

**100 Years of Diplomatic Relations Between the
Republic of Poland and the Republic of Estonia:
Common Traces in a Difficult History**

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Livonian, Lithuanian, and Polish Jesuits in the Speeches and Correspondence of the Livonian Humanist David Hilchen¹

Introduction

In the early modern period, the activity of the Jesuits constituted an important chapter in relations between Poland and Estonia (especially in the south of the country, which together with northern Latvia was known as the province of Livonia). The arrival of Polish King Stephen Báthory in Livonia (1582) meant the arrival of Jesuits in Riga (1582) and Tartu (1583). Jesuits remained in Livonia for almost 40 years, leaving Riga in 1621 and Tartu in 1625, with more than one generation of Livonians coming into direct or indirect contact with them. The relationship between Jesuits and locals was especially close in the two cities of Tartu and Riga.

In institutional terms, the activities of the Livonian Jesuits have been examined in quite some detail: the annual reports of the Jesuits of Livonia have been published, while Vello Helk's monograph, *Jesuiten in Dorpat 1583–1625. Ein Vorposten der Gegenreformation*, is a more complex historical-biographical analysis.² There is no comparable modern approach to the activities of the Jesuits in Riga. However, librarians at the National Library of Latvia are currently preparing a catalogue of the books that belonged to the Riga Jesuits in Swedish libraries, and this will soon allow a better understanding of the intellectual interests and reach of the Jesuits throughout the region.³

For Estonians and Latvians, when talking about the Jesuits who lived and worked here during the Polish period, the focus is on how the Jesuits came into contact with the indigenous populations when disseminating Catholic teachings, as well as the *Agenda parva* compiled by the Jesuits for this purpose. Yet the relationship of the Jesuits with the indigenous populations depended to a large extent on the relationship of the Jesuits with the Baltic Germans who ruled in Livonian society. Because of this, I focus in the following article on the contact between the Jesuits and the leading Riga humanist and influential

¹ This article is an expanded version of my presentation during the conference "Scripta manent: Poola-eesti suhtetest sajandite vältel kõnelejad esemed, pärimused ja lood". I would like to thank Peter Sjökvist (Uppsala University Library) for his help with the catalogues of the Jesuit Library, and Katre Kaju (Estonian National Archives) for her reference to the additional materials in the National Archives. The study was completed as part of the project "Masterpieces of Humanism in Livonia: David Hilchen's epistolography as a source of linguistic, literary, juridical and educational history" (financed by the Estonian Research Council) (PUT-1030, 2016–2019). I am grateful to Gregory Mark Dunn for correcting my English.

² E. Kurtz, *Die Jahresberichte der Gesellschaft Jesu über ihre Wirksamkeit in Riga und Dorpat 1583–1614*, Riga 1925; V. Helk, *Jesuiten in Dorpat 1583–1625. Ein Vorposten der Gegenreformation*, Odense 1977. The updated and contextualised overview of E. Tarvel, "Kirik", in *Eesti ajalugu III. Vene-Liivimaa sõjast Põhjasõjani*, ed. E. Küng, M. Seppel, Tartu 2013, pp. 169–178, 448–449.

³ L. Kreigere-Lieptiņa, R. Berge, *Riga Jesuit College Library (1583–1621)*, (forthcoming).

Baltic German lawyer, and one of the most educated Livonians of the era, David Hilchen (1561–1610), in hopes of creating a better understanding of why the *Agenda parva* could not be printed in Riga, even though the first printing shop was opened there in 1588 at Hilchen's initiative.⁴ I analyse the relationship between the Jesuits and the Livonian Germans on the basis of a more personal source: the public speeches and private letters of Hilchen, which have not been used for this purpose before and are not referenced, for example, in the annual reports of the Jesuits.⁵

Hilchen was an influential Riga city official (the city secretary and a legal counsellor) from 1585–1600, and from 1595 also the secretary to the King of Poland in Livonia.⁶ From the opening of the Riga printing house in 1588 until 1600, he was also an inspector of it.⁷ After being convicted of high treason by his colleagues on the City Council and escaping from Riga, he participated in the Polish-Swedish war in Livonia from 1600–1603, fighting in Valmiera, Alūksne, Gaujiena, Viljandi, Paide, and Tartu on the Polish side, and then lived until his death in 1610 in Zamość in Poland. His patrons were the Livonian noblemen Jürgen (Georg) von Fa(h)rensbach (until 1602), the Grand Chancellor and Grand Hetman of the Crown Jan Zamoyski, and after Zamoyski's death an influential Polish magnate named Micolaj Zebrzydowsky (from 1605–1610). Hilchen came from a Lutheran family in Riga, was educated at German Lutheran and Calvinist universities (Tübingen and Heidelberg) and a Catholic university (Ingolstadt), and remained a Lutheran by conviction until his death. However, he acquired the Polish language⁸ and adapted to life in Poland so much so that he did not return to Riga even after his acquittal in 1609.

⁴ Hilchen succeeded as Riga city secretary in convincing Nicolaus (Claes) Mollin (Mollijn, ?–1625), son of Antwerp printer Jan Mollin Senior, to settle in Riga in spring 1588 in order to establish the first printing shop in Livonia. The royal privilege of maintaining a printing shop and distributing publications in Riga was only granted to Mollin in 1591 (A. Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588–1888: Festschrift der Buchdrucker Rigas zur Erinnerung an die vor 399 Jahren erfolgte Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga*, Riga 1890; A. Kraus, "Eine Medienrevolution in der 'Peripherie': Nicolaus Mollin und die Anfänge des Rigaer Buchdrucks", in *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 24 (2005), pp. 317–349; O. Sanders, "Nicolaus Mollin, der erste Rigaer Drucker: sein Schaffen in Riga von 1588 bis 1625", in *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1, ed. K. Garber, Tübingen 1998, pp. 786–800). It should be noted that in the second half of the sixteenth century, during the period of religious tolerance, there were examples of printing houses serving the needs of different denominations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, e.g. Jan Karcan printed in Vilnius for both Catholics and Calvinists, Melchior Nehring in Poznań for Catholics and Lutherans. (G. Ziąja, "Die protestantischen Buchdrucker in Polen-Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im Östlichen Europa* 22 (2014), pp. 213–235, esp. 218).

⁵ *Masterpieces of Humanism in Livonia: David Hilchen's epistolography as a source of linguistic, literary, juridical and educational history* (financed by the Estonian Research Council, 2016–2019) <https://www.utkk.ee/en/science-projects/masterpieces-of-humanism-in-livonia-david-hilchens-epistolography-as-a-source-of-language-literary-juridical-and-educational-history/>.

⁶ The main overviews of Hilchen's life are listed in K. Viiding, T. Hoffmann, H. Stümetz-Gross and P. Sapala's "The Correspondence of David Hilchen", in *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge, <http://emlo-portal.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/?catalogue=david-hilchen> (2018).

⁷ *Synopsis scelerum Hilchen*. MS in the volume *Ander teil der Acten In Sachen belangende Einem Erborn Radt der Stadi Rigae und Doct(orem) Jacobum Godemannum Syndicum an einen Wegen und wieder David Hilchen*, Latvian State Historical Archive, Riga (LVVA), 673–1–344b, fol. 245–253, here fol. 252.

⁸ K. Viiding, "Latin in Early Modern Riga: Remarks about Languages in David Hilchen's Epistolography", in *Letonica. Humanitaro Zinatnu Zurnals* 30. *The Riga Humanists and Beyond*, 2015, pp. 58–68, esp. 64–65.

Polish Jesuits as a threat to Lutheran Riga

The first documented traces of Hilchen's relationship with the Jesuits date from the second half of the 1580s and from the early 1590s, when Hilchen was an official in Lutheran Riga. The city argued with the Polish authorities over the return of the Jesuits deported from Riga at the beginning of the calendar riots (1584–1589) and over the transfer of St Jacob's Church to the Jesuits. In several speeches by Hilchen on behalf of Riga City Council before the King of Poland and in the Sejm,⁹ he emphasised that although the hearts of the Jesuits were not hostile, their actions were,¹⁰ and that they were the real cause of the Riga calendar riots.¹¹ Although the Jesuits threatened all ranks in Livonia, certain parts of the population were particularly at risk. According to the five-step typology outlined by Hilchen, the Jesuits first sought to win the favour of ordinary citizens. They approached people personally, showing a keen interest in their private lives, and thus won their friendship.¹² Secondly, they brought down Lutheran pastors, first by opening their hearts with flattery and then sowing contradictory seeds in them through slanderous writings.¹³ Thirdly, they attacked the city's legal jurisdiction by seizing certain areas of the judiciary.¹⁴ Fourthly, the peasants were in danger because the Jesuits forcefully reconverted their altars to Catholicism.¹⁵ The worst thing, however, was the establishment of a Jesuit educational institution, i.e. attracting youth – Jesuit education tempted children who had barely begun to speak not only with words, but in particular with “artificially painted pictures”, so much so that their parents lamented their absence.¹⁶ Jesuit schools were seminaries for disagreement, and, as a result, no more peaceful days were expected in the city.

In the early modern chronicles of Lutheran authors, these speeches by Hilchen are referred to as protest speeches before the King of Poland and the states, as a result of which the King of Poland even sought to imprison Hilchen, since the appellation was *contra dignitatem regis*.

⁹ For example, in a speech to the Sejm in June 1587 during the elections of the Polish King: *Oratio ad Amplissimum Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Senatuum: nobilissime Civitatis Rigen[sis] in Conuentu Electionis habita*, LVVA 673-3 (K-10)-69, fols. 2r–7v; in the following *Oratio* 1587a. The same typology can be found in a speech to the Royal Polish Electoral Diet in June of the same year: *Oratio in conuentu Electoris Varsouiae habita a[n]no 87*, LVVA 673-3 (K-10)-70, fols. 2r–12r. Sequences of texts with repeated motifs are typical of anti-Jesuit writings, cf. U. Paintner, “Des Papsts neue Creatur”: antijesuitische Publizistik im deutschsprachigen Raum (1555–1618), Amsterdam, 2011, p. 37.

¹⁰ *JESUITARUM Societas ... animo forsitan non inimico, rem certe inimicam peragit (sic!)* (*Oratio* 1587a, fol. 3v).

¹¹ *Oratio Warsaviae in coetu Nunciorum Terrestrium habita in Comitibus Generalibus. Anno Domini M DLXXXIX*, LVVA 673-3 (K-12)-42, fols. 1r–10r (first copy); 12r–18v (second copy).

¹² *Primo enim in Civium nostrorum amicitias veluti familiarum exploratores admodum speciosa illa sua pietatis consuetudine irrepant, et ut animos simplicis plebeculae implicent, summo studio habent Jesuitae* (*Oratio* 1587a, fol. 3v).

¹³ *Ecclesiae quoque nostrae ministros initio blanda quidem arte avocare, sed postea variis noxis et dissensionum seminibus sparsis implicare conati sunt* (*Oratio* 1587a, fol. 3v).

¹⁴ *Antiquam Civitatis in causis specialibus Iurisdictionem malis exemplis pervertere et suam quasi facere non minore studio laborarunt* (*Oratio* 1587a, fol. 3v).

¹⁵ *Heu innumeras etiam rusticorum aras a semel agnita religionis doctrina vi avertere tentant* (*Oratio* 1587a, fol. 3v).

¹⁶ *Nomen quoque Jesuiticae artis exemplum in Iuventute, quod seminarium Ecclesiae et Reipublicae esse solet, expressus est. Adolescentulos enim vix primos oblatos vagitus, verborum suorum lenocinijs, imaginuncularum affabre pictarum donationibus et iniectionibus ita abducere ausi sunt, ut si cum diligenti investigationis labore ex itinere retracti fuissent, perpetuum moestis parentibus suis desiderium et luctum reliquissent. Collegium denique quod seminarium et fomentum perpetuum multarum dissensionum seditionis et exitialis discordiae in Emporijs, maritimis praesertim esse solet, ut instituerentque strenue laborarunt* (*Oratio* 1587a, fol. 4r).

His arrest was prevented thanks to the Livonian Landboten and Jan Zamoyski. The Jesuits were allowed back to Riga.¹⁷

Yet in comparing this typology of complaints with the main part of the catalogue of the Jesuit Library in Riga,¹⁸ it is clear that the Jesuits were in fact indifferent to the nuances of social and private life in Lutheran Riga and not interested in the local written word as much as they were directly interested in religion. Namely, from among the output of the Riga printing office they only purchased the publications of one person: Paul Oderborn, the Lutheran pastor of Riga and later (from 1593) of Curonia,¹⁹ who was known for his fierce disputes with representatives of the Order.²⁰ In addition, the Jesuits purchased the Church Order of Riga (from 1592) and the accompanying publication of its songbook.²¹ Nothing else printed in Riga, including laws and decrees on the organisation of schools, was of interest to them.²² Nor did they collect any of David Hilchen's publications printed elsewhere (in Kraków, Zamość, and Vilnius). A "keen interest in the private lives" of citizens never manifested itself in the occasional poems penned by the Jesuits about events in the lives of the citizenry.

¹⁷ D. Chytraeus, *Saxonia, ab Anno Christi 1500 usque ad MDXCIX. Additus est Index Personarum & rerum maxime insignium copiosissimus*, Lipsiae 1599, pp. 856–858; Franz Nyenstädt's *Livländische Chronik, nebst dessen Handbuch, erstere nach ältern und neuen Abschriften*, Riga 1839, p. 102; F. Menius, *Historischer Prodrum des Lieffländischen Rechts und Regiments Von Anfänge der Provinz Erfindunge, biss auff Ihr Königl. Majest. von Schweden Gustavi Magni Todt. Aus Wahrhafften Glaubwürdigen Actis und Actiatis verfertigt und zusammen gebracht*, Dorpt 1633, pp. 40–41; Ch. Kelch, *Liefländische Historia, Oder Kurtze Beschreibung der Denckwürdigsten Kriegs- und Friedens-Geschichte Esth-, Lief- und Lettlandes*, Reval 1695, p. 450.

¹⁸ Meaning the part that is currently stored in Uppsala University Library, cf. J. Bothvid, *Inventarium öfver Jesuitkollegiets i Riga bibliotek*, Stockholm 1622, MS U271 (digitised: <http://www.alvin-porta.org/alvin/imageViewer.js?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&pid=alvin-record%3A248017&cdswid=-1993>); I. Collijn, *Bibliotheca Collegij Societatis Jesu Rigensis I–V* (MS 475 D:2 Isak Collijns samling, Diverse, Riga-papper, Uppsala University Library). The historical introduction to this part of the Jesuit library: I. Collijn, "Bibliotheca Collegij Societatis Jesu in Suetia", in *Bibliografiska Undersökningar. Festskrift tillägnad Claes Annerstedt den 7 Juni 1914*, Uppsala 1914, pp. 75–91.

¹⁹ Paul(us) Oderborn (1556 Pomerania–1604 Riga). After studies in Rostock, he became the Lutheran pastor at the Church of St Petri in Riga in 1587, then Duke Frederick's court pastor in 1593, and finally Superintendent of the Lutheran Church of Courland in 1597. He was author of the Lutheran evening song *Der Tag hat sich geneiget, die Sonn' mit ihrem Schein*, which has found widespread use among church hymns; correspondent of David Chytraeus.

²⁰ P. Oderborn, *Vier Predigten von dem Bogen Gottes in den Wolcken/Gebalten in der Thumbkirchen der Könighlichen Stadt Riga/ und kurz zusammen gefasset Durch Paullum Oderbornium*, Riga 1591 (A German sermon dedicated to the two recently deceased Lutheran pastors of Riga, Gerhard Paludanus and Frobenius Auestus, who now had to be replaced by new pastors. The German preface of the sermon gives an overview of the arrival of Lutheranism in Riga and Livonia); *Trostschrifft an den Edlen Gestrengen und Ehrvesten Herrn Wilhelmen von Efferen, Fürstl. Durchl. zu Churlandt etc Burggraffen und Rath, da Ihrer Gestrengigkeit einiger und Edler Son Gotthard von Efferen auff der Universitet Königsberg (sic!) seliglich aus dieser Welt in Christo gestorben war. Geschrieben durch Paullum Oderbornium*. Ibidem, *Trostschrifft An den Edlen Gestrengen und Ernvesten Herrn Georg von Tiesenhausen/Fürstl. Durchlauchtigkeit zu Churlands Canzler / da Ihrer Gestreng: liebe Ehegemahlin die Edle und Tugentreiche Fraw Barbara Tiesenhausin geborne Schwartzhoffin seliglich aus dieser Welt in Christo gestorben war. Geschrieben durch Paullum Oderbornium*. Ibidem, *Ein Gespräch von der Religion auff dem Fürstlichen hause zur Mittaw zwischen Michaelen Ottonio Becano Societatis Jesu Und Paulo Oderbornio Superintendenten in Curlandt, in gegenwertigkeit beider Durchleuchtigen frawen und Fürstinnen, mitt ihrem Hoffgesind, neben vielen anderen Ehrlichen Leutten und Bürgeren gehalten. Anno Domini 1599 in Augusto*, Wilda 1605. These four books are bound together.

²¹ *KirchenOrdnung zu Rijgha Deutsch* (Ordentinge des Kerckendenstens), Riga 1592; *Antiphonae et responsoria*.

²² It is unlikely that the Swedish conquerors would have left, so selectively, local publications in Riga before the library was transferred to Sweden in 1621.

Pragmatic *obligatio mutua* between Jesuits and Lutherans in Livonia

A completely different picture of Hilchen's relationship with the Jesuits emerges from his private correspondence.²³ Of the 50 surviving Latin letters Hilchen sent to the Jesuits, all come from the last decade of his life, written between 1602 and 1609, after his conviction and escape from Riga. Almost all of his letters to the Jesuits are private – written not collectively to the Jesuit Order as an institution, but to individual representatives of it, predominantly influential priests. None of the responses from the Jesuits to Hilchen have survived among Hilchen's court files and private correspondence from Riga.

Hilchen's epistolary communication with the Jesuits was active,²⁴ but limited to just ten people. Among them, only one was a Western European humanist – Jan van der Wouwer in Antwerp, the executor of Justus Lipsius' will.²⁵ All of the others lived in Poland, Lithuania, and Livonia. Albert, a priest from Vilnius (one letter), and Andreas Novak, a professor of philosophy at the Vilnius Academy (one letter), were merely mediators in reaching Friedrich Bartsch, confessor to King Sigismund III of Poland (eight letters). Other occasional recipients were Sigismund Obrius, Rector of the Jesuit College in Lublin (one letter), and Simon Hein (one letter), who had studied in Tartu but later taught in many Lithuanian and Polish colleges. Petrus Culesius (21 letters) and Andreas Lavitius (10 letters) were Hilchen's most frequent correspondents. Once Hilchen wrote to the pater Stanisław Radziński on behalf of the other person, Thomas Zamoyski. Radziński (1564–1622) was 1605–1607 *secretarius provincialis*, 1607–1609 superior in Lviv.

Until the autumn of 1602, Hilchen's private correspondence contained no remarks about Jesuits at all. Then, a change occurred: in a letter to Stanisław Fogelfeder, another Secretary to the King of Poland, Hilchen stated that even the Jesuits had set aside their insidious ways and favoured Hilchen, as they recognised his innocence.²⁶ However, according to surviving letters, it was not the Jesuits but Hilchen himself who sought contact with the Polish and Livonian Jesuits in order to reach the former Livonian and Lithuanian Vice-Provincial Friedrich Bartsch,²⁷ the Jesuit confessor to King Sigismund III of Poland from 1600, to influence the

²³ A catalogue of the first part of his correspondence was published by Viding et al., "The Correspondence of David Hilchen".

²⁴ Chronologically: 1602 – one letter, 1603 – eight letters, 1604 – six letters, 1605 – two letters, 1606 – three letters, 1607 – ten letters, 1608 – 13 letters, 1609 – seven letters.

²⁵ These letters are analysed in K. Viding, T. Hoffmann, "Entanglement in Early Modern letter-writing: David Hilchen's correspondence with humanists from the Low Countries", in *Journal of Baltic Studies* 51 (2020), pp. 315–331.

²⁶ D. Hilchen to Stanisław Fogelfeder in a letter dated 4 September 1602: *Patres Societatis Jesu animadversa innocentia mea, jam mihi favere videntur technis illorum deprehensis*.

²⁷ Friedrich Bartsch (1552 Braunsberg/Braniewo–1609 Kraków) – After studies in his home town and Collegium Romanum from 1569–1572, he became a Member of the Jesuit Order in 1572. During his novitiate he studied theology and Greek in Vienna for two years. In 1576 he returned to Poland, serving as rector and professor of Greek at the college in Braniewo from 1582–1592, becoming a member of the preparatory commission of the Polish Ratio studiorum in 1586, graduating as a doctor of theology in Vilnius in 1587, serving as the rector of the Academy of Vilnius from 1592–1595, and becoming the Vice-Provincial of Lithuania and Livonia in 1598. He visited Riga and Tartu in May 1598 and June 1599, but nothing is known about a possible meeting with Hilchen at that time. Several of his later works were in the Jesuit Library in Riga.

King to treat Hilchen well.²⁸ As Bartsch did not reply to Hilchen's first letter, Hilchen sought to contact him through Albert,²⁹ a priest from Vilnius, then through Andreas Novak, a professor of philosophy at the academy,³⁰ and finally through Petrus Culesius, a Jesuit from Riga,³¹ until the latter arranged a meeting with Bartsch in March 1603. Despite Hilchen's long letters about his difficult situation and unfair judgment in Riga, there is no indication of Bartsch's intent to defend Hilchen in his proceedings, and even if Bartsch did defend Hilchen, it was unsuccessful.

Yet the Jesuits also expected a reward from Hilchen, whose first meritorious act is thought to have been supplementing the poor living quarters of the Jesuits in Tartu with better ones. As early as in June 1603, Hilchen reported on the fact that, with the help of Jan Zamoyski, he had provided the Jesuits of Tartu with the houses of three local citizens, Friedrich [sic] Hermann, Christopher Hemnaw, and Nicolaus Born, and that two further houses were almost ready for them.³² Another reward hoped for by the Jesuits was Hilchen's employment as an *oekonomus* of Tartu, since the previous *oekonomus*, Georg (Jerzy) Schenking, had been imprisoned by Swedish Duke Charles in 1601 and had died four years later without ever returning to the city. Although Hilchen was willing to hold the post proposed by the Jesuit Order, he considered it necessary to seek the agreement of both Jan Zamoyski and the Polish King, who apparently did not favour Hilchen's candidacy, as he had just been on the side fighting Lutheranism.³³ Hilchen himself was interested in remaining in Livonia. As such, he confirmed in a letter he sent that same summer (1603) that he would do his utmost to ensure that Zamoyski assigned

²⁸ It was widely known in Poland that Sigismund III confessed very often, once every eight days cf. W. Lettsch, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen*, Wien 2009, vol. 2, p. 869. About the relationship between Sigismund III and his confessor Bartsch cf. pp. 289–291.

²⁹ Albert SJ – unidentified; Hilchen referred to him in his letter of 25 January 1603 as *custos et guardianus loci Vilnensis ad Bernhardinos*.

³⁰ Andreas Novak SJ (Novatius, Nowacki, Andrzej, ca. 1590 Vilnius–1629 Vilnius) – The professor of philosophy at the Vilnius Academy from 1599–1603, superior in Warsaw from 1609–1611, rector of the Jesuit academy in Putusk from 1611–1616, and confessor to the bishop of Vilnius, Eustatius Wolowicius, from 1616–1626 (L. Grzebień, *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy: 1564–1995*, Kraków 1996, p. 462).

³¹ Petrus Culesius SJ (ca. 1572 Wenden–1641 Vilnius) – a Livonian Jesuit who, after receiving basic instruction in Brańewo, joined the Societas Jesu in Riga in November 1593. He continued his studies in Riga, focussing on rhetoric and moral philosophy. He spent the years from 1604–1613 in Poland, making a visit to Rome in 1605. He lived in Cēsis from 1614–1623 and served as the rector in Daugavpils from 1630. He was highly valued for his knowledge of the Latvian and Estonian languages.

³² David Hilchen to Friedrich Bartsch in a letter dated 27 June 1603. In accordance with the Revisionsbuch aller Gründe und Plätze ("Revisionsbuch von Wybers") in the Estonian National Archives EAA.995.1.21865 (f. 995 *Dorpat Magistrate*, 1582–1656), City Councillor Casper (not Friedrich) Hermann had a house on Jakobi Street from 1583 (fol. 5r), which was inherited by his daughter and son-in-law after his death (fol. 131v). Christoff Hennow had many houses: on the left-hand side of the market square he purchased a house from the pan Pawłowski in 1600 (fol. 2r) that was only sold by his daughter in 1633 (fol. 14v); his second house, behind the Town Hall, was purchased in December 1591 and inherited by his daughter Lucia Hennow in April 1623 (fol. 19v). Claus (Nicolaus) Born purchased one house on Ritter Street in 1598 (fol. 4v) and bequeathed it to "Clas Borns Erbe possessores"; another house he purchased in 1595 on the left-hand side of Breite Street (fol. 5r), which was still in the possession of his son Hans and daughter in 1623 (fol. 124v). Thus, the transfer of the houses to the Jesuits described by Hilchen could only have occurred temporarily and without legal confirmation, or did not actually take place at all.

³³ David Hilchen to Friedrich Bartsch in a letter dated 27 June 1603: *Me ut eo conferam et res oeconomicas dirigam, urget? Sed vereor ne Regia Maiestas offensa meum me commodum quaerere putet. Delibero tamen, et iudicium Reverendissimae Paternitatis Vestrae exspecto*. Sigismund III (most likely on the recommendation of the Pope and his nuntius) preferred Catholics to Lutherans and Calvinists when filling vacancies in Poland after 1594 and in Lithuania after 1606 (cf. Lettsch, *Das Leben am Hof*, pp. 737–739).

the Jesuits of Tartu not only houses but also property.³⁴ As late as in March 1604, Hilchen reported to the Jesuits about Johannes Greilich, a former notary from Cēsis, who was returning from Sweden and might demand the restitution of his property in Tartu, which would also mean taking away from the Jesuits the garden that in the meantime had been owned by the Jesuits (thanks to Hilchen).³⁵ In the end, however, Hilchen did not become an *oeconomus* in Tartu, and he left Livonia forever.

In addition to material support, Hilchen's merit in the eyes of the Jesuits was in assisting to find young Livonian men who, with the help of a royal scholarship, would be willing to study at Jesuit educational institutions. After his arrival in Poland in the summer of 1603, Hilchen presented them with Moritz, the son of Otto Kanne from Riga, and a Livonian nobleman by the name of Johannes, who was the son of Nicolaus Korff. Despite Hilchen's promises to the Jesuits, Moritz Kanne (Mauritius Cannius) later studied law and politics at the University of Helmstedt from 1603–1605, probably as the Hofmeister of Livonian nobleman Theodor von Fahrensbach. After a short stay in Silesia and Poland, Moritz travelled with Theodor Fahrensbach through Helmstedt to Würzburg in autumn 1606, but was forced to spend some time in Tettelbach because of the plague.³⁶ Regarding the education of Johannes Korff, there is no further information.³⁷

Hilchen's correspondence with this most influential Polish Jesuit came to an end for unknown reasons in the summer of 1605, with Hilchen's letter informing Bartsch of the death of Zamoyski and entreating Bartsch to become his new patron.³⁸

Just as pragmatic as Hilchen's communication with Friedrich Bartsch, Jesuit confessor to King of Poland Sigismund III, are his 22 letters to Petrus Culesius, whom Hilchen must have known from his days in Riga. Culesius studied in the upper class of Riga Jesuit College from 1593 and moved to Zamość in 1604. Religious and educational issues are barely mentioned in their correspondence, in fact, only insofar as religious freedom is concerned with ensuring peace and unity in the devastated Livonia.³⁹ This also means that there are no references to the idea of compiling or publishing *Agenda parva* in the opening decade of the seventeenth century in their correspondence.⁴⁰ The constant greeting of other Livonian Jesuits and informing

³⁴ David Hilchen to Sigismund Obricius in a letter dated 27 June 1603: *Non desinam eundem urgere, ut agris, bonisque amplioribus collegium istud augeat.*

³⁵ David Hilchen to Friedrich Bartsch in a letter dated 5 March 1604. Johann(es) Greilich – a Cēsis notary (*Notarius Wendensis*) who was a member of the auditing committee (*Revisionskommission*) of the Polish King in Livonia in 1582 (*Revisor Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis*), responsible for Tartu. As such, he signed many deeds of gift for houses in the city in 1582.

³⁶ David Hilchen to Friedrich Bartsch in a letter dated 12 July 1603. Since Moritz's father, Otto Kanne, the former burgomaster of Riga, had died in 1601, Hilchen took care of Moritz.

³⁷ His father, Nicolaus Korff, a Curonian nobleman, was a colonel and served on the war council in the war between Poland, Russia, and Sweden in Livonia and Curonia. For his services in the Battle of Salaspils in 1578 he was rewarded by King Stephen Bathory in 1585 with the Krustpils castle (cf. A. Tering, *Lexikon der Studenten aus Estland, Livland und Kurland an europäischen Universitäten 1561–1800*, Köln 2008).

³⁸ David Hilchen to Friedrich Bartsch in a letter dated 20 July 1605.

³⁹ David Hilchen to Petrus Culesius in a letter dated 3 July 1604: *Si religioni, quam profiteor, sinceritatem praesto, non me peccare existimo: in religionis tamen libertate pacis et concordiae memores nos esse debere scio.*

⁴⁰ It should be noted that after Hilchen escaped from Riga in 1600, the City Councillor and *Obergerichtswogt* Caspar Dreiling Senior (1550–1610) became the new inspector of the Riga printing house (Buchholtz, *Geschichte*, p. 26). Hilchen maintained good relations with him.

them about the progress of Polish Jesuits shows that Hilchen certainly knew many Livonian Jesuits personally before his exile from Riga in 1600⁴¹ and was ready to share information between them and Poland.

Finally, the Jesuit conspiracies involving Hilchen himself became the main topic of his correspondence with Andreas Lavitius, the prominent Polish Jesuit, from 1608–1609.⁴² In 1608, the Polish Jesuits forcibly enlisted Hilchen's eldest son David for their school, only releasing him after a lengthy dispute and the intervention of influential people. Hilchen himself repelled Lavitius's attempts to lure him from Lutheranism to Catholicism by the Jesuits' own means, which was Scripture. He affirmed that "if I desire a religious teaching, I have it: I call the beloved God my counsellor and helper",⁴³ and that he was guided by the prophets and apostles, not by any self-appointed pseudo-teachers. After all, Christ himself said (in Paul's letter to the Philippians 3:2) "beware of the evildoers", while the apostle Paul (in 1 Thessalonians 5:21–22) said "but test everything; hold fast what is good. Abstain from every form of evil".⁴⁴ It seems that Hilchen's arguments were sufficiently convincing; after just two letters, the priest Lavitius gave up his attempts at converting Hilchen to Catholicism.

Although Hilchen, as a supporter of tolerant Lutheranism in the last decade of his life and during the period of decline in religious tolerance in Poland, found it difficult to understand the behaviour of certain Jesuits, he considered the attacks by other Lutherans on Jesuits unacceptable. In 1607 he even interrupted his correspondence with Matthias Dresser, a Lutheran professor at the University of Leipzig, to emphasise:

"Since I am your friend, it hurts me greatly that you are openly attacking the Jesuits. I shall tell you more, so that it hurts you, too. Since you name me in your work and question whether I remain the same [Lutheran], you make it seem as though you wrote your work on my recommendation. In this way, failure is compounded by failure".⁴⁵

⁴¹ David Hilchen to Petrus Culestius in a letter dated 9 September 1606: *Antiqua illa amicitia nostra quae apud me sancta et perpetua est.*

⁴² Andreas Lavitius [Ławicki, Lavitski, Andreas, André, 1571 Poznań–1631 Kraków] entered the Order in 1587. 1602–1603 he served as professor of rhetoric at Poznań Academy, then 1604–1606 as the chaplain in the army of False Dmitry I, accompanying him during his trip to Moscow in 1605 (two overviews: 1606 *Avvisi e Lettere ultimamente giunte di cose memorabile succedute tanto in Affrica quanto in Moscovia raccolte da Barezzo Barrozzzi*, Venice; the second a manuscript, *Instructio memoriae causa ad S.D.D. Paulum V.P.M. Reverendo patri Andreae Lavitio S.J. die XVIII mensis decembris a. D. MDCV*). From 1606 he served as professor of theology at various Polish Jesuit academies (Jarosław and Lublin), then 1617–1619 as a missionary in Moscow, 1620–1627 as the superior in Barz, and from 1627–1628 as the rector of Jarosław Jesuit College.

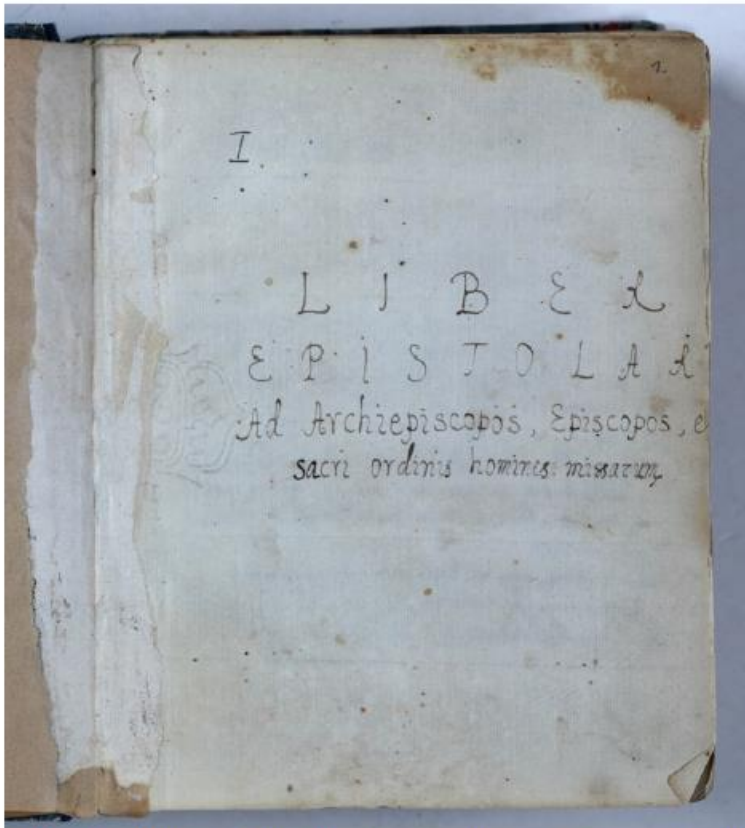
⁴³ David Hilchen to Andreas Lavitius in a letter dated 17 September 1608: *Si velim instrui in religione, habeo: gratum DEUM in consilium et auxilium advoeo.*

⁴⁴ David Hilchen to Andreas Lavitius in a letter dated 22 September 1608: *Ipse Christus inquit, Cavete malos operarios, pseudoprophetas etc. Apostolus clamat; Omnia probate: nec cui vis Spiritus credite, sed ne quis vobis imponat, probabilitate sermonis probate.*

⁴⁵ David Hilchen to Matthias Dresser in a letter dated 19 July 1607: *Lactor quidem te adhuc superstitem esse, sed certe doleo, ut est meus in te amor, quod publice de Fratibus Jesuiticis contendas. Sed aliquid amplius tibi dicam, quod et tu doleas. Quia in litteris tuis me nominasti, et utrum hic adhuc sim quaeris, in suspicionem me das iuxta clare, ac si meo suasu id scripsisses. Et sic iterum afflicte afflictio additur.* Matthias Dresser (Drescher, 1536–1607) was a German humanist and a professor at the University of Jena (1572–1574) and Leipzig (in Latin, Greek, and history). In 1607 he published a letter to Thomas Zamoyski in which he justified Zamoyski's negative attitude towards Jesuits (*Epistola ad generosum Dominum Thomam Zamoscium, Generosi Domini Joannis Zamoscii, Cancellarii magni & ducis militaris supremi et generalis Poloniae filium*, Lipsiae). Hilchen corresponded with him from at least 1597.

Conclusion

This case study from the history of Polish Livonia demonstrates that the relationship between the Jesuits and the Baltic Germans in Livonia was dynamic and often controversial. Even while the Baltic Germans, as representatives of the local Lutheran city council, might be critical of and condemn the Jesuits in their published writings and speeches in the 1580s, in their personal dealings with the Jesuits their relations were rather more pragmatic, sometimes even supportive and respectful, if this proved useful to them. The same Jesuit methods ("tricks") that city secretary and legal counsellor of Riga David Hilchen described and warned his fellow citizens about in the 1580s are those that he used against the Jesuits during his period of personal difficulties in the 1600s: he approached influential Jesuits personally, showed a keen interest in their position in *Societas Jesu* and in Polish society, and won their friendship with promises and courtesy. Nevertheless, Hilchen did not renounce Lutheranism in favour of Catholicism and was not prepared to discuss doctrinal matters with the Jesuits. It would appear that he did not consider the end of Polish-Lithuanian supremacy in Livonia a possibility in the 1600s, which is why even in exile he sought to direct Livonia towards religious tolerance and to help prevent the total subjugation of Livonia to the Catholic Church.



David Hilchen. I Liber Epistolarum Ad Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et sacri ordinis homines missarum [– MS in: Linköping Stift- och landsbiblioteket Br 43, fol. 1 recto; Photo: Mathias von Wachenfeldt, Linköping] courtesy of Kristi Viiding.