

# THE ROYAL AND IMPERIAL STABLES OF THE AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS DURING THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD: A GENERAL SURVEY WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SPANISH INFLUENCE

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## The Master of the Horse

At the early modern court of the Austrian Habsburgs, the household was headed by the Master of the Horse (*Oberstallmeister*) and three other supreme officers of the court, namely the Head of the Court Household (*Obersthofmeister*), the Head Chamberlain (*Oberstkämmerer*) and the Court Marshal (*Obersthofmarschall*). The responsibilities<sup>2</sup> of the Master of the Horse extended to court horses, mules and donkeys, which served as mounts, draught animals and pack animals for ceremonial processions, day-to-day business travel and transports as well as courtly pleasures such as hunts, tournaments, sleigh rides (fig. 1) and riding lessons. The head of the court stables oversaw

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: ASF: Archivio di Stato di Firenze. AVA: Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv. Cod: Codex. FA: Familienarchiv. FHKA: Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv. HA: Hausarchiv. HHStA: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. HZAB: Hofzahlambtsbücher. MdP: Mediceo del Principato. NÖHA: Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten. ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. ÖStA: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna. OMeA: Obersthofmeisteramt. OStA: Oberstallmeisteramt. SR: Sonderreihe. ZA: Zeremonialakten.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Menčík: "Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Hofämter", in *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 87 (1899), pp 447–563, 475–480, 524–543; I. v. Žolger: *Der Hofstaat des Hauses Österreich*, Wien–Leipzig 1917, pp. 134–136; J. Hausenblasová: *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II. Eine Edition der Hofstaatsverzeichnisse 1576–1612*, Prag 2002, pp. 100–103.

various means of transport, from simple carriages to lavishly ornate state coaches, mule litters, sedan chairs, sleighs and the monarch's personal ship; he was also responsible for harnesses, saddles, tents, the riding school and the stud farms. Another key task involved the upbringing and education of the noble pages through a special teaching and supervision office also subject to the Master of the Horse. This educational facility for young aristocrats was highly important not least because a considerable proportion of the empire's future political elite would be recruited from its ranks. Personal hunting assistants, trumpeters and drummers were also on his staff, while in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries his court servants even included keepers for wild animals such as elephants and big cats.

The many persons, animals and vehicles of the imperial stables made up a large part of that which represented the imperial household in the eyes of broad swathes of the population. If we visualise a public ceremony away from the palace – perhaps the Emperor riding into town to the sound of trumpets and the beating of drums, dressed in shining armour on his favoured horse, or driving through the city gates in a state coach, accompanied by scores of show horses, carriages, noble pages, footmen and other sumptuously clad stable personnel – we can easily appreciate the critical role played by the office of Master of the Horse as regards the image policy of the sovereign.

A number of surviving instructions<sup>3</sup> along with reports by various envoys and descriptions of court festivals provide an insight into the actual tasks performed by the Master of the Horse, who was ultimately responsible for the running of the imperial stables, the discipline of personnel under his authority, the specific use of funds assigned to him and proper management of stable equipment. The Master of the Horse was required to be present when the ruler rode out. He personally helped the Emperor mount and dismount his horse, and assured his safety. When the ruler was using a state coach, the Master of the Horse would accompany him in the vehicle, walk alongside the coach door or join the procession in his own carriage. When the court was preparing to travel imminently, the Master of the Horse would consult the supreme officers of the court to ensure the necessary vehicles were ordered on time. The head of the court stables also enjoyed certain privileges. In those days, according to a report by a Tuscan ambassador early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Master of the Horse took

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<sup>3</sup> See J. Wührer, M. Scheutz: *Zu Diensten Ihrer Majestät. Hofordnungen und Instruktionsbücher am frühneuzeitlichen Wiener Hof*, Wien–München 2011.

possession not only of horses and carriages that had become unusable for the Emperor, but also of riding gear from horses given to the Emperor as gifts<sup>4</sup>.

Who, then, occupied the prestigious position of Master of the Horse? From the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, this office was mainly held by members of prominent aristocratic families firmly established within the imperial court (fig. 2). During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, it is striking that this position played a key role in terms of integrating foreign nobility into the power structure of court society<sup>5</sup>. The Croatian Frankopan thus held the position for a short time (1522/23); Jaroslav Pernstein (1556-1560) was the only Bohemian aristocrat to occupy high court office during the reign of Ferdinand I (1521–1564)<sup>6</sup>; and Lodron (1548–1556), Trivulzio (1576–1591) and Spinola (1591/92 and as deputy 1581–1589) presided over the imperial stables as members of the Italian aristocracy. Of course several Spaniards were also appointed to head the princely stables during the 16<sup>th</sup> century against the background of close dynastic links between Spain and Austria. The Spaniards entrusted with heading this influential and senior position within the court included Masters of the Horse Pedro de Córdoba (1523–1528)<sup>7</sup> and Pedro Laso de Castilla (1528–1547)<sup>8</sup>. Between 1545 and 1556, Alfonso Marrada/Marcada and Julián de Salazar also represented the absentee Master of the Horse from time to time. From 1548 to 1558 Francisco Laso de Castilla, a brother of Pedro Laso de Castilla who served as Master of the Horse under Ferdinand I, was also Master of the Horse in a royal Habsburg household – namely, that of the subsequent Emperor Maximilian II, who governed from 1564 to 1576<sup>9</sup>. A paper posthumously published in 1584 and dealing mainly with breeding and veterinary aspects in relation to horses, is also thought to derive from Pedro or Francisco Laso de

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<sup>4</sup> C. Campori, G. Campori: *Relazione di Germania e della corte die Rodolfo II. Imperatore negli anni 1605–1607 fatta da Roderico Alidosi ambasciatore del Granduca di Toscana Ferdinando I*, Modena 1872, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> See also the list of Masters of the Horse and their representatives in the appendix.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. V. Bůžek: *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck. Der Adel aus den böhmischen Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der ersten Habsburger*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2009, pp. 63–64.

<sup>7</sup> After resigning his post in 1528, he entered the service of Emperor Charles V. Regarding him see G. Rill: *Fürst und Hof in Österreich von den habsburgischen Teilungsverträgen bis zur Schlacht von Mohács (1521/22 bis 1526)*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 1993/2003, vol. 1, pp. 125–128.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding him, see C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I. 1522–1564* (Wien–Köln–Weimar 1997, pp. 244–205).

<sup>9</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 127. An instruction for him as Master of the Horse issued by Ferdinand I in Graz on 1st March 1553, in ÖStA, HHStA, HA, Hofakten des Ministeriums des Innern, 14, fascicle 1550–1599, fol. 434–443.

Castilla<sup>10</sup>. The author is described on the cover as a “former imperial Master of the Horse” (“Durch den edlen gestrengen Herrn L. V. C. gewesener Keyserlicher Maiestat Stallmeister”) and the abbreviated name may refer to Laso von (de) Castilla. The document is the only relevant work of the early modern era handed down by a Master of the Horse appointed by the Austrian Habsburgs.

In the area of stables personnel, however, links between the Spanish and Austrian courts were even more extensive. Margaretha, a daughter of Pedro Laso de Castilla, was married to Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Señor de Armuña, who held the office of Master of the Horse under Philip II of Spain<sup>11</sup>. There is also evidence to show that Masters of the Horse who were not Spaniards themselves, namely Vratislaw von Pernstein<sup>12</sup> and Claudio Trivulzio<sup>13</sup>, resided with the Spanish royal court for long periods. So far, there has been no research into the question of whether such close personnel-related links between Madrid and Vienna (or Prague) mutually influenced the organisation of the respective imperial stables.

To date, only Mark Hengerer has conducted research into the career paths followed by the stable heads. He has established that during the reigns of Emperor Ferdinand II (1619–1637) and Ferdinand III (1637–1657), persons who held the title of Chamberlain (*Kämmerer*) for the longest were generally appointed to this office. In turn, the post of Master of the Horse was regarded at the time as a sure springboard to leadership of the office of the Court Chamberlain (*Oberstkämmerer*)<sup>14</sup>. Another way to secure the office of Master of

<sup>10</sup> L. v. C.: *Ritterliche Reutter Kunst [...]*, Frankfurt a. M. 1584.

<sup>11</sup> A. Strohmeyer (ed.): *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Ferdinand I., Maximilian II. und Adam von Dietrichstein 1563–1565*, Wien–München 1997, p. 261.

<sup>12</sup> V. Bůžek: *Ferdinand von Tirol... op. cit.*, p. 113; H. Noflatscher: “Sprache und Politik. Die Italienexperten Kaiser Maximilians II” in F. Edelmayer, A. Kohler (ed.): *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, Wien–München 1992: pp.143-168 and 159–161. Pernstein was married to a Spanish aristocrat, María Manrique de Lara y Mendoza. C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 248.

<sup>13</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, vol. 9, p. 51, vol. 11, p. 269; C. Ham, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Kaiser Rudolf II. und Johann Khevenhüller, seinem Gesandten in Spanien (1583)*, Vienna 1995, pp. 122–123 and 127; G. Khevenhüller-Metsch, G. Probszt-Ohstorff (ed.): *Hans Khevenhüller, kaiserlicher Botschafter bei Philipp II. Geheimes Tagebuch 1548–1605*, Graz 1971, pp. 168, 171 and 172. Trivulzio was married to Margaretha, a daughter of Master of the Horse Pedro Laso de Castilla. A. Koller: “Der Kaiserhof zu Beginn der Regierung Rudolfs II. in den Berichten der Nuntien”, in R. Bösel, G. Klingenstein, A. Koller (ed.): *Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16. –18. Jahrhundert)*, Wien 2006, pp. 13–24, p. 21; C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 245.

<sup>14</sup> M. Hengerer: *Kaiserhof und Adel in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte der Macht in der Vormoderne*, Konstanz 2004, p. 517.

the Horse was temporarily to oversee an archducal stables. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the imperial Masters of the Horse Lodron (formerly Master of the Horse under Archduke Maximilian)<sup>15</sup>, Trivulzio (formerly Master of the Horse under archdukes Rudolf and Ernst)<sup>16</sup>, Cavriani (formerly Master of the Horse under Archduke Matthias)<sup>17</sup> and Dietrichstein (formerly Master of the Horse under Archduke Ernst)<sup>18</sup> took this career path.

### **The stables personnel: numbers and origins**

In order to perform the wide-ranging duties of the imperial stables, a considerable workforce was assigned to the Master of the Horse. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the precise scope and progression of personnel numbers is less than satisfactory because of the sheer heterogeneity of available sources: neither members of all court stables departments or day labourers are always specified. Moreover, persons employed in the stud farms tend to be omitted from the personnel records.

Despite these problems, various figures can be quoted to give an idea of the development of staffing levels at the imperial stables. An early imperial household directory produced at the end of the reign of Maximilian I in 1519 indicates 89 stablehands<sup>19</sup>. At the start of the reign of Emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612), payment records appear to show 100 persons employed in his stables<sup>20</sup>; however, the corresponding lists include neither stud personnel (at least eight persons worked for the imperial stud at Mönchhof in 1575)<sup>21</sup> nor 18 to 20 noble pages in service at the time. An apparently complete list for 1612 shows 175

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<sup>15</sup> ÖStA, HHSStA, OMeA SR 181, fascicle 19, fol. 1v; ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, W 61/A/46, fol. 8–15.

<sup>16</sup> ÖStA, HHSStA, OMeA SR 182, fascicle 42, fol. 26r.

<sup>17</sup> F. C. von Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandeï*, 14 vols., Leipzig 1721–1726, vol. 1, p. 239, vol. 5, p. 2205; ÖStA, HHSStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, vol. 32, p. 262.

<sup>18</sup> V. Klarwill (ed.): *Fugger-Zeitungen. Ungedruckte Briefe an das Haus Fugger aus den Jahren 1568–1605*, Wien–Leipzig–München 1923, p. 173; ASF, MdP, filza 4352, fol. 721r.

<sup>19</sup> T. Fellner, H. Kretschmayr: *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung I*, Wien 1907, vol. 2, p. 144–145. Not counting the 14 trumpeters and drummers, which by all accounts were not assigned to the imperial stables at the time. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>20</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 30, fol. 421r–450v. The Nuncio at the imperial court, Giovanni Dolfin, claimed around 300 persons were subject to the imperial Master of the Horse when Rudolf II assumed governance in 1576. D. Neri (ed.): *Nuntiatur Giovanni Dolfins (1575–1576)*, Tübingen 1997, p. 699. This figure suggests the Nuncio had miscalculated considerably; unfortunately, the unreliability of such statements was characteristic of the time.

<sup>21</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 29, fol. 677r–v.

employees of the imperial stables<sup>22</sup>, while a directory of court stables personnel dating from 1639 lists 159 persons but omits craftsmen, trumpeters and stud workers mentioned elsewhere<sup>23</sup>. An imperial household directory of Leopold I produced around 40 years later in 1678 cites 286 persons registered by the office of Master of the Horse; however, this source does not include all employee categories either<sup>24</sup>. The office of Master of the Horse expanded steadily over the decades that followed, outpacing other court divisions. A paper from 1711 stating the names of 435 active salaried staff (including nine day labourers) provides a relatively comprehensive portrayal of the staffing situation at the court stables; once again, however, stud workers are omitted<sup>25</sup>. The number of stable employees continued to rise under Charles VI (who ruled from 1711–1740), only to reverse after his death<sup>26</sup>. The staffing level of the stables finally started increasing again around the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; according to a list of personnel from 1779, 459 persons were working for the office of Master of the Horse<sup>27</sup>. Regrettably even this document does not reveal the full picture as it fails to take account of day labourers and stud workers. Day labourers employed by the Viennese imperial stables division alone numbered 70 in 1791<sup>28</sup>, plus 357 permanent staff<sup>29</sup>.

Although existing staff records provide no certain information on the origins of stable employees, the surnames indicate that during the early modern era the majority of stable workers came from German-speaking regions. However, certain parts of the stables were dominated by persons speaking other languages. On occasion these groups were from non-German-speaking areas within the empire, and sometimes they were from towns and territories outside the dominion of the Habsburgs. This could only be because the imperial court was at pains to recruit the best international experts available for certain divisions of the stables.

For example, several of the first coachmen to be granted permanent positions at the imperial court (when Maximilian II succeeded to the throne in

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<sup>22</sup> J. Hausenblasová: *Der Hof Kaiser...op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.

<sup>23</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, W 61/a/3, fol. 459r–465v.

<sup>24</sup> ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 12388, fol. 24r–25r.

<sup>25</sup> ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 14848, fol. 1r–35v.

<sup>26</sup> J. Duindam: *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals (1550–1780)*, Cambridge 2003, p. 76.

<sup>27</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OStA, C, vol. 229, p. 329–330.

<sup>28</sup> Master of the Horse Dietrichstein to Emperor Leopold II, Vienna 1791–02–08. ÖStA, HHStA, OStA, C, vol. 98.

<sup>29</sup> *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus der röm. kais. auch kais. königlich- und erzherzoglichen Residenzstadt Wien* (Wien, 1791), 407–414. Figure does not include stud personnel.

1564) appear to have Hungarian names<sup>30</sup>. The same may be said for coachmen at the court of Archduke Charles of Inner Austria, the brother of Maximilian II<sup>31</sup>. This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the word “coach” derives from the Hungarian town of Kocs<sup>32</sup>. The following example illustrates the extent to which carriages, coach drivers and their attire were indivisibly associated with Hungary at the time: when Emperor Ferdinand I gave the French ambassador François de Scépeaux an Hungarian carriage complete with team of horses in 1562 in Vienna, the gift included an Hungarian coachman and footman, both dressed “à la mode de leur pays”<sup>33</sup>. The preference for employing Hungarian coachmen was an international trend, not a predilection exclusive to the imperial court. For example, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (in office from 1550–1579) often turned to coachmen of Hungarian origin, and numerous Hungarian coachmen were employed by the royal household of King Sigismund III of Poland (1587–1632)<sup>34</sup>. There is also evidence to place at least one coachman from Hungary at the court of Cosimo I de’ Medici (1537–1574) in Florence<sup>35</sup>. Even the carriages used for the solemn entry of Queen Elisabeth of France into Paris on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1571 were driven by Hungarians wearing national costume<sup>36</sup>. At the imperial court, the striking proliferation of coachmen

<sup>30</sup> The personal coachman of the Emperor was Geörgen/Turggo Herbat/Härwart (Horvát); the other coachmen were Hans Pfliegler, Urban Klain, Jänisch/Janusch (János) Gutäsch, Thoman Köberl/Kheberli and Thoman/Temasch (Tamás) Betschi/Beschty/Bäschki. ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 20, fol. 441v–443r. For name variants see ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, 796, fascicle “Oesterreich, Hofstaat. Hof-Pfennigmeisteramt. 1564.”

<sup>31</sup> Their names were Stefan Gaber, Paul von Siebenbürgen, Benedict Gutschitsch and Sollay Walläschy. ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 18, fol. 417r.

<sup>32</sup> Regarding the Hungarian origins of the carriages see for example L. Tarr: *Karren, Kutsche, Karosse. Eine Geschichte des Wagens*, Budapest–Berlin 1978, pp. 219–228; E. Coczian-Szentpeteri: “L’évolution du coche ou l’histoire d’une invention hongroise” in D. Roche, D. Reytiér (ed.): *Voitures, chevaux et attelages du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2000, pp. 84–87. J. Munby: “From Carriage to Coach: What happened?”, in R. Bork, A. Kann (ed.): *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel*, Aldershot–Burlington 2008, pp. 41–53.

<sup>33</sup> V. Carloix: *Mémoires de la vie de François de Scépeaux, Sire de Vieilleville et Comte de Duretal, Maréchal de France*, Paris 1757, vol. 4, p. 320.

<sup>34</sup> B. Volk-Knüttel, “Das Oberststallmeisteramt am Münchner Hof” in R. H. Wackernagel (ed.): *Staats- und Galawagen der Wittelsbacher. Kutschen, Schlitten und Sänften aus dem Marstallmuseum Schloß Nymphenburg*, Stuttgart 2002, vol. 2, pp. 48–52. W. Leitsch: *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen*, Wien 2009, vol. 1, p. 446.

<sup>35</sup> Payment by Cosimo I de’ Medici to “Pagolo Ungaro nostro cocchiere”. ASF, MdP, filza 238, fol. 133 (et seq.). Quoted from the Internet platform “The Medici Archive Project”.

<sup>36</sup> “Après lesdictes dames suivoient quatre Chariotz de ladicté Dame Royné attelez, et tirez chacun de quatre chevaulx hongres enharnachez de toile d’argent, conduictz par des cochiers Hongres de nation, vestuz de mesme parure à la Hongresque [...]” V. E. Graham,

with Hungarian names did not last long: the numbers fell sharply after the 1560s, ultimately to be replaced by imperial coachmen with German names.

Chairmen provide another example of the high profile of foreigners in the imperial stables. The first four chairmen documented at the imperial court were Genoese; in 1615 they came to Prague with a sedan chair, a gift from the Florentine court to Empress Anna. After a few months, however, the four Genoese returned home. Chairmen finally became established in the imperial household in 1623 when six Italian chairmen entered imperial service (it is unclear whether they were again Genoese or Neapolitan). The imperial chairmen would continue to be dominated by Italians for several decades. In 1639, for instance, eight of the nine names of imperial chairmen in service at the time were apparently of Italian origin. Most Italian chairmen were from Genoa, although a number were from Milan and possibly Naples. The reason for the long-standing dominance of Italian chairmen at the imperial court was linked to the early proliferation of sedan chairs in certain cities of Italy (and especially Genoa and Naples) during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The proportion of imperial chairmen made up by Italians only started to decline early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>37</sup>.

In the early modern period, the strong presence of Italians among imperial chairmen was mirrored by another group of stable employees – namely the runners. Their task was to run ahead of the carriages and horses, identifying and removing obstacles as necessary. During the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of imperial runners were again recruited from Italy<sup>38</sup>.

Spaniards are documented in various roles at the court stables, predominantly in the 16<sup>th</sup> century; a number of them arrived at the Austrian court as early as the 1520s with Archduke Ferdinand, who grew up in Spain. No doubt others came to the courts of the Austrian Habsburgs in the course of journeys between Spain and Austria linked to enduring family and diplomatic ties. Given that scribes would often Germanise the first names and surnames of

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W. McAllister Johnson: *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria 1571. With an analysis of Simon Bouquet's Bref et Sommaire Recueil*, Toronto–Buffalo 1974, p. 230.

<sup>37</sup> Regarding chairmen at the imperial court, see my future article (already completed) entitled “Tragsessel an den Höfen der österreichischen Habsburger”, which will be published as part of an anthology on sedan chairs at the courts of Europe from the late Middle Ages to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. I. Kubiska-Scharl, M. Pölzl: *Die Karrieren des Wiener Hofpersonals 1711–1765. Eine Darstellung anhand der Hofkalender und Hofparteiprotokolle*, Innsbruck–Wien–Bozen 2013, pp. 394–395. The Viennese court was no exception here either; at the Saxon court in Dresden, many runners also had Italian names, for example. B. Purrucker: “Läufer – eine Dienersparte im 18. Jahrhundert”, in *Waffen- und Kostümkunde. Zeitschrift für Waffen- und Kleidungsgeschichte*, 41/1 (1999), 1–28, p. 15.

stablehands, rendering them unfamiliar, it is not always possible to determine with certainty whether individual stablehands were actually Spanish; in some cases, however, Spanish origins may be presumed with confidence or at least high probability. Spanish workers included Juan Niebla, who served as a farrier at the court of Ferdinand I from 1530 to 1554<sup>39</sup>, and Antonio Fernández, who was procuring leather reins and harnesses for Ferdinand I in 1557<sup>40</sup>. Simón de Medina<sup>41</sup> was a saddler for the household of Maximilian II in the 1550s, as was Francisco de Valle<sup>42</sup> in the 1560s and 1570s; Bartolomé Real<sup>43</sup> oversaw the tack room in the 1550s. During the 1550s, the staff of the armoury included Spaniards such as Gregorio de Guinea<sup>44</sup>, Jacob and/or Diego de Morales<sup>45</sup> and Julián de Carrasco<sup>46</sup>. The names of gilders assigned to the imperial stables – Diego de Volles (1554)<sup>47</sup>, Lorenzo de Veran (1560)<sup>48</sup> and Lorenzo de Negron, who also made rapiers (1570s and 1580s) – are indicative of Spanish origins<sup>49</sup>. Jacob de Legosa<sup>50</sup>, who was managing the armoury of Maximilian II in 1548 and documented as the Emperor's silk embroiderer from 1551 until the 1570s, was surely a Spaniard; the same goes for silk worker Francisco Fernández de Medina<sup>51</sup>. The division of the court stables responsible for pack mules was clearly dominated by the Spanish. Diego de Serava<sup>52</sup>, who mainly tutored pages and founded the first court hospital in Vienna, was also responsible for the pack

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<sup>39</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. for example H. von Voltelini: "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k. und k. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Fortsetzung)", in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 11 (1890), pp. I–LXXXIII, no. 6508. M. Lanzinner (ed.): *Der Reichstag zu Speyer 1570*, Göttingen 1988, p. 994; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 31, fol. 410r.

<sup>43</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>44</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 181, fascicle 27, fol. 18v.

<sup>45</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 255; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 9, fol. 397r.

<sup>46</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, pp. 224–225.

<sup>47</sup> H. von Voltelini: "Urkunden und Regesten... art. cit.", no. 6463.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 6508.

<sup>49</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 29, fol. 536r, vol. 30, fol. 428r, vol. 31, fol. 412r, vol. 34, fol. 296v.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. for example ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA, SR 73, fascicle 2; HHStA, OMeA SR 181, fascicle 28, fol. 16r; H. von Voltelini: "Urkunden und Regesten... art. cit.", no. 6463, 6508; ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, manuscript 418, fol. 54v; ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 14458, fol. 49r; M. Lanzinner: *Der Reichstag... op. cit.*, p. 994; ÖStA, HKA, HZAB, vol. 31, fol. 408v.

<sup>51</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 270–271; ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 181, fascicle 10, fol. 52r.

mules and associated staff by 1537; Francisco de Zaroz (Carotz)<sup>53</sup> is known to have performed this role from 1551 to 1560. During the 1550s, Pedro de Gallegos<sup>54</sup> and Rodrigo Barragán<sup>55</sup> managed the pack mules in the royal household of Maximilian II. In 1551, 11 donkey drivers were paid for accompanying Maximilian II from Spain to Augsburg<sup>56</sup>; they are presumed to have been Spaniards. It is not known whether they remained at the court of Maximilian II or returned to Spain. The names of the donkey drivers were not identifiable until the reign of Maximilian II had begun; they are first listed in the imperial household directory for 1565<sup>57</sup>. The list includes 12 active donkey drivers, four drivers who had resigned when the list was compiled, one donkey saddler and one donkey farrier. While the names suggest that some of them were very likely to have been of Spanish origin, others may have been Italian. However, none seems to have come from any of the Austrian territories. We do know with certainty that the division was headed by a Spaniard, Baltasar de Quiros, who probably held the position until the death of Emperor Maximilian II<sup>58</sup>.

The proportion of Spaniards working for the riding school was also significant, at least in some decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of the 1530s, the two permanent positions available for riders were both occupied by Spaniards, namely Luis Acarto and Pedro de Rada<sup>59</sup>. Several persons of probable Spanish descent were also appointed riders at the court of Ferdinand I in the 1540s and 1550s, namely Juan de Salazar, Bernardín Gramiado and Gregorio de Guinea; Hieronymus (Jerónimo) Losa may also have belonged to this group<sup>60</sup>. Of the Spanish riders, only Gregorio de Guinea is documented at the imperial household until the somewhat later date of 1570<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 280; ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. Ser. nov. 3360, fol. 32r.

<sup>54</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 234.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 219; ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 181, fascicle 28, fol. 17r–v.

<sup>56</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, W 61/a/36/a, fol. 399v.

<sup>57</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 20, fol. 448v–451v.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. J. Hausenblasová: *Der Hof Kaiser...op. cit.*, pp. 441; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 31, fol. 441r.

<sup>59</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 181, fascicle 10, fol. 51r; HHStA, OMeA, SR 181, fascicle 16, fol. 10v; for Acarto and de Rada see C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, pp. 210, 261–262.

<sup>60</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 3, fol. 207v–208r, vol. 9, fol. 395r, 396r, vol. 10, fol. 459v; ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, W 61/a/36/a, fol. 383v; ÖStA, OMeA, SR 181, fascicle 27, fol. 18r; ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA, SR 182, fascicle 30, fol. 17v, fascicle 34, fol. 13r, fascicle 35, fol. 27v, fascicle 36, fol. 127r, 154v.

<sup>61</sup> M. Lanzinner: *Der Reichstag...op. cit.*, p. 994.

The dominance of Spanish riders at the imperial riding school had ended by the time Emperor Ferdinand I died in 1564; that leading role was subsequently assumed by Italian riders. This is particularly clear from a detailed description of imperial stables personnel produced in 1606/07 in which the precise origins of the nine riders employed at the time are stated: of those employees, one was from Savoy, four from Mantua<sup>62</sup>, two from Naples, another from somewhere in Italy to judge from the name and the last from Silesia<sup>63</sup>. In both theory and practice, this reflects the pre-eminence of Italian riding instructors across Europe at the time<sup>64</sup>. Numerous Italians also held posts as imperial riders until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Over the decades that followed, however, a turnaround took place as the number of Italians in the service of the imperial riding school dwindled to almost zero by 1740<sup>65</sup>. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, virtually all of the riders in its ranks had German names<sup>66</sup>.

In the final third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the evident disappearance of Spaniards from the imperial riding school was reflected in other areas of the imperial stables; throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Spaniards working in the imperial stables became the exception rather than the rule. Even after the return of Charles VI from Barcelona in 1711, when many Spaniards who had fought alongside the house of Habsburg against the Bourbons followed the Emperor to Vienna, Spanish numbers at the stables remained negligible<sup>67</sup>.

## The riding school

During the Renaissance an interest in horsemanship was rekindled at the princely courts of Europe. Riding academies were founded at various European courts, with Italy leading the way, and new riding manuals were published. Needless to say, the practice of equestrianism was not only a civilian occupation, but also had a military background.

The imperial riding schools in Vienna and Prague were under the authority of the Master of the Horse. Highly trainable, energetic and elegant horses were needed for the schools to operate, and these had to be provided by the stud

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<sup>62</sup> Regarding the exalted position of horses in the court of Mantua see G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner der Spanischen Hofreitschule*, Wien 2002, pp. 50–51.

<sup>63</sup> C. Campori, G. Campori: *Relazione di Germania...op. cit.*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>64</sup> G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*, pp. 18–21.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. I. Kubiska-Scharl, M. Pözl: *Die Karrieren...op. cit.*, pp. 384–387.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus der röm. kaiserl. auch kaiserl. könig. Und erzherzoglichen Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien [...]*: Wien 1800, pp. 373–374.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. lists of names of court stables personnel under Charles VI in I. Kubiska-Scharl, M. Pözl: *Die Karrieren...op. cit.*, pp. 376–401.

farms. While the central task of the riding school was to cultivate the classical dressage, it also served as a training and educational facility for riders, noble pages, members of the imperial family, and, not least, their personal horses (fig. 3).

Although we cannot be sure exactly when the royal or imperial riding school was founded<sup>68</sup>, it is likely to have originated during the reign of Ferdinand I. Between 1524 and 1564, the Emperor generally employed one or two riders<sup>69</sup>, several of whom were of Spanish extraction as mentioned previously. During the reigns of Maximilian II and Rudolf II, the number of imperial riders increased significantly. Seven riders were serving under Maximilian II in 1567<sup>70</sup>. A detailed description of imperial stables personnel from 1606/07 names one chief rider, three ordinary riders, two trainers for palfreys and pack animals, two horse-breakers whose task was to train young animals coming from the imperial studs and one trainer for carriage horses and *cortaldi* (horses with clipped ears and docked tails)<sup>71</sup>. As regards the numbers of riders, there was little change in the situation between the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (nine persons in 1606/07) and the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (eight persons in 1702)<sup>72</sup>; rider numbers then more than doubled by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (18 persons in 1800)<sup>73</sup>.

The imperial riders were highly regarded not just at the court itself, but also abroad. Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) was a courtier, soldier and one of the most important writers at the English court. In the opening pages of his work of literary theory “The Defence of Poetry”, he recalls his meeting with the imperial rider Giovanni Pietro Pugliano<sup>74</sup>, who gave him riding lessons at the court of Maximilian II in 1574. In his writings, Sidney is clearly impressed not only by Pugliano’s equestrian skill, but also the depth of his philosophical observations

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<sup>68</sup> The presumed date of foundation earlier stated as 1572 was due to a reading error. See L. Mikoletzky: “Wie alt ist die Spanische Reitschule wirklich? Ein Nachtrag zum Jubiläum von 1972”, in *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 38 (1985), pp. 326–330.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the many imperial household directories in ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA, SR 181–183.

<sup>70</sup> ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 14458, fol. 47v–48r.

<sup>71</sup> C. Campori, G. Campori: *Relazione di Germania... op. cit.*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>72</sup> *Käyserlicher und Königlicher wie auch Ertz-Hertzoglicher Und Dero Residentz-Stadt Wienn Staats- und Stands-Calender, auff das Jahr MDCCII*: Wien s. d., p. 9.

<sup>73</sup> *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus der röm. kaiserl. auch kaiserl. könig. Und erzherzoglichen Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien [...]*: Wien 1800, pp. 373–374.

<sup>74</sup> Pugliano had been a rider at the court since 1559 and died on 23rd September 1587. ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. Ser. nov. 3359, fol. 29r; ÖStA, FHK A, HZAB, vol. 56 (Anno 1605), fol. 598v–599r. He received remuneration from the court to the end.

on horsemanship and the virtues of horses<sup>75</sup>. The high reputation of riders is similarly evident from the level of their remuneration; at times, the chief riders were the best paid individuals in the imperial stables, actually earning more than the Master of the Horse himself. To give two examples, this was true in the case of chief riders Giacomo del Campo in 1678<sup>76</sup> and Johann Christoph von Regenthal in 1711<sup>77</sup>.

Many surnames of riders are documented at the riding school for more than a single generation. One particularly noteworthy example of this is provided by the Weyrother family, a member of which was first appointed as imperial chief rider under Charles VI and which continued to occupy leading positions at the riding school for around a century thereafter<sup>78</sup>.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century military equestrianism became increasingly important at the courts of Europe in tandem with traditional horsemanship. This trend led to the establishment of a second riding institute in Vienna around the middle of the century, the so-called Campagne riding school; here members of the imperial family continued their riding lessons. To distinguish the “high art” riding institution from the Campagne school, linguistically and otherwise, the former was designated the City Riding School and later the Spanish Riding School, referring to origins of the trained horses<sup>79</sup>. The rapid growth in the importance and size of the Campagne school is clear from the numerical distribution of staff at the two imperial riding establishments: in 1800 six riders were in service at the City Riding School, while a dozen riders were assigned to the Campagne riding school<sup>80</sup>.

The oldest known directives from a chief rider at the imperial riding school in Vienna date from around 1720<sup>81</sup>, later than the manuals of its French sister institution; although they are anonymous, the author is likely to have been the imperial chief rider Johann Christoph von Regenthal<sup>82</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Sir P. Sidney: *The Defense of Poetry, Otherwise Known as An Apology for Poetry*, ed. A. S. Cook Boston–New York–Chicago–London 1890, pp. 1–2. I would like to thank Georg Kugler for the note at this point.

<sup>76</sup> ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 12388, fol. 24r–v.

<sup>77</sup> ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 14848, fol. 1r, 3r.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*, pp. 124–126 and 150–154.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 108–118.

<sup>80</sup> *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus der röm. kaiserl. auch kaiserl. könig. Und erzherzoglichen Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien [...]*: Wien 1800, pp. 373–374.

<sup>81</sup> One edition of these directives may be found in B. Schirg (ed.): *Unbekanntes aus der Spanischen Hofreitschule*: Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1996.

<sup>82</sup> G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*, pp. 120–121.

## The horses: numbers, stud farms, import and export of horses

The wealth and military power of a ruler were exhibited to the general public not least by the quality and number of horses he possessed. Although no continuous records on horse numbers in the imperial stables during the early modern period have survived, various reports (many of which are based on estimates) provide a good indication of the growth of the stables over the centuries. Of course, the numbers also reflect the steady expansion of the staffing level at the court over time. In 1537 there were around 45 horses at the stables of Ferdinand I<sup>83</sup>; two decades later that number had grown to 50–60 horses<sup>84</sup>. The imperial stables held at least 100 horses in the early years of the reign of Rudolf II<sup>85</sup>. By the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the imperial stables had expanded to around 290 animals; of this number, the “Spanish stable” had 160 saddle horses and the draught horse stable had 100 carriage horses along with 30 palfreys and *cortaldi*<sup>86</sup>. The stables of Ferdinand II are thought to have comprised as many as 600 horses. Of these, 100 were kept as show horses, 50 for the personal use of the Emperor as saddle horses for long journeys, and 240 were kept as draught horses; the remaining animals were meant for noble pages and court servants<sup>87</sup>. The stables of Leopold I accommodated only 300 horses or so during the early years of his reign<sup>88</sup>. The peak level in terms of horse

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<sup>83</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 181, fascicle 10, fol. 76v.

<sup>84</sup> In 1557 the Venetian ambassador Tiepolo spoke thus of the court of Ferdinand I: “Non tiene grande stalla il re, perchè non suol avere più di cinquanta in sessanta cavalli.”, in E. Albèri (ed.): *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato durante il secolo decimosesto* 1/3, Firenze 1853, p. 156.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. the report of the secretary of Nuncio Ottavio Santacroce from 1581: “Ha sotto al governo del cavalerizzo maggiore una stalla di cento cavalli, o poco più, i quali egli ama assai, [...]”. A. Koller: “Vademecum für einen Nuntius”, in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 49 (2007), p. 209.

<sup>86</sup> The Tuscan ambassador Roderico Alidosi to his ruler: “S. M. tiene alla Cavallerizza di Spagna cavalli della sua razza e di Napoli, spagnoli, turchi, e frigioni, ed il numero ordinario è cento sessanta. Tiene in un'altra cavallerizza domandata all'ospitale, li cavalli da carrozza in numero di cento, e chinee, e cortaldi in numero di trenta.” C. Campori, G. Campori: *Relazione di Germania... op. cit.*, pp. 10.

<sup>87</sup> “Spende l'Imperatore assai nella stalla, tenendo continuamente da sei cento cavalli, fra' quali quaranta tiri di carrozza a sei, cento di cavalcare da rispetto, cinquanta per la sua persona di strapazzo in campagna, e gli altri sono ronzini per li Paggi et altri servitori di Corte, [...]”. J. G. Müller (ed.): “Carlo Caraffa, Vescovo d'Aversa. Relatione dello stato dell'imperio e della Germania fatta dopo il ritorno della sua nuntiatura appresso l'imperatore 1628”, in *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, 23 (1860), p. 294.

<sup>88</sup> The Venetian ambassador Alvise Molin in 1661 reported: “Tiene Sua M.tà stalla abbondante, e nobile di 300 Caualli, e di quelli massime per sella, hà animali di

numbers, which would not be exceeded even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was reached under Charles VI, whose stables had at least 800 horses in around 1720<sup>89</sup>. In 1744 the imperial stables of Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen had 739 animals, including 680 horses and 59 mules<sup>90</sup>. The imperial stables declined in size under Joseph II to hold just 518 animals in 1786/87<sup>91</sup>, although horse numbers recovered to 686 by 1800<sup>92</sup>.

To meet the high demand for horses at the imperial court during the early modern era, stud farms dedicated to the breeding of mounts, draught animals and pack animals were set up in various parts of the empire. Since the domestic horse stock was insufficient to satisfy strong demand levels, the importing of Spanish and Neapolitan breeding animals began under Ferdinand I and intensified under his successors Maximilian II and Rudolf II. Oriental and Friesian horses were also supplied to the royal and imperial stud farms during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The integration of foreign stallions and mares of many different origins for breeding purposes remained common practice over the ensuing centuries.

One stud farm about which little is known was established early at the “Falkenhof” in Himberg, near Vienna<sup>93</sup>. Breeding began when King Ferdinand commissioned a certain Juan María to purchase Neapolitan horses and create a stud farm in 1533; the name of this first stud farm head appears to indicate Spanish descent. Pedro de Rada took over the running of the stud farm in 1541. It is not known how long the Himberg stud farm was in existence.

We know more about the stud farm in Mönchhof<sup>94</sup>: located approximately 60 kilometres from Vienna, close to Lake Neusiedl (in the kingdom of

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extraordinaria qualità, mentre oltre le Razze di Sua M.tà di Boemia, e Cherso, ne confluiscono sempre da tutti li Principi del Mondo, che lo regallano.” J. Fiedler (ed.): *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, Wien 1867, p. 51.

<sup>89</sup> “[...] ich sehe es augenscheinlich an unserm kaiserlichen hof, wo jährlich 8 und mehr hunderth pferd zur bedienung der hofstatt in stall continuirlich stehen müssen, [...]” B. Schirg: *Unbekanntes aus...op. cit.*, p. 264.

<sup>90</sup> Office of the Master of the Horse, 1744–08–27. ÖStA, HHStA, OStA, C, SR 80, Faszikel a.

<sup>91</sup> Dietrichstein (Master of the Horse) to Starhemberg (head of the court household), Vienna 1787–07–01, ÖStA, HHStA, OStA, C, SR 87.

<sup>92</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OStA, C, SR 84, fascicle 29.

<sup>93</sup> Regarding this stud farm see C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 71. G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>94</sup> Regarding the Mönchhof and Halbturn studs see O. Antonius: “Über die Schönbrunner Pferdebildnisse J. G. v. Hamiltons und das Gestüt zu Halbturn”, in *Zeitschrift für Züchtung*, B 38/1 (1937), pp. 1–73. H. Prickler: “Das kaiserliche Gestüt in Mönchhof. Ein Beitrag zur

Hungary), it was set up as a “Neapolitan” stud for Maria of Hungary in 1536. In 1553 the stud was taken over by her nephew, the future Emperor Maximilian II. Under his governance, the farm would be expanded to become the main supplier of horses to the imperial court. The imperial stud was dissolved in 1652, whereupon the animals were transferred to Bohemia. Several decades later in 1717, however, the imperial stud was revived when Charles Karl VI acquired Halbturn, the village neighbouring Mönchhof. Here he established an imperial stud that would operate until its final closure in 1743.

Aside from Mönchhof, Kladrub (Kladruby nad Labem)<sup>95</sup> also held the status of imperial stud in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1560 the future Emperor Maximilian II acquired the estate of Pardubice, which included Kladrub, from Jaroslav von Pernstein, the heavily indebted imperial Master of the Horse. Maximilian established an enclosure for Spanish horses and camels in Kladrub in 1562; it is now thought that this was elevated to an imperial stud in 1579. By the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the imperial studs at Kladrub and Mönchhof had already reached considerable proportions. According to Roderico Alidosi, the Tuscan ambassador to Prague, Kladrub had 800 breeding mares in 1606/07 while Mönchhof had 700 –<sup>96</sup> figures that seem astonishingly high when you consider Mönchhof only had 216 horses in 1644<sup>97</sup>. In 1628 Nuncio Carlo Caraffa reported that the emphasis of breeding at the Bohemian stud had already switched to carriage horses<sup>98</sup>. The characteristic attributes that made the Kladruber breed ideal carriage horses for the imperial household evolved in Kladrub over the centuries that followed.

Like Kladrub, Lipizza (Lipica)<sup>99</sup> (fig. 4) remains an active stud to this day. The horse breeding facility near Trieste in the Karst region of Slovenia was founded by Charles II of Inner Austria in 1580. A year later, six stallions for the Karst stud farm were imported from Spain, forming the foundation for horse breeding in Lipizza. Initially, the main task of the stud was to supply horses to

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Geschichte der Spanischen Hofreitschule”, in *Pannonia. Magazin für internationale Zusammenarbeit*, 9/4 (1981), pp. 7–8. G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*, pp.79–97.

<sup>95</sup> Regarding the Kladruber stud see R. Motloch: *Geschichte und Zucht der Kladruber Race*, Wien 1886. N. Záliš: *Jeho Milosti císařské obora koňská v Kladrubech nad Labem / His Imperial Grace's Horse Park at Kladruby nad Labem*, Praha 1997. J. Hájek: *Kronika kladrubská*, Kladruby nad Labem 2011–2013.

<sup>96</sup> C. Campori, G. Campori: *Relazione di Germania... op. cit.*, pp. 10.

<sup>97</sup> H. Prickler: “Das kaiserliche...op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>98</sup> J. G. Müller: “Carlo Caraffa...op. cit., p. 294.

<sup>99</sup> Regarding the Lipizza stud see J. Auer: *Das k. k. Hofgestüt zu Lippizza 1580–1900*, Wien 1880. G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*

the Graz court; Lipizza changed from an archducal to an imperial stud in 1619. The pure-bred horse known today as the Lipizzaner derived its name towards the end of the early modern period. All six stallion lines of the Lipizzaner breed in existence today can be traced to stallions born between 1765 and 1819. Lipizzaner made suitable saddle horses for the classical equitation as well as light carriage horses for imperial coaches.

The last of the imperial studs to be founded in the early modern period was that at Kopčany<sup>100</sup>, which was established on the Holíč estate acquired by Francis Stephen of Lorraine in 1736. During the 1740s, he set up a private stud farm which quickly assumed the duties of a imperial stud. After the death of Emperor Francis I Stephen in 1765, the private Lorraine stud became a fully-fledged imperial stud. At first the emphasis in Kopčany was on breeding large and heavy, white coloured carriage horses for the imperial court; these horses were transferred to Kladrub late in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The stud later aimed to specialise in the breeding of English thoroughbreds, but this ambition would be abandoned after a few decades, leading to the dissolution of the stud in 1826.

What was the professional background of those who managed the stud farms? During the reign of Ferdinand III (1637–1657), four individuals headed the Kladrub stud. Of these, three had been imperial chief riders or junior riders; the close links between riding schools and studs is clear. To judge by their names, three of the four stud managers were probably Italian in origin<sup>101</sup>. By 1798, the picture was quite different. The heads of the Lipizza, Kladrub and Kopčany studs were from Hungary, Moravia and Bohemia, and had not previously served as riders for the imperial court; instead, all were graduates of arts faculties or qualified veterinarians and solely pursued careers on stud farms<sup>102</sup>. The personnel connections between the imperial riding school and the stud diminished over time as the degree of specialisation increased.

Very little is known about the numbers of permanent employees and day labourers at the imperial stud farms. The staffing level at Mönchhof is given as eight in 1575<sup>103</sup> and 22 in 1603<sup>104</sup>; Kladrub had 30 employees in 1657<sup>105</sup> while

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<sup>100</sup> On the history of this stud see M. von Erdelyi: *Beschreibung der einzelnen Gestüte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates, nebst Bemerkungen über Hornviehzucht, Schafzucht und Ökonomie* (Wien 1827), 66–75. G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*, pp. 127–134.

<sup>101</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 186, fol. 167r–168r, 171r.

<sup>102</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OStA, C, SR 80, fascicle b.

<sup>103</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 29, fol. 677r–v.

<sup>104</sup> H. Prickler: “Das kaiserliche...op. cit.”, p. 8.

<sup>105</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, HA, Familienakten, 101, fascicle “Berichte des Oberstallmeisters Franz Albrecht von Harrach.”, fol. 20r.

Lipizza had 13 staff in 1635<sup>106</sup>, rising to 90 by 1710<sup>107</sup>. However, it is possible that these figures did not include day labourers in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The majority of menial stud workers were most likely recruited from the local area; this is apparent from the fact that in 1658, the chaplain of Lipizza was required to recite the gospel in the Slovenian language so that the grooms and keepers could understand it<sup>108</sup>.

By themselves, however, the imperial stud farms were unable to supply the large numbers of horses needed for use by the court (and frequently as gifts to diplomats and foreign rulers)<sup>109</sup>. Bohemia was a major supplier of horses, and Hungary was even more important. The imperial court commissioned Hungarian and Bohemian authorities to supply horses on countless occasions (mostly complete six-horse hitches with carriage horses)<sup>110</sup>. Sometimes it was necessary to improvise, which meant that a six-horse hitch might not appear as orderly as paintings and written sources might suggest. The following example illustrates this: when the Spanish princess and wife of the future Emperor Maximilian II of Spain travelled from Spain to Vienna, it was decided that carriage horses should be arranged for her in Italy. King Ferdinand I therefore charged his son Ferdinand II, who was representing his father as a regent in Bohemia at the time, with acquiring carriage horses in Bohemia. No indication was given as to hair colour; instead the most attractive animals available were chosen, regardless of colour. The horses were duly acquired from various Bohemian merchants or farmers, mostly singly or in pairs; the resulting combination of chestnuts, sorrels and pintos must have presented a very mixed picture overall<sup>111</sup>. Other courts contended with similar problems: when Eleonore

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<sup>106</sup> H. Prickler: “Das kaiserliche...*op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>107</sup> J. Auer: *Das k. k. Hofgestüt...op. cit.*, 24–25.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>109</sup> Pierre Bergeron, who resided with a French delegation in Prague in 1600, reported that the imperial studs supplied the court with around 100 horses every year. E. Fučíková: *Tři francouzští kavalíři v rudolfínské Praze. Jacques Esprinchar, Pierre Bergeron, Francois de Bassompierre*, Praha 1989, p. 71.

<sup>110</sup> In Hungary, for example, the following were ordered: 12 coach horses in 1582, another 12 coach horses in 1592, eight coach horses in 1595, 30 choice carriage horses in 1600, six choice coach horses in 1603, three six-horse hitches in 1618 and two six-horse hitches and 24 saddle horses in 1634. L. Gröbl, H. Haupt: “Kaiser Rudolf II. Kunst, Kultur und Wissenschaft im Spiegel der Hoffinanz. Teil I: Die Jahre 1576 bis 1595”, in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 8/9 (2006/2007), pp. 247, 303, 318. H. Haupt: “Kaiser Rudolf II. Kunst, Kultur und Wissenschaft im Spiegel der Hoffinanz. Teil II: Die Jahre 1596 bis 1612”, in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 10 (2008), pp. 256, 287; ÖStA, FHKA, Hoffinanz Österreich, vol. 685, fol. 200v, vol. 749, fol. 481r.

<sup>111</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, W 61/a/63, fascicle “Stallmeister”, fol. 364r–367v.

Gonzaga travelled to Wiener Neustadt to marry the Emperor Ferdinand III in 1651, her brother the Duke of Mantua gave her a six-horse hitch of chestnuts as a wedding present. Since the six horses were from three different studs, however, they varied in size and colour<sup>112</sup>. In 1681 the Prince of Liechtenstein reported that even the imperial court struggled to put together just one six-horse hitch a year from carriage horses that appeared even vaguely similar in terms of size and hair colour<sup>113</sup>. It was even more difficult, though, not to mention massively expensive, to produce a hitch of extremely rare Tiger horses, which were very highly prized. When the King of Spain asked the Prince of Liechtenstein to send him two hitches of Tiger horses from his own stud, the Prince demanded 40 Spanish mares for his own stud in return<sup>114</sup>.

Demand for carriage horses for weddings at the imperial court was particularly high. When the Spanish bride of Ferdinand III, the son of the reigning Emperor, was expected in Vienna, it was necessary to acquire carriage horses for 16 new six-horse hitches (i.e. a total of 96 animals) in Bohemia at short notice<sup>115</sup>. At the same time, half a dozen six-horse hitches (36 carriage horses) were acquired in Hungary for the wedding<sup>116</sup>. By contrast, the marriage of Emperor Leopold I to the Spanish infanta Margarita Teresa in 1666 called for the fast procurement of nine six-horse hitches (54 coach horses) and 24 saddle horses. Once again, visits were made to Hungary and Bohemia to obtain the necessary animals<sup>117</sup>.

There was also strong international demand for Hungarian and Bohemian coach horses. During the 1560s and 1580s, for example, the Florentine court and the Tuscan ambassador to the imperial court bought numerous Hungarian and Bohemian coach horses, some of which went to the grand ducal court in Florence and some of which were gifted to the papal court in Rome<sup>118</sup>. With so many horses being exported from Hungary and Bohemia, a shortage of horses in the kingdoms resulted. This caused the price of horses to rise substantially, and

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<sup>112</sup> Prince Liechtenstein to Marques de Grana, 1681–06–01. ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, 2532, fascicle “Hoffutteramt, s. d., 1678–1686, Rechnungen, Korrespondenz”.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, 774, fol. 1136r–v; ÖStA, FHKA, Hofffinanz Österreich, vol. 735, fol. 26r, 37v, 55r, 98v, vol. 739, fol. 64r, 88r; ÖStA, HHSa, OMeA, SR 76, fascicle 13.

<sup>116</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, vol. 735, fol. 102v.

<sup>117</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, Hofffinanz Österreich, Akten, fascicle red. no. 398, fascicle “Juni”, fol. 65r–68v.

<sup>118</sup> ASF, MdP, filza 225, fol. 135 (et seqq.), filza 270, fol. 29 (et seqq.) (quoted from the Internet platform “The Medici Archive project”); filza 4346, fol. 3v, 35v, 57r–58r, 144r, 229r.

posed problems for the Emperor's armies. Export bans were imposed as a consequence, but foreign ambassadors to the imperial court in particular successfully circumvented such restraints on the pretext of needing horses to travel home or being instructed to send horses to their rulers; in this way, they managed to carry on good business<sup>119</sup>. Those suspected of such dealings included the Spanish ambassador Guillén de San Clemente, who attempted to transport 30 Hungarian and 10 Bohemian carriage horses to Spain in 1589<sup>120</sup>; in 1598 he even planned to send 150 carriage horses back to Spain<sup>121</sup>.

As reports from imperial ambassadors in Spain indicate, however, exchanges of horses between the courts of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs were generally orderly, and very brisk. Transactions are documented particularly clearly in ambassadorial reports from the 1560s to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>122</sup>, although there is no doubt that trade was flourishing even earlier. In simple terms, the Spanish king generally sent saddle horses to the Emperor in return for coach horses, although of course there were exceptions to the rule. The actual transporting of horses was a major problem affecting exchanges between the Spanish and Austrian courts. Transport over land was not only very

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<sup>119</sup> Reported to Florence by the Tuscan ambassador to the imperial court, Francesco Lenzeni, in 1589. ASF, MdP, filza 4346, fol. 57v. Regarding export prohibitions, excessive horse exports and the smuggling of draught animals see for example *Die böhmischen Landtagsverhandlungen und Landtagsbeschlüsse vom Jahre 1526 an bis auf die Neuzeit*, vol. 8, Prag 1895, pp. 133–134.

<sup>120</sup> ASF, MdP, filza 4346, fol. 164r–v, fol. 229r, 266v.

<sup>121</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, vol. 28, 174.

<sup>122</sup> See G. Khevenhüller-Metsch, G. Probszt-Ohstorff: *Hans Khevenhüller...op. cit.* A. Strohmeier: *Der Briefwechsel... op. cit.* M. Riess: *Zwischen König und Kaiser. Die Korrespondenz Kaiser Maximilians II. mit seinen Gesandten am spanischen Hof, Johann Khevenhüller und Adam von Dietrichstein (1571 bis 1573)*, Vienna 2001. M. Stieglecker: *Die Berichte von Johann Khevenhüller, kaiserlicher Gesandter in Spanien, an Rudolf II. (1579)*, Vienna 1995. E. Schoder: *Die Berichte von Johann Khevenhüller, kaiserlicher Gesandter in Spanien, an Rudolf II. (1581)*, Vienna 1995. C. Ham: *Die Korrespondenz zwischen...op. cit.* K. Hofer: *Die Berichte von Johann Khevenhüller, kaiserlicher Gesandter in Spanien, an Rudolf II. (1589/90)*, Vienna 1997. T. Lehner: *Johann Khevenhüller – Ein Diplomat am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. Seine Briefe an Rudolf II. 1591–1594*, Vienna 2007. M. Stieglecker: *“Wir haben dein gehorsames schreiben empfangen.” Die Korrespondenz Rudolfs II. mit Johann Khevenhüller, seinem Gesandten in Spanien, 1595–1598*, Vienna 2002. A. Stromenger: *Die Berichte Johann Khevenhüllers, des kaiserlichen Gesandten in Spanien, an Rudolf II. 1598–1600*, Vienna 2001. T. Lehner: *Die Regierungszeit Philipps III. (1601–02) in den Berichten Johann Khevenhüllers an Kaiser Rudolf II*, Vienna 2001. For the years between 1571 and 1605, which are not covered in these editions, see also the typewritten transcriptions of the letters of the imperial ambassador Johann Khevenhüller in ÖStA, HHStA, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz, 8–13.

slow but also involved passing through France, a country of political opposition to the house of Habsburg. For political reasons, this option was usually either impossible or subject to big delays. In 1580, for example, a consignment of 14 Spanish horses intended for the Emperor and the Bavarian court was delayed in France and only reached its destination a year later<sup>123</sup>. The sea route from the Iberian coast to Genoa was also fraught with danger, as many examples show. When the imperial ambassador Adam von Dietrichstein travelled to Spain with the young archdukes Rudolf and Ernst in 1564, almost the entire cargo of animals, including dozens of horses and donkeys, fell victim to the rough seas<sup>124</sup>. In 1588 six of 12 horses intended for the Emperor were lost at sea<sup>125</sup>, while in 1657 four of eight horses being sent to the imperial court by King Philipp IV died in a violent storm in the Mediterranean<sup>126</sup>.

The trading of horses between the courts of Madrid and Vienna appears to decline in importance during the 17<sup>th</sup> century; the diaries of Count Pötting for 1664 to 1674, during which time he was the imperial ambassador in Madrid, make no mention of the transporting of horses<sup>127</sup>. The same applies to letters written by Emperor Leopold I to Pötting between 1662 and 1673<sup>128</sup>. On just one occasion (in 1672), the Emperor informed Pötting in a letter that he required six Spanish horses for himself and that the Master of the Horse needed further horses for breeding, reminding Pötting that 15 years had passed since the last shipment of horses to the imperial court from Spain<sup>129</sup>. Imports of horses from Spain appeared to revive towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. An excellent body of source material derives from two diplomatic missions to Spain completed by Ferdinand Bonaventura, Count of Harrach in the years 1673 to 1677 and 1697 to 1698. Harrach, who served as imperial Master of the Horse from 1677, kept a detailed diary during these missions<sup>130</sup>. His writings reveal how during both missions, Harrach sought to increase the number of horses being sent to Vienna. In 1676 the Spanish King Charles II presented Harrach with 12 horses as a gift

<sup>123</sup> G. Khevenhüller-Metsch, G. Probszt-Ohstorff: *Hans Khevenhüller...op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>124</sup> A. Strohmeyer: *Der Briefwechsel... op. cit.*, pp. 69–69, 177–178, 184–185, 191.

<sup>125</sup> G. Khevenhüller-Metsch, G. Probszt-Ohstorff: *Hans Khevenhüller...op. cit.*, pp. 172–173.

<sup>126</sup> K. Keller, A. Catalano (ed.): *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2010, vol. 6, p. 412.

<sup>127</sup> M. Nieto Nuño (ed.): *Diario del Conde Pötting, Embajador del Sacro Imperio en Madrid (1664–1674)*, Madrid 1990–1993.

<sup>128</sup> A. F. Přibram, M. L. von Pragenau: *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopold I. an den Grafen F[rantz] E[usebius] Pötting 1662–1673*, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* 2/56–57, 1903/1904.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 57, 280.

<sup>130</sup> ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, manuscript 6/1–2; *ibid.*, manuscript 134.

to the Emperor Leopold I. Around this time Harrach also purchased a further seven horses for the Emperor and other animals for himself while befriending aristocrats, thereby raising the total number of transported horses to 30<sup>131</sup>. A similar situation occurred in 1698, when Harrach sent 12 horses from Spain to the Emperor in Vienna while acquiring a further dozen for his own needs and more animals for other persons<sup>132</sup>.

## Buildings

Vienna, one of the most important hubs of the Habsburg empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (along with Prague, Innsbruck, Graz and Linz), only emerged as the permanent seat of the imperial Habsburg household with the accession of Ferdinand II in 1619. Although the other cities mentioned above all had stable buildings that accommodated court horses and vehicles, the following remarks refer exclusively to stables and riding school buildings in Vienna.

“Lack of space”, “frequent relocations” and “improvisation” are phrases that may be used to sum up conditions at the Viennese stables throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Several buildings could be found within and just outside the city walls in the 1530s to accommodate court horses and imperial carriages; one such structure (until 1618) was the “Schaumburgerhof”, later the site of the Capuchin monastery<sup>133</sup>. However, we only have written records to portray these early stable buildings; none has survived to the present day. The oldest stable building in existence is the “Stallburg”, a three-storey Renaissance building with a ground-floor stables completed in 1565 on the site of the Hofburg (fig. 5). Although the building, which was originally intended as a residence for the heir apparent Maximilian II, served many purposes over the centuries, the ground floor was consistently reserved for court horses. Other floors of the building were occasionally used by the Office of the Master of the Horse (as an armoury or to provide accommodation for noble pages, for instance)<sup>134</sup>. Given

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<sup>131</sup> ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, manuscript 6/2, fol. 88v–89r, 108r–v.

<sup>132</sup> ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, manuscript 134, p. 246.

<sup>133</sup> J. E. Schlager: *Wiener-Skizzen aus dem Mittelalter*, Wien 1846, vol. 5, p. 55. R. Müller, “Wiens räumliche Entwicklung und topographische Benennungen 1522–1740”, in *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, vol. 4/1, Wien 1911, pp. 356–357. H. Kühnel: “Forschungsergebnisse zur Geschichte der Wiener Hofburg im 16. Jahrhundert”, in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 20 (1956), pp. 268–269.

<sup>134</sup> Regarding the history of building and early use of the Stallburg see for example M. Dreger: *Baugeschichte der k. k. Hofburg in Wien bis zum XIX. Jahrhunderte*, Wien 1914, p. 122. H. Kühnel: “Forschungsergebnisse zur Geschichte der Wiener Hofburg V: Die

that the Stallburg had nowhere near enough space for all mounts and draught horses of the court, other stable buildings had to be rented or kept in use even after 1565.

In the 1620s the court acquired several buildings to serve as court stables on Teinfaltstrasse (close to where the Burgtheater now stands)<sup>135</sup>. An adjacent building was rented from the Camaldolese monks by 1646 at the latest; court vehicles were kept here until the early part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Again there was not enough room for all court vehicles, and like the horses, they had to be distributed over several sites. Some were kept in a hut constructed outside the city walls in 1647; from 1623, others spent several decades in a rented shed on the site of the Augustinian monastery, near the Hofburg. However, the most valuable coaches and mule litters were kept at the Stallburg from the 1630s onwards<sup>136</sup>.

Given that the stables described above provided insufficient total space, it became necessary to compel many owners of taverns and private houses to make sections of their own stables available to the court, and this led to widespread resentment among those affected<sup>137</sup>. It appears that by 1659 the prevailing situation – a city-wide patchwork of stable buildings and rented spaces for keeping horses – had become intolerable. Plans were made for a central stable facility to provide space for 200 to 300 horses, just outside the gates to the city. For reasons that are hard to fathom, though, the project was never realised even though planning was at an advanced stage<sup>138</sup>. As a result, the unsatisfactory situation was prolonged for many years<sup>139</sup> and was only alleviated during the reign of Emperor Charles VI (1711–1740).

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Stallburg”, in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 98 (1961), pp. 210–230. K. Rudolf: “Die Kunstbestrebungen Kaiser Maximilians II. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Madrid und Wien. Untersuchungen zu den Spannungen der österreichischen und spanischen Habsburger”, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 91 (1995), pp. 226–227. G. Kugler, W. Bihl: *Die Lipizzaner...op. cit.*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>135</sup> H. Kühnel: “Forschungsergebnisse zur...op. cit.”, pp. 268–269; ÖStA, FHKA, Hoffinanz Österreich, vol. 708, fol. 447r.

<sup>136</sup> M. Döberl: “Der Fuhrpark Kaiser Leopolds I. Teiledition der Wiener Hofmarstallinventare von 1678”, in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 12 (2010), pp. 290–291.

<sup>137</sup> H. Haupt: “Das unausgeführte Projekt eines kaiserlichen Hofstallgebäudes aus dem Jahr 1659”, in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 39 (1984), pp. 149–158.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> Cf. for example H. Haupt: “Archivalien zur Kulturgeschichte des Wiener Hofes. III. Teil: Kaiser Leopold I.: Die Jahre 1661–1670”, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 79 (1983), pp. XX–XXI; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 116, fol. 339r, vol. 118, fol.

In 1719 Emperor Charles VI approved construction of a new stables building for 600 horses according to the plans of Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, probably the most important baroque architect in Austria, outside the city gates but very close to the Hofburg, the imperial residence. While actual construction work was proceeding in 1721, Fischer published ambitious plans for an ideal stables (fig. 6): the complex subsequently portrayed encompassed several adjoining buildings and large interior courtyards behind an elongated front wing, reminiscent in many respects of Fischer's own reconstruction of Emperor Nero's Domus Aurea. In the event, only the front wing (fig. 7) of over 350 metres facing the Hofburg was ever realised; this was completed in 1723, with construction in the latter years supervised by Fischer's son Joseph Emanuel. The adjoining buildings behind this were only added in modified form in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>140</sup>. Although some imperial horses and vehicles still had to be kept in other locations even after the monumental stable structure had been built, the problem of acute space shortage had now been largely resolved.

Immediately after completion of the imperial stables, Emperor Charles VI initiated construction of an imposing riding arena to be known as the Winter Riding School or Spanish Riding School. Planning for the distinguished structure by Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach began in 1725; building work was carried out between 1729 and 1735 (figs. 8 and 9)<sup>141</sup>. The Winter Riding School replaced older riding arenas within the Hofburg, including an open training area for horses (the "Tummelplatz", documented in 1565) and a covered arena built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century where Josephsplatz is now located<sup>142</sup>.

To this day, the Stallburg (which accommodates the stallions of the Spanish Riding School), the Riding School itself (which continues to uphold classical equestrianism on Lipizzaner) and the former imperial stables buildings (now the MuseumsQuartier complex of museums and exhibition halls for modern and

313v–314r, vol. 120, fol. 283r, vol. 121, fol. 297r, vol. 122, fol. 261r, vol. 123, fol. 247v; ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, W 61/a/2/3, fol. 1150r–1155v.

<sup>140</sup> H. Sedlmayr: *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, Wien 1976, pp. 188–189 and 293–294. H. Lorenz: *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, Zürich–München–London 1992, pp. 160–163. C. Benedik: "Die Fischer von Erlach und die Wiener Hofburg", in F. Polleroß (ed.): *Fischer von Erlach die Wiener Barocktradition*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 1995, pp. 279–285 and 312. H. Lorenz: "Die barocken Hofstallungen Fischers von Erlach / Fischer von Erlach's Baroque Stabled Building", in M. Boeckl (ed.): *MuseumsQuartier Wien – Die Architektur / The Architecture*, Wien–New York 2001, pp. 18–25. A. Kreul: *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. Regie der Relation*, Salzburg–München 2006, pp. 82–83, 278–280.

<sup>141</sup> T. Zacharias: *Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach*, Wien–München 1960, pp. 42–43.

<sup>142</sup> M. Dreger: *Baugeschichte der...op. cit.*, pp. 123, 174, 176, 190, 192–194, figs. 114, 115, 116.

contemporary art) retain a significant element of the cultural and architectural heritage of the imperial court in the early modern era. Also some historically important artefacts of the imperial vehicle fleet have survived, which unfortunately cannot be discussed in more detail here<sup>143</sup>. Coaches, sleighs, mule litters and sedan chairs, many dating from the baroque era, are now displayed in the Kaiserliche Wagenburg at Schönbrunn Palace, offering a glimpse of the former splendour of the imperial stables.

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<sup>143</sup> Regarding the imperial vehicle fleet and carriage construction in Vienna in the early modern era see for example E. M. Auer: “Die Restaurierung des Krönungswagens Karls VI.”, in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Denkmalpflege*, 2 (1948), pp. 44–49; E. M. Auer: “Wiener Prachtschlittenfahrt im Zeitalter des Barocks und Rokokos”, in *Livrustkammaren*, 10/1–2 (1964), pp. 1–18. S. Svärdröm: “Vagnen och släden. Gustaf III:s och Maria Theresias gåvor 1776–77”, in *Livrustkammaren*, 10/1–2 (1964), pp. 19–36. G. Kugler: *Die Wagenburg in Schönbrunn. Hofwagenburg, Reiche Sattel- und Geschirrkammer der Kaiser von Österreich*, Graz 1977. H. Adolph-Paburg: “Die Blüte des Fahrzeugschmucks”, in *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, Salzburg–Wien 1979, pp. 320–328. H. Haupt: “Der Brautwagen der Königin Anna vom Jahre 1611 – Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Festwagens und seiner Funktion im Hochzeitszeremoniell der frühen Neuzeit”, in *Achse Rad und Wagen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landfahrzeuge*, 1 (1991), pp. 21–25. M. Döberl: “Ein paar schöne wägen nach der Wienerischen neuesten façon’. Zur Geschichte eines Geschenks Kaiser Karls VI. an den Zarenhof anlässlich der russisch-habsburgischen Allianzverträge des Jahres 1726”, in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 4–5 (2002/2003), pp. 296–331. M. Döberl: *Die Kutschen der Kaiser. Zur Geschichte des Wiener Hofwagenbaus im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 2004. M. Döberl: “Der Fuhrpark Kaiser...op. cit. M. Döberl: “Unterwegs mit dem Tafelgeschirr. Der höfische ‘Marendwagen’, ein vergessener Fahrzeugtyp der Spätrenaissance”, in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 13–14 (2011/2012), pp. 162–175. M. Kurzel-Runtscheiner: “Wagenburg und Wagenbau: Die Geschichte der Sammlung historischer Prunkfahrzeuge (Wagenburg) und die Entwicklung der Kutschenproduktion in Wien”, in E. Bresciani, M. Kurzel-Runtscheiner, E. von Samsonow (ed.): *Schwanenhals und Goldkrepine. Höfischer Prunk und zeitgenössische Kunst – eine Konfrontation*, Wien 2004, pp. 14–17. M. Kurzel-Runtscheiner, “Schlitten und Schlittenfahrten in der mitteleuropäischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte”, in S. Haag, R. de Leeuw, C. Becker (ed.): *Wintermärchen. Winter-Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst von Bruegel bis Beuys*, Wien 2011, pp. 94–105.

**Appendix: List of royal and imperial Masters of the Horse and custodians of the office of the Master of the Horse (italics), 1522–1807<sup>144</sup>**

1522–1523	Krsto Graf Frankopan <sup>145</sup>
1523–1528	Pedro de Córdoba <sup>146</sup>
1528–1547	Pedro Laso de Castilla <sup>147</sup>
1545–1548	<i>Alfonso Marrada/Marcada</i> <sup>148</sup>
1548–1556	Sigmund Graf Lodron <sup>149</sup> (his office was occasionally managed by <i>Alfonso Marrada/Marcada</i> <sup>150</sup> and <i>Julius de Salazar</i> <sup>151</sup> )
1556–1560	Jaroslav von Pernstein <sup>152</sup>
1560 (?)–1563	vacant <sup>153</sup>
1564–1566	Vratislav von Pernstein <sup>154</sup>
1567–1576	Rudolf Khuen von Belasy <sup>155</sup>

<sup>144</sup> The following list shows Masters of the Horse appointed from the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand I and, in italics, the custodians of the office of the Master of the Horse. In many respects, the information given deviates from the corresponding lists in the following works; for this reason, precise sources are stated: *Die kaiserlichen und königlichen Oberstallmeister 1562–1883*, Wien 1883. F. Menčík: “Beiträge zur...op. cit., pp. 477–478; T. Fellner, H. Kretschmayr: *Die österreichische...op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 279–280. J. Hausenblasová: *Der Hof Kaiser...op. cit.*, pp.422–423.

<sup>145</sup> G. Rill: *Fürst und Hof...op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 48.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 125–126; C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>147</sup> C. F. Laferl: *Die Kultur... op. cit.*, pp. 68, 244–245. On his stepping down from office see ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 6, fol. 273r.

<sup>148</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 3, fol. 52r, vol. 4, fol. 93v, 338v, vol. 5, fol. 79r, vol. 6, fol. 60r. W. Boenheim: “Urkunden und Regesten aus der k. k. Hofbibliothek”, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7, 1888, p. CII.

<sup>149</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 6, fol. 274r, vol. 12, fol. 816v–817r.

<sup>150</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 7, fol. 74r.

<sup>151</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 8, fol. 110r, vol. 9, fol. 93r, vol. 12, fol. 222r.

<sup>152</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 12, fol. 817v; ÖStA, HHStA, HA, Hofakten des Ministeriums des Innern, 14, fascicle 1556, fol. 53v; ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA, SR 182, fascicle 36, fol. 126v, fascicle 37, fol. 11r, fascicle 38, fol. 30r; ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. Ser. nov. 3360, fol. 28v; V. Bůžek: *Ferdinand von Tirol...op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>153</sup> E. Albèri (ed.): *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato durante il secolo decimosesto* 1/6, Firenze 1862, p. 145; J. Fiedler (ed.): *Relationen venetianischer Botschafter über Deutschland und Österreich im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Wien 1870, vol.2, p. 212; ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA, SR 183, fascicle 45, fol. 11v.

<sup>154</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 18, fol. 159v–160r; ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, W 61/a/36/b, fol. 538v.

<sup>155</sup> ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 14458, fol. 46r; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 30, fol. 421r; M. Haberer: *Ohnmacht und Chance. Leonhard von Harrach (1514–1590) und die erbländische Machtelite*, Wien–München 2011, vol. 56, pp. 61–62.

1576–1591	Claudio Graf Trivulzio <sup>156</sup>
1591–1592	<i>Ottavio Spinola</i> (Spinola oversaw the office of Master of the Horse also during Trivulzio's time in Spain between 1581 and 1589) <sup>157</sup>
1592–1597	Albrecht Graf Fürstenberg (initially custodian, from 1594 Master of the Horse) <sup>158</sup>
1597–1598	<i>Ladislav Berka von Duba</i> <sup>159</sup>
1598–1599	Albrecht Graf Fürstenberg <sup>160</sup>
1599–1600	<i>Peter von Mollart</i> <sup>161</sup>
1600–1603	<i>Ulrich Desiderius von Proskau</i> <sup>162</sup>
1603–1604	<i>Peter von Mollart</i> <sup>163</sup>
1604–1606	<i>Johann Liebsteinsky von Kolowrat</i> <sup>164</sup>
1606–1611	Adam (the Younger) von Waldstein <sup>165</sup>
1611–1612	Maximilian Graf Salm <sup>166</sup>
1612–1613	Ottaviano Graf Cavriani <sup>167</sup>
1613–1616	Maximilian von Liechtenstein <sup>168</sup>
1616–1619	Maximilian Graf Dietrichstein (custodian to 1618) <sup>169</sup>

<sup>156</sup> D. Neri (ed.): *Nuntiatur Giovanni...op. cit.*, pp. 698–699; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 42, fol. 251v–252r.

<sup>157</sup> A. Koller: “Vademecum...op. cit.”, p. 204; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 33, fol. 112v, vol. 36, fol. 65v, vol. 37, fol. 94r, vol. 38, fol. 69r, vol. 39, fol. 140v, 143r, 147v, vol. 40, fol. 137v, vol. 42, fol. 10v, 262v; J. Schweizer (ed.): *Die Nuntien in Prag: Alfonso Visconte 1589–1591, Camillo Caetano 1591–1592, 1592 2/3*, Paderborn 1919, p. 556.

<sup>158</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 44, fol. 101v, vol. 45, fol. 272r, vol. 48, fol. 265r, vol. 49, fol. 236v–237r.

<sup>159</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, vol. 27, pp. 115–116; ÖStA, FHKA, Hoffinanz Österreich, vol. 507–508, fol. 350r, vol. 514, fol. 18r (quoted from the Internet platform “documenta.rudolphina”).

<sup>160</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 49, fol. 236v–237r, ÖStA, HHStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, vol. 29, p. 238.

<sup>161</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 56, fol. 544r–v.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 544v–545r.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 545r.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 530r, 545v, ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 58, fol. 75v.

<sup>165</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 58, fol. 281v; ÖStA, HHStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, vol. 45, p. 24. J. F. Novák (ed.): *Die Landtage des Jahres 1611*, Prag 1917, vol. 15, p. 671.

<sup>166</sup> J. Hausenblasová: *Der Hof Kaiser...op. cit.*, pp. 422–423. ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 62, fol. 489v.

<sup>167</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 63, fol. 568r–v; Giuliano Medici, Vienna 1613–05–25. ASF, MdP, filza 4367.

<sup>168</sup> Giuliano Medici, Vienna 1613–05–25. ASF, MdP, filza 4367; ÖStA, FHKA, Hoffinanz Österreich, vol. 643, fol. 118v, vol. 669, fol. 589r.

<sup>169</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 67, fol. 101r–v; ÖStA, FHKA, Hoffinanz Österreich, vol. 685, fol. 82r, 255r; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 70, fol. 10r.

1619–1620 (?)	Johann Jakob Khiesl <sup>170</sup>
1620–1637	Bruno Graf Mansfeld <sup>171</sup>
1637–1651	Maximilian Graf Waldstein <sup>172</sup>
1651–1653	Georg Achaz Graf Losenstein <sup>173</sup>
1654–1655	Annibale Fürst Gonzaga <sup>174</sup>
1655–1657	Franz Albrecht Graf Harrach <sup>175</sup>
1657–1658	<i>Johann Ferdinand Graf Porzia</i> <sup>176</sup>
1658–1675	Gundaker Graf Dietrichstein <sup>177</sup>
1675–1677	<i>Franz Julius Graf Breuner</i> <sup>178</sup>
1677–1699	Ferdinand Bonaventura Graf Harrach <sup>179</sup>
1699–1705	Philipp Sigmund Graf Dietrichstein <sup>180</sup>
1705–1708	Leopold Ignaz Fürst Dietrichstein
1708–1711	Leopold Matthias Fürst Lamberg
1711	Adam Franz Fürst Schwarzenberg
1711–1716	Philipp Sigmund Graf Dietrichstein
1716–1722	Michael Johann Graf Althann
1722–1732	Adam Franz Fürst Schwarzenberg
1732–1738	Gundaker Graf Althann
1738 –1742	Franz Anton Graf Starhemberg
1742–1765	Heinrich Fürst Auersperg <sup>181</sup>
1765–1807	Johann Karl Fürst Dietrichstein <sup>182</sup>

<sup>170</sup> ÖNB, Departement of Manuscripts, Cod. 8102, fol. 8v; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 68, fol. 594v.

<sup>171</sup> FHKA, Hoffinanz Österreich, vol. 693, fol. 205v; ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 71, fol. 14r; *Status particularis Regiminis S.C. Maiestatis Ferdinandi II.* (s. l., 1637), 96; ÖStA, HHStA, Venedig, Dispacci di Germania, vol. 81, pp. 56–57.

<sup>172</sup> J. Fiedler (ed.): *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, 2/26, Wien 1866, pp. 191, 198. ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 186, fol. 162r.

<sup>173</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA SR 186, fol. 162r.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 162v.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 162v.

<sup>176</sup> Emperor Leopold I to Franz Albrecht Graf Harrach (Master of the Horse), Vienna 1657–06–20. ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, 450; ÖStA, HHStA, ZA, Prot. 1, pp. 653–654.

<sup>177</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, ZA, Prot. 1, p. 669.

<sup>178</sup> ÖStA, FHKA, HZAB, vol. 120, fol. 95r–v; ÖStA, HHStA, ZA, Prot. 3, fol. 128r.

<sup>179</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, ZA, Prot. 3, fol. 127v–128r, Prot. 5, fol. 551r–553v.

<sup>180</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, ZA, Prot. 5, fol. 558v–559r. The terms of the imperial Master of the Horse in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were derived from T. Fellner, H. Kretschmayr: *Die österreichische...op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 280.

<sup>181</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, OStA, B, no. 689/ex 1883.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*



Fig. 1 Sleighride of the Imperial court in the *Innere Burghof*, part of the Imperial Palace in Vienna, on February 7, 1765. Painting by Franz Michael Augustin von Purgau, 1766. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Kaiserliche Wagenburg, inv. no. D 53 (= Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. GG 2591)



Fig. 2 Prince Adam Franz zu Schwarzenberg (Master of the Horse 1722–1732) performing a capriole. Painting by Johann Georg von Hamilton, c. 1705/15. *The Weiss Gallery. 25 years. 1985–2010* (exhibition catalogue, London, 2010), 168.



Fig. 3 The Imperial Riding School. Painting by Johann Georg von Hamilton, 1702. Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections, inv. no. 759. *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections* (exhibition catalogue, New York, 1985), 157.



Fig. 4 The imperial stud farm in Lipica. Painting by Johann Georg von Hamilton, 1727. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. GG 391.



Fig. 5 Stallburg, completed in 1565. Wikimedia Commons.

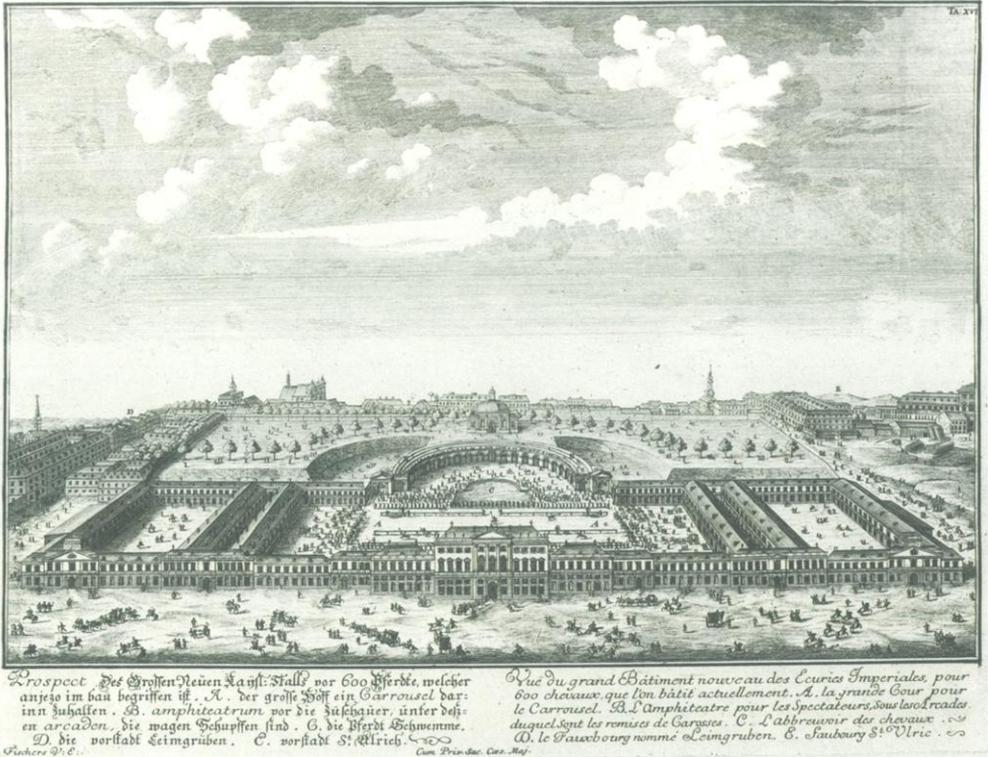


Fig. 6 Idealized view of the new stables building for 600 horses, by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. Engraving from *Entwurf einer Historischen Architectur* (Wien, 1721). Kugler – Bihl 2002 (op. cit.), 83.



Fig. 7 View of the main façade of the former court stables, 1719–1723. Wikimedia Commons.

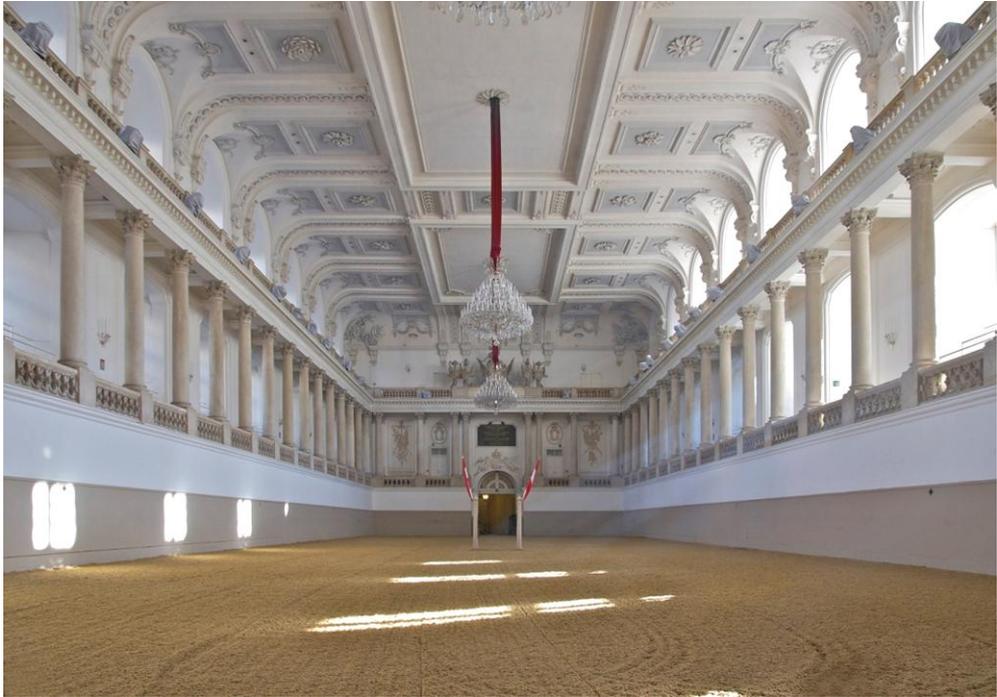


Fig. 8 The indoor arena of the Spanish Riding School, 1729–1735. Wikimedia Commons.