



Horses and Courts: The Reins of Power

An International Symposium

The Wallace Collection, London

21-23 March 2018

The Reins of Power: Horses and Courts

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The Wallace Collection, London W1U 3BN, 21-23 March 2018

Organised by the University of Kent's Centre for Studies in the Long Eighteenth Century, the Society for Court Studies, and the Wallace Collection

Conference Programme

Wednesday, 21 March

10.15 Opening remarks: Philip Mansel, Tobias Capwell, Donna Landry

10.30-12.00 Horses and the Projection of Courtly Power

Chair, Philip Mansel

1. Tobias Capwell, Wallace Collection, 'The Armour of Peace: Equestrian Harness and Accoutrements for Renaissance Courtly Spectacles in the Wallace Collection'
2. Francisco LaRubia-Prado, Georgetown University, 'Literal and Literary Power: Horses, Gift-Giving Diplomacy and Restoring the Balance of Power in *The Song of the Cid* (c. 1207)'
3. Peter Edwards, University of Roehampton (Emeritus), 'Equine Imagery and the Field of the Cloth of Gold: 7-24 June 1520'
4. Marie-Louise von Plessen, European Cultural Parliament, 'Dancing with Horses: Equestrian Ballet and Carrousels at European Courts'

12.00-1.30 Horses: Approaches, Representations, Identities

Chair, Donna Landry

5. Pia F. Cuneo, University of Arizona, 'The Reformation of Riding: Protestant Identity and Horsemanship at North German Courts'
6. Sarah R. Cohen, State University of New York at Albany, 'Noble Spirit in the Garden: The Gray Horse in the Paradise Landscapes of Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Contemporaries'
7. Sally Mitchell, Museum of the Horse, Tuxford, 'The Perception of Power and the Influence of the Bit'

8. Kasper Lynge Tipsmark, Aarhus University, 'A Gilded Coronation Trophy: Memory and Materialized Masculinity at the Court of Christian IV of Denmark (1588-1648)'

Lunch 1.30-2.00

2.00-3.45 Royal Stables and Governance on Display

Chair, Tobias Capwell

9. Simon Adams, formerly Strathclyde University, 'Providing for a Queen: The Earl of Leicester and the Elizabethan Stables'

10. Philip Mansel, Society for Court Studies, 'Louis XIV and the Politics of the French Royal Stables'

11. Tülay Artan, Sabancı University, 'Late 17th- and early 18th-century Ottoman dignitaries and their account books: Where do the trappings of office end, and horse collecting and connoisseurship begin?'

12. José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 'The Public Image of Hispanic Monarchs in Early Modern Times: The Role of the Royal Stables'

Tea 3.45-4.00

4.00-4.30 The Royal Mews as a British Institution

Chair, Tessa Murdoch, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

13. Sally Goodsir, Royal Collection Trust, London, 'The Royal Mews, Buckingham Palace'

4.30 Departure from Wallace Collection for 5.45 arrival (by London Underground Victoria Line from Oxford Circus to Victoria or by Taxi) to The Royal Mews, Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1W 0QH, for a specially curated visit. We thank Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II for her hospitality. We are grateful to Pol Roger for supporting a champagne reception, 6.00-8.00

Thursday, 22 March

10.15-11.15 Of Carriages, Queens and Kings

Chair, Elizabeth Jamieson, The Attingham Trust

14. Julian Munby, Oxford Archaeology, 'Men in the Saddle and Women on Wheels: The Transport Revolution in the Tudor and Stuart Courts'

15. Alexandra Lotz, Cultural Heritage Centre, Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg and Horses & Heritage, Germany, 'Noble coach horses for the court: The Habsburg imperial stud at Kladrub on the Elbe and the "Oldkladruby" horse'

11.15-12.15 Breeds, Philosophies, Early Modern Legacies

Chair, Tobias Capwell

16. Diana Krischke, LOEWE-Network for Human-Animal-Studies, University of Kassel, and Fürstliche Hofreitschule, Bückeburg, Schaumburg-Lippe, 'Horse Breeding: From Wild Ancestors to Multi-Purpose Tool and Luxury Object?'

12.15-12.45 Lunch

12.45-2.15 Equestrian Philosophies and Spaces of Display

Chair, Peter Edwards

17. Tessa Murdoch, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 'Fouquet's Riding Academy in London and Paris, 1668-1768'

18. Catherine Girard, Eastern Washington University, 'From Experience to Representation: Horses in Depictions of Eighteenth-Century French Hunting'

19. Monica Mattfeld, University of Northern British Columbia, 'Changing the Reins of Power: From Cavendish's Centaur to Eighteenth-Century Riding Houses and Horses'

20. Stefano Saracino, University of Vienna, 'Horses and Political Theory in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of William (1592-1676) and Margaret (1623-1673) Cavendish'

2.15-3.45 Equestrian Connoisseurship, Equine Care and Display

Chair, Pia Cuneo

21. Jasmine Dum-Tragut, Center for the Studies of the Christian East, University of Salzburg; University of Veterinary Medicine, Vienna, '"This medical book for horses was written on behalf of my king . . .": Armenian manuscripts and their royal commissioners'

22. Sarah G. Duncan, Independent scholar, 'The Care of the Court Horse in Renaissance Italy'

23. Kathryn Renton, University of California at Los Angeles, 'Supplying Horses for the Spanish Habsburg Court: A Question of Breeds and Breeding'

24. Jonas Nordin, Kungliga biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden, 'Horses for Carousels and War at the Carolean Court in Sweden (c. 1660-1718)'

Tea 3.45-4.00

4.00-4.50 Transnational Horse Dealing and Breeding: Imperial and National Identities

Chair, Sarah Cohen

25. Ashley L. Cohen, Georgetown University, 'Horses and Courts in Late Mughal India: Julius Soubise and the Nawab of Awadh'

26. Donna Landry, University of Kent, 'Breeds, Dynasties, Nations: Austrian Lipizzaners (1580--), English Thoroughbreds (1686--), and Edwin Henry Landseer's *The Arab Tent* (c.1865-66)'

5.00 Departure (by London Underground Jubilee Line from Bond Street to Westminster or by Taxi) for tour, lecture and reception at Household Cavalry Museum, Horse Guards Parade, London SW1A, 6.00-8.00. We are grateful to the Museum for supporting a wine reception.

Chair, Philip Mansel

27. Barney White-Spunner, Military Historian, 'Household Cavalry: Policing the Streets of London'

Friday, 23 March

10.00-12.00 Plan to arrive by 9.50 for tour of The Household Cavalry Hyde Park Barracks, 20A Knightsbridge, SW7 1SE (Piccadilly Line to Knightsbridge or Number 10 Bus – Knightsbridge bus stop is directly opposite the Barracks). Our thanks to Barney White-Spunner for making possible this visit.

Return to Wallace Collection for Lunch 12.00-12.30

12.30-2.15 Female Equestrianism: The Politics of Riding Astride or Riding Side-Saddle

Chair, Aurore Bayle-Loudet, Musée du Cheval, Domaine de Chantilly

28. Valerio Zanetti, St John's College, University of Cambridge, 'Courtly Amazons of the Grand Siècle: Tracing the Roots of Female Equestrian Culture in Early Modern Europe'

29. Ulrike Weiss, University of St Andrews, 'Aside or Astride: The Debate around the Female Seat, c.1770-1820'

30. Sara Ayres, National Portrait Gallery, London, 'Caroline Mathilde on Horseback: An Enlightened Equestrian?'

31. Erica Munkwitz, American University, 'Angels and Amazons: Riding Aside vs. Astride, 1880-1952'

2.15-3.30 Horses and Power in Global Perspective

Chair, Gwyneth Talley, University of California at Los Angeles

32. Lelia Packer, Wallace Collection, 'Horses at the Wallace Collection: Paintings by Diego Velázquez and Philips Wouwerman'

33. Philip Dine, National University of Ireland Galway, 'Horses and Horsemanship in "French" Algeria: Projecting Power through Sport'

34. Sandra Swart, Stellenbosch University, 'The Horse Rampant – Equine Power and the Making of African Aristocracy'

3.30-3.45 Tea

3.45-5.00 Royalty and Racing in Britain

Chair, Celestria Noel

35. Richard Nash, Indiana University, 'The Sport of Kingmakers and the Protestant Succession, or, How Horse Racing Healed the Nation between the Exclusion Crisis and the End of the First Jacobite Rebellion'

36. Oliver Cox, Heritage Engagement Fellow, TORCH, Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities, '"Newmarket, that infamous seminary of iniquity and ill manners": Horse Racing, Monarchy and Empire'

37. Sean Magee, Racing Journalist and Historian, 'Ascot and Royalty, from Queen Anne to Queen Elizabeth II, 1711-2018'

38. Jane Ridley, University of Buckingham, 'Elizabeth II, Queen and Horsewoman: The Role of the Horse in the Current Reign'

Closing Reception at the Wallace Collection, 5.00-8.00

Glossary of horsey terms and expressions

by Celestria Noel

Horsey language has often been mocked – see John Betjeman's poem 'Hunter Trials'

It's awf'lly bad luck on Diana,
Her ponies have swallowed their bits;
She fished down their throats with a spanner.
And frightened them all into fits.
So now she's attempting to borrow.
Do lend her some bits Mummy, do;
I'll lend her my own for to-morrow,
But to-day I'll be wanting them too.

However horses, or rather our interactions with them (specifically our ways of controlling them and horse sports), have enriched the English language. This is especially true of horse racing. Many court positions, as all of you will know, have come from the stables such as groom and equerry. The meanings and derivations of such terms and phrases are far less familiar to us now, as horses are no longer a part of our daily lives. While some are self-explanatory or can easily be guessed at, others have become quite obscure. Spurred on by Philip Mansel, I have compiled a brief guide.

To begin with the animal itself: there are a number of specific words for the horse's anatomy, known technically as the 'points of the horse'. Let's start at the head.

Blaze, a white stripe down a horse's face.

Star, a white patch between the eyes.

Poll, the highest point of a horse's head between the ears.

Crest, the arch of the horse's neck.

Mane, the long hair that grows along the crest.

Hogged mane, when this has been clipped off.

Withers, a bony protuberance between the neck and back, the point from which a horse's height is usually measured.

Hind quarters, a horse's rump, sometimes called the engine as it is where the power comes from.

Docked tail, a tail that has been cut short. Now illegal but often seen in 17th-19th-century paintings of horses, especially carriage horses; it was thought to make them look smarter and kept them cleaner.

Hocks, joint where the hind leg bends outwards.

A horse with a leg injury is **lame**, which gives us for instance **lame excuse**, while a fully fit one is **sound** as in **sound plan**.

Colours

Grey is used rather than white.

Dappled grey, a mottled darker and lighter grey

Chestnut is 'ginger'. In the USA, 'sorrel'.

Liver chestnut is dark chestnut.

Bay is brown with a black mane and tail.

Roan is a mottled rather than a whole colour and it can be either strawberry roan, which is pinkish, or grey roan.

Skewbald is brown and white.

Piebald is black and white, like a magpie.

Skewbalds and piebalds are called 'coloured horses' in England and 'pintos' or sometimes 'paints' in the USA.

Palomino is pale gold, more yellow than a chestnut, with a white or flaxen mane and tail.

Age, sex, size

A **foal** is a juvenile horse.

A **colt** is a young male.

Filly, a young female.

Mare is a female.

Stallion, a male.

Gelding, a neutered male.

All horses and ponies are foals until one year old when they become **yearlings**.

Horses are traditionally measured in **hands**. There are four inches to a hand.

A horse under 15 hands high is a pony.

Breeds and types

Among the best-known breeds are the **Arabians** or Arabs, bred for speed, endurance and beauty.

The **thoroughbred** or English thoroughbred is descended from Arab stallions imported in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Englishmen who were interested in breeding faster, lighter animals, for racing and hunting, now that going to war in armour was no longer necessary. They were mated with bigger, heavier English horses and, to some extent, with wiry native ponies.

The English thoroughbred was not strong enough to be a draft horse (horses that pulled wagons or ploughs) and most carriage horses are European breeds, such as **Hanoverians**. However, the Queen has helped keep the specifically English breed of carriage horse, the **Cleveland Bay** from Yorkshire, going when the breed became endangered.

Hunters are large riding horses, tough enough to be ridden cross-country at speed and over fences for many hours in winter, in the mud. Some are pure thoroughbred but more often half or three-quarter bred, with some blood from heavier horses, whose forbears would have been used for farm work as well as riding, such as the **Irish Draft**.

A **cob** is a stocky horse between 15 and 16hh (hands high) able to carry weight. They were often used by farmers as 'all-terrain vehicles'. In fact, a cob is the epitome of a 'workhorse'.

Cart horses such as **Shires** and **Percherons**, were and are used for farming and forestry. Cart horses have longer hairs on their lower leg, known as **hairy heels**, which can also be a pejorative description of a cloddish or unsophisticated person.

Hack, a horse specifically for pleasure riding, not robust enough to hunt or fast enough to race. [Going for a hack is an expression no truly horsey person would use. Say going for a ride instead.]

Tack and harness

Usually the word **tack**, short for tackle, is used to describe a horse's harness. The harness is made up of several different parts. A **bridle** goes on the horse's head, the **bit** in its mouth and the rider holds the reins to stop and steer.

A horse may also have a **martingale** round its neck and secured to the bridle and a **girth**, a strap attached to the saddle, which goes around the horse's tummy, for added control. A **breast plate** can also be used to help keep the saddle in place.

The high front of the saddle is the **pommel** while the higher back is a **cantle**. A strap from the back of the saddle which then passes under the horse's tail is a **crupper**. The horse of a sixteenth or seventeenth century prince or notable might have had rich decorative versions of these things but they would have been practical as well, keeping the saddle in place.

A horse is ridden in a bridle but usually lead along in a **headcollar** or **halter**, which have no bit. These are sometimes called **headstalls** but this is archaic in UK English, less so in American English. (A stall is a narrow stable where a horse is tied as opposed to a loose box).

Phrases

Many phrases and expressions derive from man's ways of controlling horses or failing to control them in some cases.

Getting the bit between her teeth. The bit works by putting pressure on the soft corners or the horse's mouth. Some horses grip the bit and so cannot be controlled.

This may lead to **bolting**, when the horse gallops off out of control. Being bolted with is also known as being **run away with**. It is less correct to say: 'The horse bolted and I was thrown.' Than 'The horse ran away with me and I fell off.' Horsey people never blame the horse. An excuse might be that the horse was **feeling his oats**, that is being fed too much high-protein food without enough work, which may lead to him being **hotted up** or **corned up**, that is over excited. A **hot** horse is hard to control while a placid mount will be called **quiet**.

Frisky is an expression found more in the tabloids than *Horse & Hound*. A horse which is too **fresh**, that is has not had enough work, may be described as **on its toes**, that is jogging along instead of walking sensibly.

Many expressions include reins:

Rein back means reverse by pulling on the reins.

Rein in means to pull on the reins and stop the horse going forward.

On a tight rein means to be in control.

On short rein is very similar.

On a loose rein has come to mean relaxed, allowing the horse to find its own speed, typically on the way home.

Pick up the reins has come to mean take charge or take over. A rider will pick up the reins as a signal that he is intending to set off.

Letting go of the reins is the opposite. Often a rider will let go of the reins before dismounting to hand the horse over to someone on the ground.

Related expressions include curb, as in **curb your enthusiasm**, which comes from a curb chain, which is fitted below the bit, under the horse's chin and acts as an extra restraint.

Bridled tends to indicate control but the expression **she bridled at** indicates not control but resistance. Anyone who has tried to put a bridle on a recalcitrant mare will know that she can chuck her head in the air to stop you reaching.

Horses may also resist by shying, that is suddenly leaping sideways in fear of say a paper bag in a hedgerow. Hence the expression **shy away from**.

If the horse shies you may need to **get a grip**, that is sit firmly in place by pressing your knees into the horse's sides.

If you do fall off you may need **a leg up**, that is someone on the ground helping to boost you into the saddle.

Horses pulling carts or carriages may resist and **kick over the traces**, traces being the long leather straps which attach them to the vehicle.

A great many expressions and phrases come from racing. **Runners and riders** can be both the term for horses and jockeys taking part in a given race or refer to, say, candidates for a position.

A race with low quality horses can be described as having a **weak field**. The horses are all **in the running** but one candidate may be the **frontrunner** and **set the pace** or have the **inside track**, an advantage as it will be the shortest route. They may of course be **neck and neck**, with nothing to choose between them, so that a **photo finish** ensues, with the camera showing which horse was first **past the post**. If the outcome is very close the American expression is **down to the wire**, as a wire used to mark the finishing line. Nowadays it is all electronic.

To keep a horse from being distracted it may be fitted with **blinkers**, attached to the bridle to focus the horse, whose eyes are on the side of the head, as it is a prey animal not a predator, on going forward. The riders will have been **jockeying for position**, that is making sure of the most favourable place for a late run in the **final furlong**. Furlongs are an otherwise archaic measurement of distance still used in racing. There are eight furlongs to a mile.

The state of the ground when a race is run on grass makes a big difference to the outcome. It is known as **the going**, hence the expression *When the Going was Good*, used by Evelyn Waugh as the title for one of his four travel books. The opposite of good going is **heavy going**, when mud slows down the horses that have to struggle through it. Most of the above apply to flat racing. The sport of jump racing or steeplechasing, that is racing horses over obstacles, has its own expressions such **clearing hurdles** or **overcoming hurdles in your way**, a hurdle being a small fence.

The above is of course far from comprehensive and I am sure that you can think of many more instances. Once you start it takes a keen hold. Kick on.

Conference Abstracts & Profiles

1. Tobias Capwell, Wallace Collection, London, UK

The Armour of Peace: Equestrian Harness and Accoutrements for Renaissance Courtly Spectacles in the Wallace Collection

Hertford House is today the home of one of the finest collections of medieval and Renaissance arms and armour in the world. This small but remarkably rich group of objects, dating primarily from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, includes a surprising number of pieces associated with some of the most famous emperors, kings and princes in European history. Individual objects from this collection can serve as gateways leading, from many different directions and perspectives, into the spectacular but often deeply misunderstood world of jousts, tournaments and combat spectacles. Examined from a material perspective, these accoutrements can reveal much about the significance and the realities of deeds of arms fought in a Renaissance courtly context. Far from being an age of decadence and decline, throughout the sixteenth century extraordinary displays of genuine martial prowess were performed for peaceful, celebratory purposes in the courts of Europe. Although they have often been wrongly characterised as Quixotic exercises in obsolete methods of combat, Renaissance formal combats were in reality still as rigorously fought and as relevant to real war-fighting as they had ever been in the Middle Ages. The horse and virtuoso martial equitation remained core aspects of the practice of Renaissance chivalry, and so too therefore did the equipment it required, especially the specialised saddlery and horse armour.

Tobias Capwell FSA is Curator of Arms and Armour at the Wallace Collection. His books include *Masterpieces of European Arms and Armour at the Wallace Collection* (2011); *The Noble Art of the Sword: Fashion and Fencing in Renaissance Europe 1520-1630* (2012); and *Armour of the English Knight 1400 – 1450* (2015). A rider from the age of eleven, Toby has been a prominent member of the international historical jousting community for over twenty-five years, competing in major jousts and tournaments all over the world. In 2015 he served as one of the two armoured horsemen accompanying the remains of King Richard III to their final resting place in Leicester Cathedral. [Email: Tobias.Capwell@wallacecollection.org]

2. Francisco LaRubia-Prado, Georgetown University, USA

Literal and Literary Power: Horses, Gift-Giving Diplomacy and Restoring the Balance of Power in *The Song of the Cid* (c. 1207)

The relevance of the horse in the Castilian medieval epic poem *The Song of the Cid* is understood in this presentation as a powerful display of biophilia, that is, of the natural affiliation between humans and nature. In this sense, the horse functions as a biophilic symbol leading to the establishment of power structures in the poem.

Power in its literal and perhaps most usual sense – as the capacity to hold political authority and military control – results in the *Song* from an alliance between the King, Alfonso VI of Castile, and the Hero, the Cid. Such a partnership is possible, according to the poem, because of a subtle, yet powerful gift-giving diplomacy carried out between Alfonso and the Cid where horses are exchanged for honor, as prescribed by the doctrines of, among others, the medieval philosopher and mystic Ramon Llull. The bond between the crown and his heroic champion, which results from the honor-for-horses exchange, projects the Castilian kingdom as the kernel of a new nation, Spain.

The literary power of horses in the poem exemplifies a transcultural and trans-temporal phenomenon that transcends *The Song of the Cid* itself. Indeed, when horses are central characters in literary works, they have the power to balance situations that have been disturbed, and states of affairs that were previously stable but then became unhinged by some negative occurrence. When such instability occurs, horses frequently become a biophilic symbol of nature capable of rebalancing what has been unsettled. One finds this phenomenon in many texts from the East and the West, and from the Middle Ages until today, in all equine cultures and national literatures (as well as film), including those from Japan, India, China, Russia, England, Spain, Germany, and even Iceland.

A typical case of this phenomenon is precisely *The Song of the Cid*, where the hero is expelled from Castile due to the malevolent intervention of envious noblemen close to King Alfonso. This dismissal breaks an original balance, as the loyal, courageous Cid is unfairly banished from the realm and deprived of his honor. Forced to earn his living in Moorish territory, the knight sends horses – not riches or weapons but *horses* – to the king after each victory over his enemies with the objective of regaining his honor and become a subject of the Castilian king again. The gift-giving diplomacy between the hero and the king leads to successive royal pardons of the Cid's men, his family, and the Cid himself. The final forgiveness of the Cid by King Alfonso reestablishes the original balance.

The final alliance between the ultimate source of power, the king, and the ultimate source of heroism, the Cid, is accomplished thanks to the offering and counter-offering of one specific horse, Babieca – the Cid's horse – between the two human protagonists. This subtle diplomatic game forges a personal bond between king and hero and a political partnership that brings symbolic balance to the text as it established the fundamental roles of king and hero in the development of an emerging new national identity.

Francisco LaRubia-Prado is Professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. His research interests include literary and cultural theory, comparative literature, European intellectual history, Animal studies and Spanish literature from the eighteenth century to the present. His publications include *The Horse in Literature and Film* (2017) and, co-edited with Tania Gentis, *Imperialism and the Wider Atlantic* (2017). [Email: larubiaf@georgetown.edu]

3. Peter Edwards, University of Roehampton (Emeritus), UK

Equine Imagery and the Field of the Cloth of Gold: 7-24 June 1520

When Henry VIII met François I^{er} of France on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520 they sought to impress each other and strengthen their bargaining position in the diplomatic negotiations by emphasizing their wealth and power by ostentatious display. Henry VIII even erected a prefabricated palace for the occasion, employing 6,000 men to set it up near his castle of Guisnes. The arrival of Henry VIII on the Field of the Cloth of Gold on 7 June 1520 is illustrated in a painting of the English School, hung at Hampton Court, and reveals the importance of the projection of the trappings of wealth and power to both monarchs. Horses loomed large. Good horsemanship defined a gentleman and the ability to control a powerful animal validated the political ascendancy of the landed élite. An analysis of the importance of equine iconography to the event as depicted in the painting is the theme of this talk.

Among the themes depicted, the sheer size of Henry VIII's entourage, many of them mounted on fine horses, stands out. And not merely ordinary nags but imposing stallions with foreign blood in their veins: Henry's agents had scoured the studs of famous breeders such as the Marquis of Mantua. Even so, François's horses proved superior. Indeed, he used horses to make a symbolic gesture by donating particularly fine specimens to Henry. As the meeting not only comprised two sovereign states going head-to-head but also two Renaissance princes vying to display their Renaissance credentials, the outcome of the jousts, fought in the tiltyard at the top right of the picture, was highly significant. To Henry's chagrin, François proved the better competitor. If the meeting proved inconclusive, in a real sense François's superiority in all matters equestrian revealed the winner.

Peter Edwards is Emeritus Professor of Early Modern British Social History, University of Roehampton in London. He has written extensively on the multi-functional role of horses in pre-modern society. His latest project, *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish, First Earl of Devonshire (1551-1626) and His Horses*, has just appeared (2018). He is also the author of *The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (1998, 2008), *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (2007) and has edited, with Karl A. E. Enenkel and Elspeth Graham, *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (2012). [Email: peter.edwards@welshmerlin.co.uk]

4. Marie-Louise von Plessen, European Cultural Parliament, France

Dancing with Horses:

Equestrian Ballet and Carrousels at European Courts

The presentation of a carrousel at court marks the climax of Absolute festivities. European sovereigns competed to perform equestrian shows at great expense, together with *balletti a cavalli*, in order to show off their might. Outstanding skills to outfit riders and their mounts, paintings and gouaches, and engravings documenting

the events propagated their splendor throughout European residences. In this publicly presented riding school, the monarch and nobility proved their boldness, skill and knowledge on horseback, as required by war. An aristocratic exercise par excellence, carrousel divertissements were promoted at European courts to mark carnival, marriages, baptisms, anniversaries, and royal entries and processions.

Arabian bloodstock excelled at European court festivities. The choreography of Arab festivals, with their lavishly costumed mounts and riders, corresponded with the high esteem paid to the divine beauty, agility and grace of Arabian horses. Thus, the carrousels so famous throughout Europe owed their provenance to a heritage derived from the deserts of the Arabian peninsula. These luxuriously equipped equestrian ballets were mounted to the newest inventions of theatrical effects and orchestrated by musical fanfares. They reach their apogee in the 17th century. By then, heavily armed knights had lost importance on the battlefield, but chivalric ideals had not diminished.

Mounted carrousels also refer to equestrian festivities of classical heritage: Livius' description of Roman triumphal processions strongly influenced royal entries of the Renaissance and Baroque eras, as well as the carrousels performed with riders, foot soldiers and musicians, their costumes and equipment. In the 17th century they consist of processions of carriages and machines, while competitions in running at the ring or striking the heads of Turks continue to keep the horsemen fit for warfare.

After the decline of court culture in the modern era, carrousels survive in a new and popular form. Transferred from Arab origins to European cultural history during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, the memory of the *age of chivalry* survives today in the popular merry-go rounds (carrousels) in pleasure parks and public fairs.

Marie-Louise von Plessen, Senator at the European Cultural Parliament, is a free-lance exhibition curator for several European museums and scholarly institutions. Her research has been published in German, together with Tobias Capwell's contribution, in Matthias Pfaffenbichler and Stefan Krause, eds., *Hoffagd und Rüstkammer - Arms and armor collection*, for Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum (Turnier - 1000 Jahre Ritterspiele, 2017), 'Rossballett und Reiterspiel: Schautänze zu Pferde - zur Geschichte einer vergessenen europäischen Herrschaftskultur', 285-301 (an English version will be prepared); a French version, 'L'histoire du carrousel: ballets et jeux équestres dans les cours européennes à l'époque baroque', appeared in 2017 in *Les chevaux: de l'imaginaire universel aux enjeux prospectifs pour les territoires*, ed. Eric Leroy du Cardonnay and Céline Vial. She curated the V & A's exhibition 'Art & Design for All' at Germany's Art & Exhibition Centre in Bonn in 2011 and in Budapest in 2013. She is an active horsewoman (dressage, hunting). [Email: mlplessen@sfr.fr]

5. Pia F. Cuneo, University of Arizona, USA

The Reformation of Riding: Confessional Identity and Horsemanship at North German Courts

Since the nineteenth century, historians have been studying the wide-ranging effects of the Protestant Reformation and how it shifted early modern perceptions and realities. Early modern people surely experienced those effects most trenchantly in their relationships. Historians, in fact, have tirelessly investigated how the Reformation shaped individuals' relationships with God, members of their government, their neighbors, families, and with themselves. In light of more recent yet sustained lines of intellectual inquiry, we are now at a point where we should pose a new question: how did the Reformation affect humans' relationship with animals? Scholars such as David Clough and Scott Ickert have made promising initial forays into this new field by teasing out Martin Luther's attitudes about animals from the reformer's theological interpretation of scripture (particularly the Book of Genesis). Rather than focusing on attitudes about animals in general, my paper focuses on the effects of the Reformation on practices of horse-human intra-action at North German reformed courts in particular.

In order to make this argument, I draw from a variety of sources. I explore some of Luther's responses to animals and to horses, as found not only in his theological treatises but also in his correspondence and in his social, physical, and professional milieux. Although Luther appears not to have harbored hippophilic tendencies in particular, he does articulate a level of sympathy, respect, and fondness for animals, and even occasionally sees them as (metaphorically) interchangeable with humans. In addition, his insistence on the individual's relationship with God and on the responsibility of each person to contribute actively to a pious community by her/his lived values can be seen to promulgate a sense of individual duty to participate spiritually and physically in a collective marked—among other things—by a charitable and thus empathetic concern for others. I suggest that such an empathetic concern, based in some of Luther's key ideas and experiences, may have influenced horsemen at reformed courts in North Germany. Charity, empathy, and mercy are all virtues proclaimed by the Gospel and were foundational characteristics of early Christian communities. Theoretical and practical intra-actions with horses, formulated and enacted by court riders and trainers in a manner exemplifying charity, empathy, and mercy, may have served to identify reformed courts as communities activated by original and true Christian virtues, and thus to legitimate these courts competing with non-reformed ones for status and authority.

In my paper I discuss evidence for this new attitude about horsemanship in three sources: in two horsemanship treatises, one published in 1609 and written by Georg Loehneysen, Master of the Stable to Heinrich Julius, Duke of Braunschweig and Lueneberg, and the other in 1616, written by Jacob Lieb, a horse-trainer at the court of the electoral prince of Saxony, Christian II in Dresden; and in a pamphlet about

riding, published in 1624, written by Gabriel von Danup, a horse-trainer at the court of the electoral prince of Brandenburg, George William in Berlin. All three works arise from reformed (Lutheran and Calvinist) courts. And all three display an acute attention and sensitivity to the physical and emotional responses of horses to forces acting upon them. Compared to previous texts produced within non-reformed contexts, such attention and sensitivity are highly unusual. My paper suggests that the reason for this difference may point to an area of Reformation reception previously unstudied by scholars: in the courtly stables and manèges of Protestant princes.

Pia F. Cuneo is Professor of Art History at the University of Arizona, USA. Her current research is on 16th- and 17th-century hippology, and she competes locally in dressage. Her publications include the edited collections *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (2017) and *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (2001); the monograph *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jorg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity* (1998); and essays in *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, ed. Peter Edwards, Karl A. E. Enenkel and Elspeth Graham (2012) and *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline and Identity in the Early Modern World*, ed. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (2005). [Email: pfcuneo@email.arizona.edu]

6. Sarah R. Cohen, State University of New York at Albany, USA

Noble Spirit in the Garden: The Gray Horse in the Paradise Landscapes of Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Contemporaries

In the decades around the turn of the seventeenth century Jan Brueghel the Elder produced a series of landscapes portraying the Garden of Eden, in which a single, large, gray-white horse presides over a teeming population of other creatures both domestic and wild. His Flemish contemporaries Roelandt Savery and Joris Hoefnagel, as well as numerous other lesser known and anonymous artists, likewise featured a large gray horse prominently in their own paradise landscapes, as well as in related subjects such as Orpheus charming the animals. These gray horses always veer toward white in their personal coloration, ranging from virtually all white, to a mixture of gray and white with flowing white manes and tails. They also stand out from the animals that surround them by their isolation as a species: while the other creatures often appear in male and female pairs, or at least with some companion species nearby, the gray horse is almost always the only equine representative in the entire Garden. Even in scenes depicting the entry of the animals into Noah's ark, whose protocol demanded a male and female of each species, the gray horse remains prominent yet strangely unaccompanied by a mate. What could account for this artistic emphasis upon the lone gray horse?

Part of the answer to this question likely rests in the distinctly noble character attributed to the horse among the European elite who would also have formed the

main audience for the paintings. Even before Brueghel and his contemporaries began producing their paradise landscapes gray horses, usually veering toward pure white, had been appearing as prominent players in sixteenth-century paintings of the Garden of Eden and Noah's ark, although these animals were generally accompanied by an equine mate of a darker coat color. Although sometimes possibly symbolic in meaning—such as denoting lust in depictions of the Fall—these horses sooner represent the enormous value that the European elite were coming to place upon the horse not just as eminently useful to human enterprise but as a creature of outstanding moral character in its own right. This is how Conrad Gessner began his long entry on the 'noble spirit' of the horse in his *Historiae Animalium* of 1551. In the first decade of the seventeenth century Peter Paul Rubens produced two equestrian portraits, that of the Duke of Lerma in 1603 and that of Archduke Albert in 1609; Arianne Faber Kolb has convincingly argued that these works, together with a now-lost painting of equestrian studies by Rubens known as *The Riding School*, served as prototypes for the magnificent gray horse that dominates several paradise landscapes by Jan Brueghel the Elder from 1612 and beyond. Archduke Albert himself believed that his own gray horse saved his life at the Battle of Nieupoort in 1600, by rearing to receive the full force of a fatal shot. Whether or not Brueghel's horse refers directly to Albert's beloved equine martyr, the notion of valorizing one particular horse, in the manner of a celebrated hero, was becoming common currency in elite European culture.

But such valorization was predicated upon the interconnection of noble horse and rider: Brueghel's, Savery's, and other artists' gray paradisiacal horses are by contrast free of human control. Thus the 'collected trot' gait displayed by Brueghel's horse in emulation of Rubens's Andalusian steeds appears to be a manifestation of the horse's unique, inherent nobility. It is this quality of an innately noble spirit, as well as the horse's gray coloration, and especially its isolation as a species, that propel the final part of my inquiry: the possible descent of this realistic equine from the unicorn, an animal once believed to exist deep in the woods and now gaining the status of legend. Well known for its solitude, the unicorn combined a number of species in its variously described anatomy, but artists gave it many horse-like characteristics and also almost always represented it as white. Purity was, moreover, its principal virtue: simply by immersing its horn it could make water safe for other animals to drink, and Gesner reported the common belief that it served the human as an effective remedy against poison. Notoriously untameable, the unicorn could only be captured by humans through use of a virgin young woman as a lure—another testament to its purity as a species. Associated in the Middle Ages with Christ, especially in the context of the story of the hunt for and killing of the unicorn, the animal made a number of appearances in paintings of the Garden of Eden in the century that preceded that of Brueghel and his contemporaries, notably in the left panel of Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Early Delights*, in which a white

unicorn performs its water purification in the background beyond the seated, fallible Adam.

The Council of Trent had in 1563 discouraged associations of the unicorn with Christ and Christian salvation, and a general shift toward more attentive study of nature itself on the part of both artists and their patrons also contributed to the unicorn's decline as a key presence in landscape art. But in many ways the gray horse of the early seventeenth-century Paradise landscapes appropriated and updated the unicorn's role, standing alone among its species and evincing a spiritual air, but also newly civilized, naturalistic, and bearing a striking resemblance to the Andalusian gray horses so prized by the European elite of this era.

Sarah R. Cohen is Professor of Art History and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the State University of New York at Albany, and Chair of the Department of Art and Art History. She is the author of *Art, Dance and the Body in France in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge UP, 2000); 'Animals as Heroes of the Hunt' in *Sporting Cultures, 1650-1850*, ed. Daniel O'Quinn and Alexis Tadié (University of Toronto Press, 2018), 114-35; 'Chardin's Fur: Painting, Materialism, and the Question of Animal Soul', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (Fall, 2004); and 'Rubens's France: Gender and Personification in the Marie de Medicis Cycle', *Art Bulletin* (September, 2003). A second book, *Picturing the Animal in Early Modern Europe: Art and Soul*, is forthcoming. [Email: scohen@albany.edu]

7. Sally Mitchell, Museum of the Horse, Tuxford, UK

The Perception of Power and the Influence of the Bit

The horse bit, one of the oldest surviving objects in the world, has served as both a utilitarian instrument and a work of art, as well as an object of status, and yet it is dismissed by historians, curators and even film-makers as of little importance. For over two thousand years the horse has been portrayed in an aesthetically pleasing comportment that gives the perception of power. How and why this demeanour is used and the origins of this bearing will be discussed. An explanation of the two types of bit, the snaffle and the curb, from which all bits are derived, will be shown and how they work in the horse's mouth, followed by a brief history of the earliest use of bits to imply grandeur.

The influence of the great trainers and designers of bits, which were crafted like works of art, together with the methods of training the horses, and the importance to European nobility of the art of riding, will be considered. In a glimpse at the bits of aristocrats from other parts of the world and interlinking influences with Europe, we will look at the development of the bit in the 14th century and the North African Arab ring bit that entered Europe via the Iberian Peninsula, influencing the development of the curb. The difference between the 'a la brida' and the 'a la gineta' seats will be explained, with attention to their importance in the training of English

sons of nobility on the continent and the importing to England of these ideologies led by Thomas Blundeville and later the Duke of Newcastle.

I will end with a consideration of the gradual refinement of curb bits and their regular use by the cavalry throughout Europe, and the use of bits for sport and the development of hunting and racing in England. The elegance of the 19th century was overtaken by the utilitarianism of the 20th. In the 21st century we see a laughable regurgitation of almost every bit ever designed under the banner of 'New Inventions'. What is too often forgotten is the most important thing about a bit is the hand that uses it!

Sally Mitchell, author of *The Dictionary of British Equestrian Artists*, is also a collector of equestrian antiques and has built the Museum of The Horse, Tuxford, Nottinghamshire. She has show-jumped and ridden to Prix St George level dressage. She is a dealer in, and publisher of, sporting art. She has written several books on artists and had a number of articles published in 'La Lettre', the publication of The Club International D'Eperonnerie. [E-mail: sally@dogart.com]

8. Kasper Lyngé Tipsmark, Aarhus University, Denmark

A Gilded Coronation Trophy: Memory and Materialized Masculinity at the Court of Christian IV of Denmark (1588-1648)

Participating in grand tournaments and competing in various mounted disciplines was a core aspect of performative masculinity at the early modern court. However these displays of masculinity involving horse and rider had only been brief moments in time, were they not immortalized in writing, paintings, and precious materials.

The Renaissance castle of Rosenborg in Copenhagen is home to the Danish collection of crown jewels and other artifacts relating to the history of the Danish kings. In the great hall stands a silver-gilded sculpture portraying Christian IV on horseback tilting at the ring. The sculpture is a tournament trophy commemorating the king's victory in the tournament held at his coronation in 1596, but it is also a materialized display of royal domination and masculine merits.

Using the case of the gilded coronation trophy, this paper will discuss central aspects of regal power displays, performative masculinity and rites of passage at the Danish court by arguing how the trophy of horse and rider embodies these elements as an example of materialized memory and masculinity.

The trophy's depiction of the young king charging ahead underlines his masculine prowess in tilting whilst the pillars engraved with the arms of the other participants commemorates their participating in the coronation and thus their vows of allegiance to the new king. Besides these important purposes, the sculpture also contains a hidden function relating to court masculinity, which renders the

coronation trophy an interesting case of multifunctionality, memory, and materialized masculinity at the court of Christian IV.

Kasper Lynge Tipsmark is a newly employed PhD student at Aarhus University, Denmark. He is connected to the Danish Research Center for Manorial Studies and most recently the Royal Danish Collection at Rosenborg Castle. His current research is centered on the equine culture and the role of the horse at the court of Christian IV 1588-1648. Before his university studies he served for three years as a mounted staff sergeant at the Royal Danish Hussar Regiment. [Email: tipsmark@cas.au.dk]

9. Simon Adams, formerly Strathclyde University, UK

Providing for a Queen: The Earl of Leicester and the Elizabethan Stables

Elizabeth I was not one of the more famous horsewomen of the sixteenth century, but she appointed as her Master of the Horse a man who encouraged her to hunt and travel. Like most of the other departments of the Elizabethan court, only fragments the archives of the Stables survive, making reconstruction difficult. Like the other departments too, its institutional structure was an inheritance from Henry VIII, who created a self-sustaining system of stables and stud-farms and left a battery of legislation over export and horse-breeding. Leicester effectively made the Henrician system work, formalising the funding in the 'Great Warrant' of 1570, and seeking the advice of Italian experts. The Stables appears to have been efficiently run, with little of the internal feuding found in so many other Elizabethan institutions.

Simon Adams, BA, MA, DPhil, FRHS, retired from Strathclyde University in 2011 as Reader in History, and is happily completing his biographies of Elizabeth I and Robert Dudley. His most recent works include 'The Earl of Leicester and his World', in Anna Keay and John Watkins (eds.), *The Elizabethan Garden at Kenilworth* (English Heritage, 2013), ' "The Queenes Majestie ... is now become a great huntress": Elizabeth I and the Chase', *The Court Historian*, xxviii (2013) and 'The Heralds and the Elizabethan Court: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester as Deputy Earl Marshal', in Nigel Ramsay (ed.), *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England* (Donington, 2014). [E-mail: s.l.adams@btinternet.com]

10. Philip Mansel, Society for Court Studies, London, UK

Louis XIV and the Politics of the French Royal Stables

Louis XIV had around 700 horses in his stables, and 200 in his hunt. They were used not only to show the supremacy of the French court in horsemanship, but also as a power base. Horses had enabled Henri III to escape from Paris in 1588, and Louis XIV himself to escape from Paris in 1648, and from the Prince de Conde in 1652, during the Fronde. Horses were also used to train officers and to provide presents for the King's allies, from Morocco to Sweden. The officials in charge of the Stables, the Grand Ecuyer, the Premier Ecuyer and their subordinates could acquire considerable influence. Two of Louis XIII's favourites, Saint-Simon and Cinq Mars, had been

ecuyers, and the latter had nearly overthrown Richelieu in 1642. Royal stables cannot be separated from the power structure they supported and represented. French horsemanship practices, and the horses themselves, would play a crucial role in preventing Louis XVI from escaping from Versailles in 1789 and from Paris in 1791.

Philip Mansel is a founder of the Society for Court Studies and edited its journal *The Court Historian* from 1996 to 2016. His books include *The Court of France 1789-1830* (1989); a history of royal guards, *Pillars of Monarchy* (1984); a study of court dress, *Dressed to Rule* (2005); and lives of Louis XVIII (1981) and the Prince de Ligne (2003). He is currently working on a life of Louis XIV. [Email: philipmansel@gmail.com]

11. Tülay Artan, Sabancı University, Turkey

Late 17th- and early 18th-century Ottoman dignitaries and their account books:

Where do the trappings of office end, and horse collecting and connoisseurship begin?

This paper aims to use some hitherto ignored archival sources in order to take a close look at the stables of late-17th and early-18th century Ottoman dignitaries. In their account books (where the daily, monthly and annual household expenses of their residential quarters are listed), purchases of large numbers of horses come to very high figures. This is also borne out by their probate inventories, where horses constitute by far the most valuable item. Given the importance of the Ottoman war-horse, it is somewhat surprising to note that no studies of horses in Ottoman history or art history have made any use of such archival sources. More interestingly, such connoisseurs of fine horses seem to have also had an urge to collect other rare and exotic objects ranging from chiming clocks to monochrome yellow Chinese porcelain, as well as illustrated manuscripts on horses, trappings and horse-riding accessories. What, then, were the non-martial contexts for owning horses – including or apart from displays of pomp and circumstance at royal ceremonies, horse races, or other equestrian team sports performed outdoors? And is there a place for horses and their cultural representations in emerging studies of (and discourses on) Ottoman collecting and connoisseurship? Last but not least, what are the knowledge gaps that can be filled by such studies?

Tülay Artan is Professor of History at Sabancı University in Istanbul. Her research interests include: prosopographic studies of the Ottoman elite and their households; material culture, including equestrian culture, consumption history and standards of living; 17th- and 18th-century Ottoman and Middle Eastern history, arts, architecture, and literature in comparative perspective. Recent and relevant publications include: 'Ahmed I and 'Tuhfet'ül-mülûk ve's-selâtin': A period manuscript on horses, horsemanship and hunting', in Suraiya Faroqhi, ed., *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2010), 235-69; 'Objects of Consumption and Mediterranean Interconnections, 1450- 1650', in *The Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. G. Necipoğlu and B. F. Flood (New York, NY: Wiley- Blackwell,

2017); 'Imaginary Voyages, Imagined Ottomans: a Gentleman Impostor, the Köprülü's, and 17th century French Oriental Romances', *Social, Political and Economic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire. Festschrift for Metin Kunt*, S. Kenan and A. Somel, eds. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017); 'The politics of Ottoman imperial palaces: *vakıfs* and architecture from the 16th to the 18th centuries', in *The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, ed. M. Featherstone et al (Berlin Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 365-408. [Email: tulay@sabanciuniv.edu]

12. José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Spain

The Public Image of Hispanic Monarchs in Early Modern Times: The Role of the Royal Stables

Of special relevance in court ceremonies amongst early modern rulers was the configuration of the complex network that defined the public image of the monarch, inside and outside the courtly environment. Thus, when the monarch ventured outside the palace it provided an opportunity to see the sovereign in all his majesty, and projected an image demonstrating his wealth, the sacralization of his figure, and the distance that separated him from his subjects. This *mise en scène* in different ceremonies, such as the public presentation of heirs, processions, receptions and so on, revealed the splendour of the court and, above all, the power of the prince by means of a semiotic series that penetrated the viewers' awareness directly and influenced their thinking. These appearances played an essential role in establishing the terms of the royal image, because most of the etiquette and the ceremonies in which the King took part were invisible to his lesser subjects, with the exception of public meals at the Royal Palace.

The royal stables were the apparatus of most importance in this respect, as this paper will argue, focusing on the case of the Spanish monarchy during the seventeenth century. We have to realize how intimately involved in the triumphal entries of this period was the horse, an essential part of the *regalia* and a reflection of the chivalric ideal of the dukes of Burgundy. Charles V tried to remain faithful to the image cultivated by his predecessors, expecting nobles from his vast Empire to be present at certain festivals, and encouraging their participation in such events as tournaments and games or *redes*. Undoubtedly, the political involvement of these parties was complex: while a royal entrance was a vehicle for dialogue between the monarch and the urban classes, tournaments expressed, in the form of hospitality, the role of the King as feudal Lord of his knights, as well as, on the nobles' part, the qualities of honour and virtue. However, at the same time, Charles V sought to use the presence of nobles at these celebrations to emphasise the courtly nature of their activities and facilitate the transition from the medieval model of knight-warrior, to the archetype of the modern courtier, a gradual process culminating during the reign of his son.

This process can be seen at the stables during the *Felicissimo Viaje*, as Burgundian tradition had provided Charles with some sophisticated opportunities for equestrian display. Even in the apparently most trivial matters, the exaltation of the figure of

the King and his household created complicated etiquette and ceremonies in order to show the King's superior power in all aspects of life. The Burgundian stables were closely linked to war and its ceremonial simulacra, the tournament and the fair, associations which greatly influenced practice in the emperor's stables. The emperor was presented as a perfect gentleman, who was prepared for war and capable of mounting a horse in order to fight.

This image, however, would be modified after the *Felicissimo Viaje*, so that in the decade of the 1560s during Philip II's reign the stables became conceived in more courtly terms, related to his more remote and sacralised figure, reflecting ceremonial changes in the conception of monarchy. Undoubtedly these changes derived from the introduction of Burgundian style to the stables for the *Felicissimo Viaje*, as this was the moment after which specially crafted vehicles transformed the event. After that point the King made use of what we might call representative vehicles continuously, especially cars and carriages. The Castilian stables were less noted for putting these changes into practice, because, for example, the Master of the Horse was not one of the household's main offices, while in the household of Burgundy the Master of the Horse undoubtedly was. We can simplify by saying that the Castilian stables were more 'domestic' than the Burgundian. Only a few Castilian offices, such as the minstrels, would have equal future importance, although stables in the Castilian manner would continue to have relevance in the Queen's Household.

José Eloy Hortal Muñoz is Professor of Early Modern History at Universidad Rey Juan Carlos in Madrid. With René Vermeir and Dries Raeymaekers, he is co-editor of and contributor to *A Constellation of Courts: The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665* (Leuven UP, 2014), among many other publications. {E-mail: joseeloy.ortal@urjc.es}

13. Sally Goodsir, Royal Collection Trust, London, UK

The Royal Mews, Buckingham Palace

The Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace consists architecturally of the mid-eighteenth century Riding School, probably designed by the architect William Chambers (1723 - 96) for King George III, and the early nineteenth century stabling and carriage houses, designed by the architect John Nash (1752 - 1835) for his son, King George IV. The buildings continue to be used for their original purpose and are amongst the oldest working stables in the world, run on a daily basis under the Lord Chamberlain's department and the Crown Equerry, and opened to the public by Royal Collection Trust. Within the Mews are carriages dating from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries, and two types of horse; the Windsor Grey and the Cleveland Bay. The horses and carriages kept in the Mews are amongst the best-known images of the British monarchy when involved in the ceremonial pageantry of British royal events. The Mews have also historically been used as the largest spaces within the Palace complex; the Riding School in particular has been a location for circus performances, and used to serve food for First World War troops on leave.

However, although their streetside lies alongside one of the busiest roads in central London, the Mews' architectural and ceremonial history has never been comprehensively investigated, probably due to both their working nature and their overshadowing by Buckingham Palace, onto which they are joined.

This paper will seek to place the Royal Mews into their eighteenth and nineteenth century architectural context, and uncover some of the more unusual events to have happened within their walls since their creation. It will also look at the tradition and innovation which continues to influence the working character of the Mews today.

Sally Goodsir is Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts at Royal Collection Trust, with particular interest and involvement in the Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace, including their current re-presentation which launched in summer 2017. She hopes to publish a new book on the Royal Mews in the future. She co-curated the 2014 Queen's Gallery, London exhibition *Painting Paradise: The Art of the Garden*, which travelled to The Queen's Gallery, Edinburgh in 2016, and which examined the idea of the garden as paradise and the inspiration this has been to artists and craftsmen over the past five hundred years. In 2017 she curated the Buckingham Palace summer exhibition *Royal Gifts*, which displayed over three hundred gifts presented to The Queen during her reign and examined the protocols around diplomatic gift giving. She is also currently researching the history of the gardens of the Palace of Holyroodhouse. [Email: sally.goodsir@royalcollection.org.uk]

14. Julian Munby, Oxford Archaeology, UK

Men in the Saddle and Women on Wheels: The Transport Revolution in the Tudor and Stuart Courts

The transport revolution of the 16th century consisted in part of the adoption of four-wheeled transport for private and commercial purposes, and also in the social change that allowed men to ride in carriages rather than on horseback. The coach appeared as a general European phenomenon from the 1550s, but did not immediately represent the adoption of any technological change over its predecessors; by the early 17th century richly decorated high-status vehicles had become a common sight, as had the urban traffic jam. These changes are exemplified in the extensive records of the production and decoration of coaches in the courts of Queen Elizabeth and James I, with the use of courtly gifts and diplomatic presents. While Henry VIII may only have used the carriage very rarely, his daughter Elizabeth not only delighted in the creation of very expensively fitted coaches, but also continued to ride throughout her life. This era saw the development of coach etiquette for the particular situation of a travelling interior space (with a public face) used by both sexes, and the development of formal processional use (with e.g. the use of empty coaches in processions), while the high status male rider continued as a phenomenon into the 20th century.

Julian Munby is a buildings archaeologist at Oxford Archaeology, with a particular interest in timber construction. An enquiry into the form and character of medieval carriages has led

to a more general study on the origins of the coach, based on examination of early survivals from across Europe. He has also carried out extensive investigations in the records of the royal stables in the Tudor and Stuart wardrobe accounts, and on the occurrence of early coaches in art and literature. His most recent study has been the English coach in the Kremlin, presented by the London Muscovy Company in 1604. [E-mail: julian.munby@oxfordarch.co.uk]

15. Alexandra Lotz, Cultural Heritage Centre, Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg and Horses & Heritage, Germany

Noble coach horses for the court: The Habsburg imperial stud at Kladrub on the Elbe and the 'Oldkladruby' horse

Until the end of the Habsburg monarchy horses were an indispensable element of courtly representation. Under Rudolf II the royal stud farms Kladrub on the Elbe and Lipica were founded in 1579 and 1580. At Lipica the focus was on breeding light horses for different driving and riding purposes while Kladrub was supposed to produce heavy but noble coach horses, which were able to pull the elaborate royal carriages in style. Until 1918 the main duty of Kladrub was to provide the courts of Prague and Vienna with two blameless eight-in-hands of grey and black horses for both profane and clerical occasions. Under Leopold I the stud was home to 300 brood mares and 30 sires. At its blossom in the second half of the 18th century Kladrub counted more than 1000 horses. Miraculously the stud and its special horse breed have survived the 20th century and the loss of their original purpose after WWI and decades of communism. Today we see the renaissance of the 'Oldkladruby' horse in traditional driving, classical and leisure riding and in driving sport. The royal mews of Denmark and Sweden belong to the clients of what now is the Czech National Stud Kladruby nad Labem. Since 2002 the stud and its horses are listed as national heritage of the Czech Republic. After an intensive renovation period during the past few years a World Heritage application is currently in progress.

Alexandra Lotz has studied Interior Architecture, Architectural Conservation and World Heritage Management at Wiesbaden, Cottbus, Virginia and Melbourne. She is part of the Cultural Heritage Centre of the Brandenburg University of Technology, working on her doctorate on the Marbach state stud. She is an active horsewoman who has worked for the German state studs Marbach and Neustadt (Dosse). With her agency 'Horses & Heritage' she focuses on equestrian heritage and especially on European stud culture. During the past 10 years she has set up a network of 30 traditional horse breeding institutions in 15 European countries. The Czech National Stud is her special passion. She calls Kladruby nad Labem 'her second home', and has accompanied the horses of the stud to many events including World and European Championships. She has published widely on European stud culture and enjoys sharing her experience at international conferences and on tours she organises for lovers of horses and heritage. For more information see www.horses-and-heritage.net [E-mail: alexandra.lotz@horses-and-heritage.net]

16. Diana Krischke, LOEWE-Network for Human-Animal-Studies, University of Kassel, and Fürstliche Hofreitschule, Bückeburg, Schaumburg-Lippe, Germany

Horse Breeding:

From Wild Ancestors to Multi-Purpose Tool and Luxury Object?

Who focused on producing which breeds of horse, and why, is a perpetual question in equine history. Horses were the first domesticated animals with a defined breeding goal and with at least countrywide breeding programs. For thousands of years, horses were bred for special purposes: i.e. for the transport of goods, for people to ride, for pulling carriages and carts, or even as soldiers in war. All of these purposes needed different kinds of horses, leading to the development of specific breeds for specific uses, and kinds of horse associated with particular families, regions, and eventually nation-states. More than 200 different breeds are still in existence today; many more have become extinct over the centuries. Why are there so many of them and what are the differences in body conformation and in their use? Many people throughout the centuries were highly paid to study horses, riding and breeding and they passed their knowledge on to us by books, paintings and copper engravings. They left us some artefacts to interpret and gave us lots of things to learn and understand. Horses were considered more important than today, since they were life-savers, prestigious objects and specialized weapons for nobleman all-in-one.

This presentation will show how the different disciplines of historical equine science can be brought together for a better understanding of the theory of Baroque horsemanship, the 'human-horse-relationship', and its influence on our riding today. The knowledge of the subject "horse" was at a peak during the Baroque period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Ethology (the study of behaviour), and concerns about animal husbandry, animal welfare, and even the ethics of animal use were already in existence long before those terms were invented within modern academic disciplines. After all, kingdoms and courts depended on the quality of their horses and riders – in war and in peaceful times, for diplomatic negotiations and for fast communication in big empires. Good riding teachers with very well trained horses were the insurance for a nobleman to survive in war. The courtly riding schools with highly recommended and nowadays still well-known stable masters or professors like Grisone, Pignatelli, Pluvinel, Newcastle, and Guérinière became a sign of ultimate power and wealth. The best bred horses represented the best cavalry and probably had a comparable effect on enemies of the threat of today's nuclear weapons. So all the money put into the applied research about horses by the courtly riding instructors and ecuyers was well-invested and likely to pay off.

The 'Fürstliche Hofreitschule Bückeburg' endeavours to reconstruct this world of courtly riding schools and reenacts the historical schooling of warhorses in Germany. The lecture will present some of the results of 13 years of 'experimental archaeology'.

Diana Krischke, MSc. Agr., Dipl. Medienwirtin (FH), studied Equine Sciences in Goettingen and researched the history of riding art and horsemanship in the field of Cultural Anthropology as well as in practical experiments as Ecuyer of the Courtly Riding School in Bueckeburg. She is a scholar at the University of Kassel in the LOEWE-Network for Human-Animal-Studies. [E-mail: diana.krishcke@uni-kassel.de]

17. Tessa Murdoch, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK

Foubert's Riding Academy in London and Paris, 1668-1768

Solomon Foubert ran the Royal Riding Academy in the Faubourg St Germain, Paris. As a result of the 1679 Edict which forced Protestant masters of French Academies to resign, Solomon Foubert emigrated to London. In the British metropolis Foubert established a Riding Academy in Sherwood Street, Piccadilly. This attracted students from courtier families including John Monthermer, son and heir of Ralph, Earl of Montagu, Charles II's former ambassador to the court of Louis XIV. The curriculum included fencing as well as riding and vaulting, mathematics and its application to geography and navigation.

The Academy was regarded as of national importance as it helped 'lessen the expense the nation is at yearly in sending children into France to be taught military exercises'. It attracted a royal donation of £100 from Charles II in 1679 and comments from John Evelyn. It was proposed that the Royal Society should supervise the establishment.

Solomon's son Henry served as ADC to the Duke of Schomberg, the General leading William III's army at the Battle of the Boyne, 1690. In dismounting to assist Schomberg who was mortally wounded, Henry Foubert was himself wounded in the arm. He was promoted to the rank of Major in 1692. Henry took over the management of the Academy on his father's death in 1696. A mezzotint portrait engraving by Faber after the portrait by Thomas Hudson, 1740, is in the British Museum. Major Foubert built up the aristocratic clientele and was able to live in some style with a private house in King Street. After his death in 1743, the Academy continued under Solomon Durrell, a relative and an executor of Major Foubert's will.

A drawing in the Crace Collection, British Museum, shows Foubert's Riding School with the street sign on the North marked 'Major Foubert's Passage' (the name survives to this day) and the legend over the door into the stables 'Horses Stabled'. It had accommodation for forty horses. The Western Side contained stabling, fodder lofts and a yard and extended across the Regent Street and formed the western side of Kingly Street. The brick-built indoor riding school which faced the Eastern end of Conduit Street survived until 1821 when part of Swallow Street was pulled down to make way for improvements to Regent Street.

Foubert's Academy was one of several educational establishments run by French Protestants in London in the late 17th century. Its closest rival was that run by Captain

St Amour in Oxford Street. They included that run by D'Agard circa 1680 in the Savoy, off The Strand; Abraham Meure's Academy in Soho, near the French Church in Hog Lane; another run by Metre was situated next to the White Hart Inn, Long Acre. Metre's Academy offered mathematics, geography, Classics, dancing, fencing and painting. The leading mathematician Abraham de Moivre, who attended the French Church of the Savoy from 1687, may have taught there; he also taught John Monthermer. De Moivre was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1697. Such luminaries were often to be found in Slaughter's Coffee House, St Martin's Lane, which was frequented by leading members of the French community in London.

John Monthermer, from 1709, 2nd Duke of Montagu, used his equine and mathematical training to advantage serving his father-in-law John, Duke of Marlborough in the Wars of Spanish Succession. He retained a life-long interest in riding and horsemanship. There is a painting by Wootton with figures by Hogarth showing the 2nd Duke of Montagu riding to hounds at Boughton. The Boughton library preserves the dedication copy of Joseph Sympson's Twenty Five Actions of the Manage Horse. Engrav'd by Josphus Sympson, From Original Drawings of Mr John Vanderbanck, 1729. Were the drawings made in Foubert's Academy? Other horsemanship manuals in the 2nd Duke's Library are the Pluvinel's Manège royal, 1624; the Duke of Newcastle's Methode de dresser les chevaux, 1658, and Eisenberg's Description du Manège Moderne 1727. John 2nd Duke of Montagu's interest in horses included generous provision for their retirement.

Tessa Murdoch's 1982 PhD. thesis 'Huguenot artists, designers and craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-1760' led to *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685-1985*. She curated *John Channon and Brass-inlaid Furniture*, 1993-4 and the 2012/2013 V&A/Moscow Kremlin Museums exchange *The Golden Age of the English Court from Henry VIII to Charles I* and *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts & the Russian Tsars*. Her article 'Power and Plate: Sir Robert Walpole's Silver' was published in *The Burlington Magazine* (May 2015). She contributed on sculpture and clocks to *Burning Bright: Essays in honour of David Bindman*, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-press/browse-books/burning-bright>, curated Musical Clocks 2013 for London's Handel House, and acquired the royal mantel clock for the V&A 2016. [E-mail: t.murdoch@vam.ac.uk]

18. Catherine Girard, Eastern Washington University, USA

From Experience to Representation: Horses in Depictions of Eighteenth-Century French Hunting

Published in 1733, François Robichon de la Guérinière's *École de cavalerie* rapidly became one of the most influential equestrian treatises in Europe. Written by the 'écuyer ordinaire' of the Riding Hall at the Tuileries and held in high esteem by Louis XV, this treatise effected a transformation of the relation between horses and riders. Arguing for a more natural, elegant, and lighter style, it proposed to shape the horse's behavior and skills through a kinder, more empathic dressage.

Promoting what Walter Liedtke called an ‘art of persuasion’ rather than disciplinary methods, de la Guérinière thus described how to train horses through an intimate understanding of their interiority.

The same year, French artist Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755) received a major royal commission for a series of tapestries chronicling Louis XV’s deer hunts. In a painted sketch, now at the château of Fontainebleau, that he made in 1738 for the *Hunts of Louis XV* tapestry series, Oudry depicted himself at work—pencil holder in hand, a sheet of blue paper on his lap—in the margin of a busy composition filled with dogs and hunters on horseback rushing a stag at bay in the distance. With this inserted self-portrait, Oudry indicated that he was a regular of the royal hunts, which he followed with his own carriage, a privilege that had emanated from the king. As the only figure without a horse, however, he sat on a rocky ground, physically removing himself from the tumult of the scene, marking his difference, his social and physical distance from the royal hunters that he trailed, observed, and drew.

Through a close study of the drawings and painted sketches that Oudry made for the *Hunts of Louis XV* tapestry series in the 1730s, this paper analyzes the place of horses in French royal venery, a highly ritualized technique of hunting on horseback with dogs. It asks a neglected question in the study of these pictures: How do experience and representation relate to each other? As an exceptional but distant witness who experienced the royal hunts of the French king up-close, Oudry contended with the depiction of the hunt’s most gruesome moments—the kill and the ritual carving of the animal—which proliferated in eighteenth-century French painting. This intensification of the visual production coincided with the so-called rococo moment and the growing passion for deer hunting of Louis XV, the penultimate king of ancien régime France. This rich and ambiguous visual material has largely escaped being addressed in seminal publications on the Salon, on gender and sexuality, and on decorative arts, to name a few, that have invigorated the study of eighteenth-century French art in the last decades. This paper attends to this blind spot by examining Oudry’s representations of the relations between humans, horses, dogs, and stags during different moments of the hunt, such as the pursuit, the *hallali*, the kill, and the *curée*.

By examining Oudry’s visual records of Louis XV’s hunts in conjunction with de la Guérinière’s ideas, this paper examines critically the relation between experience and representation in eighteenth-century art in general, and in depictions of hunting in particular. How did profound transformations in dressage affect the use of horses in French royal venery? How did Oudry account for the new understanding of the horse’s natural movement? How was this approach to dressage translated into the expression of power and social hierarchies in hunting practices and their images? What will emerge in the paper is a complex intermingling of up-close observation – Oudry, after all, drew an anatomically correct horse for the first plate of Buffon’s *Histoire naturelle* – and codified poses

carefully achieved with dressage and disseminated in the plates of treatises and in equestrian portraits. The horse's new interiority thus creates a pictorial locus where the tensions between propriety and violence, between power and submission, and between humans and animals can be projected.

Catherine Girard is Assistant Professor of Art History at Eastern Washington University in Cheney, Washington. She specializes in eighteenth-century visual culture, with a focus on French art, animals, the body, sexuality, violence, and otherness. She is the author of *Rococo Massacres: Hunting in Eighteenth-Century French Painting*, a book project based on her 2014 Harvard University PhD dissertation, among other works. Her next project attends to cross-cultural exchanges in the Atlantic world during the eighteenth century, with special attention to Native North American art. She was a Kress institutional fellow at INHA, a Mellon postdoctoral fellow at Columbia University, and a Visiting Assistant Professor at Williams College. She received Canada's Governor General's Academic Gold Medal. [E-mail: cgirard2@ewu.edu]

19. Monica Mattfeld, University of Northern British Columbia, Canada

Changing the Reins of Power:

From Cavendish's Centaur to Eighteenth-Century Riding Houses and Horses

William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle, purposefully displayed himself as partially embodying the animal through skilled, artistic and kinesthetic relationships with his horses in an attempt to become a leading figure in the *manège* community. He understood himself, and knowledgeable spectators understood him, as inhabiting the body of his horse and his horse embracing his mind to create a hybrid, dual-natured creature: a Centaur. This Centaur, inherently honorable and performative, was immediately politicized; Cavendish's ability to rein (and therefore reign) rightly was an intrinsic component of his Centaur status. However, what happened to the close connections between horsemanship ability and the ability to rule in the aftermath of the English Civil War? What role did riding a horse play for men increasingly interested in republican government, politeness and personal liberty?

To illustrate the changing role of horses in displays of personal and political power this paper follows Cavendish's legacy from the country estate into London – increasingly the new home of equestrian practice and changing horsemanship communities – and traces it through changing ideals of masculine behavior. I argue the early eighteenth century saw a divergence in horsemanship that eventually resulted in the creation of two distinct but interconnected schools of horsemanship practice: the 'modern school' interested in racing and hunting, riding as a means of transportation for business and pleasure, and the performance of polite and commercial virtues, performed on Thoroughbred horses; and the 'old school' that continued to look upon it as an art form to be learned on 'traditionally' built horses for the conspicuous self-display of skill, nobility and gentlemanly greatness in the Cavendish vein. London's urban riding houses revise our conception of eighteenth-

century politico-social spaces, and the current understanding of politeness as hegemonic. As this paper shows, men of the new horsemanship communities joined politeness to a discourse of political and personal liberty, a belief in useful commercial endeavor, free and forward riding, and equine independence, to create a notion of masculinity surprisingly martial and republican in form. For men of the more traditional communities, politeness was subordinated to the continuing discourse of refinement, honor, strength and spectacular personal display of the Centaur.

Monica Mattfeld is Assistant Professor of English and History at the University of Northern British Columbia. She has written on the history of horse-human relationships and performances of gender in *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-Century Masculinity and English Horsemanship* (Penn State UP 2017), and on the role of technology and scientific knowledge in human-animal communication in 'Machines of Feeling: Bits and Inter-Species Communication in the Eighteenth Century', in *Equine Cultures: Horses, Human Society and the Discourse of Modernity, 1700-present*, Kristen Guest and Monica Mattfeld, eds. (U of Chicago P, 2018). Mattfeld is currently interested in questions of breed, type and purity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, along with questions relating to equine performance and nineteenth-century hippodrama. [E-mail: monica.mattfeld@unbc.ca]

20. Stefano Saracino, University of Vienna, Austria

Horses and Political Theory in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of William (1592-1676) and Margaret (1623-1673) Cavendish

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the connection between the engagement of William Cavendish and his wife Margaret Cavendish, since 1665 Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, with matters concerning the ontology of and interaction with horses and other animals, on one hand, and the status of political thought and communication, on the other. Margaret as a prolific writer of literary and philosophical works and William as a courtier and royalist politician, as practitioner of horsemanship and author of the *New Method to Dress Horses* from 1667, were in close touch with different issues concerning human-animal-relationships; perhaps the most important one's being on one side horsemanship and its importance for the creation and reproduction of the aristocratic and monarchic "order of things", and on the other, the new science concerning animals and their ontology (influenced by Descartes, Hobbes and the Royal Society).

In order to reconstruct the political agenda lying behind the ontological and ethical assumptions of the Cavendishes regarding horses and other animals several political contexts have to be taken into account; from the plans for a renaissance or redirection of horsemanship at the court of James I, which influenced young William Cavendish, to the significance of horses in anti-royalist propaganda during the Civil War, to questions concerning the importance of Machiavelli and Hobbes for the writings of the Cavendishes. William's hippological writings and practices offer a

paramount example of the codes of political communication connected to horsemanship, whose understanding has been lost with the decline of the 'centauric pact' (Ulrich Raulff) in modernity.

The purpose of this study is to emphasize that for the Cavendishes the analysis of the animal world was much more than a mere metaphor for the human world, or a divertissement that compensated for the lack of opportunities for political participation. Rather, through this analysis they were propagating a social and political order based on interactions, communications, emotions and excellencies of both noble men *and* noble animals.

Stefano Saracino has held postdoctoral appointments at the University of Vienna, and at the Goethe Universität in Frankfurt, where he conducted a project on 'Republican Utopia and Utopian Republicanism in Seventeenth-Century England'. He is the author of, among other publications, 'Der Pferdediskurs im England des 17. Jahrhunderts' in *Historische Zeitschrift* 300 (2015), and the monographs *Tyrannis und Tyrannenmord bei Machiavelli* (2012) and *Republikanische Träume der Macht: Die Utopie als politische Sprache im England des 17. Jahrhunderts* (2014). [Contact: stefano.saracino@gsi.uni-muenchen.de; stefano.saracino@univie.ac.at]

21. Jasmine Dum-Tragut, Center for the Studies of the Christian East, University of Salzburg; University of Veterinary Medicine, Vienna, Austria

'This medical book for horses was written on behalf of my king....' Armenian manuscripts and their royal commissioners

In the Middle Ages, especially during the Crusades, the small Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375) played an important role in the supply of European Crusaders with horses. Nevertheless, it is hardly known that the Cilician Armenian Kings also commissioned unique hippiatric and hippological manuscripts, which can be regarded as contemporary compilations of Arabic and Persian treatises combined with early works of European Farriers and the own Armenian tradition. As such, these manuscripts dating mainly from the 13th century represent a fascinating link between Western and Eastern traditions. Thanks to the Cilician kings Het'um and Smbat, equine knowledge was thus compiled in two manuscripts, of which, unfortunately, only one has survived: the Cilician horse book of 1295-98. This unique manuscript however does not only prove the importance of horses at the royal court and for the Armenian nobles, but also the rich knowledge of the Armenian farriers, horse doctors and breeders. In the 13th century, according to both Armenian and secondary sources, Armenian hippiatric treatises were even translated into Arabic, on behalf of Mameluke sultans from Egypt. Finally, it was a later copy of this Cilician horse book that the Georgian King Herakli had rendered from Armenian into Georgian in the 18th century.

This talk will illustrate the importance of the horse in a medieval royal society and shed some light on the role of kings as commissioners and target group of equine

manuscripts in a region geographically and culturally located between Orient and Occident.

Jasmine Dum-Tragut is Head of the Department for Armenian Studies, Centre for the Research of the Christian East, University of Salzburg and senior researcher at the Department for Biblical Studies and Church History, University of Salzburg. She has published more than 60 papers and 11 monographs in Armenian Studies and General Linguistics. From 2002 until 2004 she worked on an interdisciplinary research project (Armenian Studies/Veterinary Medicine), supported by the Austrian Science Funds, analysing a medieval Armenian manuscript of hippology and horse medicine. In 2014 she graduated in Equine Sciences from the University of Veterinary Medicine in Vienna; she is studying for a Master's degree in Livestock Sciences at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences in Vienna. [E-mail: Jasmine.Dum-Tragut@sbg.ac.at]

22. Sarah G. Duncan, Independent scholar, UK

The Care of the Court Horse in Renaissance Italy

While a collection of valuable, well-conditioned horses enhanced a ruler's status, it was also believed that badly kept horses reflected the ignorance of their owner. Many of the exteriors of Italian Renaissance court stables were designed to impress through their capacity as well as through elaborate architectural design and decoration. However, more important for the horses' welfare was the design and function of the stable interior. While the interior served as a gallery in which to display the court horses, evidence shows that considerable attention was paid the size of the horses' stalls, the design and height of their mangers and hay racks and appropriate angle of the flooring. To maintain cleanliness, efficient drainage systems were designed and various methods were suggested for keeping vermin out of the stable. Such attention to detail required a well-trained hardworking staff - the stable's *famiglia* - administered by the court stable master.

Equestrian and veterinary treatises - such as by Claudio Corte, Pasqual Caracciolo and Carlo Ruini - concentrated on the care of horses and, whether prescriptive or descriptive, it is these texts together court ordinances and stable records, which allow an insight into standards of care expected. The staff's responsibilities were wide-ranging and involved carefully controlled and recorded breeding programmes, horse breaking and training, individually monitored feeding, routine grooming and washing, elaborately decorating and plaiting of the horses' manes and tails, as well cleaning the stable and maintaining the many pieces of tack and extravagant caparisons. And, if required, extraordinary methods were used by the *maniscalco* (veterinary surgeon) and the stable master to restore health.

The paper briefly considers court stable architecture and then concentrates on the care of the horses within the stable. It was the dedication of the stable *famiglia* that allowed these animals to be admired for their fitness and discipline and to contribute to their master's prestige both in public and in private.

Sarah G Duncan is an independent scholar researching fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian court stables and the care of horses in sickness and health. Her 2013 PhD thesis, 'The Italian Renaissance Court Stable', was undertaken at Queen Mary, University of London. She has presented papers: 'The Centaur & the Humanisation of the Horse in Renaissance Italy', RSA Conference, Boston, 2016; 'Magnificence & the Italian Renaissance Court Stable', RSA Conference, Berlin, 2015; 'Horses as Collectibles in Renaissance Italy: Of more benefit than "a beautiful bedroom, even if it is hung with gold brocade,"' AAH Conference, London, 2014; 'Sweet wine and roses: Preparing a racehorse for the *palio* in Renaissance Italy', Annual Conference of Sports History Ireland, University of Ulster, 2013; 'Of more benefit than "a beautiful bedroom, even if it is hung with gold brocade": The well-kept stable of an Italian Renaissance Court', Institute of Historical Research, London, 2012. [E-mail: duncans.sh@gmail.com]

23. Kathryn Renton, University of California at Los Angeles, USA

Caballerizos/Caballerizas:

Supplying Horses for the Spanish Habsburg Court: A Question of Breeds and Breeding

Inheriting the joint crowns of Castile and Aragon, Charles V introduced court etiquette from his home of Flanders, the "Burgundian reforms" that enlarged the role and functions of the Royal stables and their head official - the *caballerizo real*. In addition to the ceremonial and political importance of this post, actual involvement in running the royal stables was equally crucial to supply horses for the king and his court. Stables and studs developed under Charles V and Philip II reveal a complex network invested in breeding, training and transporting horses for royal use. This talk refers to multiple sites in this network to present a picture of best practices for maintaining studs and broodmares, the selection of offspring and their transportation to court during its relocation to Madrid in the sixteenth century. It examines hierarchies within the royal studs and the types, functions and classifications of horses found there. This network drew from Aranjuez, Segovia and Cordoba, as well as Naples, Sardinia and the traditional Habsburg family seat, and demonstrates the importance of sourcing horses for producing royal spectacle.

Kathryn Renton is an advanced PhD candidate in the Department of History at the University of California at Los Angeles, investigating the intersection of animal and environmental studies in the history of early modern empire. The value of her research has been recognized by the Social Science Research Council and the Spanish Ministry of Culture (HISPANEX). She specializes in the history of the former Spanish empire and the Iberian Atlantic, examining horse breeding and horsemanship across cultural divides in the early modern period, using archives in Spain, Italy, Mexico and Peru. This research incorporates innovative areas of environmental and animal studies into traditional analyses of the nobility, court, and military in European political formation, and connects the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds. Kathryn is a founder of the Equine History Collective

(EquineHistory.org): website <https://equinehistory.wordpress.com/> and email equinehistory@gmail.com and kathrynrenton@ucla.edu

24. Jonas Nordin, Kungliga biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden

Horses for Carrousels and War at the Carolean Court in Sweden (c. 1660-1718)

Swedish kings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries fought their enemies sword in hand. Every king from Gustav I in the early 1500's to Charles XII in the early 1700's partook in person in warfare. Two of the kings were even killed on the battlefield.

The example set by the kings was believed to be one of the main explanations to the valour of the Swedish soldiers during the Age of Imperial Greatness in the seventeenth century. To command his troops in person was considered a chief obligation for a king, and like Alexander Swedish kings did not demand anything from their soldiers that they were not willing to execute themselves.

Accordingly, horsemanship at the Swedish court was first and foremost considered in relation to warfare. This was, of course, true at many courts, but in Sweden more than elsewhere high-society made a bellicose rather than cultured impression on most observers.

The great carousel in Stockholm 1672 was modeled upon Louis XIV's 1662 carousel, but not only did the Swedish program make topical references to international politics, the contestants also used uniforms, weaponry and mounts taken as war booty in previous wars. Rather than sporting fanciful court costumes, the participants paraded proper military equipment. This makes the Swedish carousel a rather singular expression of court culture and horsemanship in the seventeenth century. Preserved images and equipment from the occasion make for a unique display of contemporary as well as historical weaponry and horse attire from the seventeenth century.

Jonas Nordin holds a PhD in history and is associate professor at Stockholm University. He is working at the Kungliga biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden. He has specialized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and has written books on, e.g., national identity, monarchy, Versailles, and topographical imagery. He has published a commentary and facsimile reprint of *Certamen equestre*, a festival book commemorating the carousel and other celebrations at the accession of King Charles XI in 1672. [E-mail: Jonas.Nordin@kb.se]

25. Ashley L. Cohen, Georgetown University, USA

Horses and Courts in Late Mughal India: Julius Soubise and the Nawab of Awadh

The Mughal and British empires were radically different in many respects. From religion to aesthetics to theories of sovereignty, the two cultures' respective values and ideologies were to a great extent irreconcilable. However, one thing they did share was a deep reverence for the horse. During the eighteenth century horsemanship was central to the symbolic economy of political power in *both* Britain *and* Mughal India. My paper argues that this mutual investment in the horse represents an important—but understudied—arena of cross-cultural collaboration and rivalry in late Mughal (or early colonial) India. More specifically, my paper will focus on the Calcutta manège operated by Julius Soubise, the Afro-British celebrity who was raised in London as a kind of adopted ward of the Duchess of Queensberry and trained in fencing and riding by the Italian master Domenico Angiolo Malevolti Tremamondo (or, as he was known in England, Domenico Angelo). After the duchess's death Soubise relocated to Calcutta, where in addition to teaching riding to the middling (but upwardly mobile) orders of Calcutta's Anglo community, he also dealt in horses. Remarkably, the manuscript diaries of his business partner (the architect Richard Blechynden) indicate that he occasionally sourced his stock from the royal stables of the second most powerful ruler in all of Mughal India: Saadat Ali Khan, the Nawab of Awadh. Drawing from Blechynden's unpublished diaries and other original research, my paper will start to flesh out an at once comparative and connected history of horsemanship in British Calcutta and Mughal Lucknow. In particular, I aim to show how horsemanship functioned as a cross-cultural touchstone for the performance of political authority during a period of dramatic upheaval on the subcontinent, as both British and Mughal elites—actual and aspiring—used horses to position themselves vis-à-vis competing sources and discourses of political power.

Ashley L. Cohen is Assistant Professor of English at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. Her research on British imperialism and the British class system has appeared, or is forthcoming, in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, and *Comparative Literature*. She is also the editor of *Lady Nugent's East India Journal* (Oxford University Press, 2014), and author of 'Fencing and the Market in Aristocratic Masculinity' in *Sporting Cultures, 1650-1850*, ed. Daniel O'Quinn and Alexis Tadié (University of Toronto Press, 2018), 66-90. She is currently completing a book manuscript exploring the convergence of the East and West Indies in the worldview of late Georgian Britons. [E-mail: Ashley.Cohen@Georgetown.edu]

26. Donna Landry, University of Kent, UK

Breeds, Dynasties, Nations: Austrian Lipizzaners (1580--), English Thoroughbreds (1686--), and Edwin Henry Landseer's *The Arab Tent* (c.1865-1866)

As the term evolved between 1550 and 1850, a 'breed' of horse became increasingly inseparable from questions of ideology, sovereignty and national identity. The Austrian Lipizzaner, associated with the Habsburg dynasty, and the English Thoroughbred, produced by peers and gentlemen, illustrate the complexities of iconic equine breed status in their genealogy ('warm blood' versus 'blood horse'), associated character traits, and dynastic or national mode of production. In 1580, Archduke Charles II of Styria founded a stud at Lipica in Lower Styria (now Slovenia) to produce riding and war horses for the Habsburg court; in 1686, the Byerley Turk, the first of three Eastern-bred foundation sires, and one of over 200 horses and mares, was imported from the Ottoman domains. By 1791, with the founding of the *General Stud Book*, the thoroughly hybrid racehorse of the British Isles was judged to have been sufficiently perfected to constitute an 'English' breed, or what economic historians would call a case of import substitution. The eighteenth-century Lipizzaner foundation sires, by contrast, illustrate the continuing pre-eminence across Continental Europe of the Iberian horse, which was bigger and heavier than Eastern horses, less fleet, and more amenable to the collection and discipline of the manège. These sires included a Spanish horse from the Royal Danish stud, several Neapolitans (Italian horses of Spanish breeding), and two Kladrubers (of principally Spanish bloodlines from a stud in Bohemia). Then Siglavy, a purebred Arabian from Syria, was entered into the stud book early in the nineteenth century. How might we account for this action? There may well have been a shortage of fine Iberian stallions after many years of war. Furthermore, impressed by the qualities of Eastern bloodstock, which were by this time also evident in many English Thoroughbreds, and codified in the *General Stud Book*, a number of European nations were dispatching agents and procuring parties to Syria and elsewhere in the Middle East; Bonaparte's invasion of 1798 supplied Egyptian horses for France.

Although transnational networks and hybridity had produced the Lipizzaner and the Thoroughbred, the concept of Oriental equine 'purity' emblematised by the desert Arabian emerged as a nineteenth-century ideal, apotheosised in such works as Edwin Henry Landseer's *The Arab Tent* (c.1865-1866) (Wallace Collection). Siglavy became an important foundation sire. However, attempts to introduce English Thoroughbreds as representatives of 'clean bred' bloodstock into the Lipizzaner stud books were not successful. The reputation of the Thoroughbred produced by the racing-mad and fox hunting English (and Irish) as peculiarly 'difficult', indeed nearly impossible to ride, also travelled internationally, significantly making an appearance in Miklós Bánffy's *Transylvanian Trilogy* (1934-1940), in which an

equestrian community proud of their horsemanship and long-established local breeds find themselves struggling to cope with an English Thoroughbred mare.

Predictor of economic value as well as equine character and capabilities, signifier of sovereignty and national differences: however ideologically loaded a construct it may be, 'breed' continues to govern the thinking of riders and breeders, who can be relied upon to provide empirical justification for their views.

Donna Landry is Professor of English and American Literature at the University of Kent in Canterbury and a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. Her work on horses in history includes *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2009), 'Horses at Waterloo, 1815' in *Equine Cultures: Horses, Human Society and the Discourse of Modernity, 1700-present*, Kristen Guest and Monica Mattfeld, eds. (U of Chicago P, forthcoming 2018), and 'Learning to Ride in Early Modern Britain, or, the Making of the English Hunting Seat', in Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker, eds., *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). She is currently writing a study of Waterloo from the point of view of the horses. Landry is an active horsewoman and a founder of the Evliya Çelebi Way project: <http://kent.ac.uk/english/evliya/index.html> [E-mail: D.E.Landry@kent.ac.uk]

27. Barney White-Spunner, Military Historian, UK

Household Cavalry: Policing the Streets of London

The Life Guards and The Royal Horse Guards (always known as The Blues & Royals) are two regiments of the British Army who comprise The Household Cavalry, the personal guard of the British monarch. Today that role is ceremonial, with the regiments also serving, as they have always done, in the British Army's order of battle. Founded soon after the Restoration of the British monarchy in 1660, the Household Cavalry were modeled on Louis XIV's *Maison Militaire du Roi*. The Life Guards were formed partly from those royalists who had accompanied Charles II in exile and partly from Cromwell's old bodyguard, and together with The Blues & Royals, originally a Commonwealth regiment noted for their puritanism, soon became a vital part of the machinery of government for the Stuarts and later the Hanoverians.

Guarding the monarch was in itself demanding, particularly during the turbulent period from 1660. However, in the absence of any police force or other organised body to enforce law and order, the Household Cavalry increasingly found themselves being used to patrol the streets of London, and other major British cities, and particularly to suppress rioting. In fact it was the Venner riots in early 1661 which persuaded Parliament to accede to the King's request that they be officially established. Good order in the capital and the security of monarchy were seen, understandably, as being two parts of the same whole.

Riot control became even more significant during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with part of the regiments being left behind in London rather

than being deployed on operations overseas due to concerns over law and order; only half the Household Cavalry went to Waterloo because of concern over the Corn Law riots in London in 1815. It was only with the coming of the Metropolitan Police that this role started to diminish.

Lieutenant General Sir Barney White-Spunner, KCB, CBE, who commanded the Household Cavalry, is a former regular soldier whose military career culminated as Commander of the British Field Army. From 2021 to 2015 he was Executive Chairman of The Countryside Alliance, the organisation that campaigns to promote and protect all those who live and work in the countryside. He now writes, farms, and runs his own consultancy business from Dorset. He has led British and Multinational forces in a wide variety of countries, and most recently in Iraq and Afghanistan. He has written extensively on rural affairs and military history. Knighted in 2011, he is also an Honorary Legionnaire in the French Foreign Legion and a member of the United States Order of Merit. His publications include *Horse Guards* (2006), the story of the Household Cavalry; *Of Living Valour* (2015), the story of the British soldiers at Waterloo, and *Partition* (2017), an account of Indian Independence and the birth of Pakistan. [E-mail: bwbws@aol.com]

28. Valerio Zanetti, St John's College, University of Cambridge, UK

Courtly Amazons of the Grand Siècle: Tracing the Roots of Female Equestrian Culture in Early Modern Europe

It is now widely recognised that the increase in mobility connected to the development of new sporting practices was crucial to the struggle for female emancipation between the 19th and the 20th century. And yet surprisingly little attention has been paid to women's corporeal exercises in early modern Europe. My paper investigates the emergence of an independent female sport culture at the French court during the Grand Siècle (ca. 1580-1715), with a specific focus on horseback riding. I show how the display of athleticism in the saddle called into question contemporary gender conventions and contributed to re-shape the way early modern femininity was imaged and performed.

I begin by analysing how early modern conceptions of elite femininity were challenged when aristocratic women entered the male arena of the hunt and appropriate masculine sporting habits. Ladies gradually moved beyond traditional structures to establish an original athletic regime based on a new set of rules and aimed at the achievement of goals independent from hunt-related conventions. I will show how the display of athletic skilfulness and controlled vigour, previously considered unnatural and unsuited to a lady, would become by the early 1700s a perfectly acceptable, if not desirable, female attribute. These new athletic performances were based on a more intense interaction with the horse and entailed the acquisition of specific technologies of the body. I will reconstruct how the equestrian education of young girls was carried out, and subsequently explore the

intellectual and psychological dimension that accompanied these corporeal experiences.

It is necessary to establish the political motives behind women's wish to create new spaces for homo- and heterosocial interactions. I will then consider some possible rationales of an altogether different nature, equally embedded within the intricate networks of court life, but at the same time strikingly familiar to modern eyes. Considering how physical activity is strongly connected to issues of self-determination and intrinsic motivation, I suggest that women eagerly embraced new equestrian practices as a way to cope with depression and the more or less ordinary frustrations of life at court. By exerting agency over their own body and shaping it through exercise, women took up a rare opportunity to react against the dictates of a patriarchal society which governed their social, sentimental, and corporeal existence.

At first an elite phenomenon linked to the aristocratic milieu, the female taste for equitation progressively trickled down the social ladder spreading through all social classes, thus engendering new dynamics of psychophysical empowerment which changed the way western femininity has been imaged and performed from the 17th century to the present day.

Valerio Zanetti was an undergraduate in Milan, where his studies focused on Renaissance iconology and iconography. He then completed an MA in Eighteenth Century Studies at the University of Sheffield, with a thesis exploring the corporeal and sartorial performances of political women during the French Revolution. He is currently a PhD candidate at Cambridge, where his research is funded by both the AHRC and the Cambridge Trust. His project investigates the emergence of female sporting culture in early modern Europe. Studying various forms of exercise as embodied practices, he sets out to determine to what extent female athleticism fitted within or challenged established gender norms, and eventually reshaped the way femininity was imaged and performed. He is also interested in the role played by material culture in this process of female liberation. [E-mail: vz218@cam.ac.uk]

29. Ulrike Weiss, University of St Andrews, UK

Aside or Astride. The Debate around the Female Seat, ca. 1770-1820

The imagery conjured up by 'horses and courts' is almost exclusively male: When knights became obsolete, the ideal courtier, as defined by Castiglione, had to excel at the Haute École. Hunting provided another opportunity for a display of virility and for male bonding.

And yet, courtly ladies continued to ride, too -- in large enough numbers, evidently, for a distinct fashion in female riding costume -- along tellingly masculine lines -- to develop in the second half of the seventeenth century. There are no depictions of ladies exercising their horses in the Haute École; however, it would be rash to take this absence as evidence that none of them did. In his *Wohleingerichtete Reitschul* of

1746, Count Eisenberg defined a horseman (“Reiter”) as somebody proficient in the manège, and adds that in this sense the term was equally appropriate for a lady.

Propriety was the issue, though – as the lack of pictorial representations demonstrates – since to master Haute École airs, women would have had to ride astride. The paper proposes to try and trace female courtly equestrianism through text and image. In particular, it will look at several high-profile examples of female equestrian portraits in the second half of the 18th century, showing the German princely lady astride, and to explore their context.

Ulrike Weiss is Lecturer in Museum & Gallery Studies at the University of St Andrews (since 2009). She is a member of the Academic Advisory Board for the Hanoverian “Landesausstellung” to mark the anniversary of the Hanoverian Succession (deputy chair, 2010-2014). Previous posts: Exhibitions curator at the History Museum, Hannover (2002-2009); project curator at Blackwell House, for the Lakeland Arts Trust (2000/01); assistant curator, then project curator at the Württemberg State Museum, Stuttgart (1996-2000). An art historian and historian by training, her approach is interdisciplinary. Recent articles investigate medals as means of political propaganda, Queen Caroline Mathilda of Denmark’s transgressive act of riding in breeches, and the production and ceremonial presentation at the Hanoverian court of the parchment of the Act of Settlement in 1701. [E-mail: uew@st-andrews.ac.uk]

30. Sara Ayres, Queen Margarethe II Distinguished Postdoctoral Fellow, National Portrait Gallery, London

Caroline Mathilde on Horseback: An Enlightened Equestrian?

It is well known that Caroline Mathilde, Queen Consort to Christian VII of Denmark, embarked on an affair with Johann Friedrich Struensee, her husband’s personal physician and from 1771 to 1772 effectively Regent of Denmark, by whom it is thought she bore a daughter, Louisa Augusta of Denmark. Following Struensee’s downfall and execution, Caroline Mathilde was exiled to Schloss Celle in present-day Lower Saxony, near Hannover.

During Struensee’s tenure as personal doctor to the royal family, he suggested that Caroline-Mathilde go riding to help relieve her depression and that she should wear male clothing when doing so to aid her freedom of movement. This practice, undertaken publicly, became a focus of broadsheets lampooning the Queen, which were published during the process of her divorce and exile from Denmark. A well-known example, *Den Stormætigste Dronning Caroline Mathilde til Hest, or, Her Excellency Queen Caroline Mathilde on Horseback*, shows the Queen riding out, her daughter in the arms of a nanny, and Struensee sadly watching the scene from his prison cell. The accompanying verse ‘laments’ that the sight of Caroline Mathilde riding about the countryside dressed as a man is a joy no longer available to the Danes since her exile.

This paper examines this and other representations of the royal equestrian, both official and unofficial, in the light of contemporary discourses about art, bodies, and breeding. My paper considers how these images drew upon, supported and problematised the tradition of the courtly equestrian portrait in Denmark and the UK, as a symbol of royal physical and mental control: over the animal, the self and by extension, the nation.

Sara Ayres is Queen Margarethe II Distinguished Postdoctoral Fellow, funded by the Carlsberg Foundation, working on the project 'Transcultural Portraits' at the National Portrait Gallery, London, which is being undertaken in partnership with Frederiksborg Castle in Denmark. Sculpture in the Nordic Region, a collection of essays she co-edited was published earlier this year. She has also published 'Staging the Female 'Look': A Viennese Context of Display for Klimt's Danaë' based on her doctoral research in the Oxford Art Journal. She is currently planning a publication on the representation of Danish-British consorts. [E-mail: SAyres@npg.org.uk]

31. Erica Munkwitz, American University, USA

Angels and Amazons: Riding Aside vs. Astride, 1880-1952

During the late nineteenth century, more women than ever before participated in equestrian sports and spread horseback activities throughout Britain and the British Empire. Not only were women riding and fox-hunting with men by the 1880s, but they were riding exactly like them, on the same saddles and in similar clothes, by the early 1900s. Women in Britain did not pursue riding astride until about 1900, but their sisters in the British Empire, and particularly in India, had been riding this way much earlier. Women had traditionally ridden sidesaddle in Britain since Anne of Bohemia introduced the style in the fourteenth century, and many would continue to do so throughout the twentieth century, as evidenced by Princess (later Queen) Elizabeth's riding sidesaddle for ceremonial functions like the Trooping of the Color. So why abandon the sidesaddle? In fact, the shift from riding sidesaddle to riding astride likely occurred as imperial "bounce-back." Imperial space and practicality allowed British women to innovate and change how they rode; thus, this new style of riding was brought back to Britain and instigated a sporting revolution for female equestrians at home. Such sweeping changes in riding styles and clothing (literally, wearing the breeches) indicates women's importance not only in bolstering imperial ideologies, but also in promoting class and gender cohesion (as well as conflict) in Britain.

Erica Munkwitz is a Professorial Lecturer in Modern British and European history at American University in Washington, DC. Her research focuses on gender, sport and empire in modern Britain, specifically women's involvement in equestrianism. She received her BA in History and English from Sweet Briar College and her PhD from American University, where she was honored with the Award for Outstanding Scholarship at the Graduate Level. In 2016, she received the Junior/Early Career Scholar Award from the European Committee for Sport History. She is currently completing a book manuscript entitled 'Riding to

Freedom: Women, Horse Sports, and Liberation in Britain, 1772-1928.' [E-mail: munkwitz@american.edu]

32. Lelia Packer, Wallace Collection, London, UK

Horses at the Wallace Collection: Paintings by Diego Velázquez and Philips Wouwerman

Horses are featured in a number of paintings throughout the Wallace Collection. Perhaps the most iconic is *Prince Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School* (Studio of Diego Velázquez, c. 1640-45) set at the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid. Prince Baltasar is shown riding his horse in the extreme foreground, the individual horse prominently featured in equal measure to the prince. By contrast, the Wallace's paintings by the Dutch master Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668) from around the same time, arguably the most successful painter of equestrian subjects, feature a multitude of figures and horses in a variety of difficult poses. No other artist painted horses in such diversity and with such consummate skill. In the numerous battles, hunting parties, stables, forges, riding schools and army encampments Wouwerman represented, horses take centre stage.

Prince Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School was bought by Richard Seymour-Conway (1800-1870), 4th Marquess of Hertford in 1856 for the considerable sum of 1,210 guineas. At that time, the painting was thought to be an original by Velázquez. Wouwerman's paintings also fetched high prices during his lifetime and continued to be popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The majority of Wouwerman's paintings at the Wallace were acquired by Lord Hertford who sought 'pleasing pictures' for his collection; this might explain the absence of any of Wouwerman's celebrated battle scenes from the collection.

This talk will highlight the distinctive roles of the horse in Velázquez and Wouwerman's paintings in courtly and genre settings. While Velázquez perfected the courtly equestrian portrait, Wouwerman's highly specialised subjects made an essential and original contribution to the rich diversity of seventeenth-century Dutch painting and to Western art more generally.

Dr Lelia Packer is acting Curator of Paintings, Watercolours, Miniatures and Manuscripts (non-French) at the Wallace Collection. Prior to this, she worked at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Gallery of Art and, most recently, the National Gallery in London where she co-curated the exhibition *Monochrome: Painting in Black and White*. [E-mail: Lelia.Packer@wallacecollection.org]

33. Philip Dine, National University of Ireland Galway

Horses and Horsemanship in 'French' Algeria: Projecting Power through Sport

Equestrian spectacles have been identified as an important vector for European cultural transfers since the second half of the eighteenth century, notably through the popularization of horse racing on the English model. As Britain's nearest continental neighbour, France was central to this process. However, the French role was also deeply ambivalent, given the country's status as both a hereditary enemy and an imperial rival. In this case study, the mechanics of sporting diffusion are considered alongside the evolution of equestrian culture in three interconnected spheres: at court, in the army and across the overseas empire. Horses would throughout be central to the practices, locations and representations mobilized to project French power – monarchical, military and imperial. Equestrianism would also, intriguingly but ephemerally, serve as the vehicle for a remarkable experiment in aristocratic association between traditional elites in France and Algeria. This development was to culminate in Napoleon III's project of an 'Arab Kingdom' in North Africa. From the 1760s to the 1860s, the French monarchy – and its Bonapartist imitators – accordingly encouraged the country's nascent sporting sphere, including in the Algerian colony established in 1830. Princes of the blood would be active participants in the protracted 'pacification' of Algeria between 1830 and 1847, sharing their fellow cavalry officers' conviction of the renewed importance of equestrianism, both in its military and sporting incarnations, informed by a first-hand appreciation of North African horses and traditional Islamic horsemanship. In this context, competing discourses of authority were articulated through sporting competition, as well as by a variety of writings, paintings and equestrian statuary. Indeed, from the triumphant arrival of the French in Algeria to their reluctant retreat from empire a century and a quarter later, horses and horsemanship would be pivotal to projections of colonial power, as well as to post-independence representations of its ultimate overthrow.

Philip Dine is Personal Professor and Head of French at the National University of Ireland Galway. He has published widely on representations of the French empire, particularly decolonization, in fields ranging from children's literature to professional sport. Further projects have targeted sport and identity-construction in France and the Francophone world, including 'Horse Racing in Early Colonial Algeria: From Anglophilia to Arabomania' in *Sporting Cultures, 1650-1850*, ed. Daniel O'Quinn and Alexis Tadié (University of Toronto Press, 2018), 136-60. [E-mail: philip.dine@nuigalway.ie]

34. Sandra Swart, Stellenbosch University, South Africa

The Horse Rampant – Equine Power and the Making of African Aristocracy

From the symbolic (racehorse-owning "black diamonds" of the new upper class) to the material (Darfur's Janjawiid equestrian warlords), horses are rampant in Africa's pageantry of power. They remain enduringly both a marker of difference and a mechanism of its enforcement in present day politics. Historians have long wrestled with the entangled role of horses and the nature of power in human society, dating

back to Aristotle's observation on the connection between oligarchy and cavalry. This essay explores the long history of the horse in both the acquisition and expression of elite power, especially in the construction of Africa's "aristocracy", be it real or figurative. Horses have been historiographically caricatured, too often seen as instruments only of Muslim or, later, European imperialism and external aggression. This essay counters this misrepresentation by exploring indigenous uses of the horse's role in creating African nobility. Thus the nuances of symbolic and material role of the horse in creating and sustaining African aristocracy are explored. This essay explores shifting understanding of the role of the horses over the *longue durée* in west Africa and southern Africa, to stimulate vigorous historiographical debate over the very essence of the cavalry state and the 'nature' of aristocracy.

Sandra Swart is Professor of History at Stellenbosch University in South Africa and editor of the *South African Historical Journal*. She is the author of, among many publications on animal species and social and economic history, *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa* (2010), 'Horses in the South African War, c.1899-1902', *Society and Animals* (October 2010); and, with Greg Bankoff, co-editor of the highly influential *Breeds of Empire: The Invention of the Horse in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa, 1500-1950* (2007). [E-mail: sss@sun.ac.za]

35. Richard Nash, Indiana University, USA

The Sport of Kingmakers and the Protestant Succession, or, How Horse Racing Healed the Nation between the Exclusion Crisis and the End of the First Jacobite Rebellion

This paper will sketch the general outlines of an argument I am currently pursuing that locates the rise of horse racing as a national sport in England in the context of national political change. In brief, the argument might be summarized as saying that horse racing was less the sport of kings than of kingmakers, a recreation of martyrs as well as monarchs; and that its early participants were at least associated with breeding rebellion as well as racehorses.

Ironically, the sport so closely identified with "the merry monarch" arose in many ways in opposition to its early Royal patron. While Charles II is often identified rightly as Newmarket's most significant patron, the last years of his reign were marked by a significant cooling in his relation to the town; and he actively pursued relocating his sporting palace to Winchester, a politically friendlier environment.

This paper will argue that this change in attitude that has received relatively little attention from historians was part of a much larger ideological shift under way at the end of the seventeenth and the start of the eighteenth century; and that the formation of a national sport of horse racing, centered at Newmarket, but operating widely throughout the kingdom played a not insignificant role in the effective

usurpation of one dynasty by another, managed adroitly — and partly through political theater — with only minimal uprisings of open rebellion.

Richard Nash is Professor of British Literature and Culture of the Long Eighteenth Century in the Department of English at Indiana University, Bloomington, with a special interest in literature and science. He is the author of an award-winning book, *Wild Enlightenment: The Borders of Human Identity in the Eighteenth Century* (U of Virginia P, 2003), 'Turf Wars: Violence, Politics, and the Newmarket Riot of 1751' in *Sporting Cultures, 1650-1850*, ed. Daniel O'Quinn and Alexis Tadié (University of Toronto Press, 2018), 93-113, and essays in Peter Edwards, Karl A. E. Enenkel and Elspeth Graham, eds., *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (2012) and Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker, eds., *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (2005). His current project focuses on the origins of the Thoroughbred racehorse and what it means to invent an animal. Emerging from this research has been an increasing interest in the mediating work of early modern georgic in the context of AgriCultural Studies, and the ways in which Karen Barad's agential realism may offer theoretical tools for re-situating a 'non-Modern' historical reconsideration of modernity. [E-mail: nash@indiana.edu]

36. Oliver Cox, Heritage Engagement Fellow, TORCH, Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities, UK

'Newmarket, that infamous seminary of iniquity and ill manners': Horse Racing, Monarchy and Empire

Paul Langford, in his *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (1992), observed that, 'Westminster and Newmarket were more or less interchangeable venues of social and political life'. Yet, with the notable exceptions of Peter Borsay and Peter Edwards scholars have overlooked the pervasiveness of horseracing in eighteenth-century Britain. This paper aims to correct this oversight and suggest ways in which the development of horse racing reflects the power, class and social divisions at the heart of Britain and the British Empire.

This paper argues that horse racing was the most rapidly developing and commercialised sport of the eighteenth-century. Meetings were attended by all sections of the community; it encouraged the closer integration of urban and rural life; it strengthened trading relationships with the near East and North America, and its dominance in political, social and cultural life was expressed through widespread use in satirical literature, pamphlets, plays and prints.

This paper will focus on the link between horse racing, monarchy and parliamentary political life. Too often scholars have concluded that an enthusiasm for horse racing was a blot on a monarch or politician's character and a distraction from the duties of office. Yet, Lord Bute, the target of political invective from the early 1760s onwards, had his entrée to the royal family at Epsom races, and the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham co-ordinated the political life of the nation from the racecourse; leading

Edmund Burke to warn of the gentry's unwillingness to appear, 'where they thought some politiks might interfere with the pleasurable Ends of the meeting'.

I will argue that horse racing was, in fact, crucial to the maintenance of political relationships throughout the British Empire. The racecourse was a crucial arena for political discussion and realpolitik. Only with a detailed study of the interaction between horseracing and politics can an accurate picture of the boisterousness and complexity of local, national and international political culture be completed.

Dr Oliver Cox is Heritage Engagement Fellow at the University of Oxford. He is responsible for co-ordinating collaborative research projects with the UK and international heritage sector. He is an eighteenth-century historian by training. [E-mail: oliver.cox@humanities.ox.ac.uk]

37. Sean Magee, Racing Journalist and Historian, UK

Ascot and Royalty, from Queen Anne to Queen Elizabeth II, 1711-2018

From the moment in spring 1711 when Queen Anne decided that a clearing in Windsor Forest was the ideal venue for horse races, Ascot and royalty have been inextricably intertwined. Throughout that summer, the Duke of Somerset's account books record expenditure on the construction of the running surface – example, to the principal contractor for paying “sundry workmen employed in making and perfecting the round Heat on Ascot Common” – but Anne herself had little opportunity to enjoy the new course, which had been established for less than three years when she died in August 1714.

Her successor George I did not share her enthusiasm for racing, and Ascot went into a decline only partially reversed during the reigns of George II and George III. But George III's son who became Prince of Wales (and was known as “Prinny”) was very keen on racing, and especially on the social side of the sport: the caption to a popular early-nineteenth-century engraving dripped with irony when describing “His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with a Lady of Quality driving to Ascot Races”. George acceded in 1820, and four years later the royal party first made a formal procession in carriages up the Straight Mile – since when the Royal Procession has remained Prinny's lasting legacy to the Royal Meeting.

William IV disliked racing – an attitude not helped by his having his hat dented by a stone thrown by a one-legged ex-seaman with a pension issue in 1832 – but Victoria loved it. “I was very much amused at the races”, the princess wrote after attending the 1834 meeting, and to mark her accession founded the Queen's Vase, a race still run today. The passion for Ascot of her oldest son “Bertie” knew no bounds, and while George V and George VI maintained the royal racing and breeding interests, the present queen's love of the sport echoed that of Edward VII. She has owned many winners at Royal Ascot, notably Gold Cup winner Estimate in 2013.

Sean Magee is a racing journalist and historian, and author of many books on the sport, including *Ascot: the history* (2002), *Lester's Derbys* (with Lester Piggott, 2004), *Arkle: the story of the world's greatest steeplechaser* (2005, revised 2014) and the history of the Injured Jockeys' Fund (2013). [E-mail: sean.magee@virgin.net]

38. Jane Ridley, University of Buckingham, UK

Elizabeth II, Queen and Horsewoman: The Role of the Horse in the Current Reign

'Horses,' Elizabeth II once observed, 'are the greatest levellers in the world.' The Queen's love of horses is usually represented as a much-needed escape from the bubble of monarchy. Her regular ride at Windsor, since 2003 mounted on a sturdy black Fell pony, hardly seems a court occasion. This paper will argue that it is. There is nothing casual about the ride. The ritual is unchanging. The Queen wears a headscarf rather than the mandatory crash helmet, she rides with a double bridle, her bowler-hatted, bemedalled attendant rides half a stride behind. This is an image of rule, a 21st century version of Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback*.

The Queen's skill as a horsewoman has enabled her to exploit the ceremonial potential of the horse. An elegant though unenthusiastic side-saddle rider, she led the Trooping the Colour on a charger until 1987. When a gunman fired six shots at her in 1981 riding Burmese, she revealed the qualities of a leader – physical courage, a concern for her horse rather than herself, calmly continuing with the ceremony as though nothing had happened.

Racing has been her passion, and I will argue that it is her court sport. Racing is an alternative world, a public/private space, governed by strict rules of dress and protocol. In her racing stable and stud the Queen really is in charge – unlike in public life where her role is advisory. She watches her mares being covered by stallions – a frightening performance of raw lust between two animals – with the beady eye of a world expert in bloodstock. 'If she had been a normal person she probably would have become a trainer,' said her trainer Ian Balding. Until his death in 2001 she spoke almost every day to her racing manager Lord Porchester (Carnarvon) who played the role of Robert Dudley to Elizabeth I – the favourite, charged by his mistress to bring back winners for her: 'You can bloody well do it,' she told him. And he did.

Jane Ridley is an English historian, biographer, author and broadcaster, and Professor of Modern History at the University of Buckingham. She won the Duff Cooper Prize in 2002 for *The Architect and his Wife*, a biography of her great-grandfather Edwin Lutyens. She is author of *Fox Hunting: a history* (1990), *Bertie: A Life of Edward VII* (2012), and *Queen Victoria: a short life* (Penguin, 2014). [E-mail: jane.ridley@buckingham.ac.uk]



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Cover image: Workshop of Giambo-logna (1524-1608), *Henri IV, King of France* (Detail: c. 1600-1604).

Top image: Eugène Lami (1800-90), *The Court of Louis XIV in Flanders* (probably late 1850s).

Image right: Edwin Henry Landseer, *The Arab Tent* (c.1865-66).

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