

REVIEW ARTICLES AND REVIEWS

ZBIGNIEW ANUSIK
UNIVERSITY OF LODZ*

A few remarks on the history of the Zborowski family in the 16th century with reference to the book by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz

(Rev.: Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Meżowie stanu, awanturnicy czy zdrajcy? Dzieje rodu Zborowskich w XVI wieku*, DiG Publishing, Warszawa 2018, pp. 793).

IN 2018, DiG Publishing published a monograph of the Zborowski family, Jastrzębiec coat of arms, by Professor Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz PhD (University of Białystok). The Authoress of the book is a well-known and recognised researcher of modern history. Her research interests concentrate on the history of Poland of the 16th and 17th century, legal and political problems of the state, the functioning of political elites, socio-political and cultural changes within the noble state in particular. She has published two well-received books devoted to the history of the Polish-Lithuanian state during the first two interregnums after the death of Sigismund II Augustus and during the reign of Stephen Báthory¹.

Certainly, Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz was well prepared to write a book devoted to the history of one of the most famous and

* Faculty of Philosophy and History, Institute of History, Department of Modern History / Wydział Filozoficzno-Historyczny, Instytut Historii, Katedra Historii Nowożytnej, e-mail: zanusik@uni.lodz.pl.

¹ See E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewicach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta*, Białystok 1998; eadem, *O nowy kształt Rzeczypospolitej. Kryzys polityczny w państwie w latach 1576–1586*, Warszawa 2013.

significant noble families in the Crown in the 16th century. The Authoress defined the goal and scope of her research as follows: 'The Zborowskis were the most powerful magnates in the Crown in the second half of the 16th century. In about seventy years (two generations of the Zborowskis), starting from a middle-class position, its representatives held the highest offices in the state. The Zborowskis' rapid career ended suddenly at the end of the century. In the 17th century the third and fourth generation of the sixteenth-century Zborowskis may be found in the circles of the middle-nobility again. What determined the quick promotion of the family? What caused its sudden fall? These are first research questions that arise when studying the history of the Zborowskis. Were the factors of a political or economic nature decisive in this case or should we look for the reasons of the growth of the Zborowski family in a research area different than those examined so far when studying the fate of large families. Psychological issues or characterological profiles are rarely taken into account in the monographs of whole families and in observations of the development of careers of individual house representatives. Maybe this research aspect should also be taken into account?' (p. 11). 'Among the numerous offspring of Marcin Zborowski, we may observe strong characters often driven by emotions and violence. The women from the Zborowski family are able to deal with economic problems or children upbringing – even as the widows. When observing individual members of the family, it is impossible not to look at their characters and not to answer the question whether they influenced the image of the entire family. And finally – why had the Zborowskis lost their political significance, prestige, unity? Which of the reasons for this phenomenon were decisive and which were of minor importance? Among all the problems identified by the researcher of the Zborowski family, it will be the most important [...] to answer the question included in the title of the work: who were the Zborowski brothers: statesmen, adventurers or traitors?' (p. 15).

It should be underlined that to fulfil her research task Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz used a huge number of sources and literature of the subject. The query of manuscripts was carried out in 18 archives and scientific libraries in Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Russia and Austria. The Authoress used over 140 source publications and more than 400 various studies. Source materials of the publication are more than impressive while the bibliography (with a register

of manuscripts used in the work) that covers 28 pages has to impress every recipient. A valuable addition to the main text is the genealogical tree of the Zborowski family. It is worth noting, however, that there is no iconographic material in the book. This is most likely caused by the size of the publication which covers (with an index of persons) almost 800 pages.

The work is problem-oriented while its chapters are organised chronologically. The ancestors of the sixteenth-century Zborowskis are presented in the first chapter. The second chapter's content is consistent with its title: *Connections. Offices. Education. Wealth*. In subsequent chapters, the Authoress describes the history of the Zborowski family on the broad political background of the Polish-Lithuanian state in the 16th century. The titles of the subsequent parts of the work are as follows: *The Zborowskis during the reign of John I Albert, Alexander I Jagiellon and Sigismund I the Old; The reign of Sigismund II Augustus. Stabilisation of the family's position; The Zborowskis during the interregnum after the death of the last Jagiellon. The reign of Henry of France (de Valois): expectations of the family vs reality; The second interregnum. Feuding family – split or purposeful tactics; The Zborowskis during the reign of Stephen Báthory: from the division of the family to a temporary unity; The Zborowskis during the third interregnum. Fight for the family survival; Descent from the stage. The fate of the family at the end of the 16th century*. The work concept proposed by the Authoress has one fundamental drawback, though. Biographical information on the members of the Zborowski family included in chapter two is reproduced almost literally in every subsequent chapter, albeit in a slightly different context. And one more remark. Fragments of the book that describe political history of the Polish-Lithuanian state in the 16th century are too extensive. Thus, it is hard to notice the relation between the events described by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz and the main topic of the reviewed monograph. It may be assumed that the content of that chapter was influenced by the scientific specialization of the Authoress – the researcher of the history of the first three interregnums and the reign of Stephen Báthory. Nevertheless, as far as I am concerned, many narrative threads presented in the book could have been omitted.

The first two chapters seem to be of key importance when we look at the book as on the monograph of the Zborowski family. Here, Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz presented both the genealogy of

the family and the economic position it achieved. In both cases, however, a number of remarks should be made. Let's begin with the first chapter devoted to the ancestors of the sixteenth-century Zborowskis. A lot of attention was paid here to the descendants of Mikołaj of Łubnica, Jastrzębiec coat of arms (died 1410/1411), the chamberlain of Łęczyca, the brother of Wojciech Jastrzębiec (died 1436), the archbishop of Gniezno. Marcin (Marcisz) of Rytwiany (died 1428), the voivode of Łęczyca in the years 1425–1428, and Ścibor of Borysławice, Łubnica and Rytwiany (died 1435), the voivode of Łęczyca in the years 1428–1435, were the sons of the chamberlain of Łęczyca. According to the monographer of the Zborowski family 'Marcin [...] is a protoplast of the Jastrzębiec of "Rytwiany". His descendants used the name Rytwiańscy. Ścibor, instead, starts the line of later Jastrzębiecs "of Borysławice" and "of Zborów". He is a protoplast of the sixteenth-century Zborowskis' (p. 29). According to the Authoress, the voivode of Łęczyca, Ścibor, had the son – the starost of Odolanów, Piotr of Zborów and Rytwiany, who received Odolanów 'in the seventies of the 15th century from Casimir IV Jagiellon, probably thanks to the king's loan' (p. 35). Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz also claims that the above-mentioned Piotr had sons 'Marcin, Mikołaj, Andrzej, Piotr and probably Jan. The fact that they were brothers is confirmed by the sources where they were mentioned as the starosts of Odolanów' (p. 35).

Unfortunately, it is only true that the voivode of Łęczyca, Marcin of Rytwiany (died 1428), was the ancestor of the wealthy Rytwiański family, Jastrzębiec coat of arms, whose male line ended already on his sons – Dzierśław (died 1478), the castellan of Cracow, and Jan (died 1478/1479), the Crown marshal and the voivode of Cracow. The only heir of the Rytwiańskis was, in fact, the granddaughter of Marcin and the daughter of the voivode of Cracow, Jan – Ewa, who around 1481 married Mikołaj Kurozwecki, Poraj coat of arms (died 1507), later voivode of Lublin². The brother of Marcin of Rytwiany (died 1428) – Ścibor of Borysławice, Łubnica and Rytwiany (died 1435), could not have been the protoplast of the Zborowski family

² See W. Fałkowski, *Rytwiański Jan (właściwie Jan z Rytwian) h. Jastrzębiec*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* [hereinafter: *PSB*], vol. XXXIII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991–1992, pp. 588–592; K. Baczkowski, *Kurozwecki Mikołaj h. Róża (Poraj)*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. XVI, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1971, pp. 273–274.

because his only son, Mikołaj, died childless³. Thus, the family of our interest had nothing in common (except the coat of arms) with the Jastrzębiecs of Rytwiany, Łubnica and Borysławice. Further Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz's explanations require clarification and correction, too. Firstly, no Piotr Zborowski was the starost of Odolanów in the seventies of the 15th century. From the end of the fifties, that tenure was pledged and belonged to the Gruszczyński family of Iwanowice, Poraj coat of arms. They received Odolanów from Wincenty Bieganowski, Grzymała coat of arms, who possessed that tenure from February 13, 1456. Mikołaj Kośmider of Iwanowice, the standard-bearer of Kalisz (died 1476), was the first user of the Odolanów tenure (probably from 1457) which after his death was still used by his sons – Wawrzyniec and Jan Kośmider Gruszczyński⁴. As late as December 14, 1484, Marcin Zborowski received a royal consensus to buy the Odolanów tenure from Jan Kośmider Gruszczyński of Iwanowice. The king allowed Zborowski to buy the Ostrzeszów tenure from Dobrogost Ostroróg Lwowski the same day⁵.

We know for sure that Marcin Zborowski came from the village of Zborów in the Solec parish (the Wiślica county) which remained in the Jastrzębiec line's hands at least since the mid-eighties of the 14th century. We do not know his father's name (after Bartosz Paprocki we may assume it was Piotr of Zborów) who, however, did not hold any offices assigned to him by subsequent heraldists). In 1474, Casimir IV Jagiellon entrusted Marcin with the task of forming a troop of 200 riders for the war against Maciej Korwin⁶. The following year, he lent the king 2300 florins and obtained a promise that he would receive Hrubieszów with adjoining properties should not the king pay him off in a given period. At the same time, he also received a record of 1150 florins on the Horodło tenure⁷. He was also a royal captain (rotmistrz) of a regular army in the years 1484–

³ See T. Nowak, *Ścibor z Borysławic, Łubnicy i Rytwian h. Jastrzębiec*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. L, Warszawa–Kraków 2014–2015, pp. 441–442.

⁴ See Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie / The Central Archives of Historical Records [hereinafter: AGAD], *Metryka Koronna / The Crown Metrica* [hereinafter: MK] 11, sheets 44, 56, 259–260; MK 12, sheet 19; MK 14, sheet 20; A. Szymczakowa, *Szlachta sieradzka w XV wieku. Magnifici et generosi*, Łódź 1998, pp. 137–139, 141.

⁵ See AGAD, MK 14, sheet 12.

⁶ See AGAD, MK 12, sheet 201.

⁷ See AGAD, MK 12, sheets 201, 203–204.

1487. In recognition of his merits, the king promised Zborowski that should one of the current burgraves died, he would receive the office of the burgrave of the Cracow castle. Yet, Marcin died before that promotion, probably in the second half of 1489⁸. The Authoress is wrong when claiming that in 1484 Marcin Zborowski 'pledged Odolanów and Ostrzeszów once again' (p. 36). The purchase of the Ostrzeszów tenure from Dobrogost Ostroróg Lwowski was never realised and Zborowski took over Odolanów much later. In 1487, Jan Kośmider Gruszczyński was still called the lessee of the Odolanów castle⁹.

Edward Opaliński claims that the starost of Odolanów, Marcin Zborowski, had two sons – Piotr and Andrzej¹⁰. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz accepted this view and further complicated the genealogy of the Zborowski family. In her opinion, Marcin Zborowski had brothers and sons named Piotr and Andrzej which is not true. In fact, at the end of the 15th century, only two representatives of the Zborowski family had such names. The older of them was undoubtedly Piotr who was recorded in June 1494 as the starost of Odolanów. In May 1499, he obtained a royal consensus on assigning the Odolanów tenure to his brother (*germano suo*) Andrzej. He died childless, probably in the last year of the 15th century. As late as 1500, he was mentioned as a lessee of Odolanów¹¹. In 1478, the king entrusted Piotr's younger brother, Andrzej Zborowski, with the task of forming a troop of 100 riders. In 1491 the latest, he married Elżbieta Szydłowiecka, Odrowąż coat of arms, the daughter of Stanisław (died 1493), the castellan of Radom and the general starost of Cracow, and Zofia of Goździków, Łabędź coat of arms (there is no information about

⁸ He was still alive on July 30, 1489, when the king promised in one of the documents that he would give an office of the Cracow burgrave to his courtier – Zygmunt Stosz. The latter, however, was to take the office after Marcin Zborowski who was waiting for a vacancy. See AGAD, MK 14, sheet 319; K. Bukowski, *Stosz Zygmunt z Kounic i Olbrachcic*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. XLIV, Warszawa–Kraków 2006–2007, pp. 145–147.

⁹ See A. Gašiorowski, *Ostroróg Dobrogost (właściwie Dobrogost z Ostroroga, także z Lwówka, Lwowski)*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. XXIV, Wrocław 1979, p. 499; Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN / The Kórnik Library of the PAS [hereinafter: BK PAN], *Teki Dworzaczka* [hereinafter: TD], *Grodzkie i ziemskie / Castle and land books* [hereinafter: GiZ], Poznań, Resignations, 15th century, part 1, 6499 (No. 1387), 1487.

¹⁰ See E. Opaliński, *Rodziny wielkosenatorskie w Wielkopolsce, na Kujawach i na Mazowszu za Zygmunta III. Podstawy karier*, Warszawa 2007, p. 16.

¹¹ See AGAD, MK 15, sheet 190; MK 17, sheet 205; BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kalisz, Inscriptions, 16th century, 4719 (No. 5), 1500.

Zofia of Goździków Szydłowiecka in the publication). Probably in 1500, he took over the tenure of Odolanów which he kept in his hands for the rest of his life. On December 21, 1503, King Alexander nominated him the castellan of Żarnów. Andrzej died in 1508¹². So were Piotr and Andrzej Zborowski sons of Marcin? In my opinion, it is unlikely. If younger of the brothers became a royal captain (rotmistrz) in 1478, it should be assumed that both Zborowskis were born between 1450 and 1455. Thus, Marcin had to be born no later than around 1425. It is hard to imagine that when he was a wealthy 60-year-old man he still participated, as a royal captain (rotmistrz) of a regular army, in the 'War of the Priests' in Warmia. It is more reasonable to assume that his generation was that of Andrzej and Piotr Zborowski and that he commanded a regular rota as a thirty-something-year-old. Bartosz Paprocki's statement contributes to that thesis, too. The heraldist, closely related to the Zborowski family, noted in his armorial that the castellan of Żarnów, Andrzej, was the son of Piotr¹³. It seems impossible that Paprocki misspelled the name of great-grandfather of his friends and protectors. According to me, the successive starosts of Odolanów – Marcin, Piotr and Andrzej Zborowski – were brothers. Their father was probably Piotr Zborowski who held no offices but whose biography, at his great-grandson's request, was somewhat 'coloured by Bartosz Paprocki'¹⁴. It should be also added that there is no source information that would unambiguously confirm that there was any blood bond between the aforementioned Piotr; his three sons, Marcin, Piotr and Andrzej, the successive starosts of Odolanów; and Mikołaj as well as Jan Zborowski mentioned by the Authoress on pp. 35–36¹⁵.

¹² See AGAD, MK 14, sheet 18; MK 19, sheet 131; M. Lubczyński, J. Pielas, *Szydłowiecki Stanisław h. Odrowąż*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. XLIX, Warszawa–Kraków 2013–2014, pp. 578–582; *Urzednicy województwa sandomierskiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, elaboration K. Chłapowski, A. Falniowska-Gradowska, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1993, No. 1366.

¹³ See B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, ed. K.J. Turowski, Kraków 1858, p. 144.

¹⁴ B. Paprocki made Piotr Zborowski, the son of Marcisz (which actually may be the truth) a close co-worker of King Casimir IV Jagiellon. He also claimed that in 1479 he became the Sandomierz master of the hunt and married the unknown Tęczyńska. See *idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁵ Contrary to the Authoress's claim, Mikołaj Zborowski was never the starost of Odolanów. Although B. Paprocki claims that the castellan of Żarnów, Andrzej, had brother Mikołaj and even quotes some facts from the biography of the latter,

We should conclude here that it is confirmed by source materials that the protoplast of the sixteenth-century Zborowskis was Andrzej (died 1508), the castellan of Żarnów. We may also hypothesize that Piotr was his father and Marcin (Marcisz) of Zborów – the grandfather. It is obvious, though, that they had nothing in common with the noble family of Rytwiański, Jastrzębiec coat of arms.

The genealogy of the Zborowskis in the 16th century presented by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz in chapter two of her book also requires some corrections. As we already know, Andrzej Zborowski and Elżbieta née Szydłowiecka had four children: Jan, Marcin, Piotr and Zofia, who greatly benefited from their relation to the powerful and very influential (especially during Sigismund I's reign) Szydłowiecki family. Already in April 1510, Jan, Marcin and Piotr Zborowski received a royal consensus to purchase the tenure of Stopnica from Stanisław Ostroróg¹⁶. Although the transaction was not finalised, it constituted to the later promotions of two younger brothers. The eldest, Jan, died in 1514 in the battle of Orsza. According to the Authoress, Marcin Zborowski was the youngest son of Andrzej and Elżbieta née Szydłowiecka (p. 40). Yet, taking into account a register of the Crown Metrica where brothers were usually mentioned in order of seniority, it should be assumed that the youngest son of Andrzej Zborowski was Piotr. He became the Crown carver in 1515 when his uncle, Mikołaj (not Piotr, as on p. 40) Szydłowiecki was promoted to the post of the grand Crown treasurer and the castellan of Sandomierz. In 1520, Piotr Zborowski became the crown cup-bearer but he resigned from the post in 1527 on the benefit of his brother Marcin. In 1531, he became the castellan of Małogoszcz and in 1548, the castellan of Sandomierz. In the years 1548–1553 he was also the starost of Sanok. Contrary to Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz's findings (p. 40), Piotr Zborowski was never the starost of Sandomierz. He died unmarried and childless before November 8, 1553. The third of the brothers – Marcin, contributed to the Zborowskis' greatness and importance the most. He started his career as the crown cup-bearer (1527), than he became the

the information provided by this heraldist, who does not know other Andrzej's brothers, seems unlikely in this case. See B. Paprocki, *op. cit.*, p. 144. Moreover, I doubt whether the aforementioned Mikołaj Zborowski, the participant of the fighting in Hungary under Maciej Korwin, can be taken for (as the Authoress assumes) Mikołaj, the starost of Ropczyce.

¹⁶ See AGAD, MK 24, sheets 258–258v.

castellan (1543) and the voivode of Kalisz (1550), the voivode of Poznań (1558) and finally – the castellan of Cracow (1562). Marcin Zborowski was also the starost of Odolanów, Szydłów, Stopnica, Będzin and Tłumacz. It is also worth mentioning that in 1564 he attempted to take over the wealthy tenure of Sambor¹⁷. Shortly before 1521, Marcin Zborowski married Anna Konarska of Góra, Awdaniec coat of arms, the daughter of Stanisław (died 1521) and Zofia Lanckorońska of Brzezcie. They had many children. He died on February 25, 1565. The widow outlived her husband by 10 years. She died probably in 1575. It should be also added that Zofia Zborowska (died 1544), the only daughter of Andrzej, the castellan of Żarnów, married in 1511 Stanisław Kurozwecki, Poraj coat of arms (died 1518), the starost of Wieluń and Krzepice. In 1527, in turn, she married Hieronim Szafraniec of Pieskowa Skała, Starykoń coat of arms (died 1554/1555), the starost of Chęciny. Zofia Zborowska and her first husband had daughter Barbara Kurozwecka, the wife of Andrzej Górka, Łozia coat of arms (died 1551), the castellan of Poznań and the general starost of Greater Poland. With her second husband she had a daughter, Zofia Szafraniec (died 1566/1567), who married Mikołaj Oleśnicki of Pińczów, Dębno coat of arms (died 1566/1567).

Anna Konarska of Góra and Marcin Zborowski had 16 children. Two girls and one boy died in early childhood. Seven sons and six daughters reached adulthood. Marcin was the eldest son of the above-mentioned couple. According to Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, he was born around 1526 (p. 41). It seems more likely, however, that he was born three years earlier. The Authoress also claims that around 1545 Marcin Zborowski married Urszula Rozdrażewska of Nowe Miasto. In another place, however, she states that the same Marcin studied in Königsberg in the years 1545–1546 (p. 72). In my opinion, Zborowski was born around 1523 and married

¹⁷ Sigismund II Augustus borrowed from Marcin Zborowski 30,000 zlotys and on August 10, 1564, he secured it on the Sambor tenure and promised to donate that royal land to the castellan of Cracow and his descendants. Yet, as he was not able to fulfil that promise, in May 1565, he gave Marcin's sons and grandsons a yearly salary of 2000 zlotys paid from the revenues of the Sambor tenure which was to be a commission of 30,000 zlotys secured on Sambor. See AGAD, MK 99, sheets 81v–82v, 260v–261. On August 12, 1569, however, the heirs of the castellan of Cracow sold both the salary and the entire claim secured on the Sambor tenure to the starost of Lwów, Stanisław Herburt of Fulsztyn. See AGAD, MK 101, sheets 272–275.

Rozdrażewska (as a 24-year-old) after his return from studies (Urszula was registered his wife in 1547). It should be also added that, contrary to the assumptions of Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz (p. 41), Urszula Rozdrażewska was not the daughter but the granddaughter of the castellan of Rogoźno, Hieronim Rozdrażewski, Doliwa coat of arms (died 1541). She was the daughter of the son of the castellan, Piotr Rozdrażewski (also known as Nowomiejski) and Katarzyna Mościejewska (also known as Wrzesieńska as she owned a part of the town of Września)¹⁸. In 1548, Marcin Zborowski became the castellan of Krzywiń. He held that office until his death before March 25, 1562. He had sons Marcin and Piotr. According to the Authoress, the first one died in 1575 and the second – after 1569 (p. 41). It is not true. We know that Piotr Zborowski was still alive in 1579 when he sold his father's lands to the Poznań chamberlain, Jan Rozdrażewski¹⁹. In B. Paprocki's opinion, after the sale of Greater Poland's landed estates, Piotr Zborowski settled in Grocholice in the Sandomierz voivodship. Perhaps he died as late as 1587²⁰. His brother Marcin, in turn, disappears from the Greater Poland files later than 1570 (then his name appears here for the last time). Most likely, he died at that time. It may be confirmed by the record in the castle books of Poznań of 1570 when Piotr Zborowski was recorded as the only heir to his late mother²¹. Both sons of the castellan of Krzywiń died unmarried and childless.

Piotr was the second son of Marcin Zborowski, the castellan of Cracow. According to the Authoress, 'he must have been born in 1527 the earliest' (p. 41). There are no source materials that could confirm or undermine this statement. Piotr Zborowski made rather a quick career. He was a royal courtier (before 1560)²², the Sandomierz chamberlain (1563), the castellan of Biecz (1563), the castellan of Wojnicz (1566), the voivode of Sandomierz (1568) and

¹⁸ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Resignations, 16th century, 5702 (No. 1393), 1526; 5820 (No. 1393), 1527 (here information on property transactions after Urszula's parents' marriage); GiZ, Pyzdry, part 2, 2772, (No. 272), 1547 (here, Urszula Rozdrażewska is said to be Marcin Zborowski's wife).

¹⁹ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kalisz, Resignations, 16th century, 723 (No. 5), 1579.

²⁰ B. Paprocki, *op. cit.*, p. 167; AGAD, MK 134, sheets 49–50 (it is mentioned here that the Zabłotów tenure was at king's disposal after Piotr Zborowski's death).

²¹ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Resignations, 16th century, 10818 (No. 1398), 1570.

²² On February 20, 1560, Sigismund II Augustus granted to Piotr Zborowski, the royal courtier, a yearly salary of 300 florins paid from the revenues of the Wieliczka salt-mines. See AGAD, MK 95, sheet 317.

finally – the voivode of Cracow (1574). Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz states that he was also the starost of Stopnica, Tlumacz, Kamionka Strumiłowa and Cracow (p. 42). We should add here that at the end of his life (in 1580) he also obtained the tenure of Wojnicz²³. Piotr's wife was Barbara Myszkowska, Jastrzębiec coat of arms, the daughter of Mikołaj (died 1557), the castellan of Wojnicz, and Zofia Komorowska of Żywiec, Korczak coat of arms. Piotr could have married Myszkowska around 1565 the earliest as she was born already after her parents' wedding, that is after 1546. The voivode of Cracow, Piotr Zborowski, died on September 13, 1580 (according to the Authoress, on May 22, 1580)²⁴. He left huge debts which Bartosz Paprocki estimated at the sum of 120,000 zlotys²⁵. He and Barbara Myszkowska had sons Jan and Mikołaj, both born after 1565 but before 1571. On March 14, 1571, the voivode of Sandomierz, Piotr Zborowski, transferred his three tenures to his male descendants who had to be underage at the time. Jan received Tlumacz and Kamionka Strumiłowa and Mikołaj – Stopnica²⁶. The latter, however, died at a very young age in 1579. His brother Jan became the starost of Stopnica the following year. Interestingly, Jan Zborowski was still underage at the time. In 1583, his paternal uncle, Jan Zborowski, the castellan of Gniezno, was still registered as his guardian²⁷. The Cracow voivode's son, Jan Zborowski, died as the starost of Stopnica, Tlumacz and Kamionka on March 24, 1586. It does not seem that he was more than 20 years old at that time. Thus, both sons of the Cracow voivode, Piotr Zborowski, died unmarried and childless. Information given by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz (after Kasper Niesiecki) that the voivode of Cracow had an unknown daughter who married Jan Konarski, Ciołek coat of arms (p. 43), is highly questionable.

²³ See K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform egzekucji dóbr 1563–1665. Sprawa zastawów królewskich małopolskich*, Warszawa 1984, p. 214. On p. 64, the Authoress gives information that Piotr Zborowski was the starost of Wojnicz only.

²⁴ See Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie / The National Archives in Krakow [hereinafter: ANK], *Castriensia Cracoviensia Inscriptiones* [hereinafter: CCI] No. 122, pp. 1324–1325 (here information that registers in castle books would be no longer accepted because of Piotr Zborowski's, the Cracow voivode and starost, death on September 13, 1580).

²⁵ See B. Paprocki, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

²⁶ See AGAD, MK 108, sheets 443v–447.

²⁷ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, *Inscriptions, 16th century, part 2*, 9479 (No. 940), 1583.

Jan Zborowski was the third son of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin, and Anna Konarska of Góra. He was probably born in the second half of the thirties of the 16th century. After thorough education (in Königsberg and Paris), he chose a military career. He was a royal courtier and captain (rotmistrz). In 1576, he became the castellan of Gniezno. He was also the last court commander-in-chief in history. He gained famous victory in the Battle of Lubieszów (April 17, 1577) when he defeated the Gdańsk army that did not want to recognise Stephen Báthory's election. He was the starost of Odolanów, Grudziądz, Wołpa and Wenden. He had three wives. Before 1570, he married the unknown daughter of Joachim I von Maltzan, the baron in Syców (Wartenberg) and Bernadetta of Wallenstein. After the death of his first wife, in June 1572, he married Princess Elżbieta Prońska, the daughter of the late Fryderyk, the voivode of Kiev, and Fedora Bohusz Bohowitynowicz. He obtained the consent to marry Elżbieta from her mother and her third husband – Michał Działyński, the then chamberlain of Chełmno. It is worth adding that the second husband of the widow of Prince Fryderyk Proński was the castellan of Gniezno, Mikołaj Trzebuchowski. The Authoress claims that Zborowski was in love with Princess Elżbieta and thus he wanted to marry her. Yet, the dowry of his wife-to-be could have been equally important to him. On June 17, 1572, in Warsaw, Jan Zborowski secured his newlywed wife's dowry of 30,000 zlotys on half of all his landed estates²⁸. The castellan of Gniezno and Princess Elżbieta Prońska had only one daughter, Anna (not Elżbieta, as the Authoress claims on p. 44). His second wife died before 1581. When we take this unambiguous information into account (given *expressis verbis* on p. 43), it is absurd to state that Jan Zborowski and Elżbieta Porońska had one more daughter – Anna, born on March 2, 1584. The Authoress makes the assumption that the child died shortly after birth and perhaps Elżbieta Prońska died with it (p. 44). In 1581, Jan Zborowski married his third wife, Katarzyna née Konarska, Awdaniec coat of arms, the daughter of Jan (died 1599), the castellan of Kalisz, and Anna née Opalińska. Let us add here that the third wife of the castellan of Gniezno came from the same family as his mother and was his not-so-distant cousin (Katarzyna's great-grandfather

²⁸ Apart from 30,000 zlotys of dowry, Zborowski gave to his wife the customary 30,000 zlotys of bride price. In total, Elżbieta was secured with the sum of 60,000 zlotys. See AGAD, MK 109, sheets 845–847.

Andrzej Konarski, the castellan of Kamień, was the brother of Jan's grandfather – Stanisław Konarski of Góra). The castellan of Gniezno and Konarska had daughter Zofia. Jan Zborowski died on August 25, 1603, in Odolanów. It should be added here that the widow of him married Dadźbóg (Teodor) Karnkowski, the starost of Bobrownica, and from 1614 the voivode of Dorpat (Tartu). She died around 1616.

The elder daughter of Jan Zborowski – Anna, married in 1591 the crown carver, Piotr Opaliński (died 1600). They had sons Andrzej and Jan Piotr as well as daughters Elżbieta, Katarzyna and Zofia. Anna Zborowska's second husband was Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski (died 1627), the voivode of Łęczyca and the general starost of Greater Poland. They had son Władysław (died 1623) and three daughters: Jadwiga, the wife of Paweł Działyński, the voivode of Pomerania; Anna (died 1629), the wife of Stanisław Przyjemski, the voivode of Inowrocław, later royal court marshal; and Dorota who became the nun under the name of Katarzyna²⁹. The Authoress does not mention Władysław and Anna at all. In her opinion, Dorota is Katarzyna who became the nun under the name of Dorota. After K. Niesiecki, she also makes an assumption that Anna Czarnkowska née Zborowska had one more daughter – Dorota, the wife of Franciszek Dębiński, the chamberlain of Cracow (p. 45). Thus, we should add in this place that the aforementioned Dorota Czarnkowska, the wife of the chamberlain of Cracow, Franciszek Dembiński, Rawicz coat of arms, was, in fact, the daughter of Piotr, the castellan of Śrem, and Anna Zebrzydowska of Więcbork³⁰. The younger daughter of the castellan of Gniezno – Zofia Zborowska, married in 1601 Prince Jerzy Radziwiłł (died 1613), the castellan of Troki. They did not have children who outlived their father. As a widow she married Abraham Sieniuta of Lachowce (died 1632). They had son Piotr (died 1648) and daughters Anna as well as Dorota. Zofia Sieniuta née Zborowska died after 1618 but before 1625.

Andrzej was the fourth son of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin Zborowski. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz claims that he was born after 1530. It seems that it would be better to determine the date of his

²⁹ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Wałcz, 757 (No. 79), 1628 (here information on Dorota Czarnkowska, the sister Katarzyna in a monastery, the daughter of Adam Sędziwój Czarnkowski and Anna née Zborowska).

³⁰ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Accounts, 17th century, 1959 (No. 165), 1640.

birth at the end of the thirties of the 16th century. He was a courtier of Sigismund II Augustus. In 1569, he received the office of the Cracow sword-bearer (or else, the crown sword-bearer). In 1574, Henry of France (de Valois) made him the royal court marshal and the starost of Radom. He lost both offices in 1588. Yet, in 1590, Sigismund III made him the castellan of Biecz and this time he kept that post until his death. Contrary to the Authoress's thesis, Andrzej Zborowski was never the starost of Biecz (p. 47). In 1574, Zborowski married Barbara née Jordan of Zakliczyn, Trąby coat of arms, the daughter of the castellan of Cracow, Spytek Wawrzyniec (died 1568), and Anna née Sieniawska (died 1597)³¹. She was the widow of Prince Piotr Zbaraski. It is worth mentioning that the first husband of Barbara Zborowska née Jordan was the voivode's son, not the voivode of Troki, as on pp. 47, 772 and 785. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz claims that Andrzej and Barbara Zborowska née Jordan had three sons and three daughters. Yet, later on she mentions only their sons – Marcin Dersław (died 1613), Spytek Piotr (1582–1608) and Andrzej (ca. 1583–1630) (p. 47). It should be added here that the names of four (not three) daughters of the couple are known to us: Marianna, Helena, Krystyna and Leonora. The eldest of them – Marianna, was the first wife of Krzysztof de Wedel Tuczyński. She died childless as early as 1593. Three years later, all six of her siblings sought their brother-in-law to return Marianna's dowry (12,000 zlotys) as well as to pay interest on it³². The second of the Zborowski sisters, Helena, was the wife of Jerzy Stefan Niemsta, Jastrzębiec coat of arms. Her younger sister – Krystyna, first married Stefan Świętopelk Bolestraszycki, and then – Wojciech Grochowski. When she widowed for the second time, she joined the Bernardines convent under the name of Magdalena. The youngest of the Biecz castellan's daughters – Leonora, became a nun in the Order of Poor Ladies at the Cracow church of St Andrew³³. Talking about the sons of Andrzej and Barbara Zborowska née Jordan – Marcin Dersław (died 1613) married Jadwiga Padniewska, Nowina coat of arms, the daughter of Wojciech, the castellan of Oświęcim, and Jadwiga Dembińska, Rawicz coat of arms. He died

³¹ On April 19, 1574, Andrzej Zborowski secured his wife with 5000 florins of dowry on the half of his estates. See AGAD, MK 113, sheets 42v–43v.

³² See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Accounts, 17th century, 2624 (No. 138), 1596.

³³ See M. Smoleński, *Melsztyn. O zamku i jego panach, o kościołach i plebanach, z dodatkiem o Domostawicach*, Kraków 1888, p. 59.

childless. Spytek Piotr (died 1608) first joined the Dominican Order and later – the Carmelites. Yet, he left that order too and died as unmarried and childless layman. This line of the Zborowskis was to be continued by the youngest brother – Andrzej (died 1630). In 1618, he became the castellan of Oświęcim. He was also the starost of Ujście. He married the Silesian, Anna Trachówna of Brzezcie. They had five children – Adam, Hieronim, Dersław Marcin (Marcin Dersław, Marcjan), Leonora and Krystyna. All sons of the castellan of Oświęcim died childless. The last of them, Dersław Marcin, died around 1639. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz knows only the latter son of the castellan of Oświęcim and she mistook him for his paternal uncle, Marcin Dersław, thus stating that Jadwiga Padniewska was his wife (p. 47). As for the Oświęcim castellan's daughters, Leonora married in 1617 Marek Antoni Stadnicki, Szreniawa coat of arms (died 1639). She died childless before 1620. Her younger sister – Krystyna, married in 1639 Jan Aleksander Tarło (died 1681), the Lublin voivode's son, later voivode of Sandomierz. She also died childless around 1646.

Mikołaj Zborowski was the fifth son of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin, and Anna Konarska of Góra. Bartosz Paprocki noted that he died on April 28, at the age of 28³⁴. The heraldist did not give the exact date of Mikołaj Zborowski's death. The Authoress assumes that he was born 'probably in 1544' (p. 48). In my opinion, Zborowski was born in the second half of 1543 or in the first months of 1544. It is confirmed by Paprocki's statement. We know for certain that the fifth son of the castellan of Cracow died in early spring of 1572. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz refers to the source material from which it stems out that after the death of Zborowski, Sigismund II Augustus gave the tenure of Rauna (Ronneburg, Rumbork) of the late Mikołaj to Andrzej Sapieha. As the Zborowski family did not want to return the castle and the lands belonging to the tenure, Lithuanian senators intervened and wrote a letter to the Crown senators on the matter (p. 235)³⁵. Yet, for completely unknown reasons, in other parts of the book, the Authoress claims that Mikołaj Zborowski 'probably died during the Warsaw Diet in 1582' (p. 48) or that he died 'in the early eighties' (p. 234). Mikołaj Zborowski was the

³⁴ See B. Paprocki, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

³⁵ See *A letter of the Lithuanian senators to the Crown senators, Rudniki, September 25, 1572*, [in:] *Akty zjazdów stanów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, vol. I (*Okresy bezkrólewí*), elaboration H. Lulewicz, Warszawa 2006, pp. 31–32.

royal captain (rotmistrz). After his father's resignation, he was the starost of Szydłów³⁶. As it was mentioned above, he was also the starost of Rauna (Rumbork). He married Zofia née Tęczyńska (died after 1588), the daughter of Andrzej (died 1561), the castellan of Cracow, and Anna Ożarowska. It is worth noting, however, that she was by no means the paternal first cousin of Katarzyna Tęczyńska, the wife of Krzysztof 'the Thunder' Radziwiłł (p. 48)³⁷.

The starost of Szydłów and Rumbork had sons Krzysztof and Piotr as well as a daughter, Zofia (Elżbieta). For obvious reasons (their parents got married no sooner than in 1567 or 1568) all these children were born in the late sixties and early seventies of the 16th century. Krzysztof probably died childless at young age. It is very likely that he was already dead in 1593³⁸. The only daughter of Mikołaj Zborowski and Zofia Tęczyńska – Zofia (Elżbieta), married Hieronim Czyżowski, Topór coat of arms. They had sons Aleksander, Hieronim and Krzysztof. We know little about the second son of the starost of Szydłów and Rumbork – Piotr Zborowski. He was certainly still alive in 1597³⁹. It is impossible, however, to determine the approximate date of his death. According to Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, he married twice. His first wife was unknown by name Maciejowska. They had three children – Stanisław, Mikołaj and Marianna (Maryna). The latter became the wife of Stefan Świętopelk Bolestraszycki. Mikołaj died young before 1618. The third of Piotr Zborowski's sons from his first marriage – Stanisław, who, according to W. Dworzaczek, died after 1618 as a person of no importance from historical point of view (that opinion was also accepted by the Authoress), was, in fact, Stanisław Gabriel Zborowski of Rytwiany, the starost of Horodło in the years 1619–1639. In August 1634, Katarzyna Ostroróg née Buczacka ceded to him her rights to the Stulno lease in the land of Chełm. In December 1635, in turn, the voivode of Bełz, Rafał Leszczyński, ceded to him the town of

³⁶ On April 20, 1564, Sigismund II Augustus confirmed Mikołaj Zborowski's rights to the Szydłów tenure. See AGAD, MK 96, sheet 368.

³⁷ The father of Katarzyna Radziwiłł née Tęczyńska – Stanisław Tęczyński (died 1560), the Cracow voivode, was Zofia Zborowska née Tęczyńska's cousin (paternal uncle's son).

³⁸ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kościan, Inscriptions, 3693 (No. 273), 1593 (in the register in question, among other living representatives of the Zborowski family, Piotr, the son of late Mikołaj, the starost of Szydłów, is mentioned but there is no reference to Krzysztof).

³⁹ See ANK, CCI No. 161, pp. 631–633.

Korytnica with several adjacent villages⁴⁰. Before 1620, Stanisław Gabriel Zborowski married Helena Orzechowska, Rogala coat of arms. After her death he married Jadwiga of Tryłek. He died childless on October 9, 1639.

Elżbieta Humieniecka was the second wife of Piotr Zborowski⁴¹. They had two sons – Hieronim Gabriel and Piotr. The younger of them – Piotr, probably died after 1620 when Piotr Ciachowski's work dedicated to him appeared. We know more about Hieronim Gabriel. In 1623, Izabela née Hornostaj, Hipocentaur coat of arms, the daughter of Hieronim and Beata Lasota, Rawicz coat of arms, became his first wife. She was the widow of Jakub Cieszanowski and Zygmunt Stadnicki⁴². After her death, around 1628, Hieronim Gabriel Zborowski married Helena Brodecka. In 1643, he bought from Krystyna Tarło née Zborowska the Iwnica estate in the Kiev voivodship. He died after 1648⁴³. Hieronim Gabriel Zborowski and his first wife had son Jan who married Helena Taszycka, Strzemię coat of arms. He died childless in the eighties of the 17th century. Aleksander Zborowski was Hieronim Gabriel's son from his second marriage. Jan and Aleksander Zborowski were the last male descendants of Marcin, the castellan of Cracow, and Anna Konarska of Góra. It should be added here, however, that the younger brother – Aleksander Zborowski, married Teresa Kochanowska, Ślepowron coat of arms, with whom he had a daughter – Helena (died 1728). The latter, wife of the Cracow standard-bearer, Stanisław Łętowski, Ogończyk coat of arms (died 1735), was the last representative of the Zborowskis of Rytwiiany.

Famous Samuel Zborowski was the sixth son of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz thinks that he had to be born around 1550 (p. 49). In my opinion, it is impossible due to his mother's age. The Authoress assumed that Anna Konarska of Góra was born in 1499. Yet, she could not have children being more

⁴⁰ See AGAD, MK 181, sheets 28v–29v (here Katarzyna Ostroróg of Buczacz was mistakenly called Anna Ostroróg of Podhajec), 137v–138.

⁴¹ The Authoress describes Piotr Zborowski's second marriage but she calls him Mikołaj and his wife – Elżbieta Humiecka. According to her, the pair had sons Hieronim (Gabriel) and Gabriel Stanisław, the starost of Horodło in the years 1619–1639.

⁴² See W. Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem. Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, vol. II (*Wojny prywatne*), 5th ed., Kraków 1957, pp. 372–374, 380; W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, vol. II (*Tablice*), Warszawa 1959, table 133.

⁴³ See H. Litwin, *Napływ szlachty polskiej na Ukrainę 1569–1648*, Warszawa 2000, p. 180.

than 50 years old. Even if we assume that she was born in 1502 (which seems more likely), her last descendant could have been born in 1547 the latest. In my opinion, Samuel Zborowski was born in 1545. When he started his studies in Wittenberg in 1557 (p. 73), he could not be less than 12 years old. His wife was Zofia Jordan, the daughter of the castellan of Cracow, Spytek Wawrzyniec, and Anna née Sieniawska, the sister of Barbara, the wife of Samuel's elder brother – Andrzej. In 1574, Samuel Zborowski was banished for the murder of the castellan of Przemyśl, Stanisław Wapowski, and beheaded in Cracow on May 26, 1584. According to Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, Zborowski had sons: 'Samuel and Aleksander, and daughters: Anna and Zofia. Samuel Zborowski, the son of Samuel, died before 1574. His daughter Zofia probably died in childhood, too' (p. 49). It is not true that Samuel Zborowski Jr died before 1574. He was still alive in August 1597 when together with his brother and sisters he inherited landed estates after Spytek Wawrzyniec and Anna Jordan née Sieniawska⁴⁴. The younger daughter of Samuel Zborowski was called Elżbieta, not Zofia. In 1595, she married the Hungarian nobleman Sigismund Balassa de Gyarmath, the lord of Bystrica and Modrý Kameň. Together with her husband she was mentioned in an inheritance act of the Jordan family, too⁴⁵. The elder son of Samuel – Aleksander (died 1637), was the royal captain (rotmistrz). He received from Sigismund III the tenure of Międzyrzecz, which in 1617 he sold for 60,000 zlotys to his relative (he was a great-grandson of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin Zborowski), Jerzy Ostroróg Lwowski⁴⁶. Aleksander Zborowski married Magdalena Fredro, Bończa coat of arms, the daughter of Jan, the castellan of Przemyśl, and Anna née Stadnicki. They had daughters Anna and Konstancja as well as son Adam (died 1652) who joined the Jesuit order. The elder daughter of Aleksander – Anna Zborowska, married in 1634 Aleksander Koryciński, Topór coat of arms, later voivode of Rawa. They had son Stanisław and daughters: Teofila, Konstancja, Anna and Aleksandra. The younger daughter of Aleksander Zborowski – Konstancja, married in 1637 Rafał Grochowski, Junosza coat of arms, later castellan of Lwów. The Grochowskis had sons Stanisław, Aleksander and Jerzy as well as a daughter, Anna. The elder daughter of Samuel, the outlaw

⁴⁴ See ANK, CCI No. 161, p. 963.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Wschowa, part 2, 1559 (No. 31), 1617.

– Anna Zborowska, married Ludwik Mortęski (died 1615) who ended his senatorial career as the voivode of Chełmno. It should be also added that Ludwik and Anna Mortęska née Zborowska had two daughters – Zofia Magdalena and Anna. Their mother, Anna of Zborów, died before 1602⁴⁷.

Krzysztof Zborowski was the seventh and the youngest son of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin, and Anna Konarska of Góra. For obvious reasons he could not have been born either in 1550 or later (p. 50). In my opinion, he was born in 1547. In 1574, he became the crown cup-bearer. Yet, already in 1576 the post was occupied by Andrzej Zebrzydowski. In 1585, Krzysztof Zborowski was sentenced to infamy while his goods and lands were confiscated. From that time until his death he was serving Emperor Rudolf II. He married some rich widow of a Moravian nobleman (perhaps, as the Authoress supposes, he came from the family of Cavagni *vel* Cavan de Burgeri). Krzysztof Zborowski died childless in 1593.

Zofia Zborowska was the eldest daughter and the eldest child of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin, and Anna Konarska of Góra. She was probably born in 1521. Already in 1537, she was the wife of Wojciech Ostroróg Lwowski⁴⁸, later castellan of Santok, who died in 1557. They had sons: Krzysztof who died around 1572; Marcin (died 1590/1591), the castellan of Kamień; and Piotr who probably died before 1570. The daughters of Wojciech and Zofia were: Barbara (died after 1604) who on April 17, 1580, in Lwówek, married Jan Opaliński, the castellan of Rogoźno; and Anna, mentioned in 1570, who became a nun. The grandson of Zofia née Zborowska – Jerzy Ostroróg Lwowski (Marcin's son) was the last male descendant of this branch of the Ostroróg family of Lwówek. He died childless in 1623 as the starost of Międzyrzecz. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz states that Zofia Ostroróg Lwowska née Zborowska died after 1563 (p. 53). This information is inaccurate as we know for sure that she was still alive in 1572⁴⁹. Anna Zborowska was the second daughter of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin, and Anna Konarska of Góra. Unfortunately, almost all information given by the Authoress on her needs to be corrected. Anna's

⁴⁷ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Nakło, part 1, 324 (No. 165 Inscr.), 1602.

⁴⁸ In 1537, Wojciech secured his wife Zofia's dowry of 3000 zlotys on the half of the estates he was to inherit after his parents. See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Resignations, 16th century, 261 (No. 1394), 1537.

⁴⁹ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Konin, 3930 (No.16 and Rel. Kon. 16), 1572.

first husband was not Sigismund but Jan (Johann) Kurzbach, the baron on Milicz. They had son Sigismund (1547–1579) and possibly daughter Anna. Anna Kurzbach née Zborowska widowed on May 18, 1549⁵⁰ and in 1554 married Jan Borek Gostyński, Gryzima coat of arms⁵¹. His father, however, was not Mikołaj but Jan who was quite a significant figure on the political scene of Greater Poland⁵². It should be added that Anna Zborowska's second husband had brothers Mikołaj and Krzysztof as well as a sister, Anna, who was the wife of Jan Opaliński, the castellan of Santok, and the mother of Jan, the castellan of Rogoźno, the husband of the aforementioned Barbara Lwowska née Ostroróg. Anna née Zborowska widowed once again around 1558. She and her second husband had sons Marcin and Jan Borek Gostyński as well as a daughter, Zofia, who before 1578 married Jan Herburt of Fulsztyn. Anna Borek Gostyńska née Zborowska was still alive in 1588⁵³. It should be also added that the information given by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz that 'Sigismund Kurzbach father died on December 31, 1579' (p. 55) could suggest that it is the date of the death of Anna née Zborowska's first husband. Yet, it is a date when her only son from the marriage with Jan (Johann) Kurzbach died (he died in an explosion of gunpowder).

The third daughter of Marcin Zborowski and Anna Konarska of Góra was Katarzyna who around 1546 married Hieronim Ossoliński, Topór coat of arms (died 1575/1576), later castellan of Sandomierz. They had seven sons – Marcin (died 1580), Zbigniew (died 1623), the voivode of Sandomierz, Jan (died ca. 1576), Hieronim (died 1580/1582), Andrzej (died 1616) as well as Piotr and Mikołaj who both died in 1598. The only daughter of Hieronim and Katarzyna – Zofia, married the castellan of Przemyśl, Stanisław Drohojowski (died 1583). The fourth daughter of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin Zborowski – Barbara, married in 1546 Stanisław Mateusz Stadnicki

⁵⁰ See Z. Anusik, *Kim była hrabianka Dorota von Helfenstein? Przyczynek do genealogii rodzin Kurzbachów i Helfensteinów w XV wieku*, 'Przegląd Nauk Historycznych' 2017, vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 229.

⁵¹ That year Jan Borek Gostyński secured his wife Anna's dowry of 3000 zlotys on the half of his estates. See BK PAN, TD, Poznań, Resignations, 16th century, 7782 (No. 1396), 1554.

⁵² It should be noted that on p. 99 the Authoress rightly states that: 'Jan Gostyński, Anna's husband, was probably the son of Jan, that parliamentarian of the twenties of the 16th century'.

⁵³ See BK PAN, TD, Poznań, Inscriptions, 16th century, part 2, 7514 (No. 894), 1558; 8865 (No. 931), 1578; 5122 (No. 949), 1588.

(died 1563). They had six sons and three (the Authoress states that two) daughters. The sons of Barbara Stadnicka née Zborowska were: Stanisław (died 1610), called 'the Devil of Łańcut'; Marcin (died 1628), the castellan of Sanok; Mikołaj (died 1580), Jan (died 1620), Samuel (who probably died in 1592) and Andrzej Piotr (died 1608). According to Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, Stanisław Mateusz Stadnicki and Barbara Zborowska had daughters Katarzyna, the wife of Krzysztof Włodek of Piekary, and Elżbieta, the wife of the judge of Sanok, Wojciech Humnicki. It should be added here that the third daughter of Stanisław Mateusz and Barbara née Zborowska was Anna Stadnicka, the wife of Andrzej Grudziński⁵⁴. Information that Marianna Stadnicka, the daughter of the castellan of Sanok, Marcin, became the wife of the voivode of Cracow, Mikołaj Zebrzydowski (pp. 57, 778) should be corrected as well. In fact, Marianna married the grandson of the leader of the Sandomierz rebellion (died 1620), Michał (died 1667), who at the end of his life became the voivode of Cracow.

The fifth daughter of Marcin Zborowski and Anna Konarska of Góra was Elżbieta (Halszka). Before 1559, she married Jan Amor Tarnowski, Leliwa coat of arms (died 1571/1574). They had sons Marcin (died 1595/1596) and Jan Gratus (died 1626), the castellan of Żarnów, as well as a daughter, Katarzyna, mentioned in 1576. Perhaps Zofia, the wife of an unknown Michowski, was the daughter of Jan Amor Tarnowski and Halszka Zborowska, too. In September 1574, Elżbieta Zborowska married (against the will of almost all her brothers, Samuel, the outlaw, excluded) Andrzej Dudycz, the ex-bishop of Pécs. They had sons: Maksymilian, Aleksander, Daniel and Hieronim, as well as daughters: Regina and Magdalena (the Authoress does not give her name). Regina Dudycz married the outstanding Arian activist, Hieronim Moskorzewski. Her sister – Magdalena, married, probably in 1593, Jan Policki⁵⁵. Andrzej Dudycz died on February 24, 1589, while Elżbieta née Zborowska died in 1601. When it comes to the descendants of Elżbieta of Zborów, two Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz's statements should be corrected. The wife of Elżbieta's eldest son – Marcin Tarnowski, was not Elżbieta Szalówna (p. 58) but Elżbieta Szalowska. The grandson

⁵⁴ Already in 1578, Anna Stadnicka was the widow of Andrzej Grudziński. She was still alive in 1595. See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Inscriptions, 16th century, part 2, 8656 (No. 931), 1578; GiZ, Nakło, 2567 (No. 162), 1595.

⁵⁵ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Wschowa, part 1, 797 (No. 12), 1593.

of Halszka née Zborowska (the son of Jan Gratus) – Jan Rafał Tarnowski, was the starost of Żarnowiec, not of Żarnów, as the Authoress stated.

Krystyna Zborowska was the sixth and the youngest daughter of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin, and Anna née Konarska. Around 1562 she married Jan Chodkiewicz (died 1579), later starost of Żmudź (Samogitia), the land marshal, the castellan of Wilno and the administrator of Livonia. They had children: Hieronim (died 1576); Aleksander (died 1626), the voivode of Troki; Jan Karol (1570/1571–1621), the voivode of Wilno and the Grand Hetman of Lithuania; Zofia (died 1596), the wife of Krzysztof Dorohostajski (died 1615), the Grand Marshal of Lithuania; Anna, the wife of Prince Joachim Korecki (died 1613); Elżbieta, first married to Prince Jan Żyliński and then to the castellan of Nowogródek, Samuel Wołłowicz; and finally the youngest – Aleksandra, who married Prince Adam Wiśniowiecki (died 1621). There are a few substantive mistakes in this part of the book. The candidate for the hand of Krystyna Zborowska, Jakob Basilikos Heraklides, was not a Walachian hospodar (p. 59), but the Moldovan. The voivode of Troki, Aleksander Chodkiewicz, had his children with his first wife – Eufemia née Sienieńska, not with Katarzyna née Korniakt (pp. 61, 731, 733) who died childless. Prokop Sieniawski (died 1627), the husband of the only daughter of Aleksander Chodkiewicz – Anna Eufrozyna, was the grand crown standard-bearer, not the court standard-bearer (p. 61). Krystyna Zborowska's husband – Jan Chodkiewicz, was never the Grand Hetman of Lithuania (p. 62). It is not also true that 'the landed estates of Lithuanian grandsons of Marcin Zborowski were taken over by the Sieniawskis, Sapiehas, Dorohostajskis, Koreckis, Wiśniowieckis and Wołłowicz's' (p. 62). All landed estates of the voivode of Troki, Aleksander Chodkiewicz, were inherited by the Sieniawskis. All landed estates of his brother, the voivode of Wilno, Jan Karol (with Bychów Lachowicze and Kretynga), in turn, were taken over by the Sapiehas. There is no reference to the children of Joachim Korecki and Anna née Chodkiewicz in this part of the book which is its evident drawback. It is worth recalling here that their sons, therefore the grandsons of Krystyna Chodkiewicz née Zborowska, were famous princes Samuel and Karol (Jan Karol) Korecki. The first of them, a well-known borderland commander, was taken prisoner after the battle of Cecora and murdered by the Turks in Istanbul in 1622. The second brother, known for his

devotion to Sigismund III, was popular among the Cossacks and in 1623 sat in the Senate as a castellan of Wołyń. He died in 1633. He married Anna Potocka, Pilawa coat of arms, and was the father of the last male descendant of the princes of Korzec – Samuel Karol (1621–1651).

I have many reservations to the fragment of the book that describes economic situation of the Zborowskis. Although the Authoress presents only an outline of the problem, it does not justify all the mistakes that may be found there. It is not true that the dowries of the daughters of the castellan of Cracow consisted of 8000 zlotys each as well as of immovable goods (p. 65). Zofia, Anna and Barbara Zborowski certainly received 3000 zlotys of dowry each. Perhaps Elżbieta (Halszka) received a bit more (4000 zlotys) and that sum, doubly secured (the dowry and the bride price) on her husband's estates, made W. Dworzaczek erroneously claim that Jan Amor Tarnowski received 8000 zlotys as his wife's dowry. It is also impossible that Marcin Zborowski gave his daughters some estates. Although Zdzisław Pietrzyk, the author of the biography of Stanisław Mateusz Stadnicki in *The Polish Biographical Dictionary* [Polski słownik biograficzny] states that Stadnicki received from his father-in-law not only Barbara Zborowska's hand but also several villages in the Cracow voivodship, it still seems doubtful to me. I will not discuss all villages mentioned by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz as hereditary estates of the Zborowski family. I will deal with the Zborowskis' larger complexes only. The Authoress states that 'Samuel Zborowski inherited Złoczów and Mikulińce' (p. 66). She also claims that 'in the Zborowskis' hands that property (namely Złoczów – Z.A.), acquired from the Sieniawskis, remained probably until the eighties/nineties when they shortly belonged to the Górkas. In 1592, it was bought by Marek Sobieski. The Zborowskis' descendants lost Złoczów while Mikulińce remained in Aleksander Zborowski's, the son of Samuel, hands throughout his whole life' (p. 67). In another place we can read that 'Mikulińce in the Tarnopol land firstly belonged to the Jordans, then to the Zborowskis. The Zborowski family probably received it together with the hand of Barbara or Zofia née Jordan. The first was the wife of Andrzej Zborowski, the second – of Samuel. It is very likely that Zofia Zborowska née Jordan, the wife of Samuel, received it from her father' (p. 68). I do not know how to interpret this last statement when we will take into account the previously provided

information that Marcin Zborowski, the protoplast of the family, was in possession of the castle in Mikulińce (p. 66).

In reality, an extensive but poorly developed Złoczów belonged to the Górkas. In 1562, Łukasz Górka, the then voivode of Łęczyca, borrowed from Marcin Zborowski, the then voivode of Poznań, 70,000 zlotys and pledged Złoczów and its surroundings on that sum⁵⁶. Thus, the Zborowskis were the pledgees of the property of Złoczów but in formal and legal terms it still belonged to the Górkas. It must be admitted that the Zborowskis made a number of investments in Złoczów at that time. They invited new settlers and founded new villages and towns there, too. Yet, in 1592, the last of the Górkas – Stanisław, the voivode of Poznań, died and his nephews – the Czarnkowski brothers, inherited all his landed estates. In 1597, the royal courtier, Stanisław Czarnkowski, resigned from his rights to the Złoczów demesne on the benefit of his brother, Piotr, provided that the latter would rebuy these estates from the descendants of Samuel Zborowski⁵⁷. In 1598, Andrzej Czarnkowski, the castellan of Rogoźno, and Piotr Czarnkowski, the Poznań chamberlain, bought Złoczów from Aleksander and Samuel Zborowski and immediately ceded it to the voivode of Lublin, Marek Sobieski. It is worth noting that the Złoczów estates included at that time the town and castle of Złoczów, the newly founded towns of Zborów, Andropol and Rytwiany as well as 69 villages⁵⁸. Mikulińce, in turn, belonged to the Sieniawskis. After Anna Sieniawska's marriage with Spytek Wawrzyniec, the castellan of Cracow, it passed to the Jordans. Anna Jordan remained the owner of Mikulińce until her death in the summer of 1597. Thus, Samuel Zborowski and his wife Zofia née Jordan were only users of the property. It was not until August 8, 1597, when the Mikulińce demesne was inherited by the children of Samuel, the outlaw. At that time, it included the town and castle of Mikulińce as well as the villages of Ładyczyn, Łuczka, Skomorochy and Kozówka. The town of Zawałów over Gniła Lipa (Hnyla Lypa) and the villages of Zastawce, Sierednie and Zaturzyn were also its part. It is also worth mentioning that the heirs of

⁵⁶ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Inscriptions, 16th century, part 2, 1639 (No. 904), 1562.

⁵⁷ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Resignations, 16th century, 14984 (No. 1402), 1597.

⁵⁸ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Resignations, 16th century, 15259 (No. 1402), 1598.

Zofia Zborowska née Jordan also inherited the villages of Mogilany, Głogoczków, Włoson and Zawada in the Cracow voivodship as well as the town of Dukla with five adjacent villages. These estates, however, were pledged and thus used by the heirs of Oktawian Guczy, from whom the Zborowski family had to buy them⁵⁹.

Another land complex was composed of the village of Pleszów and parts of the villages of Kowala, Zębocin, Żerków, Grębocin and Mniszów in the Cracow voivodship. Those estates, formerly belonging to Szydłowieckis, were bought by the castellan of Cracow, Marcin Zborowski, from Karol Krzysztof, Duke of Münsterberg. Yet, six years after the death of the castellan of Cracow, his grandson Piotr, the son of Marcin, the castellan of Krzywiń, sold that property⁶⁰. It should be underlined, though, that young Zborowski sold those estates for 10,000 zlotys not to Marcin Liczka (p. 68) but to the provost of Tarnów, Marcin Łyczko of Ryglice, Sulima coat of arms. The Authoress also mentions the Korzkiew demesne in the Cracow voivodship. Those landed estates, consisting of the castle (not a city, as on p. 68) of Korzkiew and the villages of Grębienice, Biały Kościół, Maszyce, Januszowice and half of Pękowice, were bought in 1545 by Piotr Zborowski, later castellan of Sandomierz. After his childless death, Korzkiew passed to his brother Marcin, later castellan of Cracow. Then, the Korzkiew demesne belonged to one of the sons of Marcin – Mikołaj, the starost of Szydłów and Rumbork. In 1568, the latter, in turn, borrowed from Szymon Ługowski, the provost of Przemyśl, the sum of 8500 zlotys and thus pledged Korzkiew with its surroundings⁶¹. As a result, already in July 1572, Piotr, Jan, Andrzej, Samuel and Krzysztof Zborowski, the guardians of Krzysztof and Piotr, the juvenile sons of the late Mikołaj, were forced to sell those estates to Ługowski for 18,000 zlotys⁶². From the reviewed book we may also learn that the following estates belonged to the Zborowski family: in the

⁵⁹ See ANK, CCI No. 161, pp. 967–968. It should be added here that the Mogilany estate was given to Anna Mortęska née Zborowska. Only after her death in 1602, Ludwik Mortęski, on behalf of the underage daughters, sold it to Aleksander Zborowski.

⁶⁰ The transaction was registered in the castle books of Nowe Miasto Korczyn as early as August 1571. On March 15, 1574, it was confirmed and registered in the Crown Metrica in Cracow. See AGAD, MK 111, sheets 126–132.

⁶¹ See AGAD, MK 101, sheets 197–200v.

⁶² The sale of Korzkiew on July 7, 1572, was confirmed in Cracow on March 29, 1574. See AGAD, MK 111, sheets 161–168. The Authoress is wrong when stating (p. 68) that Szymon Ługowski bought the Korzkiew estates as late as July 7, 1582.

Sandomierz voivodship a part of the village of Czyżów, the villages of Nazów, Kików, Zborów and a part of the village 'Boleyów'; in the Cracow voivodship the villages of Bolów⁶³, Marchocice, a half of Kloniów, Śledziejowice⁶⁴, Bogucice, Brzegi and Czarnochowice⁶⁵; in the Ruthenian voivodship, in turn, the demesnes of Zabłotów and Okno⁶⁶, Dębowiec and Cieszybiesy (pp. 65–69). Unfortunately, it depicts rather poorly the extent of the land properties of the family that Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz recognises as the most powerful in the Crown in the second half of the 16th century.

Thus, some additional information on the problem should be given here. First of all, it should be mentioned that from the end of the 14th century until the end of the 16th century the Zborowski family owned the Zborów demesne in the Wiślica county. It consisted of an old family nest – the village of Zborów with the castle as well as the villages of Janów, Solec, Żuków, Mały Piasek, Gadawa, Sukowice, Włosnowice, Kijków, Lubusz, Lubuska Wola *vel* Brzozówka, Bierzychowice, Bossowice and Śreniawa *vel* Wólka. Shortly before 1598, the seriously indebted castellan of Biecz, Andrzej Zborowski, sold those estates to the castellan of Sandomierz, Stanisław Tarnowski⁶⁷. From 1549, the Zborowskis also owned the Zalidów estate in the Sandomierz voivodship that was bought in January, during the Piotrków Trybunalski Diet, by Marcin Zborowski, the

⁶³ On p. 296 it is written that on May 1, 1574, Krzysztof Zborowski resigned from his rights to the villages of Bolów, Bolowice and Nadzów of the Przemyśl land (!) that were pledged for 8000 zlotys. Moreover, in the document quoted by the Authoress it is written that the aforementioned villages lied in the Proszowice county. It is also stated here that those estates were given to Erazm Czeczotka for two years. See AGAD, MK 113, sheets 96v–100v. Later, Bolów and Nadzów belonged to Prospero Provana.

⁶⁴ On May 1, 1574, Samuel Zborowski burdened that village with a debt of 4400 florins that was taken out from Prospero Provana. See AGAD, MK 113, sheets 92–96.

⁶⁵ On July 5, 1588, King Sigismund III gave the villages of Brzegi and Czarnochowice, earlier confiscated to Krzysztof Zborowski, to Krzysztof Jordan. See AGAD, MK 135, sheets 132–132v.

⁶⁶ It should be added here that Zabłotów and Okno were royal lands. The city of Zabłotów and the villages of Zadubrowie, Ciołkowce, Okno and Tarnawa were leased out. On January 20, 1588, in Cracow, Sigismund III gave Zabłotów and its surroundings to Mikołaj Oleśnicki, Dębno coat of arms, later voivode of Lublin. Those landed estates were returned to the king after the death of Piotr Zborowski (the probable son of Mikołaj, the castellan of Krzywiń). See AGAD, MK 134, sheets 49–50.

⁶⁷ See W. Dworzaczek, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 420, 423.

then castellan of Kalisz, from the voivode of Ruthenia, Piotr Firlej. The transaction included the villages of Ujazd, Ujazddek, Boduszów, Mydlów, Grzybów, Gryzikamień, Wygiełzów, Łopatno, Łopacienko, Dziewiątle, Zwola, Wieprzka and the town of Zalidów (its location was not carried out)⁶⁸. Unfortunately, we do not know how long those estates belonged to the Zborowskis. In the 17th century they already belonged to the Ligeża family. It is worth noting, however, that in January 1616 the grandson of Marcin Zborowski – Zbigniew Ossoliński, the voivode of Sandomierz, bought those landed estates from the Sandomierz Lord High Steward, Sebastian Ligeża. The town of Oleśnica was the property of the Zborowskis, too, being the centre of their next demesne in the Sandomierz voivodship. The Oleśnica estates were, however, pledged to Krzysztof Lanckoroński and never returned to the descendants of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin⁶⁹. We also know a bit more about Cieszybiesy thanks to the document according to which in April 1574 the property was donated by Andrzej and Krzysztof Zborowski to Melchior Paniowski (in fact, it was probably repurchased by the latter). The estate, located in the Halicz county, consisted at that time of the town of Cieszybiesy and the villages of Staresioło, Hanuszowce, Pobereże, Jastrzębiec, Sielce, Kijowce and Bohorodczany⁷⁰. The property had to have been returned to the Zborowskis because the town of Cieszybiesy with adjacent lands were confiscated to Krzysztof Zborowski ‘for the crimes of the lese-majesty and the betrayal of the country’ and given by King Sigismund III to Jakub Potocki, Pilawa coat of arms, later voivode of Braclaw, as a hereditament⁷¹. Let us also add that the Potockis changed the name of the newly acquired town to Jezupol.

It is obvious that the Zborowski family possessed significant estates in Greater Poland, too. Without going into details, we should notice that Mikołaj Zborowski, the castellan of Krzywiń, and his sons were the heirs at Kobierno. At the time of its sale in

⁶⁸ See AGAD, MK 76, sheet 255; J. Pielas, *Oleśnicy herbu Dębno w XVI–XVII wieku. Studium z dziejów zamożnej szlachty doby nowożytnej*, Kielce 2007, p. 124; P. Jusiak, *Majątki rodziny Firlejów z Dąbrowicy w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, Lublin 2011, p. 124.

⁶⁹ See AGAD, MK 135, sheets 173–174.

⁷⁰ See AGAD, MK 113, sheets 36–38. It should be added that Paniowski also received the village of Marchocice as well as half of Kloniów in the Cracow voivodship.

⁷¹ See AGAD, MK 135, sheets 18v–21v.

1579 these estates included villages of: Kobierno, Dąbrowa, Tomice Wielkie, Bijatki, Duszyna *vel* Zborówka as well as empty villages of: Tomice Małe, Brzoza, Zagorzupie, Sarzowy, Duszna Górka and Świnkowa⁷². Mikołaj's wife, Urszula née Rozdrażewska, was the owner of a part of the town of Września and the villages of Zawodzie, Chocica, Zasułtowo as well as a part of Psary. In 1557, she sold these estates to the Cracow bishop, Andrzej Zebrzydowski⁷³. The villages of Dzielcze, Wrożewy and half of Bodzienna belonged to Urszula Zborowska of Rozdrażewo, too⁷⁴. Jan Zborowski, the castellan of Gniezno, in turn, was the owner of a part of the town of Iwanowice, the suburb Niemiecka Wieś and the village of Korzekwino. In 1570, however, he sold that property for 10,000 zlotys to Dobrogost Potworowski, the land judge of Kalisz⁷⁵. Jan Zborowski was registered as the owner of the village of Gostyczyna the same year⁷⁶. Zborowski was also a lessee of the villages of Grodzisko, Rokutów, Jankowo and Sierzchowo in the Kalisz county that were owned by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów. In 1566, he (with his brothers' consent) made an exchange of estates with the Fratres. He gave them the hereditary village of Głuchów in the Proszowice county (paying in addition 8000 zlotys) and, in return, received full rights to all the villages in the Kalisz county that had been earlier leased by him from the Order in Miechów⁷⁷. Still, the most important investment of Jan Zborowski was the acquisition of the Pleszew estates that were bought by him after his marriage with Princess Elżbieta Prońska. The sales transaction gives us some idea of the extent of those estates. In 1638, the grandson of Jan Zborowski, Jan Piotr Opaliński, the Lord High Steward of the Crown, sold the Pleszew estate to Aleksander Zaleski of Otok. At that time the estates in question consisted of the town of Pleszew and the villages of Wola Pleszewska, Baranów, Baranówko, Piekarczów, Zawidowice and Małynie. They also included the villages of Grodzisko and Rokutów that had been previously bought by the castellan of Gniezno from the Fratres of Miechów⁷⁸. Finally, it should be added

⁷² See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kalisz, Resignations, 16th century, 723 (No. 5), 1579.

⁷³ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Poznań, Resignations, 16th century, 8367 (No. 1396), 1557.

⁷⁴ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kalisz, Inscriptions, 16th century, 2177 (No. 23), 1558.

⁷⁵ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kalisz, Resignations, 16th century, 4583 (No. 3), 1570.

⁷⁶ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kalisz, Inscriptions, 16th century, 4002 (No. 36), 1570.

⁷⁷ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Kalisz, Resignations, 16th century, 413 (No. 2), 1566.

⁷⁸ See BK PAN, TD, Zap. Tryb. Piotrk., 579 (No. 29), 1638.

that the third wife of Jan – Katarzyna née Konarska, owned half of the city of Zduny as well as the villages of Baszków, Bestwin, Ruda and Dzierżanowo in the Pyzdry county⁷⁹.

One should not also forget that the Zborowskis' latifundium was enlarged in the second half of the 16th century by the landed estates of the wives of the sons of Marcin, the castellan of Cracow. I mentioned earlier the estates that were inherited by the wives of Marcin, the castellan of Krzywiń, Jan, the castellan of Gniezno, and Samuel, the outlaw. It is worth recalling here that Piotr Zborowski, the voivode of Cracow, took over half of the inheritance of his father-in-law, the castellan of Wojnicz, Mikołaj Myszkowski, on behalf of his wife. We know for certain that Piotr and Barbara Zborowski were the owners of half of the Spytkowice estates in the Oświęcim and Zator counties. Andrzej Zborowski's wife, Barbara née Jordan, owned even greater estates. In 1597, she inherited after her parents such land estates as half of the Melsztyn demesne (the other half was given to her sister Magdalena, the widow of the castellan of Sandomierz, Stanisław Sobek of Sulejów)⁸⁰. In 1629, the only living son of Barbara Zborowska née Jordan – Andrzej, the castellan of Oświęcim, owned half of the castle in Melsztyn, half of the town of Zakliczyn and 18 villages as well as parts of three villages⁸¹. We should not also forget that already in the period when the rank of the family was lower, the same Andrzej Zborowski, for obvious reasons using the title of the 'Earl on Melsztyn', bought in the years 1624–1625 considerable estates in the Kiev voivodship. It was the Trypol estate with the town of Trypol and the town of Iwnica as well as the villages of Hrabolew, Kleszczówka, Siażatka and Stare Sióło. It is worth adding that although in 1633 Trypol was sold to Maksymilian Brzozowski, Iwnica was kept by the Zborowski family until the outbreak of the Chmielnicki (Khmielnicky) Uprising⁸². Finally, Marcin Zborowski also tried to acquire the Rytwiany landed estate from Hieronim Łaski. Yet, to buy the 'Zborowskis' family nest', he borrowed money from Andrzej Tęczyński (died 1561), later castellan of Cracow, to whom he pledged Rytwiany with

⁷⁹ See BK PAN, TD, GiZ, Wschowa, part 2, 533 (No. 205), 1614.

⁸⁰ See ANK, CCI No. 161, pp. 966–967.

⁸¹ See *Rejestr poborowy województwa krakowskiego z roku 1629*, elaboration W. Domin, J. Kolasa, E. Trzyna, S. Żyga, ed. S. Ingot, Wrocław 1956, pp. 210, 212, 217–220, 224, 232, 249, 266–267, 275–276.

⁸² See H. Litwin, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

surroundings. The Tęczyńskis did not want to be repaid and kept the Rytwiany demesne in their hands until the end of their family in 1637. Marcin Zborowski's attempt to acquire the Pilica demesne failed, too. The town of Pilica with the surrounding villages were bought by the bishop of Cracow, Filip Padniewski, for his brother Wojciech, later castellan of Oświęcim.

As we can see, the castellan of Cracow, Marcin Zborowski, earned a huge fortune and laid foundations for the greatness of his family. Yet, the necessity to divide Marcin's inheritance between his sons and grandchildren (the sons of Marcin) significantly weakened economic position of the family. Maintaining current position of the family required royal grace and exploitation of royal lands. This, in the long run, was lacking. Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz presented the participation of representatives of the Zborowski family in the political life of the Polish state (from 1569, of the Polish-Lithuanian state) in the 16th century in a very detailed way. We cannot disagree with her view of the discussed issues. Thus, it is worth highlighting some of the Authoress's conclusions here. It is obvious that the protection of Marcin and Piotr's uncles, Krzysztof and Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, hugely influenced the beginnings of the Zborowskis' career. After the death of both Szydłowieckis, the Zborowskis were involved in the reformist movement of the middle-class nobility as they saw it a way to their future careers. Especially Marcin Zborowski turned out to be a clever political player who, navigating between the nobility and the monarch, managed to accumulate huge fortune and reached for the highest office in the hierarchy of secular senators, the castellan of Cracow. His position in the state was so strong that he could hand over to his sons all the royal tenures he possessed. It is particularly worth emphasizing that after the death of Marcin, his sons, led by Piotr, the voivode of Sandomierz and later voivode of Cracow, were able to make two candidates supported by them being elected to the Polish throne. Still, both elections involved huge financial resources and led to considerable indebtedness of the Zborowskis' wealth. Yet, Henry of France (de Valois) was too short a king for the Zborowski family to receive at least a partial reimbursement of the election costs. The election of Stephen Báthory was even a bitterer disappointment for the brothers. The new ruler did not feel obliged to them and made Jan Zamoyski his main advisor and collaborator. The conflict with the king and his favourite led the Zborowski family to a real political

disaster (decapitation of Samuel, infamy of Krzysztof). However, it was the failure of their candidate for the crown, Archduke Maximilian, during the third interregnum that put an ultimate end to their political hopes. The political collapse coincided with the progressing impoverishment of the family. The indebted sons and grandsons of Marcin Zborowski were selling off inherited properties. Only Jan, the castellan of Gniezno, and his nephews – the sons of Andrzej and Samuel, thanks to their mothers' inheritance after the castellan of Cracow, Spytek Wawrzyniec Jordan, were still the representatives of the wealthy nobility.

Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz responded to the question who the Zborowski's were: statesmen, adventurers or traitors, as follows: 'Definitely they were not statesmen. They were active in the public and military fields primarily because of their personal careers or the desire to strengthen the position of the entire family. They supported political programmes of the rulers when it was beneficial to them. The castellan of Cracow, Marcin, and his three sons: Andrzej, Krzysztof and Samuel, were adventurers. Their excesses, attacks on the road, murders, actions under the influence of emotions excluded them from the group of people regarded to be serious politicians. Marcin evolved thanks to his cooperation with the king which he started from the end of the fifties. He began, though not selflessly, to participate in public life with a positive effect on the state. A similar positive public activity may be seen in Piotr's personal career during his diplomatic mission to Turkey and the first interregnum. The military activity of Jan Zborowski may be assessed very positively. Still, he cannot be called a statesman. Perhaps because of the lack of proper abilities. The black legend of the family, however, was built primarily by Krzysztof and Samuel. There is no doubt that both of them acted against the interests of the Polish-Lithuanian state. The first was intriguing at the imperial court against Stephen Báthory, the crowned king recognised by all citizens. The second was provoking, for personal reasons, a war with Turkey which was to bring benefits to the Empire, not the Republic of Poland' (pp. 698–699). We must totally agree with the above-mentioned conclusions.

Finally, we should refer to other mistakes and inaccuracies of the reviewed work. Most of them may result from too fast, and therefore inaccurate, editing and correction. Nevertheless, both the publisher and the Authoress herself should be blamed for all

of them. Let's start with family relationships. Zofia Zborowska née Tęczyńska was by no means the sister of Katarzyna Radziwiłł née Tęczyńska (p. 69). She was her distant relative. The mother of Hieronim Szafraniec, the second husband of Zofia Zborowska, was Zuzanna Buczacka, not Anna of Chodecz (pp. 89–90, 765). The Szydłowieckis who were the guardians of Marcin and Piotr Zborowski were not their brothers-in-law (p. 91) but uncles. Piotr Kmita was not a kinsman of Jan Tarnowski (p. 119) but his close relative (he was his nephew as the son of a much older half-sister of the hetman). Similarly, Dymitr Sanguszko, who according to the Authoress was the kinsman of Prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (p. 159), was, in fact, his relative (his grandmother, Princess Maria Ostrogska, was the sister of Konstanty, the father of Konstanty Wasyl). Stanisław Sobek of Sulejów and Marcin Zborowski were also relatives (Sobek was the grandson of Anna Szydłowiecka, the sister of Elżbieta, the mother of Zborowski). A similar remark should be made to the Górkas. The last representatives of this family – Łukasz, Andrzej and Stanisław, were not kinsmen of the Zborowskis (pp. 361, 536, 694) but their relatives (the Górka's grandmother – Zofia née Zborowska, was the sister of Marcin, the castellan of Cracow, and Piotr, the castellan of Sandomierz). Zbigniew Ossoliński was by no means Krzysztof Zborowski's brother-in-law (p. 535) but his nephew. The same applies to the brothers of Zbigniew Ossoliński and the Stadnickis, the sons of Stanisław Mateusz (p. 694). It is also obvious that Andrzej and Krzysztof Zborowski were not cousins (p. 673) but uncles to Stanisław Stadnicki called the Łańcut Devil. The same was their relation to Marcin Borek Gostyński who according to the Authress (p. 673) was the Zborowskis' kinsman. Another nephew of the Zborowski brothers – the son of the castellan of Santok, Wojciech Ostroróg Lwowski, was Marcin, not Jan (p. 361). To make matters more confusing, on p. 645 it is stated that Marcin Ostroróg Lwowski was the uncle of the Zborowski brothers.

It should be also noted that the Bishop of Kujawy (Włocławek), Hieronim Rozdrażewski, was not connected to the Zborowski family through the marriage of Marcin, the castellan of Krzywiń, with Urszula Rozdrażewska (p. 536). It is also an exaggeration to call him a close kinsman of the Zborowskis (p. 657). He and the wife of the castellan of Krzywiń were distant relatives (their grandparents were brothers). At this point the question arises whether all

representatives of the families of the Zborowskis' wives and daughters may be considered their kinsmen. For example, it seems unjustified to call Stanisław Szafraniec the Zborowskis' 'kinsman' (pp. 361, 540) as he was Hieronim's, the second husband of Zofia Zborowska, paternal first cousin once removed. Exactly the same objection can be applied to Spytek Wawrzyniec Jordan (pp. 394, 428, 489) the first cousin once removed of the Cracow castellan, Spytek Wawrzyniec, whose daughters were the waives of Andrzej and Samuel⁸³. It is also worth reminding that the sons of Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł were not the first cousins of the sons of Mikołaj the Red' Radziwiłł (p. 487). The same remark applies to Mikołaj 'the Orphan' (the son of 'the Black') and Krzysztof 'the Thunder' Radziwiłł (the son of 'the Red') (p. 641). Two substantive errors are included in the statement that Stanisław Maciejowski, the voivode of Lublin, voiced the speech to King Henry on behalf of his sister, Katarzyna Maciejowska, the widow of Andrzej Wapowski (p. 290). In fact, Mikołaj Maciejowski, who was not Katarzyna's brother, was the voivode of Lublin at that time. Yet, on p. 292, when informing about his death in March 1574, the Authoress calls him correctly Mikołaj and defines as the cousin of Wapowski's wife (Mikołaj was the first cousins of Katarzyna's father, Stanisław, the castellan of Sandomierz). Finally, the first wife of Hieronim Szafraniec, the starost of Chęciny – Regina, was not called 'of the Lithuanian princes' (p. 157) as such a name was reserved for her elder brother Jan who was legitimised by Pope Julius II. She used her mother's name – Ochstat. The contemporaries, however, usually called her Regina, the daughter of King Sigismund I. As regards genealogical issues, one must also mention that the Authoress is persistent in calling Samuel, the outlaw, the youngest son of the castellan of Cracow, Marcin (pp. 301, 382, 385, 388, 405, 416, 442, 453, 500, 514).

Moreover, Piotr Kmita was not the voivode of Poznań (p. 52). Marcin Ostroróg Lwowski was not the castellan of Kamieniec (p. 395) but of Kamień. The Wieluń chamberlain mentioned on p. 445 was not Jerzy but Piotr Boksa Radoszewski. Andrzej Górka never held the office of the Poznań voivode (pp. 452, 611). In June 1586 and later

⁸³ The father of Spytek Wawrzyniec, the castellan of Cracow – the castellan of Wojnicz, Mikołaj, was the brother of the castellan of Biecz, Jan, Spytek Wawrzyniec's grandfather, the Cracow master of the pantry and the starost of Nowy Sącz.

he could not have held any office because he died in 1583 (as the castellan of Międzyrzecz). The then-mentioned voivode was his younger brother – Stanisław. Jan Dymitr Solikowski was not the archbishop of Gniezno (p. 472) but of Lwów. Stanisław Radziwiński could not have held the office of the castellan of Czerwińsk (p. 586) nor the voivode of Czersk (p. 653) as there were no such dignities in the modern era in Poland. Prince Janusz Ostrogski was never the castellan of Wołyń (p. 586). In 1587, this office was held by Michał Myszka Warkowski. Similarly, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł was never the bishop of Płock (p. 638), Szymon Szczawiński – the voivode of Inowrocław (p. 587), and Gabriel Hornostaj – the voivode of Braclaw (p. 270). In 1587, Mikołaj Firlej could not have been the voivode of Cracow because at that time this office was held by Andrzej Tęczyński (p. 616). Jan Dulski was the grand crown treasurer and the castellan, not the voivode, of Chełmno (p. 652). Mikołaj Zborowski was the starost of Szydłów, not Szydłowiec, as on pp. 48 and 224 as well as in the index. Stanisław Tarnawski, not Tarnowski, was the standard-bearer of Sanok mentioned by the Authoress on p. 602. It is also untrue that Piotr Zborowski was the castellan of Wojnicz at the time of his father's death (p. 185). He was appointed to the office only as late as 1567. As for Mikołaj Herbut, who during the third interregnum replaced Jan Zamoyski as a commander of the borderland army, should be called 'Dziedziłowski' or the chamberlain of Halicz (pp. 580, 583, 585). Prince Iwan Połubiński, a member of the legation to Paris in the retinue of the Gniezno castellan, was called Proński (p. 279). Iwan, the hospodar marshal who died in 1556, was not the above-mentioned Połubiński, too (p. 758). Lew Sapieha never used the name of Leon (p. 586). The Mniszechs were of Wielkie Kończyce, not of Kończyce (p. 586). Similarly, the Sobeks were calling themselves 'of Sulejów', sometimes 'of Sulów', but never 'of Sulowice' (p. 226). Stanisław Zaremba of Kalinowa, not Stanisław Kalinowski Zaremba of Kalinów as mentioned on p. 276 (similarly on p. 744) was a member of the parliamentary delegation of Jan Zborowski. Moreover, the castellans of Kamień and Lwów mentioned on p. 632 are respectively Marcin Ostroróg Lwowski and Jan Sienieński. In 1587, Adam Baliński was the starost of Kruszwica (p. 643) while Joachim Ocieski was the starost of Olsztyn (p. 597). It is also worth noting that there was no Janusz in the Koniecpolski family at all (p. 73).

It is not true that Samuel Zborowski attacked Jan Tęczyński with a saber which (as one may presume) hit the intervening Andrzej Wapowski in head (p. 289). It is indisputable that Wapowski received blows with a pickax. In a description of the incident there is also no information that Jan Tęczyński was a close kinsman of Samuel being the brother of Zofia, the wife of late Mikołaj, the starost of Szydłów. The Authoress stated that Samuel Zborowski was 'accused of the murder of Andrzej Wapowski, the castellan of Przemyśl' (p. 289) which may suggest that there were any doubts who was the murderer in this case. Marcin Zborowski, the son of the castellan of Cracow, could not have tried to renounce the tenure (p. 225) as he did not have any. Yet, he resigned from the castellany of Krzywiń at the time. His resignation from the office, however, was not accepted by Sigismund August. Marcin Zborowski could not have sold Małogoszcz to the Sobeks (p. 92) as it was a royal land. Prince Ilia Ostrogski did not fall ill in August 1539 (p. 157) because already in February that year he was thrown from the horse by Sigismund August at the knight's tournament. On that occasion he suffered serious internal injuries, the direct cause of his later illness and death. It is not also true that Prince Dymitr Wiśniowiecki was one of the candidates for Halszka's of Ostróg hand (p. 158). What is more, the statement that Krzysztof Szydłowiecki owned the royal lands of Łuków in Podlasie, Sochaczew and Gostyń in Mazovia, Sieradz in Greater Poland' (p. 94) is completely untrue. Without going into obvious details, we should only state that although in the Old Polish times the starosts and castellans of Gostynin were called 'of Gostyń', one must remember that they officiated in the town of Gostynin in the Rawa voivodship. The Dubno court mentioned on p. 371 was not located in Wołyń but in the Grodno county of the Troki voivodship (it was a part of the Wołpa lease). On pp. 548 and 693 there was given false information that the Habsburgs' part of Hungary was part of the Empire. Hungary never belonged to the German Reich. The third Livonia campaign of Stephen Báthory during which the Polish-Lithuanian army besieged Psków should not be called the 'expedition on Moscow of 1582' (p. 19). Krzysztof Zborowski could not have come to the election of 1587 'with the foreign contingent' (p. 635) as it is a term introduced by Władysław IV Vasa's military reforms. We should also add that one of French courtiers of Henry of France (de Valois) was not Albert Retz de Conti (pp. 286, 760 – de Condi) but Albert de Gondi (1522–

1602), First Duke de Retz, the protoplast of the well-known French aristocratic family and the grandfather of the famous memoirist – Jean François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz.

It is untrue that ‘the Primate nominated Maximilian II the King of the Republic of Poland’ (p. 342), that Sigismund III Vasa was nominated ‘the King of the Crown and Grand Duchy of Lithuania’ (p. 640) or that ‘he was elected the King of Polish Republic’ (p. 649). The proper title of the rulers of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was: king of Poland. Piotr Zborowski, the son of Marcin (an adult man), not, Piotr Zborowski, the son of Mikołaj as the Authoress claims (pp. 341, 516) (a child, than a teenager), participated in the election of Stephen Báthory and the Lublin sejmik of November 1584. The Authoress is completely wrong when stating that Krzysztof Zborowski imprisoned Bogdan IV, the hospodar who in 1572 escaped from Moldova, because he promised him the hand of one of his younger sisters (p. 255). Firstly, all Zborowski’s sisters were married at the time, secondly – the source quoted by the Authoress clearly shows that it was Bogdan to promise his sister’s hand to Zborowski, the commitment he later withdrew of (the incident in question was truthfully described in another place in the book on pp. 50–51). It is not also true that during the reign of Stephen Báthory four Zborowski brothers died (p. 542). In fact, only Piotr and Samuel died at that time as Marcin and Mikołaj had already died during the reign of Sigismund August. If in 1593 Krzysztof Zborowski stayed in Odolanów, he certainly visited his brother Jan, not Andrzej, as on p. 687. I also doubt whether Piotr Zborowski, the son of Andrzej, that was born probably around 1500, was studying in Königsberg in the years 1545–1546 (p. 72). It was Duke Jan Albrecht of Mecklenburg, not Jan Albrecht Hohenzollern (p. 199), who in 1566 made an attempt to obtain the governorship in Prussia and take care of the impotent Duke Albrecht.

The information that Walenty Dembinski resigned from the Grand Crown Chancellor office (p. 364) should be given together with the information that he received the office of the castellan of Cracow instead. Similarly, when the Authoress describes attempts that were made to reconcile Jan Zamoyski with Mikołaj Mielecki (p. 488) the information should be given that Mielecki accused his brother-in-law (both of them were married to daughters of Mikołaj ‘the Black’ Radziwiłł) of interfering with military issues and accepting the Grand Crown Mace he himself had resigned from. The

source information quoted by the Authoress to explain the cause of the hostility between the Mniszechs and the Zborowskis (p. 272) should be supplemented with the statement that the rich widow mentioned here was Barbara née Mniszech, the hand of whom unsuccessfully tried to obtain Andrzej Zborowski after the death of her first husband, Łukasz Nagórski (died 1571). Eventually, Barbara married Jan Firlej, the Grand Crown Marshal and the voivode as well as the starost of Cracow. It was the probable cause that made the Zborowski family turn against Firlej and question his leadership in the Protestant camp during the first interregnum. It is not also clear which of the sons of Hrehory (Grzegorz) Chodkiewicz wanted to marry Princess Elżbieta Prońska who eventually became the wife of Jan Zborowski. On pp. 43 and 227 we may read that she was engaged to Aleksander while on p. 204 there is information that Andrzej Hrehorowicz was Elżbieta's fiancé. Finally, Andrzej Opaliński, the Grand Crown Marshal, was not the paternal uncle of Jan Opaliński, the castellan of Rogoźno (p. 647). They were very distant relatives.

The publishing house made an effort of providing the reviewed book with an expanded index of persons where basic information about each character was given apart from its surname and first name. The problem is, however, that not only all errors from the main text were transferred to it, but also many new subsequent errors were made. In addition, the index is extremely inaccurate and not all pages are included in it. It is impossible to refer at this point to all the shortcomings and inaccuracies found by me in this part of the discussed work. Thus, only the most shocking examples will be referred to. According to the index, the husbands of Zofia née Chodkiewicz, the alleged daughter of Jan Karol and Zofia née Mielecka, were Prince Michał Czartoryski (died 1582/1583) and Rafał Sieniawski (died 1592) (p. 733). Mikołaj Dorohostajski is consistently called Drohostajski (pp. 733, 735). Jan Fredro is said to be the castellan of Sandomierz (p. 738) while Jerzy Fryderyk Hohenzollern was made the Prussian prince ruling in the years 1577–1604 (p. 743). In a description of Catherine de Medici, Henry III of France (her son) is called Henry II de Valois (her husband) (p. 744). The castellan of Przemyśl, Paweł Korytko, is called Paweł Korytkowski (p. 746). Sędka and Sędziwój of Ostroróg are said to be Sędka and Sędziwój of Ostróg (p. 755). Princess Maria Ostrogska, the grandmother of Dymitr Sanguszko, is called the wife of Andrzej

Sanguszko Koszyrski (p. 756) while her husband Andrzej was said to be a representative of Niesuchojeże and Łokacze branch of the House of Sanguszko. Marcin Ostroróg Lwowski is not here the grandson of Marcin, the castellan of Cracow, but the son of his sister, Zofia (p. 756). Moreover, a non-existent Elżbieta Prońska née Zborowska, the daughter of Jan, the castellan of Kalisz, appears in this part of the book (p. 758). Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa are, in turn, kings of the Polish Republic (pp. 764, 778). The authors of the index also recognised that Sigismund I the Old was the youngest son of Casimir IV Jagiellon (p. 778). There are many more examples of that kind. The genealogical table of the Zborowski family placed at the end of the book contains many errors, too. Because I have already presented my reservations towards the genealogy of the family in question, I will only state here that the table also requires a number of, sometimes even very significant, amendments.

All in all, however, all criticisms presented here should not affect the substantive value of the work in question. Regardless of many, sometimes really annoying, mistakes indicated here, Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz thoroughly discussed the Zborowskis' involvement in the political life of Poland and the Republic of Poland on a wide background of the events taking place at that time. The book may be recommended to all Readers interested in the history of the Polish and Polish-Lithuanian state in the 16th century (especially in the years 1572–1587). Yet, historians and history enthusiasts still have to wait for a real, comprehensive and multi-faceted monograph of the Zborowski family.

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