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BELOVED BODY. PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE IMAGE OF BARBARA RADZIWIŁŁ IN THE NOVEL BY MAGDALENA NIEDŹWIECKA

Abstract. This text analyzes the physical aspects of Barbara Radziwiłł's portrayal in Magdalena Niedźwiecka's novel *Barbara Radziwiłł*. The author examines how the writer constructs Barbara's image based on her physical characteristics, which constituted a fundamental determinant in the creation of a female image during the Renaissance. This image is primarily shaped by appearance, which in Barbara's case played a key role. The protagonist is portrayed in the novel primarily through the prism of her physical attractiveness, which deprives her character of expressiveness and depth. This, in turn, leads Niedźwiecka's novel to perpetuate stereotypes of Barbara as a beautiful woman lacking intelligence and good manners, and to reduce August's love to blind lust.

Keywords: Barbara Radziwiłł, novel, The Jagiellonians.

1. The truth and the legend

Barbara Radziwiłł was the second wife of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572). His first marriage to Elizabeth of Austria (1526–1545), daughter of Ferdinand I Habsburg and Anna Jagiellon, was short and unhappy not only because it was arranged, but also because the spouses failed to form a strong emotional bond. Their happiness was hindered by linguistic differences (Elizabeth, despite being selected to become Queen of Poland at an early age, did not know Polish, and Augustus was unwilling to speak German with her), and above all, by the young queen's illness. As it turned out very quickly, Elizabeth was suffering from the *grand mal* – epilepsy. The sight of his wife convulsing in spasmodic seizures roused physical disgust in Augustus, and the feeling accompanied him until the day of her death. Elizabeth was raised in a home

of discipline and strict rules. Among them were rules concerning the royal children's diet and lifestyle – they were expected to eat only simple foods and live ascetically. Her upbringing was also significantly influenced by the period's prevailing ideal of the “virtuous maiden”, which required young women to first and foremost be modest, quiet and obedient. It was not without consequences for physical – and probably mental – health. Factors such as suppressing one's own emotions, inability to express oneself, and poor diet (Besala 2015: 118–119), may have caused the Habsburg's deadly illness¹. According to descriptions written after her arrival in Kraków, Elizabeth was pale, submissive, apathetic and frightened, and most importantly – unable to meet the amorous expectations of the young Jagiellon (Besala 1996: 218–219). Disheartened by the marriage, Sigismund Augustus, less than half a year after the wedding, went to Lithuania, leaving his ill wife in Kraków. His replies to her letters were cursory; he was focused on taking full advantage of the power he had as the Grand Duke. In Lithuania, either in Hyeranyony or in Vilnius, in the autumn of 1543 he first met Barbara Radziwiłł, the daughter of Hetman Jerzy Radziwiłł, the widow of Stanislovas Goštautas, who died childless as the last of his family. In this situation, the estate of the great magnate heir passed to the Polish king, and Sigismund, on the order of his mother, Queen Bona, was supposed to oversee the process. The great feeling that the lovers came to share also caused them a lot of suffering. Radziwiłł was publicly insulted, accused of beguiling the king with sorcery and carnal pleasures. In the general opinion, fueled by gossip and slander, she was considered a witch and a “fine whore”, which is why the Polish nobility and magnates demanded that the king renounce Barbara and annul their marriage. Not only did the Jagiellon refuse to do so, but he also had her crowned in December 1550, and in May 1551 he followed his wife's coffin – on foot – in a funeral procession from Kraków to Vilnius (Januszek-Sieradzka 2022: 120–121; Januszek-Sieradzka 2024: 185–205) This gesture, expressing the pain of losing his beloved, became a manifestation of a great love that, as it turns out, stood the test of time, as it is still, to this day, alive in the collective imagination.

The loving relationship terminated by the tragic death of Radziwiłł (she died of cervical cancer, Kuchowicz 1978: 242–257), has enlivened creators' imagination for centuries. Literary and musical works, as well as paintings about it were created by artists including: Stanisław Wyspiański, Edward Odyniec, Jan Matejko, Józef Simmler, and Wojciech Gerson (Bogucka 1992: 6–88). These creators shaped Barbara's image usually to match the needs of their eras. Thus, Barbara was portrayed as a great patriot, as a victim of Bona's schemes, as a romantic lover, and even as a cun-

ning manipulator determined to get the crown and power. In the 21st century, Radziwiłł became mainly a heroine of popular literature, which focused on the romantic side of her story, and her character was usually presented on the basis of already established stereotypes and opinions about her. This kind of perspective can be found in the novel by Magdalena Niedźwiedzka entitled *Barbara Radziwiłłówna*, which is the second part of the series *Dawn of the Jagiellonian dynasty* (Pol. *Zmierzch Jagiellonów*, Niedźwiedzka 2019) and which was published in print in 2019. In this paper, I will examine how the image of Barbara is constructed in the novel by the author, who chose physical characteristics as the basic element in creating the Renaissance woman's image (Dziechcińska 1992: 12–137; Burke 2025).

2. “Hands and eyes are beautiful, but the face is Lithuanian...”

The Renaissance, in which the treatises on physiognomy were published, emphasized that “the face speaks”; “that through the face an individual expresses themselves, in the features of the physical person one can read the psychological person” (Dziechcińska 1992: 26). That is why the face (and its individual parts as well: eyes, lips, nose, forehead, and eyebrows) played an essential role in the determination of whether one fit the canons of beauty or not, as well as in the determination of one's character. The face was perceived as a tool for communication (also non-verbal), and most importantly – it revealed information about the characteristics of a person and their spiritual predispositions. The human body, in turn, understood as a microcosm, was a reflection of the universe surrounding the humankind, and thus it became “a factor stimulating the imagination with poetics” and a transmitter of sorts for “sentiments such as admiration, worship, love, and eroticism” (Dziechcińska 1992: 10).

What did Barbara Radziwiłł look like – we do not know for sure. The portraits depicting Barbara that survived to our times include the cameo by master Jacopo Caraglio (c. 1550), a painting by Lucas Cranach (c. 1556), and a painting by an unknown artist, dated to the second half of the 16th century. All these works were created around the Queen's lifetime or just after her death. However, the universal imagination is dominated by completely different depictions of Barbara. The strongest image is the coronation portrait by François Grenier, *Barbara Radziwiłł the Queen of Poland G. D. L* (Pol. *Barbara Radziwiłłówna Królowa Polska W. X. L*), dated after 1857, as well as Jan Matejko's artworks and, naturally, the painting *Death of Barbara Radziwiłł* (Pol. *Śmierć Barbary Radziwiłłówny*)

by Józef Simmler (1860), which was a kind of sociological phenomenon of its time (Zarzycki 2016: 54–73). All of these pieces endowed Barbara with the features of a phantasmatic vision, which did not correspond at all to her actual appearance or character, but embodied the collective opinion and imagination about her (Widacka 1996: 25–40). The best evidence of this fact is the characterization of Barbara, given in his monograph by Zbigniew Kuchowicz, who wrote that

she was of proper height, slender, very shapely. Her slim waist contrasted with her wide hips. (...) Delightful was also, and perhaps above all, her beautiful face. The face was oval, not too large, with the outlines of cheeks turning toward the chin at a sharp angle, with a fairly long nose, characterized by a small hump. (...) This face was adorned by a pair of dark, big eyes surrounded by thick eyelashes, with narrow but clear, slightly arched eyebrows above them. Her forehead was high, slightly convex, and her mouth was small, with clearly carved, quite full lips. They concealed underneath two rows of even, white-shining teeth. Based on the surviving portraits, we can almost certainly say that her hair was blond (Kuchowicz 1978: 82)

There is no portrait that would confirm Barbara having fair hair; the only clue is the nickname of her brother Mikołaj Radziwiłł (“the Red”), which comes from the color of his hair. The whole remainder of Kuchowicz’s description may or may not come from texts that were supposed to construct Barbara’s image as an unearthly beauty chosen by the powerful Jagiellon. Augustus’s wife’s appearance, described repeatedly over the centuries, oscillates between two extremes: hatred and adoration; somewhere between them her true image has been lost irretrievably, so we are left to depend on conjectures and stereotyped opinions repeated about the Queen for a long time. Magdalena Niedźwiedzka constructed Barbara’s image based on such preconceptions. In her novel *Barbara*, first as an unmarried woman, then Stanislovas Goštautas’s wife and finally the Jagiellon’s beloved, she is above all a woman of ravishing beauty. Radziwiłł’s character is a blond with a slender neck, beautiful teeth and a charming smile (pp. 5, 6, 8), she has a long face, slender hands, “breathtaking eyes” – let us add: dark (pp. 50, 171), on top of that a “unique figure” (p. 34) and hair with “the color of mature flower honey” (p. 157). Several times, the term “beautiful” or “lovely” is used to describe her. However, these elements of her physical appearance description are very general and give no idea of the protagonist’s appearance. Significantly, in the image constructed in such a way, there is not a single characteristic element that would give the character any individuality and make her unique. The face, as mentioned before, was one of the

most important elements of human appearance, through which one could read the emotions, character traits, or spiritual inclinations of a person (Cirlot 2001: 429). Similarly, the eyes, which for centuries have been understood as a mirror of the soul, are “symbol of intelligence” and “of comprehension” (Cirlot 2001: 284). Unfortunately, neither the face nor the eyes of the novel’s Barbara symbolize any hidden meanings or the heroine’s character traits; they are simply beautiful and serve only an ornamental function in her appearance. The whole essence of the protagonist was reduced to her corporeality and physical attractiveness. Barbara, first as an unmarried woman and then as Mrs. Goštautas, has lovers only because she is attractive and likes to make love with them (pp. 156, 159). Niedźwiedzka portrays her as a woman who is rarely able to abstain from indulging in pleasure except when she is warned by a witch. By presenting Barbara as an insatiable woman, focused only on carnal sensations, the author repeats the harmful stereotype about Radziwiłł, which was born when Barbara was fiercely fought against by the Polish and Lithuanian opponents of her relationship with the king. It was then that cruel lampoons, pornographic drawings and obscene poems ridiculing her relationship with Augustus were created. They were what formed the false image of Barbara as a harlot, a witch, and a woman devoid of morals and scruples. In the novel we see this in the case of a monk whom Radziwiłł seduces only to satisfy her vain ambition; the clergyman’s horror after the deed was done does not incite in the heroine either remorse or any deeper reflection on her behavior and the motives of her own actions. Physical love in the novel is devoid of emotion or any connection with feelings. For Barbara, the body does not become a tool of communication with her husband or with herself, but an instrument of control and a way of gaining power over her environment. Her conversations with the witch prove that Barbara is unable to form an emotional or intellectual bond with any of her lovers. Radziwiłł is presented as a woman who exists only on the level of her physicality and instinctive desires, underlined by her whims and an egoistic desire to satisfy them. The protagonist’s cousin, Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black” tells her off: “A provincial affair with just anyone is good enough for you” (p. 91), thus defining not only his attitude toward her (it is known from their correspondence that he neither valued nor liked her), but also the sad truth about Barbara herself. In the words of “the Black” Barbara is devoid of greater ambition and squanders her social status and beauty on insignificant relationships, instead of achieving goals that would serve both her and the interests of the entire family. A similar opinion is expressed by Barbara’s trusted witch when she tells her that scrubbing herself in the tub “is not enough to wash away the distaste” (p. 160) left after

consorting with numerous lovers. And so Niedźwiedzka depicts Barbara as an unintelligent, capricious and, essentially, shallow person who has no major goals and plans in her life – as her whole existence focuses on pursuing pleasures and costumes that emphasize her beauty².

The relationship between Barbara and Augustus in the novel begins with an erotic fascination. This was what really happened when Jagiellon came to Lithuania and met Goštautas's widow. But their liaison quickly turned into a lasting and true relationship, while in the novel Barbara wants to seduce the king out of her own vanity and feminine ambition. She decides to use magic for this purpose, which is completely unfathomable, given the fact that up to this point the novel's author has constructed Barbara's image as a flawless beauty that no man can resist. And yet, the heroine was apparently not sure of her charm and gave Augustus an infusion prepared by the witch, and after it started working, she proceeded unhindered with her plan. Thus, the relationship between the two characters was not a result of feelings but of witchcraft. Importantly, Barbara's mother, and later Barbara herself, were accused of sorcery and she was called a witch, who beguiled the young Jagiellon with her devilish tricks. The author using this motif in the novel strengthens the reader's uncertainty about the sincerity of the king's feelings, and omits the question – crucial from the point of view of the novel's dramatic tension and historical facts – namely: when did the passion caused by witchcraft turn into true love? Unfortunately, the reader does not find an answer to this in the text.

In the autumn of 1547 Barbara arrived in Dubingiai, her family's castle located on a hill. It is known from the report of Dwojna, a medic, that she miscarried (either as a result of stress or a reproductive-system disease already developing) and that it was a great tragedy for her (Baliński 1843: 52–57). In the novel, Barbara does not know if she is pregnant, but when she finds blood on her bed linens, which may suggest the loss of pregnancy, it does not really affect her. The situation is a problem for the protagonist, from which she is relieved by Dwojna who tells her: "Then I should write to the king and inform him that the journey and nerves resulted in a miscarriage." Then the heroine feels "as if he took the words out of her mouth, because it is the best version of what happened" (pp. 374–375). The doctor's remark is a reference to a real letter written by Radziwiłł's medic, but it changes the meaning of the whole event and the attitude that the royal spouse had toward it. In the novel Barbara agrees to the doctor's version, and most importantly, she is not troubled by the potential loss of a child. Despair and dread come a little later when she is not be able to get pregnant and begins to feel fear that Augustus will reject her. From that moment,

Barbara's body ceases to serve as an ornament and becomes a tool that is supposed to ensure not only the existence of the Jagiellonian dynasty, but also her own. Without a male descendant, Radziwiłł is nobody and cannot count on recognition either in the Crown or in Lithuania. Earlier rituals, designed to prevent unwanted pregnancy, turn into spells, baths, and conjurations to help her get pregnant (pp. 403, 430). However, what is important, Jagiellon never once declares that he wants a child, which is surprising, given that after a tragic miscarriage in which his mother, Queen Bona lost her son (Albertus), he was the only male heir to the dynasty (Duczmal 1996: 419). The question of a successor in the novel seems to be exclusively Barbara's obsession, as she becomes increasingly afraid that her body is incapable of giving birth to a healthy child, a fruit of her love with Augustus. It is known from history that it was Sigismund who was infertile, but at that time only women were blamed for the lack of offspring (Januszek-Sieradzka 2023: 6). And while the novel's Barbara makes every effort to become pregnant, she can neither conceive nor keep the pregnancy. This tragedy, affecting Radziwiłł primarily as a royal wife and as a woman, was not properly emphasized in the novel. Instead of dramatic tension, deepening the psychological features of the heroine, we receive scenes in which she appears to be a woman without manners, refinement and proper upbringing. It seems that the author, when creating Radziwiłł's image, was guided by the opinion of Mikołaj "the Black", who wrote about his cousin, "she is like Bona, only dumber, and her customs are rustical" (Besala 2015: 270). During Barbara's stay in Dubingiai, rumors began about the king's affairs and his debauched life in Poland (pp. 405, 408). Naturally these lampoons were distributed by the opponents of the king's matrimony with Radziwiłł, as, in fact, Jagiellon truly loved his wife and was faithful to her. In the novel, Barbara believes the gossip, which undermines her trust in her husband, and their relationship – but it does not trigger a deeper psychological analysis of the character, instead it only amounts to vulgar comments she makes about her husband's sexual needs. In these scenes, Barbara, whose corporeality until now ruled over Augustus, is portrayed as an emotionally immature woman and the young king – as a thoughtless womanizer. The trial that reality forced the lovers to face ages ago, and which they both ultimately passed, in the novel served to vulgarize the characters' intimate relations. In this way, the author to some extent undermines the whole sense of Augustus' relationship with Barbara and the battle that the young king had to fight with the whole world of that time to achieve his goal. Sigismund, which must not be forgotten, put at stake his royal authority, and at the Sejm (parliament) session in Piotrków he was ready to give up

the crown for Barbara to be his wife and later be crowned queen (in December 1550). During the entire time of his conflict with the Polish and Lithuanian nobility, Barbara stayed under his thoughtful care. He looked after her safety and well-being, in his letters he instructed that her drinking water should be kept in a sealed container and served only in transparent glass, and that no disturbing news that might affect her health and well-being should be given to her. It is also very telling that he ordered the captured witch of his mother Bona, nicknamed Ożog, to be imprisoned in a dungeon. In the novel, we see no element of this attitude that the king displayed toward his wife. Significantly, their physical relationship was not developed or nuanced by the writer in any way. The love and desire of both characters are stretched between extremes and are each time presented in a shallow and clichéd way.

3. “A stone in her stomach”

The first symptoms of the disease appeared in June 1548, when Barbara began to suffer from “a stone in the stomach” (pains in the abdomen and the lower abdomen). Gradually, more symptoms appeared, accompanied by pain so great that Barbara would lock herself in her chamber to suffer alone. The Barbara of the novel, in 1548, in Vilnius similarly begins each day “with careful examination of her body by touch, especially the right side, where she once felt a disturbing lump” (p. 440). Another bleeding not only deprives her of a chance for motherhood (p. 447), but also disillusioned her about being able to give birth to a healthy king’s child, an heir to the throne. The disease progresses at a frightening rate, devastating Barbara’s body and covering it with abscesses (pp. 479, 484, 492, 500). From the reports of Stanisław Bojanowski, Albrecht Hohenzollern’s secret agent at the Jagiellonian court, it is known that Barbara’s reproductive organs were rotting, producing an unbearable stench. However, neither the appearance of his emaciated wife, nor her ailments (vomiting, chills, diarrhea, and fever), nor even the stench of her decaying body, were able to deter Sigismund from the bedside of his beloved. In his letters to Mikołaj Radziwiłł “the Black” he reported the details of the fight for the life and health of his beloved practically day after day from the time of her coronation (December 1550) until her death (May 1551), all the while believing that Barbara would overcome the disease. In the novel, Augustus learns about Barbara’s illness when she is struck by a severe fit of pain and asks him to pass her the opium hidden in the writing desk. Radziwiłł is glad that her husband has finally learned

the truth about her condition and that she does not have to pretend in front of him anymore. Augustus, on the other hand, is “disappointed that he cannot trust his wife in such a fundamental matter”, because “she may have passed on an infectious disease to him” (p. 497). The lack of trust, shallowness of relations, and Barbara’s dream of coronation as a means to regain health are views that were pushed in the works of historians, such as Karol Szajnocha or Michał Baliński, and that became embedded in the tradition about Radziwiłł to this day. Seeing the crown on her head was actually a desire of both Mikołajs – her brother “the Red” and her cousin “the Black” – and of Augustus himself. Jagiellon sought the coronation of his beloved by all possible means, he put this issue on a knife edge during the session of the Sejm in Piotrków, and when he finally obtained the Sejm’s consent, he personally oversaw the preparations for the ceremony. The coronation was initially scheduled for November 1550, but it was postponed until December due to Barbara’s increasingly deteriorating health. Augustus decided on the order of Barbara’s coronation ceremony (Januszek-Sieradzka 2017: 128–141), which was an irrefutable proof of his great love for his wife, as well as his sense of royal dignity and power. There is no description of Barbara’s coronation in the novel. The vision of her image, which still exists in the collective imagination, was shaped first by the 19th-century depictions of Barbara based on an early 18th-century portrait – on which she was presented in a pearl-decorated neckline, in a cap and in a pearl wimple – then by stage creations of Helena Modrzejewska, and in the 20th century – by movies. First a black and white 1936 film directed by Józef Lejtes with Jadwiga Smosarska in the lead role, and later a 1980–1981 TV series *Queen Bona* (Pol. *Królowa Bona*) by Janusz Majewski and a 1982 film by the same director entitled *Epitaph for Barbara Radziwiłł* (Pol. *Epitafium dla Barbary Radziwiłłówny*) with the unforgettable Anna Dymna as the beloved wife of Sigismund Augustus.

We can follow Barbara’s dying process, which lasted virtually from January to May 1551, in the correspondence of Sigismund Augustus and in the reports that Stanisław Bojanowski sent to his principal. Reading these texts is jarring, because they show that this beautiful, once full of life woman, who had the most powerful ruler of Europe at the time at her side, a man who was madly in love with her, was dying in agonizing torment. Her awareness of the inevitable death was a source of additional torture, but the diseased woman did not give up. From the accounts we know that whenever she could, she would get out of bed, put on her dresses and try to function normally, and when the disease stripped her of her strength to the point that she was bedridden, she would still take care of her body

and makeup, trying to keep her human and feminine dignity to the end. And when the body finally gave up and her greatest asset was gone, there remained the great love of the king. In the novel, the whole process of dying and physical disintegration of the protagonist was omitted. Among the artists who tried to face the subject of Barbara's agony and death, Stanisław Wyspiański and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz should be mentioned. In 1907 the artist of the Young Poland movement created a poignant account of Barbara's passing in his unfinished drama *Sigismund Augustus* (Pol. *Zygmunt August*), while Iwaszkiewicz spent several years grappling with the subject (1949–1953), planning to write a novel entitled the *Funeral of the Queen* (Pol. *Pogrzeb królowej*), and finally leaving it as one of his unrealized projects (Papieski 2020: 129–155). Magdalena Niedźwiedzka did not take the opportunity to describe Barbara's dying process in her novel, to delve into the relationship between Barbara and Sigismund, and thus to show the truth about their feelings and about themselves. Instead of the truth about the human condition in the face of the final question, the reader receives the usual formulas, repeated in works and traditions about Barbara. According to them, Barbara wants the crown and being anointed with holy oils to recover her health; she asks Augustus to take her to Niepołomice for the last time and to bury her in Vilnius. Eventually, the heroine dies, leaving the king completely helpless in one of Wawel's chambers. Barbara's dying process not being included in the novel leaves a gap that the author could not fill in any way, and the description of the later actions of Queen Bona introduces chaos to the narrative and dramatic layer, which adds up to the failure of Magdalena Niedźwiedzka's entire literary enterprise. The author seems to have forgotten that every difficult event leaves a trace – in the human psyche and in the human body – a visible sign of experiences, but also a proof of the travelled spiritual path. Love for Barbara was the most important feeling in Jagiellon's entire life, and being there for his dying wife was the deepest experience of human nature. The couple's love began with mutual fascination and became a lasting relationship that did not fall apart either because of illness or because of death³. Barbara's body which Sigismund loved and which was devastated by the disease, after her death was covered with lime mixed with ash, and finally, when the cradle with the coffin reached Vilnius, it rested in the crypt of the Vilnius Cathedral. The words, engraved on a plaque attached to her chest, that are believed to be written by Augustus, were: "She passed before her day, and even if she had been an old woman, Augustus would say that she passed before her day" (Sucheni-Grabowska 1996: 275). This sentence remains one of the most poignant expressions of love in Polish cultural memory. For here Sigis-

mund Augustus speaks to us not as the ruler of the most powerful country in Europe of the time, but as a pain-stricken loving man who suffers after the loss of his beloved wife.

Both the novel by Magdalena Niedźwiedzka, as well as the one by Barbara Czarnecka (*Carmine-colored Queen* [Pol. *Królowa w kolorze karminu*], Kraków 2008) and the one by P.K. Adams (*Midnight Fire* [Pol. *Nocne ognie*], Warsaw 2021) leave us with the sad conclusion that we still must wait for a novel about Barbara Radziwiłł.

NOTES

¹ Importantly, her sister Catherine, the third wife of Sigismund II Augustus, was also affected by epilepsy.

² The question of Barbara's appearance in the novel would merit a separate study, particularly in light of the significance of dress in Renaissance culture and its role in constructing Radziwiłł's prestige as the wife of Sigismund II Augustus. On this issue, see M. Molenda, "Queen's Wardrobe. Creating a Queen: Costumes of *Barbara Radziwiłł* and *Catherine Jagiellon* as Tools of Royal Splendour", *Dalje Art* 2025, pp. 71–84.

³ According to widely circulated accounts, Sigismund II Augustus never fully came to terms with the death of Barbara Radziwiłł. He is said to have recalled her many years later in a letter to Mikołaj Radziwiłł "the Black", to have attempted to summon her spirit, and to have mourned her throughout his life (Bugajski, 2022, pp. 229–338).

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Illustrations

- Jacopo Caraglio, *Cameo with burst of Barbara Radziwiłł* (c. 1550), Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich.
- Lukas Cranach, *Portrait of Barbara Radziwiłł* (1520–1551), Second Wife of Sigismund Augustus (s. 1556), National Museum in Krakow.
- François Grenier, *Barbara Radziwiłł the Queen of Poland G. D. L* (Pol. *Barbara Radziwiłłówna Królowa Polska W. X. L*), dated after 1857, National Library in Warsaw.
- Józef Simmler, *Death of Barbara Radziwiłł* (1860), National Museum in Warsaw.



Jacopo Caraglio, *Cameo with bust of Barbara Radziwill* (c. 1550), Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich



Lukas Cranach, *Portrait of Barbara Radziwiłł* (1520–1551), Second Wife of Sigismund Augustus (s. 1556), National Museum in Krakow



François Grenier, *Barbara Radziwill the Queen of Poland G. D. L* (Pol. *Barbara Radziwiłłówna Królowa Polska W. X. L*), dated after 1857, National Library in Warsaw



Józef Simmler, *Death of Barbara Radziwiłł* (1860), National Museum in Warsaw