



***Three Wedding Journeys, Three
Financial Records: Logistics, Court,
Princess's Agency***

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Abstract: Through a close reading of account books related to the three mid-sixteenth-century wedding journeys—of Sophie of Jagiellon (1522–1575), Elizabeth of Habsburg (1554–1592), and Anne of Habsburg (1549–1580)—this study examines the overall financing of the bridal transfer, including paying the retinue, provisions, and logistical issues, while also investigating the economic agency of the princely brides in early modern Europe. In the first part, the article offers a brief typology of financial arrangements between the matrimonial parties and then discusses third-party involvement, in the form of the free-of-cost hosting of the princesses. Moving into the second part, the study analyses the salaries of the entourage members and sheds light on travel-related details, such as food or navigation. Based on the financial records, the last part scrutinises the princesses' activity, arguing that these women were active agents, entering into a dialogue with people they encountered. This was expressed in remuneration for overnight stays, services, gifts, or alms for the poor or new-born children.

Keywords: wedding journeys; princely brides; account books; hosting; entourage; salaries; logistics; female power and agency; gift-giving; social networking; Sophie of Jagiellon, Duchess of Brunswick; Elizabeth of Habsburg, Queen of France; Anne of Habsburg, Queen of Spain

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Medieval and early modern princely nuptials were inherently tied to money. There were many dotal (i.e. the parts of the dowry system) and non-dotal assets exchanged, in cash, property, or material objects. Up to this point, scholars have examined primarily the issues of dowry, dower, bridal trousseau, or groom's gifts, the so-called counter-trousseau.² However, much more could be done in terms of studying the financial arrangements of the event, without which the interdynastic princely nuptials would not even be possible: the bride's transfer to her husband's court, her bridal journey.³ Drawing upon account books and supplemental documentation from three wedding journeys, this study thus aims to partially fill this gap. By looking into the fiscal background of logistics, wages of the bride's companions and her economic activity, it sheds new light on the third parties' involvement in dynastic unions and the motivations of the courtiers who accompanied the princesses.⁴ Moreover, this article argues that the princely brides were active and assertive economic players, distributing freely the allocated resources and thus making important first steps in becoming efficient managers of their finances, household, and land estates.

Nuptial journeys, as a key part of princely weddings and matrimonial alliances and thus highly visible political events, have been a stable part of queenly biographies or individual studies.⁵ Although producing valuable data on a day-to-day course of the

² For instance, Karl-Heinz Spieß, "European Royal Marriages in the Late Middle Ages. Marriage Treaties, Questions of Income, Cultural Transfer," *Majestas* 13 (2005): 7–21; Amalie Fössel, "The Queen's Wealth in the Middle Ages," *Majestas* 13 (2005): 23–45; Susan Mosher Stuard, "Brideprice, Dowry, and Other Marital Assigns," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith Bennett and Ruth Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 148–160; Diana Antille, "Valentina Visconti's Trousseau: Mapping Identity through the Transport of Jewels," in *Moving Women Moving Objects (400-1500)*, ed. Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 247–271.

³ I use the terms bridal/nuptial/wedding journey/transfer interchangeably.

⁴ By the third party I mean the political actors (e.g. sovereigns, polities, cities, local lords) not directly subjected to either of the two uniting wedding parties, whose territories the princely brides—especially those travelling long distances—crossed.

⁵ For instance, Christian Gepp and Stefan Lenk, "Reisen Aus Staatsräson. Die Brautfahrten Der Erzherzogin Maria Carolina 1768 Und Der Erzherzogin Maria Amalia 1769," in *Prinzessinnen Unterwegs. Reisen Fürstlicher Frauen in Der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Annette C. Cremer, Anette Baumann, and Eva Bender (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 171–90; Elena Taddei, "Hin- Und Herüber Die Alpen. Die Reisen von Anna Caterina Gonzaga (1566–1621), Erzherzogin von Österreich," in *Prinzessinnen Unterwegs. Reisen Fürstlicher Frauen in Der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Annette C. Cremer, Anette Baumann, and Eva Bender (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 57–76; Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy, 1494-1600* (Firenze: Olschki, 1986); Marika Koblussek, "Celebrating a Union: The Festive Entry of Friedrich, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth in the Netherlands," in *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2013), 391–409.

journeys, they mostly have not gone beyond the reconstruction of the events, itineraries, and festivities on the way. However, there have also been several studies that examined social, cultural, ritual, and literary angles of these phenomena, comparing several nuptial journeys at once. Bringing together various medieval princely weddings from the Holy Roman Empire, Karl-Heinz Spieß has pointed to the crucial role of these journeys for the dynasties' representation and status-building.⁶ Building upon Spieß, Christiane Coester has distinguished the symbolic role of these movements for the ritual transition and transformation of the princely brides from daughters into wives.⁷ In a similar vein, studying the early modern incoming princesses, the future queens of Spain, Ezequiel Borgognoni has examined several ways (attire, language, social environment) these journeys could facilitate the *hispanización*, i.e. the bride's incorporation into the new realm.⁸ With a focus on early modern France and Poland, Katarzyna Kosior has studied the diplomatic protocol during the proxy wedding ceremonies or the first encounters of the newlyweds and revealed the emotional anxieties and multiplicity of dynastic identities of the princely brides.⁹

Yet the journeys have not been similarly systematically scrutinized from an economic point of view. Naturally, queenly biographies or studies looking into particular princely marriages sometimes touch upon the overall cost of the transfer, especially when one matrimonial party encountered problems with covering these expenses.¹⁰ There have also been many excellent case studies that analysed the impact such a journey had on one or numerous cities hosting the princely brides.¹¹ Despite providing much-needed data for

⁶ Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann. Brautfahrt und Ehe in europäischen Fürstenhäusern des Spätmittelalters," in *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter*, ed. Irene Erfen and Karl-Heinz Spieß (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997), 17–36.

⁷ Christiane Coester, "Crossing Boundaries and Traversing Space. The Voyage of the Bride in Early Modern Europe," in *Moving Elites: Women and Cultural Transfers in the European Court System. Proceedings of an International Workshop (Florence, 12-13 December 2008)*, ed. Giulia Calvi and Isabelle Chabot (Florence: European University Institute, 2010), 9–20.

⁸ Ezequiel Borgognoni, "Viaje de Princesas y Cambio Identitario En La España de Los Austrias," *Memoria y Civilización* 22 (2019): 611–633.

⁹ Katarzyna Kosior, *Becoming a Queen in Early Modern Europe: East and West* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 23–58.

¹⁰ E.g. Susanne Helene Betz, *Von Innerösterreich in die Toskana: Erzherzogin Maria Magdalena und ihre Heirat mit Cosimo de' Medici* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2008), 194–196.

¹¹ E.g. Ángela Pereda López, "La ciudad de Burgos se prepara para la llegada de la reina Ana de Austria, octubre de 1570," in *A la sombra de las catedrales: Cultura, poder y guerra en la edad moderna*, ed. Cristina Borreguero Beltrán et al. (Burgos: Universidad de Burgos, 2021), 267–281; David Sánchez Cano, "Festivities during Elizabeth of Bourbon's Journey to Madrid," in *Dynastic Marriages 1612/1615: A Celebration of the Habsburg and*

the particular cases, these works could not generate a more comprehensive picture of wedding travel since they lacked a comparative overview of several cases at once. A serious difficulty, impeding the analysis of the journeys from the pecuniary point of view, at least for the period up to 1500, has been a lack of relevant sources. Up to the 1500s, we possess only very scarce documentation, mostly in the matrimonial contracts, specifying the party responsible for the bride's transfer, but the detailed breakdown of the costs, let alone the princess's own expenses, is completely unknown. For the early modern period, another challenge arises: the sources are abundant but scattered across the princesses' routes, in the municipal registers all over Europe. Unlike traditional royal tours or progresses, these transfers were trans-territorial and often even transnational.¹² That means that the princesses had to cross cultural and political borders and the documentations for their journeys are usually stored not only in the archives relevant to the respective wedding parties but also in the archives of the third parties. For the point of view of a researcher, looking at several wedding journeys at once, it is almost impossible to amass all relevant financial documents due to their geographical dispersion.

This is why the three account books studied in this article are crucial. They offer an overview and cost breakdown relevant to half or an entire course of three mid-sixteenth-century nuptial transfers, namely of Sophie of Jagiellon, and two Habsburg sisters, Elizabeth and Anne.¹³ Sophie (1522-1575), the daughter of King Sigismund I of Poland and Queen Bona Sforza, wed Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1489-1568) in the early months of 1556.¹⁴ Sophie's dowry amounted to 32,000 Hungarian gold florins, paid in three instalments, which was a usual sum for Jagiellonian brides.¹⁵ Henry's contribution,

Bourbon Unions, ed. Margaret M. McGowan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 57–82; Maria Ines Aliverti, "The Loose Parts of an Entry: The Flop of Cremona in 1598," in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades and Laura Fernández-González (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 115–134; Franca Varallo, "Margaret of Austria's Travel in the State of Milan between 1598 and 1599," in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades and Laura Fernández-González (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 135–154.

¹² According to Annette C. Cremer who distinguished four types of princely journeys, namely local, intraterritorial, transterritorial, and transnational. Annette C. Cremer, "Reisenden Prinzessinnen Und Fürstinnen Auf Der Spur. Einige Forschungsstrategische Überlegungen," in *Prinzessinnen Unterwegs. Reisen Fürstlicher Frauen in Der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Annette C. Cremer, Anette Baumann, and Eva Bender (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 15.

¹³ Given the vast geographical scope of the study, I use the anglicised forms of the names.

¹⁴ Almut Bues, *Zofia Jagiellonka, Herzogin von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 1522-1575: Akten zu Heirat, Tod und Erbe* (Braunschweig: Appelhaus, 2018).

¹⁵ Urszula Borkowska, "Marital Contracts of the House of Jagiellon," *Majestas* 13 (2005): 83.

the so-called counter-dowry and morning gift (*Morgengabe*), was 42,000 gold florins.¹⁶ Accompanied by 463 people and more than five hundred horses, Sophie left Warsaw on 29 January 1556 and reached Wolfenbüttel on 22 February later that year.¹⁷ Although the marriage remained childless, Sophie proved to be a successful agent and dynastic mediator, capitalizing on her royal status, Humanistic erudition, artistic interests, as well as linguistic and managerial talents. In less than two years she mastered the German language and created amicable relationships with her step-children, whom she helped to reconcile with Henry and arranged marriages for them.¹⁸ Furthermore, she is viewed as an important agent of cultural exchange between her natal and marital courts, by sponsoring Renaissance art, architecture, or style of gardening.¹⁹

The two sisters, Habsburg archduchesses Elizabeth (1554-1592) and Anne (1549-1580), were wedded to King Charles IX of France (1550-1574) and King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) respectively in 1570. This double wedding was a result of long negotiations and twists: Anne was first supposed to marry Philip's son, who was also her cousin Carlos, while there were plans to marry Elizabeth to the King of Portugal. Carlos's tragic death as well as the sudden passing of Philip II's French wife, Isabel of Valois, led to the reconfigurations in the matrimonial strategies—Anne wed Philip II instead of his deceased son while Elizabeth's nuptials with Charles X were meant to uphold friendly relations with France, left vulnerable by Isabel of Valois's death.²⁰

Anne was married by proxy (*per procuram*) on 4 May 1570 in the Prague cathedral, with the groom represented by his cousin and Anne's uncle Archduke Charles of Styria. On the other hand, Elizabeth witnessed her proxy wedding in Speyer on 22 October, with Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol standing for the absent King of France. At the time, Anne had

¹⁶ Jan Pirożyński, *Die Herzogin Sophie von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel aus dem Hause der Jagiellonen (1522-1575) und ihre Bibliothek: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Kulturbeziehungen in der Renaissancezeit* (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 34–35.

¹⁷ Pirożyński, *Die Herzogin Sophie*, 39. This is the count during the final solemn entry in Wolfenbüttel. As in any other bridal journey, the number of horses and people fluctuated; for example, when leaving the Polish territory in Wschowa, the train consisted of only 266 horses. Alexander Przeddziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI wieku*, vol. 2 (Kraków: W drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1868), 223.

¹⁸ Almut Bues, "Dynasty as a Patchwork House, or the (Evil) Stepmother: The Example of Zofia Jagiellonka," *Hungarian Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (2019): 669–694.

¹⁹ Almut Bues, "Art Collections as Dynastic Tools: The Jagiellonian Princesses Katarzyna, Queen of Sweden, and Zofia, Duchess of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel," in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500-1800*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (London: Routledge, 2017), 15–36.

²⁰ Rubén González Cuerva, *Maria of Austria, Holy Roman Empress (1528-1603): Dynastic Networker* (London: Routledge, 2021), 106–112.

already reached Spain, accompanied by her brothers Albrecht and Wenzel. She first sailed on the Rhine from Speyer to Nijmegen, where she was officially greeted by the Spanish embassy, led by the Duke of Alba, the governor of the Low Countries. After a turbulent sea voyage,²¹ Anne disembarked in Santander on 3 October, and thence she moved through Burgos and Valladolid to Segovia, where she met with her husband for the first time.²² There, on 12 November 1570, the wedding festivities took place and the royal pair made their final solemn entry into Madrid.

Elizabeth left Speyer on 5 November and arrived at the French border near the town of Mezières several weeks later.²³ There, she met with her husband and mother-in-law, Catherine de' Medici, and together, they proceeded to Paris where a series of elaborate entries were staged.²⁴ After the death of Charles IX, Elizabeth decided to leave France and return to the Habsburg domains in Prague and later Vienna, where she sponsored the (re)construction of religious establishments.²⁵ When her sister Anne died in 1580, Elizabeth was considered as yet another wife (the fifth) for Philip II.²⁶ The dowager queen of France resolutely refused to become the queen of Spain and instead opted to join a monastery, as her correspondence with her former lady-in-waiting Elizabeth of Pernštejn reveals.²⁷

²¹ The description of the sea leg of the journey printed in Louis-Prospér Gachard and Charles Piot, eds., *Collection des voyages des souverains de Pays-Bas*, vol. 3 (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1881), 573–584. Quite contrary to this portrayal is the festival book of Juan López de Hoyos, *Apparato real, y sumptuoso recebimiento, con que Madrid (como casa y morada de su M.) recibió a la SS. R. D. Ana d'Austria, N.S. con sus felicis. bodas y prospero viage* (Madrid, 1572).

²² María Jesús Sanz, "Festivas demostraciones de Nimega y Burgos en honor de la reina doña Ana de Austria," *Boletín del seminario de estudios de arte y arqueología* 43 (1983): 377–378. A collection of documents relevant to the reception of Anne in Spanish territories printed in Luis Pérez Bueno, "Del casamiento de Felipe II con su sobrina Ana de Austria," *Hispania. Revista española de historia* 7 (1947): 382–400.

²³ Karl Vocelka, *Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550-1600: kulturgeschichtl. Studien zum manieristischen Repräsentationsfest* (Vienna ; Köln ; Graz: Böhlau, 1976), 103–109.

²⁴ The edition of the festival books with the introductory study in Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, eds., *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria, 1571: With an Analysis of Simon Bouquet's Bref et Sommaire Recueil* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); recently studied by Veronika Hřebíková, *Obráz habsburské dynastie v symbolické řeči slavností konaných ve Francii Karla IX. (1570–1574) [The Image of the Habsburg dynasty in France under Charles IX.]* (Dissertation, Pardubice, 2022).

²⁵ Joseph F. Patrouch, "The Archduchess Elizabeth. Where Spain and Austria Met," in *The Lion and the Eagle: Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries*, ed. Conrad Kent, Thomas Wolber, and Cameron M. K. Hewitt (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 80.

²⁶ Rubén González Cuerva, "Anne, Margaret and Marianne of Austria: Queens of Spain, Archduchesses of Austria and Dynastic Links," in *Nur die Frau des Kaisers? Kaiserinnen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bettina Braun, Katrin Keller, and Matthias Schnettger (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 60, 63.

²⁷ Pavel Marek, "'Tre Bone Amye': Alžběta z Pernštejna pohledem korespondence Alžběty Habsburské [Elizabeth of Pernštejn through the Correspondence of Elizabeth of Austria, Queen of France]," in *Gender*

The three account books, documenting the transfers of these three elite women, have received almost no scholarly attention. Only Sophie's book was used by Tymoteusz Lipiński to reconstruct the princess's itinerary and her travelling companions.²⁸ Although possessing many common traits, such as listing expenditures according to dates and locations, each of these records differs to a great extent. The book of the expenditures made on the journey of Sophie of Jagiellon focuses mostly on the costs of the chamber and the stable provisions for lunch or dinner of the princess and her retinue, thus providing us with a very vivid description of the diet en route.²⁹ Naturally, such data is missing if the bridal company's expenses were covered by a local host (that is hosted "free of cost" (*kostfrei gehalt*)), as the study shows below. The total sum spent on the journey from Warsaw to Wolfenbüttel was 866 florins, while a slightly lower sum was spent on the transport of Sophie's Polish retinue back to Warsaw and additional expenses. In total, the log lists expenses for 1687 florins, 21 groschens, and 15 denars.³⁰ This sum applies only to costs relevant in the account book; that is, expenses for kitchen, cellar, and stable. The overall sum was probably higher: another list, entitled *Distributa in expeditionem illustrissimae reginulae Zophiae* gives the number 6959 florins, 20 groschens, and 9 denars; however, this is given the fact that it lists expenses for purchasing clothes, ornaments, travel and kitchen equipment, as well as total sums of the artisans' and courtiers' wages.³¹

On the other hand, two books documenting the expenses made during the journey of the Habsburg archduchesses, stored in the Viennese Finanz- und Kammerarchiv, are

History—to přece není nic pro feministky, ed. Tomáš Jiránek, Karel Rýdl, and Petr Vorel (Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2017), 37, 42.

²⁸ Tymoteusz Lipiński, "Dyaryusz podróży Zofii Jagiellonki 1556 [The Diary of Sophie of Jagiellon's journey]," in *Biblioteka Warszawska*, vol. I (Warszawa: Drukarnia Stanisława Strąbskiego, 1847), 635–41.

²⁹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego [Archive of royal treasury], 178, "Rationarius percetorum peccuniarum ex thesauro Regni Polonie in sumptum Coquine, cellarii, et stabuli illustrissime virginis regie domine Zophie, sponse illustrissimi principis ducis Brunsvicen. et Luneburgen. in itinere e Warshavia Brunsviciam ac iterum Warshavia factum" [henceforth: "Rationarius domine Zophie"].

³⁰ "Rationarius domine Zophie," 52r.

³¹ "Distributa in expeditionem illustrissimae Reginulae Zophiae, Ducissae Brunswicencensis et Luneburgensis Warschowie, cuius discessus 29 die mensis Januarii, anno domini 1556," in *De rebus Sigismundi Augusti Poloniae regis, ...* Biblioteka Narodowa, manuscript mf. 1065, p. 260–2, accessed 1 March 2023, <https://polona.pl/item/de-rebus-sigismundi-augusti-poloniae-regis,MTQzNDU2MzU3/0/#info:metadata>. Alexander Przezdziecki associates this number with the cost for the journey ("Na drogę dano 6,959."), but this is not precise. Przezdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie*, 223.

very different in both content and structure.³² Elizabeth's book, covering payments made on the journey from Speyer to Sedan (that is only the non-French leg of the journey, accounting for half of the entire journey from Speyer to Paris) starts with a list of entourage members and their monthly salaries. The second part contains entries for cash payments or gifts given by the archduchess and future queen as farewell tips or remunerations for services. Meanwhile, Anne's financial documentation, listing expenses during the journey from Speyer to Nijmegen (i.e. also the "German" leg) is of yet another form: its main part is the financial log of Pedro de Orduña, which gives day-to-day entries and records extraordinary expenses for purchases and the princess's remunerations for gifts or services. The salaries of courtiers are also recorded, but taken together, not broken down into particular offices as in Elizabeth's case. Aside from Orduña's diary, the folder also contains separate lists of the princess's farewell gifts, in cash and then in precious objects, and then also a separate list of expenses made by the tutor of pages in the princess's train. Unlike Sophie's book, the Habsburg records thus produce a very good snapshot of expenses related to the entourage members, as well as gifts or courtesy offerings.

Anne and Elizabeth's files alike contain heaps of supplemental documents, such as instructions for the accountants, receipts for payments and the like. Besides revealing important details about the accounting practises of the time, these additional papers give us an insight into why—arguably—so few account books for the bridal journeys are extant. Orduña's log is accompanied by a report of the imperial account bookkeeper from 1575, commenting on irregularities in the records, such as a lack of receipts for purchases and expenses. For instance, Orduña lists the acquisition of two small silver salt cellars for the table of noble ladies-in-waiting, yet he does not provide a receipt. To corroborate the veracity of this expense, the 1575 controller interrogated a witness, the *Pfennigmeister* von Madari. Fortunately (for Orduña), von Madari did recall the existence of the salt cellar during the journey but if further proofs were needed, the relevant authorities might contact a certain Rodrigo Baragán in Spain.³³ In the end, all irregularities were clarified,

³² Elizabeth: Finanz- und Hof-Kammerarchiv [henceforth: FHKA], Sonderbestände, Sammlungen und Selekte, Reichsakten 190.1.1, "Raiß in Franckreich" [henceforth: "Raiß in Franckreich"]; Anne: FHKA, Sonderbestände, Sammlungen und Selekte, Reichsakten 187.1, "Rechnung des Peter Lopes de Orduna über die Auslagen der Königin von Spanien für eine Reise von Speyer nach Niederlanden" [henceforth: "Rechnung des Peter Lopes"].

³³ Rechnung des Peter Lopes, 353v–354r.

but the controller recommends Orduña's imprecise file to be stored "for the future records' sake:" that is, serving as a (negative) blueprint for subsequent account books.³⁴

Thanks to Orduña's errors—but not only to them—we thus possess invaluable pieces of evidence that help us to complement the details of other two account books. They can be approached from many angles; the present study looks at three of them. Looking at the bigger picture, it first provides a general typology of the overall financing of the wedding transfers and then it concentrates on the involvement of the third-party hosts, lords or cities. Shifting from a more general angle, the second section focuses on the salaries of the travel companions, diet, and logistical issues evident in the financial documentation. And finally, the last part scrutinises the activities and behaviour of the main protagonist of the journey, the travelling bride, and reveals her interactions and deeds as documented by gift-giving and distribution of gratuities. The account books help us to see different usages and continuous conversions of various kinds of capital as envisaged by Pierre Bourdieu. Besides sizeable economic capital in the form of cash and precious objects, the travelling brides possessed innumerable social capital stemming from their royal, dynastic, and wedded status. If we define social capital as "the sum of resources, actual or virtual, belonging to an individual or group, by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships" which are "embedded in everyday sociability,"³⁵ we can clearly see that the visits of princely brides had a mobilising effect on particular local hosts who paid for their kitchen and stable supplies. As a result, the princesses' social capital turned into an economic one, although as we will see, this was not automatic and very much dependant on particular circumstances. The same effect is observable for the brides' travel companions, who seem to have prioritised the future profit over the immediate gain. For them, participation in the journeys and subsequent life in the princess's close circle could be a means to amass their own symbolic capital by learning new skills, exchanging information or precious goods, or supporting their families via patronage networks.

However, this study aims to show that the brides were not only passive mobilisers of economic resources but active partakers in the process, not only by soliciting the contributions but by distributing the allocated assets to create their own social networks, thus converting economic capital into a social one. Queenship scholars have demonstrated

³⁴ Rechnung des Peter Lopes, 354v.

³⁵ Erik Neveu, "Bourdieu's Capital(s). Sociologizing an Economic Concept," in *The Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu*, ed. Thomas Medvetz and Jeffrey J. Sallaz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 356–357.

that queens and royal women were often crucial figures in the acquisition and management of funds and used them to exert influence. As Cathleen Sarti argues, (not only queenly) power and economic resources were deeply intertwined.³⁶ When, for instance, Henry VIII sought an annulment with Catherine of Aragon, he first stripped her of her dower, as Elena Woodacre shows.³⁷ If queenship was directly tied to power, the same goes for royal journeys and tours. Royal progresses were not only occasions for leisure and relaxation, but provided subjects with an opportunity to access the monarch, seek justice and most importantly, to witness the display of royal power.³⁸ The rule and legitimacy of queens regnant, like Elizabeth I, hinged on carefully crafted performances of female power via visual imagery, rituals, and spectacles.³⁹ But what about princely brides? Were they also self-aware economic agents and their journeys highly consequential for their role?

Elizabeth and Anne's account books, specifying distributed gifts, gratuities, and alms, are proof that the economic activities were not prerogatives of the more experienced, widowed, or ruling queens, but can also be traced to the queens-in-waiting en route. However, the laconic character of these records, often not going beyond the most basic details, would be perhaps insufficient to corroborate this thesis, if there was not also a wider context of ideals about the brides' conduct. This context is articulated in a manual book for the nuptial journey, authored by a senior Neapolitan courtier and tutor of royal children Diomede Carafa. Originally written for Beatrice of Aragon's journey to Hungary in 1476, this treatise envisages a whole set of activities (and not just economic ones) that the future queen of Hungary can engage in on her way to her husband. Carafa deems the princess's voice not only permissible in a few limited instances; quite contrarily, the whole book is manifesto encouraging the princess to take action. As a matter of fact, the journey is a favourable occasion for the princess to act on her own and thus train herself for her upcoming role; in Bourdieu's terms, to build her cultural (informational) capital.

³⁶ Cathleen Sarti, "Women and Economic Power in Premodern Royal Courts," in *Women and Economic Power in Premodern Royal Courts*, ed. Cathleen Sarti (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020), 1.

³⁷ Elena Woodacre, "'Power Is Money?' Reflection on Money, Power, Sex, and Gender in Premodern Royal Courts," in *Women and Economic Power in Premodern Royal Courts*, ed. Cathleen Sarti (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020), 89.

³⁸ Etienne Faisant, "The French Kings on the Road. The Court's Journeys in Renaissance France," in *Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Musson and J.P.D. Cooper (London and New York: Routledge, 2023), 33–49; Laura Flannigan, "Justice on Progress in Early Tudor England," in *Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Musson and J.P.D. Cooper (London and New York: Routledge, 2023), 157–169.

³⁹ Dustin M. Neighbors, "The Performativity of Female Power and Public Participation through Elizabethan Royal Progresses," *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies* 18, no. 1 (2022): 121–123.

Comparing the account books and Carafa's treatise, the last section of this article aims to demonstrate that the bridal journeys worked as a training ground for the future queens who built their status and social networks, as evidenced by gift-giving and cash donations. In the words of Theresa Earenfight, these journeys are yet another example of mobile and transitory moments that create queenly time; that is, an opportunity for the royal women to perform their agency.⁴⁰ Overall, by shedding light on the economic situation of the journey's organisers, hosts, participants, and especially the travelling princesses, the article attempts to broaden not only our understanding of interdynastic unions and the history of travel, but also of princely courts, women and queenship studies.

Financing and hosting

Although one would assume that wedding parties shared the expenses for the princely bride transfer—which was indeed often the case—it was not automatic, and instead subject to personal, dynastic, or political motivations. Rather than following a generally accepted European pattern, the final financial arrangement was a result of negotiation, upon which the expectations and priorities of wedding parties were projected.

Often, we can find arrangements for the transfers in marital contracts. For instance, the wedding contract between Anne and Elizabeth's aunt, Catherine of Habsburg and Francesco III, Duke of Mantua (1549), stipulated that Emperor Ferdinand I, Catherine's father (and Anne and Elizabeth's grandfather), pledges to escort Catherine at his own expense, in a manner pertaining to her status, up to Trent, where Francesco would pick her up.⁴¹ Following this precedent, Duke Guglielmo, Francesco III's brother, instructed his envoys to ask for the same model when marrying Catherine's sister Eleanor in 1561.⁴² This copied an older practice that is traceable in the pre-sixteenth-century Habsburg unions.⁴³ Also in 1454, King Ladislaus the Posthumous pledged to conduct his sister Elizabeth, personally or via proxies, to the border town of Teschen (Cieszyn), where the princess

⁴⁰ Theresa Earenfight, "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender & History* 19, no. 1 (April 2007): 14.

⁴¹ ASMa, Archivio Gonzaga, fol. 199, f. 73v.

⁴² "... che Sua Maesta habbia da far la spesa fin a Trento per farvi condurre mia moglie, si come fu capitolato alle infelici nozze signor mio fratello ... Da Trento in qua io faro poi la spesa..." An instruction for Mantua envoy at the imperial court, Mantua, 16 October 1560, ASMn, AG 200, f. 135.

⁴³ Cyrille Debris, *'Tu felix Austria, nube': la dynastie de Habsbourg et sa politique matrimoniale à la fin du Moyen Age (XIIIe-XVIe siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 384.

would be met by the Polish embassy.⁴⁴ This arrangement was also used during the marital transfers of both Habsburg sisters, Elizabeth and Anne [1570], whose account books are used in this article, since—as already stated—these logs cover only the “German” legs of their journeys. It seems that there was a general rule that both wedding parties were expected to contribute to the princess’s journey. When the Duke of Florence in 1608 was reluctant to pay for part of Maria Maddalena of Austria’s journey, the bride’s relatives shared some very unflattering comments on the Medici’s parsimony: “The richer the person is, the more unwilling he is to spend money.”⁴⁵

Yet despite all that has just been said, it is possible to find other, more asymmetrical forms of financial arrangements. For instance, the expenses for Eleanor of Portugal’s transfer to reach Frederick III in 1452 were covered by 10,000 florins deducted from her dowry, amounting to 60,000 florins in total.⁴⁶ The marriage contract of another Portuguese princess, Isabel, and Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430, did not explicitly mention the journey’s costs; however, it is safe to assume that Isabel’s father, the King of Portugal, covered this since he guaranteed that “the lady infanta and her company will be supported by royal costs up until the lord duke will receive confirmation of receiving the sum (of the dowry) ... and up until the solemnisation of the marriage.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, the king also pledged at his expense to send the princess to a city other than Bruges, if there should be an outbreak of plague or another unfortunate accident, hindering the nuptial festivities. Margaret of Habsburg’s voyage [1497] to Spain was completely in the hands of the Catholic monarchs, her future in-laws.⁴⁸ In 1517, Bona Sforza’s mother, Isabella of Aragon, also pledged to send her daughter “at her own expense to the kingdom of Poland and city of Kraków, either by overland or sea route, whatever will seem to her convenient or more honourable.”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Mathias Dogiel, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae*, vol. 1 (Vilnae: Typ. Collegii Scholarum Piarum, 1758), 157.

⁴⁵ Betz, *Von Innerösterreich in die Toskana*, 195–196.

⁴⁶ Aires Augusto Nascimento, Maria Filomena Andrade, and Maria Teresa Rebelo da Silva, eds., *Princesas de Portugal: contratos matrimoniais dos séculos XV e XVI*, Coleção Medievalia 5 (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1992), 74.

⁴⁷ “Que quidem domina infantissa et eius comitiua sumptibus regiis supportabitur et manutenebitur quousque prefato domino duci securitas parabitur et incontinenti sibi fiat solucio centum millium coronarum supra scriptarum ... et usque ad solempnizacionem matrimonii ...,” Nascimento and Rebelo da Silva, *Princesas de Portugal*, 44.

⁴⁸ Hermann Wiesflecker, “Maximilian I. und die habsburgisch-spanischen Heirats- und Bündnisverträge von 1495/96,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 1-2, no. 67 (1959): 16.

⁴⁹ Bona’s wedding contract, printed in Władysław Pociecha, *Królowa Bona: (1494-1557): czasy i ludzie odrodzenia* [*Queen Bona: times and people of Renaissance*], vol. I (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1949),

Sophie of Jagiellon's account book shows that besides the two wedding parties there was another participant involved in the economic burden related to the princess's transfer, i.e. the third party hosts. Although there are no clauses discussing the princess's transfer to Wolfenbüttel in her wedding contract, the very existence of the log, coming from the Polish royal treasury, points to the fact that the Polish marital party was supposed to bear the overall costs. Eventually, however, expenditure on the princess and her entourage was significantly reduced because the groom—but more importantly, third-party players, such as foreign princes, bishops, and aristocrats—took care of the expenditure (see Table 1.)

Table 1 Sophie of Jagiellon's itinerary with the breakdown of finances for particular days

Date	Place (modern state, PL – Poland, DE – Germany)	Costs (florin, groschen, denar)	Notes
29 January 1556 (Wednesday)	Błonie (PL)	0 (no expenses) hosted by Stanisław Grudziński Starosta of Błonie,	+ minor costs for the steward (<i>dispensator</i>)
30 January (Thursday)	Łowicz (PL)	0 hosted by Mikołaj Dzierzgowski, Archbishop of Gniezno	+minor costs for the steward (<i>dispensator</i>)
31 January (Friday)	Kutno (PL)	54 fl., 0 gr., 9 d. some food and fodder provided by Jerzy Kuciński	
1 February (Saturday)	Koło (PL)	5 fl., 16 gr., 0 d. (costs for some food dispensator and for a peasant showing the way rest: by Łukasz Górka, Palatine of Brześć Kujawski	
2 February (Sunday)	Kleczew (PL)	107 fl., 8 gr., 9 d.	
3 February (Monday)	Września (PL)	94 fl., 21 gr., 0 d.	
4 February (Tuesday)	Poznań (PL)	0 hosted by Jan Kościelecki, Palatine of Sieradz	+minor costs for the steward (<i>dispensator</i>)

5 February (Wednesday)	Poznań (PL)	0 paid by Łukasz Górka	+minor costs for the steward (<i>dispensator</i>)
6 February (Thursday)	Kościan (PL)	0 paid by Wojciech Czarnkowski, Starosta of Kościan	+minor costs for the steward (<i>dispensator</i>) in Dębowa Łęka
7 February (Friday)	Wschowa (PL)	93 fl., 8 gr., 6 d.	
“GERMANIA” ⁵⁰			In reality Silesia and Lusatia—parts of the Crown of Bohemia, under the rule of Ferdinand I of Habsburg.
8 February (Saturday)	Głogów (PL)	156 fl., 12 gr., 0 d. only costs of officials;	
9 February (Sunday)	Bolesławiec (PL)	rest: paid by the Duke of Brunswick	
10 February (Monday)	Görlitz (DE)		
11 February (Tuesday)	Görlitz (DE)		
12 February (Wednesday)	Bautzen (DE)	0 paid by the Duke of Brunswick	
13 February (Thursday)	Kamenz (DE)		
14 February (Friday)	Großenhain (DE)	0 paid by the Elector of Saxony, August	Saxony
15 February (Saturday)	Torgau (DE)		
16 February (Sunday)	Eilenburg (DE)		
17 February (Monday)	Leipzig (DE)		
18 February (Tuesday)	Halle (DE)	0 hosted by the Elector of Saxony, except the officials	
19 February (Wednesday)	Ascherleben (DE)		

⁵⁰ The account book marks the following entries and cities as “Germany” which it clearly associates with the Holy Roman Empire, because at least following six stays (up until Großenhain), Sophie travelled through Silesia and Lusatia. In this time, these lands were parts of the Bohemian crown lands, that is under the sovereignty of the Habsburgs.

20 February (Thursday)	Halberstadt (DE)	0 hosted by Sigismund of Brandenburg, Bishop of Halberstadt and Archbishop of Magdeburg, except costs of officials	
21 February (Friday)	Osterwieck (DE)	0 hosted by the Duke of Brunswick, except for costs of officials	
22 February (Saturday)–3 March (Tuesday)	Wolfenbüttel (DE)	0 everything provided by the Duke of Brunswick	

As evident from Table 1, out of twenty-four days on the road, the Jagiellonian princess and her entourage were hosted free of cost for twenty-one days, entirely (i.e. all costs were borne by the hosts) for eleven days and partially for ten days. Only for three days did the Polish royal treasury bear the entire financial burden. Since Sophie's account book lists only the numbers relevant to the Polish treasury, we do not know the expenditures of the particular hosts, and this prevents us from reconstructing the complete picture and the overall proportion of their financial responsibility. However, at least judging from the number of days, it is possible to say that the level of financial hosting was extremely high, with the bride's party completely responsible only for ca. 12% of the journey. (See Figure 1)

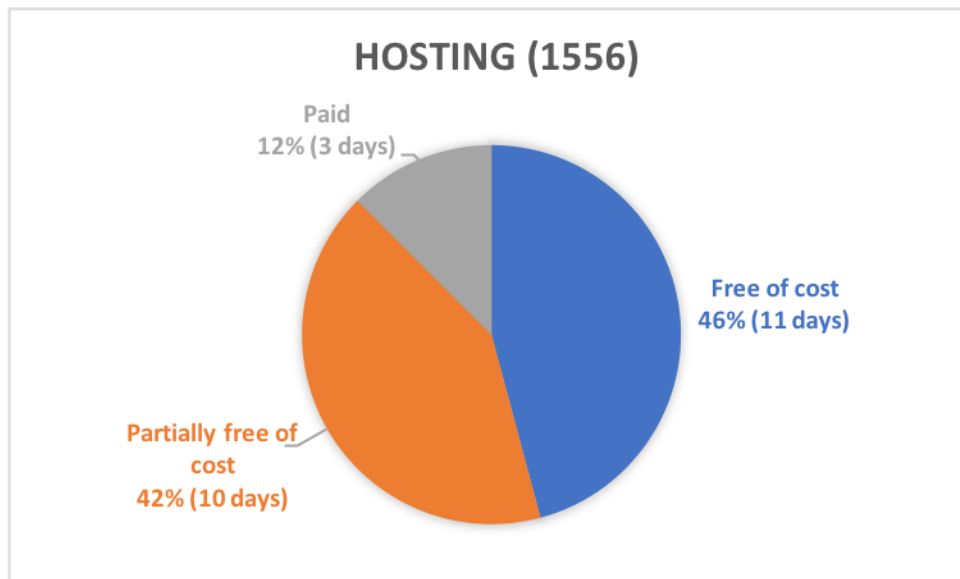


Figure 1 *Sophie of Jagiellon's journey: ratio of days paid by the Polish royal treasury (grey), partially (red) or totally by third-party hosts (blue).*

As we can see in Figure 2, there were diverse types of hosts. In Polish territories (up to Wschowa), a majority of the hosts held a title of *starosta niegrodowy*, that is, an administrator of royal castles or estates without judicial or executive powers (unlike *starosta grodowy*). As such, they were closely tied to the king and their contribution to Sophie's journey was a mix of duty and future prospects of currying favour with the royal family. They could take care of more than one stay, like the voivode Łukasz (III) Górka, who had a palace in Poznań and held the title of *starosta* in the castle of Koło too.⁵¹ Alternatively, it could have been a member of the high clergy, like Mikołaj Dzierzgowski, Archbishop of Gniezno, who hosted the princess in Łowicz. This (by that time still under construction) Renaissance castle was practically the archbishop's main residence.⁵² The *starostas* and the archbishop alike covered almost all the costs related to the princess's stay in their domains. On the other hand, it seems that the royal towns of Kleczew, Września, and Wschowa did not contribute anything to the kitchen and stable provisions, but they might have presented the bride with other precious gifts. Still, the level and manner of financial participation in the princess's transfer varied.

⁵¹ Antoni Gąsiorowski, "Kolskie starostwo i kolscy starostowie w czasach jagiellońskich [Starostwo and starostas of Koło in the Jagiellonian Times]," in *Królewskie Miasto Koło*, ed. Izabela Skierska (Koło, 2012), 49.

⁵² Michał Słomski, "Zamki arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich w Łowiczu, Uniejowie i Opatówku w świetle opisów inwentarzowych z lat 1591-1592 [Castles of Archbishops of Gniezno in Łowicz, Uniejów and Opatówek in Light of Inventory from 1591-1592]," *Rocznik Łódzki* LXV, no. 3 (2016); Władysław Pociecha, "Mikołaj Dzierzgowski," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [hereafter PSB] 6 (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1948).

A similar volatility of contributions is evident in the non-Polish hosts, Duke Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (the groom), Elector August of Saxony, and Sigismund, bishop of Halberstadt and Archbishop of Magdeburg. At some places they paid for everything, at others only for the expenses of the princess's closest circle and not for the officials in her company. Whereas the groom's payments were understandable as one of the wedding parties, the motives of the other two German third party hosts are more complex. The Elector of Saxony could have perceived his contribution for the sister of the King of Poland and wife of the Duke of Brunswick as a potential investment building of social capital for the future. The same might have been the case for Bishop Sigismund of Halberstadt, although his familial background was arguably more important. As a son of Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg and Hedwig of Jagiellon, Sophie's half-sister, Sigismund was closely related to his princely guest.⁵³ The hosts were connected by familial ties not only to the princess but also to her companions: for instance, Sophie's high stewardess (*pedisequarum magistra*) was Katarzyna, who was related by marriage to Janusz Kościelecki, Palatine of Sieradz, who hosted the princess in Poznań on the first day and a sister of Lukasz Górka, who hosted her on the second day.⁵⁴

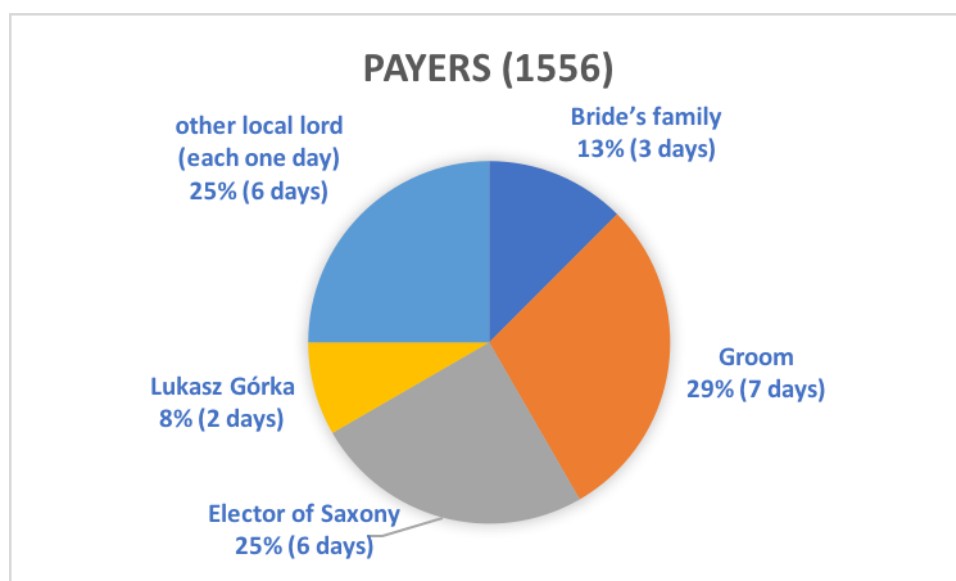


Figure 2 *The shares of the parties bearing costs for Sophie of Jagiellon's journey (1556)*

⁵³ Karl Janicke, "Sigmund, Erzbischof von Magdeburg," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1892).

⁵⁴ "Rationarius domine Zophie," 4r.; Lipiński, "Dyaryusz podróży Zofii Jagiellonki," 637; Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, "Górka Andrzej," in *PSB 8* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960), 404; Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, "Kościelecki Jan," in *PSB 14* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969), 406.

As already said, the scarcity of evidence, related to the hosts' spending, hinders us from reconstructing the exact picture. However, the existing data from Sophie's account book can provide an idea of the total assets the Polish treasury saved: the average sum of money, spent in the three days when it was due for expenses in full was roughly 98 florins. Applying this sum to twenty-four travelling days, one would get the final tally of 2362 florins, which might have been the total cost of Sophie's journey if no hosting took place. In reality, the actual journey to Wolfenbüttel cost the treasury only 866 florins, which means only a third of the conjectured sum (2362). Therefore, the Polish treasury was spared almost 1500 florins, a sum that roughly equals the overall expenses by the treasury for the entire expedition (1687 fl.); that is, Sophie's journey to Wolfenbüttel and the return journey of her Polish courtiers back to Warsaw.

Sophie's case shows a relatively high proportion of hosting, whether by local lords and towns in Poland or by the third-party rulers (Elector of Saxony), but many other princely brides were unquestionably hosted free of cost too. Elizabeth and Anne's financial logs do not provide us with a detailed breakdown of costs for particular days, so we cannot determine the precise portion of hosting; nevertheless, at least in Elizabeth's case, there are explicit mentions that this was the case. The future queen of France was hosted completely free of charge in Saarbrücken and Luxembourg and partially free in Sedan.⁵⁵ Generally, cities located on the princely bride's route were expected to organise splendid receptions, combining elaborate ceremonial entries with banquets, theatrical entertainments, and gifts. It was not only an opportunity to display loyalty to the ruling house, but also a means of shaping civic identity. The triumphal arches and other temporary structures constructed for the princesses' visits could have conveyed messages taken from (often reimagined) local history and legends, which were meant to affirm the city's distinctive character, values, and virtues.⁵⁶ Wedding passages were also an opportunity to carry out urban improvements; for example, as Ángela Pereda López has showed, the city of Burgos used the transit of Princess Anne in 1570 to enlarge the squares and gates, clean the streets and houses, rebuild the walls, or refurbish the street pavements throughout the city.⁵⁷ Naturally, not every town commanded the necessary resources or

⁵⁵ 'Raiß in Franckreich', f. 36r, 37v, 40r.

⁵⁶ Julia de la Torre Fazio, "The Grand Entry of Elizabeth of Valois into Spain (1559)," in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, European Festival Studies (Farnham, Surrey, England, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 149–165.

⁵⁷ Pereda López, "La ciudad de Burgos," 270–271.

abilities to organise a huge festival. María Ines Aliverti has singled out many prerequisites for a city to prepare festivities, which included the right political system and civic institutions, convenient urban layout, general consensus about the use of public buildings, economic supplies, cultural and artistic production, ceremonial traditions, and so on.⁵⁸ Faced with the imminent visit of the princess, the cities vied with each other to provide a luxurious feast, although the support for this sort of welcome was not automatic. Franca Varallo has demonstrated brilliantly that certain strategies, such as claiming illness or poverty, etc., were used by aristocrats in Pavia to avoid participating in Margaret of Austria's entry into the city in 1599.⁵⁹ However, it was in the interests of civic authorities, not only in Pavia, to prepare a magnificent welcome, either in order to build social capital for the future, to curry favour with the princess's natal or wedded family, or to propose direct demands: for instance, in 1570, the city magistrates of Cologne asked Princess Anne to communicate their wishes to her future husband, Philip II.⁶⁰



Figure 3 Elizabeth of Habsburg's journey (1570) as documented from her financial records, that is from Speyer to Mézières. The French leg of the journey (up to Paris) is not covered.

⁵⁸ Aliverti, "The Loose Parts of an Entry: The Flop of Cremona in 1598," 117.

⁵⁹ Varallo, "Margaret of Austria's Travel in the State of Milan between 1598 and 1599."

⁶⁰ González Cuerva, "Anne, Margaret and Marianne of Austria," 61.

The route of the princely brides might have been a result of the hosting infrastructure, i.e. the opportunities to be hosted as often and as much as (that is, ideally to meet all the expenses) possible, even if that meant making detours from the most direct and fastest trajectory. For instance, Sophie took a roundabout way via Saxony, instead of taking the more direct route through Berlin (see Figure 5, below). Likewise, Elizabeth travelled further south to Saverne, not following the shorter way from Speyer to Luxembourg via Kaiserlautern (see Figure 3). In Elizabeth's case, the strange trajectory already puzzled the Strasbourg archivist Louis Spach. Due to the lack of source evidence, Spach offered three possible explanations for this strange trajectory: the nuptial train either wanted to avoid the hilly terrain, to bypass potential military troops occupying the shorter track, or to honour the Bishop of Strasbourg by staying at his residences.⁶¹ Trying to explain a similar peculiarity, Lipiński speculates that Sophie's circuitous journey ("krzywym dyszlem," literally by the crooked drawbar) might have been caused by the desire (it is not clear whose) to avoid Protestant regions,⁶² but this explanation seems improbable because Saxony and Upper Lusatia were not Catholic either. Nor were Sophie's entourage members strictly Catholic: for instance, Bishop Jan Drohojowski, the head of the company, was known for and even prosecuted for his known Protestant inclinations. Both Drohojowski and another of Sophie's companions, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, a prolific writer of political and religious treatises, used the journey for meetings with Lutheran theologians, like Matthias Flacius Illyricus, in Leipzig and Magdeburg. Drohojowski even promised Flacius, at that time working on his opus on ecclesiastic history (*Magdeburg Centuries*), to search for Russian translations of the Bible in Lithuanian territories.⁶³ In light of this, Sophie's trajectory cannot therefore be explained on religious grounds.

Since we lack precise information, it is hard to ascertain the exact reasons but most likely, these strange routes were a result of many factors. Presumably, one of the major reasons was financial considerations, i.e. in order to be hosted free of charge or to stay in places where the costs would have been reduced by local sponsors. Aside from this, there was another means by which finances may have altered the trajectory. Sailing by river was a significantly less expensive form of transport than travelling overland. Anne's entire

⁶¹ Louis Spach, *Deux voyages d'Élisabeth d'Autriche, épouse de Charles IX, roi de France*. (Colmar: Imprimerie et Lithographie de M.me veuve Decker, 1855), 28.

⁶² "Przystępuję do właściwego dyaryusza podróży, z którego się okaże, jak krzywym dyszlem jechała królowna przez obcą ziemię. Być może, iż omijano kraje protestanckie, a obracano drogę na takie miejsca, gdzie jeszcze istniał katolicyzm." Lipiński, "Dyaryusz podróży Zofii Jagiellonki," 638.

⁶³ Stanisław Kot, "Drohojowski, Jan," in *PSB 5* (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1946 1939).

German leg of her journey was dictated by this principle because she sailed on the Rhine all the way from Speyer to Nijmegen. We do not have explicit evidence, but Elizabeth's company probably used river transport too, at least from Sarre-Union, if not sooner, as the river Saar is navigable in those places. Financial considerations thus played a substantial role in shaping the transfers of the princely brides. The costs could be reduced by both the choice of *where* the princesses would stay and *how* they would get there.

However, the situation was quite different for the return journey of Sophie's Polish entourage. Travelling back to Warsaw after the nuptial festivities in Wolfenbüttel, seen in Figure 4, the journey of the former wedding company was hosted only in a small number of places. Some expenses were covered by local princes, nobles, or religious establishments during five stays (violet markers), but a completely free stay was only provided in two towns (Kutno and Błonie, red markers). During the remaining eighteen travel days, the food or stable provisions were paid for by the Polish royal treasury. In comparison with Sophie's journey to Wolfenbüttel (see Figure 5), the ratio between hosting and paying shifted radically. This confirms the above-stated hypothesis that the travelling bride was hosted free of charge by the local lords and princes because of the upcoming dynastic union and her persona. Their welcome, which involved providing provisions and travel supplies for the nuptial train, was a form of contribution or gift to the wedding couple. The familial and dynastic ties of the bride's natal and marital family thus represented a high social capital that directly translated into an economic one: i.e., the receptions and hosting. However, the same level of generosity from the local authorities was not offered for the company travelling back from the nuptials, since they lacked the social capital of the princely bride.

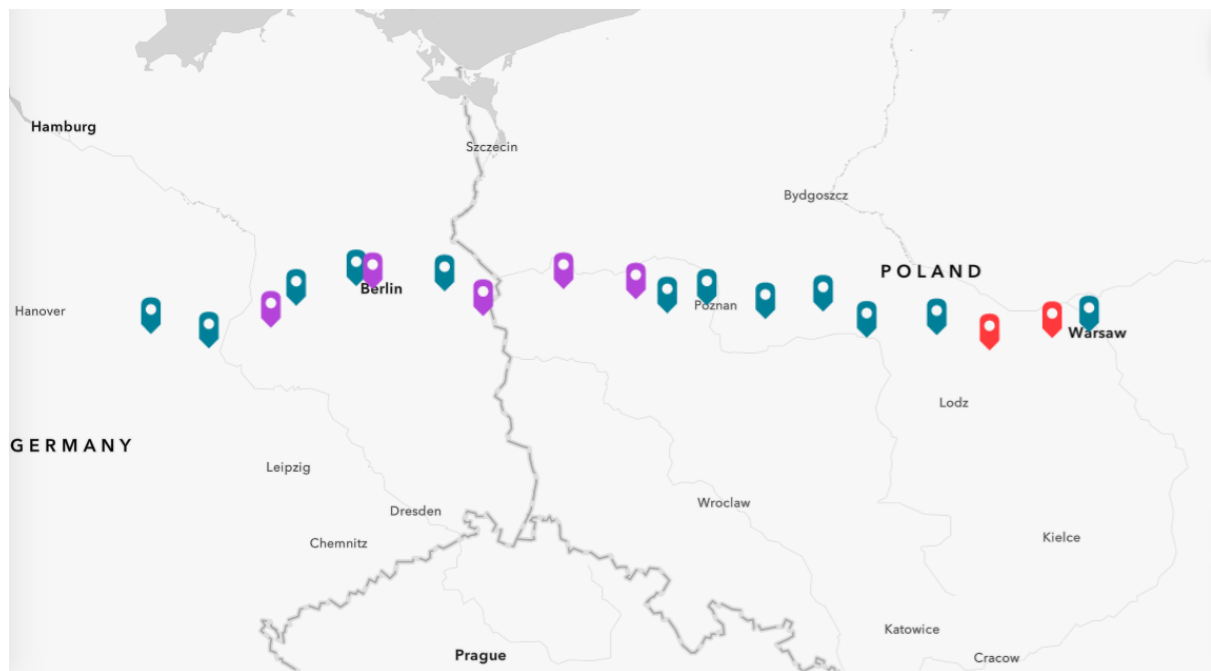


Figure 4 *The return journey of Sophie's Polish entourage (1556). Blue markers: expenses paid by the Polish royal treasury, violet: certain costs covered by local hosts, red: all costs covered by local hosts.*



Figure 5 *The map of Sophie of Jagiellon's journey to Wolfenbüttel (1556). Blue markers: places where the Polish royal treasury had to pay for all the expenses; violet markers: some expenses were covered by third-party hosts; red markers: everything was provided by third-party hosts.*

Interestingly, in calculating the overall expenses of the Polish treasury for the journey to and back from Wolfenbüttel (the financial book gives only the total sum), we find that both journeys cost about the same, around ca 866 versus 777 florins.⁶⁴ This might be explained by the fact that the Polish company gradually decreased in size, with many of its members splitting from it and heading home. Out of the ninety-two horses that left Wolfenbüttel for Poland, only twenty-two horses reached Warsaw in March 1556.⁶⁵ Still, to secure the return of the travel companions, a considerable sum was needed. In light of this, we might understand better why the Polish envoys, negotiating Bona Sforza's entourage in 1517, were reluctant to permit more courtiers to accompany the princess than those who would stay with her in Poland. Bona's mother, as well as Emperor Maximilian I, both involved in the nuptials, insisted that the princess had to have an appropriate cortège (*comitatum regine convenientem*), which could later be reorganized and sent back, as was the case for Maximilian's wife, Bianca Maria, travelling from Milan to Innsbruck in 1493. The protests of the Polish envoys that "it is easier to send back ladies [and courtiers] from Germany to Milan than from Poland to Bari" were in vain.⁶⁶

Courtiers and logistics

All three financial records, studied in this paper, frequently refer to the princess's companions, i.e., the members of her entourage. Elizabeth and Sophie's account books list their names together with their offices; Anne's book only mentions them in some entries, but her household was paid at once for a particular month. We thus know that the salaries for all of Anne's courtiers for July 1570 (prior to her departure from Speyer) amounted to 2,240 florins and 40 kreuzers, plus five florins for a laundress and two florins for a waiter.⁶⁷ Sophie's diary lists the expenses of particular courtiers for their own retinues; nonetheless, their wages are not given. Hence only Elizabeth's account book, listing the wages of each individual entourage member, enables us to compare the financial profits of joining the bridal train. When we compare the salaries from the payroll of Empress (then Queen) Maria of Spain, Elizabeth's mother, from 1560, we can see a great deal of overlap. As evident from

⁶⁴ Additional ca 44 florins listed in the book were spent on provisions in Warsaw in the days preceding the departure for other minor costs.

⁶⁵ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fols. 22v and 48v.

⁶⁶ Stanislaus Gorski, ed., *Acta Tomiciana. Tomus quartus - epistolarum, legationum, responsorum actionum et rerum gestarum serenissimi principis Sigismundi primi, regis Polonie at magni ducis Lithunie* (Kórnik: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1855), 232.

⁶⁷ "Rechnung des Peter Lopes," fol. 357v–358r.

Table 2, many court offices are paid similar wages, only some are given slightly higher ones. A significantly higher, almost doubled, salary is given only to the head of household, the main steward (*Hofmeister*). Still, this data does not seem to prove decisively the hypothesis that the courtiers serving in the bridal train were significantly better off than those serving in non-nuptial, stable courts.

Table 2 Comparison of selected officers' monthly salaries from Maria of Austria and Elizabeth of Habsburg's household

Office	Maria (1560) ⁶⁸	Elizabeth (1570)
main steward	413 florins, 20 kreuzers	600–744fl. ⁶⁹
chaplains	15 fl.	15 fl.
chamber servants (each)	30 fl.	12,5 fl.
controller	30 fl.	30 fl.
tapestry makers (each)	30 fl.	16/12 fl.
kitchen master (chef)	20 fl.	40 fl.
cooks (each)	12 fl.	15 fl.
lackeys (each)	8 fl.	8 fl.
horse servants (each)	6 fl.	8 fl.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the financial income, connected with service in this travelling court, was not an important factor in motivating individuals into becoming a prospective princess's companion. One would assume that the risks and physical dangers inherent in all early modern travel would be reflected in the financial remuneration, but this was not the case. However, we can see a similar situation at standard royal courts. As Katrin Keller demonstrated, access to the queen/empress, possibilities for personal or familial promotion, influence, and overall symbolic capital and not the salaries were decisive factors in understanding why court service was such an attractive prospect for the aristocracy.⁷⁰ The same can be said about joining the entourage of the princely brides. If the companions managed to stay at the princesses' courts after the nuptials, they could become an invaluable asset to the family. For instance, Pavel Marek and Vanessa de Cruz Medina showed how the ladies-in-waiting of Anne and Elizabeth of

⁶⁸ FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten W 61/A/36/A (1500–1564), fol. 469–473.

⁶⁹ The main account book states that the steward's wage for three months was 1800 fl., but the following recapitulation of the entire court gives a sum of 744 fl. "Raiß in Franckreich," fol. 9r., 52r.

⁷⁰ Katrin Keller, *Hofdamen. Amtsträgerinnen Im Wiener Hofstaat Des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Böhlau, 2005), 155–164.

Habsburg became agents of their families in distant lands and used their proximity to the queens to seek patronage for their relatives, arrange prominent marriages, or exchange news and precious gifts.⁷¹ But one did not have to count on future, perhaps uncertain, prospects. We have seen above how the members of Sophie's entourage (Bishop Drohojowski and secretary Frycz Modrzewski) used the journey to establish social, religious, and cultural links with Protestant thinkers. Therefore, involvement in the princess's marital transfer, whether immediately or subsequently, offered a symbolic capital that outweighed instant financial gain or physical perils.

Unfortunately, Elizabeth's book does not state the salaries of the stewardess (*Hofmeisterin*), chamberwomen, or ladies-in-waiting, which hinders their comparison with their male colleagues. The only females listed in the wage inventory were lower-class servants: Maria Castiglione, carver (*Fürschneider*) of the ladies' court, got 15 fl. a month; Scolastica Figliolin, a body washer (*Leibwäscherin*) received 12 fl.; and Margreta Heiland, a tableware washer (*Mundwäscherin*), also received 12 fl.⁷² Naturally, there are male offices (almoner, purveyors, accountants) that were paid higher, but put side by side with their exact male counterparts, these female servants do not come off badly. For example, the chamber servants had the same wage (15 fl.) as Maria Castiglione, while other table servants in the ladies' court (*Frauenzimmer*) received only 6 fl. each. Hans Janko, a silverware washer (*Silberwascher*), received only 7 fl. a month.⁷³ This scarce evidence is hardly sufficient to question the overall poorer salary conditions of the women at court,⁷⁴ but it might suggest that perhaps, there were types of courts, like the brides' entourages, where gender dynamics, reflected by income, were slightly different.

Anne's file also contains a separate list of expenses made by the tutor of pages (*Edelknaben Hofmeister und Preceptor*) in the princess's train.⁷⁵ Unlike the future queen and her immediate surrounding, the six noble pages (*Edelknaben*) were not given free lodgings, so the most common entries listed are the payments for accommodation (*Legerstat*) in every

⁷¹ Pavel Marek, "Tre Bone Amye," 44–47; Vanessa de Cruz Medina, "In Service to My Lady, the Empress, as I Have Done Every Other Day of My Life': Margarita of Cardona, Baroness of Dietrichstein and Lady-in-Waiting of Maria of Austria," in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*, ed. Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 110–114.

⁷² "Raiß in Franckreich," fol. 19r, 20r and 20v.

⁷³ "Raiß in Franckreich," fol. 10r., 19v–20r., 9v.

⁷⁴ Keller, *Hofdamen*, 164.

⁷⁵ "Verzeignuß von alles, was ich, Joannes Plouvier, der durchleichtigist Khünigin aus Hispanien etc. Edelkhnaben Hoffmeister und Preceptor, von ersten Augusti [1]570 bis auff den 13. aufgegeben und auff die Khnaben verzert hab." FHKA, Sonderbestände, Sammlungen und Selekte, Reichsakten 187.1, fol. 382r–383v.

city, which varied. For instance, in Coblenz, one bed cost only 30 Kreuzers, whereas the inn in Cologne was more than double that price (1 florin and 12 Kreuzers). Aside from quarters, the tutor often had to buy basic garments and accessories like shirts, handkerchiefs and hand cloths in Gerleson (?) and Düsseldorf, shoes in Coblenz, spurs in Emmerich, or washing and repairing them (Gerleson, Düsseldorf, Wesel). Given the lack of information, we might only speculate as to why these additional sartorial purchases were made en route, since it is clear that the pages were equipped already with all necessary personal belongings once they set on the journey from Speyer on August 1, because only leather backpacks (*Falleys*) were purchased there. The noble youths might have indulged in leisure activities, sports, and perhaps mischief, that led to the need of acquiring new apparel to meet proper standards of sartorial display and representation. On the very last day, listed in the inventory, the tutor acquired new toiletries: a shoehorn, a head brush, two garment brushes, three combs, and three sponges. These might have been lost during the river cruise or were a part of the preparation for the splendid occasion of the imminent festivities in Nijmegen. The inventory, however, does not only contain the payments for wardrobe, lodgings, or transport. It is more than likely that the pages were meant to use the journey to further their education. This is not only evident from the purchase of stationery in Bacharach (book paper, inkpot—*Schreibzug*, quill, and ink) but most importantly, of nine books and their bindings in Cologne: namely, nine copies of Plutarch's *De educatione puerorum*. This inventory also reveals that the tutor and pages spent at least one night in a different place than the princess (in Bacharach), meaning that they must have travelled to some extent separately.

The rest of the financial documentation sheds light on other interesting logistical aspects. Sophia's financial book gives us an idea of the diet, since from the days she and her court were not hosted free of cost, we possess a detailed breakdown of expenses for the kitchen, cellar, and stable. For a lunch in Kleczew, it was necessary to buy two cows, four calves, eight lambkins, three hares, three pigs, forty-four capons, thirty roosters, thirty-six geese, lard, butter, flour, peas, cabbage, eggs, clover, onion, salt, offal (*noszki, glowki, kruszki, watrobki*—literally legs, heads, tripes, livers), vinegar, and oil. The cellar was provided with beer, white (*albus*) and wheat (*siliginareus*) bread, glass vessels, and candles.⁷⁶ The richness and variety of meat were not caused by the fact that it was served on 2 February, which fell on Sunday and the feast of the Presentation of Jesus; in fact, the lunch in Września on the next day was very similar. Only on Fridays, on 31 January in Kutno and

⁷⁶ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 9v–10v.

7 February in Wschowa, was the meat substituted for fish (pike and bream) and mushrooms.⁷⁷ Breakfast, for instance in Wschowa on 8 February, was made from fish, eggs, eels, roe deer (*dorcae*), partridges, hares, roasted meat, white and wheat bread, beer, and other condiments.⁷⁸ Only the more expensive spices (pepper and saffron) were probably carried along since the payments for these are only recorded in Warsaw a couple of days before departure.⁷⁹

These details provide us not only with a vivid picture of their diet, but bear witness to the fact that the princess's entourage had to rely heavily on local markets and supplies. Even condiments like salt or vinegar were bought on the spot, which means that the kitchen was mostly equipped with hardware, like pots and vessels, but did not travel with any food provisions. Occasionally even the storage vessels, like barrels (*czebrii*), ewers (*konwy*), vats (*fassa*) and tubs (*nieczki*) had to be acquired.⁸⁰ These items were likely used for washing clothes and kitchenware, but arguably also for personal hygiene. Anne's personnel took care of acquiring such equipment prior to the departure from Speyer—bowls and vessels bought from Hans Pob, the cauldron maker, are explicitly said to be used for "heating water needed to wash dishes."⁸¹ As in other princely journeys, we see a combination of reliance on local and personal resources. The final ratio depended on the actual itinerary. For instance, if the French itinerant court was to visit smaller towns and residences, it had to carry all the necessary equipment with it since these destinations were not able to supply adequate provisions.⁸²

Dependency on regional resources is evident not only in food supplies or equipment but in services too: cooks and kitchen staff had to rely on local town servants and coachmen, who were remunerated for carrying beer, wood, hay, or other provisions to the palaces or inns.⁸³ Elizabeth's records explicitly mention a butcher in Sarreguemines, who took care of slaughtering a calf.⁸⁴ Advice could be a much-needed form of service too: travelling without perfect maps, navigation depended heavily on locals, keen to offer help. Not surprisingly, these people often appear in the sources: Sophie and her officers remunerated a peasant for showing them the right way to Lubstów, between Koło and

⁷⁷ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 8r, 13v.

⁷⁸ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 15r.

⁷⁹ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 5v–6v.

⁸⁰ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 11r.

⁸¹ "Rechnung des Peter Lopes," fol. 358v.

⁸² Faisant, "The French Kings on the Road," 44.

⁸³ E.g. "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 8v, 10v, in Wschowa 14v.

⁸⁴ "Raiß in Franckreich," fol. 35v.

Kleczew, and again, to unspecified locals a day later, for the same purpose.⁸⁵ Elizabeth rewarded a servant of one of her previous hosts, the Count of Mansfeld, for showing her the way from Luxembourg to the abbey of Orval.⁸⁶ It is thus interesting to think about the visits of the princely brides as job opportunities, albeit very brief ones, for local craftsmen and commoners in general. Simon Thurley recently highlighted the benefits of royal progresses for local economies, pointing out the attempts of towns and trade associations to lure the king into their vicinity.⁸⁷

As shown above, the places of residence for the princess and her entourage was often provided by third-party hosts. Still, in the actual execution of the transfer, usually a quartermaster or steward (in Sophie's log called *dispensator*) travelled a day or more before the main party to prepare the lodgings and provide final touches. This was also a standard practice in other princely journeys;⁸⁸ however, we can see two different patterns in Anne and Sophie's cases. In the former, the purveyor (Juan Gomez de Santibañez) was probably always operating separately from the main party, since he was given one payment at the beginning of the journey in Speyer,⁸⁹ whereas Sophie's agent probably waited for the main party to come to the prepared accommodation, and it was only after that he continued to the next place, since he is paid continuously.

The transport of several hundred people was not an easy task, and things could have gotten much more complicated because of unexpected accidents or bad weather. Royal tours or seasonal progresses could have effectively eliminated such problems by altering the route or stopping completely; however, this was not an option for the bridal journeys that had to convey a princess to a precise destination. Travelling in the middle of winter, some carriages from Sophie's company were unsurprisingly delayed from the main train because of the poor quality of roads.⁹⁰ Yet summer could pose challenges too: in Gernstein, Anne's train was caught up by her father's master of the wardrobe, who brought a mill for cooling with saltpetre (*un molino para enfriar con salitre*).⁹¹ Since this nitrate was used for preserving meat, the travelling company likely had problems with storing food in hot

⁸⁵ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 9v and 11r.

⁸⁶ "Raiß in Franckreich," fol. 39r.

⁸⁷ Simon Thurley, "The Court on the Move. Problems and Perspectives," in *Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Musson and J.P.D. Cooper (London and New York: Routledge, 2023), 17–18.

⁸⁸ For instance, in sixteenth-century France it was the king's *fourriers* who rode in advance the main court and distributed lodgings. Faisant, "The French Kings on the Road," 39.

⁸⁹ "Rechnung des Peter Lopes," fol. 358v.

⁹⁰ "Rationarius domine Zophie," fol. 13r.

⁹¹ "Rechnung des Peter Lopes," fol. 359r.

weather or getting the supplies on the spot. Naturally, there was also a human factor, either in the form of bandits—Elizabeth was given an extra military escort of twenty-five arquebusiers by her host in Luxembourg, the Count of Mansfeld, because the roads to Orval were not safe;⁹² or neglect—Anne rewarded a servant of her mother, Juan Ott, with twenty florins for bringing some clothes from Speyer to Düsseldorf.⁹³ Either the parent's belated gift or forgotten item from the princess's trousseau, these dresses—as well as other above-mentioned details—show the dynamic character of the whole transfer that was still evolving, adapting to new circumstances, and cooperating with regional authorities and the bride's relatives.

Tracing the princess's economic agency

So far, attention has been paid to either outside factors of the nuptial transfer, logistics, or the princess's companions, etc., but not to the princesses themselves. Can the financial records tell us something about their behaviour? Were they just passive recipients of the process or did they actively enter it, or even, steer it in their own direction? Scholars looking into the passages of royal brides have long argued for the former. For instance, in her thought-provoking study on the relationship between space and female power, María Cristina Quintero stated that the travelling brides, albeit learning important lessons (meaning absorbing the dynastic and queenship ideology conveyed by the pageants, iconography of triumphal arches, etc.), “were nothing more than mere players, decorative movable statues, in a feast minutely choreographed by officials in charge of protocol.”⁹⁴ When writing about Catherine of Aragon's arrival in 1501, Theresa Earenfight also struggles in finding the princess's active role:

[Catherine] may appear passive as she rode across southern England and was welcomed by dignitaries and townspeople. She may not have been an active creator of each entry—that was the task of the townspeople—but she was the focus, the reason for the creation. By her presence, she made visible her dynastic power as bride and potential mother of an heir.⁹⁵

⁹² “Raß in Franckreich,” fol. 39v.

⁹³ “Rechnung des Peter Lopes,” fol. 359v.

⁹⁴ Maria Cristina Quintero, “The Spaces of Female Sovereignty in Early Modern Spain,” in *Strategic Imaginations: Women and the Gender of Sovereignty in European Culture*, ed. Anke Gilleir and Aude Defurne (Leuven: University Press, 2020), 187.

⁹⁵ Theresa Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon: Infanta of Spain, Queen of England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 62.

It is the bride's symbolic capital that sets things in motion, not her actions. This stance is understandable, given all the pageantry and festive splendour connected with these journeys, that tended to minimise the role of the young queens and gave preference to dynastic or urban messages displayed during these events. But can we prove that these princely brides were also active agents, not only possessing economic or social capital but also commanding it?

To identify the acts of these women, one has to dig very deeply and even then, not much resurfaces. Narrative sources, such as travelogues or accounts of the wedding journeys, provide a few glimpses: for instance, the already quoted Eleanor of Portugal, when making a stop in the city of Ceuta on the North African coast in 1452, planted a memorial tree in the palace garden and interceded on behalf of prisoners of war.⁹⁶ On her way to Hungary in 1502, Anne of Foix visited and observed the Arsenal in Venice, and in Brescia, "she wanted to learn about the memorable things regarding this city."⁹⁷ Both the aforementioned as well as many other princely brides paid reverence to relics and holy shrines lying on their way; in 1598, Margaret of Habsburg even received a special papal dispensation that authorized her to visit cloistered parts of convents and monasteries, thus being able to have personal conversations with nuns during her journey to Spain.⁹⁸ Mariana of Austria (1648/9), too, visited monasteries, but also held audiences and gave formal speeches.⁹⁹ Marie Antoinette (1770) spent the evening during her stay in Freiburg by inspecting triumphal arches that were raised and lit up for her.¹⁰⁰

Financial sources help to lift the veil covering the princess's activities en route even further, although sometimes in a very indirect way. Unfortunately, Sophie's account book remains silent on her agency, so we do not know whether she distributed gifts to people

⁹⁶ Nicolaus Lanckmann, *Leonor de Portugal, imperatriz da Alemanha: diário de viagem do embaixador Nicolau Lanckman de Valckenstein*, Coleção Medievalia 6 (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1992), 58.

⁹⁷ Attila Györkös, *Reneszánsz utazás. Anna királyné 1502-es fogadtatásának ünnepségei észak-Itáliában és Magyarországon* [*The Renaissance Journey. The Welcome Feasts of the Queen Anne in the Northern Italy and Hungary in 1502*], *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum* 9 (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2016), 97, 109.

⁹⁸ Magdalena S. Sánchez, "A Woman's Influence: Archduchess Maria of Bavaria and the Spanish Habsburgs," in *The Lion and the Eagle: Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries*, ed. Conrad Kent, Thomas Wolber, and Cameron M. K. Hewitt (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 94.

⁹⁹ Teresa Zapata Fernández de la Hoz, "El Viaje de Las Reinas Austriacas a Las Costas Españolas. La Travesía de Mariana de Austria," in *España y El Mundo Mediterráneo a Través de Las Relaciones de Sucesos*, ed. Pierre Civil, Françoise Crémoux, and Jacobo S. Sanz Hermida (Salamanca: Universidad, 2008), 355–360.

¹⁰⁰ Carmen Ziwes, "Die Brautfahrt Der Marie Antoinette 1770: Festlichkeiten, Zeremoniell Und Ständische Rahmenbedingungen Am Beispiel Der Station Freiburg," *Aufklärung* 6, no. 2 (1992): 65.

on the way or made offerings to religious sites. On the other hand, Anne and Elizabeth's account books provide a very colourful picture of their gifts, which took the form of material objects or sums of cash. These can be divided into several categories: farewell tips, remunerative gifts, and alms.

The first category is made by the so-called *Trinkgelt*, although this German term, suggesting drinking, is slightly misleading in this context. Much better, they can be understood as tips, mostly in cash, to the owners or staff of a particular dwelling, in which the princess spent the night. Anne's archival folder contains a separate list of these donations: the administrators or castellans are given 30 florins, whereas their servants are given cash offerings.¹⁰¹ In contrast to the sum offered to their bosses, the personnel is given a lower gratuity (2 tollars each, equivalent to 2 florins and 16 or 24 kreuzers), although not drastically smaller.¹⁰² One exception was probably the servants in Düsseldorf, to whom Anne ordered the distribution of 100 florins.¹⁰³ As the princess stayed in the palace of William (1516-1592), Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, for several days, it might have been the princess's appreciation for their longer service, or just reflected the higher number of personnel or higher quality of reception.

In some cities or residences, the local hosts were remunerated not by cash but with a precious item as another list from Anne's folder shows.¹⁰⁴ In her case, these items were always gilded silver cups (*copa de plata dorada*), which varied only in weight.¹⁰⁵ However, the cups were not only given as another form of *Trinkgelt* for an overnight stay but also as remuneration for other services: in Mona (probably Mannheim), a steward and a marshal of the Count Palatine are given gifts because "they waited for Her Majesty in the castle;" in

¹⁰¹ Administrators remunerated in: Mainz, Koblenz, both 30 florins, Bonn, and Nijmegen, both 20 escudos, equalled to 30 florins. Servants remunerated in: Mannheim, Gernstein, Mainz, Koblenz, Bonn, Cologne, Niterbel, and Merique. "Particular de los dineros que Pero Lopez de Orduña thesorero y contralor de la Reyna d'España nuestra señora adado y pagado al señor don Francisco Laso de Castilla, su mayordomo mayor para repartir entre personas donde su Mayestad aposado desde Spira hasta Nuimega de que les hizo merced." "Rechnung des Peter Lopes", 364r-364v.

¹⁰² The ratio between tollar and florin varies in the list, for instance, six tollars given to three servants in Gernstein are stated to be equalled to 7 florins and 12 kreuzers, with one tollar worth 72 kreuzers. In other places, tollar equals just 68 kreuzers. One florin was usually made of 60 kreuzers.

¹⁰³ "Rechnung des Peter Lopes," fol. 359v.

¹⁰⁴ "Particular de las copas de plata que se dieron por mandado de la Reyna d'España..." in 'Rechnung des Peter Lopes,' fol. 362r-362v.

¹⁰⁵ From smaller pieces weighting only 13 loths to heavier items, of the value of 3 or 4 marks. One mark was roughly equal to 16 loths and one Cologne mark to 8 florins. W. A. Shaw, *The History of Currency: 1252 to 1896*, 2nd ed. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1896), 361.

Düsseldorf, three officers of Duke William of Jülich-Cleves-Berg are also presented with high-valued cups (unfortunately, we are not told more details). Mostly, these items are priced at three or four marks of silver, which makes them of similar value to the 30 florins paid to the residences' managers.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the distributed objects must have possessed an additional artistic or artisanal value, so one must deem them as more precious than the cost of the metal used to cast them.

For Elizabeth, the tipping pattern is more inconsistent. One reason for this is the incomplete records. In most cases, it states only that a particular sum of money or a precious item (again, a cup) was left as a reward for an overnight stay; sometimes it states that the sum was given to the host (innkeepers, castellans), and sometimes it explicitly mentions the host's staff as well. Therefore, it is not clear if the lower personnel were remunerated at each site or not; perhaps the innkeepers were supposed to share their tips with their servants. The value of the farewell gifts left by Elizabeth fluctuated considerably, from 10 tollars (11 florins, 40 kreuzers) in Hochfelden to a 45-florins-worth cup to the host's steward in Luxembourg. The explicitly-stated tips for kitchen or cellar staff range from 5 to 15 tollars.¹⁰⁷ In one case, Elizabeth left a gift of 4 tollars (4 florins, 40 kreuzers) to the innkeeper and his children for breakfast in Erbringen.¹⁰⁸ Unlike her sister, the future Queen of France used the objects as farewell presents only in three cases, besides the already mentioned steward in Luxembourg, to the landlady (Frau von Haydeck) in Hagenau (worth 40 florins), and to the steward of the Count of Nassau in Saarbrücken (worth 30 florins).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ The mark of silver equalled roughly 8 florins in this period. Shaw, 365.

¹⁰⁷ The personnel in Luxembourg were given 40 tollars; however, the high sum might be explained by the princess's prolonged stay (three days) there. "Raiß in Franckreich," fol. 37v.

¹⁰⁸ "Raiß in Franckreich," fol. 37r.

¹⁰⁹ "Raiß in Franckreich," fols. 32v, 36r.



Figure 6: Anne of Habsburg's German leg of the journey as documented in her financial records.

The second category, very similar to the tips, were gifts or cash offerings given to individuals in exchange for their material gifts or services. Anne rewarded Heinrich Stuzmuis, a scholar in the service of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, with sixteen florins for three books Stuzmuis had given to her.¹¹⁰ Elizabeth remunerated townspeople in Landau and Wissembourg who had given her fish and the huntsman Hans in Saverne, who had offered her two boars (in both cases 2 tollars). A special kind of object was relics—Elizabeth received them in Wissembourg and Hagenau, and she rewarded the priest and nuns, who had given her the relics, with eight and six tollars respectively.¹¹¹ There are also rewards for services: Elizabeth presented two tollars to a cannon master for preparing fireworks in Luxembourg and half a tollar to a butcher in Sarreguemines who took care of slaughtering a calf.¹¹² Anne made a gift (literally *merced*, “favour”) of twenty florins to the Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg’s master of chapel and musicians for singing in the hall, and remunerated the services of the boatman Jacob Comgui in Cologne and Koblenz with the same amount.¹¹³ Very often, couriers and messengers, bringing letters to and from Elizabeth were also given a gratuity.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ “Rechnung des Peter Lopes,” fol. 359r.

¹¹¹ “Raiß in Franckreich,” fols. 32r–v, 34v.

¹¹² “Raiß in Franckreich,” fol. 37v, 35v.

¹¹³ “Rechnung des Peter Lopes,” fol. 359v.

¹¹⁴ “Raiß in Franckreich,” 35r–v, 36v, 37v, 38r–v, 39r.

The very last group of cash handouts were alms, distributed to the poor. These were given at several points on Elizabeth's journey. Sometimes, we are left only with a bare piece of information (in Sarre-Union), while in other instances, there are more details—for instance, in Douzy, where the poor people in the local hospital were presented with alms, or in Étalle, where a humble flower woman was given half a tollar.¹¹⁵ A very interesting type of alms is the cash offerings given to the poor men who had asked the princess to be a godmother to their new-born children. This happened at least three times, in Hagenau, Arlon and Orvall, where Elizabeth ordered that *Kindschenken* be left for the anonymous low-class fathers.¹¹⁶

Even this scarce evidence points to a very vivid picture of the bridal journeys from the point of view of the princess's agency. Taken together, both Habsburg princesses are shown to interact with individuals of all social classes—from princes and dukes, their representatives and attendants, courtiers, townsmen, clergy, artisans, peasants and commoners. Even though we know nothing about what these interactions looked like, it is safe to say that the princesses were involved, sometimes explicitly—that is, via direct order (*auf Ir Mt. aignen Beuelich*). The instructions for Elizabeth's controller state that he “should execute the expenditures of farewell tips, inn money, gifts, favours and other similar things according to the lord steward's command.”¹¹⁷ Yet, this, of course, does not mean the steward was a decision-making authority, but only executing his lady's wishes.

How do we know that it was the princesses who were really in charge? Evidence for this view can be gathered from *De institutione vivendi*, a fifteenth-century conduct book for the wedding journeys by Diomede Carafa. According to this manual, there was a wide window of opportunities for the bride's agency, and it extended to economic and material affairs too. Having a final say in financial matters, Princess Beatrice (the original addressee of the treatise) should dissuade her officers from purchasing useless things. Before leaving a particular city, she should appoint a person whose task would be to investigate and settle any thefts that had occurred to or were caused by her entourage members.¹¹⁸ She should

¹¹⁵ “Raiß in Franckreich,” fol. 35r, 40r, 39r.

¹¹⁶ “Raiß in Franckreich,” fol. 33r, 38v, 39v.

¹¹⁷ “Raiß in Franckreich,” fol. 85v–86r.

¹¹⁸ Diomede Carafa, *De institutione vivendi. Tanítás az életvezetés szabályairól. Emlékeztető Magyarország fenséges királynéjának [Teaching on Lifestyle. Memorial for the Hungarian Queen]*, ed. Péter Ekler (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2006), 23–4, <https://www.academia.edu/8553308/>.

oversee the salaries of her courtiers and secure compensation in cash, should they suffer a loss of horses (*iactura equorum*).¹¹⁹

Although one must take caution in applying the wide scope of economic agency, proposed by Carafa, to every travelling bride, there is no reason to presume the contrary was always the case either. Based on their character, will, allocated resources, and boundaries set by native or marital families, the princely brides naturally demonstrated a different level of authority and agency. After all, a different degree of the economic activities is visible in Elizabeth and Anne too, which might be accounted for by the latter's gentler and more passive disposition.¹²⁰ Another important factor might have been education and upbringing. Silvia Z. Mitchell showed how the childhood prepared Mariana of Austria to adopt the queenly role very quickly and act in it assertively on the way to Spain, (although being only fourteen years old at the time).¹²¹ Still, the travelling brides were not passive precious objects that were to be gazed at only during solemn processions. On the contrary, they used the objects, in material or monetary form, to connect with the people encountered on the way.

Unfortunately, none of the financial sources used above provide an answer to the question of why the princely brides did so; in other words, what were their motivations to enter into this dialogue. A simple answer would be that the archduchesses only responded to the gifts or services offered to them in the first place. One might argue with Marcel Mauss's thesis that the gift always necessitated a counter-gift. Nonetheless, as we could see, the fluctuating amount of the princesses' offerings and the selectivity of the gifts' recipients points to the fact that the counter-gift was not an automatic reply or an obligation. After all, alms were not reciprocal, at least not in a material way. But as Sharon Kettering points out, largesse and gift-giving was a crucial means of acquiring new clients. Hence the idea that some gifts did not need compensation was solely a smokescreen for creating a system of patronage.¹²² These and other princesses' gifts were thus a token of royal largesse, projecting relations between the donor and receiver.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Carafa, 29.

¹²⁰ González Cuerva, "Anne, Margaret and Marianne of Austria," 49.

¹²¹ Silvia Z. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman: Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 20–30.

¹²² Sharon Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2, no. 2 (1988): 137–138.

¹²³ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 27–42.

The cycle of gifts was a necessary step in creating the princess's image of generosity. Diomede Carafa's *De institutione vivendi* suggests making good use of material objects en route:

Above all, attention must be paid to the gifts that You will receive during the journey. You should share them, especially with the Hungarians, and [to give these gifts] to each of them according to his rank and condition, at different points of the journey, [and doing so] even if there will be nothing left to you.¹²⁴

The idea that the just-received nuptial gift should be immediately passed on might sound rude to the modern ear but it was perfectly acceptable in premodern times. Moreover, as the just-quoted passage shows, it is even commendable: preferably all gifts should be recycled and the less the queen would keep the better. For instance, Anne and Elizabeth's aunt Joanna forwarded the confectionary and wine presented to her by the Venetian authorities to her sisters in Innsbruck.¹²⁵ For Carafa, this redistribution serves one purpose: to win the favour of the new courtiers and subjects, creating ties and connections with them via mutual obligations, inherent in the spirit of gift exchange. But taken more generally, gift-giving also feeds into the overarching plan, envisioned by Carafa—to use the journey and the encounters brought along by it to build the queen's public persona as a generous princess, prudent court administrator, and caring daughter and sister.

What was the purpose of this image and social networks? Tracy Adams brilliantly showed how female gift-giving, taking the form not only of material gifts, but also favours, arrangements of marriages, or releases from prison, served as indirect power, able to mobilise a network of clients and quietly further the queen's interests.¹²⁶ Public or private intercession was one of the ways by which a queen could participate in rulership in cooperation with her husband, conforming with ideals of biblical and saintly women.¹²⁷ Both Habsburg archduchesses interceded, or at least were asked to do so, on behalf of persons approaching them during the journey. Writing from Sarreguemines, Elizabeth implores the bishop of Strasbourg to liberate the husband of a certain Marie Kisin:

¹²⁴ Carafa, 28.

¹²⁵ Patrik Pastrnak, "Nuptial Journeys: A Cultural History of Wedding Travel in Selected Habsburg Unions c. 1450-1550" (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2021), 264.

¹²⁶ Tracy Adams, "Anne de France and Gift-Giving. The Exercise of Female Power," in *Women and Power at the French Court, 1483-1563*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

¹²⁷ Elena Woodacre, *Queens and Queenship* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2021), 72–73.

Since Your Reverence is a bishop of that city we want to particularly entrust her [= Marie Kisin], her husband and her affair to Your Reverence, vigorously and compassionately asking You to make every effort with the relevant authorities, so that her husband will be released and our request satisfied ...¹²⁸

Similarly, in the Netherlands, the associates of Floris van Montmorency, baron of Montigny, implored Anne to mediate his liberation.¹²⁹ Although we do not know how Elizabeth's plea turned out, we can be sure that at least her sister's manoeuvres were unsuccessful: Montigny was executed before her arrival in Spain, while the Cologne officials were reproached by the Spanish ambassador for asking for his involvement in this matter him with the affair, rather than approaching the upcoming queen. Both Habsburg princesses are nonetheless proof that the future queens did engage in the role of intercessor already on their way to their new realm and it was not only a literary *topos*. Anne of Bohemia's ask (1382) for a pardon for the rebels of the Peasants' Revolt before her arrival in England is interpreted as Richard II's fabricated strategy to explain his abrupt change of mind and clemency towards rioters.¹³⁰ Considering the lack of further evidence, this is indeed the most likely explanation; yet the aforementioned Habsburg cases show that it was acceptable and usual for the incoming queen, albeit still far away, already to be a significant player in domestic politics. After all, in order to be credible, Richard II's pardon had to be based on a notion that the queen can intercede even from a distance—and in that case, it is not relevant whether she had arrived already or not. Considered from this perspective, Elizabeth and Anne of Habsburg's expenses and gifts, documented in their financial logs, demonstrate the process of getting into their new roles, connected with their emerging queenly status: as devout queens, they visited holy shrines, received relics and supported religious foundations. As patrons of art and learned culture, they sponsored writers and artists. As prudent administrators, they were keen to repay the services offered to them, handle their own chancery and correspondence, or delegate tasks to their subordinates. In a way, we can see this process as converting their economic capital into cultural capital, or in Bourdieu's terms, informational capital, characterised as a set of "knowledge and know-how, of skills and analytical tools that allow one to manage and

¹²⁸ The letter printed in Spach, *Deux voyages*, 32.

¹²⁹ Liesbeth Geevers, "Anna van Austria," in *Digital Women's Lexicon of the Netherlands*, 13 January 2014, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/AnnavanOostenrijk>.

¹³⁰ W.M. Ormrod, "In Bed with Joan of Kent: The King's Mother and the Peasants' Revolt," in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain. Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 287–291; Kristen L. Geaman, *Anne of Bohemia* (London: Routledge, 2022), 52–53.

produce social relations, cultural products, and technical devices.”¹³¹ The bridal journey thus serves as a sort of training ground that enabled the queens-in-waiting to learn and test their new competencies.

Another interesting aspect emerges when comparing the two financial logs with a similar record, which survived from a male nuptial journey: the expense book of Maximilian II, Elizabeth and Anne's father.¹³² Travelling to Spain in 1548, Maximilian also left farewell tips or gifts in the inns or palaces where he spent the night. He rewarded the services, musical performances and other entertainments prepared for him, such as jesters in Mantua, a juggler in Barcelona, or a slave in Genoa who climbed the main mast of the prince's galley, making various acrobatic acts.¹³³ Like his two daughters, the future emperor also visited many holy shrines, for instance, the pilgrimage site of Seefeld in Tirol, the site of the alleged Eucharistic miracle in 1384,¹³⁴ or the famous chalice *Sacro Catino* in Genoa, an emerald glass bowl, believed to be the Holy Grail.¹³⁵ Perhaps the most important fact, emerging from the comparisons between the female and male financial records is that both princely genders engaged in similar activities—leaving farewell tips, visiting holy shrines, and rewarding musical and theatrical entertainments. Maximilian probably did spend more time with horses, either in hunts or races, since he rewarded a stable master, staff, and a horse preparer in Mantua, and a rifleman in Gavi and Genoa.¹³⁶ Yet, hunting was not a prerogative of travelling men: Maximilian's sister Joanna, on her way to Florence in 1565, also took part in this sort of entertainment in Marmirollo, near Mantua.¹³⁷ Recent scholarship has pointed to the fact that male and female wedding journeys differed to a surprisingly low extent.¹³⁸ The account books used in this article confirm this view. From

¹³¹ Neveu, “Bourdieu's Capital(s),” 350.

¹³² Printed in Ferdinand Menčík, *Die Reise Kaiser Maximilian II. nach Spanien im Jahre 1548* (Vienna: In Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1898).

¹³³ Menčík, 7, 15, 11.

¹³⁴ Mitchell B. Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 9–11.

¹³⁵ Marco Verità, Laura Speranza, Simone Porcinai, and Daniele Angellotto “The Sacro Catino in Genoa: Analytical and Technological Investigations of a Unique Glass Vessel,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 60 (2018): 115–28; Menčík, *Die Reise*, 5, 10.

¹³⁶ Menčík, *Die Reise*, 7, 9, 10.

¹³⁷ Pastrnak, “Nuptial Journeys,” 144.

¹³⁸ Patrik Pastrnak, “Travelling Grooms. A Royal Progress or A Wedding Journey,” in *Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe. Progresses, Palaces and Panache*, ed. Anthony Musson and J.P.D. Cooper (London: Routledge, 2023), 113–26; Cremer, “Reisenden Prinzessinnen,” 24.

the point of view of the main protagonist's agency, male and female wedding journeys were hardly different.

Still, one could find one type of activity that was more probably linked to the traveller's gender: godmothering. As stated above, Elizabeth was asked to attend a christening in three places throughout her journey: in Hagenau, Arlon, and Orvall. It was not unusual for the princely figures to perform these, albeit only titular, godparental roles for the children of the aristocracy. For instance, members of the Habsburg dynasty were godmothers and godfathers to the children of Vratislav of Pernštejn, a prominent courtier and the highest chancellor of Bohemia.¹³⁹ Naturally, princely figures did not always personally attend baptisms; rather, they used proxies delegated for this task. This might have been the case for Elizabeth, although the lack of further details leaves the possibility of the archduchess's personal presence open too. Yet Elizabeth does not seem to have been the only travelling bride to do so: Bianca Maria Sforza did so when waiting to marry Maximilian I in Innsbruck in 1493, and Joanna of Castile also in the days following her arrival to Flanders in 1496.¹⁴⁰ Given all these examples, it seems that godparenting was—if not a usual than at least not an exceptional—part of the bride's travel. For the royal godmother, it could be an opportunity to show generosity and patronage qualities, since one of the duties, connected with this role, was gift-giving.¹⁴¹ However, it could also have been a way to connect oneself with the people and a non-native environment, to step into the religious and social networks of the local community. For the parents of these infants, it was beneficial to get a celebrity godparent who brought with herself not only a one-time gift but also a more permanent token of social prestige.

Conclusion

Analysing three account books from three bridal journeys sheds new light on this kind of travel. Besides revealing specific details from a logistical and material viewpoint, such as diet, navigation, and transport, the records offer valuable perspectives on the economics of these transfers. As with other types of royal mobility, these journeys brought money and

¹³⁹ Pavel Marek, *Pernštejnské ženy. Marie Manrique de Lara a její dcery ve službách habsburské dynastie [Pernštejn Women. Marie Manrique de Lara and her daughters in the service of the Habsburg dynasty]* (Prague: NLN, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2018), 89–99.

¹⁴⁰ Heidemarie Hochrinner, "Bianca Maria Sforza. Versuch einer Biographie" (Dissertation, Graz, Graz, 1966), 44; Gillian B. Fleming, *Juana I. Legitimacy and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Castile* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 21.

¹⁴¹ Marek, *Pernštejnské ženy*, 89.

opportunities to local communities that saw profit in hosting the princely bride. Unlike in royal progresses, the hosts were not always direct subjects of the bride or her groom; nevertheless, Sophie of Jagiellon's account book shows the high level of involvement of the aristocracy and clergy in hosting the wedding train free of cost. On the other hand, Elizabeth of Habsburg's account book indicates that her travel companions were probably not driven to take part in the journey because of their salaries. Both groups, the hosts and members of the entourage, perceived the journey of the princely bride as an opportunity to build symbolic capital for the future. The former did not hesitate to spend their own funds to host and entertain the bridal traveller in the hope of gaining the favour of her natal and marital families. The latter did not seek remuneration for the dangerous travel in cash but in future prospects and new social connections.

But the expenditure, listed in Elizabeth and Anne's books, is proof that the princely brides were not only personified magnets which attracted donations, turning their symbolic capital into an economic one. As a matter of fact, they took an active role in distributing funds, gifts, and offerings as remuneration and so as to build a social network. In other words, the princesses oversaw an opposite conversion of capital, turning the economic into a social one and furthermore, they used this experience to acquire cultural capital and train themselves for their upcoming roles as well. Their economic agency proves that the foreign princesses were not just parcels from abroad, contained in their carriages. On the contrary, they engaged with the people they encountered along the way, in a similar manner to their male counterparts travelling to reach their spouses. They made offerings to monasteries and holy shrines; left tips at the dwellings they spent the night in; and remunerated entertainers who performed for them, those who provided directions, and those who asked them to stand as godmothers for their new-born children. The princely brides did not start to be queens from the moment of their wedding or coronation. They were in their roles right from the moment they stepped outside their father's house.

Appendices

Itinerary of Anne of Habsburg until Nijmegen

Date	Place (modern state, DE – Germany, NL – Netherlands)
1 Aug	Speyer (DE)
2 Aug	Mannheim (<i>Mona</i>) (DE)
3 Aug	Gernsheim (DE)
4 Aug	Mainz (DE)
5 Aug	Koblenz (DE)
6 Aug	Bonn (DE)
7 Aug	Cologne (DE)
8 Aug	Düsseldorf (DE)
9 Aug	
10 Aug	
11 Aug	
12 Aug	
13 Aug	Niterbel (Vincela?)
14 Aug	Merique (Meiderich?)
15 Aug	Wesel? (DE)
16 Aug	Emmerich? (DE)
17 Aug	Nijmegen (NL)

Itinerary of Elizabeth of Habsburg

Date	Place (modern state, DE – Germany, FR – France, BE – Belgium, LU – Luxembourg)
5 November	Speyer (DE)
	Landau in der Pfalz (DE)
	Wissembourg (FR)
	Haguenau (FR)
	Hochfelden
	Saverne (FR)
	Sarre-Union (FR)
13 November	Sarreguemines (FR)
	Saarbrücken (DE)
	Wallerfangen (DE)
	Herspringen?
	Sierck-les-Bains (FR)
	Luxembourg (LU)
	Arlon (BE)
	Étalle (BE)
	Orvall (BE)
	Douzy (FR)
	Sedan (FR)

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