

**WOMEN AND
ECONOMIC POWER
IN PREMODERN
ROYAL COURTS**



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WOMEN AND ECONOMIC POWER IN PREMODERN ROYAL COURTS

Edited by
CATHLEEN SARTI



ARC HUMANITIES PRESS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN: 9781641892728

e-ISBN: 9781641892735

www.arc-humanities.org

Printed and bound in the UK (by Lightning Source), USA (by Bookmasters), and elsewhere using print-on-demand technology.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction: Women and Economic Power in Premodern Royal Courts CATHLEEN SARTI	1
1. The Medieval English Queen as Landholder: Some Reflections on Sources and Methodology MICHELE SEAH and KATIA WRIGHT	9
2. Financial Power of Empresses and Princess Consorts of the Holy Roman Empire CHARLOTTE BACKERRA and CATHÉRINE LUDWIG-OCKENFELS	35
3. “Edward III’s Gold-Digging Mistress”: Alice Perrers, Gender, and Financial Power at the English Royal Court, 1360–1377 LAURA TOMPKINS	59
4. Counselling the Danish King: Sigbrit Villoms as Financial Mastermind for Christian II, 1513–1523 CATHLEEN SARTI	73
Afterword: “Power Is Money”? Reflections on Money, Power, Sex, and Gender in Premodern Royal Courts ELENA WOODACRE	87
Bibliography	93
Index of Persons and Topics	99

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Conferences, coffee breaks, shared meals, and social media are essential to creating scholarship. I firmly believe that academic creativity needs exchanges of ideas. Such exchanges can be quite solitary—just you and a book. Or they can happen in a smaller circle of two to five people sharing a meal, talking between presentations, or taking the same bus after a talk or a long day at the university. This book in particular was created during both. It is also based on exchanging ideas in much bigger academic settings: at conferences and in the Royal Studies Network.

I would like to express my gratitude first and foremost to the authors of this volume, who contributed to this book not only with their own chapters and research, but also through their engagement in academic discussions, be it at a coffee break at the IMC Leeds (thank you, Laura), during various calls and meetings of our friendship (thank you, Charlotte), over after-conference wine and tapas in Madrid (much thanks to Katia and Ellie), or while driving to and from conferences (thank you both, Michele and Cathérine). Furthermore, all authors contributed to the shared recommended bibliography at the end of this book as well as discussed each other's ideas and contributions. It has been a pleasure to work with you all on this book, and I am curious to see which further discussions and ideas will be inspired by our work.

The inclusion of this volume in the Gender and Power in the Premodern World book series at Arc Humanities Press worked out well in several aspects: presenting our ideas in a fitting context, being able to use a shorter format which encourages further research, and bringing us together with an amazing team at Arc Humanities Press. I would like to thank the book series editors, Carole Levin, Simon Doubleday, Susan Broomhall, and Ellie Woodacre, for their support and acceptance of this book. I would like also to thank Erika Gaffney and Danna Messer, who did great work as editors. Moreover, I am grateful to Kristen Geaman and Eva-Maria Roelevink, who both read and commented on parts of, or even the whole book. Thank you also to two anonymous reviewers who engaged with our ideas and made them better with their comments and suggestions.

Last, but not least, I thank you for reading and engaging with our ideas, and I hope you'll find them inspiring!

Cathleen Sarti

INTRODUCTION

WOMEN AND ECONOMIC POWER IN PREMODERN ROYAL COURTS

CATHLEEN SARTI*

THINKING ABOUT POWER means thinking about resources. Not only knowledge is power; money and material resources are power as well, and often in much more obvious ways.¹ This is all the more important as recent research in the cultural history of politics has emphasized the impact and significance of representing power to a wider audience.² Obviously, a ruler who wants to show off needs resources.³

Where did premodern rulers receive their resources from, how were these resources managed, and how were control over resources and political influence interrelated and dependent upon one another? The hypothesis presented in this book suggests that women were often key figures in acquiring resources and managing them, for themselves as well as for their (royal) families and their courts. Moreover, the contributions in this volume put forward the idea that women at royal courts could use resources and skills to wield political influence, even though this influence was often challenged. Trying to reconstruct and understand the influence of women challenges the modern historian in turn due to the long tradition of excluding women from sources and research, as this volume's chapters likewise show.

This edited volume discusses the political power that women at premodern royal courts held through economic influence, resources, and skills. The nexus between economic and financial resources and skills on one hand and power and influence on the other is hardly new, and has already been studied for premodern times as well as for premodern women.⁴ Nevertheless, research hitherto has neglected to analyze this nexus specifically for the royal court—the space of political, social, religious, and cultural power in premodern societies.⁵ In addition to its explicit analysis of royal courts,

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1 Michael Stolleis, *Pecunia nervus rerum: Zur Staatsfinanzierung in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1983), 63–68, reflects on several proverbs used in premodern Germany, all stating the overwhelming importance of money.

2 See Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, ed., *Was heißt Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?*, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung Beiheft 35 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005).

3 See also Stolleis, *Pecunia nervus rerum*, 70–71.

4 David Swartz, *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

5 Werner Sombart, *Liebe, Luxus und Kapitalismus. Über die Entstehung der modernen Welt aus dem Geist der Verschwendung*, new ed. (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1992) is one of the few studies that explicitly takes into account the relationship between royalty and economics, in this case consumer culture. A critical discussion of Sombart's ideas regarding court women as the impetus for modern capitalism

this book offers a specific gender perspective, focusing on women and their agency, their reliance on marriages and families, and the difficulties involved in overcoming the biased source and research material.⁶ By adopting this perspective, the authors of this volume aim to continue a current conversation about women's economic resources and skills and about how women used these resources to gain political power; in so doing, we challenge hitherto dominant narratives of women's dependence on their spouses.⁷ Furthermore, we critically assess how much political influence their economic and financial resources yielded, and how any potential premodern "glass ceilings" worked. Finally, we understand this book as a contribution to the ongoing debate on the economics of monarchies, courts, and dynasties.⁸

The idea for this book originated over a period of discussions at several conferences, the first being at IMC Leeds in 2017. Questions of economic power of women at royal courts continued over tapas and Spanish wine at the 2017 Kings and Queens conference in Madrid. After these intense conversations, the idea for a book was born, and first drafts of these chapters were presented at the next Kings and Queens conference in Winchester in 2018, and at the 2018 conference of the Arbeitskreis Geschlechtergeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit. However, all these discussions would have not occurred were it not for the Royal Studies Network bringing scholars interested in questions of royal power

is given in Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, "Zwischen Luxus und Armut: Frauen und ihr Verhältnis zum Geld in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Frauen und Geld: Wider die ökonomische Unsichtbarkeit von Frauen*, edited by R. J. Regnath and Christine Rudolf (Königstein im Taunus: Helmer, 2008), 25–42 at 25–27 and 41–42. The impact of gender on consumption and capitalism is still under discussion, however, as Opitz-Belakhal indicates (at 31).

6 Merry E. Wiesner, *Gender in History: Global Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); see also Judith M. Bennett and Ruth M. Karras, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), especially the introduction. One of the very few books with a special focus on women and finances from an academic point of view is R. J. Regnath and Christine Rudolf, eds., *Frauen und Geld: Wider die ökonomische Unsichtbarkeit von Frauen* (Königstein im Taunus: Helmer, 2008).

7 In the past few years, books on royal women have included economic aspects of their power, although it usually was not the main focus. Examples of this tentative foray into combining royal studies with economic history include Lucy K. Pick, *Her Father's Daughter: Gender, Power, and Religion in the Early Spanish Kingdoms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), especially chapter 3, Melanie Greinert, *Zwischen Unterordnung und Selbstbehauptung. Handlungsspielräume Gottorfer Fürstinnen (1564–1721)* (Kiel: Wachholtz, 2018), as well as Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

8 Books on economic aspects of monarchy include Volker Bauer, *Hofökonomie: Der Diskurs über den Fürstenhof in Zeremonialwissenschaft, Hausväterliteratur und Kameralismus*, Frühneuzeitstudien Neue Folge 1 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997); Gerhard Fouquet, Jan Hirschbiegel, and Werner Paravicini, eds., *Hofwirtschaft: Ein ökonomischer Blick auf Hof und Residenz in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Residenzenforschung 21 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2008); or Jürgen R. Wolf, ed., *Die Kabinettskassenrechnungen der Kurfürstin Anna Maria Luisa von der Pfalz (1667–1743): Finanzwirtschaft einer Landesmutter im Zeitalter des Absolutismus*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Niederrheins 12 (Essen: Klartext, 2015). The latter focuses specifically on the court of a princess consort and her accounts, making it one of the few extensive studies on female economic power.

together. Therefore, our interest in this topic originates in our research into women at royal courts, meaning that we adapt economic and financial perspectives to our existing research on royal courts and not the other way around. Whereas a general economic historical approach might focus more on the role of courts in the development of realms, or in the context of broader trends in the global economic system, our perspective is more microhistorical.⁹ This means viewing royal courts as economic units and people at court as economic agents, and inquiring into the actors' scale and scope, their interests, their opportunities, and their approaches to economy and finances. In short, courts are understood as businesses, but without losing sight of their political, social, religious, and cultural role in premodern society.

Economy is all about decisions and choices: who makes them, what informs them, and their impact on future developments.¹⁰ Thus, studying economic and financial aspects means to focus on actors, their behaviour and means, always in regard to their social and cultural contexts, and considering short-term psychological, emotional, and cognitive factors as well as their interests.

On the next higher level—that is, several individuals viewed as a group and/or institution—courts are points of intersection between economic, social, and cultural capital leading up to symbolic capital, as explored by Pierre Bourdieu. Using the definition of “capital(s) as a *collection of goods and skills, of knowledge and acknowledgments, belonging to an individual or a group that he or she can mobilize to develop influence, gain power, or bargain other elements of this collection*” (emphasis in the original) already highlights how having goods or skills in one sector might influence an actor's rank or power in another.¹¹ Pierre Bourdieu analyzed how economic capital was transformed

9 For a general understanding of premodern economies, several handbooks and overviews can be recommended; these include Peter W. Musgrave, *The Early Modern European Economy*, European History in Perspective (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Hermann Kellenbenz, ed., *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte 3 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1986); Karl Gunnar Persson and Paul Sharp, *An Economic History of Europe: Knowledge, Institutions and Growth, 600 to the Present*, 2nd ed., New Approaches to Economic and Social History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); or E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson, eds., *The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Cambridge Economic History 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

10 See Matthias Blum and Christopher L. Colvin, eds., *An Economist's Guide to Economic History*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham: Palgrave, 2018) in general for a very helpful introduction to economics and economic history, and in particular chapter 4 by Robert P. Gilles, “Economic Theory and Economic History,” 31–39: “Economics Studies the Human Condition” (31). Or, even more precise, “[economics] explicitly pursues understanding how human involvement converts objective physical substance into human ‘use value’” (32). See also Paul Heyne, Peter J. Boettke, and David L. Prychitko, *The Economic Way of Thinking*, 12th ed. (London: Pearson Education, 2010), 6: “All social phenomena emerge from the actions and interactions of individuals, who are choosing in response to expected additional benefits and costs to themselves.”

11 Erik Neveu, “Bourdieu's Capital(s): Sociologizing an Economic Concept,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu*, ed. Thomas Medvetz and Jeffrey J. Sallaz (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 347–74 at 347.

into cultural, social, and symbolic capital, which also translates to transforming economic power into political power. He identified court societies as a “topical illustration of the investments needed to transform wealth and status into social and symbolic capital.”¹²

To further discuss the notion of transformation of economic to social, cultural, and symbolic capital, this volume understands royal courts as households.¹³ However, we do appreciate that the royal court was on one hand a premodern household that had to be managed with the same restraints and considerations as any other household, such as balancing income and expenditure. On the other hand, the royal court was not only responsible for providing for its members (family, political elites, servants and staff, ambassadors, etc.), but was also the space of high politics. The royal court was the foremost household of the realm. This does not necessarily mean that it was the biggest household, or the most expensive (although it often was), but it was the space where domestic and foreign political actors met. Here, monarchs and their families interacted with the political elites of their realm, with elites from other realms as representatives of different courts and dynasties, and also with a broader group of people involved in the daily management of court.

The court was also the space where decisions were made for the whole realm. Analyzing the economic and financial resources and skills of courtly actors therefore also has implications for the development of the whole realm as well as for the international reputation of a court and monarchy. Furthermore, the royal household often could be more than one household: the *curia domini* (household of the king) and the *curia domine* (household of the queen) could be two different spaces, both with the potential to be political spaces as well.¹⁴ We ask not only how these courts were managed, but also how family funds were handled, and whether the royal couple shared coffers or the king and queen each had their own resources. The answers to these questions shed light on influence—from seemingly simple decisions of how expensive a diplomatic gift to another court could be, to complex policies on economic growth and investments in the realm.

The study of premodern courts as economic units and especially of premodern women at those courts is supported and inspired by several economic theories and ideas as well as insights from gender studies. The foundation of our study, however, is firstly an understanding of politics as a process of negotiation in which several actors can influence decisions (be they economic, political, religious, or cultural), and secondly a focus

12 Neveu, “Bourdieu’s Capital(s),” 359, here referring to an analysis in Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociologie générale. volume 1. Cours au Collège de France (1981–1983)* (Paris: Raisons d’agir, 2015), 527.

13 An English translation for the Greek word *oikonomos* would be “one who manages a household,” highlighting the importance of households as economic units and basis for economies of bigger communities.

14 See on the household of the queen, or the specific areas of a queen at court, Jan Hirschbiegel and Werner Paravicini, eds., *Das Frauenzimmer: Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Residenzenforschung 11 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), in particular the discussion of these courts during times of itinerant kingship by Brigitte Streich, “Frauenhof und Frauenzimmer,” 247–62.

on understanding these actors and their behaviour.¹⁵ This of course also touches upon economic theory, and raises questions concerning the relevance of actors' social and cultural backgrounds (for example, to which extent their gender influenced their options, or which institutional limitations were in place), and places more emphasis on the (economic) ideas, interests, and impact of actors—that is, their individual decisions.¹⁶

This book is also a study on the economic and financial influence of premodern royal courts. Material resources and economic means therefore signify far more than monetary possessions. First and foremost, landownership, often including the right to taxes or dues, was (and often still is) one of the most important assets.¹⁷ But luxury goods such as exotic furs, tapestries, jewellery, expensive fabrics and dresses, treasury objects, horses, buildings, paintings, and so on could also easily be turned into money and have to be accounted for as economic capital. The chapter by Michele Seah and Katia Wright in this book focuses on the former; the chapter by Laura Tompkins concentrates slightly more on the latter. Seah and Wright analyze the land possessions of two late medieval English queen consorts, Margaret of France and Margaret of Anjou, answering questions concerning the separation of the possessions of king and queen consort as well as the hitherto open question of how far royal women could be—and were—involved in managing their possessions. Tompkins on the other hand focuses on one woman at the royal court of Edward III who was certainly not born with a silver spoon in her mouth. Alice Perrers was Edward's mistress and used her incredible economic skills to amass treasures. At times, she was considered one of the wealthiest individuals, male or female, in all England. In particular, she knew how to use luxury goods to her advantage, and thus she exercised not only economic but also political power. The question of whether she also managed to convert economic and political capital into social capital has to be answered in the negative, however, as Tompkins points out.

15 Stollberg-Rilinger, *Was heißt Kulturgeschichte des Politischen?*; see also Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, eds., *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially the introduction.

16 Karl Marx's critique of political economy was one of the most influential studies on these questions. In it, Marx prioritized the influence of social background which—in his opinion—formed all decisions: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress, 1859), preface.

17 See also Amalie Fößel, "The Political Traditions of Female Rulership in Medieval Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth M. Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 68–83 at 80, who points out the great landholdings and lordly domains bestowed upon queens according to the *Domesday Book*. However, the extent of queenly landholdings varied greatly between different kingdoms and different reigns. See also Anne Foerster, *Die Witwe des Königs: Zu Vorstellung, Anspruch und Performanz im englischen und deutschen Hochmittelalter*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen* 57 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018), 217–34, for a discussion on this in the European High Middle Ages, referring among others to Emma of Normandy, the richest woman of her time, whose son Edward the Confessor dispossessed her of some of her treasures and income. Pick, *Her Father's Daughter*, discusses the ownership of monasteries as a political and economic resource.

The emphasis on women and their economic resources in this volume means analyzing the ways in which women wielded influence, and whether—as Anne Foerster writes—“economic capital was one pillar of queenship.”¹⁸ The chapters by Charlotte Backerra with Cathérine Ludwig-Ockenfels and by Cathleen Sarti highlight the agency women at court could have in terms of economic and financial resources and skills. The specific context of the Holy Roman Empire with its complicated and versatile political structure forms the basis for Backerra’s and Ludwig-Ockenfels’s analysis of consorts and their potential incomes and expenditures as well as their realized economic influence. Together with Seah’s and Wright’s analysis of the landownership of English queens, the relevance of different legal contexts in the various realms becomes obvious. Sarti’s case study of a non-elite counsellor for the Danish king Christian II discusses the influence a woman with particular economic knowledge and skill could achieve, but also the fall of a woman without an independent power basis. As such, this case study connects back to Tompkins’s case. The afterword by Elena Woodacre not only highlights the connections between the diverse case studies but also looks ahead to as yet unresolved questions in this new field of study.

All chapters of this volume face head on the challenges regarding biased source material as well as biased (older and newer) research material which rendered women, their decisions, and their actions nearly invisible. The authors thus not only present several case studies of influential women who held economic power but also discuss how sources can reveal female influence, or which sources can be used to gain insights into these aspects. The women at the premodern royal courts analyzed here have often been neglected in historical research, and their economic power in particular has hitherto failed to attract attention. Existing research on the two lower-class women presented here, Alice Perrers and Sigbrit Villoms, focused on the black legend of their undue influence upon Edward III and Christian II, respectively. Unsurprisingly, this black legend was hardly conducive to analyzing these women in their own right, and especially to uncovering their entrepreneurship despite challenging circumstances. Research on the empresses, queens, and princess consorts instead often focused on their political role, and more importantly on their dynastic role as wife, mother, patron, or guardian of dynastic memory, as in the case of Anna Maria Luisa de’ Medici, the last of her family.

The guiding question of the financial and economic influence of women at royal courts is closely connected to several research fields that have attracted increased and much-needed interest in the past few years.¹⁹ In Germany, the research group *Residenzenkommission* of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* has worked on administrative aspects of the court and court organization.²⁰ These research efforts were

18 Foerster, *Die Witwe des Königs*, 217. All translations, unless stated otherwise, are the authors’.

19 See also Katrin Keller, “Frauen—Hof—Diplomatie: Die höfische Gesellschaft als Handlungsraum von Frauen in Außenbeziehungen,” in *Das Geschlecht der Diplomatie: Geschlechterrollen in den Außenbeziehungen vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Corina Bastian, Externa 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 33–50 at 33.

20 This group has published its results in the series *Residenzenforschung* (Thorbecke), including Werner Paravicini, ed., *Alltag bei Hofe*, Symposium der Residenz-Kommission der Akademie

also related to attempts to reconstruct the earnings of courtiers and the expenditures and incomes of specific courts.²¹ Gender studies on the other hand discusses female rule and queenship. In this field, the number of case studies and surveys has increased significantly.²² Some case studies that include an analysis of the resources available to queens and women at royal courts exist, even though economic and financial aspects have still not been researched nearly enough.²³ Recent studies on premodern households allow a broader perspective on courts as economic units, sometimes including a specific gender perspective.²⁴ Court studies and studies on premodern monarchies have

der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 3 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995). Studies on court organization are usually case studies, such as Karl-Heinz Ahrens, *Residenz und Herrschaft: Studien zu Herrschaftsorganisation, Herrschaftspraxis und Residenzbildung der Markgrafen von Brandenburg im späten Mittelalter...* Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 3 427 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1990) on the Brandenburg court; or Volker Hirsch, *Der Hof des Basler Bischofs Johannes von Venningen (1458–1478): Verwaltung und Kommunikation, Wirtschaftsführung und Konsum, Residenzenforschung 16* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004) on the court of the bishop of Basel, Johannes von Venningen.

21 See Mark Hengerer, “Zahlen und Zeremoniell: Eine skalentheoretische Annäherung an räumliche und monetäre Formen der Ordnung/Unordnung des Hofes,” in *Informelle Strukturen bei Hof: Dresdener Gespräche III zur Theorie des Hofes*, ed. Reinhardt Butz and Jan Hirschbiegel, *Vita curialis. Form und Wandel höfischer Herrschaft 2* (Berlin: Lit, 2009), 68–87.

22 Katrin Keller, “Mit den Mitteln einer Frau: Handlungsspielräume adliger Frauen in Politik und Diplomatie,” in *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, ed. Hillard von Thiesen and Christian Windler, *Externa. Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven 1* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010), 219–44; see esp. footnote 3 for an overview of studies of women and politics, ca. 1990–2010. The study of queens and queenship has expanded considerably in the past few years; recommended books include Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History*, *Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Bettina Braun, Katrin Keller, and Matthias Schnettger, eds., *Nur die Frau des Kaisers? Kaiserinnen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 64 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2016); Anne Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London April 1995* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997); or Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, *Queenship and Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); and Amalie Fössel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen 4* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000).

23 Christine Juliane Henzler, *Die Frauen Karls VII. und Ludwigs XI.: Rolle und Position der Königinnen und Mätressen am französischen Hof (1422–1483)*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 71 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2012); Dries Raeymaekers, *One Foot in the Palace: The Habsburg Court of Brussels and the Politics of Access in the Reign of Albert and Isabella, 1598–1621* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013); Retha M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law: Fashioning Tudor Queenship, 1485–1547*, *Queenship and Power* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); or Wolf, *Die Kabinettskassenrechnungen*.

24 Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: More Than Just a Castle* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, eds., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*, *Rulers & Elites 4* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); or Hirschbiegel and Paravicini, *Das Frauenzimmer*.

long focused upon the analysis of royal and noble marriages and the exchange of resources.²⁵

The four chapters of this book combine a specific gender perspective with royal studies and new political history, and focus on economic and financial history to show the impact women made on premodern royal courts via their economic capital. It is, moreover, our intention to encourage further studies and to introduce possible approaches, sources, and challenges. Since this study marks the beginning of a broader discussion on the economic and financial aspects of courts, bibliography on these topics is included at the end of this book. This selection is obviously missing important courts like those of the Iberian Peninsula, France, and Burgundy (among many others), which is due to our own research focus, but we hope to inspire further studies into European, Asian, and African courts. In the long term, we hope this future research will someday enable comparative studies on the economic power of women in premodern royal courts from a global perspective.

25 Anna Bellavitis and Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, *Gender, Law and Economic Well-Being in Europe from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, Gender and Well-Being (New York: Routledge, 2018); Almut Bues, ed., *Frictions and Failures: Cultural Encounters in Crisis*, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien 34 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017); Anne-Simone Knöfel, *Dynastie und Prestige: Die Heiratspolitik der Wettiner*, Dresdner Historische Studien 9 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009); Pamela Sharpe, *Women, Dowries and Agency* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Heide Wunder, *“Er ist die Sonn, sie ist der Mond”: Frauen in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Beck, 1992). See also the discussion on marriage from a financial aspect in Opitz-Belakhal, “Zwischen Luxus und Armut,” 35–39.