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ALMANACH PRO REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO CARDINALI
FOR FRYDERYK JAGIELLOŃCZYK:
THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF AN ASTROLOGER'S WORKSHOP

The wording *Almanach pro Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali* is a title set on the bounding of a manuscript kept at the Jagiellonian Library (BJ, MS 8). Jerzy Muczkowski was the first to pay attention to this manuscript in 1840 and half a century later it underwent a more detailed scrutiny by Ludwik Antoni Birkenmajer.¹ Subsequently *Almanach* was mentioned by Władysław Wisłocki, accounted for in the latest catalog of Jagiellonian Library manuscripts, and pointed up by Grażyna Rosińska.² Moreover Maria Kowalczykówna worked with the Manuscript 8 over the course of its conservation.³ It was displayed at an exhibition *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen (Poland in the Jagiellonian Times)* in Schallaburg (Austria) in 1986 and the

¹ Description of MS 8 see *Aneks. I. J. Muczkowski, Rękopisma Marcina Radywińskiego*, Kraków 1840, pp. 36, 138–141, illustration of the *Almanach* title page by K. W. Kiełsiński 1839. The illustration was also published in: anon., *Jabub Najmanowicz*, “Przyjaciół Ludu, czyli Tygodnik Potrzebnych i Pożytecznych Wiadomości” VII, No. 17, Leszno 1840, fig. b, p. 133, f.n. 3; L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Część pierwsza. Studia nad pracami Kopernika oraz materiały biograficzne*, Kraków 1900, pp. 667–668.

² W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, I, Kraków 1877–1881, p. 4; idem, *Incunabula typographica Bibliothecae Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis*, Cracoviae 1900, pp. 321–322; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediae aevi Latinorum, qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, comp. S. Włoddek, G. Zathej, M. Zwiercan, v. 1, Wratislaviae 1980, p. 3; G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings and Astronomical Tables in Cracow. A Census of Manuscript Sources (XIXth–XVIth Centuries)*, *Studia Copernicana*, vol. 22, Wrocław 1984, no. 1208.

³ M. Kowalczykówna, *Makulatura z okładek rękopisu BJ Nr 8*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XVII, 1965, pp. 9–11.

exhibition catalog entry was created by Anna Sobańska.⁴ Artistic aspects of the Manuscript 8 are considered by Barbara Miodońska.⁵ A few fragments of the text of *Almanach* were deciphered by Fr. Henryk Rybus in 1935, who studied the life of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk.⁶ However, the full text was successfully deciphered by Ryszard Tatarzyński only in 2012 and translated into Polish by Anna Kozłowska (*Annex I*).

Almanach consists of the title page (cf. color plates, fig. 1); *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501*; two Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's charts: his natal horoscope from 1468 (cf. color plates, fig. 2) and an annual horoscope (cf. color plates, fig. 3) which was made for the Sun entering the date of his 33rd birthday in 1501; twelve monthly prognostics for this year, referring to the Sun entering the monthly date of his birth in the following months; and textual interpretations of the charts. At the end, astrological tables for an unspecified year commence (p. 48) and the whole manuscript closes with an excerpt from Ovid (*Tristia* 5, 8, 15) on p. 50.

The execution of the manuscript was a task for a group of people, most prominently its author: the astrologer, who created the charts and prognostics. One may surmise he hired a scribe who copied the astrological tables for 1501, charts and all commentaries. There was also another person, a reviewer, who put his remarks in the margins of the manuscript as well as in the astrological tables and the charts.

The current study focuses on a part of *Almanach* (pp. 28–46) which contains the charts and prognostics for cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk. The charts start with his natal horoscope for the date 28 (at 23 hours 58 minutes) of the year 1468 without giving the name of the month (p. 29, fig. 2). Based on a natal horoscope of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk retained in the Jagiellonian Library (MS 3225, p. 7) one can conclude the month was April. The horoscope belongs to a large collection of various horoscopes that are 16th century copies⁷ and it corresponds to the date of April 27, 1468 at 23 hours 58 minutes 58 seconds. In the manuscript 8, we have the date of 28 with the same time (23 hours 58 minutes) and the same rising sign (27 degrees 22 minutes of Leo) in the house I. It may be concluded that the two charts were created by two different people (*Annex II*). The first astrologer could have been witness to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's birth and made his chart (MS 3225, p. 7) with the use of astrological tables, which is supported by the fact he put minutes and seconds of arc next to the

⁴ A. S. [A. Sobańska], *Almanach für das Jahr 1501 für den Kardinal Friedrich den Jagiellon (Lateinisch)*, [in:] *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*, eds. F. Stoloł, G. Stangler, Schallaburg 1986, pp. 244–245.

⁵ B. Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe*, Warszawa 1993, p. 43.

⁶ H. Rybus, *Królewicz kardynał Fryderyk Jagiellończyk jako biskup krakowski i arcybiskup gnieźnieński*, Warszawa 1935, (*Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica* 2), p. 195, f.n. 6.

⁷ Such horoscope collections were characteristic of the 16th century. See E. Poulle, *Sur la naissance de Charles Quint, de Luther, d'Erasmus et de quelques autres*, "Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance" LXXII, 2010, p. 274.

degrees. The second astrologer, aware of the sign and the degree of the Ascendant (house I), created a natal chart anew (MS 8, p. 29) using the astrolabe (which is supported by the lack of minutes and seconds after the degrees in the signs) and determined a different date of birth.⁸

The reviewer, who was probably reading *Almanach* not long after it had been written and making his corrections to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 10), put a remark “Revolucio geniture d[omi]ni re[vere]ndissimi cardinalis” (Sun entering the day of the cardinal’s birth) next to the date April 28, which was accepted as the date of birth by the second astrologer.⁹

Apart from the date, other differences between the two charts begin with the house IV which starts at 16 degrees 51 minutes of Scorpio in MS 3225 (p. 7) while at 16 degrees of Taurus in MS 8 (p. 29), which is clearly a mistake by the scribe. From this point on there are vast differences in the house dispositions between the charts and they also concern planets in individual houses as well as noting stars in the houses of the first horoscope (the house III: Azmeh 16, 4[minutes] of Libra; the house IV: *Cor scorpionis* [Antares, at present α Sco]; the house XI: Aldebaran [at present α Tau] 2, 40 minutes of Gemini).

The natal horoscope of MS 3225 (p. 7) may have been authored by one of court astrologers and physicians of Casimir Jagiellon and in view of the birth year of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk (1468), it was Piotr Gaszowiec.¹⁰ The second astrologer, who has been variously identified in literature, created also the annual horoscope and twelve monthly prognostics for the year 1501 which are comprised in the studied manuscript.

The text of *Almanach* starts on page 28 and contains additional notes to *The Astrological Tables for the Year 1501* that concern the time of bloodletting and baths as well as a table showing zodiacal attributions of human body parts (*melothesia*) according to Alchabitius, whose treaty was translated into Latin by Joannes Hispalensis in the 12th century and rendered in print in 1473.¹¹ The scribe made two mistakes

⁸ L. A. Birkenmajer was wrong (op. cit., p. 667) in assuming the astrologer copied the data from *The Astrological Tables*; E. Poulle, op. cit., p. 280. Having different dates in natal horoscopes of the same person was not uncommon, e.g. there are six known natal horoscopes of Martin Luter with different dates of the month and even different years.

⁹ According to *The Astrological Tables* (p. 10), the Sun should be at 18 degrees 11 minutes of Taurus and according to the chart it is at 17 degrees of Taurus.

¹⁰ The following astrologers-physicians served at Casimir Jagiellon’s court: Piotr Gaszowiec of Łoźmierz, who served in the dual capacity in 1464–1474, Jan Stanko – at court since 1470, Johann Liberhant of Toruń, Jakub of Zalesie – since January 1477, Jerzy Koterma of Drohobycz – since 1487.

¹¹ Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi Abd al-Aziz ibn Uthman, Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi, Al-Qabisi, Alchabitius, died 967. H. M. Carey, *Medieval Latin Astrology and the Cycles of Life: William English and English Medicine in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.5.26*, [in:] *Astromedicine. Astrology and Medicine, East and West*, eds. A. Akasoy, Ch. Burnett, R. Yoeli-Tlali, Firenze 2008, p. 45.

while copying the text: he assigned heart to Cancer and wrote “breast” at Leo, but subsequently made a correction there adding the sign of Scorpio, which is traditionally ascribed to genitals, so he made another error there.

Next in *Almanach*, there commence an introduction (p. 29) where the astrologer, employing most courteous phrasing, partly invokes his obligation to make horoscopes, which he would gladly forgo, and partly explains that he loathes to neglect his duty to put his best knowledge to use for the cardinal. He draws from diverse scholars, most importantly from the 4th century Sicilian astrologer and Christian believer Julius Firmicus Maternus and his work *Matheseos libri VIII*, which was widely popular in the Middle Ages and printed in Venice in 1497.¹² He takes it from Firmicus, for instance, that Mars and Sun will be squared in the monthly prognostic dated July 21, 1501 (p. 41) and puts this into the chart although it is not confirmed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501*. He also adopts elements of Firmicus’s terminology such as “house of life” (*domus vitae*), “radation” (*radiatio*), and duration of planetary influence (*terma, terminus*, cf. *Matheseos*... 2 XIV 3). In reference to aspects, he uses words that translate as “adverse radiation” or “oblique radiation” instead of “opposition,” and “threefold radiation” instead of “trine.”

Among other authorities the astrologer adopts also from Firmicus Maternus (*Matheseos*... 3 I 2; 4 *Proemium* 5), there are mythological figures, like Esculapius, or Aesculapius (god of physicians), and Mercury, or Hermes Trismegistos, as well as historical figures: Egyptian priest Petoris and Neoplatonic philosophers Plotinus and Porphyry. Further on, when discussing successive monthly prognostics, he refers to Haly Abenragel (Abû l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi l-Rijâ), an Arab astrologer who died after 1037 and was very popular in the 15th century with his work *Liber in iudiciis stellarum* being even translated into vernaculars.¹³

The astrologer founds his reservations about creating the almanac on a discussion of determinism and on the one hand refers to Firmicus Maternus, who said, in the chapter *What Kind of Life and Training a Mathematician Should Have*, that rulers were not subject to the influence of the stars,¹⁴ and on the other hand to Plotinus and Porphyry, who were guided by “the necessary law of destiny.” He also discerns risks of foretelling future to rulers “as though it were an awe-inspiring Scylla” (pp. 29–31) in wait for sailors in the Strait of Messina. This reference to Scylla is also taken

¹² J. R. B r a m, *Introduction*, [in:] *Ancient Astrology. Theory and Practice. Matheseos libri VIII* by Firmicus Maternus, transl. J. R. B r a m, *Noyes Classical Studies*, Park Ridge, N.J. 1975, p. 7.

¹³ J.-P. B o u d e t, T. C h a r m a s s o n, *Une consultation astrologique princière en 1327*, [in:] *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature ou Moyen Âge: mélanges d’histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan*, Genève–Paris 1994, p. 266. Abenragel was referred to by such as Richard Trewythian, 15th century London astrologer, see S. P a g e, *Richard Trewythian and the Uses of Astrology in Late Medieval England*, “Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” LXIV, 2001, pp. 193–223; H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., pp. 35, 45.

¹⁴ *Life and Training of an Astrologer*, see *Matheseos*... 2 XXX 4–5.

from Firmicus Maternus, however in *Matheseos*... it has no relation to a peril for chart-making astrologers, while Scylla is only mentioned in passing within a conversation of Firmicus and his patron Lollianus Mavortius. These statements, as written by the author of *Almanach*, sound surprising, given that throughout the Middle Ages European courts, including Kraków, hired astrologers, who served also in the capacity of royal physicians. Putting an astrologer and a physician to death, which happened in England in 1441, was a rare event, while the ban on making prognostics was issued by Sixtus V as late as 1585.¹⁵

After an extensive introduction, there comes a request to the cardinal to accept the modest deliberations and to forgive its author should they contain “things unbecoming,” plus an assurance that nothing was written “as chance would have it or was opinionated” (p. 32). Eventually the astrologer agrees to make the almanac because – as Ptolemy affirms – “many a mishap may be prevented when it is foreseen” (p. 33).

The annual chart for the date of April 28, 1501, accompanied by a bunch of remarks and a table, is placed on the page 31 (cf. color plates, fig. 3). From the wording beneath the chart, it follows that Saturn is the master of this time (*divisor*), that is it will rule for 30 months.¹⁶ The giver of life (termed *Alcochoden*, which was misspelled in the reviewer’s hand as *Alkoroden*), or a planet determining the number of years of life, is Venus, which is the mistress of the year 1501 together with Jupiter.¹⁷

The table below the chart concerns forecasting the events in the 33rd anniversary of the cardinal’s birth. The right side (heraldically) shows primary progressions (*profectio*), or the positions of the planets in the 33rd day following the birth of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, that is May 31, 1468. The left side shows directions (*directio*), which is a symbolic method that, instead of real positions, determined theoretical positions of the planets in signs of the zodiac after 33 years, counting one degree per year.¹⁸

Next, the astrologer sets about forecasting events that are going to occur in 1501 by means of referring simultaneously to the natal chart, annual chart, and monthly prognostics. These general remarks – as he says – are “elaborated in more detail in monthly explanations” (p. 34).

From page 35 on, there start charts of the monthly prognostics whose dates: January 5, February 2, March 2, March 30, May 26, June 24, July 21, August 18, September 15, October 13 (cf. color plates, fig. 4), November 11, and December 8 cor-

¹⁵ They were Roger Bolingbroke and Thomas Southwell, who were forewarning Henry VI about a grave disease and together with Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, were accused of bringing death upon the king, see S. Page, op. cit., p. 202; *Constitutio s.d.n.d. Sixti papae quinti contra exercentes astrologiae iudiciaria artem*..., Romae, ex Typ. Rev. Cam. Apostolica 1585.

¹⁶ See *Matheseos*... 2 XXVII 1.

¹⁷ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, p. 407, f.n. 2 and p. 411, f.n. 1; L. Fleming-Mitchell, *The Language of Astrology*, London 1977, p. 9.

¹⁸ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 418, f.n. 2; L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 31, 72.

respond to the Sun entering successive monthly intervals after the date of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's birth, counting 28 days on average. Predictions concerning respective months are given below the charts, and at places the astrologer refers to events in further months, for example Jupiter's retrograde motion (pp. 43, 46).

In line with the art of prognostication, the almanac's author took into consideration the nature of twelve astrological houses: I *Vita*, II *Lucrum*, III *Fratres*, IV *Parentes*, V *Filii*, VI *Valetudo*, VII *Nuptiae*, VIII *Mors*, IX *Peregrinationes*, X *Honores*, XI *Amici*, XII *Inimici*.¹⁹ The names of the houses were part of the general astrological lore, and their better understanding is facilitated by *Generale iudicium* of Władysław of Varna (BJ, MS 1963, f. 256v), where elucidations of the nature of individual houses were given at the beginning of the 16th century.²⁰

As a rule, prognostics were made on the basis of the positions of the luminaries, that is the Sun and Moon (Moon in particular) in the so-called visible houses (III, VI, IX, XII) and the descending house (VII).²¹ It was also important to ascertain positions of the father and mother; in diurnal horoscopes, they were the Sun and Venus, and in nocturnal horoscopes Saturn and the Moon.²² Moreover the rest of the male planets represented brothers and female planets represented sisters.²³ Aspects of Mars, influences of Venus, Jupiter and Mercury, and signs of the zodiac that fell into successive houses were taken into account, too.

Based on these premises and speaking in broad terms about the whole of the year 1501 (p. 32), the author of *Almanach* says that the Ascendants in the natal chart (cf. color plates, fig. 2) and annual chart (cf. color plates, fig. 3) come in the same sign of the zodiac, Leo, in which the Sun has its diurnal house and nocturnal house, and the planet also appears in the house X *Honores* of the two charts, which suggests a rise in authority, therefore the cardinal should "come to shine with a particular and perfect splendor" (p. 32). Since the growing Moon resides in the house II *Lucrum* of the annual chart (p. 31), "advantages and a growth of wealth through the cause of acquired friends may be expected" (p. 33). Later on in the general part of his reflections, the astrologer predicts that Venus and Jupiter in the house IX *Peregrinationes* of the annual chart signify "a betterment with respect to ecclesiastical goods" (p. 32).

¹⁹ *Matheseos*... 2 XIX 1–13; A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 281, 390; O. Neugebauer, H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia 1959, pp. 7–8 (*Loci*).

²⁰ E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Generale iudicium" Władysława II zwanego Warneńczykiem, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" XLI, 2011, p. 26, Latin text read by R. Tatarzyński, transl. into Polish by A. Kozłowska (later: *Generale iudicium*).

²¹ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 455.

²² *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos* III, 3–4, transl. F. E. Robbins, London 1980, p. 241; A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 393.

²³ *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos* III, 4–5, p. 251; A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 395.

Prognostication focused especially on the so-called cardinal houses (I, IV, VII, X), called strong (*Fortis*) in *Generale iudicium*, since they corresponded to the four ages of human life: from birth, through maturity to old age, and death.²⁴ Besides there were known five inactive houses (III, VI, VIII, XI, XII), three of which (III, VI, VIII) were defined as weak (*debilis*) in *Generale iudicium*.²⁵ Horoscope interpretations were based on positions of the planets in the individual houses and on harmonious or inharmonious interrelations of the planets (*mutationes*), that is geometrical aspects expressed in degrees of arc: conjunction (0 degrees), trine (120 degrees), square (90 degrees), opposition (180 degrees), as well as on transits (one planet moving over the position of the other), retrograde motion (planets reversing through the zodiac), and combustions (planets placed closer than 3 degrees away from the Sun).²⁶

The author of *Almanach* listed the aspects at the beginning of each monthly prognostic for the year 1501 and occasionally in the text (p. 36):

January 5, Sun square Jupiter, corrected into transit (p. 35);
 February 2, Sun opposition Moon (p. 36);
 March 2, Saturn trine Mars, Moon in opposition with Mars (p. 37);
 March 30, Saturn square Moon (p. 38);
 May 26, Moon in opposition with Mars, Mars square Mercury (p. 39);
 June 24, Moon in opposition with Mars (p. 40);
 July 21, Sun square Mars (p. 41);
 August 18, Jupiter trine Venus (p. 42);
 September 13, Moon conjunct Venus (p. 44, color plates fig. 4);
 September 15, Moon in opposition with Jupiter (p. 43);
 October 13, Moon conjunct Venus (p. 44, color plates fig. 4);
 November 11, Moon in opposition with Mars (p. 45);
 December 8, Moon in opposition with Saturn, Jupiter trine Sun, Jupiter square Venus (p. 46).

Most of these aspects are confirmed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (pp. 5–27). The reviewer, who read *Almanach* soon after it had been completed, clearly checked if the aspects written by the scribe were consistent with the tables (p. 35)

²⁴ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 281; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, op. cit., p. 18. The succession of the four ages of life is clockwise, which is opposite to the order of astrological houses (I, X, VII, IV).

²⁵ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 281–287; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁶ Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* I, 13–14, 18, pp. 75, 83; III, 4, p. 245; *Matheseos...* 2 XXII; A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 390; *The Beginning of Wisdom. An Astrological Treatise by Abraham ibn Ezra*, eds. R. Levy, F. Cantera, Paris 1939, pp. 209–214; O. Neugebauer, H. B. van Hoesen, op. cit., pp. 2, 10; L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 24.

and he added the omitted ones (pp. 39, 40, 45, 46). In one case, he went so far as to correct the date of a prognostic (p. 43) in order for it to correspond with the opposition of the Moon and Jupiter listed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 21).

The author of *Almanach* also relied on permanent relations of the planets and signs of the zodiac (Planetary Houses, Exaltations, Detriments, Falls)²⁷ – without mentioning them directly, he takes them into consideration in the prognostics – as well as on influences of the planets (*opera*) on the sublunary world, the human body included.²⁸ Moreover, he considered the four elements: fire, water, air, and earth, as well as the four tempers that corresponded with the four fluids (humors) in human body (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile) together with relationships of all of these with the planets and signs of the zodiac. According to Nicole Oresme, planetary aspects predicted great events in the world, such as plagues and death.²⁹ Planets and their associations with the elements, humors, and tempers produced also specific diseases in the human body. Saturn – Evil Genius – is cold, at times characterized as arid and at times as wet; it causes diseases related to a cold and dry weather (leprosy, cancer, gout).³⁰ Jupiter – Good Genius – is hot and wet, associated with minor conditions that pass quickly.³¹ Mars – lesser malefic – burning-hot and arid, is a god of war and pestilence, it spreads death and produces fever.³² The Sun is hot and arid, related to diseases that start in the mouth. Venus – Good Fortune – is cold and wet, linked with diseases that begin in the loins and genitals. Mercury has a mixed nature, but approaching cold and arid, and it is responsible for mental conditions. The Moon is cold and wet, associated with the phlegm.³³ Hot and wet tempers are productive and active, while cold and wet ones are destructive and passive.³⁴ Jupiter, Venus and the Moon are positive planets, Saturn and Mars are harmful. The Sun is of mixed nature as is also Mercury.³⁵

²⁷ Planets have diurnal and nocturnal houses in signs of the zodiac: Saturn–Capricorn and Aquarius; Jupiter–Sagittarius and Pisces; Mars–Aries and Scorpio; Sun–Leo; Venus–Taurus and Libra; Mercury–Virgo and Gemini; Moon–Cancer. Detriments: Saturn–Cancer and Leo; Jupiter–Virgo and Gemini; Mars–Libra and Taurus; Sun–Aquarius; Venus–Aries and Scorpio; Mercury–Pisces and Sagittarius; Moon–Capricorn. Exaltations: Saturn–Libra; Jupiter–Cancer; Mars–Capricorn; Sun–Aries; Venus–Pisces; Mercury–Virgo; Moon–Taurus. Falls: Saturn–Aries; Jupiter–Capricorn; Mars–Cancer; Sun–Libra; Venus–Virgo; Mercury–Pisces; Moon–Scorpio. See *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos*, p. XXVI. Fall – *casus*.

²⁸ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 96, 384, 397; O. Neugebauer, H. B. van Hoeseen, op. cit., p. 7; H. M. Carey, op. cit., pp. 38–39.

²⁹ H. M. Carey, op. cit., p. 42.

³⁰ *The Beginning...*, pp. 154, 195; H. M. Carey, op. cit., p. 46; A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 285.

³¹ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 97, 284; *The Beginning...*, p. 197.

³² A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 98, 283; *The Beginning...*, p. 198.

³³ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 92, 99–100; *The Beginning...*, pp. 198–202.

³⁴ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 101.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

While making prognostics for the year 1501, it was important for the astrologer to see which planet was the master of the time and year. In *Almanach* there were three of them: Saturn and Venus with Jupiter (p. 31).

In order to pinpoint the position of Jupiter in monthly prognostics, the astrologer utilized – as he says himself – Abenragel’s method, which states that if Jupiter comes to the position occupied by Saturn in the natal chart and is in the houses II and X in monthly prognostics while Capricorn is positioned almost at the Ascendant, then in the following monthly prognostics, Jupiter will be in the houses III and XII. Jupiter is at 1 degree of Aries in the natal chart (the house VIII, p. 29) and then appears in the same degree in a monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), in the house II this time. Then, the monthly prognostic dated March 30 has Jupiter in the house X at 13 degrees of Aries (p. 38). Moreover, Capricorn is placed in the house I on February 2 (p. 36) and July 21 (p. 41). As a result, the astrologer puts Jupiter in the house III (July 21, p. 41; December 8, p. 46) and the house XII (March 2, p. 37).

To understand the craftsmanship of the astrologer – author of *Almanach* – it is necessary for us to appreciate the horoscopes and prognostics from the perspective of different categories of the astrological houses.

THE CARDINAL HOUSES (I, IV, VII, X) IN PROGNOSTICATION

The house I *Vita*. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns: “bodies, life, baths, medicines necessary for life, secret matters, [personal] bonds, exercise, work, health, new attire, and all that is permanent in life.”³⁶ In the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501 (p. 35), the astrologer announces that the month promises to be fortunate because of **Venus** in the Ascendant. **The Sun** in this house (the monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36) “secures a glorious and laudable state in this month.”³⁷ At the same time, an opposition of the Sun and Moon listed in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 7) as well as in this prognostic (the Sun is in the house I, and the Moon, waning, in the house VII) plus the fact that the Sun approaches a square with Saturn, which resides in the house IV, is taken to indicate that the cardinal will not be “immune to morbid humors” (p. 36). The astrologer relies here on the nature of Saturn and the Moon (cold planets), which are related to phlegm. The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501 (p. 38) starts at 9 degrees of Cancer, which is a diurnal and nocturnal domicile of **the Moon**, and this planet happens to be squared by Saturn, therefore the astrologer predicts a “disappearance of certain thoughts and spiritual reflections” in this month. According to the monthly prognostic of August 18,

³⁶ *Generale iudicium*, p. 34.

³⁷ The astrologer ignores the fact that the Sun in Aquarius, i.e., detriment, so the influence of the planet is the weakest.

1501 (p. 42), **Mars** is in Taurus, where is its declination, is also the sign of the primary progression for the year (table, p. 31) and so, based on the principles of *melothesia*,³⁸ the astrologer suggests the sign “could threaten with amassing humors in the neck.” However this will be prevented, and the cardinal’s health will be protected, by a trine of Jupiter and Venus (p. 42), which the astrologer mentions in the introduction (p. 32), together with Taurus being a domicile of Venus.

The house IV Parentes. In *Generale iudicium*, it denotes: “erecting edifices for the glory of God, receiving inheritances, cultivating abilities, generosity, the wealth of aged men, lands, towns, buildings, waters of the earth, secrets of the nature, treasures.” **Jupiter**, which resides in Pisces (the monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35), which is its own domicile, secures good fortune in all matters connected with this astrological house. According to the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43), this house hosts **Venus** (at 11 degrees of Libra), which foretells an exceedingly positive event that should occur between October 3 and 4. This statement is consistent with *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 23), where the Part of Fortune is noted at 16 degrees 46 minutes of Scorpio on October 3 and 4.

The house VII Nuptiae. In *Generale iudicium*, it denotes: “married couple, nuptials, adversities, [court] proceedings, arguments, wars [...] overt enmities, purchase of arms.” **Mars** in this house (the annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31, color plates, fig. 2) “threatens with a loss and deception in respect of goods after the death of friends.”³⁹ In line with the nature of the house, **Saturn** (the monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35) predicts envy. **The Sun** in its monthly sign, that is Leo, which is simultaneously the domicile of this planet, squares Mars in the monthly prognostic dated July 21, 1501 (p. 41). This is interpreted as an indication of “an indisposition caused by heat” since both planets are hot and arid.

The house X Honores. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “kingdoms, fame, elevation, mastery, military matters, valor, aggrandizement, reign, praise, public esteem, magnificence.”⁴⁰ When making a comparison of the natal and annual charts (cf. color plates, fig. 2 and 3), the astrologer says there is Leo at the Ascendant of them both, where **the Sun** has its diurnal and nocturnal domicile, and the planet also appears in the house X of both charts (17 degrees of Taurus, pp. 29, 31). The positioning of the Sun in the house X of the annual horoscope foretells renown and a growth in authority, which the astrologer draws from Haly Abenragel.⁴¹ Next, he goes on to say that Saturn and Mercury (1 degree of Gemini) in this horoscope “will

³⁸ Taurus is associated with the neck in human body.

³⁹ *Generale iudicium*, p. 34.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁴¹ The first Latin translation of the work by Haly Abenragel *Liber in iudiciis astrorum* (1254) by Alvaro of Oviedo. See. J.-P. Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe–XVe siècle)*, Paris 2006, p. 189; H. M. Carey, op. cit., pp. 35, 45.

lend profound ability and signify acute intellect” (p. 33). Based on this premise, the astrologer predicts that the land under the governance of Fryderyk (called His Most Illustrious Eminence) “should be blessed with benefits” (p. 32). Moreover, **Venus**, which is in this house as well (p. 33), will bring many affairs to a successful end and the cardinal will enjoy a society of convivial companions and “find delight in things fragrant and pleasurable” in line with the nature of the planet, which is associated with pleasures and perfumes.⁴² This is supported by the natal horoscope (p. 29, color plates, fig. 2) and the monthly prognostic dated March 30, 1501 (p. 38).

In the monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), the house X is in Scorpio, the diurnal domicile of **Mars**, therefore the astrologer expects “an issue of some reign or kingdom.”

On March 30, 1501 (p. 38), **Mercury** appears at 7 degrees of Aries beside **Venus** in the house being discussed, which is to signify “an arrival of honors.” However, the text of this prognostic needs to be explained in respect of the language employed by the astrologer. In the house III of the March prognostic, we find the Moon at 8 degrees of Virgo, and the ruler of “the place,” that is Virgo, is Mercury, the very planet that together with the opening sign of the month, Aries, will reside in the house X. This will contribute to a successful resolution of the matter related to the kingdom and reign “for those who would counteract will subdue to Your [...] Eminence.”

THE INACTIVE OR WEAK HOUSES (III, VI, VIII, XI, XII) IN PROGNOSTICATION

The house III *Fratres*. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns “brothers, sisters, blood-relatives, in-laws, short voyages, justice, gentleness, patience, ingeniousness, legation, dispute.”⁴³ In the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501 (p. 35), this house hosts **Mercury**, patron of scholars, and **the Sun**, which makes the astrologer conclude these planets “will sharpen the intellect in providing advice,” and in keeping with the nature of the house, they will bring an opportunity for a short journey in order to deliver the advice. However, the cardinal’s health may be at peril since the Sun in the house III is in opposition with the Moon in the IX.

In the monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), the house I is in Capricorn and the house III in Aries, which the astrologer comments, according to the order of the zodiac, with the words: “the degree of the Ascendant reaching out to the house III,” and this is to indicate the cardinal will receive a correspondence from his brother. On March 30, 1501 (p. 38) **the Moon** will be in the house III, which should

⁴² H. Ryb us (op. cit., p. 195, f.n. 6) says this reflects the statement of Miechowita about Fryderyk Jagiellończyk’s inclinations toward revelry, which was not unrelated to the cardinal’s health.

⁴³ *Generale iudicium*, p. 35.

ensure “brief and fruitful journeys.” Predictions of this kind are consistent with *Generale iudicium*, where positioning of the Moon in this house is described as *gaudium*.⁴⁴ Moreover, there appears the sign of Leo here, which is also at the Ascendant of the cardinal’s annual horoscope (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3), therefore in line with the nature of the house, the astrologer predicts a meeting with the brother.

In the following monthly prognostic (July 21, 1501, p. 4), **Jupiter** and **Mars** are in Taurus⁴⁵ and the astrologer notes they have both returned to the place they were at in the cardinal’s natal chart (p. 31, color plates, fig. 2), which is clearly a mistake because Jupiter and Mars are in Gemini in the house XI in the natal chart (p. 29). In his conclusions derived from positioning of Jupiter and Mars in the house III, the astrologer says the cardinal will be busy with public affairs.

According to the prognostic dated October 13, 1501 (p. 44, color plates, fig. 4), “the month [is] not entirely felicitous” although the Part of Fortune is marked on October 29 at 13 degrees 29 minutes of Sagittarius in *The Astrological Tables* (p. 23). **Venus** in this prognostic, residing in the sign of the month, that is Scorpio (p. 44), again foretells, in line with the nature of the house, a meeting with the brother. The influence of Venus will not be very pronounced, however, since the planet is in its declination. Perhaps it is on this account that “many false dreams” are expected and “some of the superiors and inferiors in clergy will wish to contradict” the cardinal.

In the monthly prognostic dated November 11, 1501 (p. 45), the astrologer says that “short journeys will not be all prosperous” for the cardinal, which is not explained in any more detail. However, the Moon is in this house, which is conducive to such travels.⁴⁶

The astrologer’s assertion that December “will bring false envoys as well as insidious legations” (the monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501, p. 46) is related to this house most probably. It hosts Jupiter, the Good Genius, but the planet’s retrograde motion, which will disturb its positive influence.

The house VI Valetudo. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns “horses, beasts of draught, diseases, loss of slaves, old women, rejection, injustice.”⁴⁷ In the introductory thoughts, the astrologer states that Venus will arrive at the place Saturn occupied in the natal chart, that is it will enter the house VIII *Mors* (December 8, 1501, p. 46), which makes him conclude there will be “losses in matters pertaining to the house VI” (p. 33). He returns to this in the last monthly prognostic (December 8, 1501, p. 46), but says there **Saturn** may only “disturb the bodily state to a small extent.” The reviewer strived to understand this last explanation and added **Jupiter**

⁴⁴ Joy. *Generale iudicium*, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Mars in Taurus, i. e., detriment, so its influence is the weakest.

⁴⁶ A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 282–283.

⁴⁷ *Generale iudicium*, p. 36.

in the house VI, which was to indicate there was a conjunction of Saturn (Evil Genius) with Jupiter (Good Genius) in this house at 27 degrees of Gemini.

In the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501 (p. 35), the astrologer expects the cardinal to have some condition of the teeth or head since the house VI is in Aries and this sign is associated with the head according to *melothesia*.

According to the monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501 (p. 37), this house hosts **the Moon**, “which, being in escape from the opposing Mercury and from Leo, will raise some reservations on the part of the people.” These poetic phrases refer to the waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo. The house VI, which as a rule concerns diseases, is also related to a loss of slaves and this term, taken from the Antiquity, is translated by the astrologer as *popularis*. The situation is aggravated further by an opposition of the Moon and Mercury (p. 37).

According to the monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, this house hosts **Mars** in Aries, which is the planet’s diurnal domicile, therefore the astrologer warns about possible inflammations and pains in the head for Mars is a hot and arid planet that produces fever⁴⁸ while Aries is associated with the head in *melothesia*. Mars in the house VI always signifies diseases and injuries of all kinds.⁴⁹

The house VII Mors. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “fear, death, inheritance, killing, poison, [things] causing death.” In the monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501 (p. 38), this house is in Aquarius, which is a domicile of **Saturn**, therefore the astrologer predicts “a slight trouble from aged men.” In the monthly prognostic dated May 26, 1501 (p. 39), **Venus** appears in Taurus, which is the sign of the primary progression for the year (p. 31), and, in line with the nature of the house, signifies “a wealth after somebody’s death.” According to the monthly prognostic dated June 24, 1501 (p. 40), the house hosts **the Sun** in Cancer and since this is the sign of the month, the astrologer thinks it “heralds an extraordinary and noble occurrence.”

In the subsequent monthly prognostic (November 11, 1501, p. 45), this house hosts **Mars** – lesser malefic. What is more, the Moon is in opposition to Mars and is “combust.” According to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 25), on November 10 there was a conjunction of the Sun and Moon, that is the Moon was combusted since it was placed too close to the Sun. The astrologer predicts, therefore, that beginning from November 11 the cardinal will experience “hatred and malignance on the part of certain clergymen who will act against the Church or religion” and moreover, his health will be in danger.

The house XI Amici. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “acquired friends, benefactors, assistants, good hopes for successful transactions [concerning one’s estate], king’s taxes, king’s dues, joy.” In the monthly prognostic dated March 2, 1501 (p. 37), the house hosts **Mars** (which is also “the master of the Ascendant” since

⁴⁸ H. M. Carey, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴⁹ A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 282–283.

the house I is in Aries, where the planet has its diurnal domicile) and **Mercury**. In keeping with the nature of the house, the astrologer expects the cardinal to consider matters of the kingdom.

In the next monthly prognostic (March 30, 1501, p. 38), the house XI hosts **the Sun** in Aries, which is the sign of exaltation of this planet, and all this “allows for expecting some advantages from acquired friends and people of the high estate.” In the chart of the monthly prognostic dated June 24, 1501 **the Moon** is in the house XII, which “will multiply friends.”

In the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43), **Mars** and **Jupiter** reside “in the same house they were in on the day of birth” (the natal chart, the house XI, p. 29). This is expected to bring more friends who will support the cardinal’s endeavors. However “some of those who appeared to be allies will possibly wish to withdraw.” This is to cause “certain minor worries on the 24th or 25th of September” since according to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 21), these days will see squares of the Moon with Venus and the Moon with Saturn. Besides, the astrologer states that the date of October 6 is “uncertain.”⁵⁰

The house XII Inimici. According to *Generale iudicium*, it denotes “banditries, intrigue, hatred, exertions, enmity, misery of pain, violence of prisons.” In the monthly prognostic dated February 2, 1501 (p. 36), this house hosts **Mars** and **Venus**, which makes the astrologer conclude that Mars in Capricorn, where it exerts its strongest influence (exaltation), indicates “certain clandestine and fierce enemies,” but the presence of Venus will help to “sooth their raging souls.” The successive monthly prognostic (March 2, 1501, p. 37), where **the Sun** is in Pisces, which is the sign of the month, and **Jupiter** is in Aries, suggests, in line with the nature of the house, that “someone will intend to contradict” the cardinal.

According to the monthly prognostic dated May 26, 1501 (p. 39), the house XII hosts **the Moon**, which is in opposition to Mars, as noted in *The Astrological Tables For the Yea 1501* (p. 13). On this basis, the astrologer expects “unfriendliness of certain people” and also health issues, such as “ailments of the head, stomach pains.” The first condition may be explained by the fact that the house VI *Valetudo* hosts Mars in Aries while Aries is associated with the head according to *melothesia* (table, p. 28). On the other hand, Libra, where the Moon resides in the house XII, is associated with kidneys, although Firmicus Maternus⁵¹ adds also the entrails, lower part of the belly, navel, hips, groins, and buttocks.

According to the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43), on account of **Saturn**, “which is the master of time” (p. 31), “there will arrive sorrowful thoughts, difficulties and announcements in respect of the reign and the Kingdom.”

⁵⁰ An opposition of the Moon and Sun on October 5 and a transit of the Moon and Mercury at the turn of September 5 are noted in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 23).

⁵¹ *Matheseos*... 2 XXIV 1; H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 45.

Saturn in the house XII is a universal herald of greater malefic, disability, chronic diseases,⁵² and so the astrologer makes a rare prediction of when specifically the said difficulties may be expected, which is “shortly after Saint Matthew,” or September 21, because according to *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 21), the Moon will form a square with Jupiter and Mercury on this day.

THE REMAINING ASTROLOGICAL HOUSES

The house II *Lucrum*. According to *Generale iudicium*, it concerns “sale, purchase, profit, wealth, rents, food, estates, servants, reigning, receiving.”⁵³ The growing **Moon** in the annual chart (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3, at 20 degrees of Virgo) suggests advantages and an enlargement of wealth thanks to friends. **Mars** (the monthly prognostic dated January 5, 1501, p. 35) threatens with a division of the wealth. **Jupiter** and **Mercury** (the monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36) indicate an enlargement of wealth, which is all the more pronounced since the planets are in Aries and Pisces, where they also appear in the primary progression, that is 33 days after the cardinal’s birth (table, p. 31).

In the monthly prognostic dated March 30, 1501 (p. 38), the astrologer refers to the annual horoscope, where Leo appears at the Ascendant. The same sign is to be found in the house II and in the house III *Fratres*, which makes the astrologer conclude there will be a meeting with the brother concerning the wealth.

According to the monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501 (p. 42), **Saturn** suggests the cardinal “will be disturbed by frequent thoughts of pecuniary matters.” In the monthly prognostic dated November 11, 1501 (p. 45), this house hosts **Mercury** and **the Sun**, which predicts “a growth of wealth and riches.”

The house V *Filii* denotes, according to *Generale iudicium*, “joy, gleefulness, bliss, rents, borrowed properties of children, women’s apparel, accord with them.” In the monthly prognostic dated June 24, 1501 (p. 40), the house hosts **Jupiter** and **Mars**. It is taken to foretell – contrary to what the house characterizes – “an arrival of ambassadors, however some of them will be false or coming from foes.” On the other hand, **Saturn** in the house V in the monthly prognostic date July 21, 1501 (p. 41) “will assign the insignia of authority” to the cardinal.⁵⁴

⁵² A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 282–283.

⁵³ *Generale iudicium*, p. 35.

⁵⁴ The current study of the horoscopes and monthly prognostics of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk is not intended to examine to what extent the predictions are related to any actual facts of history that occurred in 1501. It seems worthwhile to mention, though, that after the unexpected death of Jan Olbracht on June 17, 1501, the cardinal was appointed the interrex. See A. Gąsiorowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnięscy w Polsce pierwszych Jagiellonów*, “Roczniki Historyczne” LIX, 1993, p. 99; M. Kosman,

According to the monthly prognostic dated August 18, 1501 (p. 42), **the Sun** is in this house in Virgo, which is not its domicile, therefore the astrologer predicts “divergent tidings and opinions among the friends.” **The Moon** in the house V in the monthly prognostic dated September 15, 1501 (p. 43) “signifies multiple envoys, false as usual.” This is probably based on the fact the Moon is in Scorpio, i.e., in its Fall (*casus*).

Similarly **Mars** in this house (the prognostic dated December 8, 1501, p. 46) in Taurus, where it is in detriment, foretells “false envoys as well as insidious legations.”

The house IX *Peregrinationes*, according to *Generale iudicium*, denotes “law, God’s wisdom, astronomy, manual trade, legations, long travels, service to the Church.”⁵⁵ In the annual horoscope, the house IX hosts **Venus** and **Jupiter**, that is “benefics” and Good Genius, and this is taken to signify a betterment with respect to ecclesiastical goods. In line with the nature of this house, voyages and legations are expected, too.

In the monthly prognostic dated March 30, 1501 (p. 38), the house hosts **Mars** – lesser malefic – which forecasts a “misfortunate horse ride during a long-lasting voyage.” In addition, the house is in Aquarius, which is a domicile of **Saturn** – Evil Genius – hence “trouble from aged men.”

In the next monthly prognostic (May 26, 1501, p. 39), the presence of **Mercury** in the house IX signifies travels as well as “a letter or message from afar” since Mercury is Jupiter’s messenger.⁵⁶ The message may be false as Mercury squares **Mars**, which is also noted in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 13). We have also **Saturn** – Evil Genius – there, which is to suggest “austerity towards religious transgressors.”

In the monthly prognostic dated October 13, 1501 (p. 44, color plates, fig. 4), the astrologer states the cardinal “will tend to divine and ecclesiastical matters,” but does not explain this with positions of the planets in the chart. One may only surmise he relies on **Jupiter** being at 1 degree of Taurus, which is not its domicile.

Since the astrologer utilizes both positive and negative aspects in making predictions, therefore a conjunction of **Venus** and **the Moon** (the monthly prognostic dated October 13, 1501, p. 44, color plates, fig. 4) foretells sound health in October. Similarly, a trine between **Venus** and **Jupiter** (August 18, 1501, p. 32) “will protect the health and lend a comfortable disposition.”

Perils are supposed to be brought upon by oppositions as well as squares between the planets. An opposition of **the Sun** and **Moon** (February 2, 1501, p. 36) causes a danger from harmful humors; an opposition of **the Moon** and **Mercury** (March 2, p. 37) “will raise some reservations on the part of the people” while an op-

Między ołtarzem i tronem. Poczet prymasów Polski, Poznań 2000, pp. 89–94; N. Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland. The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468–1503)*, Aldershot 2007, p. 52.

⁵⁵ *Generale iudicium*, p. 37.

⁵⁶ P. Grimal, *Słownik mitologii greckiej i rzymskiej*, ed. J. Łanowski, Wrocław 1997, p. 232.

position of **the Moon** and **Mars** (May 26, p. 39) will bring “ailments of the head, stomach pains and unfriendliness of certain people” (November 11, p. 45). This last peril may also be suggested by the “combust Moon” (p. 45).

An important statement relevant to making health forecasts by the astrologer is to be found in the monthly prognostic dated March 2 (p. 37), where he says: “For the whole bodily substance of man is subjected to the rule of this deity,” that is, the Moon, therefore it is evident he draws from lunar medicine in his prognostics. Thanks to this, we can understand a statement contained in the introductory part of *Almanach* that “a not very serious infirmity from a cold cause and an abundance of phlegm as well as raw humors will threaten in June and at the end of October” since the prognostics of June 24 (p. 40) and November 11 (p. 45) note a square of **the Moon** and **Mars**.

The Moon, whose mythological archetype was a Chaldean god Sin, governed the physical health of man and made the human body rotten and moldy.⁵⁷ Lunar medicine, based on the phases of the Moon and the Stations of the Moon in successive signs of the zodiac as well as on the North and the South Nodes of the Moon, was quite widespread and it was recommended by Roger Bacon, Pietro Abano, Cecco d’Ascoli, and William of Ockham, however, the author of *Almanach* does not make direct references to them.⁵⁸ Nicholas of Lynn and John Sommer created lunar almanacs that specified Stations of the Moon, the day of the month and its ruling planet, an hour of day and night, rising sign of the zodiac and proper time for bloodletting and application of leeches, while the author of *Almanach* makes remarks about the time of bloodletting and baths directly following *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (p. 28). The Moon and its position was also regarded in considering possibilities of curing an illness and the times of administering medicines, which was also noted in *Almanach* (p. 28).⁵⁹

In prognosticating the cardinal’s health, the author of *Almanach* also considers positioning of **Saturn** in the house VI *Valetudo*. According to Richard Trewythian, a 15th century astrologer from London, this cold and arid planet can cause madness, epilepsy, and leprosy.⁶⁰ He also refers to a solar eclipse that took place in 1500, but whose effects are to touch upon July, 1501 and contribute to “an indisposition caused by heat” (p. 41).

Furthermore, one should mention mistakes that were probably made by the scribe. The first of these concerns the natal horoscope (p. 29): in the house IV of the chart, Taurus is inscribed instead of Scorpio, as would follow from the succession of the signs of the zodiac. Another mistake appears in the prognostic dated June 24 (p. 40). The text says about Saturn in the house VII, while the chart places it in the house VII.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *The Beginning...*, p. 201; A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., pp. 288, 427.

⁵⁸ H. M. Carey, op. cit., pp. 37, 41, 53.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, pp. 41–49.

⁶⁰ S. Page, op. cit., p. 202.

⁶¹ On top of scribes who copied texts, astrologers also made their own mistakes, as can be exemplified by a wrong determination of the sex of Queen Jadwiga’s expected baby. Jan Szczekna, who I regard

One should also ascertain the place *Almanach For the Year 1501* takes among other diverse types of known horoscopes and prognostics of the Middle Ages and modern times, especially those originating from the Kraków astrological milieu of both the court and the university.

Astrological forecasts generally come into katarchic, pertaining to conception, natal, and annual horoscopes, as well as corrections of natal horoscopes. Horoscopes of all of these kinds, dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries, are gathered in two manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library (MS 3224 and MS 3227).⁶² Collections of Medieval horoscopes contain mainly charts of kings, however, horoscopes concerning people of different social groups are also known, as in the case of Richard Trewythian's notebook, who only used horoscopes as a secondary guide in his medical practice.⁶³

The oldest preserved chart interpretations in Poland come from the author of the horoscopes for Queen Jadwiga's baby, most probably Jan Szczekna, however, much more elaborate prognostications were made for Władysław Jagiełło and Sonka's sons by Henryk Czech, and these are known to us through Długosz.

Henryk Czech was predicting the oldest son, Władysław, "will come to reign many kingdoms, principalities, and dominions if the fate does not envy him a longer life."⁶⁴ The second son, Kazimierz, will love his mother dearly, but will live a very short life.⁶⁵ The third son, Kazimierz Andrzej, will outlive his brothers, but will not enjoy success. *Ex aspectibus celi*, that is, on the basis of angular relations of the planets, i.e., the aspects, Henryk Czech concluded Kazimierz Jagiellończyk was conceived and born under a sinister star (*sub infelicis auspicii sidere*) and that the Kingdom of Poland will be afflicted with various disasters during his reign so that it will be on a verge of total destruction if not for the mercy of God.⁶⁶

Another category consisted of almanacs and annual prognostics that were expected to be made by professors hired at the Kraków University since the first Astronomy

the author of these charts, strove to explain his mistake with a lengthy discussion. See E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Horoskopy dziecka królowej Jadwigi*, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" LIII, 2003, p. 20.

⁶² E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Zamek piękny na wzgórzu" *Horoskopy – zapomniane źródło historyczne*, Kraków 2015, pp. 41–57.

⁶³ S. Page, op. cit., p. 193.

⁶⁴ J. Długosz, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae liber undecimus: 1413–1430*, Varsaviae 2000, p. 229 (*primogenitum Wladislaum multorum regnorum, principatum et dominium nacturum, si fata illi evum longius non invidissent*); idem, *Roczniki, czyli kroniki...*, vol. 11, transl. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1985, pp. 241–242.

⁶⁵ Kazimierz was born on May 16, 1426 and died on March 2, 1427. See J. Długosz, *Roczniki...*, vol. 11, pp. 232, 237, 241–242.

⁶⁶ J. Długosz, *Annales...*, vol. 11, p. 229 (*sub cuius regimine Polonie Regnum ad casus varios et ad interitum prope, nisi propiciatio Divina illud conservaverit*); idem, *Roczniki...*, vol. 11, pp. 241–242; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Horoskop Kazimierza Jagiellończyka – nowe źródło do treści ideowych wawelskiego nagrobka króla*, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" LX, 2010, pp. 5–30.

Chair was established there. After the reform of the Chair in 1525, the number of required prognostics rose to three.⁶⁷ The preserved manuscripts contain prognostics for the year 1451 by Marcin of Przemyśl,⁶⁸ and for the year 1472 by Walenty of Zator (BJ, MS 2496, ff. 78r–82v). Prognostics for 1481 and 1487 were prepared by Wojciech of Brudzewo (BJ, MS 579, pp. 1–23; MS 2422, pp. 25–46), for 1492 by Stanisław Bylica of Olkusz (BJ, MS 579, pp. 27–56), and for 1501 by Jan Sculteti of Kraków (BJ, MS 579, pp. 251–274).⁶⁹ The first almanac was put to print by Kasper Staube in Kraków in 1474. Other printed almanacs were created by Leonard Szklarczyk (Vitreatoris) of Dobczyce (1499, 1500, 1501, printed by Wolfgang Stöckel in Leipsig), Bernard Kapustka (1489), Michał Falkener of Wrocław (1494, 1495), and Jan of Głogów (1501), who also made commentaries to Regiomontan’s almanac.⁷⁰ The almanac we discuss here is outstanding among these examples because of the artistic quality of its execution.

THE DATING OF *ALMANACH*, ITS AUTHOR, SCRIBE, AND REVIEWER

The dating and execution of *Almanach* for Fryderyk Jagiellończych has never raised doubts.⁷¹ This is evidenced by the title page of the work (cf. color plates, fig. 1) that contains the cardinal’s coat of arms: a crownless Jagiellonian Eagle under a cardinal’s hat and a bishop’s cross on the shield exactly as they appear on the cardinal’s seal and university scepter.⁷² The remaining coats of

⁶⁷ M. Markowski, *Burydanizm w Polsce w okresie przedkopernikańskim. Studium z historii filozofii i nauk ścisłych na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 230–242; A. Strzebońska, *Szesnastowieczne kalendarze*, [in:] *Bibliologia, literatura, kultura. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waclawie Szelińskiej*, eds. M. Konopka, M. Zięba, Kraków 1999, p. 177; M. Markowski, *Maciej z Miechowa*, [in:] *Złota księga Wydziału Matematyki i Fizyki*, ed. B. Szafirski, Kraków 2000, p. 103.

⁶⁸ G. Rosińska, *The Origin, Age and Perspectives of the World According to the 15th Century Cracow Astronomers*, “Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 47, 2002, p. 8.

⁶⁹ G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings...*, no. 124, 133, 2184; M. Markowski, *Wojciech z Brudzewa*, [in:] *Złota księga...*, p. 90.

⁷⁰ BJ, MS 1839 and 2494; A. Lewicka-Kamińska, *Inkunabuły Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 1962, e.g. no. 514, 559; *Incunabula, quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, Wratislaviae 1970, no. 245, 251, 2410; B. Kocowski, *Prognostyk wrocławski na rok 1502*, “Roczniki Biblioteczne” XIV (1–2), 1970, pp. 98–99; A. Strzebońska, op. cit., p. 178; M. Markowski, *Wojciech z Brudzewa*, [in:] *Złota księga...*, pp. 90–92.

⁷¹ J. Muczkowski (op. cit., pp. 138–141) and L. A. Birkenmajer (op. cit., p. 667) erroneously thought *Almanach* was created in 1500 on the basis of astrological tables.

⁷² J. Muczkowski (op. cit., p. 36) compares the coats of arms in *Almanach* and on the university scepter. For coats of arms of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk see Z. Piech, *Średniowieczne herby w katedrze wawelskiej. Treści i funkcje*, [in:] *Katedra krakowska w średniowieczu. Materiały Sesji Oddziału Krakowskiego*

arms: Kotwicz, Abdank, and Gozdawa (?), were identified by Muczowski as early as 1840.⁷³

The dating of execution of the manuscript is demonstrated by the shape of two types of Late Medieval shields, both known from artifacts related to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, such as his rector's scepter made by Marcin Marciniak around 1493.⁷⁴ This is further supported by the application of charts inscribed in a circle, characteristic of the 16th century, and the wastepaper of the end of the 15th century which was taken out from the manuscript binding and which bears no later dates than 1498.⁷⁵

The choice of 1501 for the year of the almanac with an annual horoscope and monthly prognostics for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk surely was not accidental because it is then that the cardinal reached the age of Christ, that is 33 years. In line with the astrological practice, however, the preparation for the almanac had to start at the end of the previous year.

The cardinal was born on April 28 therefore this date constituted the beginning of the year 1501 for him and so the prognostics from January 5 to March 30, 1501 refer to his previous personal year and are numbered 10 to 13. As a result there are only nine prognostics for the cardinal's year 1501 (from April 28 to December 8) since successive four would belong to the calendar year 1502 with the dates of January 5, February 2, March 2, and March 30. The four final leaves of *Almanach*, which the astrologer started to fill with astrological tables for an unspecified year, may suggest he intended to extend the work into 1502.

The next issue which needs settling concerns the identity of people involved in the creation of *Almanach*.⁷⁶ In the introduction, the author clearly states he decided to

SHS, eds. J. Daranowska-Łukaszevska, K. Kuczman, Kraków 1996, pp. 127–152; Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów*, Kraków 2003, pp. 86–88, 209, 214–218.

⁷³ J. Muczowski, op. cit., pp. 138–141; M. Kowalczykówna, op. cit., p. 9; A. S. [A. Sobąska], op. cit., pp. 244–245.

⁷⁴ J. Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii*, Warszawa 2004, fig. 81, the German and Polish shields.

⁷⁵ J. D. North, *Horoscopes and History*, London 1986, p. 157; M. Kowalczykówna, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷⁶ Moreover, the letters *ML*, discovered by M. Kowalczykówna (op. cit., p. 9), which were inscribed in red after the completion of *The Astrological Tables* for the year 1501 (p. 20), need to be accounted for. The letter *M* embraces dates ranging from September 10 through 18, its top points are placed at the level of Saturn at **21** degrees **21** minutes of Gemini and Mercury at 19 degrees 40 minutes of Libra, while the bottom ends are on the level of Saturn at **21** degrees **27** minutes of Gemini and Mercury at 23 degrees 48 minutes of Libra. The central points of the letter correspond to the dates of September 12 and 13 and the position of Mars at 8 degrees 22 minutes and 8 degrees 40 minutes of Gemini. In order to discover the word hidden behind the letter *M*, it is important to consider the markings near the position of Mars in Gemini in the form of twice repeated single dots in gold (9, 51; 20, 2) and a triple dot in gold (9, 47). According to the information given on page 28 of *Almanach*, these markings

present “these modest reflections” and “request they be generously accepted” despite his conviction the task exceeded his capacities (p. 29). On the other hand, the title page bears coats of arms of people related to the cardinal who may be regarded sponsors of the work, that is Kotwicz on the right (heraldically) and Abdank on the left (heraldically), which Sobańska linked with the cardinal’s closest associates: Poznań Archdeacon Mikołaj Kotwicz and Fryderyk’s Chamberlain Jan Konarski, later Bishop of Kraków.⁷⁷

pertain to the times of bloodletting, making baths, and administering medicines. A single dot indicated a proper time for these actions; in this case, it fell on September 16 and September 18. And triple dots indicated a particularly good day: September 17. Such markings only appear in *The Astrological Tables* that precede *Almanach* on p. 20, so the reviewer checked if bloodletting on September 10, when Saturn was at 21 degrees 21 minutes of Gemini, would not be perilous to the cardinal’s health. Therefore, one may surmise the letter *M* refers to the word *Minucio* [bloodletting], which was one of standard terms used in *The Astrological Tables* for each month. The letter *M*, filled with degrees and minutes of the signs of the zodiac done in gold, denotes therefore a period when it was safe to let blood, that is September 10 through 18, the best of these dates being September 17.

In order to understand the meaning of these markings in more detail, we need to refer to the prognostic dated September 15 (p. 43). It appears the reviewer was worried about the position of Saturn in the house XII and the resultant “sorrowful thoughts, difficulties and announcements with respect to the reign and the Kingdom” (p. 43). Therefore, he took care to find out particularly inauspicious dates for the cardinal. The starting point was the positioning of Saturn at 21 degrees of Gemini, noted in the prognostic (p. 43), and it is in this place the reviewer began inscribing the letter *M* in the astrological table for September (21 degrees 21 minutes of Gemini, p. 20) and then sought this number all the way ahead.

Following the words inscribed in *The Astrological Tables*, *L* should then be interpreted as *Lettera*, or a letter signature of the day of the week. The vertical line in *L* starts at the date of September 20, marked with the letter “d” (Monday), and ends at September 27, also Monday (January 1, 1501 fell on Friday, marked with the letter “a,” so Sundays were indicated with “c’s,” while the whole week ranged from “a” to “g.” See J. S z y m a ń s k i, *Nauki pomocnicze*, p. 126).

Thus the reviewer was looking for the date of September 21 and was verifying predicted difficulties that were to occur “shortly after Saint Matthew” (p. 43) for it was then that Mars was at 10 degrees 43 minutes of Gemini (p. 20) and two unfavorable aspects (squares of the Moon with Jupiter and with Mercury, p. 21) occurred. The horizontal line of *L* at the level of the date of September 27 links the positioning of Mars at 11 degrees 41 minutes of Gemini, Venus at 26 degrees 19 minutes of Libra, and Mercury at 21 degrees of Libra.

Therefore, the letters *ML* are not the astrologer’s initials, as used to be suspected, although they could have been interpreted as standing for “Magister Leonardus” and associated with Leonard Szklaczyk (Vitreatoris) of Dobczyce (ca. 1450–1508), a renown astrologer, dean, and rector of the Kraków University, who made a coronation horoscope for Władysław II Jagiellończyk (BJ, MS 3227, pp. 8, 57) and three enthronement horoscopes for Jan Olbracht (BJ, MS 576, f. 58v), see H. F r i e d b e r g, *Rodzina Vitreatorów (Zasańskich) i jej związki z uniwersytetem krakowskim na przełomie XV i XVI wieku*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XVIII, 1968, p. 25.

⁷⁷ A. S. [A. S o b a ń s k a], op. cit., pp. 244–245; A. O d r z y w o l s k a - K i d a w a, *Podkanclerzy Piotr Tomicki (1515–1535) polityk i humanista*, Warszawa 2005, p. 29; J. S z y m a ń s k i, *Herbarz sre-*

Mikołaj Kotwicz of Żnin (ca. 1440–1507), poet and doctor of decrees of the Bologna University, was one of the trusted associates of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, who sent him out to Rome in the autumn of 1493 in order to bring the papal confirmation of assigning the Gniezno Archbishopric to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk and receiving the cardinal's hat.⁷⁸ On Mikołaj Kotwicz's return, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk appointed him the Archdeacon of Poznań and, in 1499, the Official of the Poznań Cathedral, hence Sobańska's conjectures were quite justified. However, this person must be ruled out because despite having the same surname and coat of arms, Mikołaj was a son of a townsman Jan, mayor of Żnin, and he is not known to have ever been ennobled.⁷⁹

Within the closest circle of people around the cardinal, there was, however, another person who used the Kotwicz coat of arms: Mikołaj Krzycki (ca. 1460–1504), son of a judge Mikołaj and Anna Tomicka, elder brother of Andrzej, poet and later Archbishop of Poznań. He was the Canon and Dean of Kraków as well as Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's treasurer. In 1501, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk appointed him the Dean of Łęczycza and probably it is him the coat of arms in *Almanach* should be linked with since it is placed on the right hand (heraldically) of the cardinal's coat of arms, which shows it as more prominent than the Abdank coat of arms of Konarski.⁸⁰

The third coat of arms, placed at the bottom of the title page, is similar to Gozdawa (Lilium, Goździe, Śmiara), however, it differs from it in respect of colors, which was already pointed out by Muczkowski.⁸¹ The shape of fleur-de-lis also occurs in the Bonarowa coat of arms, but – just as in the case of Gozdawa – it shows different colors.⁸² A silver fleur-de-lis in blue background appears to be most closely related to the heraldic lily used by the Hungarian House of Anjou.⁸³ This coat of arms

dniowiecznego rycerstwa polskiego, Warszawa 1993, pp. 74, 163; i d e m, *Herbarz rycerstwa polskiego z XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 9, 137.

⁷⁸ H. Rybus, op. cit., p. 40; N. Nowakowska, op. cit., p. 45; D. Quirini-Popławska, *Kotwicz Mikołaj*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 14, Wrocław 1969, pp. 505–507; P. Dembiński, *Poznańska kapituła katedralna wieków średnich. Studium prozograficzne 1428–1500*, Poznań 2012, pp. 554–556.

⁷⁹ R. Gansiniec, „Sbigneis' Mikołaja Kotwicza,” *Pamiętnik Literacki* XLVIII, 1957, p. 125; P. Dembiński, op. cit., p. 554.

⁸⁰ H. Rybus, op. cit., p. 57; P. Zabłocki, *Krzycki Andrzej h. Kotwicz*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 15, Wrocław 1970, p. 544; B. S. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, Kraków 1999, pp. 270, 279; P. Dembiński, op. cit., p. 557.

⁸¹ J. Muczkowski, op. cit., pp. 138–141; J. Szymański, *Herbarz...*, 1993, p. 126; i d e m, *Herbarz...*, 2001, p. 79.

⁸² K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1, Lipsk 1839–1846, p. 222; A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1901, p. 379: the lily is half-white in black field and half-black in white field; J. Ostrowski, *Księga herbowa rodów polskich*, n.d., no. 214, 877–880.

⁸³ According to K. Niesiecki (op. cit., p. 222), the Bonarowa coat of arms, given to Jan Boner of Wissenberg in 1346, was supposedly shaped after the French heraldic lily. W. Budka says that

is the most difficult to identify as well as to indicate the person it belonged to in spite of the letters that are inscribed above it and that have been variously interpreted and identified by researchers, although they have always been connected with the astrologer, the author of *Almanach*, himself.

Muczowski deciphered these letters as *M.n.c.h.c.A*, while Wisłocki (in the *Catalog of Jagiellonian Library Manuscripts*) as *M.N.C.V.C.*⁸⁴ Muczowski went on to resolve the letters as: *Magister Nicolaus Copernicus hoc composuit Almanach* and regarded Copernicus as the author of the almanac.⁸⁵ Birkenmajer rejected this hypothesis, interpreted the letters in a different way: *Magister Nicolaus Cracoviensis hoc composuit Almanach*, and identified the astrologer as Mikołaj of Kraków, called Mikosz (*Mikosz Nicolaus, Nicolai Cracovita, Cracovita Nicolaus Mikosz*), who got his master's degree in 1488, was a professor of theology and custodian of Saint Florian church in Kraków, and died in 1528.⁸⁶ This supposition was accepted by Wisłocki and Fr. Rybus, who however erroneously defined the person of the astrologer as Mikołaj Mikłosz [!] of Kraków.⁸⁷ In the 1980 catalog of the manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library, the letters were interpreted as *M.N.C b.c A*, or *Marcus Nicolai cassoviensis baccalarius cracoviensis Astrologus*, who was identified as Markus Schinagel [Schynagal] of Košice, author of almanacs and annual prognostics.⁸⁸ Rosińska cited all of these hypotheses, while Sobańska, Miodońska, and Natalia Nowakowska regarded Schinagel as the author of *Almanach*.⁸⁹ Julia Caproș opted for identifying Markus Nikolaus of Košice with Markus Schinagel.⁹⁰

There arises a question whether the letters *M.N.C b.c.*, which were put above the coat of arms, are somehow related to it (the letter *A* given below the coat of arms simply means *Almanach*). And there is another question whether the coat of arms and the

a coat of arms resembling Gozdawa was given to the Boner family by Maxymilian I, see Jan Boner, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2, Kraków 1936, p. 297. Jan Boner (died 1523) – a Kraków banker and manager of a royal salt mine – oversaw the economic undertakings of Jan Olbracht and got a village of Łobzów for lease in 1501.

⁸⁴ J. Muczowski (op. cit., p. 156) discussed whether the final part of the lettering should be treated as „b. c. TA” or “h. c. A;” W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów*, p. 4.

⁸⁵ J. Muczowski, op. cit., pp. 138–140.

⁸⁶ L. A. Birkenmajer, op. cit., pp. 667–668; idem, *Mikołaj Kopernik jako uczonec, twórca i obywatel. W 450-tą rocznicę jego urodzin*, Kraków 1923, p. 20; W. Szelińska, *Biblioteki profesorów uniwersytetu krakowskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1966, p. 75, f.n. 94; p. 166, f.n. 224; p. 295.

⁸⁷ W. Wisłocki, *Incunabula*, pp. 141, 321–322; H. Rybus, op. cit., pp. 184, 194, f.n. 6.

⁸⁸ *Catalogus...*, p. 3.

⁸⁹ G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings...*, no. 1208, p. 241; A. S. [A. Sobańska], op. cit., p. 245; B. Miodońska, op. cit., p. 43; N. Nowakowska, op. cit., p. 92.

⁹⁰ I. Caproș, *Students from Košice at Foreign Universities before and during the Reformation Period in the Town*, Doctoral Thesis, Budapest 2010, pp. 59, 67, 72, no. 65; 183, f.n. 436; 238, no. 111.

lettering come from the same time as the title page or they were added after its execution. The shape of the shield in the coat of arms suggests the turn of the 15th century, but it is smaller than the others, which indicates a lower rank of the person who used it. Moreover, the shield is connected with the top coats of arms by an elongated stick of the archbishop's cross, which is not placed centrally in respect of the shield with the Jagiellonian Eagle. The letters were placed on both sides of the stick: *M.N.C* and *b.c.* plus *A* beneath, therefore they were inscribed after the whole had been completed, although they were made in the colors used in *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501*.

If we assume the letters refer to Markus of Košice, son of Nikolaus, then rather than to the person, the coat of arms may be related to the place of his origin, silver Anjou lilies in blue background being an element of the town's coat of arms, which was given to Košice by Louis the Great in 1369.⁹¹ This is not a sufficient evidence, though, since all we know about Markus of Košice is he enrolled at the Kraków University in 1466 and received his Baccalaureate in 1470 so he would be over fifty years of age in 1501.⁹² It is true there were many students from Košice at the Kraków University, which is discussed in detail by Caproş,⁹³ but at the end of the 15th century there was only one Marcus Nicolai de Cassovia. Nonetheless, there is no ground to identify him with an astrologer Markus Schinagel of Košice who would study at the Kraków University because the surname "Schinagel" does not appear among students or masters of the University at the turn of the century.⁹⁴

Schinagel authored several almanacs (for 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1493, 1497) which were published as ephemera with August Vindelicor, Erhard Ratdolt, Jo-

⁹¹ Košice supported Charles Robert in his efforts to ascend the throne of Hungary, hence the town earned numerous privileges at the times of the House of Anjou; see I. C a p r o ş, op. cit., p. 26.

⁹² *Marcus Nicolai de Cassovia: Metryka uniwersytetu krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508*, publ. A. G ą s i o r o w s k i, T. J u r e k, I. S k i e r s k a, R. G r z e s i k, Kraków 2004, p. 320; *Najstarsza księga promocji Wydziału Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1401–1541*, publ. A. G ą s i o r o w s k i, T. J u r e k, I. S k i e r s k a, Warszawa 2011, p. 233; *Catalogus...*, p. 3; I. C a p r o ş, op. cit., pp. 59, 67, 72, no. 65; 183, f.n. 436 (*Marcus de Cassoui, arcium baccalarius ex bursa Jerusalem*); 238, no. 111; In a paper *Eine Ulmer Praktik auf das Jahr 1489. Ein Beispiel für die Schwierigkeiten beim Bestimmen fragmentarischer Prognostiken* ("Gutenberg-Jahrbuch" 57, 1982, pp. 215–219) P. A m e l u n g quotes the following poem:

*Für war den spruch hat gemacht
Gepracticiert und aussgrung erdacht
Mauster marx schinagel ist er genant
In schwaben wolerkant.*

⁹³ J. C a p r o ş, op. cit., passim.

⁹⁴ M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica et astrologica Cracoviensia ante annum 1550*, "Studi e Testi" XX, 1990, Firenze, no. 75, 1–8; F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters*, vol. III/1: *Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken*, London 1953, p. 73.

hanes Zainer the Older in Ulm, Peter Schoeffers in Mainz, Michael Greyff in London, Johannes Winterburger in Vienna, and Johannes Amerbach in Basel.⁹⁵ Some of them have been preserved in manuscript, for instance the natal horoscope of 1447 and monthly prognostics of Albrecht IV Wittelsbacher, called the Wise, Duke of Bavaria-Munich (1447–1508, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cms 22.1) as well as in a collection of diverse astrological texts of 1500 in the British Library in London (Add 34603, ff. 139, 187–210).⁹⁶ From the manuscript in the British Library, we know Schinagel was a temporary vicar in Landtsperg (Landsberg, Bavaria?) and probably it was then that he made the natal horoscope and monthly prognostics for Albrecht IV.⁹⁷ In addition, he dedicated almanacs to Emperor Maximilian (1491) and Jan Olbracht (1493).⁹⁸

The preserved ephemera and manuscripts show Markus Schinagel always signed his works with the full Christian name and surname (without his father's Christian name) and added *Cracoviensis* or *de Choschovia* (of Košice) plus the title of Master, not Bachelor.⁹⁹ The fact he dedicated the prognostic for 1493 to Jan Olbracht is no indication since he also did so in regard to Emperor Maximilian and Albrecht IV, Duke of Bavaria-Munich. Therefore, in my opinion, researchers wrongly equaled two people originating from Košice: Bachelor Markus, son of Nikolaus, and Master Markus Schinagel.

The practice of inscribing initials of the name and function next to coats of arms emerges at the beginning of the 16th century in Poland, although it mainly concerns persons in a position of authority in the Kingdom.¹⁰⁰ If the letters *M.N.C b.c* signified the astrologer or possibly scribe, it is unlikely such people would have their coat of arms. Might the lily be a notary symbol of one of them?¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ P. A m e l u n g, op. cit., no. 75, 1–15.

⁹⁶ O. v o n H e i n e m a n n, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek VII*, Wolfenbüttel 1900, no. 3255; M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica...*, no. 75, 4, 10, 13; F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, op. cit., p. 73.

⁹⁷ F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, op. cit., p. 73.

⁹⁸ M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica...*, no. 75, 7; *Schynnagel Marcus, Prognosticon ad a. 1493*, Wiedeń, Johannes Winterburger (*Incunabula...*, no. 218).

⁹⁹ *Arcium magister; diligens investigator et perscrutator astrorum cursorum necnon dispoſicionum figurarum celeſtium; astrologus*. O. v o n H e i n e m a n n, op. cit., no. 3255; M. M a r k o w s k i, *Astronomica...*, No. 75, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13; F. S a x l u, H. M e i e r, op. cit., p. 73.

¹⁰⁰ Z. P i e c h, *Monety...*, pp. 315–342. The letters PTEC, which stand for Petrus Tomicki Episcopus Cracoviensis, are put next to the Łodzia coat of arms; H. R y b u s, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁰¹ K. S k u p i e Ń s k i, *Notariat publiczny w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Lublin 1997, pp. 186, 197. Notary signs often bear coats of arms with variants of Gozdawa. A notary sign in the shape of a lily was used, for instance, by Mikołaj of Wieliczka, Mleczeko, however, he added the letters *M W* (Jagiellonian University Archives, *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis*, MS 33, p. 91; BJ, MS 5572, p. 15). The lily, placed on a shield as it is, may have a totally different sense in relation to *Almanach*. There is, for example, Bernard de Gordon's (Montpellier graduate, active in 1308) work titled *Lilium medicine*, based on Galen and astrology. A lily also appears in one of the charts in *Triumpho di Fortu-*

Kraków manuscripts from the beginning of the 16th century bear monograms starting with the letter M: *M.M.* (BJ, MS 3225, p. 17), *M.S.C.* (BJ, MS 579, pp. 88, 93, 292, 296), “*M*” (BJ, MS 579, p. 188), which signify the title of Master (*Magister Martinus*, that is Marcin Bylica; *Magister Stanislaus Cracoviensis*, Magister Maciej of Szamotuły) and this suggests the first letter in the *M.N.C b.c* monogram may be linked to this degree. If we revisit the previous hypotheses and interpret the first two letters as *Magister Nicolaus*, then the meaning of *b.c* becomes problematic.¹⁰² If the letters were to be understood as *bene composuit Almanach*, then it could be *Magister Nicolaus Cracovita*, called Mikosz; however, he used the title of Doctor and had the Ossoria coat of arms, which was already known to Wisłocki.¹⁰³ Another person to be taken into consideration was Mikołaj Czepel (1453–1518), who was closely connected with Jan Olbracht’s court and served as a secretary to Aleksander Jagiellończyk, however, he earned the title of Doctor of Canon Law in 1488 in Rome and used the Korab coat of arms.¹⁰⁴ One may also speculate that instead of the unidentified coat of arms, the letters are connected to one of the coats of arms that accompany the cardinal’s coat of arms and they reveal the person who commissioned the almanac.

The title page of *Almanach* seems crucial for this enquiry. It is comprised of a leaf cut short at the bottom and on the right side, and glued to the paper, which indicates it was reused. This is further supported by the placing of an unidentified coat of arms at the bottom. It appears that, on a request of the sponsor who commissioned the binding of *Almanach*, the manuscript was adorned with a leaf that came from or was intended for another manuscript, as would be suggested by the three coats of arms placed at the top: of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Kotwicz, and Abdank. Subsequently the stick of the cardinal’s cross was elongated and the letters *M.N.C b.c* were inscribed

na by Sigismondo Fanti, published in Venice in 1526. The charts were intended to answer a question about the future (*Rota del Giglio*). Fanti was following similar earlier works pertaining to geomancy. They were, i.a., *Experimantarius* by King Amalricus of 12th century, *Liber experimentarius* by Bernard Silvestris, as well as the work titled *Libro del Sorte Lorenza Spirito*, published in 1482. See R. E i s t e r, *The Frontispiece to Sigismondo Fanti’s Triompho di Fortuna*, “Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” X, 1947, pp. 115–159.

¹⁰² We know of many astrologers by the name Mikołaj in the 16th century in Kraków, and all of them had the title of Master or Doctor. Therefore the letters *M.N.C* are open to many interpretations, especially since the letters *N. C.* were also, for instance, a signature of an obscure composer of the first half of the 16th century in Kraków.

¹⁰³ W. W i s ł o c k i, *Incunabula*, pp. 321–322.

¹⁰⁴ H. B a r y c z, *Czepiel (Czepel) Mikołaj*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4, Kraków 1937, pp. 329–330; W. S z e l i Ń s k a, op. cit., p. 75, f.n. 94; p. 166, f.n. 224; p. 295; A. L e w i c k a - K a m i Ń s k a, *Renesansowy księgozbiór Mikołaja Czepla w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej*, Wrocław 1956, pp. 5, 10. Horoscopes for Mikołaj Czepel were made by Waclaw of Kraków and Jakub of Iłża (BJ, MS 3227, pp. 205–404).

on its sides with the *A* at the bottom.¹⁰⁵ The abbreviation might be hypothetically interpreted as *Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach* and connected with Mikołaj Krzycki of the Kotwicz coat of arms, who was Fryderyk Jaiellończyk's treasurer and who was not forgotten by the cardinal in his last will by which Mikołaj received a piece of land in the Bishop's suburbia.¹⁰⁶ It needs to be mentioned that in order to facilitate the identification of the sponsor, the word *[K]othvÿcz* was added on the left margin below the right (heraldically) coat of arms of Mikołaj Krzycki.

The search for the actual author of *Almanach* is not easy because Cracow was a busy center of astrological thought in the 15th and 16th centuries and a place of activity of many astrologers connected with the University or the royal court, where they served in the capacity of physicians as well. The most outstanding among them was certainly Maciej Karpiga, called Miechowita. Not just an astrologer and physician, which was customary at the time, he was also a historiographer, geographer, and eight times rector of the Kraków University. In fact, the text of *Almanach* contains many clues that suggest he may have authored it.¹⁰⁷

From the very beginning of the introduction, the author shows his serious approach to preparing horoscopes and prognostics, making references to Firmicus Maternus, who set the rules of conduct for astrologers (p. 29). A similar serious treatment of the tasks and obligations of an astrologer was expressed by Miechowita in his last will, made around 1518, as well as in a deed of 1522 pertaining to the reform of the Astrology Chair at the Kraków University.¹⁰⁸ He is also known to have owned a large library which included many works of astrology, such as *Almagest* by Ptolemy, retained in the Jagiellonian Library (MS 590), Pseudo-Ptolemy's *Centiloquium*, and texts by mythic Hermes Trismegistos as well as by Haly Abenragel (*Liber completus in iudiciis astrorum*). The latter gets quoted in *Almanach*.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, it should be reminded that, contrary to Birkenmajer's opinion, the horoscopes and prognostics that appear in *Almanach* were made with the use of an astrolabe, which is evidenced by the lack of minutes following the degrees of the

¹⁰⁵ *M.N.C* on the left and *b.c* on the right. I owe bringing my attention to the fact that the leaf with the coats of arms was glued to the title page to Dr. Andrzej Obrębski.

¹⁰⁶ H. Rybus, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁰⁷ Mikołaj of Szadek, called Miechowita *astrologus famatus*. Marcin Biem said of him: *doctissimus in omni facultate, signanter in medicina et in iudiciis astrorum*, and he was similarly praised by Jodocus Ludovicus Decius. See L. Hajdukiewicz, *Zainteresowania naukowe Macieja z Miechowa w świetle jego księgozbioru*, [in:] *Maciej z Miechowa 1457–1523, historyk, geograf, lekarz, organizator nauki*, Wrocław 1960, p. 233.

¹⁰⁸ BJ, MS 5572; L. Hajdukiewicz, op. cit., pp. 124, 205–238.

¹⁰⁹ *Almagest* from Miechowita's collection retained in the Jagiellonian Library: MS 590. Other manuscripts with Miechowita's dedications in BJ.: 569, 1924, 1968; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Przyczynki do życia i twórczości Macieja z Miechowa*, [in:] *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 277; i d e m, *Zainteresowania...*, p. 215; i d e m, *Biblioteka Macieja z Miechowa*, Wrocław 1960, p. 125.

signs of the zodiac, and Miechowita is known to have used astrolabes (there were actually three of them in his possession).¹¹⁰ Of a particular interest is the information of a so-called “*frons astrolabii* in the form of a sheet of paper covered with a drawing of projections of astronomical circles,” as Leszek Hajdukiewicz says, which was listed in Miechowita’s will. The diagram Hajdukiewicz mentions is to be found in the charts of the cardinal’s annual horoscope (p. 31). This last chart in circular shape, was formed after the method of division in six great circles, attributed in the Middle Ages to Alchabitius (Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi), an Arab astrologer of the 10th century, whose work was also in possession of Miechowita.¹¹¹

In addition, Miechowita’s library contained manuscripts with a collection of horoscopes and “canons” of prognostication.¹¹² When writing his Chronicle, whose first edition of 1519 was confiscated and the second edition appeared in 1521, he referred directly to such horoscopes as Kazimierz Jagiellończyk’s (BJ, MS 3225, p. 1). The Ascendant of the horoscope is in Capricorn, which is in opposition to Cancer in the seventh astrological house, while Miechowita associated this latter sign with Teutonic Knights (*Pruteni*) and strove to explain conflicts between the Order of the Cross and the king in this way.¹¹³ In view of this kind of celestial-phenomena-based historiography, one may wonder if the remarks on the life and disease of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk recorded in Chronicle, are in some relation to the prognostics contained in *Almanach* of 1501, which Miechowita could have known or even authored.

According to what Miechowita noted in The Catalog of Bishops of Cracow and in Chronicle, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk died of the French disease, which was consistent with the cardinal’s inclination towards partying and drinking.¹¹⁴ Predictions of the cardinal’s health constitute a significant part of *Almanach* and the introduction says that “Venus will fully bend the habits of Your Most Reverend Eminence to its nature... [and hence certain] losses in matters pertaining to the house VI” (p. 32), which is to say, pertaining to health, in this case diseases that originate from the loins

¹¹⁰ L. A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Część pierwsza. Studia...*, pp. 667–668; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, pp. 130, 132.

¹¹¹ J. D. North, op. cit., pp. 4–5, fig. 3; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, p. 132.

¹¹² L. Hajdukiewicz has suggested, in fact, this might be a copy of the manuscript 3225 in BJ, see *Biblioteka...*, p. 127.

¹¹³ Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica Polonorum*, fascymile copy of the 1521 edition of the Vietor printing house, ed. P. Ta b k o w s k i, Kraków 1986, p. 320; H. R y b u s, op. cit., p. 205; H. B a r y c z, *Maciej z Miechowa. Studium z dziejów kultury naukowej Polski doby odrodzenia*, “Nauka Polska” VI, 1958, p. 83.

¹¹⁴ Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, p. 373. The information of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk’s death of the French disease, generally accepted in literature, comes from Miechowita. If he based it on the almanac of 1501 and planetary aspects, there is no reason to assume it was true, all the more so for Miechowita not being the cardinal’s physician.

and genitals, which Venus is responsible for. Next “[an] infirmity from a cold cause ... will threaten in June and at the end of October” (p. 34). It seems this is again a warning against *morbis Gallicus*, which Gallen regarded a “cold venom,” and we know Miechowita taught humoral medicine according to Galen in the summer semester of 1500 at the Kraków University.¹¹⁵

In Chronicle Miechowita repeatedly wrote about *morbis Gallica*, a disease that appeared in Europe in 1443 and in Kraków in 1495. Bartolomeo Montango the Younger, professor of medicine in Padua, thought it emerged on account of planetary aspects, and Miechowita elaborated on this idea, writing in Chronicle about an opposition of Saturn and Jupiter in countries “where Mars has its lands, that is Mauretania, Caesarea, Spain,” but adding that this is also God’s punishment for sinners “living in opulence, surrounded by lust, wine, and dangerous gamble.”¹¹⁶ We know Miechowita owned *Tractatus de pestilentiali scorra sive mala de Franzos* by a physician and astrologer Joseph Grünpeck of Burghausen, published in 1596, and it was probably this treatise that he was basing his knowledge of the disease on.¹¹⁷ Besides, Miechowita would observe various phenomena occurring in the sky, as he says in Chronicle, such as planetary aspects, comets, and solar eclipses, and *Amanach* contains a reference to a solar eclipse of the year, 1500 whose effect was supposed to have a bearing upon the cardinal’s health in July, 1501 (p. 41).¹¹⁸

Miechowita completed his medical studies in Italy (Padua or Bologna) in 1485, had his diploma recognized in Kraków in 1488 and used the title *artium et medicinae Doctor*.¹¹⁹ On hearing of an illness of Jan Olbracht in Toruń, he set out from Kraków to the king “as a physician,” although he was not a physician of the king.¹²⁰ Chronicle contains a detailed description of this voyage together with a hapless accident that occurred “in whereabouts of the inn in Prądnik,” which was interpreted to anticipate the death of Jan Olbracht.¹²¹ It seems Miechowita’s decision to go to Toruń was spontaneous and unprompted, which may indicate his deep trust in his own ability. The

¹¹⁵ L. Hajdukiewicz, *Zainteresowania...*, p. 232; T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej Miechowita na tle medycyny odrodzenia*, [in:] *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 183; idem, *Maciej z Miechowa Karpiga*, [in:] *Złota księga Wydziału Lekarskiego*, ed. J. Grochowski, Kraków 2000, p. 41.

¹¹⁶ T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej Miechowita...*, p. 175; Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, p. 357; A. Dziuba, *Wczesnorenesansowa historiografia*, Lublin 2000, pp. 59, 90, 163.

¹¹⁷ T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej Miechowita...*, p. 193; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, p. 116; T. Bilikiewicz, *Zainteresowania naukowe...*, p. 232; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 59.

¹¹⁸ Miechowita observed solar eclipses in May 1491 and October 1502. See Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, pp. 325, 346, 357, 371; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, p. 123; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 162.

¹¹⁹ M. Markowski, *Maciej z Miechowa*, pp. 102–105; T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 37; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 30.

¹²⁰ T. Bilikiewicz, *Maciej z Miechowa...*, p. 37; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 130.

¹²¹ Maciej z Miechowa, *Chronica...*, p. 355; A. Dziuba, op. cit., p. 130.

same kind of conviction is there in the words of the author of *Almanach*, who says in the introduction that much as he wished to “forgo ... the duty of this writing,” he “[had] it in me day and night to consider no thing other than never to neglect anything I might contribute for my Most Reverend Eminence from my studies” (p. 30).

While researching the extensive library of Miechowita, Hajdukiewicz says what a pity it is no examples of Miechowita’s work as an astrologer and physician have been preserved, although he is known to have made a katarthic horoscope, requested by Jan Boner, to specify the most fortuitous time for Sigismund the Old departure for the Congress of Vienna in 1514;¹²² in 1517, he was supposed to examine the prognostics predicting the king’s disease which were sent to Piotr Tomicki from Italy.¹²³ A few other horoscopes can also be linked to the person of Miechowita: a natal chart of Andrzej Krzycki, later Archbishop of Gniezno, of 1482 (BJ, MS 3225, p. 123), an annual chart of Jan V Turzo, Bishop of Wrocław, of 1493 (BJ, MS 3227, p. 57), a katarthic chart for the School of Saint Anne of 1510 (BJ, MS 3225, p. 230), which was rebuilt after a fire at the cost of Miechowita, and a correction of Jan V Turzo’s natal horoscope, made after the bishop’s death in 1520 (BJ, MS 3225, p. 284). One may also surmise Karpiga made the correction of the Ascendant in the natal chart of Sigismund the Old (BJ, MS 3227, p. 145) and created katarthic horoscopes pertaining to the elevation of Sigismund to the Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1506 (BJ, MS 3227, p. 13) and determining the day of his coronation for the king in 1507 (BJ, MS 3227, p. 18), as well as annual horoscopes for 1509–1512 (BJ, MS 3227, pp. 146–149). If, therefore, *Almanach* for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was indeed made by Maciej Karpiga, called Miechowita, this would be the only preserved and extensive example of his astrological practice.

It is difficult to ascertain if *Almanach* never made its way to the cardinal’s hands, as Kowalczykówna assumed, for this conjecture seems to be contradicted by the elaborate binding of the manuscript made in the workshop of a bookbinder *JL*, who worked for the cardinal.¹²⁴ Some time after being completed, *Almanach* was reviewed by a person who had access to information about the cardinal and made several annotations (not always legible, sadly) on the margins in a different hand than in the main text.¹²⁵ From referring to Rasi (Abū Barkr Muhammed ibn Zakariya al-Razi),

¹²² L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka...*, pp. 122–123, 127.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

¹²⁴ E.g. *Judicium* 1501 by Jan Sculteti of Krakowa (BJ, MS 579, pp. 215–274); G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings...*, no. 2184; J. L. [Jelonek-Litewkowa], M. Kr. [Krynicka], interpret the monogram as Joannes Lithuanus, see *Buchbinder JL*, [in:] *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*, eds. F. Stollot, G. Stangler, Schallaburg 1986, pp. 502–504.

¹²⁵ Making annotations, such as recording more important events, in the margins of printed almanacs was a common practice, see L. Birkenmajer, *Zapiski historyczne wśród starych almanachów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” XVI, 1902, p. 447 and XVII, 1903, p. 404.

a Persian physician and alchemist who died around 925 and whose work *Liber ad Almansorem*, rendered in Latin by Gerard of Cremona, was very popular in the Middle Ages, it follows the person graduated from the department of *artes* or could in fact be a physician.¹²⁶ This is suggested by annotations in *The Astrological Tables* and charts as well as by comments about the cardinal's health in the margins of *Almanach*. The latter confirm that predicted conditions actually arose: "phlegmatic indisposition" twice in June and a pain in "the teeth or in a part neighboring with the head," moreover they record an "inflammation and pain [...] in the head and leg" (pp. 34–35, 39).

One may attempt to match some of the annotations with historical facts. For instance, the phrases: "goods after the death" and "confusion in the affairs of the kingdom" (p. 33) are undoubtedly connected with the death of Jan Olbracht on June 17, 1501. A couple of comments concern meetings of the cardinal with Jan Olbracht: "they met in Piotrków" (the period between February 2 and March 2, 1501, p. 36), "during the Piotrków conference" (the period between March 2 and March 30, 1501, p. 37) when the cardinal "will contemplate matters of the kingdom," and the meeting in Łęczyca (between March 30 and May 26, 1501, p. 38). In the prognostic of June 21 (p. 41), the statement of the cardinal's involvement in public matters is annotated with: "In this month after the king's death..." that is Jan Olbracht's death. In the margin of the sentence that many "inferiors in clergy will wish to contradict" the cardinal (p. 44), there is an annotation: "...to Kraków," which refers to the period between October 13 and November 11.¹²⁷

The credibility of these annotations can be verified thanks to the itinerary of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk that was compiled by Dariusz Jach.¹²⁸ In 1501, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was in Piotrków on February 8 and March 3, and in Łęczyca on April 29 through May 1 for the Fourth Provincial Synod.¹²⁹ In February, Jan Olbracht and the cardinal sat in a session of the Sejm in Piotrków which passed new taxes and burdened clergy with a double contribution.¹³⁰ Jan Olbracht also participated in the Łęczyca Synod because of the stance the clergy took regarding the contribution.¹³¹ It was then that he confirmed the king's privileges for the bishops' and chapters' estates.¹³²

¹²⁶ G. S a l i b a, *Teorie planetarne w astronomii arabskiej po XI wieku*, [in:] *Historia nauki arabskiej*, vol. 1: *Astronomia teoretyczna i stosowana*, eds. R. R a s h e d, R. M o r e l o n, Warszawa 2000, p. 840.

¹²⁷ L. A. Birkenmajer deciphered this annotation as: ... *Μίχος Cracovita* and considered it the signature of Mikołaj Mikosz. See *Mikołaj Kopernik. Część pierwsza. Studia...*, p. 668.

¹²⁸ D. J a c h, *Zarys kariery kościelnej i wstępna próba ustalenia itinerarium królewicza kardynała Fryderyka Jagiellończyka*, ed. K. B a c z k o w s k i, Kraków 2002, pp. 72–73, (*Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Historyczne*), vol. 129.

¹²⁹ D. J a c h, op. cit., p. 72; N. N o w a k o w s k a, op. cit., pp. 49, 90.

¹³⁰ H. R y b u s, op. cit., p. 142.

¹³¹ Ibidem.

¹³² Ibidem, p. 168.

We also know about the cardinal's stay in Kraków on November 21, 1501, presumably for the coronation of his brother Aleksander, which was initially planned for November 28, but was only carried out on December 12.¹³³

Since the annotations are written in the past tense, considering the cited dates, they could be made after November 21, 1501 at the earliest and most probably after the cardinal's death on March 14, 1503. It is possible that on the cardinal's death *Almanach* returned to the hands of its author who, after reflecting on the prognostics, inscribed a sentence from Ovid (*Tristia* 5, 8, 15) on page 50: "With faltering strides does changeable fortune wander."

It is worth noting that the handwriting of the reviewer, a hardly legible and profusely abbreviated cursive, brings to mind the autographs of Miechowita, which we know from his last will (BJ, MS 5572) and an inscription to *Conclusiones Universitatis Cracoviensis* (Jagiellonian University Archives, MS 33, p. 73), so it is conceivable that the astrologer and the reviewer are one and the same person: Maciej Karpiga.¹³⁴

¹³³ D. J a c h, op. cit., p. 73; M. A. J a n i c k i, *Datowanie płyty nagrobnej Filipa Kallimacha*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" XLI, 2003, p. 31. Aleksander's coronation was probably postponed in order for it to come in the best possible time as ascertained by a katarchic coronation horoscope (BJ, MS 3227, p. 10), which bears the date of December 11, 1501, 21 hours 31 minutes, so – due to counting the start of the day from 6 p.m. – it already was December 12. There are also two preserved annual horoscopes of the coronation (MS 3227, pp. 10–11), dated 12 XII 1502 and 12 XII 1503. The horoscopes are linked with Marcin Biem or Bernard Wapowski.

¹³⁴ Other autographs of Miechowita: Last Will BJ, MS 5572, p. 9, 15 and MS 1968, ff. 13rv, 69r–135v, 138v–141r, IIIv.

Almanach pro Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, 1501. Jagiellonian Library, MS 8, pp. 1–50.

Deciphering of the Latin text: Ryszard Tatarzyński. Translation into Polish: Anna Kozłowska. Annotations: Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot.

Editorial format: Latin texts and original markings are done in italics, graphic symbols of the planets, signs of the zodiac and the Nodes of the Moon are given in words. Explanations are enclosed in square brackets.

Twenty five leaves that constitute the manuscript bear two different filigrees.¹ The covers were strengthened with wastepaper. Binding in maroon leather tooling with a strickle ornament and five types of blind and gilded impressions, restored in Robert Jahody workshop in 1923. The covers with centerpieces and double border: outer border decorated repeatedly with an impressed ornament in form of wreath, coats of arms with a crownless eagle in four corners; inner border decorated with a palmette motif. Centerpiece filled with a stripe consisting of repeated three rows of diamonds with fleur-de-lis. At the top of the front cover, the words: *Almanach pro Rev[erendissimo] Do[mi]no] Cardinali*; in the four corners of the centerpiece, letter *A* (Almanac); centrally at the top, letters *AI*; at the bottom, *JL* (Joannes Lithuanus, bookbinder who worked for cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk). At the top of the centerpiece on the back cover, letters:

I b
G o a d

The letter on the front and back cover separated with a decorative motif.²

¹ The filigrees: a ring dissected with a rod with a star atop (pp. 1, 5, 7, 15, 17, 19, 25; F. P i e - k o s i ń s k i, *Średniowieczne znaki wodne, wiek XIV*, Kraków 1893, no. 743), five-pointed open crown, three of the points culminating in trefoils (pp. 33, 39, 43, 47; C. M. B r i q u e t, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, II, Genève 1907, no. 4790, Eichstädt, Brandenburg 1493).

² M. K o w a l c z y k ó w n a, *Makulatura z okładek rękopisu BJ Nr 8*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XVII, 1966, p. 10. The following wastepaper was recovered in the course of conservation: manuscript *Antigamrata Frovinusa* with a commentary (4 leaves), musical manuscript *Pieśń nad pieśniami*, 1st half of the 15th cent. (2 leaves), file 8a. Incunable fragments: *Brewiarz krakowski*, published by Jan Haller, printed by Jerzy Stuchs, Nuremberg (?) 1498 (28 leaves, St. Dr. 3358), tableaux from Jan Herolt, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis cum promptuario exemplorum*, Lyon, printed with Maciej Huss in 1489 or 1490, Vergil, *Aeneid* with a commentary of Servius Grammaticus (2 leaves) annotated in the margins by a student of Kraków Academy ca. 1487 (file 8a). Scriblé print *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, Koln 1470–1480 (BJ, Gab. ryc. I. 21329 Cim. 12); B. M a l i k ó w n a, *Nieznana ry-cina śrutowa z wieku XV w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XIX, 1969, pp. 25–33). A. L e w i c k a - K a m i ń s k a, BJ, MS Przyb. 69/80; K. L. [J e l o n e k - L i t e -

Page 1, title page, consists of a leaf that was subsequently glued to the paper. It is decorated with coats of arms made in gouache, cut short at the bottom and right, and tattered on the left (cf. color plates, fig. 1).

In the middle of the page, a coat of arms crowned with a red cardinal's hat over an archbishop's cross painted in gold. On the shield, a silver crownless eagle in red background, tongue and claws painted in gold (the coat of arms of cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk). Two further coats of arms to the sides. The shield on the right (heraldically): a red bend in silver background, which is the Kotwicz coat of arms (of Mikołaj Krzycki, Canon of Kraków, treasurer of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk); an annotation in the margin [*K*]o³thv³ycz.³ The shield on the left (heraldically): a silver letter W in red field, which is the Abdank coat of arms (of Jan Konarski, a subsequent bishop of Kraków). The background of shields and the bend filled with arabesque motifs. The vertical rod of the archbishop's cross elongated below the shield and connected with the third, unresolved coat of arms in the shape of a silver lily in blue (azure) field decorated with a diagonal checker pattern, given centrally at the bottom. Above this coat of arms, letters *M.N.C b.c* and below the coat of arms, letter *A*, cut at the bottom. The letters – inscribed in green and red alternately, separated with the vertical cross rod – refer to Mikołaj Krzycki of the Kotwicz coat of arms, the Canon of Kraków, treasurer of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, and sponsor of *Almanach* (*Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach*).

The manuscript contains: *The Astrological Tables For the Year 1501* (pp. 4–27),⁴ explanation of marks pertaining to the time of bloodlettings, baths, and administering medicines, as well as tables showing the principles of *melothesia*, that is attribution of the signs of the zodiac to specific body parts (p. 28). Next there come cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's horoscopes: his natal chart with the date of 28 [of April] 1468 (p. 29, color plates, fig. 2) and an annual chart with the date of 28 [of April] 1501 (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3) plus twelve monthly prognostics (pp. 35–46).

Since *Almanach* concerns the year 1501 and Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was born on April 28, this is the starting date for his personal year, therefore the prognostic with the date of January 5 was defined as the tenth (p. 35) of the previous year, and successive ones dated February 2, March 2, and March 30 were defined eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth (pp. 36, 37, 38). The prognostic with the date of May 26

wkowa] M. Kr. [Krynicka], *Buchbider JL*, [in:] *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572*, eds. F. Stollot, G. Stangler, Schallaburg 1986, pp. 502–504.

³ The letter “K” written in pencil on the paper the title page was glued to.

⁴ *The Astrological Tables* are made after the Alfonsine Tables, but adjusted to the longitude of Krakow; the canons for these tables were created in mid-15th century by Andrzej Grzymała and Piotr Gaszowiec (M. Markowski, *Ist Gerhard Hoefmans von Hamont der Verfasser der astronomischen Tafel für Prag*, “Acta Mediaevalia” 13, 2000, pp. 267–269).

[1501] bears the number two (p. 39) because the first monthly prognostic is the same as the annual chart (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3). The dates of subsequent monthly prognostics are every 28 days on average. This division is also mirrored in the signs of the zodiac put at the top of the following prognostics' pages. Since April 28 corresponds to Taurus, the prognostics with earlier dates (Jan 5, Feb 2, March 2, March 30) are marked with Aries and the signs of the respective months (Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries). The prognostics that concern the time after April 28 (May 26, June 24, Jul 21, Aug 18, Sep 15, Oct 13, Nov 11) are marked with Taurus and the signs of the respective months (Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius). The natal and annual charts are nocturnal, while monthly prognostics have daytime hours.⁵

Page 47 is empty; a transcription of astrological tables for an unspecified year was started on page 48 but left unfinished, and the page 49 has rubrics for such tables. The whole manuscript closes with an excerpt from Ovid's *Tristia* 5, 8, 15 (p. 50).

The charts are of the type e,⁶ but are inscribed in a circle.⁷ The annual chart (p. 31) is circular in shape and formed after the method of division in six great circles. It reflects a standard method of delineating a chart, attributed to an Arab astrologer of the 10th century Alchabitius (Abu al-Saqr al-Qabisi) in the Middle Ages.⁸

Almanach was authored by an astrologer, probably Maciej Karpiga, called Miechowita, who hired a scribe. Moreover the almanac was later perused by a person that might be called a reviewer, and this person was in all probability the author himself, that is Maciej Karpiga.

The scribe copied astrological tables for 1501 and took meticulous care to render the charts supplied by the astrologer in colored inks: green, red, gold, and silver, while the text of the prognostics was written in black. Titles in the charts' central squares are done in minuscule in red while letters that mean day, hour, and minute are in green. In accordance with the tradition, degrees of the signs of the zodiac in individual houses are given in black on the top line of the diagram, while the planets, signs of the zodiac, the Nodes of the Moon, and the Part of Fortune are inscribed in red and green inside respective houses. In the annual chart (cf. color plates, fig. 3), the scribe introduced gold in the title and in planets' symbols (the Sun, Jupiter, Mars). For the Moon, silver was utilized. The scribe made errors at places and mixed up graphic markings of the signs of the zodiac (p. 29, color plates, fig 2). When he put a wrong mark in the chart, rather than crossing it off, he would write the proper one above or beside it (pp. 35, 36). Moreover, he simplified notation

⁵ A. Bouché-Leclerq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, p. 386: diurnal and nocturnal horoscopes.

⁶ J. D. North, *Horoscopes and History*, London 1986, pp. 4–5, fig. 3.

⁷ So-called squaring the circle. A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 285.

⁸ J. D. North, op. cit., p. 4, fig. 3, p. 46, maintains this method was far more ancient.

by putting only degrees next to the planets without specifying the sign of the zodiac, which was to be deduced from the sign ascribed to the given house (p. 31, color plates, fig. 3).

The reviewer, possibly identical with the author of *Almanach Maciej Karpiga*, made (only partially legible) remarks in the margins and in the charts (pp. 35–43) with the use of black and red, he added the word *[K]othvȳcz* under the coat of arms on the title page (fig. 1), and made corrections to *The Astrological Tables*. Moreover, he started to transcribe astrological tables, presumably for the year 1502, on page 48, prepared rubrics on the following page, and inscribed an excerpt from Ovid on page 50.

[page] 28

Minucionis tempus balnei et farmacie hoc pacto breviter invenire. In latere numeri si punctum unum ostenderis, convenientem eo die minucionem, balneum aut farmaciam esse scias, si vero duo puncta – meliorem, si tria – electam contendes. Hoc tamen in minucione considerandum erit, ne fiat ex ea parte corporis, quam partem respicit signum hoc, in quo Luna percurrit, etas similiter hominis ex tali Lune conformanda erit. Quod autem membrum aliquod signum respiciat tabella inferior ostendit.

This is the method to quickly ascertain the time of bloodletting, bath, and medication. If there is a single dot next to the number, be sure to know it is a convenient time for bloodletting, bath, and medication. If there are double dots there, the day is better; if triple, it is most surely excellent. When letting blood, care should be taken not to do so in this part of the body that corresponds to the sign which the Moon is currently crossing; furthermore the man's age has to be in agreement with the Moon in this respect. The table below shows which part of the body belongs to which sign.

<i>Caput</i> [Head] <i>in</i>	Aries	<i>Renes</i> [Kidneys] <i>in</i>	Libra
<i>Cervix</i> [Neck] <i>in</i>	Taurus	<i>Genitalia</i> [Genitals] <i>in</i>	Scorpio
<i>Humeri</i> [Shoulders] <i>in</i>	Gemini	<i>Femora</i> [Hips] <i>in</i>	Sagittarius
<i>Cor</i> [Heart] <i>in</i>	Cancer	<i>Genicula</i> [Knees] <i>in</i>	Capricorn
<i>Pectus: Sco[rpio]</i> ⁹ [Chest: <i>Scorpio</i>] <i>in</i>	Leo	<i>Tibie</i> [Calves] <i>in</i>	Aquarius
<i>Venter</i> [Belly] <i>in</i>	Virgo	<i>Pedes</i> [Feet] <i>in</i>	Pisces

⁹ The scribe made a mistake and wished to correct it by writing the sign of the zodiac, however he made another mistake here since according to *melothesia* chest is attributed to Cancer instead of Scorpio.

I wished to forgo, My Illustrious Prince and Most Revered Lord, the duty of this writing. Since my fragile mind is aware it cannot conceive of itself of any such thing which may be deemed worthy of Your Most Illustrious Eminence. And there is more to it, Most Revered Lordship. It is that Julius Firmicus, the utmost expert in the art of the stars in our age, forbids scrutinizing the fates of the great princes as he says, in a chapter *What Kind of Life a Mathematician Should Live*, these fates are guided by the judgement of the Highest God,¹³ and he claims it is the only kind of people that are not subject to the course of the stars and that the stars have no power to influence their fates. Besides, this matter is explained in sundry and most elaborate ways by Esculapius¹⁴ and Petosiris,¹⁵ who were bestowed with the secrets of this knowledge by Mercury, a singularly powerful deity.

[page] 30

Quod utique non alio respectu aut animi proposito eos voluisse ex eorum monimentis colligimus, nisi ut posteritatem ab hiis depromendis retraherent, nec incongrue advertabant etenim esse in ea re difficultatem summam, quam omnes geneatici [in marg.: genethliaci] semper tamquam Scillam et horrendum scopulum declinabant, licet id non ignorarent, quod hec tota mundi inferioris substancia necessitate cuiusdam legis gubernetur divinis illis semperque incorruptibilibus superiorum corporibus, quorum nos spiritum semper haurire licet, ut Plotino atque Porphirio placet. Non auderem itaque Reverendissime domine transgredi instituta maiorum meorum. Quia tamen id in me est, quod non aliud die noctuque agito, ne id negligam, quod studio meo pro Reverendissima] d[ominacione] vestra effici possit, quo fit ut eas lucubraciunculas, que vires meas aliquantisper excedere videntur, vestre illustrissime dominacioni presentare decrevi, quas benigne recipi oro. Michi vero, quem assidui itineris diversitas sollicitat, si quid indigestum Reverendisima dominacio vestra musa etenim nondum stabili, dicta offenderit, veniam dabit.

From their writings we have gathered at least that much they wished this for no other reason or intention than in order to dissuade the posterity from extricating these [pieces of information] and they unanimously stated that there was a great difficulty in this matter which all horoscope-casting astrologers have always striven to avoid as though it were an awe-inspiring Scylla, although they were not ignorant of the fact that all the substance of the inferior world was governed with the necessary law of destiny by those divine, eternal, and incorruptible celestial bodies whose spirit we are always at liberty to breathe, as Plotinus¹⁶ and Porphyry¹⁷ teach us. Therefore, My Most Revered

¹³ Julius Firmicus Maternus, author of *Matheseos libri VIII*, ca. AD 335.

¹⁴ Aesculapius, the god of medical arts, constellation Ophiuchus, erroneously equaled with Hermes Trismegistos and the teachings gathered in *Corpus Hermeticum* probably.

¹⁵ A priest of Pharaoh Nechepsos, Egiptian astrologer of the 2nd century BC. (J. D. North, op. cit., p. 90).

¹⁶ Plotinus, a Neoplatonic philosopher (ca. 204–269).

¹⁷ Porphyry, a Neoplatonic philosopher and astrologer (ca. 232–305).

Lord, I would never have the audacity to transgress the admonitions of my predecessors. Since, however, I have it in me day and night to consider no thing other than never to neglect anything I might contribute for My Most Reverend Eminence from my studies, I decided to present these modest reflections to you, Most Illustrious Eminence, notwithstanding they seem to exceed my capacities, and request they be generously accepted. And may it be forgiven me, troubled as I am with difficulties of going this road, should an unbecoming thing come to be an offence to Your Most Reverend Eminence for I am subject to an ever changing influence of the Muse.

[page 31]

Anno do[mini] 1501 currente
Year of the Lord 1501, current
Revolucio geniture d[omi]ni re[vere]ndissimi cardinalis
Annual horoscope¹⁸ of the Most Reverend Cardinal

d[ay] h[our] m[inute] z[second]
28.¹⁹ 23 52 52

- I. 26 [degrees of] Leo
- II. 16 [degrees of] Virgo. Moon, waning, 20 [degrees of] Virgo²⁰
- III. 9 [degrees of] Libra
- IV. 15 [degrees of] Scorpio
- V. 27 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- VI. 2 [degrees of] Aquarius
- VII. 26 [degrees of] Aquarius. Mars 15 [degrees of] Pisces²¹ [in the margin]
Occid[ua]lis [Descending]²²
- VIII. 16 [degrees of] Pisces
- IX. 9 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 20 [degree of Aries]²³
Venus 20 [degrees of Aries]²⁴

¹⁸ Phot. 3. S ł o w a k o w i c z, *Prognostyk albo przestroga z obrotów niebieskich względem przypadków wszelakich, któremi niebo zagraża nam na 1644 przestępny*, Kraków, p. 5, uses Polish „rewolucja roczna” (annual revolution); i d e m, *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na rok 1669*, print. Balcer Smieszkowic, Kraków, p. 2 uses the word „rewolucja” (revolution).

¹⁹ April.

²⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, pp. 10: 4, 42 of Virgo.

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 10: 14, 45 of Pisces.

²² This point signifies parting with life, that is death. The area between the 12th and 7th house (clockwise) symbolizes death. See A. B o u c h é - L e c l e r q, op. cit., pp. 413, 426, 448.

²³ The sign of the zodiac was not specified. *The Astrological Tables*, pp. 10: 20, 40 of Aries.

²⁴ The sign of the zodiac was not specified. *Ibidem*, pp. 10: 13, 6 of Aries.

- X. 5 [degrees of] Taurus. Mercury 1 [degree of] Gemini²⁵
 Saturn 1 [degree of] Gemini²⁶
 Sun, the North node 17 [degrees of Taurus]²⁷
- XI. 27 [degrees of] Gemini
- XII. 2 [degrees of] Leo. *Oriens Rectum* [True East]

Saturn *divisor* [master of time]²⁹

*Alkorodon*²⁸ [*Alcochoden*]
Venus cum Iove domina anni
 [Venus with Jupiter
 the mistress of the year]³⁰

Profectio [primary progression]³¹

directio [direction]³²

<i>Ab asce[ndente]</i>	27,22	<i>Taur[um]</i> ³³	<i>Ab asce[ndente]</i>	21	<i>Virginis</i>
<i>A Sole</i>	17,7 ³⁴	<i>Aqua[rium]</i>	<i>A Sole</i>	17	<i>Gemin[orum]</i>
<i>A parte for[tune]</i>	16,30	<i>Leonem</i>	<i>A part[e] for[tune]</i>	13	<i>Sagitt[arii]</i>
<i>A Luna</i>	16,12	<i>Taurum</i>	<i>A Luna</i>	4	<i>Libre</i>

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 10: 1, 21 of Gemini.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 10: 1, 15 of Gemini.

²⁷ The sign of the zodiac was not specified. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 10: the Sun at 18, 11 of Taurus, the North node in 19, 30 of Taurus.

²⁸ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. Or *Cochoden, Apheta, Dator Vitae, Dominus vitae, Dominator, Gubernator vitae, Hyleg, Propagator* (A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 407, f.n. 2, p. 411, f.n. 1), *Almuten*, the giver of life, the most influential planet in the horoscope, which determines an estimated number of years of life. Since Venus and Jupiter are inscribed below, one should assume these planets are the most influential in monthly prognostics for 1501. See L. Fleming-Mitchell, *The Language of Astrology*, London 1977, p. 9; E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, *Wieszczba astrologiczna przy narodzeniu Jakuba Sobieskiego Królewicza*, Kraków 2017, p. 111.

²⁹ *Chronocrator* (Greek), Saturn rules for 30 months: *Matheseos* [...] 2, 27, 1. In Old Polish the name is "Pan doroczny" (annual Master), "doroczny Gubernator" (annual Governor), "Gubernator rewolucji rocznej" (Governor of the annual revolution) (S. Słowakowicz, *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na 1644 [...]*, p. 5; *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na rok 1669*, pp. 2–3).

³⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 11, Jupiter-Venus conjunction marked.

³¹ It shows positions of the planets for the time after the birth of a given person, counting one day as one year (L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 72). In 1501, Fryderyk Jagiellończyk was 33 years of age and he was born on April 28, 1468 (the natal chart, p. 29), therefore the table shows the arrangement of the planets for May 31, 1468 (April 28 + 33 days = May 31).

³² It determines the West-East direction (A. Bouché-Leclerq, op. cit., p. 418, f.n. 2). The method of moving the position of the planets in the natal chart by the number of degrees that equals the number of years of age of the client, while accounting for the fact each sign has 30 degrees.

³³ In cod. *Taurus*.

³⁴ Corrected by the scribe in gold.

<i>A Saturno</i>	23,50 ³⁵	<i>Capric[cornum]</i>	<i>A Saturno</i>	25	<i>Scorp[ionis]</i>
<i>A Iove</i>	0,3	<i>Arietem</i>	<i>A Iove</i>	29	<i>Cancri[i]</i>
<i>A Marte</i>	0,4	<i>Arietem</i>	<i>A Marte</i>	29	<i>Cancri</i>
<i>A Venere</i>	12,46	<i>Pisces</i>	<i>A Venere</i>	13	<i>Cancri</i>
<i>A Mercur[io]</i>	0,8	<i>Pisces</i>	<i>A Mercur[io]</i>	5	<i>Cancri [i]</i>

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Ne quicquam ad sortem vel opinionem [adscr. supra: in; del.: hiis] sequentibus me quis scripsisse arbitretur et rationes horum, que scribentur annotare libuit. Itaque Oroscopo revolucionis huius et geniture vestre Illustrissime dominacionis unum et idem signum est, cuius gubernator Sol cum signo, ad quod venit profectio, in decima constitutus. [in marg.: Rasis 63 verbo] Annus quoque ad locum Solis applicat. Hec et alia laudent famam et autoritatis amplitudinem denotant. Hali Habenragel, capitulo nono, parte quinta. Planeta, cum venerit, adsummet locum, renovat significata illius domus. Unde quadam singulari consumataque eminencia dignitateque vestram Illustrissimam dominacionem astra hoc anno sequenti relucere debere testantur et quod ratione I[llustrissime] d[ominacionis] vestre bonum (cui preest) terre advenire deberet. Venus, domina anni, Iovi associata in domo nona, melioracionem in bonis ecclesiasticis per v[estram] I[llustrissimam] d[ominacionem] fieri debere significat. [in marg. ...] Cuius prelati et subditi v[estres] I[llustrissime] d[ominacionis] nonnumquam rebellare aut quocumque modo contradicere videbuntur. Quod in Augusto et in Octobre signanter suspicetur eadem Venus cum Iove trina radiacione domum vite intuentur. Per id sanitatem custodient et bonam dispositionem largientur. Itinera similiter non pauca, leta et proficua peraget R[everendissima] d[ominacio] vestra. Venus omnino ad naturam suam mores I[llustrissime] d[ominacionis] vestre declinabit et quia ad Saturni locum radice devenit ea ratione turbaciuncule aliq[ue] adesse potuerit in equis et hiis, que signantur (?significantur) per sextam, damnum percipiet. Fures similiter et homines senes damna aliqua afferre poterint.

I took the liberty to enunciate the reasons inducing me to it so as nobody should think that any part of what follows was written as chance would have it or was opinionated. Now, then, the horoscopes of the current anniversary and of the birth itself of Your Most Reverend Eminence have the same sign³⁶ that is governed by the Sun in the house X

³⁵ Corrected by the scribe in gold.

³⁶ The natal horoscope of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house I *Vita*, 27, 22 of Leo; the annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house I *Vita*, 26 of Leo.

whose sign³⁷ is being entered by the primary progression.³⁸ [in the margin: Rasi³⁹ in 63rd word]. The year also approaches the position of the Sun.⁴⁰ These and other circumstances favor fame and authority according to what Hali Habenragel⁴¹ says in chapter nine, part five. When the planet [Sun] comes there, it will take the place in possession and renew the proper sense of this house.⁴² For this reason the stars testify that in the subsequent year, Your Most Illustrious Eminence should come to shine with a particular and perfect splendor and that the land under your governance should be blessed with benefits on the part of Your Most Illustrious Eminence.⁴³ Venus, the mistress of the year,⁴⁴ associated with Jupiter in the house IX⁴⁵ should signify a betterment with respect to ecclesiastical goods for the cause of Your Most Reverend Eminence.⁴⁶ [an illegible annotation in the margin] The Church whose prelates and subjects of Your Most Illustrious Eminence will be at times rebellious and may be contradictory in a certain mode. It is highly probable that the same Venus together with Jupiter will influence the house of life⁴⁷ through a triple radiation⁴⁸ in August and October. Thanks to this they will protect the health and lend a comfortable disposition. Likewise Your Most Illus-

³⁷ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the Sun in the house X *Honores*, at 17 degrees of Taurus. The natal horoscope of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the Sun in the house X *Honores*, at 17 degrees of Taurus.

³⁸ Table, p. 31, the Ascendant at 27, 22 of Taurus.

³⁹ Abū Barkr Muhammed ibn Zakariya al-Razi, Persian physician, died ca. 925 roku (G. S a l i b a, *Teorie planetarne w astronomii arabskiej po XI wieku*, in *Historia nauki arabskiej*, vol. 1: *Astronomia teoretyczna i stosowana*, eds. R. R a s h e d, R. M o r e l o n, Warsaw 2000, p. 840).

⁴⁰ Table, p. 31: Primary progression for the year 27, 33 of Taurus.

⁴¹ Abū l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi l-Rijâ or Haly Abenragel, an Arab astrologer who died after 1037, author of *Liber in iudiciis astrorum*.

⁴² The house X *Honores* denotes: “kingdoms, fame, elevation, mastery, military matters, valor, aggrandizement, reign, praise, public esteem, magnificence” (E. Ś n i e ż y Ń s k a - S t o l o t, *Generale iudicium Władysława II zwanego Warneńczykiem*, “Biuletyn Biblioteka Jagiellońskiej” XLI, 2011, the Latin text deciphered by R. T a t a r z y Ń s k i and translated into Polish by A. K o z ł o w s k a, p. 38; later referred to as *Generale iudicium*).

⁴³ The Part of Fortune added in *The Astrological Tables*, p. 11 in the reviewer’s hand.

⁴⁴ Venus with Jupiter is the mistress of the year 1501 (p. 31).

⁴⁵ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: in the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries, Venus at 20 degrees of Aries.

⁴⁶ The house IX *Peregrinationes* denotes: “law, God’s wisdom, astronomy, manual trade, legations, long travels, service to the Church” (*Generale iusicium*, p. 37).

⁴⁷ “House of life” *Matheseos* [...] 2, XIV, 3. The house I *Vita* concerns “bodies, life, baths, medicines necessary for life, secret matters, [personal] bonds, exercise, work, health, new attire, and all that is permanent in life” (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35).

⁴⁸ Trine, or a distance of 120 degrees between two planets; the monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: a trine of Jupiter and Venus. S. Ś ł o w a k o w i c z (*Prognostyk albo przestroga* [...] 1669, p. 7) uses the Polish term “promień życzliwy” (benevolent ray).

trious Grace will do quasi numerous peregrinations, felicitous⁴⁹ and advantageous. Venus will fully bend the habits of Your Most Illustrious Eminence to its nature and on the cause of its reaching the position of Saturn in the horoscope,⁵⁰ there may befall certain perturbations concerning horses and losses in matters pertaining to the house VI.⁵¹ Likewise thieves and aged people may be the cause of some damage.⁵²

[page 33]

Luna in secunda domo ex amicis acquisitis lucra et substancia augmentum[!] promitteret. Sed quoniam Martis opposito infortunatur radio, distractio eiusdem vel necessitate aliqua repentina cogente, distribolio [in marg.: bucio] eiusdem subsequetur. Ea ipsa Lune irradiacio ex Octava forte in diebus Iunii perturbacionem animi aliquam efficiet ex parte itineris longi aut legacionis, vel eorum, que significantur per nonam domum. Iupiter in nona felicitatem in bonis ec[c]lesiasticis promittit et consecucionem eorundem. Et quoniam venit ad locum Saturni eruntque domus Iovis secunda et decima, postea posito quasi ascendente Capricorno 3^a et 12^a domus, Iovis signa erunt, secundum supputationem Hali Habenragel. Erit itaque fortuna in adquisicione substancie, honoris. Ex brevibus similiter itineribus, et ex parte inimicorum aliq[ue] fortune advenient. Mars in bonis, que post mortem amicorum venire deberent, damnum et decepcionem minatur. [in marg.: in bonis post mortem] Ab aquis cavendum erit vestre i[llustrissime] dominacioni ea etenim Martis per diametram radiacio ex piscibus est. Saturnus cum Mercurio in decima ingenii profunditatem dabit et intellectus acuitatem denotat. Ex parte hominis magne condicionis, item racione regni et dominii perplexitas et turbacio aderit. [in marg.: racione regni perplexitas] Et quia Venus domina anni istius gubernat domum decimam, diminuet ad malum et immutabit in finem bonum, quoniam hii, qui aliquid contrarii agere.

Due to the Moon in the house II, advantages and a growth of wealth through the cause of acquired friends may be expected.⁵³ Since it sustains, however, an unfavorable in-

⁴⁹ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 33: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries, Venus at 20 degrees of Aries.

⁵⁰ *Radix* = horoscope (L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 75). The natal horoscope for April 28, 1468, p. 29: in the house VI *Valetudo* – Aquarius, where Saturn has its domicile. The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: in the house VI – Taurus, where Venus has its diurnal domicile.

⁵¹ The house VI *Valetudo* concerns “horses, beasts of draught, diseases, loss of slaves, old women, rejection, injustice” (*Generale iudicium*, p. 36). Venus is associated with the diseases that come from the loins and genitals, which is a reference to the French disease the cardinal supposedly suffered from.

⁵² The house VI *Valetudo*.

⁵³ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: in the house II *Lucrum*, the Moon, growing, at 20 degrees of Virgo. The house II *Lucrum* concerns: “sale, purchase, profit, wealth, rents, food, estates, servants, reigning, receiving” (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35).

fluence of the opposing Mars,⁵⁴ this wealth will endure disruption or division due to a sudden circumstance. This same opposition of the Moon⁵⁵ from the house VIII in June⁵⁶ can create a certain inner unrest related to a longer voyage or legation or other matters specific to the house IX.⁵⁷ Jupiter in the house IX signifies successes with ecclesiastical goods and acquiring thereof.⁵⁸ And since [Jupiter?] has reached the position of Saturn⁵⁹ and will be placed in the house II⁶⁰ and the house X,⁶¹ while afterwards Capricorn will come nearly at the Ascendant,⁶² it is then that the houses III and XII⁶³ will be Jupiter's according to the calculations of Hali Habenragel. Therefore, good fortune will follow in regard to acquiring wealth and honors. A fortune of sorts will also result from short journeys and from the part of enemies.⁶⁴ Mars threatens with a loss and deception with respect of goods after the death of friends.⁶⁵ [in the margin: in goods after death] Your Most Illustrious Eminence should beware

⁵⁴ Opposition, or a distance of 180 degrees between planets. Opposition of the Moon and Mars, monthly prognostics: May 26, 1501, p. 39 and June 24, 1501, p. 40. S ł o w a k o w i c z (*Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] 1644*, p. 7) uses the Latin term *radio opposito* (opposing ray). Both remarks about the Moon-Mars opposition were inscribed by the reviewer.

⁵⁵ Opposition (distance of 180 degrees) of the Moon and Mars, monthly prognostics: May 26, 1501, p. 39 and June 24, 1501, p. 40.

⁵⁶ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house VIII *mors* denotes: "fear, death, inheritance, killing, poison, [things] causing death" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 37).

⁵⁷ The house IX *Peregrinationes*.

⁵⁸ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries.

⁵⁹ The natal horoscope for April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house VIII *Mors*, Saturn at 1 degree of Aries. The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries.

⁶⁰ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house II *Lucrum*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries.

⁶¹ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Jupiter at 13 degrees of Aries.

⁶² The monthly prognostics 1501: February 2 (p. 36) and July 21 (p. 41): the house I *Vita*, 11 degrees of Capricorn; 22 degrees of Capricorn.

⁶³ The monthly prognostics 1501: July 21 (p. 41) and December 8 (p. 46): the house III *Fratres*, Jupiter at 4 degrees of Taurus and 26 degrees of Aries. The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501 (p. 37): the house XII *Inimici*, Jupiter at 7 degrees of Aries.

⁶⁴ The house III *Fratres* concerns: "brothers, sisters, blood-relatives, in-laws, short voyages, justice, gentleness, patience, ingeniousness, legation, dispute" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35). The house XII *Inimici* denotes: "banditries, intrigue, hatred, exertions, enmity, misery of pain, violence of prisons" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 38).

⁶⁵ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: in the house VII, Mars at 14 degrees of Pisces. The house denotes: "married couple, nuptials, adversities, [court] proceedings, arguments, wars [...] overt enmities, purchase of arms" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 37).

of water because of diametrical radiation⁶⁶ of Mars in the sign of Pisces.⁶⁷ Saturn with Mercury in the house X⁶⁸ will lend profound ability and signify acute intellect. Besides, there will come a complication and confusion in the affairs of the kingdom and reign from a man of high standing. [in the margin: confusion in the affairs of the kingdom] And since Venus, the mistress of this year,⁶⁹ rules the house X,⁷⁰ it will mitigate the ills and make for the things to come to a fortuitous end for those who would counteract

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voluerint, humiliabunt se tandem vestre illustrissime dominacioni et postea associabit se hominibus letis et solaciosis, in odoriferis et delectabilibus rebus oblectabitur vestra i[llustrissima] dominacio. Quantum vero ad corporis valitudinem hec pauca recensere libuit. Divisio gradus asscendentis venit ad terminum Saturni et idem intuetur quarto radio signum divisionis in revolucione. Infirmetas non tamen periculosa ex causa frigida et habundancia flegmatis humoribusque crudis imminebit in Iunio et in fine Octobris; ab illa cavendum erit. [in marg.: in Iunio bis dominus disgraciam pretensit flegmatis]⁷¹ Hec scripsi non terrendi gracia vestra[m] illustrissimam dominacionem, sed ut hiis monita caucior fiat.⁷² Multum etenim malum Ptolomeus clarissimus in quinta proposicione prohiberi posse contendit, cum illud previsum fuerit. Hec singula particularius in mensium elucidacione annotabuntur. [in marg. ...]

will subdue to Your Most Illustrious Eminence, and Your Most Illustrious Eminence will come to associate afterwards with gleeful and consoling people and will find delight in things fragrant and pleasurable.⁷³ And henceforth I would like to write a few

⁶⁶ Opposition, or a distance of 180 degrees between two planets. The opposition of Mars and the Moon in monthly prognostics of May 26, 1501, p. 39; June 24, 1501, p. 40; November 11, 1501, p. 45.

⁶⁷ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Mars at 14 degrees of Pisces. Pisces is a sign of the element water (*The Beginning of Wisdom. An Astrological Treatise by Abraham ibn Ezra*, eds. R. Levy, F. Cantera, Paris 1939, p. 185).

⁶⁸ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the tenth house *Honores*, Saturn and Mercury at 1 degree of Gemini.

⁶⁹ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31.

⁷⁰ The natal horoscope for April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house X *Honores*, Venus at 12 degrees of Gemini. The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Venus at 15 degrees of Pisces.

⁷¹ H. Rybus, *Królewicz kardynał Fryderyk Jagiellończyk jako biskup krakowski i arcybiskup gnieźnieński*, "Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica" II, 1937, p. 195, f.n. 6 decipherers: *in Iunio bis dominus disgraciam proscurit*.

⁷² Ibidem, p. 195, f.n. 6 decipherers the ending of the sentence: ... *monita caucior sit*.

⁷³ Thanks to Venus that corresponds to love, pleasure, and perfume in a horoscope. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 199.

words in regard to the state of bodily health. The division of the Ascendant degree approaches the term of Saturn⁷⁴ and will be looking with the fourth ray⁷⁵ on the master of time in the annual horoscope.⁷⁶ A not very serious infirmity from a cold cause and an abundance of phlegm⁷⁷ as well as raw humors will threaten in June⁷⁸ and at the end of October⁷⁹ and this should be taken heed of. [in the margin: in June, His Lordship experienced phlegmatic indisposition twice] I have not written this to scare Your Most Reverend Eminence, but so as to be the more cautious on account of this forewarning. The eminent Ptolemy asserts in the fifth sentence that many a mishap may be prevented when it is foreseen. All this will be elaborated in more detail in monthly explanations. [in the margin: ...]

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Aries

Capricorn

Inicium decimi anni precedentis

Januarii

The beginning [of the] tenth [prognostic]:⁸⁰ for January the previous year

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
5	14	42

⁷⁴ *Terminus* or *finis* (Gr. *horion*), duration of influence: *Matheseos...* 2, VI, 11–12: degrees of a sign of the zodiac outside the planet’s own house where the influence of the planet is strongest. Saturn rules from 23 to 26 degrees of Capricorn. The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41, the house I 11 degrees of Capricorn.

⁷⁵ Square, or a distance of 90 degrees between planets. The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: Saturn is square to the Moon. S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... 1644*, p. 4) uses the Polish term “kwadratowy” (rectangle).

⁷⁶ *Signum divisionis* is denoted by Saturn (*divisor*), or the master of time, according to the annual horoscope (p. 31).

⁷⁷ Saturn is a cold and wet planet and according to Ptolemy, it is ascribed to phlegm out of the four humors in the human body. See H. M. Carey, *Medieval Latin Astrology and the Cycles of Life: William English and English Medicine In Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.5.26*, in *Astro-medicine, Astrology and Medicine, East and West*, eds. A. Akasoy, Ch. Burnett, R. Yoeli-Tlalim, Firenze 2008, p. 46; *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 203, Abraham ibn Ezra associates phlegm with the Moon. The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the Moon in opposition to Mars, which is an arid and hot planet. S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] na 1644 [...]*, p. 9) uses the Latin term *calida morbi*.

⁷⁸ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40; the house I 27 degrees of Scorpio, which is one of three water element signs.

⁷⁹ The monthly prognostic of October 13, 1501, p. 44; the house VI *Valetudo* 7 degrees of Aquarius, being the sign where Saturn has its nocturnal domicile.

⁸⁰ The word “prognostyk” [prognostic] was used in the Old Polish (S. Słowa kowicz, *Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] 1644; Prognostyk albo przestroga [...] 1669*) or alternatively “osądzenie” (judgment), “przejrzanie” (review), “rozsąd” (consideration), and “przestroga” (forewarning).

Sun square [corrected] in transit with Jupiter⁸¹

- I. 18 [degrees of] Scorpio. Venus 8 [degrees of] Sagittarius⁸²
- II. 14 [degrees of] Sagittarius. Mars 19 [degrees of] Sagittarius⁸³
- III. 22 [degrees of] Capricorn, Sun 25 [degrees of] Capricorn⁸⁴
Mercury 8 [degrees of] Aquarius⁸⁵
- IV. 6 [degrees of] Pisces. Jupiter 25 [degrees of] Pisces⁸⁶
- V. 6 [degrees of] Aries
- VI. 28 [degrees of] Aries
- VII. 18 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 25 [degrees of] Taurus⁸⁷
Saturn 1 [degree of] Gemini⁸⁸
- VIII. 15 [degrees of] Gemini
- IX. 22 [degrees of] Cancer. Moon, growing, 12 [degrees of] Leo
- X. 6 [degrees of] Virgo
- XI. 6 [degrees of] Virgo⁸⁹ Libra
- XII. 28 [degrees of] Libra

Mensis iste in omnibus fere bonus arguitur. Venus in ascendente letum et honestum finem omnium inceptorum pretendit, sanitatemque custodiet, quam Solis adversa radiacio in signum profectionis annue perturbare aliquantisper poterit, in dentibusque vel in parte aliqua vicina capiti dolor advenire poterit. [in marg: fuit] Mars in secunda distractionem seu distributionem substancie, Mercurius cum Sole in tertia in consiliis dandis acuitatem intellectus tribuent. Forte tunc reverendissima dominacio vestra aliqua itinera brevia faciet pro dandis et audiendis eisdem. Iupiter in quarta felicitatem omnium bonorum conferre creditur ex eisdemque utilitates aliquas faciet. Saturnus in domo septima propter nonnullos felices successus invidiam aliquorum hominum forte senum presignat.

⁸¹ The sign of the transit done in black in the scribe's hand. In *The Astrological Tables*, p. 5 a transit of the Sun over Jupiter is noted, besides a trine of the Moon and Venus and an opposition of the Moon and Mercury.

⁸² *The Astrological Tables*, p. 4: 8, 2 of Sagittarius.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 19, 33 of Sagittarius.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 25, 7 of Capricorn.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 8, 51 of Aquarius.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 25, 19 of Pisces.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 25, 29 of Pisces.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 4: 0, 7 of Gemini.

⁸⁹ The sign inscribed by mistake and corrected by inscribing the sign of Libra next to it in the scribe's hand.

This is a month of good predictions almost in all matters. Venus at the Ascendant⁹⁰ bestows a fortuitous and honest end of all endeavors, it will protect the health which may be perturbed by adverse radiation of the Sun⁹¹ towards the primary progression for the year's sign.⁹² There may arise a condition of the teeth or in a part neighboring with the head.⁹³ [in the margin: there was] Mars in the house II⁹⁴ threatens with a disruption or division of wealth. Mercury with the Sun in the house III⁹⁵ will sharpen the intellect in providing advice. It is possible that Your Most Illustrious Eminence will undertake nearby journeys⁹⁶ of sorts in order to provide these or hear them at this time. Jupiter in the house IV is deemed to bring success in all good things and henceforth it is the cause of certain advantages. Saturn in the house VII⁹⁷ foretells envy of some people, possibly of old age, because of some fortuitous results.

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Aquarius

Inicium undecimi in febru[ari]o

The beginning [of the] eleventh [prognostic] in February

d h m

2 16 59

[illegible text]⁹⁸

I. 11 [degrees of] Capricorn. Sun 23 [degrees of] Aquarius⁹⁹

II. 25 [degrees of] Aquarius. Jupiter 1 [degree of] Aries¹⁰⁰

Mercury 3 [degrees of] Pisces¹⁰¹

⁹⁰ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house I *Vita*, Venus at 8 degrees of Sagittarius.

⁹¹ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: an opposition (distance of 180 degrees) of the Sun (the house III, 25 degrees of Capricorn) and Moon (the house IX, 12 degrees of Leo).

⁹² The sign of the year, or the sign the mistress of the year, which is Venus at 12, 46 of Pisces, table p. 31.

⁹³ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house VI *Valetudo*, 28 degrees of Aries. According to melosthesia, Aries is associated with the head (p. 28; *Matheseos*... 1, XXIV, 1).

⁹⁴ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house II *Lucrum*, Mars at 19 degrees of Sagittarius.

⁹⁵ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house III *Fratres*, the Sun at 25 degrees of Capricorn, Mercury at 8 degrees of Aquarius.

⁹⁶ The house III *Fratres* concerns, i.a., short travels (*Generale iudicium*, p. 35).

⁹⁷ The monthly prognostic of January 5, 1501, p. 35: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Saturn in 1 degree of Gemini. The house VII denotes, i.a., court proceedings (*Generale iudicium*, p. 37).

⁹⁸ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 7: February 2, 21 hours 55 minutes: opposition of the Sun and Moon.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 6: 23, 24 of Aquarius.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 6: 0, 48 of Aries.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 6: 3, 54 of Pisces.

- III. 15 [degrees of] Gemini
 IV. 13 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 24 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁰²
 Saturn 1 [degree of] Gemini¹⁰³
 V. 1 [degree of] Gemini
 VI. 27 [degrees of] Gemini
 VII. 11 [degrees of] Cancer. Moon, waning, 18 [degrees of] Leo¹⁰⁴
 VIII. 25 [degrees of] Leo
 IX. 15 [degrees of] Libra
 X. 13 [degrees of] Scorpio. The South node 24 [degrees of] Scorpio
 XI. 26 [degrees of] Capricorn. 1 [degree of] Sagittarius¹⁰⁵
 XII. 25 [degrees of] Aquarius. Sagittarius¹⁰⁶ Venus 9 [degrees]
 Mars 10 [degrees of] Capricorn¹⁰⁷

Sol in ascendente laudabilem et gloriosum statum per hunc mensem decrevit, quia Iupiter cum Mercurio et utroque signo profectionis est in domo substantie, res familiares et thesaurus accumulabitur. Omniaque negocia pro voluntate disponentur. Mars licet aliquos inimicos occultos et callidos suggerere videatur, Venus tamen ei associata furentes animos illorum demitigare suspicetur. Et quoniam Mars dominus est decime domus, ratione domini alicuius, aut regni id esse deberet. Profectio gradus ascendentis in terciam a fratre litteras aut conventum cum eodem. Quod vero ad corporis dispositionem attinet, Sol Lunam diametra radiacione aspicit et deinde ad quadraturam Saturni applicat a maliciosis humoribus corpus Reverendissime dominacionis v[est]re non omnino reddet securum. [in marg.: Pyothrkwie convenerant]

The Sun in the Ascendant¹⁰⁸ secures a glorious and laudable state in this month because Jupiter with Mercury and the two signs of the primary progression are in the house of wealth,¹⁰⁹ therefore family possessions and riches will be augmented and all matters will go as planned. Although Mars seems to push certain clandestine and

¹⁰² Ibidem, p. 6: 24, 0 of Taurus.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, p. 6: 0, 0 of Taurus.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, p. 6: 13, 27 of Leo.

¹⁰⁵ A correction added in the scribe's hand.

¹⁰⁶ A correction added in the scribe's hand.

¹⁰⁷ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 6: 9, 6 of Capricorn.

¹⁰⁸ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house I *Vita*, the Sun at 23 degrees of Aquarius.

¹⁰⁹ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house II *Lucrum*: Jupiter at 1 degree of Aries, Mercury at 3 degrees of Pisces. The primary progression, table p. 31: Jupiter 0, 3 of Aries, Mercury 0, 8 of Pisces.

fierce enemies, it may be supposed that Venus,¹¹⁰ which is close to it, will sooth their raging souls. And on account of Mars being the master of the house X,¹¹¹ it should be an issue of some reign or kingdom. The degree of the Ascendant reaching out towards the house III¹¹² denotes a correspondence from the brother or conference with him. As regards the bodily disposition, the Sun is positioned in an aspect of diagonal radiation with the Moon¹¹³ and it also approaches a square to Saturn,¹¹⁴ which will result in the fact that the body of Your Most Illustrious Eminence will not be entirely immune to morbid humors.¹¹⁵ [in the margin: they met in Piotrków]

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Pisces

Inicium duodecimi in marc[io]

The beginning [of the] twelfth [prognostic] in March

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
2	19	17

Saturn trine Mars

Moon opposition Mercury¹¹⁶

- I. 22 [degrees of] Aries. The South node 22 [degrees of] Taurus¹¹⁷
Jupiter I [degree of] Gemini¹¹⁸
- II. 4 [degrees of] Gemini
- III. 25 [degrees of] Gemini
- IV. 10 [degrees of] Cancer
- V. 26 [degrees of] Cancer

¹¹⁰ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house XII *Inimici*: Venus at 9 degrees of Capricorn, Mars at 10 degrees of Capricorn.

¹¹¹ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house X *Honores* starts at 13 degrees of Scorpio, where Mars has its nocturnal domicile, therefore Mars is the master of the house X. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 177.

¹¹² The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house I *Vita*, 11 degrees of Capricorn; the house III *Fratres*, 15 degrees of Taurus.

¹¹³ *The Astrological Tables*: the Moon in opposition to (180 degrees apart from) the Sun.

¹¹⁴ The monthly prognostic of February 2, 1501, p. 36: the house I *Vita*, the Sun at 23 degrees of Aquarius; the house IV *Parentes*, Saturn at 1 degree of Gemini – the planets for a square, that is they are 90 degrees apart.

¹¹⁵ The Moon, being a cold and wet planet, is associated with phlegm. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 202. Alchabitius also associates phlegm with Saturn. See H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 46.

¹¹⁶ The aspects consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 8: 22, 31 of Taurus.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 8: 1, 19 of Gemini.

- VI. 25 [degrees of] Leo. Moon, waning, 27 [degrees of] Leo¹¹⁹
 VII. 22 [degrees of] Libra. The North node 22 [degrees of]
 The North node [inscribed for the second time, crossed off]¹²⁰
 VIII. 4 [degrees of] Sagittarius
 IX. 25 [degrees of] Sagittarius
 X. 10 [degrees of] Capricorn
 XI. 26 [degrees of] Capricorn. Mercury 23 [degrees of] Aquarius¹²¹
 Venus 11 [degrees of] Aquarius¹²²
 Mars 1 [degree of] Aquarius¹²³
 XII. 25 [degrees of] Aquarius. Sun 21 [degrees of] Pisces¹²⁴
 Jupiter 7 [degrees of] Aries¹²⁵

Dominus ascendens in undecima domo cum Marte et Mercurio facient cogitare reverendissimam dominacionem vestram de rebus regni, in quibus consulendis acuitatem ingenii conserent. Amicos ea ipsa planetarum in loco predicto residencia tutorum, qui maiores esse videntur inter spirituales, aliquis contravenire tum Reverendissime dominacioni vestre intendet propter Iovem in duodecima signum projectionale mensurum recte in duodecimam devolutum. [in marg. tempore convencionis in Pyotrzkow] Super idem attestatur Luna in sexta discurrens opposito Mercurii illustrata et ex Leone populares aliquas oblocuciones movebit. Eadem Luna vestram R[everendissimam] dominacionem non omnino liberam a perturbacione sanitatis faciet. Tota etenim humani corporis substancia ad istius numinis pertinet potestatem.

The master of the Ascendant¹²⁶ conjointly with Mars and Mercury in the house XI¹²⁷ will make Your Most Reverend Eminence contemplate matters of the kingdom, fa-

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 8: 22, 19 of Leo.

¹²⁰ The inscription and crossing off in the scribe's hand. No sign of the zodiac at the 22 degrees. Since the North node in the house I is at 22 of Taurus, the South node in the house VII, 180 degrees apart, should be at 22 degrees of Scorpio.

¹²¹ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 8: 23, 56 of Aquarius.

¹²² Ibidem, p. 8: 11, 59 of Aquarius.

¹²³ Ibidem, p. 8: 1, 22 of Aquarius.

¹²⁴ Ibidem, p. 8: 21, 34 of Pisces.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, p. 8: 7, 61 of Aries.

¹²⁶ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house I 22 degrees of Aries, the sign that is the diurnal domicile of Mars. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 197.

¹²⁷ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house XI *Amici*, Mercury at 23 degrees of Aquarius, Mars at 1 degree of Aquarius. The house XI denotes: "acquired friends, benefactors, assistants, good hopes for successful transactions [concerning one's estate], king's taxes, king's dues, joy" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 38).

ilitating the counsel with acute mind.¹²⁸ [in the margin: during the Piotrków conference] The same distribution of the planets, which are safely in their own houses, will bring more friends,¹²⁹ who seem to be notable persons of the clergy. At this time, someone will intend to contradict Your Most Illustrious Eminence on account of Jupiter in the house XII;¹³⁰ the monthly opening sign¹³¹ refers directly to the house XII.¹³² This same is evidenced by the house VI Moon,¹³³ which, being in escape from the opposing Mercury¹³⁴ and from Leo,¹³⁵ will raise some reservations on the part of the people. The said Moon will not leave Your Most Reverend Eminence entirely free of health issues.¹³⁶ For the whole bodily substance of man is subjected to the rule of this deity.¹³⁷

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Aries

Inicium tredecimi in marcio

The beginning [of the] thirteenth [prognostic] in March

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
30	21	35

Saturn square Moon¹³⁸

- I. 9 [degrees of] Cancer
- II. 1 [degree of] Leo
- III. 17 [degrees of] Leo. Moon, growing, 8 [degrees of] Virgo
- IV. 10 [degrees of] Virgo
- V. 16 [degrees of] Libra. The South node 21 [degrees of] Scorpio

¹²⁸ Mercury, patron of philosophers, scholars, etc. See *The Beginning of Wisdom*, p. 200.

¹²⁹ The house XI *Amici*.

¹³⁰ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house XII *Inimici*. Jupiter at 7 degrees of Aries.

¹³¹ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: Pisces.

¹³² The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house XII *Inimici*, Sun at 21 degrees of Pisces.

¹³³ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house VI *Valetudo*, waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo.

¹³⁴ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: Moon and Mercury in opposition (180 degrees apart).

¹³⁵ “in escape [...] from Leo,” in the house VI *Valetudo*, waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo, which means it decreases as the degrees of Leo increase.

¹³⁶ The monthly prognostic of March 2, 1501, p. 37: the house VI *Valetudo*, waning Moon at 27 degrees of Leo.

¹³⁷ Lunar medicine. See H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., pp. 46–47.

¹³⁸ The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 9.

- VI. 5 [degrees of] Sagittarius
 VII. 9 [degrees of] Capricorn
 VIII. 1 [degree of] Aquarius
 IX. 17 [degrees of] Aquarius. Mar 22 [degrees of] Aquarius
 X. 10 [degrees of] Pisces. Jupiter 13 [degrees of] Aries
 Mercury 7 [degrees of] Aries
 Venus 15 [degrees of] Pisces
 XI. 16 [degrees of] Aries. The North node 21 [degrees of] Taurus
 Sun 19 [degrees of] Aries
 Saturn 3 [degrees of] Gemini
 XII. 5 [degrees of] Gemini

Jupiter cum Venere decimam possidentes famam bonam et statum gloriosum denotant. Sol in undecima ab amicis acquisitis hominibusque status magni comoda nonnulla pollicetur. Luna in tercia itinera brevia et fructuosa faciet, cuius loci dominus cum signo protectionis in decima, honorem ex illis sequis annunciat. Mars in nona longorum itinerum infortunatus equitatis. Signum ascendens radicis secundam et terciam occupans domus: fratris conventum cum causa substancie tam (tum?) causa subditorum.¹³⁹ [in marg.: in Lanczicza convenerant dominus cum rege] Luna crescens per quartum Saturno se iungit aspectum et hec ipsa est domina oroscopi, cogitatus aliquos et involucionem quandam animi decrevit. Tunc forte aliquid aget Reverendissima dominacio vestra de bellicis est enim significacio cicli, quod pro eo tempore hostis veniet, in regnum. Ex parte senum turbaciuncula adesse poterit: id causa significacionum octave et none domorum etc.

Jupiter with Venus residing in the house X¹⁴⁰ signify good fame and a glorious state. The Sun in the house XI allows for expecting some advantages from acquired friends¹⁴¹ and people of the high estate. The Moon in the house III¹⁴² will furnish brief and fruitful journeys, the ruler of which place conjointly with the opening sign¹⁴³ in the house X¹⁴⁴ augurs an arrival of honors as a result. Mars in the house IX means

¹³⁹ The text added in the scribe's hand.

¹⁴⁰ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Jupiter at 13 degrees of Aries, Venus at 15 Degrees of Pisces.

¹⁴¹ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house XI *Amici*, Sun in 19 degrees of Aries.

¹⁴² The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house III *Fratres*, Moon at 8 degrees of Virgo, that sign that is ruled by Mercury.

¹⁴³ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the opening sign Aries.

¹⁴⁴ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house X *Honores*, Mercury at 7 degrees of Aries.

a misfortunate horse ride during a long-lasting voyage.¹⁴⁵ The rising sign,¹⁴⁶ which is occupied by the house II and III:¹⁴⁷ a conference with the brother on matters related to the wealth, and then to a request of subjects.¹⁴⁸ [in the margin: His Lordship met with the king in Łęczycą]. The growing Moon¹⁴⁹ connects with Saturn by the fourth aspect¹⁵⁰ and is the master of the horoscope,¹⁵¹ which causes a gradual disappearance of certain thoughts and spiritual reflections. At this time, Your Most Reverend Eminence may be preoccupied with war concerns since the significance of this cycle denotes an entrance of an enemy into the Kingdom. There may come a slight trouble from aged men, this being on account of the houses VIII and IX.¹⁵²

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Taurus

Gemini

Inicium secundi mensis in maijo

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] second month in May

d h m
26 2 9

Moon opposition Mars¹⁵³

Mars square Mercury¹⁵⁴

- I. 10 [degrees of] Libra
- II. 3 [degrees of] Scorpio. The South node 18 [degrees of] Scorpio
- III. 3 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- IV. 14 [degrees of] Capricorn
- V. 21 [degrees of] Aquarius. Sun¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Mars at 22 degrees of Aquarius.

¹⁴⁶ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31.

¹⁴⁷ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: the house I, 26 degrees of Leo. The sign of Leo appears in the house II (1 degree) and house III (17 degrees) of the monthly prognostic of March 10, 1501, p. 38.

¹⁴⁸ The house II *Lucrum*, the house III *Fratres*.

¹⁴⁹ The growing Moon from 45 to 90 degrees. See L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁵⁰ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: a square (distance of 90 degrees) between Saturn and Moon. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house I, 9 degrees of Cancer. The Moon has a diurnal and nocturnal domicile in Cancer and so it is the master of the chart.

¹⁵² The monthly prognostic of March 30, 1501, p. 38: the house VIII *Morse*, 1 degree of Aquarius; the house IX *Peregrinationes*, 17 degrees of Aquarius: Saturn has its domicile in Aquarius.

¹⁵³ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 12: Sun 13, 52 of Gemini.

cause of it. The Moon under an oblique radiation of Mars¹⁶⁷ in the twelve house¹⁶⁸ produces ailments of the head,¹⁶⁹ stomach pains and unfriendliness of certain people.¹⁷⁰ It also signifies a disappointment of sorts, which will come to be justified later. Venus in the house VIII¹⁷¹ in the sign of the progression for the year¹⁷² signifies a wealth after somebody's death.¹⁷³ Saturn in the house IX¹⁷⁴ signifies austerity towards religious transgressors.¹⁷⁵ The presence of Mars in the house VI¹⁷⁶ testifies to an inflammation and pain in the head;¹⁷⁷ there may also occur another injury of the body. [in the margin: in the head or leg]

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Taurus

Cancer

Inicium tercii Mensis in Iunio

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] third month in June

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
24	4	26

Moon opposition Mars¹⁷⁸

- I. 27 [degrees of] Scorpio
- II. 23 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- III. 4 [degrees of] Aquarius

¹⁶⁷ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: Moon opposition (180 degrees apart from) Mars. Ibidem, p. 13.

¹⁶⁸ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house XII *Inimici*, Moon, waming, at 1 degree of Libra.

¹⁶⁹ In the house VI *Valetudo*, Mars is at 5 degrees of Aries, which is associated with the head. Table, p. 28.

¹⁷⁰ The twelve house *Inimici*, i.a., "misery of pain." Libra, table p. 28, corresponds to kidneys; according to *Matheseos*... 2, XXIV, 1: entrails, moreover the lower part of the belly, navel, hips, groins, buttocks (H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 45).

¹⁷¹ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house VIII *Mors*, Venus at 24 degrees of Taurus.

¹⁷² Table p. 31, the primary progression for the year: 27, 33 of Taurus.

¹⁷³ The house VIII *Mors* concerns, i.a., inheritance.

¹⁷⁴ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house IX *Peregrinationes*, Saturn at 11 degrees of Gemini.

¹⁷⁵ The house IX *Peregrinationes* concerns, i.a., the service to the Church.

¹⁷⁶ The monthly prognostic of May 26, 1501, p. 39: the house VI *Valetudo*, Mars at 5 degrees of Aries.

¹⁷⁷ The house VI *Valetudo* concerns, i.a., diseases. According to *melothesia*, Aries rules the head (table, p. 28), and Mars, being an arid and fiery planet, produces fever. See H. M. C a r e y, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁷⁸ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 15.

- IV. 17 [degrees of] Pisces
 V. 15 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 1 [degree of] Taurus¹⁷⁹
 Mars 26 [degrees of] Aries¹⁸⁰
 VI. 6 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 16 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁸¹
 VII. 27 [degrees of] Taurus. Mercury 22 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁸²
 Venus 23 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁸³
 Saturn 14 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁸⁴
 VIII. 23 [degrees of] Gemini. Sun 11 [degrees of] Cancer¹⁸⁵
 IX. 4 [degrees of] Leo
 X. 17 [degrees of] Virgo
 XI. 15 [degrees of] Libra. Moon, waning, 21 [degrees of] Libra¹⁸⁶
 XII. 6 [degrees of] Scorpio. The South node 16 [degrees of] Scorpio

Mensis iste satis fortunatus esse speratur. Luna in II^a domo spem favet bonam, amicos multiplicabit. Sol veniet hoc mense ad locum proprium unde singulare quoddam et honestum pollicetur. Iupiter cum Marte domum quintam occupantes legacion[es] tum venturas presignant, alique tamen erunt false aut ab inimicis. Saturnus in octava quandam turbaciunculam ingerere minatur et curam aut substancie aut fratris causa.

This month may be quite fortuitous. The Moon in the house XI allows for good expectations, will multiply friends.¹⁸⁷ The Sun will come to its own location in this month,¹⁸⁸ which heralds an extraordinary and noble occurrence. Jupiter with Mars residing in the house V¹⁸⁹ predict an arrival of ambassadors, however some of them will be false or coming from foes.¹⁹⁰ Saturn in the house VIII¹⁹¹ threatens

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 14: 1, 51 of Taurus.

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 14: 26, 1 of Taurus.

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 14: 16, 29 of Taurus.

¹⁸² Ibidem, p. 14: 23, 40 of Gemini.

¹⁸³ Ibidem, p. 14: 0, 33 of Cancer.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, p. 14: 14, 52 of Gemini.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 14: 11, 28 of Cancer.

¹⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 14: 19, 18 of Libra.

¹⁸⁷ The house XI *Amici*.

¹⁸⁸ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house VIII *Mors*, Sun at 11 degrees of Cancer, therefore close to the summer solstice (0 degrees of Cancer. L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 85).

¹⁸⁹ The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house V *Filii*, Jupiter at 1 degree of Taurus, Mars at 26 degrees of Aries.

¹⁹⁰ The house V *Filii* denotes: "joy, gleefulness, bliss, rents, borrowed properties of children, women's apparel, accord with them" (*Generale iudicium*, p. 36).

¹⁹¹ A mistake, it is the house VII instead of the eighth. The monthly prognostic of June 24, 1501, p. 40: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Saturn at 14 degrees of Gemini.

with a minor confusion, trouble, and worry on account of the wealth or the brother.¹⁹²

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Taurus

Leo

Inicium quarti mensis in iulio

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] fourth month in July

d h m

21 6 43

Sun square Mars¹⁹³

- I. 22 [degrees of] Capricorn
- II. 12 [degrees of] Pisces
- III. 28 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 4 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁹⁴
Mars 13 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁹⁵
The North node 13 [degrees of] Taurus¹⁹⁶
- IV. 23 [degrees of] Taurus
- V. 9 [degrees of] Gemini. Saturn 17 [degrees of] Gemini¹⁹⁷
- VI. 26 [degrees of] Gemini
- VII. 22 [degrees of] Cancer. Sun 7 [degrees of] Leo¹⁹⁸
Venus 2 [degrees of] Leo¹⁹⁹
Mercury 29 [degrees of] Cancer²⁰⁰
- VIII. 12 [degrees of] Virgo. Moon, waning, 19 [degrees of] Libra²⁰¹
- IX. 28 [degrees of] Libra. The South node 15 [degrees of] Scorpio
- X. 23 [degrees of] Scorpio
- XI. 9 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- XII. 26 [degrees of] Sagittarius

¹⁹² The interpretation pertains to the house VII *Nuptiae*, which concerns, i.a., court proceedings and disputes.

¹⁹³ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 17, do not note a square of Sun and Mars, only a trine of Moon and Saturn.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 4, 16 of Taurus.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 13, 19 of Taurus.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 15, 3 of Taurus.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 17, 59 of Gemini.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 8, 8 of Leo.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 2, 27 of Leo.

²⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 1, 15 of Leo.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 16: 14, 17 of Libra.

Mars cum Iove veniet ad locum, in quo erant tempore Geniture. De hoc, quod Iulius Firmicus in Nativitatibus dicit et hic quadrate accomodari possunt. Unde gubernationem et auctoritatem in populo singularem, aut in[?] uibuscumque publicis administrationibus se ingeret eo mense eruditissima dominatio vestra. [in marg.: Eo mense post obitum regis ...] Sol, dominus vite, in septima domo in signo profectionis, quem Mars ex altero signo profectionis minaci radiacione aspicit indisposicionem aliquam ex causa calida insinuat, iuvat eandem significacionem effectus eclipsacionis anni precedentis in hunc mensem devolutus. Dominus primi orbis in quinta potestatis tribuet insignia. Idem propter deliberacionem aliquam legacionum nonnullarum tardam expeditonem denotat.

Mars and Jupiter will arrive at a place they were at in the natal horoscope.²⁰² From what Julius Firmicus says in *Nativitatibus*, even so they [Mars and Sun] may be squared.²⁰³ Therefore, in this place, Your Most Learned Eminence will be particularly involved in governing and counselling the people or in certain public matters. [in the margin: In this month after the king's death...] The Sun, master of life, in the house VII in the opening sign,²⁰⁴ being in an aspect of menacing radiation of Mars²⁰⁵ in another sign²⁰⁶ of the primary progression,²⁰⁷ suggests an indisposition caused by heat,²⁰⁸ which is further supported by the effect of the previous year's eclipse²⁰⁹ that touches this month. The master of the first circle²¹⁰ in the house V²¹¹ will assign the insignia of authority. The same signifies a belated voyage due to a council of certain ambassadors.

²⁰² The natal chart of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house XI *Amici*, Mar and Jupiter at 29 degrees of Gemini. The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house XI *Amici*, Jupiter at 4 degrees of Taurus, Mars at 9 degrees of Gemini.

²⁰³ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: Sun square (90 degrees apart from) Mars. The astrologer added the Sun-Mars square based on *Nativitates* by Julius Firmicus.

²⁰⁴ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: the house VII *Nuptiae*, Sun at 7 degrees of Leo. Leo is the sign of the month.

²⁰⁵ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: Sun square (90 degrees apart from) Mars.

²⁰⁶ The second sign of the zodiac: Taurus. The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: the house III *Fratres*, Mars at 13 degrees of Taurus.

²⁰⁷ The primary progression for the year: 27, 22 of Taurus, table p. 31.

²⁰⁸ Mars, an arid and hot planet, producing fever.

²⁰⁹ S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 7) foresees storms as a consequence of solar eclipse.

²¹⁰ The master of the first circle, or the first planetary sphere, counting from outside: Saturn.

²¹¹ The monthly prognostic of July 21, 1501, p. 41: the house V *Filii*, Saturn at 17 degrees of Gemini.

Inicium quinti mensis in aug[usto]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] fifth month in August

d h m
18 9 0

Jupiter trine Venus²¹⁴

- I. 12 [degrees of] Taurus. The North node 13 [degrees of] Taurus²¹⁵
Mars 28 [degrees of] Taurus²¹⁶
- II. 16 [degrees of] Gemini. Saturn 20 [degrees of] Gemini²¹⁷
- III. 5 [degrees of] Cancer
- IV. 20 [degrees of] Cancer
- V. 8 [degrees of] Leo. Venus 6 [degrees of] Virgo.²¹⁸
Sun 4 [degrees of] Virgo²¹⁹
- VI. 14 [degrees of] Virgo. Moon, waning, 1 [degree of] Scorpio²²⁰
Mercury 19 [degrees of] Virgo²²¹
- VII. 12 [degrees of] Scorpio
- VIII. 16 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- IX. 5 [degrees of] Capricorn
- X. 20 [degrees of] Capricorn
- XI. 8 [degrees of] Aquarius
- XII. 14 [degrees of] Pisces. Jupiter 5 [degrees of] Taurus

Dominus tercii globi in angulo vite et idem angulus signo profectionis annue occupatur; minaretur quendam humorum in collum aut partes vicinas descensum, nisi Iovis benignum sidus illud presencia sua mitigaret et, quoniam trina radiacione Venerem dominant asscendentis et Solem in quinta, discurrentes intuetur relaciones et nuncios intra amicos Reverendissime dominacioni vestre et dominacionem vestram afferet propter Saturnum in secunda racione rei pecuniarie turbatim cogitatus adesse poterint.

²¹² The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²¹³ The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²¹⁴ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 19 do not note a trine of Moon and Saturn.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 13, 31 of Taurus.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 29, 33 of Taurus.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 20, 18 of Gemini.

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 5, 50 of Virgo.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 4, 5 of Virgo.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 23, 43 of Virgo.

²²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 18: 19, 2 of Virgo.

The ruler of the third globe²²² in the corner of life²²³ and the same corner occupied by the sign of the progression for the year²²⁴ could threaten with amassing humors in the neck²²⁵ or neighboring parts of the body if not for the benign star of Jupiter that soothes this by its presence and since [Jupiter] dominates, through its triple radiation,²²⁶ Venus in the Ascendant²²⁷ and the Sun in the house V,²²⁸ there will be divergent tidings and opinions among the friends of Your Most Reverend Eminence and on account of Saturn in the house II,²²⁹ Your Most Venerable Eminence will be disturbed by frequent thoughts of pecuniary matters.

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Taurus²³⁰

Libra²³¹

Inicium sexti mensis in sep[tembre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] sixth month in September

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
15 ²³²	11	17

Moon opposition Jupiter²³³

- I. 16 [degrees of] Cancer
- II. 7 [degrees of] Leo
- III. 26 [degrees of] Leo
- IV. 20 [degrees of] Virgo. Sun 1 [degree of] Libra²³⁴

²²² The ruler of the third globe, or the third planetary sphere, counting from outside: Mars.

²²³ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house I *Vita*, Mars at 28 degrees of Taurus. Firmicus Maternus uses the expression *domus vitae* (*Matheseos...* 2, XIV, 3), which is followed by S. S ł o w a k o w i c z, *Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 9.

²²⁴ The primary progression for the year: 27, 33 of Taurus, table p. 31.

²²⁵ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house I *Vita* concerns, i.a., health. According to the principles of *melothesia*, Taurus rules the neck in man (p. 28; *Matheseos...* 2, XXIV, 1).

²²⁶ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: a trine (distance of 120 degrees between planets) of Jupiter and Venus.

²²⁷ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house I *Vita*, 12 degrees of Taurus, which is the sign Venus has its domicile at.

²²⁸ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house V *Filii*, Sun at 4 degrees of Virgo.

²²⁹ The monthly prognostic of August 18, 1501, p. 42: the house II *Lucrum*, Saturn at 20 degrees of Gemini.

²³⁰ Added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²³¹ Added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²³² Initially the date of 16; the digit 5 put in black over the 6 in the reviewer's hand.

²³³ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 21, note the Moon-Jupiter opposition on September 15, 1501.

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 20: 1, 26 of Libra.

- Venus 11 [degrees of] Libra²³⁵
Mercury 22 [degrees of] Libra²³⁶
- V. 29 [degrees of] Libra. Moon, waning, 8 [degrees of] Scorpio²³⁷
VI. 15 [degrees of] Sagittarius
VII. 16 [degrees of] Capricorn
VIII. 7 [degrees of] Aquarius
IX. 26 [degrees of] Aquarius
X. 20 [degrees of] Pisces
XI. 29 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 4 [degrees of] Taurus²³⁸
Mars 9 [degrees of] Gemini²³⁹
The North node 12 [degrees of] Taurus²⁴⁰
XII. 15 [degrees of] Gemini. Saturn 21 [degrees of] Gemini²⁴¹

Ex parte Saturni, qui divisor existens domum duodecimam occupat, occasione domini et Regni tristes cogitatus, involuciones et conditiones aliquae advenient. Post Mathei statim aliquid ex hiis apparebit. Mars cum Iove in eodem domicilio constituti, in quo erant tempore nativitatis, amicos multiplicabunt, qui iuvabunt Reverendissimam d[ominacionem] vestram in peragendis quibuscumque negociis. Iovis tamen retrogradacio inconstantes eos esse debere ostendit. Et forte aliqui, qui adherere crederentur, discedere tentabunt. Vicesima quarta aut vicesima quinta die Septembris aliquid turbaciuncularum occurret. Similiter quinta vel 6 Octobris aliquantulum suspecta [supra adscr.: erit]. Reliqui dies feliciores suspicantur, Venus laudem pollicetur et gratiam multorum preparabit, tertia aut quarta Octobris dona forte dabuntur Paternitati vestre Reverendissime aut aliquid simile singulare accidet. [in marg. ...]. Luna multitudinem nunciorum, ut communiter? falsos [del.: falsorum] signat, legaciones simulatas recte Reverendissima] P[aternitas] vestra recipiet.

On the part of Saturn, which occupies the house XII²⁴² as the master of time,²⁴³ there will arrive sorrowful thoughts, difficulties and announcements with respect to the reign and the Kingdom. Some of this will appear shortly after Saint Mat-

²³⁵ Ibidem, p. 20: 11, 21 of Libra.

²³⁶ Ibidem, p. 20: 22, 55 of Libra.

²³⁷ Ibidem, p. 20: 3, 22 of Scorpio.

²³⁸ Ibidem, p. 20: 4, 25 of Taurus.

²³⁹ Ibidem, p. 20: 9, 15 of Gemini.

²⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 20: 12, 6 of Taurus.

²⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 20: 22, 26 of Gemini.

²⁴² The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house XII *Inimici*, Saturn at 21 degrees of Gemini. The house XII concerns, i. a., banditries and plots.

²⁴³ Saturn *divisor*, table p. 31.

thew.²⁴⁴ Mars and Jupiter, residing in the same house they were in on the day of birth,²⁴⁵ will multiply friends who will support Your Most Reverend Eminence in carrying out certain difficult endeavors. However, the retrograde motion²⁴⁶ of Jupiter will reveal their inconstancy and some of those who appeared to be allies will possibly wish to withdraw. There will come certain minor worries on the 24th or 25th of September. Also the date of October 6 uncertain [added above: will be]. The remaining days should be more felicitous. Venus²⁴⁷ promises glory and will secure grace of many. On October 3 or 4 you will receive, Most Reverend Father, some donations or there will occur something equally extraordinary. [in the margin: ...] The Moon signifies multiple envoys, false as usual.²⁴⁸ Most Reverend Father will receive these legations as befits them.

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Taurus²⁴⁹

Scorpio²⁵⁰

Inicium septimi mensis in octo[bre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] seventh month in October

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
13	13	34

Moon conjunct Venus²⁵¹

- I. 1 [degree of] Virgo
- II. 23 [degrees of] Virgo. Mercury 16 [degrees of] Libra²⁵²
- III. 18 [degrees of] Libra. Sun 29 [degrees of] Libra²⁵³

²⁴⁴ Saint Matthew's day: September 21.

²⁴⁵ The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house XI *Amici*, Jupiter at 4 degrees of Taurus, Mars at 9 degrees of Gemini. The natal chart of April 28, 1468, p. 29: the house XI *Amici*, Mar and Jupiter at 29 degrees of Gemini.

²⁴⁶ Retrograde motion: a planet appears to move backward through the zodiac in the geocentric system. See L. Fleming-Mitchell, op. cit., p. 76. S. Słowakowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 5) uses a Latin term *retrogradus*. In the charts, retrograde Jupiter is noted in the monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501 (p. 46) in the house III, therefore the astrologer refers to events that are to occur at the end of the year.

²⁴⁷ The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house IV *Parentes*, Venus at 11 degrees of Libra.

²⁴⁸ The monthly prognostic of September 15, 1501, p. 43: the house V *Filii*, Moon, waning, at 8 degrees of Scorpio.

²⁴⁹ The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²⁵⁰ The sign added in black in the reviewer's hand.

²⁵¹ The aspect consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 23.

²⁵² *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 16, 1 of Libra.

²⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 22: 28, 18 of Libra.

Moon, growing, 21 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁵⁴
 Venus 16 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁵⁵

- IV. 24 [degrees of] Scorpio
 V. 5 [degrees of] Caricorn
 VI. 7 [degrees of] Aquarius
 VII. 1 [degree of] Pisces
 VIII. 23 [degrees of] Pisces
 IX. 18 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 1 [degree of] Taurus²⁵⁶
 Jupiter [added in red]²⁵⁷
 The North node 10 [degrees of] Taurus²⁵⁸
 X. 24 [degrees of] Taurus. Saturn 21 [degrees of] Gemini²⁵⁹
 Jupiter [added in red]²⁶⁰
 Mars 11 [degrees of] Gemini²⁶¹
 XI. 5 [degrees of] Cancer
 XII. 7 [degrees of] Leo

Hic mensis non omnino felix. Circa rem familiarem [del.: sollicita] colligendam, sollicita erit R[everendissima] d[ominacio] vestra. Dominus anni in tercia cum signo protectionis mensurne fratris congressum promittit. Somnia multa et falsa advenient. Prelati aliqui et subditi spirituales in aliquo contradicere volent R[everendissime] P[aternitati] vestre. [in marg.: ... Cracoviam].²⁶² De divinis et eclisiasticis[!] intro mittet se P[aternitas] vestra Reverendissima hoc mense plus quam aliis temporibus.

This month not entirely felicitous. Your Most Reverend Eminence will be taking care of certain family affairs. The mistress of the year²⁶³ in the house III together with the opening sign of the month²⁶⁴ promises a conference with the brother. There will be many false dreams. Some of the superiors and inferiors in clergy will wish to contradict you,

²⁵⁴ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 12, 49 of Scorpio.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 22: 17, 43 of Scorpio.

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 22: 1, 6 of Taurus.

²⁵⁷ Added by the reviewer.

²⁵⁸ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 10, 36 of Taurus.

²⁵⁹ Added by the reviewer. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: 21, 3 of Gemini.

²⁶⁰ Added by the reviewer.

²⁶¹ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 22: Jupiter 11, 48 of Gemini.

²⁶² L. A. B i r k e n m a j e r (*Mikołaj Kopernik*, vol. 1: *Studia nad pracami Kopernika oraz materialy biograficzne*, Kraków 1900, pp. 667–668) deciphered this annotation as *Мѡкоц* and regarded it to be the signature of Mikołaj Mikosz.

²⁶³ The annual horoscope of April 28, 1501, p. 31: Venus.

²⁶⁴ The opening sign of the month: Scorpio. The monthly prognostic of October 13, 1501, p. 44: the house III *Fratres*, Venus at 16 degrees of Scorpio.

Most Revered Father. [in the margin: . . . to Krakow etc.]. In this month, you will, Most Revered Father, tend to divine and ecclesiastical matters more than at any other time.²⁶⁵

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Taurus²⁶⁶

Sagittarius²⁶⁷

Inicium octavi mensis in novem[bre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] eighth month in November

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
11	15	51

Luna in opp[osi]ta Martis²⁶⁸

Moon in opposition to Mars

Luna combusta²⁶⁹

Combust Moon

- I. 17 [degrees of] Libra
- II. 11 [degrees of] Scorpio. Mercury 16 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁷⁰
Sun 28 [degrees of] Scorpio²⁷¹
- III. Moon, growing, 12 [degrees of] Sagittarius.²⁷²
Venus 22 [degrees of] Sagittarius²⁷³
- IV. 22 [degrees of] Capricorn
- V. 28 [degrees of] Aquarius
- VI. 25 [degrees of] Pisces
- VII. 17 [degrees of] Aries. Jupiter 27 [degrees of] Aries²⁷⁴

²⁶⁵ The house IX, Jupiter at 1 degree of Taurus.

²⁶⁶ The sign added in the reviewer's hand.

²⁶⁷ The sign added in the reviewer's hand.

²⁶⁸ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 25, note an opposition Moon and Mars on November 10, 1501.

²⁶⁹ Added in black in the reviewer's hand. *Ibidem*, p. 25, note a conjunction of Sun and Moon on November 10, 1501. S. Słowa kowicz (*Prognostyk albo przestroga... na 1644...*, p. 9) introduces a Polish equivalent of conjunction: „złączenie” (joining). A „combust” planet is the one that approaches the closest to the Sun. This happens between 15 degrees of Libra and 15 degrees of Capricorn. In the Ascendant, there appears 17 degrees of Libra. A distance between the Sun and a given planet up to 8.5 degrees (S. Page, *Richard Trewhythian and the Uses of Astrology in Late Medieval England*, “Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” LXIV, 2001, p. 199, f.n. 32) or 3 degrees (L. Fleming-Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 24) was accepted.

²⁷⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 24: 16, 28 of Scorpio.

²⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 29, 38 of Scorpio.

²⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 24: 4, 50 of Sagittarius.

²⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 22, 52 of Sagittarius.

²⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 27, 42 of Aries.

- Jupiter [added in red]²⁷⁵
 The North node 9 [degrees of] Taurus²⁷⁶
- VIII. 11 [degrees of] Taurus. Mars 4 [degrees of] Gemini²⁷⁷
 Saturn? [added in red]²⁷⁸
- IX. 12 [degrees of] Gemini. Jupiter [added in red]²⁷⁹
 Saturn 19 [degrees of] Gemini²⁸⁰
- X. 22 [degrees of] Cancer
 XI. 28 [degrees of] Leo
 XII. 25 [degrees of] Virgo

[in marg.: ...]

Ab undecima die odium et malignacionem aliquorum spiritualium, quos forte tum mulctabit R[everendissima] P[aternitas] vestra, habebit et contra ecclesiam aut religionem facientes aliquid tentabit. [in marg.: ...] Ab adversa valitudine cavendum erit Reverendissime dominacioni vestre, eoque Mars ex octava Lunam minari radiatione inficit. Lune combustio ad idem facit. Brevia itinera erunt non omnino prospera. Sol cum Mercurio substancie et thesauri accumulacionem pollicentur.

[in the margin: ...]

Beginning with the eleventh day, you will sustain, Most Reverend Father, hatred and malignance on the part of certain clergymen who will act against the Church or religion and who you will be striving to punish and possibly will punish then. [in the margin: ...] Your Most Reverend Eminence should be cautious to avoid ill health and this that Mars radiating from the house VIII²⁸¹ renders the Moon harmful,²⁸² while the combustion of the Moon²⁸³ has the same effect. Short journeys will not be all prosperous.²⁸⁴ The Sun²⁸⁵ with Mercury predict a growth of wealth and riches.

²⁷⁵ The reviewer's hand.

²⁷⁶ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 24: 9, 4 of Taurus.

²⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 24: 4, 24 of Gemini.

²⁷⁸ The reviewer's hand.

²⁷⁹ The reviewer's hand.

²⁸⁰ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 24: 19, 18 of Gemini.

²⁸¹ The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: the house VIII *Mors*, Mars at 4 degrees of Gemini.

²⁸² The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: Moon and Mars in opposition (10 degrees apart). Health dangers of the Moon concern the stomach, belly, and the left side of the body.

²⁸³ The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: for combust Moon, see f.n. 194.

²⁸⁴ The house III *Fratres* concerns, i.a., short travels.

²⁸⁵ The monthly prognostic of November 11, 1501, p. 45: the house II *Lucrum*, Sun at 28 degrees of Scorpio.

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Inicium noni mensis in de[cembre]

The beginning of the [prognostic for the] ninth month in December

<i>d</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>
8	18	8

*Luna fluit ad oppositum Saturni*²⁸⁶

Moon flows towards an opposition with Saturn

Jupiter trine Sun

Jupiter square Venus²⁸⁷

- I. 28 [degrees of] Sagittarius
- II. 5 [degrees of] Pisces
- III. 25 [degrees of] Pisces. *Retr[ogradatio ?]* 20²⁸⁸
Jupiter 26 [degrees of] Aries²⁸⁹
- IV. 29 [degrees of] Aries. The North node 7 [degrees of] Taurus²⁹⁰
- V. 19 [degrees of] Taurus. Mars 26 [degrees of] Taurus.²⁹¹
- VI. 6 [degrees of] Gemini. Jupiter²⁹² Saturn 27 [degrees of] Gemini²⁹³
- VII. 28 [degrees of] Gemini. Mercury 2 [degrees of] Virgo²⁹⁴
- VIII. 5 [degrees of] Virgo. Venus 26 [degrees of] Virgo²⁹⁵
- IX. 29 [degrees of] Virgo
- X. 29 [degrees of] Libra
- XI. 19 [degrees of] Scorpio
- XII. 6 [degrees of] Sagittarius. Moon, growing, 10 [degrees of] Sagittarius²⁹⁶
Sun 26 [degrees of] Sagittarius²⁹⁷

²⁸⁶ Added in red in the reviewer's hand. *The Astrological Tables*, p. 27, note Moon-Saturn opposition and a transit of Moon and Venus on December 7, 1501.

²⁸⁷ The aspects consistent with *The Astrological Tables*, p. 27.

²⁸⁸ Added in red in the reviewer's hand. Retrogradation: according to the geocentric system, a planet moves back across the zodiac. There is no mention of sign or planet at 20 degrees, but it may be assumed to concern the retrograde motion of Jupiter.

²⁸⁹ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 26: 26, 17 of Aries.

²⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 7, 39 of Taurus.

²⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 26, 16 of Taurus.

²⁹² Added in red in the reviewer's hand.

²⁹³ *The Astrological Tables*, p. 26: Saturn 17, 1 of Gemini.

²⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 3, 52 of Virgo.

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 26, 37 of Virgo.

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 0, 36 of Sagittarius.

²⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 26: 26, 13 of Sagittarius.

Mars nuncios falsos afferet et legaciones subdolas. Saturnus perturbare quantulumcunque corpus poterit.

Mars will bring false envoys as well as insidious legations.²⁹⁸ To a small extent, Saturn may disturb the bodily state.²⁹⁹

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*Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat.*³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ The monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501, p. 46: the house V *Filii*, Mar at 26 degrees of Taurus.

²⁹⁹ The monthly prognostic of December 8, 1501, p. 46: the house VI *Valetudo*, Saturn at 27 degrees of Gemini. The reviewer added Jupiter without specifying the sign of the zodiac where the planet resides so it may be surmised it means a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn at 27 degrees of Gemini and therefore Saturn's influence is small. H. Rybus (p. 195, f.n. 6) erroneously puts at November on page 45.

³⁰⁰ "With faltering strides does changeable fortune wander," Ovid, *Tristia* 5, 8, 15. The excerpt identified by A. Kozłowska, H. Rybus (op. cit., p. 195, f.n. 6) deciphers this fragment in a different way: *Fastibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat.*

A comparison of the natal horoscopes of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk in MS 3225, p. 7 and MS 8, p. 29

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Nativitas 1468 in aprili</i> <i>Tempore inequato</i> [nonequatorial time] 27 [day] 23 [hours] 58 [minutes] 58 [seconds] <i>Equato</i> [equator] 27 [day] 23 [hours] 59 [minutes] 8 [seconds] <i>Omnes planete directi</i> [all planets in the direct movement along the zodiac]¹</p> <p>(BJ MS 3225, p. 7)</p> <p>I. 27 [degrees] 22 [minutes] of Leo. The North node 27 [degrees] 46 [minutes] of Leo II. 18 [degrees] of Virgo III. 12 [degrees] of Libra. Part of Fortune 16 [degrees] of Scorpio. Azmeth [star] 16 [degrees] 40 [minutes] of Libra IV. 16 [degrees] 51 [minutes] of Scorpio. Cor scor[pionis][Antares α Sco] V. 2 [degrees] 40 [minutes] of Sagittarius VI. 29 [degrees] of Sagittarius VII. 3 [degrees] of Aquarius VIII. 27 [degrees] 22 [minutes] of Aquarius</p> <p>IX. 18 [degrees] of Pisces X. 12 [degrees] of Aries. Saturn 23 [degrees] 50 [minutes] of Aries</p> <p>XI. 16 [degrees] 51 [minutes] of Taurus. Sun 17 [degrees] 7 [minutes] of Taurus. Mercury 0 [degrees] 10 [minutes] of Gemini. Venus 12 [degrees] 46 [minutes] of Gemini. Aldebaran [α Tau] 2 [degrees] 40 [minutes] of Gemini XII. 29 [degrees] of Gemini. Jupiter 29 [degrees] 51 [minutes] of Gemini Mars 29 [degrees] 50 [minutes] of Gemini</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Genitura Reverendissime</i> <i>D[ominacionis] Vestre</i> <i>Anno Domini 1468</i> <i>d h m</i> 28² [day] 23 [hours] 58 [minute]</p> <p>(BJ MS 8, p. 29)</p> <p>I. 27 [degrees] 22 [minutes] of Leo</p> <p>II. 18 [degrees] of Virgo III. 12 [degrees] of Libra. Part of Fortune 12 [degrees] of Scorpio</p> <p>IV. 16 [degrees] of Taurus [mistake, Scorpio] V. 29 [degrees] of Sagittarius VI. 3 [degrees] of Aquarius VII. 27 [degrees] of Aquarius VIII. 18 [degrees] of Pisces. Saturn 1 [degree] of Aries IX. 12 [degrees] of Aries X. 16 [degrees] of Taurus. Sun 17 [degrees] of Taurus, Mercury 1 [degree] of Gemini, Venus 12 [degrees] of Gemini XI. 29 [degrees] of Gemini. Mars, Jupiter 29 [degrees] of Gemini</p> <p>XII. 3 [degrees] of Leo. Moon, waning, 6 [degrees] of Leo</p>
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Translated by Dariusz Rossowski

¹ The direction from Pisces to Aries. *Ptolemy Tetrabiblos*, transl. F. E. Robbins, London 1980, p. XXV, III, 3, p. 239.

² April.

SUMMARY

Almanach (BJ, MS 8) consists of a title page (Fig. 1), the *Astrological tables for the year 1501*, two horoscopes for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, i.e. the birth chart from 1568 (Fig. 2) and the anniversary chart (Fig. 3), which was cast on the day when the Sun marked the Cardinal's 33rd birthday in 1501, twelve monthly predictions for that year and an interpretation of those charts. In the final part of the *Astrological tables*, the years are not marked (p. 48) and the work closes (p. 50) with a quotation from Ovid's poem (*Tristia* 5, 8, 15). The article concerning that part of the *Almanach* which contains the horoscopes and prognostics for Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk (pp. 28–46), is supplemented by two annexes. The first of these contains the whole text of *Almanach*, deciphered by Ryszard Tatarzyński and translated into Polish by Anna Kozłowska, annotated by Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot.

Almanach was written by several people, the most notable of whom was the author of the charts and prognostics, probably identical with Maciej Karpiga, also called Miechowita, an astrologer, physician, historian and geographer, and an eight-time rector of the University of Kraków. In all probability, he hired a scribe who copied the *Astrological tables for the year 1501*, the charts, and the whole text. It was also him that, some time after the manuscript was completed, wrote down his own observations on its margins as well as on the *Astrological tables* and on the charts.

The text of *Almanach* reveals the workshop of a medieval astrologer who interpreted charts in accordance with the order of the horoscopic houses (I *Vita*, II *Lucrum*, III *Fratres*, IV *Parentes*, V *Filii*, VI *Valetudo*, VII *Nuptiae*, VIII *Mors*, IX *Peregrinationes*, X *Honores*, XI *Amici*, XII *Inimici*). He also used astrolabium. His work is based on *Matheseos libri VIII*, written by the 4th-century Christian astrologer from Sicily, Julius Firmicus Maternus, and published in print in Venice in 1497, and, like its prototype, involves mythological characters such as Esculap (i.e. Asklepios), the patron god of physicians, and Mercury (i.e. Hermes Trismegistos) as well as historical figures such as the Egyptian priest Petosiris and the Neoplatonic philosophers Plotinus and Porphyrius. He also quotes Abenragl (Abū l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Abi l-Rijā), an Arabic astrologer who died after 1037, and whose work entitled *Liber de iudiciis stellarum* was translated in the 15th century into vernacular languages. In the marginal notes, however, he mentions Rasi (Abū Barkr Muhammed ibn Zakariya al-Razi), a Persian physician and alchemist who died in 925, and his work entitled *Liber ad Almansorem*, which was translated into Latin by Gerardus of Cremona.

During the process of binding, the following elements were glued to the title page of the *Almanach*: a folio with the coat of arms of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk (i.e. the crownless Eagle of the Jagiellons below a cardinal's hat and an archbishop cross, against the background of a shield) and shields with the Kotwicz and Abdank coats of arms together with a third one, so far unidentified, in the form of a heraldic lily, with the letters *M.N.C b.c A.* next to it. The Kotwicz coat of arms belonged to the Kraków Canon and Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's treasurer Mikołaj Krzycki, while the Abdank to Fryderyk Jagiellończyk's chamberlain, Jan Konarski, who later became the bishop of Kraków.

The letters *M.N.C b.c A.* can be read as *Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach* and may also refer to Mikołaj Krzycki, if we assume that the *Almanach* was written at his bidding. However, Karpiga assures that he has undertaken this work out of his own initiative.

KEYWORDS:

Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Galenus, horoscope, Joannes Lithuanus, bookbinder, Maciej Karpiga, Maciej Miechowita, Mikołaj Krzycki, French disease, forecast

ALMANACH PRO REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO CARDINALI
 FRYDERYKA JAGIELLOŃCZYKA –
 HISTORYCZNE ŹRÓDŁO WARSZTATU ASTROLOGA

STRESZCZENIE

Almanach (BJ, rkps 8) składa się ze strony tytułowej (fot. 1), Tablic astrologicznych na rok 1501, dwóch horoskopów Fryderyka Jagiellończyka, urodzinowego z roku 1468 (fot. 2) i rocznicowego (fot. 3), to znaczy postawionego w chwili wejścia Słońca w datę 33 urodzin w roku 1501, dwunastu prognostyków miesięcznych na ten rok oraz tekstu będącego interpretacją tych wykresów. Na końcu zaczęto wpisywać Tablice astrologiczne bez oznaczenia roku (s. 48), a całość zamyka (s. 50) cytat z utworu Owidiusza (Tristia 5, 8, 15). Obecne opracowanie dotyczy części Almanachu (s. 28–46), zawierającej horoskopy i prognostyki kardynała Fryderyka Jagiellończyka. Artykuł uzupełniony jest dwoma aneksami. Aneks I zawiera cały tekst Almanachu, odczytany przez Ryszarda Tatarzyńskiego i przełożony na język polski przez Annę Kozłowską, z przypisami opracowanymi przez Ewę Śnieżyńską-Stolot. Przy wykonywaniu Almanachu pracowało kilka osób, wśród których najważniejszy był autor wykresów horoskopowych i prognostyków, można go identyfikować z Maciejem Karpigą zwanym Miechowitą, astrologiem i lekarzem, historiografem i geografem, a także ośmiokrotnym rektorem uniwersytetu krakowskiego. On zapewne zatrudnił skrybę, który przepisał Tablice astrologiczne na rok 1501, wykresy horoskopowe i cały tekst. On także jakiś czas po powstaniu rękopisu wpisywał swoje uwagi na marginesach rękopisu, a także w Tablice astrologiczne i wykresy horoskopowe. Tekst Almanachu odsłania warsztat średniowiecznego astrologa, który interpretował wykresy horoskopowe zgodnie z charakterem domów horoskopowych (I Vita, II Lucrum, III Fratres, IV Parentes, V Filii, VI Valetudo, VII Nuptiae, VIII Mors, IX Peregrinationes, X Honores, XI Amici, XII Inimici) i posługiwał się astrolabium. Opierał się na żyjącym w wieku IV sycylijskim astrologu i chrześcijaninie, Juliuszu Firmicucie Maternusie i jego dziele *Matheseos libri VIII*, wydany drukiem w Wenecji w roku 1497, a także wspomnianych w tym dziele postaciach mitologicznych, jak Eskulap, czyli Asklepios, bóg lekarzy i Merkury, czyli Hermes Trismegistos, oraz postaciach historycznych, jak egipski kapłan Petoris i filozofowie późnoplatońscy Plotyn i Porfiriusz. Odwoływał się także do Abenragła (Abū l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Abi l-Rijā) astrologa arabskiego zmarłego po 1037 roku, którego dzieło *Liber in iudiciis stellarum* było tłumaczone w wieku XV na języki wernakularne. W dopiskach na marginesach powołał się natomiast do Rasiego (Abū Barkr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi), perskiego lekarza i alchemika, zmarłego około 925 roku, autora *Liber ad Almansorem* przełożonego na łacinę przez Gerarda z Kremony. W czasie wykonywania oprawy Almanachu na kartę tytułową naklejono wtórnie kartę z herbem Fryderyka Jagiellończyka (Orzeł Jagielloński bez korony pod kapeluszem kardynalskim i krzyż arcyb-

skupi w tle tarczy herbowej) oraz tarcze z herbami Kotwicz, Abdank i niezidentyfikowany, w postaci lilii heraldycznej, koło którego dopisano litery M.N.C.b.c.A. Herb Kotwicz należał do Mikołaja Krzyckiego, kanonika krakowskiego i podskarbiego Fryderyka Jagiellończyka, Abdank do Jana Konarskiego, marszałka dworu Fryderyka Jagiellończyka, późniejszego biskupa krakowskiego. Dopisane litery M.N.C.b.c.A można odczytać jako: Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach i odnieść także do Mikołaja Krzyckiego, uznawszy go za domniemanego inicjatora wykonania Almanach, chociaż Karpiga pisze, że podjął się pracy z własnej inicjatywy.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Galen, horoskop, Joannes Lithuanus, introligator, Maciej Karpiga, Maciej Miechowita, Mikołaj Krzycki, morbus Gallicus, prognostyk



Fig. 1. *Almanach Pro Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali* for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk for the year 1501. Jagiellonian Library, MS 8, p. 1 – title page bearing coats of arms of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, Kotwicz, Abdank and an unresolved one with added letters: M.N.C b.c A (*Magister Nicolaus Cricius benigniter curavit Almanach*).

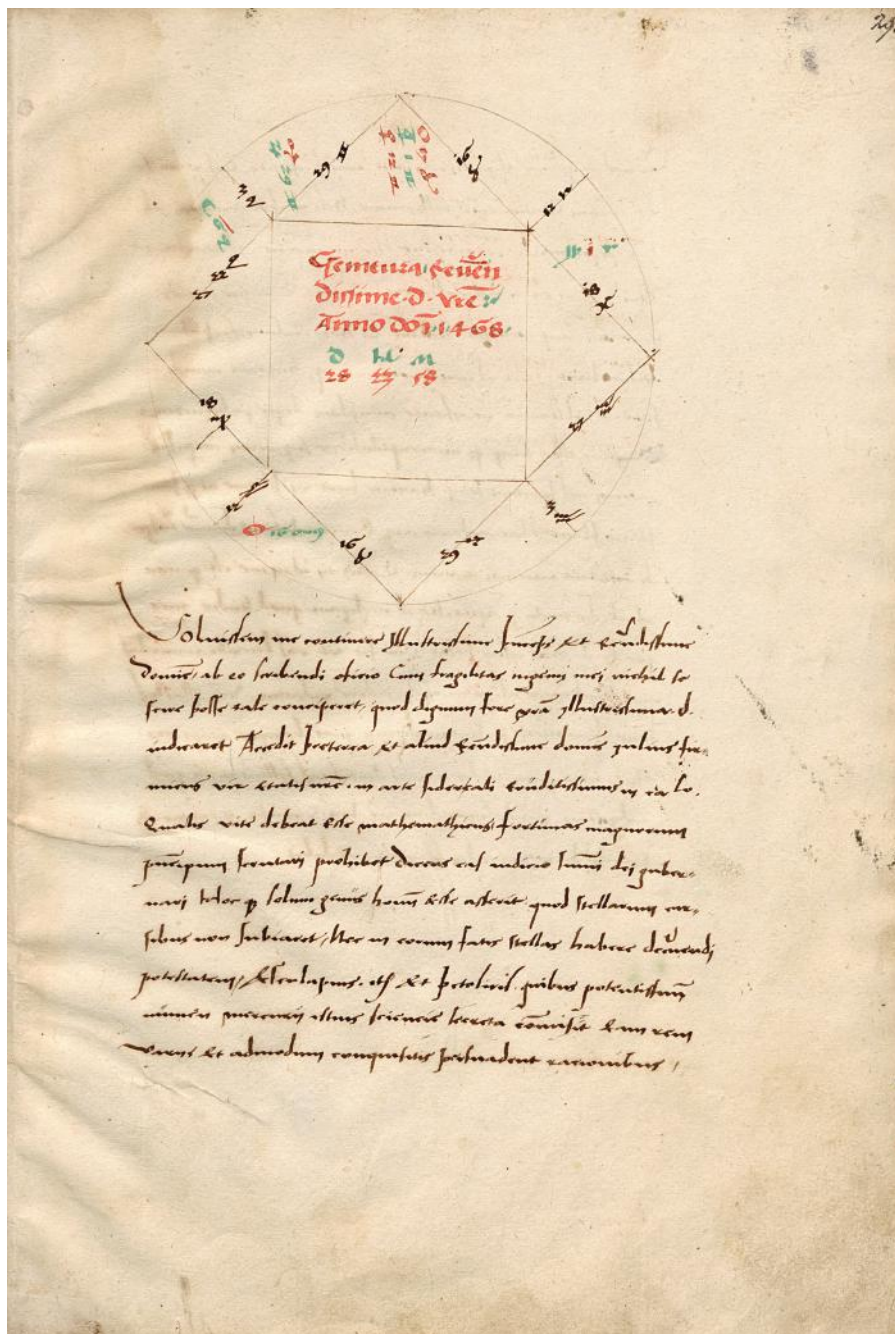


Fig. 2. The natal chart of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, April 28, 1468.
Almanach Pro Reverendissimo..., p. 29.

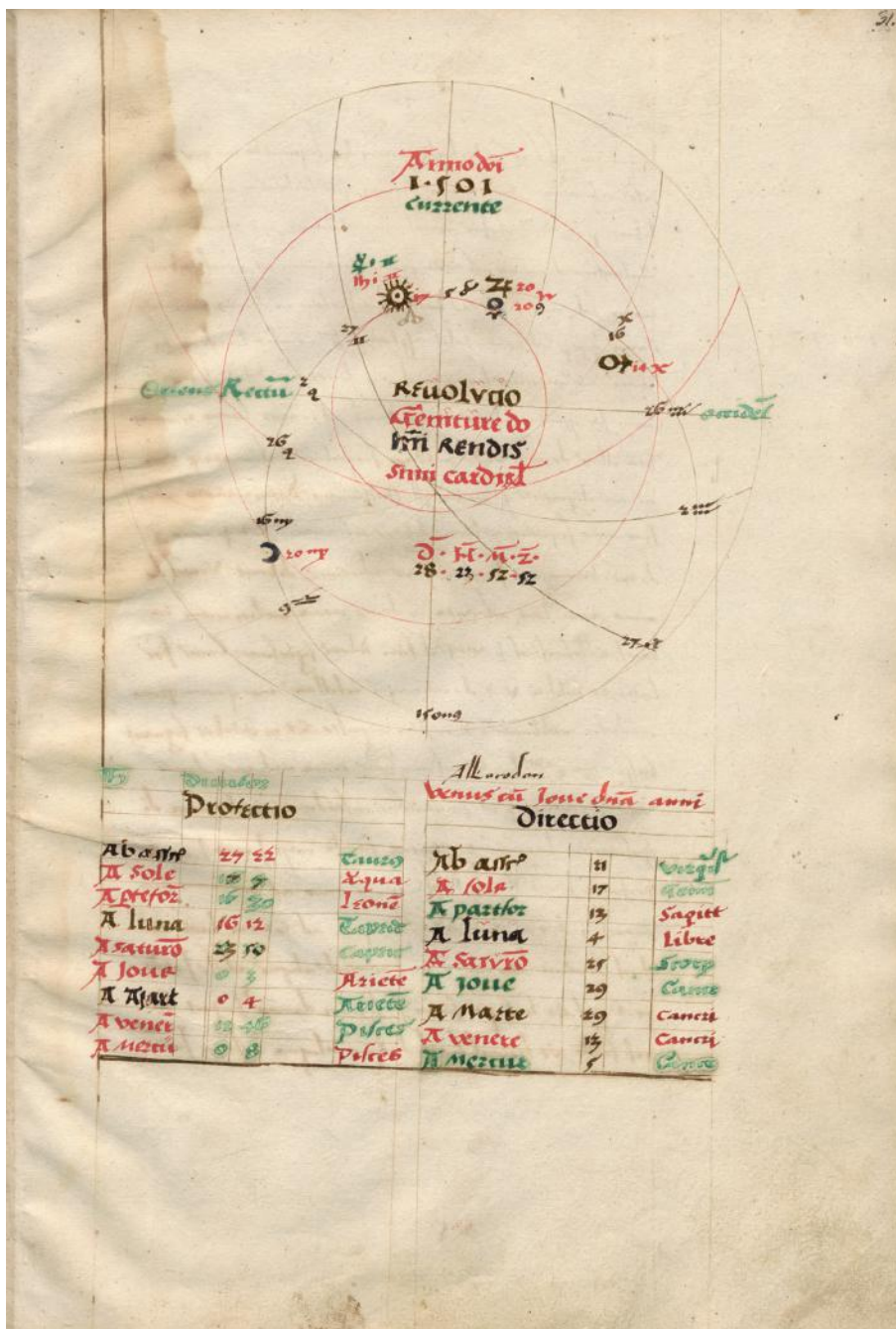


Fig. 3. The annual chart of Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, April 28, 1501.
Almanach Pro Reverendissimo ..., p. 31.

