Manuscript Tradition
of Georg Joachim Rheticus’s
Election Prophecy.
Source Analysis and Edition*

The paper aims to organise the issues concerning the great variety of manuscripts jointly referred to as the “election prophecy”, supposedly made by Georg Joachim Rheticus. The author proposed to apply a model showing how the original text of the “prophecy”, the autograph of which has not been preserved to this day, underwent contamination and interpolation after being introduced into manuscript circulation through correspondence and numerous copies, while at the same time serving as the basis for the creation of vernacular traditions of the text. These processes are depicted in source materials annexed to the paper, containing editions of the Latin, Polish and German variants of the text.

Keywords: Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574), Andreas Dudithius (1533–1589), Renaissance astrology, manuscript circulation – sixteenth and seventeenth century, political propaganda – sixteenth and seventeenth century

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1. Introduction

Among the manuscripts circulated in the Old Polish era in the form of short works combining political subject matter with astrological tradition there are few texts that may boast of so high a number of records of diverse form and contents as the so-called election prophecy. It is accepted that the original text, which did not survive to date in the form of an autograph, was written by Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574), an astrologer, astronomer, mathematician and physician. He lived in Cracow in 1554–1574 and owing to his contacts with the retinue of a Cracow official, Jan (Hans) Boner (1516–1562) and with Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), emperor’s diplomat, intelligencher and humanist, he revolved close to the royal court and it was most probably on the initiative of those three circles, namely, the ones connected with King Sigismund Augustus, Boner, or Dudithius, that he made an astrological forecast featuring the following rulers of the Polish Commonwealth.

Soon after the text had been written it began to function independently of the author, in various forms and in highly diverse contexts, and its copies may now be found in various library collections,

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from Gdańsk to Rome and from Berlin to Lviv. That high diversity of the manuscripts and geographical dispersal of texts which—as evidenced by the provenance features of manuscripts in the form in which they survived—were distributed not only in the territory of the Commonwealth, but also across its borders, was the reason of many misunderstandings as to what the archetypal form of Rheticus’s prophecy had been like, in what circumstances it had been written, if it was really the scholar’s work and how to perceive the relations between the archetypal form and the texts which are copies coming from the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. This study has three objectives: firstly, to discuss Rheticus’s most complete text based on the most reliable horoscope versions, secondly, to feature the branches which are part of the handwriting tradition of the election prophecy, and finally—to document a few variants of the text ranging from attempts to reconstruct its archetypal form through vernacular variations which exist in source appendices.

2. Horoscope versus election prophecy

It seems that contrary to a widespread view which classifies Rheticus’s text as belonging to a body of popular texts addressed to a wide group of less experienced or knowledgeable readers, this short work by the author of Narratio prima stems from the most sophisticated sources in technical and intellectual terms, and it is rooted in the current astrological practice basing on astronomical observations, calculating procedures and the application of interpretation rules to them. One may conclude with a high degree of probability from the analysis of 28 texts in Latin, Polish and German, carried out for the purposes of this study, that Rheticus’s original text had the form of a horoscope consisting of a diagram featuring astrological and astronomical parameters—the position of planets, the Sun and Moon against

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3 Cf. Choptiany, “Ultra prognosticare me sidera non permittunt”.
the twelve signs of the zodiac at the interrogation moment – and included a commentary with explanations. In a political context such horoscopes were prepared mainly on the birth of a royal or ducal offspring, on the occasion of the successive ruler’s birthdays or in connection with events which were momentous to the state, however, heuristic procedures of astrology were applied on a much wider scale and their use in respect of a far-fetched forecast was part of the canon of the Renaissance astrology.  

In the election prophecy attributed to Rheticus the commentary included information about the task delegated to the astrologer and detailed information about the circumstances in which the horoscope was made. A question posed by the student of Copernicus was about the prospects of the kingdom’s survival, which was then ruled by King Sigismund Augustus, and about the traits of the Commonwealth’s future rulers, but also who of them would be better than the last of the Jagiellons. After the task was formulated that way, there must have been a verbalized interpretation of the information included in the diagram: apart from planet positions in individual signs of the zodiac (in degrees) information was offered about the relationships between the celestial bodies and individual houses – as the latter were significant for the overall meaning of the horoscope. Further part of the most complete version of the election prophecy consists of several characteristics of rulers in the form of brief descriptions of the course of their rule: from a righteous and pious prince ruling for a very short time, through subsequent monarchs. They included a criminal, stern and greedy old man whose rule was to be marked by sorrow, and a young man with an experience in combat, but his rule was not considered to be important and he was to die in a battlefield. The horoscope also forecast the coming of a ruler from an illustrious family; under his rule justice and peace were to reign. The list of future rulers also included a queen whose reign was to result in a brief turning of the noble republic (*respublica*) into an oligarchy. The whole discussion covering a total of eight characteristics ended

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with the astrologer’s note that he was not able to decipher anything else from the data compiled while working on the horoscope.6

That short astrological and political work by the author of Narratio prima very soon became widely circulated and was not only a popular tidbit allowing the literate residents of the Commonwealth to find out what the astrologer was “allowed to forecast by the signs of the zodiac”7 but also to “verify” his predictions by post factum attribution of the names of rulers to consecutive very general characteristics – which were therefore susceptible to various interpretations from different points of view – and also an instrument of public opinion shaping in the period directly following the death of the last Jagiellon, during the first and second interregnum, but also in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. That multifaceted reading of the horoscope’s sense as well as its functionality and the ensuing popular prophecy largely contributed to a significant proliferation of the text’s variants, and in effect the family of works, which are referred to in literature as the “election prophecy”, comprises texts including both a highly complex (though not always correct) astrological apparatus corroborating the original “astrological” provenance of the initial text, and erroneous and impoverished texts which either offer a wrong astrological interpretation or are completely devoid of it. It is not the only difference which gives rise to major problems with the sorting out and classification of individual variants. Some of them include quite complex and almost narrative characteristics of the rulers, while others consist of succinct enumerations; there is also a lack of consistency between many texts as to the order of individual characteristics. The latter were also frequently subject to quite far reaching interference by copyists who modified their meaning radically.

3. Identified texts of Vaticinium

Serving as a starting point of my research was a list made by Karl-Heinz Burmeister8 in the 1960s. However, it soon became apparent that some of the manuscripts listed by Rheticus’s biographer are

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6 On editing of the texts comprising the most complete version of the election prophecy, see Appendix 1.
7 I paraphrase here the ending of the election prophecy from MS Kc; the sigla of all texts and their characteristics are included in Pt. 3 of this study, whereas the edition of the text of MS Kc can be found in Appendix 3.
no longer available today, while others were not at all taken into consideration. According to our present knowledge the list of manuscripts including various variants of Rheticus’s text which were made from the sixteenth through eighteenth century is as follows: 9

**Surviving texts**

*In Latin*


Manuscript miscellany *in folio*, including political writings, documents and occasional texts regarding the Reich and the Commonwealth, 16th–17th c. 10

**C** Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2642, fol. 94: *Vaticinium Georgii Rhetici Medicinae et Astronomi, de electione Regum Poloniae scriptum post obitum Sigismundi Augusti Regis Anno M.D.LXXI.*

Codex *in folio*, 17th c., including *Diarium electionis Polonicae anno 1587* and notes about the 1697 election.

**Da** Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 694, fol. 201rec.–202ver.: *Vaticinium Anno 1551 Betij Retycij Doctoris et Astrologi Doctissimi, Medici, de Regnatione Regni Poloniae post decessum Sigismundi Augusti.*

Volume *in folio* from 17th c., including political writings, documents and occasional texts regarding Gdańsk and relations between Royal Prussia and the Commonwealth. 11

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9 The following list was published in the appendix in Choptiany, “Ultra prognosticare me sidera non permitunt”. But here it is extended and includes the titles of individual texts quoted *in extenso* with brief description of individual codices offering their format, date and overall characteristic of contents, provenance (whenever possible) and the address of the catalogue in which more specific information may be found.


Db Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 724, fol. 109ver.: *Vaticinium Anno 1551 Betij Retici Doctoris et Astrologi Doctissimi Medici De Regnatione Regni Poloniae post decessum Sigismundi Augusti.*
Codex *in folio* from the turn of 17th c., including political writings, documents and occasional texts about Gdańsk, Royal Prussia and the Commonwealth, a volume from Daniel Gralath’s library.12

Dc Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 821, fol. 2rec.: *Vaticinium D[oomini] Rhetti Medici et Astronomi peritissimi de Electione et Gubernatione Regum Poloniae, factum ante Obitum D. Sigismundi Augusti Anno 1571.*
Cartulary *in folio* from end of 17th c., including descriptions of royal privileges granted to Gdańsk.13

Cartulary *in folio* from 16th and 17th c., including copies of documents and writings regarding relations of Gdańsk and Royal Prussia with the Commonwealth.14

Fb Kórnik, PAS Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), MS 341, fol. 185rec.–ver.: *Quaestio utrum Regnum istius Principis duraturum item an sub alio melior foret gubernatio Anno D[oomini] M.D.L.XIII.*

Miscellany from 17–18th c., including copies of political writings, correspondence and diet journals from 17th c., as well as, i.a., Jan Brożek’s anti-Jesuit satirical dialogue *Gratis.*

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12 See ibidem, pp. 495–525.
13 See O. Günther, *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, vol. 1, Pt. 2 (Danzig, 1903), pp. 26–27.
14 See ibidem, pp. 392–396.
Fd Kórnik, PAS Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), MS 352, fol. 135ver.: Vaticinium Reticii doctoris et astrologi doctissimi medici A[n]o D[omi]ni 1502 De regnatione Regni Poloniae post decessum Sigismundi Augusti Regis Poloniae.
Miscellany including copies of documents, letters and occasional texts from the 1750s.


Kb Cracow, Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska), MS 118, p. 445: Vaticinium ex parte regum septem post decessum Sigismundi Augusti per Rheticum doctorem et astrologum medicum illustrem editum.
Volume in folio, a work of several copyists from 16th and 17th c., including a number of documents from the reign of kings: Sigismund Augustus, Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa.15

La Cracow, Princes Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich), MS 1292, p. 8: Vaticinium Rethici doctoris medici et astronomiae de electione regum Polonie statim factum post obitum regis Sigismundi Augusti anno Domini 1571.
Codex in octavo from first half of 16th c., including copies of statutes granted by Cracow Bishop Jan V Lutek of Brzezie (1405–1471) and Gniezno Archbishop Jan Łaski (1456–1531), the text of Vaticinium is placed on an free page between the copies.16

Miscellany in folio from second half of 17th c., including copies of documents, letters and occasional texts regarding the Commonwealth under the Vasa rule.17

17 Cf. ibidem, pp. 324–335.
Cracow, Princes Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich), MS 1947 III, p. 50: *Prognostic Retici Doctoris et Astrologi Doctissimi AD 1601 De regnatione Regum Poloniae*. Volume *in folio* from second half of 17th c., including copies of tax documents, political and funeral letters, speeches and political writings; provenance: Mazovia region, vicinity of Raciąż.¹⁸

Lviv, National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine (*olim* Ossoliński National Institute Library), MS 189/II), p. 8: *Judicium Rethici Doctoris Medicine et Astronomie peritissimi De Electione Reg[u]m Polonorum facta post obitum 1552*. A comprehensive codex *in folio* from second half of 17th c., compiled largely by Marcin Goliński and including copies of documents, letters and occasional texts produced from the 1740s through 1760s, moreover – several other prophecies regarding mainly and directly the period in which the codex was made.¹⁹

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 208 inf., fol. 170rec.–171rec.: *Reticus Medicus et Astrologus Cracoviensis, Quaestio utrum istius Principis est diu duraturum Imperium an sub alio melior futura gubernatio Anno MDLXIII 1 die aprilis hora 1, minut[orum] 15 post meridiem, poli elevatio 51*. Codex *in folio* from end of 16th c., including copies of documents, letters and occasional texts regarding political and religious matters during the first and second interregnum; a volume from the library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601).

Warszawa, National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa), MS 6647 II, fol. 267ver.–268rec.: *Praedictione cuiusdam viri Graecii medicinae et astrologiae peritissimi de futuris Reipublicae Poloniae facta per obitum Sigismundi Augusti Anno 1572*. Cartulary *in quarto* of historical as well as political and literary texts about the interregnum that followed after the reign of King

Jan III Sobieski and the election of August II; provenance: Morst

tin Family Archive (Archiwum Morstinów).\textsuperscript{20}

\textbf{V} Wroclaw, University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka), MS Akc. 1949/594, fol. 56ver.–57ver.: \textit{Iudicium D[omi]ni Georgii Ioachimi Rhaetici, medici et astronomi peritissimi, de successoribus in regno Poloniae post obitum regis Sigismundi II. Anno 1571.} A copy of a 18th-c. manuscript no. 375 (which did not survive) coming from the library of the Maria Magdalen Church in Wroclaw (Rehdigerianus Codex).\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Wa} Wroclaw, Ossoliński National Institute Library (Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich), MS 190/II, fol. 9ver.: \textit{Vaticinium Retici Doctoris peritissimi phisici mediciq[ue] ill[ustrissi]mi ducis Slucensis Georgii Philosophiae magistre de electione regum Poloniae factum post obitum Serenissimi Sigismundi Augusti Regis Poloniae Anno 1572.} Codex from 17th c., a work of many hands including writings and documents related to Zebrzydowski’s \textit{rokosz} (rebellion).\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{Wb} Wroclaw, Ossoliński National Institute Library (Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich), MS 200/II, fol. 208rec.–ver.: \textit{Vaticinium Doctoris est Astronomi peritissimi Regij A[nn]o 1552 D[omi]ni de Regnatione Regum Poloniae post decessum Sigismundi Augusti.} Codex from the turn of 17th c., a work of several hands including letters, political writings and occasional texts dating from that period.\textsuperscript{23}


\textsuperscript{21} On the original manuscript, see M.A. Guttmann, \textit{Katalog der Handschriften der Rehdigerana}, Pt. 1, p. 80 (catalogue in manuscript form, Wroclaw, University Library [Biblioteka Uniwersytecka], MS Akc. 1967/3).

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Kętrzyński, op. cit., pp. 457–463.

\textsuperscript{23} Cf. ibidem, pp. 497–508.
Miscellany from 17th c., a work of several hands, including copies of letters, writings and documents regarding the Commonwealth’s internal and external affairs in first half of 17th c.\textsuperscript{24}


Miscellany from 18th c., including copies of literary works and political writings regarding the 17th and 18th c.\textsuperscript{25}

\textit{In German}

\textit{De} Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 907, p. 68: \textit{Vaticinium, oder Weissagung Doctoris Retzij de sehr erfahrenen Medici et Astronomi von den Wahl un Regierung der Könige zu Pohlen Geschehen fürm Tode Königs Sigismundi Augusti, Anno 1571}.

Codex in folio in German, 17th c., including, i.a., comprehensive lists of former mayors and members of the city council of Gdańsk.\textsuperscript{26}

\textit{Df} Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 1293, fol. 157ver.–158ver.: \textit{Weissagung Doctoris Joannis Rezy… von der wahl und Regierung der Könige zu Pohlen}.

Codex in folio in German, 17th c., including, i.a., copies of privileges granted to Gdańsk and historical texts regarding the city.\textsuperscript{27}

\textit{Fa} Kórnik, PAS Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), MS 169, fol. 13ver.–14rec.: \textit{Weissagung doctoris Ratzii von der Wahl unnd Regierung der Könninge von Pohlenn geschehen kurz fürm Tode selig Könning Sigismundi anno 1571}.

Codex from 17th c., including writings by Bartholomeus Wartzmann and a few prophecies of political nature.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. ibidem, pp. 595–600.


\textsuperscript{26} See Günther, op. cit., vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 59.

\textsuperscript{27} See ibidem, pp. 225–227.
In Polish

Kórnik, PAS Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), MS 420, fol. 247ver.–248rec.: Prognostyk astronoma krakowskiego Rescyusza o Successyi Krolov Polskich, po Śmierci Augusta Pierwszego Krola Polskiego w Roku 1552.
Codex from beginning of 18th c., including documents related to the Tarnogrod Confederation (1715–1716).

Cracow, Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska), MS 921, fol. 1rec.–ver.: Wytłumaczenie z łacińskiego na polski język Prognostyku przez niegdy Geciusza nazwanego doktora o następujących krółach polskich, z manuskryptu wypisane.
A single page written on both sides, from 18th c. (dissolutum coming from a silva rerum from the same period?).

Warszawa, National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa), MS 6634 III, fol. 207rec.: Practika doctoris Klitricii za panowania króla Zygmuntu Augusta uczyniona.
Codex in folio from mid-17th c., including literary writings and historical documents from first half of 17th c., property of Jakub Michałowski (1612–1663), then of Morstin Family Archive (Archiwum Morstinów).

Lost texts

Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 781, fol. 44rec.–45ver.: Vaticinium Doctoris Rhetici.
A war loss identified after 1945, codex in Latin and German, 17th c., cartulary with documents and occasional writings regarding Gdańsk and relations between Royal Prussia and the Commonwealth.

Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, sign. 30,6:18: Judicum Joachimi Rhetici... de electione regum Poloniae factum post obitum Sigismundi a[nn]o 1571.
Manuscript lost in the fire of 2004. Item 19 in a collection of 22 works in one composite volume which included a few

28 See Wisłocki, op. cit., p. 260.
29 See Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej, vol. 7, pp. 46–53.
manuscripts and more than a dozen prints on astrology and astronomy, etc. According to the catalogue description, the manuscript of *Judicium* consisted of one page.\(^{31}\)

**In German**

*Dg* Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 675, fol. 325: *Weissagung Dr. Rhaetici von der Wahl und Regierung der Könige zu Pohlen*.

A war loss identified after 1945. Codex from 16th–17th c., in 18th c. property of Walenty Schlieff (1680–1750), a cartulary including letters and documents mainly about the political situation in Gdańsk and its relations with the Commonwealth and Sweden.\(^{32}\)

*Di* Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. Uph. fol. 47, fol. 56: *Weissagung Doctoris Joannis Rezij*.

A war loss identified after 1945. Codex from 17th c., a cartulary of privileges granted to Gdańsk.\(^{33}\)


A war loss identified after 1945. Autograph of Gdańsk historian Andreas Schott (1707–1764) from 1747, collection of extracts related to the history of Gdańsk and Royal Prussia.\(^{34}\)

The meticulous analysis of those texts confirmed Burmeister’s main intuition that the work coming from Wrocław (MS V) includes one of the texts owing to which it is possible to understand best what exactly Rheticus’s astrological and political text was like. The comparison of witness V with other manuscripts also disclosed that it was closely connected with a few other manuscripts, and allowed to sort out the texts in a way permitting to create a model featuring subsequent transformations of that work. The compiled source materials enable to reproduce a general outline of the text’s development and its rooting in the popular register of political discourse regarding elected rulers, but they certainly are not complete and final. It is


\(^{33}\) Cf. codex description ibidem, Pt. 2, p. 408.

\(^{34}\) See ibidem, pp. 463–464.
likely that Rheticus’s autograph may be found and – which is even more probable – that in *silvae rerum*, miscellanies and cartularies, which I did not have access to or of the existence of which I was not aware, there are texts that may be classified in one of the groups identified below or in the light of which in the future it will be necessary to carry out a partial revision of what has already been established. Future amendments of that sort should not, however, substantially modify the fact that the Wrocław record is one of the key works in the whole family of texts.

4. Manuscript *V* – a crown witness

It may seem paradoxical that the text most probably offering the best insight into what the original Rheticus’s election prophecy could have looked like is older than the original by nearly two centuries. Although from the chronological point of view the manuscript *V* has most in common with spoilt and most distant in formal terms and contents witnesses which are devoid of astrological apparatus present in the archetypal *Vaticinium*, where the author’s name – if at all referred to – was completely distorted, many factors indicate that it is this particular manuscript that should be viewed as by far more reliable than some other copies made in the sixteenth century, i.e., during Rheticus’s lifetime or soon after his death.

The text *V* was produced in the eighteenth century as a copy of codex no. 375 which was part of the collection of the library of the Mary Magdalene Church in Wrocław, and it had been made by Samuel Beniamin Klose (1730–1798), an outstanding Silesian historiographer of the Enlightenment.35 The library was established based on a collection of patrician Thomas Rehdiger (1540–1576), a humanist and bibliophile active in Wrocław’s intellectual community, and it was with the Rehdiger family, especially its branch represented by banker and merchant Nicolaus Rehdiger, Thomas’ younger brother (1525–1587), that Dudithius got in touch after he had settled in Wrocław upon the election of Stephen Báthory as the king of Poland.36 It was in Wrocław that in the final years of his life he brought together a group


of intellectuals and erudites, including, i.a., astronomer and astrologer Tadeáš Hájek, and physician and humanist, Johann Crato von Krafftheim. Unlike Dudithius’s book collection, which was dispersed as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century and of which only fragments survived in the Wroclaw collection, a significant portion of the manuscripts documenting that circle’s intellectual life survived in the Rehdiger collection in Silesia which were then incorporated by the Wroclaw University Library. It was most probably owing to the importance of Dudithius himself and the fact that he played an outstanding role in the history of the sixteenth-century Wroclaw that Klose, as part of a comprehensive project consisting in the compilation of copies and characteristics of the sources regarding the history of Silesia and its capital city, decided to make a copy of those documents, including Rheticus’s text which was among them. The codex comprising the text V is also one of several examples of sources which have not survived to date in their original version and the access to which we have today only owing to Klose’s work.

A long-term familiarity between Dudithius and Rheticus, extensive correspondence of the former and – quite accidental as a matter of fact – location of MS V in Wroclaw are not a sufficient reason to give priority to that particular text, even though those factors facilitate the reconstruction of the context in which the first version of Vaticinium was put in circulation. After all there are several features of V which speak in favour of a claim that this particular text provides us with a privileged – tough marked by a degree of uncertainty – access to the lost archetype.

1. The text of V is the longest of all known texts of Vaticinium and although its individual parts correspond structurally with later succinct versions of Vaticinium, they are more elaborate and their vocabulary may be easily identified in relatively later and distorted texts.

2. The narrative about future rulers of Poland includes elements of astrological apparatus: featured are the positions of the Sun, Moon and planets, and conclusions of historical and political nature are derived


38 See Harc, op. cit., pp. 118–132. Klose’s archive of more than 200 units is now stored by two Wroclaw institutions: the State Archive (Archiwum Państwowe) and the Manuscripts Department of the University Library (Oddzial Rękopisów, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka); see ibidem, p. 259.

from them. Consecutive portions of the text V comprising information of astrological nature function as lectio difficilior: compared to other texts this one looks like the most complicated one in terms of contents and requires diverse interpretation abilities, which indicates that it is a work of an expert astrologer, this time identified beyond any doubt as Rheticus in the text’s heading.

3. The text V was included in the codex by Klose himself without any additional highlighting, it begins in the middle of the page most probably to save the space. In the margins there are notes made by the Wrocław historian on the calendar of the life of Silesian humanists at the turn of the sixteenth century, which is an evidence that the author of the copy had historical awareness of the value of the documents he was copying and that he tried to reproduce and order the materials he was dealing with in an accurate way. The very way Rheticus’s text is copied indicates that the original was in the form of a “professional” astrological manuscript – it includes astrological symbols which in other variants of the text are most frequently replaced by the names of the signs of the zodiac and celestial bodies. It is important that one of the texts similar to V, namely version N, which has been in the collection of Milan’s Ambrosiana since the sixteenth century, offers other names of celestial bodies in some places than the text V (planet Mars instead of Leo or Mercury instead of Taurus), which shows how far reaching was the disintegration of the text and the mistakes made in its copies.

4. The text V includes an element absent from other manuscripts, namely a horoscope diagram made as at 1 April 1563, 1:15 p.m. Owing to the way it was copied by Klose, its form does not resemble the horoscope diagrams where signs of the zodiac are divided into 12 houses in the form of adjacent triangles inscribed within a quartile,40 however, there is an important element which is absent from other texts, namely, precise timing of the circumstances in which a question was asked about the quality of the rule of King Sigismund Augustus’s successors. One may assume, therefore, that the text V is an evidence that the election prophecy is not derived from a text stylized as a political prediction but rather a horoscope made in keeping with the rules of astrological art with comments which in the following decades of their copying and circulating became detached from the diagram and began to live an independent life. In this context

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it is worth noting that while in respect to some circumstances the text $N$ seems to be erroneous, in respect of the date it is the only one that corroborates the data included in the text $V$. However, the text $N$ offers information in a different way – not in the form of a horoscope diagram but in the form of a note placed by the copyist between the title and the prediction. What is more, it is in the text $N$, as well as in the manuscript $Fb$ kept in Kórnik, that one may find a very important parameter which is not provided in the text $V$, namely “poli elevatio 51” (both in $N$, and in $Fb$ in the form of “polus 51”), which means that planet observations were conducted at a latitude of 51 degrees north. Which fact is important because this is exactly the latitude then attributed to Wroclaw in which Dudithius resided at the time (and it complies, with some tolerance, with the actual city’s latitude of 51°06′36″N). It should be emphasized at the same time that although the exact latitude of Cracow was established as late as the seventeenth century by Stanislaw Pudłowski, until then it was assumed that the capital of the Commonwealth had a latitude of 50 degrees north, which does not depart from the exact latitude (50°03′41″N) we know today. Bearing in mind Rheticus’s geographical competence it seems unlikely that he viewed a difference of one degree in latitude as insignificant because it would be tantamount to a distance of nearly 110 km (for points located on one meridian, which in this case is even greater). The fact that some texts offer Wroclaw’s latitude and do not mention Cracow may be an indirect proof that Rheticus’s horoscope was commissioned by Dudithius or that the text was prepared in his circle.

5. In the text there are elements of the first person narration which shed light on the communication between the astrologer and the commissioning person (no matter who the latter was). Most meaningful is the sentence closing the entire text: “The stars did not allow me to forecast any further”; variations of that phrase may be found in several other manuscripts, including texts $Fb$, $Ka$ and $N$ which corroborate the contents of $V$, granted some departures.

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41 This location of Cracow was offered by, i.a., Szymon Starowolski, cf. idem, *Polonia* (Coloniae, 1632), p. 41.
6. It is possible to show the impact of V on other surviving texts but not otherwise. All elements present in other manuscripts of the election prophecy which are absent in the text V are either distortions by copyists or later interpolations which may be interpreted by the context in which a specific copy was made. They may be attributed to such diverse and distant factors as: ignorance of astrological apparatus, copy-making based on another, already spoilt and incomplete text or intention to modify ruler characteristics so that they correspond to a higher degree with the circumstances which arose since the moment the prophecy had been prepared, and owing to which it could still be probable. Anyway, it does not look that any copyist responsible for texts other than V, or any earlier manuscript Dd, Fb, Ka and N, had access to a better version.

7. The contents of V may be verified and connected with four incomplete, but closely related texts Dd, Fb, Ka, and N. It should be emphasized that the family of those five manuscripts is not homogenous and that there are differences between them which may be of consequence to the prospects of archetype reconstruction. They include such aspects of the election horoscope as a horoscope diagram (only in V), presence of astrological apparatus in the comments to the horoscope (nearly completely absent from Dd, making the text significantly shorter than the other witnesses), and such minor departures as omissions of individual words, changes in the word order in smaller units of the syntax, less important graphic variations, use of some prepositions and absence of the horoscope diagram. During the comparison of those five texts some local compliances were found in them, but they are not sufficient to indicate exactly the interdependencies between individual texts. Which does not change the fact that in principal those four texts of lower quality (Dd, Fb, Ka, Na) corroborate the contents of V.43

5. Ideal types of the election prophecy
In the case of Vaticinium it is not possible to arrange the records according to a model which would reflect gradual degeneration of the text in the following decades and centuries. It is true (apart from V) that the older the text the more distortions it includes compared to V treated as a text closest to, if not identical, with the archetype, but it seems that the process of its decomposition, fragmentation

43 See Appendix 1 for editio variorum of all five texts.
and degeneration began at a relatively early date and that at various stages both poorer and more complete variants functioned side by side. Parallel to gradual degeneration of Rheticus’s text an opposite process took place which partly offset that trend: written were variants of the text which made use of the Vaticinium’s framework structure in which additional contents were inserted. Thus relatively late manuscripts of the prophecy, dating from the second half or even the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, did not necessarily have to have a form close to calculations and collations of the “diversi color” type described by Andrzej T. Klubiński, but also had an elaborate form rooted in the current political context.

Whether the modifications of the text were triggered by ignorance or indifference to certain layers of the original prophecy, a wish to accomplish own, propaganda and political objective or were due to the most down to earth reason, namely the lack of access to a better (richer in contents, also in astrological terms) copy, it is owing to the authors of all copies that the “prophecy” was a living text for so long, open to added elements or their replacement, until the end of the Tarnogród confederation and the rule of King Augustus II the Strong.

A high diversity of available evidence makes it impossible to reconstruct precisely the interdependencies that exist between them. Those texts depart from one another in so many respects that it is hard to consider them as directly related to one another – such reconstruction would make it necessary to accept a high number of hypothetical texts which would be intermediary between individual records and de facto would not be of high heuristic value (like a potential expansion of the source base to include further examples of texts of the same type). However, certain regularities are noticeable, both at the level of the general text structure and certain phraseological groups. They allow to formulate more general conclusions about text varieties that will ignore connections between individual counterparts and to establish if ideal types exist. In respect to the latter it is already possible to formulate convincing – though involving some risk of error – conclusions about their origin and impact on other types of the Vaticinium text.

44 Klubiński, op. cit.
In this highly diversified family of texts it is possible to identify the following types:

(α) archetype: non-surviving, no certainty by whose hand it was written;\(^{45}\)

(β) archetype copies: consist of the title, enumeration of the vicissitudes of individual rulers with elements of astrological commentary after each characteristic. That type includes manuscripts \(Dd, Fb, Ka\) and \(N\), and also the text \(V\), the most complete of all known manuscripts;

(γ) abridged variant: consists of the title and a “skeletal” version of the election prophecy, and is devoid of any explanation of astrological nature, with the characteristics of individual rulers significantly limited compared to the texts of the \(\beta\) family. This family of manuscripts comprises the texts \(B, La, Lc, Da, Db, Dc, M\) and \(C\). It is from this family that the texts of the “diversi color” type presented by Klubiński originate;

(δ) expanded variant: based on the structure of the manuscripts from the \(\gamma\) family, it was used in a changing political context as a carrier of additional contents including, i.a., facts relating to real rulers and their accomplishments appraised positively or negatively by the author of the manuscript. This family of manuscripts includes the texts \(Fd, Kb, Rb, Wa, Wb\) and \(Wc\);

(ε) mixed variant: in some manuscripts a variant of the text which could be classified as part of the family \(\gamma\) was combined with a text which is a partial copy of \(\beta\), but – as it happened in the case of text \(Lb\) – only the “abridged version” was attributed to Rheticus, whereas the other one was copied as an anonymous prophecy. The same applies to the texts \(Fb\) and \(Fc\) which follow each other – the first one is an incomplete version belonging to \(\beta\) which is said to be an anonymous text, and the second one (related to the family \(\delta\)) offers distorted Rheticus’s name (“Bethaci” instead of “Rheticci”). Another example is the manuscript \(Wd\) where the enumeration typical of \(\gamma\) or \(\delta\) develops smoothly in a narrative characteristic of \(\beta\) which – being an exception

\(^{45}\) Although I am inclined to accept that the original horoscope was authored by Rheticus, it is also likely that the election horoscope was an astrological forgery right from the beginning, a tool of political propaganda where the astrologer’s name was used only to make the text more credible in readers’ eyes. Though possible from the logical point of view, this hypothesis, like my guess regarding the date of 1 April, which I have signaled elsewhere, is not corroborated by any document.
– although it includes astrological commentary (even using astrological symbols) departs in terms of contents and vocabulary from the texts $Dd$, $N$ and $V$ – with the help of which it is possible to reproduce the text of *Vaticinium* closest to the archetype;

(ζ) German version – in the light of the surviving texts $De$, $Df$ and $Fa$ it may be viewed as an attempt to translate one of the manuscripts of the $\gamma$ family; its origins are most probably connected with the Gdańsk centre as evidenced by a strong relation between the texts and other documents relating to the city, and the absence of other witnesses of that variant which are related to other centres;

(η) Polish version – survived in three different texts ($Ra$ from mid-seventeenth century, and $Fe$ and $Kc$ from the turn of the seventeenth century), each of which, like the two manuscripts of the $\zeta$ family, is derived from the “abridged version” of *Vaticinium*. It is not clear when the prototypes of those texts were created for the first time and how many of them existed. Bearing in mind an attempt by Jan Januszowski to translate the election prophecy into Polish in his *Wróżki* (Fortune-Tellers),46 one may suspect that the text could also have existed in other Polish translations.

The above classification into families of surviving texts allows to create at least two equally probable *stemma codicum*:

![Diagram](image)

According to the first variant (Fig. 1) the families $\delta$, $\zeta$ and $\eta$ developed in parallel assuming that all stem from one of the texts of the $\gamma$ family and they had impact on the evolution of type $\epsilon$. (Which is possible assuming that like the $\gamma$ family, it derives directly from $\beta$.) The second variant (Fig. 2) is based on an assumption that the families $\delta$, $\gamma$ and $\epsilon$ stem from $\beta$, and the texts in the $\gamma$ family had influenced the shaping of $\epsilon$. No matter what is eventually decided about the texts of $\delta$ type, according to both interpretations two families of vernacular texts, i.e., $\zeta$ and $\eta$, stem directly from the $\gamma$ family. Which means that they are based on the abridged Latin version of *Vaticinium*, as evidenced, i.a., by the fact that in terms of form and contents the German and Polish translations follow quite faithfully that particular type.

It should be emphasized again that the point of the identification of ideal types is not to attribute them to consecutive phases. That approach would obliterate specific distribution of individual manuscripts and could give rise to a wrong conviction that whenever a simplified form of the prophecy appeared, the version richer and closer to archetype came out of use. Actually it was otherwise: the fact that a radically abridged version of the prophecy was circulated at some moment in time did not preclude that one of its longer versions continued to be copied. A crucial role was played by the copyist or commissioner of the copy and the milieu in which a specific counterpart functioned: significant were both individual writing and linguistic skills of the copyist and the nature of the text based on which the copy was made as well as the reason why it was copied.
(ranging from a collection of curiosities to the dissemination of political propaganda). 47

6. Circulation of the manuscript of Rheticus’s prophecy

Apart from the road from Wrocław to Cracow that the prototype of text V must have covered, it is impossible to draw an exact trajectory in space along which the text of Vaticinium was circulated. The reconstruction of specific reasons why the text of Vaticinium was included in the cartulary, which eventually landed in such collections as the Ossolineum or the Czartoryski Library by way of inheritance and acquisition, may be a subject matter of separate case studies. They may produce interesting results even if the identity of the authors of individual copies cannot be established. After it had been inserted in a silva rerum, the text of the prophecy existed in the company of other elements: letter and document copies, copies of printed texts, letter formats, loose notes and even drawings. It is not always easy to identify the provenance of such a codex, and sometimes it is even more difficult to reconstruct the reasons why a specific text had been included in a collection of manuscripts. Although the scope of this article covers mainly formal transformations of Rheticus’s text by successive copyists, the problem may be highlighted by two examples with a proviso, however, that observations made on that occasion are no more than preliminary intuitions which require further source studies and verifications.

The Biecz castellan, Jakub Michałowski (1612–1663), is an example of a seventeenth-century reader about whom we are certain that he was familiar with the prophecy’s text. 48 In his rich manuscript


collection which is now in the collections of the National Library in Warsaw and the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, there is a significant percentage of cartularies which include a sizeable collection of the copies of various prints. Until today historians mainly focused on Michałowski’s public activity and edited so far has only been one of many extensive codices which includes documents made in his lifetime and during his political career. Although his bibliophile interests have also been a focus of attention, however, to date no wider study has been conducted to shed some light on his reading preferences and a strategy of text collection.

It seems that one of the keys to understand the strategy of the compilation and collection of texts coming from various cultural traditions and registers, both ancient and contemporary with Michałowski’s times, is his interest in the texts of prophetical or astrological nature and the fact that the Biecz castellan could have perceived them as either a source clarifying the events that he was witnessing or a tool to shape the opinions of a wider group of readers. One may only guess that he consciously incorporated into his collection such texts which could help him perceive contemporary political events and to attribute an additional sense to them, sometimes in contravention of the authors’ initial intentions. It is probably for that reason that his collection includes, i.a., a copy of the translation of the Padua prophecy by astrologer Andrea Argoli forecasting the imminent end of the world, a copy of the 1595 *Przestroga* (Admonition) by Jan Latosz which creates a vision of the coming of a powerful ruler from distant north and the reign of Antichrist, which must have fueled imagination in the days of Swedish invasion, especially of a member of King

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49 See Jakuba Michałowskiego, wojskiego lubelskiego, a później kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza, ed. A.Z. Helcel (Kraków, 1864).


51 Cf. Warsaw, National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa), MS 6634 III, fol. 208rec.–215rec.: *Straszna dziwnych skutków po wszytkim świecie ‘metamorphosis’ przez Andrzeja Argola… spišana*; a mention in fol. 208rec. suggests that it is a faithful copy of the print (“Podana w druk ku dobru pospolitemu z wielkim tych wszystkich rzeczy uważaniem millesimo sexcentisimo quing(uagesi)mo tertio”), but even if it was so, no copy of that publication has survived, see J. Kroczyk, “Jeśli mię wieźdźba prawdziwa urowadzi…” Prognoztyki i znaki cudowne w polskiej literaturze barokowej (Wrocław, 2006), pp. 142–144.
John II Casimir’s camp, and finally – one of the Vaticinium texts (copy Ra). To an experienced politician and participant of the elections which raised to the Polish throne two sons of King Sigismund III, the horoscope could have been an inspiration to continue to be active in politics. Apart from the foregoing texts there was a number of minor forecasting and prophetic notes made on the pages of some codices. A more in depth study of Michałowski’s own writings and the analysis of textual interdependencies between individual copies, closed within a material, individualized intertextual web, may bring about further information about the importance attributed by the Biecz castellan to texts of this kind and what use he made of them.

The second example illustrates with a high degree of probability the type of reception of Rheticus’s prophecy which is situated at the interface of two planes: the individual one related to the preferences and objectives of specific copyists and the community one encompassing wider trends and a group of convictions shared by individual members of a social stratum or residents of one location. It seems that the burghers of Gdańsk, or even residents of Royal Prussia, were such specific community of readers of Rheticus’s text. Out of 33 identified (of which 28 have survived) texts of various variants of the election prophecy as many as 11 manuscripts (of which 7 have survived) have indisputable Gdańsk provenance. Out of 7 “Gdańsk” manuscripts of Rheticus’s prophecy available today as many as 6 are to date in the collections situated on the Motława River due to a policy of donations and acquisitions conducted by the library of the City Council in the past centuries. Contrary to later collections established in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, whose provenance structure, i.a., in geographic terms, is highly diversified, there is no doubt that the


53 Which are respectively: in Latin – 4 survived (Da, Db, Dc, Dd) and 1 is lost (Dh), in German – 3 survived (De, Df, Fa) and 3 are lost (Dg, Di, Dj).
Gdańsk copies of the prophecy were made in that city. This is evidenced by the provenance characteristics of individual counterparts, both those that have survived and that have been lost, being a proof of the connection of those manuscripts with the history of the city, and this is why they landed naturally in the former City Library, which is now the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Which applies both to the texts *Db, Dg, Dj* and *Fa*, that are directly connected with the figures of the eighteenth-century Gdańsk scholars and collectors (i.e., Daniel Gralath, Valentin Schlieff, Andreas Schott and Bartolomeus Wartzmann), and the other texts and codices of which they are part. When it comes to other codices including the text of the prophecy, the latter was never so clearly rooted in the context of internal and external affairs of Gdańsk – and more generally – Royal Prussia. It seems therefore that the harbour on the Motława River may be recognized as the place where the text of *Vaticinium* was most probably translated into German. Anyway, no other text in that language is known to be included in a codex which would not be connected with that city.

The above interpretation is also supported by the fact that Rheticus’s *Vaticinium* not only had been made part of the context of specific local policy by inserting some texts (e.g., *Da*) among the copies of documents on the relations between the Commonwealth and Royal Prussia, but also that the horoscope was interpreted in a symbolic way. That second trend may be exemplified by two Latin texts of Rheticus’s prophecy from Gdańsk, *Da* and *De*, inserted next to the texts by Dantiscus (Jan Dantyszek) known as *Vaticinium* and *Jonas Prophetae*.54 In the case of the codex including text *De*, which was very neatly made and which is a kind of a historical compendium about the city, next to *Vaticinium oder Weissagung* there is a German version of Dantiscus’s poetic forecast.55 Those elements prove that the election prophecy was quite strongly connected by some users with the local prophetic and literary tradition initiated by Dantiscus and the vision of the history of Gdańsk and Poland he had created based to the same degree on popular apocalyptic topics and on the local political, religious and social context.56 Out of the entire spectrum of prophecies

54 See, Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 694, fol. 202rec.f., and Ms. 821, fol. 2rec.–2ver.
55 Cf. Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 907, p. 70.
56 On the subject, see Z. Nowak, “Antyreformacyjna elegia Dantyszka o zagładzie Gdańska,” *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 16 (1971), pp. 3–35; A. Skolimowska,
by the author of *Encomium Prussiae* (The Praise of Prussia)\(^{57}\) the manuscripts related to Gdańsk create the strongest and easiest to document constellation in spite of the fact that they differ from one another in terms of form and volume.

Both examples – of Michałowski and Gdańsk – prove a high content capacity of the prophecy allowing to combine it with other texts (both the literary ones and documents) and with the local and current political context. One of the main practices affecting the text was prophecy “checking” – a verification of its characteristics *ex post*, as evidenced in the margins of many texts. But apart from a widespread manner of its interpretation its users attributed more complex meanings to the text which after several centuries are a very valuable source allowing to study today various aspects of early modern mentality – attitude to the supernatural sphere, political views, convictions about the past, etc. Rheticus’s prophecy – or rather how it was transformed – may be one of the measures used in such studies which supplements the foregoing conclusions regarding the sources and editorial work.

7. **Conclusion**

The above conclusions do not clarify many issues. I.a., it is not clear how it came about that the prophecy’s variants stemming from the same source, i.e., the “archetypal” Rheticus’s horoscope, began to function independently to such degree that texts belonging to two separate tradition branches may be found on the pages of one codex as evidenced by a pair of texts (*Ka* and *Kb*) from Cracow which are several hundred pages apart, and texts *Fb* and *Fc* which followed each other directly in one *silva rerum*. It seems that to the authors of those home chronicles and cartularies the texts must have looked like two independent wholes (even though some of its contents were

\[\text{“Vaticinium ruirurae Poloniae”. Was Dantiscus Foretelling the Downfall of Poland,” in: Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci, Pt. 5: Republica Litteraria in Action. New Sources, vol. 3, ed. K. Tomaszuk (Warsaw and Cracow, 2016), pp. 99–114. I wish to express my gratitude to A. Skolimowska for access to the rough copy of her article which is an extended version of her paper delivered during the session “Republica Litteraria in Action: New Sources – New Paths of Research” (Faculty of „Artes Liberales”, University of Warsaw, 14 Nov. 2014). On intellectual culture of Gdańsk and Royal Prussia in early modern times, see, i.a., B. Nadolski, Źe studiów nad życiem literackim i kulturą umysłową na Pomorzu w XVI i XVII wieku (Wrocław, Warszawa and Kraków, 1969).}\]

supplementary) and that the process of cleaving those two varieties – one closer to the original horoscope and the other closer to the popular prophecy devoid of the astrological apparatus – had occurred before those three pairs of manuscripts were made as evidenced, again, by the distortions of Rheticus’s name which stem from other erroneous copies which had been used as the starting point.

It was also impossible to establish at exactly what point in time the “diversi color” family of texts had emerged – although they are connected with Rheticus’s horoscope, in my opinion they are a separate body of texts written under the influence of both Rheticus’s forecast and other texts (paradigm texts) of prophetic and political nature – in this case a crucial role was also played by the Prophecy of the Popes so common in modern *silvae rerum* which comprised a list of the popes with their short characteristics. It is highly probable that this cross combination of two textual traditions had occurred relatively early and that for a long time both the texts of the original *Vaticinium* that had been subject to gradual degeneration, and the products of a new tradition functioned side by side and might have been copied for the same reasons, but without the awareness of their affinity with the sources of many decades earlier.

Inability to settle those questions conclusively as well as the issue of the intentions of some of the copyists responsible for so many copies of different variants of *Vaticinium* cannot overshadow the most important fact: Rheticus’s election horoscope, even in its abridged version devoid of astrological apparatus, is a popular text rather than a professional forecast, and it played an important role in the system of communication and political propaganda in the period between King Sigismund Augustus’s death and (at least) the reign of the first Wettin on the Polish throne. No other text of astrological provenance had such power to force one’s way through into the cartularies of nobility and burghers, and even if it thus reached various local interpretation communities highly diverse in social, political and religious terms, what all of those cases shared was an interest in further development of political affairs in the Commonwealth and that those texts were placed in larger collections comprising literary texts, political writings, speeches and letters. It is therefore likely that – at least in some cases – the text of Rheticus’s prophecy was not copied mechanically as a curiosity worth storing but that it had further impact when read and that it inspired the writing of other works which were to function in the context of tensions between consecutive elected rulers and the nobility.
Appendix 1

Vaticinium by Georg Joachim Rheticus – reconstruction of the basic version

Offered below is the text of Rheticus’s election prophecy in the form of *editio variorum* covering the identified texts of the most complete version of *Vaticinium*. The work was first published by K.H. Burmeister based on the manuscript *V*, but due to the fact that it is a reliable though late text it is expedient to compare it with other surviving witnesses of the archetype. The edited text in principle follows *V* with some corrections of, i.a., punctuation, and a decision was made to take into account certain minor elements that survived in texts *Dd* and *N*. The main text preserves the symbolic notation of the names of celestial bodies and astrological phenomena such as a quartile or conjunction, based on the assumption that the original version of the text (written by an astrologer experienced in his craft) resulting from the horoscope diagram could have looked like that. It should also be emphasized that of the three texts used in here *Gd* is the poorest variant which completely omits, e.g., the elements of the astrological commentary – it may be therefore interpreted as one of the transitional forms on the way covered by the complete text of *Vaticinium* to culminate in the form of short calculations of one or two sentences. Drawing 1 accompanying this edition comes from the text *V* and is a slight correction of the diagram that may be found in Burmeister’s edition.

Sources:

*Dd* Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. Uph. fol. 26, p. 243

*Fb* Kórnik, PAS Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), MS 341, fol. 185rec.–ver.

*Ka* Cracow, Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska), MS 118, pp. 235–237

*N* Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 208 inf., fol. 170rec.–171rec.

*V* Wrocław, University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka), MS Akc. 1949/594, fol. 56ver.–57ver.

Denotations and abbreviations:

[ ] expansion of an abbreviation

(?) incomplete reading

del. *delevit* (deleted text)

ins. *inseruit* (text added later)

om. *omisit* (omitted text)

sic as in the manuscript
Iudicium a D[omi]ni Georgii Ioachimi Rhaetici, medici et astronomi peritissimi, b de successoribus in regno Poloniae post obitum regis Sigismundi II c anno 1571 d

Anno MDLXIII, 1. die Aprilis, hora 1., minut[orum] 15 post meridiem, poli elevatio 51. f

Quaestio utrum regimen istius principis Sigismundi Augusti est duraturum? g Item h an sub alio melior gubernatio foret? i

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a Iudicium] Responsum Dd Prognosticon Ka om. FbN.

b Domini ... peritissimi] Joachimi Mathematici doctissimi Dd om. FbKa Reticus Medicus et Astrologus Cracoviensis N.

c de ... Sigismundi II] ad quaesitum Sigismundi Augusti Regis Poloniae Dd Regum Polonorum quorundam Ka om. FbN.

d anno 1571] om. DdFbKaN del. V.

e Fig. 3] om. DdFbKaN.

f Anno ... 51] om. DdKaV Anno Domini MDLXIII Aprilis prima die, hora prima, minuta 15 post meridiem, polus 51 Fb.

g Quaestio ... duraturum?] Quaestio utrum regnum istius principis duraturum Fb om. Ka Quaestio utrum istius Principis est diu duraturum Imperium N.

h Item] et Dd om. KaN.

i an ... foret] an sub alio gubernatio melior feliciorq[ue] duratura Dd an sub alio melior foret gubernatio Fb om. Ka an sub alio melior futura gubernatio N.
I. Designatio

Quoniam signa ascendentia anguli orientis et medii coeli sunt firma seu fixa ☈ et ☉, quorum domini ☉ et ☉ forte in exaltationibus suis sunt. Nempe in ☉ et ☉ manifesta denotant, quod huius regis dominatio non tantum diurna existet; sed etiam in dies celebrior futura est, quae nec bello nec seditione ulla, si acciderit, ei vivo auferri possit. Id cor ☈ stella toto orbe fulgentissima in linea orientis denotat. Et ☉ x tribus gradibus ante centrum domus regiae in sua facie constitutus a z ☉ dominum sui signi receptus confirmat.
II.\textsuperscript{a}

Ceterum\textsuperscript{b} cum e vivis discesserit\textsuperscript{c}: Clementissimus princeps iustitia et pietate insignis in locum eius succedet\textsuperscript{d}, sed\textsuperscript{e} brevissimo temporis spatio\textsuperscript{f} praerit\textsuperscript{g}. Ita, ut cum regnare coepit\textsuperscript{h} suamque probitatem et prudentiam\textsuperscript{i} declarare voluerit\textsuperscript{j}, vel fato functus intercludetur vel alia ratione desistet\textsuperscript{k}. Hoc habetur ex \textsuperscript{2} in succedente medio coeli fine-que signi collocato\textsuperscript{m}.\textsuperscript{n}

III.\textsuperscript{o}

Porro sublato inquissima fatorum lege futuro\textsuperscript{p}, tam\textsuperscript{q} praestantissimo prince, occupabit regnum\textsuperscript{r} sceleratissimus quidam senex\textsuperscript{u}, severus et avarus, vili\textsuperscript{v} familia oriundus\textsuperscript{w}, cuius dominatio tristis, exitialis et funesta huic regno futura est\textsuperscript{x}. Adiungetque\textsuperscript{y} sibi\textsuperscript{z} administratione\textsuperscript{aa}.

\textsuperscript{a} II.] om. FbKa I. V.
\textsuperscript{b} Ceterum] om. Dd Caeterum FbN.
\textsuperscript{c} Cum … discesserit] Sigismundus decesserit Dd cum e vivis decesserit Fb.
\textsuperscript{d} succedet] qui succedet Dd.
\textsuperscript{e} sed] om. Dd.
\textsuperscript{f} brevissimo … spatio] brevi temporis spatio Dd levissimo temporis spatio Fb brevissimo spatio temporis KaN.
\textsuperscript{g} praerit] in regno erit DdKa.
\textsuperscript{h} coepit] coeperit Dd om. Fb caeperit KaN.
\textsuperscript{i} probitatem et prudentiam] prudentiam et propositum Dd probitatem ac prudentiam Fb prudentiam ac probitatem N.
\textsuperscript{j} voluerit] noluerut Dd caeperit Fb om. N.
\textsuperscript{k} desistet] regnare cessabit Dd regnare desistet Ka.
\textsuperscript{l} \textsuperscript{2} Jove KaN.
\textsuperscript{m} collocato] om. Ka collocati N.
\textsuperscript{n} Hoc … collocato] om. DdFb.
\textsuperscript{o} III.] om. DdBKa II. V.
\textsuperscript{p} futuro] om. FbKaV.
\textsuperscript{q} tam] om. N.
\textsuperscript{r} praestantissimo] potentissime N.
\textsuperscript{s} regnum] om. Fb.
\textsuperscript{t} Porro … regnum] Sublato deinde hoc succedet in Regnum Dd.
\textsuperscript{u} sceleratissimus … senex] quidam senex sceleratissimus Fb quidam senex Ka.
\textsuperscript{v} vili] nihil N.
\textsuperscript{w} oriundus] oriendus Dd.
\textsuperscript{x} cuius … est] om. Dd.
\textsuperscript{y} Adiungetque] III. Adiungetque V.
\textsuperscript{z} sibi] in N.
\textsuperscript{aa} administratione] in administrationem DdFbKa.
socium omnino\(^a\) sibi similem\(^b\), sed magis ferum et immanem\(^c\). Hoc
minatur \(\mathbf{h}\) cum \(\mathbf{v}\) in \(\mathbf{\Phi}\)\(^d\) suo detrimento existens, et\(^e\) \(\mathbf{A}\)\(^mf\) secundum\(^g\) signorum seriem sequens\(^h\).\(^i\)

IV.\(^j\)

Post hos\(^k\) eligetur\(^l\) ex indigenis popularibus equestri ordinem\(^m\) natus
novus iuvenes, princeps callidus\(^n\) et ambitiosus, rei militari\(^o\) peritus.
Sed\(^p\) qui tamen\(^q\) in bello vel\(^r\) gladio peribit\(^s\). Eius\(^t\) gubernatio regni\(^u\) mediocris erit\(^v\). Hoc significat \(\mathbf{D}\) in initio \(\mathbf{\Delta}\)\(^w\), praemissos subsequentes\(^x\) planetos in \(\square\) \(\mathbf{\varphi}\)\(^y\) applicans\(^z\) \&\(^aa\) \&\(^bb\) \&\(^cc\).

\(^a\) socium omniono\] om. N.
\(^b\) sibi similem\] similem sibi DdN.
\(^c\) immanem\] inhumanum N.
\(^d\) \(\mathbf{h}\) cum \(\mathbf{v}\) in \(\mathbf{\Phi}\)\] Saturnus cum Cauda Draconis coniunctus in Cancro Ka
Saturnus cum Ariete in Cancro N.
\(^e\) et\] om. Ka.
\(^f\) \(\mathbf{A}\)\] om. Ka Jupiter N.
\(^g\) secundum\] om. Ka.
\(^h\) signorum seriem sequens\] om. Ka signam successione sequetur N.
\(^i\) Hoc ... sequens\] Vel etiam protunc administrans Reipublicam sine rege, tristis
exitialis et funesta huic regno futura est Dd om. Fb..
\(^j\) IV.\] om. FbKa IIII. N.
\(^k\) Post hos\] Post hunc vel ea tempestate Dd Post hos autem Fb Post hunc Ka Post
aut N.
\(^l\) eligetur\] om. Fb.
\(^m\) ex ... ordine\] ex indigenis equestris ordinis DdKa.
\(^n\) callidus\] calidus Dd.
\(^o\) militari\] militaris Dd.
\(^p\) Sed\] om. Fb.
\(^q\) tamen\] tum Dd.
\(^r\) vel\] a Dd.
\(^s\) gladio peribit\] gladio peribit vel quacunque alia morte succumbet Ka.
\(^t\) Eius\] Cuius DdKa Eiusque Fb.
\(^u\) regni\] om. Ka regno N.
\(^v\) peribit\] peribit vel quacunque alia morte succumbet Dd.
\(^w\) \(\mathbf{D}\) in initio \(\mathbf{\Delta}\)\] Luna in initio Leonis KaN.
\(^x\) subsequentes\] subsequens KaV.
\(^y\) in \(\square\) \(\mathbf{\varphi}\)\] in quadrat Mercurii Ka om. N.
\(^z\) Applicans]\] om. Ka.
\(^aa\) \&\] et opposito Ka om. N.
\(^bb\) \&\] Martis Ka Marti N.
\(^cc\) Hoc ... \&\] om. DdFb.
V.\(^a\)

Cum autem huius regis gubernatio\(^b\) defierit\(^c\), clarissimus quidam princeps ex illustriissa familia oriundus\(^d\), potens et\(^e\) magnanimus\(^f\), potentia\(^g\) potius sua\(^h\) quam per electionem hoc\(^i\) regnum\(^j\) occupans feliciter et\(^k\) diutissime\(^l\) nobis praerit\(^m\), qui et in pace iustitia et in bello\(^n\) fortitudine\(^o\), cum maximo huius regni commodo imperabit, mirum in modum puniet malos et praemio\(^p\) afficiet bonos. Victor ac\(^q\) triumphator regni, fines\(^r\) gloriamque nominis sui, longe late-que extendit\(^s\), supplicibus hostibus parcet, adversantes\(^t\) opprimet ac\(^u\) proteret, adeo ut vix\(^v\) melior et\(^w\) fortunator optari possit. Ex cuius etiam\(^x\) familia diu apud nos reges erunt\(^y\). Huius fert\(^z\) effigiem cor opolitan in centro orientis, Pisces, Jupiter, Sol\(^bb\) faelicissime exoriens\(^cc\).\(^dd\).\(^ee\)

\(^a\) V.] om. DdFbKa.
\(^b\) huius … gubernatio] gubernatio huius regis Dd.
\(^c\) defierit] desierit N.
\(^d\) oriundus] om. FbNV.
\(^e\) et] ac Fb.
\(^f\) magnanimus] magnonimus Dd.
\(^g\) potentia] potentiam Dd.
\(^h\) sua] om. Dd.
\(^i\) Hoc] om. Dd.
\(^j\) hoc regnum] om. N.
\(^k\) feliciter et] feliciter ac Fb faelicissime ac N.
\(^l\) diutissime] diuturnissime Fb.
\(^m\) praerit] om. Ka.
\(^n\) et in pace … bello] qui et pace et iustitia in bello Fb.
\(^o\) qui … fortitudine] om. DdKa.
\(^p\) praemio] praemii FbN.
\(^q\) ac] et FbKaN.
\(^r\) fines] fines N.
\(^s\) extendit] propagabit DdKa extendet FbN.
\(^t\) adversantes] adversarios N.
\(^u\) ac] et DdFb.
\(^v\) vix] nullus Dd Rex Ka.
\(^w\) et] ac FbN.
\(^x\) cuius etiam] eiusque Dd cuius et Fb cuius KaN.
\(^y\) reges erunt] regnabunt Dd regnabunt reges Ka.
\(^z\) fert] habet Ka fere N.
\(^aa\) 8] Leonis KaN.
\(^bb\) Pisces, Jupiter, Sol] in sextili Iovis et trino Solis Ka.
\(^cc\) exoriens] exurgens Ka.
\(^dd\) Pisces … exoriens] om. V.
\(^ee\) Huius … exoriens] om. Dd.
Sed cum omnia mortalia interitui obnoxia sint, et hic princeps vel potius haeres, indignus qui moriatur, cum diutissime regnaverit, fato fungetur.

VI.

Cuius in locum succedet etiam bonus, benignus et iuvenis princeps, sed qui electus, licet, regia potestate et nomine imperabit tamen nescio quo casu, numquam dum vixerit, coronabitur. Hunc mihi indicat in post regulam proximam.

VII.

Deinde ad quendam militarem virum regnum devolvetur, qui crudeliter praeerit. Nam homo severus, ferox, agrestis et inexorabilis...
futurus est\textsuperscript{a}. Et hunc\textsuperscript{b} portendit\textsuperscript{c} ♀ in ♋\textsuperscript{d} domo ♉ post ♆<br>receptus\textsuperscript{e, f}

VIII.\textsuperscript{g}

Quo sublato illustri\textsuperscript{h}ssima mulier\textsuperscript{i} regnum\textsuperscript{j} sortiet\textsuperscript{j}, quae licet iuste et pie praerit\textsuperscript{k}. Tamen\textsuperscript{l} insolenter se geret ac\textsuperscript{m} regnum luxu et securitate\textsuperscript{n} infictet. Cuius tamen gubernatio\textsuperscript{o} successu temporis felicior\textsuperscript{p} quam a principio futuro\textsuperscript{q} decernit. Hanc praesagit ♀\textsuperscript{r} in domo\textsuperscript{s} octava, sed in sua exaltatione septima occupat\textsuperscript{a}ur, ordine cedentes\textsuperscript{u} planetas subse-<br>quens\textsuperscript{v, wx} Quodsì\textsuperscript{v} gubernatio regni\textsuperscript{v} ad mulierem non deferetur\textsuperscript{aa} Respu-

| a  | futurus est | est futurus Ka. |
| b  | Et hunc | Hunc KaN. |
| c  | portendit | praetendit sic N. |
| d  | ♂ in ♋ | Mars in Aquario KaN. |
| e  | domo ... receptus | in domo Saturni receptus Ka exoriens N. |
| f  | Et ... receptus | om. DdFb. |
| g  | VIII. | om. DdFbKa. |
| h  | mulier | mulier quaedam Fb. |
| i  | regnum | del. regnum ins. regno N. |
| j  | sortietur | potietur N. |
| k  | iuste ... praerit | pia ac iusta erit Dd. |
| l  | Tamen | om. N. |
| m  | ac | et Dd. |
| n  | securitate | scurilitate N. |
| o  | tamen gubernatio | tum gubernans Dd. |
| p  | felicior | foelicior Ka faelicio N. |
| q  | futuro | futura DdKa. |
| r  | ♀ | Venus KaN. |
| s  | domo | om. V. |
| t  | septima occupat\textsuperscript{a}ur | constuit\textsuperscript{a}ur Ka om. V. |
| u  | ordine cedentes | om. Ka ordines antecedent\textsuperscript{a}es N. |
| v  | planetas subsequens | om. Ka planetas subse\textsuperscript{q}sequentur N. |
| w  | decernitur ... subsequens | om. Dd. |
| x  | Hanc ... subsequens | om. Fb. |
| y  | Quodsi | Quod sì DdFbn. |
| z  | regni | om. Fb. |
| aa | deferetur | deferetur Dd devolvatur Fb. |
| bb | e | ex DdFbKaN. |
| cc | fiet | om. Fb. |
| dd | vel | om. Dd. |
| ee | ὀλιγαρχία | oligarchia fiet Fb oligarchia KaN. |
| ff | tempore | om. Dd. |
| gg | duratura | om. Ka. |
IX.\textsuperscript{a}

Nam postquam indigenis pertaesum\textsuperscript{b} fuerit\textsuperscript{c} huius\textsuperscript{d} administratio-

nis\textsuperscript{e}. Eligent\textsuperscript{f} sibi ex regia familia regem, cui coronato parebunt. Iste erit prudens, iustus et\textsuperscript{g} fortunatus planeque\textsuperscript{h} similis quinto\textsuperscript{i} regi, suo antecessori, sed paulo minoris\textsuperscript{j} potentiae ac\textsuperscript{k} diuturnitatis\textsuperscript{l}. Hic cognoscitur ex ☉\textsuperscript{m} et\textsuperscript{n} ♀\textsuperscript{o} in ♈\textsuperscript{p} sua exaltatione\textsuperscript{q} gestantem\textsuperscript{r}.\textsuperscript{st}

Ultra autem me\textsuperscript{u} prognosticare\textsuperscript{v} sidera\textsuperscript{w} non permittunt.\textsuperscript{x}

\textsuperscript{a} IX.] om. DdFbKa.
\textsuperscript{b} pertaesum] pertesa Dd protesa Ka taedium N.
\textsuperscript{c} fuerit] erit DdFbKa caeperit N.
\textsuperscript{d} huius] huiusmodi DdFbKaN.
\textsuperscript{e} administrationis] administratio DdKa.
\textsuperscript{f} eligent] eliget Fb.
\textsuperscript{g} et] ac FbN.
\textsuperscript{h} planeque] om. Dd plane N.
\textsuperscript{i} quinto] V\textsuperscript{o} N.
\textsuperscript{j} minoris] minor Fb.
\textsuperscript{k} ac] et Fb.
\textsuperscript{l} diuturnitatis] diuturnitate Ka.
\textsuperscript{m} ☉] Sole N.
\textsuperscript{n} et] om. Ka post V.
\textsuperscript{o} ♀] om. Ka Venere N.
\textsuperscript{p} ♈] Ariete KaN.
\textsuperscript{q} sua exaltatione] in sua exaltatione Ka.
\textsuperscript{r} gestantem] collocato Ka om. V.
\textsuperscript{s} similis gestantem] om. Dd.
\textsuperscript{t} Hic … gestantem] om. Fb.
\textsuperscript{u} autem me] autem Fb om. N.
\textsuperscript{v} prognosticare] prognosticari me Fb prognosticari KaN.
\textsuperscript{w} sidera] sydera FbKaN.
\textsuperscript{x} Ultra … permittunt] om. Dd.
Appendix 2
Abridged Vaticinium – a version with six rulers

Offered below is the text of the “abridged” election prophecy which has survived in various forms in eight different manuscripts. I adopted the text La as the starting point (with one correction introduced instead of B and C in a place where La was spoilt by the copyist). It is not the purpose of this edition to provide a final form of the text – which task seems to be impossible – but only to identify, based on probably the oldest text of that variant of the prophecy, directions in which the text was modified in consecutive copies. Although I am inclined to recognize the text Lb together with the text Wd as mixed, Lb differs from the latter in that it consists of two clear-cut parts, the first one showing affinity with the tradition of a short, six-element election prophecy. It was decided therefore to include this part of Lb into this edition in order to show a kind of a continuum marking individual trends in the tradition of Rheticus’s Vaticinium.

Although all texts quoted below enumerate six rulers, this group is marked by heterogeneous structure and in fact consists of two or even three subgroups. Recognized as their distinctive feature is the order in which they mention the ruler labeled as the “grand prince” (“magnus princeps” – in the BDcLaLb group he was mentioned in the second place, in CLcM in the third place) and a ruler coming from a “minor family” (“ex parvae familiae” – in the BDcLaLb group as the third, in CLcM – as the second). Due to this difference one may suspect that individual groups, even though stemming from one trunk, are separate branches of the same tradition, although no direct interdependencies have been found among the texts that are part of it. The combining of those two witnesses, with preference given to the BLaLbDc group as a point of reference in respect of the sequence of the rulers, was to provide material that will illustrate modifications of the text which is homogeneous in many other respects.

A separate group comprises the seventeenth century texts Da and Db coming from Gdańsk which follow the CLcM group in respect of the order of rulers, but differ from this group and the BDcLaLb group in that ruler characteristics are much more elaborate. This is why those two initial groups were analyzed together, while DaDb, whose formula brings it closer to the mixed type, was classified separately. It should also be emphasized that the text of Da and Db is identical, but owing to some inaccuracies in Da’s title, which are
another example of distorted Rheticus’s name, the second of them was recognized as a more credible one.

Sources:

B  Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. Fol. 143, fol. 437rec.
C  Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2642, fol. 94
Da Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 694, fol. 201rec.–202ver.
Db Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 724, fol. 109ver.
Dc Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 821, fol. 2rec.
La Cracow, Princes Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich), MS 1292, p. 8
Lb Cracow, Princes Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich), MS 1657 IV, p. 596
Lc Cracow, Princes Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich), MS 1947, p. 50
M  Lviv, National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine (olim Ossoliński National Institute Library), fond 5, MS 189, p. 8

Denotations and abbreviations:
< > conjecture
del. delevit (deleted text)
ins. inseruit (text added later)
om. omisit (omitted text)
add. addidit (text added when copied)
sic as in the manuscript
Basic variant (BDcLaLb–CLcM)

Vaticinium\(^a\) Rethici\(^b\) doctoris medici\(^c\) et\(^d\) astronomiae\(^e\) de electione\(^f\) regum Poloniae\(^g\) statim factum\(^h\) post\(^i\) obitum\(^j\) regis Sigismundi Augusti\(^k\) anno Domini 1571\(^l\)

Primus\(^m\) erit Gallus\(^n\) qui\(^o\) magno cum\(^p\) periculo regnum imperabit\(^q\), paulo\(^t\) post coronatione\(^s\) erit profugus\(^t\).

Secundus\(^u\) erit magnus princeps\(^v\) qui\(^w\) sine corona regnabit\(^x\).

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\(^a\) Vaticinium] Judicium B Judicium LbM Prognostic Lc.
\(^b\) Rethici] Rhetici B Georgii Rhetici C D. Rhetici Dc Domini Georgii Rethen sic Lb Retici Lc.
\(^c\) doctoris medici] doctoris medicinae BM medicinae doctoris C doctoris medici Dc om. Lb doctoris Lc.
\(^d\) et] om. Lb.
\(^e\) astronomiae] astronomi peritissimi BDc astronomi C astronomiae peritissimi LbM astrologi Lc.
\(^f\) electione] regnatione Le electione et gubernatione Dc.
\(^g\) regum Poloniae] Polonorum regum Lb regum Polonorum M.
\(^h\) statim factum] factum BDc scriptum C om. Lb AD 1501 sic Lc facta M.
\(^i\) post] ante Dc om. Lb.
\(^j\) obitum] decessum Lc.
\(^k\) regis Sigismundi Augusti] Sigismundi Augusti regis C Domini Sigismundi Augusti Dc om. LbM.
\(^l\) anno Domini 1571] anno M.D.LXXI C anno 1571 Dc anno 1571 editum Lb 1551 M om. Lc.
\(^m\) Primus] I. B Primus rex DcM1. Lb.
\(^n\) Gallus] peregrinus ex Regione longe absita Dc.
\(^o\) qui] om. CLbM.
\(^p\) cum] om. BCLbLc.
\(^q\) regnum imperabit] regnum intrabit BCM intrabit regnum DcLb.
\(^r\) paulo] sed paulo C et paulo Dc paululo Lb pauli M.
\(^s\) coronatione] coronationem BDcM coronationem suam C om. LbLcRb.
\(^t\) erit profugus] fugiet C praefecturus Lb | add. Henricus Rex Galliae Dc post aliquot annos occidetur ob varias in fide dissensiones Lc (Henricus) M.
\(^u\) Secundus] II. B Secundus rex Dc 2. Lb Tertius LcMC.
\(^v\) magnus princeps] magnus princeps et pater patriae Lb rex electus et adversus regno privabitur et erit captus spoliatusque dimissus ad suos Lc.
\(^w\) qui] sed BLbLc et DcM.
\(^x\) sine … regnabit] sine coronatione manebit Dc non diu durabit sine corona Lb sine corona reedit Lc | add. Maximilianus Romanorum Imperator Dc Maximilianus Archidux Austriae M.
Tertius\textsuperscript{a} erit homo pauper\textsuperscript{b} ex parvae familiae\textsuperscript{c} cuius regni\textsuperscript{d} gubernatio\textsuperscript{e} erit tristis\textsuperscript{f}. Is\textsuperscript{g} adiunget\textsuperscript{h} sibi\textsuperscript{i} in administratione homini sibi similem et in tyrannum parvaeque familiae equestris ordinis\textsuperscript{j}.

Quartus\textsuperscript{k} erit ex numero\textsuperscript{l} Poloniae\textsuperscript{m} homo pius et foelix\textsuperscript{n}, sed gubernatio eius\textsuperscript{o} non late se extendet\textsuperscript{p}.

Quintus\textsuperscript{q} erit peregrinus homo\textsuperscript{r} foelicissimus\textsuperscript{s}, hostes\textsuperscript{t} profligabit\textsuperscript{u}, <tranquillam gubernationem>\textsuperscript{v} id obtinebit\textsuperscript{w}, nec is diu durabit\textsuperscript{x}.

\textsuperscript{a} Tertius] III. B Tertius rex De 3. Lb Secundus LeMC.b
\textsuperscript{b} homo pauper] rex Poloniae Lc.
\textsuperscript{c} ex parvae familiae] parvaeque familiae BCDcLb parvae familiae Lc.
\textsuperscript{d} regni] om. CM.
\textsuperscript{e} gubernatio] gubernatione Lc.
\textsuperscript{f} erit tristis] iustissima Lb multi perturbabuntur Lc.
\textsuperscript{g} Is] et C om. DcLe in M.
\textsuperscript{h} adiunget] om. Lc adsiscet Dc.
\textsuperscript{i} sibi] om. Lc.
\textsuperscript{j} in … ordinis] hominem tyrannicum, cuius gubernatio non durabit B hominem tyrannum. Eius gubernatio non durabit C hominem tyrannum sed ejus gubernatio non diu manebit Dc hominem Tyrannum, eius gubernatio non diu durabit Lb om. Lc hominem Tiranum cuius gubernatio non diu durabit M | add. Stephanus Bathorius De Stephanus Bathori M.
\textsuperscript{k} Quartus] IV. B Quartus rex De 4. Lb.
\textsuperscript{l} ex numero] indigena Lc ex num pro M.
\textsuperscript{m} Poloniae] Polonorum BCDcLbM om. Lc.
\textsuperscript{n} pius et foelix] pius et felix BM foelix ac pius Lb duabus coronis coronabitur cum magnio ipsius vitae periculo coniuge una orbabitur prole pulchra gaudens secunda vero relícta cum dissensio Repub. Vita ipsius alienabitur cuius gubernatio vitae extendit regnabit annos 49 menses aliquot Lc.
\textsuperscript{o} sed gubernatio eius] sed eius gubernatio Dc sed gubernatio ipsius Lb om. Lc.
\textsuperscript{p} late se extendet] om. Lc late se extenitet M | add. Sigismundus De Sigismundus 3. M.
\textsuperscript{q} Quintus] V. B Quintus rex De 5. Lb.
\textsuperscript{r} peregrinus homo] homo Lc homo peregrinus M.
\textsuperscript{s} foelicissimus] felicissimus BCDcLb fortissimus M.
\textsuperscript{t} hostes] is hostes Lb felicissimus bellicosissimus Lc hostis M.
\textsuperscript{u} profligabit] profligabit armata manu et Lb proflugabit M.
\textsuperscript{v} tranquillam gubernationem] tranquillitatem, gubernatio La tranquillitatem sanctam gerens Rempub. pacatam Lc tranquillitatem Reipublicae M.
\textsuperscript{w} id obtinebit] obtinebit BCDcLb om. Lc reddet M.
\textsuperscript{x} nec is diu durabit] sed non diu foelix B felix C sed non diu erit Dc sed non diu durabit Lc his diu durabit M | add. Vladislaus quartus, Sigismundi Filius Dc Vladislaus 4. M.
Sextus a erit b insignis c familiae d fortunatissimus e et f ultimus g, cuius h imperium i erit j foelicissimum et tranquilum k. Omnes l sine haeredem m manebunt n.

b erit] om. BLc.
c insignis] homo insignis BCDcLb insignus M.
d familiae] om. Lc.
e fortunatissimus] princeps fortunatissimus C fortassis DeLb peregrinus Lc fortis M.
f et] om. LbLc.
g ultimus] ultimus Rex Poloniae De om. Lc.
h cuius] om. B eius C.
i Imperium] imperatio regni De imperium regni Lb gubernatio ultima Reipub. Inimicos Ecclesiae extirpabit ad unitatem fidei inducit Turcam cum vicem profligabit, iura et p<rivilegia> <...> Lc.
j erit] om. Lc regni M.
k foelicissimum et tranquilum] tranquillum BC felicissimum et tranquillum Lb om. Lc felicissimum et tranquillissimum M.
l Omnes] Omnes hi C Omnes reges De om. Lc.
m sine haerede] om. Lc del. M.
n manebunt] peribunt B om. LbLc regnavent M | add. Joannes Casimirus M.
The “Gdańsk” variant (DaDb)

Vaticinium Anno 1551 Betij Reticia\textsuperscript{a} Doctoris et Astrologi Doctissimi Medici De Regnatione Regni Poloniae post decessum Sigismundi Augusti

Erit Poloniae Rex Gallus, qui magno periculo intrabit. Paulo post aliquot annos occidetur, ubi variae dissensiones excitabuntur.

Postea erit Rex parvae familiae, cujus Regni Gubernatione multi perturbabuntur.

Postea erit electus et adversus Regno privabitur et erit captus spo-
liatusq\textsuperscript{[ue]} dimissus ad suos sine corona redibit.

Postea erit indigena homo pius et foelix\textsuperscript{b}, duabus coronis corona-
bitur; cum magno ipsius periculo. Coniuge una orbabitur, prole pul-
chra gaudens. Secunda retro relicta cum dissensione in Republica vita
ipsius alienabitur, cujus gubernatio late se extendet, regnabit annos
quadraginta sex, menses aliquot.

Postea erit homo foelicissimus\textsuperscript{c}, hostes profligabit, tranquillitate-
tem sanctam gerens, Rempublicam tranquillum paratamque\textsuperscript{d} per annos
quindecim non diu durabit.

\textsuperscript{a} Retici] Retycii Da.
\textsuperscript{b} foelix] felix Da.
\textsuperscript{c} foelcissimus] felicissimus Da.
\textsuperscript{d} paratamque] pacatamque Da.
Appendix 3
Three variants of the election prophecy in Polish

Below offered are three variants of the election prophecy translated into Polish. Text Ra is the oldest of them and it is included in the manuscript miscellany made in mid-seventeenth century in the circle of Jakub Michałowski, and the texts Fe and Kc come from the turn of the seventeenth century, as corroborated by the fact that in both manuscripts the latest elected ruler identified by the copyist in a note made in the margin is King Augustus II the Strong, but there are no mentions of Stanisław Leszczyński which supports a hypothesis that both copies were made under Wettin’s rule. Contrary to the approach taken in respect to the Latin variants offered in Appendices 1 and 2 a decision was made not to collate three texts because the discrepancies between them suggest that we deal with three independent texts as evidenced by significant differences in the syntax and vocabulary. It should be emphasized that all three texts represent a far reaching misunderstanding as to the authorship of the prophecy (in each of them Rheticus’s name is distorted in a different way) and the circumstances in which the prophecy was made (or each specific copy – as in the case of copy Kc which was “copied from a manuscript”). The text has been edited in line with rules for ‘type B’ of the editions of Old Polish texts (cf. Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich. Projekt [Warszawa, 1955], pp. 92–100), and accordingly the spelling was corrected, the punctuation was updated and the original layout of the text on each page was not preserved. Due to the specificity of the source it was decided, however, to allow for such aspects of the manuscript which are reserved for the critical editing of type A, namely notes in the margin or indication of the copyist’s mistakes.

Sources:
Fe  Kórnik, PAS Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN), MS 420, fol. 247ver.–248rec.
Kc  Cracow, Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska), MS 921, fol. 1rec.–ver.
Ra  Warszawa, National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa), MS 6634 III, fol. 207rec.

Denotations and abbreviations:
< >  conjecture
[ ]  expansion of an abbreviation
in mg.  in margin (in the margin)
a.c.  ante correcturam (text before corrections)
The Warsaw text (Ra)

Practica\textsuperscript{a} doctoris Klitricii za panowania króla Zygmu[nta] Augusta uczyniona

Wedle biegów niebieskich jaśnie się znaczy, iż króla tego panowanie nie tylko trwałe będzie, ale im dalej tym więcej sławniejsze będzie\textsuperscript{b}, które ani wojna, ani rozsterki, jeśliby co takiego przyszło, półki on żyw, być nie może.

A gdy z tego świata zejdzie łaskawe książę w sprawiedliwości i pobożności, po nim nastanie, ale bardzo krociuchny czas będzie, tak iż gdy\textsuperscript{c} pocznie królować, za jakimsi przypadkiem odjedzie, a panowanie jego prędko ustanie.

Gdy już tego zacnego ks[ia]ż[ę]cia panowanie ustania, opanuje królestwo niejaki starzec złośliwy, srogi, łakomy, z podłej familijej, którego panowanie smutne i żałosne ku upadku albo zginieniu królestwa tego będzie\textsuperscript{d} i przyłączy sobie podobnego w rządzeniu królestwa, ale sroższego i okrutniejszego niż sam.

Potym będzie wybran z swoich obywatelów s<z>lacheckiego rodzaju młodzeniec, książę chytre i chciwe, w rzeczach rycerskich biegły, który\textsuperscript{e} na wojnie zginie. Jego królestwo sprawowane mierne znaczy.

A gdy tego króla rządzenie ustanie, zacne książę wielkiej familijej, wspaniałej myśli więcej <mocą>\textsuperscript{f}, niżli przez elekcjją te królestwo opanuje\textsuperscript{g}, który szczęśliwie i mężnie i długo panować będzie, granice do tego rozszerzy, czasu wojny i pokoju z wielkim pożytkiem tego królestwa będzie nad dziw, uciśnie złe a ubogaci dobre zwycięstwem, wielkim w tym królestwie będzie, nieprzyjaciołom swym uniżającym się odpuści, a przeciwiających się porazi i rozgromi śmiele, z którego familijej w tym królestwie długo królować będą i sam przez jakieś \textit{fata} po długim królowaniu zejdzie.

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\textsuperscript{a} Practica\textsuperscript{ ]} praktika \textit{Ra}.
\textsuperscript{b} Wedle … będzie\textsuperscript{ ]} Augusta to znaczyło \textit{add. mg. Ra}.
\textsuperscript{c} A gdy … iż gdy\textsuperscript{ ]} Francuza to znaczyło \textit{add. mg. Ra}.
\textsuperscript{d} Ddy … będzie\textsuperscript{ ]} Batore[go] to znaczyło a przyłąc<z>enie kanclerz<a> \textit{add. mg. Ra}.
\textsuperscript{e} Potym … który\textsuperscript{ ]} Maximilia[na] to znaczyło \textit{add. mg. Ra}.
\textsuperscript{f} mocą\textsuperscript{ ]} motą \textit{Ra}.
\textsuperscript{g} A gdy … opanuje\textsuperscript{ ]} Zygmunta III to znaczyło \textit{add. mg. Ra}. 
Po tym nastąpi spokojne książę, jednak mocą, imieniem królować będzie, któremu rychle
śmierć królestwo odejmie.

Po tym niektórzy mąż rycerski królestwa dostąpi, który okrutnie będzie panował, człek srogi, okrutny i gruby nie otyły ma być, którego gdy nie stanie, zacna
niewiasta za szczęściem opanuje, która sprawiedliwie królestwo sprawować będzie, jednak za szaleństwem się uda, a w szaleństwie bezpieczeńst zbytek rozmowy wszakże ku koń-
cowi niżli z przodku panowanie jej szczęśliwsze będzie. A jeśli rządzenie
królestwa niewieście będzie przyczytane, z Rzeczypospolitej wiele
<rządzy> w Królestwie będzie, a uprzykrzeniem się takiego rządu obyw-
watelom w Królestwie krótko taki rząd trwać będzie.

Po tym obiorą sobie z domu królewskiego króla, które[g]o ukoronowania posłusni będą. Ten będzie sprawiedliwy, mądry i szczęśliwy i prawie piątemu królowi, przodkowi swemu, podobny, wszakże coś mniejszą władzą i dostojnością.

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<rzychle> w rychle Ra.

<zacna> a linea in Ra.

<rzędzy> rządzyw Ra.
Prognostyk astronoma krakowskiego Rescyjusza o sukcesyji królów polskich po śmierci Augusta Pierwszego króla polskiego w roku 1552.

1mo. Po śmierci Augusta króla na tron polski wstąpi Francuz, który z wielkim niebezpieczeństwem do polskiej wniejdzie, wkrótce jednak odbieży, a po lat kilku dla dyssensyi w wierze zabity będzie.

2do. Po nim wstąpi na królestwo człowiek małej familijej, którego gubernacyją różni będą turbować.

3tio. Obiorą po tym adwersarze za króla ks[ię]cia jednego, który więźniem będzie, wypuszczony zaś, wszystko straciwszy, powróci do swego kraju bez korony.

4. Zostanie tedy panem indygena polski, człowiek pobożny i szczęśliwy, ten dwiema koronami będzie ukoronowany. Po śmierci pierwszej żony w wielkie niebezpieczeństwo życia wpadnie, drugą zaś pojawszy, w potomstwo obfitować będzie, ale dla niezgod w królestwie życia jego będzie skrócone, daleko jednak rozszerzyć się jego gubernium.

5. Nastąmpi po nim na królestwo szczęśliwy nader, który zwyciężywszy nieprzyjaciół, uczyni koronę spokojną i bezpieczną, ale ten niedługo panować będzie.


8. Nastąpi na królestwo jeden człowiek stateczny, łakomy z podłej familijnej urodzony, którego gubernacja nieprzyjaciółom u wielu szkodliwa i ku zgubie będzie. Przybierze sobie towarzysza dozywotniego, we wszystkim sobie podobnego, bardziej jednak łakomego i nieużytego.  

9no. Po tych obrany będzie cudzoziemiec, kawaler urodzony, książę młody, chytry i ambicyjant, trybu wojennego wiadomy, który jednak na wojnie albo w domu mieczem zgonie. Tego panowania lata pomierne będą. Tu wolności polskiej ciężka opresyja.  

10. Gdy zaś panowanie tego ustanie książę jeden zacny z prześwietnej familijnej urodzony, wspaniały i potentat, bardziej przez potencję niżeli przez wolną elekcją to królestwo opanuje, szczęśliwie i bardzo długo panować będzie, który jako w pokoju sprawiedliwość, tak na wojnie mocą, z wielkim tego królestwa pożytkiem będzie rządził. Złych przedziwnymi sposobami karać będzie, dobrych zaś nagradzać, zwycięzca i tryjumfator, szaniec królestwa tego i chwałę swego imienia wzdłuż i wszerz daleko rozciągnie, pokornie poddającym się nieprzyjaciółom odpuści, sprzeciwiających się zaś pod swoją władzę podbije tak dalece, że ledwie kto życzyć sobie może lepszego i szczęśliwszego pana, z którego też familijnej długo u nas królowie będą. Ale wszyscy jesteśmy podlegli śmiertelności i ten książę, czyli raczej dziedzic, niegodzien śmierci, po długo bardzo panowaniu umrze.  

11. Na miejscu jego nastąpi dobry, łaskawy i spokojny książę, ale ten obrany chociaż królewskim imieniem i władzą panować będzie, nie wiem jednak czemu za żywota swego nie będzie koronowany.  

12. Dostanie się po tym władza królewskia do żołnierza, który okrutnie rządzić będzie jako człowiek dziki, obłudny, tyran i nigdy niezmiękczony.  

13. Tego jak się pozbędzie Polska, prześwietna pani królestwem tym władać będzie, która choć będzie rządził, jednak życie jej swawolne, zbytkiem i okrucieństwem zarazi, szczęśliwsza jednak będzie jej gubernacja czasem, niż była na początku. Jeśliby zaś dalej panowanie jej spadło na białą głowę pewnie Rzecząpospolitą i królestwem kilku oraz wojewodów będzie rządziło, ale to niedługo ma potrwać.

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1 Nastąpi| Nastąpni Fe.
3 9no … opresyja] August Wtóry add. Fe.
4 rządził] lectio incerta.
5 nastąpi] nastąpni Fe.
14. Bo gdy uciemiży królestwa obywatelów, rządcy obiorą sobie króla z familijej królewskiej, któremu ukoronowanemu będą posłuszni. Ten będzie rozumny, sprawiedliwy, szczęśliwy, podobny antecessorowi piątemu przed sobą, mniejszej jednak potencyji i godności.
The Cracow text (Kc)

[1 rec.] Wytłumaczenie z łacińskiego na polski język prognozyku przez niegdy Gecyjusza nazwanego doktora o następujących królach polskich z manuskryptu wypisane

Po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta będzie król polski Francuz, który z wielkim niebezpieczeństwem wnidzie na państwo i krótkim czasie zjeździe z państwa i w kilka lat zabity będzie dla różnej w wierze dyssensyji.¹

Po tym król Polski będzie obrany człowiek niewielkiej familiji, który swoim panowaniem potrwoży wieki i zwycięży.²

Nastąpi król obrany od przeciwnej strony, który pozbadzie wkrótce państwa, pojmany, ogoloczony, opuszczoney od swoich.³

Po nim będzie król postronny, człowiek pobożny i szczęśliwy, dwiema koronowany koronami, będzie z wielkim żywota jego niebezpieczeństwem, małżonki pozbadzie potomstwem jednak ubłogosławiony, za którego panowania długo i szeroko rozprzestrzenione będzie państwo.⁴

Będzie król Polski najs szczęśliwsi, nad nieprzyjacielem zwycięstwo otrzymać będzie, jego królestwo w zgodzie i pokoju zostawać będzie, ale niedługo jego panowanie.

Nastąpi król Polski człowiek znaczy, którego panowanie będzie ostatnie, nieprzyjaciel Kościoła Bożego, Wiary Świętej wykorzeniony i do prawej wiary nawróci, przywileje i statuta koronne w różnych artykułach przyozdobi, zdrady, mężobójstwa, najazdy domowe usmierzy, poddanych od opresji uwolni i inne do stanu swego przywiedzie, jednak z tej rady zjeźdać będzie ku swojej zgubie, najazdy nieprzyjaciel do Korony nastąpią i wszytko złe na Polskę się obali. Po jego śmierci nastąpi głód, mor, rozterki i wszytko nieszczęście.

Nastąpi łaskawy książę sprawiedliwością i pobożnością znaczy, ale w krótkim barzo czasie, gdy pocznie panować i swoją dobroć i roztroność pokazać, albo otruty będzie, albo z innej racyji z tego świata zejdzie.

Gdy tak znacznego i dobrośliwego pana Polska pozbędzie <się>, nastąpi niektóry stary, stateczny i poważny, ale łakomy, z podłej familii zrodzony, którego panowanie smutne, opłakane i troskliwe będzie, przysposobi sobie w korespondencję towarzysza takiegoż, ale się to Rz[ecz]p[ospo]l[i]tynej na nic nie przyda.

Po tym będzie z postronnych ludzi żołnierz nowy i książę, gorączka i pyszny, trybu wojennego wiadomy, który albo na wojnie albo w domu zginie, którego panowanie mizerne będzie. Tu wolności polskiej opresyja będzie.

A gdy tego króla Polska pozbędzie <się>, nastąpi na jego miejsce znaczny książę, najaśniejszej familii, potentat wielki, który barziej przez moc i potęgę swoją, niżeli przez wolną elekcję to królestwo osiądzie, szczęśliwie i długo panować będzie, w pokoju i sprawiedliwości koronę postawi, zwycięstwy wielkimi wsławiony, z wielki Królestwa tego pożytkiem panować będzie i rządzić, złych bez respektu karając, dobrym znacznie nagradzać będzie, zwycięzcą chwalębnym zostanie, chwałę imienia swego szyroko i długo i granicę królestwa rozproszeni. Poddającym się nieprzyjaciółom przepuścić, sprzeciwiającym się i odpór dającym do ostatniej zguby przywiedzie, z którego familii długo królowie u nas będą. A gdy każdy Śmierć podlega, lubo długo panować będzie, otruty jednak zostanie.

Na jego miejsce nastąpi dobry, łaskawy i spokojny książę, który lubo obrany jako król, władzą królewską rozkazować będzie, ale nie wiem, z jakiej racyji koronowany nie będzie.

Po nim do żołnierza królestwo należeć będzie, długo i okrutnie sprawować je będzie, człowiek tetryk, złośliwy, groźny i przewrotny.

Po jego śmierci najaśniejsza pani osiądzie to królestwo, które według słuszności należeć jej będzie, ale niecnotliwie sprawować się będzie i królestwo niebezpieczeństw i płacz wzbudzi, za której panowania w następujących po tym czasach szczęśliwsze będzie niżeli początku. A gdy ta białogłowa panować będzie Rz[ecz]p[ospo]l[i]ty i Królestwo u postronnych narodów u wszystkich w pośmiewisku będzie. A wkrótce przybierzę sobie męża i króla z królewskiej familii, któremu koronowanemu posłusni będą. Ten będzie mądry, sprawiedliwy, szczęśliwy, podobny piątemu królowi, antecessorowi swemu, ale mniejszy potęgę i godność.

Więcej mi prognozować znaki nie dopuszczają.

\(^{1}\) się | \(om. \) \(Kc.\)

\(^{i}\) Gdy ... nie przyda] Jan Trzeci \(add. \) \(Kc.\)

\(^{j}\) Po .. będzie] August Wtóry \(add. \) \(Kc.\)
Appendix 4
The German version of the election prophecy
Offered below is Rheticus’s election prophecy in German which survived in the form of two texts kept in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (De and Df). Guided by the text De, I also highlighted minor differences with Df and pointed them out in the text. I also offered notes in the margin which accompanied both texts.

Sources:
De Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 907, p. 68
Df Gdańsk, PAS Library (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN), Ms. 1293, fol. 157ver.–158ver.

Abbreviations:
om. omisit (omitted text)
in mg. in margine (in the margin)
Vaticinium, oder\(^a\) Weissagung Doctoris Retzij\(^b\), des sehr erfahrene\(n Medici et Astronomi\), von der Wahl unnd Regierung der Könige\(^c\) zu Pohlen, Geschehen fürm\(^d\) Tode\(^e\) Königes\(^f\) Sigismundi Augusti Anno 1571

\(^g\) Der Erste, wird ein frembling sein auss einer fernen abgelegenen Landtschafft, welcher mit grosser grefahr wieder ins Reich kommen, unnd baldt nach der Krönung verflüchtig werden.

\(^h\) Der Ander, wird ein grosser Fürst sein, aber ohne Krönung bleiben.

\(^i\) Der Dritte, Wird ein armeer Herr sein, eines geringen Geschechtes unnd Herkommens, welches Regierung wird traurig sein, er wird sich an einen Tyrannen hengen, aber seine Regierung wird nicht lange wehren.

\(^j\) Der Vierde, Wird aus der Zahl der Pohlen sein, ein Hochförch tiger Glüksseliger Herr, aber seine Regierung word sich nicht weit ausstrecken.

\(^k\) Der Fünffte, Wird ein sehr glückhafftiger Herr sein, er wird die Feinde schlagen, unnd eine grausame Regierung erlangen, wird aber nicht lange regieren.

\(^l\) Der Sechste, Wird eines trefflichen Geschlechtes unnd Herkommens sein, unnd vielleicht der Lezte König in Pohlen, welches Regierung wirdt sehr glücklich unnd rühmlich sein.

\(^a\) Vaticinium, oder\(] om. Df.
\(^b\) Retzij\(] Joannis Rezij \(Df.\)
\(^c\) Könige\(] Koning Df.
\(^d\) fürm\(] kurz vorm \(Df.
\(^e\) Tode\(] Totte \(Df.
\(^f\) Königes\(] Koning Df.
\(^g\) in mg. Henricus von Valois, zog nach Franckreich \(De\) Henricus 4 ex Gallia \(Df.
\(^h\) in mg. Maximilianus Caesar Ward neben Bathori orwehlet \(De\) Caesar Maximilian 2 \(Df.
\(^i\) in mg. Stephanus Bathori, Dux Transilvaniae \(De\) Stephanus Botorius sic \(Df.
\(^j\) in mg. Sigismundus Tertius, Erbe den Kron Schweden \(De\) Sigismundus 3 Suecus \(Df.
\(^k\) in mg. Wladisslaus Quartus \(De.
\(^l\) in mg. Johannes Casimirus Hodiernus Rex \(De.

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Abstract

The paper aims to organise the issues concerning the great variety of manuscripts jointly described as the “election prophecy”, supposedly made by Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574), an astronomer, astrologer, and the student of Nicolaus Copernicus. The study contains a proposal of a model showing how the original Latin text of the “prophecy,” the autograph of which has not been preserved to this day and which had the form of a horoscope diagram with commentary by Rheticus, underwent contamination and interpolation, while at the same time serving as the basis for the creation of two vernacular traditions of the text – Polish and German. The analysis of the preserved copies consists of the description of the most reliable witness of the “prophecy” tradition – the copy made in the eighteenth century by
Wroclaw-based Enlightenment historian Samuel Beniamin Klose on the basis of the available documents of Andreas Dudithius, which introduced the text into wider circulation – and of the discussion of other accounts which can be found in European libraries. The transformations undergone by the text of the prophecy between late sixteenth century and early eighteenth century are depicted in source materials to the paper, containing the editions of several Latin and Polish versions of the text, as well as its German version.

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