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Portrayals of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's in Literature and Art

After the Sejm formally forgave the rebels their transgressions in 1609, *rokosz Zebrzydowskiego* (Zebrzydowski's rebellion, called so after the name of its instigator Mikołaj Zebrzydowski) was almost completely erased from memory as the public wished to cast the fratricidal war into oblivion.¹ Still, for many years after the rebellion, the opinion of the majority of nobility about the Zebrzydowice magnate was shaped by printed words of criticism of church and state dignitaries such as Alessandro Cilli (secretary of King Sigismund III) or Bishop Stanisław Łubieński.² After the first partition of Poland in 1772, intellectuals began to take stock of the past, and the memories of the rebellion of 1605–1609 were revived since historians interpreted the event as the main reason for Poland's demise. For example, in 1781 Adam Naruszewicz wrote *Historia Jana Karola Chodkiewicza*, in which Zebrzydowski was presented as a usurper and troublemaker, vying for leadership of the country after the intended deposition of Sigismund III.³ Other precursors of discussions on the subject of the rebellion, namely Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz,

1. H. Wisner, *W imię praw i zwyczajów, czyli wbrew nim. Rokosz Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1607*, in: *Król a prawo stanów do oporu*, eds. M. Markiewicz, E. Opaliński, R. Skowron, Kraków 2010, pp. 209–221.
2. A. Cilli, *Storia delle sollevazioni notabili seguite in Polonia gli anni del Signore 1606–1608*, printed by P. Antonio, Pistoia 1627, pp. 255, old print in the National Library (hereinafter: BN), ref. SD XVII.3.7194; *Pisma pośmiertne Aleksandra Łubieńskiego*, published by A. Jocher, Petersburg 1855, pp. 45–175.
3. A. Naruszewicz, *Historia Jana Karola Chodkiewicza Woiewody Wileńskiego, Hetmana wielkiego*, vol. I–II, Warsaw 1781, old print in Ossoliński National Institute, ref. XVIII/6061_1.

Franciszek Siarczyński or Marcei Dzieduszycki, treated Zebrzydowski almost as “the villain” in the history of Poland.⁴ In contrast, monks who were connected to Mikołaj Zebrzydowski propagated an image of their benefactor as a great defender of liberty and the Roman Catholic denomination. The literature of the subject does not present Zebrzydowski consistently either because the authors who wrote about him from the perspective of the rebellion and his stance towards the reign of King Sigismund III Vasa⁵ are almost counterbalanced by those who focused on Zebrzydowski as a generous donor and a magnate involved in the Church's counter-reformation activities.⁶ On the four hundredth anniversary of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's death, it is worth considering how the leader of the rebellion has been perceived by artists for four past centuries, taking into account those two *modi operandi* according to which he was presented. To this end, I will analyze certain selected aspects of the ways in which Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was portrayed both in works of art and literature from the time of his life to the present. Visual images will alternate with literary descriptions, since information contained in these sources is complimentary (e.g., we may ascertain Zebrzydowski's appearance).

4. I list only those whose works in the first half of the 19th century influenced subsequent ways in which Zebrzydowski was presented: J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III*, Warsaw 1819; F. Siarczyński, *Obraz wieku panowania Zygmunta III*, vol. II, Lviv 1826, pp. 369–371; M.J. Rychcicki [M. Dzieduszycki], *Piotr Skarga i jego wiek*, vol. 1, Kraków 1850.
5. Studies on the rebellion were collected in a work by J. Maciszewski, *Wojna domowa w Polsce (1606–1609)*, part I: *Od Stężycy do Janowca*, Wrocław 1960, and expanded with the second wave of the rebellion and updated by E. Opaliński, *Dwa nieznanne projekty „procesu” konfederacji warszawskiej z 1605 i 1607 roku*, “Res Historica” (2000), vol. 10: *Z dziejów stosunków wyznaniowych w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVII wieku*, pp. 165–177; idem, *Zjazd rokoszowy w Jędrzejowie w roku 1607*, in: *Król a prawo stanów do oporu*, eds. M. Markiewicz, E. Opaliński, R. Skowron, Kraków 2010, pp. 221–236; idem, *Zjazd rokoszowy warszawski w październiku 1607 r.*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” annual set CXXI, 3 (2014), pp. 521–539. Considerable interest in the rebellion is also confirmed by the most contemporary texts such as D. Kupisz, *Działania zbrojne na obszarze województwa sandomierskiego podczas rokoszu Mikołaja Zebrzydowskiego (1606–1607)*, “Z Dziejów Regionu i Miasta: rocznik Oddziału Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego w Skarżysku Kamiennej” 1 (2010), pp. 7–30; A. Czeakała, *Drugi etap rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego (X 1606 – VI 1608) w świetle wybranych druków ulotnych*, “Acta Universitatis Lodzianis” 96 (2016), pp. 19–41.
6. The Zebrzydowski family from Zebrzydowice was allocated a separate chapter in a monograph about the sanctuary complex and the monastery in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska by E.H. Wyczawski OFM, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. Historia klasztoru bernardynów i kalwaryjskich drózek*, 2nd ed., Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, pp. 59–92. In addition, we should mention other popular studies, e.g. by A. Ormanty, *Wybrane epizody z życia i działalności Mikołaja Zebrzydowskiego (1553–1620)*, Kraków 2003.

Zebrzydowski as presented in his lifetime

Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's artistic patronage was wide and went beyond sacred art. Already in his lifetime, representatives of Polish intellectual elite saw the magnate of Zebrzydowice as a generous and influential patron. In 1588, when Zebrzydowski was starost general in Krakow, Lanckorona, Bolesław, and Stężyca, the first printed work dedicated to him was created, in which Joachim Bielski wrote the tenth ode to Zebrzydowski, calling him the protector of Poland's freedom.⁷ A year later, when Zebrzydowski was a senator and the voivode of Lublin, the same author published and dedicated his father's work entitled *Sen maiowy pod gaiem maiowym iednego Pustelnika*⁸ to Zebrzydowski. Because Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was an esteemed patron of the arts, the dedication was soon followed by others, e.g. *Poema sacrum* by Andrzej Mirowski, Stanisław Pekarowicyus's scholarly treatises, a collection of Latin speeches by Jan Ostrowski, as well as a collection of Jan Kochanowski's works published by Jan Januszowski.⁹ Translations were also dedicated to Zebrzydowski, e.g. the same Januszowski dedicated to him Rev. Stanisław Sokołowski's dialogue translated from Latin into Polish, Sebastian Petrycy dedicated the second part of Aristotle's *Politics*, and Wieliczka salt mine's deputy administrator Jan Chrzyciel Ceki a translation of the Treaty of Vervins from Italian.¹⁰ In 1604, Azariasz Sturtz wrote

7. *Carminum Joachimi Bilscii liber I*, printed by J. Siebeneicher, Krakow 1588, old print in Ossoliński National Institute [hereinafter: Ossolineum], ref. XVI.Qu.1997.
8. Zebrzydowski was voivode of Lublin (1589–1596), royal hetman and Grand Crown Marshal (1596–1601), and voivode of Krakow from 1601 until his death, see W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia. Tablice*, Warsaw 1959, no. 134. *Sen maiowy pod gaiem maiowym iednego Pustelnika przez Marcina Bielskiego napisany i teraz na nowo przez Joachima Bielskiego wydany*, printed J. Siebeneicher, Kraków 1589, old print in the Ossolineum, ref. XVI.Qu.2103.
9. A. Mirowski, *Poema sacro de cruento Domini Nostri Iesu Christii*, Kraków 1600, old print in the Ossolineum, ref. XVI.Qu.2790; *Wizervnek Człowiekâ, w bogomyślny żywot wstępującego, ná kształt rozmowy pokutującego z doskonałym. Przez X. Stánislávâ Pekárowicyusa, náuk y Philozophiey Bákálarzá: P. Z. nápisany. Ná dwie części rozdzielony*, printed by S. Kobyliński, Kraków 1611, old print in the Ossolineum; *De bello Dialysis Aurea Habita In Florentissimo Cracoviensis...a Ioanne Ostrowski*, printed by A. Piotrkowczyk, Kraków 1598, old print in the Ossolineum, ref. XVI.Qu.2608. *Ian Kochanowski*, printed by B. Skalski, Kraków 1604, old print in BN, ref. mf. B2495.
10. S. Sokołowski, *Szafarz ábo o pohamowaniu utrat niepotrzebnych. Dialog*, transl. J. Januszowski, Kraków 1589, old print in the Ossolineum, ref. XVI.Qu.1966; *Polityki Arystotelesowey to iest Rządu Rzeczypospolitey z dokładem ksiąg ósmioro*, transl. S. Petrycy, published by S. Kempini, Krakow 1605, old print in the Ossolineum, ref. XVII-19299; *Capitula y condiciae wiecznego pokoju... między Naj-*

a laudatory oration praising Zebrzydowski's noble character.¹¹ Therefore, it appears that prior to the rebellion, Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was perceived by the intellectual elite of the Republic as a generous patron and protector of culture. After the rebellion, most dedications were made by the monks supported by Zebrzydowski, but there were also works such as *De plica*, written by town councilor, doctor and rector of the University of Krakow Krzysztof Najmanowicz, *Specvlvm Senatorvm* by lawyer Teodor Zawadzki, or *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiej* by Aleksander Guagnini.¹² In the latter, Zebrzydowski was even called "PATER PATRIAE."¹³ The list of dedications indicates that the intellectual elite did not cease to inscribe their works to Zebrzydowski. Although the quantity of dedications dropped, artists did not turn their backs on Mikołaj, since his political views did not matter for this community as much as his wealth and will to cooperate.

The civil war period left us some examples of *rokosz* poetry; such poems for the first time present Zebrzydowski either as a great defender of civil liberties or as a rascal. The numbers of the proponents of the former and latter image of the magnate are almost equal.¹⁴ From among the present

jaśniejszemi Krolmi Henrikiem III... a Philippem II, transl. Jan Chrzciel Ceci, Krakow 1598, old print in the Ossolineum, ref. VI.Qu.2408.

11. *Oratio de nobilitate eiusque natura et officii...*, Kraków 1604, old print in BN, ref. A—C4.
12. M. Postękański OFM, *Officium albo godzinki...*, Kraków 1618, old print in Jagiellonian Library [hereinafter: BJ], ref. BJ St. Dr. 42423 I; Idem, *Viarum Redemptionis Nostrae, propriis Passionis D. N. Jesu Christi stationibus in agro Zebrzydovicensi distinctarum Rememoratio*, printed by A. Piotrowczyk, Kraków 1620, source: https://play.google.com/store/books/details/Marianus_Postek%C3%A1lski_Viarum_redemptionis_nostrae_p?i=JH89AAAACAAJ [DOA: 16/11/2019]; A. Rożniatowski, *Pamiętka krwawey ofiary Pana Zbawiciela naszego Jezusa Christusa: Wedlemieysc Hierosolimskich, nad Zebrzydowicami wykonterfektowanych*, printed P. Piotrowczyk, Kraków 1692, old print in BN, ref. mf. B2050; J.K. Połaniecki OFB, *Archielska Archaniola Michała Archi-Konfraternia*, printed M. Dyaszewski, Kraków 1755. *De Plica, pro loco inter Doctoris Medicinae obtinendo, in Alma Universitate Cracoviensi, ad disputandum proposita Quaestio*, printed A. Piotrkowicz, Kraków 1610, old print in the Archive of the Bernardine Province in Kraków [hereinafter: APB]; T. Zawadzki, *Specvlvm Senatorvm Ac Officialvm Regni Poloniae, Avlaeque Regiae*, printed M. Lobii, Kraków 1611, old print in BN, ref SD XVII.1.308 adl; A. Guagnini/M. Strykowski, *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiej*, transl. M. Paszkowski, printed by M. Lob, Kraków 1611, old print in the Jagiellonian Library, ref. BJ St. Dr. 589150 III.
13. *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiej*, op. cit., p. 10.
14. *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego 1606—1608*, compiled by J. Czubek, vol. I—III, Kraków 1916—1918.

editions of a numerous group of rhymed (sometimes sophisticated) works, I would like to mention only two poems which proved helpful in looking for other ways in which Zebrzydowski was presented and enabled me to ascertain his physical appearance.¹⁵ In satire *Tragedya rokoszowa na sejmie a. 1607 wydana*, an anonymous author concealed Zebrzydowski under the mask of Ambition.¹⁶ According to the author, the function of the mask was to hide Zebrzydowski's own ambitions under the guise of the fight for liberty. Still, the satire does not show Mikołaj only as a rebel; rather, he appears to be a leader entirely dedicated to his cause ("For them health, happiness, wife and children,/ For them I sacrificed all my prosperity"). Another, quite peculiar example of how the rebellion and its very instigator was shown is a literary travesty entitled *Wojna Czupryny z Pontą*.¹⁷ It presents Zebrzydowski as Czupryna (a Polish word for a shock of hair), which is a crucial hint in the search of first images of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski in visual arts. In this travesty, an anonymous author employs a hyperbole to present Zebrzydowski's dispute with Sigismund III Vasa, which starts from an altercation over the 'more Polish' attire ("which costume is better in Poland") and ends in the failure of Czupryna, who has to cut the hair that grows again. It should be added that the author did not take sides and ridiculed both rivals, using literary irony as his weapon.

The fact that perceptions of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski changed during the rebellion is confirmed by the work *Lutnia rokoszańska* by Szymon Szymonowic, dated to 1606.¹⁸ The author saw the events of the rebellion from the perspective of a teacher of Tomasz Zamoyski, who after the death of his father was cared for by Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, among others. In verses 131–132, Szymonowic reveals his faith in the honesty of Zebrzydowski's oaths sworn in Janowiec on refraining from any military action. In this way,

15. Apart from J. Czubek, it is worth mentioning, e.g., T. Banaś, *Polskie wiersze okolicznościowe okresu rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego – problemy genologiczne*, "Napis" series XVII (2006), pp. 63–75.
16. *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1608*, compiled by J. Czubek, vol. I, Kraków 1916, pp. 187–188. This was not the only portrayal of Zebrzydowski of this kind. E.g. the anonymous author of *Et erunt novissima peiora prioribus* presented rebels as guardians of the Res Privata tent and raiders of the Republica one. Ibidem, 238–255.
17. Ibidem, pp. 284–287. "Ponta" is a word of French origin meaning a wedge-shaped beard (Polish "koziej").
18. S. Szymonowic, *Lutnia rokoszańska*, in: *Sielanki wybrane i Lutnia Rokoszańska*, ed. K. Drzewiecki, Warsaw [date missing], pp. 59–67, 78–79.

the rebellion of 1605–1606 was treated by Szymonowic as the defence of the nobility's liberties and an indication of discontent with Vasa's reign rather than a manifestation of the magnate's hubris. Like Zebrzydowski or Radziwiłł, Szymonowic also challenged Sigismund III's absolutist ambitions, as expressed in verses 80–89. However, the poet did not expect that Zebrzydowski would renege on his promise and push to an all-out fratricidal conflict. Szymonowic's disappointment and astonishment at Zebrzydowski's sudden change of heart must have been severe, as the poet never published his *Lutnia* in print. Like Szymonowic, the nobility did not anticipate that Zebrzydowski would fail to honour his pledge from Janowiec and allow brotherly bloodshed. As a result, the perception of Zebrzydowski dramatically changed after 1606 among the noblemen, who started to view the magnate through the prism of his vested interests and wanton pride. The rebellion split the nobility in their views on Zebrzydowski. The opinion on him was, however, toned down by the support he received from Pope Paul V.

Zebrzydowski's hair, his distinctive feature, is an important pointer in terms of his appearance. A luxuriant shock of hair seems Zebrzydowski's actual physical feature used by the poet as a hyperbole rather than a manifestation of the author's *licentiae poeticae*. It is likely that Zebrzydowski actually had a luxuriant shock of hair since Sigismund III's beard was commonly illustrated as *ponta* in his iconography. We may use this information to hypothesize that one of the oldest images of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski appears on the engraving used as the incipit to the book on the office of the voivode in 1594's *Statuty* by Stanisław Sarnicki (Fig. 1).¹⁹ This assumption seems correct if we consider that Sarnicki's book contains not so much iconography of the Republic's most important offices as rather portraits of incumbents. Jerzy Brückner made wood engravings with fully realistic costumes and physiognomy of officials, among whom B. Miodońska identified Jędrzej Opaliński as the Marshal, Walenty Dębiński as the Chancellor, and Jan Zamoyski as the Hetman.²⁰ Because in 1594 Mikołaj Zebrzydowski held the post of the senator and voivode of Lublin, his image could have been

19. Sigismund III Vasa was shown there with a characteristic *ponta*, S. Sarnicki, *Statvta y Metrika Prziwilejów Koronnych*, printed by J. Januszowski, Kraków 1594, old print in the Jagiellonian Library, ref. BJ St. Dr. Cim. 8120, title sheet, p. 231.

20. B. Miodońska, *Władca i państwo w krakowskim drzeworycie książkowym w XVI w.*, in: *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia. Materiały Sympozjum Naukowego Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce PAN*, Warsaw 1976, p. 94.

shown as an illustration in a book concerning the office of voivode. Another evidence to support the above was the publication of *Statuty* in Krakow by a print shop belonging to previously mentioned Januszowski, who knew Zebrzydowski from 1589, as evidenced by the dedication of a translated work *Szafarz ábo o pohamowaniu utrat niepotrzebnych* by Sokołowski. Brückner's engraving focuses the entire attention of the viewer on the person portrayed. According to Januszowski, the engraver followed the *ad vivum* principle when making half-figure portraits. Brückner depicted people who could be readily recognizable by a single outstanding detail like Chancellor Dębiński, who could be identified by his unique beard and facial features. The voivode was presented in a cuirass plate armor, with his right hand holding a baton and his left hand resting on a helmet, much like Hetman Jan Zamojski. The voivode's similarity to Hetman Zamojski was not accidental. The voivode in Brückner's engraving was distinguished by a shock of hair, a beard with clearly visible moustache, large eyes and a slightly protruding jaw. If we take into account subsequent images created during Zebrzydowski's lifetime, we may notice the same features. In addition, considering Zebrzydowski's age in 1594, we may conclude that the appearance of the man depicted in the portrait physically matches a man at the age of 41.

If we assume that the wood engraving from *Statuty* is indeed a portrait of Zebrzydowski, then it can be considered Zebrzydowski's earliest image. Another source of information on Zebrzydowski's appearance is his bust presented on a medal designed by Paul Baudarth, a Dutch artist working at Zebrzydowski's court. The design and the first cast were made after 1601, as indicated by Zebrzydowski's title on the obverse and the mace and the baton crossed on the reverse. For the second time, Zebrzydowski was portrayed in a cuirass armor. The armor's meticulous ornamentation allows us to conclude that the bust in profile was an exact image of the Krakow voivode and starost general. Once again, the shock of hair is his distinguishing feature, although we may notice that the magnate followed fashion in terms of hairstyle, since the sides had already been shaved and his hair resembles the Polish 'high cut.' The protruding jaw and beard with a prominent moustache are also shown in the image. The medal was struck in silver or bronze and used by the magnate to win over the people he wished to cooperate with.²¹

21. Extant medals include Zebrzydowski's gold magnate medal dated to approx. 1601 from the Ossoliński National Institute, as well as a silver and bronze one in the

Baudarth presented his commissioner in armor intentionally, as Zebrzydowski was faithful to the ideals of the knightly ethos, inseparable from the history of the crusades, and best exemplified by the foundation of a replica of the Holy Land between Mount Żar and Mount Lanckorońska. Of particular interest is the symbolism of the reverse side, where right in the middle Baudarth presented a cuirass armor with the Radwan coat of arms positioned on a plinth with the inscription "DEXTERA" and voivode's and hetman's insignia crossed underneath. Antithetically to each other, the medalist used the allegories of Prudence (the plinth with the inscription "INGENIO") and Bravery (the plinth with the inscription "OPIBUS"), which cross an oak leaf wreath and a weed wreath above the armor — a reference to the allegory of the love of Motherland. The medal was meant to publicize Zebrzydowski's service to the Republic, as indicated by Michael the Archangel in the role of protector, and the inscription "Deo et Patriae" in a Roman type. Not only was the inclusion of the figure of the Archangel a sign of the personal cult of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, but a way to emphasize the Soldiers' Confraternity of St. Michael the Archangel, which he established in 1596. Members of the confraternity adhered to the ideals of knightly ethos. Thus deciphered iconographic program of the reverse side of the medal becomes even clearer as a manifestation of Krakow voivode's dedication to his Motherland and public affairs.

At a time close to the creation of the medal's design, an oil portrait of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski to the great hall of the Archconfraternity of Mercy in Krakow was painted. Zebrzydowski was the founder of the Jesuit College in Lublin, and a benefactor of St. Barbara votary's house in Krakow, supporting the order in the dispute with the University of Krakow and supplying goods such as firewood, butter or cheese.²² In 1584, Zebrzydowski helped Piotr Skaruga organize the Archconfraternity of Mercy, hence the appearance of his

National Museum in Krakow. The collection of the National Museum in Krakow also contains an etching showing the reverse and obverse side of the medal, ref. MNK III-ry.-15789.

22. The chronicle of the house was kept by Jan Wielewicki, a Jesuit, meticulously recording Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's participation in all feasts and adorations at St. Barbara's Church and his charitable involvement; nevertheless, in 1606 he came into conflict with Zebrzydowski over one of the sermons, see *Ks. J. Wielewickiego S.J. Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego OO. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1600 do r. 1608 (włącznie)*, ed. J. Szujski, Kraków 1881. See also E.H. Wyczawski, op. cit.

portrait in the Archconfraternity's collection ca. 1602.²³ An unknown painter portrayed Zebrzydowski in a black *żupan* and a fur-lined coat, with a sabre at his waist and a mace in his right hand. The artist focused primarily on Zebrzydowski's facial features and physiognomy, accentuating his hair, large eyes, protruding jaw, and greying beard, while emphasizing (by means of inscriptions and insignia) the offices held by the Archconfraternity's benefactor.

The first panorama of the Calvary complex was published in print in 1617.²⁴ The authors of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in bottom right corner of their picture of Mount Calvary showed Mikołaj Zebrzydowski with his son Jan, surrounded by servants and walking down the road behind the Grave of Virgin Mary from the direction of their castle in Lanckorona. Thanks to Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's endowment was publicized all over Europe, along with first full portraits of the founders. Mikołaj was then shown already as a man of advanced age, dressed in a fur calpac and an overcoat lined with spotted fur.²⁵

Presentation by descendants and successors

The civil war, which was called "Zebrzydowski's rebellion" (*rokosz Zebrzydowskiego*) after its instigator, was an infamous chapter in the history of the Zebrzydowski family.²⁶ After Mikołaj's death, his son, Jan Zebrzydowski,

23. Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was not only a member of the Archconfraternity, but also one of its most generous benefactors. *Książka pamiątkowa Arcybractwa Miłosierdzia i Banku Pobożnego w Krakowie od roku 1584 do 1884: skreślona w roku jubileuszowym*, compiled I. Polkowski, Kraków 1884.
24. *Mons Calvariae*, in: G. Braun, F. Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. VI, Lvov 1617.
25. A complete list of images created in Zebrzydowski's lifetime must include the portrait from the Bernardine library at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, on which the painter added the date: the year 1612. Still, the picture does not show a 59-year-old man, which is the approximate age of Mikołaj at that point, instead portraying him as a 40-year-old. Thus, assuming that the information of his humble attire after 1613 is correct, the picture from the library is the last image of Zebrzydowski as a magnate with all his glamour and grandeur.
26. Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's great-grandson, Michał Zebrzydowski's son, was born in 1641. A hitherto unanalyzed literary source entitled *Kolebka JMci P. Mikołaja Kazimierza z Zebrzydowic Zebrzydowskiego* by Jan Chochołowski appeared 21 years after Mikołaj's death, containing Apollo and the Muses' songs in praise of the birth of Mikołaj Kazimierz. Chochołowski primarily stressed Michał Zebrzydowski's reputation and deeds, paying relatively little attention to Mikołaj, the most famous member of the family from Zebrzydowice. In his work, muse Thalia commends the heroes from the Zebrzydowski family and utters the following stanza: "Like eagles on their nest high/ Let them face the light with wide-open eyes,/ (Not to be

strove to maintain good relations with the House of Vasa, particularly with Sigismund's son prince Władysław, whom he welcomed as a pilgrim when the latter arrived in Polish Jerusalem to thank for his victory at Chocim.²⁷ Another important event was Mikołaj's burial in the Zebrzydowski chapel at Wawel cathedral, which was allowed by Jan Zebrzydowski, allegedly against the will of the deceased.²⁸ The burial in the cathedral, the necropolis of Polish kings, had a symbolic significance, as was intended to rehabilitate the reputation of the family. Moreover, in 1675 Józef Bernard Zebrzydowski from the Więcbork line financed an epitaph in the cathedral. Apart from his close relatives, the epitaph mentioned his distant ancestor Mikołaj Zebrzydowski of Zebrzydowice and emphasized his rank of Krakow voivode in 16th/17th-century Poland. Despite all these efforts, the rebellion continued to blemish the family's honor. Until the end of his life, Sigismund III harbored a grudge against Mikołaj Zebrzydowski and intended to erect a column commemorating the victory over the rebels.²⁹ There was even a rumor that the king left Krakow and chose Warsaw as the capital out of his hatred for Zebrzydowski. For a long time Sigismund III refused to notice Jan Zebrzydowski's service to Poland; only after Mikołaj's death in 1620, Jan was conferred a minor title of *miecznik koronny* (royal sword-bearer).³⁰

However, Jan made sure to uphold the memory of his father by founding a series of Marian chapels. An unknown painter created a scene of Mary's funeral for the Chapel of the Veneration of Mary's Soul based on engravings 150 and 151 in *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*.³¹ Although the artist used an already existing composition in his work, in the background he

eclipsed by old dark) affairs/ A brave FATHER and his rightful heir." The "dark affair" from years ago can be linked to the great-grandfather's rebellion, see *Kolebka JMci P. Mikołaja Kazimierza z Zebrzydowic Zebrzydowskiego pierworodnego syna... Michała Zebrzydowskiego... y Maryny Zebrzydowskiej... kołysana w Dąbrówce*, old print in the National Library, ref. SD XVII.4.15836 adl.

27. H.E. Wyczawski, op. cit., p. 445.

28. APB, *Historia Calvariaeseu... descriptio situs, foundationis, privilegiorum... collecta Anno Domini 1613*, ref. IV-a-1, pp. 140–141.

29. With the material left by his father, Władysław IV Vasa in 1644 erected a column to commemorate Sigismund's victories, amongst which the mention of Guzów became deemphasized, see P. Szpaczyński, *Mocarstwowe dążenia Zygmunta III w latach 1587–1618*, Kraków 2013.

30. W. Dworzaczek, op. cit.

31. J. Nadal SJ, *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacro sancto Missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur*, Antverpiae 1595, source: <https://archive.org/details/adnotationesetmeoonada> [DOA: 17/01/2020].

added a man dressed in a black *żupan*, kneeling in the doorway and worshipping Mary's dead body (Fig. 2). In this way, Mikołaj's son commemorated his father, the originator of the construction of the entire complex, who decided to withdraw from political life after the rebellion and (as reported in monastic chronicles) wore a plain black *żupan* following the death of his wife Dorota of Herbut (1613).³² The painting financed by Jan Zebrzydowski has not survived, although its copy (presumably a faithful one) was made between 1811 and 1819 by Jan Jerzyczek, a self-taught monastic painter who at that time copied scenes of the Marian cycle.³³

At the end of the 17th century, when commissioning a portrait of Magdalena Czartoryska née Konopacka, the Czartoryski family, who took care of the Calvary complex, also ensured that images of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski were displayed in the monastery: one in the cloister and the other one in the library.³⁴ In the monastery at the foot of Mount Żar, monks and subsequent owners treasured the memory of Zebrzydowski as the originator of the construction of a memorable site of spiritual significance for the entire nation. After the death of Michał in the 1667 (the last male descendant of the Zebrzydowice branch of the family), through Jan Karol's marriage to Anna Zebrzydowska, the Czartoryski family became the owners of the property located between Mount Żar and Mount Lanckorońska. After Anna's death, Jan Karol married Magdalena Konopacka, and their son Józef made sure to keep alive the memory of his mother the founder, and her predecessors. It was presumably at the instruction of Jan Karol and/or Józef that an unknown artist made a series of paintings depicting members of the family, from Mikołaj Zebrzydowski to Magdalena Czartoryska née Konopacka (deceased 1694).

32. APB, *Historia Calvariaeseu... descriptio situs, foundationis, privilegiorum... collecta Anno Domini 1613*, ref. IV-a-1, pp. 102–118.

33. Jerzyczek's pictures were copies of paintings from the time of Jan Zebrzydowski, which were based on 16th-century Antwerpian engravings. As a result, the scene also conforms to the model, although the nobleman kneeling in the doorway is certainly an addition.

34. In 1656, speeches were delivered before the chapter at the Calvary in honor of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, in which the congregation of monks commemorated the founder of the complex as the "promoter of the Passion of Christ," "agent of heavenly grace," and "heir of Christ's traces," see *Excitacz pobożney pamiątki iasnie wielmożnego pana [...] Mikolaia Zebrzydowskiego wiewody y generała krakowskiego sńiatynskiego [...] starosty pierwszego fundatora kalwaryjskiego [...] na kapitule kalwaryjskiej w roku 1656 odprawowaney [...], z ambony kalwaryjskiej*, printed by Ł. Kupisz, Kraków 1660, old print in BN, ref. SD XVII.3.16624.

As a result, the gallery in the cloister came into being soon after 1694, as is suggested by the exact date of Magdalena's death in the inscription, while an erroneous year of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's death (1621 according to the artist), which indicates that the accurate date of the death of the Calvary initiator had already been forgotten. The painter presented Zebrzydowski as an elderly man adoring the cross, dressed (according to the monastery's oral tradition) in a black *żupan* and a fur-lined coat, with a sabre at his waist, and a book and a mace lying before his knees. The author depicted Zebrzydowski according to the iconographic practice of the day, with a tall shock of hair and a unique beard; judging by his facial features, we might conclude that he based his work on the portrait from the Archconfraternity's building. It is likely that at a similar time or soon after the full-figure portrait in the cloister, another image of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was financed to be displayed in the Bernardine Library at the foot of Mount Żar. Its author is unknown, yet the commission may be associated with the gallery of the Calvary's guardians and provincial superiors of Lesser Poland, the beginnings of which are dated to end of the 17th century, and which was situated at the Calvary.³⁵

Like Bernardines and Jesuits, Knights Hospitaller were also custodians of the memory of Mikołaj's generosity. The latter order received from Mikołaj Zebrzydowski a hospital for twelve war veterans with a chapel and a monastery in Florian Zebrzydowski's former manor house, financed from the revenues of the Zebrzydowice manor. In the last years of his life, Mikołaj focused on the monastery and hospital in Zebrzydowice, devoting much of his time to fasting, praying and engaging in charitable activities.³⁶ Consequently, the collection of the monastery in Zebrzydowice contains a picture of Zebrzydowski in his later days (probably) by the same artist who painted Zebrzydowski's portrait in the Bernardine library at the Calvary, as suggested e.g. by the layout, the drape, positioning of the arms and the garment of the figure. The only difference between the two works is the age of the person portrayed, because Zebrzydowski at the Bernardines' was painted as a mature man, whereas the image at Knights Hospitaller shows him as an old person.³⁷

35. E.H. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska...*, op. cit., pp. 276–277.

36. T. Klima, *Historia szpitala i klasztoru Bonifratrów w Zebrzydowicach na 300-letni jubileusz*, Wadowice 1911.

37. Around 1917 the painting was thoroughly renovated, e.g. many holes were fixed, the varnish was cleaned and damaged parts were painted anew. It cannot be the work of the same painter who portrayed Elżbieta Wielopolska ca. 1838, although the effects of restoration prevent exact dating.

Specific importance attached to individual components of the Calvary complex was also a proof that Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's artistic patronage was well-remembered. From 1620, chapels financed by Mikołaj Zebrzydowski himself (as distinct from the structures erected in his son's and grandson's lifetime) enjoyed particular esteem, and their conservation, both in form and substance, was a priority; things left after Mikołaj himself came gradually to be treated as relics. This special esteem for Mikołaj's heritage is demonstrated by the extension of the Church of Virgin Mary's Grave in Jan Zebrzydowski's lifetime. Jan did not allow the older structure to be demolished; instead, he built another church over it. This created a kind of sarcophagus for the five-year old church, which had already functioned as a reminder of Mikołaj's dedication and piety. Another example of this particular esteem are 18th-century "conservationist" projects commissioned by guardian Father Jan Kapistran Połaniecki as well as later ones from the turn of the 19th century commissioned by Father Gaudenty Thynell.

19th century presentations

The memory of the rebellion was revived after the final partition of Poland in 1795, when representatives of the Polish intellectual elite tried to determine the cause for the decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. To many, Zebrzydowski's rebellion provided the answer. The negative attitude towards Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was dominant since the very beginning. In 1809, *Śpiewy historyczne* [Historical Songs] by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, commissioned by the Warsaw Society of Friends of Learning, were published in print for the first time. It was Niemcewicz's intention that *Śpiewy* should educate and shape attitudes; therefore its main addressees were young people.³⁸ It did not take long for Niemcewicz's idealized visions of Poland's earlier past to take effect. In fact, the book was issued as much as three times during his lifetime. In a song on Sigismund III, Niemcewicz wrote about Mikołaj Zebrzydowski:

"Zebrzydowski's lascivious pride
Raises sacrilegious weapon against his master.
...
Wherever you look, the same weapons and arrays,
The same Eagles, and the same Pahonias.

38. J.U. Niemcewicz, *Śpiewy historyczne z muzyką i rycinami*, 2nd ed., Warsaw 1816, p. 5.

The scene reins in the passion of the headstrong
And wrings tears from many a men.
But what will tame such a beastly pride?
Zebrzydowski's sword glints,
"Let us go! Oh brothers — he calls those who listen —
"To avenge our injuries
and violated liberties."³⁹

Since *Śpiewy* was a widely-read work (a total of sixteen editions until 1899), it perpetuated Zebrzydowski's image of a butcher of his compatriots and an iconoclast. As early as in the second edition of the work, Niemcewicz's song entitled *Zygmunt III* was illustrated with an engraving by Johann Gottfried Frenzl, based on Zachariasz Frey's drawing *Zebrzydowski przeprosza Zygmunta III* [Zebrzydowski begs the forgiveness of Sigismund III] (Fig. 3). Frey and Frenzl's image of Zebrzydowski humbling himself before the mounted king became (together with song *Zygmunt III*) a kind of romantic prism through which readers of *Śpiewy* viewed the rebellion and Zebrzydowski. Still, Niemcewicz was not the first intellectual to launch open criticism of the rebel. The poet probably relied on his own research and information contained in a work of the previously mentioned Bishop Naruszewicz, who in the late 18th century created a new image of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, putting a greater emphasis on the magnate's pride. According to Naruszewicz, Zebrzydowski was "grim and strict by nature."⁴⁰ It was only with time, as research shows, that the same terms were used by Józef Szujski to describe another rebel: Stanisław Stadnicki.⁴¹

The first fascicle in the series *Wizerunki znakomitych ludzi w Polsce* [Images of Eminent People in Poland] was issued in 1829 in Krakow. It was published by Franciszek Ksawery Prek, with an image of Zebrzydowski by Antoni Tepliar, and constituted a counterweight to Niemcewicz's vision as well as Frey and Frenzl's engraving.⁴² On the basis of Tepliar's engraving,

39. Ibidem, pp. 264–266.

40. Qtd. in: H.M. Słoczyński, "Kazanie Skargi" Jana Matejki w kontekście ówczesnej wiedzy o epoce i poglądów na dzieje Polski, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" 24 (2018), vol. 1, pp. 79, 82.

41. Ibidem.

42. From the portfolio *Wizerunki znakomitych ludzi w Polsce*, compiled by F.K. Prek, printed by D. Perlaschi, vol. 1, Kraków 1829, copperplate at the National Museum in Krakow, ref. MNK III-ryc.-36647.

retained in the collection of the National Museum in Krakow, we know that the biographical entry on Zebrzydowski had already been prepared for inclusion in the first book but eventually did not appear in it.⁴³ Tepliar portrayed Zebrzydowski as a man in his prime, with sharp (but not distorted) facial features, clad in an armor, which is a departure from the tendency to picture Zebrzydowski in old age, like in the engraving by Frey and Frenzl. Editors of *Wizerunki* must have noticed that at the time of his act of humiliation at Janowiec Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was about 55, so he cannot have been as old as pictured by Frey and Frenzl. In his image of Zebrzydowski as *vir armatus*, Tepliar made a reference to the two first portraits of the nobleman. A lot of time passed since Zebrzydowski was presented as one of celebrated Poles instead of a villain from the past.

In 1850, the Calvary complex founded by Zebrzydowski was for the first time described scientifically by historian and archaeologist prof. Józef Łepkowski. He listed all movable and immovable objects of historical significance in the complex, and in doing so he drew the attention of Krakow's intellectual elite to the Calvary.⁴⁴ As a result, the Calvary was repeatedly visited by Krakow's painters, engravers, and other artists, who revived the memory of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski as the founder of this large and magnificent architectural project. In 1867, the Calvary saw the arrival of its monographer, Ludwik Łepkowski, who was a painter and conservator-restorer. In the same year, he drew ink-on-carton copies of portraits of Dorota Zebrzydowska née Herbut and Mikołaj Zebrzydowski displayed in the Calvary's cloister.⁴⁵ One year before, a crayon drawing portraying Zebrzydowski from the Bernardine library at the Calvary was made by Jan Łęczyński, and prior to that, in the first half of the 19th century, an unknown artist copied Zebrzydowski's bust from Baudarthe's medal design.⁴⁶ In 1868, Tomasz Łosik made

43. *Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, entry: *Franciszek Ksawery Prek*, compiled by W. Bienkowski, online: <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/franciszek-ksawery-prek> [DOA: 6/09/2019].

44. J. Łepkowski wrote about the Calvary's original founder: "Looking at Zebrzydowski, I can see that the history of our nation is troubled by almost the same nature as his own life," see J. Łepkowski, *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska i jej okolice pod względem dziejowym i archeologicznym*, Kraków 1850, pp. 20–21.

45. *Mikołaj Zebrzydowski*, author: L. Łepkowski, ink, carton, ref. MNK-XV-R.-23017.

46. Crayon drawing on paper, J. Łęczyński, ref. MNK III-r.a.18467; ink drawing on paper, ref. MNK-IIIr.a.-18990; the design of the medal containing Zebrzydowski's image was included in the 19th century in the collection *Ryciny medali polskich do dzieła X. B. Albertandego*, ref. MNK III-ryc.-15789, see also K. Podnieśńska,

an ink drawing of a part of a picture in the building of the Archconfraternity of Mercy in Krakow.⁴⁷ The drawing, along with the previously mentioned ones, prove Krakow's intellectual elite's interest in Mikołaj Zebrzydowski in the 1860s and 1870s.

There is also no scarcity of newer images of Zebrzydowski, e.g. a sketch by Jan Kanty Wojnarowski, presumably intended as a basis for an oil painting.⁴⁸ In the second half of the 19th century, Jan Narcyz Daszkiewicz painted an oil on canvas allegory of the Sandomierz rebellion.⁴⁹ All of these works by painters should be associated with Jan Matejko (the most important representative of the Krakow School of Drawing and Painting) as well as his comments on the rebellion in *Kazanie Skargi*, which he worked on from 1863 to 1864.⁵⁰ According to H. Słoczyński, Matejko's painting, which could be treated as a philosophical and historical essay, positions Zebrzydowski "... on the side of evil, as there is no indication that the service which the founder of the famous Calvary rendered to the Church or his participation in charitable activity and his cooperation with Piotr Skarga in this area could expunge his guilt that came from his pride."⁵¹ Moreover, Słoczyński even argues that, in the eyes of Matejko, Zebrzydowski was a model example of the "ignorance of Christian standards of life in the community and of inveterate pride."⁵² Note, however, that Marshal Zebrzydowski was presented by Matejko as a pensive old man withholding impetuous reactions typical of Radziwiłł or Stadnicki (whose eyes in the painting conceal pride and barratry) at the royal gauntlet thrown in front of their group. Instead, Zebrzydowski's attitude as portrayed by the painter reveals that he was in a state of consternation or even in a dilemma, torn between Skarga's words and the existing tensions with the king.

Meanwhile, the Bernardines at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska launched their propaganda war against intellectuals who critically reviewed the past and condemned Zebrzydowski's attitude. Instructed by Father Gaudenty

Trzy komplety "Rycin medali polskich" odbitych z blach Królewskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Warszawie przechowywane w zbiorach graficznych Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" LX, vol. 1–2 (201–202/2016), pp. 63–88.

47. Ink drawing, carbon paper, ref. MNK III-r.a-17800.

48. Pencil drawing, carbon paper, ref. MNK III-r.a-19647.

49. Oil on canvas, height 103 cm, width 166.5 cm, ref. MNK I-48.

50. H.M. Słoczyński, „Kazanie Skargi”..., op. cit., pp. 59–116.

51. Ibidem, p. 82.

52. Ibidem, p. 83.

Thynell, in 1838 Jerzyczek copied the already mentioned Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's portrait from the library, which was placed on the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Mount Żar. Displaying an oil-on-canvas painting of the founder "in the open air" was a departure from the original concept of a portrait, a work usually painted for "home" galleries. It was not a coincidence that the Bernardines from the Calvary displayed the portrait in one of the most visible places and one of the two oldest structures in the Calvary complex, and it was not accidental that the painting was placed near the portrait of Pope Paul V. Every pilgrim following the Stations of the Cross could not help but notice the image of Zebrzydowski, the founder of the complex. In this way, the Bernardines acknowledged Zebrzydowski's service to the nation's spirituality as the founder of the Polish Jerusalem, a costly and pioneering landscaping and architectural project on the Polish territory.⁵³

Yet another image of Zebrzydowski was left by Ludwik Orpizewski. An emigrant who fought in the November Uprising, in his five-act play *Mikołaj Zebrzydowski* he refrained from judging the magnate's choices or presenting him in a consistently good or bad character. The work was written in Lausanne in 1857 and shows three types of Zebrzydowski's pride: senatorial, ancestral, and private. Orpizewski also claims that pride is a vice of priests and monks ("... there is not such a meagre worm in human form that would not strut like a peacock, ha! ha! ... how lamentable the human misery!"⁵⁴) and "our national sin."⁵⁵ Zebrzydowski's inconsistent image was a result of Orpizewski's own experience; he felt he himself was a victim of the "master rebel," but at the same time a rebel who, like Zebrzydowski, dared to oppose the authority, namely the Russian Tsar in 1830.⁵⁶ Orpizew-

53. In 1669, Franciszek Dzielowski OFM presented Mikołaj as a God-fearing benefactor and statesman, see *Kalwarya albo Nowe Jeruzalem na polach Zebrzydowskich zasadzone, a przez Oyca Franciszka Dzeilowskiego, Zakony Franciszka Świętego, Minorum de Obseruantia, Kustosza Krakowskiego, krotko z fundamentu swego wywiedziona. W Kazimierzu przy Krakowie*, I. K. M. Typ. R.P. 1669, old print in the National Library, ref. SD XVII.2.494.
54. L. Orpizewski, *Mikołaj Zebrzydowski. Dramat w V. aktach*, reprint, Poznań 1872, p. 25.
55. B. Zaleski described the play as a discussion of pride: "our deadly sin", see B. Zaleski, *Ludwik Orpizewski (1810–1875)*, Kraków 1875, p. 55.
56. Pointing at Miss Zebrzydowska before the battle at Guzów, Skarga says: "What a heartbreak! Here is the first victim of Krakow's voivode, his own child! How many more will follow her! This master rebel! How many lives will be lost in [Poland's] future calamities!".

ski did not show Zebrzydowski only in an unfavorable light, since the latter objected to the domination of the Habsburgs, who later took part in the partition of Poland. In the final act of his work, the playwright punishes Zebrzydowski with feverish visions of Poland's future, which the magnate cannot endure ("... have mercy, keep my eyes away from this living future ... horrible ... wailing at me: be damned! be damned!"⁵⁷). Despite the stigma of starting the fratricidal war, Orpiszewski's Zebrzydowski is a patriot willing to sacrifice his own life, who declared to Báthory that he was prepared to stick his "... neck out for Poland! I'm sticking my neck out, me, Zebrzydowski, I'm sticking my neck out."⁵⁸

In 1875, a historical and moralistic novel entitled *Sieroty Zebrzydowskiego czyli: akademicy krakowscy*⁵⁹ was published in Tarnow. In the introduction, its publisher, prelate of Tarnów chapter Rev. Michał Król, emphasized that he did not know the author, because the novel was brought to him in 1846 by a 70-year old man, who died soon after. The old man gave the prelate a disorderly and musty bundle, which Król (following editing and annotating) called a "hidden treasure" in the Introduction.⁶⁰ It is unknown whether the novel was indeed written at the turn of the 19th century or the information in the notes was merely a literary concept. Still, the way in which Zebrzydowski and the rebellion are presented in the work is rather untypical. Mikołaj appears there as a disinterested benefactor of orphans Konstanty and Zofia, who turn out to be siblings. The Kordecki family participate in events provoked by Mikołaj Zebrzydowski. Prior to humbling himself before the king for the second time, the voivode explains to lieutenant Dągowicz how he sees the chance of the rebellion's success, blaming the failure on his co-militants, who advised him to negotiate with the king near Janowiec.⁶¹ Due to this, Zebrzydowski's supporters deserted him, and the battle of Guzów dealt a blow at the majesty of the king and the nation. Dągiewicz also accused Zebrzydowski of siding with the infidel despite the fact that the house of Zebrzydowski "was elevated to its greatness by

57. L. Orpiszewski, *Mikołaj Zebrzydowski*, op. cit., p. 65.

58. Ibidem.

59. M. Król, *Sięrotki Zebrzydowskiego, czyli Akademicy krakowscy*, old print by J. Styryna, Tarnów 1875.

60. Ibidem, p. 1.

61. M. Król, *Sięrotki Zebrzydowskiego, czyli Akademicy krakowscy*, op. cit., p. 153.

the Church."⁶² Overall, the author portrayed Mikołaj as a character aware of the widely-held (divergent) opinions about him because his conduct was viewed as an expressions of greed and lordly pride. However, Zebrzydowski does not regret his revolt against the king, as he had the courage to fight for his interests: "Of two wrestlers clashing in the arena, the winner is always the one who stays in his ground; yet the defeated sees his satisfaction in that the caused trouble to his opponent."⁶³

In Krakow, considerable interest in Mikołaj Zebrzydowski lasted from 1860s to approximately 1885. In this year, a historical novel *Bajbuza* by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski was published.⁶⁴ The author criticized both King Sigismund III and the anti-royal faction. He squarely accused Zebrzydowski of factiousness and striving to further his own vested interests, and for this reason he presented the magnate in a negative light. This, however, served a purpose in Kraszewski's historical novel. By emphasizing the faults of the king and the opposition, Kraszewski accentuated the eponymous Iwan Bajbuza's selfless love for his motherland. Such attitude became the counterpoint for that of Vasa and magnates from Zebrzydowski's faction.

Any discussion of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's portrayals would be incomplete without the latest images of the nobleman. As regards the 20th century, I found only one engraving of Zebrzydowski; the author depicted the magnate's unruly nature in his facial features. The most recent portrayal is the design of a statute to be made for the 400th anniversary of the death of the Calvary's founder. Karol Badya presents Zebrzydowski with facial features clearly inspired by the engraving referred to above (ca. 1905) and the posture from *Kazanie Skargi*. This portrayal combines the image of a rebel and a pious pilgrim since the author shows Zebrzydowski's entire silhouette with his right foot stepping forward. The sabre, on which Zebrzydowski rests his right hand, is meant to symbolize the rebellion. However, it is sheathed and untied from the belt; in this way Badya creates Zebrzydowski's vision as the founder of the complex and the town, adding his idea of the magnate as a matter-of-fact and proud man.

62. Ibidem, p. 156.

63. Ibidem, p. 155.

64. J.I. Kraszewski, *Bajbuza: Czasy Zygmunta III*, Warsaw 1885.

Summing up, it should be concluded that prior to 1606 Mikołaj Zebrzydowski was perceived as a statesman and a generous patron of the arts. After violating the agreement made in Janowiec, there arose voices of discontent with his inexplicable conduct, which was seen as motivated by vested rather than public interest. At that time, Zebrzydowski's pride was for the first time noticed as his worst vice. The memory of Zebrzydowski was refreshed only in 1675 by Krakow Canon Józef Bernard Zebrzydowski, founder of Mikołaj's epitaph in the mausoleum of Bishop Andrzej Zebrzydowski in Wawel Cathedral. Józef Bernard's efforts led to commemorating Mikołaj in the Bernardine convent's church at Mount Żar. First 19th century literary visions by Niemcewicz revived the narration about Zebrzydowski as a proud magnate who, driven by own private interest, contributed to Poland's collapse. Opponents of such portrayals of Zebrzydowski also took the opportunity to voice their opinions in that period. As a result, interest in Mikołaj Zebrzydowski as a partly mysterious figure grew, and his attitude was interpreted anew, sometimes seeing his rebellion from the perspective of the contemporary events. In spite of the keen interest in Zebrzydowski in the second half of the 19th century, the commonly asked question whether he was a devout Catholic and statesman or a litigant and troublemaker, remained unanswered. As a result, there are no monographs on Zebrzydowski despite the bulk of existing sources. Over time, artists and writers began to use Zebrzydowski's attitude to achieve their own artistic objectives. Disagreement as to the assessment of Zebrzydowski's attitude continues to this day, with no lack of supporters of both options.

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Fig. 1. *Wojewoda* [Voivode], J. Brückner, source: BN, ref. SD XVI.F.802, public domain



Fig. 2. *Zaśnięcie Marii* [The Dormition of Maria], painted by J. Jerzyczek, photographed by author



Fig. 3. *Zbrzydowski przeprasza Zygmunta III*
[Zbrzydowski begs the forgiveness of Sigismund III], engraving by J.G. Frenzel,
drawing by J. Z. Frey, source: BN, ref. Podr. Muz.IV.B.80, public domain

Abstract

Mirosław Płonka

Portrayals of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's in Literature and Art

Together with first 19th century literary visions by J.U. Niemcewicz, there appeared an image of M. Zebrzydowski as a proud magnate who, driven by private interest, contributed to Poland's downfall. Opponents of such portrayals of Zebrzydowski also took the opportunity to voice their opinions in that period. As a result, interest in Mikołaj Zebrzydowski as a partly mysterious figure grew, and his attitude was re-interpreted, sometimes looking at his rebellion from the perspective of contemporary events. In spite of the keen interest in Zebrzydowski in the second half of the 19th century, no answer was found to the commonly asked question of his attitude. In connection with the 400th anniversary of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's death, the author analyzed the portrayals of Zebrzydowski, starting with those created during his life to the 19th-century works, in an attempt to determine the reason for the extreme ways in which the magnate of Zebrzydowice was portrayed. Visual images are juxtaposed with literary descriptions, since information contained in these sources is complimentary (e.g. we may ascertain Zebrzydowski's appearance).

Keywords:

Mikołaj
Zebrzydowski,
rebellion of
Zebrzydowski,
Zebrzydowscy

Abstrakt

Mirosław Płonka

*Przedstawianie Mikołaja Zebrzydowskiego w literaturze pięknej
i sztukach plastycznych*

Słowa kluczowe:
Mikołaj
Zebrzydowski,
rokosz
Zebrzydowskiego,
Zebrzydowscy

Wraz z pierwszymi XIX-wiecznymi literackimi wizjami J.U. Niemcewicza zaczęła odżywać narracja o M. Zebrzydowskim jako pełnym pychy magnacie, który kierując się prywatnymi ambicjami przyczynił się do klęski Polski. Do głosu doszli wówczas także przeciwnicy takiego sposobu przedstawiania Zebrzydowskiego. W rezultacie wzrosło zainteresowanie Mikołajem Zebrzydowskim jako osobą nie do końca poznaną, której postawę zaczęto na nowo interpretować, czasem czytając jej bunt przez pryzmat współczesnych sobie wydarzeń. Mimo dużego zainteresowania Zebrzydowskim w drugiej połowie XIX wieku, nie znaleziono odpowiedzi na nurtujące wszystkich pytanie dotyczące oceny postawy Mikołaja Zebrzydowskiego. W związku z 400. rocznicą śmierci Mikołaja Zebrzydowskiego autor przeanalizował sposoby przedstawiania go, począwszy od tych, które powstały za lat jego życia po XIX-wieczne, poszukując odpowiedzi na temat przyczyny występowania dwóch tak skrajnych sposobów przedstawiania magnata z Zebrzydowic. Autor połączył wyobrażenia plastyczne z literackimi, ponieważ informacje w nich zawarte wzajemnie się uzupełniają, umożliwiając m.in. na ustalenie fizjonomii Zebrzydowskiego.