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Academiae voluntas mihi potior est...

Letters by the Livonian Humanist and Lawyer David Hilchen to the Professors of the Academy of Zamość 1603–1609

Abstract

This paper presents (in the form of edition and commentary) forty-five letters written by a humanist and lawyer from Livonia, David Hilchen (1561–1610) to the professors of the Academy of Zamość, and one letter to Hilchen by the poet Szymon Szymonowic. The introductory analysis of these letters, all from 1603–1609, suggests that Hilchen portrayed the academic environment created by the Grand Chancellor and Grand Hetman Jan Zamoyski in a dichotomous manner. In the first decade of its activities (almost until the death of Jan Zamoyski in 1605) it is depicted by Hilchen as a mental *locus amoenus*, a place for beautiful minds. Zamoyski's death made the situation more precarious for the academy, which was then depicted by Hilchen using motifs characteristic of the *locus desperatus*: the loss of light and warmth, the rise of calumny, the decline in the quality of education. Yet according to Hilchen's letters, despite external political and partly religious pressure, even stronger friendships and greater loyalty developed between the members of the academy. In shaping and describing this strategy of humanist friendship against desperation and calumny in everyday situations, Hilchen referred *inter alia* to the experiences of his previous correspondent, Justus Lipsius, as expressed in Lipsius' letters, his treatise *De Constantia* and his speech *De Calumnia*. Without belonging to the academic staff in *sensu stricto* and without direct interest in his own academic achievement, Hilchen stood up for its humanist and academic ideals despite the external changes.

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Introduction¹

The establishment of the Academy of Zamość (Polish: Akademia Zamojska, Latin: Academia Samosciana) and its early successful period have become an object of wider international interest in recent years thanks to the English monograph published by Valentina Lepri in 2019.² This article aims to shed further light on the activities of the early period of the academy, introducing and editing a new historical source unknown in previous approaches: the correspondence between David Hilchen (1561 Riga–1610 Zamość), a Livonian humanist and lawyer who lived in exile in Zamość in 1603–1610, and the members of the academy.³ The surviving part of his entire correspondence from the years 1577–1610 includes 765 Latin letters and three in Polish written letters by and to him, mainly in early modern manuscript apographs. The majority of these, around 700 letters, were written from 1600–1610 during the Polish–Swedish war in Livonia or in exile and by Hilchen himself; only forty-two are responses to him.⁴

Among his correspondence there are forty-five letters in Latin sent by Hilchen to nine members of the Academy of Zamość: mainly to serving or former professors, incl. one to the chairman of the student residence at the Akademia Zamojska Wawrzyniec Starnigel.⁵ To date, only one fragmentary reply from a professor at Zamość to Hilchen has been found and published, dating from 1607. The actual volume of the correspondence was almost certainly larger. For example, no letters of introduction have been preserved for any of the addressees, for which reason it is not even possible to determine on whose initiative correspondence was launched.

The aim of this article is to analyse, on the basis of the surviving letters, how Hilchen experienced the early period of the Academy of Zamość and its professors

¹ For bibliographical support I would like to thank Patryk Sapała (National Library of Poland, Warsaw), for discussions about some topics mentioned in this article the members of the Centre for the History of Renaissance Knowledge (Warsaw, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Science). For English proofreading I am grateful to Gregory McDunn (Luisa Tölkébüroo OÜ, Tartu).

² V. Lepri, *Knowledge Transfer and the Early Modern University: Statecraft and Philosophy at the Akademia Zamojska (1595–1627)*, Leiden and Boston 2019.

³ For Hilchen's life cf. in Polish: S. Leliwa, "Dawid Hilchen: szkic biograficzny na tle dziejów inflancko-polskich osnuty", *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1 (157) (1880), pp. 1–29, 383–400; S. Herbst, "Hilchen (Heliconius Livonus) Dawid (1561–1610) polityk i pisarz inflancki", in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław 1960, p. 513; in German: H. von Ramm-Helmsing, *David Hilchen 1561–1610. Syndikus der Stadt Riga*, Poznań 1936. Updated critical biography in: D. Hilchen, *Sub velis poeticis. Lateinische Gedichte*, ed., transl. and comm. by K. Viiding and M. Klöker, with an introd. by K. Viiding and M.-K. Lotman, Münster 2021 (*Baltische Literarische Kultur* 3), pp. 12–21. Cf. about Hilchen's activities in the Polish Livonia also A. Ziemiańska, *Ryga w Rzeczypospolitej polsko-litewskiej (1581–1621)*, Toruń 2008.

⁴ For the first comprehensive overview of Hilchen's correspondence, incl. the variable channels of transmission of the letters, cf. K. Viiding, "David Hilchen und seine Expertenkorrespondenz", in *Briefe, Recht und Gericht im polnischen Livland – am Beispiel von David Hilchen/ Letters, Law and Court in Polish Livonia – the Case of David Hilchen*, ed. by K. Viiding, H. Siimets-Gross, and Th. Hoffmann in co-operation with M. Klöker, Münster 2022 (*Baltische Literarische Kultur*, 4), pp. 17–69.

⁵ Cf. H. Gmiterek, "Bursa Starnigela przy Akademii Zamojskiej", *Rocznik Lubelski* 19 (1976), pp. 21–38.

and to compare whether and how he reflected this in his letters to the other addressees outside of Zamość.

Hilchen and Zamość: Biographical background

It is not known when Hilchen first heard about Zamość or when he visited the place for the first time. He was certainly in Zamość in the early spring of 1590, on his way from Warsaw to Livonia, with other representatives of Riga.⁶ The reason for his first visit to Zamość was not, however, the official negotiations alone, but his previous friendly private contact with the Grand Chancellor: in 1579, when Hilchen was in Vilnius as a young man and had met Zamoyski, the Chancellor recommended him for the Grand Tour with Ruthenian Prince Alexander Olekiewicz Shucki.⁷ In 1584, Hilchen gratefully dedicated his first printed disputation to Zamoyski, naming him his patron.⁸ One year later, after completing his studies in Heidelberg, Hilchen worked for a few months as a secretary in the office of Zamoyski. It is not known, however, whether this was in Zamość or at another of Zamoyski's residences.

Hilchen also played a role in the preparation of the Academia Samosciana. By the orders of Zamoyski he published a Latin booklet about the forthcoming opening of the academy for distribution in Livonia and Germany to attract students to the new school, especially those who wished to learn both Latin and Polish. The booklet was published in Riga in early July 1594, even before the confirmation of the privileges of the academy by the Pope.⁹ Hilchen composed for this booklet a congratulatory letter to Zamoyski and a short epigram in hexameters; Daniel Hermann, a Prussian poet living in Riga, added a few of his own poems about the inauguration. Hilchen emphasised that the school would bring a new, education-friendly reputation to Sarmatia, which until then had been famous mainly for its warfare and heroism. He congratulated Zamoyski, wishing him a long life and expressing his hope that after Zamoyski's death his son would follow in his father's footsteps. In the rest of

⁶ Franz Nyenstädt's *Livländische Chronik, nebst dessen Handbuch, erstere nach ältern und neuen Abschriften*, ed. by G. Tielemann, in *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, vol. 2, Riga and Leipzig 1839, p. 102, 158.

⁷ J. Caselius, *Ad nobilem adolescentem Davidem Hilchenium ut insistat vestigiis maiorum προτροπικός*, Helmstedt: Jakob Lucius, 1604, fol. B3^r.

⁸ D. Hilchen, *Disputatio de successione ex testamento. Qvam Divini numinis auspicio, praeside clarissimo viro D. Andrea Laubmario, V.I.D. et in celeberrima Tubingensi Academia ordinario professore, praeceptore suo singulariter observando, die 29. Maji hora 6. In auditorio Jureconsultorum, ingenij exercendi gratia, defendere conabitur David Heliconius, Livonus*, Tübingen: Georg Gruppenbach, 1584. Dedicatory letter pp. 1–6.

⁹ *Academiae Samoscianae recens institutae intimatio. Ita se comparet in vita, ut mori nesciat*, Riga: Nikolajs Mollins, 1594. Hilchen's letter is on fols. A^v–A2^v. Two copies of it are known: 1) Riga, Latvijas Universitātes Akadēmiskā bibliotēka, H4 R 2043, 2) Danzig City Library. Cf. also the new edition by J. Starnawski, "Poems of Daniel Hermannus Borussus on the Foundation of the University of Zamość", *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 26 (1977), pp. 204–219.

the surviving letters between Hilchen and Zamoyski, dating from 1584–1602, no further information is found about the academy or the academics of Zamość.¹⁰

The last seven years of Hilchen's life (1603–1610) were lived with his family in Zamość. For him, this was a city of forced exile. Based on his initial hopes, his stay there was supposed to be short, but a protracted trial in the royal courts thwarted his plans to return to Livonia before the summer of 1609. It was probably in the autumn of 1602 that Hilchen first had the idea of going into exile in Zamość: following the conquest of the Livonian town Biały Kamień (German: Weissenstein, Estonian: Paide) by the Polish army, Zamoyski returned to Zamość, but Hilchen was ordered by Zamoyski to remain with the army in Livonia. Yet Hilchen's letter to Melchior Stefański in Zamość of 1 October that year contains, for the first time, greetings to the professors of the academy and in particular to the dean, as well as confirmation that Stefański would recommend Hilchen's small but rewarding services to his colleagues.¹¹

Hilchen finally arrived in Zamość in the summer of 1603. Zamoyski gave him the free use of a house in the city and his part of the village of Horyszów (Orissowo), with Hilchen purchasing the remaining part of the village for 4,000 zlotys from its previous owner.¹² Thereafter Hilchen lived mainly in Zamość and involved himself in administrative work: drafting decrees, regulations, overviews of complaints and other correspondence. He travelled for Zamoyski, mainly to the fiscal in Lublin, and seldom visited his family in Horyszów.¹³ In terms of his professional occupation he did not belong to the local academic community.

Nevertheless, Hilchen had two private reasons for contact with members of the academy: he wished to have his works published by the Zamość printing house (which was overseen by a representative of the academy);¹⁴ and his two eldest sons were enrolled at the academy in 1605. From 1603–1609 he published between one and five books every year at the local printing shop, mainly occasional poetry or speeches, and all in Latin – seventeen titles are known, thirteen of them having survived in at least one copy to this day. His oldest son David left the academy in 1608; his second son Franz only after Hilchen's death. Therefore, for biographical reasons, it can be assumed that Hilchen's contact with the academy was pragmatic in nature – as a parent, and as a user of the academic printing house.

¹⁰ A total of twenty-two letters by Hilchen to Jan Zamoyski and one Polish reply by Zamoyski to Hilchen have been preserved in the archives of Riga and Warsaw. Also known is a letter which Hilchen wrote to King Sigismund III on behalf of Zamoyski.

¹¹ David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 1 October 1602, in D. Hilchen, *Epistolarum libri VI*, Riga, Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhivs (hereafter: LVVA), 4038-2-297, fols. 24^r–25^r (liber 1,45) and Linköping, Stift- och landsbibliotek (hereafter: StLB), Br 43, fols. 34^r–35^r (liber 1,46): “Peto autem ut Servitia mea Academicis et imprimis Domino Decano commendet. Parva ea sunt, sed parvorum et aliquando usus est.”

¹² *Aequitas Petitionis Notarii Vendensis ad Tutores olim Joannis Zamoscii Anno 1605*, MS in Linköping, StLB Br 43, fol. [2].

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ In accordance with *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej*, ed. by I. Treichel, Warsaw and Łódź 1972, pp. 161–162, in the period from 1601–1610 this was the duty of Professor Adam Burski.

Following Zamoyski's death in 1605 and in the light of the growing influence of the Jesuits in Zamość, Hilchen sought to leave the city. First he travelled for the second half of 1606 to Międzyrzecz (German: Meseritz), a small town in Prussia, full of denominational contradictions. Hilchen intended to stay there even longer, if he was not obliged to support Catholicism in the place at the behest of Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska. Back in Zamość, Hilchen's loyalty to Lutheranism and his rebellion against the demands of Zamoyski's widow restricted his freedom of movement: his house in Zamość was taken away from him, and from the end of 1607 he was no longer allowed to come to Zamość. Only his wife went from Horyszów to Zamość to see to his business.¹⁵ These steps forced Hilchen to communicate with the members of the academy mainly through letters. That is why more than half of the letters (twenty-four) between Hilchen and the members of the academy date back to 1608 and 1609.

Hilchen died in Horyszów in June 1610; the exact date and reason of his death are unknown. No mourning sermon was delivered and no collection of mourning poems was published at the local printing house. Earlier Baltic-German biographical literature states that the remains of Hilchen were repatriated to Riga and buried in the family chapel in the Dome Church.¹⁶ The rest of his family also left Zamość.

Zamość: A *locus amoenus* of the intellectual elite

Hilchen's surviving letters to the members of the Academy of Zamość can be divided into three groups: those from 1603 and 1604; those from the year of the death of Jan Zamoyski and immediately after that (1605–1606); and those from 1607–1609. Until Zamoyski's death, Hilchen was almost always present in Zamość and formed part of Jan Zamoyski's inner circle, so the members of the academy rarely had to communicate with him (and vice versa) by letter. Thus, from the point of view of transmission, the thirteen letters from Hilchen's first two periods (1603–1606) seem to be messages which have randomly survived, having been written when Hilchen or the addressee was away from Zamość due to travel or was ill at home. The rest of Hilchen's correspondence with members of the academy (thirty-three items from

¹⁵ "Ex animo laetor Paternitatem Vestram belli periculis evolutam rediisse, et jam Samoscii esse, ubi nobis ob fidem et constantiam esse non licet. Quid nobis? Fortassis etiam Patribus liberum non est loqui. Heu quam pudenda res! Mi pater, premimur: ni nos Illustrissimus sublevet, opprimemur." David Hilchen to Petrus Culesius, 24 November 1608, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 45^r (liber 1,97) and Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 59^r–60^r (liber 1,97), here 59^r.

¹⁶ The information in the lexicon of Starowolski that the citizens of Riga commissioned a poem from Jan Ludwig Skrobkowicz after the death of Hilchen (four elegiac distichons) is misleading: firstly, Hilchen did not die in 1608; and secondly, most of the other details in this fabricated poem are inaccurate (S. Starowolski, *Scriptorum Polonicorum hekatontas; seu centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elogiaz et vitae*, Frankfurt am Main: Jakob de Zetter, 1625, pp. 132–134).

the years 1607–1609) reflect the changed situation. Due to Hilchen's frequent absence from Zamość during those years, letters were often the only channel for sharing and receiving information.

Regardless of the frequency of the letters, the main topic of correspondence between Hilchen and the members of the academy did not change markedly: it was not the discussion of science or knowledge, or of the content of books based on the professional training of the letter-writers – instead, these letters refer primarily to the process of adaptation to the circumstances of exile, and thereby not so much to the material or practical conditions as to interpersonal relationships in the city and academy. What changed, however, was Hilchen's attitude.

From Hilchen's extant correspondence it is evident that he was already familiar with certain professors and officials at the Academy of Zamość in the 1590s. Among them were Jan Ursyn-Niedźwiecki (Johannes Ursinus, 1562–1613), physician, professor and vice-chancellor of the academy, later Canon at St. Thomas Church; Szymon Szymonowic (Simon Simonides, 1558–1629), Polish poet, secretary to Jan Zamoyski and professor at the academy; and Melchior Stefański (Stephanides, Stefanowicz, ca 1565–1638), professor of Greek, Latin and logic from 1593–1600, later Canon at the Chełm Cathedral and scholastic of the collegiate church in Zamość.¹⁷ In addition, Hilchen in 1604 became acquainted with Adam Burski (ca 1560–1611), from 1597 professor of philosophy, 1601–1611 curator of the academic printing house in Zamość; and Tomasz Drezner (1560–1616), later professor of law (for the full list of recipients cf. Appendix 2).

Hilchen did not write in any of his letters about the urban space of Zamość or about external circumstances or activities around the academy. His letters give the impression that he did not register the local nature, new buildings or development of the city at all. Instead, the intellectuals around him formed the landscape of his mind: one which was a pleasant, beautiful, sometimes idealised landscape, and ultimately a mental *locus amoenus*.¹⁸ Here Hilchen reached his personal safety and comfort not so much due to the special idyllic landscape, but thanks to the friendly and loyal people around him. Especially thanks to the academics, it became an emotional and mental refuge from the depression of his never-ending trials, and from the processes of time and mortality. Moreover, as a source of true pleasure, Zamość offered him the opportunity for physical and emotional renewal, triggering his regenerative powers. Hilchen also depicted Zamość as a topical *locus amoenus* and a setting for friends to come and live together.

¹⁷ The first letter from Stefański to Hilchen was sent in 1602, and Hilchen's earliest extant reply is from 1 October 1602 (Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 24^r–25^r (liber 1,45), Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 34^r–35^r [liber 1,46]). The beginning of the letter is a solemn affirmation of the mutual respect reflected in their correspondence, while the subsequent information about common acquaintances is presented with a familiarity that is only possible between people who know one another.

¹⁸ For an introduction to the topic of *locus amoenus* cf. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. by W. R. Trask, Princeton 1973, pp. 195–200. It must be mentioned that Hilchen never used the expression *locus amoenus* himself.

For Hilchen, the first of these three characteristics of the *locus amoenus* was most clearly embodied in Stefański. According to Hilchen, from 1603 Stefański was the key person in Zamość with whom he could freely and gladly communicate because of his benevolence, assistance and trustworthiness.¹⁹ Despite (or because of?) the fact that Stefański was a Catholic and an influential clergyman in the region, Hilchen (as a Lutheran) asked him for advice on church history and religious questions. Later, Hilchen shared with Stefański his troubles about the education of his sons, provided feedback on Stefański's sermons and referred to him as *noster* (lit. 'our', i.e. 'my').²⁰

One of the elements of the mental and emotional safety that accompanied Zamość as a *locus amoenus* and which Hilchen felt especially during his communication with Stefański was the opportunity to make jokes in his letters. For example, in a letter dated 27 August 1603, Hilchen expresses concern that Stefański has not visited him for two whole days. He seeks the reason for this and suspects that he has insulted the addressee, but does not know how. Hilchen is prepared to apologise and, if necessary, make amends.²¹ All of this is written by Hilchen in a serious, even accusatory tone using certain legal terms (*causa, laedere, purgatio, satisfactio*)²² so that the beginning of the letter can be considered a formal inquiry. Only in the middle of the letter does Hilchen unexpectedly say: "I'm sorry, I was joking. It is all due to our friendship."²³

With Stefański, safety was expressed not just in words but also in deeds. Because of this, Hilchen trusted Stefański's opinion and intermediation in getting to know other academics in Zamość. As early as the summer of 1603 Hilchen asked Stefański to introduce him to Szymon Birkowski, as he was convinced that Birkowski would one day become famous.²⁴ Stefański's role in bringing the two together was likely effective, as Hilchen and Birkowski remained in contact during Birkowski's medical

¹⁹ "Si quisquam est Samoscii cum quo et libere et libenter ago fateor Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram eum esse. Ita me cepit Dominationis Vestra cum humanitate, benevolentia, beneficentia, opere et fide sua. Sed quid verbis opus est? Facta Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae sunt clariora verbis." David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 24 August 1603.

²⁰ E.g. in his letter dated 10 September 1608.

²¹ "Et quid dicam de tua hac emansione? Hoc biduum, quo abes et non ad me venis, ut solebas, seculum mihi videtur. Causam quaero et indago: sed nullam invenio. Mens haec mea integra est, nec sibi ullius vel facti vel dicti conscia est, quo te laeserit. Secura igitur est. Sed affectus, ut tibi aperte dicam, ad te decurrunt, ut prodas, minimeque detegas, si quid sit, quod te offenderit. Alterutrum igitur facias mi Pater, ut vel purgationem, vel (si quid erratum est) satisfactionem a me tibi deberi indices." David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 27 August 1603.

²² Stefański had initially studied law, earning a doctoral degree, and only after that focussed on theology (e.g. Lepri, *Knowledge Transfer*, pp. 45–46).

²³ "Ignosce, quod jocer. Amor hoc facit." *Ibid.* (Translation of Latin letters and other quotations into English are from me, K. V.)

²⁴ David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 27 August 1603: "Domino Bircovio hoc nomine debebo et tibi, si hominem aliquando adduxeris, ut audiam et audiar, videam et videar ab illo, quem talem fore, qualis nunc est (certe hyacinthus inter urticas quis est) jampridem vidi, et majorem aliquando fore, auguror." Birkowski taught in Zamość from 1594, first *ad inferiores classes*, then logic and philosophy, and from 1605 also medicine and natural sciences. Before he met Hilchen he had already translated and published *De collocatione verborum* by Dionysius Halicarnassus into Latin in 1602 and written casual poems in Latin and Greek.

studies in Italy from 1604–1605, and Hilchen later trusted Birkowski enough to allow him to treat his family members.

Hilchen's initial attitude to Zamość as a *locus amoenus* offering an opportunity for physical and emotional regeneration and recreation is apparent from his earliest letter written in the city to Szymon Szymonowic, dated 27 July 1603, immediately after Hilchen's arrival. Hilchen describes his health to Szymonowic in these terms:

Because of working at night, the cold, from the impact of the Livonian war, the winter and 600 other reasons – perhaps even because of my age (I will soon be 42) – toxic fluids have accumulated within me, which now flow around my whole body, even up to the roots of my teeth. Some of teeth have already been pulled; others move about and are rotten, which is why breathing has become difficult. I fear that all of my teeth will soon fall out. Even my voice no longer boasts a harmonious sound. This bothers me very much in my activities, both in court and among the councillors. If the local surgeon knows of any treatment for this problem, I would like to know more about it. I would visit the doctor myself or send him money immediately.²⁵

In regard to his need for professional medical help, Hilchen set his hopes on Zamość not only because of its pleasant, benevolent and trustworthy people, but also its educated and competent medical experts. It was not only the personal moral qualities of the academics that made the place so pleasant to him, but also their intellectual capacity, their knowledge and experience.

As for discussion of the third characteristic of Zamość as a topical *locus amoenus*, the city as a setting for friends to come and live together, Hilchen's only letter to Jan Ursyn-Niedźwiecki from 1 August 1603 is significant.²⁶ Hilchen's short message was annexed to Jan Zamoyski's letter to Ursyn. The main reason for the letter was to congratulate Ursyn on his promotion in Italy as a doctor of medicine and to affirm Zamoyski's order to return to Zamość as soon as possible. It seems that Hilchen is simply repeating his patron's message, varying the affirmative and playful tone, typical of the humanist cult of friendship. Yet this letter is much more than that: Hilchen presents himself as a new case exemplifying that Zamość is the right place to live, because it is here that thanks to Zamoyski's generosity and the stoic immutability of the minds of intellectuals (*iidem semper boni viri*) it is possible to enjoy true friendship. The key words suggest Hilchen's satisfaction with his choice of place of exile (*amicitia, voluptas, benevolentia, iucundius, gaudere, fruens*) and should also convince Ursyn to return as soon as possible to such an ideal place.²⁷

A very special reason for Hilchen to enjoy the sojourn in Zamość was the opportunity for freedom of expression, even regarding the grand Jan Zamoyski himself.

²⁵ David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic, 27 July 1603.

²⁶ David Hilchen to Jan Ursyn-Niedźwiecki, 1 August 1603.

²⁷ Cf. the learned reference to Ov., *Fasti* 2,9–11: "Ecce velut torrens . . . per fata perque vias fertur", by Hilchen: "Nunc te velut torrens inde aufert".

Congratulating Ursyn in the same letter on his doctorate, Hilchen rated his achievement as higher than that of Zamoyski: “In earning the doctorate, you have done all that the Illustrious [Zamoyski] ordered, and indeed you have surpassed him.” This remark affirms that in the eyes of Zamoyski’s inner circle their patron had not obtained a doctorate and that this was not a secret that should be kept hidden or a thing whose absence should be justified.²⁸

1605–1606: Inversion from *locus amoenus* to *locus desperatus*

From Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* the possible inversion of a *locus amoenus* to *locus terribilis* is a well-known literary trope. Instead of offering an escape from danger, pleasure can become a scene of violent encounters. In Hilchen’s letters to the members of the Academy of Zamość, such an inversion from *locus amoenus* to *locus desperatus* (rather than *terribilis*) is also staged in regard to Zamość.²⁹

From the groundbreaking year 1605, only two of Hilchen’s letters to members of the academy have survived: both to the poet Szymon Szymonowic. As early as April 1605, two months before Zamoyski’s death, Hilchen reported to Szymonowic from Krakow: “Rumours are being spread about our hero. Oh, if only those who seek his death would leave this life! Now all public affairs are dubious, unreliable, full of danger. What would happen if our only sun were to set?”³⁰ Gloomy predictions of Zamoyski’s imminent death stand in stark contrast to Zamoyski’s usual image as the ideal, sunny ruler in Hilchen’s earlier letters and poems – a motif Hilchen first used in 1584 in his disputation in Tübingen, in a dedicatory letter to Zamoyski.³¹ In April 1605, after many years, Hilchen adopted the motif once again, acknowledging Zamoyski as the sun and, thereby, the most important element of the *locus amoenus* of Zamość. Following Zamoyski’s death, the disappearance of the sun became the key motif of all Hilchen’s correspondence about his former patron³² and of his

²⁸ For the doctoral degree of Jan Zamoyski as debated by modern researchers, cf. one of the latest contributions to the discussion, M. Chachaj, “Czy Jan Zamoyski był doktorem obojga praw Uniwersytetu Padewskiego?”, in *Podróże po historii. Studia z dziejów kultury i polityki europejskiej ofiarowane profesorowi Stanisławowi Grzybowskiemu*, ed. by F. Leśniak, Krakow 2000, pp. 227–233.

²⁹ For the historical reasons for the changes in Zamość and the political consequences thereof, which have been well researched, cf. e.g. V. Urbaniak, *Zamoyszczycy bez Zamoyskiego. Studium dekompozycji ugrupowania politycznego*, Warsaw 1995, with the representative bibliography.

³⁰ David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic, 9 April 1605.

³¹ “De quo Serenissimo Heroe si dicere nunc velim, quantus sit in litteris, quantus in profligandis hostibus, idem certe facerem, ac si clarissimo soli lumen praebere tentem: vnicum hoc addo, tantam in eo virtutem et Maiestatem hanc geminam esse, vt quasi divinitus et natus et datus nobis videatur.” David Hilchen to Jan Zamoyski, 18 May 1584, in: Hilchen, *Disputatio de successione ex testamento*, pp. 1–6.

³² 1) “Occidit Sol meus et me in caligine reliquit. Animo tamen non cado.” David Hilchen to Joachim Hübner, 18 October 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 291^{r-v} (liber 6,57). 2) “Sol enim meus occidit, et me in ista caligine reliquit.” David Hilchen to Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 65^r–66^r (liber 2,6); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 108^r–109^r (liber 2,6). 3) “Occidit enim sol meus, et me

mourning poem to Zamoyski.³³ His sun, Zamoyski, had transformed a foreign place into a home for him, but now both the sun and its power were alien and unfamiliar to him.³⁴ Further analysis of the sun motif in Hilchen's letters shows that it was not until September 1607 that his grief moved on from the stage of depression to the stage of acceptance. Even then, reconciling himself to Zamoyski's death was a lesson for Hilchen – he promised to be among Thomas Zamoyski's tutors like the sun spreading its light and love without losing its own (Lutheran) light.³⁵ In this way, Hilchen, who was not one of Jan Zamoyski's testamentary heirs,³⁶ quasi-promised to take on Zamoyski's spiritual and emotional role in Zamość.

Hilchen was not in Zamość on the day Zamoyski died,³⁷ but he hurried to the city as soon as he received the news. He wrote his second letter to Szymonowic on the 13th of June 1605, just before returning to Krakow. By this time he had already completed his mourning poems about Zamoyski's death, and he asked Szymonowic to review and, if necessary, correct them. Only Szymonowic's help could bring light back to the darkness that had fallen on him.³⁸

The surviving letters from Hilchen to members of the academy from 1606 reflect Hilchen's ongoing difficulties in Zamość without Zamoyski. In addition to the loss

a tergo in caligine quasi quadam reliquit!" David Hilchen to Mikołaj Wolski, 9 July 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 74^v-75^r (liber 2,31); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 122^v-123^r (liber 2,31). 4) "Sol enim meus occidit. In hac tanta caligine quem advocem?" David Hilchen to Lew Sapieha, 16 November 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 105^v-106^r (liber 2,98); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 165^v (liber 2,97) and again 5) in the letter to Sapieha, 16 December 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 105^v-106^r (liber 2,98); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 165^v (liber 2,97). 6) "Ubi enim Sol ille meus occidisset, (scis quem designem) beneficiorum, quae Illustrissimus piae memoriae Dominus Cancellarius ob fidem et merita mihi concesserat, numerum non contraxisti, sed auctum potius ivisti, atque exemplo incomparabilis Herois nostri Magni SAMOSCII etiam me invitare, mihi honestam conditionem deferre benignissime." David Hilchen to Georg Zamoyski, 1 January 1608, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 10^v (liber 1,16); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 14^v-15^v (liber 1,16).

³³ "Nunquid Sarmatiae supremum occumbere Solem/ Sic Parca iussit?" in: *Luctus in obitum illustrissimi herois Domini Ioannis Zamoyski de Zamoscie, Regni Poloniae Supremi Cancellarij, et exercituum Ducis Generalis: die tertia Iunij Anno 1605. pie placideque defuncti: editus a Dauide Hilchen Secretario Regiae Maiestatis: Notario Terrestri Vendensi*, vv. 15–16. Printed three times in Zamość and Helmstedt from 1605–1606, once in Ruyen in 1807 and in a modern edition in 2021: Hilchen, *Sub velis poeticis*, pp. 182–194, here 182–183.

³⁴ "Ut sub sole, ita et sub imperio nunc alieno sum." David Hilchen to Balthasar Pancratius, 1 August 1607, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 208^r (liber 5,106).

³⁵ "Sed ut Sol radios late emittit, et tamen nihil lucis amittit, sic ego amoris radios inter tutores spargo et diffundo: interim non rumpo fidei vinculum, quo me ante omnes inprimis ratio, tum memoria . . . obligat." Hilchen to Notarius Leopoliensis Jan Swoszowski, 16 September 1607, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 105^v (liber 2,97); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 164^v-165^r (liber 2,97).

³⁶ Zamoyski's will was known throughout Europe through early modern publications, cf. e.g. S. Krzyszczanowicz, *Polonia seu brevis descriptio statuum Regni Poloniae cum partitione provinciarum, et ordinum. Ex variis auctoribus collecta*, Mainz: Johann Albinus, 1606, pp. 32–34. For the modern edition and commentary cf. *Testamenty Jana, Tomasza i Jana „Sobiepana” Zamoyskich*, ed. by W. Kaczorowski, Opole 2007.

³⁷ "Aberam Zamoscio 13 miliaribus, cum nuncium de morte Illustrissimi mei patroni Zamoscii acceperam." David Hilchen to Mikołaj Wolski, 9 July 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 74^v-75^r (liber 2,31); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 122^v-123^r (liber 2,31).

³⁸ "Velim igitur mea causa tantum laboris subeas, et novam hisce tenebris lucem adferas." David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic, 13 June 1605.

of light and warmth,³⁹ the second recurring cause of hesitation and desperation in Hilchen – the Rokosz of the Polish nobility – now emerged. Hilchen first mentioned the Rokosz in his letter to Tomasz Drezner dated the 5th of July 1606, commenting that Poland was in uprising, the impact of which was incalculable. Hilchen's attitude towards the outcome was cautious rather than optimistic:⁴⁰ he likely feared that the whole of Poland could become a dangerous place during the uprising, meaning he personally would have to start looking for another place of exile. To the activities of the Academy of Zamość, however, he saw no direct threat.⁴¹

Hilchen first discussed the third sign of *locus desperatus* with professors from the academy in 1606: the emerging *calumnia* (calumny or slander). Fortunately, the slanderers were still outside Zamość, not in the city, but because Hilchen knew them, he felt he should warn his fellow citizens of the danger they presented. It was undoubtedly Justus Lipsius's speech *De calumnia*, first published posthumously in 1607 but previously spread as a manuscript,⁴² which helped Hilchen recognise the spread of this evil. As in Lipsius' treatise, it is foulness (*foeditas, impuritas*) which signals to Hilchen about the emerging calumny.⁴³

An expression of deep desperation about the situation in Zamość and at the academy is preserved in the official letter Hilchen wrote on behalf of Jerzy (Georg) Zamoyski (1565–1620/1621), bishop of Chełm, to the French humanist Isaac Casaubon in early 1607.⁴⁴ The letter was, in fact, a recommendation for Jakub, the son of the previous Voivode of Lublin, Marek Sobieski (d.1605), to go on a study trip to Western Europe, but the first part of it deals with the situation at the Academy of Zamość more broadly. According to Jerzy Zamoyski's letter, following Jan Zamoyski's

³⁹ E.g. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 27 March 1606; David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 23 July 1606.

⁴⁰ David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 5 July 1605.

⁴¹ To date, the relationship of Hilchen to the inner circle of Rokosziani has not been studied. He corresponded with both main opposition leaders, Mikołaj Zebrzydowski and Jan Żółkiewski, but because of his trial in the royal courts, he was apparently not counted as a radical oppositionist and did not participate in the Rokosz. Yet, with the exception of the publication of wedding poems for the marriage of Sigismund III and Constanze in December 1605, there are no significant traces of the King's glorification in Hilchen's written legacy (*Επαινος pompae regalis in Nuptiis serenissimi ac potentissimi Principis Sigismundi Tertij, Dei gratia Poloniae et Sueciae Regis etc etc. et serenissimae Constantiae, serenissimi olim Caroli Archiducis Austriae, etc filiae, auctore Dauide Hilchen Secretario Regiae Maiestatis Notario Terrestris Uendenensis*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1604 [sic!]).

⁴² T. Van Houdt and J. Papy, "Modestia, Constantia, Fama: Towards a Literary and Philosophical Interpretation of Lipsius's *De Calumnia Oratio*", in *Iustus Lipsius: Europae Lumen et Columen. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven 17–19 September 1997*, ed. by G. Tournoy, J. de Landtsheer, and J. Papy, Leuven 1999, pp. 186–222.

⁴³ "Scit Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra quam scoptice de Reverendissimo homo iste garrire ausus fuerit. Malitiae istius fomentum impuritas est." David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 20 March 1606. Cf. Justus Lipsius *De calumnia oratio*: "Et foeditatem quidem Calumniae, quo clarius vobis argumento ostendam, quam istoc duplici? Quod et in foedissimas ea personas cadat, et quod foedissima sit ipsa." J. Lipsius, *Epistularum selectarum centuria quinta miscellanea postuma*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana, 1607, p. 103.

⁴⁴ David Hilchen to Isaac Casaubon, 27 March 1607, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 127^v–128^r (liber 3,26); Linköping, StB, Br 43, fols. 251^v–252^v (liber 3,26).

death it was not only the political situation in Poland that was endangered, but also that of the Academy of Zamość. Having been founded by the Grand Chancellor and Hetman for his talented son Tomasz, and bringing together other noble Polish youths, the academy could barely be maintained or offer enough qualified education for the talented youngsters. This is why Jerzy Zamoyski recommends that the gifted Polish youth study abroad under the brightest men, including Casaubon. He knew that Casaubon himself did not give lessons, but was certain that there were many educated men among his acquaintances who would teach the young Pole in the light of the academy.⁴⁵

As the draft of the letter, the real author of the signature on it and the conditions in which it was written are unknown, it is unclear how far it reflects Jerzy Zamoyski's ideas or Hilchen's assessment of the situation at the academy, not to mention how much it reflected or exaggerated the actual historical situation.

1607–1609: Perpetuating the *mos Samoscius*

After his return from Międzyrzecz to Zamość at the end of 1606, Hilchen was involved in the activities of the academy at both the personal and official levels. The key events of this period reflected in his letters represent a remarkable dichotomy: the conflicting power relations around the academy on one side, and on the other the strategy to minimise the impact of them among the members of the academy, re-establishing and maintaining the earlier *locus amoenus* among the smaller group.

A number of professors from Zamość formed during these years an even closer group of friends who not only studied and taught but also cultivated *amicitia* and *constantia* in the (Neo-)Stoic sense. In 1609, Hilchen even praised *constantia* as a 'custom of Zamość': "more Samoscii, hoc est, constanter."⁴⁶ For him as a learned lawyer, the Latin word *mos* had not only ethical, but also legal meaning: invariable friendship as a custom to follow a certain pattern of behaviour that has always been done and accepted by law. For his treatment of *amicitia constans* or *constantia amoris* in Zamość, Hilchen combined two kinds of stylistic and linguistic devices: formulaic or quasi-formulaic confirmations and promises similar to the

⁴⁵ "Morte Joannis Zamoscii Magni Cancellarii magnam iacturam non solum Respublica Polona, quae post obitum eius perpetuis turbis agitur, verum et res litteraria fecit, eo animo Heros ille erga honestissimas disciplinas fuit, ut cum belli et pacis curae virtus eum distinerent, tamen iuuantibus bonis litteris ita se dabat, ut hoc unum agere uideretur. Praecipuum studium in Thoma filio diuinissimae indolis puero educando collocabat: cuius causa et scholam hic non ignobilem congregauit, et primores ex nobilitate Polona iuuenes, qui una instituerentur, collegit. Praeclarum hoc ejus institutum quanquam uix sine illo sustinemus sed etiamsi utrunque sustinere possimus, tamen sublimioribus ingenii alendis satis non sumus. Idcirco alacriores iuuenes ego hortari soleo, ut aliunde petant, quod domi non habent." *Ibid.*, fol. 251^v.

⁴⁶ David Hilchen to Adam Burski, 18 August 1609.

legal expressions;⁴⁷ and exaggerated, figurative descriptions of friendship typical of humanists. The most spectacular example of his praise of friendship in the humanist style is his letter to Tomasz Drezner on the last day of 1607, in which Hilchen glorified Drezner's old and unwavering friendship in the same sublime tone as Justus Lipsius had praised his friendship with Hilchen in his letter to Hilchen of 1598.⁴⁸ Using learned metaphors and referencing the works of Plautus, Herodotus and Erasmus of Rotterdam, Hilchen surprised his addressee with a comparison of friendship to money. Distinguishing between old and new coins and considering the old to be more valuable, Hilchen concluded that the same was true of old and new friends.⁴⁹

At the end of this letter, as in many others, Hilchen admitted that the proof of true friendship was not empty words, but mutually beneficial deeds.⁵⁰ There are numerous examples in Hilchen's letters confirming the validity of this principle in Zamość, both as a request for help and the provision of assistance. Hilchen sought the help of such people as Birkowski and Drezner, who were at the University of Padua in Italy, to obtain the legal expertise of the Italian lawyers on his proceedings; he invited Birkowski to visit his sick children several times; he borrowed books from and lent them to his academic friends; he allowed for absent professors to organise additional scholarships; and so on. Last but not least, the earlier concept of *locus amoenus* also manifested itself in a physical and spatial sense when Hilchen invited the professors from the academy to visit him in Horyszów either individually or collectively. The invitation, dated the 11th of July 1609, even seems to refer to the tradition of the farewell parties of academics, because after the party one of the professors, Jan Sechinus, left for a longer trip abroad.⁵¹ All of these shared experiences of everyday life helped to maintain the intellectual exchange as it had existed under Jan Zamoyski.

Yet even as Hilchen wrote in the aforementioned letter of invitation to the professors from the academy that they were all welcome, his invitation did not extend to one particular member of the academy: Szymon Szymonowic. In March 1607,

⁴⁷ E.g. "boni viri sunt [semper] iidem" David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic, 30 March 1607; "Fateor et agnosco amorem" David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski, no date; "similem constantiam polliceor" David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 31 December 1607; "successor in amando" David Hilchen to Adam Burski 4 August 1609; "pro amicitia nostra" David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 1 October 1609, etc.

⁴⁸ T. Deneire, "*Laconicae Cuspidae Instar*": *The Correspondence of Justus Lipsius 1598: Critical Edition with Introduction, Annotations and Stylistic Study*, Leuven 2009; K. Viiding and Th. Hoffmann, "Entanglement in Early Modern Letter-Writing: David Hilchen's Correspondence with Humanists from the Low Countries", *Journal of Baltic Studies* 51(3) (2020), pp. 315–331.

⁴⁹ David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 31 December 1607.

⁵⁰ Cf. e.g. David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 28 July 1609: "neque quicquam tam laboriosum quod tua causa non cupiam suscipere, facere et quoad queam efficere"; David Hilchen to Adam Burski, 4 August 1609: "Sed ratio habenda est meae constantiae, ne aliud illi ostendisse, aliud fecisse videar."

⁵¹ David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 11 July 1609: "En currum cum equis. Cras te et Dominum Bursium expecto. Siemcovium non excludo. Madalenscium adducito. Omnes grati eritis; quotquot veneritis." Also David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 28 July 1609.

a quarrel had broken out between Hilchen and Szymonowic, recorded in two letters the pair had sent each other, which are known to be the last correspondence between them. Since August Bielowski's publication of Szymonowic's letters in 1875, the two letters have been regarded as cryptic fragments. The original letters are said to have been in the private collection of the Polish historian Kazimierz Władysław Wóycicki, from which Bielowski clearly transcribed them.⁵² Thanks to the Riga manuscript, at least Hilchen's letter can be read without anything being lost.

Hilchen's letter, full of cutting rhetorical questions and learned references, suggests that trust between him and Szymonowic had been lost, since Szymonowic had not maintained *constantia amoris*. Although Hilchen – almost like a monkey – had imitated the example of Szymonowic in his verses, he now abandoned them. As an intelligent man, Szymonowic should not have spread rumours about Andrzej Szredziński, complained about Hilchen or denied everything after the fact. In the second part of the letter, Hilchen dwelt on Szymonowic's unreliability and violation of *constantia* as a lawyer, in legal terms: he promised to call other, more important witnesses before Szymonowic, who had seemingly forgotten about the case. According to the law, he would not consider Szymonowic worthy of a hearing. Being innocent himself, Hilchen would not even offer Szymonowic the possibility of reparation. Clearly, Hilchen was not seeking a real lawsuit, but he did demand that Szymonowic repent. Did this ever happen, and if so, under what circumstances? Could the fact that the following year Szymonowic's poem *Halcyonia Polonica* was published under the name of Franz Hilchen, the very young son of David Hilchen, without any reference to Szymonowic, be linked to this repentance and reparation?⁵³ Unfortunately, no answers are to be found to these questions in the remainder of Hilchen's correspondence. In any case, Hilchen himself consistently referred to his son as the author of the poem, not Szymonowic.⁵⁴

Although Hilchen did not use the words *calumnia* (slander) or *insidiae* (treachery, betrayal) in the case of Szymonowic, the description of the situation suggests their possibility. Many other, yet anonymous references in Hilchen's letters from these years acknowledge the seriousness and spread of these problems among people close to Zamość and the academy.⁵⁵

The second, even more intensive and complicated experience that Hilchen had in connection with the academy was caused by the behaviour of Hilchen's

⁵² A. Bielowski, *Szymon Szymonowic*, Krakow 1875, p. 31.

⁵³ Cf. other suggestions in E. J. Głębička, *Szymon Szymonowic – poeta Latinus*, Warsaw 2001, pp. 106–107.

⁵⁴ E.g. David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 4 October 1608.

⁵⁵ E.g. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 27 January 1608: "Ego a nonnullis malitiose et obtractorie gravor. Id quidem videlicet in tanta hominum vanitate perpetiendum est"; David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 4 October 1608: "Illustrimo Palatino Kyoviensi (quem alieno a me videri animo nonnulli sparse-rant, optimo tamen esse ex ipsius litteris vides)..."; David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 29 June 1609: "Sed quid audio? Cuculum istum tuum (scis quem designem) moliri aliquid in me. Inquire, mi Domine, de eo, eiusque insidiis." David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 1 October 1609: "Adhibete potius vestram de me opinionem, quam alienas calumnias in interpretandis illis, quae contra me adferuntur." David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 21 November 1609: "Cornix nobis occidit"

eldest son, David Hilchen Junior, as a student in Zamość. The historical background to this was that according to a letter to Jan Zamoyski in 1599, Hilchen had announced plans to prepare his then ten-year-old son for *famulus* for Tomasz Zamoyski.⁵⁶ After arriving in Zamość in 1603, the young Hilchen was initially taught by Albert (Wojciech) Calissius (z Kalisza), the elder Hilchen's former fellow at the University of Tübingen and an experienced teacher.⁵⁷ In 1605 a conflict erupted between Hilchen and Calissius: Hilchen had commissioned a publication from his friend Johannes Caselius, a professor at the University of Helmstedt, in which the venerable authority admonished the young David Hilchen, urged him to align himself more with his father's ambitions and counselled greater diligence in his studies. In 1605, both of Hilchen's eldest sons (David Junior and Franz) were enrolled in the academy. Not much is known about their early years there until a scandal occurred in early September 1608: the elder of the two left the academy to join the Jesuits in Lviv without notice. Although Hilchen used the word *degener* (ignoble) for his son following this incident, his first concern was that his son would not be expelled from the academy, and that Rector Sechinius, Professor Siemkowski and Canon Stefański would intervene to help him find his son and organise his return to the academy. By the end of September 1608, the true circumstances of his son's escape would become clear: Hilchen decided that the main culprits were the Jesuits and Zamoyski's widow, but also pointed the finger at a two-faced teacher from the academy, Siemkowski, as a secondary culprit. Siemkowski had neither heeded Hilchen's warnings about his son's laziness nor forced his son to work, but worse than that, he had showed Hilchen's letters to the boy, leading him to no longer wish to hear from his mother or father. As can be seen from the Academy of Zamość enrolment register,⁵⁸ David Junior was not expelled from the academy – probably due to the support of the academic staff – but after returning from the Jesuits, the then almost twenty-year-old son no longer studied there, instead embarking on a study trip to Western Europe.

Hilchen's loyalty to the academic community was also reflected in his financial decisions. After returning from Międzyrzecz, he worked in Zamość as an administrative official, responsible at least in part for the accounting and treasury of the academy. Thus, in 1608, he did not hand over money from the cashier of the academy to a bookseller by the name of Politius, citing, after consulting with professors

⁵⁶ David Hilchen to Jan Zamoyski, 8 December 1599, Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Zamoyskich, 1/358/0/0669, pp. 17–18.

⁵⁷ Cf. David Hilchen to Albert Calissius, 15 July 1603, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 196^v–197^r (liber 5,61); 29 August 1603, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 197^v (liber 5,62); 17 May 1604, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 198^r (liber 5,68); 22 May 1604, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 198^r (liber 5,69); 24 July 1604, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 199^r (liber 5,71); 25 October 1604, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 198^r (liber 5,66); 26 January 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 199^r (liber 5,73); 6 August 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 199^v (liber 5,74) etc.

⁵⁸ *Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej 1595–1781*, ed. by H. Gmiterek, Warsaw 1994, p. 52.

from the academy, Politius' debts and stating that the will of the academy was superior to Politius' own.⁵⁹

1609: Coda

Hilchen's last surviving letter to a member of the Academy of Zamość was addressed to Melchior Stefański on the 21 November 1609. It ends symbolically: again contemplating the death of Jan Zamoyski, Hilchen questions the story of the unexpected nature of Zamoyski's death, because everything, he says, happens according to God's will, and everyone dies. Above all, Hilchen's last letter reflects his desire to reunite with Zamoyski, and as such is a premonition of his own death and transience. More than the time of their reunion, Hilchen is concerned about where the reunion will take place. He rules out purgatory for himself, but comes to no clear conclusion about the other two possibilities, heaven and hell. Thus, the dichotomy of *locus amoenus* and *locus desperatus* associated with the Zamość and academy in Hilchen's lifetime seems to continue even after his death. Whatever his last place would prove to be, Hilchen hoped to find Jan Zamoyski there.

For those left behind, Hilchen had only one wish: that God would guard the house of Zamoyski and that it might rise even higher.⁶⁰

Editorial principles and annotations

This edition follows the chronological order in which the letters were sent. If the original letter was not dated, the earliest possible time of writing is used for ranking. All dates are according to the Gregorian calendar. The place of writing and

⁵⁹ David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 13 September 1608: "Quod Dominus Bursius et alii Domini Professores volunt, faciam. Non extraham pecuniam ex thesauro acceptam Politio priusquam rationes cum Academia distraxerit. Etsi enim Politius certo eam homini hic dandam esse, destinaverat: tamen Academiae voluntas mihi potior est." and again 15 December 1608: "Illumne commendem, quem a Dominatione Vestra amari semper perspexi? Et si iustam causam tibi, si ad reddendas rationes paratus est: si nihil ab illo Academiae deberi constiterit, cur hominem Magnificentia Vestra adjutum, nollet? Rogo tamen Magnificentiam Vestram ut quantum me amat, hunc hominem iuвет, et ab indebito istius arresti nexu, qui fidem illi angustam reddidit, absolvat: nec patiatu'r hominem longioris temporis impensa exhauriri. Ego quidem pecuniam arrestatam non dissolvam prius, quam Magnificentia Vestra dissolvendam esse edixerit. Rogo tamen ut quamprimum compedes illi frangantur, et pecunia suo Domino restituatur."

⁶⁰ David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 21 November 1609: "Fiat id quod Deo visum. O Deus vide, et erige domum Samoscianam. . . . Felix ille noster Samoscianus, itane subito abiit? Ivit quo cogimur omnes. Utinam nos tantum tempus secernat, nec etiam meta. Alii enim recta vel ire caelum, vel in infernum, alii paulo tardius ad purgatorium, a quo fateor me alienum esse. Quid Lazarus a Christo resuscitatus de mortuorum conditione, deque caelis, aut inferis dixerit, nescio. Nullibi enim scribitur. Fortassis noluit illum talia referre. Ecce quam fidenter"

receiving the letter is indicated next to the date in brackets, the latter mostly being derived from references in Hilchen letters or the biographical data of the addressees outside of these letters. If the place is difficult to determine, this is indicated by a question mark.

The headings of and signatures on the letters have almost entirely been lost due to the early-17th-century copyist(s) of the collected letters of Hilchen in Riga. It is likely that he (they) replaced the headings with a brief expression indicating the addressee and, in the case of several successive letters to the same addressee, with a pronoun. The reason of copying of Hilchen's letters is not evident; the person who probably ordered the copy, obviously in connection with his book on Livonian nobility,⁶¹ is the lawyer Caspar von Ceumern (1612–1692), as his name appears on the title page of the manuscript (*a Casparo Ceumern*).

Most of the letters to members of the Academy of Zamość have been placed by the copyist in the fifth book of Hilchen's correspondence with the subtitle "Liber Epistolarum familiarum ad Polonos et Lithvanos Nobiles missarum." Only the letters to Melchior Stefański are in the first book, "Liber Epistolarum ad Archiepiscopos, Episcopos et Sacri Ordinis homines missarum." Two manuscripts of the first book of letters have survived, both in Riga and Linköping, while of the fifth book the only manuscript is in Riga. For this edition a collation of manuscripts and, in a few exceptional cases, of existing earlier editions has been prepared. All of the sources of the collation are indicated in the notes.

In the introductory captions and notes, personal and geographical names are used in their current Polish forms. In the Latin letters the humanist names in Latin are not changed.

The orthographic differences between the Riga and Linköping manuscripts are great, so it is not possible to determine definitively which orthography was actually used by Hilchen himself during his exile in Zamość. By default it can be assumed that the more voluminous Riga manuscript is the earlier, so readings of the Riga manuscript are preferred in this diplomatic edition. Only the abbreviations and ligatures in the letters are resolved, and punctuation has been modernised. The use of uppercase and lowercase letters is retained, except for the word *Deus*, which fluctuating orthography in the manuscript letters has been changed throughout to *Deus*.

The orthography of some Greek expressions has not been changed. Hilchen's proficiency in Greek has not yet been systematically studied, so his preference for using diacritical marks in letters from different periods may indicate a change in his linguistic models (his German-influenced Livonian period *vs* his Italian-influenced period in Zamość). The letters herein show the use of the Greek language as rather *ornatus causa* within the Latin sentence, and not as an independent means of communication.

⁶¹ *Theatridium Livonicum, oder, Kleine liefländische Schau-Bühne, worinnen aller von Anfang her in Liefland gewesenen, so geist- als weltlichen Regenten als Bischöffen, Ertz-Bischöffen, Herrmeistern und Königen Namen, zu was Zeit sie gelebet, . . . zu finden . . .*, Riga: G.M. Nöller, 1690.

The notes combine *apparatus criticus* (differences in manuscripts and in a fragmented edition) and comments so as to understand the content of the text. Comments contain information about the survival and use of manuscript copies of the letters, the persons referred to by name, office or simply title, historical events, important biographical and prosopographical facts, the mentioned books and their authors. A selection of the most important quotations and references from the works of ancient writers and humanists as well as cross-references to recurring events and persons has also been added.

Letters by David Hilchen to Members of the Akademia Zamojska 1603–1609

1. 27 July 1603 (from Zamość to Zamość) David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowicz⁶²

Simoni Simonidae

Ex lucubrationibus, catarrho, et gravitate belli Livonici,⁶³ morsu hyemis et sexcentis alijs incommoditatibus, fortassis etiam aetate, ago enim jam quadragesimum secundum annum, humores noxios collegi, qui cum per corpus vagarentur, etiam ad radices dentium effluerunt. Ex quo aliquot dentes evulsi sunt, reliqui sunt mobiles et putrescunt, unde anhelitus etiam gravior. Vereor ne brevi excidant. Et vox mea desinat canora. Rationes autem muneris mei hoc vel maxime postulant, ut saepe mihi sint verba, mox in iudicio, modo cum Senatoribus facienda. Si quid opis est in chirurgia vestra ad sublevandum hoc incommodum, et quid in eam rem impendendum sit, quaeso faciat me certiozem, vel ipse eo veniam, vel sumptum sine mora mittam. Opto bene valere Magnificentiam Vestram. Zamoscio 27 Julij Anno 1603.

2. 1 August 1603 (from Zamość to Italy, probably Padua) David Hilchen to Jan Ursyn-Niedźwiecki⁶⁴

Ursino

Excellentissime Domine Doctor: amice honorande

Cum Illustrissimus⁶⁵ suas ad te mitteret, ego in illis quoque hasce ad te perbreves volui, quia istius amicitiae, quam Samoscii olim inivimus, memoriam renovarent. Meam amicitiam tibi voluptati fuisse vidi, et mihi tua benevolentia nihil potuit

⁶² Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 183^v (liber 5,10).

⁶³ *belli Livonici*] the Livonian war between Sweden and Poland lasted from August 1600 to 1621. Hilchen took part on the Polish side from early autumn 1600 to January 1603.

⁶⁴ Apograph: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 203^{r-v} (liber 5,89).

⁶⁵ *Illustrissimus*] Jan Zamoyski.

accidere jucundius. Sed quid verbis agam: iidem sunt semper boni viri litteris ita ut tu es, praeclare expoliti. Gaudeo tibi merito tuo decretum honorem Doctoralem quem ut adipisceris, fecisti omnia quae Illustrissimus iusserat, imo eum superasti. Nunc te velut torrens inde aufferit.⁶⁶ Tu quod bene decrevisti, facies et ad nos venias. Me hic beneficio Illustrissimi in agro Orissoviensi fruentem invenies. Desinam ut citius redeas, id omnino Illustrissimus vult et jubet ut quamprimum fiat interest. Vale Zamoscio Kalendis Augusti 1603.

3. 24 August 1603 (from Horyszów to Zamość) David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański⁶⁷

Ad eundem

Si quisquam est Samoscii⁶⁸ cum quo et libere et libenter ago, fateor Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram eum esse. Ita me cepit Dominatio Vestra cum humanitate, benevolentia, beneficentia, opere et fide sua. Sed quid verbis opus est? Facta Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimae sunt clariora verbis. Rem ipsam nunc tango. Ne Arrianus⁶⁹ plane os se mihi libellis istis Samosatani⁷⁰ frenasse putet, aliquid illi rescribendum esse statuo. Scripsi igitur et ex spatiis juridicis (IurisConsultis enim nihil cum rebus Ecclesiasticis commune esse debere dicitur)⁷¹ mitto illi decretum Imperatoris. Theologica sequentur. Sed hac in re testimonium Iudicii tui exspecto. Nihil enim inconsulta Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra cum hoc Arriano agere decrevi. Iuvet me igitur, et si quae minus recte proposita a me videbuntur, corrigat, addat, minuat, immo rem totam ex suo iudicio dirigat. Serio hoc rogo, et aperto pectore scribo, fucumque omnem abesse juro. Morbum meum, quo implicor, ut Illustrissimus⁷² innotescat, curet velim Dominatio Vestra meaque omnia illi curae sint. Die Bartholomaei Anno 1603.

⁶⁶ *velut torrens inde aufferit*] Cf. Ov., *Fasti* 2,9–11: “Ecce velut torrens . . . per fata perque vias fertur.”

⁶⁷ Apographs: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 25^{r-v} (liber 1,47); Linköping StLB, Br 43, fol. 35^{r-v} (liber 1,25).

⁶⁸ *Samoscii*] ms Rigense, *Zamoscij* ms Lincopense.

⁶⁹ *Arrianus*] Arian, follower of the teaching of Arius (ca 260–ca 336), preacher in Baucalis, who stood in opposition to Alexander and Athanasius, was condemned and banished. Here: Andrzej Lubieniecki (1551–1623), one of the leading Polish arians of this period.

⁷⁰ *Samosatanis*] Samosata, hometown of the nontrinitarian bishop Paul in Antioch, Paul’s pupil was Lucian of Antioch, who had a major influence on Arius.

⁷¹ Edictum Justiniani de fide, caput *De summa trinitate et fide catholica, et ut nemo de ea publice contendere audeat*, Cod.Iust. 1,1,8, (28).

⁷² *Illustrissimus*] Jan Zamoyski.

4. 27 August 1603 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański⁷³

Ad eundem

Et quid dicam de tua hac emansione? Hoc biduum, quo abes et non ad me venis, ut solebas, seculum mihi videtur. Causam quaero et indago: sed nullam invenio. Mens haec mea integra est, nec sibi ullius vel facti vel dicti conscia est, quo te laeserit. Secura igitur est. Sed affectus, ut tibi aperte dicam, ad te decurrunt, ut prodas, minimeque detegas, si quid sit, quod te offenderit. Alterutrum igitur facias, mi Pater, ut vel purgationem, vel (si quid erratum est) satisfactionem a me tibi deberi indices. Ignosce, quod jocer. Amor hoc facit. Cura tamen ne tuam praesentiam hodie desiderem et effice, si potes, ut murmura Godemanni⁷⁴ ad me redeant; sed pedibus bene colligatis. Domino Bircovio⁷⁵ hoc nomine debebo et tibi, si hominem aliquando adduxeris, ut audiam et audiar, videam et videar ab illo, quem talem fore, qualis nunc est (certe hyacinthus inter urticas quasi est⁷⁶) jampridem vidi, et majorem aliquando fore, auguror. Vale jam tibi dico et ita ut in salve id commutes hodie. 27 Augusti 1603.

5. 22 August 1604 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Adam Burski⁷⁷

Generose Domine, amice honorande

Epistola quam heri vesperi a te accepi valde mihi grata fuit: cum quod abs te esset, tum quod testimonium tui de me meoque clypeo⁷⁸ iudicii contineret, et amplius aliquid promitteret. Gratias igitur ago et habeo: parcius verbis, sed affectu et animo largius. Utinam re aliquid exhibere possem, non tantum gratum vicissim tibi sed et utile, avide id facerem. Fac periculum, experieris quid possim, et quid tua causa velim. Tu etiam, quae large mihi promisisti, quamprimum poteris, praesta. Vides meam libertatem, qua apud te in ipso velut limine amicitiae utor. Eadem apud me

⁷³ Apographs: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 25^r (liber 1,46); Linköping StLB, Br 43, fol. 35^r (liber 1,47).

⁷⁴ *Godemanni*] Jakob Go(e)demann (1563–1628, 1596 dr. utr. iur. in Wittenberg) was 1598–1600 vicesyndicus and 1600–1604 syndicus of Riga, David Hilchen's successor and main opponent in their lawsuits 1600–1609.

⁷⁵ *Bircovio*] Szymon Birkowski.

⁷⁶ *hyacinthus inter urticas*] a widely used metaphor in Hilchen's correspondence.

⁷⁷ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 209^r (liber 5,109).

⁷⁸ *meo clypeo*] D. Hilchen, *Clypevs innocentiae et veritatis Davidis Hilchen. Serenissimi Sigismvndi iii. Poloniae et Sveciae Regis Secretarij & Notarij Terr. Venden. Contra Iacobi Godemanni Luneburgen. et Rigenium quorundam, Senatus nomine ad proprium odium abutentium, cum iniquissima crudelissimaque quaedam decreta, tum alia calumniarum tela, editus*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1604.

tu quoque utere, et indica, si quid fieri a me velis. Habes me tibi obnoxium. Vale
Ex praedio Orissoviano 22. Augusti 1604.

6. No date: after 20 August 1604, before 5 July 1606 (from Zamość or Horyszów to Padua)

David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner⁷⁹

Thomae Dresnero IurisConsulTo
Generose Domine, amice honorande

Consuetudo nostra brevis fuit, sed jucundissima mihi, et tibi quoque, mi Dresnere, eam voluptati fuisse, facile vidi. Utinam mihi non fuisses adeptus. Tantum profecto studii et officii probassem tibi, quantum a me proficisci potuissem. Interim vultu et sermonibus tuis suavissimis mihi perfrui videor.⁸⁰ Ea me cogunt ut te officio onerem. Mitto tibi statum causae meae⁸¹ cujus initia tu vidisti. Vehementer autem obsecro te, atque obtestor, efficias ut nulliter et inique contra me Rigenses processisse Patavini IurisConsulTi scripto, ita ut res est, testentur. Habeo Illustrium academiaram Germaniae iudicia. Nunc existimationi meae quae indignis modis a pessimo ministri Luneburgensis filio Godemanno,⁸² monstro improbo, lacerata est, vestrae Academiae⁸³ iudicium deesse nolim. Ne illud igitur desiderem, cave. Quicquid in eam rem impenderis, solvam tibi que perpetuam debebo. Zamoscii nunc sum et fruor gratia et beneficio Illustrissimi⁸⁴ in agro Westerottano,⁸⁵ quem gratuito usibusque meis addixit. Si quid est quod a me hic fieri velis, fac periculum quid possim apud Illustrem. Interim vale et expectationem de te nostram vince.

⁷⁹ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 203^v-204^r (liber 5,90).

⁸⁰ Hilchen probably met Tomasz Drezner in Zamość already in the 1590s during his short visits, as Drezner studied 1601-1604 abroad.

⁸¹ *status causae meae*] Hilchen, *Clypeus innocentiae et veritatis*.

⁸² Go(e)demann, Caspar (1524-?) – mag. theol., in service of Lüneburg since 1559, Superintendent of Lüneburg. For his son Jakob cf. n. 74.

⁸³ *vestrae Academiae*] the *Universitas Juristarum* in Padua, place of studies and rectorats of Jan Zamoyski in 1560s (cf. e.g. Lepri, *Knowledge Transfer*, pp. 41-42).

⁸⁴ *Illustrissimi*] Jan Zamoyski.

⁸⁵ *in agro Westerottano*] probably a mistake of the later copyist instead of *in agro Orissoviano*. Westerotten was an estate in Livonia, which takes its name from a Livonian Hermann Westerott, to whom King Stephen Báthory confirmed this estate. When the estate was ceded to David Hilchen with royal approval under Sigismund III in 1596, it was called Hilchenshof. During the war between Poland and Sweden, the estate was burned on 9 March 1601.

Appendix

Cum processus iste incompetenter, violenter et nulliter a Senatu Rigensi contra Notarium Vendensem institutus est, ideo abolendus et cassandus. Ipse vero honoribus et bonis suis ante omnia cum plena damnorum satisfactione restituendus est. Si quae Senatui competit, agat coram Regia Maiestate.

7. 9 April 1605 (from Kraków to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic⁸⁶

Ad Eundem

Idem mihi usu venit,⁸⁷ optime mi Simonide, quod iis, qui differunt censuum solutiones. Quo enim plures accumulatur, eo difficilior fit solutio. Nam me quoque ad binas epistolas tuas elegantissime scriptas multiplicati quasi aeris alieni in respondendo expunctio conturbat. Et ut verum fatear, verbero me ipsum tacito cogitationis convicio, quod non responderim. Sed qua ex humanitate ignoscas, veniamque dabis occupatiunculis: ne mihi de fide amicitiae in dubium veniendum sit. Pondera in posterum litterarum mittam. Interim litteras Lipsij⁸⁸ pro censu habe. Italo tuo Philopolono⁸⁹ omne studium operae ac diligentiae meae probassem; sed Comitibus ita dissolutis, nihil a me fieri potuisse vides. Pro re coepta mediocris est status causae meae; fiatque propediem fortasse melius. Terret me et taedet jam istius $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \xi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$. Malo igitur $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \xi\sigma\tau\iota$.⁹⁰ Cum occupatissimus sim, plus verborum facere non licet. Castellatum Lublinensem hic lugent:⁹¹ sermones de heroe nostro dissipantur.⁹² Utinam ex hac vita excidant, qui eum extinctum volunt. Publica sunt omnia nunc

⁸⁶ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 183^v-184^r (liber 5,10).

⁸⁷ *idem mihi usu venit*] cf. Cic., *Pro Roscio* 42.

⁸⁸ *Litteras Lipsij*] Hilchen corresponded with the Dutch humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) 1598–1606. The last letter by Lipsius to Hilchen is dated in November 1604. Hilchen answered him in August 1605 and in March 1606 and on behalf of the members of Zamoyski' family in December 1605. Cf. Viiding and Hoffmann, "Entanglement", pp. 315–331.

⁸⁹ *Italo tuo Philopolono*] It is not evident which Italian is meant here. The only Italian professor at the academy was in this year Dominico Convalis from Naples, Franciscan friar, professor of Canon Law since 1599, supported by the apostolic nuncio in Poland, Claudio Rangoni, and by the bishop of Chełm Jerzy Zamoyski. Convalis carried out many duties in the printing, editing and revising the texts in the printing house of Zamość (Lepri, *Knowledge Transfer*, p. 49). Convalis died, however, soon and was buried in the Collegiate Church in Zamość on 28 May 1605, as his epitaph affirms (*Anacephaleosis professorum Academiae Zamoscensis: manuscriptum saeculi XVII = Wiadomość o profesorach Akademii Zamojskiej: rękopis z w. XVII*, ed. and comm. by J. A. Wadowski, Warsaw 1899–1900, p. 97).

⁹⁰ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \xi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$. . . $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \xi\sigma\tau\iota$] paronomasia with different forms of the verb "to be [happy]": 3 sing. fut. *versus* 3. sing. praes.

⁹¹ *Castellatum Lublinensem*] Marek Sobieski (1549/50–1605), one of the followers of Jan Zamoyski, was castellan of Lublin since 1597 and Voivode of Lublin since 1598.

⁹² *Heroe nostro*] Jan Zamoyski.

dubia, infida, periculi plena. Quid non fieret, si unicus Sol iste abesset? Hic limes ad sermonem latus est, teque salvere et valere opto. Vale. Cracovia 9. Aprilis 1605.

8. 13 June 1605 (from Zamość to Zamość) David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic⁹³

Ad eundem

Ad viam diu destinatum, nunc me do, Cracoviam iturus, et mox, Deo juvante, reversaturus. Interim pro nostra conjunctione negotium tibi dabo, parvum quidem, at necessarium vehementer. Ecce funera.⁹⁴ Sed nollem ea excudi, priusquam censionem tuam exercueris. Dignos laude viros, Musa vetat mori.⁹⁵ Nihil quaero nisi benevolentiam, qua nunc maxime opus mihi est. Velim igitur mea causa tantum laboris subeas, et novam hisce tenebris lucem adferas. Officium apud Illustrem Dominum Palatinum Cracoviensem reponam.⁹⁶ Vale. Zamosc. 13. Iunij 1605.

9. 28 January 1606 (from Kraków to Zamość) David Hilchen to Wawrzyniec Starnigel⁹⁷

Laurentio Sternigelio
Canonico Samoscensi

Juvenis, de quo Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra mihi mandaverat, initio se excusabat, quod viaticum non esset missum.⁹⁸ Ut rumperem hoc vinculum, quo quasi alligebatur, sex illi florenos dedi, quos ille, nisi vos reddatis, restituet. Sic ergo a me viatico in equis instructus ad vos it. Confido fore qualem voluistis, et esse in eo propter morum probitatem etiam ea, quae desiderastis. Non dubito vos etiam illi facturos sitis, immo opus est et decet. Pro vestra meam interposui fidem, de qua ne mihi in dubium veniendum sit, Dominatio Vestra mandati sui memor, provideat.

⁹³ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 184^r (liber 5,12).

⁹⁴ *funera*] Hilchen wrote two long Latin mourning poems on the death of Jan Zamoyski, which were published in Zamość in 1605 and twice in Helmstedt in 1606 in the collective mourning volume. Cf. Hilchen, *Sub velis poeticis*, pp. 178–195.

⁹⁵ *Dignos laude viros, Musa vetat mori*] cf. Hor., *Carm.* 4,8,28: “dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.”

⁹⁶ *apud Palatinum Cracoviensem*] Mikołaj Zebrzydowski Voivode of Krakow 1585–1620.

⁹⁷ Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 40^{r-v} (liber 1,87); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 53^{r-v} (liber 1,87).

⁹⁸ During the academic year 1605/1606, sixty-two young men matriculated at the Academy of Zamość, among them eleven from Krakow. It is also possible that Hilchen helped here Moritz Kanne (Cannius) the son of his earlier Livonian friend Otto Kanne, who returned in September 1605 with Theodor von Farenbach back from Germany (*Album studentów*, pp. 55–57).

Plura non scribam, mox ad vos venturus. Interim Dominatio Vestra valeat, meisque ut mihi faveat. Cracovia 28. Januarii 1606.

10. 12 March 1606 (from Zamość to Padua) David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski⁹⁹

Simoni Bircovio
Medicinae Doctori

Salve. Litteras Illustritatis me tamdiu expectantem, ne epistolam quidem trium linearum, quibusque nullitas processus constaret (non enim pomposum consilium expectavi) obtinere posse, mirandum videtur.¹⁰⁰ Utrum vel contemptus illorum vel negligentia vestra in causa fuerit, ambigo. Quicquid sit hoc tandem mihi praestes velim, ut vel pecuniam rei expetitaes satisque expectatae destinatae remittas: vel Juris-ConsulTorum tria verba, quae adversariorum processum reprobent, et ex fama mea sint, extorquens. En Exemplum duarum Academiarum sequantur illud, si grandius dare nolint. Bona spes est, fore ut propediem restituar. Ceciderunt enim inimici mei et infirmati sunt. Quicquid autem fiat veritas tandem et innocentia vincet.

Quanta mea tristitia sit ex tua facile conjecturam facies. Fatum istud Herois nostri properum et importunum fuit. Sed nihil prodest inter medicandum vociferatio. Sustentet nos cogitatio voluntatis divinae et spes ejus Patroni, qui unicus et solus non sinit frustra unquam opem suam implorari. Interim si quid a me in tuis rebus fieri voles, indica. Faciam. Imo feci iam in sumptibus ad studia pertextenda necessaria tibi. Vale Samoscio XII Martii 1606.

11. 20 March 1606 (from Horyszów to Zamość) David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański¹⁰¹

Ad eundem

Schedam, de qua heri sermo fuit, mitto. Lectam consignet, et per Josephum¹⁰² transmittat, vel si occasio erit, ipsamet Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra reddat, cum commendatione laborum et sumptuum, quos feci. Excuset, si abitum meum Reverendissimus desiderare videbitur: praecedam vos, et Varsaviae me habebitis.

⁹⁹ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 205^r (liber 5,94).

¹⁰⁰ *Trium linearum*] cf. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, no date [after 20 August 1604], appendix.

¹⁰¹ Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 25^v (liber 1,48); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 35^{r-v} (liber 1,49).

¹⁰² *Josephum*] Hilchen's amanuensis and postman.

Turbator iste remotus, ne vires resumat, cavendum erit. Moneat Reverendissimus ne in risum et jocum res exeat. Scit Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra quam scoptice de Reverendissimo homo iste garrere ausus fuerit. Malitiae istius fomentum impuritas est.¹⁰³ Domini Advocati industriam quoque commendat. Certe officium facit, et recte gerit. Speculum Saxonicum Reverendissimus iam pridem scripto mandaverat Domino Bursio,¹⁰⁴ mihi dari. Surdo fabula.¹⁰⁵ Exoret nunc Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra vel extorqueat, quod iam pridem mihi debetur. Nihil faciet, nisi auctoritatem suam Reverendissimus interposuerit. Primum et ultimum est, ut Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra inprimis Reverendissimi gratiam mihi integram conservet, tum idem erga me sibi. Utrique respondere omnibus officiis, studiis conabor. Ex agro Orissoviano 20. Martii 1606.

12. 5 July 1606 (from Zamość to Padua)

David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner¹⁰⁶

Ad eundem

Salve. Desieram iam plane urgere amplius Judicium vestrorum istic JurisConsultorum cum nec tuo, nec Domini Bircovii studio elici potuerim. Sed nuperae litterae quibusque veteris amicitiae usum mihi defers, impetunt me ut rescribam, et nec absque testimonio vel litterarum missilium vel consilii redeas,¹⁰⁷ te admoneam rogemque. Non prolixum ego vel pomposum consilium exigo. Tres lineae suffecerint, processum scilicet vitiosum, ideoque me restituendum esse,¹⁰⁸ ut constet saltem idem sentire Italos quod Germani.

¹⁰³ *Malitiae istius fomentum impuritas est*] cf. J. Lipsius, “De Calumnia oratio”, in *id.*, *Epistularum selectarum centuria*, p. 103: “Et foeditatem quidem Calumniae, quo clarius vobis argumento ostendam, quam istoc duplici? Quod et in foedissimas ea personas cadat, et quod foedissima est ipsa?”

¹⁰⁴ *Speculum Saxonicum*] *Speculum Saxonum* or *Sachsenspiegel*, the important source of mediaeval customary law, became the law in force in town and village courts of Poland on 2 October 1535. It was translated into Polish for the first time by the lawyer Paweł Szczerbic, friend of Hilchen, and published by him in Lviv in 1581. It was often commented on and discussed by the early modern Polish lawyers. Among Jan Zamoyski’s manuscripts was a mediaeval Latin translation of *Speculum* by Konrad of Sandomierz, dated with 1513 (*Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Ordynacji Zamojskiej: Sygn. 1–2051*, ed. by B. Kocówna and K. Muszyńska, Warsaw 1967, p. 10, no. 90). In 1602–1604 *Speculum Saxonicum* was published in Zamość three times in different editions: *Juris provincialis quod speculum saxonum vulgo nuncupatur, libri tres* (1602), *Juris municipalis Magdeburgensis Liber* (1602), and *Promptuarium juris provincialis Saxonici* (1604) (translation by Mikołaj Jaskier with the amendments recommended and approved by the King Sigismund III and edited by Adam Burski). Cf. *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej: od Jana do Jana. Przewodnik po wystawie*, Warsaw 2005, p. 75, no. 53.

¹⁰⁵ *Surdo fabula*] ancient proverb, cf. e.g. Ter., *Heaut.* 222: “surdo narret fabulam”, Hor., *Sat.* 2,1,119–200: “narrare . . . fabellam surdo” etc.

¹⁰⁶ Apograph: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 204^r (liber 5,91).

¹⁰⁷ *testimonio, litterarum missilium, consilio*] three types of legal opinion.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, no date [after 20 August 1604], appendix.

Puto quinque Ungaricis¹⁰⁹ tam exiguum laborem redimi posse. Siquid tamen amplius impendendum sit, des de tuo. Ecce habes tres centurias florenorum iam pridem a Dominis tutoribus tibi destinatas, non tamen prius missas. Reddam cum officio et affectu, quam primum ad nos redieris: et ut absque mora redeas, hortor. Tum interest adesse.

Interim vale et Domino Bircscovio exempla mearum litterarum quas redditas esse ambigo, quia silet, trade.¹¹⁰

Aliud quod scribam nunc non est: publica ex aliis cognosces. Polonia fere tota concitatur. Utinam non in se suas vires convertat. Secessio per univrsium Regnum (Rokos) ad diem 5. Augusti¹¹¹ indicta est. Quem exitum, ut haec, cujus memoria vix aliqua extat, habitura sit, Deus novit. Is nos et vos servet. Vale iterum. Zamoscio 5. Julii Anno 1606.

13. 23 July 1606 (from Zamość to Zamość or Chełm) David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański¹¹²

Ad eundem

Concionem Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae anniversariam peracre, considerate, dilucide ac copiose scripta est. Digna igitur editione.¹¹³ Quam urgere non desinam. Sed unum est, quod non quidem opinione παρρησιαστικώτερον videri poterit. Illud coram exponam. Quicquid autem a Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra consulto factum esse cognovero, non improbabo, sed potius defendendum esse mihi statuam. Tanta est constantia amoris mei erga Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram et mea de ejus prudentiae existimatio. Lusum meum extemporalem mitto, ut Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae de fructu concionis hodie auditae constet. Samoscii 23 Julii 1606.

¹⁰⁹ *quinque Ungaricis*] five Hungarian gold coins (*Gulden*). In the 14th and 15th centuries, Hungary was the largest gold producer in Europe. The Hungarian gold coin was one of the strongest currencies in the region until the 17th century.

¹¹⁰ Hilchen refers here probably to his letter to Birkowski from 12 March 1606.

¹¹¹ *5. Augusti correxi*] *S. Augusti* ms. According to the other sources the Zebrzydowski's rebellion (*rokosz Zebrzydowskiego*) or the Sandomierz rebellion (*rokosz sandomierski*) was formed on 5 August 1606.

¹¹² Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 25^v-26^r (liber 1,49); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 36^r (lib. 1,50).

¹¹³ The Polish sermon was immediately edited: *Kazanie przy obchodzie rocznym sławnej pamięci Jana Zamojskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego. Przez X. Melchiora Stephanidessa chełmskiego i zamojskiego kanonika, 3. die Iunii odprawowane i wydane*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1606, yet without Hilchen's poem. Censor's permission is fol. A4^r.

14. 1 March 1607 (from Zamość to Zamość[?]) David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski¹¹⁴

Magistro Alberto Siemcovio

Labor iste, quem Dominatio Vestra rogatu meo in translationem Lachicarum lucubrationum impendit, instar muneris mihi est.¹¹⁵ Eum igitur quacunque re potero rependam. Utinam istius rei, de qua Dominatio Vestra quaerit, nullus in Polonia usus extitisset. Sic minus de verbis laboraremus. Nunc autem ita res, ut sese dat, appellanda est. Secessione primi istius rei auctores appellarunt, et sic iam usus obtinuit. Cur nos eam aliter appellamus? De vocabulis nolim Dominationem Vestram adeo sollicitum esse. Metuo enim ne ista nimia sollicitudo retardet laborem, quem expeditum cuperem. Nihil tamen Dominatio Vestra faciat nisi quod commode vel velit vel possit. 1. Martii 1607.

15. 27 March 1607 (from Zamość to Napels) David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski¹¹⁶

Ad eundem

Duas litteras Excellentia Vestra scripsit¹¹⁷ se ad me dedisse, eas videor accepisse. Sane missio ista et interpellatio litterarum, quanti me Excellentia Vestra faciat, declarat. Quo nomine gratias debeo, quas tamen referre quam agere malo, si fuerit occasio et facultas. Incredibilem plane voluptatem ex hisce posterioribus quae de memoria nominis mei apud Reverendissimum Prochnicum¹¹⁸ a Voverio nostro¹¹⁹ facta, innuunt, cepi. Cum tantum enim tribuam iudicio Excellentiae Vestrae ut eam non facile falli posse existimem, non potest scilicet non esse mihi praedicatio nominis mei jucundissima, quod verax esse videatur. Quanquam sit vetula apud Plautum, ego quoque vel falso tamen laudari malo quam vero culpari.¹²⁰ Voverio iam satis factum

¹¹⁴ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 209^v (liber 5,111).

¹¹⁵ *in translationem Lachicarum*] Since Hilchen has to suggest to Siemkowski a suitable Polish equivalent for translating the Latin word *secessio*, the reference is to the translation of Hilchen's handwritten monograph on calendar riots in Riga (1585–1589) into Polish. There are no traces of the completion of this work. *Rogatu meo* suggests that the translation took place at Hilchen's request.

¹¹⁶ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 205^{r-v} (liber 5,95).

¹¹⁷ *scripsit*] *correxī scribit* ms.

¹¹⁸ *Prochnicum*] Jan Andrzej Próchnicki (ca 1552–1633) was 1606–1607 envoy of the Polish King Sigismund III. in Naples; 1607 Bishop of Kamieniec, 1614 Archbishop of Lviv.

¹¹⁹ *Voverio nostro*] Jan van den Wouwere (lat. Johannes Voverius), Antverpiensis SJ (1576–1635), Dutch humanist, executor of Lipsius' will. Hilchen corresponded with him at least 1606–1608, also on behalf of the other persons, cf. Viiding and Hoffmann, "Entanglement", esp. pp. 323–325.

¹²⁰ *equidem pol vel falso tamen laudari multo malo, quam vero culpari aut meam speciem alios inridere*] cf. Plaut., *Most.* 1,22–23.

puto. Idem enim Politios¹²¹ nummos quos ante acceperat, refert, ut eos Voverio cum his tradat. Tu vero, mi Bircovi, perge adjumentum afferre nobis et decus addere gloriae Samoscianae, quam in pravitate seculi nostri minorem¹²² fieri cernimus;¹²³ et me amatorem ejus studiosissime commendare Reverendissimo Domino Prochnicio, in cujus amore esse velim: et hoc velle hominibus litterarum qualiumcunque sibi consciis, insitum est. Iuves igitur me in hac meta: Ubique persuade me quicquid debetur excellenti dignitati et summae humanitati tuae, cumulate aliquando relaturum. Non possum autem facere quin insuper tibi significem, adventum tuum in magna tutorum expectatione esse. Quem ne fallas, non solum amice te hortor, sed confidenter oro. Faveat pulcherrimo ingenio et genio tuo omnes: sed cum te alienae familiae operam tuam addixisse cognovissent Tutores, indignatio quaedam animadversa fuit. Sed eam nubeculam absterserant litterae tuae, quae spem certam reditus in Octobrem proferunt. Redi igitur et cogita quod est in fabula de ranis, quae dum quaerunt convenientiora loca, in extremas tandem difficultates delatae sunt.¹²⁴

Sed me non oportet hac in parte quicquam ulli praescribere. Hortandum dico, si veneris, praeclara muneris tui ratio habebitur. Veni igitur. Vincit praesensio famam. Nosti caetera. Motus in Polonia qui sedati iam esse videbantur, ecce redeunt ad redintegrationem secessus sive coitionis quam nostrates Rokos vocant. Quo evasuri sunt, ambigo. Fiat quod DEO visum. Quod reliquum est, te rectissime valere ex animo cupio. Vale Zamoscio 27 Martii Anno 1607.

16. No date: before 30 March 1607 (from Czernięcin to Zamość [?]) Szymon Szymonowic to David Hilchen¹²⁵

Simon Simonides Davidi Hilchenio S.D.

Nunquam putavi fore ut de te s[.....]
[.....] apud neminem [.....]
Ut inter nos quoque turbae [.....]
hanc noveram. Ego inter [.....]

¹²¹ *Politios*] Jan Politius (Policius), Polish bookseller, until 1608 sales manager of the bookstore of Zacheusz Kessner (died 1602), the largest Krakow bookseller at the end of the 16th century (with branches in Lublin and Zamość). In Krakow, Politius also dealt with the sale of paper. Jerzy Zamoyski renewed his privilege to sell books in Zamość after Jan Zamoyski's death, and Hilchen wrote the text of this privilege. Politius was also responsible for the distribution of the books printed in Zamość.

¹²² *minorem*] correxi *minoris* ms.

¹²³ Birkowski wrote a long Latin elegy as well as one Latin and one Greek epigram to console Andrzej Próchnicki on the death of Justus Lipsius. The poems were published within a pan-European collection of mourning poems *Justi Lipsii Principatus litterarius a Gaugerico Rivio IC. et in suprema Curia Belgica Mechliniae caussarum Patrono, scriptus ad ritum priscum*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana, 1607, pp. 41–44.

¹²⁴ Cf. Phaed., *Fab.* 1,2.

¹²⁵ Edition of the fragment: Bielowski, *Szymon Szymonowic*, p. 31. According to Bielowski, the autographs of this and the next letter were in the 19th century in the private collection of the Polish historian

respondent nunc demum [.....]
 mihi praesta et da operam [.....].
 Zernencini anno 16[..].

17. 30 March 1607 (from Zamość to Czernięcin or Zamość) David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic¹²⁶

David Hilchen Simoni Simonidae Salutem Dicit

Quid ais?¹²⁷ Nunquam, inquis, putavi fore.¹²⁸ Itane prudentes, ut tu es, putant. Boni viri sunt ijdem, nec dicunt Non putaram. Tu cur sequis?¹²⁹ Vides quomodo te imiter,¹³⁰ vel potius, tuos, quorum nos Simiae sumus. At quo merito, at qua de causa jam sequius?¹³¹ Hic siles, fortassis conscientia te mordet. Vis igitur ut videam, quae te dubitatiuncula moveat. Egone adeo perspicax sim, qui in aliorum conscientias, quae fenestratae¹³² non sunt, inquiram? Videat quique suam, sibi que stet, et caveat ne cadat. De facto nescio quale sit, quod agnoscas. Illud si negaveris, quod de Szredzinsio mihi,¹³³ te nomine Illustris Domini Leopoldensi appellanti,¹³⁴ respondisti, tuam inprimis memoriam, tum alios testes, te ipso maiores, si opus fuerit, advocabo. Porro te de me non apud neminem conquestum esse scribis. Ego vero te, qui turpitudinem tuam allegas, non esse audiendum, ex legibus censeo. Tu irascis, atque tuum fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.¹³⁵ Ego ista video, et cum immunis a culpa sim, adeo satisfactionem tibi non offero, ut a te poenitentiam, (tempus est) poscam.

Kazimierz Władysław Wóycicki. These are among the losses of World War II, cf. J. Karwasińska, "Dział rękopisów różnych (Varia) i nabytków Archiwum Głównego", in *Straty archiwów i bibliotek warszawskich w zakresie rękopiśmiennych źródeł historycznych*, vol. 1: *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych*, ed. by A. Stebelski, Warsaw 1957, p. 369.

¹²⁶ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 184^r (liber 5,13); edition of the fragment: Bielowski, *Szymon Szymonowic* (hereafter: ed 1875), p. 31.

¹²⁷ *ais*] ms, *vis* ed 1875.

¹²⁸ *Nunquam, inquis, putavi fore*] cf. Cic., *Ad Att.* 16,16c,1: *Nunquam putavi fore.*

¹²⁹ *sequis*] i.e. *secus*.

¹³⁰ *imiter*] ms, *inter* ed 1875.

¹³¹ *sequius*] ms, i.e. *secius*, ed 1875: *sequeris*.

¹³² *fenestratae*] ms, *ac fenestrae* ed 1875.

¹³³ *Szredzinsio*] Andrzej Szredziński (?– after 1615), one of Zamoyski's private secretaries and messengers, groom of the chamber, also field secretary during the Livonian war; fought with Fahrensbach and Hilchen together in Fellin (1602). Signed Zamoyski's will among the other persons. After the death of Jan Zamoyski he was a tenant of Zamech in Lublin Voivodeship and took care of teaching Tomasz Zamoyski.

¹³⁴ *Domini Leopoldensi*] Probably Stanisław Żółkiewski (1547–1620), castellan of Lviv from 30 April 1590 to 28 March 1608. Cf. *Urządnicy województwa ruskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. (Ziemie halicka, lwowska, przemyśla, sanocka)*. *Spisy*, ed. by K. Przyboś, Wrocław 1987, p. 117).

¹³⁵ *tuum fervens difficili bile tumet jecur*] cf. Hor., *Carm.* 1,13,3–4: "meum fervens difficili bile tumet iecur."

Casellium merito veneror,¹³⁶ sed ut unius tuae epistolae causa hominem extrudem, qui eam ad loca remotiora deferat, nec te postulare decet, nec me facere expedit. Vale. Zamosc. 30. Martij 1607.

18. 15 June 1607 (from Lublin to Chełm or Zamość) David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański¹³⁷

Ad eundem

Me adversa valetudo hic detinuit, quae etsi nondum confirmata, nec via nunc tuta est, pergo tamen. Certe nisi me mandata Reverendissimi nostri moverent,¹³⁸ ad vos me referrem. Nullum hic fucum esse juro. Utinam tot periculis obnoxius, vel solam invidiam superem. Parum spei est de compositione publica, sed proximis hisce diebus sciemus.¹³⁹ Valet ima summis mutare Deus.¹⁴⁰ Ille Ille nobis rogandus est. Mea quoque sint curae Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae. Habent absentes¹⁴¹ suos cuculos. Sint alii mihi cuculi. Sed Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram defensorem mihi paro et condico. De promisso admoneat quaeso Magnificum Dominum Bursium, ne illud diutius desiderem.¹⁴² Mea vicissim illi patebunt. Coetera Josephus¹⁴³ exponet. Lublino 15 Junii 1607.

¹³⁶ Johannes Caselius (1533–1613), professor at the Helmstedt Academy, corresponded with Hilchen 1577–1610. Caselius took care of arranging Hilchen's letters to the other Western European addressees. Cf. K. Viiding, "Rhetorical Strategies in the Correspondence of Johannes Caselius to the Livonian Humanist David Hilchen", *Acta Comeniana. International Review of Comenius Studies and Early Modern Intellectual History. Internationale Revue für Studien über J. A. Comenius und Ideengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* 33 (57) (2019), pp. 27–45.

¹³⁷ Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 26^r (liber 1,50); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 36^{r-v} (liber 1,51).

¹³⁸ *Reverendissimi nostri*] probably Jerzy Zamoyski, tutor of Tomasz Zamoyski.

¹³⁹ *compositione publica*] instead of an agreement, on the 5 and 6 July 1607 battle between royal forces and Rokosz supporters broke out in Guzów.

¹⁴⁰ *valet ima summis mutare Deus*] cf. Hor., *Carm.* 1,34,12–13.

¹⁴¹ *absentes*] probably Jakob Godemann and Nicolaus Eck, Hilchen's enemies in his proceedings against Riga.

¹⁴² *de promisso . . . Bursium*] cf. David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 20 March 1606.

¹⁴³ *Josephus*] Hilchen's amanuensis.

19. 18 October 1607 (from Zamość to ?)
David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski¹⁴⁴

Ad eundem

Clarissime Domine Siemcovi, amice Charissime. Salutem et omnem benevolentiam

Hactenus vultu et voce, unus et litteris (certe politis) tuam erga me humanitatem promisi. Non equidem necesse erat. Quo enim in me animo (cum specto) esses iam ante perspexeram. Grata mihi tamen tua Epistola fuit, quamvis nullam subscriptionem prae se ferret quae te maturante, casu omitti potuit. Parce me tibi nunc offero. Large tamen ubi occasio fuerit, amicum me praestabo: et quod de conditione inanis, curae mihi erit. Maluissem diutius te hic frui, si fata vel fatui (scis quos designem) promisissent.¹⁴⁵ Abiisti, sed desiderium tui multis reliquisti. Successor tuus suo exemplo probat tuam innocentiam et istorum duorum crabronum impudentiam.¹⁴⁶ Prius a tergo conditionem reliquisse quam eam suscepisse, audiebatur.¹⁴⁷ Minutius haec ex caeterorum litteris fortassis cognosces. Litteras, quas mitto, quibus inscripta sunt, reddi velim et hunc tabellarium bonis auspiciis quamprimum expediri. Memoria grati animi eritis tuis vicissim praestabitur. Vale Zamoscio 18. Octobris 1607.

20. 31 December 1607 (from Horyszów to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner¹⁴⁸

Eidem

Salve. Negare non possum perquam suaviter me quasi titillante, praeclara tua significatione iudicii et existimationis de candore meo, valde esse laetatum, sed Epistolae tuae erudita elegantia et veteris amicitiae perseverantia, majore me gaudio affectit. Nam novi amici sunt sicut nummi: bonitatem illam intrinsecam aequare non semper

¹⁴⁴ Apograph: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 209^v-210^r (liber 5,112).

¹⁴⁵ *fatui*] Probably Hilchen's sons Franz and Alexander, who were tutored by Siemkowski.

¹⁴⁶ *istorum duorum crabronum*] again, Franz and Alexander, i.e. the second and third son of David Hilchen.

¹⁴⁷ *successor*] Siemkowski's successor left the position of Hofmeister even before he took office.

¹⁴⁸ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 204^r-204^v (liber 5,92).

videntur.¹⁴⁹ Ille¹⁵⁰ certe tanquam in fabulis¹⁵¹ commendans opera τοίνος ἄρχαῖος¹⁵² ab his recentibus conjunctionibus ut plurimum abest. Simus ergo non novi sed veteres amici. De robore, quo candorem meum munitum esse scribis, ut verum fatear, fuit in me aliquid olim. Sed nunc in hac parte, sic ego studeo coercere motus animi mei, ut vel nullam molestiam admittam, vel si quae ob rei indignitatem interdum affecit repugnantem, dissimulare coner. Non potest ista roboris mei praedicatio non esse mihi jucundissima. Ut enim muliercula apud Plautum,¹⁵³ sic ego quoque vel falso laudari multo malo quam vero culpari. Si quis me sine causa fuerit insectatus non est curae Hypoclidī.¹⁵⁴ Erga te voluntatem pristinam conservabo, neque ullius improbitate aut valore intrinseco (scis quid designem) immutari patiar: et similem constantiam de te mihi polliceor. Eam enim esse stabilitatem amicitiae nostrae statuo, quae nullis verborum adminiculis indigent. Verbis igitur quid opus est? Facta iis sunt fortiora.

Tuas litteras ad Heroem¹⁵⁵ mitte. In procinctu enim sum. Ostendam quid in tua causa possim.¹⁵⁶ Interim ex animo opto eam esse fortunam tuam, quam eruditio tua meretur.

De consilio Patavino pudet me amplius te interpellare. Sed quia nuper spem eius rei impetrandae fecisti, rogo ut periculum facias. Nihil tamen fieri a te velim, nisi quod commode possis. Vale ex Orissoviano die ultimo exeuntis anni 1607.

Accipe votum:

Iam vetus effluxit, novus ut nunc incipit annus

Ut novus antiquo sit fortunatior, opto.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Erasmus, *Adag.* 4.8.51: “Novi nummi. Ex Plauto apparet non esse novum publicam monetam in singulos annos cudi deteriorem. Sic enim praefatur in Cassinam:

Qui utuntur vino vetere sapientes puto
Et qui libenter veteres spectant fabulas.
Antiqua enim opera et verba cum vobis placent,
Aequum placere est ante veteres fabulas.
Nam nunc novae quae prodeunt comoediae
Multo sunt nequiores quam nummi novi.”

¹⁵⁰ *Ille*] Plautus.

¹⁵¹ *fabulis*] correxi, *statuis* ms.

¹⁵² *opera τοίνος ἄρχαῖος*] altera manus addidit in margine manuscripti: *squalor antiquus sermonis, antiq. squalor.*

¹⁵³ Cf. Plaut., *Most.* 1,22–23. One of Hilchen’s favorite quotes from the Classical literature, cf. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 27 March 1607.

¹⁵⁴ *Hypoclidī*] Hippocl(e)ides, Hippokleides was an Athenian archon, son of Teisander, 566–565 BC. According to Herodotus 6,126–130, he said “Hippokleides (= I) do not worry” (οὐ φροντῖς Ἴπποκλείδη) when, drunken and wildly dancing, he lost the opportunity to marry off the daughter of the tyrant Kleisthenes.

¹⁵⁵ *Heroem*] Tomasz Zamoyski.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 27 January 1608. At Hilchen’s request, Tomasz Zamoyski awarded Drezner a scholarship.

¹⁵⁷ It is the only poem in Hilchen’s correspondence.

21. No date: after 18 October 1607, before 10 September 1608 (from ? to ?)

David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski¹⁵⁸

Eidem

Salve. Quod denuo tu mihi, ne petenti quidem, offers, exuberantis amoris significationem habet. Egone moveri me hoc honore diffitear? Imo erigi. Fateor itaque et agnosco amorem. Non opus esse quidem intelligo: sed ita te erga me peramanter affectum sensi ut libenter te mea causa impendas et utilioribus conditionibus relictis, in usum liberorum meorum. Captus igitur et praeventus a te quid dicam? Quod res est, veni. Tuo enim desiderio ita ut scribis adstipulor. Tu quod te decet, facies. Ego, si te non juvero aere, amabo certe colam et quocumque genere fieri poterit, proveham. Vale.

22. 27 January 1608 (from Zamość to ?)

David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner¹⁵⁹

Ad eundem

Quod mihi mandasti, id apud Heroem (scis quem designem) effeci,¹⁶⁰ scribit is ad Illustrem Dominum Castellanum Leopoliensem ut stipendium dignitati et usibus tuis conveniens assignetur.¹⁶¹ Is igitur adeundus est. Tu vero accelera etiam ad dedecus Tribunalitio huic Iudicio,¹⁶² quod in pravitate quorundam minoris fieri cerno. Quicquid debetur Excellentissimae Dominationi Tuae, ab Illustrissimis Dominis Tutoribus tribuatur. Ego a nonnullis malitiose et obtreptatorie gravor. Id quidem videlicet in tanta hominum vanitate perpetiendum est. Officia quaecumque a me praestari poterunt, tibi omnia defutura spondeo. Te bene valere et quamprimum ad nos redire cupio. Vale Samoscio 27 Januarii Anno 1608.

¹⁵⁸ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 210^r (liber 5,113).

¹⁵⁹ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 204^r (liber 5,93).

¹⁶⁰ *Heroem*] Tomasz Zamoyski, cf. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 31 December 1607.

¹⁶¹ Stanisław Żółkiewski, cf. n. 134. His successor Jan Daniłowicz (died 1624) became castellan of Lviv only in 1612 (*Urzednicy wojewodztwa ruskiego*, pp. 117–118).

¹⁶² *Judicium Tribunalitium*] the highest court in Poland, whose verdict could neither be taken to the King nor to the Sejm.

23. 25 February 1608 (from Zamość to ?)**David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski¹⁶³**

Eidem

Quod me pro amore in me tua, quem inter constantes numero, hortaris, ut sesqui-alteram florenorum centuriam tibi mitti curem, lubens feci et apud volentes Illustrissimos Dominos Tutores (duo adsunt) facile effeci. Laetificasti nos, quia te novimus nuncio adventus tui prope desperavisse. Magis recreabimur si te quamprimum sistas. Tuae enim curae nostram valetudinem reservavimus. Appropera igitur. Sic placebis et demerebis. Qua in re et me laborasse fateor, non alio certe fine, quam ut scias a me non minus absentis tui, quam olim praesentis cerni et coli virtutem. Vale Samoscio 25. Februarii Anno 1608.

24. 21 April 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)**David Hilchen an Simon Birkowski¹⁶⁴**

Ad eundem

Quae de utriusque aegrotantis more et remediis Excellentia Vestra praescipsit accepi. In Johannis sanguine sistendo feliciter res cessit.¹⁶⁵ Filiola, ne quid apud medicum dissimulem, nullis plane remediis uti vult. Ita autem pertinax ut solent infantes.¹⁶⁶ Et sic insciens imprudensque ad extremam vitae lineam properare videtur. Dolenter haec scribo. Vel cogenda est vel externis applicationibus insidiosae utendum. Uxor curiis et vigiliis fracta, jacet. Capitis dolores maximas sentit. Causa fortasse stomachi autem noxa. Rogo Excellentiam Vestram ut promissi sui memor accurrat. Equidem adsunt pro ista benevolentia vel potius cura quae iam diu animum meum cepit, me gratum fore spondeo. Ex Orissoviano 21 Aprilis.

¹⁶³ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 205^v-206^r (liber 5,96).

¹⁶⁴ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 206^r (liber 5,97).

¹⁶⁵ Johannes was the fourth son of Hilchen after David, Franz and Alexander, born already in Zamość. In the Polish biographical literature, however, the last son is sometimes called Stanisław.

¹⁶⁶ From the four living daughters of Hilchen only Victoria was an *infans* in 1608.

25. 24 June 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus¹⁶⁷

Eidem

Mitto equos, ut te ad me advehant. Sermones non deerunt: de tractatione nihil polliceor. Audistine ut me rodit tuus cuculus? Sed non vacabit periculo, qui in hoc unum incumbit, ut periculum mihi creet. 24 Junii Anno 1608.

26. 9 September 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm)

David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański¹⁶⁸

Ad eundem

Audio Reverendam Paternitatem Vestram ingemiscere in hoc filii mei degeneris casu,¹⁶⁹ vel potius turbamento. Censeat quantum in animo mihi ejus Patri maestissimaque matri plagam attulerit. Si me, si uxorem vivam vult, sistat se nobis. Ne cunctetur. Caetera quae scribenda essent de plagio, reprimo. Reverendum Patrem Andream¹⁷⁰ non accuso, tantum hortor, ne vinculum, quod est inter patrem et filium, solvat. Sustine meam, quaeso mi Pater, in hac re vicem. Omnia me a Dominatione Vestra Reverendissima accepisse putabo, si hoc unum mihi dederit. Facturam Paternitatem Vestram confido, et quod aegro animo, ubertim Josephus¹⁷¹ Paternitati Vestrae instillabit. Vale mi Pater, et sis in amore mei, ut ego tui constans et firmus. Benignus ille Deus auxiliabitur, quid Paternitatem Vestram servet. Ex agro Orissoviano 9. Septembris 1608.

¹⁶⁷ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 245^v (liber 5,217).

¹⁶⁸ Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 26^{r-v} (liber 1,51); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 36^v (liber 1,52).

¹⁶⁹ *degeneris casu*] David Hilchen jun. exchanged Protestantism for Catholicism and attended a Jesuit school.

¹⁷⁰ *Patrem Andream*] Andrzej Ławicki SJ.

¹⁷¹ *Josephus*] Hilchen's amanuensis.

27. 10 September 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm) David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański¹⁷²

Ad eundem

Retuli a Reverendissima Paternitate Vestra responsum, quale volebam. Quid autem magis velim, quam a Paternitate Vestra non probari plagium? Et filium mihi restitui cupere? Utrumque litterae Paternitatis Vestrae ostendunt. Idem se sentire quoque Magnificus Dominus Rector¹⁷³ litteris suis aperte, vere absque omni dissimulatione scriptis comprobavit. Non religionem nebulo amat, sed otium. Eo jam diffluit. Patria potestas ubi? O mi Pater, si liberos ab ea deflectendum esse docueritis (scit Paternitas Vestra quos designem) quo res devenient? O minor apud Paternitatem Vestram libere, brevi fore, ut extincta potestate patria, pravitas invalescat. Sed quid hic dicam de meo? In littore consisto, periclitantem filium in mari video, miseror et votis adjuvo, non me tamen in mare praecipitem dabo. Potens est Deus. Non omitam tamen rogare Paternitatem Vestram, ut apud Illustrissimam,¹⁷⁴ ad quam scribo, intercedat, ne puerum ab Academia, in qua collatus est, alienet. Reddat illum Domino Magistro Siemcovio.¹⁷⁵ Instruat illum. Crescat, si non in parentum solatium, saltem in Reipublicae vel patriae suae bonum. Si ad me Paternitas Vestra venerit, plura dicam. Nunc Paternitatem Vestram cum Magnifico Domino Rectore salvare et valere opto. Ex agro Orissoviano 10 7mbris Anno 1608.

28. 10 September 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość) David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski¹⁷⁶

Ad eundem

Excusationem Dominationis Vestrae accipio. Istud quod scripseram ad Magnificum Dominum Rectorem¹⁷⁷ degener iste¹⁷⁸ suggerat. Video (quid diffitear?) diu istum ignem sub cinere latuisse, et nunc sub praetextu plagarum in flamma erupisse. Perseveret modo in studiis. Aethereum partem DEO committo. Hoc unum autem posco, ut puerum fidei causa commissum reposcat ab Illustrissima.¹⁷⁹ Juvabit sua intercessione Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimus noster Officialis:¹⁸⁰ nec

¹⁷² Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 27^v (liber 1,52); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 37^r (liber 1,53).

¹⁷³ Rector] Jan Sechinius was rector in the academic year 1608/1609.

¹⁷⁴ Illustrissimam] Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski, 10 September 1608.

¹⁷⁶ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 210^r (liber 5,114).

¹⁷⁷ Rectorem] this letter by David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius is not extant.

¹⁷⁸ degener] David Hilchen jun.

¹⁷⁹ ab Illustrissima] Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.

¹⁸⁰ Officialis] Melchior Stefański.

Magnifici Domini Rectoris auctoritas deerit. Receptum Dominatio Vestra regat ex arbitrio suo et illi affectum erga litteras et amorem erga parentes inspiret. Omnis mea spes est in manu Dominationis Vestrae. Quam ne fallat, hortor et oro. Ex agro Orissoviano 10. Septembris 1608.

29. 13 September 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość) David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus¹⁸¹

Joani Sechinio Rectori Samoscio
Magnifice Domine Rector, Amice honorande

Salve. Quod Dominus Bursius¹⁸² et alii Domini Professores volunt, faciam. Non extraham¹⁸³ pecuniam ex thesauro acceptam Politio¹⁸⁴ priusquam rationes cum Academia distraxerit. Etsi enim Politius certo eam homini hic dandam esse destinaverat: tamen Academiae voluntas mihi potior est. Interim admonebo hominem fidei, ut eam quamprimum liberet. Atque ut hanc declarationem meam non tantum Academicis referat sed et animum ad serviendum illis pronum commendet, Magnificentiam Vestram oro, utque Dominatio Vestra amorem mihi suum conservet non minore studio peto.

De filio degenerare¹⁸⁵ quae ad Magnificentiam Vestram scribenda mihi essent, conieci in Epistolam Reverendissimo Domino Officiali inscriptam:¹⁸⁶ ad eam Magnificentiam Vestram relego; et ut filium mihi per Dominum Siemcovium¹⁸⁷ restitui jubeat, serio flagito. Scripseram confidenter illi de puero quaedam, cum nimirum esset voluntatem meam, ut ad studia rediret.¹⁸⁸ Quae imprudenter puero non tantum retulit, sed etiam ipsas litteras ostendit, quibus ita degener iste offensus fuisse dicitur, ut plane jam nunc nuncium litteris remittere velle videatur. Nec sic reducuntur ingenia ἀρηθυσά,¹⁸⁹ sed transeant ista cum coeteris. Videbo aliter rem ibi dirigi, aliter mihi scribi. Sed quid ad Dominationem Vestram haec opus est. Scio eam omnia praesentem videre et audire mihi que condolare. Quo nomine perpetuum Dominationi Vestrae debebo. Cui me commendo. Ex agro Orissoviano 13. Septembris 1608.

¹⁸¹ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 209^{r-v} (liber 5,110).

¹⁸² Burski was rector of the academy from 1603 to 1606, in the academic year 1607/1608, just before Sechinus, and later in the academic year 1610/1611.

¹⁸³ *extraham*] *correxi extradam* ms.

¹⁸⁴ *Politio*] cf. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 27 March 1607.

¹⁸⁵ *filio degenerare*] David Hilchen jun.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 9 September 1608 and 9 October 1608.

¹⁸⁷ *Siemcovio*] Wojciech Siemkowski (died 1610), dr. phil., professor at the Academy of Zamość 1605–1610.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski, 10 September 1608.

¹⁸⁹ *ingenia ἀρηθυσά*] Arethusa here probably as a symbol of those wandering underground through someone else's fault.

30. 22 September 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus¹⁹⁰

Joanni Sechinio Rectori Samosciensi

Magnifice Domine Rector. Avem istam evolasse audio. Annon angar? Annon querar? Puerum et scelerum administrum¹⁹¹ abduxit in suum eiusque ipsius perniciem. Vah talia geri a catholiis! A patribus? Aliter Paulus docet: In omnibus obediendum esse parentibus ipse acclamat liberis.¹⁹² Caverem de religione nihil me violenter cum eo acturum modo in caeteris, quae ad continuationem studiorum pertinent, curatio mea adhiberetur. Et hic nihil promoveo. Falsus ergo qui praetenditur metus est. Scribo ad Patrem Andream,¹⁹³ qui Magnificentiam Vestram et Dominum Siemcovium testes suae innocentiae appellat. Denuo quaeso roget illum de occasione alibi de se quaeritandi mihi praebent. Omnino enim constitui, nisi repraesentaverit mihi filium, inire rationem, quae illi molestiam adferet, mihi vero filium restituet. Id me non temeritas sed cura et sollicitudo facere coget. Modeste hoc illi Magnificentia Vestra si renuat, instillet. Dominus Siemcovius aliquoties a me de vitiis pueri admonitus, experiri meo malo potius fraudes illius et scelera voluit, quam credere. Dominus Danielowicius Capitaneus Drobiensis¹⁹⁴ quaerit filio suo praefectum, si appetit. Dominus Siemcovius eam curam promovebitur. Vide quantopere illi irascat ut et illi, qui in dolorem me conjecit et praecipitem dedit benefacere cuipiam. Quaecunque sive de pueri helluationibus scortationibusque et furto adferebantur, ille excusavit, delatoresque arguit. Nunc facta ipsum arguunt. Sed plura quam volui. Ea dolori et maeroris natura est. Ignoscent si vehementior fui.

Uxorem quod hoc vel illud permisisse et indulsisse se dicit ἀλογον esse credat Magnificentia Vestra cui me meamque orationem a Domino Bursio perstringendam commendo.¹⁹⁵ Ex Orissoviano XXII septembris 1608.

maestissimus Pater.

¹⁹⁰ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 242^{r-v} (liber 5,209).

¹⁹¹ *angitus propter filios*] ms in margine.

¹⁹² Cf. Colossians 3:20: "Fili oboedite parentibus per omnia hoc enim placitum est in Domino."

¹⁹³ This letter by David Hilchen to Andrzej Ławicki SJ is extant (22 September 1608).

¹⁹⁴ Jan Daniłowicz (died 1624), Polish court servant, since 1605 Starost of Bełz, 1612 castellan of Lviv.

¹⁹⁵ It remains unclear which speech Hilchen is referring to. From 1607 to 1608 no of his speeches were printed in Zamość.

31. 27 September 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość) David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus¹⁹⁶

Ad Eundem

Affectum Excellentiae Vestrae vere Christianum nisi agnoscerem Christianus non essem. Gratias igitur Excellentiae Vestrae et habeo et dico singulares, quae ni retulero, non recuso, quin me Magnificentia Vestra oderit, quo nihil mihi gravius accidere posset. De galeritis¹⁹⁷ istis verbum nunc nullum. Constant suo loco. Malum bene positum non est movendum.¹⁹⁸ Maturescent. De filio quam varie mihi mecum agitur, vide. Illustrissima¹⁹⁹ initium sibi illum adesse professa est, restitutionesque spem fecerat. Jam neque rem neque spem pollicetur. Sed hoc Illustrissimae non tribuo. Patrum haec ratio est. Utut sit, degener iste rediit vulneratus, ut audio, et denuo abitum parat. Spurcissime de me, honestius de matre loquatur. Vereor ne error errorem et vel mortem pariat. Ille etsi alienus, et quasi spurcius factus sit: ego tamen idem pater sum, toto animo maestus. Quid faciam? Id quod Magnificentia Vestra suaserit. Ita mihi placet Dominatio Vestra ex sermone, ex litteris, ex moribus. Ubiubi fuerit, semper sinceritus erit. Probet quaeso eam nunc mihi. Expedivi meos, quod degenerem adducant, si nolit sponte redire, iniicient illi manus. Liberae ut sint, iuuet. Magnificentia Vestra rector est: Magistratum gerit: Subjectus ille²⁰⁰ est Dominationi Vestrae. Mihi filius. Et hic Dominus Siemcovius si liber a suspitione esse vult, virum se adiutoremque praestet. Ne autem religionis nomine vis aliqua pertimescenda illi sit, caveo, bona sanctaque fide, me de studiis tantum, ut ad ea revocetur, acturum. Caetera curent ii, quibus sese credidit. Sed secreto et ilico haec fieri oportere ipsa necessitas poscit. Maturescit igitur Dominatio Vestra praesentis rei expeditionem. Quod cum libenter Dominationem Vestram facturam sperem, quid pluribus ut rogem opus est? Faciat igitur et iam quid mea causa et velit et possit ostendat. Gratum et memorem huius officii et beneficii me exercetur Magnificentia Vestra, cui me commendo. Ex Orissoviano 27 Septembris Anno 1608.

¹⁹⁶ Apograph: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 243^r (liber 5,210).

¹⁹⁷ *galeritis*] correxī, *galeratis* ms. The Jesuits.

¹⁹⁸ On the proverb *Malum, bene positum, non movendum* cf. Diogenes 6,54: Μὴ κινεῖν κακὸν εὖ κείμενον, and Erasmus, *Adag.* 1,1,62: “Malum bene conditum ne moveris. (In eos, qui sua stultitia sibi turbas mala excitant aut resuscitant renouantque).”

¹⁹⁹ *Illustrissima*] Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.

²⁰⁰ *ille*] David Hilchen jun.

32. 4 October 1608 (on the day of St. Francis) (probably from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²⁰¹

Salve. Veniam mihi Dominatio Vestra dabit, sua humanitate propemodum abutenti. Sed hac oratione quaminus esse opus apud Dominationem Vestram existimem, adducor amicitia, quae studiis mutuorum officiorum continetur. Persuasum mihi est, illam inter nos esse stabilitam. Data fuerat Clarissimo Domino Bursio, ceu decano oratio mea funebris,²⁰² ut sua subscriptione eius edendae potestatem typographo faceret. Ornavit quidem illam praeclaro iudicii sui testimonio. Sed voce, non manu. Cedat eam quaeso et orationi quam denuo mitto, subjungat.

Degener iste²⁰³ ubi nunc sit, ex annexis litteris cognoscet Dominatio Vestra. Sed vide galeriti istius²⁰⁴ audaciam, vel potius impudentiam. A quo puerum longe remotum esse cupio, eidem ut commendem per latus scribentis me urget. Caeperat mecum disputare per litteras. Sed iam silet. Fortassis desunt illi momenta.²⁰⁵ Ego hic desidero cum maximo maerore abstrahente me a scriptione litterarum. Verum de eo cum Dominatione Vestra consulere cupio coram, priusquam quicquid agatur. Quod si venire cras poterit, mittam curram. Sin minus scribam. De filio deliberationes incidunt, de quibus absque Dominationis Vestrae consilio statuere nolim.

Carmen etiam Halcyonicum Franciscus Illustri Domino Capitaneo Hrubiessoviensi insinuari cupit.²⁰⁶ Quem advocet discipulus, nisi suum Rectorem et Praeceptorem? Scit fortassis et Dominationem Vestram auctoritate et gratia valere. Inclinet

²⁰¹ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 243^v-244^r (liber 5,211).

²⁰² The funeral speech cannot be identified with certainty. In 1608 Hilchen published in Zamość only the new edition of *Rhodomaniologia*, i.e. Greek funeral speech by Laurentius Rhodomanus, with Hilchen's Latin foreword and funeral poems by Hilchen's sons (*Rhodomaniologia manibus magni Ioannis Zamoscii inscripta et a duobus fratribus, in Davide et Francisco Hilchen Academia Zamoscii publice in anniversario depositionis the 5th Iunii recitata*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1608). There is no print permission in it. In 1609 Hilchen published the funeral speech to Caspar Dönhoff *Paraenetica Consolatio Davidis Hilchen Secretarii Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis, et Notarij Terrestris Vendensis ad Casparem Dönhoff . . . Obitum Patri Svi Magnifici Ottonis Dönhoff Capitanei Adzelien[is] lugentem missa*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1609, with the printing permission from the Rector Birkowski (fol. C2^v): "Simon Birkouius Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctor, Academiae Zamoscensis Rector. Manu mea attestor, hanc Paraenetica Consolationem, cum summa prudentia et eruditione a Generoso et Nobili Domino Dauide Hilchen Notario Terrestris Vendensis conscriptam esse: dignamque quae non solum typis excussa in lucem prodeat: sed quam adoles adoles domesticos omnes, qui honestate examples et gloriam excitari debent, studiosissime legant: vt pote, quae et filio parentis virtutem ante oculos ponat, et grauissimis sententiis plene sit instructa." It is possible that neither Burski nor Sechinus gave permission to this very print.

²⁰³ *Degener iste*] David Hilchen jun.

²⁰⁴ *galeriti istius*] Andrzej Ławicki SJ.

²⁰⁵ *Momenta*] *fomenta* altera manus correxerit ms.

²⁰⁶ *Halcyonia Poloniae, Sacrae Regiae Maiestati, et Amplissimis Regni Poloniae, Magnique Ducatus Lithuaniae Ordinibus. Franciscus Hilchen inscripsit, et publice recitauit*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1608. The author of the hexametric poem was actually Szymon Szymonowicz. Cf. V. Hahn, "Zapomniane utwory łacińskie Szymona Szymonowicza", *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki* 30 (1902), no. 10, pp. 868-882, especially pp. 879-882. The poem is, in fact, dedicated to the Polish King and all Polish and Lithuanian estates, not to the Captain of Hrubieszów Stanisław Żółkiewski, as mentioned in this letter.

eum, quaeso in Halcyonia ut benigne accipiatur et una cum iis auctor, quem si non aliud, occasionem bene merendi de Illustrimo Palatino Kyoviensi²⁰⁷ (quem alieno a me videri animo nonnulli sparserant, optimo tamen esse ex ipsius litteris vides) quaerere certum est, et vel ex hoc suspirio novo Jambico (detur eidem) perspicitur.²⁰⁸

Nolo tamen in aliam partem accipi petitiones ullas meas, quam id ut a Dominatione Vestra expectari statuatur, quod et libenter et commode fieri posse putaverit. Velim Dominationem Vestram arbitrari etiam meam operam ad inserviendum voluntati Dominationis Vestrae paratissimam, quacunque re navari possit.

Valeat Dominatio Vestra et benevolentiam suam erga me constanter retineat. In Orissoviano die Sancti Francisci. Ei potius degenerem quam Lojolae²⁰⁹ obstructum vellem, quamvis in malis optionem mihi dari nolim. Ecce fiduciam, quae mihi fraudi sit, cave mi Domine Rector, cui me magis magisque commendo. 1608.

33. 18 October 1608 (from ? to Zamość) David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski²¹⁰

Alberto Siemcovio

Non David te auctorem sui a religione, et a studiis discessus facit: et pro hac sua assertionem, rationes quasdam adfert probabiles: quae quidem etsi non plenam mihi, semiplenam tamen fidem faciunt. Consistant ista suo loco. Fortiter malum istud feram, nec me praeterea in eo, quod petis impediri patiar. Mitto commendationem, et ut feliciter res cedat, opto. Vale. Datum 18 Xbris 1608.

²⁰⁷ Stanisław Żółkiewski, from 28 March 1608 to 1618 Voivode of Kiev. He took part in the Polish-Swedish War in Livonia from 1601 to 1602 (1601 battle in Wolmar, 1602 in Fellin). On 2 January 1602, he sent the Riga Council a *communitio* in which he confirmed the innocence of his friend David Hilchen (cf. also n. 134).

²⁰⁸ *suspirio novo jambico*] the nonexistent poem by David Hilchen, which was printed probably in 1606 in Zamość. Hilchen mentioned it in several letters.

²⁰⁹ *Lojolae*] Ignatius Loyola, founder of the religious order of the Society of Jesus.

²¹⁰ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 246^r (liber 5,220).

34. 20 October 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)**David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²¹¹**

Eidem

Vere probat Dominatio Vestra mihi suum amorem. Non enim significat tantum revenisse istum degenerem,²¹² sed manum illi iniciendam esse suadet. Qui magis posset? Fateor me tibi devinctum. Sed quid faciam? Non est meae nunc fortunae resistere Illustrissimae²¹³ patribus eorundemque sequacibus qui istum nebulonem tenent. Cogar dissimulare. Fortassis Dominatio Vestra posset vel per se vel per Dominum Zarembam²¹⁴ quo adspiret ex eo cognoscere. Ut id faciat, rogo. Uxorem²¹⁵ cras eo mittam, ut quae restant, exponat et ex consilio Dominationis Vestrae statuatur. De Musaeo liberorum meorum²¹⁶ appellavit me Dominus Wegrzinovius²¹⁷ ut eo sibi uti liceret, dum mei redirent. Distuli rem. Prius igitur quam decernam, nihil ausim recipere. Ferat Dominatio Vestra brevem moram. Sed heus olera Dominatio Vestra nonne poscet? Satione facta mittam. Sed caules non erunt mihi plusculae hic tempore et vereor ne ipsemet iis egeam. Rectius fuerit si die abhinc octava vel sabbatho proximo ipsamet Dominatio Vestra veniat, et eligat quid velit. Interim me commendo Dominationi Vestrae In Orissoviano 20. Octobris 1608.

35. 25 October 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)**David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²¹⁸**

Salve. Caules hic habet. Quot? Duas sexagenas. Verumne? tu scies. Ad reliqua, ut indices, quae mitti voles, vel te, vel epistolam tuam elicio. Pone frontem et dic. Nimiam istam Dominationis Vestrae verecundiam non probo. Habes volentem. Manda. Utinam valens essem. Nihil desiderares. Scio quem te esse censeam. Adfuit mihi hodie legatus Illustrissimae.²¹⁹ Distuli orata illius. Deus bone quam se excuset! Is mos est hominum. Dicam, ut filius mihi restituetur. Deinde ac facturum, quod ex usu eius

²¹¹ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 244^r (liber 5,212).

²¹² *degenerem*] David Hilchen jun.

²¹³ *Illustrissimae*] Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.

²¹⁴ *Dominum Zarembam*] Blasius Zaremba, son of Adam (d. 1625) from Krakow studied at the academy from 1595, in 1604–1607 the member of the philosophical faculty as *elementorum philosophiae ac rhetorices* professor (*Album studentów*, pp. 45, 55, 58), later canonicus in Tarnogród (*Anacephaleosis*, pp. 37, 100).

²¹⁵ *Uxorem*] Catharina Hilchen (born Krummhausen), wife of David Hilchen since 1587.

²¹⁶ *liberorum meorum*] the second and third son Franz and Alexander Hilchen.

²¹⁷ *Wegrzinovius*] Jerzy Krzysztof (Georg Christoph) Węgrzynowski from Drohiczyn, matriculated at the Academy of Zamość in the academic year 1607/1608 (*Album studentów*, p. 64).

²¹⁸ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 244^{r-v} (liber 5,213).

²¹⁹ *Illustrissimae*] Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.

esse scivero. Dic an idem tibi placeat. Leopolim²²⁰ ille spirat. Hoc hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi.²²¹ Puerum promissio larga abduxit. Egestas vero reduxit. Ita fit, dum poscunt laudant, hoc est, promittunt: odio sectantur adepti.²²² Libuit fidenter ostendere heri tibi meas. Caetera cras mallet exponere et tuum iudicium audire. Interim suadent puero, ut hoc primo ictu sapere discat et mihi potius, quinam Pater sum, credat, quam ei, qui consiliis, vah quam lubricis. Quod hic scribo ne reveles. Si audire adhuc me voluerit, medicam manum meam sentiet. Vale mi Domine et amice honorande. In Orissoviano 25 Octobris Anno Domini 1608.

36. 15 December 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość) David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²²³

Ad eundem

Salve. Raro iam scribimus. Fortasse temporis ratio ita fert. Mihi interdum per negotia non licet, fortasse nec Dominatio Vestra per publica Cessionem igitur illam in benignam partem interpretaemur, nec committamus ut amicitiae nostrae nexus suspicione, quae valde nunc Samoscii familiaris, et plerunque falsa est, violetur. Gratularer Reverendissimo nostro Bodzeccio,²²⁴ sed illum alienum a me esse audio. Non tamen credo. Nisi grave est Dominatio Vestra inquirat velim, et ne incertus sententiae, ancepsque haeream aperte indicet. Nec hoc ipsum scripsissem, nisi Politus²²⁵ (vere politus) occasionem scribendi praebuisset. Illumne commendem, quem a Dominatione Vestra amari semper perspexi? Et si iustam causam tibi, si ad reddendas rationes paratus est: si nihil ab illo Academiae deberi constiterit, cur hominem Magnificentia Vestra adjutum, nollet? Rogo tamen Magnificentiam Vestram ut quantum me amat, hunc hominem iuvet, et ab indebito istius arresti nexu, qui fidem illi angustam reddidit, absolvat: nec patiatu hominem longioris temporis impensa exauriri. Ego quidem pecuniam arrestatam non dissolvam prius, quam Magnificentia Vestra dissolvendam esse edixerit. Rogo tamen ut quamprimum compedes illi frangantur, et pecunia suo Domino restituatur. Sed abrupto meque Dominationi Vestrae commendo. In Orissoviano 15 Decembris 1608.

²²⁰ *Leopolim*] Lviv.

²²¹ *Hoc hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi*] cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,44: "Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi."

²²² Cf. *Dum poscunt, laudant, odio sectantur adepti* (translated from Greek Πρίν τι λαβείν, τίονσι ἄταρ στυγέουσι λαβόντες). This proverb was a common example for the use of the adverb Πρίν in Greek textbooks of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Johannes Posselius, *Syntaxis Graeca*.

²²³ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 244^v (liber 5,214).

²²⁴ *Bodzeccio*] Wojciech Bodzęcki (died 1622, Zamość), dr. theol. et utr. iuris; Scholasticus primus Zamoscienis since 1600 (*Anacephaleosis, passim*, esp. 36, 310). There was no correspondence between Hilchen and Bodzęcki.

²²⁵ *Polittius*] cf. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 27 March 1607.

37. 18 December 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm) David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański²²⁶

Eidem

Salve. Siemcovii ea est opinio, non tantum Reverendam Dominationem Vestram mihi cupere, sed etiam se mea causa promoveri posse, si intercedam. Mihi ea persuasio honorifica est. Illi utinam utilis. Voce semel atque iterum illum Reverendissimae Dominationi Vestrae commendavi. Non illi se defuturam Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra recepit. Confido itaque Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram et eius, et mea causa, suaeque ipsius constantiae tuendae causa libenter eum promoturam. Destinavit illum Dominus Sechinius sibi in docendi munere successorem. Quis hoc munus illi invidet? vel potius illam muneri? Si tamen nimbi inciderint, abstergat quaeso Reverendissima Paternitas Vestra nebulam omnem illumque in lucem collocet candidam, qua dignus est. Ab eo Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae memoriam beneficii sibi pollicentur. Sit modo, quo rebus Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra salvis gratificandi studium declarare possit. Breviorem me silentium Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae fecit. Ejus causam in tempore positam esse video. Fortiter malum, qui patitur; idem post potitur bonum.²²⁷ At Paternitas Vestra Reverenda eodem erga me sit animo, meque suum censeat. In Orissoviano 18. Decembris anni exeuntis 1608.

38. 12 January 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość) David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski²²⁸

Domino Simoni Bircovio

Salve. Necessitas me cogit, ut Excellentiam Vestram invitem: sed Excellentiae Vestrae promissio, qua se venturum recepit, adventus spem mihi facit. Franciscus meus²²⁹ recidiva scabie laborat. Nisi medela adhibeatur, vereor ne in tumorem exeat et longius abeat morbus. Rogo suggerat vel adferat potius remedia, quae illius sanitatem donent. Sed maturet Excellencia Vestra, sum enim in procinctu. Me vicissim reperiet pronum et in affectu perseverantem. Interim me commendo Excellentiae Vestrae. In Orissoviano 12 Januarii ineuntis anni 1609.

²²⁶ Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 50^{r-v} (liber 1,109); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 66^{r-v} (liber 1,109).
²²⁷ *fortiter malum qui patitur, idem post potitur bonum*] Plaut., *Asin*, 324.

²²⁸ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 247^v (liber 5,226).

²²⁹ *Franciscus meus*] the second son of Hilchen, born in the 1590s in Riga.

39. 12 January 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²³⁰

Ad eundem

Salve. Videre adhuc semel in hoc habitu Dominationem Vestram constitueram.²³¹ Sed properandum est. Ita Reverendissimus²³² coram iussit, et nunc per litteras vocat. Parebo. Morbus Francisci nostri²³³ longius abit. Medicum desiderat. Dominum Bircovium evoco, ut medelam suggerat.²³⁴ Eo expedito, cras ipse discedam. Si quid ad Reverendissimum litterarum Magnificentissima Dominatio Vestra dare voluerit (dandum puto), reddam, et operam dabo ne calliditas institutum nostrum in promovendo Siemcovio evertat. Fiet, nisi Dominatio Vestra expresse quid ex re Academica sit, Reverendissimo praescripserit, illumque auctoritatis suae, contra cuculos oggannientes, tuendae admonuerit. Litteras praeter ipsum Reverendissimum nemo mortalium videbit. Videt Dominatio Vestra rem me serio agere. Ne ergo huic rei desit. Farensbachium libentissime viderem, antequam abirem.²³⁵ Det eum quaeso mihi ut videam collationem eorum, quae annectenda sunt. Carmen Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae curae sit. Mea sicubi usus fuerit, utatur Dominationis Vestrae opera. Facilem et primum me semper reperiet. Interim me commendo Magnificentiae Vestrae quam salvam videre opto. In Orissoviano 12 Januarii 1609.

40. 29 June 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²³⁶

Eidem

Quod praesagiebam animo, te gratulationem aliquam mihi paraturum id testantur humanissimae atque nitidissimae tuae ad me litterae. Mox coram respondebo. Sed quid audio? Cuculum istum tuum (scis quem designem) moliri aliquid in me. Inquire, mi Domine, de eo, eiusque insidiis. Melius est cavere (dicere solebat Rex

²³⁰ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 245^r (liber 5,215).

²³¹ Sechinus travelled to Italy, Padua.

²³² *Reverendissimus*] Probably Jerzy Zamoyski, bishop and tutor of Tomasz Zamoyski.

²³³ *Francisci nostri*] Franz, the second son of Hilchen.

²³⁴ Cf. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 12 January 1609.

²³⁵ [D. Hilchen], *Vita illustris, ac magnifici herois Georgi Farensbach, Palatini olim Vendensis*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1609. The publication contains a prose inscription for Fahrensbach's grave monument, a letter of consolation for Fahrensbach's sons Wolmar and Johannes, dated 1 January 1609, and a longer biography of the deceased in the form of a funeral speech.

²³⁶ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 245^r (liber 5,216).

Stephanus)²³⁷ quam pavere.²³⁸ Ita et nos et quicumque ubicumque sumus, quisque suos patimur manes.²³⁹ Tamen bene de nobis spero. Iis quos tu amas, salutem nuncio. Vale in Orissoviano 29 Junii 1609.

41. 4 August 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Adam Burski²⁴⁰

ADAMO BURSIO

Professori Samoscensi

Magnifice Domine, Amice honorande

Cum hoc genus officii quod ab occupatissimo viro vix praestari potuisset in corrigendis istis, quos miseram versiculis, magnum caepi voluptatem: majorem, quod ad proximum diem Jovis te mihi sistere velis. Si excitabis me, ad habendum parem erga te benevolentiam et te verum Sechinii successorem²⁴¹ in me amando praestabis. Inconsiderate autem viderer mihi facturum si in tanta carminis brevitate omitterem ultimum distichon, praesertim cum illud me non omisurum ita rogatus promiserim.²⁴² Gratissimum igitur scito mihi rem te facturum, si Sophiae Suadelam addi carmini promiseris. Scio dissimilem illum tui, imo suiipsius esse. Sed ratio habenda est meae constantiae, ne aliud illi ostendisse, aliud fecisse videar. Quod te non invitum mihi commissurum spero. Vale in Orissoviano 4 Augusti 1609.

42. 11 July 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²⁴³

Epistola tua fuit mihi iucundissima. Verum incussit mihi pudorem: propterea quia plura mihi adscripsisti, quam praestare possum. Amorem in ea tuum agnosco, non iudicium. Utut sit gratias ago, quas Epistola pro te a me ad Praesulem patriae tuae²⁴⁴ scripta, cras referet. In ea minus tibi non tribuisse, quam in te esse, experietur. Haec

²³⁷ *Rex Stephanus*] Stephen Báthory, the King of Poland 1578–1586.

²³⁸ *Melius est cavere quam pavere*] cf. Publius Syrus, *Sententiae Balbi* 115: “Melius cauere est quam pavere instantia.”

²³⁹ *quisque suos patimur manes*] cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6,743.

²⁴⁰ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 251^r (liber 5,235).

²⁴¹ Cf. for the pun: David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus, 13 September 1608; also n. 182.

²⁴² The last known poems by Hilchen were already printed before that letter in *Vita illustris*. Cf. Hilchen, *Sub velis poeticis*, pp. 218–223.

²⁴³ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 246^r (liber 5,219).

²⁴⁴ *ad praesulem patriae tuae*] an unidentified person.

coram. En currum cum equis. Cras te et Dominum Bursium expecto. Siemcovium²⁴⁵ non excludo. Madalensium²⁴⁶ adducito. Omnes grati eritis; quotquot veneritis. Dederam Wegrzinovio²⁴⁷ ad tempus Mynsingerum ut eo uteretur.²⁴⁸ Indignus autem mea salutatione. Tu quaeso omnem adhibe diligentiam, et si opus sit, dextram admove, ut iste liber (folii formam habet) ad me redeat.

Minutiora Josephus²⁴⁹ referet, vel iam retulit. Quicquid commode fieri poterit, hoc tantum fiat. Nihil est quod amplius scribam. Et haec fortassis ultima Epistola erit, quam tu in Polonia excipies. Plures a me in Italia expecta. Lugebunt meae, si tuae siluerint. Ex Orissoviano XI Julii 1609.

43. 28 July 1609 (from Horyszów to (?)) David Hilchen to Jan Sechinus²⁵⁰

Salve. Celeberrima praesentis et iam iam abeuntis tabellarii profectio non sinit me esse loquacem. Certe amo te, ob amorem tuum erga me. Magnum esse oportet et mea fortuna maius quod tibi negare possem: neque quicquam tam laboriosum quod tua causa non cupiam suscipere facere et quoad queam efficere. Mittam equos et currum. Tu veni cum voles. Iter non est devium. Veneris gratissimus, qui non tantum te ipsum amicum, sed et amicitiae aliorum et imprimis Bursianae, certum conciliatorem habeo. De tempore valde sollicitus sum. Iter Lublinum destinaveram mihi cras. Si profectio tua nullam moram patitur, manebo teque expectabo. Haec ita scribo, ut malim tibi animum meum ostendere, quam verbis indicare amorem: quorum utrumque quoniam videre omnia potes, experiare quaeso cuiusmodi sit, cum voles. Indicem Lectionum istius scholae trivialis, de qua dixi, mitto. Quaeso corrigas eum ex instrumento Samoscensi: sequi eum iubebo tuum iudicium. Domini Bursii Genealogiam expecto.²⁵¹ A te vero gratulatiunculam, de felici istius causae meae exitu.²⁵² Quod si Dominus Bursius ex suis pulcherrimis spatiis aliquid et adderet, utriusque obligarer. Sed nihil fieri nolo, nisi quod commode possit.

²⁴⁵ *Siemcovium*] Wojciech Siemkowski, cf. n. 187.

²⁴⁶ *Madalensium*] Wojciech (Adalbert) Madaliński was matriculated at the academy for the academic year 1609/1610, but expelled by the university court on 23 May 1610, because he and six of his fellow students beat and killed the professor Stanisław Nowacki (*Anacephaleosi*, p. 101; *Album studentów*, pp. 71–78).

²⁴⁷ *Wegrzinowio*] cf. n. 217.

²⁴⁸ *Mynsingerum*] Joachim Mynsinger von Frundeck (1514–1588), German humanist, poet and lawyer. It is not clear which book by him is under discussion.

²⁴⁹ *Josephus*] Hilchen's amanuensis and postman.

²⁵⁰ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 245^v (liber 5,218).

²⁵¹ Adam Burski's book *Stemma Samosciorum* was published in Zamość in 1609. The publication contains Burski's speech *Oratio de nobilitate gentis Samosciorum*.

²⁵² On 16 May 1609 King Sigismund III of Poland revised the judgment in Hilchen's and his father-in-law Nyensted's favor, and both were restituted to office and dignity. Hilchen planned to edit a collection of documents connected to this event, incl. of the congratulatory poems.

Dum haec scribo, ecce litteras a Rectore triviali, lege, cense, mone. Sed meo nomine. Inprimis de Francisco, ut ad normam instrumenti Samoscensis dirigatur. Operam Madalencii gratam habebo et rependam.²⁵³ De ingenio Madalencii quaeso iudicium mihi tuum exponas ita tamen, ut nulli immo ne ipsi quidem innotescat. Id quod sinui tuo sit commissum. Vale in Orissoviano 28 Julii 1609.

44. 18 August 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Adam Burski²⁵⁴

Eidem

Salve. Res, quam Dominatio Vestra effecturam receperat, sine effectu quidem est. Jam reddat eum quaeso expeditam et typographo²⁵⁵ demonstrat quid in prima facie ponendum sit. Fiant omnia ex Dominationis Vestrae sententia me non appellato. Egone quid melius darem? Ne eam operam quam mea causa Dominatio Vestra sumpserit, perdidisse videatur, cavebo. Valeat meque more Samoscii hoc est, constanter, amet. In Orissoviano, 18 Augusti 1609.

45. 1 October 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm)

David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański²⁵⁶

Melchiori Stephanidae, Officiali Chelmensi

Admodum Reverendissime Domine Officialis, amice honorande

Salve. Binis meis litteris Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra non respondit. Temporis iniquitatem accuso. Cum comperissem Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram cum Reverendissimo nostro²⁵⁷ nunc esse, hasce mittere volui, ut quod domi mea potui, foris elicerem. Si est aliqua quasi libertas loquendi, velim mi Pater, pro amicitia

²⁵³ *operam Madalencii*] In June 1609 Hilchen received a treatise with anonymous authorship, probably a study program which he supposedly authored for the rector of the trivial school of Zamość Madaliński. He wants to have it rewritten to use it for teaching his children before returning it. ("Schematum libellus mihi missus est: absque omni mittentis mentione. A te eum profectum puto. Si ita est, me et insigni tuo merito addictum habes. Si legi poterit, in usum librorum meorum prius eum describi curabo quam remittam." David Hilchen to Wojciech Madaliński, 30 June 1609, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 237^v-239^r (liber 5,198)).

²⁵⁴ Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 251^r (liber 5,235).

²⁵⁵ *typographo*] Martinus Lenscius (Marcin Łęski), the printer of the Academy of Zamość 1597-1616; under the direction of the curators Szymon Szymonowicz (until 1600) and Adam Burski (1601-1611).

²⁵⁶ Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 49^{r-v} (liber 1,107); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 64^v-65^r (liber 1,107).

²⁵⁷ *Reverendissimo nostro*] probably Jerzy Zamoyski, bishop of Chełm, tutor of Tomasz Zamoyski.

nostra, ne dubites Reverendissimum rogare, ut suam potius de me opinionem, quam alienas calumnias sequatur. Audio enim non consiliscere delatores, et τὰ καίνα κενὰ²⁵⁸ spargere. Ego erga Illustrissimum animum pristinum hoc est sincerum et benevolam conservabo, neque ullius improbitate immutari patiar, tuque ut similem constantiam praestare velis in amicitia nostra conservanda, oro. Adhibete potius vestram de me opinionem, quam alienas calumnias in interpretandis illis, quae contra me adferuntur. Sed de his satis, vel nimium potius, etsi ad Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram pro amicitiae nostrae necessitudine nihil ullo in genere nimius esse potest. Filius meus ubi nunc sit nescitur,²⁵⁹ ideoque fateor me esse animo afflicto. Avide sermonem cum Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra miscerem. Veniat, si potest. Quidni posset, si velit. Et cur nollet? Fortassis non audet. Vah eo ventum! Sed confido omnia divinae clementiae favore feliciter eventura. Det Deus comitia quamprimum, quibus adhuc tanquam columnis nititur omnis bona spes. Interim aequo animo feramus hanc sortem.²⁶⁰ Ex Orissoviano Kalendis Octobris Anno 1609.

46. 21 November 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm)

David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański²⁶¹

Eidem

Admodum Reverende Pater, honorande Domine

Salve. Litterae Domini Venceslai nostri²⁶² dicunt Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram rediisse. Quod faustum ac felix sit. Ah mi pater, quam anxie Paternitatis Vestrae vicarius Pater Andreas²⁶³ Paternitatem Vestram desiderat! Et nos anhelamus, et tot malorum medicinam expectamus. Credo iactam esse anchoram a Paternitate Vestra. Sed navem non nisi Comitia sistent. Cornix nobis occinit ἔσται πάντα καλῶς,

²⁵⁸ τὰ καίνα κενὰ] pun with Greek stems for new (καίν-) and empty (κεν-).

²⁵⁹ *Filius . . . nescitur*] On 23 August 1609, Hilchen compiled a Latin travel instruction for his eldest son with various advices, and shortly thereafter, David Hilchen jun. started his *peregrinatio academica* with two sons of the Calvinist Prince Alexander Fryderyk Proński (Prunscius, Prunskan, 1550–1595) via Krakow and Wrocław. One of the destinations was the University of Basel; David Hilchen's letter of recommendation to Professor Johan Jakob Grynaeus is extant.

²⁶⁰ *aequo animo feramus hanc sortem*] ancient (stoic) maxime, often repeated in Hilchen's letters.

²⁶¹ Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 49^v–50^r (liber 1,108); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 65^v–66^r (liber 1,108).

²⁶² *Venceslai nostri*] Waclaw Zamoyski (died 1651), member of the Sejm in 1607 and later, 1633–1650 castellan of Lviv (*Urządnicy województwa ruskiego*, p. 118). Hilchen wrote to him on 1 February 1610, to congratulate him on the successful preparations for his second marriage and to announce the preparation of a wedding publication, which, in addition to his own and his sons (Franz) poem, was to include Szymon Szymonowicz's poem (David Hilchen to Waclaw Zamoyski, Riga LVVA 4038-2-297 fol. 258^r (liber 5,251)). Only the long Polish eulogy by Szymonowicz from the 1 January 1610 was the result of these preparations (Bielowski, *Szymon Szymonowicz*, pp. 67–68; K. J. Heck, *Szymon Szymonowicz (Simon Simonides). Jego żywot i dzieła*, Krakow 1903, pp. 125–127).

²⁶³ *Pater Andreas*] probably Andrzej Ławicki SJ.

cum Illustrissimus Palatinus Kyoviensis²⁶⁴ venerit. Mox adfuturum fama dicit. Fiat id quod Deo visum. O Deus vide, et erige domum Samoscianam. Sed quid effecit Paternitas Vestra? Vel scribat vel referat si fas est. Wolowicius noster²⁶⁵ itane divulgatus a me ut nihil scribat? At hic me consilia cum eo miscere dicunt. Quid mirer et indignor, cum nihil magis crebrum quam calumniari? Reverendissimum eodem in me animo esse credo et laetor, atque ut perseveremus in hoc cursu votum meum est. Felix ille noster Samoscius, itane subito abiit?²⁶⁶ Ivit quo cogimur omnes. Utinam nos tantum tempus secernat, nec etiam meta. Alii enim recta vel ire caelum, vel in infernum, alii paulo tardius ad purgatorium, a quo fateor me alienum esse. Quid Lazarus a Christo resuscitatus de mortuorum conditione, deque caelis, aut inferis dixerit, nescio. Nullibi enim scribitur. Fortassis noluit illum talia referre. Ecce quam fidenter. Sed ignoscat Paternitas Vestra cui salutem reditus iterum atque iterum adscribo. Ex Orissoviano 21. Novembris 1609.

Appendix 1. List of manuscripts and editions that contain the text of the letters

A. Bielowski, *Szymon Szymonowic*, Krakow 1875: letters (fragments) 16, 17.

MS LINKÖPING: [D. Hilchen. *Epistolarum libri*], Linköping, Stifts- och landsbibliotek (StLB), Br43: letters 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, 18, 26, 27, 37, 45, 46.

MS RIGA: D. Hilchen, *Epistolarum libri VI*, Riga, Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhivs (LVVA) 4038-2-297: letters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46.

Appendix 2. List of the recipients of the letters

Szymon Birkowski (1574–1626), first professor of logic and philosophy in Zamość from 1594, from 1605 of medicine and natural sciences and doctor at the Zamoyski court, recipient of letters 10, 15, 23, 24 and 38.

Adam Burski (ca 1560–1611), since 1597 professor of philosophy, 1601–1611 curator of the academic printing house in Zamość, recipient of letters 5, 41 and 44.

²⁶⁴ *Palatinus Kyoviensis*] Stanisław Żółkiewski, cf. n. 134.

²⁶⁵ *Wolowicius noster*] probably Eustachy Wołłowicz (1572–1630), who was Hilchen's most frequent and closest correspondent of the four Wołłowicz' brothers. 1600–1615 he was Referendarius of the Polish Crown and notary to the Lithuanian Grand Duke, 1605–1615 Crown Secretary, later 1615–1618 Vice Chancellor and 1616–1630 Bishop of Vilnius. Cf. about him recently L. Jovaiša, "Eustachijus Valavičius: neįvertinto herojaus curriculum vitae. Eustachius Wołłowicz: curriculum vitae of an undervalued hero", *Bažnyčios istorijos studijos* 9 (2018), pp. 82–167, 369–370.

²⁶⁶ *Felix ille noster Samoscius*] Jan Zamoyski.

- Tomasz Drezner (1560–1616), professor of law in Zamość 1610–1616, 1615 rector of the academy, recipient of letters 6, 12, 20 and 22.
- David Hilchen, recipient of letter by Szymon Szymonowic, 16.
- Jan Sechinius (1570–1632), professor of poetry and logic in Zamość 1602–1609; rector of the academy in 1608–1609, recipient of letters 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42 and 43.
- Wojciech Siemkowski (d. 1610 or 1611), professor of Latin and philosophy at the Academy of Zamość 1605–1610, recipient of letters 14, 19, 21, 28 and 33.
- Wawrzyniec Starnigel (1571–1639), professor of rhetorics, 1599–1600 rector of academy, chairman of the student residence at the Academy of Zamość; later Canon in Zamość, recipient of letter 9.
- Melchior Stefański (ca 1565–1638), professor of Greek, Latin and logic 1593–1600, later Canon at the Chełm Cathedral and scholastic of the collegiate church in Zamość, recipient of letters 3, 4, 11, 13, 18, 26, 27, 37, 45 and 46.
- Szymon Szymonowic (1558–1629), Polish poet, secretary to Jan Zamoyski since 1593 and professor at the academy, recipient of letters 1, 7, 8, 17, author of letter 16.
- Jan Ursyn-Niedźwiecki (1562–1613), physician at the court of Zamoyski, professor and vice-chancellor of the academy, 1606–1607 rector; later Canon at St. Thomas Church, recipient of letter 2.

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