting what food they bought while in port.[263] This figure seems to have fluctuated but gradually increased over the years: William Wey paid 40 ducats around 1460, Ulrich Brunner paid only 20 ducats in 1470, Bernard von Breydenbach paid 42 in 1484.[264] Both Breydenbach and Friar Antonio paid half in Venice upon departure and the other half in Jaffa as they began the return trip, demonstrating that money was considered more safe in the possession of the traveler (presumably on his person) than with the ship's master. Breydenbach also underscored the importance of skillful bargaining before an agreement is reached, a fact which helps explain the fluctuating price.[265] If Dantiscus paid the 72 ducats that Friar Antonio paid two years later or something close to that amount, it would have been a very handsome sum, more than a year's basic subsistence or a third of the annual salary of well-paid professor.[266]

The ease with which Dantiscus booked passage was possible for him because many pilgrims were traveling regularly from Venice to the Levant. In the ten years before and after Dantiscus's pilgrimage, more than a hundred pilgrims not only traveled to the Holy Land but wrote about it.[267] Since pilgrims traveled in groups, the total number of travelers may be comfortably estimated in the thousands.[268] The practice of pilgrimage—a thing the twenty-first century observer might erroneously consider a solely medieval phenomenon—was alive and well. For example, Mercurino Gattinara (1465-1530), Dantiscus's future patron and friend, planned to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1516 after escaping from assassins for the third time,

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[263] "*Que cada peregrine pagasse setenta e dos ducados de oro por el flete o uolito de la nao e por todos los otros derechos, ansi por ver el Sancto Sepulchro como por las cavalgaduras e bestias que los dichos moros dan a los peregrinos para yr de unas a otras partes a visitor los Sanctos lugares despues que desembarcan en el Puerto de Jafa que es e està a diez lequas de Jherusalem hasta tornar a embarcar en el dicho Puerto e por todas las otras cosas e mantenimientos que en el dicho viaje hiziessemos, gastassemos e ouiessemos menester, ecepto el mantenimiento e gasto que hiziessemos en el comer en todas las partes que tomassemos puerto estando e saliendo a tierra, porque esto auía de ser a nuestra costa.*" Fray Antonio de Lisboa, *Viaje a Oriente,* Ed., A Rodríguez-Moñino (Badajoz: Imprenta de la Diputación Provincial, 1949. Orig. 1507), 53-54.

[264] *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land, 1483-1484, a Bibliography,* by Hugh Wm. Davies (London: J & J Leighton, 1911), *xii* esp. fn. 2.

[265] H. W. Davies, *xi.*

[266] "The minimum cost of living [in 1507] was fifty ducats per annum; one hundred ducats placed a person into easy circumstances and 250 ducats afforded means of living in luxury." (John M. Lenhart, "Franciscana Notes," *Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 [June 1946], 233.) The University of Bologna paid the humanist professor Pietro Pomponazzi a competitive salary of 200 ducats in the academic year of 1511-1512. (Paul F. Grendler, "The University of Bologna, the city, and the papacy," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, *Special Issue: Civic Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Bologna: historical and scholarly contexts* [December, 1999], 481). Travel, however, was often quite expensive. Some years later, Dantiscus paid about 10 ducats (or florins) to cross the English channel, travel down the Rhine, or stay at an inn in Salzburg for a few days (Dantiscus, IDL 5806, IDL 163, IDL 157 in the *CIDT&L* catalogue), or 60 ducats to travel by ship from England to Spain (Dantiscus, IDL 5806).

[267] In his catalogue of pilgrimage narratives, Reinhold Röhricht lists 154 travelogues in the decade before and after Dantiscus's trip, i.e. 1494-1515 (Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae* [Berlin: H. Reuther's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890], 144-171). This compendium remains the "most comprehensive record of such imprints" and takes 338 pages "to cover 1599 entries." (Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007], 10.)

[268] Dantiscus refers to his companions. Friar Antonio tells us he was on a *nao* with 130 pilgrims total: "*nosotros e otros peregrinos que allí estauamos que heramos ciento y treynta por todos hezimos nuestro pacto e conuenencia con el patron de una muy buena nao*" (Antonio de Lisboa, 53).

which shows the currency of the idea. (In Gattinara's case, he did not get leave to go from his employer, Margaret of Austria, governor of the Netherlands, and so instead he commuted his plans to pious fasting, almsgiving, and a monastic retreat for six months.[269])

Dantiscus and other well-read elites had access to popular pilgrim narratives, written by other cosmopolitan figures. Hans Tucher of Nuremberg, for example, later mayor of that city, wrote *Reise in das gelobte Land* (Augsburg, 1479), and Bernhard von Breydenbach wrote *Peregrinatio* (1486); both works enjoyed multiple print runs in many cities, in Latin and several vernacular languages.[270] Both would certainly have been accessible in German-speaking, cosmopolitan Gdańsk. Breydenbach's work was particularly popular because of its lavish illustrations by engraver Erhard Reuwich.[271] Not only were there comprehensive city sketches, e.g. of Jerusalem (Fig. 2-1, below), Venice, Modon, Rhodes, but there were also vivid ethnographic images (Fig. 2-2, below); together these fired the imagination of the would-be pilgrim, or satisfied the curiosity of the literate burgher who preferred to stay at home.

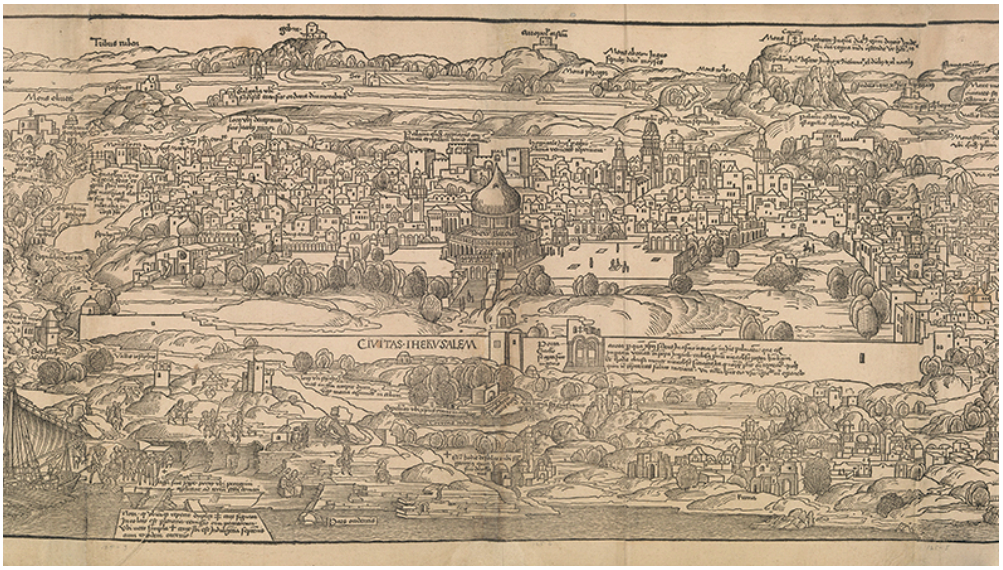

Fig. 2-1: Map of the City of Jerusalem, by Erhard Reuwich, from *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* by Bernhard von Breydenbach (1486).[272]

[269] Mercurino Gattinara, *Vita*, in Rebecca Ard Boone, Rebecca Ard Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara and the creation of the Spanish Empire* (Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 86-87.
[270] Tucher's book was printed in 1482, 1483, 1484, 1486, and 1505 in Nuremberg, and in 1483 and 1484 in Strassburg, in 1518 in Leipzig, and later in 1561 in Frankfurt on Main (Noonan, 30). Breydenbach's book appeared in both German and Latin in Mainz in 1486, in Latin in Speyer in 1490, and again in Mainz in 1490, later in Basle in 1573 and 1577, in German in Strassburg in 1487, in Augsburg in 1488, and in Speyer in 1498 and in 1502. A French translation appeared in 1488 and again in the 1520s, a Dutch translation in 1486, 1488, and 1498, and a Spanish one in 1498. Later (in 1610) there was even a Polish version. (Noonan, 35, 41.)
[271] Noonan, 37.
[272] This image is housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and was published by *The Times of Israel* and *The Jewish Standard* (of New Jersey): http://jewishstandard.timesofisrael.com/walk-around-zion/. See also H. W. Davies (1911), plate 25.

Fig. 2-2: from left to right: Saracens, Jews, Greeks, and Syrians, by Erhard Reuwich, from *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* in Bernhard von Breydenbach (Mainz, 1486, for the first three, and Lyons, 1489, for the Syrians).[273]

Perhaps the most curious print included in Breydenbach's account is the one of the animals that he saw in the Holy Land, a depiction that he insists was truthful: *haec animalia sunt veraciter depicta sicut vidimus in terra sancta* (Fig. 2-3). Breydenbach included a giraffe (*Seraffa*), a crocodile (*Cocodrillus*), goats (*Capre de India*), a unicorn (*Vnicornus*), a camel (*Camelus*), its naked simian attendant with a mane and a tale, covered in hair, but holding a stick and the camel's tether ("the name varies," *non constat de no[mi]ne*), and finally a salamander (*Salemandra*). In this print by Reuwich, just as in travel narratives (e.g. the popular *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* which was also an inspiration to Columbus) including the pilgrimage narratives of Dantiscus and his contemporaries, we see a mixture of realism and fantasy.[274]

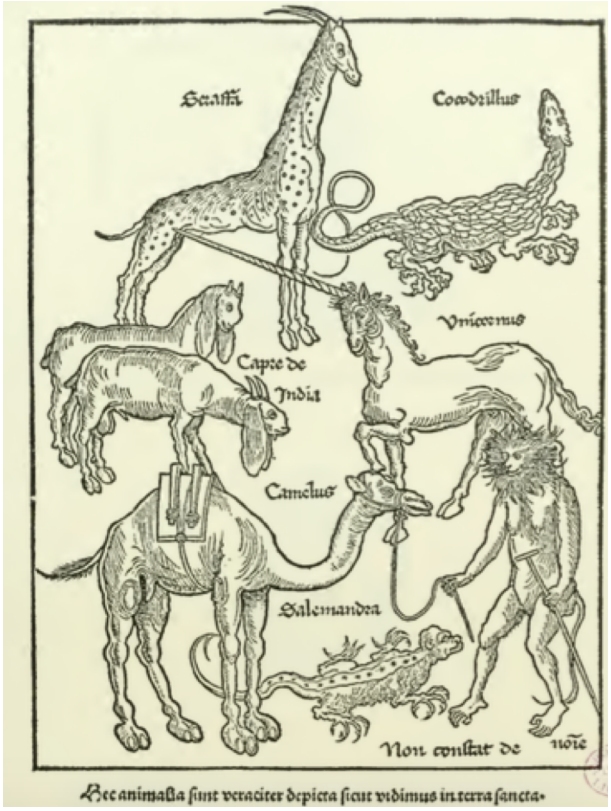

Fig. 2-3: Davies, plate 42.

Dantiscus's account in particular mixed the enchantment of classical mythology with the supernatural power of Christian narrative. Although he gave his pilgrimage but a passing mention in his autobiographical *Vita* (1534)—"How many countries and how many ocean voyages (I have undergone), both Jerusalem and the two Western Lands (Italy and Spain) will be witness to"—he, fortunately, revisited this journey five years later in his much longer *Poem for Alliopagus*, that is quoted above.[275] What is unusual about Dantiscus's account and is a symptom of his Renaissance humanist

[273] H. W. Davies (1911), plates 34-36.
[274] For illuminating studies of Mandeville, see Stephen Greenblatt, "From the Dome of the Rock to the Rim of the World," in *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), and Mary Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), esp. the introduction and chapter 2.
[275] Johannes Dantiscus, *Vita Joannis Dantisci* (1534), IDP 92 on the CIDT&C, ll. 21-22: "*Quot terras et quot pergravimus aequoris undas,/ Et Solyma, Hesperia ac utraque testis erit.*" (See Appendix 3 for full English translation.)

perspective is that he made more classical references than biblical ones; for other pilgrims of the period, the opposite was true.

In this account, Dantiscus included that he sailed both into the "different regions of outstretched sea" and into worlds "known previously to me from reading."[276] He did not restrain himself in bringing his humanist erudition into play as he described the voyage. Dantiscus recalled Odysseus when sailing past Corfu, the island that had "once received the naked Dulchian [Odysseus, king of Dulchium] on his shattered raft," though he thought Homer, "the deceitful Greek," had praised it excessively.[277] Crete was the "famous fatherland of ancient city-states founded by Jove" and the stores of grain and wine, "Bacchus's sweet fruits."[278] Rhodes was the Kingdom of Phoebus (Apollo), always sunny, while lunar Phoebe (Artemis) marked the time their vessel by to the shores of Venus's island, Cyprus.[279] All of the winds that carried them forward or hindered their progress, Dantiscus personified as Notus (the west wind), Eurus (the east wind), Aquilo and Hyperborea (the north and extreme north, or arctic, winds), and Aura (the breeze).[280] Crossing from Cyprus to Jaffa, Dantiscus remarked that they were near the place where Perseus had rescued Andromeda from the sea monster.[281]

There were other pilgrims who sailed at the same time who were likewise aware of the classical tradition. An English knight traveling in 1506, Sir Richard Guylforde, noted—or rather his chaplain who wrote the narrative did—"in Cyprus is Paphoñ, that was a temple consecrate to Venus," just as Dantiscus had observed, "Paphos and Knidos, Mount Idalus and Idalus's forest" although he was sick "from the putrid atmosphere" and could take "no pleasure at all" in these sights.[282] Sir John's chaplain also identified the Ionian island of Kythira as "Citheria, where

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[276] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 83-84: "*Multa maris passus discrimina plurima vidi,/ A me quae toties lecta fuere prius.*"

[277] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 89-92: "*Legimus in primis Corcyrae litora, nudum/ Fracta Dulichium quae tenuere rate./ Hic non una quidem nobis est insula visa,/ Quas nimia mendax Graecia laude canit."*

[278] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 93-96: "*Attigit et claram prius urbibus acta per undas/ Aegaeas patriam nostra carina Iovis./ Frugum Creta ferax et abundans dulcis Iacchi/ Ex magna nobis utilitate fuit.*"

[279] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 101-114: "*Vidimus inde Rhodum, cui numquam nubila solem/ Obducunt, qualiscumque sit illa dies./ […] Solvimus a Phoebi sic regno regna petentes,/ Quae Cyprus asseritur continuisse novem./ […] Non potui Veneris languidus esse memor.*"

[280] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 97, 109, 115, 120, 98.

[281] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 127-128, "*Hic vinctam fertur ceto rapuisse puellam/ Perseus et monstro praevaluisse maris*."

[282] Sir Richard Guylforde, *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506,* ed., Sir Henry Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1851), 15.

Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 111-114: "*Hic Paphos hicque Cnidos, mons Idalus et nemus ipsum/ Praebebant oculis gaudia nulla meis./ Namque febrem putri corruptus ab aëre passus,/ Non potui Veneris languidus esse memor.*" Curiously enough, there is no Mt. Idalus, but more likely Dantiscus is referring to Stavrovouni, a mountain next to ancient Idalion, a city dedicated to Venus and, by extension, so were its mountain and its woodland. The fever of Venus could refer to Dantiscus's cultural devotion to all things classical, or alternatively more amorous pursuits.

Helena the Grekysshe Quene was borne, but she was rauyshed by Paris […] for whiche rape followed the distruccion of Troye, as ye famouse storye therof sheweth."[283]

But while it is true that some pilgrims were interested in classical places and stories, they were far more interested in the Christian events associated with those places than the pagan ones. For instance, when Sir Richard sailed through Ragusa ("Arragonse," present-day Dubrovnik), he noted, not only its mighty battlements, and its political situation, but its churches and holy items. This city contained the head and arm of St. Blaise, the partially burned hand of John the Baptist, and the swaddling clothes in which Simeon received the Christ Child in the temple "with many other grete relyqyes."[284] Sir Richard's chaplain made these observations for each stop along the journey. The Spanish friar, Anthony of Lisbon, traveling in 1507, did the same: the Port of Pula (on the Dalmatian coast), he wrote, had the bones of King Solomon of Hungary, Saint Gregory the Great, Saints Demetrius and Theodor, and also "one thorn from the crown of Our Redeemer Jesus Christ."[285] And so on for every place. After Sir Richard and Friar Anthony reached the Holy Land, they became even more descriptive, giving their readers the strong sense that the entire land was *one great relic* with many layers of significance. In any given place there were Old Testament events, and events from the life of Jesus Christ, and also those of the early Christians in the first century and later. For example, Sir Richard's chaplain wrote that within (or under) the Franciscan Church of Mt. Zion were the site of the Last Supper, the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the burial place of the prophets and kings of Israel, a place where Jesus preached, his mother prayed, and King David repented of his sins.[286] Both Friar Anthony and a French pilgrim writing in 1522, Denis Possot, told how St. Helen, the mother of Constantine, threw one of the Holy Nails (from the crucifixion) into the sea to calm a storm.[287]

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[283] Sir Richard Guylforde, *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506,* ed., Sir Henry Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1851), 12-13. Otherwise, however, he makes references to Christian sites (a relic of John the Baptist's arm, the grave of Titus, the island of Patmos ("where seynt John wrote the Apocalyps," 15).

[284] Sir Richard Guylforde, 10-11, esp. 11: "many relyques, as the hed and arme of seynt Blasé, whiche is there patron: an hande with part of the arme of seynt John Baptyste, some what scorcherde with the fyre as it was brente: the clothe that seynt Symyon reveyued our Sauyoure upon in his armes whan he was presented into the Temple; with many other grete relyqyes." See also Richard Gyug, *Medieval Cultures in Contact* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 60.

[285] Fray Antonio de Lisboa, *Viaje a Oriente,* ed., A Rodríguez-Moñino (Badajoz: Imprenta de la Diputación Provincial, 1949. Orig. 1507), 56-57: "*Las reliquias que en las iglesia mayor desta cibdad de Pola nos mostraron son estas:/ Los huessos del Rey Salomon metidos en un arca./ Los guessos de Sant Gregorio Papa./ Los huessos de Sant Demetrio./ Los huessos de Sant theodor./ Ina espina de la corona de Nuestro Redemptor Jhesuchristo*."

[286] Sir Richard Guylforde, 19-21: "From thens, goynge into Mounte Syon, fast by the churche, is ye place where our blessyd Lady vsed to saye her moste deuoute prayers [….] Also there, faste by, be .ij. stones; vpon one of them our Sauyoure Criste vsed to sytte and preche to his disciples, and vpon the other sat his blessyd modre, herynge his sayde prechynges. […. Under] is the sepulture or beryall of prophetes and kings of Israell, as Dauyd and Salamon, Roboas, Abias, Asa, Josaphat, Joram, Exechias, Athalia regina, Joas, Amazias, Ozias, Joathan, Achaz, Oehozas, Manasses, Amos, Josias, Joacham, Eliachy, Jecomias, Sedechias, and many moo [….] And also therby is the place where paschal lambe was rosted, &c: and where the water was hete to washe the fete of Cristes disciples. And there, faste by, is the place where kynge Dauid dyd penaunce and made the .vij. psalmes for the slynge of Vrye […. in order that] he might the more at lybertie vse his wife, whome he helde in aduoultre, &c. […. Where] the hyghe aulter is, our blessyd Sauyour Criste Ihesu made his laste souper and Maundy with his disciples, and there made the precious sacrament of his blessyd body [….] And vnder nethe the same place is a lytell chapel, where our Sauyour Criste, after his resurreccyon, apperyd to his disciples [….]

[287] Fray Antonio de Lisboa, 66: "*En el golfo de Sietelías es adonde Sancta Helena echo el uno de los clauos de Nuestro Señor Jhesuchristo para aplacar las tempestades de aquel mar: en este golfo se dize que auvía una cabeça*

Pilgrim narratives constitute a *genre* and there are hundreds of extant examples. That they should resemble each other is natural. Such stories were passed along by the Franciscan guides who received the visitors (more on this below), by the Venetian sailors who profited from the frequent journeys, and by their readers back in Europe. The people most able to undertake a time-consuming and expensive journey were nobles (Sir John, Bernard von Breydenbach), clerics (John's chaplain, friar Antonio), or a new category of wealthy burghers connected to government (Tucher, Dantiscus—though Dantiscus would belong to all three categories during his life time; this was also true of Gattinara). These men did not have to worry about money or time; they also moved in literate circles and they knew their Homer and their Bible.

Dantiscus's later writings are an example of how the connections, both sacred and cultural, that Europeans perceived during their journeys through the Eastern Mediterranean to the Holy Land could sharpen their acute sense of past loss to and present danger from the increasingly powerful Ottoman Empire. The costs, permissions, and humiliations reminded them of their collective weakness and shared guilt in wasting their military strength on internal wars. Such feelings of loss and blame resonated through contemporary crusade polemics and pilgrimage narratives. In addition to religious and classical veneration of places, there were palpable elements of fear, disgrace, and rightful ownership denied.

Trials at Sea

Sea voyages were dangerous propositions in the Early Modern period. Erasmus of Rotterdam's humorous and didactic *Naufragium* (*The Shipwreck*) plays on the mortal dread that grips the passengers of a ship caught in a storm.[288] With the rigging shredded, the vessel tossed about on the waves until "the Sea had seized the whole ship," the ship's company made votive pronouncements and argued over which saints, pilgrimages, or other devotions were the most effective.[289] The joke is in the haggling orations and intercessory layers they construct instead of appealing directly to God. The punchline is that the floundering castaways turn out to be wracked upon a sand bar so it is enough for them to stand up and walk to shore. And still only seven survive in Erasmus's sketch revealing, both in the misadventure and its conclusion, not only the Dutch humanist's critique of popular superstition but also an Early Modern fear of the sea.

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de metal hecha por arte mágica que mouía las tempestades y en aquella cabeça dizen algunos que hincó Sancta Elena el clauo, y otros dizen que los echo en el mar."

Denis Possot, *Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints 1971, reprint of Paris edition, 1890, orig. 1532), 133: "[…] *là il ya a ung peril pour les grandes tempests qui y sont tousjours, et souvent y a des navires rompues et perdues. Laquelle chose craignant madame saincte Helene, mere de Constantin, reventant de Hierusalem gecta ung des clouz de Nostre Seigneur et aulcunes parties de relicques qu'elle emportoit dedans la mer, et subitement la tempeste fut apaisée*."

[288] Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Erasmi Colloquia Selecta/The Select Colloquies of Erasmus*, 23rd ed., ed. trans. John Clarke (Clocester: R. Raikees, 1800), 1-23.

The waves of this storm make the Alps seem as molehills in comparison (3: "*Vidistine Alpes unquam?* […] *Illi montes sunt verrucae, si conferantur ad undas maris.*")

[289] "*Jam mare occupaverat totam navim*" (Erasmus, *Naufragium*, 15).

The dangers of sea travel are a recurring theme in Dantiscus's letters. For example, when he sailed from Spain to the Netherlands in 1523, he was afraid of dangerous storms (*tempestatum periculis*) or the attacks of the French fleet (*hostium Gallorum*), and gave thanks to God for passing through such dangers.[290] On another occasion when Dantiscus was crossing the English Channel, Dantiscus described the incoming hail storms, repeating the sailor jargon of ominous "devil's tail" in the sky. He paid 10 ducats (14 Rhenish florins) to cross.[291] A longer from England to Spain, a much greater distance but fortunately a calmer sea cost him 60 ducats (the only way to not pay, Dantiscus joked darkly, was to "immediately learn to navigate a ship.")[292] That was not much less than than his entire pilgrimage Jerusalem, both ways, showing that neither the distance, not the entry into 'enemy waters' were the determining factors of price. When Mercurino Gattinara was crossing from Barcelona to Genoa, a coastwise voyage of 400 or 500 miles, he was afraid of not only the French galleys, triremes, that "infested that coast" of France, but also "Moorish biremes that wandered up and down that shore," and storms as well.[293] Dantiscus's friend, Cornelius Schepper, who was accompanying Gattinara on this voyage wrote how this trip took fifteen days, how their brigantine had been pushed back by storm and darkness (*tempestatem et tenebras*) and could not manage to leave port on its first attempt, and could make no progress until the gods of wind and seas were placated (*Aeolo, Neptuno autem ita placido*), and described the French control of the coast in identical terms of "infestation" (*totum mare hoc infestat*).[294] In another letter later from the return voyage, Schepper told Dantiscus that he'd read Dantiscus's previous after it had been retaken from the hands of pirates.[295] Gattinara's

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[290] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, May 12, 1523, from Bergen op Zoom (IDL 182): "I was at sea not without the French enemy fleet, and not without dangerous storms, blowing day and night for twelve days. Whoever should suffer such horrors ought to give thanks to God Almighty that he has arrived." (*Fui in mari non sine hostium [Gallorum] et tempestatum periculis duodecim diebus et noctibus. Quid ibidem sim passus horresco memorans Deo Optimo Maximo gratia, quod hic sum.*)

[291] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Solutis decem ducatis ventis me commisi habuique ab ortu solis usque ad meridiem tempus satis secundum, posteaquam mihi nautae caudatum demonem in aere ostendebant et quae deinde prope iam portum tempestas cum grandinibus sequebatur, horresco memorans, et, ne videar pro epistula historiam conscribere, consulto praetereo.*" The comparison between Rhenish florins (or *Rheingulden*) and Venetian or Hungarian ducats—these have the same value; Dantiscus refers to Hungarian ducats in another letter (IDL 163) though he also names them there (*ducatis Hungaricalibus*)—is based on the London School of Economics's department of Economic History database of fourteenth to sixteenth century exchange rates (http://www.lse.ac.uk/economicHistory/Research/Late%20Medieval%20Financial%20Market/datasheets/datasheetindex.aspx), where a 1522 Rhine florin contains 2.5 grams of fine gold and is exchanged for 1.8 *Rappenmeunze* pounds and a 1522 ducat contains 3.5 grams of fine gold and is exchanged for 1.27 *Rappenmeunze* pounds: thus we can safely say the 5 ducats were worth 7 Rhine florins. For the origins of the Rhine florin, see Peter Spufford, *Monetary Problems and policies in the Burgundian Netherlands, 1433-1496* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 18.

[292] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Sed hic iterum opus, hic labor est sexaginta ducatos ad minus, ut ipsi dicunt, navis ibi p(otes)t conduci, si aliqua ibidem iam ad navigandum instructa non reperitur.*"

[293] "The ship left Palamós on 29 May, but after three days of sailing the calm seas, Mercurino transferred to another ship, a bireme, or what is also called a brigantine. On the third of June the ship was brought safely to the port of Monaco, alsmost miraculously, having overcome all of the traps prepared to intercept it. If he had arrived two days earlier, it would have been struck down by the French triremes that infested that coast. If he had come two days later, it would not have been able to avoid either a storm at sea or the danger of the Moorish biremes that wandered up and down that shore. From all these dangers, God, the best and most powerful, in his compassion and mercy, thought to save Mercurino." (Gattinara, *Vita*, in Boone, 120.)

[294] Cornelius Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, June 3, 1527, from Monaco (IDL 349).

[295] Cornelius Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, October 18, 1527, from Zaragoza (IDL 378): "Your last letter had first fallen into the hands of pirates, and I do not know what fates had allowed it to reach me unharmed. Don't give it

Vita contains another exciting passage from the same summer when sixteen French galleys chased three Genoese ones, firing cannons upon them. The French, fortunately for the Genoese, hit only once, smashing seven oars and some water jugs on deck.[296]

The continued impression from such epistolary asides is that all the waters, even closest to Spain, were invariably perilous. The "infestation" of enemies was strong language, but it was not inaccurate. In the sixteenth century, entire costal villages and even towns, could be attacked at any moment and carried off by North African slavers.[297] Not a slave-*trade* per se, as the Atlantic slave trade would be, this was more Christian-*stealing* for ransom, for the lethal slavery of the galley oar, or for other labor, as in the case of women, as domestic or harem slaves.[298] This helps explain why when Charles V finally attacked the Ottoman Empire it was not Constantinople or Jerusalem that would be his targets but Tunis and Algiers.

The dangers of the sea did not deter voyagers. And (as will be seen below) the same was true of land travel. On his trip to Jerusalem, Dantiscus experienced "hardship and struggle" and complained several times of "exhaustion."[299] The ship's company rested their "weary bodies" at Rhodes, and then were trapped on Cyprus for two months by a contrary wind, and finally reached Jaffa "exhausted" and accustomed to feeling like "derelicts."[300] While trapped on Cyprus, Dantiscus was gripped by a fever, taking "no pleasure" at all in the historic sites of Cyprus "because I was so faint, infected by and suffering from the putrid atmosphere."[301] Next a fearful storm threatened them, much like Erasmus's fictional voyagers: the Northern Wind, Hyperborea "with storms in its yoke, […] wished to shred our sails thoroughly, and keel us over."[302] It is significant that the wind *wished* (*voluit*) to tear the sails and sink the ship, so it is hard to know to what extent the threat was realized. Still, Dantiscus recalls that he "was almost cast below the waves when the sides our ship were so often overwhelmed with seawater."[303] He

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any thought; there is nothing to be done. Prepare for my arrival and I will tell you about it. (*lit.* Prepare your kitchen; I'm on my way.)" (*Litterae tuae ultimae primum ad manus piratarum, postea ad me nescio quo fato illaesae pervenerunt. Habes, tota quod mente petisti. Nil opus est. Para culinam, ego advenio.*)

[296] Gattinara, *Vita*, 125.

[297] Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan 2003), esp. 3-47.

[298] Davis, 30-36.

[299] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 85-86: "I will not describe every single hardship or struggle we had along the way, but nevertheless I will recount to you a few of the many." ("*Singula dinumerare labor modo cum sit, omitto,/ Ex multis referam sed tibi pauca tamen*.")

[300] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, l. 103: "*Hic ego cum sociis fessos reparavimus artus* [….]" and ll. 129-130: "*Cum sociis subii Ioppen, de more relicta/ Cum fessis nautis in statione rate.*"

[301] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 109-114: "*Hic nos detinuit flatu contrarius Eurus, Cornua dum Phoebes bis renovata forent./ Hic Paphos hicque Cnidos, mons Idalus et nemus ipsum/ Praebebant oculis gaudia nulla meis./ Namque febrem putri corruptus ab aëre passus,/ Non potui Veneris languidus esse memor."*

[302] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 119-120: "*Hanc fractis voluit penitus subvertere velis/ Flans ab Hyperboreis nimbifer ille iugis*."

[303] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 117-118: "*[…] fuerim quam paene sub undis,/ Cum navis dederat saepius icta latus*"

believed he "had reached the end of my days" though he was "but twice ten years old."[304] Once safely on shore, he thanked the will of God, "He who rules the wind-swollen seas."[305]

Besides the elements there were also human dangers at sea. The pilgrim Sir Richard Guylforde was threatened by enemy ships (light galleys called *fustas*) near Corfu, "a certayne Turkes Fustis that lay for vs in oure waye"; they prepared for the attack—"the Patron of the Galye and euery man purueyed to be redy as defensible as might be"—though they were able to avoid it.[306] Sir Richard's party made it to shore and to Jerusalem, but the dangers of travel did not end at landfall. Both a companion of his, the prior of Guylforde, and Sir Richard himself died within a day of each other and were buried at the Franciscan church on Mr. Zion.[307] In Denis Possot's party as well, there were casualties: six members of his party died of fever (*la gripe*) at Candia on their return.[308]

In addition to the mortal dangers of storms, illnesses, and pirates, there were the inconveniences of travel. The Swiss Dominican, Felix Fabri (1444-1489), gave an unusually detailed and candid depiction of the ordeal of shipboard bathroom use (*difficultas in opere naturae*) during his 1484 pilgrim voyage. Each passenger had a small clay pot for urine and sudden vomiting, but these were frequently overturned in the cramped and dark sleeping area that the passengers shared, producing a terrible stench (*foetor intolerabilis*).[309] To defecate, the pilgrims could climb out along the gunwales either holding onto the rigging or the oars of the galley, but this was dangerous, particularly in a storm, when the oars were pulled in. The splashing sea made every such venture a soggy proposition, causing passengers to forget their

Fig. 2-4: a Portuguese fusta *on the Malabar Coast, from Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's* Itinerario *(1598) [image from of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Dutch National Library, and published on Wikipedia.]*

[304] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 121-122: "*Tum mihi bis deni fuerant, non amplius, anni/ Extremumque mihi rebar adesse diem.*"
[305] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 123-126: "*Sola Dei nos servavit clementia summi,/ Qui tumidis ventis imperat atque mari./ Hoc duce tum demum sospes prope litora veni,/ Ad quae tam longo tempore cursus erat.*"
[306] Sir Richard Guylforde, 11-12.
[307] Sir Richard Guylforde, 39-40.
[308] Charles Schefer, Preface (1889) to *Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte* by Denis Possot (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints 1971, reprint of Paris edition, 1890, orig. 1532), *xi-xii.*
[309] Felix Fabri, O.P., *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Santae, Arabie et Egypti Peregrinationem*, ed. Konrad Dietrich Hassler (Stuttgart: Societatis Litterariæ Stuttgardiensis, 1834), 139: "*Quiliber peregrinus habet juxta se in cumba sua urinale, vas fictile, ollam, in quod et urinam emittit, et ea quae eructando evomit. Sed quia locus pro tanta multitudine est strictus et tenebrosus, et multa deambulatio; ideo raro usque mane stat urinale non eversum.*"

modesty and strip completely before attempting the maneuver.[310] Others relieved themselves on the ship, increasing discomfort, anger, and quarreling for all.[311]

Trials on Shore

Once safely landed in the Levant at the port of Jaffa, pilgrims experienced discomforts that they perceived as deliberate and political. These humiliations could not but have made a deep impression upon the traveler. In the case of Johannes Dantiscus, these insults became a barb deep in his psyche and the acrimony he stored up poured back out in verse when he wrote a quarter of a century later about Ottoman cruelty(see Chapter 5 and Appendix 3).

The Christian visitors felt intentionally degraded in their approach, "frightened and lowly" wrote Felix Fabri (*ut timorosi, humiles*), noting that maritime honors went ignored (e.g. no banners, no horns, no guns sounded).[312] Upon arrival the pilgrims were subjected to belittling taunts by their Muslim receivers and made to wait in caves along the shore until their Christian escorts came from Jerusalem.[313] Fabri described the caves as filthy from human waste, joking that his nose had grown accustomed (*narium experti*) to such nuisances.[314] So foul were these caverns, euphemistically called "St. Peter's Cellars," that the pilgrims' detention gained them a seven-year indulgence.[315] Sir Richard Guylforde's party was detained in the caves for seven days until their escort arrived and obtained permission for them to depart. Sir Richard's chaplain called it a "bare, stynkynge" place and the treatment he received "right euyll [evil]."[316] He also reported that a Mamlūk scribe took down all of their names.[317] Friar Antonio mercifully spent only two days in the cave, though his party had first been kept aboard ship for twelve days while sending to Jerusalem for their escorts.[318] Dantiscus did not describe his arrival or detention, beyond

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[310] Fabri, 139-140: "*Si quis autem non esset timorosus et vertiginosus, super margines navis posset in proram ascendere, et se de fune ad funem trahere, quod ego saepe faci, quamvis incautum sit et periculosum; vel posset extra columbaria remoroum supra remos sedendo se expedire, quod etiam timidis no expedit, quia session illa est etiam periculosa et ipsis galêotis iugrata. Maxima vero difficultas in tempestatibus, quando loca secreta continue sunt fluctibus operta et remi retracti super transtra. Ille ergo, qui se in tempestate vult purgare, oportet ut se exponat totali madefactioni, quapropter multi nudi omnibus indumentis depositis accedunt."*

[311] Fabri, 140: "*Aliqui nolunt notary, et procumbunt ad alia loca, quae deturpant, et flunt irae et rixae et dehonestatio bonorum hominum."*

[312] Fabri, 186-187: "*Et ut botarent illi Sarraceni, qui in turribus Joppen portum custo, adventum nostrum esse pacificum remisimus antennam, et involvimus velum grande, et nulla festa penitus fecimus in portu isto, sicu in aliis portubus facere consuevimus: nulla enim vexilla ereximus, nullas bombardas sonare fecimus, scapham non submisimus, omnem galêae ornatum cavimus, tubis, schalmiis, et cornibus non cecinimus, sed ut timorosi, humiles, domini Soldani tributarii, ejus conductu necessarii, Maurorum et Saracenorum captive servi, exspectantes gratiam ex opposite turrium Joppen stabamus.*"

[313] Fabri, 199: "*Invenimus autem ipsam speluncam inquietam, propter juvenes Sarraceuorum, qui diversis modis exercitabant et vexabant peregriuos, et multos insultus faciebaut eis, de quibus longum esset dicere.*

[314] Fabri, 191: "*donec cum molestia narium experti sumus: faedaverunt enim locum urina et stercoribus, ut patebit.*"

[315] Fabri, 195: "*Porro in ipsa spelunca septennis est indulgentia (†), quam consequitur peregrinus, dum devote ingressus fuerit. Et dicuntur haec speluncae cellaria S. Petri.*"

[316] Sir Richard Guylforde, 16.

[317] Ibid.: "there scryuan euer wrytyng our names man by man as we entred in the presens of the [Mamolukes and Sarrayns] Lordes."

[318] Anthony of Lisbon, 68-69: "*Despues que llegamos a este puerto de Jafa, en tanto que el patron fué a Jherusalem por el saluo conducto estuuimos sin desembarcar doze dias en la nao passados pues los dichos doze dias salimos a tierra un sabado e metimonos en unas grutas o cueuas que alli junto estan donde todos los peregrinos se suelen*

saying that, between their landing and their reaching Jerusalem, he and his companions suffered from "blows, insults, and dirt" and "cruel acts and threats" at the hands of an "inhumane people."[319]

The acute feeling of humiliation that pervades this literature lies in the Muslim possession of Christian holy places, because—while it is true that both the Egyptian Mamlūks and Ottoman Turks permitted Christians and Jews to live as protected minorities in the House of Islam (*Dar al-Islam,* دار الإسلام)—there were rituals of degradation to remind them of their place, as a matter of law. When Dantiscus was there, in 1504, the Holy City was controlled by the Mamlūk Sultanate in Egypt; after 1517, it was held by the Ottoman Turks. Under both governments, Christians enjoyed a protected status as *dhimmi* (ذمي), people of a religious minority who were permitted to live according to their own customs after paying a tax (the *jizya*, جزية) to the Muslim rulers, often in a ritual of abasement.[320] There were approximately twenty Christian churches in Jerusalem and its environs; most of these belonging to easterners (Greeks, Copts, Armenians, and Georgians) but four were in the charge of the Franciscan Order: the Church of Mount Zion, the Virgin Mary's Chapel in the Holy Sepulcher, the tomb of the Virgin Mary by the Mount of Olives, and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.[321] The *dhimmi* Christians were obligated to wear distinctive clothing, a blue belt, which is why Denis Possot refers to them as "Christians of the Belt" (*chrestiens de la ceinture*).[322] Also as part of this arrangement, the contract of the *dhimma* (ذمة), the Christians concealed the consumption of pork and wine and generally conducted themselves with modesty and discretion.[323] Wine was especially hard to get: Possot

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meter en saltando en tierra. Otro dia Domingo que fueron xxv de Julio vinieron los tres frayles de Monte Sion […] e el liunes isguiente se acabo de concertar el patron con los Señores de Jherusalem [….] El martes siguiente muy de mañana partimos […..]"

[319] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 133-136: "*Impositi Solymas asinis intravimus aestu/ Exanimes, passi verbera, probra, lutum./ Gentis inhumanae crudelia facta minasque,/ Non est, crede mihi, qui numerare queat.*"

[320] This tax is humiliating in that it is presented from a low position to an elevated representative of the Law; the Christian or Jew must pay this personally (not through a representative) and receives a blow with a fist or a sword after the payment to remind him of his place. See "Documents 19.: The Manner of Collecting the Jizya" from Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam,* trans. David Maisel, Paul Fenton, and David Littman (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson, 1985), 201-201, and also Ahmad Ziauddin, "The Concept of Jizya in Early Islam," Islamic Studies, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Winter 1975), 293-305.

[321] Donald P. Little, "Communal Strife in Late Mamlūk Jerusalem," *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1999), 72, citing the work of the historian of the Mamlūk Levant, Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī (1456–1522). In the same article (87) Little quotes another historian (F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chronicles, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985], 422) in naming the possessions of the Franciscan Order and also the price tag for this privilege: 32,000 ducats to the sultan for the sites of Virgin Mary's Chapel in the Holy Sepulcher, the tomb of the Virgin Mary by the Mount of Olives, and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

[322] Possot, 153. See also Camille Rouxpetel, "Le turban fait-il l'oriental? Les chrétiens de la ceinture dans les récits de pèlerinage occidentaux (XIII^{e}-XIV^{e} siècles)," *Questes,* No. 25 (2013), 23-44.

[323] One sixteenth-century Egyptian author, 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani (1492-1565), wrote: "Observe with what modesty they [the *dhimmis*] conduct themselves in the presence of the lowliest of people and you will see that their manners are superior to and nobler than those of the majority of the *ulama*. They are not offended if no one makes room for them when they enter an assembly. If they are given water to drink that has been fouled by the hands of children, slaves. Or beggars, they remain composed and consider themselves, on the contrary, the meanest of men. When they are permitted to join a gathering, they consider this a favor. They seat themselves with their heads lowered, full of timidity, asking Allah to conceal their iniquity from those present. Are these not the real qualities of a scholar, for if knowledge does not increase the humility of those who possess it, then it sis baneful." From *The Sea*

described wonderful fruits that the *dhimmi* Christians brought to the pilgrims at Jaffa (grapes, and herbs, melons and cucumbers "as big as a man's head") but no vinous refreshment because the Muslims do not drink—"or only in secret" (a hypocrisy that Fabri complained of as well).[324]

As the Christians visited the sacred places of the Holy Land, they grappled with irreconcilable realities. On the one hand, they believed in the supremacy of their religion, the one true faith. As its custodians, they had an expectation of God's favor and victory over infidel enemies. They knew that, centuries earlier, God had granted it to them in the miraculous crusades. Yet by the sixteenth century, not only was the Holy Land lost, but the Ottoman Empire conquered Constantinople and was spreading across the Balkans and the Mediterranean (see Chapter 4). While they could still visit the Holy Land, *dhimmi* practices reminded them of their political inferiority. How were they to make sense of the will of God? One solution was that God was not rewarding the Muslims but punishing the Christians for their sins, just as in the Bible, God punished His chosen people with military defeat when they departed from His law. Likewise, the Ottomans were but a tool—the Scourge of God—both in pilgrimage narrative and in sixteenth-century anti-Turkish crusade polemics (see Chapters 4 and 5). Dantiscus's trip to the Jerusalem and his complaints about Muslim ill-treatment, help explain how he became such an advocate of this Crusade over the years of his diplomatic service, even though it was against the strategic interest of the Polish king.

Functionality of Mediterranean Travel

Anxieties of politics and religion aside, there is an important conclusion to be taken from the sixteenth-century pilgrimage narrative: commerce and communication functioned well. Dantiscus hopped aboard a Venetian galley, almost impulsively, and sailed some 2000 miles into the Muslim world. They took supplies on Crete, an island "fertile in crops and abundant in Bacchus's sweet fruits (of the vine)" that was "of great service."[325] Sir Richard Guylforde's galley took on supplies on Cyprus instead of Crete, "wodde [wood], water, beef, and moton, with all other thynges necessarye."[326]
The Frenchman Denis Possot, traveling in 1532 in a six-masted galley from Venice, described the provisioning at Crete, wine, and fruits ("grapes, figs, and almonds") and wheat all at a good

of Promises (al-Bahr al mawrud fi l-mawathiq wal-uhud), in "Documents 18.: Contempt and Praise for Dhimis" in Ye'or, 200.

[324] Possot, 153: "*vindrent aulcuns chrestiens de la ceinture nous apporter quelques fruitz comme pompons, angouries gros comme la teste d'ung homme et eultres manieres de fruictz, d'herbes et raisins à bon compte. Mais ne se recouvre point de vin à ladicte ville de Jaffe, pour ce que les Turcz n'en boivent point, synon en cachette."*
Fabri, 191, describing how an inspector got drunk on their ship and had to sleep there as a result: "*Praefatus autem mendax Mamalucus, qui nova illa in galêa divulgaverat, sedit in castello cum patrono et aliis, et contra legem Machometi sui bibit vinum, et inebriatus fuit, ita quod de galêa in barcam descendere nequaquam poterat propter vertiginem, et ita in galêa nobiscum pernoctavit illa bestia maledicta.*"

[325] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 95-96: "*Frugum Creta ferax et abundans dulcis Iacchi/ Ex magna nobis utilitate fuit.*"

[326] Sir Richard Guylforde, 15.

price (*bon marché*), and fresh ("sweet") water by the barrel all purchased with Venetian money.[327] This is a clue. Travel by sea, even with all of its perils and inconveniences, was relatively functional because much of the territory (or rather, water and islands) between Venice and Palestine belonged to Venice or places where Venetians could do business. Possot, for example, listed the places that his ship went, as an itinerary, and they belonged to Venice.[328] When, conversely, Dantiscus traveled through the Holy Roman Empire, that tangled patchwork of rival authorities, he had the opposite experience: there he hired bodyguards, slipped out of cities by night, and took his life in his hands (or so he thought) when traveling in his king's service and in imperial lands.

Fig. 2-5: Maximilian Dörrbecker, map of the *Stato da Màr*, the Venetian possessions or, in the Medieval and Early Modern periods: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stato_da_M%C3%A0r#/media/File:Venezianische_Kolonien.png

The Venetian possessions in the Mediterranean, the *Stato da Màr*, made travel relatively easy for moneyed Europeans like Sir Richard, Possot, and Dantiscus. Felix Fabri testified to this in his late fifteenth-century pilgrimage account, recalling that when his company landed at Corfu, they saw a fleet of Venetian warships (*classe armata*) protecting the sea ways (*in custodia maris*).[329] Although Venice did not by any means control the entire Mediterranean—there was competition from Muslim powers (Egyptian Mamlūks and Ottoman Turks) and also from Christian ones (Genoa, Naples, and Aragon)—it did have enough possessions in its colonial and merchant empire to provide safe stepping stones for the pilgrims traveling in her galleys. Venice controlled much of the Adriatic coast, parts of Greece, Cyprus (1489-1571), and Crete (1212-1669, the Kingdom of Candia). Just as Christians could visit the Holy Land, so did many Mediterranean peoples live together in the Venetian places—"Turks, Jews, and Saracen residents paying tribute to Venice"—profiting mutually from Eastern Mediterranean trade.[330]

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[327] "*Le pays est fort sec; toutes fois il y a croist de bon vin comme Malvasie et Muscadet lesquelz son là à bon marché. Raisins, figues et amandes sont meures en juing et les bledz en may et à bon marché. Il n'a point d'eau doulce qui n'en va querir à ung milliare loing, et on la vend à la barillée x d. t. de la monnoye de Venise.*" Denis Possot, *Le Voyage de la Terre Sante* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971, orig. 1532), 130.

[328] Possot, 8-9: "*De Venice à Hierusalem: Istrie; Cité Neufve, ville; Parence, ville; Rovignon; Pole, vile, L'isle de Lissa, dicte Sclavonie; Peligouze, promonterie, Corphou, vile et isle; Albanie, ville et isle; Cavo ducati, peril de mer; Fameste, Cephalonie; Tornese, ville; Papeucea, ville; Castum ville; Patras, ville; Modon, ville; Corron, ville; Naples de Romaine, ville* [a seaport in the Peloponnese and part of the Venetian *Stato da Màr*]*; Saxemille, ville; Crete, isle; Candie, ville; Cipre, isle; Nicosia, ville; Paphos, ville; Famaguste, ville; Port du Lazare; Larnachat; Cavo de la Gatta, isle et promontoire; Nimesson, ville; Jaffe, ville et port; Rame, ville; Tigrida, à main gaulche; Hierusalem.*"

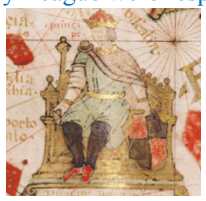
[329] Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem,* ed. Konrad Dieterich Hassler (Stuttgart, Sumtibus Societatis Literariae Stuttgardiensis, 1848), 36.

[330] Possot, (131): "*On dit qu'il y a en l'isle de Crete XVIII mille tant villes, chateaulx que villaiges èsquels tant Chrestiens que Turcz, Juifz et Sarrasin demeurans, paient tribute aux Veniciens.*"

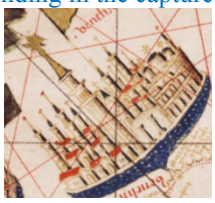
Fig. 2-6: Map of the Mediterranean by Giorgio Sideri (fl. 1537-1565) a Venetian cartographer from Candia (Crete). This map, from 1560, is emphasizes the size and power of Venice, Genoa, and Venetian Thessaloniki. Comparatively, the Ottoman capital is not Istanbul but a giant tent in Anatolia. The Christian Emperor, Charles V, was replaced four years prior by his royal son, Philip II, who sits enthroned in Spain. And the island of Rhodes, though lost to the Ottomans in 1522, still bears the white cross of the Knights Hospitaller who formerly held it.

Theis portolan is remarkable in that is has decorative emphasis on the north and south; the coats of arms that punctuate the letters of EUROPA, and the banners and oriental encampments on the Barbary Coast, are not actually the most powerful places in Christendom and the House of Islam. Rome, Naples, and Constantinople are entirely unrepresented, though they are of principle importance. Rather it seems the decorative emphasis is on the two sides—the north and the south—arrayed against each other. The King of Bohemia (then Emperor Ferdinand Habsburg) has an entirely fictitious anchor for a coat of arms (instead of the rampant lion), leading one to think that this was a filler invented by Sideri to complete his line of shields. Such an alignment served the spirit of the day when Habsburg Spain and Ottoman Turkey were locked in a great contest for the Mediterranean: in 1558, the Turks captured the Balearic Islands, and in 1560 (the year this map was made), Philip and the Holy League were responding in the capture on the island of Djerba (on the Barbary Coast).[331]

Rhodes



"Principe de Spania"



"Venetia"

"Il Gran Signor Turcha"

"Rex de Bohemia"

The island of Rhodes was also on the route to the Holy Land, but this was a stronghold of the Knights Hospitaller (1306-1522), supported by European lands. They controlled the other islands of the Dodecanese and protected Christian maritime traffic and shipping. Their small but effective fleet, and their mighty fortifications withstood Mamlūk attacks in 1440 and 1444, and

[331] National Library of Scotland: http://maps.nls.uk/coasts/chart/3952.

Turkish assault in 1480, but fell in 1522 after an extended siege by an overwhelming force.[332] It is important to remember that Dantiscus had visited Christian Rhodes when thinking about the urgency with which he felt its fall. He recalled in 1539 that Rhodes, "where they wear the white cross" was a place "never at any time, no matter what day it is, obscured by clouds" and a place where, "I with my companions rested our weary bodies."[333] In his crusading exhortation of 1530 (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 3), Dantiscus recalled how "as we were snoring" the Ottomans "seized Rhodes from our control [….] Rhodes had been a shining barrier, across which the savage tooth of Lycaon never could do harm against the flock of Christ."[334]

The functionality of Mediterranean travel—i.e. that Venetian, Genoese, Aragonese, Hospitaller, and (significantly) Mamlūk and Ottoman possessions were accessible to the Early Modern traveler with money—should inform our view sixteenth-century diplomacy. Dantiscus had no trouble getting around the kingdom of Poland on his many journeys between Cracow and Gdańsk (330 miles). More surprising, however, is how onerous, even dangerous, his travels across Germany were.

Travels within the Kingdom

Dantiscus's connection to his home city of Gdańsk (see Chapter 1) and the Polish king's valued German subjects—wealthy, well-connected, and a thorn in the side of the Teutonic Order—gave the young secretary an important function. He was a Gdańsk native, masterful in the local Low German and the courtly Latin and accompanied his king in 1504 to Prussia, where the Teutonic Knights (tacitly encouraged by the German emperor, Maximilian) were neglecting their subordination to the crown and harassing Polish traders.[335] In 1507, after his return from the Holy Land, Dantiscus became the kings principal representative to the town council. One surviving speech reveals the tone of the authority he wielded:

> Unto the Lords of the land and the state, from their Lord his Kingly Majesty, an embassy by Hans Flaxbinder so proclaimed:
>
> His Sacred and Royal Majesty has often sent Your Lordships to in exhortation—and also in consultation—that the Prussian lands may come to be in good condition and good order, which thus far, as His Majesty has come to understand, has not yet been the case.

[332] One source of the Hospitaller income was their take-over, under Pope Clement V (r. 1305-1314), of expropriated Templar lands. The Hospitaller fleet had between three and eight galleys at a time and later also a carrack and a galleon. The final siege lasted from July to December, and it was Ottoman artillery and mining that weakened the fortified walls to the point that the Hospitallers agreed to surrender, withdrawing "with honour" on New Years Day of 1523 (Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, Third Edition, [London: Bloomsbury, 2014]: 285-288).
[333] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), IDP 54 on the CIDT&C, ll. 101-104: "*Vidimus inde Rhodum, cui numquam nubila solem/ Obducunt, qualiscumque sit illa dies./ Hic ego cum sociis fessos reparavimus artus;/ Tunc ibi praefuerant candida signa crucis.*"
[334] Dantiscus, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*, ll. 97-100: "*Nobis stertentibus, inquam,/ Nostra ceperunt ex dicione Rhodum./ Clara Rhodus fuerat saeps, qua trux dente Lycaon/ Non poterat Christi semper obesse gregi.*" Lycaon refers to an Arcadian king that Zeus transformed into a wolf for daring to serve him human flesh to eat (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* Bk. I, 199-143); it is a name that combines predation, crime, and hubris.
[335] Nowak, 92-95.

King Albert [Jan Olbracht] of good and faithful memory, had also had this goal long ago, but was never able to bring it about. How many difficult matters have emerged from this land!

At the most recent *sejm* [legislative gathering] in Piotrków Trybunalski, His Majesty [King Sigismund] wished to take up the matter of this appointment (*ordinatio*). Your ambassadors asked His Majesty if this matter of ordination might be permitted handled to be handled in the Prussian lands instead.

However it may have displeased His Majesty, he agreed to the petition of your ambassadors in the hope that this good appointment should be made by you, and in addition, he has now sent me to Your Lordships to exhort you, just as I am doing, that your ambassadors' promises be satisfied, and that this [fulfillment] be seen so in these lands, so that if afterward his majesty should come [here, on a royal visit], he would already know in advance that you had made the appointment.

Furthermore, His Majesty desires—as you have promised him—that he should have someplace where he can live and sustain himself when he comes to visit, and in the provision of it that you may have the opportunity to show yourselves his loyal and beloved subjects.

To this and the other aforementioned items, His Majesty wishes to know your answer.

Let it not be done otherwise.[336]

The tone, particularly in the strong conclusion (*aliter non facturi*), rings with royal authority. The town council complied with the king's instructions in this case and approved of the king's nominee, Ambrose Pampowski.[337] The difficulty lay not in that the City Council did not want to submit to the royal authority it had fought so hard to enter under, but that they did not want an intermediate governor between the council and the king, who might erode the liberties

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[336] Johannes Dantiscus, Speech to Gdańsk Town Council, June 8, 1512 (IDL 6244). The preamble is in Low German and the rest is in Latin:

"*Ouch ist den herrn von Landen und Steten uberrecht ko(niglische)r m(aiestat)t botschaft durch Hans Flaxbinder geworben, also lautende:*

Sacra maiestas regia saepius ad Dominationes Vestras misit hortando, quatenus consulerent, ut per vos terra Prussiae in bonum statum et ordinationem deveniret, quod hactenus ut maiestas eius intellexit, non est factum.

Rex Albertus piae memoriae quondam etiam illius fuit intentionis, sed per vos hoc negotium in finem deducere nequivit. Quam ob rem his terris multa eveniunt inconvenientia.

In conventione proxime praeterita Pietterkoviensi voluit maiestas regia de ordinatione facienda tractare. Rogaverunt maiestatem eius praefati vestri nuntii, quatenus vobis hic ordinationem in his terris faciendam admitteret.

Quamvis maiestati eius displicuit, annuebat tum petitionibus nuntiorum vestrorum in hanc spem, quod bona per vos fieret ordinatio et praeterea me iam ad Dominationes Vestras misit, ut adhortarer vos, sicut modo facio, quod promissis nuntiorum vestrorum satisfaceretur et sic se in his terris ostenderetur, ut postquam maiestas eius in has terras veniret, cognosceret vos aliquid in praefata ordinatione egisse.

Ulterius optat maiestas eius, quod consuleretur, sicuti polliciti estis eius maiestati, ut cum in has terras veniret, haberet unde viveret et unde sustentari posset, quamquam vos in isto exhiberetis ut fideles dilecti, et ut fideles subditos decet.

Ad haec et alios praedictos articulos vult ⌊maiestas eius⌋ scire responsum. Aliter non facturi."

[337] Anna Dembińska, "Materiały dotyczące sporu o apelację do króla od wyroków sądów gdańskich za Zygmunta I," *Teki Archiwalne z Dziejów Odrodzenia w Polsce* (Warsaw: State Academic Publishing Agency [Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe], 1954), 11-12.

(privileges) they enjoyed.[338] Other letters exist from Dantiscus to the Town Council about personal matters, written in Low German (and not Latin), regarding the inheritance his mother expected from a kinswoman of hers; in these, he took the petitionary tone more appropriate to a private citizen.[339] Yet in the official correspondence the king used the case as an opportunity to establish a precedent for the higher court in Cracow to overrule to the one in Gdańsk.[340]

Dantiscus's service in Prussia and at the Royal Court in Cracow propelled him to bigger things. In the early years of his career, he served consecutive kings beset by shifting border wars. Dantiscus's participation on the Moldovan campaign and his service in Gdańsk—i.e. asserting royal authority in a formerly Teutonic fief—were bricks in a diplomatic bulwark that took decades to build up. In 1514, Muscovite Grand Prince Vasili III (r. 1505-1533), with the encouragement of Emperor Maximilian, attacked Poland-Lithuania and captured the stronghold of Smolensk. Sigismund I did not recapture the city, but won a spectacular victory at Orsha instead, which stopped the Muscovites and caused Maximilian to reconsider his alliances. The Polish victory, credited to superior artillery and skillful cavalry charge which negated wave after wave of Muscovites, was a dramatic surprise.[341] Sigismund's propaganda capitalized on the upset: Polish envoys paraded Muscovite hostages around Western capitals, while Dantiscus, Cricius, and other humanists praised God's manifest judgment in writing.[342] The Almighty Creator—Dantiscus wrote in his *De Victoria Sigismundi contra Moschos sylvula*—had heard the prayers raised by His people and "paid the betrayal and perfidy of the Muscovite with his just due in penalty of his crimes."[343] Now Sigismund would chase Vasili to the ends of the earth, from the Danube, to the Nile delta, to the tip of Iberia (Cádiz) or the icy

Fig. 2-7: detail from The Battle of Orsha (c. 1520), *by a Polish court artist thought to be "from the circle of Lucas Cranach the Elder" according to the Polish National Museum in Warsaw.* [http://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/dmuseion/docmetadata?id=22739]

[338] Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and liberty, 1569-1772* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 103-104, 137.
[339] Johannes Dantiscus, Letters IDL 6246 (1500?) and IDL 5819 (1514); cf. also IDL 5820 (1520).
[340] Dembińska, 13-15.
[341] Norman R. Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland,* Vol. 1, (New York : Columbia University Press, 1982), 142-143. Brian L. Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe: 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 2007), 14. Michael C. Paul, "The Military Revolution in Russia, 1550-1682," *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Jan., 2004), 27.
[342] Nowak, 102-103. In addition to Dantiscus and Cricius, Nowak refers to Valentyn Eck (Ecchius) and Christopher von Suchten.
[343] Johannes Dantiscus, *De Victoria Sigismundi contra Moschos Sylvula* (1514), IDP 21 on the CIDT&C, ll. 3, 7-10: "*Omnipotens Genitor* […/] *Supplicium clemens audivit, vota precesque,/ Erexit tandem sensus animosque labantes/ Contra perfidiam, contra periuria Mosci,/ Qui iamiam meritas solvit pro crimine poenas*."

ends of the world (*ultima Thule*).[344] Dantiscus inserted Sigismund's personal authority into this victory with a repeating device:

> By your command, the noble soldier did march forth against the enemy.
> By your command, many thousands of the enemy were overthrown and scattered,
> By your command, those who fled were cut down by the victorious sword.[345]

The Battle of Orsha changed the tide both militarily and politically and, the following year, Emperor Maximilian invited the two Jagiellonian brothers—Sigismund I was king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania and Ladislaus II was king of both Bohemia and Hungary—to Bratislava and Vienna. With great ceremony, they met and concluded an alliance sealed by the double marriage of Ferdinand Habsburg (Maximilian's grandson) with Anna Jagiellonka (Ladislaus's daughter), and Louis Jagiellon (Ladislaus's son and heir, Anna's younger brother) with Mary Habsburg (Maximilian's granddaughter, Ferdinand's younger sister).

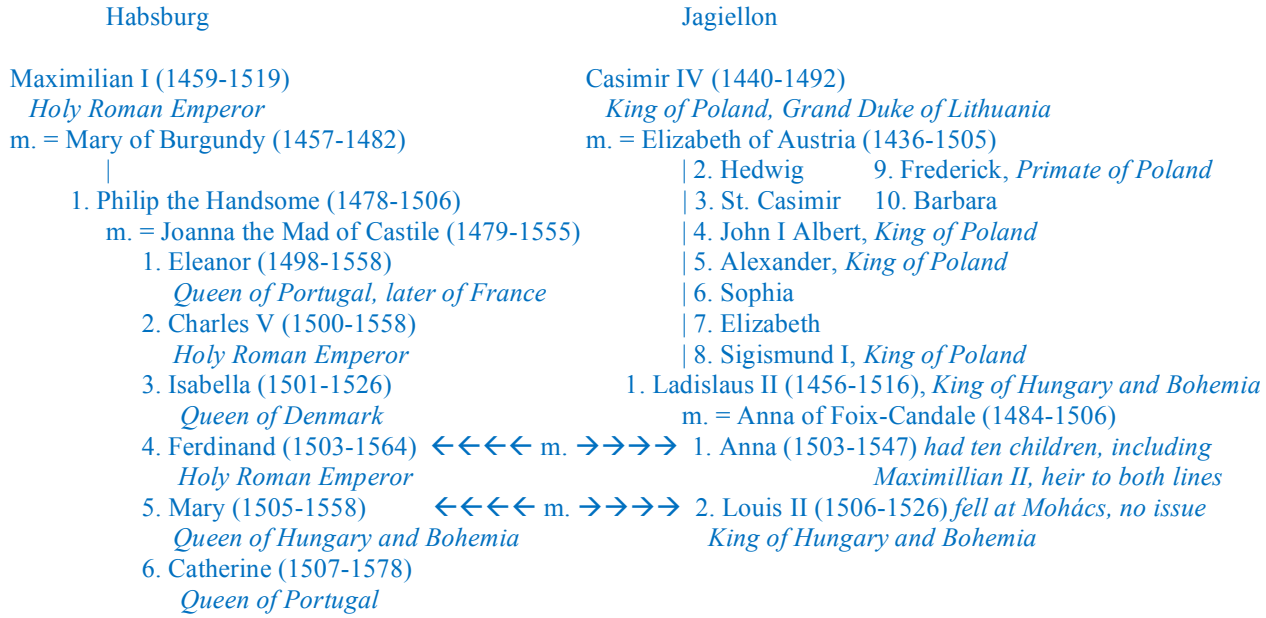

Fig. 2-8: This partial royal genealogy of the two houses illustrates how possession of Hungary and Bohemia moved from the Jagiellons to the Habsburgs. The double marriage arranged in Vienna in 1515 followed by the death of King Laldislaus II the following year and his son in battle without heir. His crowns of Bohemia and Hungary fell to Ferdinand Habsburg, Bohemia without contest and Hungary with a three-way war against John Zápolya and the Ottoman Empire.

Because Ladislaus died the following year and his son, King Louis II, fell in battle ten years later leaving no heir, the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary went to Ferdinand Habsburg, illustrating the adage that what other powers gained through martial victories, Austria won through marital ones: *Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube*.

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[344] Johannes Dantiscus, *De Victoria Sigismundi contra Moschos Sylvula* (1514), IDP 21 on the CIDT&C, ll. 20-23: "*Haec, modo quam cernis, victrix te dextra sequetur,/ Ad Tanaim fugias, liceat, vel ad extera Nili/ Ostia; non poteris tutus sub Gadibus esse/ Nec te surripiet victoribus ultima Thule.*"

[345] Johannes Dantiscus, *De Victoria Sigismundi contra Moschos Sylvula* (1514), IDP 21 on the CIDT&C, ll. 34-36: "*Te duce magnanimus processit miles in hostes,/ Te duce prostrati Moscorum milia multa,/ Te duce victrici fugientes ense necati.*"

As part of the auspicious rapprochement, Maximilian acknowledged Polish rights to Royal Prussia and promised to stop meddling on behalf of the Teutonic Knights. For Dantiscus, it meant that he saw his years of work in Prussia paying off. What's more, when Sigismund left for Poland in anticipation of a Muscovite delegation, Dantiscus stayed behind in Vienna to help organize a joint strategy against the Turks. At this point, Dantiscus was working with the powerful Archbishop of Gniezno (thus primate of Poland) Maciej (Matthias) Drzewicki (1467-1535), the primate of Poland and recently royal chancellor, succeeded in 1515 by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. Drzewicki, like Szydłowiecki and Vice-Chancellor Tomicki, had led a pro-Habsburg policy that favored alliance with Maximillian against the Moscovites and Turks, part of which was the 1515 double marriage. Evidence of Drzewicki's influence on Dantiscus is found in the number of poems and epigrams that the younger man dedicated to his mentor in his earliest production.[346] Drzewicki's many letters to Dantiscus are generous in spirit and warm in language; in later years, when Drzewicki came to Gdańsk, he would stay with Dantiscus's family.[347] In 1517, Drzewicki and Dantiscus led the Polish delegation to Venice to persuade the Serene Republic to join in this anti-Turkish effort, but the without success. When the other Polish delegates went home, Dantiscus stayed in Vienna to represent Sigismund's Prussian interests at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor. For two years Dantiscus was stationed in Vienna. For his humanistic contributions, the emperor awarded the young German courtier a coat of arms and poetic laurels.[348] For his service, King Sigismund tapped Dantiscus for the embassy to Spain.

Sigismund's first wife, Barbara Zápolya, died in 1515, three years into their marriage. The king married again, taking the Italian princess, Bona Sforza, to wife in 1518. She was the daughter of the Duke of Milan, Gian Galleazo Sforza, and the Neapolitan princess, Isabella of Aragon. It was Bona's mother's inheritance, the Neapolitan duchy of Bari—valued at 500,000 ducats (*quinque centena milia ducatorum*)—that would occupy Dantiscus for the next decade.[349] In 1519,

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[346] Dantiscus's first works (published in 1510 but perhaps older) were *De Virtutis et Fortunae Differentia Somnium* was dedicated to with an *Ad Drevicium Epigramma* (IDP 1, 2, and 3), then there were two poems about Drzewicki's family coat of arms, the bull, *De Tauro, Drevicii Insigni* (IDP 4 and 5), an *Ad Drevicium Strena* (IDP 6), and *Ad Drevicium Epicedium* (IDP 7), and two *Epitaphia Valeriani Drevicii* (IDP 8 and 9).

[347] This is a one-sided record since of the 32 extant letters between the two men 31 are from Drzewicki. Drzewicki stayed in Dantiscus's "home and city" (*scias me hic in domo tua esse et vices tua*) with his grandfather, "*pater tuus Simeon senex*" (he calls him "father" but Dantiscus's father was also named Johannes; and the term '*senex*,' [old man] is a clue since Drzewicki was at least Dantiscus's father's age). This letter is from Maciej Drzewicki to Johannes Dantiscus, on March or April 1524, from Gdańsk (IDL 199). There is one more, earlier letter from 1519; all of the others are from the 1530s when Dantiscus was already a bishop, i.e. when they had a more equal friendship.

[348] Nowak, 103-107.

[349] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March 12, 1519, Barcelona (IDL 133): "I return now to what Your Majesty has charged me withal, I have hope [of its success] as do the ambassadors of her most illustrious ladyship, the duchess of Milan [Isabella of Naples, Queen Bona's mother]. Although a sum of 500,000 ducats is not of small consideration for His Most Serene Lordship the Catholic King [Charles], he has charged his principle counselors to discuss the matter. Justice is for us, as are the privileges and very clear documents, which even on this very day we have, confirmed by His Catholic Majesty in Brussels in Brabant, and against which he cannot infringe upon without committing a great injustice." (*Ut ad res mihi a Maiestate Vestra commissas redeam, bonam cum illustrissimae dominae ducis Mediolani oratoribus habemus spem. Serenissimus dominus rex catholicus, cum res non sit parvi momenti quinque centena milia ducatorum, primis suis consiliariis discutiendam commisit. Iura pro nobis, privilegia et clarissimas inscriptiones, etiam per ipsum hodiernum regem catholicum confirmatas Brussellis*

Sigismund sent Dantiscus to Spain to petition King Charles I—soon to become Emperor Charles V—to hasten its transfer, and a second time in 1522. The next chapter (Chapter Three) will explore personal and political dynamics at court through the eyes of Dantiscus; here (below) follows a reflection on his experiences traveling west, particularly in contrast to his earlier voyage to Jerusalem. For a professional envoy to resist the assignment attests to the slow, arduous, expensive, and lonely nature of Early Modern travel. Dantiscus was loth to embrace the mission not only for its inconvenience but also because he might get stuck with the bill.

The Reluctant Ambassador

Dantiscus was less than eager to depart westward for Spain. The distances and the expenses would be too great, he thought—even as repeated his willingness to do whatever his king should wish of him (protesting too much):

> Let us consider this, weighing what is the most important point of my embassy to the emperor—an embassy that involves a long road that cannot be completed without much expense—and not because I should have been afraid to undertake, on your Sacred Majesty's behalf, so long a journey and to pass over all the seas and the lands that divide it—no indeed, as I have written from the start, let me be made use of in any way that God and Your Majesty should wish; even if my life should be on the line, I will be energetic and faithful in everything that your Sacred Majesty should charge me withal. And yet, by my faith, I should be unwilling, as I am a subject and a servant of Your Majesty, that Your Sacred Majesty should incur useless expenses.[350]

A little later in this same letter, Dantiscus insisted that he was ready to go to the land "of the Garamantes [Libyans] or of the Indians," a phrase lifted from Virgil, meaning both to 'the ends of the earth' and also across the extensive possessions of Caesar Augustus's empire, be it "difficult or dangerous." It was a fitting phrase because Charles V in Spain would be the heir to Caesar Augustus; Dantiscus used this language to underscore his enthusiasm for distant voyages on behalf of the king, even as he hesitated to continue to Antwerp without confirmation of his instructions.[351]

Brabantiae, tenemus, contra quas quia testamentum infringi non potest, serenissimus rex catholicus non nisi summa cum iniuria agere potest.)

[350] Johannes Dantistcus to Sigismund I, from Wiener Neustadt, July 4, 1522 (IDL 154): "*Considerans, quod in hoc potissimus punctus legationis meae ad ⌈caesarem⌋ penderet, ad quem est via longa et non bene sine magnis impensis Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae potest confici. Non quod ego pro Sacra Maiestate Vestra timerem tam spatiosum iter et tot maris et terrae subire discrimina, immo ut prius scripsi, ex quo Deus et Maiestas Vestra vult, quod in his rebus verser, si etiam vita sit ponenda, impigre et fideliter omnia, quae mihi Sacra Maiestas Vestra iniunxit, acturus sum. Nolle tamen pro mea fide, quam ut subditus et servus Maiestati Vestrae debeo, quod Sacra Maiestas Vestra inutiles deberet facere expensas.*"

[351] *Ibid.* : "*Ego paratus sum ire ultra Garamantes et Indos, si Maiestas Vestra iusserit, et pro Sacra Maiestate Vestra nihil est, quod mihi difficile vel periculosum videri poterit.*" cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 6, ll. 792-797: "*Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva / Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos / proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus, / extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas / axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.*" Translation by A. S. Kline (2002): "This is the man, this is him, whom you so often hear / promised you, Augustus Caesar, son of the Deified, / who will make a Golden Age again

When next he wrote—three weeks and 400 miles later from Nuremberg—Dantiscus specifically complained of the chaos and violence along the roads and in the forest; and he was waiting for an armed escort (*quosdam capitaneos*) who would go with him to Mainz. More than political news or colorful travelogue (see below), this was a warning of further costs that his king could expect.[352] When he crossed Germany after hiring men and then paying for passage down the Rhine (northward), and reaching Antwerp, he again wrote to raise the question of money:

> Therefore, Your Most Sacred Majesty may in his clemency deign to weigh (judge), why it is that I am to go, and whether this journey of 300 and 100 ducats—for I have received 400 at the outset—and whether six months in Spain as ambassador should be possible—and how much will be left over for me to return, and even in three additional months what would I should even be able to achieve for Your Most Sacred Majesty. For my part, I hope to serve Your Most Sacred Majesty without such high expenses, if possible. Your Most Sacred Majesty in his prudence can easily understand how this cannot be done by any means be done" (i.e. if Dantiscus continues on this trajectory).[353]

Throughout his tenure, Dantiscus would continue to fret about money. This was a tension common to the courtier *and also to the prince, including the Emperor himself*, for material demands of keeping body and soul together, and also keeping up (sartorial) appearances. While such concerns pertain to the human experience in general, they are especially tangible in the anxieties of the Early Modern diplomat on the road because he wrote down so little of his daily cares. Indeed, it is chiefly thanks to Dantiscus's need to justify his expense account—whether in sincere alarm or as ritualized petition to expand his future budget—that those who are interested in this history can read about it.

The Journey

But King Sigismund did not let Dantiscus off the hook. In a number of responses, the king insisted that Dantiscus go to Spain, and so he did. He traveled 1104 miles between Cracow and Antwerp in the summer of 1522 and from there he continued to England (where Charles V was visiting Henry VIII) and on to Spain. It is a challenge to imagine the day-to-day progress of the Early Modern traveler because his letters are filled with details about politics, highlighting their progress and explaining away their delays. However, Dantiscus gave a little more detail from his trip through Germany—not (to repeat) because he was keeping a record for posterity but because

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in the fields / where Saturn once reigned, and extend the empire beyond / the Libyans and the Indians (to a land that lies outside the zodiac's belt." (http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/VirgilAeneidVI.htm)

[352] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Nuremberg, July 21, 1522 (IDL 157).

[353] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Antwero, September 18, 1522 (IDL 163): "*Igitur dignetur Sacratissima Maiestas Vestra clementer perpendere, ex quo constituit mihi esse eundum, si cum hoc viatico trecentorum et centum ducatorum, qui mihi ex priori quadringentorum viatico sunt reliqui, sex mensibus in Hispania oratorem agere sit possibile, et quid mihi restabit pro reditu, quem etiam in tribus aliis mensibus usque ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram vix conficere possum. Velim equidem sine tam magnis impensis in hoc mihi iniuncto munere libenter servire, si fieri possit, Maiestati Vestrae Sacratissimae, quae pro sua incomparabili prudentia facili coniectura potest assequi nequaquam posse hoc fieri.*"

the exigencies of the road caused him to rack up expenses and he was afraid he would not be reimbursed.

Fig. 2-9: Dantiscus's travel across Germany, summer of 1522. (Sources: IDL 154, 157, 163)

date	place	distance	remarks
April 9, 1522	Cracow (leaves)	0	
July 4	Wiener Neustadt	270 miles	
July 6	Klamm	31 miles	31 miles in 2 days: avg. 16 mi. / day
July 12	Salzburg	155 miles	155 miles in 6 days: avg. 26 mi. / day
?	Regensburg	70 miles	
July 25	Nuremberg	61 miles	186 miles in 8 days: avg. 23 mi. / day
?	Ulm	98 miles	
?	Speyer	108 miles	
?	Mainz	65 miles	by boat, on the Rhine
August 14	Cologne	115 miles	by boat, on the Rhine; 386 mi. in 20 days: avg. 19 mi. / day; half of this is by river
?	Aachen	45 miles	
August 22	Antwerp	86 miles	131 mi. in 8 days: avg. 16.4 mi. / day

Fig. 2-10: Dantiscus's travel across Germany, summer of 1522. (Sources: IDL 154, 155, 157, 163)

The "dangers and hardships" (*incommoditatibus et discriminibus*) in Germany justified to King Sigismund the expenses he had incurred, lest his royal master think his servant was miscarrying the royal business with "disgrace and careless levity" (*ignominia et levitas*).[354] So it is thanks to Dantiscus's constant anxiety about money that these stories have survived.

The road was difficult. Dantiscus traveled by horse since a horse was best where roads were poor, either hiring a mount for himself or, as in this case, buying one to resell when he arrived.

[354] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Hoc iter meum ob hanc rem sic diffuse Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae descripsi, ut intelligat, in quibus hactenus sim versatus incommoditatibus et discriminibus, et quas impensas facere fuerim coactus, ne aliqua ignominia et levitas negotii Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae, quae mecum porto, inferretur.*"

The second option allowed a traveler to go great distances without a guide. In the Netherlands, Dantiscus said, the custom was to go by carriage (*currus*, cart, chariot); the mention implied that this was not the case in Germany.[355] He made no mention of companions or servants on his German passage, so one is inclined to imagine him alone; on the other hand he wrote that he sold "my *six* horses" (*equos meos sex*) when he reached Bruges which indicates that he had at least one servant, maybe two.[356] What servants he had, then, were invisible in his writing.[357] He bought horses again in Cologne the following year to ride back across Germany.[358] A contrary example comes from Cornelius Schepper who, traveling across Germany to Poland, took a carriage going "as fast as possible" from Bremen to Leipzig (*quam citissime potero, curru vectus a Bremis Lypsiam*).[359] That was maybe because roads were better in May before the German summer rains; when Dantiscus visited Martin Luther in Wittenberg one August (see Chapter 3), the Elbe was flooded to the extent that all of the fields were completely inundated and Dantiscus had to leave his horse on the far side of the river before crossing into town (presumably by boat).[360]

When Gattinara felt bogged down on a journey across Germany, going from Burgundy to Innsbruck and back, he described leaving the "impediment of his caravan, including his family, baggage, mules and horses" and riding alone ahead which he called "playing the role of postal courier."[361] Then again, the roads in Poland were even worse and Cornelius Schepper left his *currus* in Leipzig to continue by horse.[362] The worst roads—"none in the world can be worse"—however, in Dantiscus's opinion, were to be found in Spain. He had trouble finding good horses to either buy or rent, and had to settle for six pack horses that were not very good and also the saddles were made of straw.[363] Again he had six horses, but writes about himself in the singular

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[355] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806).
[356] Ibid.
[357] Servants could be invisible too in the way that political and intellectual historians have dealt with them, e.g. the line from Andrzej Wyczański's magisterial work on royal secretaries: except for special occasions, most "diplomatic missions were a one-man-job as a rule – not counting the attendants and servants" (*normalne, robocze misje dyplomatyczne były z reguły jednoosobowe – nie licząc orszaku i służby*). (Wyczański, 75.)
[358] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 8, 1523, from London (IDL 186).
[359] Cornelius Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, May 21, 1528, from Mechlen (IDL 406).
[360] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 8, 1523, from London (IDL 186): "*Erant enim fluviorum tantae inundationes, praesertim Albis, quae propter Vitenbergam fluit, quod omnes fere segetes in declivioribus locis sunt submersae [….] Relictis igitur equis in alia ripa, cimba ad Vitenbergam traieci*."
[361] Gattinara, *Vita*, 85: "With Maximilian Caesar in Germany, spending time at Innsbruck, Mercurino considered the long distance of his journey, and the impediment of his caravan, including his family, baggage, mules and horses. He decided to leave them in Burgundy and go straight to the emperor. Playing the role of postal courier, he soon reached Caesar and gave him a brief account of his mission. The emperor ordered him to take the state documents concerning the negotiations into Flanders in order to obtain Margaret's seal. Again, he went by the postal service to Burgundy, where he rejoined the family he left on the way out of Spain. He brought his family with him to Flanders. Just as he was ordered, he gave the state documents to Margaret, the daughter of Caesar, and rendered an account of his mission."
[362] Cornelius Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, May 21, 1528, from Mechlen (IDL 406).
[363] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, January 4, 1523, from Valladolid (IDL 171): "I left the port of Codalia (Cudillero in Northern Asturias) on December 4 with six hired pack horses, not really as good as the kind we have back home which haul the lead from (the mines near) Cracow to Hungary. And these have straw saddles and they go on trails in the highest mountains—there can be no trails as bad theses in all the world—and these carried me to the city of León. There were no other horses that I could find in this most miserable province wither for purchase or for rent." (*Exivi portum Codaliae 4 Decembris et conductis 6 equis onerariis, non tamen tam bonis, ut sunt apud nos, qui plumbum ferunt ex Cracovia in Hungariam, in illis et illorum sellis stramineis per montes altissimos et vias,*

("I left the port" and "I was able to buy" instead of "We") which invites speculation about whether he was attended by servants.

In all of these diplomats' travel accounts it is clear that the comparatively developed region of the Burgundian Netherlands and Rhineland, with its superior communication and commerce, enjoyed better and straighter roads than other parts of Germany, linking urban areas with an industrious countryside replete with vineyards.[364] A similar observation can be made of Northern Italy, which had bigger cities and a productive, well-connected hinterland. When the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagero, described his journey to the court of Charles V, his progress across Italy was mentioned as matter-of-fact and the good travel conditions taken for granted.[365]

In general, the safest, quickest, and most expensive way to go was by river. As soon as Dantiscus reached the Rhine, he traveled by boat, even though the passage cost him eleven Rhine florins, comparable to the bill for staying a few days at an inn.[366] (He did not report the cost of the second leg.[367]) One study shows that in the middle of the sixteenth century it was four times more expensive to go Augsburg from Brussels by river than by land.[368] The advantages of river travel are obvious; in addition to time saved by avoiding the delays of the uncertain road, the traveler was dodging potentially violent encounters of all descriptions, not only out in the open, but also in the taverns where he had to stay overnight. These were a problem for Dantiscus.

Dangers of the Road

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quibus nullae possunt in mundo esse peiores, cum meis usque in Civitatem Legionis portabar. Alios equos in provincia illa miserrima neque ad emendum neque ad conducendum invenire potui.)

[364] Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Ursula Phillips, Trans. Cambridge, Eng.: Polity Press, 1995 [orig. 1980]), 11-12.

[365] "On October 10, 1523, I was chosen by the Senate of Venice to be ambassador to Spain at the the court of Emperor Charles V, together with the Magnificent Messer Lorenzo de Perula. I departed from Venice on July 14, 1524; my colleague, having left before me, was waiting for me in Padua, 25 miles away, where I arrived the same day. I stayed there until July 22 suffering a bit of a relapse of tertian fever that I had previously had (*per rihauermi di un poco di terzana che hauea hauuta*). I went on to Vicenza eighteen miles further; on the 23rd, I reached Verona, thirty-two miles further, where I stayed until the 28th, on which day I went to Mantua, twenty miles away, then on the 29th, to Viadana, another 25 miles, and then on the 30th to Parma, which was fifteen miles more." My translation of the opening of Andrea Navagero, *Il Viaggio fatto in Spagna, et in Francia, dal Magnifico M. Andrea Navagiero, FV, Oratore dell'Illustrissimo Senato Veneto alla Cesarea Maesta di Carlo V, con las Descrittione particolare delli luochi, & costumi delli popoli di quelle Provincie,* from the 1653 text in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k134878x/f15.image), shows that there is no question of running into trouble while moving from place to place, and is a stark contrast from Dantiscus's experience (below).

[366] Cardinal Matthäus Lang generously settled Dantiscus's bill of ten florins at the inn where he stayed in Salzburg, as we seen in Johannes Dantiscus's letter to Sigismund I, July 28, 1522, from Nuremberg (IDL 157): "*Ab hospite me etiam decem florenis Renensibus absolvit.*"

[367] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Commisi me igitur navigio et datis XI florenis Renensibus securus per Rhenum attigi Magunciam* [….] *Neque ego diutius illic immoratus sequenti die conduxi aliud navigium et commode perveni Coloniam 14 Augusti.*"

[368] E. John. B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe,* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), 9: from Brussels to Augsburg by land in 1551 was 27 relays and cost 8 livre 2 sols *but 33 if you take the river.*

In one dramatic episode, Dantiscus described how he employed craft to get out of Nuremberg and onto the road for Ulm:

> Finally, I headed for Ulm, adding 20 miles to my journey along the straight road, and this is what happened.
>
> There were some people with me in the inn, and one was keeping watch in the room, and watching me with the eyes of Argos (a guardian of 1000 eyes), so that I could not avoid his hand. There were some thieves there who—as I would later learn—were were active in the lands of the Marquis Casimir (Brandenberg-Kulmbach), and who wanted to see if they could follow me.
>
> Although I could see their intentions with crystal clarity, nevertheless I did not dare to attack any of them [….] He, the one who was sharing my room, and attached himself to me as a companion and plied me for information, asking about which way I might take to reach Mainz. I concealed everything (my intentions) and told him, as if I trusted him, in secret that I would go straight toward Frankfurt. This pleased him immensely (*quod ipsi summe placuit*), and indeed he believed that he had 'fished' out of me all of my thoughts.
>
> From that point on, I took on four armed Nuremberg knights, armed by the marquis's provinces and an hour before the sunset, I prepared for the road. I sent those four knights ahead, as they might expect me in the forest in the direction of Ulm. Then, indeed, I did go out through the gate heading toward Frankfort, but then by circuitous and evasive detours I made my way around the city walls and reached those knights whom I had sent ahead. I went all night and covered eight miles, leaving the territories of the Marquis Casimir unharmed and I reached Ulm.[369]

Why was this tavern such a dangerous place? Was this normal? It was certainly normal for travelers to share rooms with other patrons, and Dantiscus was, as he often reminded his king, trying to save money. More than this, the early modern tavern was a unique in-between space where all kinds of people mixed together, and, finally, the environs of Nuremberg were particularly dangerous because of civil war and militarized predation. To imagine this space, in the spirit of New Historicism and *l'histoire croisée,* a cultural historian draws on a variety of perspectives to form a composite picture, including both literary and visual representations.

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[369] Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September, 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 157): "*Tandem me versus Ulmam XX miliaria extra rectum iter contuli, quod sic accidit. Fuerunt mecum in hospitio, et unus solitus erat in eodem cubili excubias facere, qui me Argi oculis semper custodiebant, ne illorum manus evaderem. Habebant cum quibusdam praedonibus, ut postea edoctus sum, intelligentiam, qui agunt in terris marchionis Casimiri, et sperabant me posse consequi. Quod liquidissimis coniecturis considerabam, neminem tamen impetere audebam. Tanta libertas Nurnbergae numquam antea est equitibus praemissa hac illac obequitandi, ut hoc tempore, nam principes ibi agunt, qui sunt regentes, est ibi etiam iudicium camerae imperialis. Quilibet equitum se vel ad principem aliquem, vel ad res suas agendas coram iudicio venisse fingit. Ille, qui mecum in cubili versabatur, adiunxerat se mihi socium et consuluit mihi, quo itinere commodius Maguntiam possem attingere. Ego dissimulabam omnia et quasi secreto illi credidi, ne alicui diceret me rect a versus Francfordiam iturum, quod ipsi summe placuit, credebat enim, quod omnem mentem meam expiscatam haberet. Deinde ob maiorem securitatem accepi a Nurnbergensibus 4 equites armatos per marchionis provinciam et una hora ante solis occasum parabam me ad iter, et illos 4 equites praemisi, ut me in silva versus Ulmam exspectarent. Ego vero exivi per portam, qua itur [Francfordiam] et tandem per alias ambages circa muros civitatis perveni ad illos equites, quos praemiseram, et ivi tota nocte per 8 miliaria usque extra terras marchionis Casimiri incolumisque perveni Ulmam.*"

Useful contemporary sources include popular stories, recorded grievances, financial records (bills), and artwork.

Fig. 2-11: Sebald Beham's (1500-1550) wood cut, The Large Kermis (die Dorfkierchweih, *1535*), *central portion.*[370]

Fig. 2-12: Sebald Beham's (1500-1550) wood cut, The Large Kermis (die Dorfkirchweih, *1535*), *entire.*[371] *The title of the wood cut reveals that its subject is the dedication of the village church, but this gets minimal attention (upper left quarter, middle ground) compared to the revelry dominating the village center with its tavern, dancing and games.*

[370] Image from www.artstor.org; see also Stewart, 100-101, 104.
[371] Image from www.artstor.org; see also Stewart, 100-101, 104.

In recent years, several historians have written (or assembled) helpful studies.[372] These reveal that inns were not only places to eat, drink, and rest from the road, but also meeting places for people whose paths might not otherwise intersect: merchants, messengers, soldiers, sailors, farmers, pilgrims—from lowly vagrants to lofty diplomats and prelates—and all could mix: across gender, and age, and occupation, townsfolk and country people, locals and travelers from near and far, Christian and Jews.[373]

At this German public house in 1535 woodcut, *The Large Kermis* (*die Dorfkirchweih*), by Sebald Beham, (Fig. 2-11, below), is nominally about a village festival but the focus is on the activities of the tavern in the center of the picture, marked by the banner and pitcher hanging above the door and reinforced symbolically by the grapevine climbing the trellis.[374] The disrepair of the building, compared with the good condition of other village structures, reflects its moral quality. Different members of society are present.[375] In the center is the learned scholar-priest, in his robes and hat—this is the way Dantiscus looked too—to his left is a rich man, and to his right a peasant lifts his cap. At the left end of the table stands a man dressed in the slashed sleeves of a soldier, perhaps trying press the horrified fellow turning toward him into military service.[376] There is a knot of gamblers at the opposite side of the table (on the right), and next to them a pair of lovers. Another couple is embracing at the rear left corner of the table and third is in the darkened doorway. Finally, there is a drunk vomiting up his drink in the foreground to the delight of a wandering dog. These are nocturnal activities—the company of the gambling table, the amorous dalliances in an alcove, the suffering that follows over-drinking—and they are private activities too; but, on the occasion of a public feast, i.e. the *kermis*, celebrating the inauguration of the village church, and situated in a public space, the tavern, they all take place in the day time and in the open. They also happen in the center of the picture, which is an added irony since the church festival that is the cause of the celebration is happening in the background.

The "Tower of Babel" is what Erasmus of Rotterdam called a German inn in his humorous sketch, "Inns" (*Diversoria*), in his 1523 edition of *Colloquies*—published the year after Dantiscus was traveling through Germany.[377] Erasmus's tavern was so teaming with humanity that "frequently eighty or ninety meet in the common room by the hearth: footmen, horsemen, tradesmen, sailors, coachmen, farmers, boys, women, the the healthy, the sick."[378] This

[372] Beat Kümin's *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) is a collection of essays; all are interesting and three of them comment directly on the world of Dantiscus. Thomas Brennan's *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the tavern, 1500-1800* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011) is a four-volume treasure house of illuminating excerpts from literary, legal, and accounting records.
[373] Beat Kümin, "Public Houses and their Patrons in Early Modern Europe" in *The World of the Tavern*, 50, 51.
[374] Though the tavern occupied the center, the church which where the festival that is the source of the celebration, is in the full woodcut, to the left and in the background. There are number of other village activities as well, but there is no question that the main event is the goings-on at the inn.
[375] Alison Stewart, "Taverns in Nuremberg Prints at the Time of the German Reformation" in *The World of the Tavern*, 95-115.
[376] Ibid., 105.
[377] See Craig R. Thompson's introduction Craig R. Thompson's introduction to this piece in his *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 368.
[378] Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Erasmi Colloquia Selecta: or, The Selected colloquies of Erasmus,* translated and edited by John Clarke (Gloucester: Raikes, 1800), 29: "*frequenter octoginta convenient in idem hypocaustum, peditesm equitesm negociatores, nautae, aurigae, agricolae, pueri, feminae, sani, aegroti.*" In the English text

cacophonous "confusion […] of tongues and persons" pursued equally diverse and discordant activities: "one there combs his head, another wipes off his sweat, another cleans his boots or gaiters, another belches up garlic."[379] They all sit together, "for there is no difference between a poor man and a rich man, between a master and a servant" and so eat together. [380] The narrator grumbles about the long wait for the meat, delayed by multiple courses of bread and broth, of lentils, and of wine, thin and sharp. He complains further that all pay the same amount no matter how much each has eaten. And he is troubled by the shared air, pregnant with contagion. All in all, there is an atmosphere of close, claustrophobic conviviality at this German inn. Erasmus's caricature may be dismissed as comic hyperbole, but in order for comedy to succeed, in order for the intended audience to share in the joke, it must be rooted in truth, albeit exaggerated.

An Italian traveler, Antonio de Beatis, recorded his impression of German and Flemish inns during his journey in the company of a cardinal. He was so pleased with the hospitality he received that one editor suggested his account be "a useful corrective" for Erasmus's version.[381] Yet there are also important similarities between the two. Granted Antonio de Beatis differs from Erasmus in praising the food and drink (wine "good and delicate," meat "tasty," and bread "excellent"—though not the cheese; it must be "mouldy or in a green variety" to suit German tastes), he agrees on the communal atmosphere at the inn. Another traveler found the food too heavy: "butter, wine and root vegetables" and "endless cod and cabbage, salt and sour," and if an Italian wished to have olive oil in Germany, Netherlands, or Poland, he must bring his own.[382] The guests warmed themselves by the hearth in the common room, but there were no "fireplaces where people sleep, so they step out of the heat into an excessively cold room" where there are "as many beds as possible together," a thing "uncomfortable and reprehensible." [383] This could not be avoided especially for the traveler on a budget, which is why Dantiscus had trouble with the man sharing his room who "attached himself to me as a companion and plied me for information," as if fishing.

In the early modern period, not only shared rooms but shared beds was the common practice; the nearness of a 'bedfellow' together with heavy covers, goose-down duvets, warmed the guests quickly enough—though an Italian visitor found them "unbearably hot" and suggested that a traveler bring his own "mattress and a woolen blanket too."[384] Although the remarks itself shows that such sharing was not a foregone conclusion, the practice was normal.[385] In northern Europe

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above, I have followed Clarke's translation, adapting it slightly. (This dual-language version in the public domain and freely available for reading or download at archive.org.)

[379] Erasmus / Clarke (slightly adapted), 30: "*Alius ibi pectit caput, alius abstergit sudorem, alius repurgat perones aut ocreas, alius cructat allium.*"

[380] Erasmus / Clarke (slightly adapted), 33: "*Nam est nullum discrimen inter pauperem et divitem, inter herum et servum.*"

[381] Brennan, Vol. 2, 296.

[382] This is Guiseppe Miselli in Antoni Mączak's *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, Ursula Phillips, trans. (Cambridge, Eng.: Polity Press, 1995 [orig. 1980]), 28-29. As for Italy and France, though they are rather more civilized, Miselli recommends that the guest settle on the explicit price in the evening lest there be any misunderstandings in the morning.

[383] Antonio de Beatis, in Brennan, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World,* Vol. 2, 296-97.

[384] Guiseppe Miselli in Mączak, 28-29.

[385] Whether there were sexual possibilities in public conduct of the private activity of sleeping is an open question—especially in France. Erasmus wrote about an inn in Lyon that was clean and pleasant and filled with charming young women. Antonio de Beatis wrote that in "all inns, there are three or four young and pretty serving maids" but

in the sixteenth century, homes were not yet separated into rooms and eating, sleeping, and visiting all happened in the same space; furniture was not stationary but moved around (literally, *meubles, mobilia,* or *Möbel*) to a suit the need, and proximity to the one fire throughout the day and night was the focus of 'home and hearth.'[386] Dinner was the other necessary moment of greatest conviviality. In a contemporary (1515) comic story about Till Eulenspiegel, the classic trickster, there is a Bamberg inn with several tables of different rank. Yet, it was not status alone that determined where the guest sat, because he could *buy* his way into the one he wants: "At the Gentlemen's Table for twenty-four pennies, at the next table there for eighteen pennies, and with my servants for twelve pennies."[387]

Dantiscus had experience with inns (*diversoria, hospitii*) all over Europe and there were regional differences. France had good inns, but Poland and Spain had more rustic accommodations. The seventeenth-century travel guide by Giuseppe Miselli described Polish inns as "little more than wooden sheds" where nobles made partitions using their own tapestries. In Spain, all were in agreement a traveler should buy provisions in advance because the *ventas* were not reliable, though one could buy rabbits and partridges on the road. Catalonia was different, but it was also close to France and Italy, and, in Barcelona, inns were kept by predominantly Milanese entrepreneurs. Here there was good service, while Catalonian inns had good beds, in the other provinces of Spain, the traveler was advised "to carry one's own mattress and bedclothes."[388] There is corroboration of this in *Don Quixote*, where a traveling judge has his own bed among his baggage and it is considered perfectly normal—even anticipated by the hostess: "Señor, the fact is I have no free beds; if his honor the judge has brought his own, as he probably has, then he is welcome, and my husband and I will give up our room in order to accommodate his grace."[389] But, as much as sharing space, it was the local political upheavals that put Dantiscus in danger in 1522.

Dantiscus wrote to King Sigismund from Nuremberg, three weeks and 400 miles from Wiener Neustadt (40 miles south of Vienna). Nuremberg was an Imperial city, rich with commerce and culture, that was then also the site of the Imperial Diet and the temporary capital of the Holy Roman Empire. This was a city of 30,000 people, so about the size or a little smaller than Gdańsk.[390] It was one of only a dozen most important European cities beyond the ancient Roman

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in Germany they "refuse to be kissed as the chamber maids in France" although they "shake your hand and embrace out of politeness"(Antonio de Beatis, in Brennan, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World,* Vol. 2, 296-97).

[386] See Witold Rybczynski, *Home: a short history of an idea* (New York: Viking, 1986), esp. the second chapter, "Intimacy and Privacy," 15-50. This is a practice that lived on at least into the nineteenth century; it can be seen in literature (e.g. the Nantucket guesthouse in *Moby Dick*, 1851, where the narrator, Ishmael, shares his bed with the cannibal harpooner, Queequeg, who would later become his shipmate), and history (e.g. William I. Hair's "Stagecoaches and Public Accommodations In Antebellum Georgia," in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Fall, 1984), 332, which tells that it was considered "standoffish" to not wish a bedfellow).

[387] Paul Oppenheimer, trans. ed., *Till Eulenspiegel, His Adventures* (New York: Routledge, 2001), chapter 33: "How Eulenspiegel at for money at Bamberg," 66. This episode appears also in Brennan, 367.

[388] Mączak, 28.

[389] Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* Edith Grossman, trans. (New York: Harper and Collins, 2003), 369 [Chapter 42].

[390] Steven Ozment reports that a "particularly detailed census taken in 1450, when the city was under siege, counted 20,219 permanent residents and 9,912 fugitive peasants, a total population within its walls exceeding 30,000." Ozment also believes there were a total of between 40 and 50,000 by 1622; he estimates therefore that the city had 35,000 people by the late sixteenth century. On this basis, I consider 30,000 to be a good figure for the 1520s. Steve

borders that could exert "administrative, ecclesiastical, and economic power" regionally.[391] An English traveler, William Smith, would report with astonishment that "people did not urinate freely in the streets," that there were no dunghills except "only in certayne odd by corners," and that "urine and other refuse could not be thrown out of the houses until after ten o'clock at night."[392] This account ("A Description of the Cittie of Noremberg") was many years after our period (1594), and those standards will not impress a modern reader but that they were something to write home about gives us an appreciation of how an Early Modern European street might have looked and smelled.

Dantiscus saw many of "the illustrious princes" of the empire there, including both Protestant and Catholic leaders: so Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony and chief defender of Martin Luther, was meeting with Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1482-1556), who was the *Stattholder* (*locum tenens,* "place holder" or lieutenant) for Charles V; also present were the bishop of Speyer, and other counts and landgraves.[393] These categories are more important in retrospect because of the consequences of the Reformation, but they were not entirely apparent in 1522. (The Catholic Dantiscus made a point of reporting from Antwerp that Martin Luther's writings were as yet unknown there, illustrating both the limits and growing anxiety of Luther's heretical challenge.[394] And if, on the other hand, he was exaggerating Luther's unimportance, then it it reveals Catholic anxiety all the more.)

As part of his diplomatic job, Dantiscus transmitted the political news back from the Imperial Diet. Dantiscus reported that Frederick had just recalled his forces from Croatia, i.e. the Ottoman front after the Fall of Belgrade.[395] Ferdinand Habsburg, recently invested by his brother, Charles V, with the Austrian archduchy, moved quickly to defend the border extending from Croatia through southern Austria (Carnoila, Carinthia, and Styria), all the while calling back to the German Empire for reinforcements.[396]

Ozment, *Magdalena & Balthasar: An Intimate Portrait of Life in 16th-Century Europe Revealed in the Letters of a Nuremberg Husband & Wife* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989 [orig. 1986]), 17.

[391] Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 96.

[392] Ozment, 20.

[393] "*Sunt hic hoc tempore illustrissimi principes*," wrote Dantiscus in his letter to Sigismund I from Nuremberg, July 21, 1522 (IDL 157).

Though five years prior to this Count Frederick (the *locum tenens*) had been banished from the imperial court when his pious love letter was discovered by Charles in the possession of his royal sister, the Princess Eleanor, by 1522 Frederick represented Charles in Germany. For the story of the love letter, see Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World-Empire,* translated by C. V. Wedgewood, (Oxford: Alden, 1939. [orig. German, 1935]), 78-79. Finally in 1535, when Frederick was already 53, Charles gave him a different princess, his niece, the not quite fifteen year-old Dorothea of Denmark. (Peter Fuchs, "Frederick II, der Weise" in *Neue Deutsche Biographie 5* [1961], 528-530. http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118535714.html)

[394] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, Antwerp, September 18, 1522 (IDL 164): "*Hic de Luthero nemo, neque loqui, neque hiscere audet indicta causa.*" See also Henry de Vocht, 7.

[395] *Ibid.*: "*Revocarunt etiam hic locum tenens cum ceteris regentibus pedites, quos miserant in Croatiam*."

[396] Gunther E. Rothenberg, "The Origins of the Austrian Military Frontier in Croatia and the Alleged Treaty of 22 December 1522," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 38, No. 91 (Jun., 1960), 493-498. See also Stephen Fischer-Galati, "Ottoman Imperialism and the Lutheran Struggle for Recognition in Germany, 1520-1529." *Church History*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Mar., 1954), 46-67. By the winter (after Dantiscus had left) he would be in Nuremberg doing just that. Help from Germany was slow to come, not always useful (once Ferdinand's commander, Count Niklas complained that would not follow orders but were instead "sitting around and eating rations"[396]), or came at a political cost (specifically, the Germans wanted a negotiating councils for Protestants and Catholics).

Yet local politics were even more tempestuous. Dantiscus specifically complained of the chaos and violence along the roads and in the forest, and was waiting for an armed escort (*quosdam capitaneos*) who would go with him to Mainz. He was, to repeat, warning of further costs that his king could expect.[397] When he crossed Germany after hiring men and then paying for passage down the Rhine (northward), and reaching Antwerp, he again wrote to raise the question of money: "for my part, I hope to serve Your Most Sacred Majesty without such high expenses, if possible. Your Most Sacred Majesty in his prudence can easily understand how this cannot by any means be done" (i.e. if Dantiscus continues on this trajectory).[398]

Though he had his passport (*salvus conductus*) he was afraid of the "many mounted brigands (robber knights) are roaming everywhere" driven about the countryside by the Swabian League (a regional union of cities contributing troops in mutual support) who were determined to wipe them out; "I will wear my sword," Dantiscus concluded, "and God's Will be Done!"[399]

Not simply robber-knights (*Raubritter*) or armed desperados with no better income, many of the brigands were from rich, powerful, and well-connected families. Hillay Zmora has shown, by constructing a prosopography of predation, that most were from established families and were plundering the countryside—farmsteads in particular, but also wayfarers like Dantiscus—with the political aim of expanding their own holdings by weakening their rivals. Granted, there may have been *some* normal bandits in the mix; after all, this is a time when mercenaries is great number were returning from the Italian Wars with empty purses and bellies, but imaginations filled with violence and unsatisfied ambition, and a skill set as rich in predation as the countryside was poor in policing.[400] But, even so, *most* of the violence came from feuding nobles, "actually servitors, not opponents, of the incipient state."[401] This level of chaos, and political jockeying pursued by fire and sword, was possible because Germany (the Holy Roman Empire) was a patchwork of polities and there was no central authority to smash this rebellion.

And so Dantiscus was scandalized that, in mighty Nuremberg, a simmering civil war could turn ordinary travel into a game of Russian roulette. In a later letter, he recalled that, "never with such liberty have riders in Nuremberg come and gone as they do now, for now princes do as they please, thinking themselves rulers, even as the Imperial Chamber Court."[402] The contrast is

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[397] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Nuremberg, July 21, 1522 (IDL 157).

[398] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Antwerp, September 18, 1522 (IDL 163): "*Velim equidem sine tam magnis impensis in hoc mihi iniuncto munere libenter servire, si fieri possit, Maiestati Vestrae Sacratissimae, quae pro sua incomparabili prudentia facili coniectura potest assequi nequaquam posse hoc fieri.*"

[399] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Nuremberg, July 21, 1522 (IDL 157): "*Multi equites latrones passim vagantur propter ligam Suevicam, quae illos nititur exstirpare. Et, ut ab istis capitaneis intellexi, liga ista equites et pedites decrevit suscipere et castra ista, in quibus hi latrones foventur, obsidere atque expugnare. Ego vado in omnem eventum accinctus. Dei voluntas fiat.*"

[400] Thomas A. Brady Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 123. Nor does Professor Zmora preclude "an element of brigandage" (85), but he categorizes it as a secondary motive.

[401] Hillay Zmora, *State and nobility in early modern Germany: The knightly feud in Franconia, 1440-1567* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 86.

[402] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, from Antwerp, September 18, 1522 (IDL 164): "*Tanta libertas Nurnbergae numquam antea est equitibus praemissa hac illac obequitandi, ut hoc tempore, nam principes ibi agunt, qui sunt regentes, est ibi etiam iudicium camerae imperialis.*"

striking between this reality reported by Dantiscus and the political charge of the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg to enforce religious and legal uniformity throughout the Empire and conformity for its many princes to with the Edict of Worms.[403] That summer of 1522 when Dantiscus crossed Germany, the Swabian League raised 10,000 soldiers to smash the rebellious Franz von Sickingen and also prosecute a feud that had been boiling for two years.[404] Through Dantiscus's perspective, it seemed that this military effort only stirred up the knights—like kicking a hornets' nest—until the predators were everywhere "*on account of* the Swabian league."[405]

Passports

Dantiscus made sure to carry a passport, or letter of passage (*salvus conductus*). That he commented on the importance of this document in other places may indicate that it was not needed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was "the custom in Germany" (*hic in Germania mos est*), Dantiscus reported to his king in a tone suggested a cultural difference, when he traveled with a passport (*sub salvo conducto*) between Salzburg and Regensburg.[406] In the following paragraph he reported that in the lawless parts of Germany, i.e. the road from Nuremberg to Mainz, where local nobles were actively involved in feuding among themselves and predation upon travelers, they had did not "have any care" about passports (*de salvo conductu nullam curam habent*) and Dantiscus had to hire an armed escort (*capitaneos*).[407]

In England likewise, Dantiscus traveled only with permission, adding that he could not *leave* without a passport, indicating that the letter was necessary no just in case one was stopped, but at a checkpoint of some kind at the water's edge. With these matters, Dantiscus enjoyed the help of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), the emperor's aunt and powerful governor of the Netherlands:

> She [Margaret of Austria] helped me in everything, so that she might do honor to Your Most Sacred Majesty [Sigismund I], and so that I might travel to England comfortably; she ordered one of her valets to come with me and carry a letter to the Most Serene King of England [Henry VIII], and to be my companion until then. From there, having passports, without which no one leaves England, I will cross the Great [Atlantic] Sea to Spain, plowing forward to Spain through this difficult season.[408]

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[403] Brady, 211.
[404] Zmora, 138-140.
[405] See above, footnote 118.
[406] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, July 28, 1522, from Nuremberg (IDL 157): "*Sic me demum ad Ratisbonam contuli, unde sub salvo conductu et ductoribus, ut hic in Germania mos est, Nurnbergam 25 Iulii perveni.*"
[407] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, July 28, 1522, from Nuremberg (IDL 157): "*Et quosdam capitaneos exspecto, qui mecum hinc cras usque ad Magunciam ire debent, alias propter insecuritatem illorum, qui de salvo conductu nullam curam habent, non possem ire sine aperto periculo.*"
[408] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Quae in omnibus mihi se obtulit, in quibus Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae placere possit, et ut commodius in Angliam traicere possim, decrevit unum de suis cubiculariis cum litteris ad serenissimum regem Angliae transmittere, qui usque ad illius maiestatem mihi erit comes. Inde habitis litteris passus, sine quibus nemo ex Anglia dimittitur, ingens aequor usque in Hispaniam mihi erit arandum iam sub his duris temporibus.*"

Within Spain, Charles extended his imperial welcome by letter as well. For example, when Dantiscus was leaving after his first visit in 1519, Charles wrote to his castellan at the border—in Peripiñán (Peripignan)—ordering that the Polish ambassador ("Juan de Antisco") be received with "much love and good will" out of consideration for the king of Poland "our dear and beloved cousin" and that Dantiscus be invited to inspect anything he should wish in the fortress.[409] Dantiscus's visit to Peripignan meant that he was going through France, and indeed 1519 was one of those rare moments when Charles and Francis were not at war. Conversely, his journey back to Spain in 1522 was in the middle of another conflagration; and then Dantiscus simply reported that road through France was "closed."[410] Seven years later, Dantiscus's embassy was completed and he was heading back to Poland. The war was over and Charles was the decided victor. He could give Dantiscus papers to travel through France, called by Imperial Chancellor Mercurino da Gattinara a *fides publica*, or 'public trust' which should be taken to mean 'state accreditation.'[411] The safe-conduct letter, *salvus conductus*, was an explicit letter from a monarch *sending* a diplomat through territory (more like our passports than our visas). They were considered inviolable by both Christian and Muslim authorities, even for messengers of war. They were also quite detailed, specifying the number and members of his suite, even down to the horses. [412]

Another example is from Dantiscus's final return from Spain in March of 1529. Charles again issued him a *salvus conductus* into France.[413] But before he crossed the border, Charles sent a courier to intercept him at Vitoria on the border of Navarre with a letter suggesting that Dantiscus accompany Charles to Italy for the coronation.[414] The invitation was a gentle one made softer with editorial changes that are visible in the draft of the letter. The changes are not great, but they show that whatever scribe in imperial chancery made them was under instruction

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[409] Charles V to Juan Dalbion, September 5, 1519, from Barcelona (IDT 248); from Antonio Fontán and Jerzy Axer, eds., *Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V: Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco.* (Madrid : Alianza Editorial, 1994), 144-145: "*El magnifico Juan de Antisco, Embaxador del Sereníssimo rey de Polonia, nuestro muy caro y muy amado primo, que vino a Nos, se buelue agora al dicho Sereníssimo rey y porque él ba de yr de camino por essa villa y querrá ver en ells essa nuestra Fortaleza, Nos vos encargamos y mandamus que al tiempo que passare por essa dicha villa el dicho embaxador le fagáys mostrar y mostréys con much amor y Buena voluntad essa dicha nuestra Fortaleza, y que en gela mostrar particularmente y en todo lo de más que quiera ver y ahy le tocare, le fagáys y mandéys que se le faga toda la honra y buen tratamiento y recebimiento que es razón y como a cuyo embaxador es, que en ello nos seruiréys mucho.*"

[410] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Terra non possum nisi per Galliam, per quam iter nunc est clausum.*"

See Michael Mallet and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, Eng.: Pearson, 2012), 139-140.

[411] Mercurino Arborio da Gattinara to Johannes Dantiscus, February 14, 1529, from Toledo (IDL 426): "*Quasi non tam commode apud nos, quam istic fidem publicam a Gallis praestolari potuisses, ita a nobis aufugisti, ne tuam nobis iucundissima consuetudine frueremur.*" ("You have fled from us to wait for your French *fides publica* away from court as if you did not enjoy our company; so now we may not enjoy your most delightful company as we are accustomed to.")

[412] Montell Ogdon, "The Growth of Purpose in the Law of Diplomatic Immunity," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Jul., 1937), 454.

[413] Charles V to Johannes Dantiscus from Toledo, March 3, 1529 (IDL 6285):

[414] Nowak, 138, tells us that this special courier was able to turn Dantiscus around. Vitoria, today called Vitoria-Gasteiz, adding the Basque (*Gastehiz*) to the Castilian with a hyphen, was a walled city near the border of Navarre, founded by Sancho the Wise in the twelfth century and named by the former Roman Victoriacum (cf. Luis A. García Moreno, *Leovigildo: unidad y diversidad de un reinado* [Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2008], 148).

to treat Dantiscus with courtesy.[415] But then, a month later, Charles wrote a second permit, a general pass for Dantiscus addressed to all of his customs agents and tax- and toll-collectors, stating that the ambassador was not to be impeded, inspected, or charged in any way. The order specified that Dantiscus and his servants would be following behind the imperial court with "sixteen horses, mules and other beasts of burden" carrying his "clothes, gold and silver treasure, and other accessories" and "up to 1000 ducats for his expenses."[416] Part of this was honoring the ambassador for his years of service. Part of this was also the magnificence and magnanimity of a Renaissance prince and a world emperor going to his own imperial coronation, an exuberant occasion if ever there was one.

[415] Charles V to Johannes Dantiscus from Toledo, March 3, 1529, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Legajo de Estado 1554 "Diversos Dispachos", Hoja 369.

First version (before changes): Scimus enim te pro singulari tua in nos fide ac devotione nullo in loco rebus nostris defuturum, sed cum veremur, ne ex re tua neque forsan nostra sit, ut Gallicae te committas fidei te etiam atque etiam hortamur, ut mature quid sit boni consulas et si male metuas. Novisti enim mores et hominum genus ut alio iter tuum convertas teque mari potius committas.	Indeed, we know you to be singular in your loyalty to us and that you will be at no point lacking in your devotion; but we are afraid—not that it should be any fault yours nor maybe of ours—that you will encounter the 'good faith' of the French. Again and again we urge you to hurry back and take counsel with us again, be it good news or bad that you have to share. You know well the the customs of men which could make you change your plans, preferring to go with us by sea.
Edited version (with visible changes): Scimus enim te pro singulari tua in nos fide ac devotione nullo in loco rebus nostris defuturum, sed cum vereamur, ne ex re tua neque forsan nostra sit, ut Gallicae te committas fidei te etiam atque etiam hortamur, ut mature quid tibi consulas. Novisti enim mores et hominum genus aut alio iter tuum convertas teque mari potius committas.	Indeed, we know you to be singular in your loyalty to us and that you will be at no point lacking in your devotion; but we should be afraid—not that it should be any fault yours nor maybe of ours—that you will encounter the 'good faith' of the French. Again and again we urge you to hurry back and take counsel with us again, that we might take counsel with you. You know well the the customs of men and so that you might rather change your plans, preferring to go with us by sea.
Changes (edits): 1. '*veremur*' (indicative) turned into '*vereamur*' (subjunctive) 2. '*sit boni consulas et si male metuas*' changed to '*tibi consulas*' 3. '*ut*' (in order to) turned to '*aut*' (that you might rather)	

[416] Charles V, "Cédula real de paso," from Zaragosa, April 9, 1529 (IDT 249; Fontán and Axer, No. 51, 218-219): "*Alcaldes de sacas y cossas vedadas, dezmeros, aduaneros, portazgueros y otras qualesquier personas questáya en la guarda se qualquier puertos y pasos que ay entre los nuestros Reynos y Señoríos de Castilla y estos nuestros Reynos de Aragón y los de Valençia e Cataluña: sabed que Juan Dantisco, enbaxador de Polonya, viene de la cibdad de Vittoria en seguimiento de mi Corte y trae diez y seis cavalgaduras entre cavallos, mulas y sacas y azémilas y sus ropas de vestir y joyas de oro y plata y otros adereços de su persona y casa y hasta myle ducados para su gasto. Por ende yo vos mando que le dexéys e consyntáis pasar por qualquier desos dichos puertos e pasos con todo lo suso dicho libremente sin le catar, ny escrucryñar, pedir ny llevar ducados ny otra cosa alguna, ny le poner en ello estorvo ny inpedimiento alguno, presentándose primeramente en las casa del la duana del puerto y por do pasare y jurando que todo lo suso dicho que asy trae es suyo de sus criados, e que no lleva otra cosa alguna ajena ny encomendada ny para cender ny mercadear ny de las las por nos vedadas ny defendidas. E mando que dure esta cédula por térmyni de veynte días primeros siguientes e que vala avnque no vaya señalada de uno de mys contadores mayores, porque al presente no está nynguno dellos en my Corte.*"

Comparisons and Conclusions

In his student days, Dantiscus crossed the Mediterranean to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As a seasoned traveler and royal ambassador, he used rivers and coastwise travel to avoid the dangers of the forest and its people. From Speyer to Mainz, and from Mainz to Cologne, he took a river ferry. In the Mediterranean there was the danger of pirates and slavers, but in northern waters where Dantiscus traveled the impression is that the greatest dangers were from weather. Crossing open water troubled the *Danziger* (who came from a Hanseatic port): even before the hail-storm, Dantiscus complained to King Sigismund about the threat of vigorous winter weather (*hiem instans hiemis vigorem*) which would not clear up "until March, six months away"—though perhaps this is another excuse to get him out of going to Spain.[417] He emphasized the "imminent danger to his life" (*manifesto periculo vitae*), a term he uses twice in this same letter: once about brigands in the German forest, and once at the specter of winter storms at sea. He let his sovereign understand what sacrifices he is making on his royal behalf and then consigned his soul to a merciful God.[418]

> Regarding the impediments to getting back underway for Spain Most Serene King, (just as I have written) I wish to resume my journey as soon as I can, *even though there is a clear and present danger to my life*, if there should be such men who could navigate and dare to brave the winter, then could I go with them, placing my faith in God first, as I should in the service of Your Most Sacred Majesty, daring to engage with winter conditions and what storms may come.[419]

Dantiscus did not describe the ship he hired, which is regrettable. This is the problem with trying to say too much about any social history about daily life. Only extraordinary things are recorded, for the most part. Antoni Mączak was able to survey travelogues and guide books, finds tremendous amounts of mud and slow-going in poor weather ("all forms of European road traffic in those days took place to the sounds of wheels breaking and axles snapping").[420] This is the way one must read a social history: differences are noticeable. For example, a seventeenth-century Polish envoy to England "*observed with amazement* that the roads in England were planted on both sides with hedges" reveals that this measure of erosion control was *not* to be found on the continent.[421] In his own travel memoir, the illustrious humanist courtier and

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[417] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Mari multo minus (sive Neapolim, sive rursus ad Angliam) me conferre velim propter instantis hiemis vigorem. Unde iterum commode non potest navigari, nisi pro futuro Martio, ad quem adhuc sex restant menses.*"

[418] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): Though he had six cavalrymen and ten infantrymen, Dantiscus was aware of the imminent danger from the brigandage by those desperados driven to robbery by the Swabian League ("*Multi sunt una cum eorum duce exules, quorum bona liga Suevica occupavit, qui hic inde latrocinia exercent, cogebar ergo interdum equites conductores habere sex, pedites decem, ubi constabat de manifesto periculo.*").

[419] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*De ista mora mea in Hispania, Serenissime Rex, quemadmodum scripsi, si fieri potest, quod citius redire possim, etiam cum manifesto periculo vitae, modo sint homines, qui navigent et hiemi se credere audeant, cum illis me in primis Deo et pro fide mea, quam Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae debeo, hiemi et quibuscumque tempestatibus me committam.*"

[420] Mączak, 7 (slightly altered).

[421] Mączak, 11 (emphasis added).

historian Francesco Guicciardini described river conditions because his horse drowned in the crossing.[422]

One big difference between Dantiscus's 1504 Jerusalem pilgrimage and his 1522 crossing of Germany was the traveler himself. As a poor student part of a Venetian tour group, he was a small fish; as a well-connected royal emissary with hundreds of ducats in his purse he was a much bigger catch. But the violence surrounding Nuremberg that so frightened this ambassador is more significant still. In fact, it helps to explain the diplomatic problem that he faced.

None of the German princes were willing to commit forces to help in some concerted effort against the Turkish advance. For Dantiscus this meant asking his fellow Germans why the crusading order of the Teutonic Knights could oppose the Christian king of Poland when Muslims were bringing hammering at the "bulwark of Christendom" (*antemurale Christianitas).* With this question, he confronted the Cardinal Matthäus Lang of Salzburg, then Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine at Nuremberg, and then a representative for the Teutonic Order from Marburg at Cologne; not one of these would make him a reply (according to Dantiscus's reports back to his king) but instead they changed the subject and muddled the conversation.[423] If the countryside surrounding the Imperial Diet was in a state of smoldering war, who then had time to worry about some Turks beyond the Alps raiding the borderlands of Croatia?

It helps to remember that medieval and modern Europe are arbitrary periodizations describing a gradual change. On the one hand there were individual markers—resident ambassadors, printed material, professional bureaucrats and soldiers—modern lights blinking on, one-by-one, into a constellation. On the other hand, there was chaos and violence, and deep, dark forests. In studying the folk stories of this period, Robert Darnton writes that "bandits and wolves still roamed through the wild lands separating village" and when wolves appear "baying at [the] backs [of the protagonists in folktales, they] add a touch of realism, not fantasy."[424] The spaces between islands of order were still considerable (in Nuremberg, the chaos began just outside the walls), a reminder that state power was in its incipient stages. It was wiser, as Norman Davies put in neatly, to speak not of a ruler's "territory" but of his "obedience".[425] That Dantiscus could travel with to Jerusalem by paying a fare in Venice, but then had such stress navigating the German highways, further emphasizes the confusion of such a mottled picture. That confusion would find expression in the desire for order that advocates of a world emperor placed in their writings. Who better to beat back the baying wolves than a universal shepherd with God-given authority?

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[422] Francesco Guicciardini, *Diario del Viaggio in Spagna*: "*Circa a mezzo miglio innanzi si entri nella terra si truova uno fiume detto Bormio, che è mal fiume e fu per affogarvi uno dei nostri cavalli*." (http://www.filosofico.net/diari1i11ospa8932gna.htm)

[423] The first two encounters appear in IDL 157 and the third in IDL 163.

[424] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre, and other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 37.

[425] Davies, Norman. *God's Playground, Vol. I,* 66.: "[The princes'] political power pulsed irregularly from established centres, whose direct influence diminished in proportion to the time and distance required for a posse of knights to ride out and enforce it. In outlying districts, located more than three or four days' ride from the centre, it would be reduced by the separate and competing power of subordinates, rivals, or enemies. At any one moment, a man in any particular locality could be bound by different forms and by different degrees of fear and loyalty, to his neighbours, to his tribe, to his liege lord, to the prince, to the bishop, to the commander of the of the local garrison, to the outlaws in the forest, or to the 'foreigners' over the hill."

Chapter 3: Early Modern Diplomatic Community

In the previous chapter, some of Dantiscus's travel experiences were examined in their cultural context. In this chapter, attention is given rather to the personal and professional networking that allowed him to perform his diplomatic mission—representing the interest of his king, political lobbying, and information gathering. Between 1519 and 1532, Dantiscus went three times to the court of Charles V; the third time, he stayed for seven years (1525-1532) as the first Polish resident ambassador in Spain. During these years, he was influenced by and also influential to the political currents of the growing Spanish empire; that is the subject of the fourth and fifth chapters. This third chapter addresses the processes of living and doing business as a diplomat in the 1520s: meetings, networking, intelligence gathering, getting money and spending it, and keeping up appearances that sixteenth century honor required.

Money Matters

Dantiscus was nervous about running out of money, or at least he participated in a ritual of pretending to be out of money to get more. This is a welcome problem for the historian because whenever he needed to justify his expenses in his letters, Dantiscus revealed some details of his life. It is difficult to be certain how much he had or how much he spent, but there are many clues that give an idea.

King Sigismund's secretaries were paid. Their annual salary varied, but it was between 40 and 100 'florins' (Rhine gulden), in the years around 1520. These figures are from royal expenses accounts (*rachunki królewskie*) in the Central Warsaw Archives.[426] Dantiscus does not appear on the list, though his friend and colleague, Andrew Krzycki (Cricius) did; Krzycki received 50 florins for 1519-1520 (summer to summer), then 100 fl. the following year, then about 75 fl.[427] Whether Dantiscus was paid from a different account or less formally is a matter for speculation. Complicating the issue is that there was no official enrollment into the royal secretaries; instead a high-ranking member of Sigismund's circle—typically, the chancellor, vice-chancellor, or queen—would nominate a young man who had come to his or her attention, and the king gave his verbal assent.[428] Royal secretaries therefore made as much or more money than faculty members at the University of Cracow.[429] While professors could offer lessons to the scions of wealthy patrons, notaries had ways to make money on the side too. When they were not needed

[426] Wyczański, 59-60, citing the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (*Archiwum Głowne Akt Dawnych*, AGAD, *w Warsawie*).
[427] Wyczański, 59-60; the third figure, "about 75 fl.," is a little complicated because Krzycki and five others were paid in two currencies, 22 'florins' and also 38 'Hungarian florins.' Using the figures of the LSE Economic History exchange rates for the fourteenth to the sixteenth century (http://www.lse.ac.uk/economicHistory/Research/Late%20Medieval%20Financial%20Market/datasheets/datasheetindex.aspx) one sees that 38 Hungarian ducats was the about 53-58 Rhine gulden (conversion through gold content or though Prussian mark).
[428] Most of these nominations came from Dantiscus's friend and patron, Piotr Tomicki (10), then the chancellor until 1515, Jan Łaski (8), then Queen Bona (6), then Laski's successor and Tomicki's friend, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (4), then Archbishop Piotr Gamrat (3); this is obviously a partial account. (Wyczański, 35).
[429] The junior members of the arts faculty made a paltry 18 to 20 fl. (reported as 480 – 576 *grossi*, with 30 *grossi* to the *złoty* or florin), which a *professor ordinarius* n the theology faculty made 64 fl. (1920 *grossi*) (see Knoll, *Pearl of Powerful Learning*, 53-54).

at court, they frequently worked to write up contracts and other legal documents for the nobles, the burghers, and the Jews.[430] From these same accounts, compensation was also drawn for high-ranking ministers.[431]

The king had other ways of rewarding his faithful servants. To some he gave secular offices (*urzędy ziemskie*). He named them castellans, directors of the mint, or of a salt mine, or a lead mine.[432] But even better for the king was to give his secretaries and ministers benefices in the church. These cost him nothing, and it gave a steady income to canons, prelates, and bishops drawn from the land of a parish or diocese. Dantiscus was a canon both in Cracow, where he served his king, and in Warmia, in his native Prussia, where he would later be bishop. In Cracow, there were 22 canonical benefices awarded to royal secretaries; Dantiscus had one of these, but there were others who had several.[433] Each benefice was worth about 60 to 80 fl. and those with multiple benefices enjoyed multiplied income. Typically, very little was expected of a canon, especially in Warmia where Dantiscus had his other benefice and where he would later be a bishop. Another, even more famous canon of Warmia, Nicholas Copernicus, did not bother to interrupt his studies in Bologna to accept this income, but empowered two of his friends through a notary to take charge of his income for him. Since the canons of a given cathedral chapter were corporately a feudal lord, they rather tended to give more of their pastoral attention to the administration (and increase) of rents than matters of the spirit.[434] For the king it was a cost-effective way to support ministers and servants; for critics it bordered on simony and for Protestants was an unequivocal example of catholic corruption.[435]

It is also true that sometimes a benefice came with obligations. In the expansive forests of Lithuania, the crown used its clerical elites to extend the authority of the church to form and Polanize its wild, recently-'converted' people, the locals attached to their orthodox ways and the the noble magnates (by mid-century) attracted to Protestantism.[436] Even in the center of Poland, there were still cases of some who did not want the additional responsibility, as illustrated by a letter that Dantiscus received from his friend, Jan van Campen (Johannes Campensis, 1491-1538) the classical philologist and Hebraist from the Netherlands. He had taught in Louvain and

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[430] Wyczański, 93.

[431] One 'secretary' made 150 fl., so three times the base figure, but he was listed as the 'provost' (*praepositus*) of the group. He was also the king's illegitimate son and therefore a likely example of siphoning resources from the treasury in a quiet way. And Vice-Chancellor Piotr Tomicki, enjoyed 300 or 400 fl. From the same source. (Wyczański, 59.)

[432] Wyczański, 92-93.

[433] Wyczański, 89. Samuel Maciejowski (1480-1529) had five benefices in Cracow; Bernard Wapowski (1475-1535) had eight, in addition to being royal historian. Wapowski had an income of 633 fl. 14 gr. a year, while Maciejowski received 334 fl. 6 gr., which was equal to Tomicki's income from these benefices, which doubled his vice-chancellor's income. (Wyczański, 26, 28, 89.)

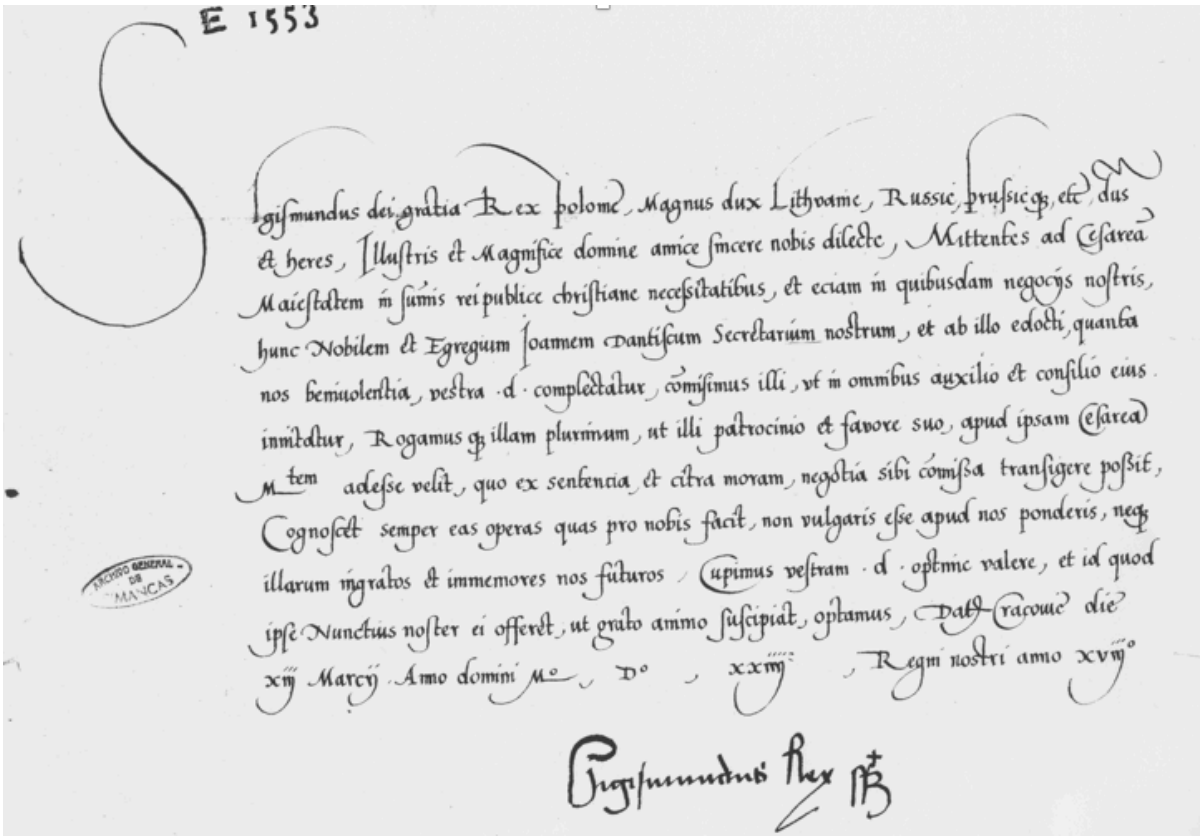
[434] Edward Rosen, "Copernicus Was Not a Priest," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 104, No. 6 (Dec. 15, 1960), 648-650, quoting (and translating into English) from Alfons Kauffeldt, *Nikolaus Kopernikus: der Umsturz des mittelalterlichen Weltbildes*, 103, (Berlin: s.p. 1954).

[435] Joseph Bergin describes the hostility to bishops, and also canons, in the Reformation because of their secular responsibilities as princes, in his article, "The Counter-Reformation Church and Its Bishops," *Past & Present*, No. 165 (Nov., 1999), 30-73.

[436] Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick, "A 'Foreign' Elite? The Territorial Origins of the Canons and Prelates of the Cathedral Chapter of Vilna in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," Richard Butterwick Pawlikowski, trans., *East European Review*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January 2014), 44-80.

was invited by Piotr Tomicki to teach in Cracow, but he did not want to accept the concomitant benefice because he was reluctant to put anything before his study of Hebrew.[437]

Dantiscus received additional income from the queen along with a promotion. He had begun his diplomatic service as a royal secretary rather than a formal ambassador (*non oratorem […] sed servum et secretarium*), but became a permanent ambassador in 1525.[438] Thereafter, he received an additional salary of 80 ducats through Giovani Giacomo de Dugnano, a merchant living in Venice who enjoyed Queen Bona's confidence. His embassy included his secretary (Fabian Wojanowski), a *mayordomo* (manager of the house or head butler) and five servants.


E 1553

Sigismundus dei gratia Rex Polonie, Magnus dux Lithuanie, Russie, Prussie, etc. dus et heres, Illustris et Magnifice domine amice sincere nobis dilecte, Mittentes ad Cesaream Maiestatem in summis rei publice christiane necessitatibus, et eciam in quibusdam negocijs nostris, hunc Nobilem et Egregium Joannem Dantiscum Secretarium nostrum, et ab illo edocti, quanta nos benivolentia, vestra d. complectatur, comisimus illi, vt in omnibus auxilio et consilio eius inniteatur, Rogamus quoque illam plurimum, ut illi patrocinio et favore suo, apud ipsam Cesaream Mtem adesse velit, quo ex sentencia et citra moram, negotia sibi comissa transigere possit, Cognoscet semper eas operas quas pro nobis facit, non vulgaris esse apud nos ponderis, neque illarum ingratos et immemores nos futuros. Cupimus vestram d. optime valere, et id quod ipse Nunctius noster ei offeret, ut grato animo suscipiat, optamus, Datum Cracovie die xiij Marcij Anno domini M° D° xxxiij°, Regni nostri anno xviij°

Sigismundus Rex

Fig. 3-1. The notification from Sigismund I to Charles V, dated March 13, 1524, "our secretary the prominent and outstanding Johannes Dantiscus" should be "embraced" and included as Sigismund's "assistant and counsellor in all matters" (hunc Nobilem et Egregium Joannem Dantiscum Secretarium

[437] Johannes Campensis to Johannes Dantiscus, April 11, 1534, from Cracow (IDL 1143): "Yesterday, I met with the most reverend lord (bishop) of Cracow (Tomicki) [… and] he vehemently wanted to keep me here, even promising me a benefice, but I cannot yet put my own comfort before my study of Hebrew only just begun." (*Heri fui apud reverendissimum dominum Cracoviensem, […] cuperet me valde hic retinere, promittit sacerdotia etiam, verum ego mea commoda inchoatis vixdum studiis Hebraicis anteponere nondum possum.)*

[438] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March 13, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 133): "[…] even though I often repeat that I am just a servant and a secretary of Your Sacred Majesty, as my accreditation clearly states." (*[…] licet ego reclamo saepius et me non oratorem, ut ex creditivis patet, sed servum et secretarium Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae dico.*); Antonio Fontán and Jerzy Axer (eds.), *Españoles y Polacos en la Corte de Carlos V: Cartas del Embajador Juan Dantisco* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994), 289, no. 26, n. 2.

> sostrum, et ab illo edocti, quanta nos benivolentia, vestra dominatio complectatur, commisimus illi, ut in omnibus auxilio et consilio euis inmitatur).[439]

But the servants of Dantiscus's household appear very little in his correspondence. The first time Dantiscus mentioned his clerk (Wojanowski) was when the man ran afoul of the Inquisition and was locked up for a time in 1525 (*capti ab inquisitoribus haereticorum*). Dantiscus mentions the event not so much for itself but rather as an explanation for why he was falling behind in his paperwork; without the arrested man's assistance, he had too much writing to do.[440] (In the end, a special favor from Charles V secured the man's release.) Elsewhere Dantiscus described Wojanowski as an industrious youth from a noble family who had come to him through Tomicki.[441]

How much money did Dantiscus have during his service? If he had access to the income of his benefices, it was over 100 ducats a year, and after his increased pay, closer to 200. In addition, he was given a few hundred ducats here and there as needed to conduct his embassy. When leaving Poland in 1522, he received 400 ducats, and in 1525, he had with him 500 ducats, though this included both royal money and his own.[442] Try as he might to husband these resources—"accounting with amazing care" (*mirabilibus modis calculum*)—they continued to be whittled away in his various expenses.[443] As this happened, Dantiscus relied on access to Sigismund's good credit with two great banking houses of Europe—the Fuggers and the Welsers.[444] Because the mail was often not dependable or frequent—once Dantiscus went eleven months without hearing from his king—he sometimes borrowed on his own initiative, later assuring his king in writing that he had no alternative: "I swear to God, I could not do otherwise!" (*Deum testor, quod aliter facere non potui*).[445] The financial sophistication of these banking houses and their

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[439] Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Legajo de Estado 1553 "Diversos Dispachos", Hoja 486.

[440] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, January 10, 1526 (IDL 276): "two of my servants were arrested by the Holy Inquisition; the converted Jews (informers? the inquisitors themselves? *Marrani isti*) who are against my men threatened that they would be kept in prison until May. For this reason, the emperor, heeding my laborious and repeated appeals, finally intervened, buying off one of the inquisitors with a bishopric, and so the man was let out on December 4. That's why, for the time that I was missing my clerk (*amanuensis*), I wasn't able to make very many copies." (*duo famuli mei ab inquisitoribus haereticorum capti praeter culpam fuerant, quos Marrani isti contra caesaris tot promissa mihi facta in quintum usque mensem in carcere detinuerunt. Unde caesar toties a me impulsus magno labore tandem effecit, uni inquisitorum episcopatum dando, quod 4 Decembris emittebantur. Quo factum est, cum amanuensem non haberem, cui fidere audebam, quod tanto tempore duplicatas non feci.*)

[441] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, Ferbruary 24, 1526, from Toledo (IDL 281): "*unum de meis, nobilem Fabianum Woyanowski, famulum reverendissimi domini Cracoviensis, iuvenem satis industrium*"

[442] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163), Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, February 24,1526, from Toledo (IDL 280).

[443] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163).

[444] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "Therefore I so very humbly Your Most Sacred Majesty, as my most clement lord, by reason of these affairs and my upcoming poverty, to send along with his lordship the zupparius [the *żupnik*, or salt mine supervisor, an office that Sigismund bestowed upon the banker and merchant, Jan Boner] some letters of credit to the Fugger bank so that I would be prepared against events and have a little money to support myself. (*Quare Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae humillime, ut domino meo clementissimo, supplico, dignetur istarum rerum et futurae penuriae clementem habere rationem et domino zuppario committere, ut mihi in omnem eventum ad bancum Fuggarorum daret litteras, si quibus egerem, ut adminicula mihi pecuniis fierent.*)

[445] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 17, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 146): "*nullum enim ab eo tempore, quo exivi, recepi responsum, iam praeteriere undecim menses.*" The line about swearing he had not choice is in the letter from Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163).

ability to produce money on demand is in itself a transformational event of the modern world that cannot be overstated. And the Fuggers and Welsers, both from Augsburg, were especially strong in both Spain and Poland. These two houses alone accounted for 35% of all lending to the treasury of Castile, amounting to nearly ten million ducats during the reign of Charles V.[446] This close and mutually beneficial relationship gave the Fuggers in particular access to the precious metals that *made money*—i.e. physically as well as economically—in specie: the Fugger silver mines in Schwaz, Tyrol, and then in Potosí, Peru, and Zacatecas, Mexico, were minted into the coins that translated imperial will into human action across Europe and the New World.[447] The Fuggers had similar mining rights for Polish lead with the same networks throughout the country and royal court.[448] To move money quickly, these banking houses relied on the *factors*, managing agents in courts and cities in continuous contact with each other. Not only did Fugger factors raise the 850,000 ducats that Charles V needed to pay off the electors in his 1519 imperial election, but they also found money for daily needs. For example, when the emperor declared that his court of a thousand people was to relocate, the factors could produce the money (in one instance 76,000 ducats) to pay for the move.[449] Thus, to provide a few hundred ducats here or there for the household, travel, or entertaining needs of the Polish ambassador in Valladolid was a trivial matter. But even the smallest transaction carried its fee. For example when Dantiscus changed his 400 Rhine gulden (*floreni Renenses*) into 300 (*ducatos Hungaricales*) Hungarian ducats, the factor charged him 33⅔ ducats for the transaction (or 11.3%) much to Dantiscus's

[446] James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 100-104: Tracy sums up Fugger lending to the Castilian treasury between 1521 and 1555 to be 5,499,516 ducats in 74 loans, and the Welser contribution to be 4,223,822 ducats in 41 loans; together this makes 9,723,338 ducats. The emperor borrowed another 10 million ducats from bankers in Genoa, 3 million from Antwerp, and 5 million from Spain (Tracy, 101).

[447] Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein, *Silver, Trade and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Johns Hopkins, 2000), 260-261; Strobl, Philip, *Das Leben mit dem Silber: Die Bergbauregion Schwaz in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 2011), 31; Tracy, 104.

[448] Mark Häberlein*, The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (University of Virginia Press, 2012), an e-book without page numbers; this section is "The Hungarian Trade."

[449] Rolf Walter and Maximilian Kalus, "Innovation in the Age of the Fuggers," in *The Two Sides of Innovation: Creation and Destruction in the Evolution of Capitalist Economies*, Guido Buenstorf, Uwe Cantner, Horst Hanusch, Michael Hutter, Hans-Walter Lorenz, Fritz Rahmeyer, eds. (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2013), 121.

displeasure.[450] (To avoid these steep commissions, Sigismund sometimes paid his traveling secretaries partially in Rhine gulden, 'florins,' and partially in Hungarian ducats.[451])

Being a diplomat at the Spanish court was an expensive proposition. Dantiscus needed money to conduct his affairs in a way that protected the reputation of the Polish monarchs who sent him: "We shall provide this stipend for your expenses, indeed, that you, according to our dignity, be not hard pressed by poverty, nor that it be possible that you be seen to be lacking in anything, nor that you take on any (unseemly) practices for want of money."[452] In addition to carrying and receiving official messages and collecting information, the resident ambassador was an extension of the prince's identity, representing both his political interests and his honor. Everything he did was a display on behalf of his master back home— "according to our dignity"—and could increase the dynastic prestige of his lord or, as always where reputations are concerned, bring it tumbling down with some gaffe. Spending money, whether he had it or not, in sumptuous ostentation and largesse of patronage was central to the prestige, "honor," of a Renaissance monarch.[453] Therefore, one suspects that Dantiscus's financial complaints were largely rhetorical because Sigismund had so much to gain by a well-financed embassy (the duchy of Bari) and so much to lose (his honor) by cutting corners in the sight of Charles's court.

When Queen Bona raised objection to Dantiscus's feasts and drinking parties that had reached her ears, the ambassador argued it was necessary for his work. He wrote to Tomicki from Charles's court (in Germany in 1532) in a heated tone of self-justification. "These parties (*convivia*) to which her most serene royal majesty objects, and to which I have not spent neither the king's nor queen's money—which have never covered even the basic cost of ordinary living—but so far just my own money, are for the honor of both their majesties, and for getting a lot of business done in the affairs of their royal majesties." He learned a lot of things that he could put into his letters back, he said; he was gathering what would one day be called human-source intelligence. In addition, "these parties gain the favor of the leading men (*principum*

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[450] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "Rhenish florins (Rhine gulden) are no use to me in Spain, and therefore and so I thought it best to collect the sum in ducats and the Fuggers dared to give me nothing beyond what was left after Jan Boner's commission, that is beyond the value of 400 Rhenish florins which makes 266 and 1/3 ducats. Nevertheless, I worked with the Fugger factor here, Wolfgang Haller, with whom I was on especially friendly terms when I was last in Spain three years ago, and who on my credit (*ad meam fidem*) lent me the remainder of those 300 ducats, namely the 34 ducats, for which I filled out an IOU (*syngraphus*). That is why I implore Your Most Sacred Majesty most humbly, that as you accounted me 300 Hungarian ducats, may it be pleasing to you to order Jan Boner to restore those 34 ducats to Wolfgang Haller to redeem my promissory note." (*Non sunt mihi usui floreni Renenses in Hispania, itaque cogebar accipere ducatos et Fuggari hic ultra commissionem domini zupparii nihil mihi dare audent, hoc est, nisi valorem quadringentorum florenorum Renensium, qui faciunt 266 ducatos Hungaricales cum tertia parte unius ducati. Nihilominus ego hic egi cum Fuggarorum factore Wolfgango Haller, cum quo ante tres annos in Hispania mihi fuit singularis consuetudo, quod ad meam fidem mihi residuum trecentorum ducatorum, 34 ducatos, daret in mutuum, pro quibus me illi inscripsi et syngraphum meum reliqui. Proinde Sacratissimae Maiestati Vestrae humillime supplico, cum prius mihi trecentos Hungaricales numerari iussit, dignetur domino zuppario committere, ut cum residuis 34 ducatis iuxta priorem ducatorum calculum cum ipso Wolfgango Haller componat et chirographum meum redimat.*)

[451] Wyczański, 60.

[452] Sigismund and Bona to Johannes Dantiscus, March 13, 1525, from Cracow (IDL 288): "*Sumptum vero tibi suppeditandum provideri faciemus, ne inopia premente dignitati nostrae aliqua in re deesse videri possis, quem in defectu a nummulariis de more accipies, donec quod mittendum est, afferatur.*"

[453] Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (London: Arnold, 2002), 32-34.

virorum) at court, for cultivating their friendship with attentive care and diligence, which has given me not a few gray hairs, so that steadily and slowly, two steps forward and two steps back (by starting and stopping again, *remotionem et relaxionem*), as trust grows in a marriage."[454] The English ambassador, Nicholas Hawkins, who first arrived at Charles's court about the time that Dantiscus wrote that description of gaining trust and information, wrote a similar opinion. "Treuth it is, that the cnowledge of suche thingis whiche I shuld certifi the King on, for the most parte I must gett it of thother Imbassatours; and therfor must bothe invite them, and be invitid."[455] To 'both invite and be invited' meant to have a home—there was no embassy building beyond the ambassador's residence—that was hospitable and brought honor to diplomat and his prince. It was to be sumptuous and rich in quality, but intended for the use of guests, an open and liberal home, reflecting the Renaissance values of magnificence. This was the point that Dantiscus was hoping Tomicki would impress upon the queen. Dantiscus had to maintain the exterior signs of dignity commensurate with his station. The same Englishman, Hawkings, considered the daily use of silver instead of tin or pewter to be important for both his reputation and his king's.[456] For Dantiscus, good lodging was the place to start, and it was a challenge from the beginning. Again, the process is revealed in Dantiscus's letters because of the pressure he felt to justify his expenses.

When Dantiscus arrived in October of 1524, he and his colleague Dr. Borek, started looking for lodging (*hospitium*). "According to custom," they were shown three to choose from. "The first was with a certain priest, yet there was neither a stable, nor a kitchen. A second place with with two women who are called courtesans. In this place there was no suitable accommodation for either horses or servants. Therefore I hired another place, paying three ducats a week."[457] It did not seem to matter to him, or the Spanish hosts showing him the options, whether this Polish cleric lived with another priest or a pair of courtesans so long as he had good facilities. This passage also reveals who often go undetected in the correspondence. Among his servants (*servi*), one was a cook who would work in the kitchen (*culina*), and another was (or acted as) a groom, keeping horses (*equi*, in the plural).

Dantiscus needed his horses not only for maintaining the image of being a gentleman—literally a *caballero, chevalier, eques,* or *Ritter*—but for the practical purpose of getting around. When

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[454] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, April 17, 1532, from Regensburg (IDL 772): "*Haec sunt ista convivia, quae mihi serenissima reginalis maiestas obicit et quae non regiis neque reginalibus pecuniis, quae ad victum ordinarium mihi numquam suffecerunt, sed quae pro honore utriusque maiestatis et regni meis impensis hucusque feci et adhuc, quantum convenit, Deo favente, facturus sum et quae aliquando multum rebus reginalis maiestatis profuerunt, licet scribat me nihil aliud praeter verba et nullum commodum procurasse, vel ex litterarum eius ad me exemplo, quod igitur his inclusi, Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima videbit. Ista convivia et favor principum virorum in hac aula una cum sedula mea cura et diligentia, qua mihi non pauci accreverunt cani, effecerunt, quod primum investituram, deinde remotionem et relaxationem sequestri et quod fuit potissimum consensum matrimonii*"

[455] Catherine Fletcher, "'Furnished with Gentlemen': The Ambassador's House in Sixteenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (September 2010), 518.

[456] Fletcher, 527, quoting Hawkings: "Now thei, whiche at home be daili servid in silver, divine yow, how thei be content, and what thei thinke both on the King and me, to be servid with me in tin or peuter, and that nocht as ye enow in Itali."

[457] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 3, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 217): "*19 praeteriti perveni abhinc duo miliaria et misi pro hospitio, more solito data mihi fuerunt tria, unum apud quendam sacerdotem, ubi neque stabulum neque culina fuit, alia duo apud mulieres, quas cortisanas vocant. Ibi penitus neque pro equis aut pro servis ulla fuit commoditas. Conduxi hic igitur hospitium, pro quo qualibet septimana solvo tres ducatos.*"

Dantiscus did not live at court, he needed his horse to get there. Dantiscus often made the twenty-mile commute from his lodging in Valladolid to the Emperor's court in Tordesillas. He traveled with Gattinara (meeting the chancellor in the early morning at his nephew's house), and sometimes with members of the diplomatic corps (*et nuntios aliquoties*).[458] He absolutely needed a horse when following the court to Madrid, Granada, or Barcelona. It is certain that the quality of the horse also reflected on the man. As Dantiscus's contemporary, papal nuntio Balthasar Castiglione (1478-1529) wrote in *The Courtier*, quoting the Genoese Federigo Fregoso (1480-1541), part of being "elegant and attractive in the exercise of arms" was to remember that his horse was an extension of the man and needed to be "beautifully caparisoned," just as the man "himself is suitably attired," so as to "attract the eyes of the onlookers in his direction as surely as the loadstone attracts iron."[459]

Dantiscus's lodging situation changed again the following month when the emperor ordered his master of the household (*aposentador mayor de palacio*) to find a place for Dantiscus where he would be well lodged (*muy bien aposentado*) along with all of his people so that he would have "no reason to be unhappy" (*a él y a los suyos en buenas posadas, de manera que no tenga causa de estar descontento*).[460] The result was "spacious and splendid" (*in amplum et magnificum hospitium*), which made it good for entertaining. (This is also why one of the most desired features of a house was a garden.[461]) But, Dantiscus's new house came with the problem in that now it had to be furnished ("the walls are bare, and there are tables, stools, beds, to be bought besides whatever else one regards as desirable for the home").[462] Dantiscus was of course thinking not of his own comfort but of providing honorable hospitality that was necessary to his position. Shortly after Dantiscus moved in, Gattinara spent the night so that they could get an early enough start so as to call on Charles V at morning mass and to pay ritual homage to the

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[458] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, November 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 5807): "*Perveni tandem, quemadmodum cancellarius in litteris suis voluit, pro tempore praefixo ad Tordesillas et illic ante portam nepotem domini cancellarii cum aliis quibusdam equitibus inveni, qui me exceperunt et ad diversorium cancellarii perduxerunt.*" […] "*Cumque cum illo per decursum fere unius horae consedissem et nuntios aliquoties ad caesarem, quando venire deberemus, misisset, data nobis fuit adeundi facultas*."

[459] Balthasar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* ed. trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967. orig. 1528. written 1516-8), 116.

[460] This is actually the second time that Charles gave this order on behalf of Dantiscus. The first time it was not followed, which is perhaps why we have it in writing. October 17, 1524: "*Juan de Ayala, mi posendador mayor. Yo he sabido que como quiera que el marqués del Cenete, Conde de Nasao, mi camarero mayor y del mi consejo vos ha requerido de mi parte que aposentéys al enbaxador de Polonia, no lo habéys fecho. De cuya causa el dicho enbaxador y los suyos están aposentados por alquile. Y porque a my serviçio cumple quel dicho enbaxador sea muy bien aposentado, yo vos mando que luego entendáys en le aposentar a él y a los suyos en buenas posadas, de manera que no tenga causa de estar descontento, que con ellos me serviré yo. Fecha en Tordesillas a XVII días de octubre de myll e quinientos e veynte e quarto años. Yo el Rey."* (Reproduced in Antonio Fontán and Jerzy Axer (eds.), *Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V: Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994), 160.

[461] Fletcher, 521-522.

[462] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, December 18, 1524, from Madrid (IDL 266): "*Interea nos huc caesarem secuti 25 praedicti mensis Novembris venimus duobus diebus priusquam magnus cancellarius applicuisset, in amplum et magnificum hospitium locati, in quo nihil aliud quam nudos habuimus parietes, erant nobis mensae, scamna, lecti, et praeterea quicquid ad usum domesticum spectat, emendum.*

emperor.[463] While Dantiscus's lodging cost him three ducats a week, he spent 24 ducats on new clothes, and 81 ducats on horses.[464]

Clothing was both important and comparatively quite expensive.[465] Though this is another subject about which comparatively little has been written, fortunately for the historian, contemporary paintings capture the sartorial efforts that the sixteenth-century diplomat made to keep himself "suitably attired":

Fig. 3-2: Early sixteenth-century paintings of diplomats and clerics, clockwise from the upper left: Hans Holbein the Younger's The Ambassadors *(1533); "A Wealthy Prelate" by Dantiscus's protégé, Christoph Weiditz; portrait of Castiglione by Raphael of Urbino (1514), a portrait of Alfonso de Valdés, close friend and collaborator of*

[463] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, December 18, 1524, from Madrid (IDL 266): "*Tandem 2 istius* [i.e. December 2, 1524] *in nocte misit ad nos cancellarius, quod mane ad missam caesaris venire deberemus, homagium praestaturi et de omnibus audientiam habituri.*"

[464] Nowak, 127.

[465] There is a fascinating anecdote of a Spanish hidalgo, a royal accountant by the name of Iñigo Cortés Perea, who died at sea in 1526 on a voyage to the Moluccas. His wardrobe was auctioned to the crew and was sold for 14,984 maravedís which exceeded a sailor's yearly salary (at 1,125 maravedís per month). See Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Carla Rahn Phillips (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1998), 117 (with citation, n. 98 on 260, for the Archivo General de las Indias, Patronato, no. 38, ramo 3).

Dantiscus, holding a miniature image of Gattinara (1531) *by Vermeyen; portrait of Saliviati, papal legate to France in the 1520s, by Pier Francesco Foschi; Diego de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador to England by Titian (1540).*[466]

Holbein's *the Ambassadors* juxtaposes a nobleman, Jean de Dinteville (left) with bright color and puffed sleeves, with a cleric, Georges de Selve, bishop of Lavaur (right) with a more solemn coloration and design, illustrating the different styles appropriate to each. Dantiscus's style was the latter. He was a canon and later a bishop; his elevated station, his rewards, even his coat of arms and noble title (he was ennobled by both Sigismund and Maximilian), all came to him as rewards for his hard work in royal service. It would have been a presumptuous gesture to dress as one born into an aristocratic station. Styles were changing, too, and many of the leading men whom Dantiscus admired—Tomicki, Erasmus, Gattinara—and even other famous men of Europe who come to mind—Machiavelli, More, even Luther—were dressed in the somber black of quite clerical dignity.

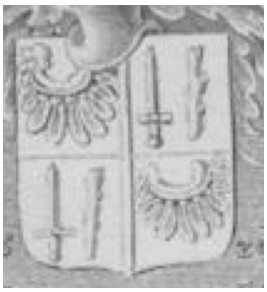

Fig. 3-3: Dantiscus's arms. The first component—the wings—were awarded him by King Sigismund. Later, the Emperor Maximilian, gave him the rod and the sword. (Image from Edward Raczyński, *Gabinet Medalów Polskich*, [Warsaw, 1857], online: http://gabinetmedalow.m4n.pl/data.php?data=15)

According to Castiglione, the correctly dressed courtier showed moderation and reserve; into the mouth of the same Federico Fregoso who thought a horse should be "beautifully caparisoned," the author put these words:

> I am always pleased when clothes then to be sober and restrained rather than foppish; so it seems to me the most agreeable color is black, and if not black, then at least something fairly dark [….] I should like the clothes our courtier wears to reflect the sobriety characteristic of the Spaniards, since external appearances often bear witness to what is within.[467]

Federico makes allowance for games, festivals, and masquerades, when more colorful attire may "suggest a certain liveliness and exuberance," the goal is "a certain modest elegance," quality and seriousness in appearance and judgment, or as the fictional courtier, Polonius, would

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[466] Hans Holbein's *The Ambassadors* is at the National Gallery in London (www.nationalgallery.org.uk); Christoph Weiditz's "Wealthy Prelate in Toledo" from Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Traditional Costumes), reproduced as *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance: All 154 Plates from the "Trachtenbuch"* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), plate XXIV, sheet 17; also available from the Digital Library of the *Germanisches National Museum* (http://dlib.gnm.de). The text above the prelate's head reads, "This is how rich prelates go about Royal Toledo" (*Allso gand die Reichen prelotten Inn Kinig Reich Zu Tolleda*); Raphael's portrait of Castiglione is reproduced on the website of the *Musée de Louvre* (www.louvre.fr); the Vermeyen picture of Alfonso de Valdés holding the image of Gattinara is at the National Gallery in London (https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/associate-of-jan-cornelisz-vermeyen-portrait-of-a-man-alfonso-de-valdes) where the attribution is tentative, "Portrait of a Man (Alfonso de Valdés?)" though we can be sure of Gattinara because the medallion "displayed by the sitter survives and the inscription: MERCVRIVS. DE. GATTINARIA. CAR. V. IMP. CANCELL" along with the scarlet garment of its subject assures of the subject and period (Gattinara was elevated to the dignity of cardinal in 1529); the Foschi portrait of Salviati is at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (image from: http://www.italian-art.ru/), it was painted in the 1540s, but since Salviati would have been in his late fifties then, either the reference is to an earlier time of his life or the attribution is erroneous, though of course it still reveals the attire of learned churchman in the early sixteenth century; Titian's painting of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza is in the Rijksmuseum in the Netherlands (image: https://start.rijksmuseumtwenthe.nl/uploads/1255/lyGKiNZePhedmuTc.png).

[467] Castiglione, 135.

put it at the end of the century: "rich, not gaudy,/ For the apparel oft proclaims the man."[468] When Gaspare Pallavicino counters that 'the habit does not make the monk,' Federico agrees that ought not be "the basis for making hard and fast judgments about a man's character," but still maintains they are a useful indicator of it. In a court where so much depended on display and representation, they were critical, and Dantiscus knew that clothing was not a good place to make economies, and he spent on a "sumptuous life" which included his own wardrobe and livery for his servants, food and drink when he considered it necessary to his work, and was continually low on funds.[469]

By comparison, Dantiscus's spending was little compared to Spanish diplomats'. For example, the very important post of Charles's representative to Venice, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (among the portraits above), maintained a large household. He hired dozens of servants, his "*famiglia*" (household staff), en route in Milan because there were many Spaniards and imperial subjects (his cook would be 'half a German').[470] Later, Mendoza was posted to Rome and maintained enough servants to feed 120 guests. He filled his house with rich tapestries, paintings, and Greek and Roman statuary, and curiosities from the New World ("Mexican idols of green malachite and of gold").[471] Even so, he still feared that this was an insufficient display for a man of his position, and would apologize to the emperor for bringing him "disgrace" through his "poverty."[472] This is poverty is the kind that can only be felt by maintaining a household of 120 on an annual salary of 12,000 ducats—the highest of all diplomatic posts. After Rome, the next in prestige was Vienna with a salary of 8,000 ducats, then France with 6,000. (The emperor did not maintain a permanent ambassador to Poland.)[473] These figures are ten times what the Polish king spent on Dantiscus's embassy.

The Mail, Circulatory System of the Republic of Letters

In the 1520s, the institution of *resident*—i.e. not an emissary who brought a message and carried the response back—was new to northern Europe. In Italy, the permanent ambassador had appeared a century earlier, but Italy was an exception. Italian city-states were wealthy, closely-situated, and comparatively small city-states where diplomatic efforts could have significant effects on the political game.[474] In the sixteenth century, the cultural influence of Renaissance Italy was reaching to far beyond the Alps, and technological changes—in navigation, in printing, in finance, in military technology—were making the continent smaller. To communicate efficiently with their agents, the princes of Europe developed post courier systems.[475] In

[468] Castiglione, 135, 136. Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* I.iii.
[469] Nowak, 127-9.
[470] Erika Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), 72.
[471] Spivakovsky, 73.
[472] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Charles V, September 15, 1551, from Rome: "*No me podiendo sostener sin hazerle [a su majestad] verguença por mi pobreça*." (Spivakovsky, 177: footnote 4.)
[473] Manuel Fernández Álvarez and Ana Díaz Medina, *Los Austrias mayores y la culminación del imperio (1516-1598)* Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1987), 240. These figures are from 1535.
[474] Mattingly, 51-122.
[475] Parker, *The Military Revolution*; Jardine, *Worldly Goods*; Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973).

populous and wealthy France, this began in the late fifteenth century under the reign of Louis XI (r. 1461-1483) who established relay stations with ready horses and appointed a *grande maître des coureurs* to manage an official "national" post system for very specific uses by agents carrying very specific passports and credentials.[476] In Spain, the post began in the sixteenth century when Philip I appointed his Burgundian *capitain et maître de nos postes*, François de Tassis (Francesco Tasso, 1459-1517), as *correo mayor* of Castile in 1505; his nephew, Jean Baptiste de Tassis succeeded him. The Tassis family (origin of the word 'taxi') carried mail for Charles V in Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy—and also for Francis I in France—even during times of war.[477] Tassis's network connected the continent to England through Calais.[478] Merchant houses had also been developing an efficient network for carrying commercial and political information: the Genoese banking house of Affaitadi sent *daily* mail from Antwerp and other merchants participated in it.[479] The English crown used commercial mail, "the merchant strangers' post," between Britain and the continent.[480] Dantiscus's letters show that the Polish king, whose political connections were just beginning to reach westward, did something similar. Dantiscus used the Fuggers' and the Welsers' banking networks, already in his monarchs' confidence, to carry letters without relying on the Spanish post. Occasionally, Dantiscus's haste to complete a dispatch for these commercial agents revealed this strong preference: "Welser agents (*Velserorum factores*) tell me they are sending a separate courier (*secretum tabellarium*) to Flanders leaving in less than an hour, so I am writing as fast as I can so that Your Most Sacred Majesty can learn what has happened."[481] The Hanseatic connection was available to him too, where is existed, for example in England (see below).

Whether the mail was getting through at all remained for Dantiscus a source of anxiety. When months would pass without any word from his king, he considered whether the mail had been "lost in the wind."[482] This is why Dantiscus was careful to repeat the main points of previous letters to increase the chances of them getting through.[483] And receiving a letter was a felicitous

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[476] Allen, 3-4.
[477] Allen, 9-10.
[478] J. A. J. Housden, "Early Posts in England," *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 72 (Oct., 1903), 713-718.
[479] Allen, 9.
[480] J. A. J. Housden , "The Merchant Strangers' Post in the Sixteenth Century," *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 21, No. 84 (Oct., 1906), 739-742.
[481] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 3, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 217): "*Paulo ante significarunt mihi Velserorum factores, quod in Flandriam secretum tabellarium mitterent, qui infra horam hinc exiret; proinde ut saltem Maiestas Vestra Serenissima sciret me iam huc applicuisse 25 praeteriti.*" I render *secretum tabellarium* as "separate courier" in my translation above, though other possibilities are "private courier" or "secret dispatch;" the list option is what Antonio Fontán and Jerzy Axer have chosen, in *Españoles y Polacos en la Corte de Carlos V*, with "correo secreto."
[482] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, February 25, 1523, from Valladolid (IDL 176): "I was always getting questioned actually, by the emperor's people (in the name of the emperor) if I had received a letter from Your Majesty. For there were these certainly little rumors—spread, I think, by your Majesty's scattered enemies—that your letters have been lost to the winds!" (*Interrogabar etiam nomine caesaris semper quando aliqua posta huc applicuit, si a Maiestate Vestra accepissem litteras. Erant enim quidam rumusculi, ab hostibus, ut suspicor, Maiestatis Vestrae sparsi, qui iam, Deo gratia, in ventos abierunt.*)
[483] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, July 30, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 142): "So if all of my letters should reach Your Majesty, I will be exceedingly pleased, and you will know from them everything that has been happening; but since I am in doubt, I will recollect some the things I have already sent and repeat them in brief." (*Quod si omnes meae litterae pervenissent ad Maiestatem Vestram, foret mihi gratissimum, ex his enim, quae*

event and Dantiscus was wont to express both the wait and the arrival in hyperbolic terms, for example as one waiting in the "edge of Hell" (*in limbo inferni*) and then suddenly seeing the Lord arrive in deliverance (*viso domino*).[484] Waiting was a defining activity of the Early Modern ambassador—waiting for news and instructions, and waiting for admittance to court.

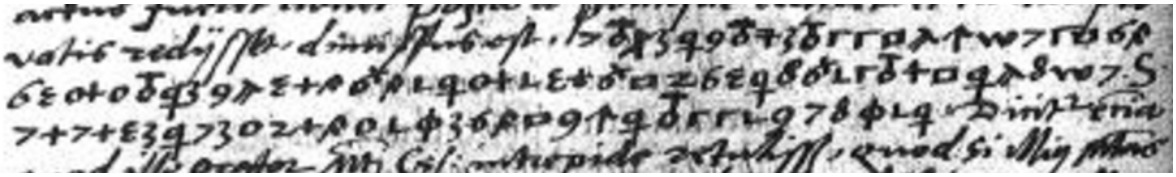

Fig. 3-4. Example of the cypher that Dantiscus used in his diplomatic correspondence. Here, he completed the sentence that the Portuguese ambassador was permitted to leave court on promise of his return, ending in the words at the top left, "(cum illa pro) votis rediisset, dimissus est." The next line is encoded, but philologists at the University of Warsaw, the editors of Dantiscus's correspondence, give it in plain Latin; it reads, "He (the papal messenger) tells me that Eleanor is impregnated by Portuguese king and that the pope is (expected) to give dispensation for it, according to him."[485]

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hucusque acta hic sunt, intellexisset omnia, et quia in dubio sum, cogor quaedam, quae antea a me fuerunt scripta, sed breviter repetere.)

[484] Consider these two examples: (1) Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "It happened I sent my servant to the Fugger agent (*factor*), to see if he had any news from our part of the world. After he left, I called him back, and then one of the Fuggers' people came with a letter from Your Most Sacred Majesty with greetings, that brought me much joy, as seeing the Lord would have on one of the holy fathers standing on the edge of Hell." (*Quod evenit, miseram famulum meum ad factorem Fuggarorum, si quid haberet novi ex nostris partibus. Qui postquam a me abiret, in proximo illum revocabam. Nam Fuggarorum unus ferens litteras Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae me salutabat et me ea affecit laetitia, qua feruntur affecti patres sancti in limbo inferni viso domino.*"); (2) Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Madrid, April 9, 1524 (IDL 242): "As of today, eight months have passed since that August day when Dr. Borek [Dantiscus's colleague] left me, and I have received no letters since. I am in such as state of expectation as the holy fathers were on the edge of hell. Nor am I permitted to leave on my own accord, not until I receive Your Most Sacred Majesty's command to do so, and so now I am to my last quarter (last reserves?) and I am waiting and I have faith. Because if even one of them, one of all of my letters, if one these has perhaps reached Your Majesty, then I hold to it that there may be clemency (in God's world)." (*Hodie elapsus est octavus mensis, nam 9 Augusti datae erant novissimae, quas doctor Borgk mihi attulit, quod nullas accepi. Sum igitur in ea exspectatione, in qua fuerunt patres sancti in limbo inferni, neque mihi hinc abire licet, nisi prius Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae mandatum videro, quod etiam usque ad extremum quadrantem exspectabo habeoque certam spem, si de tot litteris, quas toties scripsi, unae saltem Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae praesentabuntur, quod mei clementem habitura sit rationem.*)

This expression of the "holy fathers on the edge of hell" (*patres sancti in limbo inferni*) is a mysterious one. Is it referring to the pre-Christian patriarchs of the Old Testament whose salvation came after Christ's descent into hell on Holy Saturday? Is it referring to the early Christians of the patristic period, meaning that all sinful mortals must gaze into the abyss before their deliverance? Dantiscus used it twice in complementary passages, separated by two years, and the sense is one expectation of deliverance for the just and dutiful who have been left behind but not forgotten.

[485] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March 20, 1520, from Valladolid (IDL 180): "The Portuguese ambassador has set off from here suddenly, as I have written previously, he had been prevented from leaving and nearly everyone has an opinion, but no one knows the story. Everyone would like to know, and many things have been told me about him, yet there is nothing I can confirm, however much people try to convince me. It has been said that he had been compelled to stay so long until the post from the pope came back, and then he could go if he promised to return. [[This man (the papal courier) informs me that Eleanor is impregnated by Portuguese king and that the pope is (expected) to give dispensation for it, according to him.]]*" (Expeditus est hinc subito orator Portugaliae, qui hic, ut prius scripsi, fuerat retentus, et fere omnibus insciis et praeter omnium opinionem discessit. Ea, quae mihi de illius expeditione dicta sunt ab illo, qui omnia vult scire, scribo, non tamen quod affirmem, quamvis me multa ad credendum inducant. Fertur quod igitur hic tam diu manere coactus fuerit donec posta a pontifice rediret et, cum*

To guard against the possibility that his letters might be read by intermediaries, Dantiscus used an encryption cypher for his most sensitive rumors. In this example, Dantiscus wrote openly that he did not know the reason the reason why the Portuguese ambassador had left abruptly from court after being long detained, and then continued in cypher that he thought perhaps the (widowed) Queen Leonor has been impregnated by her (unmarried) stepson, John III.[486]

Network Nodes: Connections and Travels in the Republic of Letter

Spain, for Dantiscus, was not only the center of Habsburg power in Europe, but a symbolically powerful place. The mission was the primary definitive event of his diplomatic career and he often mentioned it later when reflecting on his life, especially when establishing his credentials for commenting on European affairs. In his literary works, he used the deliberately classical language favored by humanists: he had gone to "further Hesperia" (Spain), or "both Hesperias" (Spain and Italy)—*Hesperia* (*Ἑσπερία*) was the Greek word for 'western lands.'[487] In general, when he named places, he tended to use the names of Roman provinces rather than vernacular toponyms, thus tying his experiences in travel to his humanist erudition, a shared memory of the Roman imperial past and the politics, glorious and universalistic, this connoted:

> I was thrice sent on a mission to both Hesperias,
> And thrice have I seen Gaul (*Gallia*, France), itself made up of three parts.
>
> We have seen the land of the Britons, separated from us (by the water),
> And the Great Ocean (*Magnus / Oceanus*) that holds that kingdom closely surrounded,
>
> We saw the most remote humans, the Morini, and the people of Batavia,

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illa pro votis rediisset, dimissus est. [[Dicit mihi ille, quod Leonora sit impregnata a rege Portugalliae et quod Pontifex dederit dispensationem, ut illam ducit.]])

This document is at the Polish National Library (*Biblioteka Narodowa*, BOZ, 2053, TG 4, No. 411, f. 179-182) and is available in facsimile at the http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/.

[486] Leonor (Eleanor of Austria, 1498-1558) was Charles V's older sister. She had been married in 1518 to King Manuel of Portugal (1469-1521), 30 years her senior, who had previously been married to two of her aunts (Joanna of Castile's sisters, Isabella and Maria). She was married to Manuel after a proposed arrangement with the son, Prince John (her cousin), had been cancelled. Instead John married Eleanor's younger sister, Catherine (1507-1578). The rumor, it seems, was no more than that; or at least no child was born to Leonor that year or the next. Later, in 1530, Charles would give her in marriage to Francis I of France after the Treaty of Madrid (1526) and the French king's release following his capture at Pavia (1525).

[487] '*Hesperus*' (*Ἑσπερος*), the evening star, from '*hespera*' (*ἑσπέρα*), the 'evening,' related to the Latin and consequently English word 'vesper' (*vesper, vesperis*), ties the concept of the direction 'west' with the sunset and the evening (cf. Latin *occidens*, Spanish *poniente*, and Polish *zachód*, all familiar to Dantiscus). See S. C. Woodhouse, *English-Greek Dictionary: A Vocabulary of the Attic Language* (London: Routledge, 1910), 285, available online from the University of Chicago at https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/Woodhouse/.

Johannes Dantiscus, *Vita Ioannis Dantisci*, 1534 (IDP 92), ll. 21-22: "How many countries and how many ocean voyages, both Jerusalem and the two Western Lands (*Hesperia ac utraque*, i.e. Spain and Italy) will attest." (*Quot terras et quot pergravimus aequoris undas,/ Et Solyma, Hesperia ac utraque testis erit.*")

Johannes Dantiscus, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, 1530 (IDP 41), l. 156: "Thus, I went three times from here to further Hesperia" (*Hinc ter in Hesperia posteriore fui.)*

> And those who lived neighboring the banks of the Rhine and the Hister (Danube).[488]

Instead of France, England, and the Netherlands, Dantiscus talked of *Gallia*, *Britania*, and *Batavia*. That Gaul was "itself made up of three parts" was a direct and immediately recognizable allusion to the opening lines of Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars*.[489] Moreover the "remote" Moroni referred to a tribe of Belgian Gauls whom Julius Caesar named as part of a rebellious confederacy.[490] This region had been, to be sure, remote when Caesar 'pacified' it in 58 or 57 BC, but, 1600 years later when Dantiscus was there visiting with Margaret of Austria and Erasmus of Rotterdam, it was the Burgundian Netherlands—wealthy, cultured, and cosmopolitan. Dantiscus's reference to its "remoteness" was pure fantasy. And so was his giving the English Channel the name *Magnus Oceanus* referring to the world-river of antiquity that surrounded the known world with impassible waters. Again, that may have been the case for Julius Caesar of for Claudius, it was certainly not so in the 1520's. Dantiscus knew all about European expeditions to the New World, the achievements of the "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," Christopher Columbus, and his successors, including Dantiscus's friend (as of 1528), Hernán Cortés. The crossing of *Oceanus* was proclaimed by the ubiquitous 'columnar device' of Emperor Charles V, promising to continue 'further beyond' (*plus ultra*, replacing the traditional *non plus ultra*) through the Pillars of Hercules, alternatively called the Pillars of Oceanus.[491] Dantiscus's writing style here was deliberately styled for his fellow humanists. He was intentionally giving precedence to the authority of tradition over the authority of the eyes.

Very different from his memoirs is the body of Dantiscus's diplomatic correspondence; there are many hundreds of letters and they are the basis of this chapter's investigation. These letters aim to transmit intelligence—useful political information about power, court dynamics, and news from all over Europe. What would have been be little more than scandalous gossip in a private context took on great political significance when they occurred at a royal court, especially when such issues impacted dynastic succession. In addition, it was always useful to know disreputable tidbits about great personages. In some of his liveliest letters, Dantiscus reported what he could about prominent persons of Europe even before he arrived in Spain, including Thomas Wolsey, Martin Luther, and King Christian of Denmark.

As he traveled to Spain on his mission to secure Queen Bona's Neapolitan inheritance, Dantiscus had opportunities to meet with influential political and cultural actors along the way. He had Habsburg connections from his years at Maximilian's court in Vienna and consequently enjoyed an amicable working relationship with the Burgundian governor's (the regent Margaret of Austria, b. 1480 r. 1506-1530) court when he traveled through Antwerp in 1522. Margaret's secretary, Remacle d'Ardennes (1480 – 1524), entrusted Dantiscus with letters to England for

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[488] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum*, 1539 (IDP 54), ll. 165-170: "*Sum ter ad Hesperiam procul allegatus utramque,/ Est ter et ipsa mihi Gallia visa triplex./ Vidimus a nostro divisos orbe Britannos,/ Magnus et Oceanus quae prope regna tenet,/ Extremos hominum Morinos gentemque Batavam/ Et quos vicinos Rhenus et Hister habet.*"

[489] Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, book 1, chapter 1.

[490] Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, book 2, chapter 4.

[491] Fabio Barry, "The Mouth of Truth and the Forum Boarium: Oceanus, Hercules, and Hadrian," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 93, No. 1 (March 2011), 7-37, esp. 10-18.
Rosenthal, 209-215.

both Chancellor Thomas Wolsey (1473-1430) and for Ferdinand Habsburg (1503-1564), Charles V's younger brother and newly-made archduke of Austria. Given the close distance and frequent travel between Antwerp and England (a mere 120 miles from the Flemish city to English Calais), this commission for Dantiscus to carry Habsburg mail should be read as an act of honor and trust rather than logistical expediency. Letters were also a ticket of introduction: Dantiscus gave his letter to Wolsey upon meeting him, but saved his letter for Ferdinand until he could hand it to Henry VIII. That is, he chose to hold on to the second letter (rather than giving both to Wolsey), so that he would have more pretext for meeting King Henry and not arrive empty-handed.

In his lengthy 1522 letter from Antwerp, Dantiscus showed pro-Habsburg feelings—either out of genuine conviction, or expectation that his letter would be read, or both—in his description of Charles as an eager peacemaker and Francis a relentless warmonger:

> It is known by all that his Imperial Majesty [Charles V] wants nothing more than peace, that he wants to stand known before judgment and not be suspected of all things, i.e. of mischief in Milan, in the Neapolitan Kingdom, and of all other controversies over which this war began. But, the king of France, after being frustrated, not to have the that highest imperial office which he so wanted for himself, wants nothing else but war. It is hoped by many here that his thirst (for blood) will soon be calmed.[492]

Elsewhere he wrote how Pope Adrian VI hoped to check Francis's fratricidal plots, but to no avail; the French king's ambition (*ambitio*) had "infested" the entire Christian world with war for many years, making him even more dangerous than the Turk, since France was as the center of Europe and the Ottoman Empire on its periphery.[493] This opinion he kept his entire career, even when he was sent to France in 1524 and found himself personally liking Francis, and it was one he shared with his two closest collaborators in Spain, Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara and the secretary Alfonso de Valdés. It was also an idea that underpinned the argument of his *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva* in 1530. He remained firmly in the imperial camp even during the period before the Battle of Pavia when Sigismund's politics were exploring a realignment to French interests instead of the Habsburg agenda, and candidly reminded the Polish king's treasurer (Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, 1480-1532, Castellan of Sandomierz and brother to Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki) that, "Your Magnificence has always known me to support the imperial party."[494] Though Dantiscus's analysis of the political situation fit with his

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[492] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Testataque est publice maiestas caesarea, quod nihil magis cupiat, quam pacem, velitque stare cognitioni iudicum non suspectorum de omnibus rebus, ut Mediolano, regno Navarrae et aliis, de quibus controversia haec bellica agitur. Sed rex Galliae, postquam se frustatum videt, imperia deinde pontificem non habere, quem ipse voluisset, nihil aliud, quam bellum sitit. Speratur hic a multis, quod brevi haec sitis sedabitur.*"

[493] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*regem Galliae, qui in medio Christianitatis perniciosior foret Turcis*" […] "*Multa praeterea fuerunt dicta de Gallorum perfidia foederum fractione et de tot illatis iniuriis et conclusum,*" […] "*modo conatus et ambitio Gallorum regis, quae totum orbem Christianum iam a multis annis infecerunt tot bellis*"

[494] Johannes Dantiscus to Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, Novemeber 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 222): "*Magnificentia Vestra me faventem partibus Caesaris semper cognovitis.*" Dantiscus wrote this letter after arriving on his third trip to Spain, after he had been to Lyons, where he had been graciously received by Francis I. He knew that the winds of politics were changing; but he would "keep my sails furled," i.e. he would do his ambassadorial duty but not get

long-standing, pro-imperial stance, its explicit tone shows it could easily have also been intended for the eyes of the postal agents.

Fig. 3-5: Christian II, portrait by Michel Sittow, c. 1515. (Danish National Gallery, Statens Museum for Kunst*: http://www.smk.dk/)*

Another letter that Dantiscus sent the same day—so almost certainly carried by the same courier—to the Chancellor Piotr Tomicki carried his report disgracing the Danish king (1481-1559, r. 1513-1523). Christian was married to Charles's younger sister, Isabel of Austria (1501-1526, m. 1515), but he was an oppressive husband also a thorn in the imperial side—impertinently seeking money from Charles to force Sweden into his control, then executing dozens of Swedish nobles and priests, and ultimately alienating all of the Scandinavian peoples under his rule.[495] Dantiscus wrote that Christian had even imprisoned Charles's ambassadors.[496] He also described the exploits of this "excellent king" (a sarcastic expression) during his visit to the Netherlands as a colorful string of ill-mannered, high-handed, and lecherous misbehavior.[497] Was this reporting intended to give an intelligence advantage to Polish statesmen at some future point or was it gossip-mongering? The line between the two was blurred and Dantiscus could do both at once as he sought interesting information to include in his letters in his long periods of waiting. And Dantiscus did not make his low opinion known but rather kept his observations that so detracted from Christian's royal reputation to his letters only. According to another diplomat, Dantiscus's friend Cornelius de Schepper, King Christian continued to admire Dantiscus years later.[498]

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carried away with enthusiasm for the French: "*nunc video mutari auram, et ego vela contraham.*" After Francis I was defeated an captured at the Battle of Pavia, Sigismunds overtures to the French king were moot.

[495] Brandi, 141-142, 189-190.

[496] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 164): "*Rex Daciae maiestatis caesareae oratores cepit et in carcere vinctos tenet.*"

[497] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 164): Christian complained that the sarcophagus at the Shrine of the Three Kings was so poor as to make them seem three presents ("*isti tres rustici*"); he complained that the cobble stones were of low quality, and that were he king here, he would have ordered the people to replace the stones in front of their homes and shops or be strung up ("*qui hoc non faceret, ante domum suam deberet suspendi*"), and not only did he frequent public brothels ("*publicas frequentasse lupas*") because he could not satisfy his libidinous desires at the home of his hosts ("*hospites illius libidinem in domibus suis ferre noluissent*"); and, worst of all, he tried to debauch some innocent girls: "When Christian II was in Maastricht (or Utrecht), he invited some pretty girls and local dignitaries to eat; and to one of the prettiest he directed not only his words but also his public kisses. He wanted her to stay on after everyone was heading home as night was approaching, but her mother noticed this, and she threatened to make a great ruckus all over town if he did not return the girl; and if were to have persisted in keeping her such an uproar would have erupted from the people, that this 'most excellent' king would have been killed." (*Postquam venisset ad civitatem Traiectensem, ubi formosae sunt puellae, invitavit pulchriores ad cenam cum matribus et quibusdam civitatis primoribus et post famem et remotas epulas laetior efficiebatur unamque de puellis sibi delegerat, quae ceteris forma praestabat, cum qua sermones et manifesta iunxit oscula. Dumque iam nox appropinquaret et quilibet domuitionem capesseret, puellam, quam sibi delegerat, retinere nitebatur. Quod mater illius animadvertens magno impetu et conviciis ⌈regem⌋ est aggressa minitans se publicum facturam clamorem per totam ⌈civitatem⌋, nisi filiam dimitteret, et si perseverasset in retentione, iam quidam rumor ad vulgus eruperat, fuisset iste optimus rex interfectus*). There were so many of these stories, Dantiscus wrote, that to report them all would have required not a letter but a book. ("*Multa alia, quae non epistulam, sed volumen exigerent, illud tamen adhuc addam.*")

[498] Cornelius de Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, July 6, 1525, from Plymouth (IDL 254): "And as for what my

Dantiscus had more to do when he stopped in England in October and November of 1522. He was following the trail of Charles V who had been a guest of Henry VIII's in June of that year.[499] While Charles and Henry hunted and feasted, Gattinara and Wolsey negotiated the Treaty of Windsor for a coordination of attacks against France.[500] The emperor was riding a wave of success, and Dantiscus was following in its wake. Not only had Charles's armies defeated the French in Milan and Tournai, but his former tutor had recently been elected to the papacy as Adrian VI. Charles was also traveling an Aztec treasure to show off his New World conquests and inspire wonderment among both his European friends and rivals.[501]

Fig. 3-6: Albert of Prussia, Grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights (thereafter duke of Prussia) by Lucas Cranach the Elder at the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, in Brawunschweig, http://www.3landesmuseen.de/.

Dantiscus delivered his letters from Margaret of Austria and met with Wolsey and Henry VIII. He was also able to pursue his king's Prussian agenda against the Teutonic Knights that he had worked on as a young secretary. He had already tried to persuade his fellow Germans on the continent—Cardinal Matthäus Lang of Salzburg, then Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine at Nuremberg—that this Catholic German military order ought to have turned its crusading

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most illstrious king should consider, I put it to you, that he recognizes your (great) service." (*Quod ad illustrissimum regem meum spectat, faciam, ut is officium tuum agnoscat.*)

[499] This was a royal friendship that Charles had initiated the previous year, 1521, when he desired to make a positive first impression on Henry in anticipation of the Henry and Francis's great and sumptuous summit called the Fields of Cloth of Gold. In contrast, Charles had hopped the Channel "almost unattended […] wholly relying on Henry's generosity for his safety" (William Bradford, ed., *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V and his ambassadors at the courts of England and France, 1519-1551* [London: R. Bentley, 1850], 10) and after a very successful visit of four days continued to the Netherlands. They met a second time at Gravelines, and from these came their anti-French alliance that led to Charles's capture of Milan, and which lasted until the death of Pope Leo in December of 1521. Wolsey had wanted to succeed Leo, and Charles had promised to support him through letters he sent with Henry's ambassador, Richard Pace, to Rome. Meanwhile, Charles's own ambassador in Rome, Juan Manuel, promoted the Medici candidate, to Wolsey's great displeasure, and Charles later explained that he had given no such instructions. But neither had the votes, so the surprise candidate of compromise was Charles's old tutor, friend and Burgundian compatriot, Adrian of Utrecht. This was yet another triumph for Charles, one that both Charles and Adrian considered to be an act of God, the former writing to his ambassador in England that, "the choice, which fell upon one who was never even contemplated by any party appears to have been rather the choice of God, than of man (*plustost euvre de Dieu que des homes*)," (Bradford, 35), and the second understanding that Charles was not in a political position to advance his candidacy (Bradford, 43-45). (Bradford, 10-12, 27-47.)

[500] Brandi, 168-169; Richardson, 43-44.

Another part of this treaty was the betrothal of Henry's daughter, Mary (1516-1553), to the young emperor. The marriage was to take place after her twelfth birthday and so was then a way off. It is fortunate that this treaty was repudiated because Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon, was Charles's sister—a natural, genealogical obstacle in later centuries but not then.

[501] Albrecht Dürer described these wonders when he saw them in Brussels the previous August: "Also I have seen the things which they have brought to the King out of the new land of gold: a sun all of gold, a whole fathom broad [about six feet], and a moon, too, of silver, of the same size, also two rooms full of armour, and the people there with all manner of wondrous weapons, harness, darts, wonderful shields, extraordinary clothing, beds, and all kinds of wonderful things for human use, much finer to look at than prodigies. These things are all so precious that they are valued at 100,000 gulden, and all the days of my life I have seen nothing that reaches my heart so much as these, for among them I have seen wonderfully artistic things and have admired the subtle ingenuity of men in foreign lands;

zeal from the Catholic Sigismund to his Muslim adversaries.[502] Those letters of Dantiscus's also reveal how local belligerence between German princes prevented them from being interested in distant military efforts. But just as Dantiscus traveled making King Sigismund's case and seeking allies in European courts, so did the Teutonic Order send ambassadors. Dantiscus went up against one of these—Dietrich von Schönberg (1484-1525)—in London in a contest of diplomatic influence.

The representative of the Teutonic Knights in London, Dantiscus's opposite number, Dietrich von Schönberg, was no ascetic crusading friar, but a hedonistic and cosmopolitan courtier who enjoyed sumptuous dress, games of chance, and visiting brothels. These nocturnal social interests together with more bookish ones—the study of astrology—made von Schönberg a special favorite of the young grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, Albert (Albrecht) Hohenzollern-Ansbach (b. 1490, r. 1515-1568).[503] Albert had been chosen grandmaster because of his noble family—he was also nephew to King Sigismund—and he was no more interested in chastity or temperance than con Schönberg was.[504] The colorful von Schönberg represented the grandmaster abroad, first forging an anti-Polish alliance with Muscovite Grand Prince Basil in 1517 that resulted in an unsuccessful war (1519-1521) against Sigismund.[505] Unfortunately for the Teutonic Knights, Muscovite reinforcements failed to appear when expected and Albrecht ran out of money to pay German mercenaries. By 1522 von Schönberg was in London seeking support from Henry VIII and his guest Charles V; this is where Dantiscus encountered him.

Von Schönberg had been there many months already, staying at a house that the Teutonic Knights maintained, and Dantiscus feared that this "bosom friend and counselor" (*cor et consilium*) of Grandmaster Albrecht's had often been at table with both King Henry and Emperor Charles.[506] But, in Dantiscus's version of events, the Polish ambassador had little trouble facing down his rival who was intimated and embarrassed by Dantiscus's arrival, avoiding him in public:

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indeed, I don't know how to express what I there found." (Albrecht Dürer, *Memoirs of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries,* ed. Roger Fry [Boston: Merrymount Press, 1913], 47.)

[502] The first two encounters appear in IDL 157 (Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Nuremberg, July 28, 1522) and the third in IDL 163 (Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Antwerp, September 18, 1522).

[503] These regnal dates, 1515-1568, are for Albert's reign in Prussia; the first ten years, 1515-1525, he was grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, and thereafter he was duke of the secularized (ducal) Prussian state.

[504] William Urban, *The Teutonic Knights*, 252-253, and his article, "Renaissance Humanism in Prussia: The Court of the Grandmasters," *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 107-109.

[505] Maike Sach, *Hochmeister und Grossfürst: die Bezeihungen zwischen Deutchen Orden in Preussen und dem Moskauer Staat um die Wended ur Neuzeit,* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), Chapter 4; William Urban, *The Teutonic Knights*, 252-253.

[506] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "From these men [citizens of Gdańsk then in London] I immediately learned that Theodericus de Schonberg, the bosom friend and counsellor of the Grand Master has been here six months already. Schonberg has been saying everything to his imperial majesty, who's also been here, and to the most serene king of England, with whom he as often been at table, not according to the way your most serene majesty would have it but according to his master, the grand master of the Teutonic Order." / "*Ab eis statim intellexi, quod Theodericus de Schonberg cor et consilium domini magistri generalis iam in sextum mensem et apud maiestatem caesaream dum hic esset, et apud serenissimum regem Angliae multa sollicitasset, et quod dixisset omnia, quae hic ageret, non secus Serenissimae Maiestati Vestrae atque domino suo magistro profutura, et quod indies in eorum commercio et saepius cum eis esset ad tabulam.*"

> Meanwhile, it happened that I went to church—accompanied by one of the people of my household who attends me according to the honor which your Sacred Majesty has done me—when, beyond all hope, Dietrich comes down the street and, as soon as he saw me (I know not why) he blushed all over with astonishment and escaped to another part of the street. Well, I saluted him, uncovering my head and bending my knee, and gave him my hand but said nothing. Now, the people of my household who were with me were quite amazed at this one who was raised beyond words whom they did not know to be mad, and who so yielded the street to me. I took it as a sign and I replied thus: the workings of this lord here (i.e. the suit of the Teutonic Order) will yield to the suit of my most serene lord.[507]

It is hard to give credence to Dantiscus's account—why should von Schönberg have so clumsily taken his leave of the ambassador?—unless it is in the strength, moral rather than physical, of Dantiscus's companions. In the text of the letter, he changed "*meis gentibus*" (my people) to "*meis gentilibus*" (my countrymen), meaning that they were Danzigers (see fig. 3-7, right). Later in the same letter, Dantiscus underscored the loyalty of Danzigers to their king. One of these, Michael Sander, who shared an inn with von Schönberg, informed Dantiscus that the Teutonic agent was planning to visit the king of Scotland, the enemy of the English crown and ally of France, which was very valuable intelligence for Dantiscus.[508]

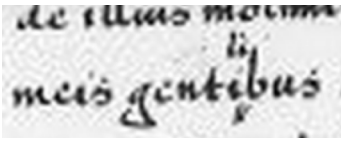

Fig. 3-7: Dantiscus has turned "gentibus" into "gentilibus" with a caret. (IDS 16014, original from *Biblioteka Jagiellońska*, 6557, f. 33v-37v).

[507] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Accidit interea, quando una cum meis gentilibus, qui me ad honorem Sacratissimae Maiestatis Vestrae comitabantur, irem ad ecclesiam, praeter omnem spem Theodericus processit ex quadam platea obviam et, quamprimum me aspexit, nescio quo spiritu, subito rubore perfususresiliit attonitus in aliam plateae partem, detecto capite et nutabundo genu honorem mihi offerrens, quem illi etiam impartiebam manu et verbis omissis. Gentiles mei non satis poterant demirari, qui alias ex verbis hominem et elatum, et furiosum noscerent, quod sic ex via mihi cessisset. Omen capio, respondi ita: omnes illius domini actiones actionibus serenissimi domini mei cedent*."

[508] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "I came upon my countryman (a fellow Prussian) from Reszel, a town in the bishopric of Ermland: Dr. Michael Sander, a man of good letters (high erudition and quality) and great faithfulness to your most serene majesty, who served in the halls of the old emperor, the divine Maximilian and also in Switzerland and whom I knew to be a true brother, who worked on behalf of his most reverend lord, the cardinal of Sion [an episcopal seat in Switzerland]. Theoderic lived with Michael in the same inn for a long time on account of his mission to Cardinal Wolsey. They talked among themselves about the diocese of Ermland, in which Dr. Michael is a canon and a dean of Wrocław, now and then, in a joking spirit, they disagreed—and as in seriousness and in jest many truths may be uncovered—he heard from Theoderic, this coming to some extent from the Grand Master [Albrecht] that the bishopric of Braunsberg would never be returned and that Theoderic would be expedited (prepared for a journey) with certain letters to your Most Serene Majesty, that (these letters?) contain the worst of the cardinal, and that he will depart for the king of Scotland with whom a two month truce has been struck, to carry on the business with the king of Scotland that he did with the king of England." / "*inveni sibi conterraneum meum ex Resel oppido episcopi Varmiensis doctorem Michaelem Sanderi virum bonis litteris et summa fide erga Serenissimam Maiestatem Vestram praeditum, quem in aula caesaris olim divi Maximiliani et apud Helvetios tamquam fratrem germanum noveram, agentem hic causas et negotia reverendissimi domini sui cardinalis Sedunensis, cum quo Theodericus in uno hospitio propter suam expeditionem apud cardinalem Eboracensem, longo tempore fuit convictus (*or, *coniunctus) et quia inter eos saepius mentio de ecclesia Varmiensi incidit, in qua doctor Michael canonicus est et decanus Wratislaviensis, interdum amico more per iocum dissidebant, cumque serio et ioco veritas plerumque detegitur, audivit a Theoderico, quod res veniant utcumque*

Another Danziger, the merchant George Hasse, declined a lucrative shipping contract with the Teutonic Order:

> There's a certain merchant from Gdańsk here, George Hasse, who is the senior man in the merchant house. The king of Denmark receives forty (bolts of) London cloth from this excellent merchant yearly. Dietrich is in this king's great favor, and he (this merchant, George Hasse) asked of him if he might receive a contract to and carry this cloth and that he would give Dietrich the reward (commission), more than enough, that goes with this service.
>
> Dietrich replied: "If you should wish to swear allegiance to my lord the Grandmaster and be his excellent subordinate, I will secure for you the contract to carry even a thousand (bolts of) cloth, and without the commission."
>
> To which your Most Serene Majesty's subordinate (vassal) replied: "You will never make a traitor out of me."
>
> Such were his cunning tricks, his efforts, that came to nothing.[509]

*Fig. 3-8: Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York (1514) and cardinal (1515), royal chancellor to Henry VIII (1515), image from the Twickenham Museum (*http://www.twickenham-museum.org.uk/*)*

Like von Schönberg, Dantiscus was able to gain access to the king of England and his chancellor, bringing them those letters from the Habsburg Netherlands.[510] The meeting between Dantiscus and Wolsey was an interesting one. Dantiscus valued Wolsey's influence highly, calling him (to King Sigismund) the all-powerful ruler of both "the kingdom and its king"—*qui in hoc Regno omnipotens regem et Regnum regit*—playing on the repetition of Latin root '*reg*' for ruling or governing.[511] Desiring to see what he could "fish out" (*expiscari*) about von Schönberg and the Teutonic Order, Dantiscus visited him, likely at the Hampton Court Palace that Wolsey had acquired in the year of his elevation and continued

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magister Braunsberg episcopatui numquam est redditurus, et quod Theodericus cum quibusdam litteris ad Sacratissimam Maiestatem Vestram esset expeditus, pessime de cardinale contentus, et quod inde ad regem Scociae, cum quo sunt duorum mensium indutiae, sit profecturus, quodque apud illum eandem, quam apud Angliae regem haberet actionem."

[509] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Est hic quidam mercator Gdanensis Georgius Hasse, qui est hic in domo mercatorum senior. Illi rex Daciae superiori anno 40 stamina panni Londinensis recepit et, cum sciret, quod Theodericus in magna esset illius regis gratia, rogavitque eum, quod, si posset efficere, ut panni recepti restituerentur, satis commodo munere illum donare promisit. Ille respondit: si tu volueris illustrissimo domino meo magistro generali iuramentum fidelitatis ut illius subditus praestare, sine munere tibi panni reddentur, si essent mille stamina. Inquit subditus Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae: numquam ex me facies proditorem. Haec sunt illius studia, his technis, quibus nihil efficere potest, laborat.*"

[510] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "*Haec mihi hesterna nocte Remaclus de Arduenna, vir impense doctus (et est a secretis serenissimae principis), retulit. Et litteras passus nomine caesaris per regentes istarum terrarum signatos cum aliis litteris ad reverendissimum Angliae cardinalem, mihi reddidit.*"

[511] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806).

improving for over a decade until "he felt obliged to make the property over to his monarch" around 1527.[512]

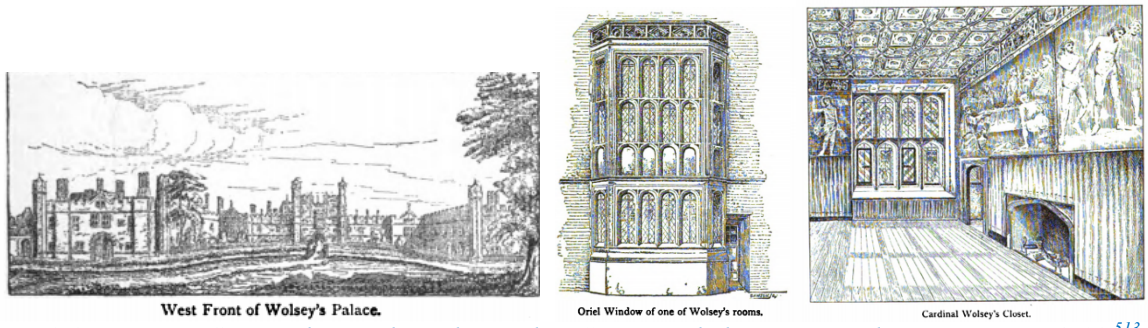

Fig. 3-9: Hampton Court Palace and "Wolsey's closet" as it might have appeared to Dantiscus in 1522.[513]

This was the scene that Dantiscus unfolded:

> Led in to his chamber, I found him laying on his couch suffering from a colic, that he was working to gain release from; but I have been taught by others, and I recognized that he was infected by the French Pox (i.e. syphilis), because of the evidence of of his beard and his pustules that were quite visible (even) in the darkness.[514]

This diagnosis is a mystery because it appears in no other sources. Thomas Wolsey's enemies (e.g. the poet John Skelton) were not aware of it, although it was widely known that the cardinal suffered from colic, as Dantiscus related, and the dangerous English sweating sickness.[515] Syphilis was particularly shameful because it was a venereal disease and, though the cardinal (like many political prelates of his day) was neither chaste nor expected to be, his enemies would not have hesitated to spread such a rumor. It appears therefore that Dantiscus made a mistake, reading a different skin disease as the notorious French Pox, which is especially interesting given how favorably Wolsey received Dantiscus. According to Dantiscus's report, he found a sympathetic ally in the English chancellor:

> I greeted him in the style becoming the name of your Most Serene Majesty and then performed my little speeches concerning matters of the Turks and the

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[512] Twickenhan Museum, "The history centre for Twickenham, Whitton, Teddington and the Hamptons," at http://www.twickenham-museum.org.uk/detail.php?aid=219&cid=16&ctid=1

[513] Ernest Philip Alphonse Law, *The History of Hampton Court Palace*, Vol. 1: *In Tudor Times*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1890), 27, 39, plate between 52 and 53.

[514] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Introductus ad illum offendi eum in lecto decumbentem et colica passione, ut ipse asserebat, laborantem, sed ab aliis edoctus, cognovi morbo Gallico eum infectum, quod illius barba et postulae, quae per obscurum videbantur, bene testabantur.*"

[515] See Gavin Schwartz-Leeper, *From Princes to Page: The Literary Lives of Cardinal Wolsey, Tudor England's 'Other King,'* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 20-74. Professor Schwartz-Leeper (University of Warwick) has been especially generous to me in his email correspondence—as has Professor Glenn Richardson (St. Mary's University, Twickenham, London)—in my pursuit of this question.

John L. Flood, "'Safer on the battlefield than in the city': England, the 'sweating sickness', and the continent," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (June 2003), 151. John A. H. Wylie and Leslie H. Collier, "The English Sweating Sickness (Sudor Anglicus): A Reappraisal," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (October 1981), 430-431.

> Tartars, by whom Your Majesty is constantly oppressed. And I asked him what he might be able to do for us, in his capacity as a Prince of the Church and by the great authority which he enjoys with the Most Serene King of England who might help to change the the downward progress of Christian affairs. To all of which, as he is an erudite and eloquent man, he responded at length, saying much against the French, and complaining of how they cause him anguish, interior and exterior, and complaining of their perfidious broken faith. For these greetings and the communication of these matters, down to the concern for and vigilance over Christian matters, he was grateful to Your Majesty and asked that I commend him greatly to you.[516]

The interview could not have gone better for Dantiscus. The chancellor asked his advice on dealing with the Teutonic Order—"these brothers we (the Poles) do not value at a copper penny"—and arranged for him to meet with King Henry.[517] After their meeting, they traveled together for two hours and chatted amicably about their work. Dantiscus boasted later that, when von Schönberg got wind of this, the Teutonic representative was bitterly envious saying he had been in England all of three months and still "seemed but a foreign guest," blanching at lucky Dantiscus's "good fortune with *this priest*."[518] Von Schönbergs's sour grapes were sweet to Dantiscus's taste. But how he could have known von Schönberg's reactions—perhaps from George Hasse?—remains a matter of conjecture, so one should take this report with a grain of salt. Even so, it reveals his deep personal competitiveness in seeking favor and standing in the eyes of the European monarchs and their high ministers, a pattern that would continue during his tenure as resident ambassador in Spain.

Dantiscus's audience with Henry VIII took place three days later. Dantiscus traveled by horse with a soldier in the service of John Daunce, "counselor and private treasurer of the English king," to Henry's castle.[519] There, Dantiscus was given "lodging and brought wine and beer and other provisions and ceremony was extended" to him. Two more soldiers brought him "with

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[516] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806).

[517] Ibid. This characterization was Dantiscus's.

[518] Ibid.: "*Cumque relatum fuisset Theoderico, quod ad cardinalem me contulissem, fertur dixisse, vadat et pro tribus mensibus ibi sibi paret hospitium. Cum vero audisset sequenti me die rediisse et fuisse me cardinali gratum et ab illlo me statim intromissum atque honorifice susceptum, expalluit dicens, bonum est, quod aliquis apud istum sacerdotem fortunam habet.* [In the transcription, Professor Skolimowka's philological team has added quotation marks to Dietrich's remarks which do not appear in the original manuscript (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 6557, f. 33v-37v); I have removed them again.]

[519] Ibid.: "*Tertia die reverendissimus dominus cardinalis misit ad me militem istarum terrarum cum insigniis consuetis Ioannem Dans consiliarium et privatum thesaurarium serenissimi regis Angliae, qui cum octo equis (portabar ego metquintus cum meis in conducticiis) me usque ad curiam serenissimi regis conduxit.*" John Daunce (or Dauntesey, 1484-1545) started as a goldsmith in the treasury but became an influential and trusted counselor in parliamentary, legal, financial, and diplomatic affairs. ("Dauntesey [Daunce], Sir John (by 1484-1545), of Thame, Oxon. and London" in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1509-1558*, ed. S.T. Bindoff [London : Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1982], available online at: http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/dauntesey-(daunce)-sir-john-1484-1545).

That they rode by horse indicates that they went to see King Henry at "one of his country houses" instead of the Palace of Placentia in Greenwich, to which they would have traveled by barge (Richardson, 152).

honor to the king's chamber, where the king was to enter, and where his chief courtiers and lords waited for him" and Dantiscus too waited "in style" (*dignis modis*).[520]

Fig. 3-10: Henry VIII as he would have appeared to Dantiscus ("never have I seen a better looking man"), unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, c. 1520, at the National Portrait Gallery: NPG 4690 at www.npg.org.uk.

After a short while, the king emerged from his chamber, so attractive a man as ever I have seen, and never have a I seen a better looking man. He gave me his refined hand and looked on me with his light-hearted countenance and showed me to another place where he wished to give me an audience.

I began my greetings in the name of your most serene majesty, using the style and words that I knew, and tried to best achieve his good-will, communicating to him Your Most Serene Majesty's love and good will, which, as he is well learned and skilled (*et bonas habet literas*) he heard me out gladly and with good will.[521]

Dantiscus then delivered the letter he was carrying from Ferdinand Habsburg; Thomas More (1478-1535), known already to Dantiscus as a humanist "of great Greek and Latin learning," read it to the king. Of Ferdinand's greeting and commendation, Henry quipped, "however pleasing it is to have received it, is not necessary for me."[522]

Dantiscus's message was that Sigismund desired Henry and Charles's friendship and cooperation in his opposition against the Turks. It was a frequent theme of Dantiscus's diplomatic career. In opposition to the Turks and Tatars threatening Poland-Lithuania, Dantiscus wrote, the "whole kingdom is declared up in arms […] to vindicate Christendom from this impending crisis" which was due from the internecine fighting (*bellis intestinis*) of Christian princes.[523] To

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[520] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Circumquaque castellum nulla sunt, nisi in duobus miliar(ibus), diversoria et ex penu regio vina et cerevisiae cum aliis hic caeremoniis mihi ferebantur. Deinde, cum iam essem paratus, misit rex alios duos milites pro me, qui me honorifice susceperunt et sic ad quoddam cubile vere regium introducebar, ubi erant primi aulici et domini maiestatem regiam exspectantes, qui me etiam dignis modis exceperunt.*"

[521] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Paulopost ex alio cubili rex processit, homo ita formosus, quantum spectat virum, quo numquam vidi formosiorem. Data manu humanissimum et hilarem vultum mihi exibuit et sic me usque ad locum, ubi me audire voluit, perduxit. Exorsus sum salutationem nomine Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae modis et verbis, quibus potui, optimis ad conciliandum amorem et benevolentiam ab illo rege Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae, quam, ut est bene doctus et bonas habet litteras, libenter et cum quadam diligentia audivit.*"

[522] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Hinc dedi litteras a serenissimo domino Ferdinando principe et infante Hispaniarum, quas pro me scripsit commendaticias, quibus perlectis per virum Graece et Latine doctissimum Thomam Morum humanissime salutationi Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae respondit et se in omnibus tamquam fratri suo carissimo et singularissimo exhibuit, felicissimosque Serenissimae Maiestati Vestrae precabatur in omnibus successus et se in omnibus, quibus posset, esse Serenissimae Maiestati Vestrae commodo decori et ornamento obtulit. Commendaticias serenissimi domini Ferdinandi, quamuis haberet gratas, tamen mihi non fuisse necessarias dicebat.*"

[523] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Itaque illius maiestati ad longum omnes res Turcaicas iuxta instructionem mihi datam, quas videbam tempori competere, et quid nunc cum Tartaris ageretur, et quomodo Serenissima Maiestas Vestra cum suo toto regno esset in armis declaravi, rogans*

these points, Henry replied—speaking English to Thomas More who spoke Latin to Dantiscus—that "although he may be more remote and more safe from the infidel than other Christian kings," he was ready to fight to push back the infidels, except for that the king of France was "even more dangerous, being situated in the center of Europe."[524]

Even with his favorable reception from the king and chancellor, Dantiscus asked for a private audience—"I asked his majesty, if I might be permitted to speak with him alone, apart from the rest, without any on-lookers"—something he would often seek from the emperor later in Spain. When "his majesty, with great kindness, took my hand and led me to the window," Dantiscus imparted to him how the Albrecht, the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights, was attacking King Sigismund, and how it "has been going on for many years."[525] The sympathetic Henry promised to deny further audiences to von Schönberg.[526]

An important postscript to this visit came the following spring. Writing from Valladolid, Dantiscus praised Henry first for disputing in writing with Martin Luther, the impudent "little friar," and then second for going to fight the French.[527] Thomas Wolsey, however, was said to now favor the French side, which Dantiscus took as a betrayal, using the words that Virgil gave to Dido when she was betrayed by Aeneis: "Nowhere is it safe to trust."[528] The reason for the change is seen in the letters of Charles V. After the death of Pope Leo X, Wolsey had expected the emperor to help him succeed as pope, but those instructions had not reached Rome in time,

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haec omnia perpenderet, ut vindicandi rem Christianam: a tanto discrimine, quod nunc instaret, compositis bellis intestinis statueretur aliqua certa ratio, addens omnia, quae ad hanc exhortationem expedire videbantur."

[524] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Illius maiestas, ut decet optimum principem Christianum, per ipsum suum thesaurarium Thomam Morum diffuse respondit exponens, quod licet esset ceteris Christianis regibus ab infidelibus remotior et tutior, nihilominus in affectu nulli caederet, quo libenter videret, ut furor ille infidelium reprimeretur, sed ad hoc per regem Galliae, qui in medio Christianitatis perniciosior foret Turcis, non daretur aditus*."

[525] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "*Ad quod maiestas sua valde humaniter consensit et accepta manu mea prope ad fenestram mecum divertit. Proposui illius maiestati, quibus indignissimis modis Serenissima Maiestas Vestra, per dominum magistrum generalem lacessita, coacta fuerit contra ipsum dominum magistrum hoc bellum nuper praeteritum suscipere, et omnia, quaecumque potui pro mea tenuitate, et etiam, quae scivi incipiens a multis annis de his, quae inter Serenissimam Maiestatem Vestram ordinem et magistrum generalem hucusque se obtulerunt, disserui.*"

[526] Harold B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989*),* 177.

[527] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "This English king disputed with Luther. As for this little work that the little friar so impudently wrote against him, it would be beneath dignity of so great a king to respond, (such an entanglement) would perhaps bring more dishonor than keeping with the dignity and decorum of the royal person. It is said that after Easter he will go to fight the French with all of his forces." (*Illius Rex Angliae contendit cum Lutero. Ad hoc opusculum, quod tam impudenter fraterculus in eum scripsit, tantus rex non dedignatur rescibere, quod fortassis plus ignominiae quam decoris dignitati regiae pariet. Fertur, quod cum omni sua potentia contra Gallos post Pascatis festa sit iturus.*) Henry was the author of the *Defence of the Seven Sacriments (Assertio septem sacramentorum)* as a response to Luther's 1519 attack on indulgences. Luther's reply was *Against Henry the English King* (*Contra Henricum Regem Angliae*) which was the *opisculus* in question.

[528] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1522, from London (IDL 5806): "Of the Cardinal (Archbishop) of York (Wolsey), as I have learned from the Chancellor (Gattinara), he is believed to now favor the pro-French faction at court. Nowhere is faith safe." (*Habetur tamen cardinalis Eboracensis, ut a cancellario intellexi, quod Gallorum partibus favere debeat, suspectus. Nusquam tuta fides.*)

while Charles's ambassador campaigned for the Medici candidate.[529] (Alfonso de Valdés would later have even stronger word to say about Wolsey.[530]) The unexpected upshot of the resulting deadlock was better for Charles than he could have imagined: the elevation of his friend and tutor, Adrian VI, which Charles considered "rather the choice of God, than of men."[531]

The third example comes from Dantiscus's next trip to Cracow, when he passed by Wittenberg and took the opportunity to meet the impudent *fraterculus* who had caused such trouble.[532] The rivers were flooded, especially the Elbe, and so were the fields; Dantiscus had to leave his horse and take a barge into the city. On the way, Dantiscus heard criticism from the peasantry that Luther and his followers were eating meat during Lent. After spending a few days in Wittenberg, Dantiscus was invited to a gathering that followed dinner and relayed this impression:


Figs. 3-11 and 3-12: two images of Martin Luther by Lucas Cranach: the first is from 1520, "Luther as an Augustinian" (britishmuseum.org) *and the second from 1526* (*Staatliches Museum Schwerin,* lucascranach.org). *In 1523, Dantiscus described Luther and his companions as wearing the white garments of the Augustinian order, but in a "military style" and keeping their hair in a way "indistinguishable from peasants" (see note, IDL 186); so the 1523 Luther was somewhere between these two representations.*

> He rose to meet me though with some displeasure (*quodammodo perculsus*) and gave his hand and a place to sit. So we sat down together. We passed four hours talking into the night about all kinds of things. I found him to be a man who was sharp, learned, and eloquent, but not going so far (*citra*) in his remarks as to be malicious, arrogant, or spiteful toward the pope, the emperor, and certain other

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[529] Charles V to Bernard de Mezza (Charles's ambassador to Henry VII, also bishop of Badajoz and Elna and Perpignan) from Brussels, February 5, 1522: "With regard to the news which the Sieur Cardinal (Wolsey, *ledit Sieur Cardinal*) intimates having received from Rome, you may confidently assure him that Don John Manuel (*le dit Don Jehan*) had no sort of commission from us to interest himself in favor of Medicis (*en faveur de Medicis*), or any other person whatsoever, except Wolsey himself. The letters requiring him to make every possible effort to secure Wolsey's election, had not then arrived." (Bradford, 34; I give Bradford's English translation, adding the parenthetical remarks which are drawn from Bradford's reproduction of the original text.)

[530] In the *Dialogue of Mercury and Charon*, Valdés explains that Wolsey drove Henry to a French alliance because he never forgave Charles for not using all of his power to make Wolsey pope (Charon slaps the epithet onto him, and an English counselor on the way to hell explains: "*¡O hideputa, qué gentil cardenal! […] que nunca pudo acabar con el Emperador que lo hiciese papa por fuerza.*" ed. Navarro, 145, 146).

[531] Charles V to Bernard de Mezza from Brussels, February 5, 1522: "The choice which fell upon one, who was never even contemplated by any party, appears to have been rather the choice of God, than of men." (*mesmes voyants l'effect, qui s'en est ensuy, tout au contraire d'avoir esleu celluy auquel nul y pensoit, qu'est plustost euvre de Dieu que des hommes.*) (Bradford, 35.)

On the other hand, the Emperor's letters may not give the full picture. Professor Dandelet has argued that irrespective of his claims, there was "strong lobbying for Adrian on the part of Charles V among the College of Cardinals" (Thomas Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014], 84-85).

[532] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 8, 1523, from Cracow (IDL 186): *"Erant enim fluviorum tantae inundationes, praesertim Albis, quae propter Vitenbergam fluit, quod omnes fere segetes in declivioribus locis sunt submersae [….] Relictis igitur equis in alia ripa, cimba ad Vitenbergam traieci."*

princes, nor saying anything (negative) about them (*nihil proferentem*). I can't record everything from this meeting that I would like to; there is not enough daylight to write all and besides my valet, who will carry this letter, is ready to depart. Therefore, I will summarize. Luther's face is like they say in books. His eyes are sharp, terrifying, and flashing, and now and again he seems possessed. He resembles the king of Denmark (Christian II); they are not very different, and I think that they were born under the same star. His speech is heated and full of banter and jokes. He dresses (at home) in such a way so as to be indistinguishable from any other courtier. But when he leaves his house, which had previously been a monastery, he is said to wear the vestments of his order (Augustinians). Seated together, we did more than just talk; we also drank wine and beer with a cheerful face (*hilari fronte*), as is the custom here, and he appeared in all ways to be a good companion—as we say in German, "*Ein gutt Gesselle*." That chaste and virtuous life that many ascribe to Luther is no different that our own. One recognizes in Luther a conspicuous pride and conceit (*fastus*), and a great ambition (*magna gloriae arrogantia*). The open jesting in his clamorous banter seems morally lax (*videtur dissolutus*). Who else he might be in other matters, we can tell from his writings.[533]

Fig. 3-13: Philip Melanchthon by Lucas Cranach, 1532, so older than when Dantiscus met him (Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha, lucascranach.org).

Luther was neither saint nor devil in Dantiscus's estimation, but a talented and even likable human being who was dangerously puffed up with pride and ambition. This meeting took place after Worms where the *fraterculus* had defied both emperor and pope, the "luminaries" which directed Dantiscus's political world.

Dantiscus spent a few hours in Luther's company, but three days in Wittenberg. In that time, he visited with Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) and other young scholars (*iuvenes*) who impressed him greatly with their study of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Melanchthon was chief among these, himself but 26 years old (Dantiscus was 37), and

[533] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 8, 1523, from Cracow (IDL 186): this passage begins with, "I came with Melanchthon to see him (Luther) at the end of (his) dinner; he had invited some brothers of his (Augustinian) order (to eat with him), who were dressed in white vestments (*tunicis*), but worn in a military style (instead of the way that monks usually dress), and their hair did not differ from the (hairstyles of) peasants."—cf. caption to Figs. 3-11 and 3-12—and then continues in this block quotations, given above. (*Venique cum Melancthone ad eum in fine cenae, ad quam sui ordinis quosdam fratres adhibuerat, qui, quia albis tunicis erant induti, sed militarem in modum factis, fratres esse noscebantur, crinibus vero a rusticis nihil differebant. Assurexit et quodammodo perculsus manum dedit et locum sedendi assignavit. Consedimus. Habiti sunt per 4 fere horarum spatium usque in noctem varii de variis rebus inter nos sermones. Inveni virum acutum, doctum, facundum, sed citra maledicentiam, arrogantiam et livorem in pontificem, caesarem et quosdam alios principes, nihil proferentem. Quae si omnia describere velim, dies iste me deficeret et cubicularius, qui istas feret, iam in procinctu est. Unde multa congerenda sunt in compendium. Talem habet Lutherus vultum, quales libros edit. Oculos acres et quiddam terrificum micantes ut in obsessis interdum videntur. Simillimos habet rex Daciae, neque aliud, credo, quam utrumque sub una atque eadem constellatione natum. Sermone est vehemens, ronchis et cavillis plenus. Habitum fert, quo ab aulico dinosci nequit. Cum domum, quam inhabitat, quae prius monasterium fuit, egreditur, ferre habitum suae religionis dicitur. Consedentes cum eo non locuti sumus solum, verum etiam vinum et cervisiam hilari fronte bibimus, ut ibidem mos est, videturque in omnibus bonus socius. Germanice Ein gutt Gesselle. Vitae sanctimonia, quae de illo apud nos per multos praedicata est, nihil a nobis aliis differt. Fastus in eo manifeste noscitur et magna gloriae arrogantia. In conviciis oblocutionibus cavillis aperte videtur dissolutus. Quis sit aliis in rebus, libri eius clare eum depingunt.*)

particularly kind, open, and bright (*humanissimus et candidissimus*); he was at Dantiscus's side the entire time.[534] They would remain on friendly terms even though they found themselves on opposing sides of the Reformation, and Melanchthon would write to Dantiscus a decade later in the most amicable spirit.[535] Dantiscus shared this regard for Melanchthon with another Polish courtier and collaborator, Justus Ludovicus Decius (Dietz, Decjusz, 1485-1545) royal secretary for Sigismund for the duchy of Bari as of 1520, and, like Melanchthon, a friend of Erasmus's. Decius wrote to Dantiscus expressing his delight that Dantiscus was "intervening" with Melanchthon in the effort to save him from Luther's "tragedy."[536] Dantiscus also continued to have hope for Melanchthon as the key to solving the Protestant problem. He wrote to King Sigismund years later—in 1530 from Augsburg—saying that he hoped to arrange a meeting between Melanchthon and his close friend Alfonso de Valdés, an Erasmian and an imperial secretary that perhaps "something might be done" (*posset aliquid fieri*). This letter came significantly a month after the presentation of the Protestant Confession of Augsburg authored chiefly by Melanchthon, itself a conciliatory catholic (small 'c') declaration of shared Christian principles.[537] Dantiscus's optimism was a prudently cautious one for even if such a meeting were to take place he knew that "one swallow does not make a summer" (*una hirundo non facit ver*).[538]

These acts of travel and meeting formed the knots of the network that would become the Republic of Letters. In his introduction to Luther and Melanchthon in 1523, Dantiscus formed the connection (and opinion) that he would draw on later. He also gathered intelligence—on these men, on Christian of Denmark, on Henry VIII and Wolsey—that he sent back to Poland-Lithuania to help form the external policies of Sigismund and his circle. Nowhere did he do this with more energy and for a longer time than in Spain.

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[534] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 8, 1523, from Cracow (IDL 186): "*Inveni istic iuvenes aliquot Hebraice, Graece et Latine doctissimos, Philippum Melancthonem praecipue, qui solidioris litteraturae et doctrinae inter omnes habetur princeps. Iuvenis 26 agens annum profecto et humanissimus et candidissimus. Is mecum per hoc triduum, quod ibi absumpsi, erat semper.*")

[535] Philip Melanchthon to Johannes Dantiscus, September 5, 1533, from Wittenberg (IDL 1003). Dantiscus was at this point Prince-Bishop of Warmia (Melancthon addressed him, "*Clarissime Princeps*"), and Melanchthon was writing to recommend a young man who had come to his attention and resided in Dantiscus's domain ("*natum in tua diciones*"). Even if the exceedingly cordial terms—embracing Dantiscus with "singular good will" (*cum me singulari benevolentia complexus sis*)—of the letter were calculated to win patronage for the young man, it is telling that the two humanists maintained mutual regard over the gaping political divide of the Reformation, that Melanchthon in Wittenberg could write such a letter of recommendation to Dantiscus in Warmia.

[536] Justus Ludovicus Decius to Johannes Dantiscus, November 10, 1523, from Naples (IDL 191): "*Gaudeo tibi, cum Melanchtoni consuetudinem intervenisse. O, quam cuperem hunc hominem huic tragoediae eripere, si mihi tanta esset facultas!*" Cf. de Vocht, 10, 182-184.

[537] Lewis Spitz, "The Augsburg Confession: 450 Years of History," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 450th Anniversary Augsburg Confession (Jun. 25, 1980), 3-9.

[538] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, July 30, 1530, from Augsburg (IDL 518): "*Tractatur etiam hic continue negotium fidei et adhuc nihil est conclusum, neque a caesare responsum. Sunt, qui bene sperare iubent, quod ego tamen, quousque finem rei videro, facere non possum, aliquid tamen mihi spei est, quod dominus Valdesius et Philippus Melanchton simul plerumque conveniunt. Si Valdesio similes ex parte caesaris aliquot viri eruditi et pii negotium hoc tractarent, posset aliquid fieri, sed una hirundo non facit ver.*"

At the Court of Emperor Charles V: Dantiscus's Mission for the Queen

King Sigismund's first wife, Barbara Zápolya (1495-1515), died just three years into their marriage, leaving the widowed monarch one young daughter who would survive into adulthood (Hedwig, later Electress of Brandenburg).[539] Finding a new wife was a matter of personal and state importance. It was also an opportunity for Sigismund to strengthen the Polish-Lithuanian friendship with the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, a strategic counterweight to the growing Muscovite power to the east.[540] The Polish king was inclined at first to choose Maximilian's offer to marry his granddaughter, Eleanor of Austria, but her brother, King Charles I of Spain (the future Emperor Charles V), gave her in marriage to the king of Portugal before this could happen.[541] So instead Sigismund took to wife Maximilian's second candidate, an Italian princess, Bona Sforza of Milan (1494-1557), who came with a dowry of 200,000 ducats and the Duchy of Bari in the Kingdom of Naples valued at 500,000 ducats more. Her mother, Isabella of Aragon (1470-1524), campaigned heavily for this match, sending the princess's tutor, Christosomo Colonna (1460-1528), to Maximilian's court and promising bonuses to Polish advocates (including 1000 ducats to Dantiscus, who was then in Vienna).[542] The Sforza family had been dukes of Milan since Bona's powerful *condottiere* great-grandfather, Francesco Sforza (1401-1466), had won it through military strength and civic election. Bona's father, Gian Galleazzo (1469-1494), died of sudden and suspicious circumstances when she was just a few months old. Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), in his *History of Italy*, laid the charge of poisoning at the door of Bona's usurping great-uncle, Ludovico "Il Moro" (r. 1494-1499).[543] Then, when French soldiers conquered Milan in 1499, Ludovico and Bona's brother, Francesco

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[539] A second daughter, Anna, would die at the age of five.

[540] This decision follows a long period of trying to make peace with the Ottomans, though with continued border skirmishes against the Tatars, as a way to avoid war in the east while contending with the Habsburg west, especially in a contest for Hungary. See Roman Żelewski, "Dyplomacja Polska w Latach 1506-1572," in *Historia Dyplomacji Polskiej,* Vol. 1. (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982), 614-623.

[541] Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1989), 48. Maximilian had offered Sigismund a dowry of 300,000 ducats and the promise of the Habsburg inheritance in the unlikely event that both Charles and Ferdinand died without heirs. Instead, Eleanor would be queen of Portugal (1518-1521) and, later, queen of France (1530-1547).

[542] Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 47-48. There were two additional more candidates for the marriage, both widows in their late thirties: Joanna of Naples and Anna z Radziłłów of Masovia; and though Anna would have brought earlier incorporation of the Duchy of Masovia into the Polish Crown, she would have also been a missed opportunity for Sigismund to make a stronger Habsburg connection.

[543] Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, trans. ed. Sidney Alexander (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 54: "The rumor was widespread that Giovan Galeazzo's death had been provoked by immoderate coitus [*da coito immoderato*]; nevertheless, it was widely believed throughout Italy that he had died not through natural illness nor as a result of incontinence, but had been poisoned [*stato veleno*]; and Teodoro da Pavia, one of the royal physicians present when Charles [VIII, king of France (r. 1483-1498),] visited him, asserted that he had seen manifest signs of it. Nor was there anyone who doubted that if it had been poison, it had been administered through his uncle's machinations, who, not satisfied with possession absolute governmental authority in the duchy of Milan, was avid and ambitious, as is commonly the case with men in high position, to make himself more illustrious with titles and honors; and especially because he felt that the legitimate prince's death was necessary for his own security and for the succession of his children, Lodovico wanted the power and title of duke to be transferred and endowed upon himself [*alla successione de' figliuoli fusse necessaria la morte del principe legittimo, avesse voluto trasferire e stabilire in sé la potestà e il nome ducale*]. Such was the greed which forced his nature, ordinarily mild and abhorring blood, to so nefarious a deed [*dalla quale cupidità fusse a cosí scelerata opera stata sforzata la sua natura, mansueta per l'ordinario e aborrente dal sangue*]." The parenthetical brackets are my additions; I have taken the Italian text from http://www.filosofico.net/guicci1ardinistoriadital1iaia1.htm.

(1491-1512), were carried off to France in captivity; both would die there. Bona and her mother withdrew to Naples to wait for better times. Fortune's favor came to them at last through Maximillian as a royal marriage proposal from Sigismund. And the Polish king, now 48 years of age, welcomed the opportunity to marry a 22-year-old princess, beautiful and rich, learned in languages and music, with humanist training, who would strengthen his Habsburg alliance.

King Sigismund sent his agents to finalize the agreement, Jan Konarski, bishop of Cracow, and Stanisław Ostroróg, castellan of Kalisz; both men had studied at the University of Bologna.[544] Their mission was twofold—to secure guarantees of Bona's Neapolitan inheritance, and to escort the princess to her proxy-marriage in Vienna and then to Poland—but the ambassadors miscarried on both accounts. They failed to gain an explicit written agreement from the Emperor Maximilian which would place Bona above all other claimants as heiress to these lands after her mother's death. It was a mistake that Johannes Dantiscus and others would spend a decade rectifying.[545] With Christosomo Colonna, the Polish envoys traveled to Venice and then to Naples, where they were further outmaneuvered by Isabella, Bona's mother, who arranged for the proxy ceremony to be held in Marigliano (Naples) instead of Vienna as previously agreed. This was not from any motive to expropriate Sigismund and Bona, but simply because it was where her family and community were.[546] By the time Sigismund received his queen months later, it would be too late to challenge the agreement.

To repair the legal blunder, Sigismund dispatched Johannes Dantiscus to Spain three times—in 1519, in 1521, and in 1524.[547] The first time he stayed nine months, from January to September of 1519, a period coinciding with the death of Emperor Maximilian and Charles's campaign to secure the election for himself. The second visit was even shorter, from January to May of 1522, though when we add the travel his absence from Cracow was in total fourteen months (Dantiscus's 1522 journey through Germany, above, was from this mission). It was only on his third visit that he was made permanent (resident) ambassador and made real progress in the suit for Queen Bona's inheritance, finally succeeding in 1528.[548] At that point he was permitted to

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[544] Bogucka, *Bona Sforza*, 49.

[545] What exactly happened is difficult to reconstruct. Maria Bogucka believes that the ambassadors were negligent in their duty, making the mistake of being satisfied with emperor's verbal assurances instead of insisting on a written contract ("*Mimo tak świetnego startu pertraktcje trwały jeszcze prawie 10 dni, przy czym posłom polskim nie udało się wydobyć od cesarza pisemnych gwaranci przyznania Bonie sukcesji po matce; uspokojeni ustnymi mało wiążącymi obietnicamu pojechali dalej do Włoch, gdzie od razu padli ofiarą forteli księżnej Izabeli*," 50), while Władysław Pociecha, consulting the *Confirmatio ducatus Bari, principatus Rossani et Montis Serici et concession terciarum causarum* (August 30, 1516, found in the Vatican Archive), judges the written record was actually satisfactory with one key omission: it was missing the necessary language that would place Bona *above Charles V* in the order of inheritance; he argues that the ambassadors had no way of knowing the agreement was incomplete ("*Nie przypuszczali nawet podobnej możliwości posłowoe polscy I w przekonaniu, że jak najlepiej załatwili powierzone sobie sprawy, przybyli do Wenecji 8 X*," Pociecha, *Królowa Bona, 1494-1557: Czasy i Ludzie Odrodzenia* [Poznań: Nakład Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciól Nauk, 1949], 200).

[546] Bogucka, 50-51. Isabel simply welcomed the visitors and left home to organize the festivities. By the time they finally caught up with her, everything was arranged, and the two ambassadors, their objections ignored, felt they had little choice but to join the celebration. (Relying on the account of Neapolitan merchant, Julian Passero, Bogucka gives a detailed description of the sumptuous celebration.)

[547] In his later literary production, Dantiscus would always begin by reminding his reader of these journeys. Their mention served to establish both his knowledge of world and his long-suffering service to his king: cf. *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva* (1530), ll. 7-8, 156; *Vita Joannis Dantisci* (1534) ll. 21-22; *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* (1539), ll. 165-166.

[548] See fig. 3-1, above.

return to Poland, but the Emperor Charles recalled him for the trip to Italy and the coronation in Bologna in 1530. Afterward, Dantiscus accompanied Charles to Germany, and he returned home in December of 1532. Thus, most of Johannes Dantiscus's life between the ages of 34 and 47 was spent at the imperial court, or traveling to or from it. He was worn down by the many disappointments and anxieties connected with this life, frustrated by the lack of results he was showing or money he was receiving. Dantiscus's letters, filled with these tensions, reveal something of the mentality of a sixteenth-century courtier.
When Dantiscus found himself before Charles in February of 1519; the first thing he did—after the requisite and formulaic praising of the king and apologizing for his own inadequacies—was to protest the impediment of the inheritance.

> My most serene lord has been informed, as a matter of fact, that a little while ago the her most serene ladyship the late Queen of Naples, Joanna, of most happy memory has passed from this life and left to her descendent (*neptem*) all of her goods, both personal and real estate (moveable and immoveable), by her legitimate testament made properly and clearly by law.[549]

This lawful bequest had been "blocked by fate" (*fata negaverunt*)—Dantiscus put it tactfully—even though it had been the explicit will of the Queen of Naples and the wish of the Holy Roman Emperor. Dantiscus asked for Charles to expedite the matter out of "the union of friendship and mutual love and great joining of family" with Sigismund, and the support of Isabella (duchess of Milan, Bona's mother), and ultimately for the sake of justice to which "even the lowest of men" are entitled.[550] In that first audience, Dantiscus refrained from mentioning any other political

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[549] Although *neptis,* the word Dantiscus used here, means "granddaughter" and also "female descendent," the latter is better here. There is a particularly tangled genealogy to consider because Bona's mother, Isabella of Aragon (1470-1524), the inheritrix, had two Queens of Naples named Joanna of Aragon in her family who died at almost the same time: the first in 1517 (also called Joan of Aragon, b. 1454) and the second in 1518 (also called Joanna of Naples, b.1478). The first was the mother of the second; the father was King Ferdinand I of Naples (1423-1494). Now, Ferdinand also had had a previous wife (Isabel of Clermont, 1424-1462) whose son, Alfonso II (1448-1495), and grandson, Ferdinand II (1469-1496) were successive kings of Naples. Ferdinand II (grandson of Ferdinand I by Isabel Clermont) married the second Joanna (daughter of Ferdinand I by the first Joanna) and therefore his wife was also his *half-aunt* (his father's half-sister). An outsider considering this endogamous clan with its repeating names can get turned around quickly. But, it was the second Joanna who was the Duchess of Bari in question. Her husband Ferdinand II died a month after their wedding in 1496 and they had no children. Ferdinand's sister is the Isabella of Aragon who was duchess of Milan by marriage with Gian Galleazzo Sforza, and whose daughter was Bona. It is therefore her aunt Joanna (rather than the grandmother Joanna) that Dantiscus referred to in his address. Cf. Nowak, 112; and annotations to CIDT&C by Skolimowska et al; and Patrick Zutshi, "An unpublished letter of Isabella of Aragon, Duchess of Milan," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (September 2006), 494-501.

Johannes Dantiscus, *Oratio ad cesarem Maximilianum Ioannis Dantisci oratoris Sigismundi primi regis Poloniae*, delivered to Charles I (of Spain, later Emperor Charles V) and Mercurino da Gattinara, on February 21, 1519 in Barcelona (IDT 216): "*Certo edoctus est serenissimus dominus meus, paulo anteactis diebus serenissimam olim felicissimae recordationis dominam Ioannam reginam Neapolitanam ex vivis cessisse et illustrissimam dominam ducem Mediolanensem neptem suam omnium post se bonorum mobilium et immobilium relictorum legitimo testamento heredem universalem scripsisse prout documenta et iura desuper clarius ostendunt."*

A part of this speech appears in the Spanish-language, *Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V*, edited by Antonio Fontán and Jerzy Axer (Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1994), 133. Here the title is "*A Carlos, rey de las Españas*," but the Latin original is curiously entitled "*ad cesarem Maximilianum*" though the emperor had died the previous month in Upper Austria in the town of Wels.

[550] Dantiscus, *Oratio* (IDT 216): "*ob contractas affinitates amor mutuus et maior familiaritatis integritas inter Vestram Catholicam et eius regiam Maiestatem nasceretur*," "And because insofar as it is fair and just for even the

issues—e.g. the Teutonic Knights, the Muscovites, or the Turks or Tatars—that he would later pursue.

Three weeks later, Dantiscus wrote an update. This letter was a hasty effort because Dantiscus had just met with King Charles "in this very hour" and the courier (*secretarius per postas*) was leaving shortly.[551] Still, he reported Charles's promises of justice together with his own doubts:

> Although a sum of 500,000 ducats is not of small consideration (*non sit parvi momenti*) for his Most Serene Lordship the Catholic King, he has nonetheless charged his principle counselors to discuss the matter. Justice will be on our side, and so will the very clear documents and privileges (*privilegia et clarissimas inscriptiones*) which we have today, and which His Catholic Majesty confirmed in Brussels in Brabant, and against which he cannot infringe upon without committing a great injustice.
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> Nevertheless, these same counselors are striving to find some way by which the king might keep some part of this inheritance. We will undertake whatever it seems needs to be done (to prevent this).[552]

This was a pattern that would continue for a decade. By July, the luster was gone from his assurance: though Charles, he complained, was "an excellent youth" (*optimus iuvenis*) who "seemed to love" Sigismund a great deal (*videtur Maiestatem Vestram plurimum amare*) and promised to take care of the matter, Dantiscus was getting nothing but "delays, day in and day out, and nothing else, just words" and "many odd excuses."[553] The disappointment was

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lowest of men to have what is given them in a last will and testament, my most serene lord is confident that he will be granted it by Your Catholic Majesty and that this reason alone should move this case which is so close to his most serene lordship in whose name I ask for nothing more than what is just, and because also that her most illustrious ladyship the princess Isabella, duchess of Milan, had once rendered a great help to his most serene lordship Ferdinand, king of Spain, of happy memory and Your Catholic Majesty's grandfather, back during his conquest of Naples." (*Quod quia aequum et iustum est, ut infimorum etiam hominum ultimae teneantur voluntates, confidit serenissimus dominus meus se facile id a Catholica Maiestate Vestra impetraturum, vel hac solum causa, quod res ferme propria serenissimi domini mei agitur, cuius nomine nihil aliud, quam hoc, quod iustum est, peto, et quod illustrissima princeps domina Isabella dux Mediolani magno quondam fuerat adiumento serenissimo olim felicis recordationis domino Ferdinando regi Hispaniarum avo Catholicae Maiestatis Vestrae, in consequendo regno Neapolitano.*)

[551] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March 12, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 133): "*Ista hora miserat pro me serenissimus dominus rex catholicus et dedit mihi privatam, quam petieram ante, audientiam*"; "*quod iste secretarius per postas in duabus horis hinc sit abiturus, si velim scribere Maiestati Vestrae, quod deberet venire in hospitium meum et accipere litteras*."

[552] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March 12, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 133): "*Ut ad res mihi a Maiestate Vestra commissas redeam, bonam cum illustrissimae dominae ducis Mediolani oratoribus habemus spem. Serenissimus dominus rex catholicus, cum res non sit parvi momenti quinque centena milia ducatorum, primis suis consiliariis discutiendam commisit. Iura pro nobis, privilegia et clarissimas inscriptiones, etiam per ipsum hodiernum regem catholicum confirmatas Brussellis Brabantiae, tenemus, contra quas quia testamentum infringi non potest, serenissimus rex catholicus non nisi summa cum iniuria agere potest. Quaeruntur tamen per dictos consiliarios quaedam media, et prout conicio, talia, ut rex etiam aliquid ex hereditate relicta haberet. Quod ferendum videbitur, inibimus.*"

[553] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, June 30, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 142): "In recent days, I have written of the ways (always most diligent) in which I have worked in the matter for which Your Majesty sent me here, always stirring up the matter, incessantly, so that even the ambassador of Her Most Illustrious Ladyship the Duchess of Milan actually asked me—and I don't know why—that I limit my relentless activity. But as I have seen, even as far

increasingly palpable; the emperor promised "the sea and the mountains,"—a line from Sallust referring to the perfidy of a conspirator—yet no results were in sight.[554]

By August his tone was embittered by frustration. The Spanish court was a school that taught a *quadrivium* of patience, disbelief, dissembling, and lying.[555] Dantiscus began this education as a tender pupil (*tenellum puellum*) and had been learning the first two disciplines, but not the latter two because such mendacity required not just practice but a "natural inclination" (*natura inclinatus*) which he did not possess—all the while implying of course that the Burgundians and Spaniards were abundantly possessed of it.[556] The work had rather become oppressive to him and he compared his light-hearted remarks to the singing of slaves changed together in toil

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as I tried and as earnestly, having nonetheless done everything I could, and receiving delays, day in and day out, and nothing else, just words. I have therefore gone so far as to bring the matter before the Catholic King and I entreated His Majesty in the name of Your Sacred Majesty, that he finally help after so many promises. His Majesty, as he is an excellent youth, and seems to love Your Majesty a great deal, promised me that he would take care of it before his lordship Chièvres and the great chancellor had to go to Montpelier to the French treaty. The day that they were leaving, I again reminded the king of his promise. He replied: "It is true, I did make that promise to you, but I am unable now to keep the promise; never has my court been as busy as it is now. I ask you, please be patient a while longer, until these men return. Then, everything will be more calm; I will do what I can and as quickly as I can, to resolve this matter well […. Later,] His Majesty appointed certain counsellors to a commission, to look over all of the judgments and then to report. These good counsellors held me back for almost two months and found many odd excuses for this last delay." (*Superioribus diebus scripsi, quomodo omni diligentia, quantum mihi erat possibile, negotium hoc, in quo me Maiestas Vestra huc misit, sollicitassem semper, etiam sine intermissione, sic etiam, quod orator iste, qui hic ab illustrissima domina duce Mediolani agit, me, nescio quam ob causam, rogavit, ut me a tam crebra sollicitatione continerem. Sed cum viderem, quod expediret, ut sollicitarem, feci nihilominus, quae potui omnia, ut in hodiernum diem in procrastinatione fuerunt posita et nihil aliud de die in diem, quam verba mihi dabantur. Ivi igitur prout hactenus feci saepius ad regem tunc adhuc catholicum, et maiestatem eius nomine Maiestatis Vestrae Sacrae omni studio rogavi, ut tandem post tot promissa me expediret. Sua maiestas, ut est optimus iuvenis, et qui videtur Maiestatem Vestram plurimum amare, promisit mihi expeditionem antequam dominus de Szeveris et magnus cancellarius irent in Montem Pessulanum ad Gallicum conventum. Eo die, quo illi ituri erant, iterum regem accessi admonendo eum de promisso. Respondit: 'Verum est, promisi tibi, sed nequeo pro nunc servare promissum, numquam curia mea magis fuit occupata quam nunc. Rogo, feras moram hanc patienter, donec isti abierint, omnia tunc erunt tranquilliora, intendam, quantum est possibile citius, ut bene expediaris.' Immorabar post illorum discessum aliquot diebus, et iterum ad maiestatem eius veni petens ut Sua maiestas statuit quosdam consiliarios cum prioribus commissariis, ut omnia iura reviderentur et postea ei fieret relatio. Isti boni consiliarii detinuerunt me fere ad duos menses inveneruntque multas inconvenientes excusationes ad ulteriorem dilationem.)*

[554] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, June 30, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 142): "*Promiserunt maria et montes; ivi etiam ad regem, promisit ut semper, tamen nihil fiebat*." Compare this to Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus, 86-35 BCE) in his *Conspiracy of Catiline* (*Catilinae Coniuratio*), Chapter 23, where Quintus Curius, a villain "covered in scandals and crimes" (*flagitiis atque facinoribus copertus*) ensnared a noble woman, Fulvia, in his web by promising her "the mountains and the sea" and alternatively threatening her with the sword (*glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro*). Cf. Fontán and Axer, 140 n. 5, 278.

[555] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 17, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 146): "*Serenissimus dominus meus, duce Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra, dedit me ut tenellum puerum, quem nostri Gregorianum vocant, scholis, quae in hac aula sunt, in quibus quattuor haec magnae habentur facultates: prima docet patientiam, sequens, non credere, alia dissimulare, ultima et haec potissima est, ingenue mentiri.*"

[556] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 17, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 146): "*Quantum in prima profecerim, ipse mihi sum conscius, in secunda cotidie audio lectiones, duae istae posteriores, subtilius quam ego habeo requirunt ingenium, et nemo in his proficere potest, nisi a natura sit ad ea inclinatus.*"

(*compedibus vincti in ergastulis durissimos ferunt labores*) as he struggled in confusion to navigate the labyrinthine court (*in hoc labyrintho perplexus*).[557]

This candid letter to his patron and friend, Vice Chancellor Piotr Tomicki, Bishop of Poznań—i.e. not to the king—allowed Dantiscus to reveal his grievances with less reserve. He was feeling estranged and cut off; he had doubt that his letters were even getting through and he had received no responses in the last eleven months.[558] "It is easy to guess what kind of spirits I am in [….] I behave like an enemy and an alien, I must be wary of everyone, not less of those who ought to be my dearest friends."[559] Like Moses who had been a "stranger in a strange land," (*advena in terra aliena*), Dantiscus felt anxious and separated.[560] This was not unusual for Early Modern European diplomacy. That same year, his ally in Queen Bona's camp, the humanist tutor Christosomo Colonna, age 59, wrote to him in warm and whimsical reflection:

> Partly from age and partly from weariness of human affairs, there is nothing that I would like so well, as to flee from the life at courtier and live whatever is left of this life—if there is any left—for God and for myself, and to have commerce only with the Muses.[561]

By comparison, at a similar age (56 years), the emperor himself chose to end of his career and to take refuge from his court in a Hieronomite monastery at Yuste in the wooded foothills of Estremadura, the realization of a life-long desire.[562] Other courtiers were also worn down by the stress of the political life, always hungry for access, for honor, and sometimes for more basic nourishment. The Italian humanist and historian, Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), for example, had been an ambassador to Spain a few years before Dantiscus, representing the Republic of Florence at the court of Ferdinand of Aragon from 1512 to 1514.[563] The position was for him a painful disappointed for he neither trusted King Ferdinand nor felt trusted or even consulted by the Ten of War (a council of the Florentine *Signoria*); instead of being at the center of power, he altogether forgotten as though he were becoming "a shadow" (*ombra*) of his former self.[564]

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[557] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 17, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 146): "*Si illis interdum licet canere, qui compedibus vincti in ergastulis durissimos ferunt labores, cur etiam in hoc labyrintho perplexus non iocarer."*

[558] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 17, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 146): "*multum etiam de litterarum mearum praesentatione dubito, quia nescio, si redduntur, nullum enim ab eo tempore, quo exivi, recepi responsum, iam praeteriere undecim menses.*"

[559] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 17, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 146): "*Cuius sim animi, facilis est coniectura [….] Ago hic hospes et extraneus, ab omnibus ut caveam necesse est, immo etiam ab iis, qui mihi amicissimi esse deberent."*

[560] Exodus 2:22.

[561] Cristosomo Colonna to Johannes Dantiscus, March 8, 1519, from Naples (IDL 136): "*Partim enim ex senio, partim ex taedio rerum humanarum nihil est, quod aeque cupiam, quam aulis principum terga vertere et quod reliquum vitae superest, siquid tamen superest, Deo primum et mihi deinde vivere et nonnumquam cum Musis rationem ponere*."

[562] Dom Basil Hemphill, "The Monastic Life of the Emperor Charles V," *An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 37, No. 146 (Jun., 1948), 140-143. Geoffrey Parker tells us the Charles had intended to retire five years earlier, but the Protestant Wars made this impossible (*Philip II*, 22-23).

[563] He began his tenure under Piero Soderini and continued after the republic was captured in 1512 by Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Leo X).

[564] *Biow, 132-137.*

Later in life (1539), Dantiscus would recall this period as difficult one. Fate had "dragged" him to court instead of giving him his wish of a literary life.[565] He "served, enduring to the full, many hard years of my long and wearisome life […] carrying the weight of a thousand burdensome responsibilities."[566] His letters from the period of this service were also marked with a consistently plaintive tone. In 1523, on his second attempt to gain the queen's inheritance, Dantiscus still found court practices to be labyrinthine (*sunt hic labyrintheae practicae*), its inmates unable to find their way out of "its passages, twisted and confused."[567] He thought himself to be "thoroughly destitute of all hope and consolation" and only "lived again" when believing that he would not be "abandoned in such remote parts."[568] On his third mission to Spain, Dantiscus's spirits remained "never so agitated and perplexed as now" and he reminded his patron Tomicki that this office had never been his ambition, suggesting instead that a more willing replacement could be found.[569] And he contrasted the life of luxury and honor that an ambassador felt at his home court to the scraping and hustling he had to do when he was abroad:

> Back home (*apud nos*) ambassadors are welcomed, attended to, and sent on their way with all honor; and there is no one who would not wish to be such a man. But here, being an ambassador means to run around, to beg, to wait, to stand around in doorways, and then to go away again without ever having gained admittance. This is especially true when one is charged with the tedious business that I have been given. But enough of such talk. This court has much declined since last I saw it.[570]

Part of Dantiscus's frustration came from being a courtier, and part came from having a mission which no one in Spain wanted to hear about. If the emperor and his chancellor managed to ignore the ambassador's suit, they would be up 500,000 ducats. In 1526, Dantiscus was still reporting that all he could get was a the "crow's song: *cras cras!* (i.e. tomorrow, tomorrow!)"[571]

One impediment that became clear—in addition to the understandable reluctance of parting with a half-million ducats—was that the Viceroy of Naples, the emperor's trusted counselor, the

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[565] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem* Alliopagum, 1539 (IDP 54), ll. 155-156: "*Sors aliter vertens iterum me traxit ad aulam/ Et votis uti non dedit illa meis.*"
[566] Johannes Dantiscus, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Constantem* Alliopagum, 1539 (IDP 54), ll. 161-164: "*Sed prius a multis servivi duriter annis/ Perpessus vitae taedia longa meae* […./] *Curarum gravium pondera mille tuli*."
[567] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Valladolid, February 25, 1523 (IDL 176): "*Sunt hic labyrintheae practicae, ex quibus et ipsi practicantes, ut suspicor, exitum reperire nequeunt, ita, quae hic aguntur, intritata contorta et perplexa sunt omnia.*"
[568] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Valladolid, March 20, 1523 (IDL 180): "*Hactenus mihi videbar penitus omni spe et consolatione destitutus. Revixi rursus cum inde videam me non esse undiquaque in tam remotis partibus derelictum.*"
[569] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki from Valladolid, November 12, 1524 (IDL 223): "*Numquam profecto in animo meo sic fui turbatus et perplexus, et quemadmodum hanc profectionem huc non ambivi, ut Dominationi Vestrae Reverendissimae cognitum est, sic etiam ferre potuissem, ut quisquam alius, qui largitionibus id quaerebant, hic pro me fuisset.*"
[570] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Valladolid, November 12, 1524 (IDL 5807): "*Apud nos ducuntur, conducuntur, reducuntur, ab omnibus honorantur oratores, et nemo est, qui talis esse non cuperet. Hic est currendum, sollicitandum, exspectandum et ante fores standum, et interdum sine admissione redeundum, praesertim in odiosis, quae mihi fatalia sunt. Sed de his hactenus. Aula ista ab ea, quam novissime videram, multum decrevit.*"
[571] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I from Toledo, Ferbruary 24, 1526 (IDL 281): "*Quod a me non fuit omissum, sed nihil aliud obtinere potui, quam hoc corvi carmen: cras, cras!*"

Burgundian noble Charles de Lannoy, wanted to keep the castle at Bari. This was a military stronghold and, more importantly, a source of revenue.[572]

*Fig. 3-14: The Swabian Castle (*Castello Svevo*) in Bari, built in 1131 by King Roger II of the Norman kingdom of Sicily and rebuilt by Frederick II, king of Sicily and Holy Roman Emperor, in the 1230s.*[573]

Lannoy had become the commander of Charles's armies in Italy as of 1523 (upon the death of Prospero Colonna).[574] He needed every ducat he could scrape together to pay his troops lest he face a potential mutiny.[575] "It would seem," Lannoy complained in one letter, "that your majesty views the affairs of Italy somewhat differently to what they are in reality. In truth the want of money has been great, and will be greater."[576] The prediction was correct. At the time of Dantiscus's suit, money was coming to Naples by ship from Charles's ally, Henry VIII, but it was blocked by the French fleet under Andrea Doria (1466-1560, the Genoese admiral who

[572] Ludovico Pepe, *Storia della Successione degli Sforzeschi negli Stati di Puglia e Calabria e Documenti,* Vol. 2 of *Bari: Commissione provinciale di archeologia e storia patria.* (Bari: n.p., 1900), 191-194.

[573] Dates and image from the Italian Ministry of Cultural Property and Activities and of Tourism: (*Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo,* www.beniculturali.it).

[574] Here is another case of political poisoning described by Guicciardini (cf. note 118, above, and the possible murder of Bona Sforza's father). Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, 340-342. Michael Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe*, (Harlow, Eng.: Pearson, 2012), 146-147.

[575] M. Tailliar, "Observations" in "Lettres de Charles de Lannoy et de Charles-Quint," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1834), 42: "De Lannoy partit de Naples en 1524, se à la tête de l'armée impériale, presque mutinée parce qu'elle étoit sans solde de puis long-temps; il fallut toute sa prudence pour arrêter l'effervescence des troupes: il engagea les revenus de Naples, et s'empressa de pourvoir aux plus pressants besoins."

These colorful words describing "l'effervescence des troupes" of "l'armée impériale, presque mutinée" are no exaggeration for, in 1527, it would be Charles the Duke of Bourbon's inability to pay his soldiers (and also his death, famously claimed by Cellini) that would precipitate the Sack of Rome.

[576] Charles de Lannoy to Charles V, from Milan, January 25, 1524, in Bradford, 95-97. (This is one of the few letters that Bradford gives only in English, i.e. without the original text as a footnote, so it seems possible—but this is entirely conjecture—that he was drawing on a secondary source, rather than his store of transcribed letters he took from his years in Vienna to the British Museum. It is the same case with the next letter, to Charles de Bourbon.)

would later serve Charles) making the pinch all the more acute, and the responsibility to make up the difference falling on Lannoy's viceregal shoulders.[577] These financial pressures and the fear of his unpaid armies falling apart influenced Lannoy's view that Charles V should come to terms with Francis I as soon as possible with far-reaching consequences.[578] The fighting continued throughout 1524 and into the winter, with Lannoy ultimately reinforcing Antonio de Leyva (1480–1536) at Pavia and achieving the dramatic victory that resulted in the capture of Francis, the French king, on February 24, 1525. In this context, it is hard to imagine Charles V taking Bona's castle from Lannoy's hands, no matter how well-reasoned Dantiscus's arguments were. In Charles's letters to Lannoy after the victory at Pavia, the emperor emphasized the great service that Lannoy had done, "not sparing even your life" and that Charles would always be "a good master."[579] He expanded Lannoy's possessions in Naples and elsewhere; chivalry and royal magnanimity demanded as much.[580] Lannoy's authority and responsibility only continued to grow and he was tasked with conveying the prisoner king, Francis, to Naples. It is a testament to Lannoy's standing with his emperor that he could disregard those orders, choosing instead to bring Francis to Spain. On his own initiative, Lannoy decided that the two monarchs should meet sooner because (he explained in his letters) an earlier settlement would bring French money into the the depleted coffers of Spanish forces in Italy.[581]

Charles V's letters indicate that many of his decisions were influenced by opportunities for raising revenue. He had won the Duchy of Milan from King Francis, and restored the Sforzas to power there, but not without a price. He decided, he told his brother, Ferdinand, in a letter, "to place Duke Francis Sforza in possession of Milan, offering to send him his investiture

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[577] Bradford, 101-107. In a letter to another of his commanders, Charles de Bourbon (formerly a French vassal), Charles V expressed his expectation of Lannoy: "Concerning the supply of money, I think the King of England will not fail to make good his treaties and promises on this head. I am informed, that he has already sent you two hundred thousand crowns, and as you will have seen by my last letters, I have commanded my Viceroy of Naples, and again do command him as expressly as possible, to see that there be no default in this matter, to use all diligence to assist you in whatever you may require." (Charles V to Charles de Bourbon from Valladolid, September 5, 1524 (in Bradford, 103-107, this citation 103-104.)

[578] Mallet and Shaw, 147.

[579] Charles V to Charles de Lannoy, "Lettres de Charles de Lannoy et de Charles-Quint," 46-47: "*Vous me disiez bien par vos lettres que n'espargneriez la vie pour me faire quelque bon seruice. Et vous l'auez aussy accomply [….] vous assurant que tousiours me trouuerez un vray bon maistre.*"

[580] Charles V created Lannoy "prince of Sulmona" (in Abruzzo) and "count of Asti" (in Piedmont) and "count of La Roche-en-Ardenne" (in the Burgundian Netherlands). (Taillair, 47). Karl Brandi makes the point about Charles's "compliance with the old traditions of chivalry." (223)

[581] In this maneuver, Lannoy gave the other commanders—Bourbon, Pescara, Leyva—the slip and they continued sailing for Naples, later taking great offense ("*il m'a fait grant honte*") at the maneuver and complaining to the emperor (e.g. the letter of Charles of Bourbon to Charles V from Milan, June 12, 1525, in Bradford, 115-117, the above citation on 116). For his part, Lannoy argued that he was doing what seemed to him "most fitting for the service of His Majesty." (Instructions from Charles de Lannoy to his envoy, his *maître d'hotel*, Manuel Malversin, from Villa Franca, June 11, 1526, in Bradford, 121-122.) In his next letter, Lannoy revealed more of his motives (though his fellow commanders were certain he was interested chiefly in taking all credit for the victory), and that was that an earlier meeting between Charles V and Francis I could lead to an earlier peace settlement, including the sizeable indemnity—literally, a king's ransom—that Lannoy was hoping to see used to support his underfunded armies. "Whatever, Sire, may be [your] intentions for peace or war, you will act according to your good pleasure; but it is my poor opinion, that if you decide on making war this summer, it is time to begin. Your army is very expensive to keep up, and the money you already owe is eight hundred thousand crowns, as you will perceive in the accounts brought to you by Figueroa." (Charles de Lannoy to Charles V from Palamos, June 17, 1525, in Bradford, 123-125.)

immediately, on condition he pays me 600,000 ducats—100,000 now, another 100,000 when I go to my coronation, another [100,000] in two years after, and the remaining 300,000 in three years."[582] This sum, along with another 100,000 Charles intended to get from Venice in exchange for the ratification of a peace treaty, were to be "employed in paying and disbanding my troops."[583] In an earlier letter, Charles told Ferdinand of his plans to marry the Portuguese Infanta, Isabella, because the *Cortes* had "required me to propose myself for such a union" and the Portuguese king was offering "a million ducats, most of them to be paid at once."[584]

Not even the Imperial Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara's received his pay regularly—at one point it was a year in arrears, causing irritation to the venerable statesman—and the chancellery itself was a times "unstable" for want of funding.[585] Dantiscus described the insolvency of the imperial court in his colorfully acerbic style:

> The pope is indeed going to allow an imperial crusade indulgence to be readily and openly sold to buyers, so that available money can be raised. Even so, in this court, the barest poverty roams about everywhere. No one has been paid in fifteen months. People generally survive by diverse methods: some are parasites, some are gamblers, many by the gains of prostitution, and others by means actually too dishonest to speak of.[586]

The question that comes immediately to mind—beyond 'is any of this true?'—is what could these last unutterable corruptions be? If the profiting from prostitution (*ex luparum quaestu*) was not in this category, what was left? Prostitution itself (*actus* rather than *quaestus*) could have been, for sodomy was often elliptically called the "unspeakable act" in Early Modern Europe.[587] Theft was another possibility, moving any courtier from venial debauchery to grave dishonor. It was not *immoral* so much as *dishonest*, perhaps. And whether or not these corruptions—or picaresque excesses—were as common as Dantiscus claimed, or served as a hyperbolic illustration, they nonetheless make his case that money was not flowing at court. Other things were—wine for example—but not money.[588]

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[582] Charles V to Ferdinand I, July 31, 1525, from Toledo (in Bradford, 140-144, this citation on 142).
[583] Charles V to Ferdinand I, July 31, 1525, from Toledo (in Bradford, 140-144, this citation on 142).
[584] Charles V to Ferdinand I, July 25, 1525, from Toledo (in Bradford, 132-139, this citation on 136). In his memoir, Mercurino Gattinara recalled that "the king of Portugal paid a dowry of 900,000 ducats." (Boone, 103.)
[585] John Headley describes the chancellor as "inherently unstable" with the "impecunious nature" that kept it "lean under the pressure of political business." (*The Emperor and his Chancellor*, 82). At times, Gattinara himself felt the pinch of "mounting debts and Charles' failure to pay a salary that was one year in arrears" which led him to writing remonstrances that contained "petulance" (*The Emperor and his Chancellor*, 40-41).
[586] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, February 25, 1523, from Valladolid (IDL 176): "*Pontifex etiam daturus est cruciatam caesari, quae in praesentia emptoribus exponitur, ut nunc paratae pecuniae comparentur. Hic in aula nuda paupertas passim vagatur. Multis et fere omnibus in quindecim mensibus nihil est solutum, vivitur tamen, sed diversis adminiculis, quidam parasitationibus, quidam ludis, plerique ex luparum quaestu aliisque etiam ad dicendum inhonestis modis.*"
[587] J. N. Adams writes, "Sexual activity can in the strict sense be regarded as 'work' if it is performed for money; hence, for example, the use of *quaestus* of the prostitute's employment." (*The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, [London: Duckworth, 1982], 156.) In the Vulgate Bible, *quaestus* is invariably a negative term, referring to simony (2 Macc 11:3), profit from fortunetelling spirits (Acts 16:16-19), the sale of idols (Acts 19:24-27), or seeking material gain from religion (1 Tim 6:5-6) or from flattery and falsehood (Jud 1:16).
[588] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March 12, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 133): "The customs here (and the apparel) are different than at Your Majesty's court, and I am not given, nor have been given anything from the

These conditions made it all the more difficult for Dantiscus and only strengthened the formidable influence of Charles de Lannoy. When in the spring of 1526, Dantiscus asked for the Bari castle in Lannoy's presence, the viceroy was incensed by the request. Dantiscus described the confrontation:

> Today I met with the chancellor again and I gave him a response for the emperor, and also one for the viceroy, besides, since I had spoken with him after the emperor, in as much as he (the viceroy) had wanted to speak with me.
>
> He wanted to know whether You Majesty's officials were not in peaceful possession of the duchy of Bari (*in status Barensis pacifica possessione*). To which I replied, without possession of the castle, 'peaceful possession' of the duchy was not possible.
>
> "How is that?" Said he, "shouldn't the choice of the castellan be pleasing to the Emperor?"
>
> "Yes indeed," I said, "but he should be chosen also by my Most Serene Prince, whose authority has been compromised, as the viceroy has rashly thrust himself (*se temere ingerit*) into this business, though no one has overtly impugned or challenged us."
>
> At this point Lannoy blushed, coloring with anger (*rubore ex bile suffusus*). "And whomever he would wish to be his castellan, what is it to me (*quid ad me*)? It is the all the same to me (*mihi perinde est*)."
>
> "I pray," said I, "that Your Illustrious Lordship will remain in this opinion, for then we will have no disagreements going forward."
>
> When I recounted all of this to the chancellor, he burst into laughter.
>
> Said he, "He usually says something different (at other times)."
>
> When I inquired further what this was supposed to mean, he just shrugged his shoulders, saying, "He is Lucifer, and he would make himself the equal of the most high (*Lucifer, inquit, est et vult se aequare altissimo*)."
>
> I replied, "I hope he comes crashing down from above."
>
> The lord chancellor was on bad terms with him, as I have written earlier, and not without reason. No one at court, as far as I have heard, thinks or speaks well of him.
>
> The lord chancellor, joking with me, calls him my troublemaker (*sollicitator*); sometimes he even calls the viceroy would-be king; he enjoys favor with no one (else) as he does with the emperor and the Count of Nassau, and even his own servants find him hateful.[589]

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king's household, except once and that was four casks of wine." (*Non servatur hic mos iste, qui est apud Maiestatem Vestram, nihil mihi datur neque datum est praeterquam ex penu regio semel quattuor lagenae vini.*)

[589] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, January 10, 1526, from Toledo (IDL 276): "*Contuli me igitur iterum hodie ad cancellarium et illi responsum hoc caesaris rettuli hocque etiam, quod vicerex, quia illum etiam post caesarem alloquebar, responderat, utpote quomodo a me quaesivisset: si adhuc officiales Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae non essent in status Barensis pacifica possessione? Ad quod ego respondissem, quod sine castro istius status pacifica possessio haberi non posset. Ad quod ille: "quomodo? Nonne debuit esse castellanus, qui caesari placeret?" Verum, inquam ego, sed debuit a serenissimis principibus meis constitui, in quo illis derogatum est et ille intrusus in iurisdictiones serenissimorum principum meorum se temere ingerit, condemnamurque et nemo nos accusat. Unde ille rubore ex bile suffusus: sit, inquit, castellanus quisquis velit, quid ad me? Mihi perinde est. Rogo, inquam ego,*

This remarkable exchange illustrates a number of dynamics: Dantiscus's closeness—'alliance' is not too strong—with Gattinara, their shared difficulties with Lannoy, and the latter's hold on the imperial ear. Dantiscus was also setting up Lannoy as the villain in this narrative—i.e. not the emperor himself for want of money, but a grasping servant miscarrying his duties was to blame here—so that he could then appeal to the emperor's justice. Later that year, Lannoy was still the "impediment" that prevented "emperor's decree" that Queen Bona should be able to name her own castellan in Bari. Lannoy's own "ardent covetousness" moved him to name his own castellan, Hernando de Alarcón, "contrary to all justice (*aequitas*)" and especially Sigismund's justice (*iustitia*).[590] Because Dantiscus separated Charles from this miscarriage of justice, it left him an avenue of appeal. When confronted, the emperor could promise Dantiscus that there was no conspiracy against him, and that he would resolve the issue as soon as possible.

> That's why I asked the emperor, when next the viceroy (Lannoy) was in attendance, that he not be allowed to cheat (*circumduceret*) Your Most Sacred Majesty (Sigismund) out of justice […] reminding the emperor of his commitments, that he had guaranteed in writing, and causing the emperor to turn red (*sanguineao quodam colore suffusus*) and to respond in this way: "This affair has gone on so long for no other cause than that we have been occupied with serious negotiations with the king of France and many other difficult affairs […,] the viceroy has no guilt in this and has not at any time tried to work against justice for Your Most Sacred Majesty. Henceforth, I will devote myself to this work, as soon as I can, and resolve the issue; I do not want to leave here, without first resolving it."[591]

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dominatio vestra illustris in hac sententia maneat, nullas deinceps habituri sumus difficultates. Haec cum cancellario rettulissem, prorupit in risum. Alibi, inquit, aliter dicit. Cumque ulterius quaererem, quid sibi ista vellent, contraxit humeros: Lucifer, inquit, est et vult se aequare altissimo. Ad quod ego: spero quod altius decidet. Domino cancellario male cum eo, ut prius scripsi, convenit, neque immerito. Neminem adhuc in hac aula audivi, qui de illo bene sentiret aut loqueretur. Dominus cancellarius iocando mecum illum vocare solet sollicitatorem meum, interdum etiam pro vicerege novum regem, et apud neminem, quam apud caesarem et comitem de Nassau habet gratiam, suis etiam propriis servitoribus exosus est."

[590] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1526, from Granada (IDL 305): "*Hae cum iam scriberentur et vicerex advenisset, subito fuerant impeditae, quodque decretum maiestatis suae de castro Barensi numquam fuisset observatum, quo erat permissum, quod maiestas reginalis castellanum deputare deberet [….] Id vicerex non advertens, castrum nullo iure intercepisset et castellanum pro suo arbitrio intrusisset, et quod omnes istae morae et difficultates in iustitia Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae per neminem alium, quam per viceregem, qui ad statum Barensem, praeter omnem aequitatem, ardentissime inhiabat, fuissent factae."*

[591] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1526, from Granada (IDL 305): "*Hae Quapropter maiestatem suam caesaream rogabam, cum iam iterum vicerex adesset, ne permitteret, quod ille Maiestatem Vestram Serenissimam ulterius cum iustitiae suae detrimento circumduceret haberetque mutuae necessitudinis cum Maiestate Vestra Serenissima atque etiam ipsius aequitatis accuratiorem rationem, praesertim cum nullam gratiam, sed meram iustitiam Maiestas Vestra Serenissima per me exposceret, quae nulli negari deberet. Haec cum seorsum certe ex affectu dixissem et quaedam item magis acria, quae res ipsa expresserat, commemorans etiam illi memoriale, quod desuper in scriptis a me receperat, sanguineo quodam colore suffusus, paulisper substitit et ad eum modum respondit: 'Quod negotia ista tamdiu fuissent producta, non aliam esse causam, quam quod graviores tractatus cum rege Galliae ac plurimae aliae difficillimae occupationes se interim obtulissent, quibus intentus hactenus rebus Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae intendere non potuisset, quodque vicerex ea in re nullam haberet culpam neque iustitiae Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae umquam obfuisset, seque deinceps daturum operam, quam primum esset possibile, qua his rebus finem imponeret, et non velle hinc abire, nisi prius in omnibus me resolvisset.*"

The 'resolution' that Charles promised took the form of sending his secretaries to Dantiscus to review all of the documents again, i.e. showing activity but not changing anything. Grand Chancellor Gattinara expressed to Dantiscus his suspicion that "this viceroy has enchanted (bewitched) the emperor."[592] In coarser terms, the chancellor joked that Lannoy's persuasive tenacity was both irresistible and immoral: "had I been born a girl, I would have been pushed on so by his appeals that I would not have long kept my virginity."[593] The frustration for Gattinara was that Lannoy was making policy and exceeding his authority with impunity. In the example of what to do with King Francis, Gattinara had believed that to keep royal prisoner at a distance from the emperor meant that Charles could negotiate advantageously for Italy; by bringing the French king to Spain, Lannoy was pushing for a meeting which would force Charles to enlarge his royal counterpart in a spirit of magnanimity, chivalry, and Christianity. But a freed Francis could renew the Italian wars—and did. "Caesar tried to do all of these things in order to establish world peace," wrote Gattinara, while this move "seemed more directed at reviving war in Italy than towards the peace of Christendom."[594]

A year later, Dantiscus wrote a similar thing to Queen Bona:

> All matters having to do with the kingdom of Naples depended on the viceroy, and no one else around here dares even to open his mouth against him (*et hic contra illum nemo hiscere audet*). It is a wonder that not even the emperor will step forward to undertake any decision against what he has decided, and the lord chancellor affirms that he (the Emperor Charles) is enchanted (bewitched, *incantatum*) by him (the Viceroy Lannoy).[595]

And yet the frustrated Dantiscus had not lost confidence in the emperor. On occasion Charles gave Dantiscus the special of honor for speaking to him directly "with a serious and composed countenance" and in German, which the German-speaking Polish ambassador called his "Belgian tongue" (i.e. Burgundian German). Dantiscus believed the emperor when he promised that he wanted "to do the best thing."[596] And even if he did not believe him, what other options did he have?

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[592] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1526, from Granada (IDL 305): "*iste vicerex incantavit caesarem."*

[593] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1526, from Granada (IDL 305): "*ego […] si puella natus fuissem, impulsus precibus non diu virginitatem retinuissem.*"

[594] Gattinara, *Vita*, in Boone, 103.

[595] Johannes Dantiscus to Bona Sforza, May 6, 1527, from Valladolid (IDL 341): ""*omnia, quae regnum Neapolitanum spectant, a viceregе dependent dependeret, et hic contra illum nemo hiscere audetu. Mirum est, quod ne caesar quidem contra illius edicta quicquam statuere praesumit, quem dominus cancellarius incantatum esse ab eo omnino affirmat."* A Spanish translation of this is in the Fontán and Axer (eds.) *Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V*, 195-196. It is also quoted by Rebecca Ard Boone in *Mercurino di Gattinare and the Creation of the Spanish Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 6 (n. 6), 137, although there is a mistake in this reference because Professor Boone has taken the quotation out of context and uses it to show that Gattinara believed that he (Gattinara) had bewitched the emperor, though in fact he was clearly complaining to Dantiscus about Lannoy.

[596] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 12, 1526, from Granada (IDL 305): "*Ille composito ad gravitatem vultu, lingua sua Belgica respondit: Ik will gern dat Beste don*." As to what was *Galia Belgica*, Alfonso de Valdés defined it as Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zeeland (*Gelanda*), Artois, Namur, and Hainaut, in *The Dialogue of Mercury and Charon* (ed. Ricapito, 20, and, ed. Navarro, 95).

The following year, nothing had changed. "These are the responses I often got from His Majesty, but nothing has come of them. I have not been able to move matters forward, nor compel, nor budge this stone, nor loosen it. I have been beating the air in vain."[597] Again, Charles spoke to Dantiscus in German, a thing he did "rarely with others," averring that he "would do what is possible" which was "always his customary response."[598] After years effort with no success, Dantiscus was utterly confounded; it seemed that only an act of God could solve the problem. In a sense it did, because the month after this last letter, Lannoy died of a fever. The event threw "more than a few at court into confusion" but for many others was a source of "great joy" (*magno gaudio*).[599] Things moved faster in Dantiscus's favor.

Even before this, earlier that summer, there had been progress. The Emperor had approved the Polish monarchs' choice of castellan at Bari, leading Dantiscus to uncharacteristic optimism in wonder is "perhaps, for once, we will have a just conclusion," and he might succeed at last to "free myself of these chains."[600] By the following year, the duchy was free of back taxes, the *adoha*, and Bona even received the (admittedly modest) refund of 1,200 ducats.[601] In the following months, Dantiscus had additional assurances in writing.[602] Dantiscus believed that she could at last "sleep soundly with both ears to the pillow" in the knowledge that her inheritance was safe.[603] By 1529, she had access what she had long desired: "not only our (ducal) prerogative, but all exemptions and immunities and enjoyment of the usufruct, which her

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[597] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, August 17, 1527, from Valladolid (IDL 366): "*Alia responsa iam saepius a maiestate sua obtinui et hactenus nihil est subsecutum. Ego quidem rem ulterius promovere non potui, cogere neque licet neque possum et hucusque omnem movi lapidem nihilque, quod expedire videbatur, intactum reliqui, sed frustra verberavi aërem."*

[598] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, August 17, 1527, from Valladolid (IDL 366): "*Respondit mihi Germanice, quod alias raro fecit: Ich wils thun, sobald mirs müglich ist et hoc est, quod respondere solet semper.*"

[599] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, November 15, 1527, from Burgos (IDL 385): "*viceregem Neapolitanum 23 Septembris novissimi in Aversa prope Neapolim duodecimo die, quo febre acuta laborare coepisset, cessisse e vivis, quod nuntium caesarem et quosdam istius mortui amicos non parum turbavit, plurimos tamen magno affecit gaudio.*"

[600] Johannes Dantiscus to Antonico Niccolò Carmignano (Suavius Parthenopeus), June 14, 1527, from Valladolid (IDL 350): "Her most serene royal majesty has agreed that Lord Cola Maria de Summa is to be put in charge, and his true brother (*frater uterinus*) Sigismund Loffredus (Marquis of Bovali) has obtained the emperor's consent; I have sent a copy to her majesty earlier today; thus perhaps, for once, we will have a just conclusion, which I most ardently expect and seek, so that I might at last free myself of these chains," (*Serenissima reginalis maiestas consensit, quod dominus Cola Maria de Summa praeficiatur, ad quod dominus Sigismundus Loffredus, cum sit frater illius uterinus, consensum a maiestate caesarea obtinuit, cuius superiore die reginali maiestati misi exemplum; sic fortassis semel istius rei finem sumus habituri, quem ego ardentissime exspecto et efflagito, ut tandem ex hoc ergastulo possem liberari*).

[601] Nowak, 132.

[602] Alfonso García (father of Charles's secretary Pedro) to Johannaes Dantiscus from Toledo, December 24, 1528 and January 27, 1529, in Fontán and Axer, 215-216: Alfonso Garcia assured Dantiscus that Charles had "remedied all matters" (*se ha hecho todo remendado*) and that no one would ask taxes of Queen Bona's territories without express permission of the emperor. In the second letter, García informed Dantiscus that there would be no more taxes (*suspensión de las adohas*).

[603] Johannes Dantiscus to Bona, November 19, 1528, from Toledo (IDL 416): "*quod deinceps Maiestas Vestra Serenissima secure in utramque aurem de statu Barensi dormire poterit.*"

ladyship, our most illustrious mother, had was accustomed to enjoy of old."[604] Bona was jubilant, "flooded with enormous joy" at Dantiscus's "prudence, diligence, and faithfulness."[605] The following year, she was referring to the resources of her duchy as entirely at here disposal. For example, she wrote to Dantiscus in June of 1530 that she would order her treasurer in Bari (*thesaurario nostro Barensi*) to reward him in recognition of all that he had done for her, a reward due to the faithful ambassador that was part of his elevation to the episcopal dignity the previous month.[606]

In this achievement Dantiscus paid many, many times over all of the efforts and expenses of the embassy. He had become Bishop of Chełmno (Culm, Kulm) in 1530, though it would be two more years of traveling with Charles V in Germany and the Netherlands before he stepped foot in his diocese, and in 1537 was elevated again to Prince-Bishop of Warmia (Ermland). Except for benefiting from the timely departure of Charles de Lannoy from the world of the living, what had Dantiscus done to achieve this?

In his words to to Tomicki in 1532, he recalled that his lobbying success was in part based on those long nights at table with a drink in his hand, the very *convivia* that the queen had cast doubt upon. "Without it, her royal majesty would have lost her feudal lands in the kingdom of Naples"; these were gained by the intercession of the great, late chancellor Gattinara, and other friends of

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[604] Bona Sforza to Johannes Dantiscus, Febrary 3, 1527, from Cracow (IDL 50): "*sed nos eisdem praerogativis, exemptionibus et immunitatibus gaudere et utifrui permittat, quibus olim illustrissima domina mater merito gaudere et utifrui solebat*"

[605] Bona Sforza to Johannes Dantiscus, July 13, 1529, from Vilnius (IDL 433): "But after what Your Exertion"—she called him by the title '*Strenuitatis Tua*' the way another might call him 'Your Lordship' or 'Your Honor' etc.—"had written since you returned to the emperor leaving Lictoria (Latium, Italy), and how you sailed with His Majesty to Italy, I am flooded with enormous joy, how, with your departure, you settled our affairs with the highest degree of success, and how much happened in Italy, and how Your Exertion's great prudence, diligence, and faithfulness, and all other similar qualities necessery that another ambassador in the comparable position would not have had in the same abundance had you not been there." (*Postquam autem Strentuitatis Tua scribit ex Lictoria ad caesarem rediisse, ut cum illius maiestate in Italiam naviget, ingenti perfusae sumus gaudio et hanc suam profectionem rebus nostris apprime proficuam fore, in Italia enim multa occurrent, quae Tuae Strenuitatis prudentia, diligentia et fide indigebunt atque alio simili oratore, si Tua Strenuitas non adesset, opus foret.*)

[606] Bona Sforza to Johannes Dantiscus, June 1, 1530, from Cracow (IDL 498): "Now we take up this business so close to our heart, which through your prudence, Father"—for Dantiscus was now a bishop—"you managed to gain for us. We are able to do it, we are able to bestow honors and rewards. And, in addition, we can provide plenty of money in salary for you, Father, and there is no doubt of its diminishment or miscarriage. We have commanded our treasurer in Bari to pay the whole sum and all parts of the whole, which will certainly be done through (once you send) your letter, without fail, we are sure of it." (*Committimus hoc negotium, quod nobis cordi est, singulari prudentiae Paternitatis Tuae, quae id studeat obtinere, quid poterit et quid nobis commodum et honorem afferre poterit. De pecuniis salariatus Paternitatis Tuae satis superque providimus, quod nullum damnum neque dedecus inde sibi facturum dubitet. Mandavimus thesaurario nostro Barensi, ut omnes et singulas pecuniarum summas persolvat, de quibus per Tuae Paternitatis litteras certior factus fuerit, neque aliter eum facturum credimus.*)

Sigismund to Johannes Dantiscus, May 5, 1530, from Cracow (IDL 490): "In recognition of your faithful and diligent service, which you performed with excellence for no small period time as ambassador for us and for her ladyship, our most serene queen and our spouse, it is our wish that you be invested with the episcopacy of Chełmno (*ornare te episcopatu Culmensi*), currently vacant, and which we declare unto you by this letter." (*Agnoscentes fidem et diligentem servitutem tuam, quam per non modicum tempus nobis et serenissimae coniugi nostrae dominae reginae obeundo munus oratoris praestitisti, ornare te episcopatu Culmensi, qui nunc vacat, voluimus, quod tibi praesentibus litteris declaramus.*)

his imperial majesty."[607] The process, that gradual "gaining favor" and "cultivating friendship" steadily "as trust grows in a marriage," is both personal and political.[608] Not only did Dantiscus have to charm Gattinara, and through him Charles, but he had to do it over a long period time. It was unlike his victory over von Schönberg, the Teutonic Order's man in England. Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey did not care about Prussia and the Polish king. With Charles V and Mercurino Gattinara, Dantiscus had to convince them that the friendship of the distant Polish king was worth a half-million ducats. Part of it was the Habsburg growing eastern interests, for Ferdinand became king of Hungary and Bohemia in 1526. Part of it was the emperor's (and chancellor's) longstanding idea of leading a crusade to the east, and the thought of cultivating allies. And part of it was Dantiscus's rhetorical skill—an ambassador was called an *orator*—in persuading them of the justice of his cause in the humanist terms they respected.

A Place at the Table: Gaining Access at Court

Fig. 3-15: Portrait of Bishop Piotr Tomicki by Stanisław Samostrzelnik (c. 1530), from the Franciscan Monastery in Cracow, image from the Adam Mickiewicz Institute at http://culture.pl/pl

The chief purpose of the courtier, wrote Balthasar Castiglione, was to "win for himself the mind and favour of the prince he serves" so he could exert his influence on that prince and steer him along "the path of virtue."[609] All of the courtier's abilities—"being quick-witted and charming, prudent and scholarly and so forth"—served as a means to this end.[610] And while the courtiers of Castiglione remembered at the ducal court of Urbino in 1507 had every opportunity to practice these skills to rise in estimation, the royal courts in which Dantiscus moved were more challenging because that access was not always available. A most useful ally for an ambassador at court was the chancellor. Dantiscus's chief supporter in Poland was his friend and mentor Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535), bishop of Cracow and vice-chancellor. Like Dantiscus, Tomicki was a humanist dedicated to classical languages and literature, enjoyed a learned European epistolary network, and was a

[607] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, April 17, 1532, from Regensburg (IDL 772): "*sine quo reginalis maiestas totum feudum in regno Neapolitano amiserat, per medium magni olim Gattinari cancellarii et aliorum amicorum a maiestate caesarea impetraverim.*"
[608] See note 29.
[609] These words Castiglione gave to Ottaviana Fregoso (1470-1524), who would later be Doge of Genoa. *The Book of the Courtier,* ed. trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967. orig. published 1528 and written 1516-8 about events in 1507), 284-285: "In my opinion, therefore, the end of the perfect courtier […] is, by means of the accomplishments attributed to him by these gentlemen, so to win for himself the mind and favour of the prince he serves that he can and always will tell him the truth about all he needs to know, without fear or risk of displeasing him. And, if he knows that his prince is of a mind to do something unworthy, he should be in a position to dare to oppose him, and make courteous use of the favour his good qualities have won to remove every evil intention and persuade him to return to the path of virtue."
[610] Castiglione, 285.

patron of the arts, particularly sculpture.[611] During the years of his diplomatic service, from 1519 to 1532, Dantiscus sent and received 94 letters to and from Tomicki (compared to 20 with the grand chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, 120 with King Sigismund and another 124 with Queen Bona).[612] When he returned to Poland from Spain in 1523 (before being sent right back to Spain), he perceived that he had better access to the king when Tomicki could "spur things along" with the king. When Tomicki was away, Dantiscus complained that "everyone is deaf and dumb to me without you," that he received no favors or *gratias*, and he lost his horse stipend.[613]

Dantiscus found the same to be true in other courts: the path to to monarch went through the good graces of his chancellor. On his short visit to England in 1522, Dantiscus gained access to King Henry through Cardinal Wolsey. When Dantiscus was in Spain, the person who filled this role for him was Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara (1465-1530). The collaboration and friendship between these men evolved over the years and became of increasing utility to both. This is visible in the correspondence and is the subject of the next chapter. At first, Gattinara was chiefly a gate-keeper and excuse-maker for the emperor, invariably bringing Dantiscus news of delay. But over time they became allies, making plans together over lunch—after Dantiscus had literally gained a place at the table. Over time, Dantiscus would reside at the innermost orbit or the chancellor's circle along with the Secretary Alfonso de Valdés and the Dutch ambassador Cornelius Schepper.[614]

Very rich ambassadors like Mendoza, and modest ones like Dantiscus, were dressed similarly (see *fig. 3-2*, above). In paintings of these men, and many more like them, the subjects are consistently wearing only elegant black cloth. But there is one adornment embraced by—fur. The clerics and scholars of the sixteenth century wore a little jewelry and almost no color, but they trimmed their garments with a fair amount of fur.[615] In fact, when Dantiscus first arrived at court, he tried to make a gift of sables, a regional luxury item ('soft gold') available in Poland-Lithuania through eastern trade.[616] It is curious that Dantiscus, even as he was increasingly

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[611] Harold Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 13, 193; Henryk Zins, "A British humanist and the University of Kraków at the beginning of the sixteenth century: a chapter in Anglo-Polish relations in the age of the Renaissance," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March 1994), 34-37. Marcin Fabiański , "Renaissance Nudes as 'materia exercendae virtutis'? A Contemporary Account of the Royal Tapestries in Cracow," *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 32, No. 64 (2011), 268.

[612] *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus's Texts and Correspondence,* http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl.

[613] Johannes Dantiscus to Piotr Tomicki, August 8, 1523, from Cracow (IDL 186): Spurring things along: "*Sponte currenti Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima calcar addet.*" Deaf and dumb: "*Quare iterum iterumque rogo, det delictum fasso clementer veniam. Omnia mihi hic surda et muta, dum non adest Dominatio Vestra Reverendissima, videntur.*" Loss of favor: "*Hinc est, quod nemo hic ardentius adventum Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae, quam ego, praestolatur. Sine Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima in hac aula neque gratiae neque favoris quicquam offendi, immo stipendium equorum mihi ablatum intellexi.*"

[614] cf. Headley, *The Emperor and His Chancellor*, 81-82.

[615] In this point I disagree with Lisa Jardine. In considering a Quentin Metsys portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam in her *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*, she argues that his fur-lined robe and purse are the badges of a merchant rather than a scholar: "To be a man of distinction and reputation in the Renaissance evidently meant, for Erasmus and his contemporaries, confidently to inhabit the world of commerce." (31). I think the sartorial example of other diplomats, scholars, and clerics, along with tall of the Greek and Latin holy books in the same painting, situates the wearing of fur as a token of not only the merchant, but also the "prosperous scholar."

[616] The sable's habitat is Western Siberia and the Ural Mountains; in Muscovy (Russia), indigenous peoples paid their tax (*yasak*) in pelts, "soft gold." (Rane Willerslev and Olga Ulturgasheva, "The Sable Frontier and the Siberian Fur Trade as Montage," *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology,* Vol. 26, No. 2 [2006/2007], 79-100, esp. 81-89.)

optimistic about his professional relationship with Gattinara, had difficulty getting him to take this gift:

> I met with the great chancellor a number of times, both for lunch and for business, and he promised to help me—he was reluctant but nonetheless he did promise—and yet he does not want to accept the sables without permission from the emperor. Even now they are with me, and my efforts to deliver them have come to nothing.[617]

These sable pelts were numerous and bulky since it took quite a number of these little animals (an adult sable weighing about three pounds) to make a coat.[618] Dantiscus's gift of sables was in fact 120 pelts ("three forties," *tres guadragenas*); other sources write in terms of "sets of sables."[619] Gattinara gave Dantiscus some revealing guidance on the correct way to present gifts:

> I have not mentioned anything of the furs to the emperor, nor is it appropriate for my honor ask about them and, in so doing, to ask for an agreement. Actually, it would be more reputable if your Magnificence were to inquire in some other way: writing to someone, like to the secretary Jean Lalemand or to the Count of Nassau, so that they might explain to the emperor or say that certainly Your Lordship brought me the gift of so many furs on behalf of your most serene king, which I said I would not receive without the knowledge and the direction of his imperial majesty, that his imperial majesty in this way would think it worthy to favor me and command me so that I might receive the gift. And this is something his majesty could easily allow.[620]

After a month, Dantiscus reported that Gattinara had received his master's permission to receive the furs, and he did take them. At the same time—here is the transactional importance of gift-giving—Gattinara promised to present the emperor with Dantiscus's arguments about the Bari

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So lucrative was this tax that its collection became an impediment to the conversion of Siberian natives since Christian converts were exempt to it (Valerie Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006], 161-165.) The pelts were also brought down the Volga to trade with Constantinople and southern and eastern Asia. (Janet Martin, "The Land of Darkness and the Golden Horde: The Fur Trade under the Mongols XIII-XIVth Centuries," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, Vol. 19, No. 4 [Oct. - Dec., 1978], 401-421.)

[617] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, October 3, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 217): "*Cum magno cancellario fui aliquoties et in prandio et in negotiis, pollicetur aegre operam suam, nihilominus pollicetur, sed sobellos sine caesaris voluntate accipere non vult; sunt adhuc apud me, neque dabuntur frustra.*" (Cf. Fontán and Axer, 159-160.)

[618] Ronald M. Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*, Volume 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 716-717.

[619] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, November 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 5807); Richard Davey, *Furs and Fur Garments* (London: The International Fur Store and the Roxburghe Press, 1895), 48, gives an example of Charles V giving Henry VIII "five sets" of sable, "his favourite fur" worth £400.

[620] Mercurino Gattinara to Johannes Dantiscus, October 12, 1524 (IDL 14): "*De pellibus nullam ego mentionem feci caesari, neque honori meo conveniret, ut ego metu huiusmodi consensum exposcerem. Verum honestius foret, ut Magnificentia Vestra id alia via sciscitaretur: scribendo alicui, veluti secretario Iohanni Alemano aut comiti de Nassou, ut hii exponerent caesari seu horum alter diceret, sicuti Dominatio Vestra parte serenissimi regis sui mihi obtulit munus tot pellium, quas dixi me non recepturum sine scientia et iussu caesareae maiestatis, et quod ideo sua maiestas dignetur annuere et mihi mandare, ut huiusmodi munus reciperem. Quod sua maiestas facillime concedet.*"

inheritance and to also arrange another audience.[621] Again they conducted this business over lunch. Dantiscus then took the chancellor's advice and met with Count Henry of Nassau (1483-1538), Charles's chamberlain, advisor, and friend; in a long talk over food, Dantiscus presented his case from beginning to end, or "from the egg" (*ab ovo*).[622] Most remarkable is that again Dantiscus made an offer of sable pelts, this time for the emperor himself, *along with a gratuity of 500 ducats*, which seems a gesture both presumptuous and paltry.[623] After listening carefully to the lengthy exposition, Nassau expressed his sympathy for Dantiscus's position and added judiciously that, "his Majesty did not want for any *thing* except the favor and good will" of the Polish king.[624] Finally, as a third example, Dantiscus wrote to the empress, Isabella of Portugal (1503-1539), along with sables from the queen of Poland, asking the empress to intercede with

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[621] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund from Valladolid, November 12, 1524 (IDL 5807): "*Paulo post misi rursus ad eum quaerens, si caesar, ut sobellos acciperet, iam consensisset. Ad quod mihi respondit, ut in copia inclusa habetur; unde Maiestas Vestra Serenissima, quomodo hic negotia tractantur, intelliget. Postero die illum accessi hortans, ut pelles illas susciperet, promittens me Germanice cum caesare seorsum ea de re loquturum, cum primum admitterer in colloquium.*"

[622] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, November 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 5807): "*In quo cum essemus, ad spatium temporis satis longum illi iustitiam et iura serenissimae reginalis maiestatis ab ovo, ut dicunt, exorsus exposui, et quomodo contra omnem iuris ordinem causa indicta*." Gattinara also did the courtesy of speaking to Dantiscus in German, his native tongue.

[623] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, November 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 5807): "And if he (Charles) agrees to restore your (Sigismund's) state with the castle, it is promised to him, with Your Most Serene Majesty's gratitude, 500 ducats and a royal garment of sables, and more to come, along with the customary words." (*Et quod si conficeret, ut status integer cum castris suis restitueretur, pollicebar illi, saltem ob quandam Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae erga illum gratitudinem, quingentos ducatos et sobellos a Maiestate Vestra pro regia veste et adhuc in futurum maiorem Maiestatis Vestrae munificentiam cum verbis consuetis.*)

[624] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, November 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 5807): " After listening to my long speech with careful attention, he answered that he had not before understood the matter down to the brass tacks (*ad unguem fundamenum*, to the "foundational nail" as in fingernail, i.e. a detail, but in this case important in the understanding how the case is built) when he had agreed to the sequester (the legal hold-up that prevented the inheritance), and that he would want to talk to his Imperial Majesty and to take council about these matters. He also hoped it would all go well, given how much the Emperor holds You Most Sacred Majesty in high, fraternal regard. And he added, that he (the Emperor) did not want anything from Your Most Sacred Majesty, except your favor and good will, and that he would always be ready and willing to be of service to you. Finally, he asked me if I have talked with the Grand Chancellor (Gattinara) about this matter. And when I reported this to him (the chancellor), he responded to me, as usual, "I also talked with him, and I hope you will get your wish." (*Haec cum a me longiore sermone cum accurata diligentia audivisset, respondit se prius istius negotii sic ad unguem fundamentum non scivisse, et quod crederet maiestatem caesaream hac de re non bene fuisse informatam, quod in sequestrum huiusmodi consensisset, velletque cum maiestate caesarea et consiliariis desuper colloqui, et speraret, quod illius maiestas omne id factura esset, quo Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae, quam pro singularissimo fratre haberet, complaceret et morem gereret. Et addidit, quod a Maiestate Vestra Serenissima nihil vult nec habere cupit, quam illius favorem et benivolentiam, et ubi Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae inservire posset, se semper praesto futurum. Et in fine a me quaesivit, si etiam cum magno cancellario de hoc negotio essem locutus. Et cum rettulissem, quod saepius, respondit „Et ego cum eo colloquar et spero, quod voti compotes redibitis".*) This final phrase, "you will get your wish," (*et voti compotes*) is seen in hymn credited to St. Ambrose with the sense of great relief and freedom from anxiety; see Arthur Sumner Walpole, ed., Early Latin Hymns with Introduction and Notes. (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1922), 364-365: "May piety still coerce you,/ That you overcome our evils/ By sparing us, and satisfied in our/ deepest wishes, us may you satiate/ with a sight of your face." (*Ipsa te cogat pietas,/ Ut mala nostra superes/ Parcendo et voti compotes/ Nos tuo vultu saties.*) But this *compotes* in addition to with *compos, compotis*, 'to share in affliction,' has a possible double meaning 'to share a drink together' from *compoto, compotare*, just as we use the Greek term *symposium* (*συμπόσιον*) which is literally 'a drinking party' and also is taken to mean 'a conference.'

her husband to lift the *adoha* tax from the duchy of Bari.[625] This was late in the game, already after the death of Lannoy, and it was also one of the very few letters that Dantiscus ever wrote in Spanish.[626]

These examples show how diplomatic business was conducted indirectly. In order for Gattinara to accept a gift from Dantiscus, he needed the emperor's advisor (Nassau) or secretary (Lalemand) to broach the matter with the emperor. To make an offer to the emperor of a conditional present, Dantiscus also met with Nassau, who—it is no surprise—declined it out of hand. Had he presumed to make such an offer to Charles in person, it could have been a disastrous insult. There are of course examples of formal gift-giving, but these have no strings attached. When Dantiscus first arrived in 1519, he offered the emperor a falcon that he did not even have with him:

> My Most Serene Lord (Sigismund) understands that Your Catholic Majesty delights in falcons and other birds of this kind, and if there is in his Majesty's kingdom and dominions anything that Your Catholic Majesty could find pleasing not only in matters of play and levity, but anything that he could render as far as his means allow, he would give it quickly from the heart as a pledge of all his brotherhood and kinship most dear and honorable.[627]

Such an offer of some future "falcon or other bird of this kind" was not a display of generosity in itself (i.e. there was no actual bird) but rather of honor. Dantiscus was telling Charles and his

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[625] Johannes Dantiscus to Isabella of Portugal, October or November, 1528, s.l. (IDL 3806): "When I was in Valladolid last year, I presented Your Majesty with three measures [Dantiscus's word, *timble*, is enigmatic] of sables (*martas zobellinas*) on behalf of the Most Serene Queen of Poland, my lady, and I beseeched you on her behalf that you might be the intercessor with His Imperial Majesty that he may give the command that the Queen, my lady, continue to enjoy the immunity and exemption that her mother, the Illustrious Duchess of Milan, enjoyed during her lifetime, of not paying the *adoha* for the Duchy of Bari that she has in the Kingdom of Naples. And because I have not yet heard the response from that you might make at your convenience, and because I am preparing to return to their lord and ladyships, the monarchs of Poland, I beseech Your Majesty that you might wish to intercede with his imperial majesty to conclude the matter that I might depart with a favorable and certain response of not taking from the daughter (Bona) the exemption that the mother (Isabella) enjoyed during her lifetime, for which the queen, my lady, will be certain to appreciate your kindness by all ways and methods that she can, and to esteem even more this mercy that will reach her from your hand which is of the highest quality." (*Quando el año passado estando en Valladolid presenté a Vuestra Majestad tres timbles de martas zobellinas de parte de la Sereníssima reyna de Polonia, mi señora, le supliqué de su parte, que fuesse intercessoria con la majestad çesárea para que mandasse que la reyna, mi señora, fuesse conseruada en la immunidad y exemptión de que durante su vida gozó la yllustríssima duquesa de Milán, su madre, de no pagar adoha por il Ducado de Barri que tyene en el Reyno de Nápoles. Y porque hasta agora nunca he hauido conueniente respuesta de su majestad cesárea y yo estoy ya para boluerme a los reyes, mis señores, suplico a Vuestra Majestad que quiera interceder con su çesárea majestad y acabar que tenga por byen de embiarme ya con una cyerta y benigna respuesta, no quitando ala hija la exemptión de que la madre toda su vida gozó, lo qual procurará la reyna, mi señora, de reconocer a Vuestra Majestad por todas las vías y medios que ella pudiere y estimará mucho más esta merced siendo alcançada por mano de Vuestra Majestad que si fuesse de muy mayor qualidad.*)

[626] The only other letter in Spanish extant was for Charles V (IDL 3807), written the same day, also about the *adoha.* It is very likely that he wrote in Spanish often for his daily affairs, but that none of these were preserved.

[627] Speech by Johannes Dantiscus to Charles V in Barcelona, February 21, 1519: "*Factura est igitur Catholica Maiestas Vestra rem se tanto orbis principe dignam et qua caesareae maiestati, cui Deus optimus maximus aeternam det beatitudinem, sicut ex his suae maiestatis litteris patebit, plurimum gratificata fuisset, et qua serenissimum dominum meum perpetua benivolentia et amore sibi devinciet.*"

court that the young monarch's reputation for falconry and hunting, manly and worthy pursuits, had reached as far as Poland. Hunting, like tournament feats of chivalry, was a display of warlike prowess and reflected the honor of a Renaissance monarch. Charles V, like Francis I and Henry VIII, was dedicated to these activities, including theatrical tournament displays in the Burgundian tradition.[628]

For a diplomat and a cleric, it was not his ranking in the results of martial games that mattered, but his standing in the esteem of his colleagues and superiors at court. Dantiscus reported these to his king for they were a reflection on the honor of the Polish crown and evidence of a successful embassy. Charles, Dantiscus told his king, "has shown me great honor in his regard for Your Majesty—more, in my estimation, than he has shown the ambassadors from France and England," also assigning escorts to conduct to and from court who took off their hats for Dantiscus, and "treated me with great honor *in front of everyone* and gave me place next to the ambassador from England. Ahead of me stand the ambassadors from the pope and the king of France; after me, those from Venice, Ferrara, and Genoa."[629] The occasion of greatest honor for the ambassadors before the emperor was when he received them in feudal homage, placing their hands into his own, his fingers interlaced "like a comb."[630]

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[628] Brandi, 80-83, describes a "wondrous tournament" intended to "display to the Spaniards the great valour of the Burgundian lords" in which 30 knights "shining like St. George" fought with naked weapons, first lances and then blades, until blood was flowing "in rivers." Richardson, 43, gives examples of Charles's personal performance in 1517 with the scutal device *Nondum* ('not yet'), a play on *Plus Ultra*, in 1522, when "a Venetian ambassador reported that the young emperor excelled all others at a tournament in which Charles and his brother Ferdinand tilted together, dressed as Moors" and also that year that he jousted alongside of Henry VIII as well, and in 1524 when his servant reported that "the emperor ran very well, breaking more lances by himself than all the others put together." That a servant should so praise his master should not lead to accept the report as objectively factual, but it does show the emphasis on and honor derived from such manly displays of martial valor.

[629] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, February 12, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 133): "*Sua maiestas catholica […] facitque mihi hic intuitu Sacrae Maiestatis Vestrae eum honorem, et meo iudicio maiorem, quam aliorum regum Galliae et Angliae oratoribus [….] Misit pro me ad primum eius huc introitum primos suos duos Aulicos, qui me usque ad monasterium, in quo pernoctabat ante civitatem, duxerunt. Deposito bireto coram omnibus me honestissime suscepit et locum cum Angliae oratore dedit. Praecedebant pontificis et Galliarum regis, sequebantur Venetorum, Ferrariensium et Ianuensium oratores.*." Emphasis added.

The authority of the pope was naturally the highest if rivaled by the emperor himself, and France was populous and powerful; the three cities whose representatives ranked below Dantiscus were close, rich, and influential, but they had also been aligned against the emperor during the war of the league of Cambrai.

[630] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, December 18, 1524, from Madrid (IDL 226): "The emperor, after hearing mass, was seated in his throne (*sede residens*) with many people present including the ambassador of the king of England; he was surrounded by other councilors, and with the grand chancellor (Gattinara) and Pedro Garcia (the secretary), both kneeling, and to one side the Gospel and the Cross, he admitted us to come before him and bow. We made the oath of homage, following the example of the others present, with words and gestures (*verba oribus et manibus*), the emperor put his hands together, joining his fingers in a comb. We put our own hands together in his, and we read the final article (of the homage) three times; my colleague (Borek) confirmed everything I had read; the aforementioned secretary (Garcia), acting as the public notary, prepared the document with the nomination of the witnesses, having taken down previously what official diplomatic commissions and powers we were entrusted with." (*caesar post missam in sede residens, praesentibus multis et oratore regis Angliae, circumstantibus aliis consiliariis et genuflexis magno cancellario et secretario, Petro Garcia, proposito ad partem libro Evangeliorum et cruce, nos coram se ad flectendum admisit. Et cum homagii iuramentum fecissemus, cuius exemplum praesentibus cum aliis adiunxi et ad ea verba oribus et manibus pervenissemus, caesar digitos in pectine iunctos utraque manu exhibuit, inter quas quilibet nostrum seorsum manus suas sic etiam coniunctas inclusit et tandem ultimum articulum postquam ter legissem, dominus collega omnia per me lecta rata habuit; desuper dictus secretarius ut notarius publicus instrumentum per testium vocationem confecit, acceptis a nobis prius mandatis et facultatibus nostris.*)

Religious processions were another opportunity to appear in hierarchical formation. A curious moment in Dantiscus's service took place at Candlemas (February 2) of 1523.[631] Dantiscus had been given a candle to carry which was either carved or painted with King Sigismund's coat of arms, the Polish eagle, and also the Order of the Golden Fleece, the lofty Burgundian chivalric honor that Charles and his his ancestors bestowed upon friends, followers, or fellow monarchs. But Sigismund's election to the order was news to Dantiscus. Gattinara responded that actually Sigismund had been elected to the order a few years earlier at their Barcelona meeting in 1519. After seeing that there had been a miscommunication, Charles asked Dantiscus to tell Sigismund and dispatched another knight of the Golden Fleece, his friend Lalaing, to bring the order of the Golden Fleece "with all ceremony" to Poland.[632] What is so strange about this report is that it bestowed so exalted a distinction to Charles's brother king (*fraterni sui amoris*) but the confusion around it is so clumsy that the political gains of goodwill could not but have been diminished. For Dantiscus, the event caught him off balance because the news—although certainly good news—put his position into flux; he was the representative of a king whose stature at the Habsburg court was different than he imagined.

*Fig. 3-16: The Order of the Golden Fleece (*Kaiserliche Schatzkammer *in the* Kunst Historiches Museum Wien*, image at* www.khm.at*)*

[631] Candlemas is a Day of Purification, *dies Purificationis*, commemorating Jesus's presentation at the temple as a baby.

[632] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, March 20, 1523, from Valladolid (IDL 180): "On this past Feast of the Puriciation (*in die Purificationis*) his imperial majest summoned all of the ambassadors, except the ambassador from Portugal, to the procession and all sacred rites, and gave each one a wax candle with the coat of arms of his prince. I too received one of these depicting Your Most Serene Majesty's eagle also with the Golden Fleece. Thereupon I went to the chancellor, and asked him with great—perhaps excessive—curiosity, what this should mean that the Golden Fleece be included in Your Most Serene Majesty's coat of arms though you should not have it. The chancellor responded otherwise, hitherto unknown, that Your Most Sacred Majesty had been already elected in Barcelona (at the previous meeting of the Order in 1519), and that it was to have been sent you. So then, I suspect (to remedy the situation), His Imperial Majesty has charged me with notifying Your Most Sacred Majesty, and a little while ago sent the Lord of Hoogstraten in Brabant (Count Antoine de Lalaing, a counsellor of Margaret's and also a knight of the Golden Fleece) to carry the order to Your Most Sacred Majesty with all ceremony and I don't know what else, so that unless something goes wrong, it should be brought to you. I said that I didn't know anything about any of this, but (was just finding out) by way of the decorated candle and the way that the chancellor explained it. In any case and notwithstanding, His Imperial Majesty wished for me to be sure of making this know to Your Most Serene Majesty." (*In die Purificationis praeterito vocaverat maiestas caesarea ad processionem et sacra omnes oratores excepto portugalensi et cuilibet dedit cereum album cum armis sui principis, mihi etiam datum fuit cum depicta aquila Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae, quae in circumferentia habuit pictam cathenam auream cum vellere aureo. Unde veniens ad cancellarium, ut fortassis nimium curiosus, interrogavi, quid hoc sibi velit, quod vellus aureum in armis Serenissimae Maiestatis Vestrae esset depictum, et Maiestas vestra illud non haberet. Respondit cancellarius, quod aliud hic non sciretur, cum Maiestas Vestra Serenissima sit adhuc in Barchinone electa, quam quod illi esset missum. Proinde, ut suspicor, in eadem mea expeditione maiestas caesarea mihi iniunxit, quod Maiestati Vestrae Serenissimae dicerem dudum fuisse domino de Hochstraten in Brabancia commissum, ut vellus aureum cum debitis ceremoniis mitteretur Serenissimae Maiestati Vestrae, neque sciret aliud, quam quod iam illud Maiestas Vestra deferret et quod iterum velit committere, si forsan negligentia aliqua intervenisset, ut omnino ad Maiestatem Vestram portaretur. Dixi ego, quod hac in re mihi nulla esset a Serenissima Maiestate Vestra commissio, sed quod sic cum pictura in die Purificationis accidisset et quod igitur velut obiter dominum cancellarium fuissem allocutus. Voluit nihilominus maiestas caesarea, ut de hoc Maiestatem Vestram Serenissimam certiorem fecerem.*)

Ceremonial displays were meant to assure the members of court that the political situation was stable, while shifting relationships should have been and were negotiated behind the scenes, often over lunch. This was the daily work of diplomacy. Official audiences were infrequent, and letters home were dispatched only every few weeks. Working on those letters and gathering material to put into them filled Dantiscus's days. One example of Dantiscus's meeting with different people to get closer to the truth happened as he was passing through Venice on the way to Spain. Having heard of a dramatic Habsburg victory over the French (from the imperial, Austrian, and Milanese ambassadors), he tracked down the French ambassador "once in church, and twice at the doge's table" (*diebus una et in ecclesia et bis in prandio apud ducem*) who assured him that French losses were greatly exaggerated and that reinforcements were coming from Switzerland.[633] In fact, it was the first report that was correct and the French ambassador was putting a good face on terrible loss; Dantiscus, however, not knowing the true version, was diligently gathering all versions of events.[634]

The importance of gathering political information cannot be understated. French defeats at Milan, and soon after in Pavia, helped determine Polish policy in a moment when Sigismund, seeing that he might never get Bari from Charles, was considering a French rapprochement. In 1524, Sigismund was negotiating French alliance and double-marriage—a Jagiellon son and

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[633] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund, May, 28, 1524, from Venice (IDL 209): "News came yesterday, told me by the ambassadors of the Emperor, Duke Ferdinand (Habsburg), and (Duke Francesco Sforza II of) Milan, that there was a battle not far from Navarre in the direction of Savoy, in which the French viceroy, the Admiral (Guillaume Gautfier Signeur de Bonnivet) was gravely wounded, and one of his principal captains, (Pierre Terrail de) Bayard, was killed along with many others. They say this is because many of the French deserted during this battle, and ammunition and war machines have been captured, and more good news is expected soon. I sought out the French ambassador to hear the opposing view—we saw him once in church and twice at the table of the doge—who said that these news were exaggerated, that it was not so great a battle, that many two machines were lost in a river, that the admiral was wounded from afar, and indeed the captain was killed, but that no other equipment was lost, and that reinforcements are coming from Switzerland. Nor was it possible for French soldiers to desert, said he, without far greater trials and hardship than they could experience at the hands of the Milanese. Nor did he seem to be telling me this with anything like suffering or irritation." (*Venerunt huc nova pridie, quae mihi caesaris, ducis Ferdinandi et Mediolanensis oratores dixerunt, quod non procul a Navarra versus Subaudiam fuisset caesareorum et Gallorum conflictus, in quo vicerex Gallorum Almirantus graviter fertur vulneratus et quidam nomine Baiardus, de primis illorum capitaneis, cum multis aliis occisus, dicuntque ex eo congressu magnam Gallorum multitudinem desiderari, omnes munitiones et tormenta esse capta et reliquos versus Galliam temonem flexisse, insequi cum illorum clade caesareos, expectarique in dies meliora nova haec illi. Contra ego etiam ab oratore regis Galliae quaesivi—fuimus enim iis diebus una et in ecclesia et bis in prandio apud ducem. Ille fatuitates esse dicebat has novitates longeque alias quam illi assererent, nullumque fuisse conflictum generalem, sed in quodam fluminis transitu, ut fit, duo fortassis tormenta fuisse relicta et quod inter speculandum iste Almirantus eminus ex parvo tormento vulneratus et alter capitaneus occisus fuisset, quodque omnes copiae et aliae munitiones salvae essent et integrae expectarentque in horas nova tam ex Gallia, quam ab Helvetiis praesidia, brevique aliud quam id, quod hic caesarei fabularentur, futurum. Neque fore possibile, quod umquam rex et regnum Franciae statum Mediolanensem deserere possent, priusque omnia extrema experiri, quam ab hoc statu reprimi. Non tamen visus est mihi citra magnum animi dolorem et citra stomachum ista dixisse.*)

Another interesting part of this letter is Dantiscus's description of the Venetian ceremony of the "Marriage of the Sea" in which the doge boarded a galley to throw a wedding ring into the waves. It is a tradition that continues to the present (these days carried out by the mayor).

[634] Mallet and Shaw, 146-148: Of the 2,200 men-at-arms and 36,000 infantry by "one report" in the French expedition against Milan, only 350 men-at-arms and 4,000 "evaded death or capture during this campaign and made it back to France." However, even though the emperor pressed his advantage into France, it came to nothing, after "Francis brought a powerful army to Avignon, while the invasion force came to a halt in mid-August besieging Marseilles," and Henry VIII failed to invade Picardy.

daughter with their Valois counterparts—that mirrored the Habsburg-Trastámara arrangement that gave Charles both Spain and Burgundy, and the Habsburg-Jagiellon one that made Archduke Ferdinand king of Bohemia and Hungary after Mohács.[635] Between Venice and Spain, Dantiscus even traveled to Lyons to meet with Antonio de Rincón, a Spanish exile who had been on the wrong side of the *Comuneros* Revolt. Rincón entered French service an was later envoy to Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania.[636] Sigismund's affinity for Ferdinand Habsburg's Hungarian rival, John Zápolya (who was also Sigismund's brother-in-law and his son-in-law) made this project entirely feasible. Dantiscus personally admired French court and King Francis, who "pleased me wonderfully, not only because he is so refined and civilized, but because he is so interested with my Serene Lord (Sigismund), taking his heart into consideration," and was proud to consider the French mission a "feather in his cap." Yet, all the while, Dantiscus did not waver in his personal inclination to the "imperial party," and if the "winds were changing," he preferred to "furl up his sails."[637] The point became moot after Francis became Charles's prisoner in 1525. After he was released by Charles, Francis resumed hostilities and dispatched Antonio de Rincón to Constantinople to pursue a Franco-Turkish Alliance in 1527. While this was no problem for Sigismund, it was abhorrent to Dantiscus, his ambassador, who by that time had developed a philosophy of Christian world empire out of his collaboration with Gattinara and his secretary, Alfonso de Valdés.

Gathering Intelligence and Making Diagnoses

Finally, in addition to reporting on political events of all kinds—diplomatic, military, nuptial, etc.—ambassadors kept an eye on the health of the important actors. So often the political fate of a state depended on the life and well-being of its prince and of the prince's heirs. The end or transformation of a ruling family in world of chiefly dynastic states brought important changes. If John, the Prince of Asturias (son of Ferdinand and Isabella, husband of Margaret of Austria) had lived longer or had a son, Charles would not have been king of Spain. If Henry VIII would have had a son by Catherine, there would have been no English Reformation. If Mary Tudor had lived longer or had a son by Philip II, a Habsburg England might have returned to the Catholic Church. Or even if Sigismund's first wife, Barbara Zápolya, had not died suddenly, Bona Sforza would not have become queen, and Dantiscus would have never gone to Spain. Scenarios as these had resounding repercussions and Early Modern ambassadors reported them faithfully.

In the 1524 and 1525 Dantiscus commented on Charles's troubles with quartan fever (*quartana*, a malarial condition that on a four day cycle, two were torment—"crucifixion," Dantiscus thought—and the other two the fever went into remittance).[638] At times, the emperor would not

[635] Setton, 312.
[636] Setton, 312-313.
[637] Johannes Dantiscus to Nicholas (Mikołaj) Szydłowiecki, November, 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 222): "*Magnificentia Vestra me faventem partibus Caesaris semper cognovit; hinc fuit, quod nulla inter me et dominum Antonium Rinconem erat consuetudo, cum autem nunc video mutari auram, et ego vela contraham. Placuit mihi mirum in modum christianissimus rex Galliae cum propter illius personae praestantiam et humanissimos mores, tum etiam, quod illum res serenissimi domini mei summopere cordi habere agnovi, et si secus evenerit quam speramus, et ego capiti meo cristas imponam."*
[638] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, February 7, 1525, from Madrid (IDL 232): "He has been suffering long enough, vexed by the quartan fever, that a little earlier he was doubled over; for two days he is in torment

receive anyone, sometimes withdrawing to a monastery. [639] Even in the periods of remission, he could be too weak to undertake court business.[640] Dantiscus was frustrated that he was not making progress to lift the emperor's sequester on the Bari inheritance, but of course he could not help empathizing for the emperor, a "good youth who was so badly stricken with this disease."[641]

Gout, called "the disease of kings" because of its association with rich food and drink, oppressed the emperor later in life with inflamed and painful joints.[642] Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara, who turned 55 in 1520, "succumbed to an attack of gout (*podagra*) for the first time." It was also partially a hereditary disease, and Gattinara was surprised to have because "no one in his family had been vexed (*vexatus fuerat*) with it.[643] His political memoir illustrates the impact of this disease on his political work:

(crucified), and for two days it goes away." (*Maiestas caesarea adhuc ista, quam iam satis longo tempore patitur, quartana vexatur, paulo ante duplicatam se fecit, hoc est duobus diebus cruciabatur et duobus aliis remittebatur.*)

[639] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, October 3, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 217): The Emperor "these pervious days withdrew twenty miles (five leagues) because he was suffering with quartan fever and did not speak with anyone." (*superioribus diebus ad quinque miliaria discessit, et hanc illius quartanam, qua laborat, causam esse ferunt, quod adhuc in colloquium non admittor*)

Mercurino Gattinara to Johannes Dantiscus, October 10, 1524, from Tordesillas (IDL 219): The emperor "has in fact been occupied with quartan fever today and is not giving any attention to business of any kind." (*sequenti vero die, qui est dies occupationis quartanae, nullis negotiis locus detur*.)

Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, November 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 5807): "There have been many obstacles (to meeting with the emperor), first of all because he has the quartan sickness, a terribly difficult and wearisome relapse, so that he taking care of any business, even his own (unless it is urgent), and has withdrawn to a solitary retreat at the Cathusian monastery twelve miles (three leagues) from here, as far as his mother (Joanna of Castile) in Tordesillas. (*Quae habuit multos obices, in primis caesareae maiestatis aegritudinem quartanam, quae ita morosam et taediosam illius maiestatem reddebat, quod etiam propriis negotiis (et non parum urgentibus) omissis se in locum solitarium contulit, ad Cartusienses, tribus abhinc miliaribus et deinde ulterius ad matrem in Tordesillis.*)

Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I and Bona Sforza from Madrid, December 18, 1524 (IDL 5807): "His Imperial Majesty is fighting quartan fever as before, a difficult and wearisome ordeal; it is such that his Lorship the Doctor cannot make it go by any faster." (*Maiestas caesarea quartana, ut prius, laborat, in expeditionibus morosa et difficilis, quo factum est, quod dominus doctor citius expediri non potuit.*)

[640] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March 16, 1525, from Madrid (IDL 240): "His Imperial Majesty is free of the quartan fever, yet he is still feeling so weak that he doe not want to undertake any business." (*Maiestas caesarea deserta est a quartana, sed tamen adhuc debilis multum, nullis negotiis vult occupari.*)

[641] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, November 12, 1524, from Valladolid (IDL 5807): "*Non potui certe non condolere huic bono iuveni sic male hac aegritudine affecto.*"

Demonstrating that quatrain fever was a terrible affliction in the Mediterranean long before the sixteenth century, Suetonius gives evidence from his biography of Julius Caesar with the episode of Caesar moving from hiding place to hiding place to evade Sulla's spies *even though* he was oppressed with this fever: "*et quamquam morbo quartanae adgravante prope per singulas noctes commutare latebras cogeretur*." (Seutonius, *Vitae XII Caesarum*, I.1.2.)

[642] Today medical scholarship shows that, while food and drink may exacerbate these conditions, they are caused by uric acid in the blood from a kidney problem. Melissa Hendricks, "Defining What Causes the 'Disease of Kings'", Johns Hopkins Medicine (2010), on http://www.hopkinsmedicine.org. For a cultural history of this disease, Roy Porter and G. S. Rousseau's, *Gout: The Patrician Malady* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

[643] Gattinara, *Vita*, in Boone, 95-96

Latin original in Carlo Bornate's edition in *Miscellanea di storia italiana,* Vol. 48 (Torino: Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, 1915), 231-585, this section on 283.

On the subject of evidence suggesting "that some people were genetically prone to gout," see Hendricks.

> The continuous insomnia caused him a great deal of pain. Indeed, the intensity of the gout (*fuit tamen tanta ipsius podagre acerbitas*) forced him to miss the official coronation [at Aachen, on October 26, 1520]. Nor could he fulfill his functions as grand chancellor until the Diet of Worms [which began on January 28, 1521]. He had gone from Aachen to Cologne, and then sailed down the Rhine to Mainz, where he finally recovered.[644]

Such onsets would continue plague Gattinara from time to time, interfering with his work at court. In 1527, at the age of 62, he spent a month in bed in Genoa surrounded by hostile French agents.[645] In 1528, his illnesses compounded, and he was compromised "not only from gout but also from fever and dysentery," which delayed his travels and later forced him to advise the emperor from bed.[646]

The health of adversaries and rivals was important too. More than any of Dantiscus's deft political advocacy, it was the sudden death of Charles de Lannoy of a fever that released the Bari inheritance for Queen Bona. Because such biological contingencies had great political consequences, it was the duty of the diplomat (often dovetailing with his gossip-mongering tendencies) to report all he could learn. This is why Dantiscus chose to write about his suspicion that Thomas Wolsey, at that moment an ally of his, was suffering from syphilis—an observation shared by no one else and probably erroneous.[647] But even such an error reveals something of the society in which it was made.

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[644] Gattinara, *Vita*, in Boone 95-96, cf. Latin original taken from Bornate, 283.

[645] Gattinara, *Historia Vite et Gestorum*, in Boone 125 (English translation), cf. Bornate, 350-351 (Latin original). To escape from Genoa without detection from the French, as Gattinara relates the story, after his recovery, he pretended to continue to suffer from gout (*fingens se podagra correptum*) for three days while he quietly arranged a nocturnal escape. Winds forced him to Corsica but they ultimately reached Barcelona. (Boone, 127; Bornate, 353.)

[646] Gattinara, *Historia Vite et Gestorum*, in Boone 131 (English translation), cf. Bornate, 362 (Latin original): "*non solum podagra sed febre et disenteria gravato.*"

[647] Admittedly, historical puzzles about taboo subjects are tough to solve from primary source accounts. Sometimes, however, historians have more tools at their disposal, including forensic evidence as in the case of a recent study of the dentition of mummified nobles in Naples. Gino Fornaciari has found from the teeth of Bona Sforza's mother, Isabel of Aragon, that she suffered from a vereal illness, information that would have never found its way into a letter. See Gino Fornaciari, "The Aragonese mummies of the Basilica of Saint Domenico Maggiore in Naples." (2006), http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/18175625, and "Noble Secrets" (2013), a popular science article relating the same findings, http://spark.sciencemag.org/the-thousand-year-graveyard/4.

Chapter 4: Architects of Empire

Dantiscus's great achievement in the service of the Polish monarchs was to secure the income of Queen Bona's Neapolitan duchy of Bari from the emperor. It took him more or less a decade to do it and he worked diligently during the second half of the 1520s when he was resident ambassador in Spain. These years were also intense for other reasons. First, the Ottoman empire had advanced from the Balkans (Belgrade, 1522) to the Hungarian plane (Mohács, 1526) and even the gates of Vienna (1529). With the death of Louis II Jagiellon at Mohács, Charles V's brother (and eventual imperial successor), Ferdinand Habsburg, became king of Bohemia and Hungary. Secondly, the defeat of Francis I at Pavia (1525), his imprisonment in Spain (until 1526) the Sack of Rome (1527) and the Treaty of Cambrai (1529) made the Emperor Charles the unquestioned victor in the Italian Wars, leading to Clement VII's reassessment of his posture, and the imperial coronation in Bologna in 1530. In broader terms, these events inaugurated two centuries of Spanish-Roman alliance and mutual cooperation, and allowed Spain to look outwards. With a pacified Italy, Charles turned to the Ottomans, the Lutherans, and his empire in the New World. It would grow into a "messianic imperialism," marked by towering ambition and confidence, that transformed Charles, his court, his territories, and the parts of the world that his power reached.[648] Neither Spain nor its leadership was the same at the end of Dantiscus's time there as it was at the beginning. And because he had spent so much energy courting the courtiers on behalf of Queen Bona, Dantiscus was changed as well.

Dantiscus was lobbying Chancellor Gattinara and, in the process, gaining the friendship of Gattinara and people in his circle like Alfonso de Valdés and Cornelius de Schepper. Like him they were Renaissance humanists and dedicated admirers of Erasmus of Rotterdam. Where he could, he made himself useful to them and adopted a political philosophy very sympathetic to theirs. But, just as many things changed in this turbulent decade, so did Dantiscus's political philosophy. He arrived a northern humanist and dedicated Erasmian in a Spain whose elite shared his views. But, in the Sack of Rome, a hardening took place that is visible in the writings of imperial apologist and Dantiscus's closest friend, Alfonso de Valdés: the conciliatory pacifism of Christian humanism was replaced with a view of Charles wielding God-given *imperium* without compromise. After the imperial coronation, the new Caesar was ready to realize his world empire, and Dantiscus had become his advocate. This chapter describes the friendship that Dantiscus cultivated with other courtiers and the political fruits that it yielded.

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[648] This elegant phrase is Geoffrey Parker's from *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*; speaking of Charles's son, Philip II, Parker describes a *"passionate faith encouraged the adoption of over-ambitious goals and created a sort of 'messianic imperialism' that proved to be, at one and the same time, one of the greatest strengths and one of the greatest weaknesses of his Grand Strategy" (75). John Headley uses the word "messianic" to describe Gattinara's humanism in "Rhetoric and Reality: Messianic Humanism and Civilian Themes in the Imperial Ethos of Gattinara" in M. Reeves ed. Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 214-69.*

Dantiscus and his Social Circle

Historians see through a glass darkly, and behold a blurry and partial picture; for every thing a historian manages to finds out, there are ten he cannot discover.[649] We know that Dantiscus paid three ducats per week in rent in Valladolid but not the layout or location of his home, his interactions with his servants and neighbors, or the sights and sounds that awaited him outside his front door. While a flood of information is instantly available for present-day Valladolid, the flood becomes a stream and then a trickle the further back one looks.[650] To get an idea of daily life, one can draw on literature. The picaresque *Lazarillo del Tormes* reveals the food to be found in a typical Spanish house because the comic protagonist was continually in want of it. A decent home might have "bacon hanging in the fireplace hood, some cheese lying on a shelf or in a cupboard, a basket with some bread left over from the previous night's table."[651] (It is a story possibly very close to Dantiscus's "Spain" and more than previously thought because there is a current argument in Spanish literary scholarship that *Lazarillo* was written around 1530 by Alfonso de Valdés, instead of 25 years later by an anonymous author as was previously believed.[652]) Lazarillo describes other foods, and details about daily life, including breaking down his straw bed for the day and the reconstituting it in the evening before literally hitting the hay.[653] As with the German inn, literary and graphic sketches of the Spanish home give cultural historians and idea of real life, but one can never be sure how closely they fit into the actual life of the object of inquiry, in this case Johannes Dantiscus.

Other details are so universally true that they apply to all categories of the society. This map of Valladolid (below) is from nearly a half century later than when Dantiscus resided there, but still conveys the importance of this royal city with its towers (ecclesial power) and its closeness to the countryside. Here were the rural roads that Dantiscus and Gattinara rode along in their predawn journeys to see Charles V.

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[649] St. Paul, 1 Cor 13:12 *"videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate*"

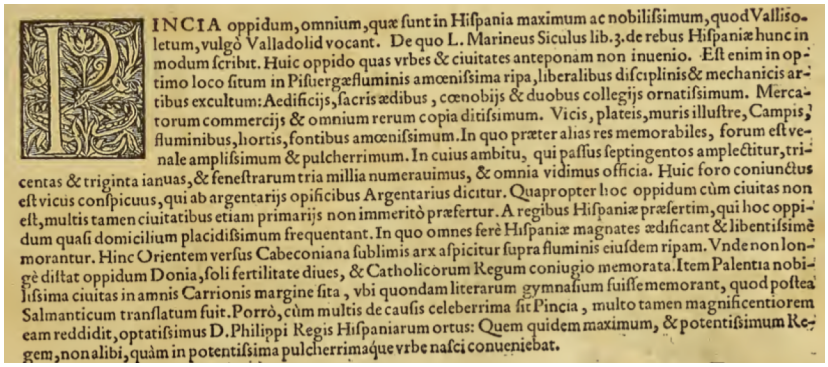
[650] Instantly available are today's Valladolid newspaper (http://www.diariodevalladolid.es/), announcements from the Valladolid Police (http://www.valladolid.es/es/ayuntamiento/notas-prensa) and the store fronts and citizens in the streets in the accurate still life that is *Google Maps*.

[651] *Lazarillo del Tormes,* ed. trans. Stanley Applebaum (Mineola, New York: Dover, 2001, orig. Burgos: Juan de Junta, 1554), 30: *"*y en toda las casa no había ninguna cosa de comer, como suele estar en otras: algún tocino colgado al humero, algún queso puesto en alguna tabla o en el armario, algún canastillo con algunos pedazos de pan que de la mesa sobran."

[652] Rosa Navarro Durán, "Alfonso de Valdés, autor del *Lazarillo de Tormes*," *El Ciervo* (Año 52, No. 626, May 2003), 20-21; Rosa Navarro Duran, "Introduction" to *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2016); cf. http://blog.cervantesvirtual.com/la-vida-de-lazarillo-de-tormes-ya-tiene-autor/; Antonio Alatorre, "El *Lazarillo* y Alfonso de Valdés," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, T. 52, No. 1 (2004), 143-151.

[653] *Lazarillo*, ed. Applebaum, 40.

Frans Hogenberg's engraving of Valladolid (fig. 4-1, above) with George Braun's description (fig. 4-2 below) in their Civitates Orbis Terrarum *(Cologne: Agrippina, 1572). The city was beautifully situated on the charming banks of the Pisuerga, developed in liberal education and mechanical arts (*liberalibus discipulinis & mechanicis artibus excultum*), and enjoyed buildings, churches, monasteries, and schools of both civil and church law of the highest distinction (*duobus collegijs ornatissimum*). There was commerce and riches, houses, streets, and city walls; there were fields, rivers, gardens, and fountains all of surpassing loveliness. The king of Spain frequented this his city as if it were his most pleasant home (*quasi domicilium placidissimum frequentant*) and so this is also where his magnates preferred to build and to live.*[654]



INCIA oppidum, omnium, quæ sunt in Hiſpania maximum ac nobiliſſimum, quod Valliſoletum, vulgò Valladolid vocant. De quo L. Marineus Siculus lib. 3. de rebus Hiſpaniæ hunc in modum ſcribit. Huic oppido quas vrbes & ciuitates anteponam non inuenio. Eſt enim in optimo loco ſitum in Piſuergæ fluminis amœniſsima ripa, liberalibus diſciplinis & mechanicis artibus excultum: Aedificijs, ſacris ædibus, cœnobijs & duobus collegijs ornatiſsimum. Mercatorum commercijs & omnium rerum copia ditiſsimum. Vicis, plateis, muris illuſtre, Campis, fluminibus, hortis, fontibus amœniſsimum. In quo præter alias res memorabiles, forum eſt venale ampliſsimum & pulcherrimum. In cuius ambitu, qui paſſus ſeptingentos ample˜titur, tricentas & triginta ianuas, & feneſtrarum tria millia numerauimus, & omnia vidimus officia. Huic foro coniun&ctilde;tus eſt vicus conſpicuus, qui ab argentarijs opificibus Argentarius dicitur. Quapropter hoc oppidum cùm ciuitas non eſt, multis tamen ciuitatibus etiam primarijs non immeritò præfertur. A regibus Hiſpaniæ præſertim, qui hoc oppidum quaſi domicilium placidiſsimum frequentant. In quo omnes ferè Hiſpaniæ magnates ædificant & libentiſsimè morantur. Hinc Orientem verſus Cabeconiana ſublimis arx aſpicitur ſupra fluminis eiuſdem ripam. Vnde non longè diſtat oppidum Donia, ſoli fertilitate diues, & Catholicorum Regum coniugio memorata. Item Palentia nobiliſsima ciuitas in amnis Carrionis margine ſita, vbi quondam literarum gymnaſium fuiſſe memorant, quod poſtea Salmanticum tranſlatum fuit. Porrò, cùm multis de cauſis celeberrima ſit Pincia, multo tamen magnificentiorem eam reddidit, optatiſsimus D. Philippi Regis Hiſpaniarum ortus: Quem quidem maximum, & potentiſsimum Regem, non alibi, quàm in potentiſsima pulcherrimaque vrbe naſci conueniebat.

In the fall of 1527, when Dantiscus and Valdés were already friends, the emperor moved his court from Valladolid where the plague had broken out to first Palencia and then Burgos.[655] Dantiscus's difficulties in finding a place to live in Valladolid were repeated in Palencia. The laws of supply and demand favored the landlord when a great number of free-spending (if impoverished) courtiers came to town, though Valdés did his best to coordinate with his friend. Valdés offered Dantiscus help in getting a place to stay and, soon after, offered to share his

[654] This volume is at the John Carter Brown library and is available as a digital reproduction from *archive.org*: https://archive.org/details/civitatesorbiste00brau.

[655] Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *Diario del Emperador Carlos V: Itinerarios, Permanencias, Despachos, Sucesos, y Efemérides de su Vida* (Madrid: Hidalguia, 1992), 187-189. The following year, the court would continue eastward to Aragon, then to Madrid. The end of 1528, they would be back to Toledo, heading eastwards again to reach Italy in the second half of 1529, which had been the emperor's long-held desire (189-207).

own.[656] In offering to make arrangements for Dantiscus, Valdés was keeping his friend close to enjoy his company and collaboration.[657]

Since the beginning of their friendship, Dantiscus had helped Valdés with his writing. His humanist Latin training and decades of literary production made him useful to the young Spanish secretary, and the amount of time he had on his hands in the diplomatic waiting game meant he was available. Most of all, Dantiscus wanted to ingratiate himself with a man who was in the position to put his case before imperial eyes at a favorable moment. Valdés was Gattinara's man, and Dantiscus knew that Gattinara was his best chance for achieving his mission. Although a letter from Juan de Valdés indicates that his brother Alfonso was friends with Johannes Dantiscus before he was imperial secretary, the first extant letters between them were from 1526 when they were collaborating on diplomatic writing.[658] Dantiscus and Cornelius Schepper were both helping Valdés with Gattinara's *Apologia* to Pope Clement VII, a response to the pontiff's accusation that the emperor was hostile to his authority.[659] Valdés sent Dantiscus copies of his works-in-progress for review, later asking for them back.[660] They also shared knowledge, as, for

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[656] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, from the end of September or beginning of October 1527 (IDL 5742): "It is a nice place, a little off the road, remote even, about four leagues from Palentia and five from this place, and besides I hear its very lovely." (*Sitius loci nimium placet, est enim remota ab itinere, distans quattuor leucas a Palentia et quinque ab hoc oppido, praeterea audio locum esse amoenissimum.*) He was probably in Villamediana which is ten miles from Palencia and where Charles stayed before Palentia and again after (Cadenas y Vicent, 188). The second example is from Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus from Palencia, September 12, 1527 (IDL 5745): "I have found a pretty comfortable lodging which I would share with you when you come here if that were useful to you." (*Nactus sum hospitium satis commodum et quod tibi, si quando huc venire contigerit, usui esse poterit.*)

[657] Another example comes a month later when Valdés wrote that he found a place for Dantiscus in Burgos so that they could be neighbors: "*curabimusm ut sit tibi domus nostrae proxima.*" (Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus from Palencia, October 7, 1527, IDL 5749). In his next letter, Valdés expressed worry that if Dantiscus did not join him, Valdés would be unable to enjoy his company or, "what is worse," even to help him in the relocation: "*privamur itaque tua consuetudine et, quod gravius fero, tibi adiumento esse non possumus in re adeo minima.*" (Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus from Palencia, October 8, 1527, IDL 5789).

[658] Juan de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, January 12, 1533, from Bologna (IDL 5812), writing in the year after Alfonso's death: "And also now, as I think of you along with my brother, Alfonso de Valdés, whom fate so tragically snatched away from us, and with whom you began a friendship even before he had a position with the emperor [….]" (*Nunc autem, cum meminerim te cum fratre meo Alfonso Valdesio, qui infoelicissimo quodam fato nobis ereptus est, priusquam illum apud caesarem locum nactus esset, amicitiam iniisse* [….])

[659] The papal brief was issued on June 23, 1526 and Gattinara's *Apologia* was published on October 17 of the same year in Granada. (Axer and Skolimowska, 30-37, 131 n. 3) Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus from Granada, August or September, 1526 (IDL 5740): "I have received permission from his lordship the chancellor to make changes to his *Apologia* so long as I keep it substantively the same. But I really do not want to attempt such a thing unless your lordship and or his lordship Cornelius should come to help me, a thing which I would like to see happen as soon as possible." (*Impetravi a domino cancellario, ut possim in sua* Apologia *aliquid immutare, dummodo maneat substantia prout est. Ego vero nollem quicquam tentare, nisi vel Dominationis Vestrae, vel domini Cornelii adesset auxilium, hoc tamen, quanto citius fieri posset, factum vellem.)*

These early letters are notable also for the formal language the young secretary was using with Dantiscus; very soon after this, they would come to prefer a more familiar and cordial pattern of address.

[660] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, September 17, 1526, from Granada (IDL 5785): "If your lordship has not yet finished making a copy, I will send one along or else a replacement." (*Si Dominatio Vestra nondum perfecit exemplum, ego illud vel aliud mittam*.) A little later (undated, IDL 5776), Valdés asked him to return a "refutation of the French defense" (*ad nos redeat una cum refutione Gallicae defensionis*).

example, when Valdés was writing to Erasmus who was in conflict with Spanish friars, he asked Dantiscus for a copy of a certain "shameless Franciscan booklet."[661]

When they were at court in the same place together, their cooperation was greatest, but of course the letters were very few.[662] Many of these 72 letters are really notes, arranging a lunch meeting, or acting as a cover sheet for some text. After their first few letters, Valdés and Dantiscus started using familiar salutations instead of the verbose honorifics customary at court. Valdés usually opened his letters with "Greetings" (*Salutem.*) and closed them with "Farewell" (*Vale.*) and/or "Yours, Valdés" (*Tuus, Valdesius.*), or the more playful "Yours, such as he is, Valdés" (*Tuus, quantus est*, or, *Tuus, quicquid est*). Dantiscus did the same. Unfortunately, the conversation is rather one-sided: of the 72 letters that have been preserved, Valdés was the author of 66 and Dantiscus only six. The Polish ambassador, or those who came after him, apparently did a better job of record-keeping than the Spanish secretary.

Their letters show candor and trust. Early on, Dantiscus sent Valdés a "hymn" that was so entertaining as to give the secretary a welcome break from his tedious work, but also scandalous enough that he could not leave it lying around; instead, he promised to copy it by his own hand and then to burn the original.[663] What could this have been, if not a jab at some court rival? Dantiscus circulated his *Pasquillus* among his close friends which was a growing collection of biting epigrams (named for the tradition of a Roman statue, *il Pasquino*, who 'spoke' through anonymous placards affixed to his pedestal), and Valdés, serving as Dantiscus's accomplice, claimed to be "covered" in requests for it from "all over Spain."[664] At one point, Valdés, the

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[661] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, late August, 1528, from Granada (IDL 5751): "It seems all of my friends think a shameless Franciscan booklet should be sent to Erasmus [….] If you have this book, and you do not have use for it, I ask if you could send it to me, for I have not been able to get one." (*Videtur omnino amicis omnibus impudentem illum libellum Franciscanum mittendum esse ad Erasmum* [….] *Libellum praeter eum, quem penes te habes, nactus sum nullum, quare, si tibi usui non est, rogo, ut ad me mittas.*)

[662] Between October 1527 and October 1528, we only have two letters between Valdés and Dantiscus, one in May and one in August. Between June of 1529 and April of 1530 (i.e. during the trip to Bologna) there are only three letters and their dates are uncertain. Another gap appears between April and August of 1531. Such breaks in correspondence simply mean that the two friends could see each other face to face.

[663] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, September or October, 1526, from Granada (IDL 5741): "Immortal God, how much I owe you, my Dantiscus, who refreshes me with a new delight right when I am overwhelmed with tiresome affairs. Never—so help me Hercules!—have I seen anything more right on as this your poem (*tuo hymno*). I will not entrust it to the secretary, but I will make a copy for myself by my own hand and then burn the copy you sent." (*Deum immortalem, quantum ego tibi debeo, mi Dantisce, qui molestissimis negotiis obrutum recreas novis subinde deliciis. Numquam, mehercle, quicquam hoc tuo hymno vidi rectius accommodatum. Amanuensi non committam, sed meapte manu descriptum, quem misisti, igni tradam.)*

[664] Jerzy Axer and Anna Skolimowska, "Introduction: 4.6.2. Pasquillus," in *Corpus Epistolam Ioannis Dantisci, Pt. 2, Vol. 3,* 57-58; Anne Reynolds, "The Classical Continuum in Roman Humanism: The Festival of Pasquino, the Robigalia, and Satire," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, T. 49, No. 2 (1987), 289-307.

Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus from Granada, October to December, 1526 (IDL 5762): "Do you not see what a tragedy your *Pasquillus* has stirred up for me? Many letters from all over Spain overwhelm me until my house is itself a Pasquillus," i.e. papered over. (*Viden, quam mihi tragoediam excitaruis cum tuo Pasquillo? Volitavit ille per totam Hispaniam multorumque litteris obruor, quasi domi habeam Pasquillum.*) Despite this claim, Skolimowska notes that we do not have any extant written requests for Dantiscus's *Pasquillus* directed to Valdés (Axer and Skolimowska, 137 n 3).

younger man, even took it upon himself to hold back one of Dantiscus's letters to Gattinara, having judged it ill-tempered or ill-considered.[665]

Figs. 4-3a, 4-3b and 4-4: The image in the center (Fig. 4-3b) is the 1531 painting by 'an associate' of Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen of 'a man' who is almost certainly Alfonso de Valdés. In his hand he is holding a medallion (Fig. 4-3a, left) of Mercurino Gattinara who was made cardinal in 1529 and died in 1530. To the right (Fig. 4-4) is the c. 1540 Portrait of Cornelius Duplicius de Schepper *by Ambrosius Benson; it is half of a connubial diptych.*[666]

In addition to these confidences and collaborative efforts, Valdés and Dantiscus—and also Cornelius Schepper—were united in their loyalty to Chancellor Gattinara. They called him "the old man" (*senex*) and "Nestor" in their letters, and worried about his enemies at court.[667] In one letter, Schepper wrote to Dantiscus that he was drawing up an astrological horoscope for Gattinara using Dantiscus's method.[668] Gattinara was true believer in the astrological arts and their prophetic potential.[669] In the same sequence of letters (during Schepper's travels with Gattinara in 1527), Schepper expressed his worry that Dantiscus was feeling lonely surrounded

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[665] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, May 11, 1528, from Palencia (IDL 100): "The letter which you sent to the chancellor, I have decided to hold on to, lest in your agitation you not have the chance to give it further consideration." (*Litteras, quas ad cancellarium dedisti, retinui penes me, ne in his te commotum plus satis inspiceret.*)

[666] The first two images are NG2607 at the National Gallery in London, taken from www.nationalgallery.org.uk; the third one is from the Art Gallery of New South Wales, www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au.

[667] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, October 10, 1527, from Palencia (IDL 5744): Valdes saw his environment to be "full of the shameless machinations against the Old Man" (*impudentissimis machinationibus in meum praesertim senem plena omnia*), and Cornelius Schepper had reported from Puente Duero, February 22, 1527 (IDL 3809) that their "Nestor was deeply agitated by news from Italy"—i.e. that Spanish and German troops were quarreling. (*Heri ita permotum fuisse hunc nostrum Nestorem ob nova Italica.*) These were military tensions that would play into the Sack of Rome months later.

[668] Cornelius Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, June 27, 1527, from Genoa (IDL 355): "I have laid out the arrangement of the chancellor's birth, using the most certain methods, to see what the coming year will hold for him. But there have been so many interruptions and inconveniences from traveling (from being on the road and in lodgings), that I haven't been able to do more beyond laying it all out." (*Digessi genituram cancellarii inveioque certissima taione maxima quaeque anno sequenti illi portendi. Tanto tempore ob multas interruptiones incommoditatesque itinerum hospitiorumque nihil aliud facere potui adhuc manum ultimam apposui.*)

[669] This is visible in his revelatory dream in his *Oratio Supplicatoria* (see above). Also, Professor Boone writes: "Fellow courtiers in Spain scoffed at his penchant for astrology and obscure prophecies." (3).

by so many Spaniards (*inter Hispanos*) and hoped that they would see each other soon, which might be taken as either a playful jest or a tender concern, or a little of both.[670]

Finally, a few unguarded gibes—priceless moments of transparency—also made it into the letters. In these instance, the friends displayed their shared rakish humor on the subject of drinking, as when Schepper joked to Dantiscus that their friend Nicholas Nibschitz (c. 1483-1541, Polish diplomat in Prussia) had such bad handwriting because he was drunk when taking up the diplomatic pen.[671] They also referred sometimes to the liberties that they allowed themselves to take in the company of women; such letters are a look into the privileged club of sixteenth-century courtiers. When Dantiscus was in the town of Dueñas (literally 'the Ladies' with the denotation of ownership, as in 'the Proprietresses,' from Latin *dominae*), Valdés wished him joy of the "wells" of that town, a bawdy pun playing on Latin *puteus* and Spanish *puta*.[672] When Dantiscus was in Valencia the following year, Valdés admonished him to remember his mission and not to be detained by the charms of the local girls.[673] Valdés was knowingly wagging his finger at the senior Dantiscus; his banter pretended at moral rebuke but was in fact mirthful. A few years later, as the court traveled to Germany for the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, Valdés suggested that Dantiscus organize a party, and that they invite the important secretary and counsellor, Francisco de los Cobos, but also reminded his friend that los Cobos could not "endure a party without girls."[674] In case Dantiscus was feeling too old to make the arrangements himself, he might entrust the job to the "youthful and beardless" Schepper.[675] Valdés's next letter again pressed for this gathering, jokingly and with overly courteous language, saying that it fell to Dantiscus because, imperial vice-chancellor and bishop of Constance, Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch, had forgotten to do it.[676] It was no obstacle that the men involved were priests—

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[670] Cornelius Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, June 27, 1527, from Genoa (IDL 355): "For I do not doubt but that it is a hard thing for you to be all alone over there among the Spaniards, with so many friends having been sent away, without whom we lose our love of life. Nevertheless, I hope that we will get together in the future either over there or in some other place." (*Nam non dubito, quin tibi grave sit soli illic esse inter Hispanos, cum tot amiseris convictores, sine quibus tibi vitae medietas deperit. Spero tamen futurum, ut aliquando aut istic, aut alibi iam quarto conveniamus.*)

[671] Cornelius de Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, May 25, 1529, from Brussels (IDL 430): "A letter arrived from Nibschitz but no one can read it because, as usual he does, he was indulging in his strong wine as he was writing. (*Litterae huc a per ab Nyptzichz missae pervenerunt, quas nemo novit legere, nisi id tantum constat, quod mero indulgens scripserit.*)

[672] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, October 1, 1527, from Palencia (IDL 5748): "*Intera vale felicissime cum tuis puteis."*

[673] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, May 18, 1528, from Sagunto (IDL 5750): "Good bye and take heed!—lest you be lured in by the enticements of the Valencian girls and stay there too long." (*Vale et vide, ne puellam Valentinarum illecebris allectus diuius istic maneas.*)

[674] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, June or early July, 1530, from Augsburg (IDL 5788): "I would also like to make your mind known to (i.e. invite) his lordship los Cobos right away, although you know the man cannot endure a party without girls." (*Ceterum domino Covos tuam animi promptitudinem significabo, tametsu scias hominem non passurum, ut convivium absque puellis fiat.*)

[675] Ibid.: "And should you be unable to promise such a thing, old man that you are, you might therefore delegate this affair to his lordship Cornelius who is youthful and beardless." (*Quare, tu senex si illas pollicere non potes, id negotii domino Cornelio manda, iuveni et imberbi.*)

[676] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, July, 1530, from Augsburg (IDL 5783): "The charge has been given me by his lordship los Cobos to inform you that the most reverend and indeed most illustrious prince and his most excellent lordship, his lordship the Bishop of Constance (Imperial Vice-Chancellor for Germany, Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch), my most favored lord, has forgotten all about the promised party with girls in attendance that he was supposed to arrange and disappointed us in our expectation, then you yourself, Your Lordship, might

Dantiscus had just been elevated to bishop a month prior, a rank shared by Merklin—who were to be arranging this female company. (That clerics were not expected to be chaste in this period is well understood, and letters like this are corroborating evidence of a long-established historical trope. They also help the modern reader understand the shock that Pope Adrian VI had provoked, he that had been Charles V's tutor, minister, and friend, when he insisted on higher a level of chastity and transparency for the clergy immediately after his elevation to the pontificate.[677]) We can make guesses about these parties, remembering Dantiscus's description of how exiled Danish King Christian II tried to take advantage of pretty girls he had invited to dinner. And the tone of Valdés's letters indicates a venial, even customary, expectation of indulgence and misbehavior. It is not hard to imagine how traveling in royal service, spending public money eating and drinking, contributes to this culture for young, successful men. It was part of the courtier's life. Balthasar Castiglione wrote, assigning the words to Milanese diplomat Cesare Gonzaga, that there is "no courtier, no matter how graceful, pleasing or bold, who can ever perform gallant deeds of chivalry unless inspired by the loving and delightful company of women," nor can any discussion of the courtier reach its potential "unless ladies take part in it and contribute their share of the grace by which courtiership is adorned and perfected."[678]

But there was another side to Dantiscus. Back in Valladolid, he had put together a family life for himself. Not in the company of women (plural), but with one companion, Isabel Delgada, with whom he had two natural children, Juana Dantisca and Juan Dantisco. Valdés and Schepper were a part of Dantiscus's family circle; they often attached their greetings to his Isabel and the children. Schepper referred to her simply as 'yours' (*tua*, i.e. 'your lady'), and Valdés called her

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nevertheless accomplish it." (*Iniunctum est mihi a domino Covos, ut tibi edicerem, quod cum reverendissimus nec non et illustrissimius princeps et excelentissimus dominus, dominus Constantiensis, domius meus gratiosissimus oblitus est convivii nobis cum puellis promissi suamque fidem fefellerit, id ipsum per Dominationem Vestram, quamquam est, exsequatur.*)

[677] In one report to King Sigismund, back in 1522, Dantiscus reported the news from Antwerp (IDL 163): "Then after this with great celebration, he (Pope Adrian) was brought into the City (Rome) for all to see in the traditional ceremony and was crowned. And it was exclaimed by all, "Long live Pope Adrian VI, the restorer of the City and the World!" (*urbis et orbis restaurator*). And then, a short time after his coronation, he made a decree that no one was to dare go about armed (in the city) lest he be one of the pope's servants for whom it is permitted; and all of the clergy who have a dedicated benefice are to go around wearing the corresponding vestments, so that they be observant (of their obligations). And that no cleric hereafter was to wear a beard. And he prohibited as well, under heavy penalty, that no cleric's girl (mistress) should go about in men's clothing (disguised). For, it is written about Rome, that there are many a young lass (*plurimae puellulae*) that go about dressed like this and kept for pleasure." (*Et quod deinde cum omnium summo gaudio in urbem sit introductus et publice cum caeremoniis consuetis coronatus exclamatumque ab omnibus "Vivat Adrianus papa sextus urbis et orbis restaurator." Et quod paulo post coronationem constitutionem in urbe fecerit, quod nemo cum armis ire audeat, nisi sit de his officialibus et eorum servis unus, quibus est permissum, quodque omnes clerici et beneficiis addicti vestibus huiusmodi incedant, quae in sacris constitutos spectant. Et quod nemo clericorum, cuiuscumque status sit, barbatus deinceps videatur. Prohibuit etiam sub gravibus poenis, ne quisquam clericorum puellam in masculinis vestibus incedentem habeat. Nam ut hoc scriptum est ex urbe, erant plurimae puellulae, quae a primis de statu spirituali et ab aliis etiam hoc vestitu in deliciis habebantur.*)

[678] Castiglione, 210. Later Gaspare Pallavicino makes a related argument, that women are the source and motivation for bold and creative men, 256.

either 'the lady Isabel' (*domina Isabel*) or, in one case, "Isidi."[679] (Dantiscus called her "Isis."[680]) The most creative was Balthasar Merklin's appellation of "*commater ,*" a Latinization of the Spanish word *comadre* meaning a godmother or close female friend who acts as an additional parent for a child; it is a name women call each other in maternal solidarity. Merklin however used the word in an original way to mean 'the mother of your children' who is not necessarily also 'your wife.'[681] While he lived in Spain, Dantiscus included Isabel and the children in his social life; and one detects no embarrassment in the connection. This hospitality was reciprocated; when Dantiscus was in Bruges, Schepper's wife (Schepper was not a priest) invited him to a family dinner, emphatically and with promises of cordial hospitality.[682] The image of cavalier bachelors going from *convivia* to *convivia* is tempered by this second picture of domesticity and participation in each other's family lives.

However, Dantiscus's loyalty to his Isabel cooled when he left the country; he did not take care of his Spanish family from a distance. He neglected Isabel's repeated appeals, even (or especially) after the death of their little son in 1530.[683] At the same time, he honored his

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[679] Cornelius von Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, May 17, 1527, from Barcelona (IDL 343), from Genoa, June 27, 1527 (IDL 355) and again, July 17, 1527 (IDL 357), and from Mechelen, May, 21, 1528 (IDL 406). In the June 17, 1527 letter from Genoa, Schepper sent 3000 kisses for her hands: "If you should come upon his most illustrious lordship the margrave (Skolimowska suggests this is Johann Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bishop of Halberstadt) with the nuncio of the Virgin, deign to bestow upon their hands 300,000 kisses, and the same amount if you should see the vice chancellor (Balthasar Merchlin), also in my name (i.e. another 300,000 kisses), and another 3000 for your lady (*et tuae alias 3000*). And happily farewell." (*Si advenerit illustrissimus dominus marchio cum nuntio Virginis, impartiri ipsi dignabere 300000 bezola-manos, totidem et reverendo domino vicecancellario meo nomine, et tuae alias 3000. Et vale feliciter.)*

Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, January 16, 1529, from Toledo (IDL 421) and February 14, 1529 (IDL 425). It is the second letter in which he wrote, "Give Isidi and the children (*proles*) my words of greeting." (*Isidi cum prole meis verbis salutem dices.*)

[680] Johannes Dantiscus to Alfonso de Valdés, February 1, 1527, from Valladolid (IDL 5771): "Isis and the whole family fondly kiss your hands and pray that all may go well for you. Good bye." (*Isis cum tota familia manus tuas exosculatur atque omnia tibi fausta precatur. Vale.*) Whether this diminutive of 'Isabel' was also a reference to the Egyptian goddess of desirable feminine characteristics—marriage, maternity, wisdom, health—we can only speculate. Egyptian polytheism was not part of the classical humanist tradition but it was not unknown either. Machiavelli, for example, wrote a version of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses of Lucius* or *The Golden Ass*, second-century CE Hellenistic romance that ends with the protagonist finding salvation in the Cult of Isis (see Marina Warner, "Egyptian Attitudes," in *Stranger Magic* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011], 104-105; Niccolò Machiavelli, *The [Golden] Ass*, [*L'Asino*], in *Machiavelli: The Chief Works and Others*, Vol. 2, Allan Gilbert, trans., [Durham: Duke University Press, 1989], 750-772).

[681] Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch to Johannes Dantiscus, October 7, 1527, from Palencia (IDL 375): "May your whole family together with your *commater* and your daughter be very well, and always continue to thrive." (*Quae una cum commatre et filia totaque familia bene valeat, ea semper praecipiet*).

[682] Elisabeth Donche to Johannes Dantiscus, June 19, 1531, from Bruges (IDL 3514): "if you decide to come to Bruges you will be very welcome here and all of my house will be yours to command. I hope you find good company among us; we will do our best to entertain you. My sister also humbly greets your grace; she sends along oysters, the best that can be had, and the most fresh." (*que estes delybere de venir a Bruges ou vous serrez le bien venu et la maijson et tous se quil y a dedens est a vouster commandement. Jesspere, que trouverez bone compaignie, quil ferront leur mieulx pour vous entertenir. Maseur se recommande humblement a vouster bone grace et elle envoieroijt des huitres, mais elle ayme mieulx que les venez queirir icy, il serront pluz fresches.*)

[683] Isabel Delgada only wrote to Dantiscus after he left for Italy, so we cannot read her words from the time when their relationship was new and full of promise. Her first letters (IDL 3830 and IDL 3810, December 31, 1529 and April 21, 1530, both from Valladolid) give good report of the children and explain how her resources are running out, especially for medicine. A year into Dantiscus's absence, Isabel was complaining that he never wrote to her anymore, perhaps because he had forgotten her and his children ("*yo le scrito otras cartas muchas y nunca me a*

friendships with Valdés and Schepper and other humanists—men who still remained friends to Isabella, or at least in her imagination.[684] Her letters were filled with greetings and news of Dantiscus's friends: it was a more subtle reproach of him for his poor treatment of her to remind the father of her children that she was personally—socially, not just biologically—connected to him.

Before Dantiscus's departure, demonstrating some prescience, Valdés promised to take care of Isabel and her children in any way that Dantiscus asked.[685] Valdés's words were not intended for the moment of writing—since Dantiscus was then with his family and Valdés was writing to them from 150 miles away in Toledo—but for a later time, when Dantiscus would be gone from Spain, headed back to Poland (by way of Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands). The offer illustrates the intimacy of their friendship, both because Valdés was a familiar figure in their family circle, and because he understood that a time was coming when they would need a protector, a role that he could credibly assume out of loyalty for his friend and concern for his dependents. Had it been otherwise—had Valdés either felt social distance or else some amount of disapproval of his friend, the priest, fathering children out of wedlock only to abandon them—it would have been easy to write nothing on the subject. But Valdés loved Dantiscus and understood that such was the relationship available to Dantiscus within the constraints of his career and station in life. (It is further interesting that Dantiscus, when he later became a powerful bishop, would condemn the same behavior. One of his subordinate canons—none other than Nicholas Copernicus—lived with a "housekeeper" whom Bishop Johannes Dantiscus drove out of town in his effort "to improve the moral and intellectual life of the Catholic clergy of his bishopric."[686] For his own part, Dantiscus gave no outward sign of regret, but seemed content

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querido ymbiar respuesta. No sé si lo haze que tiene olvidados a sus hijos y a my con ellos." IDL 3832, June 2, 1530, from Valladolid.) After the death of the two-year-old Juan, Isabel's letter reveals her fear of an insurmountable distance between them when she assures him the boy's death was "not sweet" to her and that he could confirm this by writing to *any of his friends* who could report on how she carried herself in her anguish ("*Señor, por otras cartas avrá sabido el gran trabaxo que pasé con su hijo i cómo Dios me le quiso llebar; bien podrá Vuestra Señoría creher que no se fue dulze su muerte, que los señores y amigos de Vuestra Señoría me desconocen por ver el sentimeniento que en mi rostro a hecho la muerte de aquel niño.*"); she asked if she and the daughter might visit him wherever he was, "for the briefest possible visit" (*por esso le spulicmos que lo más breve que ser pudiere*) though the humility of her supplications leads the reader to imagine she knew it was unlikely. (IDL 3846, January 16, 1531, from Valladolid).

[684] Isabella sent her greeting to Schepper and congratulated him upon his marriage ("*Al señor Cornelio le beso las manos y que me plaze mucho de su casamiento,"* IDL 3810, April 21, 1530, from Valladolid); Valdés, she reported, was growing prosperous and she prayed for his continuous success since he was so dedicated to Dantiscus ("*el señor Baldés está muy próspero, pero plega a nuestro Señor que le guarde pues que quiere tanto a Vuestra Señoría.*" IDL 3835, May 7, 1531, from Valladolid).

[685] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, January 16, 1529, from Toledo (IDL 421): "Turning again to your lady, the Lady Isabella, please give her my extended greeting, to her and the children, whom if I can help in any way, they will easily obtain it from me, whatever you ask." (*Tu vicissim dominae Isabellae plurimum meis verbis salutatem imperti una cum prole, quibus si quid mea opera opus est, facilius impetrabis, quam petes.*)

[686] Segel, 179-180 and 187.

In his later writings, Dantiscus took up the subject of moral decline. In *Ionas Propheta* (1535, Appendix 4), he condemned the people of Gdańsk for the looseness of their mores. In his *Vita* (1534, Appendix 3), he channeled Ecclesiastes to lament the uselessness and vanity of earthly pursuits, advocating instead putting these aside to pursue matters of the soul (esp. ll. 100-115), and then gave didactic exposition modeled on the *Sermon on the Mount* (ll. 120-130).

Dantiscus was not alone. His contemporary, Cricius (Andrzej Krzycki), who began his career writing Neo-Latin bawdry for the *Bibones and Commedones*, expansively on the subject of brothels (where "splendid Venus is

with his intellectual and political connections, and also with a fondness for his dogs.[687] As for Isabel and Juana, the daughter went on to marry the humanist Diego Gracián de Alderete, 1494-1586, and have a son, Lucas Gracián Dantisco, 1543-1587, who would also be a writer, and a friend of Miguel de Cervantes.[688])

Dantiscus, Valdés, Schepper, and Gattinara himself were united in work and friendship. They collaborated on their writing, reviewing and editing each other's work. They coordinated their movements when traveling, and ate together when in town. One thing they had in common was their humble origins and advancement through education and work at the courts of Europe. They were also all outsiders—commoners and foreigners, in a culture dominated by Burgundian and Castilian aristocrats. Valdés, of course, was from Cuenca in Castile, and so not geographically a foreigner, but he came a Jewish *converso* family which put him in the same category.

Finally, they, like many others, were admirers of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536). The name of Erasmus was a coin with wide circulation in 1520s Spain, and many powerful men participated in its currency. Gattinara and Valdés used Erasmus's vision of Christian peace to justify all of Charles's efforts against his fellow kings in Europe—he was bringing order to the house of Christendom. Gattinara and Valdés also elaborated on the plan, transforming the role of Holy Roman Emperor into a pastoral commander who could unite the crowns of Europe into crusade against the Turks. This was not Erasmus's goal at all, but the Spanish political writers had their own ideas. The shift is especially visible in the court propaganda of Alfonso de Valdés after the Sack of Rome in which imperial forces unequivocally brought the papacy to heel. At the same time, court historian, Bishop Antonio de Guevara (1481-1545) who wrote *The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius* (1528) and *The Mirror of Princes* (1529), both dedicated to Charles V and both very widely influential (reprinted many times in many languages), emphasized the

worshipped regularly"), would later write *The Complaint of Religion and Commonwealth* to express his grief "over the abuses of those within the church" and "disdain for any moral authority." (Segel, 194-196, Krzycki's "Epitaphium Gonney Zoffka," and 223.)

[687] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigmund von Herberstein, July 16, and September 3, 1532, from Sitzendorf an der Schmida (in Lower Austria), and Herberstein to Dantiscus, August 5 and 22, 1532, from Vienna (IDL 6253, IDL 827, IDL 813 and IDL 819, respectively), contain an exchange about a female English mastiff (*Canis Anglicus magnus*) which he calls "*cane mea"* or diminutively "*canicula*" which Dantiscus had lost in transit and Herberstein was helping him recover; Dantiscus was planning to breed her to his other dogs of the same kind (*Sunt mihi eiusdem generis, quos mari ex Antverpia misi, alii canes, cum quibus illus multos alios propagaret.*)

[688] Fernando Guevara to Johannes Dantiscus, July 12, 1537, from Valladolid (IDL 1673) and Johannes Dantiscus to Fernando Guevara, November 16, 1537 (IDL 1771): although Dantiscus knew the young man and presumably was glad to have him for a son in law he was displeased not to have given his consent before the event could take place (though it is hard to imagine how this could have happened since he was not communicating to his Spanish family); nonetheless, he resolved not to oppose the union and the will of God ("*Quod, quamvis non accedente permissione et consensu nostro coierit, non admodum tamen cum sic superis placueritit, adversamur"*).

classical Roman authority in Charles's *imperium*.[689] (Dantiscus was friends with Guevara's brother, Fernando, Commander of the Order of Santiago and counselor to Charles.[690])

Building on Erasmian ideals, members of Charles's circle like Guevara, Gattinara, and Valdés, and also like Dantiscus with his *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva* (1529) and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda with *Cohortatio ad Carolum* (1529), developed a vision for a modern crusade against the Ottoman Empire (and these are the topic of the next chapter). The inaugural moment of this venture was the imperial coronation at Bologna in February of 1530. That the vision was catching on is evident in the 1532 treatise *Commentario delle Cose de Turchi*, dedicated to the emperor, by the papal physician, historian, and courtier Paolo Giovio (1483-1552).[691] Together, these writers were putting the rhetoric of the 'holy' and the 'Roman' back into Charles's empire. The imperial spirit was thus both the result of and the rebuttal to the conciliatory Christian humanism of the past.

The Long Shadow of Erasmus

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam published his annotated Greek New Testament (*Novum Instrumentum Omne*) in 1516, even as Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros (1416-1517) was presiding over the realization of his Complutensian Polgyglot Bible project. When he saw Erasmus's work, Cardinal Cisneros invited the famous Dutch humanist—"a good theologian, well learned in Greek and in Hebrew, and an elegant Latinist"—to Spain.[692] The near-simultaneous publication of their translations gave some cover to Erasmus, the independent scholar, from potential critics in the Catholic church who did not see any reason to revisit St. Jerome's Vulgate bible.[693]

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[689] Dandelet, 88-92; Michael Mezzatesta, "Marcus Aurelius, Fray Antonio de Guevara, and the Ideal of the Perfect Prince in the Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 66, No. 4 (Dec., 1984), 620-633.

Guevara's Aurelian sources were invented by him, so he was playing the Renaissance "forgery game" that illustrates the great authority of classical sources (even when no real ones were available) underpinning the ideal of the Roman Emperor; that Guevara chose Marcus Aurelius instead of Julius Caesar shows his desire to give a model of not only conquest, but of sober (stoic) governance, with good judgment over and clemency for his people (Dandelet, 89-90; Mezzatesta, 624)—not a tyrant, but a benevolent, desirable, and pastoral 'world emperor.'

[690] It was Fernando Guevara who wrote write to Dantiscus years later to tell him that his daughter, Juana, was engaged to marry the young humanist Diego Gracián de Alderete—see note 41, above.

[691] Dandelet, 104-108.

[692] Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne: Recherches sur l'hostoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1998, orig. 1937), 78: "bon théologien, fort docte en grec et en hébreu, et élégant latiniste," Bataillon quoting Cardinal Cisneros without giving a citation for the source.

[693] "It is extremely important," explained Erasmus in a preface to his *Annotations* on the New Testament some years later, "if only to make the Greek commentaries more accessible, to have a Latin translation of both Testaments that is based on the reading of the Greek" instead of merely following the established Vulgate. "I attempted this in my New Testament, being the first to do so, and met with considerable hostility. His Eminence Francisco, cardinal of Spain, met with more success and less hostility when, with much effort and expense, he performed the same task for both the Old and New Testaments. I thought I should mention this; it might quieten the barking from certain quarters, which would be a great blessing for Christendom." (Erasmus of Rotterdam, "To the Pious Reader," Ep 1789, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Vol. 12, 466-467.)

Fig. 4-5. Opening of the Gospel of John from a 1536 edition of Erasmus's Novum Instrumentum Omne (*online at* archive.org). Fig. 2 *A 1523 portrait of Erasmus by Hans Holbein (now at the National Gallery in London, L658,* nationalgallery.org.uk*).*

1516 and 1517 marked his growing popularity in Charles's Spain, but the humanist scholar had long been famous throughout Europe for his *Adages* (1500), *Handbook for a Christian Soldier* (1503), *In Praise of Folly* (1511), and *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), as well as his translations of classical and patristic works and other commentaries. He expounded a philosophy of Christian humanism, the active piety of God's children turning to their creator and finding liberation from their sinful nature.[694] He honored learning, introspection, and humble piety—putting internal change over external forms—without challenging the structure and order of the church. It was a literal *reformation* from within the church and not the territorial and political separation that 'Reformation' would come to signify. And after Luther initiated the spiritual secession to divide Northern Europe, Erasmus sought to steer a middle course hoping to bring the opponents back together, which only earned enemies for Erasmus from both directions. By the time Dantiscus was ambassador in Spain, Erasmus was fighting with Luther, Zwingli, and conservative Catholic theologians in Paris and Louvain.[695]

In the Spanish kingdoms, however, Erasmus continued to have many friends in the church who, though a minority of Spanish ecclesiasts overall, constituted an influential and very powerful elite.[696] And once Erasmus's Latin works were translated into Castilian, they became more

[694] Bataillon, 81.

[695] Charles G. Nauert Jr., "Preface" in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Vol. 12: *Letters 1658 to 1801, January 1526-March 1527* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), *xi-xiv.* Erasmus, living in Switzerland (Basel), argued continuously with Zwingli and his Sacramentalist followers (opposed strictly to all sacraments). Erasmus and Luther published opposing tracts on the theology of man's will (Erasmus arguing it to be free in *De libero arbitrio*, and Luther considering it to be constrained or bonded in *De servo arbitrio*, and man's choices were predestined), an exchange that became, especially from Luther, personal and "scurrilous" (*xiii-xiv*). No amount of Protestant invective against Erasmus, however, satisfied Noël Béda, an "implacable" Catholic theologian at the University of Paris and his civil epistolary style "soon degenerated in to a thinly veiled hostility" (*xiv*).

[696] These included the Archbishop of Toledo, Alonso de Fonseca (1475-1534), and the Inquisitor General, Alonso Manrique de Lara (1476-1538), who was in a position to simply order Erasmus's critics (especially the mendicant preachers dedicated to structures of their monastic orders) to be silent (Nauert, *xx-xxi*). They also included other theologians and influential officials in the circles of these mighty churchmen such as Juan de Vergara was secretary of Archbishop Alfonso de Fonseca of Toledo and then Cardinal Cisneros and finally chaplain of Charles V;

widely accessible.[697] Thus his reputation continued to grow, reaching its peak in the late 1520s, just when Dantiscus was at the Spanish court with Erasmus's greatest adherents. "Those who want me to go to Spain," Erasmus wrote in a 1526 letter to Thomas Wolsey, "assure me there is no place where the name of Erasmus is more respected, whether among kings or princes of the church of the high priests of letters."[698]

Erasmus was gentle as a dove in promoting Christian humanism and pacifism, but wise as a serpent in navigating the world of cultural patronage—aristocratic, episcopal, even royal and papal. He had dedicated his New Testament to Pope Leo X, his *Education of a Christian Prince* to the young Archduke Charles (not long after king of Spain and Holy Roman emperor).[699] When Erasmus's appeals to Christian brotherhood could not pacify his most virulent detractors, the theologians of the Sorbonne, his direct petition to the royal authority of Francis I did.[700] Charles V protected Erasmus from Catholic enemies at the university in Louvain, part of Charles's Burgundian possessions, and Pope Clement ordered members of the church to hold their criticism of Erasmus while he was fighting against the Protestants.[701] He also cultivated patrons among rich merchants, for example King Sigismund's German financier in Cracow, Seweryn Boner, who sent his sons to study with Erasmus.[702]

While the principled Erasmus hated lying, his letters show that he was tactful and selective in his approaches to those whose approval could bring him greatest benefit.[703] In two letters to Charles V and Mercurino Gattinara in September of 1527, Erasmus did not say a single word about the

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Maldonado of Bonilla was a humanist scholar at Salamanca and an administrator for at least one Spanish bishop; Alfonso Ruiz de Virués was a Benedictine prior and theologian in Salamanca and later court preacher to Charles V; Pedro Juan Olivar was a Valencia humanist close to Gattinara in Valladolid and later served the bishop of Lièges (in the Habsburg Netherlands); Luis Nuñez Coronel was Inquisitor-General Manrique's secretary (Nauert's introductions and notes to Erasmus's Epp 1684, 1742, and 1791, Nauert 110-112, 316, and 476, 477n6; cf. Skolimowska, *Correspondence between Johannes Dantiscus and Alfonso de Valdés,* 29).

[697] Alonso Fernández de Madrid, the Archdeacon of Alcor (1474-1559), promoted his translation of Erasmus's *Handbook for the Christian Soldier (Enchiridion militis Christiani)*, by saying, "At the Court of the Emperor, in the towns, in the churches, in the monasteries, even in the inns and on the roads, everyone now has the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus. Hitherto it was only read in Latin by a few scholars, who did not always understand it; now it is read in Spanish by men of all conditions, and those who had previously never heard of Erasmus now know him through this one book." This English translation comes from Elliott's *Imperial Spain,* 161, and he takes the quotation from Bataillon's *Érasme et l'Espagne* (Elliott's footnote cites page 326, but this is an error—the quotation is found on 302 of the French version, 1998 reprint of the 1937 original, and 280 of the Spanish translation, *Erasmo y España*).

[698] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Thomas Wolsey from Basel, April 25, 1526 (Ep 1697 in Nauert's *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Vol. 12: *Letters 1658 to 1801*). The context here was Erasmus responding to an invitation by Thomas Wolsey to return to England with "promises of generous treatment" (172) to which Erasmus replied that he was too ill to move—he suffered from stomach pain, urinary problems and calculi (*xi-xii*) which Thomas More called "the torments of the stone" (415)—so that his "poor body" was so "fragile that a change of bed or a draft" was a danger to him. Erasmus then named other places, in addition to Spain, he was welcome, including Adrian's Rome, Francis's France, Ferdinand's Austria, and Sigismund's Poland (through Andrzej Krzycki) (172-173).

[699] Bataillon, 79.

[700] Nauert, *xv*: Francis ordered Béda's book to be recalled, and there is an unverified version of events in which Béda himself had to go around Paris collecting the unsold copies to be destroyed.

[701] Ibid., *xvi-xvii.*

[702] Louthan, 25.

[703] Erasmus, *Compendium of Life* (1524), 12 [writing of himself]: "His character was simple, and so averse to lying, that even as a child he hated any boys that had that habit, and in his old age the very sight of such persons caused him a shudder."

catastrophic Sack of Rome that had started in May. To Charles he only expressed "immense gratitude" for support against his enemies together with wishes that "your sovereign power, which vanquishes and subdues the most powerful of kings, may have equal authority and efficacy in quelling the disorders brought about by certain wicked men."[704] To Gattinara, he gave thanks for "the support of the emperor, of yourself, and of those like you" which allowed him to "throw myself into the breach" against the "Lutheran revolt" and what other enemies may come.[705] He saw the benefits of having a strong emperor and said so: "I cannot express in words how much I desire that to the other outstanding success of our invincible emperor be added that of restoring under his auspices concord to the two states"—i.e. the religious and the political "republics" (*ut eius auspiciis utrique republicae sua redeat concordia*)—"For this evil requires someone divinely appointed for the task."[706] Such a 'someone' could drive all the crowned heads of Europe into united action against heretics and infidels, which, as Erasmus knew very well, was the desire of Gattinara and his circle.[707] But was this truly what Erasmus believed? The answer is not black or white.

While Spanish courtiers embraced the aggressive Ghibelline, imperial version of Erasmus, the Poles had a very different one. And while Poland-Lithuania is thought to be the eastern periphery (or "polar north") of Europe, in its Erasmian connection, it was in the center. Erasmus enjoyed great influence with his two dozen Polish correspondents, most of whom had direct access to the royal court, with a total 95 extant letters.[708] Erasmus wrote to the king himself, his chancellor

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[704] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Charles V from Basel, September 2, 1527 (Ep 1873, trans. Charles Fantazzi) in *Collected Works of Erasmus,* Vol. 13 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 301-302.

[705] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Mercurino Gattinara from Basel, September 1, 1527 (Ep 1872, trans. Charles Fantazzi) in *Collected Works,* Vol. 13*,* 301.

This support was manifested in Charles and Gattinara's letters to theologians in Louvain and in Spain. Charles was also personally supportive, as in this letter from Granada on August 4, 1526 (Ep 1727): "We hope that your detractors, who stubbornly oppose all those who are interested in good literature and genuine piety, will cease at last to yelp at your heels and learn that the emperor stands by you as a man strong in every branch of learning and in true piety, and that he will defend your honour and reputation as he does his own [….] Please amid all your labors, look after your health – for we were sorry to hear that you have been very ill and in great pain. You can expect from us all the favours of an excellent prince." (However solicitous and thoughtful the emperor's words, it should be noted that he was nonetheless very much in arrears to pay a promised stipend to Erasmus—something quite common in all sectors of service.)

Evidence of the effects of this support can be seen in Gattinara's letter to the theologians at Louvain from Valladolid, in early February of 1527 (Ep. 1784A), calling their attacks on Erasmus "evidence of jealousy" and "an offence against religion"; Gattinara gave them this warning (which, because it immediately threatened revenue, Nauert judged to be more effective than Charles's general warnings, based on a letter from Maximilianus Transsilvanus to Alfonso de Valdés, 452): "My hope, now that you have received this sincere and confidential admonition, is that you will take thought for the dignity of the emperor, the peace of the community [*republicae ... tranquillitatis*] (and especially your own province), and the honour of the faith of your celebrated university. If I find that these considerations have carried some weight with you, I shall count it a great favour, and I shall use whatever influence I have to promote your interests and those of your university."

Erasmus expressed his thanks to both Charles and Gattinara in a letter to Valdés (from Basel, March 31, 1527, Ep 1807).

[706] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Mercurino Gattinara from Basel, September 1, 1527 (Ep 1872, trans. Charles Fantazzi) in *Collected Works,* Vol. 13*,* 301. I add here the original Latin text from Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. 7, 158.

[707] During the Diet of Augsburg (1530) Erasmus and Gattinara (before his death) shared the hope of bringing reconciliation to the fractured German empire (Louthan, 30).

[708] George H. Williams, "Erasmianism in Poland: An Account and an Interpretation of a Major, Though Ever Diminishing, Current in Sixteenth-Century Polish Humanism and Religion, 1518–1605, *The Polish Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (1977), 8; Glomski, *Patronage*, 20-21, and also Glomski, "Erasmus and Cracow (1510-1530)" *Erasmus of*

and vice-chancellor, scholars at the university, bankers and merchants, and Cracow printers.[709] Many of these relationships were vertical, Erasmus flattering the king and his great financiers, or younger humanists trying to catch the eye of the illustrious genius, but there was sincerity in them too. Particularly with Tomicki (vice-chancellor to Sigismund, chancellor of the University of Cracow), Erasmus enjoyed an equal relationship: they were the same age and of comparable fame; their long correspondence reveals a true mutual understanding.[710] That Tomicki was such a mentor and patron for Dantiscus, contributes to Dantiscus's particular regard for Erasmus. Though only two letters survive between Dantiscus and Erasmus, both from 1532, they must have exchanged many more.[711] When Dantiscus was a bishop, he had a Hans Holbein portrait of Erasmus in his study and Erasmus had a bust of Dantiscus.[712] Erasmus wrote about the bust with rhapsodic praise for both Dantiscus and his sculpted likeness:

> Truly I see you suddenly in your entirety, you whom I long for, Illustrious Prelate, for your mind and your talent are here in the likeness of this statue (*simulacrum*). Here is the integrity, the radiance, the piety, and the extraordinary erudition (*erudationemque non vulgarem*), that I can see in your poetry, but now, along with them, I can look at you as if into a mirror. Your face and your expression and in them, in large part, your great and resplendent spirit (*relucentem animum*), are all marvelously represented in the image of plaster (*gypso*) portrayed with such singular art.[713]

Significantly, as Erasmus's fame began to wane in the 1520s and 1530s, and he began to receive increased criticism from German Protestants, French and Netherlandish Catholic theologians, and Spanish friars, he continued to enjoy great support among the Polish elites: it was not until four years after he died (1536) that the first anti-Erasmus tract would be printed in Cracow.[714]

A letter that Erasmus wrote to King Sigismund I in 1527 was also published as a treatise on kingship, containing advice on wise governance.[715] It has a very different tone than the letters he wrote to Charles V and Gattinara. Here, Erasmus congratulated Sigismund on his military victories beyond the borders of Europe—a "recent brilliant victory over the Scythians"—but he

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Rotterdam Yearbook, 17 (1997), 1-18; Kenneth F. Lewalski "Sigismund I of Poland: Renaissance King and Patron," *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 14 (1967), 69-70; Louthan, 20-21.

The Letters of Erasmus from 1527 include correspondence with the royal chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki; Dantiscus's patron, vice-chancellor Piotr Tomicki; Dantiscus's friend and primate of Poland (Archbishop of Gniezno), Andrzej Krzycki; the previous chancellor and previous primate, Jan I Łaski; his son, Jan II Łaski; and the English humanist at the University of Cracow, Leonard Cox (*Correspondence of Erasmus,* Vols. 12 and 13).

[709] Louthan, 23-24.

[710] Ibid., 21, 26-27.

[711] Fontán and Axer, 304 (letter 62, note 1): Valdéz first brought Dantiscus to Erasmus's attention in a letter on November 23, 1527 from Burgos.

[712] Louthan, 21.

[713] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Johannes Dantiscus, April, 30, 1532, from Freiburg im Breisgau (IDL 5808): "*Nae tu mihi tui cupientissimo te totum ἀφθόνως exhibuisti, Praesul Ornatissime, nam mentis ingeniique tui simulacrum, hoc est integritatem candorem pietatem eruditionemque non vulgarem in carminibus epistolisque tuis haud secus atque in speculo contemplari licet, oris autem habitum et in hoc quoque magna ex parte relucentem animum mire repraesentat imago gypso singulari artificio expressa.*"

[714] Louthan, 32.

[715] *Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami Epistola ad Inclytum Sigismundum Regem Poloniae* (Cracow: Mattias Scharffenberg, 1527).

praised him more for making peace, even with barbarians.[716] "War is sweet to those who have not tried it," Erasmus told Sigismund, invoking an adage he would repeat and expound upon many times in his literary career.[717] This was a diametric contrast to the common Renaissance view that winning wars brought glory to a monarch more than anything else.[718] "Nothing brings a prince more prestige," wrote Machiavelli, "than great campaigns and striking demonstrations of his personal abilities."[719] In this letter, however, the Dutch pacifist praised Sigismund for his reticence, namely for not trying to add territories to his possessions by striving for the crowns of Norway and Hungary, even though he was within his rights to press some claims to each of these. And Sigismund's restraint was not just a flattering invention of Erasmus; Dantiscus drew on the same reputation when, in an early moment of friction with Gattinara, he had made a similar claim. After the Battle of Mohács, when the Hungarian king fell without an heir, in the expansionist chancellor asked Dantiscus whether Sigismund intended to claim his fallen brother's thrones in Hungary and Bohemia. The ambassador replied that while such pretension was well within his king's hereditary rights, Sigismund was, however, a wise king and more than content to rule within his borders, "and not *like some other monarchs* who would like to take over the whole world."[720] It was a sensitive question for Dantiscus, and one of the few instances where Polish and Spanish-Imperial interests were not compatible for him. Dantiscus went so far, in his own letter to Sigismund, to report that he detected in the Habsburgs a greater appetite for dominating Hungary than for fighting the Turks.[721]

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[716] Peace with the Muscovites brought "the general tranquility of your kingdom and the sparing of Christian blood," and even with those Scythians "who are more like wild beasts than men," Erasmus applauded Sigismund for a willingness, even preference, to make a pact so long as they "cease making savage raids upon your borders" (*libenter etiam cum Scythis foedus initurus, nisi ferae potius quam homines, non desinerent sceleratis incursionibus vexare ditionem tuam*).

[717] "*Dulce bellum inexpertis*" is the phrase that Erasmus repeated here, later the title of his meditation on the topic, and is attributed originally to the Greek poet, Pindar (522-443 BC).

[718] Richardson, 5, 36-62.

[719] Machiavelli, *The Prince,* George Bull, ed., 119.

[720] Nowak, 133: "*Jeśliby tak nawet było, jego królewska mość mogła to słusznie uczynić, lecz wiem, że będąc najrozumniejszym władcą, zadowala się swoimi granicami i nie ma tyle zarozumiałości co inni monarchowie, którzy by cały świat zając chcieli*." (It is regrettable that Nowak does not give the source of this exchange. In English, it would be: "Even if it were so, his Majesty could rightly do this [claim the crown], yet I know that he, being so wise and prudent a ruler, is pleased with the limits of his kingdom, and does not have the conceit of some other monarchs who would desire the entire world.")

[721] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, December 6, 1526, from Granada (IDL 318): "And also we received the unhappy news of the the destruction of the King of Hungary, he who was most serene and of glorious memory, and of the Turkish victory that was announced […] It has even been said, and it has been written – this is something the chancellor has told me – that this same king just two days before the battle, swore an oath by his words to the Lutheran sect. This seemed to me to be very far from the truth. I surely believe that these devils have invented these accusations to change the emperor's good intensions, and perhaps to be given money—they are now dragging it out of him—to be paid off. Since that was written, his lordship the imperial archduke has been begging for subsidies not only as a brother, but, yes, even as the Spanish crown prince (*infans Hispaniarum*): that help be sent as quickly as possible, as soon as hearing this very sad news about the king of Hungary. This announcement was very moving to many and most especially to it touched the soul of the emperor [….] But nevertheless I surely suspect that this money is being sent to the archduke not only against the Turks, but also to buy up this kingdom (of Hungary). I am also very much afraid, that this ambition will do more to harm Christian affairs than to help them; and if Our God be not inclined to help us (in our hour of need, because we are fighting each other), then there is nothing that will remain of our steady hope." (*Cum autem hoc infaustum novum de interitu serenissimi praeclarissimae memoriae Hungariae regis et Turcarum victoria huc fuit allatum [….] Dicitur etiam, huc scriptum esse — et hoc cancellarius mihi rettulit — quod ipse {ipse} rex pridie quam conflixisset, in verba et sectam Luteranorum iurasset. Id mihi longe a veritate alienum esse videtur. Confingunt, ut certo credo, isti hic diaboli istas calumnias, quo caesaris bonam*

In the letter to Sigismund, Erasmus repeated the current theory that the Turkish invasion was a punishment from God for Christian sins; but, for Erasmus, repentance, not a World Emperor, was the appropriate remedy. He wrote that God "has permitted these tempests to fall upon the world so that those who have become drunk with abundance of this world's goods might be awakened to the sobriety of a Christian conscience. The emperor Charles is said (*dicitur*) to be of this mind, as I have learned from the letters of those closest to him. Of these matters I think it neither safe nor prudent (*necesse*) to commit any further thoughts to paper, since in your exceptional wisdom you will know my meaning."[722] Here is a confidence committed in writing in a case where it would have been just as easy, or far more easy, to say nothing. Why was the emperor "said to be" of this mind? Why was it "neither safe nor prudent" to write about it?

In fact, Erasmus would have preferred not one dominant authority but a concert of Christian princes working together in harmony; yet, human nature being what it was, the invincible emperor was preferable to the alternative. And while Erasmus from time to time felt the chafe of his authority, he recognized its use. Likewise, Sigismund needed to cooperate with Charles, not only for the valuable Bari inheritance, but also because of Ferdinand Habsburg's power in Austria, Bohemia, and increasingly in Hungary where he contested the throne in a protracted three-way war.[723] In his letter to Sigismund, Erasmus wrote of John Zápolya, *and not Ferdinand*, as King of Hungary; but, thinking about the Habsburg brothers, their feelings and their influence, Erasmus changed the wording before publishing the same letter, changing Zápolya from "king" to "usurper."[724]

That Erasmus's doubts about the 'invincible emperor' found expression in his letters to the Poles did not, it seems, reach Gattinara and Valdés; they, like Dantiscus, had set aside the pacifist and conciliatory elements of Erasmian thought. Earlier in 1527, Gattinara had approached Erasmus about editing Dante's *De Monarchia* with the plan of republishing it again "since it would be helpful to the emperor's cause."[725] Gattinara's request was delicate, even tentative, and Erasmus's response is unknown; in any case, he did not take up the project.[726] On the other hand,

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propensionem immutarent et se forsan a pecuniis contribuendis, de quibus iam tractatur, redimerent. Scripsit huc quandoquidem dominus archidux caesari, omnibus modis subsidium implorans, non solum ut frater, verum etiam ut infans Hispaniarum: quod si propediem sibi non mitteretur, fore, ut paulo post de se nuntium magis triste, quam de rege Hungariae audiret. Haec scriptio permovit hic plurimos et maximopere caesaris animum perculit.)

[722] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Sigismund I from Basel, May 15, 1527 (Ep 1819, trans. Charles Fantazzi) in *Collected Works,* Vol. 13*,* 117-126. For the Latin, see Allen (Vol. 7, 62): "*Huius animi dicitur et Caesar Carolus, ut ex literis eorum qui sunt illi proximi, conoui. His de rebus plura literis committere nec satis tutum arbitror nec necesse; quandoquidem singularis tua prudentia nouit quid significem.*"

[723] When Louis II Jagiellon fell at Mohács in 1526, the crown of Hungary fell to Ferdinand because of the Habsburg-Jagiellon double marriage arranged by Maximilian and Vladislaus at Vienna in 1515. John Zápolya was voivode of Transylvania and a powerful Hungarian noble with an army that had missed Mohács and remained in tact. Moreover, Zápolya's sister Barbara been Sigismund's first wife (m. 1512 – d. 1515), and John took refuge in Poland when fleeing from Ferdinand. John Zápolya continued to fight as an Ottoman vassal until his death in 1540, and his widow and young son would continue in a diminished capacity until 1571, but Hungary ultimately became a Habsburg kingdom (and would remain so until 1918).

[724] Erasmus, *Correspondence,* Vol. 13, James K. Farge, ed., *xiv* and 122 n. 24.

[725] Mercurino Gattinara to Erasmus of Rotterdam, March 12, 1527, from Valladolid (Ep 1790A).

[726] Ibid.: "Recently I obtained a little work of Dante's, to which he gave the title *Monarchy* [….] I would like to see the book published, since it would be helpful to the emperor's cause. However, the copyists have left it in a corrupt state, so I thought it would be worth while sending it to you and asking you to read when you have a spare moment.

Erasmus's desire for Christian peace, his description of Christian fighting as "fratricide," and his crediting this with Ottoman gains (and not any Turkish merit or strength), are all themes that Gattinara, Valdés, and Dantiscus would use in building their own arguments.

In his letter to Sigismund, appealing to the Polish king's "pious, lofty, and wise" spirit, Erasmus argued that "the present discord among princes cannot but engender strong displeasure. Were they to engage in armed conflict among themselves it would not be merely a civil war but sheer fratricide. Plato considered a civil war to be one that Greeks wage against Greeks. But a Christian has closer ties to another Christian than citizen with citizen or brother with brother."[727] The idea of Plato's that Erasmus referred to was expanded in *The Republic,* "And, as in a body which is diseased, the addition of a touch from without may bring on illness, […] in the same way wherever there is weakness in the State there is also likely to be illness, […] and then the State falls sick, and is at war with herself."[728] Erasmus viewed Christian kings as brothers because he understood Christendom to be the Body of Christ. A sick body is vulnerable and grows weaker; a Christendom plagued with self-inflicted wounds emboldened the Turks and gave them their victories.[729]

> "In our day the struggle of monarchs among themselves has paved the way for Turks to invade first Rhodes and more recently Hungary. Their cruelty has achieved inordinate success, and they will penetrate even closer to us unless with common cause we join forces to block their path. What man of Christian feelings would not be tormented at such a sight? And all this is the more dreadful still because, while princes wrangle among themselves, the Christian religion [*religio Christiana*] falls into utter ruin, totally disrupting the social order and throwing the commonweal [*publice status*] into such confusion that those who ought to obey instead demand the right to give orders to those more powerful than they."[730]

Poland-Lithuania with its wise and restrained king, its plurality of nations and confessions, its great expanse of lands, its inward peace and outward defense of Christian Europe, was for Erasmus a utopia that coincided with the "Sarmatian Myth" of Polish-Lithuanian self-image.[731] Tomicki recommended to his king that he use Erasmus's *Insitutio Principis Christiani*, with its celebration of peaceable coexistence, as a foundational text for the king's son, Sigismund II Augustus (b. 1520, r. 1548-1572). Those lessons would take for the young Sigismund whose

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Then if you think it worth your while, you might correct it and have it printed. There is no one alive today to whom I would rather entrust this task. It will be up to you to publish or bury the book. I leave the decision in your hands."

One may notice here the light touch in Gattinara's request with its qualifiers, "if you think it worth your while" and "It will be up to you" and "I leave the decision in your hands." Nauert, the editor of this volume, thinks the reply in which he declines ("must have rejected the plan") is lost because *De Monarchia* is not mentioned again (474).

[727] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Sigismund I from Basel, May 15, 1527 (Ep 1819, trans. Charles Fantazzi) in *Collected Works,* Vol. 13*,* 117-126.

[728] Plato, *The Republic*, Book VIII, trans. Benjamin Jowett, from *The Internet Classics Archive* by Daniel C. Stevenson, Web Atomics, 1994-2000: http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.mb.txt.

[729] Historian Helmut Koenigsberger considered the religious wars that followed later (the Thirty Years War, 1618-1648) to also be a "European Civil War." ("The European Civil War," in *The Hapsburgs and Europe, 1516-1660,* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971].)

[730] Erasmus of Rotterdam to Sigismund I, May 15, 1527, from Basel (Ep 1819, trans. Charles Fantazzi) in *Collected Works,* Vol. 13*,* 117-126. I add here the original Latin text from Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, Vol. 7, 62.

[731] See Chapter 1, note 16 (Karin Friedrich and the Sarmatian Myth); cf. Louthan, 33.

reign enjoyed a religious toleration uncommon for the sixteenth century: "I am not the king of your consciences," was his watchword at a time when his brother princes in the west were killing each other to get to "*cuius regio, eius religio.*"[732]

Gattinara and his circle—including Dantiscus—chose to ignore that Erasmus was a pacifist. And yet, though Erasmus, it is clear, did not want the 'invincible emperor' to take over the whole world, his words were used by Gattinara, and Valdés, and within a few years, Dantiscus, to advocate for an anti-Ottoman crusade, led by the emperor, as God's chosen shepherd for all of Christendom.

Mercurino Gattinara and the Vision for a World Emperor

Gattinara was a Piedmontese jurist who came into Charles's service in a meandering ascent from country lawyer to Savoyard minister, to president of the Burgundian parliament, to chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire. The connection that made this possible was the marriage of Duke Philibert II of Savoy (b. 1480, r. 1497 - d. 1504) to Margaret of Austria (1480-1530, daughter of Emperor Maximilian and aunt to Emperor Charles). Philibert had noticed Gattinara, and invited him into his court to serve to both him and his duchess. When the young duke died in 1504 and was succeeded by his brother, Charles III (b. 1486, r. 1504 – d. 1553), Gattinara successfully sued the new duke to release the widowed Margaret's dowry back to her. Although the dispute did not damage (in Gattinara's estimation) his relationship with "his natural lord," he did not stay on in Savoy. Instead, he followed Margaret back to Burgundy where he was steadily promoted.[733] Earlier in his career, Gattinara had also sued his own relatives for his wife's dowry.[734] Dantiscus's arguments for the inheritance of Queen Bona Sforza, therefore, fell on sympathetic ears with this chancellor.

Between 1508 and 1515, Gattinara served Emperor Maximilian and Margaret of Austria, traveling as their ambassador to France and to Spain, where he negotiated for the young prince, Charles Habsburg, to ensure that he would succeed to the Spanish throne—or rather thrones, plural, of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre—after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic. In 1512, the rising Gattinara began to encounter trouble from the established Burgundian nobility that led to extended legal conflicts about a castle he had purchased and his authority at court.[735] After a political struggle that took great reserves of both time and energy, he was dismissed from service. He compared himself to Job who suffered a blow at the hand of Satan, "on one day

[732] "*Nie jestem królem waszych sumień.*" Norman Davies (145) has the looser but more pleasing translation: "King of the people, not their consciences."
[733] This is a phrase that appears in his memoir, e.g.: "By serving his natural prince he could benefit his his loved ones as well as himself." (Gattinara, *Vita*, in Boone, 90.) In Burgundy, Gattinara was 'President of Burgundy' meaning that he presided over the parliament at Dôle, as well as other councils and the judiciary; he was second in authority after the prince and held the official seals (something he would also do for Charles V). See Headley, *The Emperor and His Chancellor*, 21.
[734] Gattinara, *Vita*, in Boone, 78.
[735] Rebecca Ard Boone and John Headley believe this dispute to be about personal power and systems of authority in the Burgundian government, but Gattinara represented it as chiefly about claims to a castle that he bought and improved. (Boone, 11-12, 81-88).

depriving him of goods, honor, and dignity."[736] Gattinara then took refuge in a Carthusian monastery in Scheut in Brabant (near Brussels) which proved to be a very fertile season for him: he read deeply in apocalyptic literature that helped him form his political philosophy. The immediate result was his *Oratio Supplicatoria,* a *libellum* for the young Prince Charles, expounding his vision for a world monarchy that he had seen in a dream. The preface begins in poetry about all manners of revealed wisdom—if foreknowledge (*saper cose futurae*) and divine secrets (*secreti divini*) may be learned through dreams (*per imagination de sogni*), voices in the night (*per voce nocturne*), or astrology (*per planete, segni, o stelle pure*)—leading Gattinara to prophesy a true universal monarchy (*de vera monarchia universale*).[737] This ruler would be chosen by God, in keeping with his laws and commandments, to "gather His flock under one shepherd."[738] Dreaming or not, Gattinara had borrowed much of his visionary text from earlier authors writing advisory texts for princes (potential patrons) on how best to organize Christendom against the Turks.[739]

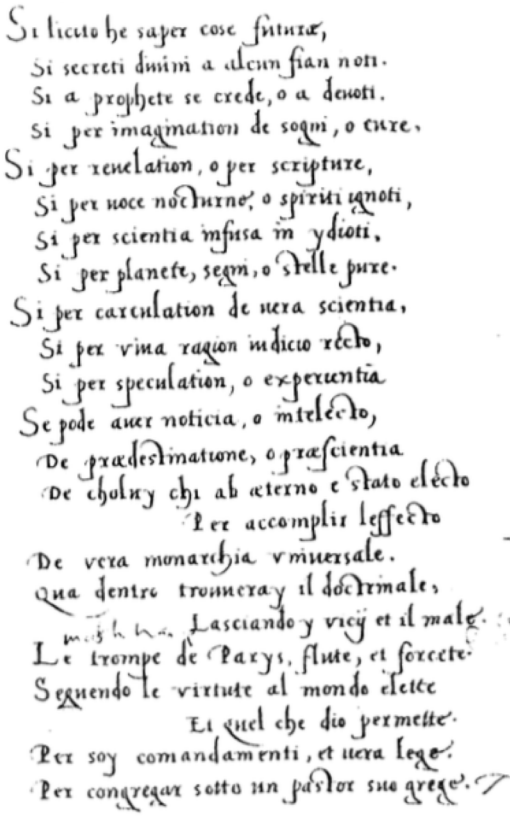
Si licito he saper cose futurae,
Si secreti divini a alcun fian non.
Si a prophete se crede, o a devoti.
Si per imagination de sogni, o cure.
Si per revelation, o per scripture,
Si per voce nocturne, o spiriti ignoti,
Si per scientia infusa in ydioti,
Si per planete, segni, o stelle pure.
Si per carculation de vera scientia,
Si per vina ragion indicio recto,
Si per speculation, o experientia
Se pode aver noticia, o intelecto,
De praedestinatione, o praescientia
De cholui chi ab eterno e stato electo
Per accomplir leffecto
De vera monarchia vniuersale.
Qua dentro trouneray il doctrinale,
Lasciando y vicij et il male.
Le trompe de Parys, flute, et forcete
Seguendo le virtute al mondo elette
Et quel che dio permette.
Per soy comandamenti, et vera lege.
Per congregar sotto un pastor suo grege.

Fig. 4-6: Gattinara's visionary preface from his Oratio Supplicatoria somnium interserens de novissima orbis monarchia *for Charles V, in Gattinara's own, characteristically precise handwriting.*

Gattinara dedicated the *libellum* to Charles's physician, Luigi Marliano, who invented Charles's columnar device and motto, *Plus Ultra*, and arranged for his book to be handed to Charles as he left the Low Countries on his journey to Spain.[740] Whether or not it had the desired effect, Gattinara enjoyed a reversal of fortune. Not only did Margaret invite him back into her service, but Charles—now King Charles I of Spain—asked him to succeed his late chancellor Jean de Sauvage. Ultimately, his time away from court did not hurt his career and the reflective sojourn allowed him to solidify and articulate the political philosophy that would be influential for the Spanish king who would become Holy Roman Emperor. Gattinara's recollection of how he persuaded Charles to

[736] Gattinara, *Vita,* in Boone, 88.
[737] This preface *Oratio Suplicatoria* is quoted by Professor Boone as a footnote in "Empire and Medieval Simulacrum: A Political Project of Mercurino di Gattinara, Grand Chancellor of Charles V," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (Winter 2011), 1036. The original manuscript is in the British Library, MS 18008: *Oratio Supplicatoria somnium interserens de novissima orbis monarchia, ac future Christianorum triumpho, late enuncians, quibus mediis ad id perveniri posit [Supplicatory Oration including a Dream of the Last World Monarchy and the Triumph of Christianity, Broadly Stated, with the Means of Accomplishing It.]*
[738] The final four lines read, "*Szeguendo le virtute al mondo elette/ Et quell che dio permette./ Per soy comandamenti, et vera lege./ Per congregar sotto un pastor suo grege."*
[739] Gattinara's *Oratio* especially resembles Giovanni Annio of Viterbo's fifteenth-century *Tractatus de futuris christianorum triumphis in Saracenis*, and Gattinara further "borrowed entire passages from Bartolomeo Platina's *De Principe*, a work dedicated to Federic Gonzaga in 1470." (Boone, 28-29.)
[740] Earl Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra, Non plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 34 (1971), 227; Gattinara, *Vita,* in Boone, 87.

campaign for the imperial dignity in 1518 is described in the chancellor's third-person autobiography:

> He argued one point: that the title of empire legitimizes the acquisition of the entire globe, as was ordained by God himself, foreseen by the prophets, predicted by the apostles, and approved in word and deed by Christ our Savior by his birth, life and death. It is true that the empire had sometimes been given to weak princes and been damaged by these. Nevertheless, it would be cause for hope if the title of emperor were joined to a powerful king, propped up with so many and so great kingdoms and dominions. Under the shadow of the imperial title, not only could he serve his own hereditary lands and kingdoms, but he could also gain greater ones, enlarging the empire until it encompassed the monarchy of the whole world.[741]

That a divinely appointed world-emperor should bring unity to Christendom and reckoning to the Turks was also the central argument in Dantiscus's long political masterpiece, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva.* How did this vision get there if not from Mercurino Gattinara, since it was retrograde to Sigismund's eastern balancing act and Erasmus's pacifist pluralism? It is conceivable that the savvy Dantiscus was paying lip service to the mentor who helped him achieve his goal by obtaining the Bari inheritance for Sigismund. After all, Dantiscus could not forget how he had needed Gattinara (like Piotr Tomicki at the royal court in Cracow) to open doors. "Without him," he had written once to his king, "I cannot be well heard, nor can I make things happen."[742] The emperor "only listens carefully with the chancellor in attendance (no one else will do as an intermediary)."[743] But that was long before Dantiscus presented his *Silva* at 1530 imperial coronation in Bologna, with his mission accomplished and the elderly Gattinara tormented by gout and in terminal decline. The Polish ambassador, departing for his homeland to be a bishop in Prussia, had nothing more to gain—though perhaps he was honoring his debts. It seems far more likely, however, given his later moralistic writings, that Dantiscus was troubled by the state of the world—*calamitas nostrorum temporum*—and that he was a true convert to Gattinara's cause. As he "prepared the way" for Charles to got to Italy, Gattinara again expressed his broad vision: "With the Christian commonwealth armed and united, it could repel the perfidious enemies of the Christian religion and restrain the errors of the heretics."[744] Dantiscus repeated Gattinara's earnest hope in his own *Silva*:

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[741] Gattinara, *Vita,* in Boone, 92. The passage continues in Gattinara establishing the political cost of ceding the crown to Charles's rival: "However, if he rejected it, the empire might go to the French, who would certainly not let the opportunity slip by them. No, they would pant for it with all their strength. If they held the empire after the death of Maximilian, Charles would not be able to maintain his hereditary lands in Austria and Burgundy, nor even the kingdom of Spain itself."

[742] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March, 20, 1523, from Valladolid (IDL 180): "*sine quo me neque bene audire neque expedire posset*."

[743] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, March, 20, 1523, from Valladolid (IDL 180): "*Maiestas caesarea attente omnibus auditis cum cancellario solo (nemo etiam alius interfuit) de iis colloquebatur et deinde me vocato per cancellarium respondit.*"

It was natural that, with so many concerns and responsibilities on the royal shoulders, a king or emperor needed the chancellor to manage the foreign officers at his own court and also abroad. Gattinara also helped select Charles's ambassadors; it also became his role "*as usual*, to expedite the instructions." (Gattinara, *Vita*, Boone, 114, emphasis added.) Thus he was the gateway to the emperor: all diplomatic traffic, both in and out, when through him.

[744] Gattinara, *Vita*, in Boone, 123.

> Go, go, most great and glorious Caesar, hope of our world; the spirit of the age, all things, and sacred destiny are calling for you!
>
> It is God's will that, through you, noble peace be restored to the earth that long ago was laid in ruins and buried by all of these wars.
>
> It is His will to strengthen His weary people through you, so as to utterly destroy that nation that is the enemy of the Cross, to tear it out by the roots [….]
>
> Your happy companions Fortune (*Fortuna*) and also Boldness (*Virtus*) will attend you, and they will put supreme rule (*imperium*) of the world under your authority.[745]

Alfonso de Valdés

Alfonso de Valdés (probably c. 1500-1532) was Dantiscus's closest Spanish friend and a regular in his family circle.[746] Their mutual friend Vicenzo Pimpinello (1485-1534), another humanist and diplomat, wrote that never had the Polish ambassador been "so loved, so heeded, so honored as a father, and so well known" as by Valdés.[747] The relationship was closer than this description paternal affection (*et tamquam pater coleris*) allowed since, on the one hand, Dantiscus helped Valdés in editing his work, and, on the other hand Valdés was in a position of advantage at court and able to help the foreigner gain access to the chancellor and emperor, and even exercising his judgment to hold back one of Dantiscus's letters for its author's own good. The real father-figure for both was Gattinara, their "*senex*" and "Nestor."

Valdés was a secretary in the chancellery and he distinguished himself writing defensive polemical tracts (called propaganda in later centuries) with titles like "On Behalf of the Invincible Emperor" arguing for the the peaceful, unifying aims of the Charles V and opposing

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[745] Johannes Dantiscus, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*, ll. 485-500: "*I, decus, i, nostri spes Orbis, maxime caesar,/ Quo tempus, quo res et pia fata vocant!/ Per te vult orbi Deus altam reddere pacem,/ Quae iacuit per tot bella sepulta diu./ Per te vult animos fessos firmare suorum,/ Funditus ut pereat gens inimica crucis*[….]*/ Te felix Fortuna comes Virtusque sequentur,/ Orbis et imperium sub tua iura dabunt."*

[746] Valdés's age has been a topic of some debate. Traditionally, he was considered to have been born around 1490. Henry de Vocht wrote "about 1490," (26) and Joseph Ricapito left it as "some time at the end of the fifteenth century" (*ix*), but Axer and Skolimowska give the arguments for a later date which include his twin brother, Juan—and whether they were twins is also debated—being called "*mochacho*" in a 1525 trial, though still others believe that appellation was litigious trick to disqualify his testimony (21-22). To the discussion, I would add that the 1532 letter from Pimpinello (see next note, below) is evidence for the later birthdate, since it does not seem natural to ascribe paternal honor (*et tamquam pater coleris*) to a friend only four or five years one's senior, when brotherly (*frater majus* or *majusculus*) or even avuncular (*avunculus*) regard would do.

[747] Vicenzo Pimpinello to Johannes Dantiscus from Regensburg, August 31, 1532 (IDL 822): "*Taceo Valdesium, a quo si amaris sique observaris et tamquam pater coleris, qui te melius sciat, habemus neminem.*" cf. Axer and Skolimowska, 13. Pimpinello was a scholar of Greek, archbishop of Rossano, in Calabria, and from 1529 the first resident papal nuncio in Vienna (CIDT&C, annotations).

the repeated treacheries of Francis I and other opponents.[748] His most important work was *The Dialogue of Mercury and Charon*, written in 1528, the year after the Sack of Rome. Staged as a conversation between Mercury, the god-messenger who brings news, and Charon, the ferryman of Hades who has recently invested in a larger boat, the two discuss recent events from the Overworld. While Charon is worried that the mortals will reach peace, giving him a loss on the investment of the boat, Mercury assures him that while Charles strives to make peace in Europe, the French will never have it and so the souls will continue coming down to Charon on the banks of the Styx in increasing numbers. Their discussion is punctuated by the arrival of some sixteen souls of all descriptions: a good prince, a wicked prince, a good bishop, a wicked bishop, a humble courtier, a poor woman, and so on, but the greatest part are nobles and clerics interested in outward shows of piety while amassing wealth and extending influence, who are shocked to learn that they have found their way to Hell. In this way, Valdés advanced his emperor's political ends, while making the Erasmian critique of unreformed religiosity, and reaching a wide audience with his humor and by writing in the Castilian vernacular.

Valdés was particularly attached to Erasmus, though he knew him only through letters, and Erasmus called him the "most faithful of friends."[749] Erasmus's constant refrain of internal piety as far more valuable than the empty show of forms struck a deep chord in the Spaniard's position because, on both sides of his family, he came from Jewish converts (*conversos*). Conversion was a response to persecution in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but it also opened up avenues for advancement.[750] The *conversos*, or 'New Christians,' even though they assimilated to Catholic practices and intermarried with 'Old Christians,' were still viewed with suspicion, despite—*or because of*—their earnest and successful integration.[751] Accusation of backsliding

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[748] Titles include *Pro invictissimo caesare Carolo augusto Hispaniarum* (January 6, 1527), *Invictissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Caroli […] appellat petitque generalis Christianorum omnium concilill congregationem* (April 10, 1527), and *Pro divo Carolo, eius nominis quinto Romanorum Imperatore invictissimo pio, felice, semper Augusto, Patrepatriae* (September 5, 1527) (listed in Axer and Skolimowska, 30-34).

[749] Axer and Skolimowska, 13: "*amicorum fidissimus.*"

[750] John Edwards and John Elliott have both argued that coerced conversion was a way to consolidate the new Spanish polity cobbled together in the personal union of the Catholic Monarchs from several crowns and many cultures, as would the Inquisition which policed *converso* sincerity. (John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1520* [Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000], 68-101; John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* [London: Penguin, 2002 (orig. 1963)], 108.)

[751] After changing their religious identity, *conversos* continued to keep the special financial roles and "economic mentality" as *conversos* (Jaime Vicens Vives, *Manual de Historia Economica de España* [3rd ed.], with Jorge Nadal Oller, trans. Francis M. López-Morillas: *An Economic History of Spain* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969], 24). This became a source of envy for the Old Christians who watched the New Christians surpass them in the official apparatus of the state as mayordomos, financial secretaries, and treasurers (Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* [New York: Random House, 1995], 950-963, and also 974: "*beneath the economic grudges lay a deep feeling of antagonism to all conversos* which, in a sense, was lying wait until triggered to rise to the surface by the social economic conflicts […] shared by *all* Old Christians and which, sooner or later, could be roused in them all, though in different degrees against *all* conversos." See also John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 84-86.

There have been, in the last generation, influential historians who consider violence and persecution to be a language of negotiation between groups who live together in one society, most notably David Nirenberg: "there is no reason why *convivencia* need designate only harmonious coexistence." (*Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* [Princeton University Press, 1996], 8.) Another is Mark Meyerson who, in a study of fifteenth-century Valencia found that *converso* Jews, excised and deracinated from their Jewish communities, and only beginning to graft themselves into the trunk of the Old Christian tree by means of intermarriage and cultural, ritual assimilation, turned to family—not religious group—as their primary membership, source of support and

and crypto-Judaizing activity carried potentially very heavy punishment, and Valdés's maternal uncle, Hernando de la Barrera (1459-1491), a parish priest, was burned at the stake (it is believed).[752] The *converso's* greatest desire, naturally, was to find a way out of the trap—neither to be killed for old Jewish practices, nor to be scorned for external show of Christian piety (performed either poorly or too well)—but to to be accepted for internal, "moral and mystical" adherence to the Gospel: "There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus."[753]

With such dubious standing in their own communities, *conversos* naturally looked for support in the growing central authority of the crown. The stronger it was, the better for them. Likewise, the king (or emperor) had everything to gain by increasing his own authority at the expense of decentralized institutions. It is small wonder, then, that Valdés gravitated to Gattinara's program of establishing a world emperor. As for the state of the world as he found it, Valdés, like his friend Dantiscus, took a dour view. In *The Dialogue of Mercury and Charon*, the messenger of the gods reports to the boatman of the underworld about the sorry state of the world: "everything I saw was vanity, malice, tribulation, and madness."[754]

> I found that where Christ commanded that only heavenly things be revered, people were entangled in worldly ones [….] And where Jesus Christ commanded that the riches of this should be disdained, and that they should enrich their souls with righteousness, I saw them going about the world robbing, assaulting deceiving, swindling, [….] I saw that the most powerful person was considered

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honor. "In an honour culture like that of late medieval Valencia, aggression and violence were integral to the processes through which status was contested and affirmed and economic resources allocated within the local community [….] Feuding violence, then, was a form of social discourse expressed by rival families and read by the community." ("The Murder of Pau de Sant Martí: Jews, *Conversos,* and the Feud in Fifteenth-Century Valencia," in *'A Great Effusion of Blood'?: Interpreting Medieval Violence,* Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk, eds. [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004], 58.)

[752] That is, a parish priest in Cuenca (in Villares del Saz) by that name was tried and executed, and is "identified with high probability" as the same Hernando de la Barrera whose sister, María de la Barrera (before 1465-1532) was married to Hernando de Valdés (c. 1454-1530), the Cuenca *regidor*, these being the parents of Alfonso and Juan (Axer and Skolimowska, 19).

One contemporary historian and cleric, to give an illustrative example, imagined secret Jewish practice everywhere. He saw, or rather smelled, Mosaic depravity in the "stench-ridden Jews" and "the obstinate and stinking synagogue" whose old practices and polluted society as gluttons, wanton breeders, whore-mongers of nuns, money-lenders and usurers. For this writer, intermarriage of New Christians with the Old meant a terrible contamination. (Andrés Bernáldez (d. c. 1513), *History of the Catholic Kings Don Fernando and Doña Isabel*, ch. XLIII, in *The Expulsion 1492 Chronicles: An Anthology of Medieval Chronicles Relating to the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal*, ed. David Raphael (North Hollywood: Carmi House Press, 1992), 61-73.

[753] St. Paul's letter to the Galatians, 3:28: "*non est Iudaeus neque Graecus non est servus neque liber non est masculus neque femina omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu*."

The first quotation is from Elliott who writes, "Erasmus's enormous popularity in Spain, which reached its peak between 1527 and 1530,"—i.e. exactly the time that Valdés and Dantiscus were there and working closely together—"seems in part attributable to the *converso* element in Spanish society. The 'new Christians', recent converts from Judaism, were naturally attracted to a religion which had little regard for formal ceremonies, and which placed the weight of its emphasis on moral and mystical tendencies in the Christian tradition." (161)

[754] Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, Joseph V. Ricapito, trans., ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 9. In the original, this was, "*vanidad, maldad, aflición y locura*," cf. Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, Rosa Navarro, ed. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), 83.

> the one who could wreak great evil while at the same time he let himself be defeated by every vice […,] that they held to be blessed he who, while espousing so many earthly things, had no respect for God […,] that among them no kind of lust remained unexperienced.[755]

This is a much longer passage, first naming all of the virtues that Christ expects of his flock, and then expounding on the reverse reality that Mercury found in his worldly travels. Most objectionable to him were the outward signs of religiosity contrasted with internal corruption, as when people kissed the religious habits of clerics, "as with a saint, and when I realized what that habit concealed, it seemed to me that they were acting out a great farce."[756] Churches hung with military trophies, and priests taking money for communion or for admission to the church, offended most of all; and when Mercury had raised his objections to this hypocrisy, "they wanted to beat me up, saying that I was blaspheming; I got out of there fast."[757] These scenarios echo Erasmian complaints about clerical corruption. Erasmus mocked priests who wore silk garments underneath their hair shirts or, to avoid touching money, wore gloves when counting their riches.[758] "This they have in common with other mechanics, that they are most subtle in the craft of getting money, and wonderfully skilled in their respective dues of tithes, offerings, perquisites, &c."[759]

But Valdés, like Gattinara and Dantiscus, exempted Charles V from the perfidy and wickedness of the times. Valdés's job, after all, was not writing moralistic Christian philosophy, but official propaganda. Spain was "the only country which is at peace and wages its wars away from home" because "they have such a great ruler"—and in the manuscript version (i.e. the draft that did not go to the printers) he went further: "a prince so holy, so just, and so concerned with the well-being of his people" that his rule "is the cause of their happiness."[760] In the imperial election it had been Charles's "kindness and virtues" that won over the electors, instead of the "gifts and solicitude" of Francis I and his "evil spirit" (*con inicuo ánimo*).[761] And in Francis's territorial ambitions he was a usurper and a tyrant, while God favored Charles.[762]

In the middle of the text, because Charon would like Mercury to read it to him, Valdés inserted the letter he wrote from Charles V to Henry VIII explaining the Sack of Rome, a "disaster" that "had occurred."[763] On behalf of the emperor, Valdés asked for counsel and help in doing what

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[755] Ibid., ed. Ricapito, 10-11, and it continues for three more pages, to 15.
[756] Ibid., ed. Ricapito, 13.
[757] Ibid., ed. Ricapito, 14.
[758] Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *In Praise of Folly* (New York: Peter Eckler, 1922), 230.
[759] Ibid., 269.
[760] Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, ed. Ricapito, 7, and ed. Navarro, 80, with the manuscript addition n. 25 of the same page (in the translation of the main text, I give Ricapito's version, and in the added piece from the manuscript, the translation is mine). This description is Mercury's, but a little later in the text, Charon agrees, "Frankly I never saw so much virtue in one prince, so much so that if there were more like [him I'd have to wait a while to make my money]" (ed. Ricapito, 19; ed. Navarro, 95: the section in brackets contains my changes to the Ricapito translation), and later still, "I am overwhelmed with the kindness of the Emperor, and with the ingratitude of his adversary" (ed. Ricapito, 36; ed. Navarro, 115).
[761] Ibid., 17, and ed. Navarro, 92-93.
[762] Ibid., ed. Ricapito, 17-18, and ed. Navarro, 92-94, Francis was holding Milan "*tiránicamente.*"
[763] Ibid., ed. Navarro, 139: "*del desastre que nuevamente ha acaecido*."

was best for "the honor of God and the universal good of the Christian Republic."[764] In this letter Valdés assigned blame to Pope Clement VII. Instead of helping maintain the recent peace between Charles and Francis, as a "good shepherd" ought, he was "resolved to stir up a new war in Christendom" (*en la cristianidad*).[765] Valdés argued that Spain made every effort and concession to keep peace, but the pope and the French king opposed them at every turn. And when Spanish, or rather German, forces marched on Rome even without command, it was what "God had determined" and more the result of the "just judgment of God" than of human will or power.[766] Henry had not replied to the letter and took Francis's side in the next phase of the war. Valdés conjured up the soul of an English counselor to supply a reason, "the greed and ambition of a cardinal whom he keeps at his side and by whose hand he allows himself to be ruled"—i.e. Wolsey.[767] In Valdés's estimation, Wolsey controlled the English government, and no one dared oppose him.[768]

Where Alfonso de Valdés diverged from Dantiscus was in his view of crusade. Here, he took the Christian perspective of Erasmus, a source of "illumination" for both the secretary Valdés, and the chancellor Gattinara.[769] When Charon asks the dead 'King of the Galatians' whether he has done anything out "for the love of God," the soul replies that he "made war against the Turks," asking how else can one convert them to Christianity?[770] In response Charon argues at length that the two are incompatible:

> Once you have governed your kingdoms so well as to have such peace and tranquility that you yourself and all of your people could live as good Christians, only then would it be good for you to undertake the conversion of the Turks. First, you should perform very good works for them so as to attract them to the faith by love, as the apostles did who preached the doctrines of Jesus Christ. And then, if they should not willingly convert, and if it would seem to satisfy the honor of Jesus Christ to attempt to convert them by force, then you should do it with such moderation that the Turks understand that you are not making war on them to dominate or rob them, but only for the health of their souls.[771]

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[764] Ibid., ed. Navarro, 139: "*para honra de Dios y bien univeral de la república cristiana*."
[765] Ibid., ed. Navarro, 140: "*en lugar de mantener como buen pastor la paz que con el rey de Francia habíamos hecho, acordó de revolver nueva guerra en la cristianidad.*"
[766] Ibid., ed. Navarro, 141: "*Mas como toviese ya Dios determinado*"; "*Y aunque vemose esto haber sido fecho más port justo juicio de Dios que por fuerzas ni voluntad de hombres.*"
[767] Ibid., ed. Ricapito, 59, with slight alterations, and ed. Navarro, 80, 145: "*La avaricia y ambición de un cardenal que tiene cabe sí, por cuya mano de deja gobernar.*"
[768] Ibid., ed. Ricapito, 60-61; ed. Navarro, 147, 148: One dead English counselor arrives in the underworld and explains that he could not dare oppose Wolsey and keep his post—"*Porque si contradijera a la voluntad del cardenal, no quedara solo un día en el Consejo*"—and Mercury confirms this "*No hay quien ose hablar.*"
[769] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España (orig. Érasme et l'Espagne): Estudios sobre las historia espiritual del siglo xvi,* trans. Antonio Alatorre (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultua Económica, 1950), 230-231: "*el Canciller no tiene más dulce solaz que leer las obras de Erasmo [….] Para la redacción de todos estos mensajes, diplomáticos o privados, Gattinara recurre a la colaboración del secretario Alfonso de Valdés, admirador ferviente de su política, noble ejemplar de esos españoles que sienten su consciencia 'alumbrada' por los escritos de Erasmo y tienen por él verdadero culto.*"
[770] Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, ed. Ricapito, 66-67; ed. Navarro, 154-155: "*Carón: ¿Ha algo po amor de Dios?*"; "Ánima: "*Guerra contra los turcos.*" […] "*Pues ¿cómo querías tú que los hiciésemos tornar cristianos?*"
[771] Ibid., ed. Navarro, 155: "*Cuando tú hobieras tan bien gobernado tus reinos que los tuvieras en mucha paz y sosiego, y que tú y ellos viviérades ya como buenos cristianos, entonces fuera bien que procuraras de convertire los*

This followed Erasmus's earlier doctrine that the Turks should not be opposed militarily in *The Education of the Christian Prince* (1516):

> Not even against the Turks do I believe we should rashly go to war, first reflecting in my own mind that the kingdom of Christ was created, spread out, and firmly established by far different means. […. Our faith] has been increased and made famous by the suffering of martyrs and not by forces of soldiery […. Instead] it may more readily happen that we degenerate into Turks than that they become Christians through our efforts. First let us see that we ourselves are genuine Christians, and then, if it seems best, let us attack the Turks.[772]

Erasmus made the same argument in in *Querela Pacis* (1521), and in his *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis* (first in 1513, later expanded): Erasmus argued that not only did war turn its participants from Christians into beasts, but also that Christian princes used the pretext of religion to veil their avarice. If one hears echoes of Machiavelli's *The Prince* in these words, one should remember that Machiavelli would praise the practice that Erasmus was condemning.[773] In Valdés's writings, the prince who did this found himself standing at the shores of the Underworld as his reward.[774] Finally, Erasmus argued that the only effective battle against the Turks, whom he called 'half-Christian,' was spiritual battle.[775]

Perhaps it was to reconcile their political aims with their admiration for Erasmus, that Gattinara and Valdés had reached out to the Dutch philologist with that offer to revise

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turcos primero, haciéndoles muy buenas obras para atraerlos a la fe con amor como hicieron los apóstoles que predicaron la doctrina de Jesucristo; y después, si por amor no se quisieran convertir y pareciera cumplir la honra de Cristo procurar de hacerlos convertir por fuerza, estonces lo habías de hacer con tanta moderación, que los turcos conoscieran que no les hacías guerra por señorearlos no por robarlos, mas solamente por la salud de sus ánimas." (my translation, cf. ed. Ricapito, 67.)

[772] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince* (*Institutio principis Christiani*), trans. Lester K. Born (New York: Octagon Books, 1963, orig. 1516), 256.

[773] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. George Bull, intro. Anthony Grafton (London: Penguin, 1999), 71, referring to Ferdinand of Aragon's "pious work of cruelty" in the expulsion of the Moors. "[u]nder the same cloak of religion he assaulted Africa; he started his campaign in Italy; he has recently attacked France."

[774] The "King of Galatia" was the soul who explained to Mercury and Charon that he wanted "simultaneous to serve God and enrich himself, growing my dominion in the lands that I have taken from the Turks." (*Bien creo yo que dices verdad, mas juntamente con hacer servicio a Dios, quería yo aprovecharme, acrescentando mi señoria en las tierras que tomase a los turcos.* Valdés, ed. Navarro, 155). Ricapito believes this "King of the Galatians" to be a "thinly veiled portrait portrait of Francis I" (*xvi*), but this does not does not fit with the damned soul's crusading enthusiasm while Francis was criticized by Valdés, Gattinara, and Dantiscus for is being too slow to join the crusade and instead reaching truces, later alliances, with the Porte.

[775] Philip C. Dust, *Three Renaissance Pacifists: Essays in the Theories of Erasmus, More, and Vives* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 1-62, esp. 1-4, 13-14, 28).

Desiderius Erasmus, *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis,* in *A Study of Erasmus' Dulce Bellum Inexpertis: Introduction, Translation, and Critical Commentary* by Elizabeth Stella Low (Masters thesis in the department of classical languages at the the University of Southern California, 1956), 62, 63, 130, 131: "But those whom we call Turks are, for the most part, semi-Christians (*magna ex parte semichristiani sunt*) and perhaps nearer a true Christianity than most of our group." and "We are ready to annihilate all Africa and Asia with the sword although very many of the inhabitants there are either Christians or semi-Christians. Why do we not acknowledge the former, and with kindness foster and improve the latter?"

Dante's *De Monarchia.* It is not clear that Erasmus was interested in the job. But even if he had been, before he could get around to writing it, news of the Sack of Rome reached Spain and Charles's ministers, seeing that it would have been "inopportune" to publish such an anti-papal work at that time, changed their minds and did not repeat the invitation.[776]

What, then, could they do instead? The obvious answer was to increase imperial authority with the coronation that had begun years ago in Aachen but had not yet been consummated. Gattinara took Schepper to Italy in 1527 to make arrangements for his own possessions there *and also to bring the pope back to Spain,* a plan that was never realized.[777] But, by 1529, Charles had waited so long to receive his crown from the pope that Alfonso de Valdés joked to Dantiscus that the emperor was "so constant in his purpose to go to Italy that, were there no ships, he would set out swimming rather than turn away from his intention."[778] At last he departed in the fall of that year and Dantiscus came with him. There Dantiscus spent the winter at court and wrote his long *silva,* which is the subject of the next chapter. It is a product of his previous five years at court with Gattinara and Valdés and, both directly and indirectly, of Erasmus's philosophy, even in its divergence. Dantiscus's poem was completed by the end of February, and Erasmus read it in the months following. When Erasmus read it in March or April, he praised both the *silva* and the piety of its author.[779] For Dantiscus, this was the highest acclaim (and two years later, Erasmus would have a plaster bust of Dantiscus in his study).

[776] Bataillon, 232.

[777] Cornelius de Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus, May 17, 1527, from Barcelona (IDL 343): "Our Son-of-Maia"—i.e. Mercurino Gattinara, because the god Mercury was the son of Jupiter by the nymph Maia, one of the seven Pleiades—"is still set to go to Italy to inspect his family lands and to greet his people, and from their he will accompany the pope, who, it is said, is going to come to Spain." (*Statutum tamen est Italiam invisere et salutare limites patrios huius nostri Maiageniti, deinde comitari pontificem maximum, qui se ait in Hispanias venturum esse.*)

[778] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, April 18, 1529, from Zaragosa (IDL 5763): "*Caesar in sua sentential eundi ad Italiam tanta Constantia perstat ut, si deessent naves, natationi se commissurus sit potius, quam ab itinere alio divertat.*"

[779] Cornelius Schepper to Johannes Dantiscus from Innsbruck, May 9, 1530 (IDL 492): "I have received letters from Erasmus by way of my friend Livinius"— a Dutch humanist called Livinius Panagathus or Lieven Algoet—"He commends you greatly, and he read your silva, and he praises your goodness." (*Ex Erasmo suscepi litteras per Livinum meum. Is se tibi plurimam commendat legitque Sylwam tuam pietatemque tuam laudat.*)

Chapter 5: Dantiscus's *Silva* and the Imperial Coronation of 1530

> Et pro te pugnans te fecit in orbe monarcham
> Imperiique dedit sceptra corusca tibi.
>
> [It is so that you will fight that God has made you monarch of the world
> And given you the resplendent scepter of *Imperium*.]
>
> -- Johannes Dantiscus to Charles V,
> *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva,* 1529[780]

Dantiscus and his collaborators at the court of Charles V were Catholic Christian humanists and dedicated Erasmians. Over time, and in the interest of advancing the imperial cause in Europe, they changed the cause of peace into the cause of unity, arguing that only if Christendom were united under the authority of a God-appointed emperor, could the kings and princes put aside their internecine conflicts. Once they stopped fighting each other, they could turn their concerted attention to the true threat encroaching from the east and south, the Ottoman Empire that had seen only, it seemed, repeated victories for over a century. The realization of their hopes came on February 24, 1530, when Charles V was be crowned by the pope in Bologna on his thirtieth birthday, a political event of towering significance and potential, filled with drama and symbolism. It was a perfect moment for artists (e.g. Parmigiano's allegorical portrait, *fig. 5-7*, below, and Hogenberg's lithographs, *figs. 5-4, 5-5,* and *5-6*, below) and writers as well. Dantiscus wrote his *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva* and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda wrote his *Cohortatio ad Carolum* that winter; the comparison is instructive. Paolo Giovio drew inspiration for his *Commentario delle Cose de' Turchi* (1532).

In general, momentous occasions for literary persons in Early Modern Europe were opportunities for seeking patronage. They were also a chance to get on the right side of history and they could even offer an opening to shape great events in one's own lifetime. Sepúlveda presented his text in 1529; that Dantiscus was writing his *silva* at that time is clear from the text. First, Dantiscus wrote that he had been "here" for "two courses of the moon's rounds" and was still waiting for action.[781] Second, he spoke of the coronation in the imperative mood—"Place the sacred crown upon the brow of imperial Caesar!"— so as a thing that had not yet happened.[782] The poetic form of Dantiscus's *silva*, literally a 'woodland', allowed him to write in a meandering, free-form, interlocutory style—as if strolling through a picturesque wood—without the constraints of length or focus.[783] Though indeed lengthy, Dantiscus's 536 lines in elegiac couplets were focused,

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[780] Johannes Dantiscus, *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, 1529 (IDP 41 and 42), ll. 443-446.
[781] Dantiscus, *Silva,* ll. 355-356: "*Venimus huc et iam bis cursum luna peregit,/ In Turcas sed adhuc nulla statuta liquent;*"
[782] Dantiscus, *Silva,* l. 325: "*Caesaris imperii sacra tempora cinge corona!*"
[783] For good discussions on this literary genre, *silva rerum*, see Rodrigo Cacho Casal's discussion in his "The memory of ruins: Quevedo's Silva to 'Roma antigua y moderna'," in *Renaissance Quarterly,* Vol. 62, No. 4 (Winter 2009), 1180 (main text and also footnote 55). Frans De Bruyn's essay, "The Classical Silva and the Generic Development of Scientific Writing in Seventeenth-Century England" in *New Literary History*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring, 2001), 347, is removed from our context by a hundred years and the English Channel but begins with a very helpful discussion of the form.

repeatedly sounding a bell that he had forged during his decades-long diplomatic career. While he included a number of required formalities—self-deprecating remarks, praise for his patrons, celebration of the imperial coronation—the poem's true purpose was to describe the horrors suffered by Christians in the path of the Ottoman march into Europe, and then to call on Charles and Clement to organize an anti-Turkish crusade and for Charles to lead it. This poem—my English translation is Appendix 2—is therefore both expected and surprising.[784] On the one hand, it conforms to the tradition of literary homage, showing off Dantiscus's skill to endorse the holy authority of Charles's coronation, and offering a recommendation for what the emperor should do with his power. On the other hand, Dantiscus went beyond echoing fears of the Turkish menace or simply advocating peace; he gave strategy advice for a concerted European response. Both Sepúlveda's and Dantiscus's writings contained elements of the Medieval Crusade polemic, and the Renaissance ideal of ancient Rome. They added the Erasmian wish for unity, and Charles's great dynastic patrimony. The result was vision of a world emperor who led his flock with *imperium* instead of *dominium*, who practiced pastoral care in the image of Christ, and was not tyrannical. The poem was very well received and was published in Bologna, in Cracow, in Antwerp, and in Cologne.[785]

Anticipating the Coronation

The winter of 1529-1530 was a productive time for the humanists gathering in Bologna and waiting for the great celebration. In general, important occasions in the life of a prince offered his courtiers a special opportunity to celebrate him with poetry. Such topical compositions honored both the patron and the author, winning the favor of the one and showcasing the talent of the other. When King Sigismund was to marry Barbara Zápolya in 1512, Johannes Dantiscus was one of a half-dozen courtiers to write an *epithalamion* or an *encomium nuptial* for the occasion.[786] After Queen Barbara died in 1515, Dantiscus wrote again for his widowed king's second marriage in 1518 to Bona Sforza. He also produced *epitaphia* or *epicedia* for at least twelve departed souls—and sometimes two or three for an especially dear friend or mentor (as for Mercurino Gattinara and for Piotr Tomicki)—and a number of *commendationes* and *epigrammata* for individuals he admired. To commemorate Sigismund's victory over the Muscovites in 1514, Dantiscus penned *De victoria Sigismundi contra Moschos sylvula*, praising his king as "victorious and masterful in arms."[787]

It was fitting and expected, therefore, that Dantiscus should have offered up his literary homage to Charles V upon his coronation in 1530 as Holy Roman Emperor at the hands of Pope Clement VII. The event was important enough to Charles that he recalled the ambassador to his court after

[784] It has also been translated into Polish by Jan Michał Harhala. I have searched for the *Księga hymnów* [Book of Hymns], Lwów: nakładem Filomaty, 1934) and have learned from correspondence with Polish academic bookstores that it was lost during World War II. However, a second book contains the same Harhala translation: *Utwory Poetyckie* [Poetic Works], published in 1937 from the same Lwów publisher has survived.
[785] Segel, 178.
[786] Hessus, Helius Eobanus. *The Poetic Works of Helius Eobanus Hessus. Vol. 2: Journeyman Years, 1509-1514,* edited, translated, and annotated by Harry Vredeveld, (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 4-6.
[787] Johannes Dantiscus, *De victoria Sigismundi contra Moschos sylvula* (IDP 21), 79-80: "*iusta Sigismundus in ira,/ Rex armis bene perdoctus victricibus*"

he had already left for Poland. Either because of personal esteem, or to adorn his court with foreign dignitaries, or both, the emperor sent a special courier to intercept Dantiscus at the French border.[788] Dantiscus returned to Spain and traveled with Charles to Italy, and spent three months in Bologna awaiting the coronation, using this time to work on his composition. He filled it with clever turns of phrase and classical allusions. It contained not only praise for Charles V, Clement VII, and Sigismund I, but was the exposition of a political program that he had formed for these three rulers. It was to be Dantiscus's greatest achievement to date; he even sent this lengthy work across the Atlantic to his friend, Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico.[789] Dantiscus's *opus* was not entitled *De Coronatione Caroli Caesari Invicti Imperatoris* or some such thing, but rather *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*: "A *Silva* on the Disaster of Our Times." The title showed that the celebration was overshadowed by the looming menace of the Ottoman advance into Europe. The theme had been part of Dantiscus's agenda since his first embassy to Vienna fifteen years earlier, and this expression of it was modeled by the work of another gifted humanist, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who had written his own *Cohortatio ad Carolum V, Imperatorem Invictissimum, ut Facta cum Christianis Pace Bellum Suscipiat in Turcas*, that same winter.

There were months of anticipation while the great courts of Europe gathered in one place, princes of the world and of the church, their courtiers, artists, musicians. "So great were the sounds of voices, trumpets, drums, and artillery," Marino Sanuto recalled, "that it seemed that Bologna was turned upside down."[790] Isabella d'Este was throwing parties.[791] Giorgio Casali, an eminent Bolognese gentleman in Henry VIII's service got married.[792] And humanists from all over Europe were gathered in one place talking to each other. So many were together that they took the opportunity to hold a conference for linguistic reforms in the Italian vernacular.[793] But the chief purpose of these months was for Charles V and Clement VII to reconcile their differences in preparation for the coronation; that they would manage to do so was a foregone conclusion. Charles had been arriving "in triumph" with processions, and music, and ephemeral arches since he landed in Genoa. His entry into Bologna was another such occasion, but the pageantry of February 24 was expected to be, quite literally, the crowning event.

It had been ten years since Charles I, king of Spain, became Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor on June 17, 1519 by the unanimous (and expensive) decision of German electors. A special embassy hailed the new emperor at Molins de Rei, near Barcelona, in November.[794] The following April, Charles sailed from La Coruña to the Netherlands by way of England, and in October he was

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[788] Nowak, 138.
[789] Hernán Cortés to Johannes Dantiscus September 11, 1529, from Madrid (IDL 5772): Cortés writes that he had read this poem number of times "that he might understand it well" ("*y leílos muchas vezes por bien comprehenderlos*"); cf. Axer and Tomicki, "Joannes Dantiscus and Hernán Cortes," in *Studia Europaea II: Joannes Dantiscus (1485-1548). Polish Ambassador and Humanist (Proceedings of the International Colloquium Brussels, May 22-23, 1995),* edited by Jozef IJsewijn and Woulter Bracke (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen Letteren en Schone Kunsten, 1996), 67-74, esp. 71-72.
[790] Mary Ferer, *Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V: the Capilla Flamenca and the Art of Political Promotion* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), 179.
[791] T. C. Price Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 110.
[792] Fletcher, 553.
[793] Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio,* 110.
[794] Brandi, 110-111.

crowned at Aachen.[795] On that splendid occasion, surrounded by princes and electors, grandees and noblemen, courtiers and knights, Charles wore the crown and ascended the throne of his eponymous antecedent, Charlemagne.[796] But that was the first of three crowns: he was still to receive the iron crown of Lombardy and the Roman crown at the hands of the pope. The tumult of Habsburg-Valois Italian Wars and changing relationship that the emperor had with the pope would delay this consummation a full decade. After Leo X died, Charles's close friend, Adrian, succeeded him but lived only a year and a half; he was succeeded by Clement VII, Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici, who was hostile to the Spanish ruler. But after Charles's triumph at Pavia (1525), his capture and release of Francis, the Sack of Rome (1527), and the capture (in his own castle) and release of Clement, the contest for Italy was decided and the emperor could insist upon his remaining crowns.[797] With all of these calamities, Clement tenure as pope had been rocky. Traditionally historians have dismissed his pontificate as disastrous but, given the circumstances, he managed to maintain his papal authority time and again from a position of weakness through patient maneuvering and guile. [798] In 1529 he finally turned to the emperor in friendship after all else had failed—after the sack, after his allies had left him, after an exile and a serious illness, and after Charles's unequivocal victory in Italy. For the Medici pope, whose relatives had been chased out of Florence, nothing was more important than to get back control over events in Italy. "What use is it to me," he asked his courtier, the historian Paolo Giovio, "to have retained the papacy, […] health and life, if I am driven by ungrateful citizens from my native city to lament in perpetual exile the grandeur of my ancestors, the reputation of my family, and the fortune of the principate?"[799] Charles restored a number of cities to the Papal States and Florence to the Medici family as a duchy. Alessandro de' Medici, the pope's kinsman, and believed by more than a few to be his son, became Duke of Florence, and received the hand of Charles's natural daughter, Margaret, in alliance.[800] In return, Clement awarded Charles increased authority to tax and name bishops in Naples and agreed to crown him. Thus, the coronation was not some simple humiliation for Clement VII, but a return from the cold wilderness into the sunlight of power and prestige. Even as he symbolically elevated his former enemy to the imperial dignity, Clement was confirming his own holy authority over him.[801] The

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[795] Cadenas y Vicent, 129-134. In England he visited his sister Catherine and her husband, Henry VIII. Henry and Catherine crossed the channel with Charles and would later meet with Francis I of France near Calais.

[796] Brandi, 122.

[797] Michael and Shaw; Brady, 207, calls this Charles's "golden decade."

[798] Three essays in one volume—"Clement and Calamity: the Case for Re-evaluation" by Kenneth Gouwens, "The 'Disastrous' Pontificate of Clement VII: Disastrous for Giulio de'Medici?" by Barbara McClung Hallman, and "The Place of Clement VII and Clementine Rome in Renaissance Rome" by Charles L. Stinger—all in the collection *The Pontificate of Clement VII*, edited by Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss's, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005) make this argument. See also Vicente Cadenas y Vicent's *Doble Coronación de Carlos V en Bolonia, 22-24 II 1530* (Madrid: Instituto Salazar y Castro: Hidalguía, 1985) and Thomas J. Dandalet's *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001) especially chapter two, "Charles V and the Spanish Myth of Rome."

[799] Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio,* 107.

[800] Ibid.

[801] Uta Barbara Ullrich makes this point in her article "Karl V. und der Triumph von Bologna: San Petronio als Erinnerungsstätte der Kaiserkrönung von 1530 – ein gescheitertes Projekt" in *The World of Emperor Charles V,* edited by Wim Blockmans and Nicolette Mout (Amsterdam: Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004), 293-94: "*Ungeachtet der für den Papst wenig schmeichelhaften tatsächlichen politischen Umstände, die die Kaiserkrönung Karls überhaupt erst ermöglicht hatten, war das eigentliche Krönungszeremoniell immer noch als Demonstration der Hoheit des Heiligen Stuhls über die weltliche Macht des Kaisers zu lesen.*"

pope, as God's representative on earth, was crowning the ruler of the world: divine authority was appointing temporal authority.

Charles had waited so long for this occasion that Alfonso de Valdés joked with Dantiscus that the emperor was "so constant in his purpose to go to Italy that, were there no ships, he would set out swimming rather than turn away from his intention."[802] For Charles and his ministers, it was the ideal opportunity to show before the world the triumphant emperor invested with sacred authority by Christ's representative on earth. Now had peace on his own terms, and now he aspired to consolidate his gains and turn his might against the Ottoman Empire. After all, that Pope Clement would go from being Charles's antagonist to his ally was not only the result of the emperor's military victories but also the increasing power of their mutual enemies. As Clement and Francis had been losing battles to Charles in Italy, Ottoman armies had been hammering their way into Christendom and Lutherans had been turning Germany upside down. The heresy had metastasized, its spread accelerated by the printing press and insubordination of the German princes.[803]

The two men spent the months before the coronation together. Pope Clement had arrived in Bologna on October 24, 1529, a full four months before the coronation of February 24; the Emperor Charles joined him there on November 5.[804] They both resided that winter in the *palazzo pubblico* where "private doors" joined their apartments.[805] Paolo Giovio wrote that Clement liked Charles immediately. "Caesar's countenance was grave and martial but suffused with a certain gentleness and modesty," he reported, and Clement found Charles to be "much more august and humane than he anticipated."[806] (Though Giovio was the pope's man and a Veronese, he had also become a stalwart imperialist, seeing the strength of Charles to be the best hope for Italy. This was also the view of Piedmontese Gattinara. From this experience, Giovio wrote the pro-imperial *Commentario delle Cose de' Turchi*, and his histories cemented his reputation as an imperial friend; Charles awarded him a diploma of nobility for him and his male relatives, thereafter counts palatine, and gave them the privilege of incorporating his personal *columnar device* and motto, *plus ultra*, into their coats of arms.[807])

The Imperial Coronation: A Roman Triumph in Bologna

But why Bologna? Traditionally, the Holy Roman Emperor was supposed to be crowned in Rome. The principle reason was that the emperor was needed beyond the Alps: Ottoman forces

[802] Alfonso de Valdés to Johannes Dantiscus, April 18, 1529, from Zaragoza (IDL 5763): "*Caesar in sua sentential eundi ad Italiam tanta Constantia perstat ut, si deessent naves, natationi se commissurus sit potius, quam ab itinere alio divertat.*"
[803] Brady, 156: "By the time Luther arrived at Worms, some half million copies of his writings were circulating in the Empire, an explosion of print unfathomable in its uniqueness and its power." See also Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
[804] Cadenas y Vicent, *Diario del Emperador Carlos V*, 205-206.
[805] Brandi, 283; Dandelet, *Renaissance of Empire,* 95.
[806] Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio*, 108.
[807] T. C. Price Zimmerman, "The Publication of Paolo Giovio's Histories: Charles V and the Revision of Book XXXIV," *La Bibliofilia* (1971: dispensa 1), 52.

had recently besieged Vienna, and the emperor was going to repel the enemy. Dantiscus expressed this sentiment in his poem:

> Receive the crown which is your due, and don't worry about the City [Rome]! The city of Felsina [Bologna] is sufficiently glorious.
>
> Although they may say of you 'the Roman king has not seen Rome', why can't you still be the emperor?
>
> Do it right away: get yourself over to German lands, that you may wield your weapons against the enemies of the cross![808]

And again:

> Delay no more, therefore! Do not—unless so guided by heaven—even go to blessed Latium [Rome] at this time.
>
> God Eternal has protected you since your tender years and has carried the battle standards, leading the way, against your enemies,
>
> And fighting for you, He has made you monarch of the world and given you the resplendent scepter of *Imperium*.[809]

Charles followed this advice. A month after the coronation, the emperor was on the road heading for Augsburg beyond the Alps.[810]

A second reason was one of political discretion: Bologna was a more tactful choice since imperial forces sacked the Eternal City two years earlier subjecting it to six months of rapine and chaos.[811] Pope Clement's role was tainted by that recent outrage, even as it confirmed his holy sovereignty over the worldly potentate. A third benefit, it has been suggested, of choosing Bologna was the university there: its medical doctors could attend the emperor in his battle against an inflammation of the larynx.[812] For these reasons, Bologna, second city of the Papal States (since it was conquered by Pope Julius II in 1506), was to be the coronation site.

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[808] Dantiscus, *Silva,* ll. 433-38: "*Suscipe, quod diadema tibi debetur, et Urbem/ Ne cures! Urbs est Felsina clara satis./ Rex cum Romanus non visa diceris esse/ Roma, cur non sic caesar et esse potes?/ Te modo, fac, propere Germanas confer ad oras,/ Hostibus ut possis arma movere crucis!*" Felsina is the ancient Etruscan name for Bologna.

[809] *Imperium* in ancient Rome was 'command' or 'authority' and an *imperator* was a 'commander' invested with authority of a general. Here Dantiscus is using this classical definition in combination with the modern idea of *empire* and *emperor* as lordship over many nations.

[810] Cadenas y Vicent, *Doble Coronación*, 7. Brady, 213-220.

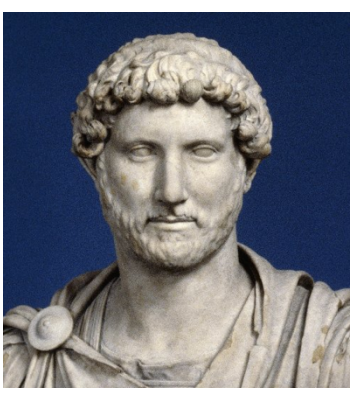
[811] Cadenas y Vicent, *Doble Coronación,* 7. For a concise treatment, see Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 34-53. For a dramatic first-hand account, cf. Benvenuto Cellini, *My Life,* translated by Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: University Press, 2009), 59-67.

[812] Cadenas y Vicent, *Diario*, 209.

The Emperor's people emphasized that it was the pope and not the city that is important. "Rome is wherever the pope is," wrote Gattinara (*ubi papa, ibi Roma*).[813] Dantiscus echoed him:

> Place the sacred crown upon the brow of imperial Caesar! Be it here or in Rome, either way is equally good.
>
> You take Rome with you (as they say) wherever you go, and not the other way around; where the pope is, there is Rome.[814]

When Charles arrived in November of 1529, he enjoyed a spectacular entry. The pageantry evoked the classical Roman Empire of the Caesars. There were medallion portraits of Julius, Augustus, Titus, and Trajan on the triumphal arch that he rode through at the *Porta San Felice.* There were statues of Roman generals and senators, Roman gods, muses and "allegorical figures."[815] Charles rode in on a white horse passing through the ephemeral triumphal arches, accompanied by "the equivalent of two Roman legions."[816] He had cut his hair and grown a beard. Paolo Giovio thought it very attractive and that it covered his chin which was "a little too prominent," but in fact he was following the advice of Mercurino Gattinara to look more like an ancient Caesar.[817]



Figs. 5-1, 5-2, 5-3: Three bearded Roman emperors: Hadrian (r. 117-138), Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-180), and early sixteenth-century version Charlemagne (r. 800-814) by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528).[818]

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[813] Konrad Eisenbichler, "Charles V in Bologna: the self-fashioning of a man and a city," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Special Issue: *Civic Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Bologna: Historical and Scholarly Contexts* (December 1999), 433-34, esp. footnote 9.

[814] Dantiscus, *Silva,* ll. 326-28: "*Caesaris imperii sacra tempora cinge corona!/ Quod si fit, refert, hic vel in Urbe, parum./ Tu tecum Romam, non te fert illa, quod aiunt,/ Esseque dicitur haec hic, ubi papa manet.*"

[815] Eisenbichler, 432-433. Dandelet, 95. Brandi, 282-83. Eisenbichler names these commemorated generals ("Furius Camillus and Scipio Africanus"), senators ("Scipio the Younger, Scaevola, Metellus, and Marcellus"), and gods ("Janus and Apollo").

[816] Dandelet, *Renaissance of Empire,* 95.

[817] Wim Blockmans and Nicolette Mout, "The Harvest of a Celebration: What more do we need to know about Charles V after the year 2000?" in *The World of Emperor Charles V* (Amsterdam: Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004), 9; the Giovio remark is a quotation that Zimmerman makes in *Paolo Giovio*, 108.

[818] The first two are at the British Museum (www.britishmuseum.org), museum numbers 1805,0703.95 and 1861,1127.15, respectively. The original of the third is at the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* in Nuremburg, and this is an image of a late sixteenth-century copy at the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna; the image is taken from

It did not seem to matter that neither Julius nor Augustus wore a beard; the first Roman emperor to wear one was Hadrian, but all emperors after him did as well, including Marcus Aurelius. Charlemagne, too, the first Holy Roman Emperor, is always portrayed with a beard. This seems like a small thing, but it was full of meaning. The beard, of course, was a natural (biological) sign of manliness and maturity—since neither women nor boys could grow them—and also had a warlike, secular, and virile connotation in the sixteenth century. When Pope Adrian VI was crowned in Rome in 1522, he immediately forbade clerics to wear beards; significantly, this decree was one of a series intended to separate the clergy from nobility (the first and second estates, respectively): in addition, the pope forbade Roman priests to carry arms, to wear the wrong clothes, and to keep their concubines disguised as pages (a combination of two beardless identities).[819] It also showed Charles's maturity. He had been crowned king of Spain a month before his sixteenth birthday, and Holy Roman Emperor in Aachen at the age for twenty. In the following ten years, he had put down the *Comuneros* Revolt (1521), imprisoned the French king (1525), married (1526), had a son (1527), imprisoned the pope (1527), and made peace with both France and the papacy (1529). No longer could someone like Dantiscus call him "an excellent youth" (*optimus iuvenis*).[820] From now on, he would only be *caesar invictus*.

Nicholas Hogenberg rendered the grand entry in a woodblock print, *Procession of Pope Clement VII and Emperor Charles V after the Coronation at Bologna, 1530.*[821] Knights, footmen, courtiers, prelates, numerous standard bearers all served as place-holders—or representatives—for a much larger number of attendants, a few dozen standing in for thousands.[822] Pope and emperor rode in side-by-side, under a canopy.

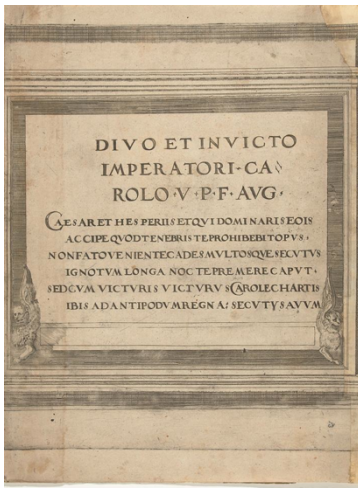
"Die Welt der Habsburg" (www.habsburg.net); for a full description of Charlemagne's garments see the website of the Textile Research Centre in Leiden (https://trc-leiden.nl).

[819] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, September 18, 1522, from Antwerp (IDL 163): "Then after this with great celebration, he was brought into the city (Rome) for all to see in the traditional ceremony and crowned and it was exclaimed by all 'Long live Pope Adrian VI, the restorer of the City and the World (*urbis et orbis restaurator*)'. And then, a short time after his coronation, he made a decree that no one was to dare go about armed (in the city) lest he be one of the Pope's servants for whom it is permitted; and all of the clergy who have a dedicated benefice are to go around wearing the corresponding vestments, so that they be observant (of their obligations). And that no cleric hereafter wear a beard. And he prohibited as well, under heavy penalty, that no cleric's girl (mistress) should go about in men's clothing (disguised)." (*Et quod deinde cum omnium summo gaudio in urbem sit introductus et publice cum caeremoniis consuetis coronatus exclamatumque ab omnibus "Vivat Adrianus papa sextus urbis et orbis restaurator." Et quod paulo post coronationem constitutionem in urbe fecerit, quod nemo cum armis ire audeat, nisi sit de his officialibus et eorum servis unus, quibus est permissum, quodque omnes clerici et beneficiis addicti vestibus huiusmodi incedant, quae in sacris constitutos spectant. Et quod nemo clericorum, cuiuscumque status sit, barbatus deinceps videatur. Et quod nemo clericorum, cuiuscumque status sit, barbatus deinceps videatur. Prohibuit etiam sub gravibus poenis, ne quisquam clericorum puellam in masculinis vestibus incedentem habeat.*)

[820] Johannes Dantiscus to Sigismund I, June 30, 1519, from Barcelona (IDL 142).

[821] Nicolaus Hogenberg, *L'incisione del corteo trionfale di Carlo V di Nicolaus Hogenberg: un capitolo del Rinascimento in un acquaforte delle collezioni roveresche: catalogo della mostra a cura di John T. Spik*e, introduction by Mauro Mei (Urbania, Italy: Urbania Palazzo ducale, Biblioteca e civico museo, 1999). This can also be viewed online at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?s=objecttype&p=1&ps=12&f.principalMaker.sort=Nicolaas+Hogenberg&ii=1#/RP-P-OB-78.624-2,1. A cursory internet search will show that there are many versions—some as scroll, some as a codex; some in color, some black-and-white—available for viewing. As a scroll, it is 34 feet and six inches long (*The First Proofs of the Universal Catalogue of Books on Art* [London: Chapmand and Hall, 1870], 863); as a codex it is 40 pages (Hogenberg, *L'incisione*).

[822] Dandelet, 94.




Figs. 5-4, 5-5, 5-6: Hogenberg: The pope and the emperor (left); a triumphal arch (middle and right).

Hogenberg included artillery pieces to represent the emperor's military might and an ox roasting on a spit, stuffed with smaller animals (*bos variis animalculis infarcitus*), promising a feast for the people, along with servants throwing bread into the crowd (*panis omnis generis passim omnibus distributus*). It was an engraving that had everything—*almost.* Bologna itself was missing: there was no background or any reference that could locate this parade in any context.[823] Some historians have argued that this means that the author was pretending that Bologna was Rome, and the "spectacle" was a merely a piece of "theatre" or "an elaborate fiction constructed to depict an imagined reality."[824] On the other hand, such a dislocated image transcends place, becoming universal, and even time, becoming eternal. Both Gattinara and Dantiscus argued that Rome was an idea, more than a place: Rome traveled with the pope and belonged to the emperor. In fact, the one structure that is included in this work of art is the triumphal arch, an ephemeral structure though it may have been. There is an inscription (see *fig. 5-5*, above); it reads:

> Divine and unconquered Emperor Charles V, pious and blessed, Augustus, emperor who will conquer the West and the East. Take up the task that darkness would forbid you, and you will not stumble and fall, as many have, to be pushed into a long night of ignorance, O Charles, victor of victors, you go to the kingdoms on the far side of the earth, following your grandfather.[825]

The effect of '*Romanizing*' and making '*antique*' was a deliberate projection of imperial power, reflecting the victories of the previous decade.[826] At the same time, it had a connection to the

[823] Eisenbichler, 437.
[824] Ibid., 439.
[825] "*Divo et invicto Imperatori Carolo V. P. F. Aug. Caesar et Hesperiis et qui dominaris Eois, Accipe quod tenebris te prohibebit opus & Non fato veniente cades multosque secutus ignotum longa nocte premere caput & Sed cum victuris victurus Carole chartis ibis ad antipodum regna: secutus avum."* (This abbreviation, 'P. F. Aug.' refers to a title used by Roman emperors: *pius felix augustus*.)
[826] Eisenbichler (432) attributes this language to André Chastel, "Les entrées de Charles Quint en Italie" in *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris, Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1960).

aspirations for a new world empire taking shape in the imagination of Charles's advisors even as it found expression across Europe and the Atlantic. The Renaissance humanistic program that embraced the lost heritage of Rome, had grown into something else. By 1530, Charles's people were looking forward. Gattinara and his right hand, Valdés, had developed a vision of world empire. They were also Johannes Dantiscus's closest associates at court and their politics were present in the *silva*.

What did *Emperor* mean in 1530?

An even better representation of Charles's aspirations to world empire is the famous allegorical painting by Parmigianino (Francesco Mazzola, 1503-1540) made for the same occasion.[827] Charles rests his right hand on the planet, holding a scepter; winged Victory (or is it Fame?) blesses this hand and his head with laurels. The emperor is wearing armor and sword. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) described Parmigianino's creation in his *Lives:*

> When the Emperor Charles V was at Bologna to be crowned by Clement VII, Francesco, who went several times to him at table, but without drawing his portrait, made a likeness of that Emperor in a very large picture in oils, wherein he painted Frame crowning him with laurel, and a boy giving him, as it were the dominion over it. This work, when finished, he showed to to Pope Clement, who was so pleased with it that he sent it and Francesco together, accompanied by the Bishop of Vasona, then Datary, to the Emperor; at which his Majesty, to whom it gave much satisfaction, hinted that is should be left with him. But Francesco, being ill advised by an insincere or injudicious friend, refused to leave it, saying it that is was not finished; and so his Majesty did not have it, and Francesco was not rewarded for it, as he certainly would have been."[828]

Fig. 5-7: Parmigianio: Allegorical Portrait of Charles V (1530).

In addition, William Eisler observed that Parmigianino was also alluding "to three deeds of Hercules, with whom Charles was frequently identified":

[827] This image is available from Artstor (*library.artstor.org*) and numerous other on-line resources.
[828] Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors & Architects,* Vol. V, Gaston du C De Vere, trans. (London: Macmillan and Co. & The Medici Society, 1912-15), 251.

> The boy holding the globe refers to the assumption of Atlas's burden, the pelt over his shoulders to the slaying of the Nemean Lion. On the sheath of Charles's sword is the imperial *impresa* — the double columns placed at the western end of the Mediterranean to mark the limits of the known world.[829]

This is the "columnar device" that Charles used his entire career (and which he shared with Giovio). And though the passing through the strait of Gibraltar ("the pillars of Hercules") would naturally call to mind Castilian exploration and conquest of the New World, Charles started using it when he was Duke of Burgundy, a year before he was king of Spain.[830] It was invented by his royal physician and confidant, the Milanese humanist Luigi Marliano, in 1516, though an earlier version of the pillars (as a mere decoration) was part of the symbolism of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[831] To go beyond—*plus ultra*—those columns at the end of Spain would have originally meant (for Burgundian Crusaders) to go south and east in evangelizing conquest of North Africa and the Holy Land. For the Spanish this too was the natural extension of the *Reconquista* that ended with victory in Granada in 1492. Even as Columbus set sail to the west that year, he insisted that the wealth of China would allow his sovereigns to capture to Jerusalem.[832] Yet, by 1530, the possibilities of conquest had expanded from the Holy Land to the New World; on the triumphal arch in Bologna that Hogenberg reproduced (*fig. 5-5*) is written, "emperor who will conquer the West and the East […and] go to the kingdoms on the far side of the earth (*ad antipodum regna*)."

Fig. 5-8: Charles's royal (later imperial) device in the choir stalls of Barcelona Cathedral, 1519

In 1529 and 1530, at the time of this coronation, Hogenberg's images, and Dantiscus's *silva*, the advocates of a new empire were in very high spirits, taking traditional Ghibellinism into an agenda of world monarchy for the second Charlemagne.[833] Gattinara had inherited it from another Italian, Dante Alighieri, dreaming of peninsular freedom, and remade it for a new age with boundless possibility and ambition.[834]

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[829] William Eisler, "The Impact of the Emperor Charles V upon the Italian Visual Culture 1529-1533," *Arte Lombarda*, Nuova Serie, No. 65 (2), *Atti del Convegno: Umanesimo problemi aperti*: *6* (1983), 99.
[830] Earl E. Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516*," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 36 (1973), 198.
[831] Ibid., 199-200, 202, 211.
[832] Ibid., 225-226. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 69. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus,* Vol. 1 (New York: Time, Inc., 1942), 41.
[833] John Headley, "The Habsburg World Empire and the Revival of Ghibellinism" in *Theories of Empire,* ed. David Armitage (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 1998): 68: "the high noon of the Habsburg empire in Europe."
[834] It was not a new idea, two hundred year's earlier, Dante Alighieri placed his hopes in a short-lived Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg (r. 1312-1313). In his letter to the "Princes and Peoples of Italy," Dante called the emperor "another Moses, who shall deliver his people," the "Elect of God and Augustus and Caesar," who was the Christ-like bridegroom "hastening to the wedding." (Dante Alighieri, September or October, 1310, *Dantis Alagherii Epistolae: The Letters of Dante,* edited and translated by Paget Toynbee [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920], 59 and

Dantiscus's poem for Charles V wove a coherent picture of emperor by shuttling back and forth between Christian and classical tropes. Consider the following passage where Dantiscus invoked God (God's will, God's power and protection) and the Cross, but also *Fortuna* and *Virtus*, the lucky star of Fate, and Winged Jove:

> Go, go, most great and glorious Caesar, hope of our world; the spirit of the age, all things, and sacred destiny are calling for you!
>
> It is God's will that, through you, noble peace be restored to the earth, that long ago was laid in ruins and buried by all of these wars.
>
> It is His will to strengthen His weary people through you, so as to utterly destroy that nation that is the enemy of the Cross, to tear it out by the roots.
>
> Go quickly and, with all your heart, finish what you have started! You go forth covered in the power and protection of God.
>
> Pay homage to your ancestors and their glorious triumphs; your forefathers deserve recognition for their past achievements!
>
> You should test your fate under this lucky star—a fate that keeps showing you to be a conqueror!

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also 48-49: "*Moysen alium suscitavit, qui de gracaminibus Aegyptiorum populum suum eripiet," "Divus et Augustus et Caesar, ad nuptias properat.*") And in his letter to Henry himself, the Florentine author addressed him as "a long-awaited Sun *(Titan*), a new hope of a better age shone upon Italy," and new Aeneas (and his son a second Ascanius), and also a Christ-figure: "Art thou he that should come? Or look we for another?" "Then my spirit rejoiced within me when I said secretly within myself: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.'" (Dante Alighieri, April 17, 1311, *Dantis Alagherii Epistolae,* 101, 102-103, and also 90, *"'Tu es qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?'"* [quoting Matthew 11:3 and Luke 7:19], 90-91: "*ceu Titan praeoptatus exoreins, nova spes Latio saeculi melioris effulsit" "Tunc exultavit in me spiritus meus, tacitus dixi mecum: 'Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi!'*" [referring to John 1:29], 102-103 for Aeneas and Ascanius.) Thus, Dante combined the sun/"Titan" (because Helios was the son of the Titan Hyperion) with Aeneis, and with Christ, and earlier with Moses: Greek pagan mythology, literature, and Christianity. This combined iconography packed with such authority that Gattinara wanted to republish a new edition of Dante's *De Monarchia* promoting world monarchy Charles instead of Henry. (Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993], 113.)

Marie Tanner studied this amalgamation of imperial iconography in *The Last Descendant of Aeneas* (1993) and found among the ancestors of Charles's grandfather, Maximilian, "Jewish kings and prophets, Greek and Egyptian demigods, Roman divinities and Christian saints, Trojan heroes and their historical progeny among the Frankish emperors; thus Saturn and Osiris, Hector and Priam, Noah and Christ, Clovis and Charlemagne sprout from various branches of the Hapsburg family tree." (Tanner, 103.) Tanner argues that this "rigorously programmatic system of ideas, whose foundations are venerable with age, whose language is abstract and secret, and whose aim is the transferal of spiritual yearnings from a remote to a proximate deity" to cultivate "a symbiotic relationship between a people's ruler and the most venerable religious symbols of its culture" and a "sacrosanct kingship."[834]

This syncretic aspect of the humanist canon should not surprise us. The authority of Rome had passed to the church and to the Holy Roman Emperor in Germany. The classical authors had been preserved by scholars and monastics and were used to train future clerics in their Latin. The figure of Vergil (Dante's guide through Hell) bridges the two cultures handily: in the *Aeneid*, he told of Rome's foundations and, in his *Eclogue 4*, he prophesied the birth of a miraculous child who would bring another golden age allowing Christians to claim him as a prophet. (Tanner, 250.)

> And it (your fate) will do so in the future, just don't you miss the chance for these great and promising enterprises: up and get your awe-inspiring army on the move, following Winged Jove!
>
> Your happy companion Fortune (*Fortuna*) and also Courage (*Virtus*) will attend you, and they will put supreme rule (*imperium*) of the world under your authority.[835]

Beyond the rhetoric of an auspicious ceremony, Dantiscus was trying to seize a historic moment to realize his vision for Europe. It was a Europe of independent polities united under the leadership of a catholic Roman emperor. Like Dante before him, Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara was hoping for order, a pacifying authority, *but not direct rule*. Venetian ambassador Gasparo Contarini described Gattinara's vision as one of an emperor over a fraternity of monarchs.[836] At the 1530 coronation, Pope Clement greeted Charles as the *leading* king and emperor (*il primo Re et Imperatore di Christiani*); he is the first among equals—or, if not equals, at least colleagues.[837] This is a formulation, spoken by the pope, reflects his own position, the bishop of Rome who had become the *pontifex maximus*. It is a relationship that existed in older, pre-Christian, Europe that any well-read sixteenth-century courtier would have recognized. In the *Iliad,* when Agamemnon leads the Greeks to Troy, he is just one king among many: his power and pedigree and also his family interest *lend* him an authority over the other kings (or chieftains). He is the legitimate leader, but his legitimacy is temporary and can be challenged—as it was by Achilles.[838]

Moreover, Gattinara, recalling the outrage that had been inflicted on the Eternal City in the emperor's name, hoped to repair the damage in 1530. He wrote in his *Autobiography*:

> Mercurino counselled Caesar to go to Italy. Doing this would allow Caesar to win the love of the people by removing their troubles and the fear of the enemy, His honour and esteem would increase. He advised the preparation of a strong fleet of galleys. After he pacified the affairs of the Christians, he could turn against the enemies of the faith with a strong army.[839]

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[835] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 485-500: "*I, decus, i, nostri spes Orbis, maxime caesar,/ Quo tempus, quo res et pia fata vocant!/ Per te vult orbi Deus altam reddere pacem,/ Quae iacuit per tot bella sepulta diu./ Per te vult animos fessos firmare suorum,/ Funditus ut pereat gens inimica cruces./ Tu propere, quod coepisti, iam pectore toto/ Perfice! Protectus numinis ibis ope./ Maiores agnosce tuos clarosque triumphos,/ Quos atavi quondam promeruere tui!/ Experiare tuam fausto sub sidere sortem,/ Et faciet, coeptis ne desis ipse secundis:/ Sub Iovis alitibus castra tremenda move!/ Te felix Fortuna comes Virtusque sequentur,/ Orbis et imperium sub tua iura dabunt.*"
[836] John Headley, *The Emperor and His Chancellor*, 12.
[837] Dandelet, 96.
[838] Dean C. Hammer, "'Who Shall Readily Obey?': Authority and Politics in the *Iliad*, *Phoenix*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Spring, 1997), 1-24. A. Shewan, "The Kingship of Agamemnon," *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Jul., 1917), 146-153, esp. 150: "That, in subordination to this head for the time being, the other chiefs retained their independence and had surrendered nothing in regard to their own contingents, seems clear enough. Not only is there no hint that they had been ordered to join [the Trojan campaign …] but, on the contrary, according to Homer (and the *Cypria*), deputations had to traverse the country […] persuading them to take part in the war."
[839] Mercurino Gattinara, *Autobiography,* in Rebecca Ard Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara and the Creation of the Spanish Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 124.

Gattinara had been grooming the emperor since the beginning of his reign, calling him to take on the mantle of "the greatest emperor and king who has been since the division of the empire, which was realized in the person of Charlemagne your predecessor, and by drawing you to the right path of monarchy in order to lead back the entire world to a single shepherd."[840] His shepherd's crook was a mighty rod, and he needed both its strength and the united flock to defeat an external enemy, the wolf at the gate. The more subtle point about the character of the world emperor's rule, leadership and not despotism, *imperium* and not *dominium*, came likely from Gattinara as well: it was to be indirect rule over a fraternity of monarchs.[841] To employ the metaphor of a round table would not have been too far off the mark.

Chivalric Crusade: a Medieval Tradition?

The anti-Turkish crusade was a familiar program for Holy Roman Emperors, Spanish monarchs, and Burgundian nobles. Charles's Grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian I had been imagining himself on crusade for decades, even founding the Order of St. George, confirmed by Pope Pius II in 1469, named for the patron saint of knights and crusaders, and dedicated to repulsing the Turks invading Habsburg lands.[842] But Maximilian was better at contriving plans than executing them and the crusade never happened. [843]

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[840] Headley, 50. And while Gattinara himself remained focused on European hegemony and not the conquest of the New World (66)—perhaps because was an Italian, perhaps because he was an older man having lived his formative years *before there was a New World*—we know that the younger Charles did not overlook those lands.

Headley finds this universal motif in the earliest symbols of Charles V. Even in 1517, sailing for Spain from the Netherlands, the sails of his flagships were emblazoned with "the two columns of Hercules and the intertwined inscription *Plus Oultre*—'still further'" (45): this is *before* he possessed Mexico and Peru, *before* he was Holy Roman Emperor. Likewise, Headley writes, the funeral cortege for his grandfather, Ferdinand, was concluded by a car with "a soldier in full armor with sword upraised surrounded by Amerindians and at the back if the car a golden globe with the motto *Ulterius nisi morte*"—'further than this only in death', or 'further and further until death', rich with meaning given the occasion—"suggestive of universal expansion." (45)

The purpose of the Coronation at Bologna was to legitimize Charles as lead ruler (with *imperium* but not *dominium*) of Europe and pacify his detractors. Gattinara lived long enough to see it done and died a few months later. Historians who study Gattinara and his vision—John Headley and (his student) Rebecca Ard Boone—build this argument on the sketch by Frances Yates of an imperial model that connects Charles V to the earlier Charlemagne, who too had made an alliance with the pope (Leo III) that strengthened them both. In Augustinian terms, the head of the *civitas Dei* restored the head of the *civitas terrena*, retaining his holy authority but gaining worldly protection and uniting Christendom. One medieval ecclesiologist, Dominique Iogna-Prat, put this relationship in terms of the body of Christ: Christendom was "a unitary whole, with a center, Rome, and boundaries that were to be both defended against external enemies—the pagans and the infidels—and extended until they encompassed the entire world (*Universitalitas*). The Church was like a mountain destined to fill all the space on earth, gradually eating up territory until it and the world were one." (Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam [1000-1150]* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002], 2.) For Yates, Charles was a lawful world emperor in the Roman tradition. (Yates, 6-7, 11-12. Yates finds a description of this world headship in Dante's *Monarchia.*) Yet "it was realized – in some quarters with fear, in others with hope –" that Charles had territories linking and exceeding the old Roman Empire, and was therefore even more a Lord of the World than the Romans had been. (Yates, 20-21.)

[841] Headley reports this observation from the correspondence of Venetian ambassador Gasparo Contarini. (Headley, 12).

[842] Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: University Press, 2008), 114. The Turks had made encroachments into Krain (1469), Styria and Carinthia (1473, 1475).

[843] In 1507, Maximilian pretended to lead a crusade into North Africa whose real aim was to displace Ferdinand of

Fig. 5-9: Albrecht Dürer: Maximilian and the Knights of St. George Vowing a Crusade against the Turks[844]

Maximilian's chivalric project was in the tradition of English Order of the Garter (est. 1348, also following St. George) and the Burgundian crusading order of the Golden Fleece, sounded in 1430 by Charles the Good (Charles V's great-great-grandfather). An elaborate party, the Feast of the Pheasant (*Fête du Faisan*) in 1454, was the order's symbolic response to the fall of Constantinople, when the duke "solemnly vowed to challenge the Sultan in single combat."[845] A comparable French initiative, the Order of Saint-Michel (est. 1469), embraced the same crusading tradition.[846] All of these showed more intention than action while infusing the essence of crusade into the mentality of Late Medieval and Early Modern chivalry, celebrating both piety and martial courage.[847]

From his mother's side, on the other hand, Charles was the heir to a long tradition of active crusade in the Spanish *Reconquista* that was finally concluded eight years before his birth. The Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, conquered Granada in 1492, ending a protracted ten-year campaign, the final chapter of centuries of warfare against the Muslim invaders. In 1493, the king and queen also took over the administration of Spain's three crusading orders:

Aragon as regent in Castile over their mutual grandson, Charles V. When his progress was blocked by Venetian control of the Alpine passes, Maximilian pivoted to make Ferdinand an ally instead—the crusade forgotten. (See H. G. Koenigsberger, "Prince and States General: Charles V and the Netherlands [1506-1555]: The Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 4 [1994], 131-32.)

[844] Print on woodcut; The University of Michigan Museum of Art; Ann Arbor. https://www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/altdorfer/crusade-turks.jpg

[845] Brandi, 28-31.

[846] Brian Sandberg, "Going Off to the War in Hungary: French Nobles and Crusading Culture in the Sixteenth Century," *Hungarian Historical Review* vol. 4, no. 2 (2015): 346–383, 355. Sandberg gives examples where French nobles, or *grands*, participated as volunteers on crusade in Hungary.

[847] Jonathan Riley-Smith calls this "holy and penitential warfare" and argues that its was central to the crusading movement since its inception; see Riley-Smith's, *The Crusades,* 3rd edition but not earlier editions, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 13-20.

Calatrava, Santiago, and Alcantara. Charles saw these become part of his crown in "perpetual incorporation" by order of Pope Adrian VI (his friend and former tutor).[848] Ferdinand and Isabella had moved the border of Christendom to the tip of Iberia, the very pillars of Hercules which would become Charles's "columnar device" and be joined with his motto, *plus ultra,* "further beyond" (i.e. there are more glorious conquests and discoveries waiting).[849] For the eager, pious young emperor, the action or inaction of his forces as he worked to rally them toward great projects, would determine whether *plus ultra* should be followed by a question mark or an exclamation point.

Crusade Tradition in the family of Charles V

Burgundy (Valois)	**Austria (Habsburg)**	**Castile & Aragon (Trastámara)**
Philip II "The Bold"	&	
sent crusaders to Nicopolis	Holy Roman Emperor	***Order of Calatrava***
1396	*There were a number of emperors connected with the crusades: Frederick I died on the Third Crusade, Frederick II and his son Conrad IV were both kings of Jerusalem, and, more recently, Sigismund I fought at Nicopolis.*	1158
|		***Order of Santiago***
John I "The Fearless"		1170
fought at Nicopolis		***Order of Alcantara***
|		1176
Philip III "The Good"		*All three were founded as to fight the Muslims in the Reconquista, and came under the control of the Spanish Ferdinand, and "perpetual monarchs Isabella and incorporation" in 1523 by papal bull.*
Order of the Golden Fleece		
1430		
Fête du Faisan		
1454		
|		
Charles "The Bold"		
|		
Mary =	Maximilian I	Isabella = Ferdinand
	Order of St. George	***Conquest of Granada***
	1468	1482-1492
	|	|
Philip the Handsome =		Joanna
|		
Charles		

Fig. 5-10. Military Orders & Crusades in the ancestry of Charles V.

Though the Spaniards achieved martial victories in the name of religion, most Christian knights were content to show their valor in braggart promises.[850] And while there were examples of Burgundian *volunteers* riding off to crusade in Hungary, they were not led by their duke after the

[848] Aurelio Espinosa, "The Spanish Reformation: Institutional Reform, Taxation, and the Secularization of Ecclesiastical Properties under Charles V," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 37, 18-19.
[849] Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra," 204-228 (this image, right, is between pages 208 and 209 and the plate is numbered 39). See also Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516" in the same journal, Vol. 36 (1973), 198-230.
[850] Brandi, 31.

fifteenth century.[851] The voices of Europe widely promoted crusade—and not to do so was considered shameful—but the arms and feet were loth to stir. The political cost of riding off with military strength to a lauded but unprofitable goal far away while leaving one's own lands unprotected was strategically unsound.[852] Christian rulers living in the West, far from the Balkan frontier and the Eastern Mediterranean, were not interested in such distant troubles; they had troubles of their own. The closer rulers were to the Turks and the Tatars, the more they were inclined to fight against them because they had more to gain (or not lose). The Hungarian *voivode* John Hunyadi (r. 1441-1456) fought the Turks on his doorstep, as did Stephen III, *voivode* of Moldova (r. 1457-1504), preserving his independence but ultimately paying tribute to the Porte because no Christian allies came to his aid.[853] The Knights Hospitaller fought fiercely from their redoubt on Rhodes, but they were a military brotherhood free from the profane cares of a governing prince.[854] Fighting brought the risk of over-extension and exposure. The rulers facing the Ottoman threat did not want to spend themselves fighting the enemy alone, knowing that rivals could profit from their weakness, or that they could incur the wrath of the Turkish forces with an aggressive move they could not back up.[855]

For these reasons, Christian rulers did not work in concert, and the situation seemed a terrible and deteriorating stalemate. Orators—who did not have to count the costs of a risky campaign—repeatedly tried to stir their sovereigns to action:

> At diplomatic congresses, the reception of ambassadors, the elevation of a pope, the marriage of a prince, or almost any public occasion an orator trained in the new rhetoric might step forward and deliver an *Exhortatio ad bellum contra barbaros*. One gets the impression that the composition of an oration against the Turks was 'the this thing to do' and that every self-respecting man of letters kept several in his repertory for the appropriate occasion and included them in his *Opere* whether or not he had delivered them.[856]

The literature of the period reflects this almost-unquestioned political culture: *chansons de geste* were chivalric romances popular everywhere in Europe and nowhere more than the imperial,

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[851] Brian Sandberg, "Going Off to the War in Hungary: French Nobles and Crusading Culture in the Sixteenth Century." *Hungarian Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2015): 346–383.
[852] James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Vol. 49, Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th – 15th Centuries (1995), 124.
[853] Eugen Denize, *Stephen the Great and His Reign*, trans. Stela Tinney (Bucharest: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2004), 184-196. Jonathan Eagles, *Stephen the Great and Balkan Nationalism: Moldova and Eastern European History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 60-64.
[854] The Knights Hospitaller held Rhodes for over two centuries, from 1309 to 1522, repelling two invasions, one from the Egyptian Mamlūks in 1444, and one from the Ottoman Turks in 1480. Only with sheer numbers and new artillery did the sultan force them to surrendered in 1522, and then only after a six-month bombardment that ended in an "honorable" withdrawal. (Roger Crowley, *Empires of the Sea: The Siege of Malta, the Battle of Lepanto, and the Contest for the center of the world* [New York: Random House, 2008], 3-22.)
[855] Carina L. Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in sixteenth-century Europe: The Ottomans and the Aztecs.* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011), 1.
[856] Robert H. Schwoebel, "Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade Against the Turks," *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 12 (1965), 165.

royal, and ducal courts on both sides of Charles's family.[857] The most popular *chansons de geste* were explicitly about the crusade: *Orlando Furioso* (1516) was set during Charlemagne's Spanish campaign against the Saracens, and *Enrique fi de Oliva* (1498), took place in the Crusader State of Jerusalem. And even romances not explicitly opposed to Muslim power still promoted heroic adventures in far-off and magical places by pious knights. Bernal Díaz del Castillo famously compared his first sighting of Tenochtitlán in 1519 to an enchanted city from *Amadis de Gaula* (1508), "on account of the great towers and *cues* [temple-pyramids] and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry" and noted that some among his companions wondered if it were not all a dream.[858]

The conquest of the New World was a natural continuation of the realized *Reconquista*: it combined service to God in the proselytization of the heathens with territorial conquest. This is true also of the turn to North Africa that Charles V undertook in his capture of Tunis in 1535 (a response to its Ottoman conquest in 1525) and attempt for Algiers in 1540. Charles had been further provoked by constant piracy and slave-raids that threatened the Spanish and Italian coasts.[859] Yet Charles could not build on his victories while he was distracted by his wars with France and with the Protestants.[860] From Dantiscus's point of view, the wars between European princes were fratricidal distractions impeding the main crusade to Hungary and the Balkan Peninsula, devastated by the Ottomans on their path from Constantinople to Vienna.

Two early Ottoman victories were the the Battle of Nicopolis (1396) and the Battle of Varna (1444), both considered crusades by the Christians who fought and lost. Charles's predecessor, Emperor Sigismund I, and his ancestor, John the Fearless of Burgundy, both fought at Nicopolis. At Varna, the Polish King, Ladislaus III (r. 1434 – 1444, Władysław Warneńczyk [the Varnian] in Polish, taking the name of this battle) was killed, a fact Dantiscus lamented in his *silva*: "Who would not be moved by the devastation at Varna?/ There, in that battle, he did fall: the uncle of my king."[861]

Seven years later, came the fall of Constantinople (Dantiscus called it *Urbs Byzantina*) after which the "power of the Turks has been growing ever greater."[862] The great, thousand-year-old Christian city and the strongest direct connection to the culture of antiquity were at once lost: "O famous Greece, behold now thy end! Who does not grieve for you?" wrote Pope Pius II, mourning as much for the loss of life as the severance to classical learning.[863] The Venetian

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[857] Linde M. Brocato, "Spanish Studies: Medieval Literature," *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, Vol. 73 (2013 [survey year 2011]), 148: "Both the *Reyes Católicos* and the Hapsburgs were avid readers of chivalresque fiction [… contributed to] the ideological bonds that were cemented materially in the marriages of their children."
[858] Bonnie G Smith, *Crossroads and Cultures: A History of the World's Peoples,* Vol. 2: *Since 1300,* (Bedford: St. Martin's, 2012), 57. cf. Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World,* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991), 132-133.
[859] Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 10, 23. Davis estimates that pirates and slavers, going village-by-village and ship-by-ship, collected some 8,500 a year in the sixteenth century, and some 1 or 1.25 million over the period of 250 years.
[860] It would be Charles's son, Philip II, who would see the decisive Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.
[861] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 69-70: "*Quem non commoveat clades Varnensis? In illa/ Ille mei regis patruus occubuit.*"
[862] Ibid., ll. 70-71: "*Hinc Byzantina tot caedibus urbe subacta/ Turcarum vis est semper adaucta magis.*"
[863] Hankins, 122.

Lauro Quirini added, "Constantinople, an imperial city, once the citadel of the Roman Empire, conqueror and mistress of provinces—alas!—has now been cruelly and wretchedly seized."[864] Dantiscus, following these examples, mourned the carnage (*tot caedibus*) that tipped the first in the cascade of dominoes of Ottoman advance. In 1480, the Turks captured Otranto and set up a slave-trading station on the Italian peninsula; Norman Housley has called it a "9/11 moment" because "the full extent of the Turkish threat hit home and their perspective on it shifted from witness to victim."[865] Dantiscus listed the consecutive blows of the Ottoman advance: across Croatia, then to Belgrade (1521), where his cannonballs in "dense barrage" were "sulfurous thunderbolts fashioned by the hands of the Cyclopses."[866] Next, "as we were snoring," fell the island of Rhodes (1522), a "shining barrier" previously thought impervious.[867] After conquering Upper and Lower Bulgaria, The Turks were ready to attack the Polish-Lithuanian frontier, making common cause with Poland's enemies, the Muscovites and the Crimean Tatars:

> And they have joined the terrible Scythians to themselves in a league, who are called Muscovites in our time,
>
> Who drink the icy waves of the River Tanaïs or of the monstrous Borysthenes, or again of the swift currents of the Phasis;
>
> Whatever other human beings live out there, whose name Hell spews up [*quibus indunt Tartara nomen*], have set out against us and follow the banner of our enemies.[868]

Dantiscus introduced the Tatars here as those "whose name Hell (*Tartarum*) spews up" meaning either the literal Underworld or the sound-alike Tartary (or both); *Tartara*, here the plural form, carried the sense of 'nether regions' a collection of places both dreaded and unknown, adding to the dread of the dark horizon, the ultra-liminal or 'out there' feel that Dantiscus assigned to the steppe seen in the preceding line: 'Whatever humans there be out there….'

The contrast could not be starker. While the Christians were bickering in their disunity, and French and Spanish made war in Italy, the forces of evil were acting in concert against the Polish king. King Sigismund "called for reinforcements but this was in vain"; and Dantiscus traveled as ambassador "three times from here to further Hesperia (Spain),/ When still the Gaul and the Iberian were boiling over with this war, and the treasures of Latium were being plundered,/ And

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[864] Ibid.

[865] Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3. This is provocative comparison, but Professor Housley overstates the real '9/11' in which a ragtag band of terrorists managed to steal four airplanes and destroy a building killing 3,000 people. Considering the might and resources of the Ottoman Empire, a better comparison might be Pearl Harbor.

The Ottomans also attacked Rhodes this year, without success. (See footnote 66, above.)

[866] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 71, 81-82: "*Sulphureo tonitru manibus formata Cyclopum/ Proiecit crebros aerea canna globos.*"

[867] Ibid., ll. 97-100: "*Eloquar, an sileam? Nobis stertentibus, inquam,/ Nostra ceperunt ex dicione Rhodum./ Clara Rhodus fuerat saeps, qua trux dente Lycaon/ Non poterat Christi semper obesse gregi.*"

[868] Ibid., ll. 145-150: "*Et sibi, quos dicunt hoc nostro tempore Moscos,/ Foedere iunxerunt terribilesque Scythas,/ Qui gelidum Tanaim vastique Borysthenis undas/ Quique vel ex rapido Phasidis amne bibunt;/ Quidquid et est hominum, quibus indunt Tartara nomen,/ In nos coeperunt hostica signa sequi."* Scythians are Muscovites here, but the term is also a byword for barbarism. he rivers Tanaïs, Borysthenes, and Phasis are the Don, Dnieper, and Rioni (in present-day Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia).

there could be no hope of any help, but only that madness between Christians growing greater and more bitter."[869] Was it a reckless cutting remark for Dantiscus to make, including the emperor among those who were to blame for discord in the Christian house? Maybe so, but two considerations that dull its edge. First, Dantiscus assigned the greater blame to Francis: Charles had been "dragged by the madness of his neighbors" into making Christian war. It was only now that Francis had been pacified—"finally knocked out" (*tandem sopitus*)—that peace was possible.[870] After Francis was captured at the Battle of Pavia, he gave his sons (Francis and Henry, ages eight and seven) as hostages for his release. God, wrote Dantiscus, had put those French princes in Charles's hands, "in their youth so green," so that he might turn on the Ottomans and "smash the head of the rabid wolf."[871] The image of the Turks as wolves attacking a Christian sheepfold appears many times in this text (as we will see below).

The second reason why this accusation of Christian disunity and war would not have caused trouble with the emperor is that it was already an established literary trope: the victories of the Muslims were a scourge for Christian sinfulness. God was using the wicked infidels to punish his disobedient flock, following Old Testament precedent. Pope Pius II imagined Jesus Christ explaining it (addressing Constantine):

> "Now you are distressed that the Turks have defeated those who worship Us, you suffer to see the city named for you in their blasphemous hands, you wonder that We do not strike down that wicked race. But the fates of men as of stars are weighed in Our balance; We have foreordained all things before the world was made. The successes of the Turks, too, we have ordained. The Turks have brought deserved punishment upon false Christian kind. For when were crimes more plentiful? When did the lap of avarice open more widely? When was lust more widespread, cruelty more inhuman? Every vice is foremost, a race has arisen deserving of another flood."[872]

In this same tradition, Dantiscus laid every name for wickedness at the Christians' feet. "Like weeds, they overgrow us: treachery, spite, personal hatreds, deceit, hostility, madness, rage, lust,

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[869] Ibid., ll. 155-160: "*Subsidium prius, at nequiquam, saepe petivit;/ Hinc ter in Hesperia posteriore fui./ Cum tamen his bellis nunc Gallus, nunc et Hiberus/ Ferveret et Latiae diriperentur opes,/ Nec foret auxilii spes ulla, sed acrius inter/ Christicolas rabies cresceret illa magis*"

[870] Ibid., ll. 411-414: "*Non poteras, aliis bellis intentus, adesse,/ Cum te vicinus traxit ad arma furor./ Is pacem, tandem sopitus, fecit et hostes/ Foedus amicitiae iussit inire tuae.*" Dantiscus asserts that Charles could not have been at Rhodes to defend it because he was dragged into other wars by the madness (*furor*) of his enemies; now that Francis is knocked out, peace is possible again, and Francis even instructs the other Christians (i.e. Florence) into a similar peace.

[871] Ibid., ll. 475-478 "*Te poterit levius nunc, quam prius illa carere,/ Cum natos habeat, pignora cara, duos./ Hos Deus ergo tibi viridi concessit in aevo,/ Ut per te rabidi frangeret ora lupi.*"

This is also one of the few places where I diverge from Jan Michał Harhala's Polish version (1934 lost, 1937 extant). Harhala believes those princes "so green" are Charles's own children, Philip II (age 2, nearly 3) and Maria (not yet 1), though he calls them sons (*synów*, which unlike Spanish or Latin, cannot be taken to mean sons-and-daughters), and that their lives and the surety of the line permits Charles to take greater risks with his own person. "*Teraz to łatwiej, niż pierwiej, obejdzie się ona bez ciebie,/ Bowiem ma synów twych dwóch: cenną rękojmią jej są/ Tych więc Bóg tobie użyczył w tak ranym młodości twej wieku,/ Aby przez ciebi starł łeb wilka wściekłego docna.*" (ll. 475-478, Harhala, 105.)

[872] Hankins, 134.

fury, sedition, violence, plots, corruption of the law, insolence, and practically no regard for Heaven."[873] Gone are all "piety, duty," and "reverence for heaven," while "peace and love, and valor, and the worthy desire for what is right," "faithfulness to modesty" lie "disgracefully in ruins."[874] Until this rift could be mended and all Christians united, went Dantiscus's argument, there could be no success against the Turk. In this way, Dantiscus set up the Turks as a mighty power that constituted the wrath of God as well as a weak adversary who would pose no real opposition once the Christians were unified. Many times, he compared the enemy to a force of nature rather than an army of men. They were monsters from mythology acting like an Old Testament plague:

> Since it is our own wicked sins that have brought this Lernian Hydra upon us, it is from these (sins) that come these many monsters to do us such harm.
>
> Plague, war, famine, fire, pillage, and rapine infest everything that still remains in our sphere of control.[875]

It is not unlike Dantiscus's polemical *Ionas Propheta* that he would write five years later.[876] In that case he was addressing the people of Gdańsk and he listed their many sins and grouped them into three categories: "disrespect, pride, luxury" which "the Almighty cannot long endure."[877] He entitled the poem *Ionas Propheta,* and took the voice of the Prophet Jonah who, after his cetacean detour, admonished the people of Nineveh to repent or be destroyed.[878] In the same way, Dantiscus, then the bishop of Ermland, warned the people of Gdańsk to turn to God or face His wrath. Like the Turkish scourge, the punishment that awaited Gdańsk was external and physical: "Let these plagues move you at last, as thrice they have already, and let not terrible destruction become a fourth (reason to repent)! You've had clouds of pestilence before, and fire not long ago; nor can you forget the flooding waves."[879]

So too, the plague that of the Turks was the Hydra, or else wolves for Charles to smash (above: *per te rabidi frangeret ora lupi*), or personified as Lycaon, an Arcadian king, transformed by Zeus into a wolf for daring to serve human flesh to his divine guest, thereby combining the predatory crimes of murder and cannibalism with hubris:[880]

> … the savage tooth of Lycaon never could do harm against the flock of Christ.

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[873] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 27-30: "*Succrevere dolus, livor, privata simultas,/ Fraus, odium, rabies, ira, libido, furor,/ Seditio, vis, insidiae, corruptio legum,/ Impietas, superum paeneque nullus honor.*"
[874] Ibid., ll. 23-26: "*Pax et amor, virtus et honesti recta cupido/ Cumque pudore fides turpiter acta iacent./ Religio, pietas, timor et reverentia divum/ Inter mortales vix manet ulla magis*."
[875] Ibid., ll. 19-22: "*Crimina quandoquidem meruerunt nostra malorum/ Hanc Lernam, nobis monstra tot unde nocent./ Pestis, bella, fames, incendia, praeda, rapinae/ Inficiunt, nostro quidquid in orbe manet.*"
[876] See Appendix 4.
[877] Dantiscus, *Ionas Propheta*, ll. 7, 15: "*Impietas, fastus, luxus,* […] *Haec nequit Omnipotens tria ferre diutius in te*"
[878] Jonah 1:1 and 3:1-4.
[879] Dantiscus *Ionas Propheta*, ll. 53-56: "*Te plagae tandem moveant, iam ter tibi missae,/ Exitium gravius ne tibi quarta ferat!/ Ante dedit pestes aër tibi, nuper et ignes;/ Quid dederint undae, non meminisse nequis.*"
[880] cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* Bk. I, 199-143.

> That's how he attacks into the broken sanctuary of our sheepfold; he can do it because there is no one to defend it, nor will be.
>
> And yet we have riled ourselves up with internal (civil) wars, and still we have no way out of these. [881]

Dantiscus underscored the savagery of the Turkish enemy. They had made inroads into Polish territory—even during the period of reduced raiding—and despoiled the land which had once been "fruitful with agricultural plenty and with herds of cattle, a land that feeds both hoses and birds, and a mother for warlike men"; now it had become "a ruined wilderness, inhabited by scarcely any farmers, made open and vulnerable to all enemies."[882]

After "pitiable" Mohács, its fallen king, its slain nobles and prelates, the Ottomans likewise "prowled"—the wolf again—"all over the countryside and through the towns, setting ablaze the homes of peasant farmers" before advancing onto the capital, Buda which would be "torn apart and burned down entirely" along with many other fortresses.[883] What would be next? Dantiscus warned that after Hungary, Austria was the next domino, where Charles's brother, Ferdinand, was king, and after Hungary, Austria.[884] "And if you do not rush to help her, neglected Austria will be destroyed because of you—this, the origin of your family, where your ancestors were born."[885] Dantiscus reminded his audience of Ottoman predations; though at first they left the citadel of Buda in tact out of respect (*pietate*), they later razed it to the ground. The Turks would destroy everything in their path:

> Not the youth of the boy, nor the sex nor beauty of the girl, was of any help: but they were all cut down by the Enemy's sword.

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[881] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 99-104: "*Clara Rhodus fuerat saeps, qua trux dente Lycaon/ Non poterat Christi semper obesse gregi./ Hac modo perfracta penetralia tentat ovilis,/ Quod, nisi sit, qui defendat, et huius erit./ Nos intestinis nihilominus omnia bellis/ Miscuimus, nec adhuc exitus inde datur.*" Dantiscus was referring to the attack on Rhodes in 1522.

[882] Ibid., ll. 117-120: "*Terra ferax Cereris, pecoris, nutrix et equorum/ Praepetium, genetrix belligerumque virum,/ Nunc deserta perit, paucis habitata colonis, Hostibus et cunctis pervia facta patet."*

[883] Ibid., ll. 181-186: "*Grassatum fuerat per rura, per oppida passim/ Incensaeque domus pauperis agricolae./ Buda, caput regni, direpta crematque tota,/ Parsum structuris sed tamen arcis erat./ At prius eversum Varadinum, nobile castrum,/ Cum reliquis, quae non enumerare vacat."*

[884] Ibid., ll. 423-424: "*germanum* […] *uterque parens*"

Kelly DeVries, "The Lack of a Western European Military Response to the Ottoman Invasions of Eastern Europe from Nicopolis (1396) to Mohacs (1526)," *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Jul., 1999), 539-59.

Stephen Fischer-Galati shows that even before his assuming the rule of Hungary, Ferdinand had sought help against the Turks as Archduke of Austria, as Imperial *Staatshalter* and as King of the Romans. When Charles had been occupied in his western wars (and since Francis and Clement preferred to have Turkish chaos to Habsburg order), Ferdinand asked the Germans for emergency and permanent support. They were preoccupied with their religious divisions, and negotiated for religious recognition and a council in exchange for military help, and so a council for both Catholics and Protestants. That interim agreement, the Recess of Speyer, foreshadowed *cuius regio* and gained soldiers for Ferdinand in 1526 (but not in time to prevent Mohacs) and again in 1529, but thereafter religious discord ended German participation in the anti-Ottoman cause. (Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, "Ottoman Imperialism and the Lutheran Struggle for Recognition in Germany, 1520-1529." *Church History*, Vol. 23, No. 1 [Mar., 1954], 46-67.)

[885] Ibid., ll. 425-426: "*Huic nisi succurras, per te neglecta peribit/ Austria, qua generis crevit origo tui*."

> Holy things, holy men, holy places, and holy statues, anything and everything connected to our religion,
>
> Were all destroyed, both in the kingdom and its territories, wherever the conqueror took possession and seized tribute.[886]

Likewise, those who are taken into the long night of slavery:

> Cruelly they burned towns and the countryside, consuming all with fire, slaughtering together those who resisted capture.
>
> Once taken, they lead their captives in densely packed slave gangs who number thirty thousand.
>
> Among these were boys, youths, tender girls, trembling mothers and feeble elders.[887]

Both slave raids and also carrying off captives after the sack of a city was a constant possibility for the people in the borderlands. Dantiscus lamented these "thousands of people who were carried away down the Danube, stretching (if only in their hearts) their fettered hands toward the starry heavens."

> We can cry—aloud, together—for when I look on this weeping multitude, I think how hard it must be to be carried off into exile.[888]

For his Italian and Spanish hearers, the crisis mirrored their own painful experience with Mediterranean slavery. The capture of Otranto in 1480 had been only the most spectacular example of a pervasive humiliation.[889] Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, in his *Cohortatio* a few months earlier, had also put the capture of Buda and the horrid enslavement (*turpissimam servitutem*)—or cruel death (*crudelem mortem*)—of its people, along with the siege at Vienna.[890]

On the other hand, Sepúlveda dig not agree that the Turks were a supernatural retribution for sins. No scourge of God, or divine punishment visited upon the sinners, Sepúlveda's Turks—not the Christians—were the pitiably corrupt group. Though in many ways Sepúlveda's *Cohortatio* was similar to Dantiscus's *Silva*, it differed in two important respects. First, is this absence of the scourge of God, itself a departure from Medieval Christian thinking. And, second, instead of

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[886] Ibid., ll. 215-220: "*Non aetas pueris, sexus nec forma puellis/ Profuit, hostili quin caderent gladio./ Sacra, sacerdotes, aedes divumque figurae,/ Quidquid ibi nostrae religionis erat,/ Interiere simul regno cum rege subacto;/ Quae victor dederat, unde tributa capit.*"

[887] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 133-138: "*Oppida cum pagis crudeliter igne cremarunt/ Mactantes cunctos, qui renuere capi./ Post captivorum densas duxere catervas,/ Quorum myriades tres numerasse ferunt./ His inerant pueri, iuvenes teneraeque puellae,/ Matronae tremulae decrepitique senes.*" A myriad (*μυριάδες*) is 10,000.

[888] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 189-192: "*Milia quotve hominum fuerant abducta per Histrum,/ Tendentes vinctas mente sub astra manus./ Collacrimare libet; plorantem cernere turbam/ Me reor, ut durum fertur in exsilium.*"

[889] See above, note 23 (cf. Davis).

[890] Sepúlveda, *Cohortatio*, 333-335 [7.1]: "*ab hoste superbissimo, qui Buda urbe magna nuper et opulenta capta, Viennam permit obsidione, ac ex illo successu magnis spiritibus et audacia sumpta, reliquo Christiano orbi turpissimam servitutem, aut, si hanc recusset, crudelem mortem minitatur.*"

Christendom, Sepúlveda wrote about Europe. He saw war of peoples defined in geographic and cultural—not spiritual—terms. This was new, even revolutionary.[891]

Comparison with Sepúlveda

In his *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, Dantiscus was following the established pattern of humanist crusading polemicists who emphasized both the necessity of opposing the Turkish threat, and simultaneously, the easy victories they could expect to win.[892] An illustrious young Spanish humanist, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490-1573), had delivered a similar exhortation before the emperor (*Cohortatio ad Carolum V*) in November of 1529, very likely with some cross-pollination taking place between the two in those heady months of anticipation and humanist exchange in Bologna during the winter of 1529-1530.

Sepúlveda had made a career for himself in Italy, first as a *letrado* from the Colegio Mayor de San Clemente de los Españoles in Bologna, then as a courtier. After participating at the court of Alberto III Pio, prince of Carpi, himself a renowned humanist, Sepúlveda found patronage with Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici who would become Pope Clement VII (r. 1523-1534) and give the young humanist the valuable task of translating Aristotle's works into Latin. In 1529, the pope sent him as part of the delegation to receive the Emperor and escort him to Bologna. Because of his high standing with the pope and his place at the emperor's side, and especially because the Ottomans had so recently besieged Vienna (September 27 – October 14, 1529), Sepúlveda was perfectly situated to deliver his *Cohortatio*.[893]

Like Dantiscus's *Silva,* Sepúlveda's *Cohortatio* presented Charles as the sacred leader of a united Christian army, condemning the Christian princes who were reluctant to join for their "blindness and turpitude."[894] Every war between Christians was by definition "a civil war", while every was against the Turks was "most just and full of piety."[895] Sepúlveda also took the time (Dantiscus

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[891] Nancy Bisaha argues that Renaissance humanists "revolutionized Western views of Islam, transforming an old enemy of the faith into a political and cultural threat to their growing sense of 'Europe'." They were no-longer adversaries, they were "barbarians […] who tore down the achievements of civilization" (Bisaha, 5, 6).

[892] Hankins, 111-207, 119-120.

[893] Luna Nájera, "Myth and Prophecy in Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's Crusading 'Exhortación'," *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies (Journal of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies),* Vol. 35, Issue 1 (February 26, 2011), 51-54.

There were times in the turbulent 1520s, when being Spanish was not so advantageous, as when, during the Sack of Rome in 1527, Sepúlveda was forced to flee to Naples because Cardinal Giambattista Orsini barred him from the safety of the Castel Sant'Angelo for that reason (Nájera, 52-53).

[894] Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Cohortatio ad Carolum V, Imperatorem Invictissimum, ut Facta cum Christianis Pace Bellum Suscipiat in Turcas*, ed. J. M. Rodrígues Peregrina, in *Obras Completas*, Vol. 7, (Pozoblanco, Excmo Ayunamiento de Pozoblanco, 2003), 330 [3.1]: "*O vox caecorum hominum turpissima et ab omni religion atque ingenuitate aliena, si quidem ex animi sentential prolata sit*."

[895] Ibid., 334 [7.7]: "*cetera bella quae inter pios gerentur civilian et domestica, quae vero cum Turcis et ceteris impiis, iustissima et plena pietatis esse putent.*"

would not) to argue that there was no Christian prohibition against the use of force in a holy cause; he cited examples from scripture of Old Testament kings and judges fighting for God, and New Testament instruction to obey princes in secular issues, especially in protecting Christianity from its enemies; failure to protect Christianity was criminal.[896] Turning the other cheek was a spiritual command for private matters; when charged with defending the state, peaceful toleration was a desertion of duty and cowardice.[897] This is partially why Sepúlveda diverged from the established trope of the Turk as the "scourge of God," a plague to punish God's people for their sins. Sepúlveda accused "nefarious men" of arguing for the "sacrilege" of humbly bearing the Turkish scourge instead of fighting God's enemies.[898]

Sepúlveda emphasized not Turkish ferocity and danger, but weakness. In the *Cohortatio*, the Ottoman forces were a hollow threat; one brave push and they would fall like a house of cards. The Spanish humanist employed a trope of gilded, decadent Orientals, citing ancient Greek and Roman victories: Troy, Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis, Alexander's conquests, Caesar's "*veni, vidi, vici*" in Pontus.[899] He contrasted these effeminate and cowardly Asians, with valiant and warlike Europeans—not just Christians, but *Europeans*—whose strength was tied to their geographical homeland: "those who inhabit this part of the world that we call Europe."[900]

Who was right? On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire was vast and growing. Over the last century it had won most of the battles, and Europeans were convinced that they were winning the war. On the other hand, the Emperor and the Pope could not have been too worried because they were spending the winter in Bologna while the Turks were at the gates of Vienna. Perhaps they had reached their high water mark. The supply trains were getting too long and northern winters longer still. The historian Giucciardini reported that they had suffered heavy losses on the way and they had no heavy artillery.[901]

Plus Ultra

Dantiscus wrote that Pope Clement was to be the unifying shepherd bringing security to God's flock, Charles its avenger, and the Turk a fearsome power only while the Christians will persist in their disunity. But in his leadership, his gathering, and his wielding the crook against the wolf's head it is really Charles who was to be the shepherd, the pastoral emperor.

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[896] Ibid., 337-338 [11 and 12]: The Old Testament examples included Abraham (Gen. 14), Joshua, Saul (1 Sam 15), David and Philistines, Judas Maccabee, Jonathan, and Eleazar. The New Testament commands to obey authorities came from Peter (Peter 2:13-17) and Paul (Titus 3:1), and even Jesus's command to pay lawful tribute (Mt 22:19-22, Mk 12:13-17, Lk 20:20-16).

[897] Ibid., 335 [9.4-5]: "*Tolerantia enim virtus est, et quidem maxima, nam sic interdum magnitude animi vocatur, sed cum cives inter se privatas offensiones patienter ferunt, et iniurias, quas ulcisci poterant, inimicis suis condonant; cum vero respublica ab hostibus appetitur, aut religio ab impiis oppugnatur, qui nin resisti hostile violetiase, cum potest, is non tolerantis laudem ferret, sed timidi et desertoris invidiam apud sapientes et religiosos mortales incurrent.*"

[898] Ibid., 334 [7.6]: "*...sed invisios etiam nefarious homines, quos audio sacrilegas voces spargare falso Christianismi colore praetextas non esse iactant"*

[899] Ibid., 341 [16.3]

[900] Ibid., 339 [13.3]: "*iis qui hanc mundi partem incolunt quam Europam appellamus*."

[901] Guicciardini, 423.

> Think on these poor tattered wretches, Clement, thou good shepherd, now while you are together with Mighty Caesar!
>
> Think on these matters, I beseech you, and weigh them carefully; put them deep into your heart, for this is the business of your holy office!
>
> And then free the troubled minds of our kings from the thing that binds them, from that lingering hostility that (as I believe) they cleave to within,
>
> And repair the run-down fencing of our sheepfold with new fortification, and lead the scattered sheep as a rejoicing flock to rich pastures!
>
> There is no wolf so fearsome that—if only the flock be united to one purpose—he cannot but fall into the hunting nets you have laid out, the dumb brute.[902]

This continued metaphor was familiar to Dantiscus's audience from scripture—cf. "the Lord is my shepherd" (Ps. 23) and "I am the good shepherd" (Jn 10:11-16)—invests the crozier of papal responsibility with defense, healing and unification:

> If there be any of this rage, new or old, in any of these others, that has been been crushing – oh! – our common weal for so long now,
>
> Release it all (this pent-up anger) in your children, you, father, who are both clement and pious, and bring peace to your sheepfold![903]

This healing is turned into military power when Dantiscus described the rallying, or marshalling, of faithful forces. Dantiscus devoted a significant stretch of his *silva* (28 lines) to listing all of the Christian nations who were to answer Clement's summons to Charles's endeavor. Italy was to bring her warlike youth, Naples her (Spanish) commanders, Venice her navy, Germany and Spain their warriors, France her cavalry, and so on: Britain, Frisia, Batavia, Denmark, Scotland, all the way to Poland and Lithuania. Some were actual countries, while others were more like national ideas taken from antiquity: Alans, Cimbrians, and Belgians, all from the pages of Caesar's *Gallic Wars*.

By counting sheep for the great flock of Christendom, Dantiscus was incorporating a classical trope: the "Who's with me?" rallying cry seen in Homer's "catalogue of the ships" in the *Iliad,*

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[902] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 225-234: "*Haec reputa laceri, Clemens, bone pastor ovilis/ Qui nunc cum magno caesare iunctus ades!/ Haec perpende, precor, demittas cor et in altum,/ Nam res officio convenit ista tuo!/ Ex animis regum contracti tolle vicissim,/ Si quid adhuc odii, quod reor, intus habent,/ Corruptasque novo repara munimine caulas/ Et duc palantes ad sata laeta greges!/ Non lupus est tanti, modo sit gregis una voluntas:/ Incidet in casses bestia crassa tuos.*"

In these lines, one detects a triumphant playfulness here with "*Incidet in casses"* (he falls into the hunting nets) which sounds like "*Incidet incasus*" (he is falling, he has fallen) and the accelerating clip and sibilance of the whole line "*Incidet in casses bestia crassa tuos"* that is difficult to reproduce (for me) in translation.

[903] Ibid., ll. 315-318: "*Si quid inest aliis veterisve novive furoris,/ Quo iacuit res, heu, publica pressa diu,/ Tu, pater, in natos clemensque piusque resolve/ Et sic concordes duc ad ovile tuum!*"

and Virgil's "catalogue of Italian forces" in the *Aeneid.*[904] He was also demonstrating the potential power of a united Christendom, something he returned to later, in emphasizing the strength of Christian forces:

> … how mighty are the weapons hurled by our soldiers
>
> And how they are pulled into the action with delight, and how our infantrymen keep discipline in their ranks,
>
> And also how they are accustomed to charging boldly from their fortifications, and how they will defend the broken bulwark to bar the foe;[905]
>
> What the nimble skirmisher can do, and the cavalryman with his heavy armament, or how they construct their battle lines or how they lay their traps.[906]

In Dantiscus's view, just as Christian disunity and sin turned the debased barbaric Turks into a scourge of God, so conversely would Christian unity and obedience to God's plan for Charles's leadership bring victory. Dantiscus was effectively moving the war against the Turks from field of battle to the field of moral obedience, thereby justifying the pragmatic truce that Sigismund had made with Suleiman. Not wishing to "make war against the enemy, rashly and alone" and find himself "defeated and in exile," the Polish king instead decided to reach an agreement with enemy and "contracted a reliable peace for a time."[907] They had no choice, went the argument, so long as the western Christians would not stop fighting. It was temporary, Dantiscus insisted, lasting only so long as the as the Christian wars. Thus, in his conclusion, Dantiscus would turn that Polish truce into a *grievance* against the Christians who forced his king into this situation in the first place:

> And because the Polish king has lost an uncle and a nephew—both fell by Turkish hands, both were kings of the Hungarians—
>
> And because he was forced through attacks on all sides to enter into a peace treaty with the Turks![908]

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[904] R. D. Williams, "The Function and Structure of Virgil's Catalogue in Aeneid 7," *The Classical Quarterly,* Vol. 11, No. 2 (Nov., 1961), 146-153.

[905] There is more than one way to read *"defendunt moenia fracta manu"*; the men may be defending the broken walls (*moenia fracta*) as a team (*manu*) or by hand (*manu*), but it could be that they are defending the walls with a shattered hand (*fracta manu*), i.e. even at great cost, a dramatic image that is more desperate than valorous.

[906] Dantiscus, *De Silva*, ll. 374-380: "*Concita quid nostri militis arma valent/ Et quibus illa modis tractent illisque fruantur;/ Ordine quo pedites in statione manent,/ Impete quoque solent extra procurrere vallum/ Et qua defendunt moenia fracta manu;/ Quid veles possit, quid eques gravis arma ferendo,/ Quove struant acies insidiasve modo*."

[907] Ibid., ll. 163-164: "*Tractavit potius certam pro tempore pacem,/ Quam sub praescripta condicione tenet.*"

[908] Ibid., ll. 527-530: "*Et quod per Turcas regi cecidere Polono/ Hunnorum reges, patruus atque nepos,/ Quodque per incursus ex omni parte coactus/ Cum Turcis foedus pacis inire fuit!*"

The truce was temporary, Dantiscus argued, intended to spur a Christian peace when Pope Clement might see "all of your flock be of one mind" and "the hearts of the kings be united in agreement," in a joint anti-Turkish project:

> If you arrange this united effort, not even the current truce between Poland and Turkey will delay the expedition; that truce can be rescinded—so pious is the cause.
>
> Also it will not be long until the truce expires; it should end before our forces arrive in Turkey.
>
> So, now make peace between the Christians and then take up arms eagerly—let war be carried to the fields of Byzantium![909]

Charles V did not go to Byzantium, but he did heed the call to crusade. In 1532, he chased the Ottomans from their second approach to Vienna. In 1535, he captured Tunis, and five years later led an assault Algiers that was thwarted by a storm. During the reign of Philip II, the Battle of Lepanto (1571) pushed the Early Modern anti-Ottoman crusade to its furthest point east in a dramatic naval victory. Opposition to the Turks continued to occupy a central place of imperial imagination and policy.

Fig. 5-11: "Burgonet of Emperor Charles V" (Borgoñota del emperador Carlos V), *made by Filippo and Francesco Negroli, in the* Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, Real Armería, *cat. D30.*

*Note image of the defeated Turk: his hands bound behind his back, he is wearing a turban and what appears to be a Roman cuirass. A woman—is it Justice? Victory? Europa?—is gripping him unceremoniously by the moustache. Across the front, the bill, of the helmet, is written '*SIC TUA INVICTE CAESAR,*' "Thus yours, Invincible Caesar," (only the* TUA *and the* CAESAR *are visible in this photograph).*

From Álvaro Soler del Campo, The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, Patrimonio Nacional, 2009), 119.

Plus Ultra?

However the Turks were not the only enemy that Charles, and after him Philip, would face. The peace of Cambrai (1529) was not lasting and war erupted again in 1536 in Milan. Trouble with Protestants escalated into religious wars. Philip saw war in the Netherlands and in England. There was never to be a united Europe (until the late twentieth century). Most European

[909] Dantiscus, *Silva*, ll. 265-274: "*Nil aliud petit hic, nihil est, quod crebrius optet,/ Inter oves quam quod mens foret una tuas/ Quodque sub unanimi consensu pectora regum conciliata forent./ Hoc si perficies, nil pax remorabitur illum/ Turcica; rescindi, sit pia causa, potest./ In longum non est tempus confecta; priusquam/ Ibimus in Turcas, desinet illa prior./ Fac modo Christicolae concordes arma capessant,/ In Byzantinis bella gerantur agris!*"

countries fought each other and many of them—except Spain which was confessionally homogenous, or Poland which was comfortable in religious toleration—fought internally as well. But one thing that Dantiscus, Sepúlveda, and Pius II had exactly right was that any sustained crusading effort against the Ottoman Empire was predicated on such a peace. And since there was no tranquility in between the European states, and often within them, there was always a ruler who was ready to make a truce or an alliance with the sultan if it would give him an advantage against his more immediate rival.

Dantiscus had promised that Sigismund would throw off his Turkish truce, but that was empty talk. While the Jagiellonian monarch had indeed lost his royal kinsmen—his uncle Ladislaus III at Varna and his nephew Louis II at Mohács—as Dantiscus claimed, still the Ottoman truce was not as distasteful as another conflagration. The Poles under Sigismund's father (King Casimir IV, r. 1447-1492) had fruitfully allied with the Tatars (Great Horde Khan Ahmed, r. 1465-1481) against the Muscovites (Grand Prince Ivan III, r. 1462-1505) in the 1470s. Sigismund's brother (King Alexander, r. 1501-1506) likewise had made a five-year peace in 1503 with the Ottomans (Sultan Bayezid II, r. 1481-1512) after losing more Lithuanian ground to Ivan III. In the same tradition, after losing Smolensk, Sigismund made a treaty with the Turks again (Sultan Selim I, r. 1512-1520) in 1519. Though Dantiscus disparaged it in writing, that treaty shifted (largely but not entirely) Tatar raids from Polish-Lithuanian targets to Muscovite ones. It was also the reason that the Poles did not appear at Mohács in defense of their fellow Christians and Sigismund's nephew, King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, in 1526. Poland also kept out of the Ottoman path into Moldova. Three years after Charles V's imperial coronation and opposition of the Ottoman Empire at Vienna, Sigismund signed an "eternal peace" with the Porte which lasted until the last decade of the century—an eternity at least in political terms.[910]

Though Dantiscus argued the contrary, the Polish-Ottoman treaties reflected the undeniable power of the Ottoman Empire in Eastern Europe. The Poles paid tribute to the khan, and not the other way around. These 'gifts,' of approximately 15,000 *złoty* (the same in florins or ducats, or 20,000 in Rhine gulden), are evidence of Ottoman power: they could do as they pleased. Over time, the reciprocal treaties became grants of "unilateral privileges" from the "omnipotent Ottoman padishah."[911] Poland sent more envoys to the Porte than any other European state; though they were afraid, they were also intrigued so that, in the sixteenth century, Polish nobles began to adopt eastern clothing and armor "*alla moda barbaresca.*"[912] The fur-lined *kaftan* and curved saber were hallmarks of Polish nobility (*szlachta*) galloping off to battle across the countryside.

[910] Brian Davies, 9-10.
[911] Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th – 18th Century): An Annotated Edition of* 'Ahdnames *and Other Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 5.
[912] Ibid., *xv-xvi.*

Fig 5-12: Nineteenth-century lithograph of sixteenth-century noble fashion (Jan Matejko).[913]

Poland was not alone. Genoa and Venice had been accommodating the Ottomans for centuries to secure their trade privileges in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea.[914] In fact, these big trading powers had more to gain from favorable relationships with the mighty eastern empire, gateway to the Asia, to Africa, and to the Indian Ocean World, than they did from a European crusade. The Genoese colonies paid tribute to the Sultan and had participated *on the Ottoman side* at the Battle of Varna (1444).[915] The Venetian-Ottoman relationship was influential enough to affect the rest of Italian politics.[916] The contemporary diplomat Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo argued that not only was it acceptable for a Christian nation to ally with a Muslim against a common Muslim foe, but that it could even join against another Christian antagonist if such an alliance could protect Spain, whose destruction would be so great a loss to the Faith.[917] That was exactly the logic that the French monarch, Francis I, embraced, for no European monarch was more eager for an alliance with the Ottomans than he. Francis welcomed the Turkish fleet into Marseilles in 1536 to take shelter after their attacks on Spain. The enemy of my enemy is my friend, goes the *realpolitik* line, and in that same spirit Charles made an effort to ally with the Persians who were enemies of the Turks. Thomas Brady has called the Ottoman-French and Habsburg-Persian alliances "a grand pas de quatre."[918]

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[913] Jan Matejko, "Szlachta 1548 – 1572," Polish National Museum in Cracow (*Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie*, http://katalog.muzeum.krakow.pl).
[914] Schwoebel, 166.
[915] Hankins, 126.
[916] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 428: The Venetians could determine "the rhythm of the anti-Turkish crusade" in the fifteenth century.
There are some illuminating examples in Michael Levin's study of the Spanish embassy to Venice in the sixteenth century. Levin cites a time when the Venetians extorted the Spanish monarch for a grain subsidy on peril of an untimely Ottoman peace; another time, the Spanish Admiral (the Genoese) Andrea Doria had orders to hold his fleet back and to allow the Venetian navy (his nominal ally) forces to spend itself against their mutual Ottoman foe. (Michael Levin *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy.* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005], 19-23.)
[917] Schwoebel, 167.
[918] Brady, 354.

Whether international diplomacy is a dance or a crusade remains an open question in every time period. The contributions of the Renaissance humanists—of Dantiscus and Sepúlveda, of Giovio and Guevara, or Gattinara and Valdés, and of Erasmus and Tomicki—puts 1530 on the timeline of diplomatic history along with 1648 and 1815 and 1945, etc. The coronation itself, and the subsequent crusading actions in North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean, taken together with the Conquest of the New World, and the Philippines, make it the inauguration of the Age of Atlantic Empires. These two opposing but compatible vectors of political history, when added together create the third, invisible, still-greater vector that surpasses both.

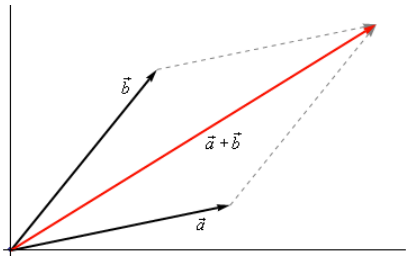

Fig 5-13: Adding two vectors in geometry, as a metaphor for seemingly opposed, yet ultimately mutually enforcing political movements.

Image by Paul Dawkins (from "Paul's Online Math Notes," http://tutorial.math.lamar.edu)

Just as it is easy to imagine two warring factions increasing violence in a vicious spiral, or two bitterly opposed political parties eroding the systems that each purports to cherish, so did these philosophies—the crusading imperialists united behind the Holy Roman Emperor, and dancing pragmatists shifting alliances frequently to undermine the imperial authority—increase the function of state power: military, navigational, financial, communication, bureaucratic, and diplomatic advances that made allowed Europe to dominate the rest of the world for centuries.

Conclusion

Johannes Dantiscus's correspondence from his decade at the court of Charles V contributes in a new way to the picture of Habsburg politics in the transformative 1520s. In these early years of Charles's reign, the young, untested king, interested in Burgundian pageantry and tournaments, developed into the victorious emperor, with military accomplishments against the French in Italy, rebels in Spain, and new peoples in the New World. Dantiscus was an outside observer, considering himself exotic (from the "cold Sarmatian land" with its "icy sky where the Pole Star […] sleeps between the two bears"), even the first of his kind (Poles being then "unknown among the people"). But he was also an insider, whose Latin was helpful to Valdés in his propaganda work, and who could speak in Burgundian German, "*lingua Belgica*," with the emperor himself. In both respects he was lucky in his birthplace of Gdańsk, the city that made his father's fortune, the city whose name (*Danzig, Dantiscum, Gedanum*) he took for his own (*Dantiscus*). Gdańsk gave him the low German of the Hanseatic League, closer to the *lingua belgica* of the Habsburg Netherlands than the high German of the Holy Roman Empire. The commercial city also allowed Dantiscus to mix with people, ideas, and books from other cosmopolitan centers, and he was lucky to be the son of a burgher who chose a costly humanist education for his son, and further fortunate to have the aptitude and desire for it himself. This learning allowed him to move freely between European cities, the islands of shared culture in a sea of land and the people connected to it (or turf and serf). And so, while Dantiscus could choose to consider himself exotic when it suited his writing, he had no trouble studying in Bologna, embarking for Jerusalem with Venetian pilgrims, joining the table of Martin Luther, or the audience chambers of Charles V, Henry VIII, and Francis I. He fit in everywhere. He enjoyed the favor of two emperors, receiving from them poetic laurels and ennoblements, and also the high (and highly coveted) regard of Erasmus of Rotterdam. He was friends with dozens of noteworthy humanists, including More, Melanchthon, and Castiglione, and also Copernicus who was later his ecclesiastical subordinate, and with Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. He walked among the titans of the age without fearing he might be stepped on.

Developing the relationships to go from court to court or university to cathedral chapter was the lifelong undertaking of every Renaissance humanist: the network that Dantiscus traversed with such seeming facility was a construction of webbing—social and political—that required continuous renewal. Humanists never stopped reminding each other of their friendship, sending each other letters, poems, dedications, and greetings in the letters of their fellows. Each repetition strengthened the bond and decreased the chances that one might be forgotten by distant friends who might later be useful. Such help could potentially be material, as the offer of hospitality or even refuge (as Calimachus found in Lwów). Or it could be professional, as the recommendation to a prince for a desirable position or additional income, or as the promotion of one's work or defense against detractors. And, at all times, humanist friends could be counted on to exchange of greeting and praise, improving each other's reputations or at least self-esteem. The longest thread that Dantiscus had in his net had to be with Cortés—the bishop's residence in Chełmża (Kulmsee) was 6,000 miles from the Marquis's palace in the Valley of Oaxaca—and it was one of his most precious connections, and the only one he named in his *Vita.*

It is knots that turn string into a net, and the strongest nodes in these reticulations of *literati* were the princely courts. Renaissance rulers needed secretaries and scribes, diplomats and chancellors

to speak both for them and to them—*for them* in making their will known afar, and *to them* in reporting the news of the world, the vital intelligence that informed good decision-making. When the learned and the literate gathered in one place, moreover, they helped each other think through and find expression for the issues of the day. The winter gathering in Bologna (between October 1529 and April 1530) allowed Dantiscus to create his *Silva* in dialectic response to Sepúlveda's; it also allowed the interested Italian *literati* to decide together some tenets of their increasingly written vernacular. The Congress of Vienna (1515) allowed a much younger Dantiscus to publish some of his earliest poetry and to receive poetic laurels from Maximilian. The semi-fictional gathering in Urbino (1507), that Castiglione reconstructed for his *Book of the Courtier* is another famous meeting that shaped the culture of the Renaissance world. Dantiscus also participated in literary societies, state occasions, and programs of study in three universities. Along with the printing press, these assemblies were establishing the culture of an increasingly powerful, literate continental elite.

Europe was becoming both smaller and bigger. It was becoming smaller because the same few hundred men all knew each other and together shaped the political events of the continent; moreover, Dantiscus could do his work in Cracow or London, Bologna or Valladolid equally well. European cities had come to have recognizable commonalities. But Europe was also becoming bigger in the sense that Dantiscus and men like him traveled and remained further abroad in larger numbers than ever before in the interest of their governments (this is also why cities across Europe resembled each other). Also kings could exert their will with more effect over greater distances. Charles's grandparents were able to unite Castile with Aragon, and then they conquered Andalusia and Navarre. Charles governed these Spanish possessions and also Burgundian, Italian, and Austrian ones while also wielding elected authority in Germany and expanding his territory in Italy, Mexico, Peru, and, later, a part of North Africa. Sigismund's kingdom stretched 1000 miles from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and after he settled into peace and cooperation with the Habsburgs (1515) and the Teutonic Knights (1526) he still had Muscovites, Ottomans, and Tatars to contend with. Calling the world both bigger and smaller really means that greater distances were more easily surmounted with greater speed. Better ships, better postal courier systems, and the effective communications managed by merchant and banking houses made it possible for a king (or a wealthy magnate) to exert his will farther than ever before. What classical achievements in communication Europe had previously known—Mediterranean travel or Roman roads—had been partially lost in the "radical material simplification" of the Middle Ages; but now these were being restored and quickly surpassed. The improvements would only continue into the Age of Sail, then the Industrial Age, and so on. Today a political, commercial, or private actor can communicate instantly around the world with the touch of button; but Queen Bona's instructions to Dantiscus, or Sigismund's accreditation with the Fuggers in Antwerp were the first phases of this acceleration. Historians correctly identify these changes as modern because the regular transmission of official instructions made it possible to express the royal will without the intervention of vassal, only the interpretation of a subordinate. The will of the king could now be present even when the royal person was far away. Before, during the reign of itinerant kings, the king's obedience was measured in proximity. One historian (Norman Davies) has gone so far as to represent political maps not as the neatly colorful jigsaw puzzle of the state system, but as concentric circles of diminishing influence, like the ripples of a pebble thrown into a pond, or the radio wave that becomes fainter in its outward expansion. In the Middle Ages, rule was limited by reach. It was necessary to delegate authority

to local potentates, dukes and counts, nobles connected to the land; but such actors could forget their promises as soon as the monarch moved on to his next destination. Beginning in the sixteenth century, however, the kings of Europe began to reduce the power of these magnates. They stopped traveling and began to govern from a capital; instead of coming personally to sort out a rebellion, they sent agents and their written word. Isabella and Ferdinand, were itinerant rulers, ducking rebellions and personally applying their power. Even their record-keeping was limited by the exigencies of the road: the archives of their state followed them in trunks and, when those trunks filled up, they were emptied into the campfire, making room for new records.

Fig. 6-1 (left) and 6-2 and 6-3 (right): the portable 'archive' of Ferdinand and Isabella, from whose reign very few records remain, and the Archivo General de Simancas *conceived of during the reign of Charles V and housed permanently in the Simancas castle during the reign of Philip II, respectively. On the right is the beautiful reading room where historians examine state documents today. (Images from the website of the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports:* http://www.mecd.gob.es/.)

Charles also put down a rebellion during the *Comuneros* Revolt, and he also traveled to assert his authority, as after his coronation to Germany and to Tunis. And he also had lieutenants to run his campaigns, as in Italy he had Lannoy and Bourbon, and the Great Captain, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. What was new about this is that he continued to have influence remotely by his letters, and supervise campaigns. Thus, when Lannoy followed his own inclination and to bring Francis I to Spain after Pavia in 1525 against the desires of Charles and Gattinara, it was a matter of great controversy. The decision went unpunished because of his close relationship with the emperor, but the event shows that the expectation was that he would instead have followed the emperor's written commands: it was an exception that proves the rule. By the reign of Philip II, the monarch's direct supervision of remote affairs was taken to a new level, earning this Spanish king the dubious honor of being a "paper king" because of his prolific production of memoranda from the heart of the Escorial that then traveled to the ends of Habsburg influence.

In the centuries since, the western world has moved from an arrangement of power through delegation and negotiation, essentially personal, familial, and dynastic, to one of systems that continue—or are supposed to continue—irrespective of the personalities in charge. Throughout the west, political authority is expected to reflect the political interest of the whole, or a faction, rather than the personal interest of the leader. And while the man or woman at the helm can steer the ship of state, and chart the course and alter the rigging (to the advantage or suffering of all passengers), he or she is not expected to reshape the hull itself. Those first professional diplomats, resident ambassadors, bureaucrats, centralizers and universalizers of political authority, were facilitating the transformation—teleologically construed—without knowing it. They were glad to have a good job, an honorable station, and the admiration of their colleagues. That is not to say that were entirely unaware of the political program they were advancing.

For Dantiscus, the political goal was an anti-Ottoman crusade to be led by the world emperor at the head of his brother kings to the reinvigoration of Christendom. Its beginnings were Erasmian, but his Spanish decade transformed the project from any pacifistic shape into an aggressive Habsburg agenda. Along with Gattinara, Valdés, Sepúlveda, and Giovio, and the ranks of alarmed Renaissance humanists, Dantiscus identified the Ottoman Empire as the single greatest threat to Christian Europe. The danger was, he argued, brought on the internecine warfare by the short-sighted Christians themselves, but it also created the conditions by which they would become stronger and more united. The 1515 reorientation of the Polish crown to a cooperative stance with Maximilian was the necessary precursor. The emperor had then cut his support to the Teutonic Order and ceased his overtures of alliance to the Muscovites; he next concluded with Sigismund a double Habsburg-Jagiellonian marriage (just as he had earlier made a Habsburg-Trastámara one). Dantiscus had both participated in the great ceremony and then remained in Vienna for three years; thus, he had been an observer of both Christian unity and great military display (pageantry). Now, dreaming that this concert could be turned against the Turks, he joined the chorus of humanists calling for the recapture of Byzantium—Dantiscus went so far as to offer tactical advice to the emperor and pope for how to achieve this goal—or even Jerusalem.

But this vision was entirely unrealistic. The successful Early Modern prince who was taking authority from landed intermediaries to his own government did not then wish to reduce his own power by falling into line behind imperial or papal authority, even a Christian first-among-equals emperor. The Polish king, for example, had only benefited from his working truce with the Ottoman sultan; and though the Pole paid the Turk handsomely in tribute, the purchased peace was a profitable one. With a vast territory, sparsely populated, it was decidedly in the Polish-Lithuanian interest to have as few conflicts as possible at a time. The French king came to the same conclusion from a different perspective. France was large and rich, but not so expansive as Lithuania; and France was populous and powerful; yet this ‘best garden in the world’ was fenced in on all sides by a thorny Habsburg hedge. Francis longed to cut it back. The Ottoman, as the natural rival of the Habsburgs in the Eastern Mediterranean and on the Hungarian plane, i.e. nowhere near France, was his natural ally and the Valois monarch had nothing to lose and everything to gain from Turkish action against Vienna or Naples.

What the sixteenth-century observer missed and what could not have been seen except with the benefit of hindsight was that the Turks had reached the limit of their expansion. The supply train from Constantinople to Vienna was long and inefficient, the European winter was harsh, and the fighting season was shortened the further the Ottomans took their advance. Charles V could tarry in Bologna because it had already become apparent in the winter of 1529 that Suleiman did not have the time or artillery to capture Vienna. Upon his second attempt in 1532, the sultan again turned around without a major engagement. It would be 150 years before the Ottomans returned to the gates of Vienna, but this time the Polish king (John III Sobieski) joined the emperor’s (Leopold I’s) efforts against the Ottomans and lifted the siege in September 1683—though the French king (Louis XIV) again remained aloof—a Christian victory that has traditionally marked the beginning of the long Ottoman decline relative to European military and political strength.

Finally, it has been argued here that both directions (or “vectors”) of European political philosophy—the first being a world emperor to unite the Christian brotherhood of monarchs in

external crusade and internal renewal (which Dantiscus advocated), the second being for rulers to include the Ottomans into the fraternity in the interest of territorial and dynastic priorities (which Sigismund chose)—led to the same expansion of central authority and its mechanisms. As part of a tentative model of balance-of-power politics that anticipated Westphalia by a century, these resident ambassadors, chancellors, secretaries, scribes, notaries, lettered men, began the long, invisible, road of professionalization of state service that has since entirely transformed the relationship of the subject—or rather citizen—with the state that frames his or her legal and political life.

Such an argument presumes to see a big picture on a big canvas from the early sketches traced in the notebook of sixteenth-century diplomatic history. It allows a commentator to interpret the trends of culture and politics in an editorial spirit, using case studies to make broader historical arguments. That is what historians strive to do. But Dantiscus's letters are also just a good human story. He revealed himself to be a flawed and striving man, his *pietas* colored by a palette of *cupiditates*, like so many of his fellow creatures in all times in all places, crawling between heaven and earth. The particulars of the story make the narrative. It is interesting, for example, that, in the case of Dantiscus and his colleagues, some of the venial pursuits he would later regret (eating, drinking, chasing women) served to help him build friendships among diplomats and courtiers over time 'as trust grows in a marriage.' Maybe nothing straight can be made from crooked timbers, as Kant opined, but solid friendships were and so was the *Republic of Letters.* On an individual level, Dantiscus showed anxiety about dangerous travel, about money, about his reputation. He also built a life in Spain with his mistress and the mother of his children, but left it with (it seems) less distress than his friends felt on his behalf to begin a new life as a powerful prelate in Prussia. Interest in great projects, in making a name for himself, and in pleasing those in a position to promote him, were balanced with reticence to put himself in danger or incur expenses. But he also supported his friends and promising subordinates; he persevered in his office, and showed good humor doing it (and also ill humor). Often, in the study of history, these human aspects are lost or hidden over time; that is not the case with Dantiscus.

Historians in Poland have known Dantiscus as a literary figure for many years, but he has only entered the European stage of political history in the last generation. That he has left us thousands of letters means that we are only beginning our study of Dantiscus, and the wider Renaissance world he inhabited. New work on Dantiscus has started to appear in recent years, in English, French, German, Spanish, Polish, and occasionally Latin from historians and philologists at the University of Warsaw Dantiscus Lab, the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain and their colleagues around the world. It is to be hoped that in ten or twenty years there will be exponentially more. The conversation about Dantiscus is only beginning.

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Appendix 1

Original		*Translation*
"In Laudem Paulem Crosnensis" (1512)		"In Praise of Paul of Krosno"
Inter ut astriferi radiantia sidera caeli Candida noctivagis Cynthia fulget equis,		As when, among the radiant constellations of the starry heavens, shines the night-roaming horse of Cynthia, pure and white,
Sic inter Virtus homines, dignissime praesul, Incluta dat clarum semper in orbe iubar.		So, honorable bishop, does glorious Excellence always shine among men and give its radiant and celestial light to the world.[1]
Illa, tuo residens in divo pectore, longe Emittit rutilas per sua gesta faces.	*line 5*	She (this Excellence), residing in your saintly bossom, sends forth her golden flames far into the world through your deeds.
Haec primos nostrae tibi religionis honores Praestitit et generis stemmata parta tui.		She bestowed upon you the highest honors of our religions and the gains (the ennoblement) of your family.
Vernat et ad superos florenti vertice surgit Pinus in Arctois hac duce celsa iugis.	*line 10*	The resplendent pine of our Arctic north thrives and reaches for the heavens guided by the celestial plough.
Nunc igitur regis, regni procerumque favores, Totius et plausus nobilitatis habes.		Thus you now have the favor of the king and of the leading men of the kingdom, and the applause of all of the nobles.
Diceris a cunctis patriae tutela salusque; Consilio praebes commoda multa tuo.		Everyone calls you the protection and well-being of the fatherland; you give your council to the great advantage of our country:
Cana fides, probitas animi, mens recta, profundum Ingenium, solidus dexteritatis amor,	*line 15*	Sagacious loyalty, probity of spirit, virtuous mind, boundless skill, a firm love of service,
Rebus et in magnis industria multa gerendis Dulceque facundi pectoris eloquium		Attending with much diligence to the management of great affairs as to the sweet pronouncements of your eloquent heart—
Te cunctis carum faciunt cunctisque colendum, Praesertim doctis Pieriisque viris.	*line 20*	These qualities make you beloved by all and honored by all, and especially by those learned men who are devoted to the Muses.[2]
Te penes est Cricius, docuit quem Delius ipse Dulcia dulcisonis nectere verba modis,		At your side and in your care is Cricius, whom Apollo[3] himself taught the ways to bind sweet words in delightful harmonies,

[1] Cynthia was the Greek Goddess of the Moon like Artemis and, by extention, Diana and Selene.
[2] A second way to read *"Praesertim doctis Pieriisque viris*," that is also correct would be "and especially by learned men *and also* the Muses." The Pierian Spring is traditionally a source on Mt. Olympus, sacred to the Muses, that gives inspiration to those who drink of its bubbling waters.

Qui nunc Parrhasiae decor est specimenque iuventae, Sedulo qui laudes et tua gesta canit.		Who is not the ornament of the Artic north, its prized orator, and the model of youth; he makes a point of singing your praises and telling the world of your achievement.[4]
Tentabamque etiam crebro tibi dicere carmen, Nabat in exiguis sed mea cumba vadis.	*line 25*	I have also often tried to sing your praises, but my little boat would run into a dreary shoal.
At nunc iste meus pro me praeceptor agat rem, Ingenii qui fert haec sua dona tibi,		So now let my teacher do it for me, he that brings these literary skills to you as a gift,
Palladiae longo fuerat qui tempore turbae Ductor ad Aonias, numina sancta, deas,	*line 30*	He that has long been a safeguard in turbulent times and a leader to the holy place of the gods, Aonia,[5]
Hippocrenaeo quo tinxit labra fluento Gryneoque facit carmina digna deo.		Where he touched the flowing Hyppocrene spring with his lips and made a song worthy of the Grynean god, Apollo.[6]
Huic faveas clemens, Maecenas alter et alter Polio, Pieria non reticente chely.		May you be clement and bestow favor, as another Maecanas and another Pollio, that the lyre of the Pierian Muses be not silent.[7]
Inde per ora virum tua candida fama volabit, Sic vernans tollet Pinus in astra caput.	*line 35*	Your shining reputation will fly forth from here by word of mouth, just as in springtime the thriving pine tree reaches it highest boughs toward the stars.
Hinc tua sic virtus a Gadibus usque sub Eurum Nota erit et clarum nomen in orbe tuum.		So your excellent honor will be famed from Cádiz on the tip of Spain all the way to the source of the East Wind, and your illustrious name will be known the world over.[8]
Quem referent sacri, divorum cura, poetae, Vivet, dum tellus astraque celsa manent.	*line 40*	That which is recorded by the sacred poets who enjoy the regard of the gods will live so long as the earth and the stars in the sky abide.

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[3] Apollo, who one born on Mt. Cynthus on the island of Delos—hence, here, "Delius"—was the god of poetry and music, the leader of the Muses and the director of their choir.

[4] *Parrhasia* (*παρρασία*) here does double duty: on the one hand it is the "Great Bear," (because Callisto the nymph came from this region of Arcadia, she who lay with Zeus, incurring the fury of Artemis and was therbey tranformed into the bear doomed for all time to circle the heavens) again returning to Poland as a polar region (for Ursa Major circles the North Star in the night sky), and *Parrhesia* (*παρρησία*, with an '*η*' instead of an '*α*') is a rhetical term meaning to speak boldly (lit. to tell all).

[5] Aonia is the region of Greece where the mountains Helicon and Cithaeron are found, both sacred to the Muses and therefore giving inspiration to poets.

[6] The Hippocrene (lit. 'horse fountain,' *Ἵππου κρήνης*) is a spring on Mt. Helicon formed when Pegasus touched his hoof to the rock; it is a particularly inspiration font, sacred to the Muses. Grynium was an Aeolic town famous for its sanctuary for Apollo (cf. Virgil, *Eclogue 6, l. 72*).

[7] Both Maecenas and Pollio were patrons of the arts, notably to the poets Virgil and Horace. '*Mecenat*' is the Polish word for 'patronage' or 'philanthropic sponsorship.'

[8] Eurus is the Greek god of the East Wind. Gades is the Latin name for Cádiz, a Spanish city established by the Romans at the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula.

Appendix 2

Original	*Translation*
"De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva" (1530)	"On the Blight of our Times: a Silva"
Ad Lectorem:	*To the reader:*
Cum nova delectent, nova, lector, Sarmata vates Edidit in Latio carmina; nonne placent?	As new things are pleasing, O Reader, is it not delightful that a Sarmatian poet has produced new songs in Latin? [1]
Si re non alia, placeant novitate, quod ante In Latio vates Sarmata rarus erat.	If nothing else, the novelty is pleasing, because until now, it was rare for a Sarmatian Poet to write in Latin.[2]
Naso, Tomitanas quondam datus exsul ad oras, *line 5* Edidicit Getice Sarmaticeque loqui.	Ovid, once condemned to exile on Tomis's shore, learned to speak Getic and Sarmatian.[3]
Hesperice sic forte loqui, dum missus utramque Hesperiam peragro, me didicisse puta!	Consider then how I too have learned—as luck would have it—to speak Hesperian, having been sent to both Hesperias in my travels![4]
Si quid inest igitur tersumve minusve politum, Hac veniam iusta cum ratione dabis. *line 10*	And so if my work be either more or less polished, you will give me your pardon for this reason.
Extorsit faciles numeros miserabile tempus, Quo tanto rerum turbine cuncta fluunt.	A wretched tempest—whose great whirling vortex blows all things into one mass—tore these simple lines from me.
Si de Castalio non spirant fonte liquores Nec redolent Phoebum Pieridumve choros,	And if the waters of the Castalian spring do not bubble forth, nor flow the fragrant songs of Apollo and the Muses,[5]

[1] Sarmatia is a consciously classical name for Poland (here the territories of of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and Sarmatians are its people(s). See the discussion on Karin Friedrich and the "Sarmatian myth."

[2] Note the assonance and internal rhyme of the 'ac', 'at', 'al' sounds, starting in '*placeant novitate*' in line 3 and accelerating throughout line 4. Also, '*vates Sarmata*' (the Polish poet) sounds like '*vates armata*' (the prophetess in arms), evoking both militance and wisdom. Finally, the repetition of 'nova' or 'novitate' gives emphasis.

[3] Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BC - 17 AD) was exiled by the Emperor Augustus for some offense now unknown to the shores of the Black Sea. Tomis is a city (Constanța in present-day Romania) and the Gets (Getae, Odrysians) and Sarmatians are ancient tribes of that region. By refering to this area, Dantiscus was connecting himself both to this ancient heritage and to the vast territorial posessions of sixteenth-century Poland.

[4] Hesperia (*ἑσπερία*) is 'the western land' or 'towards evening (the setting sun)'. For Dantiscus, "both Hesperias" (*utramque/ Hersperiam*) meant Italy and Spain in their classical glow. Virgil's Aeneis, for example, fled to Italian Hesperia from the ruins of Troy to found Rome. (*Aeneid,* I. 530-531). Later in this poem, Dantiscus uses "further Hesperia" (*Hesperia posteriore,* l. 155) to mean Spain.

Ne contemne tamen, sed rem perpende legendo! Cum sensum teneas, nil ego verba moror.	*line 15*	Do not look down on my work with contempt, but weigh these matters in the reading! So long as you grasp my meaning, I shall not hold back my words.
Silva:		*The Silva:*
Grande Sophocleo quicumque poema cothurno Concipit, heroum gesta superba canit,		Great Sophocles, whose every poem took up the lofty style,[6] sang the high deeds of the heros,
Exornat claris sua carmina celsa triumphis, Hippocrenaeis tingit et illa vadis.		And adorned his noble songs with shining triumphs, and imbued them with Hippocrene waters.[7]
Tempora materiam felicem laeta ministrant, Vatis et ingenio carbasa plena ferunt.	*line 5*	Glad times supply happy subject matter, and the poet's talent fills up his canvas.
Hac mihi sed misera sub tempestate volenti Scribere se tristes exhibuere modi		But for me here, wishing to write in this miserable storm, my efforts have shown themselves in a sorry light
Seque mihi sparsis offert Elegia capillis Et maesto questus mittit ab ore graves.	*line 10*	And Elegy comes before me, her hair wildly strewn, and hurls dire complaints from her unhappy lips.[8]
Omnia plena metus, horroris et omnia plena His lacrimans numeris praecinit imparibus.		Everything is full of dread and full of horror, everything; weeping, she makes her prediction through these my unworthy verses.
His vos, o Clemens et Carole, lumina prima, Vos duo compello, sub quibus orbis agit.		I appeal to you both, O Clement and Charles, you chief luminaries under whose light the world acts.
Fas mihi sit venia cum vestra pauca profari, Tempora quae pro re dicere nostra iubent!	*line 15*	It is the Will of Heaven that I, with your permission, speak out a little of the matters that these times command me to address!
Ipse licet taceam, non res afflicta tacebit, Qua Christi passim grex et ovile perit.		And even if I were allowed to remain silent, these vexing matters would not do the same, these things

[5] Apollo (Phoebus) transformed the nymph Castalia into a spring on Mount Parnassus (Helicon). The spring is sacred to the Muses (Pierides), giving inspiration that Dantiscus claims to lack.
[6] Literally "a booted style" from *cothurnus*, a boot or buskin lending height and dramatic power to the actor.
[7] 'Hippocrene waters' are another spring on Mount Parnassus (Helicon), sacred to the Muses and giving inspiration.
[8] In Ovid's *Elegy I*, Elegy the Muse has lovely braided (*nexa*) hair and a charming approach while Tragedy is disheveled and vehement (and wearing *cothurnus*, see above). Compare this to lines 505-506, where Elegy again binds up her hair.

	that are everywhere destroying the flock and sheepfold of Christ.
Crimina quandoquidem meruerunt nostra malorum Hanc Lernam, nobis monstra tot unde nocent. *line 20*	Since it is our own wicked sins that have brought this Lernian Hydra upon us, it is from these (sins) that come these many monsters to do us such harm.
Pestis, bella, fames, incendia, praeda, rapinae Inficiunt, nostro quidquid in orbe manet.	Plague, war, famine, fire, pillage, and rapine infest everything that still remains in our sphere of control.
Pax et amor, virtus et honesti recta cupido Cumque pudore fides turpiter acta iacent.	Peace and love, and valor, and the worthy desire for what is right, along with faithfulness to modesty, all these are lying disgracefully in ruins.
Religio, pietas, timor et reverentia divum *line 25* Inter mortales vix manet ulla magis.	What's more, piety, duty, fear and reverence for heaven scarecly endure among mortals.
Succrevere dolus, livor, privata simultas, Fraus, odium, rabies, ira, libido, furor,	Like weeds, they overgrow us: treachery, spite, personal hatreds, deceit, hostility, madness, rage, lust, fury,
Seditio, vis, insidiae, corruptio legum, Impietas, superum paeneque nullus honor. *line 30*	Sedition, violence, plots, corruption of the law, insolence, and practically no regard for Heaven.[9]
Hinc male cum regitur, plebs percita frena remordet, Cepit et in reges non semel arma suos.	So poorly governed are the people, they are roused up and gnaw their teeth against their retraining bridles; more than once, they have taken up arms against their own kings.
Non opus est caedes et proelia dira referre, Testis adhuc Rhenus, testis Hiberus erit.	There is no achievement in reporting slaughters and terrible battles; the Rhine will be our witness to these events, the Ebro will be our witness.[10]
Fastus avaritiaeque lues insanaque multos *line 35* Ambitio contra fasque piumque rapit.	Arrogance, desires, and deranged afflictions—ambition against Heaven's Law and the way of duty—are seizing many (of our people).
Ex his tot casus et mille pericula rerum Proveniunt, haec sunt ad mala multa duces.	Numerous calamities and a thousand dangers have come upon us from these vices. These (vices) are leaders to many ills.

[9] Whether the comma in line 30 goes before or after '*superum*' determines whether the English should be "Insolence, and practically no regard for Heaven." or "Insolence toward heaven, and practically no honor." (Skolimowska has the former and so does a 1764 Bratislava printing by Ioannes Gottlob Boehmius; Cielichowski the latter.)

[10] In Germany and Castile, the Rhine and the Ebro here are witnesses to the popular uprisings of recent years, the German Peasants' Wars (1525) and the *Comuneros* Revolt (1522); both were challenges to the authority of Charles V. Harhala, however, believes that Dantiscus is referring to Charles V's wars with Francis I and Clement VII (*Utwory Poetyckie*, 84, n. 34).

Oppida magna sub his et regna perire videmus Ruraque multa suis orba iacere satis. *line 40*	Under these (i.e. the leadership of vice) we have seen mighty towns and kingdoms laid waste, and much of their countryside cast down and laid waste.
Non tamen erigimur nec adhuc graviora timemus, Quae dabit offensi plaga futura Dei.	Nor yet do we rouse ourselves (from indifference) nor do we fear even more severe plagues that our offended God will place upon us in the future.[11]
Hunc pauci metuunt et amant, vix unus et alter, Qui nunc Europes sub regione sumus.	Few men fear God or love Him, barely one or two of us who are now living in the region of Europe.
Hinc sunt tot sectae, quas haeresis atra notavit, *line 45* Per quas Christicolis magna ruina venit.	This is how there came to be so many sects; black heresy observed these (sects), and through them great distruction came upon the Christian people.
Fit minor assidue fidei res publica nostrae, Quod, quo deberet, lumine nemo videt.	And so it happens that this republic of our faith is getting ever smaller and weaker because none of our leaders (bound by responsibility) can see the light.
Praetereo, priscis quae sunt amissa diebus, Cum Christi clarum nomen ubique fuit, *line 50*	I will pass over (and not mention) those former days, now lost to us, when everywhere, loud and clear, was the Name of Christ.
Quandoquidem tunc in terram transiverat omnem, Quod nunc in nostro noscitur orbe parum.	Back then, the Name traveled all over circling the earth, but yet now is scarecely even know in our own regions.
Hic ego non urbes Asiae nec perdita regna Commemoro, nostris nunc inimica sacris,	I do not record here the cities in the Near East nor the lost kingdoms (of the Holy Land), places that have now become enemies of Our Holy Faith.
Nec Libyae gentes pietatis iura professas, *line 55* Quas modo Mahometi possidet atra lues.	Nor the peoples of Libya, who once professed the True Faith, but who were not long ago seized by the Black Death (plague) of Mahomet.
Caucaseos populos et Caspia litora linquo, Quae tenuit nostrae religionis amor,	I will forsake (and make no mention of) the peoples of the Caucasus and of the Caspian shores who were once held by the love of our faith,
Aut quos Amurathes, quos aut Payzetus adegit Sanctam baptismi linquere fontis aquam. *line 60*	Forced by either Sultan Murad or by Sultan Bayezid to forsake the holy water of the baptismal font.[12]
Ad nostros venio, quos si reputabimus, annos, Emittent lacrimas saxea corda pias.	And so I come to our times; if we will reflect upon them, even a heart of stone will shed tender tears.

[11] Here 'God' is really in the plural (*offensi* / *Dei*, "offended Gods") although it is capitalized. To confuse matters further, in the next line, Dantiscus refers back to to God in the singualar (*Hunc*), "few men fear or love *Him*" (and not *Them*).

[12] Sultan Murad II (1404-1451) defeated the Christians at the Battle of Varna in 1444 which Dantiscus invokes a few lines later. Bayezid II (1447-1512) was sultan for much of Dantiscus's life.

Graecia sub patrum nostrorum tempore victa Turcaico servit subdita facta iugo.	Greece vanquished in the days of our fathers, brought to sumbission, now serves under the Turkish yoke.
Quis posset paucis tot bella cruenta referre, *line 65* In quibus ex nostris milia multa iacent?	Who could speak sparingly of so many bloody wars, in which so many thousands of us have fallen?
Ut mittam reliquos, quorum non parva caterva Sub signo fertur succubuisse crucis,	Yet I shall say nothing of those who survived – more than some small company – to later fall in battle under the sign of the cross.
Quem non commoveat clades Varnensis? In illa Ille mei regis patruus occubuit. *line 70*	Who would not be moved by the devastation at Varna? There, in that battle, he did fall: the uncle of my king.[13]
Hinc Byzantina tot caedibus urbe subacta Turcarum vis est semper adaucta magis.	From this, and by the conquest of the Byzantine City with so much carnage, the power of the Turks has been growing ever greater.
Auxit et hostilem discordia nostra furorem, Ad nos a Syriis quem procul egit agris.	Our own discord has only increased the enemy's terrible fury driving at us from far-off Syrian fields.
Cum Persis et cum quae bella fuere Sabaeis *line 75* Aut cum Niliacis, sat puto nota, viris.	So it was in (the enemy's) wars with the Persians and the Sabaeans, and—as I think it is quite well known—with the men of the Nile.[14]
His, cum sciretur nos dissentire, relictis In nos armorum vis ea mota fuit.	Having settled with these others, this military might has now been turned against us, for it is known that we are divided.
Collectis igitur non parvis viribus hostes In ripis Histri continuere pedem *line 80*	And so, the enemy, having assembled no small force, continued to march to the shores of Histria[15]
Et prope Taurunum, Belgradum quod modo dicunt, Fixerunt certis plurima castra locis.	And set up many encampments in a certain place near Taurunum, which is these days called Belgrade.[16]
Sulphureo tonitru manibus formata Cyclopum Proiecit crebros aerea canna globos.	He launched a dense barrage of shells filling the air, sulfurous thunderbolts fashioned by the hands of the Cyclopses.

[13] King Ladislaus III (Władysław III, 1424-1444), Sigismund's father's brother, was slain in this battle.

[14] A *Sabaeus* is an Arab, i.e. a man from Saba in Arabia Felix. A *vir Niliacus* is, of course, an Egyptian. Dantiscus refers here to the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and Arabia in 1517 by Selim I and also some gains he made against the Safavid Shah of Persia.

[15] Histria, or Croatia.

[16] Taurunum was the name of the old Roman and Celtic settlement that became Alba Graeca, the White City (Beo Grad or Bel Grad). Belgrade fell to Sultain Suleiman II in 1521.

Oppugnabantur confractis moenia muris, Mansit et intactum, quod potuere, nihil.	*line 85*	The broken battlements of the city walls were under attack, and nothing could have kept them intact.
Arx in Pannonicis non est munitior oris, Inter vasta duo flumina saepta iacet.		There is no citadel in Pannonia [Hungary] stronger than the one on these banks, laying enclosed between two great rivers.[17]
Unam Danubius partem, reliquam celer ambit Savus, ubi fluvio cum potiore coit.		One is part of the Danube; the other is the swift Sava which embraces the greater river at their confluence.
Haec contra Turcas invicta manere solebat, Abstulit his uno milia multa die.	*line 90*	It [this fortress] had always remained invincible against the Turk, taking from him many thousands of men in one day.
Qua de re furor hostilis tum fortiter, acri Cum studio coeptum continuavit opus.		That's why the enemy's ferocity in this affair was all the stronger, and why he continued with such bitter zeal the work he'd begun.
Suppetias tandem fessis cum nemo ferebat, Arx fuit hostili capta subinde manu.	*line 95*	In the end, when no one brought succor to the exhausted troops, the citadel fell into the enemy's clutches.
Eloquar, an sileam? Nobis stertentibus, inquam, Nostra ceperunt ex dicione Rhodum.		Shall I speak out or be silent? As we were snoring, I say, they seized Rhodes from our control.[18]
Clara Rhodus fuerat saeps, qua trux dente Lycaon Non poterat Christi semper obesse gregi.	*line 100*	Rhodes had been a shining barrier, across which the savage tooth of Lycaon never could do harm against the flock of Christ.[19]
Hac modo perfracta penetralia tentat ovilis, Quod, nisi sit, qui defendat, et huius erit.		That's how he attacks into the broken sanctuary of our sheepfold; he can do it because there is no one to defend it, nor will be.
Nos intestinis nihilominus omnia bellis Miscuimus, nec adhuc exitus inde datur.		And yet we have riled ourselves up with internal (civil) wars, and still we have no way out of these.
Hostibus hinc animus grandisque potentia crevit, Climata qua mundi iam potiora tenent.	*line 105*	That's why our enemies' great power and boldness are increasing, and why they already control the more important regions of the world.
His neque contenti, quod adhuc superesse videtur,		They will never be satisfied with these gains, so long as

[17] Pannonia was the name of Roman province constituting this region. Dantiscus uses Pannonia for Hungary.

[18] Rhodes fell to the Ottomans in 1522; it had been held by the military order of the Knights Hospitaller since 1309.

[19] Zeus transformed Lycaon, an Arcadian king, into a wolf for daring to serve human flesh (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* Bk. I, 199-143); therefore this name combines predation, crime, and hubris.

Donec in hac stamus seditione, petunt.		we seem to be suriving; as long as we stand divided this strife, they will attack us.
Utraque iampridem cum Mysia pareat illis, Vicinisque volunt imperitare locis.	*line 110*	And when, some time ago, each part of Moesia [Upper and Lower Moesia; Bulgaria] was to submit to them, they desired to rule the neighboring places aswell.[20]
Ingens Sarmatiae tentarunt subdere regnum, Afflictum toties quod fuit ante satis.		They tried to subjugate the mighty Sarmatian kingdom [Poland], and left it many times in ruins before they were done.
Vasta iacent, quondam fecunda, Podolica rura, Quae fuerant Siculis fertiliora iugis.		The Podolian countryside lies ravaged; it was once so fertile, more abundant even than Sicily.[21]
Magnanimis haec cum suberant integra Polonis, Suppetias et opes hinc habuere suas.	*line 115*	Yet when this land was protected under the noble authority of Poland, it received its support, its treasure and might.
Terra ferax Cereris, pecoris, nutrix et equorum Praepetium, genetrix belligerumque virum,		It was a land fruitful with agricultural plenty and with herds of cattle, a land that feeds both horses and birds, and a mother for warlike men,[22]
Nunc deserta perit, paucis habitata colonis, Hostibus et cunctis pervia facta patet.	*line 120*	But now it become a ruined wilderness, inhabited by scarcely any farmers, made open and vulnerable to all enemies.
Huc ab Hyperboreis gens barbara confluit oris Et quae Riphaea sub nive dura riget,		Wild peoples gather here from the shores of the land of the North Wind, savages who have grown hard beneath the snows of the Riphean mountains,[23]
Huc simul Euxini proficiscitur accola Ponti, Cum trucibus Bessis gens truculenta Getae.		Likewise, the peoples neighboring the Black Sea set out for this place, along with the fierce Bessian [Thracians] and ferocious.[24]

[20] The two Roman provinces, Upper and Lower Moesia, are in the area of present-day Serbia/Macedonia and Romania/Bulgaria. They are upper and lower (*Moesia superior* and *Moesia inferior*) because one is up-river and the other down-river along the Danube. Sultan Bayezid I conquered them in 1391.

[21] Podolia was an expansive lowland country with rich soil in south-eastern reaches Polish-Lithuania (present-day Ukraine); it was a frontier with the Ottomans, who plundered the land in 1497. Dantiscus compares it to Sicily, a bread-basket of the Mediterranean (*Siculis fertiliora iugis*, more fertile than the yokes of Sicily, i.e. than the teams of horses who plow the land; alternatively, *Siculis fertiliora iugis* can be the fertile hills of Sicily, which is how Harhala interprets this line).

[22] *Terra ferax Ceres*, a land fertile with Ceres, the Roman goddess of grain, cereals, and the fruits of the earth. *Nutrix* is nurse, so a sustaining or a life-giving land. Dantiscus follows the chain from grains to beasts to women to men; i.e. from the staples and the givers of life that support activity to its expression in a well-fed soldiery.

[23] The Hyperboreis were wild peoples who lived beyond (*hyper*) the North Wind (*Boreas*). The Riphaea was a northern mountain range of uncertain location, but very distant and wild; the Ural mountains perhaps, or some mountains in the Arctic circle.

[24] The Bessi or *gens Thraciae* (cf. Julius Caesar, *Comentarii*, C. III, 4, 6); the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea.

Tartaricis dedit his populis, puto, nomina Pluto,
Per quos iam teritur Sarmatis ora diu.

Pluto (I think) gave these people the name of Tatar; for a long time now, they have worn down the Sarmatian frontier.[25]

Dalmata, Thrax, Macedo, Lacedaemon, Phryx et Achivus,
Qui Turcae nostro tempore nomen habent,

The Dalamatian, Thracian, Macedonian, Spartan, Phrygian, and Aechean—who all carry the name of Turk these days—

Huc etiam, cum sint vicini, saepius intrant
Et desolarunt, quidquid ubique fuit.

They enter even into our very lands (as they are our neighbors) quite often and despoil them, bringing ruin wherever they go.

Hinc nuper fines bis vastavere Polonos,
Annus cum nondum rite peractus erat.

From across this border they have laid waste to the Polish countryside *twice* in recent times, though the year had not even finished (as is the right way).[26]

Oppida cum pagis crudeliter igne cremarunt
Mactantes cunctos, qui renuere capi.

Cruelly they burned towns and the countryside, consuming all with fire, slaughtering together those who resisted capture.

Post captivorum densas duxere catervas,
Quorum myriades tres numerasse ferunt.

Once taken, they lead their captives in densely packed slave gangs who number thirty thousand.[27]

His inerant pueri, iuvenes teneraeque puellae,
Matronae tremulae decrepitique senes.

Among these were boys, youths, tender girls, trembling mothers and feeble elders.

Res miseranda quidem: succurrere nemo valebat;
In subitis fieri casibus ista solent.

It was pitious indeed: there was none who could hurry to the rescue, as often happens in these sudden emergencies.

Ut cursu venere cito, rediere statimque
Dispersus cogi miles ad arma nequit.

As quickly as they rushed in, so at once were they gone again, leaving our scattered soldiers unable to muster in time.

Hoc ita victores uno facti bis in anno,
Sic ad Threicias bis rediere domos.

And thus the victors beat us twice in one year, and thus they twice returned home to Thracia.

Et sibi, quos dicunt hoc nostro tempore Moscos,
Foedere iunxerunt terribilesque Scythas,

And they have joined the terrible Sythians to themselves in a league, who are called Muscovites in our time,[28]

[25] The name of the Tatars (neighbors of Poland-Lithuania, living north of the Black Sea, especially in Crimea) sounds like *Tartarus*, the section of Greek underworld for the punishment of the dead; Pluto (or Hades) is the god of this underworld. Dantiscus lightens this Stygian verse with his bobbling rhyme: "*populis, puto, nomina Pluto*."

[26] The implication is that a responsible plunderer should leave enough time in between attacks for the land to restore itself, sustaining the very people who provide him with spoils.

[27] A myriad (*μυριάδες*) is 10,000.

[28] Scythians, or Muscovite, but also a byword for barbarism.

Qui gelidum Tanaim vastique Borysthenis undas
Quique vel ex rapido Phasidis amne bibunt;

Who drink the icy waves of the River Tanaïs or of the monstrous Borysthenes, or again of the swift currents of the Phasis;[29]

Quidquid et est hominum, quibus indunt Tartara nomen,
In nos coeperunt hostica signa sequi. *line 150*

Whatever other human beings live out there, whose name Hell spews up, have set out against us and follow the banner of our enemies.[30]

Quod rex Sarmatiae, quo nec pietate, nec armis
Clarior, expendens arma parare iubet.

And so, the king of Poland—there being none more illustrious in piety or in martial glory than he—weighs these matters in his judgment, and gives the order for the preparation of arms.

Sed cum se vidit tot cingier hostibus, impar
Noluit ancipitem Martis inire viam.

But seeing that he was encircled by his enemies, outmached as he was, he did not wish to enter upon the Path of Mars on two fronts.

Subsidium prius, at nequiquam, saepe petivit; *line 155*
Hinc ter in Hesperia posteriore fui.

Previously he'd often called for reinforcements but this was in vain. Thus, I went three times from here to further Hesperia.[31]

Cum tamen his bellis nunc Gallus, nunc et Hiberus
Ferveret et Latiae diriperentur opes,

When still the Gaul and the Hiberian were boiling over with this war, and the treasures of Latium were being plundered,[32]

Nec foret auxilii spes ulla, sed acrius inter
Christicolas rabies cresceret illa magis, *line 160*

And there could be no hope of any help, but only that madness between Christians growing greater and more bitter,

Ne temere bellum gereret tot solus in hostes
Et seram victus quaereret exsul opem,

The Polish king would not make war against the enemy, rashly and alone, that he, defeated and in exile, might seek help too late,

Tractavit potius certam pro tempore pacem,
Quam sub praescripta condicione tenet.

And so rather he contracted a reliable peace for a time, which he is maintaining by the agreed-upon conditions.[33]

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[29] The rivers Tanaïs, Borysthenes, and Phasis are the Don, Dnieper, and Rioni (in present-day Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia).

[30] *quibus indunt Tartara nomen*: whose name is introduced by *Tartarum*, meaning either the literal Underworld or the sound-alike Tartary (or both). *Tartara*, here, is the plural form, and so carries the sense of 'nether regions' a collection of places to be dreaded but not well known; that works too with the 'out there' feel that Dantiscus assigns to the steppe as we see in the previous line: 'Whatever humans there be out there….'
infernal regions (pl.), the underworld;

[31] Hesperia, or the West, was Italy from the Greek point of view and Spain from the Roman. In his introduction, *Ad lectorem,* Dantiscus refers to Italy as Hesperia; here this further Hesperia (*Hesperia posteriore*) is likely Spain, the site of his extended diplomatic efforts.

[32] Gaul, Hiberian, and Latium, are the Frenchman, the Spaniard (Iberian), and Italy. It is bold of Dantiscus to present this criticism to the Emperor Charles, whose Spain was one of the 'boiling despoilers' here.

Huic paci voluit rex prudens iungere regem,	By this peace, the farseeing king wished to join with another monarch, one who held two scepters in his tender hand,
Qui tenera rexit tunc duo sceptra manu,	
Huncque suum monuit toties ex fratre nepotem,	And this he many times advised his nephew, his brother's son, asking him to make this kind of peace with the enemy.
Posceret ut tanto pacis ab hoste modum.	
Consilio tamen Hunnorum parere superbo	But instead he preferred to heed the haughty counsel of the Hungarians; relying on and guided by it, he took up arms,
Maluit; hoc fretus ductus ad arma fuit,	
Hoc infelicem conflictum fretus inivit	Relying on it, he went into this unhappy battle, and was destroyed, falling in the flower of his youth.
Inque iuventutis flore cadens periit.	
Sic fuit in fatis, quae non vitantur ab ullo:	So it went with the fates, which cannot be avoided by anyone: no one may skip over the day that has been set for him.
Praeteriit nemo, quem statuere, diem.	
Quam miseranda fuit tum caedes rege perempto,	How pitiable, then, was this cutting down of our killed king; the pain prevents me from dwelling on it here, since it is well known.
Cum sit nota, vetat commemorare dolor.	
Tot proceres sacrique patres, quos infula texit,	So many leading nobles and holy fathers, in their sacred garments, went down fighting before horrible death.
Pugnantes dirae succubuere neci.	
Tunc nihil in victos crudelis victor omisit,	Thereupon the victor omitted none of the cruelties that madness, fury, wrath, and rage urged him to visit upon the defeated.
Quod suasit rabies, impetus, ira, furor.	
Grassatum fuerat per rura, per oppida passim	He prowled all over the countryside and through the towns, setting ablaze the homes of peasant farmers.
Incensaeque domus pauperis agricolae.	
Buda, caput regni, direpta crematque tota,	Buda, the capital of the kingdom, was torn apart and burned down entirely, even though the castle stronghold had been (previously) spared.[34]
Parsum structuris sed tamen arcis erat.	

[33] Dantiscus is refering to the truce that the Polish king has made with the Porte. Harlhala writes that one motivation was to regain access to the Black Sea (91, note 162). Someone else tells us it is to concentrate on Moscow.

[34] The Turks captured Buda in 1526, without a siege besieged it in 1529, and finally occupied the city in 1541, eleven years after Dantiscus wrote these words. Perhaps Dantiscus makes this contrast to show that the Turks destroy what they can even when they cannot reach the military target. That castle did not survive the Ottoman period, though architectural historians are able to infer a bit about its construction: cf. Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Architectural connections between Lombardy and Hungary during the reign of king Sigismund, A critical review," *Arte Lombarda, Nuova serie*, No. 139 (3), *Convegno internazionale: Lombardia e Ungheria Nell'Età dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento, Rapporti culturali e artistici dall'età di Sigismondo all'invasione turca (1387-1526)*: 2-4 dicembre 2002 (2003), 21-27.

At prius eversum Varadinum, nobile castrum, *line 185*
Cum reliquis, quae non enumerare vacat.

But first Varadinum, that famous fortress, was overthrown, with many others that we do not have time to list.[35]

Transeo, quae fuerat per Turcas edita strages
In plebem vel quot diruta templa iacent,

I'll pass over too what slaughters the Turks brought on the people, or how many temples lie toppled in ruins,

Milia quotve hominum fuerant abducta per Histrum,
Tendentes vinctas mente sub astra manus. *line 190*

Or the many thousands of people who were carried away down the Danube, stretching (if only in their hearts) their fettered hands toward the starry heavens.[36]

Collacrimare libet; plorantem cernere turbam
Me reor, ut durum fertur in exsilium.

We can cry—aloud, together—for when I look on this weeping multitude, I think how hard it must be to be carried off into exile.

Perculerant tamen ista parum nos, ore professos
Christum, quem raro pectora nostra colunt.

And yet this bothers us but little, us who delcare Christ with our lips but seldom worship Him in our hearts.

Inde sed irrepsit regnandi dira cupido, *line 195*
Pannonia motus dans in utraque novos,

And that's also where this fearsome appetite for rule comes from: it creeps in, and it has stirred up this new tumult in all of Hungary [*Pannonia*],[37]

Qui nuper totum traxere in proelia mundum,
Quorum tam subito, non puto, finis erit.

And recently dragged all of the world into this conflict, which I do not think be over so soon.

O miseram nostro, male quo sic vivitur, aevo
Pannoniam, cunctis quae data praeda gemis! *line 200*

O wretched Pannonia, in this our age so terrible to be lived, groaning in lamentation, entirely given up for plunder!

Hoc quod atrox hostis fecit, facit hoc et amicus;
Ex omni misere sic modo parte ruis.

What the fierce enemy has done to you, so your friends will do as well; and so ruin comes upon you from all directions.

Quos tu fecisti, te diripit impia regum
Ambitio, quorum saeva per arma peris.

The wicked ambition of your own kings—whom you yourself have appointed— is despoiling you by raging military force.

Tertius accessit, qui proelia tanta diremit, *line 205*
Et trux hostibus his hostis utrisque nocet.

This third enemy now approaches, he who has settled such great battles, and this fierce foe attacks the other two enemies.[38]

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[35] Varadinum, or Oradea, was an important stronghold on the eastern border of Hungary.
[36] The Hister (or Ister) is the Danube; Histria is Croatia.
[37] Pannonia, or Hungary: the two Pannonias (*in Pannonia utraque*) are Upper and Lower Hungary (*Pannonia Superior et Inferior*). After the Battle of Mohács and with death of Luois II Jagielon, Hungary fell in to civil war with both John Zápolya and Ferdinand Habsburg contending for rule. Here Dantiscus is bold to attribute in part this 'frightful lust for rule (kingship)' (*regnandi dira cupido*) to the emperor's brother.

Obsedit pulchram multa cum gente Viennam, Austriacos late depopulatus agros.		He (this Enemy) has besieged beautiful and populous Vienna with his numerous forces, after despoiling the Austrian countryside far and wide.
Ante sed a victis vi sceptrum ceperat Hunnis Quos nunc omnimoda sub dicione premit.	*line 210*	But before this, he wrenched the scepter of power from the defeated Huns [Hungarians]—whom he now oppresses in every way under his authority.
Aequavitque solo Budam, deiecit et arcem, Liquerat intactam quam pietate prius.		And he leveled Buda, razing it to the ground, and destroyed its castle citadel, though previously he'd left it in tact out of a sense of respect.
Occidit tamen hic omnes, quos vivere novit; Dicitur in multis hocque patrasse locis.		Yet he killed every living person here that he could find out; it is said, he did this in many places.
Non aetas pueris, sexus nec forma puellis Profuit, hostili quin caderent gladio.	*line 215*	Not the youth of the boy, nor the sex nor beauty of the girl, was of any help: but they were all cut down by the Enemy's sword.
Sacra, sacerdotes, aedes divumque figurae, Quidquid ibi nostrae religionis erat,		Holy things, holy men, temples and sacred figures, anything and everything connected to our religion,
Interiere simul regno cum rege subacto; Quae victor dederat, unde tributa capit.	*line 220*	These were all destroyed when both kingdom and king were defeated; and whatever tribute the conqueror assigned then, he collects ever since.
Ad praesens hiberna sua cum gente petivit, Non procul a nobis tempore veris erit.		At present, he is making for his winter camp with his people, but not long from now, it will be spring again.
Praesidiis abiit siquidem per castra relictis, Quo cum maiori vi remeare queat.		And since he left his fortified camps garrisoned, he should be able to return from them with even greater strength.
Haec reputa laceri, Clemens, bone pastor ovilis, Qui nunc cum magno caesare iunctus ades!	*line 225*	Think on these poor tattered wretches, Clement, thou good shepherd, now while you are together with Mighty Caesar!
Haec perpende, precor, demittas cor et in altum, Nam res officio convenit ista tuo!		Think on these matters, I beseech you, and weigh them carefully; put them deep into your heart, for this is the business of your holy office!
Ex animis regum contracti tolle vicissim,		And then free the troubled minds of our kings from the

[38] This newcomer is the Ottoman forces who join with overwhelming strength the open contest between Ferdinand Habsburg and John Zápolya over the royal succession after the death of Louis II at Mohács; that is why Dantiscus writes that the Ottomans may settle or imposes decision on this battle (*qui proelia tanta diremit*), cf. Virgil, *Aeneid:* XII 79: *nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum,/ illo quaeratur coniunx Lauinia campo*. ["let us resolve this war with our own blood, / on that field let Lavinia be sought as bride." A. S. Kline, trans., 2002: http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/VirgilAeneidXII.htm]

Si quid adhuc odii, quod reor, intus habent,	*line 230*	thing that binds them, from that lingering hostility that (as I believe) they cleave to within,
Corruptasque novo repara munimine caulas Et duc palantes ad sata laeta greges!		And repair the run-down fencing of our sheepfold with new fortification, and lead the scattered sheep as a rejoicing flock to rich pastures!
Non lupus est tanti, modo sit gregis una voluntas: Incidet in casses bestia crassa tuos.		There is no wolf so fearsome that—if only the flock be united to one purpose—he cannot but fall into the hunting nets you have laid out, the dumb brute.[39]
Non desunt vires, animus nec ad ista profecto Pontifici tanto dignus abesse potest.	*line 235*	We do not lack strength or resources; nor should so worthy and so great a pontiff withhold his guiding spirit from this enterprise.
Sit licet attritum Latium per bella luesque, Succrevit pubes Itala multa tamen.		Though Rome (Latium) may be exhausted by wars and by plague, there is much power in the youths who are growing to military age all over Italy.[40]
Haec cum magnanimis belli ductoribus ibit, Quos tibi, si quaeres, Ausonis ora dabit.	*line 240*	She (Italy) will follow her brave and noble commanders to war, which the Ausonian shore (Naples) will provide you, if you will but ask for them.[41]
Euganeosque patres, terraque marique potentes, Pace prius facta sub tua signa trahes.		Likewise you will attract the leaders of the Euganei (Venice)—so strong by land an sea—to your battle standard once you have made peace with them.[42]
Magna dabit saevi Germania robora Martis, Quae generat pronos semper ad arma viros.		Great Germany, always the father of men inclined to arms, will give you the strength of raging Mars.[43]
Hoc etiam faciet florens Hispania claris Militibus, quos haec bellica mater alit.	*line 245*	And so too will Spain contribute; she blooms with bright soldiery that she—this warlike mother—nourished at her bossom.

[39] There is triumphant playfulness here with "*Incidet in casses"* (he falls into the hunting nets) which sounds like "*Incidet incasus*" (he is falling, he has fallen) and the accelerating clip and sibilance of the whole line "*Incidet in casses bestia crassa tuos"* that I haven't done justice to in English.

[40] Latium is the region surrounding Rome, the area where the ancient republic was founded and from where the empire grew. Dantiscus suggests that this area, ruled by the papacy, now draw on the Italian peninsula, much of which was controled by under Charles V through the same victories that brought the war and plague (*bella luesques*) to Rome in the first place.

[41] This Ausonian shore (*Ausonis ora*) refers to southern and central Italy—Livy describes the Ausonian revolt in Book IX, Chapter XXV of his *History* (*Ab Urbe Condita Libri*)—but in 1530 this region is Naples, secured by Charles V after many years of war with Francis I. The brave commanders (*magnanimis belli ductoribus*) then the Spanish generals who had won the Italian Wars.

[42] The Euganei were an ancient people living in the Veneto, northeastern Adriatic Italy, who were later driven away (Livy, Book I, Chapter I). Here Dantiscus is refering to Venice who was still at war with Charles as part of the League of Cognac, even though France had come to terms with the emperor in the Treaty of Madrid. These "fathers" (*Euganeosque patres*) then is the government of the *Serenissima*.

[43] Here the modifier '*magna*' could equally go with '*Germania*' or '*robora'* so that either Germany is great or the military strength that she sends is. (I have chosen the first option.)

Et cataphractorum tibi mittet Gallia turmas; Irarum fertur iam posuisse minas.	And France will send you squadrons of armored riders; we hear tell that she has put aside all menace of anger or bad blood.[44]
Arcubus extensis opulenta Britannia multos Sponte viros ad tam nobile mittet opus. *line 250*	Rich in longbows at the ready drawn, Britain will freely send many men for so noble a task.
Proceris Frisii iungent sua castra Batavis, Belgarum ducet quos galeata cohors.	The Frisians will join Batavian princes in their camps; a helmeted Belgian cohort will lead them.[45]
Scotus et arma feret cum Cimbro Danus, et hi, qui Ad mare concretum iugera rara colunt.	The Scot will join and the Dane will take up arms with the Cimbrian, and so will those who plough the hard ground in scattered fields by the sea.[46]
Hunnus et oppressus duce te sua tela resumet *line 255* Inque sui regis iura redire volet.	With your leadership, the Hun, the oppressed will once more pick up his spear and choose to go back to the just rule of his own king.[47]
Accurrent fortes, infracto corde Bohemi Et prope quae gentes regna propinqua tenent	The Bohemians, broken-hearted yet courageous and steadfast, rush to the charge, and right behind them what nearby tribes their kingdoms contain.
Non deerit bellax tibi Sarmata, trux et Alanus, In levibus pugnans nec Lithuanus equis. *line 260*	You will not find the warlike wanting, nor the ferocious Alan, nor again the battling Lithuanina with his nimble horses.[48]
Hi iam cum Moscis toties Dacisque, Scythisque, Cum Turcis etiam conseruere manus.	They already many times joined in close combat with the Muscovites and the Dacians, the Scythians, and even the Turks.[49]

[44] Like Venice earlier (lines 241-242), France too was part of the League of Cognac at war with Charles. King Frances I was captured at Pavia in 1525, then released in exchange for his sons as hostages; they were only released in 1529 with the Treaty of Madrid, a peace that Francis would later renounce because it had been concluded under duress.

[45] These are all names of peoples living in the Netherlands; Batavia was the Roman name for the province.

[46] The Cimbrians (*Cimber, Cimbri*) were a German race who invaded Gaul (in Caesar's *Gallic Wars,* books I and II: usually as 'the Cimbrians and the Teutons').

[47] These 'Huns' are the Hungarians whose kingdom was devided and their king killed in 1526 with the Ottoman victory at Mohács; here Dantiscus alludes to the fearsome tribe that threatened the Roman Empire a millenium earlier.

[48] The Sarmations were the Poles; the Alans were a tribe that migrated all over Europe. The Lithuanians with their vast spaces and small population had developed a very effective light cavalry (cf. Robert Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558-1721*, Harlow: Pearson, 2000, esp. "A Military Revolution", 16-22); the banner of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, for example, has no eagle or lion, but a charging rider, sword above his head.

[49] Dantiscus applies classical names to peoples whom the Lithuanians have fought on their eastern and southern frontiers: the Dacians or Getae refer to Wallachians or Vlachs, living west of the Black Sea (present-day Romania); the Scythians refer to the Tatars, living north of the Black Sea (present-day Ukraine).

Isti nunc regis Sigismundi iussa sequuntur,
Quo nullum, qui te plus veneretur, habes.

Now these (the Lithuanians) follow the orders of King Sigismund; and there is no one by whom you (Pope Clement) are more revered.

Nil aliud petit hic, nihil est, quod crebrius optet,
Inter oves quam quod mens foret una tuas

He has no other wish—he asks for nothing more—than that all of your flock be of one mind

Quodque sub unanimi consensu pectora regum
conciliata forent.

And that the hearts of the kings be united in agreement and they be brought together.

Hoc si perficies, nil pax remorabitur illum
Turcica; rescindi, sit pia causa, potest.

If you arrange this united effort, not even the current truce between Poland and Turkey will delay the expedition; that truce can be rescinded—so pious is the cause.

In longum non est tempus confecta; priusquam
Ibimus in Turcas, desinet illa prior.

Also it will not be long until the truce expires; it should end before our forces arrive in Turkey.

Fac modo Christicolae concordes arma capessant,
In Byzantinis bella gerantur agris!

So, now make peace between the Christians and then take up arms eagerly—let war be carried to the fields of Byzantium!

Gentibus instructi sint terra, per freta classe
Victum cum nervo sufficiente ferant!

Let the men be prepared and fitted out by land, their provisions be carried boldly by ship across the straits!

Bosporus in primis capiatur Thracius et sic
Hostibus occlusis impediatur iter!

First let the Thracian Bosphorus be captured and so the enemy thus surrounded and shut up may be be cut off from his escape!

Hoc non unius bellum praesumitur anni,
Si debet iusta sedulitate geri.

We do not suppose this war can be carried out in one year, and if so, the proper management of it should be carefully planned.

Quod postquam fiet, rex Sarmata pacta remittet
Sponteque cum reliquis regibus hostis erit.

After this is done, the Sarmatian king will throw back his agreements of truce and swifty move against the enemy with the other kings.

Interea sed cum nihil in commune moveri
Sentit, vult pacis commoditate frui

But in the meanwhile, he perceives that no one is doing anything for the common good, and while he would wish to enjoy the advantages of peace,

Nec se cum regnis, cum nemo iuvare procurat,
Perdere, solus enim ferre tot arma, nequit.

He does not want to lose both himself and his kingdom in taking arms alone against so many, with no one to bring him help.

Iam licet a Turcis sit tutus, gens tamen illi Taurica cum sociis, nescia pacis, obest.	Now, though it may be safe from the Turks, the people of Taurica with their allies know nothing of peace and persist in their attacks.[50]
Haec venit a tumidis toties Maeotidis undis Et magno numero plurima damna facit. *line 290*	Thus come all of the Maeotians in their swelling waves and inflict a great number of injuries upon us.[51]
Et quamvis aliquando fera cum gente pacisci Cogitur, observat non tamen illa fidem.	And when at any time our king has been bound to make peace with savage peoples, they do not keep faith.
Hinc conducticio fines custode tuetur Et turmas equitum semper in aere fovet.	This is why he has hired garrisons watching the frontier and cavalry units in pay.
Sic infestatur crebris incursibus, unde *line 295* Tempora securae pauca quietis habet.	So vexed is our king by these frequent border raids, that he has few untroubled moments of peace.
Nullius auxilium tamen umquam sensit et hostes Numinis innumeros saepe cecidit ope.	Yet never does he hear of any Christian reinforcements, and often has, by Heaven's help, hewn down innumerable enemies.[52]
Regibus hinc praestat multis prudentia et annis, Usu quam longo tempora ferre solent. *line 300*	That's how our king has come to surpass many other kings in wisdom and in age, having gained the experience (in fewer years) that usually only comes with much time.
Indeque praeteritam praeviderat ante ruinam Et nisi succurras, iam graviora videt.	That is how he foresaw the previous ruin that befell us before and—unless you come to our aid—he sees a graver situation even now.[53]
Quare per Christi tibi viscera supplicat, orbi Ut modo languenti pharmaca tuta pares.	Therefore he humbly beseeches you, by the Guts of Christ, to furnish the balm of safety for a world which is suffering so.[54]

[50] Taurica is a classical name for the Crimean peninsula; Dantiscus is refering to the Tatars.
[51] The Maeotians is a classical name for the people who live around the Sea of Azov and the swampy lands at the mouth of the Tanais River in Scythia (the modern Don in southern Russia). So, the 'swelling waves' (*undis tumidis*) of this onslaught works as (1) the number of the enemy, (2) their puffed up confidence, and also (3) the watery character of their home.
[52] I try here to approximate the musical ring of "*numinis innumeros*" with its internal assonance and alliteration, the mumbling "*tamen umquam*" and the almost ululant quality of "*nullius auxilium*".
[53] There is here a triple emphasis on past dissappointements with "*praeteritam praeviderat ante ruinam*" that also creates a clipping staccato of 't' and 'r' sounds and which continues into the next line.
[54] The *viscera Christi* may be any internal part of Christ, not just the guts: in St. Paul's *Colossians* (3:12), it has been rendered into English as the 'heart of Christ' (English Standard Bible) or "bowels of mercy" (King James Version); or, for example, the *beata viscera* of Mary is her blessed womb (in a thirteenth-century polyphonic song by Pérotin); Harhala makes this Christ's Wounds (*rany Chrystusa*) which succeeds in conveying Dantiscus's bloody urgency, and for the Polish reader invokes an oath

Nec mora te tardet! Iam limina possidet hostis; Si non obsistes, in penetrale ruet.	Do not delay! Already the enemy has gained the threshold of the house; if you do not make a stand, he will invade the innermost chambers.
Diversas igitur mentes odiisque vicissim Flagrantes certo pacis amore fove!	Therefore, turn your blazing thoughts away from hatred and, by the power of love, truly tend the fiery love of peace!
Et reminiscaris, quod pacis amator et auctor, Te Deus in terras hac ratione dedit!	And call to mind how God, Himself the lover and author of Peace, intended you for this cause and sent you to the people of the earth.
Si quid restat adhuc irarum, bella quod ista, Tempora vel quod idem prisca dedere tibi,	If anything still remains before you of the bad blood produced by either these recent wars or else by those of times long ago,
Si quid Gallus adhuc contra praetendit Hiberum, Si quid in hos laesus forte Britannus habet,	If the Gaul should yet hold out some grievance against the Iberian, if the Briton should by chance have some attack in store for them,
Si quid inest aliis veterisve novive furoris, Quo iacuit res, heu, publica pressa diu,	If there be any of this rage, new or old, in any of these others, that has been been crushing – oh! – our common weal for so long now,
Tu, pater, in natos clemensque piusque resolve Et sic concordes duc ad ovile tuum!	Release it all (this pent-up anger) in your children, you, father, who are both clement and pious, and bring peace to your sheepfold!
Caesar adest praesto; propere, quo iusseris, ibit, Ante tuos et ob id procidit ille pedes.	The Emperor is here, at your command; he has prostrated himself at your feet for this reason; and as you command him, he will go and swiftly obey.[55]
Hesperiamque suam linquens traiecit ad istam, Ut veniens faceret, quae tibi grata forent.	And, leaving behind his Western Lands, he will go forth to those parts so that, having arrived, he may do what you wish.
Hoc etiam reliqui facient ex ordine reges; Tu modo ne dubita, promere signa iube!	And so will all of the other kings do this, one after the other; only just don't you hesitate; give the command to bring forth the banner!
Caesaris imperii sacra tempora cinge corona! Quod si fit, refert, hic vel in Urbe, parum.	Place the sacred crown upon the brow of imperial Caesar! Be it here or in Rome, either way is equally good.[56]

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that also existed in Early Modern English ("God's Wounds!" or "Zounds!") but is lost in the twenty-first century.

[55] This gesture of obeisance took place at the end of procession anticipating Charles's coronation in Bologna at the hands of Clement. Dantiscus may have known this would happen or he may have added this line after witnessing the event. (See Dandelet, *Renaissance of Empire*, chapter 2.)

[56] In this line and in the next two, Dantiscus is addressing the question of why the imperial coronation was in Bologna, the second city of the papal states, and not in Rome (*in Urbe*, "the City"). This change served both participants, however, because it reduced Charles's travel time on his way north

Tu tecum Romam, non te fert illa, quod aiunt, Esseque dicitur haec hic, ubi papa manet.	You take Rome with you (as they say) wherever you go, and not the other way around; where the pope is, there is Rome.
Acrior hinc fiet diademate fretus in hostes, Quo debetur ei, Turca quod omne tenet. *line 330*	Strengthened by his crown, our emperor will now be all the fiercer against the enemy; for all the Turk's current holdings rightfully belong to the emperor.
Conatus adeo sanctos successibus auge, Ut coeptum fervens aggrediatur opus!	Increase the holy efforts for this great project, (Pope Clement,) that the great task be seized upon with fervor!
Quodsi perveniet Germanas sospes ad oras, Nullus ibi, qui non sponte sequatur, erit;	And if the emperor but reach those auspicious German lands, there will be none among those people who will not willingly follow him to war;[57]
Hostis ad Euphratis fugiet procul ostia magni, *line 335* Cum Graecis rursum Thrax sacra nostra colet.	The Enemy will fly before us back to the mouth of the great Euphrates, and Thrace, with the Greeks, will honor once more what is holy to us.[58]
Si tecum retro Tiberis transibit ad undas, Hinc et ad Hispanos per mare carpet iter,	But if instead he returns with you, back past the Tiber, and beyond the waves, pursuing the sea path from here to the land of of the Spainiards,
Hostis ad Eridanum furiosa mente feretur Et sua firmabit forsan in Urbe sacra. *line 340*	Then the Enemy will bring his furious designs to the River Eridanus, and then fortify himself in the Holy City, perhaps.[59]
Haec prohibere potes, dum tempus et integra res est;	All this you can prevent, so long as there is time and

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where the Turks were marching on Vienna and where Lutherans were unsettling in the Holy Roman Empire and also because it gave Clement a little space from the humiliating destruction that the emperor's forces had visited upon the Eternal City just two years prior.

In the previous line there is a delightful ambiguity with the adjective 'sacred' which fits to modify either 'crown' (*sacra corona*) or 'temples' (*sacra tempora*), but not both at once, giving the English translator and perhaps the original audience something to think about.

That Dantiscus is speaking in the imperative (*cinge corona*) suggests that this poem was written in the period before the coronation of Ferbruary 22 and 24.

[57] From Bologna Charles headed north to German, the center of the Holy Roman Empire, both to deal with the Lutheran controversy and to head off Suleyman's forces at Vienna.

[58] The mouth of the Euphrates (and also the Tigris) on the Persian Gulf was about as far away as Dantiscus could imagine, and in fact a region that would not pass into Ottoman control until their victories against the Persian Safavid dynasty in the 1530s.

[59] The Eridanus is the mythical name for the River Po; Bologna (where Dantiscus, Charles, and Clement were) is situated in the Po River basin. Eridanus is also a constellation and so represents all rivers to the erudite listener. Here, Dantiscus imagines an Ottoman trajectory going from the Balkans through northern Italy to Rome itself. He plays with repetition of 'f' and 'r' sounds to give a frenetic or furious effect. As before, (note 85), the word *sacra* can refer either to the holy city of Rome (*Urbe sacra*), or to the enemy's religion (*sacra sua*). Choosing the former, I translate it as he would install his forces into the holy City. Harhala (1938) has him installing his sacred practices into the city ("Może się zdarzyć, że kult w Rzymie wprowadzi swych bóstw." p. 99), raising the specter of an Islamic ("heathen") Rome.

Vix umquam posthac copia talis erit.		things hold together; but after this there will scarcely ever be such forces at your command.
Hoc etiam cum iam cognoscas, inclute caesar, Ut bene perpendas, te tua iura monent.		And, glorious caesar, you know this already too; so should you weigh matters carefully, as your own sacred oath teaches you.
Incultis igitur numeris innixa, seorsum Ad te contendit flens Elegia loqui.	*line 345*	In addition, weeping Elegy reaches out to speak to you; she finds support (such as it is) in my rough verses.
Da veniam! Durum est fervente dolore tacere. Afflicto cordi quem bona causa facit.		Forgive me! It is a hard thing to remain silent while burning in agony. The Cause of Right makes it so for the shattered heart.
Vera loquar, ter namque tua versatus in aula Nunc hic Sarmatico missus ab orbe vagor.	*line 350*	I tell you the truth, for I've been at your court three times now, a wandering traveler sent here to you from the Polish lands.
Per mare, per terras, a Gadibus actus ad Eurum, Te comitatus ad hoc sum procul usque solum,		Over sea, over land, from Cádiz and by way toward the East Wind, Eurus, in your company I have come to this very soil,
Hic ubi sublimi populosa Bononia turri, Iuncta suo Rheno tollit ad astra caput.		Here where the lofty towers of populous Bologna reach skyward, joining the headwaters of the Rhine, at the stars.[60]
Venimus huc et iam bis cursum luna peregit, In Turcas sed adhuc nulla statuta liquent;	*line 355*	We came here and already the moon has twice completed her rounds, and yet there has been no verdict so far as to action against the Turk.
Et quamvis iusto premitur Florentia bello, Non minus in Turcas res ea digna foret.		And however just it may have been to make war on Florence, it be no less correct to do so against the Turk.[61]
Austriacis nuper dum grassarentur in oris,		And when recently the Turk advanced on the prowl

[60] Gadis is Cádiz, the Spanish port. (Dantiscus is referring to an earlier trip to Spain because he went with Charles from Barcelona to Genoa in July and August of 1529, a slow, coastwise passage by way od Monaco and Savona, cf. Cadenas y Vicente, *Diario*, 202-03.) Bononia is Bologna, the second city of the Papal States where Dantiscus accompanied Charles V for his imperial coronation. Eurus is both the Eastern Wind and the East as a cardinal direction (just as Boreas is the icy Northern Wind and the Northern lands which Dantiscus associates with Poland): here Dantiscus has traveled east with Charles to Bologna for the coronation. The headwaters of the Rhine are in fact in Switzerland, but perhaps that is the point: Bologna is close to the Alps which are so lofty as to be adjoining the stars. To go one step further, the imperial dignity also is cestial and high; its authority flows downward to Germany.

[61] As Dantiscus was writing his poem, Florence, the last holdout of the League of Cognac, was under siege by Charles's forces under the command of the Prince of Orange and with the financial support of Clement VII to the tune of 60,000 ducats a month. Charles might have preferred a negotiation and an indeminity from the fortified republicm but he had an obligation to Pope Clement, Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici, who wished to see kinsman, Alessandro de' Medici, installed as duke. The city capitulated the following August. [cf. Michael Mallet and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, Eng.: Pearson, 2012), 221-226.]

Multa ferebantur, quae modo muta silent.

against the Austrian frontier, there was so much talk about what to do, yet now all are silent.

Ex re quam subito natus calor iste refrixit,
Effectus causa deficiente docet.

For the very moment our burning zeal is born it begins to cool, and teaches Action to wane and come to nothing.

Non tamen ergo puta caesos vel forte fugatos,
Dicuntur subito quod retulisse pedem

Do not yet believe therefore that though some of the enemy fell or were perhaps scattered (as we hear it reported) that he has retreated

Et quod quassatam propere liquere Viennam,
Innumeros quae tot pertulit icta globos!

And hastily abandoned battered Vienna, that suffered so many—countless—striking cannon balls!

O, utinam non sit, quod opinor! Vere redibunt;
Hic reditus magni causa timoris erit.

O, if only it were not so as I suppose! But no, indeed, they will return here come spring; and this return will be the cause of great fear.[62]

Aspera cum primum sua frigora bruma remittet
Cumque suum quaeret Daulias ales Itym,

As winter begins to withdraw her harsh frosts and the the Daulian bird comes to seek Itys,[63]

Mox ex hibernis, quo concessere, reversi
Reliquias alia commoditate petent.

They will quit their winter camps soon (where they've been resting) and their remaining soldiers will look to attack another advantageous position.

Iam didicere, prius quod forsan defuit illis,
Concita quid nostri militis arma valent

They have learned by now what they perhaps didn't previously know: how mighty are the weapons hurled by our soldiers

Et quibus illa modis tractent illisque fruantur;
Ordine quo pedites in statione manent,

And how they are pulled into the action with delight, and how our infantrymen keep discipline in their ranks,

Impete quoque solent extra procurrere vallum
Et qua defendunt moenia fracta manu;

And also how they are accustomed to charging boldly from their fortifications, and how they will defend the broken bullwark to bar the foe;[64]

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[62] *Vere redibunt* can be "They will return in the spring" and just as easily "Truly, they will return"; I think this is intentional and the one word does both tasks. *Hic* ("here") can be either the place where they return to or where they inspire fear; or, again, it could be the pronoun *hic* ("this return").

[63] Spring will approach, marked by the advent of the nightengale, which Dantiscus invests with bloody vengeance referring to the Daulian bird seeking Itys (*quaeret Daulias ales Itym*). When the king of Daulis, Tereus, abducted and raped his wife's sister Philomela confining her to a tower and ripping out her tongue, she (Philomela) communicated the crime to her sister (Tereus's wife) Procne through a woven image sent as a gift; Procne killed their son, Itys, and cooked him into a stew; Procne served this stew to her husband and, when she revealed what she had done, Philomela sprang from hiding and hurled the boy's severed head at the father. Before he could draw his sword, all three were transformed into birds: Tereus a hoopie (with a beak like a sword), Philomela a swallow (with a red throat where her tongue had been torn out), and Procne a nightengale. (cf. esp. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI; also Virgil, *Eclogues,* VI; also Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War,* 2.29.)

Quid veles possit, quid eques gravis arma ferendo,
Quove struant acies insidiasve modo.

What the nimble skirmisher can do, and the cavalryman with his heavy armament, or how they construct their battle lines or how they lay their traps.

Haec cum iam noscant, ex omni parte cavebunt,
Aptius ad pugnam seque parare scient.

And since they will now know this, they will be wary from all directions, and they will know how to better prepare themselves for the fight.

Nascitur ex usu rerum prudentia maior:
Non pallet visis nauta probatus aquis

Greater prudence is born of experience: the proven sailor does not grow pale when he sees the water,

Nec metuit vulpes, quem vidit saepe, Leonem,
Ad notosque canes non timet ire lupus;

Nor does the fox fear the lion he often sees; nor is the wolf afraid to approach the dogs he knows;

Praesertim quos affecit formidine quondam,
In tales versus plus feritatis habet.

And especially in facing that danger that formerly held him in terrible awe, he will now turn on it with yet greater ferocity.

Quam tuus impigre miles deiecerit hostem,
Libera iam tandem facta Vienna probat;

That your soldier will knock back the enemy with energy and vigor, for this we have the evidence of Vienna, a city that remains free;

Intrepidi quicumque viri pro moenibus illis
Stabant, sunt omni laudis honore pares.

All of those fearless men who stood upon the walls, they are all worthy of honorable praise.

Non tamen hostilis vis inde repressa tepescit,
Sed vereor, ne sit forsitan aucta magis.

Nor yet wull the violent power of the enemy become tepid just because it has been pushed back; no, I fear perhaps it will but increase.

Abduxere tuos populos a finibus Aeni,
Qua magis Alpinas respicit ille nives.

They've carried off your people from the banks of the Inn [River] where it turns back again to gaze upon the Alpine snows.

His coniunxerunt habitantes undique pagos
Austriacos, quos mox igne cremasse ferunt.

Together with these they yoke inhabitants from all regions of Austria, and then destroy their homes with fire.

Hunniacas et opes multa cum gente tulerunt,
Pro qua vis auri plurima cedet eis.

And they carry away much of the Hungarian treasure as well as the people, a powerful bounty of gold which will yield them still more.

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[64] There is more than one way to read *"defendunt moenia fracta manu"*; the men may be defending the broken walls (*moenia fracta*) as a team (*manu*) or by hand (*manu*), but it could be that they are defending the walls with a shattered hand (*fracta manu*), i.e. even at great cost, an dramatic image that is more desperate than valorous.

Sic dites spoliis redierunt nuper opimis,
Thracius hinc in nos saevior Isthmus erit.

They went back recently with such riches, with such fat spoils, that the Thracian Isthmus will be all the more cruel for us because of it.[65]

Si pro! vere novo, quod opinor, forte redibunt,
Maior erit numerus, quam fuit iste prior.

But what if! they perhaps return anew in the spring, I as believe they will, and with greater numbers than before.

Advenient magna praedae dulcedine capti
Ex Asiae vastis, ex Libyaeque iugis.

They will come—out of the vastness of Asia, out of the Libyan hill-country—enraptured sweetly by the great quantity of plunder.

Iam sibi promittunt Europae totius orbem,
Quem nisi defendas, quod petiere, ferent.

Now they promise themselves the whole of the European World, and—unless you defend it—they will attack and they will get it.

Interea, quo ceperunt Taurunica castra
Et quo Phoebeam corripuere Rhodum,

In the meanwhile, they have captured the strongholds of Belgrade (Taurunum) and seized Phoebian Rhodes.[66]

Non poteras, aliis bellis intentus, adesse,
Cum te vicinus traxit ad arma furor.

You could not be there then, as you were engaged in other wars, the madness of your neighbor dragging you to arms.

Is pacem, tandem sopitus, fecit et hostes
Foedus amicitiae iussit inire tuae.

Now that he has been finally knocked senseless, he makes peace with you and directs your other enemies join you as well in a league of friendship.[67]

Haec pax te Latias properantem duxit ad urbes,
Ad quam iam pridem mens tibi prona fuit,

This peace speeds you toward the cities of Latium where your mind has for some time already been leading you,[68]

Utque tuos faceres inimicos rursus amicos,
Nil non tentasti, quod rationis erat.

So that you might convert your enemies again into friends; there's nothing within reason that you haven't tried.

Hoc cum successit nec te vicina morentur

Once this has happened, look at the situation and think on what is most important, lest the internecine wars

[65] The Thracian Isthmus refers to the Dardanelles (Hellespont), the narrow passage connecting the Sea of Marmara, south of Constantinople, and the Aegean Sea. Dantiscus is arguing that the European plunder that the Ottomans carry back will help them fortify the approach to Constantinople. In the following lines, Dantiscus will also argue that this wealth can be used offensively.

[66] Taurunum refers to Belgrade (see line 81). Phoebe can refer to the luminous titan or to Diana, the moon goddess; thus I think *Phoebeam Rhodum* should be read 'shining Rhodes'. To repeat, Belgrade fell to the Turks in 1521, and Rhodes in 1522.

[67] Charles V defeated Francis I (the "neighbor", *vicinus*) in the Habsburg-Valois contest for Italy and the French king became the emperor's prisoner at the Battle of Pavia (1525), leading eventually to the Treaty of Cambrai (1529). The enemy that Francis here directs toward peace is Florence which was still at war with Charles and Clement and under siege as Dantiscus was writing (see line 357).

[68] Latium is the region surrounding Rome, at this time the western part of the Papal States; perhaps by referring to *urbes Latias* Dantiscus is including Bologna. It is a sensitive subject because the imperial forces recently sacked Rome (1527) during the war.

Bella magis, quae sunt iam potiora, vide!	of your neighbors drag you down.
Turcarum rabies quo tandem, prospice, tendat, Quae sic cotidie crescit et aucta viget!	Watch for that Turkish fury that is stretching out to finally seize us, that grows daily in scope and flourishing power!
Quam sit in angustis hic nunc, perpendito, rebus Quem tibi germanum fecit uterque parens!	You will consider well what dire straits he—the one who was born your full brother by both parents—finds himself in now![69]
Huic nisi succurras, per te neglecta peribit Austria, qua generis crevit origo tui.	And if you do not rush to help her, neglected Austria will be destroyed because of you—this, the origin of your family, where your ancestors were born.
Latius hocque malum serpet: vix Rhenus id ipsum Sistet vel rapidis Albula priscus aquis.	And this evil force will wind its way wide across the land: only with difficulty will the Rhine itself block its progress or the swift waters of the ancient Tiber.[70]
Haec ne proveniant, o caesar, cum patre sancto Provideas! Spectant vos mala nostra duos.	May these things never happen; may you make certain, O Caesar together with the Holy Father, that they don't! The evil menace arrayed against us is watching you both.
Componas laceras modo temporis huius habenas Contineasque tua lora remissa manu!	At this time, take up the tattered reins of governance that are hanging loose; gather them in your hands and assume control!
Suscipe, quod diadema tibi debetur, et Urbem Ne cures! Urbs est Felsina clara satis.	Receive the crown which is your due, and don't worry about the City [Rome]! The city of Felsina [Bologna] is sufficiently glorious.[71]
Rex cum Romanus non visa diceris esse Roma, cur non sic caesar et esse potes?	Although they may say of you 'the Roman king has not seen Rome', why can't you still be the emperor?
Te modo, fac, propere Germanas confer ad oras,	Do it: get yourself quickly over to the German frontier, that you may take arms against the enemies of the

line 420 *line 425* *line 430* *line 435*

[69] This (*germanum fecit uterque parens*) is literally closer to "made your full brother by either parent" rather than "both parents" as I have written, which emphasizes that Ferdinand is Charles brother *twice over*, once by their father and once by their mother. Dantiscus's construction is a reminder for us of the complexity of family connections at the highest levels of nobility (often involving children from multiple marriages and also natural children born of other liaisons), and also the estrangement that political necessity may bring. Charles and Ferdinand spent almost no time together: Charles was raised in Burgundy and Ferdinand in Castile; when Charles came to Spain to be crowned, he saw to it that the more popular and native brother moved immediately to Austria.

[70] The ancient Albula is the Tiber (though there is also a smaller Albula that is a tributary of the Rhine). By naming these rivers, one in Rome and one in western Germany, Dantiscus is projecting the Ottoman threat into the heart of Christendom and Charles's empire.

[71] For a number of reasons (see above), Charles was receiving the crown of Holy Roman Emperor not in Rome but in Bologna, called Felsina in ancient Etruscan times. He is playing up the illustrious reputation of this ancient city, the second city of the Papal States since Clement's recent predecessor, Pope Julius II conquered it (1506).

Hostibus ut possis arma movere crucis!	cross!
Nam tua res agitur, domus ardet propria. Quam si Liqueris ardentem, quid nisi pulvis erit? *line 440*	For this is about you now: your house is on fire. And how, if you leave it to burn, will there be anything but ashes?
Tolle moras igitur! Nec enim sine numine diuum In Latium ductus tempus ad istud ades.	Delay no more, therefore! Indeed do not—unless so guided by heaven—even go to blessed Rome [*diuum in Latium*] at this time.
Te Deus aeternus teneris protexit ab annis Inque tuos hostes praevia signa tulit,	God Eternal has protected you since your tender years and has carried the battle standards, leading the way, against your enemies,
Et pro te pugnans te fecit in orbe monarcham *line 445* Imperiique dedit sceptra corusca tibi.	And fighting for you, He has made you monarch of the world and given you the resplendent scepter of *Imperium*.[72]
Quod praeter reliquas virtutes, quas geris, ingens Promeruit sanctae religionis amor.	This is because, ahead of all the other virtues that you possess, you have gained a tremendous love of the holy relgion.
Victrices aquilas Christo duce profer in hostes! Ille tuis coeptis vela secunda dabit. *line 450*	Rally and command the victorious eagles of Christ against the enemy! He (Christ) will give fortunate sails to your enterprise.
Nec deerit Clemens, qui te, quo coepit, amore Prosequitur patrio, cuius id acta docent,	Nor shall Clement fail you; he is right beside you with paternal love as he has been since you started out; his deeds have shown it,
Clarius hoc etiam doctura: iuvabit euntem Aere sacro, fusa perque sacella prece.	Even more loud and clear is this demonstration: Clement will support you on your way with consecrated contributions flowing from prayer and through holy shrines.[73]
Accedent alii reges, tibi sanguine iuncti *line 455* Et iunctos quos ex foedere nuper habes.	The other kings will come to your side; you have those who are joined to you through blood and those whom you brought into union as a result of the recent peace treaty.
	But treaties, so many times undone and then remade

[72] *Imperium* in Rome was 'command' or 'authority' and an *imperator* was a 'commander' invested with authority of a general. Here Dantiscus is using this classical definition in combination with the modern idea of *empire* and *emperor* as lordship over many nations.

[73] Here is a playful double meaning reaching toward both spiritual and material succor, which I clumsily render as 'contributions'. "*Aera sacro, fusa... prece*" can be the 'holy coins cast from prayer' (*aera* from *aes, aeris* which is 'brass' or 'copper' and 'money' coined from these metals or in general, and *fusa* as 'flowing' in the way that molten metal is poured) and can just as well be 'holy air flowing from prayer' (*aes, aeris* 'air'). The popes sent agents to preach the crusade with lively sermons and sell indulgences, collecting money in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. See Norman Housley, *Crusading & the Ottoman Threat, 1453-1505* (Oxford: University Press, 2012), 172-210 (Chapter Six: "Indulgences and the crusade against the Turks").

Foedera sed toties infecta refectaque rursum
Me terrent; nec enim suspicione carent.

again, frighten me; nor indeed do they lack suspicion.

In miserum sumus impacti, quod vivimus, aevum,
In quo rara avis est inviolata fides.

We have been thrust into the miserable age we are living in, in which undamaged trust is a rare bird.

Tu tamen, in superis qui spem non ponis inanem,
Utere propositi dexteritate tui!

However, you, who do not place a vain hope in Heaven, make use of all of your skill to advance your plans!

Scis, quibus ante modis desertis sit tibi pactis
Impositum; simili cautus ab arte cave!

You know the way treaties established by you in the past have been forsaken; so beware and be on guard for similar trickery![74]

Sunt consultores tibi, per quos omnia tractas,
Magna praestantes integritate viri.

You have counselors with whom you discuss everything; they are outstanding men of great integrity.

Horum consilio, si quis latet anguis in herba,
Retia vel fuerint si tibi structa, scies.

By their counsel, if a snake should be lurking in the grass, or if a snare should be set for you, you will know it.

Quidquid id est, superi cum te cepere regendum,
Insidiis poterit nemo nocere tibi.

And whatever should happen, since the gods placed you in charge to rule, no one will be able to harm you through plots and tricks.

His ducibus contra te nulla valebit aperta
Hostilis feritas, sed tibi terga dabit.

No wild enemy attack, out in the open, by these warlords will succeed against you, but they will turn their backs and flee.

Non te detineat, quod Hiberia tam procul absit
Quodque tuum reditum vota per ampla petat!

Don't hold back because Iberia is so far away and because she begs for your return through her many prayers.

Te poterit levius nunc, quam prius illa carere,
Cum natos habeat, pignora cara, duos.

It will be easier for you now with those precious hostages that you were lacking before, since Spain has those two sons.

Hos Deus ergo tibi viridi concessit in aevo,
Ut per te rabidi frangeret ora lupi.

God has put them in your custody, therefore, in their youth so green, so that you may smash the head of the rabid wolf.[75]

[74] Dantiscus is refering to the way Francis I disowned his own agreement with Charles V after his release from capitivity, claiming he has made it under duress; Charles challenged Francis to single combat. (Braden Frieder, *Chivalry & the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court*. Kirksville, MO: Truman University Press, 2008. vii.) Why Dantiscus should bring up this dissappointing betrayal in the middle of encourage good will and cooperation can be explained by a desire to flatter the emperor by showing him to be more honorable than Francis.

[75] In these two stanzas (lines 475-479), Dantiscus is speaking about the French princes who are Charles's hostages. After his capture at the Battle of Pavia (1525), Francis I gained his release with the Treaty of Madrid (1526) providing his sons, Francis and Henry (ages eight and six), as hostages. Claiming that the peace was invalid since he had been a prisoner, he renewed his war with Charles,

Te nostris lacrimis tandem permotus adegit Traicere indomiti per vada salsa freti. *line 480*	Finally, stirred by our tears, be moved to leap across the salty shallows of the untamed straits.[76]
Haec tibi de summo mens indita venit Olympo, Unde nihil frustra pectora nostra subit.	This plan was sent down to you from Olympus, from where nothing comes into our hearts without purpose.
Hinc ita firmatus recutitos ibis in hostes, In multis statues clara tropaea locis.	Strengthened thus, you will go from here against the battered enemy; and you will put up glorious monuments of victory in many places.
I, decus, i, nostri spes Orbis, maxime caesar, *line 485* Quo tempus, quo res et pia fata vocant!	Go, go, most great and glorious Caesar, hope of our world; the spirit of the age, all things, and sacred destiny are calling for you!
Per te vult orbi Deus altam reddere pacem, Quae iacuit per tot bella sepulta diu.	It is God's will that, through you, noble peace be restored to the earth, that long ago was laid in ruins and buried by all of these wars.
Per te vult animos fessos firmare suorum, Funditus ut pereat gens inimica crucis. *line 490*	It is His will to strengthen His weary people through you, so as to utterly destroy that nation that is the enemy of the Cross, to tear it out by the roots.
Tu propere, quod coepisti, iam pectore toto Perfice! Protectus numinis ibis ope.	Go quickly and, with all your heart, finish what you have started! You go forth covered in the power and protection of God.
Maiores agnosce tuos clarosque triumphos, Quos atavi quondam promeruere tui!	Pay homage to your ancestors and their glorious triumphs; your forefathers deserve recognition for their past achievements!
Experiare tuam fausto sub sidere sortem, *line 495* Quae te victorem saepe probata facit!	May you test your fate under this lucky star—a fate that, when tested, so often makes you the conqueror!

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leaving the boys in his protection/captivity for four years and finally ransoming them after the Treaty of Cambrai (1529) in the summer of 1530—Dantiscus wrote this poem the previous winter—but the delay did not trouble Francis: instead, he thought his boys would be well cared for, would have the opportunity to learn Spanish, and would make many useful contacts. See R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: the reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 254, 285-286, also by Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge, University Press, 1982), 209, 219-223; Joycelyne Gledhill Russel's *Diplomats at Work: Three Renaissance Studies* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Pub., 1992), 106; and Michael Mallet and Christine Shaw's *The Italian Wars, 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, Eng.: Pearson, 2012), 173.

Dantiscus's point is that these hostages free Charles from having to worry about Spain and can focus on attacking the Turks, which is just not true if Francis were to continue his behavior after Cambrai as he had after Madrid. This is also a place where I differ from the Harhala translation who had understood the sons (*natos*) to belong to the youthful Charles, i.e. Philip II and Ferdinand, age 2 and newborn, and that rather than "hostages", they were "guarantors" (another way to read *pignora*: "*cenną rękojmią jej są*"), for the safety of Spain.

[76] There is an implied subject that impels (*adegit*) the emeperor—Destiny, perhaps, or the will of God.

Et faciet, coeptis ne desis ipse secundis:
Sub Iovis alitibus castra tremenda move!

And it will do so in future (i.e. your fate will continue to make you a conqueror), just don't you miss the chance for these great enterprises: get your awe-inspiring army on the move, following Winged Jove!

Te felix Fortuna comes Virtusque sequentur,
Orbis et imperium sub tua iura dabunt. *line 500*

Your happy companions Fortune (*Fortuna*) and also Boldness (*Virtus*) will attend you, and they will put supreme rule (*imperium*) of the world under your authority.[77]

Non monitoris eges nec opus currentibus esse
Fertur equis stimulo, tu tibi calcar eris.

You don't need any more advice, nor is it useful for galloping chargers to suffer the lash; you will be your own spur.

Ibis ad hostiles Thracum per iugera terras
Et Syriae capies regna vetusta sacrae.

You will go against our enemies across the vast fields of the Thracians and you will sieze the ancient and holy kingdom of Syria.

Unde triumphali te tunc Elegeia curru *line 505*
Aspiciens sparsas colliget arte comas

And after, Elegy will carry you from there in a triumphal chariot, and gazing upon you will gather up her scattered tresses and bind them closely,[78]

Et pede coniuncto Sophocleum nacta cothurnum
Grandiloquis referet tot tua gesta modis.

And poetic feet joining Sophocles's dramatic boots will carry the news of all your feats and chievements in a grand fashion.[79]

But do not despise these brash, hurried verses of mine

[77] *Fortuna* and *Virtus* (in the context of sixteenth-century political philosophy) are two aspects of a leader's engagement the world as he tries to shape events. Machiavelli expounded on these themes in *The Prince* (in chapter 7 and especially in the penultimate chapter 25) ascribing to *Fortuna* the vicissitudes of luck that one receives passively, represented as a capricious female, and to *Virtù* the masculine qualities of courage, skill, fortitude, and resolve. "Always being a woman," Machiavelli wrote of *Fortuna,* "she favours young men, because they are less circumspect and more ardent, and because they command her with greater audacity." [Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. George Bull, intro. Anthony Grafton, Penguin Classics, 2003), 81.] Dantiscus promises Charles that he will have both compantions in attendence: *Fortuna*, the will of the universe conspiring to help him, and *Virtus*, his own agency and prowess to make the best of this situation. That Fortune is *felix*—I rendered it as "happy"—includes generosity in bestowing favor. For some remarks on *imperium,* see lines 445-446.

[78] Nearing his conclusion, Dantiscus returns to the opening lines of the *silva*, in which he invokes Elegy with her hair undone (lines 9-10), a signal of tragedy nor celebration, so now the restoration of her appearance is reflection of Charles restoring the world to peace. Another way to read this, *sparsas colliget arte comas*, is that Elegy is not gathering hair but leaves (another meaning for *coma, comae*) and so weaving a wreath (*laurus nobilis*) to celebrate the victorious emperor in his chariot. Dantiscus was awarded poetic laurels by the previous emperor, Maximilian, in 1515.

[79] Here, Dantiscus continues to revisit his opening remarks (see previous note) in repeating the allusion to the dramatic book of *cothurnus* that lends physical height and moral weight to the tragic actor, and he invokes the august name of Sophocles again (cf. lines 1-2). He makes a pun on "feet" (*pedes*) which are, in Latin as in English, a unit of poetic meter and a part of the body, both of these might be joined with Sophocles's boots. This play can also be seen in a letter by Horace in *The Works of Horace with Expanatory Notes*. Edited and translated by Charles Anthon. 3rd ed. Edited by James Boyd (London: T. Tegg and Son, 1837), 597.

Hos modo praecipites numeros ne sperne, quod atrum
Squalorem vultus temporis huius habent,

because they look dark and squalid and wear the face of our times,

Sarmata vel Latios quod perstrepit inter olores
Sub gelido natus, qua riget Ursa, polo,

Or that a Sarmatian is squawking abbrasively among the Latin swans; he was born under the icy Pole, where the Great Bear stands bristling,[80]

Hic ubi Sarmaticum vagus Istula fertur in aequor
Et tuta portum cum statione beat.

Here where the wandering Vistula comes down to the Sarmatian Sea and blesses the port with safe anchorage.[81]

Nostrarum facies rerum miseranda coegit
Ex tristi faciles pectore versiculos.

The pitiable shape of our affairs determined the contours of these simple verses that flow from a sorrowful heart.

Utque fluunt subito fervore, feruntur ab ore
In calamum nervo vix retinente pedes.

And so they flow with errupting heat, carried from mouth to pen, only just barely restained by taut nerve, into orderly feet.

Non sunt in nonum, fieri quod debuit, annum
Pressi nec cura cum graviore dati.

It is not that I have expressed these verses after nine years of thinking on them, nor have I given them the serious consideration they deserve.

Hoc fit victuris numeris, quos anxia multo
Cum studio vatum sollicitudo premit.

This is how a conquering poem happens: it is pressed with great spirit from poet's anxious mind.

Hi nostri, modo conflati, cito claustra relinquunt
Et levibus pennis in sua fata volant.

Our people, set aflame in this way (by a poet's words), will now speedily leave the gates and fly to their destinies on wings swift and light.

Tempora noscantur gestis cum rebus in illis
Et moveant animos tot mala nostra pios;

May these times be known for the deeds that are carried out in them; and may all those the evils arrayed against us move our faithful spirits to action;

Et quod per Turcas regi cecidere Polono

And because the Polish king has lost an uncle and a nephew, both fell by Turkish hands, both were kings

[80] Vergil had an intrusive goose among the melodious swans in his ninth Ecclogue (*argutos inter strepere anser olores*, line 36) as did Dantiscus's friend, the German humanist Helius Eobanus Hessus, with whom he exchanged a number of letters (in his 1515 poem *De Vera Nobilitate*, line 291, see Harry Vredeveld's *Helius Eobanu Hessus: Volume 3, King of Poets, 1514-1517*. Leiden: Brill, 2012). The allusions to polar ice and bears reminds us that, though Dantiscus was a cosmopolitan humanist, he was aware of and played up his peripheral exotic status as a *Saramata*. The Great Bear, *Ursa Maior*, the northern constellation circling the pole star is described as standing rigid (*riget*) which may be that her fur is bristling, standing on end, as I have rendered it, or that she is numb with cold, further playing on the extremity and exoticism of Dantiscus's homeland.

[81] The port is Gdańsk, Dantiscus's home and his namesake. The Vistula is a wanderer (*vagus*) either because it meanders across the Polish countryside or because it has multiple approaches to the Baltic and the Vistula Lagoon that shift during flood. (Małgorzata Robakiewiecz, "Vistula River Mouth – History and Recent Problems," *Archives of Hydro-Engineering and Environmental Mechanics*, Vol. 57, 2010, No. 2, 155–166.) One curiousity is that this river, female in both Latin (Vistula) and Polish (Wisła) should be a male wanderer (*vagus*) and and not a female one (*vaga*).

Hunnorum reges, patruus atque nepos,

of the Hungarians,[82]

Quodque per incursus ex omni parte coactus
Cum Turcis foedus pacis inire fuit!

And because he was forced through attacks on all sides to enter into a peace treaty with the Turks![83]

Hoc mihi si dederint properantes dicere Musae,
Non est, cur illas plus superesse velim.

If the Muses rush me along in saying all this, that does not mean I would wish to prolongue it.

Summa Medusaei non ambio culmina montis,
Ungula quae tetigit Bellerophontis equi.

I am not trying to occupy the pinacle of that mountain top that was once touched by the hoof of Bellerophon's Medusan horse.[84]

Aonios latices, quibus est sitis alta, requirant,
Me levis, in valles quae fluit, unda iuvat!

Let others seek these Aonian springs for which there is deep thirst; their gentle wave delights me as it flows back down into the valleys!

[82] The Polish king, Sigismund I "the Old" Jagiellon (r. 1506-1548), lost his uncle Ladislaus III "of Varna" at the Battle of Varna, and his (Sigismund's) nephew, Louis II Jagiellon (r. 1516-1526) at the Battle of Mohács. Both battles were Turkish victories.

[83] Sigismund's brother and predecessor, King Alexander, made a truce with the Sultan in 1503; and Sigismund followed this policy in 1519, 1528 and continued to do so in the years after Dantiscus's poem. The Polish king did not come to his nephew's aid at Mohács (see previous note). See Brian Davies's *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea steppe: 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 2007), 25-26.

[84] Again Dantiscus refers back to the muses and their inspirational springs on Mt. Helicon (cf. lines 13-14 of the *Ad Lectorem* preface and lines 3-4 of the *Silva*). The Hippocrene waters (*Hippocrenaeis* [...] *vadis,* line 4) flowed forth when Pegasus, Bellerophon's mythical winged horse that sprang from Medusa, touched it with his hoof. There is a second mountain, however, and that is Olympus where Bellerophon attempted to ride on Pegasus and was punished for his *hubris*; horse, not rider, completed the journey.

Appendix 3

Original		*Translation*
"Vita Joannis Dantisci" (1534)		"The Life of Joannes Dantiscus"
Iam tandem tibi, terra, Vale! mihi dicere mens est, Pertaesus vitae tempore dura meae.		And now, finally, I bid you farewell, Earth! It remains for me to speak my mind. The long and hard span of my life has become tedious.
Hactenus hic vixi, per multa volumina rerum Versatus, requies nec fuit ulla mihi,		I've lived this long (up to this point); I've been tumbled by the tangles of state affairs, and there have not had any rest.[1]
Anxietas, aerumna, dolor me saepe rotarunt Et mihi saepe dies nox et amara fuit.	*line 5*	Anxiety, trouble, and pain have hovered around me often and often have my days and nights been bitter.
Et niveis parvum, sed ab atris linquo lapillis Non parvum cumulum, quem tibi signa dabunt.		And few do I leave behind of white stones, but of black stones no small pile; they will give you a sign (of what my life has been like).[2]
Canities longe ante diem mea tempora texit, Quam nimius labor et sollicitudo dedit.	*line 10*	My hair has turned gray long before my time; this my excessive labor and my cares gave me.
Hanc non ambitio fecit, non ardor habendi, Credita sed fidei res aliena meae.		It was not because of my desire for advancement or my ardor, but rather because I was entrusted with affairs of state instead of going about my own business.
A puero nam sorte mea contentus, habebam Tunc et in exili condicione satis.		I have been happy with my lot since I was a boy; back then, I always had more than enough—even when I was in exile.[3]

[1] This turn of phrase "per multa volumina rerum versatus" is reminiscent of Virgil's image of wounded a serpent writhing in an eagle's claws, "Saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat" (the *Aeneid*, book XI, line 753: in that instance, the eagle is the formidable Tarchon when he snatches Venulus, the wounded serpent, from his horse and they continue the struggle to the death at full gallop on the battlefield).

[2] Dantiscus means perhaps that these black pebbles are his cumulative resentments and the white his redeaming moments; the allusion refers to a method of collective judgment (described by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* XV, lines 41-42), "an anciet tradition of black and white stones; the former to condemn the defendant and the latter to absolve him" (*mos erat antiquus niveis atrisque lapillis,/ his damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa;*); these were collected in an urn (*in urnam*, line 44) as votes, presumeably, of 'guilty' or 'not guilty.' In that story, the divine intervention of Hercules turns the black stones white (*omnibus e nigro color est mutates in album*, line 46) and frees the condemned man. See Werner Hamacher, *Premises: Essays on Philosophy and Literature from Kant to Celan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.), 380.

The idea of black turning to white (in Ovid by the supernatural intervention of Hercules) provides a skillful and humerous transition for Dantiscus's next image, or his hair prematurely white from worldly cares.

[3] This construction, "content with my fate" (*sorte mea contentus*) for "happy," is a variation on the opening lines of Horace *Satires* (I. 1-3): "Why is it, Maecenas, that no one alive is happy with his

At postquam me litterulis abstraxerat aula, Servire et iussit regibus illa tribus,	*line 15*	After I'd learned my letters, the royal court pulled me away and bid me to serve three of its kings.
Multis me implicuit per mille negotia curis, In quibus est vitae pars bona fracta meae.		It (the court) entangled me in the many cares of its thousand affairs, in which the best part of my life was wasted.[4]
Quae tum sim passus, per quae discrimina saepe Iactatus, sat sum conscius ipse mihi.	*line 20*	What things I endured, knocked down so often by crises, I know myself well enough.
Quot terras et quot pergravimus aequoris undas, Et Solyma, Hesperia ac utraque testis erit.		How many countries and how many ocean voyages (I have undergone), both Jerusalem and the two Western Lands (Italy and Spain) will be witness to.
Pannonis ora duplex mihi visa fuique Viennae, Conventus regum cum gravis ille foret.		I have seen the divided land of Hungary and I have been to Vienna to the the important assembly of kings.[5]
Caesaris huius avus victor cum bella superbis Cum Venetis gereret, qui tria [regna] tenent,	*line 25*	The emperor's grandfather was victorious in the war he waged against the proud Venetians, who hold three kingdoms,[6]
Nuntius in castris fueram, ter missus ad illos, Et certa pacem condicione dedi.		I was an envoy to the military camps (of the Venetians); thrice was I sent to them, and I gave them conditions for peace.
Quae prope tunc Athesim, docti [patriamque] Catulli Sustinui, non est, cur memorare iuvat.	*line 30*	And near the river Adige [Athesis], the homeland of learnèd Catulli, and it gives me no joy to remember

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fate—be it one he chose for himself, or one thrown upon him by luck—but instead praises others who have chosen other paths?" (*Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem/ seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa/ contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?*)

[4] Dantiscus's 'wasted' years are literally 'shattered' (*vitae pars bona fracta meae*), a continued reference to Horace's lines (see previous note), where the aging soldier 'shattered' by his years of service envies the merchant (*'o fortunati mercatores' gravis annis/ miles ait, multo iam fractus membra labore;*) (*Satires* I, ll. 4-5).

[5] Anna Kamieńska reads this 'duplex' as an adverb, writing that Dantiscus has visited Hungary *twice*; I would rather expect the adverb to be 'dupliciter' and so understand 'duplex' to be an adjective modifying 'ora Pannonis', and so 'the double land (shore, frontier) of Hungary.' Hungary became divided after the death of Louis II Jagiellon at the battle of Mohács in 1526 between the territories under the control of Ferdinand I Habsburg and those loyal to John I Zápolya.

[6] Maximilian I (r. 1486-1519) was Holy Roman Emperor when Dantiscus was in Vienna in 1515. He died in 1519, when Dantiscus was in Spain, and was succeeded by his grandson, Charles V (r. 1519-1556); thus, Charles was emperor when Dantiscus wrote this poem in 1534.

In both copies that I have (Anna Kamieńska, 1973, and Anna Skolimoswka's online *Corpus* at the University of Warsaw) line 26 reads "tria regra tenant" which can only be an error. Venice held significant territories in Italy (adjacent to the Veneto) and in the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean Seas, both coastline and islands; these "three kingdoms" are perhaps Cyprus, Candia (Crete), and the Aegean Archipelago. These are all places Dantiscus visited, or at least saw in passing, during his journey to Jerusalem in 1506 (Kamieńska, 7; Nowak, 61-66; Segel, 162).

it.[7]

Transeo, quae gelidis sum passus in Alpibus et quae Saeptus ab armatis non semel agricolis.	I will skip over what I suffered in the frozen Alps when was surrounded (more than once) by armed peasants.
Ad Belgas tandem vectus; permiserat hinc me Annis transactis caesar abire tribus	Finally, I made it to Belgium. From here, after three years, the Emperor allowed me to return.[8]
Cum fessus redii, mora parva dabatur; eundum Rursus erat, quo rex iussit abire meus.	Weary I returned, but not for long; I was to head back out again as my king commanded.
Primores iterum toties mittebar ad orbis; Hic fuit officii mens fideique memor.	Again I was sent many times to the principal statesmen of the world. Here, to this work, I dedicated my mental energy and my faithful service.
Cuncta nihil veritus promissa fideliter egi, In quibus incussit res mihi nulla metum.	Fearlessly I discharged the the matters before me; I was not struck by any dread in (the seriousness of) these affairs.
Audivit triplici me cinctus papa tiara Et prope cardinei turba sacrata chori.	With the sacred tumult of the cardinals' court nearby, the thrice-crowned pope heard my embassy.[9]
Hoc tum Felsinea, quo tempore Carolus orbis Imperium cepit Quintus, in urbe fui.	What's more, I was in the city of Bologna, at the time when Charles V took up Imperial Authority (*imperium*) over the World.[10]
Testis erit facili currens mea carmine silva, Quam dolor extorsit temporis ille mali.	My silva will be a witness to this event; it flowed readily, (for it was) wrenched from me by the pain of these evil times.[11]

line 35

line 40

line 45

[7] This river runs through Verona, the birthplace of the poet Gaius Valerius Catullus (84 – 54 BC). It seems there is another error here (cf. previous note) and both versions of the poem read not "patriamque" but "docti partiamque Catulli/ Sustunui," most likely a misplaced 'r.' Yet, if it is not a mistake, then this line could mean that Dantiscus endured playing the part of Catullus. If it is so, then perhaps this Catullus is not the poet but the general, Quintus Lutatius Catulus (149 – 87 BC) who was driven back across the river by Germanic tribes (see Richard J. Evans, *Fields of Death: Retracing Ancient Battlefields* [Barnsley, South Yorkshire, UK: Pen & Sword Military, 2013], 148). If Dantiscus had to fly for safety at some point in his embassy, that would explain why he takes no pleasure in the memory (*non est, cur memorare iuvat*). Such a scenario seems quite possible given the next lines, where he finds himself surrounded by "armed peasants" (*agricolis armatis*). Arguments against it being this Catulus is the spelling of the name (two 'l's, not one), and the adjective 'learnèd' (*doctus*).

[8] After Bologna, Dantiscus spent the better part of three years, 1530-1532, in Belgium and in Germany.

[9] The delightfully incongruous "sacred tumult" or "holy throng" (*turba sacrata*), together with the choice of *chori* (and not *aulae*) for "of the court" emphasizes the noise level and commotion of Dantiscus's papal audience.

[10] Bologna (here Felsina, the classical Roman name) was the site of the imperial coronation of Charles V at the hands of Pope Clement VII in 1530 (see Chapter 4).

Ardua tractavi mandata nec utile honesto Umquam praeposui; res facit ipsa fidem:	I handled the difficult commissions, ever faithful and never taking profit from them; the results of my work are the proof of this.
Non redii dives, peregrini debitor aeris, Impendique, fuit quod mihi cumque datum. *line 50*	I did not return a rich man, but a debtor in foreign parts, and I spent every penny that I had been given.
Sic per bis senos orator regius annos Missus in Hispana ter regione fui.	Thus I was sent three times—in the span of twice six years—to be royal ambassador in the country of Spain.
Vidimus et Danum, Gallos regemque Britannum Et tot Germanos Italiaeque duces,	In this embassy, I saw the kings of Denmark, of France, and of Britain, and many German lords, and the rulers of Italy,[12]
Saepe mihi fuerat per aperta pericula eundum *line 55* Et clam dispositas saepe per insidias,	I passed through dangers, many times out in the open, many times secretly laid through traps,
Per montes, valles, per plana, per invia saxa, Per rapidos fluvios, per vada, stagna, lacus,	I passed through mountains, valleys, through plais, through rocky impasses, across swiftly running rivers, across shoals, lagoons, lakes,
Non solum pacis, sed diri tempore belli, Per cuneos equitum, per peditumque globos, *line 60*	Not only in times of peace, but also in fearful war, through riders in formation, through close-marching infantry,
Seu pestis, sive aestus erat, seu frigora, venti, Non intermisi pergere libere iter.	Never for plague, nor heat, nor cold, nor wind, did I allow myself to interrupt my way.
Quid memoro recolens incommoda multa viarum Per pluvios aut per sole liquante nives.	What for should I mention these things, bringing to mind the many troublesome journeys, though rains or through the thaws of snow melting in the sun,
Tot vel ab hospitibus per diversoria fraudes *line 65* Plus avidi, quam sunt, cum fremuere, lupi?	Or so many tricks practices in taverns by innkeepers, more rapacious than wolves in their snarling?
Non sat erant umquam data magna viatica nostra Atque effluxit et hoc, quod mihi fenus erat.	Nor was there ever enounh traveling allowance given, and I spent my own earnings—they flowed from me.

[11] Dantiscus wrote his *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva* in the months preceding the coronation (see previous note, Chapter 4, and Appendix 1).

[12] I intentionally depart from Kamieńska ("I got to know Denmark, France, and the king of the English," *Poznałem Danię, Francję, I króla Anglików*), and Harhala ("I saw Denmark, the French, and the king of the Britons," *Widziałem Danję, Gallów I króla Brytanów*). The most litrally faithful rendering to Dantiscus's Latin should probably be: "*We* saw *the Dane*, *the French*, and the British king," which I judge to be awkward in English.

Nuntius afuerat, puto, nemo diutius umquam, Scilicet a patria tam regione procul. *line 70*	I think there was no envoy, no one who ever served for longer and (of course) further from his homeland.
Et quod non fuerim fortassis inutilis, ipsa — Invidia hic absit! — res bene gesta docet.	And as to the question of whether I might perhaps have been useless—God forgive I should even think it!—my deeds will speak for themselves.[13]
Inscius atque absens post factus episcopus aulam Deserui redieras spesque quietis erat.	After this, I was made bishop without my knowledge and while I was away; so I withdrew from the court, returning to the hope for peace and quiet.
Meque Deo totum dedidi sacrisque dicavi *line 75* Commutans vitae, quod fuit ante, genus.	And I gave myself entirely to God and dedicated myself to a holy life, replacing the kind of life I led before.
Et statui iustam nulli certaminis ansam Praebere et pacis commoditate frui.	And I decided to quarrel with no one, to leave no opening for strife, and to enjoy the rewards of peace.
Hoc studium mihi semper erat prodesse, nocere Nulli, dissidii prorsus habere nihil. *line 80*	This earnest practice was always been a benefit to me: harm no one, have no disagreements at all.
Quod nec fama negat, vestigia nostra secuta, Nec, qui me noscunt, secius esse sciunt.	Nor will my reputation (that follows in my footsteps) show these my claims to be false—nor those who know me, for they know how it is.
Principibus magnisque viris, doctisque, probisque Convixi fugiens, quos mala vita tenet.	I have lived among princes and great men, the learned, and the good—while fleeing from those who were held in the grips of a wicked life.
Hinc et amicitias nactus, socios et amicos. *line 85* Qui me tot scriptis visere saepe solent.	That's how I got such friendships, such allies and companions. Often they visit me by means of their many letters.
Inter quos procul est magnus Cortesius ille, Qui mundi repperit regna tot ampla novi.	Among these is the the great Cortés far away, he who discovered the vast territories of the New World.
Ultra aequatorem Capricorni sidus adusque Imperat estque mei tam procul ille memor. *line 90*	Beyond the equator, as far as the Tropic of Capricorn, he rules, and even from so far does he keep me in his memory.
Non me fastidire solent regesque, ducesque,	Nor kings, nor dukes would regard me with disdain, nor

[13] This "invidia hic absit!" is literally "may jealously be absent from here [i.e. from my heart]" carries the sense of "heaven forbid" or "God prevent it" or "let it be far from the hearts of the faithful." We may look to Livy for an example (that would certainly have been known to Dantiscus): "absit inuidia uerbo et ciuilia bella sileant" which has the sense of "May I be forgiven for saying so, and may the civil wars remain silent" (Livy, *History of Rome,* 9.19.15; cf. A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies* [London: Croom Helm, 1988], 134; cf. Jane D. Chaplin and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, *Livy* [Oxford: University Press, 2009], 38-39.)

Doctorum pariter magna caterva virum.	likewise the great collective body of learned men.
Praeterea quibus et numquam sum visus, amorem Testantur missis tam mihi saepe schedis.	Even those I've never met often give proof of their love for by means of the letters they send.
Huc veniens igitur mihi cuncta quieta putavi, *line 95* Tot curis finem rebar et ipse meis.	Thus, I believed that in coming here I would find total peace and reach the end of all my many cares.
At secus evenit; meruerunt crimina nostra. Crimina, quae summo sunt manifesta Deo.	But, as it turns out, we must pay for our crimes—crimes which are clear as can be to God on High.
Pro quibus hic, o terra, tuo castigor in orbe, Post cineres gravior ne mea poena foret. *line 100*	For which here, o earth, I am punished in the world, that in the next one (after the ashes), my punishment be not the more severe.
Ignis ter nocuit, segeti neque grando pepercit, Atra lues pecori, nunc inimicus homo.	Thrice has fire done me harm; and the hail-storm has not spared my harvest, nor the black plague my herd; and now the enemy is upon me.
Me tamen insontem recti mens conscia fulcit, Sustinet afflictum meque probata fides.	However, a mindful awareness of virtue props me up, innocent that I am; and my faith, tried and true, sustains me in my distress.
Laus tibi sit, Deus o fortis, sit gloria et omnis *line 105* Gratia! Sum meritus tot mala iure pati.	Praise be to you, O Mighty Lord, glory and all thanks be to you! By right, I am deserving of a great many punishments.
Hic nihil est tutum, firmum vereque beatum, Vana caducaque sunt sidera, terra, fretum,	Here nothing is safe, secure, or capable of bringing happiness truly; the stars, the earth, the seas are all empty of substance and ready to fall;
Stemma, genus, sexus, status, artes, forma, voluptas Deliciaeque nihil, cum venit hora, iuvant. *line 110*	Family, ancestry, sex, status, abilities, beauty, delights and pleasures—all of these are worthless and will help nothing when the hour of death is at hand.
Quid prodest tibi thesaurus collectus, avare, Quem tibi cum lacrimis gens miseranda dedit?	How does your heap of treasure profit you, o miser, that pitiable people surrendered to you in tears?
Non iuvat hic feritas, vis nulla, potentia nulla; Ibit ad infernas, pauper ut Irus, aquas.	Fericuty is of no help here, nor violence, nor strength; the poor man goes, as Irus, the waters below (the underworld).[14]
Mors inopi levis est, sed avaris est gravis, uti *line 115* Quod nequeant partis sub Phlegethonte bonis.	For the poor man death is trivial, but it is burdensome for the greedy, for they cannot make use of their

[14] Irus here is the Greek Goddness Iris, who personified as the rainbow, links the world of the mortals to the immortals. She is the messenger of the Gods (appearing in Homer's *Iliad* and Virgil's *Aeneid*) and, in this context, travels swiftly to the world of the dead (the waters below, *ad aquas infernas*).

possessions under the Phlegethon.[15]

Intramus nudi, nudi discedimus et quod
Pulvis erat, parvo tempore pulvis erit.

Naked we enter (the world) and naked we leave it and what was dust will in short time be dust (again).[16]

Nil sequitur, nisi quod bene vel male feceris, inde
Quivis pro meritis praemia digna feret. *line 120*

You can't take anything with you, save only the good or the bad you will have done; from this you will deserve your appropriate reward.[17]

Qui tutus vis hinc divesque migrare, paludis
Horrida vel Stygiae monstra timere nihil,

If you want to depart from here safe and rich, with no fear of the horrid monsters of the Stygian swamp,

Fac bene, dum vivis, nulli sis causa doloris,
Cuique suum reddas, non aliena petas!

Do good, as long as you live, and cause no one pain, render to each man what is his, and do not desire what is not yours!

Quodque tibi fieri vis, hoc fac omnibus! Esto *line 125*
Clemens in miseros supplicibusque fave!

Do to others however you would have it done to you! Be merciful to the poor and show favor to suppliants![18]

Invideas nulli, famam nullius obumbra,
Non credas, loquitur cum mala lingua malum!

Do not regard anyone with envy, nor darken anyone's reputation, do not believe evils spoken with an evil tongue!

Quod summum est, praecepta Dei non neglege! In illis
Est aeterna salus et sine fine quies. *line 130*

This above all, do not neglect the commandments of God! In them rests your eternal salvation and peace without end.

Haec qui non servat vestigia, tendit ad Orcum,
Quod sumus, heu, miseri, qui nihil hic facimus.

The one who does not keep to this path is heading for the Underworld of Orcus; alas, how wretched we are who do nothing (while still) here (to prevent this)![19]

Felix, qui moritur sumpta baptismatis unda,

Happy is he who dies having embraced the baptismal

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[15] The Phlegethon is a flaming river in the underworld of Greek mythology that "falls into a vast region burning with a great fire" and its "fragments are discharged by our volcanoes." (Plato, *Phaedo*, translated by E. M. Cope [Cambridge, University Press, 1875], 100-101).

[16] Dantiscus's language on the impermanence of life calls to mind familiar passages from scripture: cf. Job 1:21, "Naked I came forth from my mother's womb, and naked shall I go back there. The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!" (*et dixit nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae et nudus revertar illuc Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit sit nomen Domini benedictum*), cf. Ecclesiastes 5:14 (some versions 5:15), "As they came forth from their mother's womb, so again shall they return, naked as they came, having nothing from their toil to bring with them." (*sicut egressus est nudus de utero matris suae sic revertetur et nihil auferet secum de labore suo*), cf. Genesis 3:19, "By the sweat of your brow you shall eat bread, until you return to the ground, from which you were taken; for you are dust, and to dust you shall return." (*in sudore vultus tui vesceris pane donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris*).

[17] Literally, "Nothing will follow you…."

[18] Cf. Luke 6:31: "Do to others as you would have them do to you." (*et prout vultis ut faciant vobis homines et vos facite illis similiter*)

[19] Orcus was a Roman the god of underworld and, by extension, the underworld itself (as used here).

Inventus nondum criminis esse reus.		wave; then he is found not guilty of his crimes.
Nos annis quanto plus crescimus, impia crescent Delicta in nobis et genus omne mali.	*line 135*	Just as we grow in years, so also grow our sinful crimes and every kind of wickedness.
Iustitiam nulli facimus; quod quisquis amore Aut odio valet, hoc iure licere putat.		No one shows justice to anyone; however much each man esteems another by the judgment of his love or his hate, that is how much he deems him worthy to be be treated justly.
Vis domina imperium nostri sibi vindicat oris Estque bonis vis haec hostis acerba viris.	*line 140*	The despotism of naked Power claims its rule over our lips (i.e. our speech, our thought), and it—Power—is the bitter enemy of good men.
Hinc pro veraci mendax placet, hinc solet esse Pro virtute scelus, pro ratione furor.		Hence falsehood is held to be truth, hence crime is taken for virtue, madness for reason.
"Sic volo, sic iubeo" — percurrii pauperis agros Atque per afflicti divitis ora ruit.		"I want it, I command it," Power declares, trampling fields of the poor, and shattering the composure of the afflicted rich.
Immeritis titulos vendit, sacra vendit ineptis Iudiciique nihil dexterioris habet.	*line 145*	It sells titles to the undeserving, holy offices to the inept; it has nothing of proper judgment.
Fit nemo quaestor, praetor, fit nemo senator, Ni numeret; probitas exsulat, alget, eget.		No one becomes a magistrate, no one becomes a sentator, unless first he pays; honesty is in exile, out in the cold, missing.[20]
Nullus avaritiae finis; per fasque, nefasque, Si dederis, quo vis, flectitur illa datis.	*line 150*	Avarice has no bounds; whatever you want, right or wrong, you can get it by gifts, bending it to your desire.
Si quis adulatur, si quis delator iniquus Falsa refert, credit, dummodo dona ferat.		If anyone be a grovelling flatterer, if anyone be treacherous informer, bringing false reports, it—Power—trusts him provided that he come bearing gifts.[21]
Non meritum curat factumque nec utile quaerit Servitium, per quod commoda multa tulit.		It does not care about merit or achievements, nor does it seek for useful service from which it can receive many benefits.
Praefertur scutum, sic quod defenderat olim, Armaque pacifico tempore scabra iacent.	*line 155*	It puts the shield forward that indeed had defended it long ago, though now in times of peace weapons lie rusting unused.

[20] A *quaestor* was an ancient Roman officer who served as comptroller of the civic or military treasury (see Anthony Kamm, *The Romans: An Introduction* [London: Routledge, 1999],14-15). Dantiscus is using this classical term to mean a desirable post connected to fiscal responsibility that should be given to honest and meritorious candidates, not sold.

[21] These last words, "dummodo dona ferat," recall Laocoon's warning about the Torjan Horse, "timeo Danaos et dona ferentes," (I fear Danaans [Greeks] even bearing gifts) in Virgil (*Aeneid,* II, 49.)

Iustitiae nusquam locus est; iniuria regnat,
Regnat et impietas perfidiaeque furor.

Justice has no place, abuse reigns supreme, and so do faithlessness and the madness of perfidy.

Dat poenas iustus, raro damnatur iniquus;
Mors datur insonti, vita necem merito.

The lawful pay the penalty, the unjust are rarely condemned; the innocent are given death, those who deserve that penalty dodge it.

Ius emitur — plus iuris habet, qui plus dedit — et lex
Flectitur, ut flecti cera liquata solet.

Justice is bought and sold — the one who pays more gets more justice — and the law is bent the way melting wax is bent.

Omnia vertuntur; pietas oppressa sub ipsa
Per paucos homines impietate iacet.

Everything gets turned around, overthrown, duty is herself crushed under sinful rebellion by just a few men.

Vera loqui pudor est, placet assentatio mendax;
Integritas vitium, dexteritas scelus est.

To speak the truth is shameful, but flattery pleases the false; integrity is a vice, readiness to help another is a crime.

Qui simulare nequit, multis imponere, fraudes
Nectere, nunc talis nullius est pretii.

He who is not able to play false, to impose demands upon many, to lay traps, now such a man has no worth.

Ille valet, turpi qui novit vivere quaestu,
Omnibus et nummos accumulare modis,

He is the worthy one who knows how to live and profit in nasty, disgraceful ways, and to heap up cash by every means,

Prodere, furari, furto et conquirere amicos,
Officia et dominos propitios, et opes.

To hang others out to dry, to plunder, and to rake up friends, offices, favorable masters, influence and wealth by trickery and theft.

Hi crescunt, magni fiunt et honoribus apti
Creduntur, fidei cum nihil intus habent.

These men grow in honor, become great and distinguished, obtain dignities, receive trust, though inside they have no faith at all.

Committunt tamen his nunc oppida, castra, tribunal;
Quae dum percipiunt, non sibi deesse solent.

Towns, fortresses, and judges' benches are now entrusted to these men, which they take advantage of, careful not to neglect their own profit.

His impune bonos rabida traducere lingua
Concessum est, fama cum meliore carent.

These men are permitted to traduce good men with raging tongues and without consequences, even though they themselves do not have a better reputation.

Quis feret haec virtutis amans et cultor honesti?
Cui talis nostro tempore vita placet?

Who can bear this if he loves excellence and is a supporter of all that is upright? Who can find life pleasing in times such as ours?

Non moror hanc igitur, cum falsa calumnia victrix,
Sit virtus vitium, sit sine lege pudor.

Therefore, I will tarry here no more, where false calumnies are victorious, and virtue is a vice, and what is shameful goes unchecked by the law.

Mens hominum perversa regit, vis cuncta gubernat.
Est ventura brevi vindicis ira Dei.

Human judgement, wicked and perverse, (not the Law of God) rules the world, and Power governs over everything. God's avenging wrath is coming soon.

Dissolvi cupio, tibi, terraque, putre cadaver *line 185*
Linquere; cum Christo, spiritus esse cupit.

I long to be loosed and melt away and leave my putrid corpse to you, Earth; my spirit longs to be with Christ.

Illius fiat, qua fiunt cuncta, voluntas!
In manibus sortes continet ille meas.

His will—that all creation does—be done!
He holds my fate safe in his hands.

Post mortem scribi precor hoc epigramma sepulcro,
Quo me posteritas hicque fuisse sciat; *line 190*

After my death, I pray this epigram to be written upon my tombstone, so that posterity may know me from it:

Hoc tibi, terra, Vale! dico non triste, vocatus
Ad vitam, cuius tempora fine carent.

I say this "farewell!" to you, Earth, without sadness, called to a life (which will last) for time without end.

Appendix 4

Original	*Translation*
"Ionas Propheta" (1535)	"The Prophet Jonah" [1]
Urbs nova, dives opum, Dantiscum sive Gedanum, Accipe, divina quae tibi mente loquor!	You new city, rich and powerful, Gdańsk or Gedanum, receive this prophecy of my judgment which I tell you!
Est breve tempus adhuc; si non peccata relinques, Hoc quibus exundas tempore, fracta rues.	There is not much time still; if you do not leave off your sins, with which you gush now, you will fall broken, destroyed.
Crevisti cito, sic etiam superis male grata *line 5* Decresces; instant iam tua fata tibi.	You grew so quickly, even so quickly you will be reduced, as the heavens displeased press your fate upon you.
Impietas, fastus, luxus, tria monstra, ruinam Iam tibi, ni fuerint prorsus abacta, parant.	Disrespect, pride, luxury: these three show the approaching ruin, which—lest they be opposed—they are preparing for you.
His tribus es iam facta tumens, infrenis et exlex; Hinc, quodcumque libet, iure licere putas. *line 10*	By these three, so swollen already, unhindered and unlawful; you suppose you'll buy off justice, anyway you like.
Parsque tui potior tribus his est plena: senatus; Humor hic in plebem devius unde fluit.	And your have your full share of these three potent vices: their juices flow among the people and their leaders (senate);
Interiisse prius propter tria funditus ista Cum populis urbes, oppida, regna liquet.	For cities, towns, kingdoms—it is clear—have perished on account of these three, razed to the ground.
Haec nequit Omnipotens tria ferre diutius in te; *line 15* Quae nisi depuleris, te gravis ira manet.	The Almighty cannot long endure these three [vices] to remain in you, if you do not expel them, grave wrath remains upon you.
Iamque tibi excidium gliscens clademque minatur, Ni propere facias, quae mea dicta monent.	And even now, devastation and swelling carnage threaten, if you do not act qucikly, as my words warn you to do.
In primis redeas ad religionis avitae, Quam te scis temere deseruisse, viam! *line 20*	In the first place return to the religion of our grandfathers, do you know how recklessly abandoned the way!
Ne veterum fuge contemnens pia dogmata patrum!	Do not shun our old fathers, scorning their good

[1] Jonah, the voice of the narrator, the Old Testament prophet sent by God to prophesy against Nineveh and warn the people that, because of their iniquity and sinfulness, God would destroy if they failed to repent. In this spirit, Dantiscus's Jonah warns the sinning citizens of Gdańsk. In the *Book of Jonah*, the prophet attempted to flee from God's mission, was swallowed by the great fish (*piscis grandis*) for three days, ultimately to repent and go to Nineveh and deliver God's warning. The Ninevites repented and were not destroyed.

Et nova — namque novum despice! — virus habent.	teachings! When the new ways—depise them now!—are venemous.
Mentis et inflatae sinuosum pone tumorem, Ex partis opibus qui tibi magnus inest!	Put your inflated spirit and puffed-up chest, apart from what treasures are in you and seem great!
Maior honestatis quam formae cura sit in te, *line 25* Ut iunctus niteat cum probitate decor!	Better that you take care that the form of honor be in you, that it may shine together with the beauty of integrity!
Virgo tegat patulo fratrantes pectore mammas, Quae, quasi prostitui debeat, ire solet!	Let the maid cover up her breasts, her swelling bosom, which—as if it were to be prostituted—used to go exposed!
Ne sit nupta procax, alienis compta capillis, Fascia nec superet neve tiara modum! *line 30*	Do not be the impudent bride, her hair done up in a foreign style, overflowing the ribbon or the tiara!
Serica cum gemmis et torquibus exue! Vestis Est satis huic statui lanea digna tuo.	Cast off your silks and you bejeweled garland (chaplet)! A garment of wool is enough to establish your worthiness to all.
Illa tuos decuit maiores; te malus illam Quis pudor hoc itidem tempore ferre vetat?	This was good enough for your ancestors; what villain is it who forbids you to put on a modesty in these times now?
Sisque potestati iurata mente fidelis, *line 35* Sub cuius placido tegmine tuta viges!	And be faithful to the ruling spirit of as sworn oath, you are safe and will blossom under its gentle protection!
Copia te rerum non efferat aut maris ulla Prosperitas, verti nam solet illa brevi!	The abundance of things or luxuries from seaborn commerce will not serve as pall bearers and carry you out when it is time for your burial, for our timehere tends to be brief!
Paeniteas laesisse Deum, commissa fatere Et veniam vita sub meliore petas! *line 40*	Repent of wounding God, admit the crime and seek favor under (the direction of) a better life!
Linque voluptates, sectas erroris et omne, In quo te Domino noveris esse ream!	Quit pleasures, wayward sects, and everything that you know will make you guilty before the Lord!
Et quod adulteriis, stupris cenisque per hortos Peccasti, supplex corde gemente dole!	And as for adultery, you have sinned in lustful fornication and in the muck and dishonor of the pleasure gardens; grieve in lamentation, suppliant heart!
Ingluviem vincant ieiunia, templaque luces, *line 45* Quod Thaisque fuit, sit Metanoea tibi!	Defeat gluttony by fasting, and by the lights of the temple; let repentence do for you what it did for Thais.[2]

[2] Thaïs is a famous Greek courtesan (*hataera, ἑταίρα*, "companion") of the hellenistic period who became the woman (not wife) of Ptolemy Soter, one of Alexander's generals who became ruler of

Pauperibus largire libens fratrique remittas
Noxam, quod partum fraude, repende, tenes!

Give freely to the poor; and repay injury to your brother, weigh out in compensation your faudulent gains!

Te nihil hinc sequitur, nisi quod praestabis egenis,
Hoc siquidem vita fine carente beat.

There is nothing more to strive for, unless it be to excel by going without, since by practicing abnegation you receive blessing at the end of your life.

Sic eris e multis, quae restant, libera poenis,
Mitior et fiet vindicis ira Dei.

Thus you will stand out of the crowd, and free yourself from punishment; you will be mild and sweet, a defender from the wrath of God.

Te plagae tandem moveant, iam ter tibi missae,
Exitium gravius ne tibi quarta ferat!

Let these plagues move you at last, as thrice they have already, and let not terrible destruction become a fourth reason to repent!

Ante dedit pestes aër tibi, nuper et ignes;
Quid dederint undae, non meminisse nequis.

You've had clouds of pestilence before, and fire not long ago; nor can you forget the flooding waves.

Haec sed adhuc tria contemnens elementa superbis;
Te saltem reliquum cogat habere metum!

But you are still proud and look with contempt on these three events; even so, they might yet drive you to have some fear.

Si cum terrigenis — erit actum — terra moveri
Coeperit, in praedam facta iacebis humi.

And it was at the Beginning – it will be done again – the earth will begin to turn, and you will be cast prostrate to the, destroyed in spoil.[3]

Ultrices aquilae commercia publica tollent,
Comprimet annonae Vistula clausis iter.

The avenging eagles will take away the public trade, and close off the riverway of the Vistula to the annual grain.

Infantem draco depascens tua moenia cinget,
Alite prognatus, cuius es ipsa, Iovis.

Feed the child born of Jove (as is due), to whom you belong; the Dragon circling your walls with consuming fire.

Cumque lupis aderunt ursi, cum tigride pardi,
Cum catulis et item torva leaena suis.

As when the bears are with the wolves, as the leopard to the tiger, and as the savage lioness is to her own cubs.

Valleris, liceat, iungas quoque Pelion Ossae,
Non secura tamen, ni Deus adsit, eris.

No matter what ramparts you build up, or even if you join Pelion's Ossa to them, you will not be more safe or close to God.[4]

Egypt after Alexander's death, and bore him three children. Perhaps it is because she became connected with one man instead of many that Dantiscus considered her to be repentant. Metanoea (*μετάνοια*) is the term of repentence in the Greek New Testament.)

[3] Cf. Jeremiah 50:10: "*et erit Chaldea in praedam omnes vastantes eam replebuntur ait Dominus*" ("And Chaldea shall be a spoil: all that spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord"), a warning for those among the Babylonians who do not repent.

[4] In Greek mythology, Ossa was a mountain in Pelion on the coast of Thessaly, the home of the centaurs. The giants were said to have taken this mountain Ossa and moved it to Olympus, thus adding

Externis tunc praesidiis frustrata manebis
Divitiisque tuis despoliata gemes.

The outer defendenses that you maintain will be undone, and you will lament over your despoiled treasures.

Tunc te destituent vires, ornatus et omnes
Deliciae, quibus es turpiter usa satis.

And then all of your forces will abandon you — all dressed up and surrounded by your luxurious delights — you who will be so basely abused.

Quidquid in hortorum latebris festisque diebus
Plebs spatians gessit, tunc, miseranda, lues,

Whatever secret treasure you have hidden in your garden, reserved for a holy festival, you will pay out, then, pitifully, to the causal passerby of the rabble.

Impietas, fastus, luxus, tua numina, tecum
Tunc simul in barathrum, quod meruere, cadent.

Disrespect, pride, luxury, your gods, will lie with you, where you fall together into the infernal pit, as you desrve.

Admonui quondam Ninivitas, profuit. Et te,
Ut prosim, moneo; si sapis, adde finem!

I once gave warning to the Ninivites, and they found benefit in it. May you also find benefit the warning I give; if you have sense, put an end to your sinful ways!

Longanimis solet esse Deus, resipiscat ut inde
Peccator, tolerans crimina multa diu.

For God is often patient and longsuffering, waiting for the sinner to come to his senses, and tolerating many crimes for a long time.

Quae cum non cessant, castigat et acrius, affert
Cum magno poenas fenore supplicii.

But He chastises the one who will not repent with severity and exacts a great penalty with interest.

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to its elevation, in an attempt to reach the heavens above Olympus where the Gods reside. It was an act of hubris reminiscent of the Biblical story of Babel, and it is the origin of the saying “pile Pelion on Ossa” which means to make a difficult task even more difficult.