

MICHAŁ CHOPTIANY  
(University of Warsaw)

AN ASTROLOGER IN SEARCH FOR A PATRON:  
THE CASE OF JAN LATOSZ AND NICHOLAS CHRISTOPHER  
“THE ORPHAN” RADZIWIŁŁ\*

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There were few scholars working in Cracow at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries who needed an important and influential patron as much as Jan Latosz (1539–1608).<sup>1</sup> Looking for a patron was a common practice among a variety of creative individuals such as writers, artists and scientists, all attempting to provide themselves with the necessary means to continue their work in unfavourable times and conditions. However, these attempts became more amplified when the necessity of finding a patron involved not only ensuring somebody's means for living

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<sup>1</sup> The most complete biography of Latosz so far is: Leszek HAJDUKIEWICZ, *Latos Jan*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* (further on referred to as PSB), vol. 16, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1971, pp. 569–572. See also: Janusz SONDEL, *Słownik historii i tradycji Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 2012, pp. 751–752. Latosz due to his period of activity in Ostrog is regarded as a person belonging to both Polish and Ukrainian heritage, however the accounts of his biography by Ukrainian historians tend to be one-dimensional: Рафель Шпізель, *Лятош (Лятос) Ян*, [in:] *Острозька Академія XVI–XVII ст. Енциклопедічне видання*, Острог 2008, pp. 189–190.

through printing a specific piece of work or realising some artistic idea but also related to saving somebody's reputation and pride.

Jan Łatosz, educated at the Cracow Academy and University of Padua, was an astrologer, astronomer and a physician who could have led a quiet life as a thinker deciphering the stars or settled for a life in academia, perhaps even reached the royal court, but instead he chose the difficult path of scientific heresy. Questioning the calculations underpinning the reform of the calendar introduced in February 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII, he set foot upon undoubtedly the difficult path of polemics and with it social and institutional isolation. Surrounded by Jesuit polemists, Marcin Łaszcz, Stanisław Grodzicki and Wojciech Rościszewski, who defended the reformed calendar, he found himself the butt of their criticisms. Eventually, he found support in Duke Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (1526–1608), a very influential and wealthy defender of Orthodox identity for whom the calendar disputes, far less violent in Cracow than the ones witnessed by other European cities at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>2</sup> served as an element of a political agenda.<sup>3</sup> The magnate decided to take the Cracow scholar in and use him in his plan to antagonize the two wings of Christianity, for which after the year 1582, both calendars (Julian and Gregorian) became yet another bone of contention.<sup>4</sup>

However, before the scholar in the last years of his life found a safe haven at the dukal court in Ostrog where he got himself involved in, among others, the activities of the local Orthodox academy, he sought other means of gaining patronage. One of these was related to Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "the Orphan",<sup>5</sup> and two hitherto understudied sources testify to this, i.e. Łatosz's predictions from 1572 and the only known letter from the astronomer to Duke Radziwiłł written two

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<sup>2</sup> One of such places was Riga where the riots caused by the change of calendar lasted for 5 years. See: Anna ZIEMLEWSKA, *Rozruchy kalendarzowe w Rydze (1584–1589)*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, t. 71: 2006, no. 1, pp. 107–124; eadem, *Ryga w Rzeczypospolitej polsko-litewskiej (1581–1621)*, Toruń 2008, pp. 89–129. This was not the only place where riots took place as they were also in Augsburg, see Benjamin J. KAPLAN, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Mass.–London 2007, pp. 86–93; C. Scott DIXON, *Urban Order and Religious Coexistence in the German Imperial City: Augsburg and Donauwörth, 1548–1608*, Central European History, vol. 40: 2007, pp. 1–33 (pp. 11–18); Edith KOLLER, *Strittige Zeiten. Kalenderreformen in alten Reich 1582–1700* (Pluralisierung & Autorität, Bd. 41), Berlin–Boston 2014, pp. 216–245.

<sup>3</sup> On the subject see: Tomasz KEMPA, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525–1608). Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej*, Toruń 1997, pp. 119–170.

<sup>4</sup> Ostrogski's intentions towards Łatosz have never been discussed in detail as there are insufficient sources and the only information on the subject comes from Łatosz's papers. It is known however that after settling in Ostrog, Łatosz took up a position at the local academy and came into some wealth; see T. KEMPA, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, pp. 89, 105.

<sup>5</sup> On "the Orphan" see Michał SZYSZKO-BOHUSZ, *Rys życia księcia Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła, zwanego Sierotką* [in:] *Archiwum domu Radziwiłłów* (Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum, vol. 8), Kraków 1885; Henryk LULEWICZ, *Radziwiłł Mikołaj Krzysztof*, [in:] PSB, vol. 30, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1987, pp. 349–361; Tomasz KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616), wojewoda wileński*, Warszawa 2000.

decades later which was noted a couple years ago by his biographer.<sup>6</sup> These sources seem to be the only witnesses to this relationship as the research conducted in the Radziwiłł Archive in the Main Archive of Historical Records (fond V – The Correspondence of Foreign Houses) but also in the Raczyński Library in Poznań and the Czartoryski Library in Cracow has not brought to light any additional documents confirming contacts between the Prince and Latosz. In the light of Radziwiłł's patronage<sup>7</sup> and the wide selection of letters written by or to him,<sup>8</sup> his dealings with Latosz seem to be marginal. Nevertheless, it is very important that this be mentioned as it provides a fuller picture of the fate and courses of action undertaken by Latosz and may provide a basis for the enhancement of our limited knowledge of him which can be, as one may still hope, expanded upon in the future.

#### AN ASTROLOGER, A PATRON AND AN ADVERSARY

The censorship of Latosz's works is most probably the main reason behind their low survival rate as far as the printed brochures are concerned but may be also responsible for the fact that many of his works were circulated as manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> just as some of the texts against his ideas.<sup>10</sup> His main work, *New correction of the calendar*,<sup>11</sup> in which he put forward his suggestions for the correction of it<sup>12</sup> and it is not completely clear whether it was written in Polish or Latin or in fact whether

<sup>6</sup> See T. KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, pp. 194–195.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 182–216. On the patronage of “the Orphan” in the context of activities conducted by other family members see: Alojzy SAJKOWSKI, *Od Sierotki do Rybeńki. W kręgu radziwiłłowskiego mecenatu* [From the Orphan to Rybenko. In the circle of Radziwiłłs' patronage], Poznań 1965, pp. 25–39. For the analysis of “the Orphan’s” patronage in the area of publishing see Clarinda CALMA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549–1616): Prince, Patron and Printer*, [in:] *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, ed. Teresa BELA, Clarinda CALMA, Jolanta RZEGOCKA (Library of the Written Word Series: The Handpress World, vol. 52), Leiden–Boston 2016, pp. 73–90 (I am grateful to the author for sharing an earlier version of her paper with me).

<sup>8</sup> See T. KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>9</sup> *Przestroga* of 1595, which survived only as a manuscript copy in the papers of Jakub Michałowski is not the only example of this scenario. A second one can be found in MS Cracow, Jagiellonian Library [Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie] (hereafter referred to as BJ), no. 59, where on pp. 297–306 one can find a partial copy of *Prognosticon* of 1594. In case of this text, however, we have few extant printed copies.

<sup>10</sup> See also: Marcin Łaszczy's *Zwierciadło roczne* in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław [Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu] (hereafter referred to as BO), MS 9/II (a complete handwritten copy of the text); the Czartoryski Library in Cracow [Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie] (hereafter referred to as BCz), MS 1657 IV, pp. 183–185 (a complete copy of the dialogue *Latosie cielę*).

<sup>11</sup> See Szymon STAROWOLSKI, *Setnik pisarzów polskich, albo pochwały i żywoty stu najznakomitszych pisarzów polskich*, translated by Jerzy STARNAWSKI, introduction by Francis BIELAK, Jerzy STARNAWSKI, Kraków 1970, pp. 167–168.

<sup>12</sup> For the most probable reconstruction of Latosz's proposal see Tadeusz PRZYPKOWSKI, *Udział polskich astronomów w reformie kalendarza*, [in:] *Historia astronomii w Polsce*, vol. 1, ed. Eugeniusz RYBKA, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, pp. 222–225.

it was published or just circulated in manuscript copies, one of which was sent to Rome.<sup>13</sup>

Bibliographies of early modern prints provide information on Latosz's works, which are surprisingly detailed, especially if one bears in mind the fact that these publications were not consulted in person. Among these are *Kometą z podziwieniem*,<sup>14</sup> a brochure related to Latosz's introduction to the group of Cracow medical lecturers<sup>15</sup> and dissertation discussing the conjunctions of Saturn and Mars.<sup>16</sup> Even though it is difficult to assess the reliability of these bibliographical records, they still provide us some knowledge about the circle of addressees of Latosz's works. For instance, *Kometą* belongs to a series of texts dedicated to the members of the Ostrogski family and was offered to Duke Janusz, the son of Konstanty Wasyl whilst *Strażnik* of 1597 has been ascribed to Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, who at that time served as the Great Royal Marshal.

The list of Latosz's works enumerated by bibliographers is not a complete one as can be evidenced by other mentions of his publications which one can find in the works of his adversaries and later participants in the calendrical disputes. For example, Marcin Łaszcz S.J. in his *Próba minucyj latosowych* mentions as many as three of Latosz's predictions for the year 1598 although it is impossible to tell whether it is simply a hyperbole used by the Jesuit in order to show Latosz's lack of decisiveness and precision in foretelling the future or whether the astrologer in fact conducted such a publishing massive campaign in the years 1597/1598.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Karol ESTREICHER, *Bibliografia polska*, part 3, vol. 21, Kraków 1938 (from now on to be referred to as Estr.), p. 116, gives the year 1578 as the date of its publication which is also the date adopted by Jerzy Starnawski. The author of *Hekatontas* however suggests that Latosz's work was created later when the disputes about his concepts became more fierce and when he gained the support of Ostrogski. It is highly probable that the book *Nowa Poprawa* mentioned by Starowolski was in fact Latosz's now lost manuscript written immediately after the calendar reform was introduced and that this manuscript was most probably discussed at a meeting between Antonio Possevina and a Cracow mathematician who probably was Latosz attempting to spread his ideas to Roman circles; see A. Possevino to A. Bolognetti, Cracow, 7th August 1583 (*Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici Epistolae et acta 1581–1585, pars II 1583*, ed. Edward KUNTZE (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, vol. 6), Cracoviae 1938, pp. 474–476).

<sup>14</sup> Jan LATOSZ, *Kometą z podziwieniem, która się ukazała roku Bożego 1596*, Kraków: Wojciech Kobyliński, 1596; see also Estr., part 3, vol. 21, p. 115.

<sup>15</sup> Joannes LATOSINUS, *Quaestio pro incorporatione sui inter professores medicinae facultatis in universitate Cracoviensi*, Cracoviae: in officina Lazari, 1582; no surviving copies. See also Estr., part. 3, vol. 21, p. 117.

<sup>16</sup> Jan LATOSZ, *Strażnik opowiada przypadki rozmaite, które za sobą pociągnie złączeniu obudwu niefortun Saturnusa i Marsa roku niniejszego 1596*, Kraków: Wojciech Kobyliński, 1597 (Before the Second World War there was one copy of this manuscript to be found in the archives of The University of Warsaw Library). See also part 3, vol. 21, p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> See also Marcin ŁASZCZ, *Próba minucyj Latosowych [...]*, Kraków 1598, p. 4: "A co inszych lat tylko mu groził i przymawiał, to już na roku dzisiejszy [15]98 minucyj swoich wydaniem i na kalendarz i na święto wielkonocne prawie ze wszystkiej swej siły uderzył, nie iżby te, których używa mocne miały być jego *argumenta*, ale że ich śmiejeć i jawniej niżli przed tym używa;" ibid., p. 10: "A co inszych lat tylko mu groził i przymawiał, to już na roku dzisiejszy [15]98 minucyj swoich wydaniem

Nevertheless, thanks to this passage we know that in this period Latosz continued his astrological activities. The astrologer himself quite often referred to his previously formulated ideas and recalled his past prognostics. Thanks to this strategy we know, for instance, that he published a prognostication for the year 1600<sup>18</sup> but the title of this work, like in the case of many others, remains unknown. References to his works are also to be found in the writings of other authors such as Jan Dubowicz, a Uniate priest and supporter of the Gregorian calendar who mentioned Latosz's *Przestroga* for the year 1602, which came down to us as a unique damaged print<sup>19</sup> as well as his predictions for the years 1600 and 1604<sup>20</sup>. Unfortunately, none of these references allows one to reconstruct the exact titles of these publications or to connect them with particular addressees of dedicatory letters.

To the aforementioned works one should add two manuscripts. The older one is a complete fair copy of an astrological ephemeris calculated for 1571 (introduction and dedication lacking) which came down to us as part of astrological miscellany preserved in the Cracow collections. The other manuscript, preserved in the Ossolineum Library, is dating from a few decades later and is a fragment of astronomical tables; large number of corrections and additions one which one can find in it shows clearly that it is a draft version.<sup>21</sup>

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i na kalendarz i na święto wielkonocne prawie ze wszystkiej swej sily uderzył, nie iżby te, których używa mocne miały być jego *argumenta*, ale że ich śmieiej i jawniej niżli przed tym używa;" p. 10: "Krakowski doktor w lekarstwach Latos przeszzych lat przymawiał i groził kalendarzowi poprawionemu, a tego zaś roku [15]98 w minucjach swoich jednych (bo troje sobie różne, nie wiem czemu gwoli, w tym roku wydał) pozwalał się na kalendarz, a nabarziej na Wielką Noc, która w pełnią obchodzona będzie."

<sup>18</sup> See also Jan LATOSZ, *Przestroga* [...], [Ostróg 1601?], fol. A7v: "Pisałem przeciwko Claviusowi jezuicie niedawno w prognostyku roku 1600; wiem, że to barzo was boli i to was w oczy kole, a potrzeba by na to *directe respondować*, a plotek nie stroić i paskwiłusów nie pisać."

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Jan DUBOWICZ, *Kalendarz prawdziwy*, Wilno 1644, fol. E2r: "A choć jawnia tak rzecz jest, przecie Jan Latos w minucjach roku 1602, zgodziwszy się z Wasylem Surazkim schizmatykiem uparcie, iż nie może raniej Pascha nad 16 dzień pierwszej luny odprawować się, broni."

<sup>20</sup> Comp. ibid., k. Iv: "Latos w minucjach roku 1604 napisał, na 18 godzin nie pomyka się *aequinoctium astronomicum* i wyżej tego traktatu w rozdziele tym namieniono o tym"; k. I4r–I4v: "Latos zaś *periodum lunae* 14 czyni w lat 325, ale drwi, jako zwykły, przeciwnym matematykom, a prostakami zowie astronomów w minucjach roku 1600, dziwujący się i Claviusowi, iż tak małej rzeczy *periodum lunae* dojść nie mógł, a to mówi przeciw sobie, bowiem w minucjach roku 1604 trzy całe powszechnie sobory bazylyjeński, konstancyjeński i lateraneński wspomina, które nie mogły poprawić kalendarza, a to dlatego, iż nie mogli wiedzieć *periodum*, to tedy niemała rzecz, on jeden mrówka wylatysza nad inne ludzie".

<sup>21</sup> See BJ, MS 608, pp. 153–179: "Ephemerides coelestiu[m] constellationum ad annu[m] Domini millesimum quinge[n]tesimum septuagesimu[m] primu[m] com[m]unem a Magistro Ioanne Lathosinio Cracov[iense], Universitatis Crac[oviensis] Astronomo ex tabulis Prutenicis diligenter supputatae et conscriptae;" BO, MS 764/I, fol. 97r–111v: "Ioannis Lathosinii Medicinae Doctoris Astronomi peritissimi calculationes motu[m] et ad annu[m] 1627 et sequentes aliquot". It is planned that both manuscripts will be the subjects of separate studies in an effort to ascertain who the authors were and also to attempt to reconstruct the possible mistakes in calculations made by Latosz or adopted from other authors which induced him into opting for a different concept of calendar reform.

A works by Latosz's which have actually survived provide more detailed information on the relationship between him and the influential elite among which he looked for support. In the mid-1590s after a few years of enforced silence imposed upon him by the Cracow Academy he took the plunge and returned to the subject of the reformed calendar. Taking a risk by dedicating one of his texts to Rudolf II Hapsburg who was well-known as a ruler interested in "science of the stars",<sup>22</sup> he published in 1594 the Latin *Prognosticon*, which presented a vision of changes of earthly monarchies as correlated with the cycle of conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn. However, the publication did not bring the expected results or at least there are no surviving documents to show what reaction ensued on the imperial side.<sup>23</sup> A year later in Cracow, Latosz published another, yet this time Polish, text entitled *Przestroga* which he dedicated to Duke Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski. This analogical though not identical text to *Prognosticon* this astrological-chronological narrative was preceded by a stemmatic epigram, in which Latosz encapsulated a praise of the Ostrogski family, as well as an elaborate introduction where he discussed the genealogy of this powerful Eastern European family.<sup>24</sup>

The fact of publication of *Przestroga* did not rule out the necessity of keeping lines of communication open with the Catholic clergy or of garnering their support. A few years later when the Jesuits started directing the most sharp-tongued of comments in his direction<sup>25</sup> he announced his prognostication for the year 1599

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See Michał CHOPTYANY, "Astrology and Calendar Reform in Late Sixteenth-Century Cracow: Two Understudied Manuscripts Related to Joannes Latosinus" (working title).

<sup>22</sup> The pre-eminent study for the astrological-astronomical patronage of Rudolf II is still: Robert John Weston EVANS, *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576–1612*, Oxford 1973.

<sup>23</sup> For Latosz's dedicational letter addressed to Rudolf II see Joannes LATOSINUS, *Prognosticon de regnorum ac imperiorum mutationibus ex orbium coeli syderumque motu et lumine vario, in haec tempora incidentibus*, 1594, fol. A2r–A3v. For the whole work see Mykhaylo YAKUBOVYCH, *Jan Latosz (1539–1608) and His Natural Philosophy: Reception of Arabic science in early modern Poland*, [in:] *Cultures in Motion: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Adam IZDEBSKI, Damian JASIŃSKI, Cracow 2014, pp. 235–254. For the Latin-Ukrainian edition see Петро Михайлович Кралюк, Михайло Михайлович Якубович, *Ян Лятос: ренесансна філософія та наука на українських землях*, Острор 2011, pp. 108–124 (for the complete Latin text), pp. 125–141 (translation into Ukrainian).

<sup>24</sup> The only preserved copy of *Przestroga* [A Warning] is a manuscript which can be found in The National Library in Warsaw [Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie] (hereafter referred to as BN), no. 6631 III; see also Michał CHOPTYANY, "Przestroga" Jana Latosza z 1595 roku. *Prolegomena do edycji krytycznej na podstawie siedemnastowiecznego rękopisu z Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie*, Terminus, vol. 16: 2014, no. 2 (31), pp. 175–192. See also idem, "Astrologia, chronologia i profecja w «Prognosticonie» (1594) i «Przestrodze» (1594) Jana Latosza. Studium i edycja krytyczna" (a working title).

<sup>25</sup> See also, among others Szczęsnego ŻEBROWSKiego [Marcin Łaszcza SJ], *Probatia. Próby na minucje Latosowe*, Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1598; idem, *Próba minucji Latosowych z obroną kalendarza poprawionego*, Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1598; [Wojciech Rościszewski SJ?], *Latosie cielę, albo dyalog o kalendarzu Latosowym*, 1604. The most detailed and precise distillation of Latosz's views is to be found in *Zwierciadło roczne na trzy części rozzielone* by Łaszcza (once again written

dedicating it to Aleksander Ostrogski (1570–1603), the voivode of Wołyń and son of Duke Konstanty Wasyl. The first lines of the text sound a bit desperate<sup>26</sup> and in the introduction to the reader he stressed out his bond with the Roman Church and emphasised the fact the old calendar needed to be corrected.<sup>27</sup> The issue of his unity with Rome (or at least his conviction about its existence) was raised by the astrologer a number of times, including, for example, his prognostication regarding the eclipse of the sun of 1597 which he dedicated to another influential nobleman of Małopolska [Lesser Poland], Sebastian Lubomirski (1546–1612).<sup>28</sup>

It is quite possible that this relative nature of Latosz's position and suggestion that he may not have totally supported the Julian calendar but sought some alternate third path made Latosz change course and look for support outside Orthodox circles. Another reason for such a decision could be the gossip which was circulated by his enemies about his alleged secret converted to the Orthodox faith but this has never been proven and was denied by Latosz himself on a number of occasions. For the members of the Orthodox Church the Julian calendar was an integral part of their identity therefore Latosz's call for reform of it was unacceptable. In their view, through the dissemination of such statements Latosz became part of a group advocating for a change in time reckoning which in turn meant that he was acting against sacred tradition. In the light of the above, the fact that he was not in favour of the calendar announced in 1582 was secondary for the orthodox faithful as what truly counted was that it was a turning away from the tradition.<sup>29</sup>

Such a complex perception of Latosz's views in Orthodox circles might have been one of the reasons why a few years later, in 1601 he dedicated another *Przestroga*, this time for the year 1602,<sup>30</sup> to the bishop of Cracow, Bernard Maciejewski.

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under the pseudonym of Szczęsnego Żebrowskiego; Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1603), in which the second part is completely devoted to Latosz's critical analysis of the Gregorian calendar (pp. 85–142).

<sup>26</sup> See also Jan LATOSZ, *Przestroga rozmaitych przypadków z nauki gwiazd i obrotów niebieskich na rok Pański 1599*, [Ostróg 1598?], fol. C2r: "Jest to rzecz na świecie doświadczona, Oświecone Księże a mnie miłościwy Panie, iż każda cnota im naznaczniejsza i naprzeczedniejsza jest, tym więcej ma nieprzyjaciół i prześladowników, wedla onej przypowieści dawnej o wysokie skały i wspaniale dęby, piorunowie i nawałyści wietrzne rady się opierają." The whole dedicational letter on fol. C2r–C6r; I am using the original copy: BJ, shelfmark Mag. St. Dr. Cimelia O 1079.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., fol. C6v–D2r.

<sup>28</sup> See also Jan LATOSZ, *Srogiego i straszliwego zaćmienia słonecznego, także dwojga miesięcowego na rok Pański 1598 przypadającego krótkie skutków opisanie*, [Kraków 1597], fol. Dv; Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника, no. 94122; to comp. see Estr., part. 3, vol. 21, p. 117.

<sup>29</sup> The friction between the traditional and empirical nature of astronomy was under discussion up to the 1670s. It is significant that due to the ambivalence of Latosz's views on the Julian calendar he was referenced in later works by Catholic writers. The nature of the controversy shifted from disputing the introduction of the reform by Gregory XIII to trying to get the reform recognized by the United Christians.

<sup>30</sup> Jan LATOSZ, *Przestroga rozmaitych przypadków z nauki gwiazd i obrotów niebieskich na rok Pański 1602 pospolity, a od początku świata 6182*, [Ostróg 1601?], a partly destroyed original copy: BJ, shelfmark Mag. St. Dr. Cimelia O 1080.

In the dedicatory letter he employed the metaphor of the world as a well-wind-up mechanism (*Zygar*) and God as its time master (*zygarmistrz*) and took the opportunity to present his point of view on the conflicts with the Jesuits and endeavoured to garner the bishop's support in the so called calendrical conflict. (The choice of Maciejewski was not accidental as the Metropolitan Bishop of Cracow was ex officio the Chancellor of the Cracow Academy<sup>31</sup>). Paradoxically, Latosz's gesture met with radically opposite reaction as Bishop Maciejowski in the same year imposed a ban prohibiting both the printing and circulation of astrologer's works. In the light of this decision Latosz's remarks about the right to teach he received from the Cracow Academy, an institution which he directly associated with the Roman Church, as well as his declarations of allegiance to the Church appear as drops of bitterness that filled the Bishop's cup to the brim.<sup>32</sup> Latosz's views did not find favour with the followers and the authorities of neither of the Churches as both sides were expecting some clear declaration from him. Latosz himself got lost somewhere between the front lines of the conflict and was, to an extent, in some way inconvenient for both sides. After the official ban was issued, he settled in Ostróg, far away from the Academy, finding a safe haven under the auspices of Ostrogski family.

#### LATOSZ AND RADZIWIŁŁ – THE YEAR 1572

This dynamic and changing network of connections and relationships, which included few people and geographical locations such as the imperial court in Prague, Cracow as the seat of the bishop and royal marshall as well as the estates of the Ostrogski family, would not be complete without Nicolaus Christopher Radziwiłł and the Radziwiłł's estate in Nieśwież.

<sup>31</sup> The exact words of Latosz's request are not known as the only existing printed version was destroyed, see also ibid., fol. A8v: "Co iż tak jest Oświ[econy] Książę, ja, jako posłuszny syn ojca swego, owieczka pasterza i Biskupa, *doctor et Universitatis Cracovien[sis] membrum*, Kanclerza swego z tym wszystkim a to uciekam się do ciebie jako do tego, którego Pan Bóg postanowił na tej stolicy Biskupstwa Krakow[skiego], aby W[asza] Ks[iążęca] M[ość] dał *iudicium cum Academia Cracov[iensi]*, której to właśnie <-->" (end of text B-B8); (fol. B-B8 missing).

<sup>32</sup> See also the end of dedicational letter to B. Maciejowski: ibid., fol. A8r–A8v: "Ja Kościoła bronię i *decreta Patrum et Conciliorum*, do tego *artem* pokazuję i nic sobie takowego nie wymyślам, co by było *contra principia et theoreses mathematicas*, i owszem tak, jako Kościół stanowił, tak czynię. Kościół stanowił Akademiję w krześcijaństwie. *Academia Krakowska Sede Apostolica* jest potwierdzona i przywilejami nadana, która mię tak nauczyła, tak Kopernik uczy, tak Reinholdus in *Tabulis Pruten[icis]*, na których Clavius się wspiera. Nie wiem, czego się mam inszego domyślać, jedno tego, iż co mi dano *publice facultatem legendi, scribendi, interpretandi, docendi*, to czynić powinienem, bo mi tak Kościół rozkazał. Dla tego wolno mi pisać, mając po sobie *rationes et ipsas demonstrationes*. A co więcej, że to, co piszę i ukazuję, powiedam, iż to nie mój rozsądek, ale puszczałam to *sub iudicium et censuram Ecclesiae*, jeśliże się to kiedy może przydać. Z tej tedy przyczyny, kto mię heretykiem być mieni, ten rozumu nie mając, mnie wielką krzywdę czyni."

Latosz's *Obwieszczenie przypadków i znaków niebieskich od roku Pańskiego 1572 aż do roku przyszłego 1589*<sup>33</sup> is the only evidence known to bibliographers that allows one to connect Latosz to Radziwiłł's circle. This long-term astrological prediction was divided into short parts usually of two or three pages of print each in concise style discussing the influence of the planets on earthly kingdoms. While the annual predictions usually provided many details provided about certain parts or regions which from the point of view of a researcher today are an indispensable source of information about the events taking place in different parts of Europe, in case of a prognostication like Latosz's *Announcements* the states and parts of the world have been reduced nearly to pure onomastics and the astrological narrative has been devoid of elaborated commentary. From the point of view of astrological genres Latosz's work seems to be rather typical and does not provide much information either about his biography or the development of "the science of the stars" in sixteenth-century Cracow.

However, the print is provided with a one page introduction addressed to the reader that sheds some light onto the reasons why Latosz gave up his time in the Collegium Minus of the Cracow Academy and suggests some kind of answer to the question why the *Obwieszczenie* was dedicated to Prince Radziwiłł. It seems that Latosz's prickly nature made itself felt as early as in 1570s as instead of conventional phrases that would encourage the readers to discover their future fate, one can find a critical remark addressing some unidentified astrologers: "All this comes from the predictions of those who lead people into error and mislead them and who lend the science of the stars more ignominy than dignity and what can be observed in both their calculations and writings. Everyone who has knowledge of astrology can clearly see this after having a quick glance at their calculations for the beginning of the year and incorrect ascents. In this light every wise man can demonstrate their great error and great lack of competence."<sup>34</sup>

Continuing his address to the reader, Latosz supports the work of the Academy as an institution deciding which book of predictions is in adherence with the existing rules: "And so it is very good that the elderly and noble men of the Academy decide who has the right and not the right to publish their work and those who publish their work without this permission spread among people nothing but wrong information on Judgement Day."<sup>35</sup>

The above statement is surprising as at the time the *Obwieszczenie* was published, Latosz was almost banished from the Academy's professorial body. It is therefore quite possible that these disputes concerning the precision and methods he employed to make horoscopes and the predictions he based on them not

<sup>33</sup> Jan LATOSZ, *Obwieszczenie przypadków i znaków niebieskich od roku Pańskiego 1572 aż do roku przyszłego 1589*, Kraków: Stanisław Szarffenberg, 1572 (unique copy, with a slight defect caused by the binder: BCz, shelfmark Cim. 714 I).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., fol. A<sub>ij</sub>v.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

particularly severe but strong enough to provoke Latosz – could be the reason for a series of clashes between the author of the *Obwieszczenie* and other Cracow astrologers.<sup>36</sup> The introduction also addresses the question of mecenate given to the authors of false and misleading predictions and includes the suggestion that their motives in sponsoring these uncertain and wrong predictions should also come under the microscope. Latosz, by dedicating the *Obwieszczenie* to Nicolas Christopher Radziwiłł, saw it not only as a means of gaining financial support based on the client-patron model but also as a way of involving the magnate in the disputes of the day.<sup>37</sup>

The conflicts, if indeed they be viewed as conflictual, were overshadowed by the calendar controversy which began a decade later and no further reference to them are to be found in any other of Latosz's works. What is more, neither the fact that he left Collegium Minus or the conflicts surrounding the calendar changed the fact that he remained respectful towards astrologers connected with the Academy.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the polemical comments he made as a warning to his readers, the dedication to "the Orphan"<sup>39</sup> is quite innocent in tone. It mentions a number of general disputes on the subject of study of what "the Nature has secretly hidden." These passages are conventional in style and if compared to later works by Latosz, it becomes clear that they constituted a set of rhetorical devices he developed for this kind of purposes. These images, although this time more developed on literary level, can be found a few years later in his *Przestroga* dedicated to Prince

<sup>36</sup> To get a general picture of the Cracow astrological circle at the time see Tadeusz PRZYPKOWSKI, *Astronomia i astrologia w Krakowie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, [in:] *Historia astronomii w Polsce*, vol. 1, pp. 185–202 (in the above study the author does not mention Latosz's activities).

<sup>37</sup> On "The Orphan's" beneficiaries see Tomasz KEMPA, *Urzędnicy i klienci Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła Sierotki*, Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia, vol. 9: 2003, pp. 193–221. See also Maciej SIEKIERSKI, *Landed Wealth in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Economic Affairs of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł (1549–1616)*, Acta Baltico-Slavica, vol. 20: 1989, pp. 239–308; vol. 21: 1992, pp. 195–300.

<sup>38</sup> It is highly probable that invoking the traditions of the Cracow Academy paid off more as it let him place himself among the intelligentsia. see also J. LATOSZ, *Przestroga*, BN, MS 6631 III, fol. 1v–2r: "A tak, iż to jest prawie u wszystkich ludzi rozumnych *in confessio* słusznie Akademija Krakowska między inszymi stany biegłości i obierania w tak zacnej nauce zawsze pierwsze miejsce i przodowanie miała i ta Korona Polska, nie wiem za jakimisi prze<m>yśleniem i sprawą Boską, osobiowe dowcipy i do takiej nauki rozmaite roz<ry>wki niesłychane nad insze rodziła. [...] Takowej Kopernikowej nauki pierwociny zostawił Akadem[iej] Krakow[skiej] człowiek magni iudicij i wielkiej godzien pamięci, Sylwester Rogucki, Królowy Jej M[iloś]ci Starej medyk, od którego poszedł Joannes Muscenius, *vir gravis et egregius, cuius studio et opera ja wszystkie początki tej professej* wziąwszy, inszym jako Petro Slovacio et Valent[ino] Fontano *doctoribus medicinae*, ludziom tak u nas, jako i u postronnych narodów dosyć znacznym, jako przez ręce podałem, zaczym inszy do tego czasu uwidzą się, gdyż tedy ta Korona nasza ma i miała zawsze pierwsze miejsce, że rodziła *ingenia* tak do tego szczęśliwe i sposobne, przeto jej synowie dobrzy nietykko mają sławę ojców swych doskonale trzymać, ale tym więcej przyczyniać i w najwięcej rozmnażać."

<sup>39</sup> J. LATOSZ, *Obwieszczenie*, fol. A<sub>ij</sub>r–A<sub>iv</sub>r; for the edition of the dedicational letter with commentary see Annex 1.

Ostrogski.<sup>40</sup> Also the fact that Latosz put the astrological practice in the context of political prudence, basing his claims on narratives borrowed from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* (Pericles, Alexander the Great and his seer Aristander) also seem to be standard references.

Undoubtedly, special attention should be focused to the part of the letter in which the astrologer explains the thought process that lead him to choosing Radziwiłł as dedicatee of his work. Naturally, the image of astrologer wondering whom he should dedicate his writings is a literary construct and should be read in the context of certain rhetorical tradition. It seems however that apart from the reasons provided in the letter explicitly such as the fact that "the Orphan" was the son of Nicolas Christopher Radziwiłł "The Black" and general remarks on his contribution to the defence of Christianity, one can find traces of cold calculation. Radziwiłł was only 23 years old and already a rising star in the political arena performing the duties of the Court Marshal of Lithuania as well as belonging to the inner circle surrounding Sigmund Augustus who died shortly after the dedication was published. It is probable therefore that Latosz expected long term support and security from young Radziwiłł. It is also possible that he was hoping to find a powerful patron in the astrological controversy and by means of Radziwiłł's network find a way to the royal court. Due to their low cost and popularity among readers the printing of predictions was a sure fire earner but the reason for dedicating it to someone of influence was not only to gain the wherewithal to have it printed but also involved achieving of propaganda effect, creation of social fact that would lead to establishing of clear association of the author's and patron's names in the readers' minds.

It is not clear whether Latosz's plan worked. The publication of the *Obwieszczenie* opens a 20-years gap in the bibliography of his writings, which also includes early stages of his activity related to the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in the 1580s. One can assume, however, that Latosz continued his astrological enterprises. And while Radziwiłł's career developed rapidly and lead him as he worked his way up the ladder, supported other cultural ventures and engaged into the state and confessional politics, his name did not appear in any other sources related to Latosz, at least not until 1590s.

#### LATOSZ AND RADZIWIŁŁ – YEARS 1594/1595

The only existing source certifying Latosz's second attempt to curry favour with "The Orphan" is a letter of 27 December 1594 which came down to us in two independent and later copies which are now in the collections in Cracow and Kórnik.<sup>41</sup> The existence of these copies have been acknowledged by Tomasz Kempa

<sup>40</sup> See also BN, MS 6631 III, fol. 5r–10r.

<sup>41</sup> BJ, MS 7511 IV, fol. 11r (further on referred to as J); The Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences [Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku] (referred to as BK), MS 11617, fol. 13r–13v (further on referred to as K); for the edition of the letter and translation see Annex 2.

a few years ago in a monography devoted to the voivod of Vilnius. In it, Latosz received a cursory mention as one of many people who corresponded with Radziwiłł and who was also the author of some of the books from his library<sup>42</sup> but the nature of this relation was never subject to detailed examination.

Manuscript *J* is a 19th century copy of an original letter which was bound in codex Coll. aut. 233 from the Nieśwież library. At the moment when the copy was created the codex was in the possession of the Public Library in St. Petersburg.<sup>43</sup> On the strength of the Peace Treaty of Riga of 1921 the volume, along with other historical collections, was returned to Warsaw. It was kept in the National Library until the massive burning of its holdings at the end of the Warsaw Uprising<sup>44</sup>. Manuscript *K* was created in the interwar period and was created by Stanisław Bodniak in the mid-1930s, yet this copy can only be used as an additional source and not as a basis for an edition. Manuscript *J* seems complete as it contains all the traditional elements of a letter including the address which in the lost original – due to the 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century method of folding and sealing of letters – was most likely placed at the back and in manuscript *J* was copied at the bottom of the page. Unlike witness *J*, manuscript *K* is not a solid transcription but a quickly jotted note on the back of a library card containing; the text in *K* is in fact a mixture of the transcription of the original letter and the improvised translation. Due to these features manuscript *K* cannot be treated as reliable source and one has to assume that manuscript *J* provides us with the most reliable version of the missing original.

For the student of Radziwiłł's biography who has to deal with the extensive corpus of correspondence documenting his achievements, Latosz's letter seems to be of marginal importance. However, it is possible to reverse the perspective and then this letter becomes an understudied source which allows one to reconstruct a hitherto unknown episode of Latosz's biography and shed some further light on the later years of his astrological activities which are traditionally associated with the Ostrogski family.

Latosz's letter is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is the third known such kind of document written by him, apart from the other two letters that Edward Kuntze found in the Vatican Archive and as such it fills a huge gap in the source material connected with his person<sup>45</sup> and unlike the letters written

<sup>42</sup> T. KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, pp. 194–195; in footnote 51 the researcher gives the information about the letter dated differently however analysis has proven that both have the same date: the 27<sup>th</sup> December, 1594.

<sup>43</sup> See *J*, a note on the top of the page: "S księgi autografów Radziwiłłowskich. Bibl. Publ. Petersb. № 233."

<sup>44</sup> Comp. T. KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>45</sup> See also J. Latosz to Pope Gregory XIII, Cracow, 9 February 1584; J. Latosz to Cardinal Ptolemais Gaius, Cracow, 9 February 1584 (published in: *Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici epistolarum et actorum pars III, fasc. I (m. Jan. – Jun. 1584)*, ed. Edward KUNTZE (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, vol. 7), Cracoviae 1938, pp. 65–66).

to Pope Gregory XIII and Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio it is the only document that is available in its complete form.

Secondly, the letter indicates that after a 20-year-break Latosz decided to resume contact with Prince Radziwiłł. A lack of sources confirming their continuing relationship for the years 1572–1594 would suggest that contacts between the two were in fact two isolated episodes and the reasons that Latosz addressed “The Orphan” were personal, and unrelated to preparing astrological predictions for the Prince. Importantly, there is not much information concerning Radziwiłł’s interest in the astrological matters and the fact that he converted from Calvinism to Roman Catholicism and was supportive of numerous church enterprises can lead us to assume that he was a nobleman who would steer well clear of such sensational and unorthodox undertakings.

The significance of the letter lies also in the fact that it expands our corpus of bibliographical data. However, Latosz’s references to his own works cannot replace a physical complete or incomplete copy of the actual text that would enlarge the corpus of his works, it seems that at least the list of lost works of Latosz should be slightly expanded. From the letter known to have been written to “The Orphan” it becomes quite clear that the years 1594–1595 Latosz should not only be associated with works like the Latin *Prognosticon* for Rudolf II and *Przestroga* for Wasył Ostrogski, but also with another, apparently lost, work which was dedicated to Radziwiłł. The information from Latosz’s letter to Radziwiłł is scant but one can assume that the prediction which Latosz mentions was much closer in form to the aforementioned two texts of *Przestroga* for the years 1599 and 1602 than to his two big dissertations devoted to astrology and chronology. The above would mean that the content was probably limited to a certain calendar year and if this was the case then it probably limited itself to predicting the seasonal weather and political changes in various parts of the world in the year to come. No one knows however what information was included in the dedicational letter which must have been included in the print.

One cannot rule out the possibility that Radziwiłł was given a handwritten version of the prognostication which was a common practice allowing authors to gain the attention of the receiver through supplying them with a unique copy of a text.<sup>46</sup> However, the unflowery style of the letter does not seem to support that Latosz was following this well-trodden path. The Latin expression “in lucem

<sup>46</sup> Among dispersed parts of Nieśwież collections, now located in few Polish and foreign libraries one can find an example of an astrological-astronomical manuscript relating to the brother of Nicolaus Christopher, Cardinal Radziwiłł. The Bishop of Vilnius was sent on a diplomatic mission to Riga by king Stefan Bathory brought from there a manuscript almanac devised by a Riga astronomer of Silesian origin, Zacharias Stopius (ca. 1535–1593/1594), see Warsaw, University Library [Biblioteka Uniwersytecka], MS 1922: Zacharias STOPIUS, *Ephemeris iuxta correctum Kalendarium Gregorianum Pont. Max. ad annum reparatae Salutis MDLXXXIII [...]. Prognosticon astrolologicum generale in annum Salutis nostrae 1583 [...]*. This is quite an interesting source as it is dated from the period immediately after the introduction of the Gregorian calendar which for Riga in the 1580s was quite

editum” which was used also by Latosz in the dedication to the *Obwieszczenie* of 1572<sup>47</sup> and in the preface to the reader (although this time) not in relation to his own works,<sup>48</sup> indicates the fact that Latosz had in mind a print of which no copies have survived. Such an assumption seems even more probable in the light of the data provided by an analysis of the bibliographies for the period thanks to which we can find hundreds of prints from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries whose front pages contain such a phrase.<sup>49</sup>

Even if one assumes that the prediction mentioned by Latosz existed in print it does not exclude the possibility that some kind of manuscript was also included in the parcel sent to Radziwiłł as the letter provides one more intriguing piece of information. According to the document, Latosz had prepared a geniture for the youngest of Radziwiłł's sons, Alexander Louis who was born a few months earlier, in the summer of 1594 hence the unique circumstances which led to Latosz preparing such a document. Due to the fact however that neither of the documents survived we can only assume how it was done by looking at analogous sources of a similar nature. We can therefore assume that it might contain a horoscope diagram showing the positions of the planets within the zodiac, followed by a commentary explaining the future of duke of Nieśwież.<sup>50</sup> What is striking is the fact that Latosz reveals that he found out about the birth of the last heir of Radziwiłł's from Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, Bishop of Cracow and brother of “the Orphan.” (It is impossible to establish the veracity of this but if it was so then it would mean that the anxious astrologer was trying to gain access to the Radziwiłł family also through the Bishop's court).

Finally, the letter reveals also some details concerning the way he devised to deliver his predictions to his intended target. The middleman between Latosz and Radziwiłł was Łukasz Górnicki, former royal secretary, the governor of Tykocin since 1571 and the author of Polish translation of Castiglione's *Il cortegginiano*.

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significant. Both Stopius' almanac and his activities during the *Kalenderunruhen* in Riga will be discussed in a separate study.

<sup>47</sup> See also J. LATOSZ, *Obwieszczenie*, fol. A<sub>ijj</sub>.r: “Potym też po kilka czasów moje *prognostica in lucem* wydawał?”

<sup>48</sup> Comp. ibid., fol. A<sub>ijj</sub>.v: “na jawią nie były wydane [...]”

<sup>49</sup> I used some German bibliographical sources: *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke* – for the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries: *VD16* ([http://www.gateway-bayern.de/index\\_vd16.html](http://www.gateway-bayern.de/index_vd16.html)) and *VD17* (<http://www.vd17.de>) (available: 9 May 2016).

<sup>50</sup> To gain information on various horoscopes made in Cracow for various eminent people see Ewa ŚNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOT, “*Zamek piękny na wzgórzu... Horoskopy – zapomniane źródło historyczne*”, Kraków 2015. On genitures see Lynn THORNDIKE, *The Horoscope of Barbarossa's First-Born*, The American Historical Review, vol. 64: 1959, no. 2, pp. 319–322; Monica AZZOLINI, *Refining the Astrologer's Art: Astrological Diagrams in Bodleian MS Canon. Misc.24 and Cardano's “Libelli Quinque”* (1547), Journal for the History of Astronomy, vol. 42: 2011, no. 1, pp. 1–26; on the general analysis of the relationship between astrology and political power see Steven VANDEN BROECKE, *Astrology and Politics*, [in:] *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*, ed. Brendan DOOLEY, Leiden–Boston 2014, pp. 193–232, there also rich bibliography.

In the light of surviving letters sent by Ł. Górnicki to Radziwiłł it is clear that although he did not have any formal function at the princely court he was one of Radziwiłł's occasional advisors and gathered information for him, what would not be possible without his erudition and closeness to the centre of royal power.<sup>51</sup> These were probably the reasons why Latosz entrusted him with the task of gaining Radziwiłł's attention as he believed that he was the man capable of doing so.<sup>52</sup> This exemplifies the way a book, understood here both as a material object and as a bearer of symbolic meanings was introduced into the network of social relationships where the "game" of gaining attention and receiving recognition was taking place.<sup>53</sup> Both the fact that Latosz did not send it directly to Radziwiłł who travelled between Czernawczyce, Nieśwież, Troki and Słonim between November 1594 and February 1595,<sup>54</sup> as well as the remark about "unsolicited work" included in the letter, seem to confirm that the publication from the end of 1594 was an attempt at re-establishing contact with the Prince after a break which began in 1572 and that to this end Latosz used Górnicki as a middleman.<sup>55</sup> The letter we have at our disposal should be thus interpreted as Latosz's attempt to learn about the reaction of the Prince some time after he handed over the parcel to Górnicki.

<sup>51</sup> To read about the contacts between Górnicki and Radziwiłł see Alojzy SAJKOWSKI, *Łukasz Górnicki, Radziwiłł zwany Sierotka i Wenecja*, [in:] *Łukasz Górnicki i jego czasy*, ed. Barbara NOWOROLSKA, Wiesław STEC, Białystok 1993, pp. 5–30.

<sup>52</sup> See also Ł. Górnicki to M. K. Radziwiłł, Lipniki, 18 October 1594: "Przyjechawszy do domu, zastałem tu nieco listów i nowin, acz niepociesznych, ale nieco inakszych, niżli one były, które W. Ks. M. posłano. Posyłam tedy W. Ks. Mci i polskie, i te, które mi włoskie posłano, a są te włoskie pewniejsze, bo z Wiednia zaraz po tej porażce posłane są;" quote after: Łukasz GÓRNICKI, *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 3: *Pisma oryginalne* [Original Writings], published by Piotr CHMIELOWSKI, Warszawa 1886, pp. 286–287.

<sup>53</sup> See also a recently published study on how books were circulated in the network of Nicolaus Christopher Radziwiłł's "The Black", the father of Radziwiłł "The Orphan": Tobias BUDKE, *A Network and Its Book Gifts: The Case of Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Czarny"*, [in:] *Early Modern Print Culture in Central Europe: Proceedings of the Young Scholars Section of the Wrocław Seminars, September 2013*, ed. Stefan KIEDROŃ, Anna-Maria RIMM in cooperation with Patrycja PONIATOWSKA, Wrocław 2014, pp. 79–92.

<sup>54</sup> See T. KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, pp. 323–345, here: p. 337.

<sup>55</sup> Like Latosz we are not certain if what was sent reached "the Orphan." Although Nieśwież Castle library was quite big, the registries of books seem to record only large publications not short-term prognostications and brochures which might have been cleared out once the year was finished or simply not catalogued. For example, in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century in section XIV of the library (mathematics, including astronomy) one can find works of Christoper Clavius as well as *Ad astrorum iudicia facilis introductio* (Leiden: apud Mauricium Roy et Ludovicum Presnot, 1557), and in section XXVI (*prohibita*) works by the Czech astronomer and astrologer Cyprián Karásek Lvovický (Cyprianus Leovitius) and works by Girolamo Cardano, one of the leading figures of the Renaissance astrology. See the contemporary catalogue created by Jan HANOWICZ, *Bibliotheca, alias Consignatio generalis libror[um] arcis Nesviensiensis per classes dispositorum* (BK, MS 1320), pp. 20, 37. On the subject of Radziwiłł's library see Tadeusz BERNATOWICZ, "Biblioteka jest jedna ozdoba..." *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł i książki*, [in:] *Badania księgozbioru Radziwiłłów. Materiały międzynarodowej sesji*, Olsztyn 6–7 października 1994 r., ed. Zofia JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Warszawa 1994, pp. 35–54; see also. T. KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, pp. 194–197.

## RESUME

The fact that the prognostication which is discussed in the letter to Radziwiłł dates back to the same period of time as the Latin *Prognosticon* and Polish *Przestroga*, seems to confirm Latosz's intentions of finding a wealthy patron. Latosz's primary concern was to gain the support of a person whose name would ensure the protection of someone involved in numerous disputes like himself. In his search for this protection he sought several patrons: an astrology loving catholic emperor, a convert-from-Lutheranism magnate who was a supporter of the Jesuits and an individual who tried to unite eastern and western Christians,<sup>56</sup> and even an arch-Orthodox nobleman and opponent of the union supported and protected by "the Orphan." Taken together they by no means can create a coherent set of patrons and it seems that the rule according to which Latosz operated was to maximize chances at winning somebody's attention by addressing few, even if conflicted with each other, candidates. In the end he found support in the court of Ostrogski but not due to his eminent abilities or knowledge but instead because of his doubtful popularity in Catholic circles. The imperial court was too distant to interest anyone in Latosz's conflict in a matter in which church authorities had already passed verdict and to which Catholic monarchs followed suit. Latosz's prognosis was one of many publications on the alignment of the planets reaching Prague at the time so it did not stand out enough to draw anybody's attention. "The Orphan," if he ever received the prognostication mentioned in the letter, as a politician engaged in preparations for the Union of Brest, would have had no interest in supporting a Cracow scholar whose views were in disagreement with official statements emanating from the Catholic Church and most likely preferred to avoid further confusion that could be raised by Latosz hiding behind his back.

The "imperial" and "Radziwiłł" remained thus unfulfilled ideas of the Cracow astrologer. However, his letter to Nicolas Christopher Radziwiłł allows one to reconstruct one of the possible scenarios and to fill some gaps in the history of his controversial activities.

## APPENDIX 1

Jan Latosz's dedicatory letter  
to Nicolaus Christopher Radziwiłł (1572)

*The transcription of the letter presented below was done in accordance with the guidelines established for popular scholarly editions (the so-called type B; comp. Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich. Projekt, ed. M. R. Mayenowa, Warszawa 1955). The punctuation has been modernized and the use of capital letters has been standarized, with capital letters kept for titles and polite phrases. All the Latin quotes*

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<sup>56</sup> Comp. Tomasz KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "Sierotka" a unia brzeska*, Czasy Nowożytne, vol. 2: 1997, pp. 47–63.

*were given in italics except for the Latinized form of Latosz's last name (Latosinius). The textual apparatus indicates some printer's mistakes, the commentary includes explanations of Latin expressions and cultural references. As there are a number of abbreviated salutations included in the original text it was decided to give them always in full form. Signatures given in square brackets refer the reader to the page breaks of the original print. The translation given below is aimed at rendering the general ideas included in the letter and not the entire richness of Latosz's style.*

#### Abbreviations and symbols:

- C *Jan Latosz, Obwieszczenie przypadków z znaków niebieskich od roku Pańskiegoo 1572 do roku przyszłego 1589, z którego każdy może pewnie rzeć przyszłe obaczyć, co za skutki będą tak z rewolucyj rocznych, jako też z zaćmienia Słońca i Miesiąca, Kraków: Stanisław Szarffenberg, 1571(?)  
fol. A<sub>ij</sub>r-A<sub>iv</sub>r; Kraków, Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie, shelfmark  
Cim. 714 I (unique copy).*
- [ ] *expanded abbreviations*
- <> *conjectures*

#### EDITION

*[fol. A<sub>ij</sub>r] Jaśnie Wielmożnemu Panu, Panu Mikołajowi Radziwiłłowi,  
Wojewodzicowi Wileńskiemu, Księżeciu na Ołyczy i Nieświeżu,  
Marszałkowi Nadwornemu Wielkiemu Księcia Litewskiego etc.,  
Panu Miłościwemu Mistrz Jan Latosinius Krakowczyk, w miłością łaskę  
powolne służby swe ofiaruje*

Między wszystkimi potocznymi sprawami ludzkimi, Wielmożny a mnie Miłościwy Panie, nie masz nic człowiekowi milszego i wdzięczniejszego, jedno to poznać i wiedzieć, co przyrodzenie w swoich tajemnicach zachowało i tajemnie zakryło. Nie masz nic więtsze[g]o a zacniejsze[g]o jedno sprawy Boże rozmyślać <i>poznawać. Bo zaprawdę oni zaci ludzie i uczeni mędrcowie pogań[scy] nigdy by byli ku poznaniu Boga jedne[g]o przyszli (jako o tym dosyć świadectwa mamy), gdyby się byli tym Bożym sprawom nie przypatrowali, a przypatrując, tego sobie statecznie w rozum nie brali. A przeto tak przez te sprawy Boże widome ku poznaniu Boga *[fol. A<sub>ij</sub>v]* niewidomego przychodzili, które wszyskti rzeczy iż nauka z gwiazd opisuje, i sprawy miłego Boga i przyszłych rzeczy tajemną znajomość, słusznie ta nauka od mądrych ludzi zawzdy przedniejsza i zacniejsza rozumiana jest, iż przez tej nauki ani Rzeczpospolita, ani wszelakie potoczne ludzkie sprawy statecznie sprawowane być mogą. A co więcej, że starzy oni dawni ludzie, takowe, którzy z tej nauki ludziom rzeczy przyszłe opowiadali i je ostrzegali, za bogi miele. Bo co może być człowiekowi każdemu w każdym stanie pożyteczniejszego i zacniejsze[g]o, jedno sprawom<sup>a</sup> miłego Boga się przypatrując, to jest biegom niebie-

<sup>a</sup> sprawom] sprawam C.

skim przyszłe z nich rzeczy, co nań i na wszystki mają przyść wiedzieć i rozmyślać, a stąd zacność jego, z jego spraw mądrość, z porządku dobroć, z uczynienia nam mądrości chwalić i wielbić, a najwięcej temu, który Rzeczpospolitą trwałą i kwitniejącą we wszelakich cnotach chce mieć. Dla tego oni zaci królowie i przełożeni Rzeczypospolitej zawzytaki ludzie uczone, którzy przyszłe rzeczy z gwiazd opowiedali, w wielkiej wadze i w poczciwości mieli, bo przez ty i Rzeczpospolita zdrowie, majątność, wcale zachowali i od wszelakich przygód a najazdów nieprzyjacieliskich wolni i prześpieczni byli. Co się stąd okazuje, że on Perykles atenieński nigdy by był umysłów Atenieńczykom strwożonych, które się zaburzeniem niebieskim [fol. A<sub>ij</sub>] r] stały, nie uspokoił i o bojaźni nie wybawił; ani Aristander wojska Daryjuszowego, którego Aleksander Wielki Macedo ścigał dla zaćmienia miesiącowego poruszonego i bojaźnią zjętego, nie nawrócił, ani od rąk nieprzyacielskich wyzwolił, by się był w tej nauce tak zaciej a pozytecznej nie ćwiczył. Acz to jest rzecz w podziwieniu niemała, iż ludzie, będąc śmiertelnii, mogą ku takowym Boskim tajemnicom i rzeczom jako trudnym, tak też zakrytym swoim rozumem dochodzić i je rozbierać, a rozbierając, przyszłe skutki i pewnie obaczywać i przedtem dobrze, niż na ludzi przydą, opowiadać. Ale niech się temu żaden nie dziwuje, gdyż ku temu stworzon od Boga jest człowiek, aby obaczywszy zacność a dostojość spraw Bożych, Pana Stworzyciela swego wielbił a chwalił, a za dobrodziejstwo Jego Jemu ze wszystkiego serca statecznie dziękował i jemu służył. Co ja też obaczywszy, Wielmożny a M[iłościwy] P[anie], jeszcze z młodych lat swoich, tej nauce tak zaciej pilnie się przypatrując, w niej wedle dowcipu mego ćwiczył i obierał. Potym też po kilka czasów moje *prognostica in lucem* wydawał. Teraz, iż mi się trafiła *occasio scribendi* przeciwko niektórym błędom, które się tymi czasy u nas w Polszcze zjawiły, z porady niektórych uczonych naszej Akademiję ludzi napisałem na kilkanaście lat, ilem od spraw pospolitych był wolen, *prognostica*, które pod czymbych imieniem wydać miał, długom sobie rozmyślał. Za tym przyszły mi na pamięć sławnej pamięci niegdy Wielmożnego Pana a Pana Mikołaja Radziwiłł<sup>a</sup>, wojewody wileńskiego etc., sprawy i stateczne dzielności i postępkii w Rzeczypospolitej, Ojca Twego miłego, które[g]o tymi czasy ziemia litewska w sławie, w sprawach rycerskich, w mądrości, zaciejszego i sławnieszszego nie miała; po tym też W[ielmożnego] P[ana] M[iłościowego] uczciwe a sławne sprawy na dworze Króla Je[g]o M[oś]ci<sup>b</sup>, które się okazują naprzód w rzeczach rycerskich, wojennych, chutliwe i darskie, po tym też w Rzeczypospolitej mądre a sprawne. A tak nie rozumiałem nikomu inszemu zaciejszemu, jako W[ielmożnemu] P[anu] M[iłościwemu] tę moją pracę ofiarować jako temu, któryś W[ielmożny] P[an] M[iłościwy] naprzód jest panem i obrońcą starożytnej wiary krześciańskiej na ty[m] zawsze będąc, abyś W[ielmożny] P[anie] M[iłościwy] ojczyźnie swej miłej (którejchmy<sup>c</sup> po P[anu] Bodze wszystko powinni) radą swą i obroną życzliwą pomóc mógł i tak się w niej zachował, aby równo w sprawach Rzeczypospolitej z przodkami swymi

<sup>b</sup> Mości] Mczi C.

<sup>c</sup> którejchmy] którjechmy C.

zacnymi chodząc, jej miłośnikiem byłby nazwan, nad które zwołanie za żywota i po śmierci nie masz wedle świata zacniejszego. Proszę tedy W[ielmożnego] P[ana] M[iłościwego], żebyś ten mój życliwości upominek Waszej P[ańskiej] M[ości] przypisany w obronę miłościwą pospołu z autorem je[g]o przyjąć raczył. Co ja rozumiem o W[ielmożnym] P[anu] M[iłościwym], że W[ielmożny] P[an] M[iłościwy] (jako ten, który też w naukach wyzwolonych wielce kochać i obierać raczył, a te, którzy też niejakie znaki swej erudycyjej w nich ukazują, miłować, szanować i podpomagać zawody zwykłej) ode mnie jako od służki swego naniższego za wdzięczne przyjmiesz, a mnie chętliwszego i sprawniejszego ku większym rzeczom sprawisz. Na ten czas niech W[ielmożnemu] P[anu] M[iłościwemu] Pan Bóg pomaga we wszelakich cnotach, w sławie, w godnościach, ku większej pociesze i pomnożeniu wszystkiej Korony Polskiej, tudzież przyjaciół i wszystkiego domu W[ielmożnego] P[ana] M[iłościwego], czego ja W[ielmożnemu] P[anu] M[iłościwemu] wiernie życzę i na te lata, i insze życzliwie winszuję.

*Datum Cracoviae, e Collegio nostro Minori, die 3. Aprilis anno Domini 1572.*

#### TRANSLATION

To His Lordship, Lord Nicolaus Radziwiłł, Voivode of Vilnius,  
Prince of Ołyka and Nieśwież and the Court Marshal of Lithuania, etc.,  
Master Jan Latosinius of Cracow offers his services

Among our daily human concerns, My Lord, there is nothing more truly delightful than to explore and know what nature has in store for us. Nothing more honourable exists than to contemplate God's design and recognize it. In sooth, much respected sages would have never become acquainted with God and his matters had it not been for their inquisitiveness. Thus, through what God visibly revealed, they were able to decipher unknown and hidden truths through science and a study of the stars and without these the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth would not be in a position to be ruled nor would current human affairs be able to be conducted. And what is more, these old seers were regarded as gods because what can be more righteous for a man than looking at gods' actions, tracing their empyrean routes, foretelling the future and contemplating it as a source of wisdom which should be praised and worshiped even more so than having our Commonwealth sustainable and flourishing. It has always been the case that such people were respected and honoured by the Kings and rulers of our Land as it is thanks to them this land and its people have stayed healthy, affluent, in one piece and safe from invasion. Suffice it to mention the examples of Pericles who managed to calm the hearts and souls of the Athenians<sup>1</sup> and Aristander<sup>2</sup> who predicted an eclipse and thus soothed

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Plutarch's story of Pericles (Pericles, 35, 1–2) who, at the moment of a solar eclipse managed to convince the helmsman that it was not a bad omen.

<sup>2</sup> Aristander of Telmessos (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) court augur of Philip II of Macedonia and Alexander the Great.

the fears of an army being pursued by Alexander the Great, to see the application of science and its benefits. It is both admirable and remarkable that mortal human beings have it within their power to grasp God's mysteries, though difficult and complex, and analyse them in order to help people see the future and what it holds in store for them.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing surprising about this skill as humans were created to see God's majesty, honour, dignity and offering thanks and praise for his graciousness. And this is what I have been doing throughout the years and in accordance published my *prognostica<sup>4</sup>* *in lucem*.<sup>5</sup> And now I have a chance to right some of the miscalculations which have been made. And now when *occasio scribendi*<sup>6</sup> appeared, I have a chance to rectify some failures that occurred, following the advice of some of the scholars of our Academy which has led me to write *prognostica*, although believe me when I inform you that it took me a long time to decide to whom it should be dedicated. And then I recalled some of the great deeds of Lord, Nicolaus Radziwiłł,<sup>7</sup> your great father and an upright son of our Lithuanian soil, whose wise and famous counsel at the Royal Court proved so valuable for our land.

Who else but You could I have offered my services to? As a defender of the ancient Christian faith you have always been ready with your kind help and advice to our beloved Commonwealth putting you on the same pedestal as your respectable ancestors. Thus I ask you to kindly accept my services and my dedication as a gift to you, my Your Lord. And I trust your love for science and those who create it will be an inspiration and source of confidence for me to create even greater things. For now, may God multiply your virtues and fame and bless your friends and household for the years to come.

Datum Cracoviae, e Collegio nostro Minori,<sup>8</sup> die 3. Aprilis anno Domini 1572<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This refers to Aristander's participation in Alexander the Great's military campaign against Persia and the prophecy he made a few days before in relation to a lunar eclipse observed on the 20<sup>th</sup> September 331 BC, in which he foresaw the victorious battle of Gaugamela during which the Persian army of Darius III was disastrously defeated ; it is not clear however which of the ancient historians is the source here – see: Plutarch, *Alexander*, 31, 6–12; a similar excerpt can also be found in *Alexander's Crusade* by Flavious Arrian (*Anabasis*, III,10) used by Plutarch but most probably in Latosz's case the source for his anecdote was *Life of Alexander*.

<sup>4</sup> *Prognosticon*.

<sup>5</sup> *in lucem* – into the light/ here: in print.

<sup>6</sup> *occasio scribendi* – an opportunity to write.

<sup>7</sup> Nicolaus Christopher Radziwiłł "The Black" – Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "Czarny" (1515–1565), the father of the "the Orphan," Great Chancellor of Lithuania (from 1551).

<sup>8</sup> Collegium Minus – one of the colleges of the Cracow Academy, established in 1449. At present the building is located in Gołębia Street in Cracow. Latosz was a member of the Collegium from 1568 to 1571 and was officially deprived of membership in 1573, see Dariusz NIEMIEC, Marcin STARZYŃSKI, *Collegium Minus*, Kraków 2015; Janusz SONDEL, *Słownik historii i tradycji Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* [The Dictionary of the history and tradition of the Jagiellonian University], Kraków 2012, pp. 238, 751–752 (on Latosz's presence in the Collegium).

<sup>9</sup> Datum ... 1572 – Given in Cracow, in Collegiu Minus on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April, 1572.

## APPENDIX 2

Jan Latosz to Nicolaus Christopher Radziwiłł “the Orphan”,  
Cracow, 27 December 1594

*The following edition is based on one of the copies of the lost original letter of Latosz, which could be found on fol. 40 of codex Coll. aut. 233. This manuscript, previously owned by the Radziwiłłs, until the Treaty of Riga was held in the Public Library in St. Petersburg; after the treaty it was kept in the National Library in Warsaw and remained there until 1944. As the basis for the edition I am taking the reliable and coherent MS J, while I am using MS K just to note two textual differences. The orthography and punctuation of the original has been standardized and certain deviations and peculiarities have been signaled in textual apparatus. I followed the instruction for critical editions of early modern sources (Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy, Wrocław 1953; repr. as “Załącznik 4” in: Janusz Tandecki, Krzysztof Kopiński, Edytorstwo źródeł historycznych, Warszawa 2014). The translation given below is aimed at rendering the intended not the literary meaning of the text.*

*Abbreviations and symbols:*

- J Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, MS 7511 IV, fol. 11r (copy, 19<sup>th</sup> c.)
- K Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik, MS 11617, fol. 13r–13v (copy, second half of 1930s)
- a.c. ante correcturam (state of text before the correction)
- [ ] expanded abbreviations
- < > conjectures



Illusterrissime Princeps et D[omi]ne, D[omi]ne Clementissime,

Iudicium astrologicum anni instanti sub Tu[m]o amplicissimo clarissimoque nomine a me in lucem editum ad Magn[ificum] D[omi]num Lucam Górnicki<sup>a</sup> Capitaneum Tikociniensem, litterarum praesertim matheseos promotorem ac Illustrissimae Celsitudinis Tuae<sup>b</sup> amantissimum, quanto citius transmittendum curavi, cuius tandem opera manibus Illustrissimae Celsitudinis Tuae traderetur, quod utrum factum sit hucusque mihi certo non constat. Sic tamen persuasum habeo, Magn[ificum] D[omi]num Capitaneum prout solet in aliis rebus expedientis sic et in huius transmissione diligentiam praestilisse quapropter Illustrissime Princeps haec mea exigua scripta Tu[m]o nomini Illustrissimi dicata, eo quo soles hilari vultu ac tactis oculis suscipe, eamque qualemcumque operam grato animo rogo amplec-

<sup>a</sup> Górnicki] Gurniczki J.

<sup>b</sup> Tuae] Tua K.

tere velis. Exiguas quidem eas res esse existimo, quae tamen Artaxerxis illius exemplo, qui ingenui animi esse dicere solebat, ut magna donare ita parva accipere, commendari possunt. Filium Alexandrum hisce temporibus natum esse Illustrissimae Celsitudini Tuae<sup>c</sup>, ex intimis Ill[ustrissimis] Cardinalis didici, cuius genesim una cum prognostico Ill[ustrissi]mae Celsitudini Tuae conscriptum, quantum per otium licuit, transmittio. Eum laborem meum, quamvis irrequisitum, ut grato animo Ill[ustrissima] C[elsitudinis] T[ua] suscipere velit etiam atque etiam oro et meo meaque studia, ut in aliis solet, amat. Cuius gratiae et munificentia me meaque omnia submitto. Cracoviae, 27. Decemb[ris] 1594<sup>d</sup>.

Illus[trissi]mae Cels[itudinis] Tuae servitor

Joannes Latosinius<sup>e</sup>  
Med[icinae] Doct[or] <et>  
Prof[essor] <Academiae>  
Crac[oviensis]

Illustrissimo Principio et D[omi]no, D[omino] Nicolao Christophoro<sup>f</sup> Radzivil,  
Duci in Ołyka et Nieświz̄, Comiti in Mir, Palatino Trocensi, uno suo clementissimo.

#### TRANSLATION

To My Most Illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord Most Graceful,

The astrological prognosticon for the year to come, published by me under your highest and most illustrious name, has been handed over by my to Łukasz Górnicki,<sup>1</sup> the governor of Tykocin and your beloved planter of all sciences, especially mathematics, and by whose efforts it should have reached by now Your Most Illustrious Gracefulness, although I do not know whether this actually happened. I remain sure, however, that the most honourable governor, as he used to do this in other cases, will transmit [my prognostication] with greatest care. Therefore, My

<sup>c</sup> Tuae] Vestrae a.c. J.

<sup>d</sup> 1594] 1574 a.c. K.

<sup>e</sup> Latosinius] Lathosinius JK.

<sup>f</sup> Christophoro] Christoforo J.

<sup>1</sup> Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603) – humanist and court official, ennobled in 1561; between 1545 and 1550 at the court of the Bishop of Cracow Samuel Maciejowski, next of Andrzej Zembrzycki (1550–1552); royal librarian between 1559–1572, royal secretary since 1559, Governor of Tykocin between 1571 and 1603, close associate of Nicolaus Christopher Radziwiłł “the Orphan;” comp. Roman POLLAK, Górnicki Łukasz, [in:] PSB, vol. 8, Wrocław 1959–1960, pp. 427–428; Mirosław KOROLKO, Seminarium Rzeczypospolitej Królestwa Polskiego. Humanisi w kancelarii królewskiej Zygmunta Augusta [The Seminar of the Kingdom of Poland: Humanists in the Royal Chancellery of Sigismund August], Warszawa 1991, p. 204; Marek FERENC, Dwór Zygmunta Augusta. Organizacja i ludzie [The Court of Sigismund August: Organization and People], Oświęcim 2014 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 274.

Most Illustrious Prince, I ask you to be willing to accept these minor writings dedicated to Your Highest Name with gentle countenance and tender gaze and I hope you will take them in friendly spirit. As I believe, these minor writings should be accepted following the example of Artaxerxes,<sup>2</sup> who is said to have been of noble spirit, i.e. just as one should give out plenty, one should not take a lot. I have learned about the nativity of Your Highest Grace's son Alexander<sup>3</sup> from your closest relative, the Most Illustrious Cardinal,<sup>4</sup> and on this occasion I prepared a horoscope [for your son] making use of the scarce time I had and I attached it to the prognostication dedicated to Your Gracefulness.

I constantly ask Your Highest Gracefulness to accept my work, albeit unsolicited, and to surround with love me and my studies, just as you do this with others. I submit myself and all my [works] to Your grace and benevolence. In Cracow, December 27, 1594.<sup>5</sup>

Your Most Illustrious Highness's servant,

Jan Latosz

Doctor of Medicine <and>

Professor <of the Academy of>

Cracow

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<sup>2</sup> A reference to a conviction established by Plutarch that Artaxerxes I, king of Persia and son of Xerxes I distinguished himself with particular generosity and modesty, comp. Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 4, 4. Latosz's argument should be thus read as a suggestion of practical consequences for the client-patron relation: if you want to be praised like Artaxerxes, you have to give away a lot in reply to modest gifts.

It is worth noting here that the same *topos* has been used by Latosz in the concluding part of his dedicatory letter to *Przestroga* of 1595, which he offered to Prince Ostrogski. Comp. Warsaw, National Library, MS 6631 III, fol. 4v: "I have no doubt that Your Highness, being *magnamino et heroico animo, ut principem deceat, Artaxerxis exemplo* will accept my minor work as great (*cum principes deceat cum magna dare ita parva accipere*) with eager mind, and that you will show me, your servant who is always helpful and kind to the house of Your Highness, your grace and will take me and my children under your protection."

<sup>3</sup> Aleksander Ludwik Radziwiłł (b. 4 August 1594 in Nieśwież, d. 30 March 1654 in Bologna), the youngest child of Nicolaus Christopher and Euphemia "Halszka" Wiśniowiecka, later Great Chancellor of Lithuania (1637–1654); see Jan JAROSZUK, *Radziwiłł Aleksander Ludwik*, [in:] PSB, vol. 30, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1987, pp. 150–154.

<sup>4</sup> Latosz refers to Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556–1600), brother of Nicolaus Christopher, Bishop of Vilnius 1579–1591, and of Cracow 1591–1600, nominated a Cardinal in 1583. No other evidence of contacts between astrologer the Cardinal have came down to us.

<sup>5</sup> Tomasz Kempa (*Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, p. 195, n. 51) claims that MS J gives December 6 and MS K – December 27, yet the autopsy did not confirm this discrepancy between the witnesses.

It is unclear, however, whether the date is given according to the old style (Julian calendar) or the new (Gregorian) one, the latter being contested by Latosz. Although there is no information which quite often was supplied in letters dating from the same period (indication of *stilus vetus* or *novus*), it is still obvious that the letter concerns a prognostication for the year 1595. Even if Latosz used Julian calendar and for Radziwiłł this might have meant January 6, 1595, the phrase used in the first sentence ("annus instans") could mean both the year to come and the present year.

To the Most Illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord Nicolaus Christopher Radziwiłł,  
Prince in Ołyka and Nieśwież, Count of Mir, Voivod of Troki, my only benefactor.

(*transl. by Alicja i Tomas Andersonowie*)

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*PhD Michał Choptiany  
Faculty of "Artes Liberales"  
University of Warsaw  
e-mail: michal.choptiany@al.uw.edu.pl*

ASTROLOGE AUF DER SUCHE NACH EINEM MÄZEN.  
DER FALL VON JOANNES LATOSINUS  
UND DEM "WAISENKINDCHEN"  
NIKOLAUS CHRISTOPH RADZIWILL

Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Astrologie der Renaissance, Krakauer Akademie, Kalenderreform, Mäzenatentum, frühneuzeitliche Druckkultur

Das Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, zwei Episoden aus der Biografie des Astrologen und Astronomen Joannes Latosinus (poln. Jan Latosz, 1539–1608) zu beleuchten, die mit seinem Versuch verbunden waren, das Mäzenatentum des Fürsten Nikolaus Christoph Radziwills (1549–1616), genannt das "Waisenkindchen", zu erhalten. Latosinus ist wegen seines Engagements im Kalenderstreit am Ende des 16. Jh. wohlbekannt. Die Angriffe des Astrologen auf den neu eingeführten gregorianischen Kalender führten dazu, dass seine Werke verboten wurden und der Gelehrte selbst von der Krakauer Akademie ausgeschlossen wurde. Aktuell verfügt man über ein sehr begrenztes Bild seines Schaffens. Bekannt sind vor allem jene Texte, die er in den 90er Jahren des 16. Jh. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jh. veröffentlichte. Unter den verschwundenen Werken befindet sich seine bedeutendste Arbeit, in der er eine eigene Kalender-Korrektur vorschlug. Latosinus Werke, die in Form von Drucken oder handschriftlichen Kopien erhalten sind, liefern wichtige, obgleich fragmentarische Informationen über seine Strategie, die Unterstützung von Persönlichkeiten zu gewinnen, die für die Republik Polen zu jener Zeit von Bedeutung waren. Eine seiner früheren Vorhersagen, Bekanntmachung aus dem Jahre 1572, widmete Latosinus dem Fürsten Radziwill. Es scheint jedoch, dass diese Publikation keine längere Beziehung zwischen dem Astrologen und dem Magnaten nach sich zog. Ansonsten blieb ein bis heute nicht genauer untersuchter, auf den 27. Dezember 1594 datierter Brief Latosinus an Radziwill erhalten. Im Lichte dieses Dokumentes zeigt sich, dass Latosinus 1594 wahrscheinlich eine weitere Vorhersage veröffentlichte, die er ebenfalls Radziwill widmete, vermutlich in der Hoffnung, dass dieser ihn dafür vor den Angriffen der Jesuiten und der Krakauer Akade-

miker schützen werde. Der vorliegende Beitrag versucht eine Analyse der Informationen aus diesen zwei Texten, die es erlauben, Latosinus mit Radziwill in Verbindung zu bringen. In den zwei Quellenanhängen wurden historisch-kritische Ausgaben des Dedikationsbriefes aus dem Jahre 1572 und eines kurzen Briefes aus dem Jahre 1594 veröffentlicht.

AN ASTROLOGER IN SEARCH OF A PATRON:  
THE CASE OF JAN LATOSZ  
AND NICHOLAS CHRISTOPHER “THE ORPHAN” RADZIWIŁŁ

Summary

**Key words:** Renaissance astrology, Academy of Cracow, calendar reform, patronage, early modern print culture

This article aims at shedding critical light on two episodes in the biography of Jan Latosz (Joannes Latosinus, 1539–1608), which are related to his attempts at gaining the patronage of Duke Nicholas Christopher “the Orphan” Radziwiłł (1549–1616). Latosz is well known due to his involvement in calendrical polemics at the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century. In consequence of his attacks of the newly introduced Gregorian calendar his works were banned and the astrologer himself was expelled from the Academy of Cracow. Today, we have access to a limited number of his works, mostly those published in 1590s and 1600s and even his major work dedicated to calendar reform remains unknown. Works by Latosz which have come down to us either as prints or in the form of manuscript copies provide important, yet fragmentary information about the way he tried to establish relations of patronage with a number of influential figures in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. One of his early prognostications, the *Obwieszczenie* [Announcement] of 1572 was dedicated to Duke Radziwiłł, yet it seems that this publication did not result in a long-lasting relationship. However, there is other understudied evidence which can be found in Latosz’s letter to Radziwiłł of 27 December 1594. In the light of this letter, it seems that in 1594 Latosz succeeded in publishing another prognostication dedicated to the Duke, most likely in hope that Radziwiłł would protect him from the attacks of the Jesuit and Cracow academics. While the article discusses information that can be inferred from Latosz’s writings addressed to Radziwiłł, the appendices provide editions of the dedicatory letter of 1572 and a brief letter of 1594.