Kristi Viiding

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.

Keywords

early modern letter-writing, Academy of Zamość, *locus amoenus*, *locus desperatus*, *constantia*, *amicitia*
Introduction

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. 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. 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.

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. 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

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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. 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 Olekówicz Slucki. In 1584, Hilchen gratefully dedicated his first printed disputation to Zamoyski, naming him his patron. 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. 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

7 J. Caselius, Ad nobilem adolescentem Davidem Hilchenium ut insistat vestigiis maiorum προτρεπτικός, Helmstedt: Jakob Lucius, 1604, fol. B3v.
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.

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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 arhīvs (hereafter: LVVA), 4038-2-297, fols. 24r–25r (liber 1,45) and Linköping, Stift- och landsbibliotek (hereafter: StLB), Br 43, fols. 34r–35r (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.

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**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 Samosci 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’ (liber 1,97) and Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 59’–60’ (liber 1,97), here 59’.

\(^{16}\) The information in the lexicon of Starowolski that the citizens of Riga commissioned a poem from Jan Ludwigu 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 elogia 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. 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. 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 pleasance, 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. 24r–25r (liber 1,45), Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fols. 34r–35r [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.

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

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\(^{19}\)&#x200A;"Si quisquam est Samoscii cum quo et libere et libenter ago fateor Reverendissimam Dominacionem Vestram eum esse. Ita me cepit Dominatio Vestra cum humanitate, benevolentia, beneficentia, opere et fide sua. Sed quid verbis opus est? Facta Dominacionis Vestrae Reverendissimae sunt clariora verbis." David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 24 August 1603.

\(^{20}\)&#x200A;E.g. in his letter dated 10 September 1608.

\(^{21}\)&#x200A;"Et quid dicam de tua hac emansione? Hoc biduum, quo abes et non ad me venis, ut solebas, seculum mihi videtur. Causam quero 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.

\(^{22}\)&#x200A;Stefański had initially studied law, earning a doctoral degree, and only after that focussed on theology (e.g. Lepri, *Knowledge Transfer*, pp. 45–46).

\(^{23}\)&#x200A;"Ignosce, quod jocer. Amor hoc facit." *Ibid*. (Translation of Latin letters and other quotations into English are from me, K. V.)

\(^{24}\)&#x200A;David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 27 August 1603: "Domino Bircovio hoc nomine debibo et tibi, si hominem aliquando adduxeris, ut audiam et audiar, videam et videar ab illo, quem talem fore, quals nunc est (cerne hyacinthus inter urticas quis est) jampridem vidi, et majorem aliquando fore, auguro." 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.

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\(^{25}\) 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 auﬀert”.
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, pleasance 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


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, *Zamoyszczyzny bez Zamoyskiego. Studium dekompozycji ugrupowania politycznego*, Warsaw 1995, with the representative bibliography.

30 David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonowic, 9 April 1605.


mournning poem to Zamoyski. 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. 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. In this way, Hilchen, who was not one of Jan Zamoyski’s testamentary heirs, quasi-promised to take on Zamoyski’s spiritual and emotional role in Zamość.

Hilchen was not in Zamość on the day Zamoyski died, 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.

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

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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* (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* (liber 2,97); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 146–145* (liber 2,97).

36 Zamoyski’s will was known throughout Europe through early modern publications, cf. e.g. S. Krzysztofowicz, 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, Tomasa 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 Mikolaj Wolski, 9 July 1605, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 74–75* (liber 2,31); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 122–123* (liber 2,31).

38 “Velim igitur mea causa tantum laboris subeas, et novam hisce tenebris lucem adferas.” David Hilchen to Szymon Szymanowic, 13 June 1605.
of light and warmth, 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 uprise, the impact of which was incalculable. Hilchen’s attitude towards the outcome was cautious rather than optimistic: 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.

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, 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.

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. 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

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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 (Ἔπαινος 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!]).


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

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


\(^{46}\) David Hilchen to Adam Burski, 18 August 1609.
legal expressions; 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. 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.

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. 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 Sechinius, left for a longer trip abroad. 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,

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47 E.g. “boni viri sunt [semper] iudem” 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.
49 David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 31 December 1607.
50 Cf. e.g. David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius, 28 July 1609: “neque quicquam tam laboriosum quod tua causa non cupiam suscipere, facere et quoad quam efficere”; David Hilchen to Adam Burski, 4 August 1609: “Sed ratio habenda est meae constantiae, ne alius illi ostendisse, alius fecisse videar.”
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. 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? 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.

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.

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

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54 E.g. David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius, 4 October 1608.
55 E.g. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 27 January 1608: “Ego a nonnullis malitiose et obtrectatorie gravor. Id quidem videlicet in tanta hominum vanitate perpetiendum est”; David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius, 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 Sechinius, 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 occinit.”
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 Stefaniński 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

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\(^{56}\) 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. 196v–197\(r\) (liber 5,61); 29 August 1603, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 197\(vr\) (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\(v\) (liber 5,69); 24 July 1604, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 199\(v\) (liber 5,71); 25 October 1604, Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 198\(v\) (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.

from the academy, Politius’ debts and stating that the will of the academy was superior to Politius’ own.\textsuperscript{59}

\textbf{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 say, 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 \textit{locus amoenus} and \textit{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.\textsuperscript{60}

\textbf{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

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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 address-
ees 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 ex-
ceptional 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 lig-
tures 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 fluctu-
ating 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-influ-
enced 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 ließländische Schau-Bühne, worinnen aller von Anfang her in
Liefland gewesenen, so geist- als weltlichen Regenten als Bischöffen, Erzt-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 Szymonowicz

Simoni Simonidae


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

Ursino

Excellentissime Domine Doctor: amice honorande

Cum Illustriissimus 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 voluptatis fuisse vidi, et mihi tua benevolentia nihil potuit

62 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 183’ (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 (liber 5,89).
65 Illustriissimus | Jan Zamoyski.

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

Ad eundem

4. 27 August 1603 (from Horyszów to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański

Ad eundem

Et quid dicam de tua hac emansione? Hoc biduum, quo abes et non ad me venis, ut solebas, seculum mihi videtur. Causam quero 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 debere indices. Ignotus, quod jocer. Amor hoc facit. Cura tamen ne tuam praesentiam hodie desiderem et effice, si potes, ut murmura Godemanni ad me redeant; sed pedibus bene colligatis. 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 quasi est) 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 Burski

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 clypeo judicii 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 ipso velut limine amicitiae utor. Eadem apud me

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73 Apographs: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 25v (liber 1,46); Linköping StLB, Br 43, fol. 35v (liber 1,47).
74 Godemanni Jakob Go(e)demann (1563–1628, 1596 dr. utr. iur. in Wittenberg) was 1598–1600 visesyndicus 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. 209v (liber 5,109).
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 Drezner

Thomae Dresnero IurisConsulTo
Generose Domine, amice honorande

Consuetudo nostra brevis fuit, sed jucundissima mihi, et tibi quoque, mi Drezner, eam voluptati fuisse, facile vidi. Utinam mihi non fuisses ademptus. 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 meae\(^{81}\) cujus initia tu vidisti. Vehe- menter autem obsecro te, atque obtestor, efficias ut nulliter et inique contra me Rigenses processisse Patavini JurisConsulTi scripto, ita ut res est, testentur. Habeo Illustrium academiarum Germaniae iudicia. Nunc existimationi meae quae indignis modis a pessimo ministri Luneburgensis filio Godemanno,\(^{82}\) monstro improbo, lacerata est, vestrae Academiae\(^{83}\) iudicium deesse nolim. Ne illud igitur desiderem, cave. Quicquid in eam rem impenderis, solvam tibique perpetuam debebo. Zamosci nunc sum et fruor gratia et beneficio Illustrissimi\(^{84}\) 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′–204′ (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 Szymonowicz

Ad Eundem

Idem mihi usu venit,87 optime mi Simonide, quod iis, qui differunt censusum solutions. Quo enim plures accumulantur, 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 cogitatio-nis convicio, quod non responderim. Sed qua ex humanitate ignocesces, 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 Comitiis 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 έυ έσται. Malo igitur έυ έστι.90 Cum occupatissimus sim, plus verborum facere non licet. Castellanum Lublinensem hic lugent.91 Utinam ex hac vita excidunt, qui eum extinctum volunt. Publica sunt omnia nunc

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86 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 183v–184r (liber 5,10).
87 idem mihi usu venit ] cf. Cic., Pro Roscio 42.
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 έυ έσται . . . έυ έστι ] paronomasia with different forms of the verb "to be [happy]": 3 sing. fut. versus 3. sing. praes.
91 Castellanum 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.

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

Ad eundem


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

Laurentio Sternigelio
Canonico Samoscensi

Juvenis, de quo Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra mihi mandaverat, initio se excusabat, quod viaticum non esset missum. Ut rumberem 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 volui, 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.

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93 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 184’ (liber 5,12).
95 Dignos laude viros, Musa vetat mori] cf. Hor., Carm. 4,8,28: “dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.”
97 Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 40r–v (liber 1,87); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 53r–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 Faresbach back from Germany (Album studentów, pp. 55–57).

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

Simoni Bircovio
Medicinae Doctori


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

Ad eundem


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99 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 205' (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' (liber 1,48); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 35'–r (liber 1,49).
102 Josephum | Hilchen's amanuensis and postman.

12. 5 July 1606 (from Zamość to Padua)
David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner

Ad eundem


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

104 Speculum Saxonicum | Speculum Saxonicum or Sächsenspiegel, 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 Szczerbicz, 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. Kocówka and K. Muszyńska, Warsaw 1967, p. 10, no. 90). In 1602–1604 Speculum Saxonicum was published in Zamość three times in different editions: iuris provincialis quod speculum saxonom vulgo nuncuptatur, 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' (liber 5,91).

107 testimonia, litterarum missilium, consilio | three types of legal opinion.

108 Cf. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, no date [after 20 August 1604], appendix.
Puto quinque Ungaricis\textsuperscript{109} tam exiguum laborem redimi posse. Siquid tamen amplitus 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 Birscovio exempla meorum litterarum quas redditas esse ambigo, quia silet, trade.\textsuperscript{110}


13. 23 July 1606 (from Zamość to Zamość or Chełm)
David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański\textsuperscript{112}

Ad eundem

Concionem Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae anniversariam peracre, considerate, dilucide ac copiose scripta est. Digna igitur editione.\textsuperscript{113} Quam urgere non desinam. Sed unum est, quod non quidem opinione παρρησιαστικῶτερον videri poterit. Illud coram exponam. Quicquid autem a Reverendissima Dominatione Vesta 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 auditaee constet. Samoscii 23 Julii 1606.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{110} Hilchen refers here probably to his letter to Birkowski from 12 March 1606.

\textsuperscript{111} 5. Augusti correx | 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.

\textsuperscript{112} Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 25v–26’ (liber 1,49); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 36’ (lib. 1,50).

\textsuperscript{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 Ianii odprawowane i wydane, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1606, yet without Hilchen’s poem. Censor’s permission is fol. A4’.
14. 1 March 1607 (from Zamość to Zamość[?])
David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski

Magistro Alberto Siemcovio


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

Ad eundem

Duas litteras Excellentia Vestra scripsit se ad me dedisse, eas videor accipisse. 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 Prochnicium a Voverio nostro facta, innuunt, cipi. Cum tantum enim tribuam judicio 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. Voverio iam satis factum

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114 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 209v (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. 205v (liber 5,95).
117 scripsit ] correxi scribit ms.
118 Prochnicium ] 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.
puto. Idem enim Politios\footnote{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.} 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 minorem\footnote{correxī minoris ms.} fieri cernimus;\footnote{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 \textit{Justi Lipsii Principatus litterarius a Gaugericо Rivio IC. et in suprema Curia Belgica Meclimiae causarum Patrono, scriptus ad ritum priscum}, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana, 1607, pp. 41–44.\textsuperscript{124} Cf. Phaed., \textit{Fab.} 1.2.} et me amatorem ejus studiosissime commendare Reverendissimo Domino Prochnicio, in cujus amore esse velim: et hoc velle hominibus litterarum qualiumcunque sibi consciis, insitum est. Juves igitur me in hac meta: Ubique persuade me quic- quid 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 quae- suerunt convenienciora loca, in extremas tandem difficultates delatae sunt.\footnote{Edition of the fragment: Bielowski, \textit{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}


**16. No date: before 30 March 1607 (from Czernięcin to Zamość [?])**

\textbf{Szymon Szymonowic to David Hilchen\textsuperscript{125}}

Simon Simonides Davidi Hilchenio S.D.

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

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\footnote{Edition of the fragment: Bielowski, \textit{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}
David Hilchen Simoni Simonidae Salutem Dicit

Quid ais?\textsuperscript{127} Nunquam, inquis, putavi fore.\textsuperscript{128} Itane prudentes, ut tu es, putant. Boni viri sunt ijdem, nec dicunt Non putaram. Tu cur sequis?\textsuperscript{129} Vides quomodo te imiter.\textsuperscript{130} vel potius, tuos, quorum nos Simiae sumus. At quo merito, at qua de causa jam sequius?\textsuperscript{131} Hic siles, fortassis conscientia te mordet. Vis igitur ut videam, quae te dubitatiumcula moveat. Egone adeo perspicax sim, qui in aliorum conscientias, quae fenestratae\textsuperscript{132} non sunt, inquiram? Videat quique suum, sibique stet, et caveat ne cadat. De facto nescio quale sit, quod agnoscas. Illud si negaveris, quod de Szredzinsio mihi,\textsuperscript{133} te nomine Illustris Domini Leopolensi appellanti,\textsuperscript{134} respondisti, tuam inprimis memoriam, tum alios testes, te ipso maiiores, 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 difficile bile tumet iecur.\textsuperscript{135} Ego ista video, et cum immunis a culpa sim, adeo satisfactionem tibi non offero, ut a te poenitentiam, (tempus est) poscam.
18. 15 June 1607 (from Lublin to Chełm or Zamość)
David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański

Ad eundem


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


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.


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


143 Josephus] Hilchen’s amanuensis.
19. 18 October 1607 (from Zamość to ?)
David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski\textsuperscript{144}

Ad eundem
Clarissime Domine Siemcovi, amice Charissime. Salutem et omnem benevolentiam

Hactenus vultu et voce, unus et litteris (certe politis) tuam erga me humanitatem promis. 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) promisisset.\textsuperscript{145} Abiisti, sed desiderium tui multis reliquisti. Successor tuus suo exemplo probat tuam innocentiam et istorum duorum crabronum impudentiam.\textsuperscript{146} Prius a tergo conditionem reliquisse quam eam suscepisse, audiebatur.\textsuperscript{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 Drezner\textsuperscript{148}

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

\textsuperscript{144} Apograph: Riga LVVA, 4038-2-297, fols. 209\textsuperscript{v}–210\textsuperscript{r} (liber 5,112).
\textsuperscript{145} fatui [Probably Hilchen’s sons Franz and Alexander, who were tutored by Siemkowski.]
\textsuperscript{146} istorum duorum crabronum [again, Franz and Alexander, i.e. the second and third son of David Hilchen.]
\textsuperscript{147} successor [Siemkowski’s successor left the position of Hofmeister even before he took office.]
\textsuperscript{148} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 204\textsuperscript{v}–204\textsuperscript{r} (liber 5,92).
Academiae voluntas mihi potior est…

Iste tanquam in fabulis commendans opera τοῖνος ἄρχαῖος ab his recentibus conjunctionibus ut plurimum abest. Simus ergo non novi sed vetere amici. De robore, quo candoremeum munitum esse scribis, ut verum fatareat, fuit in me aliquid olim. Sed nunc in hac parte, sic ego studeo coerere motus animi mei, ut vel nullam molestiam admittam, vel si quae ob rei indignitatem interdum affect repugnamentem, dissimulare coner. Non potest ista roboris mei praedicatio non esse mihi jucundissima. Ut enim muliercula apud Plautum, sic ego quoque vel falsa laudari multo malo quam vero culperti. Si quis me sine causa fuerit insectatus non est curae Hypocli. 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 verbis adminiculis indigent. Verbis igitur quid opus est? Facta iis sunt fortiora.

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


Accipe votum:
Iam vetus effluxit, novus ut nunc incipit annus
Ut novus antiquo sit fortunatior, opto.

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149 Cf. Erasmus, Adag. 4.8.51: “Novi nummi. Ex Plauto apparat non esse novum publicum 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 comœodiae
Multa sunt nequiores quam nummi novi.”

150 Ille] Plautus.

151 fabulis] correxī, status ms.

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


154 Hypoclid] 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 φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ) 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 Siemkowski\textsuperscript{158}

Eidem


22. 27 January 1608 (from Zamość to ?)
David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner\textsuperscript{159}

Ad eundem

Quod mihi mandasti, id apud Heroem (scis quem designem) effeci,\textsuperscript{160} scribit is ad Illustrem Dominum Castellanum Leopoliensem ut stipendium dignitati et usibus tuis conveniens assignetur.\textsuperscript{161} Is igitur adeundus est. Tu vero accelera etiam ad de decus Tribunalihuic judicio,\textsuperscript{162} quod in pravitate quorundam minoris fieri cerno. Quicquid debetur Excellentissimae Dominationi Tuae, ab Illustissimis Dominis Tutoribus tribuat. Ego a nonnullis malitiose et obtrectatorie gravor. Id quidem videlicet in tanta hominum vanitate perpetiendum est. Officia quaecunque a me praestari poterunt, tibi omnia defutura spondeo. Te bene valere et quamprium ad nos redire cupio. Vale Samoscio 27 Januarii Anno 1608.

\textsuperscript{158} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 210’ (liber 5,113).
\textsuperscript{159} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 204‘ (liber 5,93).
\textsuperscript{160} Heroem | Tomasz Zamoyski, cf. David Hilchen to Tomasz Drezner, 31 December 1607.
\textsuperscript{161} Stanisław Zółkowski, cf. n. 134. His successor Jan Danilowicz (died 1624) became castellan of Lviv only in 1612 (\textit{Urzędnicy województwa ruskiego}, pp. 117–118).
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{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 Birkowski

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 Illu-
strissimos Dominos Tutores (duo adsunt) facile effeci. Laetificasti nos, quia te novi-
mus 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 Birkowski

Ad eundem

Quae de utriusque aegrotantis more et remediiis Excellentia Vestra praescripsit accepi.
In Johannis sanguine sistendo feliciter res cessit. Filiola, ne quid apud medicum
dissimulem, nullis plane remediis uti vult. Ita autem pertinax ut solent infantes.
Et sic insciens imprudensque ad extremam vitae lineam properare videtur. Dolenter
haec scribo. Vel cogenda est vel externis applicationibus insidiose 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.

164 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 206r (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 Stanislaw.
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 Sechinius

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 Stefański

Ad eundem


167 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 245v (liber 5,217).
168 Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 26v (liber 1,51); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 36v (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 Stefański\textsuperscript{172}

Ad eundem


28. 10 September 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski\textsuperscript{176}

Ad eundem

Excusationem Dominationis Vestrae accipio. Istud quod scripseram ad Magnificum Dominum Rectorem\textsuperscript{177} degener iste\textsuperscript{178} suggerat. Video (quid diffitear?) diu istum ignem sub cinere latuisse, et nunc sub praetextu plagarum in flamma eru-pisse. Perseveret modo in studiis. Aetherum partem DEO committo. Hoc unum autem posco, ut puerum fidei causa commissum reposcat ab Illustrissima.\textsuperscript{179} Juvabit sua intercessione Dominationem Vestram Reverendissimus noster Officialis:\textsuperscript{180} nec

\textsuperscript{172} Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 27\textsuperscript{v} (liber 1,52); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 37\textsuperscript{r} (liber 1,53).
\textsuperscript{173} Rector | Jan Sechinius was rector in the academic year 1608/1609.
\textsuperscript{174} Illustrissimam | Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.
\textsuperscript{175} Cf. David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski, 10 September 1608.
\textsuperscript{176} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 210\textsuperscript{r} (liber 5,114).
\textsuperscript{177} Rectorem | this letter by David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius is not extant.
\textsuperscript{178} degener | David Hilchen jun.
\textsuperscript{179} ab Illustrissima | Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.
\textsuperscript{180} Officialis | Melchior Stefański.

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

Joani Sechinio Rectori Samoscio
Magnifice Domine Rector, Amice honorande

Salve. Quod Dominus Bursius\textsuperscript{182} et alii Domini Professores volunt, faciam. Non extraham\textsuperscript{183} pecuniam ex thesauro acceptam Politio\textsuperscript{184} priusquam rationes cum Academia distraxerit. Etsi enim Politius certo eam homini hic dandum 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 pronom commendet, Magnificentiam Vestram oro, utque Dominatio Vestra amorem mihi suum conservet non minore studio peto.

De filio degenerere\textsuperscript{185} quae ad Magnificentiam Vestram scribenda mihi essent, conieci in Epistulam Reverendissimo Domino Officiali inscriptam:\textsuperscript{186} ad eam Magnificentiam Vestram relego; et ut filium mihi per Dominum Siemcovium\textsuperscript{187} restitui jubeam, serio flagito. Scripsam confidenter illi de puero quaedam, cum nimirum esset voluntatem meam, ut ad studia rediret.\textsuperscript{188} Quae imprudenter puero non tantum retulit, sed etiam ipsas litteras ostendit, quibus ita degener iste offensus fuisse dicetur, ut plane jam nunc nuncium litteris remittere velle videatur. Nec sic reducuntur ingenia ἄρῃθυσα,\textsuperscript{189} sed transeant ista cum coetereis. Videbo aliter rem ibi dirigi, aliter mihi scribi. Sed quid ad Dominationem Vestram haec opus est. Scio eam omnia praesentem videre et audire mihiique condolere. Quo nomine perpetuo Dominationi Vestrae debebo. Cui me commendo. Ex agro Orissoviano 13. Septembris 1608.

\textsuperscript{181} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 209v (liber 5,110).
\textsuperscript{182} Burski was rector of the academy from 1603 to 1606, in the academic year 1607/1608, just before Sechinius, and later in the academic year 1610/1611.
\textsuperscript{183} extraham | correxsm extradam ms.
\textsuperscript{184} Politio | cf. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 27 March 1607.
\textsuperscript{185} filio degenerere | David Hilchen jun.
\textsuperscript{186} Cf. David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański, 9 September 1608 and 9 October 1608.
\textsuperscript{187} Siemcovio | Wojciech Siemkowski (died 1610), dr. phil., professor at the Academy of Zamość 1605–1610.
\textsuperscript{188} Cf. David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski, 10 September 1608.
\textsuperscript{189} ingenia ἄρῃθυσα | 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 Sechinius\textsuperscript{190}

Joanni Sechinio Rectori Samosciensi


Uxorem quod hoc vel illud permississe et induluisse se dicit ἄλογον esse credat Magnificentia Vestra cui me meamque orationem a Domino Bursio perstringendam commendo.\textsuperscript{195} Ex Orissoviano XXII septembris 1608.

maestissimus Pater.

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

\textsuperscript{191} angitus propter filios | ms in margine.

\textsuperscript{192} Cf. Colossians 3:20: “Filii oboedite parentibus per omnia hoc enim placitum est in Domino.”

\textsuperscript{193} This letter by David Hilchen to Andrzej Lawicki SJ is extant (22 September 1608).

\textsuperscript{194} Jan Danilowicz (died 1624), Polish court servant, since 1605 Starost of Belz, 1612 castellan of Lviv.

\textsuperscript{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 Sechinius\textsuperscript{196}

\textbf{Ad Eundem}


\textsuperscript{196} Apograph: Riga LVVA, 4038-2.297, fol. 243\textsuperscript{r} (liber 5,210).
\textsuperscript{197} \textit{galeritis} \textsuperscript{197} correcxi, \textit{galeratis} ms. The Jesuits.
\textsuperscript{198} On the proverb \textit{Malum, bene positum, non movendum} cf. Diogenes 6,54: Μὴ κινεῖν κακὸν εὖ κείμενον, and Erasmus, \textit{Adag.} 1,1,62: “Malum bene conditum ne moveris. (In eos, qui sua stultitia sibi turbas mala excitant aut resuscitant renouantique):”
\textsuperscript{199} \textit{Illustrissima} \textsuperscript{199} Barbara Tarnowska-Zamoyska, widow of Jan Zamoyski.
\textsuperscript{200} \textit{ille} \textsuperscript{200} David Hilchen jun.
32. 4 October 1608 (on the day of St. Francis) (probably from Horyszów to Zamość)

David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius


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

202 The funeral speech cannot be identified with certainty. In 1608 Hilchen published in Zamość only the new edition of *Rhodomanologia*, i.e. Greek funeral speech by Laurentius Rhodomanus, with Hilchen's Latin foreword and funeral poems by Hilchen's sons (Rhodomanologia manibus magnis Ioannis Zamoscii inscripta et a duobus fratribus, in Davide et Francisco Hilchen Academia Zamoscieni publice in anni- versario depositionis the 5th iunij 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[sis] lugentem missa, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1609, with the printing permission from the Rector Birkowski (fol. C2v): "Simon Birkouius Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctor, Academiae Zamoscensis Rector. Manu mea attestor, hanc Paraenetiam Consolacionem, cum summa prudentia et eruditione a Generoso et Nobili Domino Dauide Hiliben Notario Terestri Vendensis conscriptam esse: digam que quae non solum typis excussa in lucem prodeat: sed quam adoles adules domestices omnes, qui honestate et gloriam excita debeat, studioissem legante vt pote, quae et filio parentis virtutem ante oculos ponat, et grauismis sententiis plene stra instruat." It is possible that neither Burski nor Sechinius gave permission to this very print.

203 Degener iste] David Hilchen jun.

204 Galeriti istius] Andrzej Lawicki SJ.

205 Momenta] fomenta altera manus correxit ms.

Kristi Viiding

eum, queso in Halcyonia ut benigne accipiatur et una cum iis auctor, quem si non
aliud, occasionem bene merendi de Illustri Palatino Kyoviensi\(^{207}\) (quem alieno
a me videri animo nonnulli sparserant, optimo tamen esse ex ipsius litteris vides)
quae re certum est, et vel ex hoc suspicio novo Jambico (detur eidem) perspicitur.\(^{208}\)

Nolo tamen in aliam partem accipi petitiones uillas meas, quam id ut a
Dominatione Vesta expectari statuat, quod et libenter et commode fieri posse putaverit.
Velim Dominationem Vestram arbitram etiam meam operam ad inserviendum vo-
luntati Dominationis Vestrae paratissimam, quacunque re navari possit.

Valeat Dominatio Vesta et benevolentiam suam erga me constanter retineat. In
Orissoviano die Sancti Francisci. Ei potius degenerem quam Lojolae\(^{209}\) obstrictum
vellem, quamvis in malis optionem mihi dari nolim. Ecce fiduciam, quae mihi fraudi
sit, cave mi Domine Rector, cui me magis magisque commend. 1608.

33. 18 October 1608 (from ? to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski\(^{210}\)

Alberto Siemcovio

Non David te auctorem sui a religione, et a studiis discessus facit: et pro hac sua
assertione, rationes quasdam adfert probabiles: quae quidem etsi non plenam mihi,
semiplenam tamen fidem faciunt. Consistant ista suo loco. Fortiter malum istud fe-
ram, nec me praeterea in eo, quod petis impediri patiar. Mitto commendationem,

\(^{207}\) 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 commonitio in which he confirmed the innocence of his friend David Hilchen (cf. also n. 134).

\(^{208}\) suspicio 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. 246v (liber 5,220).
34. 20 October 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius

Eidem


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


36. 15 December 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius\textsuperscript{223}

Ad eundem


\textsuperscript{220} Leopolim | Lviv.

\textsuperscript{221} Hoc hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi | cf. Verg., Aen. 2,44: “Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi.”

\textsuperscript{222} Cf. Dum poscunt, laudant, odio sectantur adepti | translated from Greek Πρίν τι λαβεῖν, τίουσι ἂταρ στιγέουσι 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.

\textsuperscript{223} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 244\textsuperscript{r} (liber 5,214).

\textsuperscript{224} Bodzezcio | Wojciech Bodzęcki (died 1622, Zamość), dr. theol. et utr. iuris; Scholasticus primus Zamosciensis since 1600 (Anacephaleosis, passim, esp. 36, 310). There was no correspondence between Hilchen and Bodzęcki.

\textsuperscript{225} Politius | cf. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 27 March 1607.
37. 18 December 1608 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm)
David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański

Eidem


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

Domino Simoni Bircovio


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226 Apographs: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 50r–v (liber 1,109); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 66r–v (liber 1,109).
227 fortiter malum qui patitur, idem post potitur bonum | Plaut., Asin., 324.
228 Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 247r (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 Sechinius

Ad eundem


40. 29 June 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius

Eidem

Quod praesagiebam animo, te gratulationem aliquam mihi paraturum id testatur humanissimae atque ntitissimae tuae ad me litterae. Mox coram respondobo. 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

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

\(^{231}\) Sechinius travelled to Italy, Padua.

\(^{232}\) Reverendissimus \[ Probably Jerzy Zamoyski, bishop and tutor of Tomasz Zamoyski.\]

\(^{233}\) Francisco nostri \[ Franz, the second son of Hilchen.\]

\(^{234}\) Cf. David Hilchen to Szymon Birkowski, 12 January 1609.

\(^{235}\) [D. Hilchen], \textit{Vita illustri, ac magnifici herois Georgi Farenbschach, Palatini olim Vendensis, Zamość:} Marcin Lęski, 1609. The publication contains a prose inscription for Fahrenbach's grave monument, a letter of consolation for Fahrenbach'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\(^{5}\) (liber 5,216).
Stephanus)\textsuperscript{237} quam pavere,\textsuperscript{238} Ita et nos et quicunque ubicunque sumus, quisque suos patimur manes.\textsuperscript{239} Tamen bene de nobis spero. Iis quos tu amas, salutem nuncio. Vale in Orissoviano 29 Junii 1609.

\textbf{41. 4 August 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)}
\textbf{David Hilchen to Adam Burski}\textsuperscript{240}

\begin{center}
ADAMO BURSIO
Professori Samoscensi
Magnifice Domine, Amice honorande
\end{center}

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 Sechini successorem\textsuperscript{241} in me amando praestabis. Inconsiderate autem viderum mihi facturus si in tanta carminis brevitate omitterem ultimum distichon, praesertim cum illud me non omissurum ita rogatus promiserim.\textsuperscript{242} Gratissimum igitur scito mihi rem te facturum, si Sophiae Suadelam addi carmini promiseris. Scio dissimile illum tui, imo suiipsius esse. Sed ratio habenda est meae constantiae, ne aliud illi ostendisse, aliud fecisse videar. Quod te non invitus mihi commissurum spero. Vale in Orissoviano 4 Augusti 1609.

\textbf{42. 11 July 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)}
\textbf{David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius}\textsuperscript{243}

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 tuae\textsuperscript{244} scripta, cras referet. In ea minus tibi non tribuisse, quam in te esse, experietur. Haec

\textsuperscript{237} \textit{Rex Stephanus} | Stephen Báthory, the King of Poland 1578–1586.
\textsuperscript{238} \textit{Melius est cavere quam pavere} | cf. Publius Syrus, \textit{Sententiae Balbi} 115: “Melius cauere est quam pauere instantia.”
\textsuperscript{239} \textit{quisque suos patimur manes} | cf. Verg., \textit{Aen.} 6,743.
\textsuperscript{240} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 251’ (liber 5,235).
\textsuperscript{241} Cf. for the pun: David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius, 13 September 1608; also n. 182.
\textsuperscript{242} The last known poems by Hilchen were already printed before that letter in \textit{Vita illustris}. Cf. Hilchen, \textit{Sub velis poeticiis}, pp. 218–223.
\textsuperscript{243} Apograph: Riga, LVVA, 4038-2-297, fol. 246’ (liber 5,219).
\textsuperscript{244} \textit{ad praesulem patriae tuae} | an unidentified person.
Kristi Viiding

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


245 Siemcovium | Wojciech Siemkowski, cf. n. 187.
246 Madalencium | 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 Wegrzinovio | 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. 245v (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 restored to office and dignity. Hilchen planned to edit a collection of documents connected to this event, incl. of the congratulatory poems.

44. 18 August 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość)
David Hilchen to Adam Burski

Eidem


45. 1 October 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm)
David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański

Melchiori Stephanidae, Officiali Chelmensi
Admodum Reverendissime Domine Officialis, amice honorande

Salve. Binis meis litteris Reverendissimam Dominatio Vestra non respondit. Temporis iniquitatem accuso. Cum comperissem Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram cum Reverendissimo nostro 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 Madalenscii* | 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. 237v–239r (liber 5,198)).

254 *Apograph:* Riga, LVVA, 4038–2–297, fol. 251r (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. 49r–r (liber 1,107); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 64r–65r (liber 1,107).

257 *Reverendissimo nostro* | probably Jerzy Zamoyski, bishop of Chełm, tutor of Tomasz Zamoyski.
Kristi Viiding

nosta, ne dubites Reverendissimun rogar, ut suam potius de me opinionem, quam
alienas calumnias sequatur. Audio enim non consilescere delatores, et τα καίνα
κενά spargere. Ego erga Illustrissimum animum pristinum hoc est sincerum et
benevolent conservabo, neque ullius improbitate immutari patiar, tuque ut similem
constantiam praestare velis in amicitia nostra conservanda, oro. Adhibete potius ve-
stram de me opinionem, quam alienas calumnias in interpretandis illis, quae contra
me adferuntur. Sed de his satis, vel nimium potius, etsi ad Reverendissimam Domi-
nationem Vestrarum pro amicitiae nostrae necessitudine nihil ullo in genere nimirius
esse potest. Filius meus ubi nunc sit nescitur, iedeoque factor me esse animo affil-
to. Avide sermonem cum Reverendissima Dominatione Vesta miscerem. Veniat,
si potest. Quidni posset, si velit. Et cur nollet? Fortassit non audet. Vah eo ventum!
Sed confido omnia divinae elementiae favore feliciter eventura. Det Deus comitia
quamprimum, quibus adhuc tanquam columnis nititur omnis bona spes. Interim
aequo animo feramus hanc sortem. Ex Orisssoviano Kalendis Octobris Anno 1609.

46. 21 November 1609 (from Horyszów to Zamość or Chełm)
David Hilchen to Melchior Stefański

Eidem
Admodum Reverende Pater, honorande Domine

Salve. Litterae Domini Venceslai nostri dicunt Reverendissimam Dominatio-
nem Vestrarum redisse. Quod faustum ac felix sit. Ah mi pater, quam anxie Paternitatis
Vestrae vicarius Pater Andreas Paternitatem Vestam desiderat! Et nos anhelamus,
et tot malorum medicinam expectamus. Credo iactam esse anchora Paternitae

258 τα καίνα κενά pun with Greek stems for new (καιν-) 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, Prunsken, 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. 49v–50r (liber 1,108); Linköping, StLB, Br 43, fol. 65v–66v
(liber 1,108).
262 Venceslai nostri Wacław Zamoyski (died 1651), member of the Sejm in 1607 and later, 1633–1650 castel-
lan of Lviv (Urzędnicy 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 prepara-
tion of a wedding publication, which, in addition to his own and his sons (Franz) poem, was to include
Szymon Szymonowic’s poem (David Hilchen to Wacław Zamoyski, Riga LVVA 4038-2-297 fol. 258v
(liber 5,251)). Only the long Polish eulogy by Szymonowic from the 1 January 1610 was the result of
these preparations (Bielowski, Szymon Szymonowic, pp. 67–68; K. J. Heck, Szymon Szymonowic (Simon
263 Pater Andreas probably Andrzej Ławicki SJ.
Academiae voluntas mihi potior est…


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

A. Bielowski, Szymon Szymonowicz, Krakow 1875: letters (fragments) 16, 17.
MS LINKÖPING: [D. Hilchen. Epistolatarum libri], Linköping, Stifts- och landsbibliotek (StLB),
Br43: letters 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, 18, 26, 27, 37, 45, 46.
MS RIGA: D. Hilchen, Epistolatarum libri VI, Riga, Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs (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.

\textsuperscript{264} Palatinus Kyoviensis | Stanisław Żółkiewski, cf. n. 134.
\textsuperscript{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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- Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Zamoyskich, 1/358/0/0669.

**Prints**


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[Hilchen, D.], *Vita illustris, ac magnifici herois Georgi Farensbach, Palatini olim Vendensis*, Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1609.


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