

IOANNES DANTISCUS AND THE CROATIAN HUMANISTS JAKOV BANIČEVIĆ AND MARKO MARULIĆ

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The acquaintance of two humanists, a diplomat in the service of Polish kings Ioannes Dantiscus (1485-1548) and imperial secretary Jakov Baničević (1466-1532), is documented in their correspondence, of which just two letters of Baničević to Dantiscus from 1516 have survived. The main subjects of the letters are the organization of Dantiscus' journey to Venice, conveying a gift from Baničević to the King of Poland, greetings for Polish officials and to Bernardino Gallo of Zadar, and request for a geographical study about northern lands. Unfortunately, little is known about the subsequent contacts of Dantiscus and Baničević.

The huge correspondence of Dantiscus also includes an interesting mention of Marko Marulić (1450-1524). In the 1530s Dantiscus, who was the bishop of Kulm in Prussia at the time, read Marulić's *Evangelistarium*. It made a great impression on him in terms of its religious content and stylistic qualities. Therefore he wanted to learn more about the author of this book and to obtain his other works. One may suppose that Dantiscus treated Marulić's theological works as a tool of Catholic confessionalization within his diocese.

Key words: Ioannes Dantiscus, Jakov Baničević, Marko Marulić, humanism, correspondence, diplomatic service, early printed books, confessionalization

1.

Ioannes Dantiscus¹ (1485-1548) was a Neo-Latin poet and a diplomat in the service of the Polish King Sigismund I Jagiellon and his wife, Queen Bona

¹ Detailed biographical and bibliographical information about Dantiscus can be found in the publication *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts and Correspondence*, accessible at <<http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl>> (December 17, 2013), hereinafter cited as CIDTC.

Sforza, and in the later years of his life bishop of Kulm (1530-1537) and Ermland (1537-1548) in Royal Prussia (at the time a northern province of Poland with some degree of political autonomy). Dantiscus' native land was Prussia. He was born in Hanseatic Gdańsk (German: *Danzig*, Latin: *Dantiscum*) in the German-speaking von Höfen burgher family who also used the name Flachs binder. In accordance with the custom of humanists, he adopted the toponym *Dantiscus*.

In 1515-1532 Dantiscus was almost continually engaged in diplomatic missions, traveling to and staying at the courts of European rulers: emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, King of England Henry VIII, Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg, and others. These travels gave him the opportunity to establish extensive relations with the members of the political, financial and intellectual elite, to gain fame across Europe as one of the leading representatives of the international *respublica litteraria*, and to present himself as a versatile poet and excellent orator, a man with an open mind and an extremely sociable disposition.

Some of the friendships formed in the years of his diplomatic travels lasted a long time after Dantiscus returned to Poland, being continued through correspondence. His correspondents included imperial officials and diplomats, e.g. Mathäus Lang, Thomas Wolsey, Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara, Alfonso de Valdés, Sigmund von Herberstein, and Cornelis De Schepper, philologists such as Jan van Campen, Lazaro Bonamico, and Conrad Goclenius, geographer and astronomer Gemma Frisius, German poet Helius Eobanus Hessus, Spanish conqueror of the New World Hernán Cortés, *praeceptor Germaniae* Philipp Melancthon, and many other figures of the political, cultural and economic elite of the time. On the list of his correspondents we find also the famous Erasmus of Rotterdam (though they probably never met face to face) and Nicolaus Copernicus, who was his subordinate as a canon when Dantiscus was bishop of Ermland.

2.

Dantiscus made his first steps as a diplomat on the international scene in 1515, when he accompanied King Sigismund I to the Congress of Pressburg, a meeting of four Central European monarchs, Emperor Maximilian and the kings of Poland and Bohemia: the Jagiellons Sigismund, Ladislaus and (the nine-year-old) Louis. Waiting from April until July for Maximilian to arrive, the Jagiellons conferred in Pressburg (today's Bratislava). During this time Dantiscus, a relatively young, 30-year-old courtier and freshly appointed secretary to King Sigismund I, easily joined the circle of imperial courtiers connected with the archbishop of Gurk, imperial governor (*generalis imperii locumtenens*) Cardinal Matthäus Lang, who was staying there at the time. The Jagiellons ultimately met with the Emperor in Vienna, where Dantiscus fit in very well with the Viennese humanist circles surrounding mathematician, astronomer, cartographer and personal imperial physician

Georg Tannstetter (1482-1535), also known as *Collimitius*. Dantiscus' occasional poems from this time were greatly appreciated and published among reports from the monarchs' meeting.²

It was most likely during the congress of the four monarchs, in summer 1515, that the Polish royal secretary first met imperial secretary Jakov Banićević. A whole generation older than Dantiscus, he was born in 1466 in Žrnovo on the island of Korčula, a small town that was part of the Republic of Venice at the time. He was a Croatian philosopher, theologian, humanist and diplomat, dean of the cathedral chapter of Trent, friend of such people as famous Ciceronian scholar Cardinal Pietro Bembo and Nurembergian Greek scholar Willibald Pirckheimer. He had been in Emperor Maximilian's service since as far back as 1493 or 1494, and then in the service of his grandson and successor Charles V. The services of the Dalmatian secretary were also used by Maximilian's daughter Margaret, regent of the Netherlands. An acquaintance that was closer to sponsorship than friendship linked Banićević to Erasmus of Rotterdam, and also to Albrecht Dürer, who portrayed him (kneeling right behind the Emperor) in 1505 in Venice among the worshippers in the painting *Feast of the Rose Garlands*.³

That Banićević took part in the Pressburg congress is clear from an account of Cardinal Matthäus Lang's journey to the congress and participation in it, recorded and published by his chaplain, Italian humanist Riccardo Bartolini. Bartolini mentions Banićević twice: he lists him among the imperial secretaries and advisors taking part in the congress and reports on his own participation in a banquet that Banićević hosted in Linz on the Danube, where the courts of Maximilian and Cardinal Lang met at the turn of June and July 1515 on their way to Vienna.⁴ Besides Banićević and Bartolini this merry feast, abounding in toasts and discussions, brought together Viennese professor of mathematics, geography and

² CIDTC, IDP 22, IDP 23, IDP 25 were published in: Riccardo Bartolini, *Odeporicon id est Itinerarium Reuerendissimi in Christo patris et Domini Mathei Sancti Angeli Cardinalis Gurcensis coadiutoris Saltzburgensis Generalisque Imperii locumtenentis, Quaeque in conuentu Maximiliani Caesaris Augusti Serenissimorumque regum Vladislai Sigismundi ac Ludouici, memoratu digna gesta sunt per Riccardum Bartholinum perusinum aedita*, Vienna, Hieronymus Vietor, September 13, 1515; CIDTC, IDP 15, IDP 24 in: *Oratio coram invictissimo Sigismundo Rege Poloniae etc. in conuentu Caesaris et trium regum, nomine Universitatis, Viennae Austrae per Ioachimum Vadianum Poetam Laureatum habita, cum carmine in laudem eiusdem Regis annexo, in quo quaedam de isto conuentu continentur. Impressit Viennae Nonis Augusti Anno M.D.XV. Hieronymus Vietor qui se Principi victo hac sua sedulitate commendari cupit*.

³ Thomas B. Deutscher, »Jacopo Bannasio«, in: *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 1-3, ed. by Peter G. Bietenholz, Thomas Brian Deutscher, Toronto, 2003 (hereinafter cited as CE), vol. 1, 90-91; Gerhard Rill, »Bannissio, Iacopo«, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 5, Roma, 1963, 755-757.

⁴ Bartolini, op. cit. (2), f. Liii r-v.

astronomy, poet Johannes Stabius,⁵ a man called *Marquardus* (probably Erasmus' correspondent Johannes Marquard⁶) and Sebastian Sprenz (*Sperantius*),⁷ a lawyer and Matthäus Lang's secretary. On this occasion Bartolini described Banićević as an extraordinarily frank and kind man, but above all a scholar (*litteratus*) and thus not only a man who loved learned people but also took care of them.⁸ If, as seems unlikely, Banićević and Dantiscus had not met in Pressburg or in Vienna, then they certainly must have done soon afterwards. Their acquaintance is documented by a correspondence of which two letters from Banićević from January 1516 survive.⁹

When the congress ended Dantiscus did not return to Poland with Sigismund I's retinue but joined the royal envoys left behind at the imperial court, vice-chancellor Maciej Drzewicki and Rafał Leszczyński. In autumn 1515 the Polish envoys traveled to Venice to discuss plans for an anti-Turkish crusade and to mediate between the Republic of Venice and the Emperor.¹⁰ After their mission came to nothing Drzewicki and Leszczyński returned to Poland, but Dantiscus – at Maximilian's express request and with the Polish King's consent – remained at the imperial court for further 18 months. He served as the Emperor's envoy to Venice twice during this time – in February and July 1516, conducting (not very successful) negotiations on an armistice.

The aforementioned two letters that Jakov Banićević sent to Dantiscus in January 1516 in fact concern Dantiscus' expedition to Venice. The Polish envoy was waiting in Innsbruck while Banićević was with the court in Augsburg. In the first letter, dispatched on January 6 (see **Appendix 1**), Banićević informs Dantiscus that provisions for the journey (*expeditio* and *viaticus*) have been sent to him; enclosed to the letter was the privilege (now lost)¹¹ and the author's offer

⁵ Cf. Ilse Guenther, »Johannes Stabius«, in: CE, vol. 3, 274; Stabius dedicated to Banićević the print *Horoscopion Omni Generaliter Congruens Climates*, Nurembergae, 1517 (copy at: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Eph.astr. 28#Beibd.1, accessible at <europeana.eu/portal/record/03486/urn_resolver_pl_urn_nbn_de_bvb_12_bsb_11048582_2.html>, 2013-12-12) (1st edition Nurembergae, 1512, addressed to Matthäus Lang and Emperor Maximilian).

⁶ Cf. Peter G. Bietenholz, »Johannes Marquardus«, in: CE, vol. 2, 393-394.

⁷ Cf. Bernhard Ebner, »Sebastian II.«, in: NDB 24 (2010), 107-108.

⁸ Bartolini, op. cit. (2), f. liii r: *Vir candidissimus humanissimusque, et cum litteratus ipse sit, litteratos non solum amat sed colit.*

⁹ CIDTC, IDL 4884, IDL 983 (see also Appendices, No. 1, 2).

¹⁰ *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 5, ed. by Tytus Działynski, Poznań, 1855, 314, No. 433: *regis Sigismundi oratores: Mathias Drevecius, episcopus Vladislaviensis, Raphael Leszczyński capitaneus Szlochoviensis et Ioannes Flachsbinder Dantiscus secretarius ad Venetos missi fuere.*

¹¹ Perhaps the privilege in question was the document granting him the title *poeta laureatus*, which was mentioned in connection with Dantiscus' name for the first time – in sources that we know of – in May 1516, in the address of a letter from imperial secretary Paulus Obersteiner (Riva del Garda, May 4, 1516; CIDTC, IDL 931). It was probably not

of further services. He asks if Dantiscus could convey – as a gift from him to the [Polish] King – a war machine for throwing projectiles (*scorpio vel ballista*), and attaches a letter to the prefect of the post in Innsbruck, Gabriel de Taxis, where the machine is waiting to be collected. He also asks Dantiscus to recommend him to Polish officials: the Bishop of Płock [Erazm Ciołek], the Vice-chancellor [Piotr Tomicki], the Chancellor [Maciej Drzewicki] and his own compatriot staying in Poland, Zadar-born Bernardino Gallo,¹² former secretary to Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimaco Esperiente). Banićević is counting on keeping up the correspondence in future, when Dantiscus returns to his homeland.

The other letter, sent four days later (see **Appendix 2**), is very similar. It is most probably a reply to a lost letter from Dantiscus sent before he received Banićević's package of January 6. The imperial secretary expresses his hope that the gratuity and privilege that he, together with [Sebastian] Spreng, obtained for Dantiscus from the Emperor as well as the provisions for his journey have arrived by now. He writes he will be very grateful if Dantiscus would give his gift, mentioned in the previous letter, to the Polish King. He thanks Dantiscus for recommending him to Sigismund I (Dantiscus must have done so by letter, but the correspondence from this period survives only fragmentarily, so we have no additional confirmation of this fact in sources). Banićević repeats his request for a recommendation to the Polish officials and continued correspondence, and at the end asks for a geographical study of some sort about northern lands, to be sent to him at his expense. The term used here, *cosmographia partium septentrionalium*, does not indicate exactly if he meant a description or a map. Perhaps he had in mind the treatise *De duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* by Mathias of Miechów, written at the time and a pioneering work in this field. The first edition was published in Cracow in 1517 and achieved great popularity. By 1582 it had had six editions in Latin and had also been translated into Polish, German and Italian. Dantiscus, who we know to have been fascinated with geography and to have collected maps and globes, was undoubtedly aware of the

until November of the same year that Maximilian granted Dantiscus a coat of arms, the title of Knight of Jerusalem and the title of doctor of both laws (cf. CIDTC, IDL 6247, IDL 119, IDL 121, IDL 123, IDL 120, IDL 4904, IDL 4907; see also enclosure No. II to the letter of Emperor Maximilian to Sigismund I, CIDTC, IDL 115; cf. also CEID 2/1, 21, footnote 29).

¹² Bernardino Gallo (*Bernardinus Gallus, Gallellus, de Jadra*) († June 5, 1517) originated from Zadar, stayed in Poland from 1488 as a secretary of Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimaco Esperiente) till his death in 1496, then secretary of Cardinal Frederick Jagiellon; in 1509-1517 he was vicar and general official of the Cracow cathedral chapter; before 1509 his nephew, whose name was also Bernardino, settled in Cracow as well (cf. Rev. Jan Krzemiński, »Bernardino Gallo« in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter cited as PSB), vol. 1 (1935), 460-461, Bartosz Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, ed. by Kazimierz Józef Turowski, Kraków, 1858, 744)

Cracow professor's research and surely must have informed the other humanists at Maximilian's court about it.

These letters create the impression that Banićević did not expect to see Dantiscus again before his return to Poland. Things probably turned out differently, because after returning from his mission to Venice in July 1516 the Polish envoy stayed in Augsburg until the end of the year, upon Maximilian's orders. After that he travelled with the Emperor to the Netherlands, where he conducted negotiations on the Polish King's marriage to the Emperor's granddaughter, the Princess of Burgundy Eleonora. Dantiscus did not get back to Poland until summer 1517, by which time he became a man of success, whom the Emperor rewarded with a doctorate in both laws, a noble title and coat of arms, and also with the title of the poet laureate.¹³

There are no known sources documenting subsequent contacts between Dantiscus and Banićević, whether personal (possibly during Dantiscus' first stay at the court of Charles V in 1519) or through correspondence. The only trace we have is a laudatory mention of Banićević in a letter Dantiscus wrote to his younger colleague from the imperial chancellery, Jakob Spiegel. This is a letter of dedication attached to the printed publication of *Soteria*¹⁴ for counselor and imperial diplomat Sigmund von Herberstein, a close friend of Dantiscus from his time at Maximilian's court. Dantiscus assures Spiegel that he retains the best possible memories of him and of Banićević, and that he always describes them to Vice-chancellor Tomicki and other Polish officials as fervent supporters of the Polish King at the imperial court.¹⁵

¹³ Cf. footnote 11. Cf. also the letter from Emperor Maximilian I to Sigismund I, s.l., [1516/1517], ms. Latin copy BCz, 240, 178 (b.p.), CIDTC, IDT 375: *Remittimus impraesentiarum ad Serenitatem Vestram illius secretarium, nobilem nostrum et imperii sacri fidelem dilectum Ioannem de Curiis Dantiscum, iuris utriusque doctorem ac poetam laureatum. Quem quoniam omnifaria fide imbutum variarum idiomatum ac aliarum complurimarum virtutum scientiae peritissimum ac in rerum peragendarum experientia exercitatissimum exemplis ipsis cognoveramus, illius propterea opera in quibusdam arduis rebus nostris hactenus usi sumus.* [»Today we return to Your Serene Majesty His secretary, our nobleman and dear subject of the Holy Empire, Ioannes Dantiscus, doctor of both laws and poet laureate. We have seen him in action as a man worthy of complete trust, fluent in various languages and having multiple other skills, and also as an experienced old stager who handles matters well; this is why we have been using his services in some of our difficult affairs.«]

¹⁴ *Ad magnificum dominum Sigismundum de Erberstain, Equitem Auratum, Consiliarium et Oratorem Inuictissimi Maximiliani Caesaris semper Augusti, ad Serenissimum Sigismundum Poloniae Regem etc. et magnum Moschorum ducem, Ioannis Dantisci Soteria. Exactum Cracoviae Imperante Invictissimo Maximiliano Caesare semp(er) Augu(sto) Romanor(um) Regni Anno XXXII, Regnante vero Serenissimo Sigismundo Poloniae Rege etc. Anno XII, In aedibus famati Ioannis Haller, Post christi nativitate(m) M.D.XVIII, Cracow, 1518.*

¹⁵ Ioannes Dantiscus to Jakob Spiegel, Cracow, February 4, 1518 (CIDTC, IDL 6247): *Ego hic tui et eruditissimi domini Iacobi de Bannissis rerum serenissimi domini mei una*

From the facts presented, it is obvious that the persons and careers of Dantiscus and Banićević have a lot in common. Both were sons of relatively unimportant families and both attained high court positions *a secretis*, devoting themselves to an ecclesiastical career in the later years of their lives. Both were ennobled by Maximilian I von Habsburg for their outstanding achievements as diplomats, both were highly valued as excellently educated humanists, both were among the correspondents of Erasmus of Rotterdam. From Banićević's request for a *chorographia* we can conclude that they also shared an interest in geography. Finally, both used their high social status to act as patrons of scholars and artists. However, despite all the above similarities, there are no sources that would indicate that this acquaintance at some moment turned into a long-term intimate friendship. Perhaps the substantial age difference was an obstacle: Banićević was 19 years older than Dantiscus and when they met he stood much higher in the court hierarchy.

3.

As regards Croatian or Dalmatian themes in Dantiscus' correspondence, it is also worth mentioning that as a mature man he was an enthusiastic reader of works by the humanist from Split, Marko Marulić. We know this from his letter dated 1536 to his friend, a diplomat in the service of Emperor Charles V, the Netherlander Cornelis De Schepper. Having by that time become Bishop of Kulm in Prussia, Dantiscus decided to expand his bishopric library in order to leave it as a legacy for future generations of local clergy and the young people under their tutelage.¹⁶ Here is what he wrote to De Schepper:

Legi iis diebus non ineruditi et pii viri Marci Maruli opus, quod Euangelitarium inscripsit, mire mihi in omnibus, quae religionis nostrae sunt, satisfaciens. Neque, ut ingenue fatear, dictionem Latinam planiorem, nitidiorem, minusque affectatam, servata Latini sermonis puritate, legi umquam.¹⁷

tecum in aula caesariae maiestatis studiosissimi coram regia maiestate, coram omnibus Regni Poloniae primoribus et praesertim reverendissimo domino Petro Thomicio Praemisiensi praesule vicecancellario honestissime memor esse soleo. [»Here I am in the habit of very respectfully reminding the king and all the dignitaries of the Kingdom of Poland, and especially the most reverend master Piotr Tomicki, Bishop and Vice-chancellor, about you and the greatly learned master Iacobus de Bannissis as ardent supporters of His Majesty at the imperial court.«]

¹⁶ CIDTC, IDL 1421, Ioannes Dantiscus to Cornelis De Schepper, Löbau (Lubawa), February 24, 1536: *Contendo hic bibliothecam quandam post me suo tempore relinquere [»I intend to leave a library here as a legacy in due course«].*

¹⁷ CIDTC, IDL 1421, op. cit. (18).

In recent days I read a work by a quite learned and devout man, Marko Marulić, entitled *Evangelistarium*.¹⁸ I find it extremely satisfactory in all that concerns matters of our religion. To tell you the truth, I have never seen a clearer and more elegant Latin style, completely devoid of any artificiality, while maintaining purity of the language.¹⁹

His fresh impressions from reading *Evangelistarium* inclined Dantiscus to ask his friend, who had access to better book trading centers, to buy him three other titles by Marulić, namely *Quinquaginta parabolae*,²⁰ *De religiose vivendi institutione*²¹ and *De imitatione Christi*,²² and in fact any books by the humanist from Split that he could lay his hands on:

Si quid de vita eius, in qua illum adhuc esse arbitror, compertum habueris, mihi peto impartiri. Edidit praeterea libellum *Quinquaginta parabolarum*, *De religiose vivendi institutione* alium, et *De imitatione Christi*. Quae

¹⁸ The first known edition of this book is Marci Maruli Spalatensis *Evangelistarium*, Venice, Iacobus Leucus, May 1516 (hereinafter cited as *Euang. 1516*). *Evangelistarium* had numerous reissues, including Basel 1519, four editions in Cologne of 1529 and two editions in Cologne of 1532. There are some indications that it had several earlier editions (first in Reggio 1487), but no copies have survived (cf. Branko Jozić, Bratislav Lučin, *Bibliografija Marka Marulića. Prvi dio: Tiskana djela (1477-1997)*, Split, Književni krug Split – *Marulianum*, 1998 (hereinafter cited as BMM), 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47, 49, 180).

¹⁹ Although Dantiscus' admiration for Marulić's style seems to be genuine and unaffected, his judgment might have been influenced by the wording on the title page of some of the later editions of *Evangelistarium* – and so perhaps of his own copy – where author's highly polished Latin style is praised with the phrase: *cultissimoque adornatum sermone* (cf. BMM, no. 23, 33, 34, 36).

²⁰ First known edition: Marci Maruli *Quinquaginta parabolae*, Venetiis, s.a. [1510?] and numerous reissues (cf. BMM, 36-40, 46, 48, 184).

²¹ The title of the work's first known edition was Marcus Marulus Spalatensis, *De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum*, Venice, 1506=1507. Scholars believe that *De institutione* also had several earlier editions (first in Venice, 1498), of which, however, no copies have survived. Numerous subsequent editions were slightly revised and had modified titles, e.g. *Bene vivendi institvta typo sanctorum salutariumque doctrinarum congesta*, or *Opus de religiose vivendi institutione per exempla ex Veteri Novoque testamento collecta* (cf. BMM, 33-39, 41, 46, 48, 178-179).

²² The work *De imitatione Christi*, mentioned many times by Marulić and his contemporaries, was presumably written in 1507-1508. As not a single manuscript nor printed copy appear to have survived, there are still discussions, whether *De imitatione* was printed or not (cf. Miloš Milošević, »Sedam nepoznatih pisama Marka Marulića«, 15-19, *Colloquia Maruliana* 1 (1992), Split, Književni krug, 1992, 5-56; cf also *Croatiae auctores Latini (CroALa). Collectio electronica (versio Beta-5)*, accessible at <<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala>> (December 17, 2013), hereinafter cited as CroALa. The author expresses here her deepest gratitude to Professor Bratislav Lučin for his inestimable help and advice on the complicated bibliographical questions relating to Marulić's texts.

opera eius et quicquid praeter Evangelistarium eius haberi potest, emi pro me committas.

Please let me know if you know anything about his [Marulić's] life – I am guessing he is still alive. He has also published a little book called *Fifty Parables*, another – *How to Teach Pious Living*, and *On Imitating Christ*. Have these works of his bought for me, and in fact any others that can be found, except *Evangelistarium*.²³

It was only next that Dantiscus asked for St. Augustine's works published in France and edited by Erasmus, the Bible, and also works by a few ancient writers and Ermolao Barbaro.²⁴

Dantiscus undoubtedly became familiar with the titles of Marulić's works from his reading of *Evangelistarium*, where *De imitatione Christi* is mentioned at the very beginning in a dedicatory letter²⁵, and *Quinquaginta parabolae* and *De religiose vivendi institutione* in the second book, chapter *De decem praeceptis*.²⁶ Reading *Evangelistarium* must have been Dantiscus' first contact with Marulić. In the above-quoted letter to De Schepper Dantiscus conjectured that Marulić might still be alive, although he was dead for twelve years. This means that though Dantiscus was in Venice twice in 1516, he did not notice the edition of *Evangelistarium*, which came off the press in Venice in May of that year.²⁷ Perhaps his very busy schedule of diplomatic activity prevented him from seeking out new publications. It seems more probable, however, that though he already envisaged his ecclesiastical career for some years, the strictly theological theme of *Evangelistarium* was outside of his range of interests before he became bishop. In fact, Dantiscus came to appreciate Marulić's writings only twenty years later, when Lutheran influences began to infiltrate with increasing intensity into his diocese

²³ CIDTC, IDL 1421, op. cit. (18).

²⁴ Ibidem: *Intellexi opera divi Augustini per Erasmus recognita apud vos haberi Lutetiae vel nescio ubi in Gallia impressa. De Bibliis prius scripsi, ut et illa pro me emanant. Rogo insuper et Lactantium Strabonemque, Herodotum, Thucydidem, Oppianum, Philostratum, Lucretium, Ausonium et quicquid Hermolai Barbari.* [»I have learned that the works of St. Augustine have appeared where you are, edited by Erasmus and published in Paris, or somewhere else in France. Earlier I wrote of the Bible, so let it be purchased for me as well. Apart from that, I ask for Lactantius and Strabo, Herodotus, Thucydides, Oppian, Philostratus, Lucretius, Ausonius and anything by Ermolao Barbaro«] (cf. also CIDTC, IDL 1385).

²⁵ *Librum, quem de imitatione Christi edidi, Tibi mittere pollicitus fueram, et certe mississem, sed is mihi (ut nosti) ab illo fuit interceptus, cui relictari non potui neque, si possem, debui* (*Euang. 1516*, dedicatory letter addressed to Francesco de' Consorti of Lucca).

²⁶ *Hoc me fecisse nullo modo poenitet edito illo quinquaginta parabolarum libello, dum prodesse plurimis cupio, non commento sed veritate. De pernicioso autem mendacii genere scriptum est: Os quod mentitur occidit animam. De hoc vero quod excusamus ac defendimus, abunde in parte eius libri, quem de religiose vivendi institutione inscripsimus, est tractatum* (*Euang. 1516*, f. 26r)

²⁷ Cf. footnote 18.

of Kulm from the nearby Duchy of Prussia and Duchy of Pomerania. This humanist and friend of humanists, who had extensive contacts among the intellectual elites, including Protestant circles, and who – like Erasmus of Rotterdam – saw an urgent need for reform in the Roman Church and emphasized this in both his correspondence and his poetry, as a state and church official showed himself to be a legalist, absolutely loyal toward his superiors, both lay and ecclesiastical.²⁸ Therefore we can guess with a large degree of probability that Dantiscus treated Marulić's *Evangelistarium* not only as reading matter serving his own spiritual development but also as a valuable tool of Catholic confessionalization within his diocese.

Unfortunately, we do not know if Dantiscus managed to get the books of Marulić that he requested from De Schepper. In the aftermath of the wars of 17th and 18th centuries his library was scattered. The research aiming at its reconstruction has so far identified only one item by Marulić which could have belonged to the Bishop – a copy of *Quinquaginta parabolae* (the Venice edition of 1517), preserved in Uppsala University Library; the volume previously belonged to the library of the Jesuit College in Braniewo (Lat. *Braunsberga*) – and this was created on the basis of the library of the Bishops of Ermland founded by Ioannes Dantiscus.²⁹

²⁸ Cf. Jerzy Axer, »Ioannes Dantiscus Diplomat, Husband, Father, Bishop of Warmia: the Limits of (Dis)Loyalty«, *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Sabine Beckmann, Klaus Garber, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005, 227-236; Anna Skolimowska, »Dantiscus and the Reformers – preliminary remarks«, *Respublica Litteraria in Action. Religion and Politics*, vol. 2, Warsaw-Cracow, 2012, 181-203; CIDTC, IDP 97-101.

²⁹ Uppsala University Library, call number: 64:125,3; cf. Józef Trypućko, *The Catalogue of the Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo held in the University Library in Uppsala*, extended and completed by Michał Spandowski, vol. 2, The 16th and 17th Century Books, Warszawa-Uppsala, 2007, 403, No. 2364.

Appendices

1. Jakov Banićević to Ioannes Dantiscus

Augsburg, January 6, 1516

Source materials:

1. fair copy: AAWO, AB, D. 65, f. 141; a seal next to the address
2. 20th-century register: B. PAU-PAN, 8245 (TK 7), f. 78
3. 20th-century register with excerpt: CBKUL, R.III, 31, No. 441, 141

Web publications:

1. CIDTC, IDL 4884
2. CroALa

Spectabili et egregio domino Ioanni de Curiis Dantisco, serenissimi [regis]^a Poloniae³⁰ secretario, [...]^b domino honorando.

+ I(esu)s Ch(ristu)s

Spectabilis et egregie domine honorande, commendationem plurimam.

Mittitur Dominationi Vestrae expeditio sua per caesaream maiestatem³¹ et providetur itidem ei de viatico. Ego etiam mitto privilegium suum expeditum. Si qua alia in re possum servire Dominationi Vestrae, faciam libentissimo animo. Si commode potest Dominatio Vestra secum deferre^c scorpionem vel ballistam illam regiae maiestati, faciet mihi rem singulariter gratam, quam commendando me regiae suae clementiae offeret ei munus quidem tanto rege^d indignum, sed in signum servitutis et sincerae fidei me<ae> ad maiestatem suam erit pro venatione et, si potest eam deferre^e Dominatio Vestra, exhibeat annexas domino Cabrieli de Tasis³², magistro postarum in Insprug³³, qui eundem scorpionem consignabit

^a [regis] *paper damaged* ^b *paper damaged* ^c deferre] *ms* defere

^d rege *e* *written over an illegible letter* ^e deferre] *ms* defere

³⁰ Sigismund I Jagiellon (1467-1548), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1506-1548).

³¹ Maximilian I of Habsburg (1459-1519), King of the Romans (1486), actual ruler of the Empire from the death of Frederick III (1493), Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation (1508-1519).

³² Gabriel de Taxis, postmaster to the Habsburgs.

³³ Innsbruck (*Oenipons*), city in western Austria, Tyrol, on the Inn river.

Dominationi Vestrae. Quae itidem me plurimum commen(det)^f reverendissimo domino Plocensi³⁴ et suis collegis, qui fuerunt cum eo apud caesarem et similiter domino vicecancellario³⁵ et magnifico domino cancellario³⁶ et domino Bernardino Gallo³⁷ conterraneo meo. Si aliquando scripserit ad me Dominatio Vestra ex patria, semper rescribam sibi, et me ad omnia vota sua offero.

Augustae³⁸, die VI mensis Ianuarii anno Domini MDXVI.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae semper ad vota Iacobus de Bannissis.

^f commen(det) or commen(dabit)

2. Jakov Banićević to Ioannes Dantiscus

Augsburg, January 10, 1516

Source materials:

1. fair copy: AAWO, AB, D. 65, f. 155; seal next to the address
2. 20th-century copy: B. PAU-PAN, 8245 (TK 7), f. 79
3. 20th-century register with excerpt: CBKUL, R.III, 31, No. 441, 155

Web publications:

1. CIDTC, IDL 983
2. CroALa

³⁴ Erazm Ciołek (1474 — 1522-09-09), Polish humanist and diplomat, since 1502 secretary of King of Poland Alexander Jagiellon, since 1503 Bishop of Płock, 1501, 1505 envoy of Alexander Jagiellon to Rome; 1518-1521 envoy to the Imperial Diet in Augsburg and to Rome (PSB, vol 4 (1938), 81-82).

³⁵ Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535), Polish humanist, statesman, diplomat, one of the most trusted collaborators of the King Sigismund I Jagiellon, 1514-1520 Bishop of Przemyśl, since 1515 Crown Vice-chancellor; 1520-1523 Bishop of Poznań; 1523-1535 Bishop of Cracow (Andrzej Wyczański, *Między kulturą a polityką – sekretarze królewscy Zygmunta Starego (1506 – 1548)*, Warszawa, 1990, 268).

³⁶ Maciej Drzewicki (1467-1535), 1501-1511 Crown Vice-chancellor, 1504-1513 Bishop of Przemyśl, 1511-1515 Grand Crown Chancellor, 1513-1531 Bishop of Włocławek, 1531-1535 Gniezno Archbishop and Primate of Poland; in 1486 accompanied Filippo Buonacorsi (Callimaco Esperiente), as his secretary, during his mission to Emperor Frederic III of Habsburg; in 1515 took part in the Congress of Vienna, and then (together with Rafał Leszczyński and Dantiscus) held a mission to Venice on Emperor Maximilian I's behalf (PSB, vol. 5 (1939-1946), 409-412; Krzysztof Chłapowski, Stefan Ciara, *Urzednicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, Kórnik, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1992, series: Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII-XVIII wieku. Spisy 10, 166).

³⁷ Bernardino Gallo, cf. footnote 12.

³⁸ Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*), city in Germany, Bavaria.

Magnifico domino Ioanni de Curiis Dantisco, [serenissimi]⁸ regis Poloniae³⁹
secretario, domino honorando

+ I(esu)s Ch(ristu)s

Spectabilis et eximie domine honorande, commendationem plurimam.

Arbitrabar iam perlatam fuisse expeditionem et cum ea privilegium Dominationis Vestrae, quam omni studio curavi apud caesarem⁴⁰ et ita fuit facta per dominum Sperantium,⁴¹ et provisum de viatico. Tamen forte postea eadem vel altera die debuit accepisse totum etiam privilegium cum litteris meis. Postquam Dominatio Vestra censet scorpionem illum dignum regia maiestate, si sine incommodo suo potest illud suae maiestati deferre et eum nomine meo suae serenitati offerre, faciet mihi rem valde gratam, etiam si me admonebit in qua re ulterius celsitudini suae posset rem gratam facere. Habeo autem ingentes gratias Dominationi Vestrae, quod me suae maiestati per suas commendare dignata est. Itidem obsecro faciat praesens et declaret ac devoveat ei omne studium et affectum meum. Et itidem illis reverendissimis et magnificis dominis, de quibus prioribus meis scripsi, et si aliquando ad me scripserit Dominatio Vestra, semper ei rescribam, et si poterit sumptibus meis mihi mittere Cosmographiam partium septentrionalium.⁴² Et commendo me Dominationi Vestrae, quae diu feliciter valeat et incolumem Dominus conducat.

Augustae⁴³, die X Ianuarii anno Domini MDXVI.

Eiusdem Dominationis Vestrae semper ad vota Iacobus de Bannissis

⁸ [serenissimi] *paper damaged*

³⁹ Sigismund I Jagiellon, cf. footnote 30.

⁴⁰ Maximilian I von Habsburg, cf. footnote 31.

⁴¹ Sebastian Sperantius (Spreng) (ca. 1480-1525), humanist, doctor of laws, 1513-1521 provost of Brixen (It. Bressanone); priest in Augsburg; secretary of Matthäus Lang; 1521-1525 Brixen Bishop; 1523 Tiroler Chancellor of the Emperor Charles V; 1518 envoy of the Emperor Maximilian I to Duchess Isabella d'Aragona at the nuptial ceremony of her daughter Bona Sforza (cf. Władysław Pocięcha, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557). Czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia*, vol. 1, Poznań, PWN, 1949, 119, 204-205; Bernhard Ebeth, »Sebastian II. Sperantius (Spreng[t]z)«, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 24 (2010), 107-108).

⁴² Perhaps Mathias of Michów, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis*, Cracow, 1517.

⁴³ Augsburg, cf. footnote 38.