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‘A NOTABLE SHEW OF HORSES’:
EQUINE ENCOUNTERS IN JOHN STOW’S *SURVEY OF LONDON*

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of Bath Spa University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Writing, Publishing and the Humanities,
Bath Spa University

May 2025

Ethics, Data and Copyright Statements

1. Ethics Statement

This study was approved by the Bath Spa University Ethics Panel on 13/02/2024. Should you have any concerns regarding ethical matters relating to this study, please contact the Research Support Office at Bath Spa University (researchsupportoffice@bathspa.ac.uk).

2. Data Statement

No new datasets were created during the study.

3. Copyright Statement

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The Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters appears to be no longer active and despite my best efforts I have been unable to identify a representative, other than the Guildhall Library in London, who could provide permission for the manuscripts in the appendix. If you are able to assist me with this, please contact me at kgrunwald@hotmail.co.uk.

Note: A version of parts of this thesis has appeared as an article published in *The London Journal*, published online 30 May 2023. Available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/>, doi: 10.1080/03058034.2023.2205297

Abstract

In John Stow's *A Survey of London* (1603) horses hide in plain sight. The *Survey* is a seventeenth-century chorography that offers an unrivalled insight into the history of early modern London by walking the reader through the City ward by ward. Along the way, the *Survey* looks beneath the urban topography and uncovers associated traditions past and present. For this reason, the *Survey* is frequently cited in literary and historical studies of early modern England and is itself the subject of scholarly attention. However, what has been hitherto unrecognised is the significance that the *Survey* draws on a pronounced horse culture and participates in the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century revival of chivalric romance literature as a way of engaging with how the Reformation and early modern urbanisation changed the City.

My thesis aims to redress this considerable gap in *Survey* scholarship. Drawing on animal, memory and literary studies, my cross-disciplinary approach is the first to explore how the depiction of urban horse-men hybrids evokes what I describe as chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* and how this nostalgia functions as a set of textual strategies. Chapter Two examines the nostalgia-inducing properties of processioning aristocratic and civic horse-(wo)men and concludes with an analysis of reflective nostalgia in the *Survey*'s portrayal of pre- and post-Reformation Midsummer Watches. Chapter Three explores how the *Survey* establishes the gold standard for all equine encounters through the lens of likely and unlikely martial horse-men. The resulting chivalric nostalgia is shown to put Smithfield under concrete threat of early modern urbanisation. Chapter Four demonstrates how the *Survey* engenders zoomorphic horse-man hybridity in its nostalgic renderings of public punishments in Cornhill and judicial processions to The Elms gallows in Smithfield. Ultimately, this thesis argues

that chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* sets up Smithfield as the equine heart and seat of chivalry in the City and as a historiographical phenomenon of genre-spanning importance warrants further investigation.

Keywords: John Stow; *Survey of London*; Smithfield; chivalric romance; nostalgia; urbanisation; Reformation; horses; sixteenth century; seventeenth century; London; city; history

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A Note on Conventions

All quotes, where possible, have been taken from the original source except for the Kingsford edition of the 1603 *Survey* or on occasion where a modern literary edition is available; where a transcript of a document is available, it has been indicated. With the exceptions of long-s (modernised throughout) and ligatures, the capitalisation, italicisation, spelling and punctuation of the original have been retained. Manuscript contractions have been expanded with interpolated letters supplied within []. Italicisation has also been retained as per the diplomatic transcriptions of archival sources in *REED EL* and *REED CL*. The titles of early modern texts have been regularised to ‘maximum capitalisation’.¹ Pre-1700 printed books are cited by signatures rather than pagination or foliation. Dates provided in archival and printed sources have been uncorrected. For all other dates, the start of the year has been taken as the first of January. References to the City of London have been abbreviated to ‘City’ throughout.

This thesis includes quotations with technical equine terminology. Where relevant and necessary, the definitions for these are provided in footnotes.

This thesis bases itself on the following periodisations of historic Britain: Roman 43-410 AD, Early Medieval 410-1066, Medieval 1066-1540 (up to the dissolution of monasteries), Early Modern 1540-1633 (up to the latest *Survey* edition under my

¹ I consider ‘maximum capitalisation’ as capitalising the first word of the title and all words within the title except articles, prepositions and conjunctions.

consideration). I borrow these periodisations from the Forum on Information Standards in Heritage (FISH)

<<https://heritage-standards.org.uk/chronology/>> [accessed 26 August 2024].

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- 1603 Stow, John, *A Survey of London: Reprinted from the Text of 1603, with Introduction and Notes*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- 1618 Stow, John, *THE SVRVAY of LONDON: Containing, the Originall, Antiquity, Encrease, More Moderne Estate of That Sayd Famous CITIE. As Also, the Rule and Gouvernment Thereof (Both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall) from Time to Time. With a Briefe Relation of All the Memorable Monuments, and Other Especiall Obseruations, Both in and about the Same CITIE. Written in the Yeere 1598. By IOHN STOW, Citizen of LONDON. Since Then, Continued, Corrected and Much Enlarged, with Many Rare and Worthy Notes, Both of Venerable Antiquity, and Later Memorie; Such, as Were Never Published before This Present Yeere 1617* (London: George Purslowe, 1618)
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*City, Methodically Set Down. With a Memorial of Those
Famouser Acts of Charity, Which for Publick and Pious Uses
Have Been Bestowed by Many Worshipfull Citizens and
Benefactors. As Also All the Ancient and Modern Monuments
Erected in the Churches, Not Only of Those Two Famous
Cities, LONDON and WESTMINSTER, but (Now Newly
Added) Four Miles Compass. Begun First by the Pains and
Industry of JOHN STOW, in the Year 1598. Afterwards
Inlarged by the Care and Diligence of A. M. in the Year 1618.
And Now Compleatly Finished by the Study & Labour of A. M.
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Early English Books Online
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GL	Guildhall Library
Gordon, <i>Writing Early Modern London</i>	Gordon, Andrew, <i>Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community</i> (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)
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- MoEML *Map of Early Modern London Project*
<<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/index.htm>>
- Munday, *Amadis of Gaule* Munday, Anthony, *The First Book of Amadis of Gaule* (London: E. Alde, 1590)
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/>>
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Young Young, Alan, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (Philip, 1987)

Introduction

John Stow's chorography *A Survey of London* breathes life into its textual 'discovery of London' (1603, vol. 1, p. xcvi) by walking the reader through the City ward by ward. Along the way, the *Survey* looks beneath the urban topography and uncovers associated traditions past and present. No other early modern text pays as close attention to the rhythms of urban English life in the period and I fully concur with Alexandra Gillespie when she observes that '[t]he story we are able to write about the making of early modern English culture and history [...] is very much richer for [...] [Stow] having lived'.¹ For instance, it is because of the *Survey* carefully tracking how individual professions moved across specific City locations that the reader can reimagine the bustling mercantile worlds of medieval and early modern London:

Men of trades and sellers of wares in this City haue often times since chaunged their places, as they haue found their best aduantage. For where as Mercers, and Haberdashers vsed to keepe their shoppes in West Cheape, of later time they helde them on London Bridge, where partly they yet remaine. The Goldsmithes of Gutherons lane, and old Exchange, are now for the most part remooued into the Southside of west Cheape, the Peperers and Grocers of Sopers lane, are now in Bucklesberrie, and other places dispersed. The Drapers of Lombardstreete, and of Cornehill, are seated in Candlewickstreete, and Watheling streete: the Skinners from Saint *Marie Pellipers*, or at the Axe, into Budge row, and Walbrooke: The Stockefishmongers in Thames streete: wet Fishmongers in Knightriders streete, and Bridge streete: The Ironmongers of Ironmongers lane, and olde Iurie, into Thames streete: the Vinteners from the Vinetree into diuers places. But the Brewers for the more part remaine neare to the friendly water of Thames: the Butchers in Eastcheape, Saint *Nicholas* Shambles, and the Stockes Market: the Hosiers of olde time in Hosier lane, neare vnto Smithfield, are since remooued into Cordwayner streete, the vpper part thereof by Bow Church, and last of all into Birchouerislane by Cornehil: the Shoemakers and Curriers of Cordwayner streete, remoued the one to Saint *Martins Le Grand*, the other to London wall neare vnto Mooregate, the Founders remaine by themselues in Lothberie: Cookes, or Pastelars for the more part in Thames streete, the other dispersed into diuerse partes. Poulters of late remooued out of the Poultrie betwixt the Stockes and the great Conduit in Cheape into Grasse streete, and Saint *Nicholas* Shambles: Bowyers, from Bowyers row by Ludgate into diuers places, and almost worne out with the

¹ Alexandra Gillespie, 'Introduction', in *John Stow (1525-1605)*, pp. 1-11 (p. 2).

Fletchers: *Pater noster* makers of olde time, or Beade makers, and Text Writers, are gone out of *Pater noster* Rowe, and are called Stationers of Paules Church yarde: Pattenmakers of Saint *Margaret* Pattens lane, cleane worne out: Labourers euerie worke day are to bee founde in Cheape, about Sopers lane ende: horse coursers and sellers of Oxen, Sheepe, Swine, and such like, remaine in their olde Market of Smithfield, &c (1603, vol. 1, pp. 81-82).

Such painstaking commemoration of urban trades and their changing strongholds warrants citing in full because it epitomises the breadth of concerns and the richness of detail with which the *Survey* engages its readership throughout. Considered in its entirety, this comprehensive account sets up what could be thought of as ghost networks which I define for my thesis as memories of bygone interconnectedness between place and practice, or in another sense, between Londoners and how they shaped their City as part of their economic activities across time. For this reason, Patrick Collinson is right to categorise the *Survey* as the work of a ‘historical ecologist before his time’.² Whilst we cannot find the equivalent of fully developed ecocritical concerns in the *Survey*, the way in which the dynamics between medieval and early modern Londoners and their urban environment come to the forefront in most *Survey* chapters can be seen to reflect an attentiveness to the ‘historical interconnectedness of nature and human culture’ that also drives modern studies of historical ecologies.³

In the above excerpt, historio-ecological concerns centre upon urban professions stopping and starting again to find ‘their best aduantage’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 81) in the developing cityscape. However, the reader is not told why or when these relocations took place. As a chorography, the *Survey* is not primarily concerned with the temporal precision that we find in the chronicles from the period. Instead, the

² Patrick Collinson, ‘John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism’, in *Imagining Early Modern London*, pp. 27-51 (p. 34).

³ Péter Szabó, ‘Historical Ecology: Past, Present and Future’, *Biological Reviews of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, 90.4 (2015), pp. 997-1014 (p. 998), doi: 10.1111/brv.12141.

Survey deploys history as a textual strategy to evoke a sense of place. The above ghost networks already indicate that this sense of place hinges to a considerable extent on the portrayal of Londoners such as skimmers, fish traders, butchers, shoemakers, curriers, cooks, poulterers and traders of live horses, oxen, sheep and swine making a living from animals and animal products.⁴ Yet, it is of hitherto unrecognised significance that in every *Survey* chapter animals are instrumental in how the work attends to how not only mercantile but also ceremonial networks changed over time.

My thesis shows that the *Survey*'s references to animal-related practices make the historical interconnectedness between Londoners and their City in processes of urban change legible. I define legibility in relation to the *Survey*'s readership as 'the ease by which the nature or significance of [...] [such historical interconnectedness] can be understood or interpreted'.⁵ In the *Survey*, stories of human-animal encounters base themselves on shared experiences and track how and why life in the City changed over time, ensuring that the reader does not require comprehensive knowledge of urban history to interpret and relate to processes of urban change. Without references to animals, the *Survey*'s story of London would not be illegible as such but significantly less approachable and engaging. I use the expression urban change as a shorthand to encompass both religious and topographical changes. The dissolution of monasteries during the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII and the increased burnings during the Counter-Reformation in the reign of Mary are examples that epitomise religious change. Topographical change was brought on by processes of urbanisation such as uncontrolled building development, urban sprawl, loss of urban

⁴ Some of the *Survey*'s references to urban professions may in fact refer to the Livery Companies that regulated these crafts and trades in London. Not all members of trades belonged to these Companies.

⁵ Entry 'legibility, *n.*', *OED* [accessed 04 May 2025].

green space and changes in street layout and usages. The fact that *Survey* scholarship to date lacks a body of studies dedicated to animal encounters in the text's portrayal of urban change constitutes a considerable gap in our knowledge about how and why the *Survey* leads the reader through the City streets in the way it does.

Whereas Barrett L. Beer describes the *Survey*'s recounting of animal-related practices in the City such as the '*Anthonie* pig' tradition in Broad Street ward (1603, vol. 1, p. 184) as an 'amusing story', I argue that animal encounters in the *Survey* should not be dismissed as whimsical anecdotes and, instead, must be considered as a critical lens through which to convey urban change.⁶ For example, on closer inspection, the *Survey*'s rendering of the St Anthony pigs in fact provides evidence for human-animal interaction functioning as rhetorical strategy in the *Survey*:

[O]bserved in my youth, I remember that the Officers charged with oversight of the Markets in this Citie, did diuers times take from the Market people pigs sterued [starved], or otherwise vnholosome for man's sustenance, these they slit in the eare: one of the Proctors for saint *Anthonies* tyed a Bell about the necke, and let it feede on the Dunguehils, no man would hurt, or take them vp but if any gaue to them bread, or other feeding, such would they know, watch for, and dayly follow, whining till they had some what giuen them: whereupon was rayzed a prouerbe, such a one will follow such a one, and whine as it were an *Anthonie* pig: but if such a pig grew to be fat, & came to good liking (as oft times they did) then the Proctor would take him vp to the vse of the [St Anthony's] Hospitall (1603, vol. 1, p. 184).

The use of a first-person voice, as in the phrase 'in my youth, I remember' (1603, vol. 1, p. 184), suggests that the St Anthony pig tradition took place and was witnessed in Stow's youth; however, given the collaborative and compilatory nature of historiographical writing in the period, we cannot be certain. In light of this, Stow's prose in the *Survey* can be read as deploying the strategy of prosopopoeia, whereby

⁶ Beer, p. 132.

the presented single voice of the compiler takes on the first-person authority of all the voices that speak through him.⁷ The framing of the events in Broad Street ward during Stow's youth also implies that the tradition was no longer observed in the later sixteenth century. Even in light of chronological vagueness, the *Survey* asks the reader to recognise the temporary marking, releasing and protecting of starved pigs as a pre-Reformation tradition because St Anthony's hospital started out as a Catholic institution when it was granted by 'King *Henrie* the third [...] to the brotherhood of saint *Anthonie of Vienna*' (1603, vol. 1, p. 183).

The tradition and its associated proverb 'such a one will follow such a one, and whine as it were an *Anthonie* pig' (1603, vol. 1, p. 184) were so widely known and held such cultural currency that early modern writers could draw on it satirically with the phrase 'Tantony pig', as these examples from works of imaginative literature from the period demonstrate:

'She followed him at héeles like a tantinie pigge, and hong about him as if pinned to his slieue'.⁸

'Slood, my Lord, I haue followed you vp and downe like a *Tantalus* pig, till I haue worne out my hose here abouts'.⁹

'I'll follow thee, my *Anthony*, My *Tantony*, Sirrah, thou sha't be my *Tantony*; I shall be thy *Pig*'.¹⁰

⁷ Later in this introduction, I draw out the slipperiness of the terms 'author', 'writer', 'compiler', 'editor' and 'publisher' in relation to the early modern *Survey* editions under my consideration because we must be careful not to conflate the assumed author with narrative voice.

⁸ A., *The Passoinate [Sic] Morrice* (London: Imprinted by R. Bourne? for Richard Jones, 1593), sig. E3r.

⁹ George Chapman, *The Gentleman Vsher* (London: Printed by V[alentine] S[immes] for Thomas Thorppe, 1606), sig. G1r.

¹⁰ William Congreve, *The Way of the World* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1700), sig. K1r.

In the *Survey* however, the St Anthony pigs do not serve comical effect. Instead, market authorities together with proctors from St Anthony's are portrayed as publicly punishing pig traders for letting their animals starve and for attempting to sell a low-quality animal product. Such mercantile deception amounts to a violation of 'civic piety', in Andrew Gordon's terms, who argues the *Survey*'s 'biblical condemnation of impious trading is [...] imbued with a sense of civic piety in which religious and corporate interests share a common heritage'.¹¹ As a celebration of piety rather than satirical derision, the public punishment of the immoral trading of animals unfit for consumption protects the civic interests of buyers. Moreover, converting a pig into a charitable gift to the order of St Anthony promotes religious observance, as demonstrated by the community's restraint from harming or stealing the animal. Despite the amount of attention and detail that is afforded to St Anthony pigs, the *Survey* does not chronologically track the tradition as continuing or disappearing in Broad Street ward. Nonetheless, the ceremonial ghost network set up by local human-pig interaction echoes across the *Survey*'s pages and lingers textually in the same way that I like to imagine the pigs' bells still ringing faintly in the distance. In other words, the *Survey* evokes an animal-related sense of place so that the reader is encouraged to remember Broad Street ward in part through the historio-ecologist lens of the St Anthony pig tradition.

The *Survey* also celebrates how corporate and religious interests converged in the trading of animal products, and benefitted citizens as a result, with an example of cows being milked in a farm attached to the Minories abbey just north from the Tower of London:

¹¹ Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 140.

Neare adioyning to this Abbey [...], was sometime a Farme belonging to the said Nunrie, at the which Farme I my selfe in my youth haue fetched many a halfe pennie worth of Milke, and neuer had lesse then three Ale pints for a half-pennie in the Sommer, nor lesse then one Ale quart for a halfe pennie in the Winter, alwayes hote from the Kine, as the same was milked and strained (1603, vol. 1, p. 126).

Three aspects stand out in this evocative portrayal of human-cow interaction. Firstly, the *Survey* emphasises that it was a religious order which benefitted economically from the enterprise of keeping cows. Secondly, the first-person narration suggested by the phrase ‘I my selfe’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 126) again implies that the milking took place in Stow’s youth. Since the Minories abbey and farm were ‘surrendered by Dame *Elizabeth Saluage*, the last Abbeyes there, vnto king *Henry* the 8. in [...] the yeare of Christ 1539’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 126) as part of the dissolution of monasteries in the 1530s, the *Survey*’s rendering of the resident cows encapsulates and commemorates a lost pre-Reformation tradition. Thirdly and crucially to this act of memorialisation, Londoners benefitted from the nuns’ honest trading practices in that the latter set a fair quantity-price ratio throughout the year, even when a cow produced less milk in winter. The milking of cows at the Minories therefore epitomises the hallmarks of civic piety. By conjuring images of childhood and steaming milk, the *Survey* conveys the end of this opportunity of human-cow engagement as a sincerely felt loss.

The above stories about the pigs and cows of early modern London demonstrate the central place and analytical pay-off of attending to animals in the *Survey*; a text which many scholars might have so far considered an already fully explored entity. Indeed, whilst the *Survey* asks the reader to consider a plethora of previously unexplored animal encounters, this thesis focuses on an animal that moves through the *Survey* in especially notable ways: the horse. Horses, such as those of the ‘horse coursers [who] remaine in their olde Market of Smithfield’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 82)

hide in particularly plain sight.¹² Susanna Forrest writes that '[h]orses are so common in history that we glance over them without seeing them'.¹³ According to Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker, the reason for this oversight is that 'whereas in the early modern world horses were truly everywhere, known in some or all aspects to literally everyone, in our [...] [twenty-first-century] world the horse and its attendant bodies of knowledge are an oddity, uncommon in the extreme'.¹⁴ As the horse culture that pervades every *Survey* chapter has received scant academic attention to date, my thesis addresses a significant blind spot in relation to the work.

In the *Survey*, horses pull Londoners' carts and coaches, they serve knights at tournaments and the urban elite at processions, they entice buyers and spectators to the weekly livestock market, and they drag condemned criminals to their site of execution. Horses were an ever-tangible presence in City life and an early modern reader did not have to own a horse to experience horse-related public customs or to relate to the *Survey*'s textual depictions. Indeed, I agree with Peter Edwards and Elspeth Graham that 'early modern society could not have functioned effectively without horses, nor could its human population have understood or engaged with the world in many of the ways we have come to associate with the period without their association with horses'.¹⁵ Time and again the *Survey* emphasises that as the cityscape changed over time, so did Londoners' horse-related practices. Consequently, the horse can be seen to function as a common denominator for the historical interconnectedness

¹² Horse traders were called horse coursers in the period and I explore the importance of the profession and the term 'courser' to the portrayal of equine encounters in the *Survey* at length in the chapters to follow.

¹³ Susanna Forrest, *The Age of the Horse: An Equine Journey through Human History* (Atlantic Books, 2016), p. 4.

¹⁴ Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker, 'Introduction', in *The Culture of the Horse*, pp. 1-42 (p. 2).

¹⁵ Peter Edwards and Elspeth Graham, 'Introduction: The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World', in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 1-33 (p. 4).

between urban environment and its inhabitants, enabling the *Survey* to deploy equine encounters as a means of communication with an early modern readership for whom human-horse interaction was a matter of life and, as I will show, death.

A Textual History of the Four Early Modern Survey Editions

The decision about which of the *Survey*'s equine encounters to focus on in my thesis requires a bibliographical consideration of all four early modern *Survey* editions. For example, the 1603 (STC 23343) *Survey* is the only edition to have received comprehensive attention from a modern editor, i.e. by C. L. Kingsford in 1908. Limited comparable engagement exists for the 1598 (STC 23341), 1618 (STC 23344) and 1633 (STC 23345) editions with one of the few exceptions being a 1994 edition of the 1598 *Survey* featuring an introduction by Antonia Fraser and edited by Henry Morley.¹⁶ I have examined physical copies of the 1603 and 1633 editions but, for my analysis here, I will use Kingsford for the 1603 edition and for the 1598, 1618 and 1633 *Surveys*, I will use the texts on *EEBO*.

¹⁶ John Stow, *A Survey of London: Written in the Year 1598 by John Stow*, ed. by Henry Morley (Sutton Publishing, 1994).

A SVRVAY OF LONDON.

Contayning the Originall, Antiquity,
Increase, Moderne estate, and description of that
Citie, written in the yeare 1598. by Iohn Stow
Citizen of London,

*Also an Apologie (or defence) against the
opinion of some men, concerning that Citie,
the greatnesse thereof.*

With an Appendix, containing in Latine,
Libellum de situ & nobilitate Londini: Written
by William Fitzstephen, in the raigne
of Henry the second.



Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, Printer to the honorable Citie of
London: And are to be sold at his shop within the
Popes head Alley in Lombard street. 1598.

1.1 John Stow, *A SVRVAY OF LONDON: Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Description of That Citie, Written in the Yeare 1598. By Iohn Stow Citizen of London. Also an Apologie (or Defence) against the Opinion of Some Men, concerning That Citie, the Greatnesse Thereof. With an Appendix, Containing in Latine, Libellum de Situ & Nobilitate Londini: Written by William Fitzstephen, in the Raigne of Henry the Second* (London: [Printed by John Windet for] Iohn Wolfe, 1598). The Huntington Library. Image published with kind permission of ProQuest LLC. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

The 1598 edition takes the format of a quarto and has approximately 484 pages in total.¹⁷ The imprint states it was '[i]mprinted by Iohn Wolfe, Printer to the honorable Citie of London' (1598, sig. A1r) but, as the *STC* notes, it was in fact printed by John Windet for Wolfe.¹⁸ In 1591, Wolfe relocated his printing press away from the Stationers' Hall where he had been living and Windet, along with Adam Islip, acted as the printers of most of Wolfe's publications after 1593.¹⁹ Importantly, Wolfe was the appointed City printer between 1593 and his death in 1601. After Wolfe, Windet took on this prestigious position and held it from 1601 to 1610.²⁰ Consequently, the association in 1598 with Windet and Wolfe as printer and publisher respectively creates a sense that the *Survey* was an official history of the City. Moreover, in 1602 the Stationers' Company gave Stow £3 and 40 copies of the *Survey*, along with 20s and 50 copies of his *Brief Chronicle*, 'for his paynes'.²¹ According to Ian Gadd, it was very unusual for the Company to pay authors directly in this way and this demonstrates how much work Stow put into the *Survey*.²² The Company's gesture and remuneration also evidence that Stow's labours were valued and recognised by Londoners. It therefore comes as no surprise that, in the 1598 edition, the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' is addressed 'TO THE RIGHT Honorable, the Lord Mayor of the Citie of London, to the communalitie, and *Citizens of the same*' (1598, sig. A2r) and sees City authorities as well as the urban community as its audience.

¹⁷ The 1598 *Survey* was reissued in 1599 (*STC* 23342). The reissue contains the same 1598 text but features a 1599 title page.

¹⁸ 'Stow, John', in *STC*, vol. 2 (1976), p. 369.

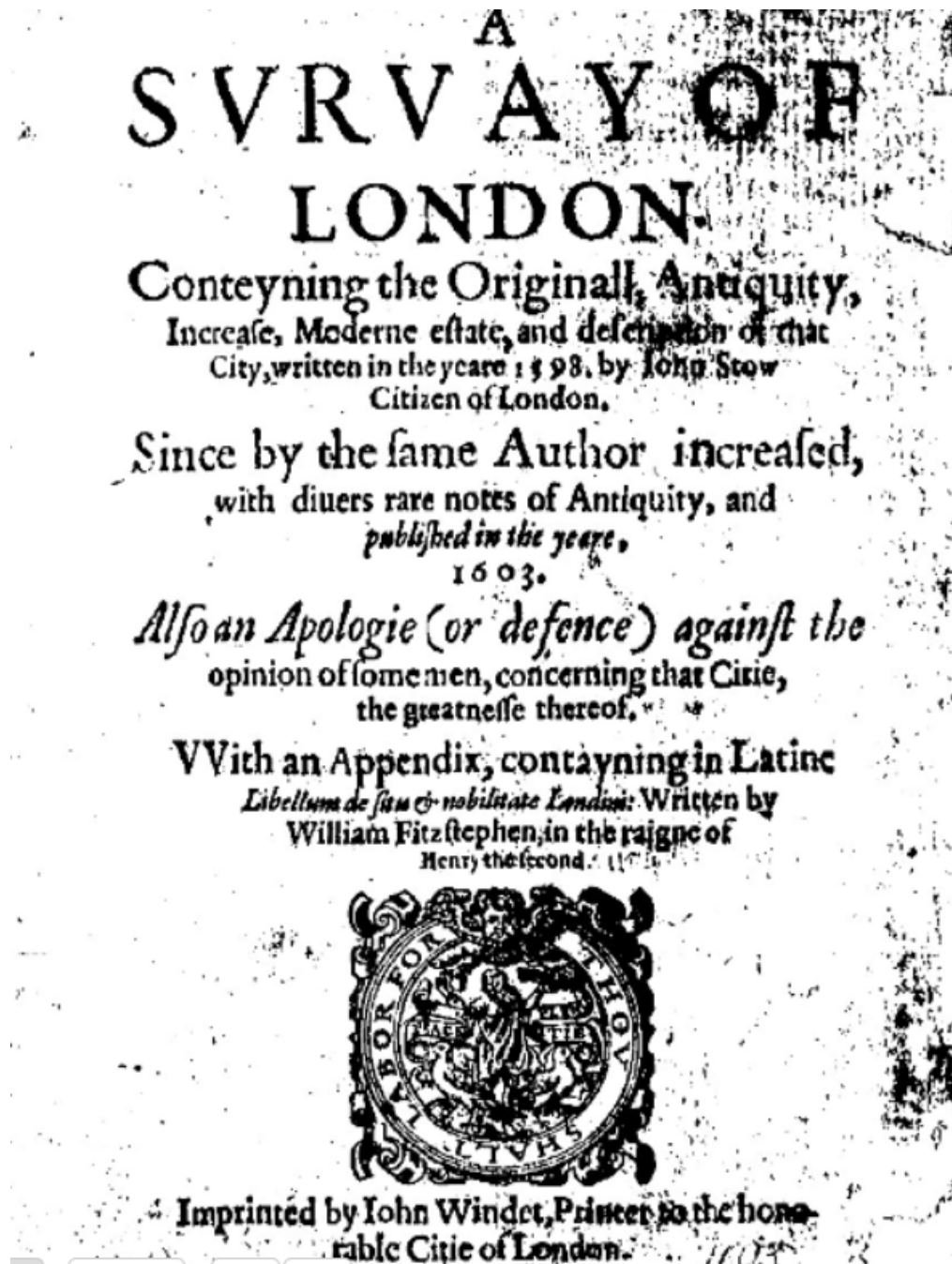
¹⁹ Ian Gadd, 'Wolfe, John (B. in or before 1548?, D. 1601), Bookseller and Printer', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, entry dated 2004, rev. 2008), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/29834.

²⁰ 'Printer of the City of London', in *STC*, vol. 3 (1991), p. 137.

²¹ *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602*, ed. by W. W. Greg and E. Boswell (The Bibliographical Society, 1930), p. 90.

²² Private communication with the author, July 2024.

The 1598 edition is split into three distinctive parts: introductory and concluding sections covering a range of City-specific topics with chorographies of City wards couched in-between. The chapters in the first section concern themselves with subjects such as London's antiquity, its distinctive features such as bridges, walls, waterways and social aspects such as education, orders and customs. Then thirty chapters follow in which the 1598 edition takes the reader on its comprehensive perambulation of all City wards and selected surrounding vicinities such as Southwark and Westminster. The 1598 edition closes with seven chapters on ecclesiastical and civic government, churches, hospitals and lazar houses as well as treatises on why living in towns rather than the countryside engenders civility and how London distinguishes itself from other cities. In the appendix, the reader finds William Fitzstephen's twelfth-century description of London in Latin.



1.2 John Stow, *A SVRVAY OF LONDON: Conteyning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Description of That City, Written in the Yeare 1598. By Iohn Stow Citizen of London. Since by the Same Author Increased, with Diuers Rare Notes of Antiquity, and Published in the Yeare, 1603. Also an Apologie (or Defence) against the Opinion of Some Men, concerning That Citie, the Greatnesse Thereof. VVith an Appendix, Contayning in Latine Libellum de Situ & Nobilitate Londini: Written by William Fitzstephen, in the Raigne of Henry the Second* (London: John Windet, 1603). Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Image published with kind permission of ProQuest LLC. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

Like its predecessor, the 1603 edition is a quarto but has grown to approximately 581 pages in total. Windet was two years into his tenure as the City printer when he printed the 1603 *Survey*. His repeat collaboration with Stow in 1603 imbued the publication with the same prestige and standing among historiographical works that the printing of the 1598 edition had first set up. It also suggests that the 1598 edition was sufficiently popular that Windet felt a revised edition would find a market. The 1603 edition again dedicates itself to the mayor, communality and citizens of the City of London. However, whereas the 1598 edition does not name the mayor for that year, the 1603 edition specifies Robert Lee in the title of the ‘Epistle Dedicatory’ (1603, sig. A2r). So the focus in imagined readership shifts perceptibly towards a named individual rather than the communal body at large. The title of the 1603 edition states that it was Stow who had expanded the 1603 edition by adding more historical notes to the original text. The tripartite arrangement of materials is kept. The introductory section still covers the same range of subjects but is split into thirteen chapters. The descriptions of City wards and surrounding vicinities still consist of thirty chapters. The last section more than doubles in size and is now thirteen chapters long. Additions include chapters on civic officeholders, liveries and Livery Companies placed at a mayoral feast. The appendix still only consists of Fitzstephen’s text in Latin.

In his 1908 edition, Kingsford splits the 1603 *Survey* into two volumes and it is this early twentieth-century edition that has been transcribed and digitalised on *BHO*. Kingsford does not set out his approach to capitalisation, spelling or pagination. Instead, his preface states that he endeavoured to preserve the original text as much as possible and limited his editorial interventions to the correction of misprints and mistakes when these have been clear and plain; to varying the punctuation only where necessary; and the reworking of the list of mayors and sheriffs ‘since the original was

in its earlier part so tangled with error that more close reproduction could only have been mischievous'.²³ Roman type in Kingsford's edition represents Black Letter in the original. Italic type points to where Roman type was used in 1603.

According to Keith Dockray, 'Kingsford's historical reputation is based mainly on a substantial corpus of works on fifteenth-century England and its sources'.²⁴ We can gather Kingsford's love for the history of London and 'his deep knowledge of topography, records, and letters' from his numerous introductory paratexts preceding the *Survey*.²⁵ Apart from the preface, his edition provides the reader with an initial overview of the *Survey*, sections on Stow's family background, documents about Stow and letters addressed to Stow, selected dedications and epistles, a bibliography, a section on manuscripts and collections as well as corrigenda before the 1603 text itself. At the end of his edition, Kingsford provides a lengthy section (1603, vol. 2, pp. 230-267) listing all the textual differences between the 1598 and 1603 *Surveys*, followed by copious notes for each chapter, a page of several addenda, a supplement to his notes, a glossary and indexes of persons, places and subjects. Whilst noting in his introduction 'numberless small corrections and additions' to the 1598 *Survey*, Kingsford summarises more substantial expansions that Stow made in 1603 as follows:

Amongst the longest of these additions may be noted the extract from the Lancaster accounts, [...] the whole section 'Of Charitable Alms', the expansion of the Chapter on Honour of Citizens [...], the account of the Devil's appearance at St. Michael, Cornhill, [...] the notes on Jews in England, [...] and

²³ John Stow, 'Preface', in *A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), *BHO* <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/iii-iv>> [accessed 25 August 2024].

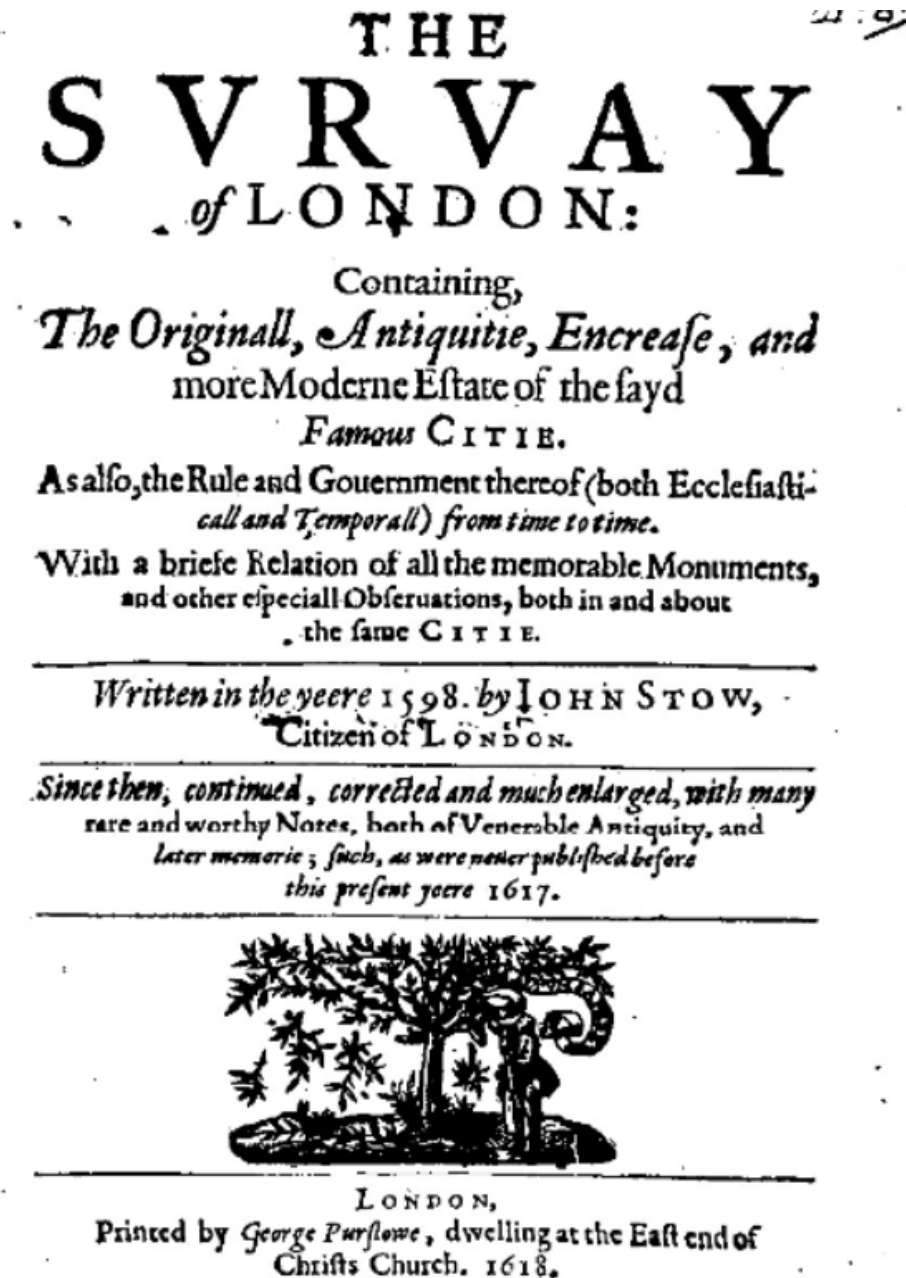
²⁴ Keith Dockray, 'Kingsford, Charles Lethbridge (1862–1926), Historian', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, entry dated 2004), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/34329.

²⁵ Dockray, 'Kingsford, Charles Lethbridge (1862–1926), Historian', *ODNB*.

on Tournaments at Smithfield; [...] and finally the unperfected notes on City government.²⁶

Since the 1603 edition is the last to appear in Stow's lifetime and so represents what might be called his final intentions for the work, it also captures Stow's most complete engagement with the tournament history of Smithfield which is of central importance to my thesis. Consequently, the latter of the first two editions is the most appropriate for me to focus on for this thesis.

²⁶ Stow, 'Introduction: The Survey' < <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/xxviii-xliii> > [accessed 28 December 2024].



1.3 John Stow, *THE SVRVAY of LONDON: Containing, the Originall, Antiquity, Encrease, More Moderne Estate of That Sayd Famous CITIES. As Also, the Rule and Gouernment Thereof (Both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall) from Time to Time. With a Briefe Relation of All the Memorable Monuments, and Other Especiall Obseruations, Both in and about the Same CITIES. Written in the Yeere 1598. By IOHN STOW, Citizen of LONDON. Since Then, Continued, Corrected and Much Enlarged, with Many Rare and Worthy Notes, Both of Venerable Antiquity, and Later Memorie; Such, as Were Never Published before This Present Yeere 1617* (London: George Purslowe, 1618). Yale University Library. Image published with kind permission of ProQuest LLC. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

As with the earlier editions, the 1618 *Survey* takes the format of a quarto but now features approximately 983 pages in total, so twice over the 1598 edition. With Stow and Windet having passed away in 1605 and 1610 respectively, the author and editor Anthony Munday partnered with publisher George Purslowe. Purslowe was a master printer based near the Old Bailey but was also associated with the Eliot's Court Press, renowned for '[t]heir excellent presswork'.²⁷ Despite his foothold in the printing world of seventeenth-century London, Purslowe was not the City printer for the period and therefore was not able to bestow the same kind of association as with the earlier editions.

Munday seems to have been very self-conscious about the lack of official endorsement, evidence for which we can find in the title and paratexts for the 1618 edition. For example, unlike the previous editions Munday's is *the* survey rather than *a* survey. This subtle but powerful titular coinage bestows chorographical authority onto itself. Moreover, the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' addresses itself 'TO THE RIGHT Honourable, George Bolles, *Lord Maior of the Citie of London*; Sir Anthony Benn, Knight, Recorder of *London*: and to all the Knights and Aldermen, Brethren-Senatours in the State of so famous a Citie: all of them being my Honourable and worthy Masters' (1618, sig. §2r). Following the 'Epistle', there is now a new section addressing itself '[t]o the right Honourable, and Right Reverend Father in God, IOHN KING, by Gods most gracious permission, Lord Bishop of LONDON' (1618, sig. A1r). There is no longer any reference to the communality or citizens in the titles of these paratexts.

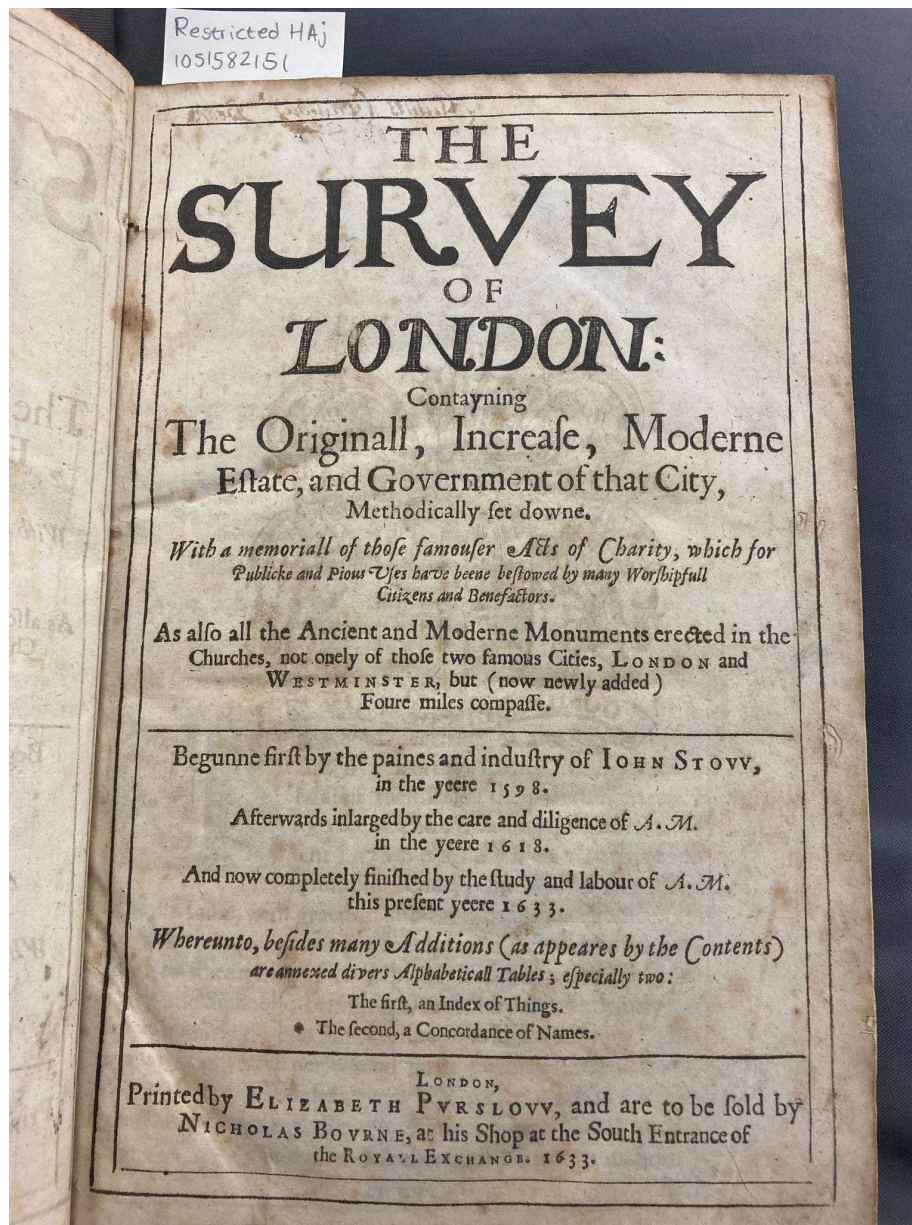
²⁷ Wolfe recorded the original publishing rights to the *Survey* in 1598; these were then passed by Wolfe's widow to a printer called John Pyndley in 1612. He then transferred them to George Purslowe in 1613. SRO 4106, SRO 6004, and SRO 6272, in *Stationers' Register Online* <<https://stationersregister.online/>> [accessed 25 August 2024]; 'George Purslowe', in *STC*, vol. 3 (1991), p. 139; 'Eliot's Court Press', *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780198606536.001.0001/acref-9780198606536-e-1587>> [accessed 10 October 2024].

Munday's edition therefore envisaged a more elite readership and sought approval for his revision of Stow's work from both civic and ecclesiastical authorities.

Helen Moore reads the preface to the 1618 edition as Munday engaging with the work of his editorial predecessor 'in contradictory terms, as both a historical authority and an unstable, "unperfect" text in need of correction and completion'.²⁸ According to the title page of the 1618 edition, Munday corrected errors from the earlier editions as well as expanded on City government, monuments, ancient and more recent urban history. The 1618 edition opens with a catalogue of historical authors. This comprehensive list sets up the scholarly authority with which Munday hoped to imbue the chapters to follow. The overview of the chapters themselves now features at the very end of the *Survey* instead. The introductory chapters in the first of the three parts have increased to eighteen in number. Notable additions include chapters on the river Thames, the ancient rights belonging to Robert Fitz-Walter, great families in urban history and past almsgiving. The topographical descriptions continue to amount to thirty chapters in the second part. In terms of developments in urban history since Stow's death, it is of particular significance that the 1618 edition adds a section on Smithfield being paved to the chapter about Faringdon Without. The third part is now condensed into two chapters on ecclesiastical and civic government. The appendix has been removed.

²⁸ Helen Moore, 'Succeeding Stow: Anthony Munday and the 1618 *Survey of London*', in *John Stow (1525-1605)*, pp. 99-108 (p. 99).

The 1633 Survey



1.4 John Stow, *THE SURVEY OF LONDON: Containing, the Original, Increase, Modern Estate and Government of That City, Methodically Set Down. With a Memorial of Those Famouſer Acts of Charity, Which for Publick and Pious Uses Have Been Bestowed by Many Worſhipfull Citizens and Benefactors. As Also All the Ancient and Modern Monuments Erected in the Churches, Not Only of Those Two Famous Cities, LONDON and WESTMINSTER, but (Now Newly Added) Four Miles Compass. Begun First by the Pains and Industry of JOHN STOW, in the Year 1598. Afterwards Enlarged by the Care and Diligence of A. M. in the Year 1618. And Now Completely Finished by the Study & Labour of A. M. H. D. and Others, This Present Year 1633. Whereunto, besides Many Additions (as Appears by the Contents) Are Annexed Divers Alphabetical Tables: Especially Two, the First, an Index of Things. The Second, a Concordance of Names* (London: Printed [by Elizabeth Purslowe] for Nicholas Bourn, 1633). Reproduced with kind permission of the University of Bristol Library, Special Collections (HAj).

The 1633 *Survey* is the only early modern edition to take the format of a folio and with approximately 1065 pages in total it is by far the largest and most substantial edition in terms of size and length. Since Purslowe died in 1632, he might already have been preparing the printing of this much longer *Survey*. In light of this possibility, it makes sense that his widow Elizabeth Purslowe finished what her husband had started. According to the *STC*, she might have been involved with the prestigious Eliot's Court Press, the same as her husband before her.²⁹ This association might have smoothed over some of the controversy surrounding Nicholas Bourne in the 1630s. 'Trained as a printer, described as a bookbinder in later life, [...] [but] best known as a bookseller', it was Bourne for whom widow Purslowe acted as a printer.³⁰ Bourne specialised in 'newsbooks [called corantos which] supported the protestant cause in the [Thirty Years'] war and, like the majority of [his] publishing collaborations, were consistent with a Calvinist outlook'.³¹ In 1630 Bourne and his colleagues 'were examined by the high commission for selling dangerous books [...]. A privy council order of October 1632 banned publication of the corantos'.³² Consequently, the 1633 *Survey* editors associated themselves with a bookseller known for his religious and political inclinations, making the last of the early modern *Surveys* the most Protestant reiteration of Stow's chorography.

As with the 1618 *Survey*, in its title the 1633 edition refers to itself as *the* survey rather than *a* survey; this time reinforcing the notion that the work is now 'completely finished' (1633, sig. A2r) in the mind of the 1633 editors. Whilst much of early modern

²⁹ 'Elizabeth Purslowe', in *STC*, vol. 3 (1991), p. 139.

³⁰ S. A. Baron, 'Bourne, Nicholas (B. in or before 1584, D. 1660), Bookseller', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, entry dated 2004, rev. 2008), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/68205.

³¹ Baron, 'Bourne, Nicholas (B. in or before 1584, D. 1660), Bookseller', *ODNB*.

³² Baron, 'Bourne, Nicholas (B. in or before 1584, D. 1660), Bookseller', *ODNB*.

history writing required some degree of cooperation amongst antiquarians, the 1633 title page makes the collaborative nature of the work explicit by naming Anthony Munday, Humphrey Dyson and others as editorial contributors. As can also be gleaned from the much longer title of the 1633 *Survey*, this edition had substantially increased in content since its first publications in 1598 and 1603 and then Munday's revision in 1618. According to the 1633 title page, the reader could expect new sections about acts of charity, church monuments in a four-mile radius around the City and Westminster as well as two alphabetical tables. In the 1633 edition, the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' addresses itself to a list of named dedicatees that had grown considerably since 1618:

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE RALPH FREEMAN, now Lord Maior of the City of LONDON, *Sir Edward Barkham*, *Sir Martin Lumley*, *Sir Iohn Gore*, *Sir Hugh Ham [...]*rsley, *Sir Richard Deane*, *Sir Iames Cambell*, *Sir Robert Ducey*, *Sir George [...]*hitmore, *Sir Nicholas Raynton*, Knights; *Edward Littleton*, Esquire, Recorder of LONDON: And to all the other Aldermen, Brethren-Senators in the state of so famous a City; All of them being my Honorable and worthy Masters (1633, sig. A3r).

Interestingly, the section dedicated to the bishop in the 1618 edition no longer features. This omission signals that, despite their choice of bookseller, the hoped for audience consists of the civic rather than the ecclesiastical urban elite. The 1633 editors replaced the epistle to a church authority with a direct address to the reader in which they qualify their claim in the title that theirs is a methodical survey. Instead, 'it is not so absolutely Methodicall as [...] wish[ed]' (1633, sig. A5r). The 1633 editors then go on to admit that their arrangement of materials is not as organised as they had hoped and attribute blame to the fact that the *Survey* was already a substantial piece of work that was easier to keep in methodical order when mainly Stow and then Munday oversaw the project. However, the 1633 editors struggled to work as a team:

Men are all various in their Opinions, [...] so in their Minds is there as much discrepancy, and then must there needs be the same or more in their Writings, the expre[ss]e Image of their Minds. And this is the Fate of our present Worke, which begun Methodically, hath not beene so well prosecuted [...]: Probable it may be, the desire of inserting all things for the delight of the Reader, might breed this want of Method (1633, sig. A5r).

In other words, whilst the 1633 editors consider their *Survey* as the completion of the 1618 edition, the 1633 edition did not live up fully to their ambitions and expectations. To help the reader navigate their methodological shortcomings, the editors elaborate on their title page and summarise in more detail the content of their work:

In the beginning, the whole body of the Book dissected into sixtie Chapters, whose short Contents epitomize the Substance of the Work: Then briefe Schemes as well of all the Churches in and about London and Westminster foure miles compasse, as of all the Halls and Companies of this Honourable City, both Alphabetically ranged with reference to their proper places. Lastly, [...] have you a Catalogue of Authors, on whose authority the truth of our Assertions may depend. [...] In the end also have we furnished it with two exact Tables; The first an Index, containing in it the chiefe Streets, Lanes, Conduits, stately Houses of Noblemen, Innes of Court, Chancery, and other ancient Monuments of this City, not without the admixion also of worthy Actions and Customes of Citizens. The other a Concordance of those, whose Honour in their Office, Charity in their Almes, Memory in their Monument, hath acquainted Posterity with their Names (1633, sigs. A5r-A5v).

In terms of the tripartite structure of the previous editions, the 1633 *Survey* features thirteen introductory chapters, followed by the customary thirty topographical chapters. It is the concluding part that has been most expanded by the 1633 editors. The 1633 edition still covers ecclesiastical and civic government but reinstates the treatise on London as seat of civility that Munday had cut in 1618 from the 1603 *Survey*. Moreover, the 1633 edition now features excerpts from City legislation, an English translation of Fitzstephen's description of London, the charter of London, an ordinance for bread measurements, ecclesiastical letters about tithes as well as past patrons of the City. Then follows an appended section entitled 'The Remaines' which consists of four chapters on materials that the editors would have liked to insert into

the *Survey* but were not able to, a perambulation of church monuments in the wider London area, church reparations and embellishments and a review of parishes outside the City walls and further afield. The last pages in the appendix are set aside for lists of London's churches, Livery Companies and again the authors that the editors reference throughout. J. F. Merritt considers "A Returne to London", which forms a substantial final portion of the 1633 volume' as the 'most systematically researched and presented portion of the 1633 *Survey*'.³³ However, what stands out in relation to my thesis is that the 1633 edition retains and builds on the urban horse culture that runs through all early modern *Surveys*: a culture that reveals itself in extended accounts of incidents such as that of the mounted rebel leader Wat Tyler taking on the king's entourage, also on horseback, in Smithfield during the 1381 Peasants' Revolt and in new material such as that concerning Smithfield being paved in the early seventeenth century. The 1633 edition is also the only edition under my consideration to include Fitzstephen's portrayal of Smithfield horse market three times: firstly, in a reiteration within its chapters; secondly in Fitzstephen's Latin original in the appendix; and, thirdly, in an English translation of the Latin text, again, in the appendix.

In this light, I consider the 1603 edition as Stow's most fully developed chorography and engagement with the City's horses. The 1633 edition finishes what the 1618 volume started. Whilst the 1618 and 1633 editors intended to correct and update Stow's work, they respected it enough to keep its chapter structure intact even though such an organisational principle no longer worked for a much expanded body of chorographical research. The 1633 text is therefore not so much a revision as a reading of the *Surveys* that have gone before; a reading by multiple editors 'all various

³³ J. F. Merritt, 'The Reshaping of Stow's *Survey*: Munday, Strype and the Protestant City', in *Imagining Early Modern London*, pp. 52-88 (p. 59).

in their Opinions' (1633, sig. A5r) who appended most of their contributions rather than changing the fabric of the *Survey* to a point where it would have become unrecognisable from its first inception. When considered as a collaborative reading, the 1633 edition is the most comprehensive engagement with Stow's chorographical vision, the history of the City and its horse culture past and present. Consequently, comparisons between the 1603 and 1633 editions are likely to prove the most productive in terms of my thesis.

Chronicles and Chorographies: History Writing in the Early Modern Period

Horse-related ghost networks matter in the *Survey* because they signpost to the reader which aspects of the history of London, stretching from antiquity to the seventeenth century, are worthy of remembrance.³⁴ As such, the urban horse culture that equine encounters set up contributes to a pronounced 'historical culture' in the period, to use Daniel Woolf's terms, and evidences the 'complex conditions for the early modern reconstruction of English history', to borrow Gillespie's words.³⁵ Woolf argues that early modern individuals and communities revered all things old and were more likely to trust a written record or to follow a custom if they considered it ancient, as in having 'originated or [...] [having been] established long ago' or having 'continued for a long time'.³⁶ Antiquarian works such as chronicles and chorographies perpetuated this historical culture. According to Richard Helgerson, the key difference between the two kinds of history writing, chronicle and chorography, is that whereas a 'chronicle history is, almost by definition, a story of kings[,] [...] chorographers present a very

³⁴ See preliminary 'Note on Conventions' for periodisations of historic Britain.

³⁵ Woolf, *Social Circulation*, p. 12; Alexandra Gillespie, 'Stow's "Owlde" Manuscripts of London Chronicles', in *John Stow (1525-1605)*, pp. 57-67 (p. 57).

³⁶ Woolf, *Social Circulation*, p. 44; Entry 'ancient, *adj.*, I.2.', *OED* [accessed 15 October 2024].

different image of England. [...] Loyalty to England here means loyalty [not to the monarch but] to the land; to its counties, cities, towns, villages, manors and wards; even to its uninhabited geographical features'.³⁷ In other words, mid-sixteenth-century chronicles tended to record events chronologically in the order of the year, more often than not in relation to noteworthy rulers. However, later chorographies, such as the *Survey*, prioritised stories about place and topography and collated materials accordingly.³⁸ Yet, chorography was nothing new in the sixteenth century. Stan Mendyk defines this literary genre as a 'topographical-historical' discourse and argues that chorographies of varying accomplishment had existed since the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, it was in the sixteenth-century works of John Leland, William Lambarde and William Camden in which place, rather than history, systematically took centre-stage.³⁹

According to Oliver Harris, antiquarian research found in chronicles and chorographies alike distinguished itself from the work of a historian in the period by being 'concerned with narrower [...] topics [and] [...] tend[ing] to address the detail of texts in a more critical spirit and [...] [by being] prepared to supplement received narratives with [...] empirical evidence [...] [from] a varied range of documents and artefacts'.⁴⁰ Woolf suggests that antiquarians fell into the two categories of manuscript-studying humanist philologists and historical-site-visiting travelling

³⁷ Helgerson, p. 72; As for early modern understandings of chronicles and chorographies, the term 'chronicle' as in a 'detailed and continuous register of events in order of time' has been in use since the early fourteenth century. Entry 'chronicle, *n.*, 1.a.', *OED* [accessed 04 December 2024]; The use of the term 'chorography', however, was less common, with Stow himself describing the *Survey* as belonging to a 'body of [...] English Chronographie' (1603, vol.1, sig. A2v). A notable exception is John Dee's reference to chorography as a scholarly discipline in its own right in *Euclide* (1570), sig. A4r.

³⁸ Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact', p. 322.

³⁹ Stan Mendyk, 'Early British Chorography', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17.4 (1986), pp. 459-481 (pp. 459, 464), doi: 10.2307/2541384.

⁴⁰ Oliver Harris, 'Stow and the Contemporary Antiquarian Network', in *John Stow (1525-1605)*, pp. 27-35 (p. 28).

antiquaries.⁴¹ Many writers drew on both approaches in their work.⁴² Whereas Woolf does not cite the *Survey* as an example for either category of antiquarian approach, Harris rightly acknowledges that Stow was unique among his fellow chorographers as, whilst others relied mainly on maps, Stow not only researched in archives and libraries but also extensively explored London on foot to enrich his textual scholarship with first-hand observation.⁴³ I therefore argue that the *Survey* was the product of someone who combined antiquarian methods and epitomises the kind of cross-disciplinary history compilations that originated from, and simultaneously contributed to, the historical culture that pervaded early modern London.

Stow had been cultivating his distinctive brand of antiquarianism long before he joined the Society of Antiquaries in the 1580s and compiled *Survey* editions in 1598 and 1603 because he had started his literary career as chronicler several decades earlier. Stow's first chronicle was entitled *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565, *STC* 23319) and this was followed by multiple abridged and expanded chronicle histories and annals over the remaining decades of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ According to Alfred Hiatt, the initial *Summarie* was intended as a 'more successful abridgement' of an existing chronicle and 'therefore supplements passages [...] with annotations, corrections, and the occasional addition

⁴¹ In early modern terms, the profession of someone 'who studies or is interested in the past or its remains' as that of an 'antiquary' came into circulation in the second half of the sixteenth century; a trend which coincided with the publications of the chronicles under my consideration. Entry 'antiquary, *n.*, I.1.a.', *OED* [accessed 04 December 2024].

⁴² Woolf, *Social Circulation*, p. 142; 'The first generations of [medieval] humanists wanted to bring back to life classical Latin culture and literature. They were looking for manuscripts of rare and forgotten texts, and translated the rediscovered legacy of classical Greek Literature'. Jeroen De Keyser, 'The Birth of Philology', *Encyclopédie d'Histoire Numérique de l'Europe* (2020) <<https://ehne.fr/en/encyclopedia/themes/european-humanism/humanists-and-europe/birth-philology#:~:text=The%20Birth%20of%20Philology>> [accessed 27 August 2024].

⁴³ Harris, p. 35.

⁴⁴ 'Stow, John' in *STC*, vol. 2 (1976), pp. 368-369; John Stow, *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (London: In ædibus Thomæ Marshi, 1565).

of material'.⁴⁵ However, 'in Stow's subsequent (and more original) historical compilations, the 1580 *Chronicles* [STC 23333] and his *Annals* of 1592 [STC 23334], and in the revised Summaries, he [...] draw[s] on a vastly expanded range of medieval sources, including original documents'.⁴⁶ In doing so, Stow depended less heavily on published chronicle narratives and conducted his antiquarian research in an innovative manner that distinguished him from other sixteenth-century chroniclers. This strategy paid off. Drawing on sale and re-edition figures for early modern chronicles, Woolf provides quantitative evidence for the relative popularity of Stow's chronicles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁷

As far as sixteenth-century chronicles other than Stow's are concerned, the works of Raphael Holinshed and Richard Grafton particularly inform my analysis of the *Survey* because the *Survey* explicitly passes judgement on the historiographical approaches in these texts. On the one hand, the *Survey* values the former as an authoritative source since the title 'Holinshed' was given to the work started by 'Reyne Wolfe graue antiquary [...] [whose] great Chronicles [were] increased and published by his executors vnder the name of Raph Holonshead [*sic*]' (1603, vol. 1, p. 293). On the other hand, the *Survey* singles out Grafton in its 'reiecti[on of] the fables of some late writers' (1603, vol. 1, p. 275). For instance, on one occasion concerning alleged remnants of giants in Bread Street ward, the *Survey* derides 'R.G. The errour thereof is thus, he affirmeth a stone to be the tooth of a man, which stone (so proued) hauing no shape of a tooth' (1603, vol. 1, p. 349). As I am about to explore further, there was a particular history between Stow and Grafton. Nonetheless, considering the *Survey*'s

⁴⁵ Alfred Hiatt, 'Stow, Grafton, and Fifteenth-Century Historiography', in *John Stow (1525-1605)*, pp. 45-55 (p. 54).

⁴⁶ Hiatt, pp. 49-51; Stow, *Chronicles* (1580); John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London: By Ralfe Newbery and Eliot's Court Press, 1592).

⁴⁷ Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact', p. 339.

praise for Holinshed and criticism of Grafton, it becomes worthwhile to explore if and how these chronicles deploy equine encounters in their history making. For an example of Stow's own approach to chronicling, I focus on the 1580 *The Chronicles of England* because Stow published this not long after Grafton's 1569 *A Chronicle at Large and Meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the Same* and Holinshed's 1577 *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*. Moreover, the 1580 *Chronicles* mark the midway point in Stow's chronicling career from which point onwards he started employing more sophisticated research techniques, as Hiatt notes.⁴⁸

Since all chroniclers relied on earlier sources, their chronicle histories highlight the inherent slipperiness of the terms 'author', 'writer', 'compiler', 'editor' and 'publisher'. The way Stow criticises Grafton over 'the proper way to write history and to present the work of history writers of that past' fittingly epitomises the problematic ambiguity of historiographical authorship.⁴⁹ The following are Stow's own words and feature in a manuscript collection of 'largely autobiographical material concerning Stow himself, his various disputes and petitions':⁵⁰

I denay not, but a man may lawfully gather out of othar awctores [authors], for otharwyse it is vnposeable for eny to write, but of theyr owne tyme, nevartheles as it is comendable to the writar and profitable to the redars, when hyden histories ar browght from dusty darknes to the lyght of the world, so is it bothe vncomendable vnprofitable to gather dyvars books all comon in print, and [...] to have delyveryd them a new and rare pece of worke such as had nevar bene sene or hard tell of before. This kynde of dealyng is a great wronge to the first auctores [authors] publishers of thes work for that he transposynge them in to his book maketh them seme to be his owne, ofte tymes not once namynge his awctor [author], somtyme clene changynge of the makar and then setynge downe the old awctor [author]'.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Hiatt, p. 51.

⁴⁹ Gillespie, 'Introduction', p. 4.

⁵⁰ Joel Grossman, 'London, British Library, MS Harley 367 and the Antiquarian Ideals of John Stow', in *Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Professor Julia Boffey*, ed. by Tamara Atkin and Jaclyn Rajsic (Boydell & Brewer, 2019), pp. 123-144 (p. 123), doi: 10.1017/9781787444829.

⁵¹ British Library, MS Harley 367, fol. 1r. transcribed and reproduced by Hiatt, pp. 51-52.

As Hiatt argues, Stow here alleges Grafton of violating a historiographical code of conduct in three ways. Firstly, Grafton plagiarised the work of fifteenth-century chroniclers and when he did acknowledge his sources he attributed authorship inaccurately. Secondly, Grafton passed off already published materials as new chronicle compilations. Thirdly, by lowering himself to commit the first two violations, Grafton tarnished the reputation of future chronicles.⁵² Whilst Hiatt's observations convincingly reveal the manner in which Stow made an example of Grafton's malpractices and thereby differentiated lawful from unlawful historiographical authorship, what also stands out is that Stow conflates the labels of author, writer and publisher. The *OED* shines light on the overlapping meanings of each of the terms. For example, an author was considered to be the 'writer of a book or other work' as well a 'creator [...] or source' from the fourteenth century onwards with the latter definition attributing a degree of innovation and originality to the act of writing.⁵³ Yet, a writer also denoted a 'person engaged in writing by hand; the producer of a particular handwritten text or document' or someone who 'cop[ied] texts; a professional scribe or copyist' in the early modern period.⁵⁴ In this light, the term 'writer' evokes more strongly the painstaking craft and tools necessary for antiquarian research rather than the overarching intellectual endeavour underpinning chronicle authorship. Stow does not describe chroniclers as compilers in the above excerpt but it is a term that I consider relevant and appropriate in the context of historical writing and the labels under my consideration. Since early modern compilers signified '(original) author[s], composer[s]' from the 1500s onwards, in their act of

⁵² Hiatt, p. 53.

⁵³ Entry 'author, *n.*, I.1.a. and II.', *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

⁵⁴ Entry 'writer, *n.*, I.1.a. and I.2.a.', *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

compiling or, in other words, ‘collect[ing] and put[ting] together (materials), so as to form a treatise’, they were more akin to authors than writers.⁵⁵

As modern readers, we consider Stow and his fellow chronicle compilers as editors because they not only collated sources but also ‘prepare[d] an edition of written work by one or more authors for publication, by selecting and arranging the contents, adding commentary, etc’.⁵⁶ Editors could also be ‘publisher[s] of a book’.⁵⁷ So we can say that Stow compiled several editions of his chronicle histories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet, he and his contemporary antiquarians would not have recognised themselves necessarily as editors even if they undertook the editorial tasks described above because both definitions of the term only came into use in 1646 and 1633 respectively. All other descriptions of being an editor entered circulation in the eighteenth century or later. As far as early modern connotations of publishing were concerned, the job title of publisher denoted anyone ‘who prepare[d] and issue[d] a book or document to the public, as author, editor, printer, or bookseller’ between 1579 and 1798.⁵⁸ The more modern meaning of a publisher as ‘acting as the agent of an author or owner; a person or company that arranges the printing or manufacture of such items and their distribution to booksellers or the public’ only came into use from 1710 onwards.⁵⁹ In the early modern sense of the term, Stow would have therefore thought of himself as a publisher even though he relied on members of London’s book trade to print and publish his work.

In light of this complex palimpsest of etymologies, Stow and his contemporary chroniclers can be seen to take on the roles of authors, writers, compilers, editors and

⁵⁵ Entry ‘compiler, *n.*, 2.’, *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024]; Entry ‘compile, *v.*, I.1.’, *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

⁵⁶ Entry ‘editor, *n.*, 2.a.’, *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

⁵⁷ Entry ‘editor, *n.*, 1.’, *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

⁵⁸ Entry ‘publisher, *n.*, 2.a.’, *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

⁵⁹ Entry ‘publisher, *n.*, 2.b.’, *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

publishers at the various stages of their antiquarian research and all these labels have validity in the context of historical writing as long as we acknowledge the considerable overlap and ambiguity inherent in each of the terms. The same etymological considerations are necessary when addressing the question of authorship regarding Stow's only chorography and the primary text under my consideration, the *Survey*. Since I want to retain the ambiguity with which the terms were used in the early modern period and apply them in the sense that they were understood by Stow and his contemporaries, I consider Stow as the original *author* of the *Survey* because he was the first to create this historio-topographical *compilation* and *published* the first two *Survey* editions in 1598 and 1603. As my textual history of all four early modern editions has shown, the *Survey* underwent a new lease of life after Stow's death when Munday *edited* and expanded the text in 1618. Another reincarnation followed when Dyson and his co-*editors* further expanded the *Survey* and completed a fourth edition that they had started with Munday before his death in 1633. With each edition and the inherent processes of what was sometimes revision but more often than not supplementation with commentary and appended materials, the *Survey* transformed in the care of successive editors and took on the hues of their times and preoccupations.⁶⁰ The *Survey* outgrew Stow's vision. Yet, 'since [it was] Master *Iohn Stow* (the painfull Searcher into Reverend Antiquity) [who] did first present LONDONS SVRVEY to this Honourable Senate, Sir *Robert Lee*, then Lord Maior, with gracious and favourable acceptance' (1633, sig. A3r), as Munday, Dyson et al. acknowledged themselves, the *Survey* also remained resolutely Stow's.

Since I consider the 1633 *Survey* as the most sustained reading of Stow's original chorographical vision, comparisons between the 1603 and 1633 *Surveys* allow

⁶⁰ see Merritt, pp. 52-88.

me to apply a historio-ecological lens to how and why the portrayal of urban horse culture changed from the *Survey*'s first to its last early modern revision. For chorographical context, I bring equine encounters and their ghost networks from Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (1576) and Camden's *Britannia*, first published in Latin in 1586, into play because the *Survey* compares itself to these works in its 'Epistle Dedicatory', hoping to emulate their antiquarian accomplishments. Whereas Lambarde's *Perambulation* focusses on a county and Camden's *Britannia* on the country at large, the *Survey* describes a single city. In terms of geographical reach across all the chronicles and chorographies under my consideration, Stow's and Grafton's chronicles focus on England alone according to the titles of the texts. Holinshed's chronicle and Camden's chorography include Wales, Scotland and Ireland. These differences in scope, far from posing a drawback in terms of potential comparisons, offer a multi-faceted historiographical framework of rural and urban practices for my readings of the *Survey*'s horses.

Since this cross-section of chronicles and chorographies places different emphases on time and place, their diverging approaches to historical writing raises the question of why Stow compiled chronicles for most of his early and mid-career but then published the *Survey* in his later life. Despite Stow's publishing success described above, chronicling as a genre declined in popularity. Woolf considers an increase in literacy rates as one of the reasons for fewer chronicles being published as the sixteenth century progressed. New forms of historical writing better catered for the expanding readership who preferred to consume their history in different ways.⁶¹ Whilst Woolf notes Stow's struggle to find a publisher for one of his later chronicles, his essay does not connect this to Stow switching from chronicle to chorography at the very moment

⁶¹ Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact', p. 323.

when readerships seem to have been growing and diversifying. By explicitly naming *Perambulation* and *Britannia* as inspiration and thereby presenting itself as a fellow chorography, the *Survey* purposefully distances itself from Stow's earlier chronicles. From this perspective, Stow can be seen to stay abreast of literary innovation and to cater for the most current readerly tastes of his day.

Nostalgia and the Survey

Despite Stow adapting to the advancements of his field, scholars warn that the influence of Stow's lifelong passion for the past needs to be treated with caution. For example, Ian Archer, Patrick Collinson, J. F. Merritt and Daniel Woolf detect to varying degrees pessimistic views on change in the *Survey* and have consequently labelled Stow's chorographical work as nostalgic.⁶² Woolf, for instance, points to two reasons for nostalgia influencing Stow's chorographical expertise. Firstly, Stow was in his seventies when he published the first *Survey* edition. Secondly, it is likely that throughout his life Stow had a lingering attachment to the Catholicism of his youth.⁶³ Archer argues that Stow's nostalgia for the pre-Reformation world is evident in the fact that the *Survey* profusely praises bygone communality but remains conspicuously silent on widespread charity and piety among Elizabethan Londoners.⁶⁴ In Collinson's view, Stow idealised bygone Catholicism because he saw wanton destruction of pre-Reformation artefacts and buildings everywhere he looked from the 1530s onwards.⁶⁵ Whilst Merritt does not consider that misgivings about the Reformation led Stow to

⁶² Ian Archer, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649*, ed. by D. L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 17-34; Merritt, pp. 52-88; Collinson, pp. 27-51; Woolf, *Social Circulation*.

⁶³ Woolf, *Social Circulation*, pp. 25, 148.

⁶⁴ Archer, p. 28.

⁶⁵ Collinson, p. 40.

turn a blind eye to Protestant achievements across the board, she nonetheless detects Catholic leanings in the materials he included and regards the *Survey* as an example of ‘nostalgic antiquarianism’.⁶⁶ Archer, Collinson, Merritt and Woolf point to different evidence for pre-Reformation nostalgia in the *Survey* but they all agree that Stow was nostalgic because he rejected religious and topographical change at least to some extent. Yet, they fall short of defining nostalgia and their sense of its causes and effects remains vague. From such generalised perspectives, nostalgia can only ever be a negative force because it prevents a writer, such as Stow, from objectively engaging with and meaningfully portraying his present day.

Whereas Beer goes as far as to speculate whether nostalgia even permitted Stow to fully experience or understand the Reformation, Oliver Harris, Andrew Gordon and Lawrence Manley argue that the *Survey* engages with urban change in complex ways.⁶⁷ As we have already seen, according to Harris, Stow surpassed other chorographers in his antiquarian methodology because he combined archival research with first-hand observation. Furthermore, Harris agrees with Woolf that the *Survey* attests to the influence of humanism on early modern antiquaries who towards the end of the sixteenth century had improved their skills in textual analysis and became more competent in their archival and archaeological approaches.⁶⁸ In a similar vein, Gordon stresses that Stow showed accomplishment in compiling the *Survey* because Lambarde, Norden and Camden based their chorographies on maps rather than personal experience. As a result, their works lack the social dimension that Stow offered for specific localities in the *Survey*. According to Gordon, Stow achieved a

⁶⁶ Merritt, p. 58.

⁶⁷ Beer, p. 107; Manley, ‘Of Sites and Rites’; Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*; Harris, pp. 27-35.

⁶⁸ Harris, p. 35.

sense of community by walking the reader through the City ward by ward and thereby textually re-enacting the annual boundary perambulations that kept communal memory alive.⁶⁹ From this perspective, Stow's perambulatory strategy entreats an imagined community of readers to invest in their City, past and present.

Whilst acknowledging that Archer raises important questions about Stow's editorial choices in the *Survey*, Gordon also cautions that we cannot understand Stow's stance on urban change by drawing on our twenty-first century understanding of nostalgia as melancholic longing for a bygone era.⁷⁰ Such a nuanced stance on nostalgia qualifies generalised negative appraisals of backward-looking tendencies in the *Survey* which are made implicitly on a modern conception of nostalgia. Refocusing scholarly attention on the specific context of early modern London, Gordon argues that Stow deployed the past to educate his urban readership.⁷¹ Gordon's view is supported by Manley who writes that, in the perambulation sections of the *Survey*, Stow engaged with processes of urbanisation and how they affected communal customs.⁷² Whereas Beer considers Stow's attention to everyday matters as evidence that Stow was not a critical observer of change, Manley perceives detailed references to daily routines in the *Survey* to confirm that Stow was acutely aware of customary precedents and how they dictated the lives of medieval and early modern Londoners.⁷³ Consequently, Harris, Gordon and Manley convincingly demonstrate that, contrary to modern readings of nostalgia as old-age melancholy, nostalgic sentiments did not stop Stow from advancing the field of early modern history writing or from developing sophisticated methods of compiling '*Historical Discourse[s] of this our native*

⁶⁹ Andrew Gordon, 'Overseeing and Overlooking: John Stow and the Surveying of the City', in *John Stow (1525-1605)*, pp. 81-88 (pp. 83, 87).

⁷⁰ Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 113.

⁷¹ Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 133.

⁷² Manley, 'Of Sites and Rites', p. 52.

⁷³ Beer, p. 107; Manley, 'Of Sites and Rites', p. 35.

Countrie, [and] setting before our eyes, to our instruction & profite, the incredible inconstancie, & continuall alterations of this transitorie world'.⁷⁴ In this light, Stow purposefully engaged with and conveyed to his readership the complex changes, urban or otherwise, that he witnessed during his lifetime.

Whereas much *Survey* scholarship tends to consider nostalgic retrospection as a limiting force, I consider Gordon's approach as the more productive in that it invites a re-consideration of the ways in which nostalgia in the *Survey* can act as an effective strategy. Archer et al. highlight the fact that Stow idealises the past in the *Survey* because they conceptualise nostalgia, in line with the theoretical framework of the literary critic Susan Stewart, as a modern pathology or a 'social disease'.⁷⁵ According to Stewart, nostalgic narratives are problematic because they do not reflect actual experience. Instead, they constitute a longing for an idealised past that has no basis in history.⁷⁶ In line with such thinking, nostalgia in the *Survey* points to an inauthentic recall of medieval London which in turn leads to an unreliable picture of Stow's present-day City. Archer et al. clearly regard Stow's nostalgia along these lines when they critique a supposed unwillingness to engage with change in the *Survey*. Whilst Stewart considers nostalgia a malady, she nonetheless allows for the intentionality of nostalgic discourse in her discussion of antiquarianism. Stewart argues that whereas historians critically analysed the past, antiquaries intentionally moulded evidence from historical artefacts into nostalgic narratives that privileged an inauthentic sense of the past over the present.⁷⁷ However, Raymond Williams convincingly shows that writers in any given era tend to depict the past as a golden age with which the reality of their

⁷⁴ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. ¶3r.

⁷⁵ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Duke University Press, 1993), p. 23, doi: 10.2307/j.ctv1220n8g.

⁷⁶ Stewart, p. 23.

⁷⁷ Stewart, pp. 143, 142.

supposedly impoverished present day cannot compete. In such instances of idealised Old Englands, Williams stipulates that '[w]hat we have to inquire into is not [...] historical error, but historical perspective'.⁷⁸ Kristine Johanson, a scholar in the subfield of memory studies called nostalgia studies, resists the strict dichotomy between historical fact and nostalgic fiction in equal measure. It is one of her central arguments that whilst people reacted to change with nostalgia through the ages, it does not mean that nostalgia functioned universally across time. On the contrary, nostalgia is always tied to the present because the person who nostalgically engages with the past does so through the prism of the cultural and social realities of their day. I agree that such grounding realism allows for a multitude of early modern nostalgias rather than just a single, all-encompassing and timeless nostalgia that is shared by everyone and experienced in the same way.⁷⁹

In the case of the *Survey*, the Reformation and urbanisation created very specific nostalgia-inducing conditions through unprecedented changes not only to the urban topography but also to how Londoners came together and celebrated as a community. For example, Harriet Phillips writes that Stow's contemporaries perceived the Reformation and especially the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s as removing them violently and irretrievably from their Catholic heritage. As a result, many perceived the medieval past as distinctively different from their present-day and idealised the former nostalgically, in Phillips's terms, as 'a merry world, full of festive abundance and good fellowship'.⁸⁰ In a similar vein, Margaret Aston argues that the brutality involved in the wholesale iconoclasm that followed in the wake of

⁷⁸ Williams, *The Country and the City*, pp. 12, 10.

⁷⁹ Johanson, pp. 4, 10, 15.

⁸⁰ Phillips, p. 14; The *Survey* uses the expression 'merry' in the sections on 'Watches' and 'Sports and Pastimes', providing evidence that the *Survey* employs 'merry world' constructs.

the Reformation stunned many early modern people into nostalgic disbelief.⁸¹ Susan Brigden writes that, as far as the 1540s were concerned, '[i]n every parish of London the battle for and against reform, for idolatry or iconoclasm, would be fought'.⁸² Brigden goes on to postulate that 'Stow looked on in horror at the iconoclasm and desecration' and that '[m]any Londoners shared Stow's distress at the despoliation'.⁸³ Such religious upheaval in the sixteenth century leads Judith Pollmann to argue that early modern communities reacted with pervasive nostalgia and antiquaries such as Stow felt that it was their moral duty to keep the communal memory of the disappearing pre-Reformation world alive.⁸⁴

In line with Johanson's argument for multiple early modern nostalgias, we find evidence for distinctive but also interlinked religious and topographical nostalgias in the *Survey* warranting a more nuanced approach in the fact that even scholars who portray the *Survey*'s idealising of the past in a mostly negative light cannot help but contradict themselves. Collinson, for example, goes as far as to say that we only find 'the values of an old man, [...] someone who lived in the past, had no enthusiasm for the present, and no words for the future' in the *Survey* only to deem Stow a 'historical ecologist before his time' a paragraph later.⁸⁵ Beer appears equally torn as he considers Stow nostalgic and 'unsophisticated' at the same time as 'multi-dimensional'.⁸⁶ At other points, Beer alleges that Stow did not fully grasp how religious reforms played out in London whilst arguing that we cannot understand the Reformation without

⁸¹ Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), pp. 231-255 (pp. 231-232), doi: 10.2307/751164.

⁸² Brigden, p. 430.

⁸³ Brigden, pp. 423, 424.

⁸⁴ Pollmann, p. 54.

⁸⁵ Collinson, p. 34.

⁸⁶ Beer, p. 168.

Stow's work.⁸⁷ Since a pathological diagnosis of nostalgia in the *Survey* is clearly difficult to sustain, I am persuaded to follow Johanson's approach and pursue a more nuanced reading of this supposedly 'conservative, consuming emotion'.⁸⁸

In light of the areas of investigation outlined above, namely the animals (and horses in particular) of the *Survey*, and in light of previous studies concerning Stow's nostalgia, the world of chivalry is the obvious place where a specifically early modern kind of nostalgia and an overlooked urban horse culture meet in the work. My thesis argues that the revival of chivalric romance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offered a significant, nostalgia-inducing historical perspective to history writers, a perspective from which the *Survey* editors not only took inspiration but also to which they contributed with stories about the City's horses. I therefore agree with Barbara Fuchs that romance as a genre achieves a balancing act by simultaneously 'harking back to a literary tradition, while also [remaining] highly adaptable to particular historical and ideological contexts'.⁸⁹ Both *Survey* editions under my consideration celebrate martial horsemanship in the form of urban processions, musters, market races and tournament history. Two of Fuchs's insights about romance are particularly relevant to the *Survey*'s portrayal of chivalric London. Firstly, since romance transcends literary periodisation, it can function as a self-conscious textual strategy.⁹⁰ That way, any text at any time, including the *Survey*, can deploy romance strategically in part, even if its overall objective is not the production of imaginative literature. Secondly, while the conservative outlook of romance tends to surface in idealisations of the past, such nostalgia 'can pose a significant challenge to the present'.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Beer, pp. 142, 108.

⁸⁸ Johanson, p. 15.

⁸⁹ Fuchs, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Fuchs, p. 10.

⁹¹ Fuchs, p. 7.

By evoking nostalgia for numerous ‘great and royall Iustes [Jousts] [that] were there holden in Smithfield’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 29), the *Survey* reminds the reader that this urban space was once the seat of chivalric glory in London. For this reason, Maurice Keen’s study of medieval chivalry and its literary heritage is seminal to my thesis. Keen writes that the chivalric culture of the Middle Ages was intricately linked to ‘the martial world of the mounted warrior’.⁹² Aristocratic knights enjoyed esteem when they proved themselves in battle but were also celebrated off the battlefield in chivalric romance. The literary genre emerged from Arthurian legend and medieval songs recounting heroic deeds from the Carolingian age.⁹³ The early modern period saw a revival of chivalric romance because it fuelled the literary appetite of an increasingly wealthy and educated middle class in Elizabethan England. Romance writers and translators such as the *Survey* editor Munday tailored their texts and translations to this new audience by underpinning chivalric idealism with lessons in morality and utility. The average citizen enjoyed these reimagined stories about mounted warriors because they provided examples of honour, personal achievement, and patriotism that were relatable to bourgeois circumstances.⁹⁴ As we will see as this thesis progresses, by superimposing knightly adventures onto early modern Smithfield, the *Survey* participates in a seventeenth-century revival of chivalric romance and taps into a substantial cultural phenomenon by attempting to make medieval chivalry present to as many seventeenth-century citizen readers as possible.

⁹² Keen, p. 2.

⁹³ Keen, p. 51.

⁹⁴ Louis B. Wright names Anthony Munday, Richard Johnson, and Samuel Rowlands among others as examples of writers who adapted medieval romance to suit the tastes and preoccupations of their citizen readers. Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 382, 390, 391. Since Wright’s seminal work, William Hunt (1990), Susan Harlan (2016) and Harriet Phillips (2019) have all noted that chivalric literature enjoyed a new lease of life in early modern culture by broadening its appeal to a widening range of social groups and I discuss the work of these scholars in more detail below.

Moreover, by evoking nostalgia for Smithfield's horsemen, the *Survey* also challenges the present-day state of the site and, as I will show, raises the alarm over how urbanisation has eroded the very equine topography that made chivalric Smithfield possible.

Methodology

The Chivalric Quality of Equine Encounters in the Period

Romance as a textual strategy is made possible to a significant extent by a pronounced horse culture in the early modern period. Regardless of whether the horse culture in the *Survey* portrays the everyday, such as the quotidian activities of coach- and draymen, or the extraordinary, such as the notable exploits of horsemen at tournaments and executions, participation in horsemanship matters equally in the text because the world of chivalry imbues all horse-related practices with larger-than-life significance. As Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* (1595) aptly summarises, 'souldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of souldiers'.⁹⁵ The etymology of the word 'chivalry' links soldiery to '[k]nights or horsemen equipped for battle', ranging from specifically 'the "men-at-arms", or mounted and fully armed fighting-men, of the Middle Ages' to 'horsemen' more generally.⁹⁶ In a broader sense, chivalry denotes the practices of mounted warriors, a religious order, a social class or a set of principles by which these groups lived.⁹⁷ Despite the wide remit of the term 'chivalry', classic chivalric values such as 'hardiness and prowess' dominated romance narratives since the heyday of chivalry in the twelfth century because skilled horsemen were crucial to medieval warfare.⁹⁸ Horsemanship of the kind that the *Survey* praises had also always been an 'intellectual endeavour' since antiquity so that, over the centuries, riding, and the handling of horses more broadly, transformed into an artform.⁹⁹ Medieval chivalric romances reflected the artistry and ambition inherent in noble

⁹⁵ Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (London: Printed [by Thomas Creede] for VVilliam Ponsonby, 1595), sig. B1r.

⁹⁶ Entry 'chivalry, *n.*, 1.a. and 1.c.', *OED* [accessed 03 December 2024].

⁹⁷ Keen, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Keen, p. 7.

⁹⁹ Forrest, p. 89.

pursuits such as warfare and the hunt by portraying horses and their human counterparts as striving for honour and glory together.¹⁰⁰

The horse, more than any other animal, takes centre-stage in not only medieval but also early modern chivalric literature because, as Ian F. MacInnes explains, ‘sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe was a horse-owning, horse-riding culture, a place where the language of horses and horsemanship was pervasive’.¹⁰¹ The vocabulary with which this culture bestowed honour and glory onto itself stemmed in a significant part from highly influential bestiaries. Bruce Boehrer writes that by the late medieval period, elaborate animal myths had developed into books of beasts.¹⁰² These bestiaries catalogued species not in any modern scientific sense but imbued animals with human attributes. Moreover, such books invested animals with humoral constitutions and thereby echoed medical sciences for humans at the time.¹⁰³ From an animal studies perspective, it is interesting to consider a range of species in bestiary portrayals. For example, Pliny the Elder’s first-century bestiary considered dogs as ‘among all other beastes that vnto vs are common, [...] [the] most faithfull’ because ‘[w]e haue true histories of men that haue bene defended from théeues by their

¹⁰⁰ Miller, p. 961.

¹⁰¹ Ian F. MacInnes, ‘Altering a Race of Jades: Horse Breeding and Geohumoralism in Shakespeare’, in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 175-189 (p. 175).

¹⁰² Bruce Boehrer, ‘Introduction: The Animal Renaissance’, in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance* (Berg, 2011), pp. 1-26 (p. 1).

¹⁰³ ‘In ancient and medieval physiology and medicine: any of four fluids of the body (blood, phlegm, choler, and so-called melancholy or black bile) believed to determine, by their relative proportions and conditions, the state of health and the temperament of a person or animal. In early use also: †any of the four qualities (hotness, coldness, dryness, and moistness) believed to be associated with these (obsolete), *n.*, I.1.a.’, *OED* [accessed 04 December 2024]; According to Louise Hill Curth, ‘[h]umouralism [...] provided a logical, easy to follow line of reasoning for the health of all living creatures. In general, this held that living bodies contained a varying mixture of the four main humours. [...] Horses, for example, were considered predominantly hot and dry animals, as were “swine”. It therefore benefitted both to have “cold Herbs, or Lettice, Endive, Succory [...]” mixed into their feed during the summer to keep them from falling ill. In other words, a good preventative diet would include foods that were cooling and moistening’. Hill Curth, pp. 34-35, 110.

Dogges, others haue fought to reuenge their maisters death, and constrained the murtherer to confesse the déede'.¹⁰⁴ In the seventh century, Isidore of Seville considered that 'the he-goat (*hircus*) is a lascivious animal, butting and always eager to mate; his eyes look side-ways on account of wantonness'.¹⁰⁵ In the thirteenth century, Anglicus Bartholomaeus concurred with earlier bestiaries that 'the Sparrowe is an vnstedfast bird with voice and iangling; and [...] is a full hot [as in the humoural quality of hotness] bird and lecherous. And the flesh of them oft taken in meat, exciteth to carnall lust'.¹⁰⁶ As far as horses were concerned, Isidore elevated this species above all others 'for only the horse weeps and feels grief over humans'.¹⁰⁷ Bartholomaeus, however, allows for the possibility of interspecies animosity in that 'the Estridge [Ostrich] hateth the horse by kinde, and is so contrary to the horse, that he may not see [...] [the] horse without feare'.¹⁰⁸ Bestiaries also blended fact and fiction by describing mythical creatures such as griffins, dragons and unicorns in the same vein as actual animals.¹⁰⁹ Erica Fudge convincingly argues that '[b]estiaries [...] presented their subjects not as specimens of the natural world, but as exemplars of morality'.¹¹⁰ In this light, the animal imagery we find in bestiaries was not necessarily meant to achieve verisimilitude but to act as evocative lessons.

The natural history writer Edward Topsell and his 1607 *Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* illustrate the power with which medieval bestiaries still informed

¹⁰⁴ Pliny, the Elder, *The Secrets and Wonders of the World* (London: Printed [by Henry Denham] for Thomas Hacket, [...] are to be solde at his shop in Lumberd streete, vnder the Popes head, 1585), sig. D4v.

¹⁰⁵ *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. by Stephen A. Barney and others (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 247, doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511482113.

¹⁰⁶ Anglicus Bartholomaeus, *Batman vypon Bartholome* (London: Imprinted by Thomas East, dwelling by Paules wharfe, 1582), sig. Kk1v.

¹⁰⁷ Barney and others, p. 249.

¹⁰⁸ Bartholomaeus, sig. Kk2r.

¹⁰⁹ David Badke, 'Introduction to the Medieval Bestiary', *The Medieval Bestiary: Animals in the Middle Ages* (2022) <<http://www.bestiary.ca>> [accessed 30 August 2024].

¹¹⁰ Fudge, *Animal*, p. 92.

seventeenth-century lessons about horses. The equine chapter in *Historie* does so by drawing heavily on Pliny who ‘affirmeth that when [...] [horses] are ioyned together in chariots, they vnderstand theyr encouragements of glory and comendation: and therefore there is not any beaste of so high a stomach as the horsse’.¹¹¹ Crucially, the *OED* gives the *Historie* as an example for how the stomach of a horse denoted ‘[t]emper, disposition; state of feeling with regard to a person; *occasionally* friendly feeling, friendliness’ in the period.¹¹² A further definition of stomach as ‘[s]pirit, courage, valour, bravery’ becomes relevant in conjunction with the qualifying adjective of high. In this sense, the early modern expression ‘high stomach’ allows the *Historie* to suggest that charioteers could rely on the friendly corporation and courage of their horses to achieve dangerous feats together.¹¹³ According to the *Historie*, Pliny, not unlike Isidore six centuries later, claimed that horses ‘lament their lost maisters with teares, and foreknow battailes’.¹¹⁴ Consequently, in line with bestiary teachings, medieval and early modern horses alike were perceived as not only willing and fearless fighting partners but also as so loyal as to become emotionally sensitive enough to experience grief and even foretell the fight to come.

At first glance, sentiments of horses demonstrating bravery, grief and prescience seem surprising in an early modern world in which, according to Fudge, ‘[h]umanity was the final and greatest of God’s creations, and so humans, created after the animals were given dominion over them. [...] As God had absolute power over Adam, so Adam had absolute power over the animals’.¹¹⁵ Such a strict hierarchy should not allow for any animal to be likened to a human and, yet, the horse was

¹¹¹ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London: Printed by William Iaggard, 1607), sig. Dd5r.

¹¹² Entry ‘stomach, *n.*, 7.a.’, *OED* [accessed 04 December 2024].

¹¹³ Entry ‘stomach, *n.*, 8.a.’, *OED* [accessed 04 December 2024].

¹¹⁴ Topsell, sig. Dd5v.

¹¹⁵ Fudge, *Animal*, p. 13.

considered a ‘peerlesse beast’.¹¹⁶ For this reason, Topsell attributed a long list of positive human-like characteristics to horses. In Topsell’s view, horses were ‘ful of stomach, generous, magnanimous, strong, ardent, sharpe, [...] fierce, bolde’.¹¹⁷ ‘Couetous, [...] threatening, terrible, foaming’ are the only adjectives which could be considered criticisms.¹¹⁸ However, these attributes refer to the impressive battle tactics of ‘excellent, great and swift [war]horses’ such as Bucephalus, Alexander the Great’s trusted steed and one of the most celebrated horses from antiquity. Forrest writes that in the bestiary-style fictionalising of equine characteristics ‘[t]he warhorse’s motives and those of man were conflated, so the horse enhances man and the man the horse’.¹¹⁹ Although Forrest does not differentiate between her sources from a literary standpoint, she nonetheless captures the essence of why it mattered to ride and own a horse in much of medieval and early modern literature and culture. In my thesis, I expand on the idea of equine status begetting not only human but more specifically masculine status and vice versa by exploring how the *Survey* adapts reciprocal ennobling between horse and man to include urban equine encounters and thereby the City at large.

Whilst Keen warns that we cannot look solely to the romances of the period to learn how the chivalric world worked in practice, we begin to appreciate that the *Survey* could draw on a rich literary heritage for its portrayal of bygone and present-day equine encounters. As bestiaries imbued horses with the power to ennoble their human counterparts, horse-related customs did not only set the standard for the knightly class but, applied to an urban context, also punctuated civic history. For example, Caroline M. Barron convincingly argues that medieval ‘Londoners

¹¹⁶ Sidney, sig. B1v.

¹¹⁷ Topsell, sig. Dd6r.

¹¹⁸ Topsell, sig. Dd6r.

¹¹⁹ Forrest, p. 316.

developed their own brand of chivalric spectacle’ by incorporating elaborate pageants and rituals into their annual watches.¹²⁰ Whilst these martial displays carried some hallmarks of the knightly world, the City authorities adapted chivalric elements to shape and reinforce their distinctively civic culture.¹²¹ For instance, Thomas Deloney’s *The Gentle Craft* (1596) can be seen as a homage taking inspiration from the world of chivalry to the shoemakers because when asked how they like a poem about retrieving and transforming the relics of Saint Hugh into tools of their trade, the shoemakers reply that ‘[a]s well [...] as Saint *George* doth of his horse, for as long as we can see him fight with the Dragon, we will neuer part from this Posie’.¹²² On the one hand, Saint Hugh’s bones physically sanctify shoemaking. On the other, the horsemanship of Saint George, as one of the warrior saints, becomes a metaphor with which to bestow the mercantile world of early modern London with chivalric honour.

In a similar vein to Barron, Harriet Phillips and William Hunt shine important light on the continuing relevance of chivalry to the portrayal of past and present London in the *Survey* and the complexity of early modern nostalgia more broadly. For example, Phillips finds evidence for pre-Reformation nostalgia and the widespread popularity of all things medieval in broadside ballads.¹²³ According to Hunt, knightly adventures were particularly popular in seventeenth-century London because the urban community developed its own sense of ‘civic chivalry’ from chivalric literature.¹²⁴ Such chivalric ideals did not stay on the pages of romances. Instead,

¹²⁰ Caroline M. Barron, ‘Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London’, in *Medieval London: Collected Papers of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (Western Michigan University, 2017), pp. 481-512 (p. 489).

¹²¹ Barron, p. 490.

¹²² Thomas Deloney, *The Gentle Craft* (London: Printed for Robert Bird, 1637), sig. C4r. No earlier editions survive. According to Simon Barker, *The Gentle Craft* ‘was written in about 1596’. Simon Barker, *War and Nation in the Theatre of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 161.

¹²³ Phillips, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Hunt, p. 213.

seventeenth-century Londoners deployed nostalgia for knightly stories politically in a call to military action.¹²⁵ Seeing as Hunt's own examples for Londoners' martial zeal include Stow's sixteenth-century *Annals*, I was encouraged to look for evidence of equine encounters in the *Survey* as potential expressions of civic chivalry.¹²⁶ However, horses remain curiously absent from the studies of Barron, Phillips and Hunt even though bestiaries, chivalric romances and even works of prose fiction such as *The Gentle Craft* place human-horse relations at the very heart of chivalric honour. I argue that, from a memory and nostalgia studies perspective, horses lent themselves perfectly to being 'vehicles for memory practices', to use Pollmann's terms, with which the *Survey* could trace changes to urban rituals and topography over time.¹²⁷

Chivalric Horse Culture in Early Modern History Writing

Stow as well as his fellow chroniclers and chorographers deployed horses as such memory vehicles. In a deeply historical culture, stories of chivalric horsemen had the power to evoke pronounced nostalgia. Contemporary chronicles and chorographies incorporated mounted warriors and their horses as memory vehicles to engage their readers with inspiring lessons in not only aristocratic but also civic honour. Since renderings of horsemanship in history writing can only enrich my study of the chivalric and nostalgic qualities inherent in the *Survey*'s equine encounters, I have searched for horsemen in all the early modern history compilations under my consideration. In terms of differing approaches between chronicles and chorographies, whereas the chronicles of Grafton, Holinshed and Stow emphasise the numbers of horsemen participating in bygone battles, the chorographies of Lambarde, Camden and Stow pay

¹²⁵ Hunt, p. 213.

¹²⁶ Hunt, p. 219.

¹²⁷ Pollmann, p. 121.

little attention to the equine statistics of historical warfare. In the chronicles, we encounter most horses on ancient, medieval and early modern battlefields. For example, Grafton's chronicle tells us of a 'great army of the Scottes [...] and three thousand horsemen armed after their maner' during the reign of Edward III.¹²⁸ We learn from Holinshed that the Romans abandoned their pursuit of Britons due to a 'want [...] [of] their horsmen', that 'Donald king of Scottes wyth fiue thousand horsemen [went] against one Gurmonde a Dane' and that 'sixe hundred horsemen of Northcumberlande' suppressed rebels in Queen Elizabeth's reign.¹²⁹ In Stow's chronicle, the Romans had 'ten bands mak[ing] a ful and perfect legion, contayning [...] 726. Horsemen', in Edward III's reign '[t]here were slayne [...] 1300. Horsemen' at a particularly brutal skirmish and in the time of Henry VIII the English 'General of the battell [...] found the *Scots* to the number of 6000, horsemen'.¹³⁰

Whereas Lambarde, Camden and Stow tally up horsemen on fewer occasions in their chorographies, these place-based histories nonetheless list mounted warriors to make the historical context of specific localities legible. That way, we still encounter plentiful horsemen away from the battlefield on their pages. For instance, Camden's *Britannia* tells us of 'horsemen call'd Hobelers by our Ancestors' in Hampshire and about 'boggy-top'd mountains [...] not to be cross'd by [ordinary] horsemen' in Northumberland.¹³¹ In the *Survey*, the 'Fishmongers Procession, for triumph of victory against the Scottes [hosted] more then 1000. horsmen' (1603, vol. 1, p. 96) and '[t]his *Cittie in the troublesome time of King Stephen shewed at a muster 20000. armed horsemen*' (1603, vol. 1, p. 84). Lambarde does not use the expression 'horsemen' at

¹²⁸ Grafton (1569), sig. X6r.

¹²⁹ Holinshed (1577), sigs. C2v, A3r, Xxx1r.

¹³⁰ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sigs. B3r, Z7v, Sss7v.

¹³¹ *Britannia* (1695), sigs. H4v, Hhh4v. I am using Edmund Gibson's 1695 translation of Camden's 1586 Latin text.

all. However, we can still infer their presence from references such as to the Bishop of Ely's 'troupes and traines of men and horses (being in number a thousand or fiftéene hundreth)' who plundered English villages in the thirteenth century.¹³²

Moreover, the *Perambulation* shares a fascination with the other chronicles and chorographies for Hengist and Horsa who 'were the Capitaines, and chiefe leaders of the first Saxons'.¹³³ The legend of these mythical brothers and horsemen also plays out in Camden's chorography. In terms of the chronicles, Grafton, Stow and Holinshed match the attention that the *Perambulation* and *Britannia* pay to both the Saxon brothers. Holinshed spends considerable further sections outlining Hengist's solo reign. In the *Survey*, Hengist and Horsa do not feature at all. However, *Survey* editors might have felt that the *Chronicles* had already dedicated enough attention to an aspect of Kentish history which bore limited relevance to Stow's later London-centric chorography. Whether the above texts overtly count or repeatedly list horsemen, the cumulative quantity and ubiquity of mounted warriors and their warhorses in early modern history writing is significant. As Pollmann's study convincingly shows, the acts of numbering and listing constituted memory practices in the early modern period.¹³⁴ Moreover, early modern memory arts drew on horses as mnemonic tools to 'generat[e] relevant and retrievable markers of cultural history', according to William E. Engel et al.¹³⁵ From such perspectives, the above history compilations can be seen to recognise events involving horsemen as important aspects of the past and that the memories of horsemen were seen as worth preserving for generations of readers to come.

¹³² *Perambulation* (1576), sig. R1v.

¹³³ *Perambulation* (1576), sig. Oo1r.

¹³⁴ Pollmann, p. 165.

¹³⁵ *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by William E. Engel, Rory Loughnane and Grant Williams (Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 43, 174-175, 195.

Large quantities of horsemen no doubt projected military might. Yet, it was the quality of their horsemanship that determined chivalric honour. As far as the martial models of Hengist and Horsa ‘both whose names [...] signifie a Horse’ are concerned, they carry the power and accolade of chivalric horsemanship in their very identities.¹³⁶ According to Holinshed, the warrior brothers were ‘men of right noble parentage in theyr Countrey, as discended of that auncient Prince [...], of whom the English Saxon kings doe for the more part fetche theyr pedegree’.¹³⁷ Since Keen argues that notions of chivalry and inherited nobility remain inseparable throughout the Middle Ages, the emphasis on lineage in Holinshed’s chronicle aligns the Saxon leaders with the world of medieval knights.¹³⁸ Consequently, Hengist and Horsa embody chivalric personages and, in line with Raber’s and Tucker’s argument, their names speak of the distinctive horse culture that dominated pre-modernity. The repeated listings of Hengist’s and Horsa’s battle tactics in the above chronicles and chorographies memorialise the brothers as the intellectual horsemen to which Forrest points. For instance, Holinshed portrays Hengist as a hands-on commander who ‘himselfe perceyuing [the enemies’ camps] [...] disposed [the Saxons] in order of battel with all diligence’.¹³⁹ According to Lambarde’s chorography, ‘Hengist and Horsa [were] [...] both verie valient Captaines’ and Hengist, on becoming sole leader after the death of his brother, ‘shewe himselfe woorthie of his newly attayned Honour, [...] [by] pursu[ing] the *Britons* fiercely, and g[iving] them sundrie great encounters’.¹⁴⁰ Hengist and Horsa promise in their names the martial honour associated with being horsemen and deliver on the symbolic potential of horsemanship

¹³⁶ *Perambulation* (1576), sig. Oo1r.

¹³⁷ Holinshed (1577), sig. H1r.

¹³⁸ Keen, p. 2.

¹³⁹ Holinshed (1577), sig. H2v.

¹⁴⁰ *Perambulation* (1576), sigs. A1v, Xx1r.

on the battlefield. In both texts, the brothers' diligence, manliness and valour attribute chivalric masculinity to a Saxon origin myth.

Whilst the retellings of Hengist and Horsa play up the equestrian skills of named individuals, the chronicles of Holinshed, Grafton and Stow also pay attention to whether unnamed horsemen prove their martial honour on the battlefield. In a similar vein to the *Survey*, Holinshed considers Caesar's cavalry as a positive model of militancy and, out of all chronicles and chorographies under consideration, pays the most detailed attention to horse-related battle tactics. For example, the Britons 'forced their horses [...] to enter the water [...], so to annoy and distresse the Romaines, who wanting experience in suche kinde of fight, were not wel able to helpe themselves'.¹⁴¹ Although the English coast put the Romans at a disadvantage in this encounter, the Roman horsemen came into their own inland as they could put 'their horses [...] to run and gallop, [and] yet could [...] stay them & hold them backe at their pleasures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithstanding that the place were very steepe and daungerous'.¹⁴² On both occasions, Holinshed sets out that, as far as contests between Caesar's and the Britons' fighting forces are concerned, experience and training in horsemanship proved decisive.

The chronicles and chorographies under my consideration convey not only chivalric honour but also dishonour through the lens of horsemanship. Grafton's chronicle highlights the potential perils of poor horsemanship since the competence of horsemen could decide between life or death for both horse and rider. For example, surprised at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 by Henry V's 'Archers in the Medowe, whome they sawe not before, and [...] so galled the horsses', the French 'horsemen

¹⁴¹ Holinshed (1577), sig. C2v.

¹⁴² Holinshed (1577), sig. C3v.

ranne [...] without order, some ouerthrewe his felowe, and horses ouerthrewe their maisters'.¹⁴³ Stow's chronicle describes similar chaos unfolding in the reign of Edward III when 'footemen being placed among their owne horsemen, were by them [...] ouerrunne and troden vpon'.¹⁴⁴ In both cases, the horsemen's lacking diligence and discipline spelled death and destruction. Stow's and Grafton's chronicles consider horsemen to be 'myghtye', 'noble and valiaunt' only if they pay attention to their horses and, as a result, do not injure their fellow fighters when facing the enemy.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, the above chronicles portray good horsemanship as the very basis of martial and therefore chivalric honour.

In terms of such competent horsemen in the above chorographies, Camden's *Britannia* overtly links martial ambition to horsemanship by describing the Irish as 'warlike men, and famous for their good horsemanship'.¹⁴⁶ Like Hengist and Horsa, the Irish are portrayed as skilled horsemen capable of attaining martial honour on the battlefield. Whilst no valiant horsemen as such feature in Lambarde's chorography, we nonetheless gain an insight into the aftermath of a battle between cavalries. The *Perambulation* describes the custom of chivalric knights taking 'honourable bootie of horses and captiues' from their defeated opponents.¹⁴⁷ According to Keen, it was common practice in the Middle Ages that the winners should hold some of their enemies hostage after a battle in expectation of a ransom.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the winning side often kept the losers' horses and armour as the fairly won spoils of war.¹⁴⁹ Since the *Perambulation* mentions horses in the same breath as their human counterparts as

¹⁴³ Grafton (1569), sig. Rr1v.

¹⁴⁴ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Bb7r.

¹⁴⁵ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Hhh3v; Grafton (1569), sig. R1v.

¹⁴⁶ *Britannia* (1695), sig. Uuu1v.

¹⁴⁷ *Perambulation* (1576), sig. Oo4r.

¹⁴⁸ Keen, p. 85.

¹⁴⁹ Keen, p. 85.

honourable spoils of war, chivalric custom required equine and male bodies to struggle together and share the same fate.

The bringing together of equine and male bodies features across all the chronicles and chorographies under consideration. In Grafton's chronicle, '[t]here were manye slaine and beaten downe horse and man'.¹⁵⁰ Holinshed expresses gratitude that a knight escaped from an attack 'God be prayesd [...] withoute doynge hurt eyther to manne or horse'.¹⁵¹ We learn from Stow's chronicle that '*Robert Fitz Walter [...] stroke [...] [his opponent] so harde with hys greate Speare, that Horsse and Man fell to the grounde*'.¹⁵² Camden's *Britannia* dramatises a battle in which equine and male bodies are separated by describing how '*the frighted horses that had lost their riders, [...] scour'd about as their fear guided them*'.¹⁵³ All of the above examples portray ancient and medieval battles as occasions on which horsemen and their horses depended on each other and attained either chivalric honour or dishonour together. Portrayals of horsemanship raise questions of chivalric honour for individuals and groups of fighters alike in each of the chronicles and chorographies. The extent to which these texts commemorate equine warfare varies but nonetheless significantly influences which aspects of local and national history their readerships experience as noteworthy. For this reason, I follow Raymond Williams's call for a 'precise analysis of each kind of retrospect' and consider nostalgia for equine encounters taking inspiration from the world of chivalry in not only the *Survey* but also early modern history writing more broadly as a noteworthy phenomenon of genre-crossing significance.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Grafton (1569), sig. Cc6r.

¹⁵¹ Holinshed (1577), sig. Xxxx2r.

¹⁵² Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Q1v.

¹⁵³ *Britannia* (1695), sig. E4r.

¹⁵⁴ Williams, *The Country and the City*, p. 12.

My Approach and Methodology

By exploring the influence of chivalric horse culture on the portrayal of urban change in the 1603 and 1633 *Survey* editions, I shine important new light on the complexity of nostalgia in the *Survey*. My thesis builds directly on the scholarship already cited that has greatly enriched our understanding of nostalgia in the *Survey*. However, by exploring the intertextual literary strategies relating to the horse culture we find in the *Survey*, I necessarily step away from prevailing readings of nostalgia as an impediment to Stow the individual. As I have shown in my 'Textual History', all the *Survey* editions under my consideration are history compilations and therefore composite works to varying degrees. Consequently, beyond this point I do not speculate about whether nostalgia featured in the personal psychologies of any of the *Survey* editors. Instead, I investigate the ways in which the *Survey* situates its horse culture within the literary tradition of chivalric romance and deploys romance as a literary strategy that serves a seventeenth-century readership familiar with and appreciative of its conventions. As Sidney argues in his *Defence of Poesie* and exemplifies with stories about chivalric horsemanship, 'euen *Historiographers*, although their lippes sound of things done, and veritie be written in their foreheads, haue bene glad to borrow both fashion and perchance weight of the Poets'.¹⁵⁵ In other words, throughout the *Survey*, the presence of horses has the power to transform streets, marketplaces, urban green space and even topographical features such as trees into chivalric performance spaces. In the chapters to follow, I will show how we can divide such spectacles into processional, militant and judicial performances and how the *Survey* portrays them all in the tradition of chivalric romance even if they do not overtly link back to the world of chivalry. For this purpose, I apply the *Survey*'s guiding chorographical principle by

¹⁵⁵ Sidney, sig. B2v.

walking you, my reader, along the processional routes through the City on which the *Survey* leads its readership more often than not to Smithfield. Enroute, I draw on perspectives from the fields of animal studies, memory studies and literary studies and bring them to bear not only on the *Survey* but also on early modern literary and non-literary sources that help us understand the *Survey*'s equine encounters.

Animal Studies Concepts (1): Horse-Man Hybridity

Whilst the *Survey* paints the urban community in an approving light with animal stories such as the St Anthony pigs or Minories cows, it is the prevailing horse culture and revival of chivalric literature that allow the *Survey* to deploy performances involving horses as the most pronounced and consistent indicator of urban honour. Such civic honour was achieved by clothing Londoners and their horses in, to borrow Manley's words, 'neofeudal decor'; a strategy that I consider having profound literary applications and to engender a specifically early modern nostalgia.¹⁵⁶ I define this kind of nostalgia as chivalric nostalgia. In the case of the *Survey*, chivalric nostalgia surfaces in a repeated celebration of 'horse and man' (1603, vol. 1, pp. 35, 62, 113, 126, vol. 2, p. 31) which as a formulaic yet symbolically potent hybrid drives the narrative of Londoners' origins and esteem. Manley rightly identifies that, '[i]n London itself, the pursuit of status, honor, and authority by citizens was sustained by an elaborate *cursus honorum*, in which ceremonies [influenced by chivalric traditions], feasts, regalia, and oathtakings distinguished each degree and achievement in guild and civic life'.¹⁵⁷ However, it is of equal significance that the citizens' elaborate and

¹⁵⁶ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 273.

¹⁵⁷ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 129.

nuanced chivalric rituals and, in turn the civic mythology of chivalric splendour they kept alive, had their basis in the romanticising of equine encounters.

In Chapter Two, I examine the nostalgia-inducing properties of processioning aristocratic and civic horse-(wo)men and conclude with an analysis of reflective nostalgia in the *Survey*'s portrayal of the civic spectacle of pre- and post-Reformation Midsummer Watches. Chapter Three explores how the *Survey* establishes the gold standard for all equine encounters through the lens of likely and unlikely martial horsemen. The resulting chivalric nostalgia is shown to put Smithfield under concrete threat of early modern urbanisation. Chapter Four demonstrates how the *Survey* engenders zoomorphic horse-man hybridity in its nostalgic renderings of public punishments in Cornhill and judicial processions to gallows called The Elms in Smithfield. In the *Survey*'s portrayal of militant equine encounters in particular such as tournaments and musters, success hinges on horse and rider working closely together and acting as one. In so doing, the distance between the reciprocal reflections between horse and man that inaugural processions set up seems to become negligible so that both parties merge to form the hybrid emblem of horse-man; a figure that unlike the centaur of Greek mythology is not reduced to a human with an animal body but attains the complexity of a janus-faced hybrid in which horse and man must both keep their heads to achieve chivalric glory as the most elevated state of being in which they can find themselves together.¹⁵⁸

In animal studies, the idea of hybridity is nothing new. In her seminal 'Cyborg Manifesto' (1985), Donna Haraway conjures an ironic myth of a human-animal-machine hybrid as a strategy for late-twentieth-century socialist-feminism and

¹⁵⁸ A centaur is a 'mythological creature, usually depicted as having the head, torso, and arms of a human, joined to the body and legs of a horse, *n.*, 1.a.', *OED* [accessed 04 December 2024].

materialism to engage with contradictions that refuse to ‘resolve into larger wholes, even dialectically’.¹⁵⁹ Whilst Haraway’s postmodern strategy does not draw on early modern culture for its context, many of her introductory observations are nonetheless significant to my study. For example, her manifesto draws repeated attention to the ‘leaky distinction[s] [...] between animal-human (organism) and machine’ which are reminiscent of the ‘soft boundary separating animals from their human counterparts [...] in Renaissance materials’ and which I perceive to underpin also the portrayal of armoured and weaponised human and horse bodies in the *Survey*.¹⁶⁰ In this light, it is not just the late twentieth century that must be considered as ‘a mythic time, [in which] we are all chimeras, theorized and fabricated hybrids of machine and organism’.¹⁶¹ Whilst Haraway evocatively summarises ‘modern war [...] [as] a cyborg orgy’, I have shown above that early modern history compilations also played up the dramatic scenes between mounted warriors and their warhorses on medieval and early modern battlefields.¹⁶² For these reasons, I follow Haraway’s example and in this thesis develop my own myth of a specifically early modern human-animal-machine hybridity in which every horseman must be considered as horse-man. This hyphenated distinction allows us to deconstruct the potentially simplifying definition of a rider and to consider instead how early modern representations of horse-manship and its paraphernalia are more complex than straight-forward appropriations of horses as mirrors with which to establish anthropocentric superiority. I have chosen the term ‘janus-faced hybrid’ over Haraway’s use of chimera because of the god Janus’s

¹⁵⁹ Haraway, p. 34.

¹⁶⁰ Haraway, p. 36; Jean E. Feerick and Vin Nardizzi, ‘Introduction: Swervings: On Human Indistinction’, in *The Indistinct Human in Renaissance Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1-12 (p. 3).

¹⁶¹ Haraway, p. 35.

¹⁶² Haraway, p. 35.

relevance to time and warfare.¹⁶³ Janus-faced hybrids can therefore be made to engage with the past and the future as well as with war and peacetime transforming them into a fitting lens through which to explore chivalric nostalgia.

The complexity of horse-men becomes apparent in the multitude of bodies their hybridity can create. In the *Survey*, it is possible to differentiate between the hybrid bodies we encounter according to the degree to which they produce positive or negative body images. The first kind of hybridity under my consideration, such as the *Survey*'s processional riders and mounted warriors training for combat, lets the human dominate the equine aspect as a way of projecting reciprocally beneficial anthropomorphism. Secondly, in the examples of horse-to-human hybridity that I will discuss in Chapters Three and Four, the powers of the anthropomorphised horse invert to pass critical judgement onto human counterparts such as horse coursers and those punished with public humiliation on the City's streets. Thirdly, the metonymic process of mechanomorphism has the power to intensify such symbolic judgement further by substituting horses for inanimate objects such as carts or by reducing horses to part of their anatomy such as their tail or by even combining both in expressions such as 'cart's tail'.¹⁶⁴ To talk about horses in such an obscuring manner negates the possibility of anthropomorphism and, yet, even the anthropocentric appropriations that cast disparaging light speak volumes about the cultural currency of the horse and its body.

Natalie Corinne Hansen rightly agrees with Elizabeth Grosz:

¹⁶³ Janus is 'an ancient Italian deity, regarded as the doorkeeper of heaven, as guardian of doors and gates, and as presiding over the entrance upon or beginning of things; often used allusively, and in attributive and other relations. Janus was represented with a face on the front and another on the back of his head; the doors of his temple in the Roman Forum were always open in time of war, and shut in time of peace, *n.*, 1.', *OED* [accessed 04 December 2024].

¹⁶⁴ Garrard defines anthropomorphism as the 'sentimental projection of human emotions onto animals' on the one end of the spectrum of human-animal relations and the process of mechanomorphism which reduces animals to the status of mere machines, incapable of agency, on the other. Garrard, p. 154.

[Both human and animal bodies] cannot be adequately understood as ahistorical, precultural or natural objects in any simple way; they are not only inscribed, marked, engraved, by social pressures external to them but are the product, the direct effects, of the very social constitution of nature itself.¹⁶⁵

Since the ‘materiality [of animal bodies] is shaped through specific encounters with discreet cultural contexts’, we must consider Londoners’ self-identification with neo-feudalism and their civic appropriation of chivalric masculinity as a defining influence on the *Survey*’s portrayal of human-horse and horse-human hybrids.¹⁶⁶ In her reading of ‘Human-Equine Erotics’ between Shakespearean characters and their horses, Karen Raber argues that ‘the “horse” becomes a reciprocal portion of that construct, the “horse-man”, which is always understood in early modern formulations as the temporary and provisional union of one perceiving and embodied creature with another’.¹⁶⁷ From Raber’s perspective, early modern drama deploys horsed riders as hybrid figures to blur and destabilise the human-animal border in that ‘[b]ecoming one with a horse can always slide into becoming something too much like a horse’.¹⁶⁸ For instance, the portrayal of the character ‘Hotspur’s thighs [as] kissing/tasting/touching his mount’ amounts to a blurring of human-animal boundaries that ‘represents an obsolete form of chivalric honour’ in the play.¹⁶⁹ The portrayal of Hal as a rider encased in armour, on the other hand, creates an ‘impermeable boundary’ between horse and man and represents a more distanced and rational kind of horsemanship.¹⁷⁰ In the chapters to follow, I will show that chivalric honour is far from obsolete in the

¹⁶⁵ Natalie Corinne Hansen, ‘Dressage: Training the Equine Body’, in *Foucault and Animals*, pp. 132-160 (p. 140).

¹⁶⁶ Hansen, p. 140.

¹⁶⁷ Karen Raber, ‘Equeer: Human–Equine Erotics in *I Henry IV*’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. by Valerie Traub (Oxford Academic, 2016), pp. 347-361 (p. 355), doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199663408.013.20.

¹⁶⁸ Raber, p. 356.

¹⁶⁹ Raber, p. 359.

¹⁷⁰ Raber, p. 359.

Survey's mythmaking and that the blurring of human-horse boundaries is deployed productively in engendering both honour for the urban community as well as dishonour for singled-out agitators.

Since the chivalric nostalgia I detect in the *Survey* arises from the materiality of equine bodies within the cultural context of early modern London, I ground my historicised readings of the *Survey*'s equine encounters in relation to studies in the field of early modern horse history. For this reason, I draw on Peter Edwards's *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (1988) and *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (2007). Both monographs explore differences in perception, value and treatment of elite saddle mounts on the one hand and working horses on the other and therefore enable me to interpret why the *Survey* identifies specific types of horses such as palfreys, coursers, amblers and trotters as participating in certain aspects of urban history and culture but refers to horses only in general terms on other occasions.¹⁷¹ The essays in the collection *The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (2012) offer an equally invaluable range of historical and cultural perspectives.¹⁷² I have already shown that Edwards and Graham in their 'Introduction' as well as MacInnes in his essay on 'Horse Breeding and Geohumoralism in Shakespeare' convincingly establish the ubiquity of equine customs in early modern life and their significance to our understanding of the period. Jennifer Flaherty's detection of high and low equine myths in her essay "'Know Us by Our Horses': Equine Imagery in Shakespeare's *Henriad*" emphasises the merit in paying attention to *all* references to horses in early modern literature.

¹⁷¹ Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511522543; Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (Continuum Books, 2007).

¹⁷² *The Horse as Cultural Icon*.

As far as the human counterparts of urban horses are concerned, Edwards's and Graham's stance on the treatment of working horses as well as Louise Hill Curth's argument in her monograph *The Care of Brute Beasts: A Social and Cultural Study of Veterinary Medicine in Early Modern England* (2010) for the significant role that horses played in early modern commercialisation allow me to contextualise the *Survey*'s criticisms of equine occupations such as coach- and draymen.¹⁷³ The history of early modern horse traders, called horse coursers in the period, is of particular significance to my thesis. For this reason, Edwards's investigation of the cultural vilification of this equine occupation and of the legal narratives underpinning the horse trade of early modern London guide my comprehensive close reading of the *Survey*'s portrayal of horse coursers as unlikely chivalric horse-man hybrids in Smithfield. Considering the distrust with which horse coursers were perceived in the period, Amanda Eisemann's essay 'Forging Iron and Masculinity: Farrier Trade Identities in Early Modern Germany' in *The Horse as Cultural Icon* invites interesting comparisons to the equine occupation of farrier that did derive status from its proximity to horses. As the above examples show, the field of early modern horse history provides an analytical framework for my approach to the *Survey*'s nostalgic rendering of urban horse culture and enables me to build a nuanced and multifaceted argument for chivalric nostalgia as a historiographical phenomenon of genre-spanning importance.

Animal Studies Concepts (2): Metonyms, Metaphors and Horse-Indexed Cultural Shorthands

Steve Baker's study of twentieth -century visual animal representations offers a theoretical framework for my approach to the equine encounters in the *Survey* as

¹⁷³ Hill Curth.

consisting of merging and inverting horse-men hybrids. According to Baker, humans make sense of the animal world with ‘metaphoric and metonymic [...] forms of substitution in which one thing is likened to another (metaphor), and those in which a thing is used to stand for another by reason of its being uniquely associated with it (metonymy)’.¹⁷⁴ Baker considers Claude Lévi-Strauss’s approach to ‘structur[ing] [...] [a] discussion of human relationships to animals’ as useful, if idiosyncratic.¹⁷⁵ For example, Lévi-Strauss names birds as paradigms of metaphoric substitution because birds have their own communities independently of humans and as such can only act as a metaphor for human society. Dogs, on the other hand, are part of the human community and relate metonymically to us. Racehorses cannot serve as metaphoric or metonymic forms of substitution because they depend on humans and yet live away from their human counterparts in purpose-built accommodation.¹⁷⁶ However, these examples oversimplify the complex dynamics with which we subject many animals to both metonymic and metamorphic substitutions. For instance, it is common knowledge that, on the one hand, humans regularly humiliate each other with derogative dog metaphors and that, on the other, domesticated birds such as chickens and wild songbirds kept in cages have been part of the human household for centuries.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, choosing dogs and birds as paradigms for the categories of metonymy and metaphor respectively and racehorses as an exclusion to both forms of substitution has its limitations and is problematic because these examples do not allow like-for-like comparisons. Birds and dogs constitute two animal species. Racehorses,

¹⁷⁴ Steve Baker, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity and Representation* (The University of Illinois Press, 2001), p. 84.

¹⁷⁵ Baker, p. 85.

¹⁷⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966), pp. 204-207.

¹⁷⁷ See Keith Thomas on compassion for caged birds in the fourteenth century in *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Penguin Books, 1984), p. 152.

on the other hand, represent a small fraction of a species which has been having many more dealings with humanity than simply racing. In this light, Lévi-Strauss's first two analogies are too generic and, in the case of the racehorse, his choice is too specific. Neither categorisation allows for the interplay between metaphor and metonymy that I detect in the *Survey*'s equine encounters and explore with the concept of reciprocal horse-man hybridity.

As an early modernist, I disagree with Baker's view that '[l]ittle would be gained by exploring the scattered historical origins of the meanings [of the urban horse]'.¹⁷⁸ A chronological dichotomy between past and present meaning runs the risk of being as arbitrary as the theoretical divide between metonymy and metaphor. For this reason, my thesis considers equine meaning as a cultural palimpsest accumulating layers of symbolisms over time rather than resetting with each new generation. I therefore concur with Elisabeth LeGuin that we encounter 'horsemanship metaphors' in English such as "keeping pace," "hitting one's stride," "getting off on the wrong foot," "kicking up one's heels," "feeling one's oats" to this day because of the 'intricate and as yet irreplaceable ways in which horses have represented human embodiment in Western culture' throughout history.¹⁷⁹ From such a perspective, my attention to hybrid horse-men in the *Survey* investigates how, metonymically speaking, horses were considered part of not only the human community but also the body of its human counterpart since pre-modern times. On the level of metaphor, I will show that regardless of whether medieval or early modern horses belonged to the elite or the common man, equine encounters lent themselves to a myriad of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and mechanomorphic appropriations. Edwards and

¹⁷⁸ Baker, p. 27.

¹⁷⁹ Elisabeth LeGuin, 'Man and Horse in Harmony', in *The Culture of the Horse*, pp. 175-196 (p. 175).

Graham encapsulate the range and significance of horse-related metonymic and metaphoric forms of substitution in the early modern period with the term ‘horse discourses’ and aptly set out the complexity of its inherent representational dynamics:

The relationship between horse discourses and more traditionally recognised early modern discourses is [...] both subtle and far-reaching. Ideas about horses in the period both reflect and inflect apparently distinct ideas about a whole range of issues: gender, social organisation, aesthetics, nation and power, for example. And allusion to horses can work at literal and metaphoric levels simultaneously, referring to clusters of issues and events through a form of horse-indexed cultural shorthand.¹⁸⁰

As my concept of horse-man hybridity shows, the horse discourses intrinsic to nostalgia-inducing romance raise questions concerning not only chivalric masculinity but also civic honour. Moreover, the chronicles and chorographies under my consideration can be seen to draw on horse-indexed cultural shorthands such as the acts of riding and being drawn to foreground historical events worthy of committing to public memory. So whilst I focus on the portrayal of horse-related customs in one city at a brief moment in history, I also reveal that without the heritage of our medieval and early modern chivalric horse culture we cannot understand fully which historical preconceptions inform the meanings with which we imbue horses to this day.

Animal Studies Concepts (3): Training, Partnership and Care-Filled Engagements

Whilst much horse-indexed cultural shorthand presumes widespread familiarity with horsemanship practices, for chivalric nostalgia to utilise human-horse hybridity to its fullest effect, the *Survey* must make explicit the effort involved in male and equine bodies moving as one. In this light, portrayals of urban human-horse interactions can be seen to ‘fall[...] under [Michel] Foucault’s rubric of self-disciplining practice’, to

¹⁸⁰ Edwards and Graham, p. 4.

borrow Hansen's words.¹⁸¹ By setting out the very basics of horsemanship, the *Survey* brings the training of bodies to the foreground and situates its urban horse culture of processions, tournaments, musters and markets within the literary tradition of chivalric romance. That way, romance acts as a literary strategy to halt the eroding of what Gordon calls the 'customary knowledge [necessary] to inculcate in [...] [*Survey*] readers a sense of their responsibilities as urban residents and members of a commonweal'.¹⁸² We find such horse-related knowledge in a *Survey* chapter dedicated to customary responsibilities 'of the Citizens', for example, in which 'the good lawes and customes of this Citty' stipulate that 'the fore horse of euery carriage should bee lead by hand' (1603, vol. 1, p. 83). However, 'these good orders are not obserued' (1603, vol. 1, p. 83) and the *Survey* points the finger at specific equine occupations breaking horse-related laws: 'the Coach man rides behinde the horse tayles, lasheth them, and looketh not behind him: The Draye man sitteth and sleepeth on his Drea, and letteth his horse leade him home' (1603, vol. 1, p. 83). By not paying attention to their equine counterparts, these stock characters not only neglect their customary responsibilities but fail in basic principles of horsemanship. Gervase Markham's *Faithfull Farrier* (1631) makes it plain to the reader that it is 'requisite that you acquaint your knowledge well with the complections, qualities, customes and conditions of horses' in general and even more importantly that you 'acquaint yourselfe with the complexion of *your* [my emphasis] horse [...] so you must also haue a settled knowledge in his countenance and gestures, [...] his actions and motions'.¹⁸³ By blindly lashing at the horse on one hand and falling asleep on the other, the coach-

¹⁸¹ Hansen, p. 137.

¹⁸² Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 133.

¹⁸³ Gervase Markham, *Markhams Faithfull Farrier* (Oxford: Printed by William Turner, for Michael Sparke, dwelling in Greene Arbor, 1631), sigs. B6v, B8v, B8r.

and draymen clearly cannot know or understand their animals. By not paying attention, they fail to train their own bodies and the bodies of their horses. As a consequence, they fall short of achieving hybridity.

Markham's suggested best-practices for self-disciplined horsemanship and the complaint over the lack thereof in the *Survey* are in line with the kind of 'care-filled engagement' that Erica Fudge detects in early modern human-animal relations and which is 'premised on attending to the other partner, watching the steps they make, following their lead, on the understanding that that partner will also attend to you, watch your steps, follow your lead as the situation requires'.¹⁸⁴ In the *Survey*, it matters whether early modern Londoners follow, in Fudge's terms, 'choreograph[ies]' with their horses because knightly figures base their chivalric claims on such customary knowledge in early modern romances.¹⁸⁵ As Munday's 1590 translation of *Amadis de Gaule* gushes about 'a Knight of the comlyest grace that euer was seene [...] by reason of his brauerie in horsseman-ship', there is no mistaking that reciprocal choreographies between horse and rider grant honour.¹⁸⁶ In this light, the *Survey* turns the coach- and draymen into examples of Londoners and their horses no longer attending to each other with care and thereby eroding the City's cherished horse culture. Consequently, romance as a textual strategy partly grounds the customary rights of both knights and citizens in the responsibilities of watching, understanding and attending that, according to Fudge, horses and other animals brought with them.

Whilst the *Survey* invests the drayhorse with the 'equine subjectivity and agency' that animal studies look for in literary representations of horses, in that the *Survey* describes the horse attending its human counterpart and leading the way

¹⁸⁴ Fudge, 'Farmyard Choreographies', pp. 146-147.

¹⁸⁵ Fudge, 'Farmyard Choreographies', p. 147.

¹⁸⁶ Munday, *Amadis of Gaule*, sig. K3r.

through the City streets, such proactivity does not result in praise for the animal or its drayman.¹⁸⁷ On the contrary, the *Survey* makes an example of the drayman, by implying that his engagement with his horse is the polar-opposite of the customary leading of a horse by hand and that his care-lessness poses a risk to other road users. The coachman's reliance on lashing his horse with the whip to hurry along busy streets is equally dangerous. In this sense, the act of lashing does not establish power but a lack of control and with it destroys the illusion of effortless human-horse hybridity, or in Hansen's words, the 'narrative of "partnership", of communication between horse and human as a two-way process as opposed to overt dominance of one will over an other, of one body over an other'.¹⁸⁸ I will show that the illusion of reciprocal hybridity, whilst based on unequal power relations, is central to elevating the horse-man relationships in chivalric romances to the level of revival-worthy nostalgia in early modern culture. In the *Survey*, the coach- and draymen function as the antithesis of knightly warriors and their noble steeds whose 'will[s] [...] coincide'.¹⁸⁹

Yet, the *Survey* implies that the drifting apart of horse and man was not always customary and that there was a time when good orders were observed. Edwards and Graham rightly highlight economic concerns as the likely reason for the lack of care-filled human-horse engagements in the period:

Working horses kept by the general public suffered the most, not because ploughmen, carters and carriers did not recognize their charges' mental capacity but rather because of the pressure to get jobs done and to extract the maximum amount of work from a major capital asset.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Hansen, p. 153.

¹⁸⁸ Hansen, p. 153.

¹⁸⁹ Hansen, p. 138.

¹⁹⁰ Edwards and Graham, p. 25.

In this light, the *Survey* draws attention to the acts of lashing and sleeping whilst working with horses and, in turn, examines external forces at play in the rapidly urbanising and commercialising cityscape which undercut horse-man hybridity and led equine occupations to abandon more care-filled engagements with their animals. Concurring with Keith Thomas, Louise Hill Curth argues that horses were not only essential to both rural and urban life in the period but also served a particularly significant purpose in the rise of consumerism by ‘transporting raw supplies and finished products between manufacturers, sellers and buyers’.¹⁹¹ According to Jeremy Boulton, ‘Londoners experienced significant alterations in their consumption patterns during this period. Since London represented by far the largest concentration of people in the country, [...] it naturally represented the most important single market for food, fuel and consumer goods’.¹⁹² Consequently, in a city that was a highly competitive and ever changing marketplace, it is easy to imagine that the real coach- and draymen of early modern London, as occupations working closely with horses, would have had cause to rush from A to B or would be exhausted enough to fall asleep on the job. The *Survey* brings home the impact of an increasingly complex and fast-paced urban economy by showing how the demands for goods and services of an expanding population intensified the frenetic use of public space, with ‘the number of carres, drayes, carts and coaches, more then hath beene accustomed’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 83). Combined with the coach- and draymen’s negligent inattention to their animals and fellow citizens, the roads ‘must needes be daungerous, as dayly experience proueth’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 83). The *Survey* portrays an economic climate in which the erosion of

¹⁹¹ Hill Curth, p. 23.

¹⁹² Jeremy Boulton, ‘London 1540-1700’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume II 1540-1840*, ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 315-346 (p. 324), doi: 10.1017/CHOL9780521431415.

effort-less and yet care-filled human-horse relations puts the honour and prosperity of equine occupations and the safety of the community they serve at risk.

Memory Studies Concepts: Historical Consciousness, Mythmaking and Fetishisation

My close readings of urban change in the *Survey* tie in with the memory studies concepts of synchronic and diachronic historical consciousness and allow me to show how the *Survey* deploys chivalric nostalgia as a powerful warning about how urbanisation has eroded Londoners' customary rights and responsibilities. Memory studies define synchronic historical consciousness as the ways in which medieval and early modern Europeans still tended to think analogically about the past and drew parallels across time without accounting for differences in historical conditions between the past and the present. Modern diachronic temporal awareness differs from such older synchronic thinking because nowadays we tend to consider history as linear rather than repeatable.¹⁹³ I argue that the *Survey* blends synchronic and diachronic historical consciousness to evoke chivalric nostalgia with its intertextual portrayal of urban horse-men: a technique that in turn serves the complex memory strategies of early modern mythmaking.

In a similar vein to certain scholars perceiving nostalgia as fashioning inauthentic histories, historians have tended to dismiss myths as non-factual fancies. Yet, according to Pollman, '[m]ythmaking [...] was an essential stage in the development of social memories'.¹⁹⁴ Importantly, 'such myths were not the product of fading and failing memories, as some have thought, but intrinsic to the production of social memory itself'.¹⁹⁵ I concur and argue that nostalgia and myths are closely

¹⁹³ Pollmann, p. 48.

¹⁹⁴ Pollmann, p. 121.

¹⁹⁵ Pollmann, p. 121.

aligned memory strategies in the *Survey* that together allow its readers to share historical perspectives during a period of pronounced urban change through the unifying lens of romance. For example, Jennifer Flaherty writes that as far as horses ‘[i]n the *Henriad* [are concerned], Shakespeare gives us the “high” national myth of Henry V and his triumph over the French at Agincourt. But he does not neglect the “lowly” English countryside, the tavern, the inn yard [and with it] [t]he most practical and sensitive portrayal of horses’.¹⁹⁶ I detect the same horse-indexed realism in the *Survey*’s blending of high myth, as in the imagined lives of famous personages such as antiquity’s Caesar and infamous characters such as the medieval rebel leader Wat Tyler, and low myths of the everyday such as the horse-related customs of coach- and draymen, horse coursers and porters.

Such horse-indexed mythmaking warrants analysis with the help of Svetlana Boym’s concepts of restorative and reflective nostalgia.¹⁹⁷ In terms of the former, Boym criticises ‘[r]estorative nostalgia’ as a static and uncritical historical consciousness which is mainly interested in reconstructing the past as a temporal home and problematically sees its subjectivity not as nostalgia but as ‘truth or tradition’.¹⁹⁸ Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, ‘thrives in [...] the longing itself [for home], and delays the homecoming—wistfully, ironically, desperately’.¹⁹⁹ In the chapters to follow, I will show that whilst much of *Survey* scholarship has focussed on the restorative traits of nostalgia in the *Survey*, its textual deployment of chivalric horse culture can be seen to function reflectively. In my literary reading of the *Survey*, the historian Daniel Todman’s attitude towards myth is highly relevant since in his view

¹⁹⁶ Jennifer Flaherty, ““Know Us by Our Horses”: Equine Imagery in Shakespeare’s *Henriad*” in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 307-325 (p. 313).

¹⁹⁷ Boym [accessed 03 September 2024].

¹⁹⁸ Boym.

¹⁹⁹ Boym.

mythmaking whilst ‘simplify[ing and] reducing the complex events of the past to an easily understood set of symbols’ does not amount to lying.²⁰⁰ From such a perspective, mythmaking is a valuable means of communication that does not obscure but makes meaning legible to as wide an audience as possible. As far as mythical discourse in the early modern period is concerned, Pollmann argues that communities accepted factually and temporally ambiguous tales as long as they mattered in emotional or religious terms and started a ‘memory career’ in which nostalgic narrative, myth and lived history continually reinforced each other across generations.²⁰¹ Celebration of the chivalric horse in bestiaries and romance set such a powerful memory career in motion.

When considered as contributing to the memory career of the horse, the *Survey*’s chivalric mythmaking functions as a mnemonic strategy that does not lie or exaggerate horse stories to mislead the reader. On the contrary, in line with Susan Harlan’s concept of militant nostalgia, the *Survey* fetishises the training effort and self-disciplining practice inherent in horse-man hybridity to draw diachronic attention to eroding care-filled engagements between Londoners and their horses: care-filled engagements which in line with synchronic historical consciousness could and should make a comeback. Harlan defines her concept of militant nostalgia as ‘a cultural fascination with materials and technologies of warfare that were passing away by the sixteenth century’ and elaborates as follows:

Although generally speaking, armor could not protect a combatant from a musket shot, elite figures still wore it as a mark of their social status and as a sign of declining, but nonetheless operative, chivalric values of the knight. The armored body operated as no less than a fetish object, a site upon which questions of masculinity, materiality, and memory intersect.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Dan Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (Hambledon Continuum, 2005), p. xiii.

²⁰¹ Pollmann, p. 133.

²⁰² Harlan, p. 1.

For my purposes, the concept of fetishisation needs to be broadened to not only include the animal body but also the dynamics between human and animal bodies that bestow symbolic and real-life powers in reciprocal acts of training for hybridity. Consequently, it is not just the armoured body of the rider but the hybrid body that the rider conjures with his equine counterpart that is the site where ‘masculinity, materiality and memory’ really overlay.²⁰³ In the *Survey*, the process of chivalric mythmaking forms a nostalgic palimpsest of widely understood and cherished symbolisms because only together do horse-men and their literary portrayals have the power to ‘injure or honour English land’.²⁰⁴

Literary Studies Concepts (1): Telescoping, Omission, Digression and Temporal Imprecision

To unpack the *Survey*’s complex interplay between chivalric nostalgia and mythmaking, I draw on the work of William Keith Hall, who approaches the *Survey* as ‘linguistic cartography’ with pronounced literary qualities.²⁰⁵ The fact that Hall’s 1991 essay is the only in-depth study of the literary strategies that the *Survey* deploys is indicative of the scholarly resistance to consider nostalgia in the *Survey* as an intentional and complex discourse. Answering Hall’s call for future enquiries to explore the possibility that we cannot really divide fact from fiction in historical narratives, I expand on Hall’s pioneering work and consider how the *Survey* deploys the literary strategies of telescoping, omission and digression to transport the reader purposefully back to the glory days of urban horse-men; to a chivalric version of

²⁰³ Harlan, p. 1.

²⁰⁴ Flaherty, p. 308.

²⁰⁵ Hall, p. 4.

bygone London which when conjured in the tradition of romance stimulates and therefore safeguards readerly memory.²⁰⁶ In terms of the first strategy, Hall describes the process of telescoping as the *Survey* narrator transporting the reader back in time to specific events without exercising chronological rigour or dedicating equal sections in the text to each event. As for the second and third, the *Survey* speeds up and slows down the story told with the strategies of omission and digression to catalyse which aspects of London's history the reader experiences as significant.²⁰⁷

Philip Schwyzer also refers to such temporal imprecision as telescoping and explores the expression 'late', with which sixteenth and seventeenth-century contemporaries often described historical incidences, as pointing to a dynamic rather than inert nostalgia. From Schwyzer's memory studies perspective, post-Reformation dramatists, poets and historiographers alike conveyed the continuing relevance of the pre-Reformation world with the notion of lateness even if the events in question happened a long time ago. In other words, nostalgic narratives pulled the distant past into close temporal proximity to the early modern present and in turn kept the former critical to the latter. That way, early modern communities categorised events as 'late' to stave off inert nostalgia and instead transformed their nostalgic longing into an active memory practice to keep their pre-Reformation past alive.²⁰⁸ Although Pollmann does not consider 'late' references, her appraisal of telescoping aligns nonetheless with Schwyzer's in that she perceives telescoping as an intrinsic aspect of communal memory-making. Moreover, Pollmann argues that the relating of watershed moments, such as the dissolution, to much more recent events gave early modern writers the chance to weave communal narratives from individual and shared memory

²⁰⁶ Hall, p. 15.

²⁰⁷ Hall, pp. 5, 7.

²⁰⁸ Schwyzer, pp. 108, 97.

as well as a range of other sources. Such a chorus of narrative voices imbued telescoped histories with authority and authenticity.²⁰⁹

Schwyzler bases his analysis of early modern lateness on the impact of the Reformation on historical consciousness in the period. It is therefore interesting to note that the *Survey* also deploys the expression ‘late’ as a literary strategy with which to keep the pre-Reformation past relevant to present and future readers. Whilst not specifically relating to equine encounters, over sixty references to ‘late’ events feature in the *Survey* and several of them refer explicitly to the dissolution of monasteries such as ‘the late dissolued Monasterie of S. Saujour called Bermondsey’ (1603, vol. 2, pp. 52-53), a ‘late dissolued Priorie’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 138) in Aldgate ward and the ‘late dissolued church of the Gray Friers’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 316). As the Crown dissolved these monasteries between 1536 and 1541, their fates were already old news when Stow published the first *Survey* edition in 1598. During the intervening period, Londoners faced many religious reforms and counter-reforms under four monarchs with different confessional convictions. Nonetheless, the *Survey* gives the impression with the word ‘late’ that, in line with Schwyzler’s argument, little time has passed between the monasteries being dissolved and the text capturing their loss.

Moreover, the implied recency of the dissolution suggests that few incidents in the intervening period came close to the magnitude of the iconoclasm in the 1530s and were therefore not worth reporting. In the case of the dissolution, the *Survey* exercises telescoping and omission by leaving out over fifty years of more recent developments affecting Londoners’ religious buildings and digresses by providing a disproportionately detailed account of specific dissolved monasteries, churches and priories. The *Survey* here telescopes between the ‘late’ dissolution and the absence of

²⁰⁹ Pollmann, p. 129.

religious buildings at the end of the sixteenth century to convince the reader that, in Schwyzer's words, 'the loss [of the monasteries] is still near enough in time to be palpably felt'.²¹⁰ In this light, Johanson is again right to emphasise the dynamic essence of myriad early modern nostalgias and I argue that specifically dissolution-related nostalgia is one of several nostalgias detectable in the *Survey*.²¹¹ In terms of chivalric nostalgia, when considered as generating an active kind of nostalgic immediacy, any evidence for telescoping, omission, digression or otherwise temporal imprecision concerning the portrayal of equine encounters in the *Survey* is clearly noteworthy and warrants closer inspection.

Literary Studies Concepts (2): Narrative Voice and Prosopopoeia

As my opening readings of the Minories cows and St Anthony pigs have shown, it is the literary strategy of first-person narration that introduces pre-Reformation memories throughout the *Survey*. This first-person voice also reimagines bygone equine encounters for its readership. From a theoretical standpoint, Hall argues that all historical writing requires a storyteller. Whilst most early modern history writing does not make the narrative process explicit, in the case of the *Survey*, a first-person narrator time and again controls the reader's experience of the text with prosopopoeic language such as '[i]n my youth, I remember' (1603, vol. 1, p. 128), 'I my selfe in my youth haue yearely seene' (1603, vol. 1, p. 74) and 'amongst other things obserued in my youth' (1603, vol. 1, p. 184).²¹² As the narrator claims to remember events dating to his younger years, it is tempting to imagine that we can hear Stow speak on such occasions. Woolf et al. clearly conflate Stow with the narrator when they diagnose

²¹⁰ Schwyzer, p. 112.

²¹¹ Johanson, p. 15.

²¹² Hall, p. 2.

supposedly personal memories as evidence for Stow's old-age nostalgia. However, as I have already highlighted, such pathological readings of the *Survey* are difficult to maintain.

My consideration of prosopopoeia reveals that chivalric nostalgia and mythmaking in the *Survey* is not an inward-looking, limiting, condition but a strategy with which to reach out to the reader. Firstly, we must remember that the *Survey* synthesises materials, often without naming sources. For this reason, we cannot claim with any certainty that Stow is the author of specific sections even if the narrator introduces recollections with 'I'. Secondly, Katharine Hodgkin writes that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century adults rarely expressed nostalgic feelings when they wrote about their younger years because childhood was far from carefree in the period. According to Hodgkin, early modern children were perceived as harbourers of original sin and were treated with harsh discipline to ensure piety in adulthood. Consequently, whilst nowadays we take for granted that childhood engenders fond nostalgia, feelings of guilt and loss often attend such memories in early modern life writing.²¹³ It becomes clear that the overwhelmingly positive way in which the *Survey* narrator records his youth does not bear the hallmarks of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century autobiographical narratives. As the *Survey*'s narrator does not deploy personal memories to help him contemplate his sinful origins or how he transformed into a moral adult, prosopopoeic language in the *Survey* serves neither our modern understanding of childhood nostalgia nor the introspective reflections of early modern life writing. From this perspective, Hall rightly warns that we must distinguish author from narrator and consider the latter in the *Survey* as a literary artifice which presents

²¹³ Katharine Hodgkin, 'Childhood and Loss in Early Modern Life Writing', *Parergon*, 33.2 (2016), pp. 115-134 (pp. 116-117), doi: 10.1353/pgn.2016.0078.

itself as the voice of unmediated experience.²¹⁴ Hall writes that, on the one hand, prosopopoeic credentials such as ‘I have before spoken’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 74), ‘mine author wrote of his owne knowledge to be true’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 82), ‘the same Author affirmeth’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 132) and ‘Ye may reade in mine *Annales*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 94) imbue the narrative with scholarly authority. On the other hand, the narrator authenticates his story by claiming that he has not only researched the historical facts but has also observed them himself.²¹⁵

The latter strategy has an important social and communicative dimension. We cannot attribute the narrator’s witness reports relating to his youth to Stow’s supposed childhood nostalgia. Nonetheless, we can approach the authenticity claims of prosopopoeic language in the *Survey* as eliciting not personal but readerly nostalgia. According to Hodgkin, early modern life writers had small audiences in mind.²¹⁶ Yet, in the case of the *Survey*, its opening epistle invites the current mayor and urban community to read the pages to follow (1603, vol. 1, p. iii). For this reason, Moore agrees with Manley that the prosopopoeic language in the *Survey* makes ‘countless local voices [...] heard’ as when the narrator painstakingly bears witness to members of the urban community being memorialised in London’s churches such as ‘*William Rainwell*, Fishmonger, and *Iohn Rainwell* his sonne, Fishmonger, Maior, 1426. and deceasing 1445. buried there [in the Parish church of S. Buttolph] with [...] [an] Epitaph’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 207).²¹⁷ In a similar vein, we also hear a chorus rather than one single voice in assertions such as ‘[i]n my youth, I remember’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 128) and ‘I my selfe in my youth haue yearely seene’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 74) because the

²¹⁴ Hall, p. 2.

²¹⁵ Hall, pp. 11-12. This echoes Harris’s argument that Stow was distinct as a scholar because he read and walked.

²¹⁶ Hodgkin, p. 118.

²¹⁷ Moore, p. 107.

narrator refers without exception to communal experiences and thereby lays claim to a shared past on behalf of its readership. Consequently, childhood memories in the *Survey* do not reflect a personal but a civic history and elicit nostalgia in the readers by reminding them of similar events they might have witnessed themselves or have heard about from their friends and neighbours.

Other Textual Sources

Survey readers did not need to rely on chronicles and chorographies alone to learn about how horses and their human counterparts shaped civic history. On the contrary, readerly exposure to chivalric nostalgia and mythmaking from other corners of the deeply ingrained historical and horse cultures of the period was considerable. In this thesis, I will contextualise the *Survey*'s horse-men with equine encounters taken from a variety of medieval and early modern literary and non-literary texts. This approach allows me to draw out the wider significance of animal studies and memory studies concepts as well as the literary strategies that I detect in the *Survey*. As I consider chivalric nostalgia as a unifying textual and memory strategy that makes urban change legible to as many readers as possible, I have chosen materials that were widely accessible to a range of early modern readers as well as spectators and that were either produced by urban writers for an urban audience or compiled by civic organisations to record their activities in the City. In terms of the first criteria, drama captured various audiences because plays could be consumed collectively as performances or by individual readers as texts. I focus on equine encounters in city comedies and bring them to bear on the *Survey*'s horse-men because plays such as *Eastward Ho* (1605), *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613) and *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) drew on chivalric

concepts to satirise the specifically urban conditions of mercantile London.²¹⁸ Moreover, these city comedies offered a performative experience of the equine encounters that the *Survey* sets up textually throughout its chapters.

As far as other literary sources are concerned, I consider pamphlets and ballads on equine practices as widely distributed and easily accessible sources because they could be passed on, read out loud or even sung with others. As a kind of early modern mass media, they influenced and reflected contemporary attitudes and yet participated in chivalric romance traditions in their own right.²¹⁹ As for romance itself, I compare the imaginings of horsemanship in both medieval and early modern chivalric literature to the *Survey*'s chorographical portrayal. Following the approaches of Fuchs and Keen, I consider the twelfth-century chivalric stories by *Chrétien de Troyes* and Thomas Malory's fifteen-century *Le Morte Darthur* (1485) as influential medieval romances.²²⁰ According to Fuchs, prominent early modern romances include Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Qveene* (1590) and Torquato Tasso's *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the Recouerie of Hierusalem* (1594). I focus on the English translation by John Harington (1607) of another important early modern example that Fuchs gives: Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516).²²¹ Due to his *Survey* editorship,

²¹⁸ *Eastward Ho*; Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. by Sheldon P. Zitner (Manchester University Press, 1984); *Bartholomew Fair*.

²¹⁹ Taylor, *The VVorld Runnes on Wheelles; A Warning to All Priests and Jesuites* (London: Printed at London for Fr. Grove, dwelling on [...] hill, 1643); *A Full Description of the Manner of Executing the Sentence upon Titus Oates for Perjury* (London: Printed for Tho. Graves, 1685).

²²⁰ *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose*; Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur* (London: [Caxton?], 1485); Fuchs, pp. 42, 55; Keen, pp. 59-60, 102.

²²¹ *Orlando Furioso*; Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Qveene* (London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1590); Torquato Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the Recouerie of Hierusalem* (London: Imprinted by Iohn Windet for Thomas Man dwelling in Pater noster-Row, 1594); Fuchs, p. 66.

Munday's translation of *Amadis of Gaule* (1590) is also highly relevant to this thesis.²²²

In terms of non-literary texts, I provide a material context for the *Survey*'s pronounced attention to horse-related occupations by bringing into play the records of early modern Livery Companies such as the Porters.²²³ The other non-literary sources under consideration approach equine encounters in the *Survey* from a legal standpoint. Early modern law texts engaging with common laws and acts of parliament on horse ownership and the sale of horses on the one hand and Court of Common Council records on the other unpack the chivalric nostalgia I detect in the *Survey* in two ways.²²⁴ Firstly, the *Survey* romanticises medieval horse coursers racing their horses in Smithfield. Legal treatises can be seen to tightly regulate the mercantile activities of these horse-men and yet also to allow for improper horse-trading in Smithfield. Secondly, Court of Common Council records contextualise how the 1603 and 1633 *Survey* editions repeatedly set out the zoomorphic deployment of horses in judicial processions which publicly humiliated offenders by inverting chivalric practices. When considered in dialogue with each other, the *Survey*, its contemporary chronicles and chorographies, city comedies, ballads and pamphlets, romances, Livery Company records and law texts enable me to map out a hitherto unrecognised palimpsest of chivalric meaning that influences the portrayal of equine encounters in the *Survey* and reveals its chivalric nostalgia as a noteworthy cultural phenomenon.

²²² Munday, *Amadis of Gaule*.

²²³ For example: Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, 'Copy Orders and Ordinances, 1604-1707, and Proceedings of the Court of Registers and Rulers, 1663-1697', GL, CLC/L/TA/A/002/MS03455.

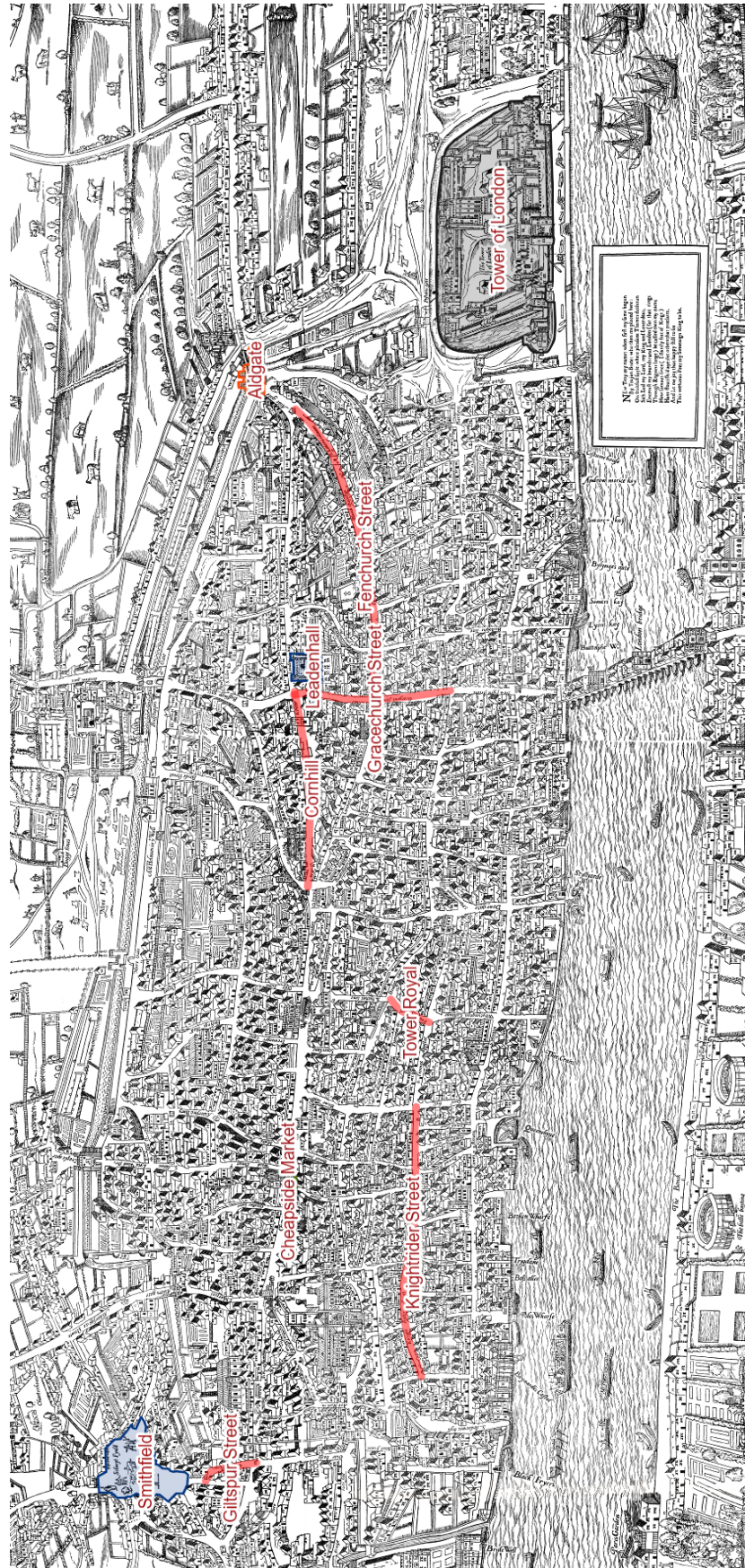
²²⁴ William Fulbeck, *A Parallele or Conference of the Ciuill Law, the Canon Law, and the Common Law of this Realme of England* (London: Printed by [Adam Islip for] Thomas Wight, 1601); John Doddridge, *The Lavvyers Light: Or, a Due Direction for the Study of the Law for Methode* (London: [By Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet] for Beniamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his shop in Aldersgate street, at the signe of the Talbot, 1629); Court of Common Council excerpts in *REED CL*.

Topographical Considerations: Processional Routes and Smithfield

I have entitled my thesis ‘A Notable Shew of Horses: Equine Encounters in John Stow’s *Survey of London*’ because I draw attention to the horses with which the *Survey* breathes an idealising romance into specific localities with performances such as the processions, tournaments, musters, markets and even public punishments and executions of medieval and early modern Londoners. As I have mentioned above, the travelling direction of these equine encounters pulls the reader repeatedly towards Smithfield. As the act of listing was a ‘form[...] of memorialization’ in the early modern period and I consider chivalric nostalgia for urban horse-men as a memory strategy, my thesis focuses on the listings of both, horse-men along the processional routes to Smithfield (fig. 1.5) as well as their practices in Smithfield itself.²²⁵

Enroute to Smithfield in Chapter Two, we will follow in the footsteps of processional and tournament horses from the Tower of London via Cheapside in Cheap ward and from Tower Royal in Cordwainer Street ward via Knightrider Street running east-west through Castle Baynard ward and along the border that Bread Street ward and Queenhithe ward share and via Giltspur Street in Faringdon Without. In Chapter Two, we will also encounter parading Midsummer Watch horses in City locations such as Aldgate and Gracechurch Street which mostly runs through Langbourn ward but also between Billingsgate ward and Bridge ward Within, and urban focal points such as Fenchurch Street in Langbourn and Aldgate wards and Leadenhall in Bishopsgate ward. In Chapter Three, we will witness tournaments in Smithfield itself and mustering horse-men in the fields to the north of the City. In Chapter Four, we will relive judicial processions as part of horse-led public punishments in Cornhill and Smithfield.

²²⁵ Pollmann, p. 165.



1.5 Processional Routes, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm>.

Throughout, the *Survey* invites its readers to become spectators: to imagine themselves joining medieval and early modern crowds lining City streets and becoming part of the equine spectacles that I am about to explore. It is possible for such an active readership to experience the City on foot with the *Survey*'s narrator, to join in the 'discovery of *London*, [...] [as one's] native soyle and Countrey' (1603, vol. 1, p. iii) and thereby attain imagined citizenship through the act of reading. In other words, the reader might just become moved by the urban pride that pervades the *Survey* and I will show that it would not be possible to elicit such readerly emotion without the City's horses.

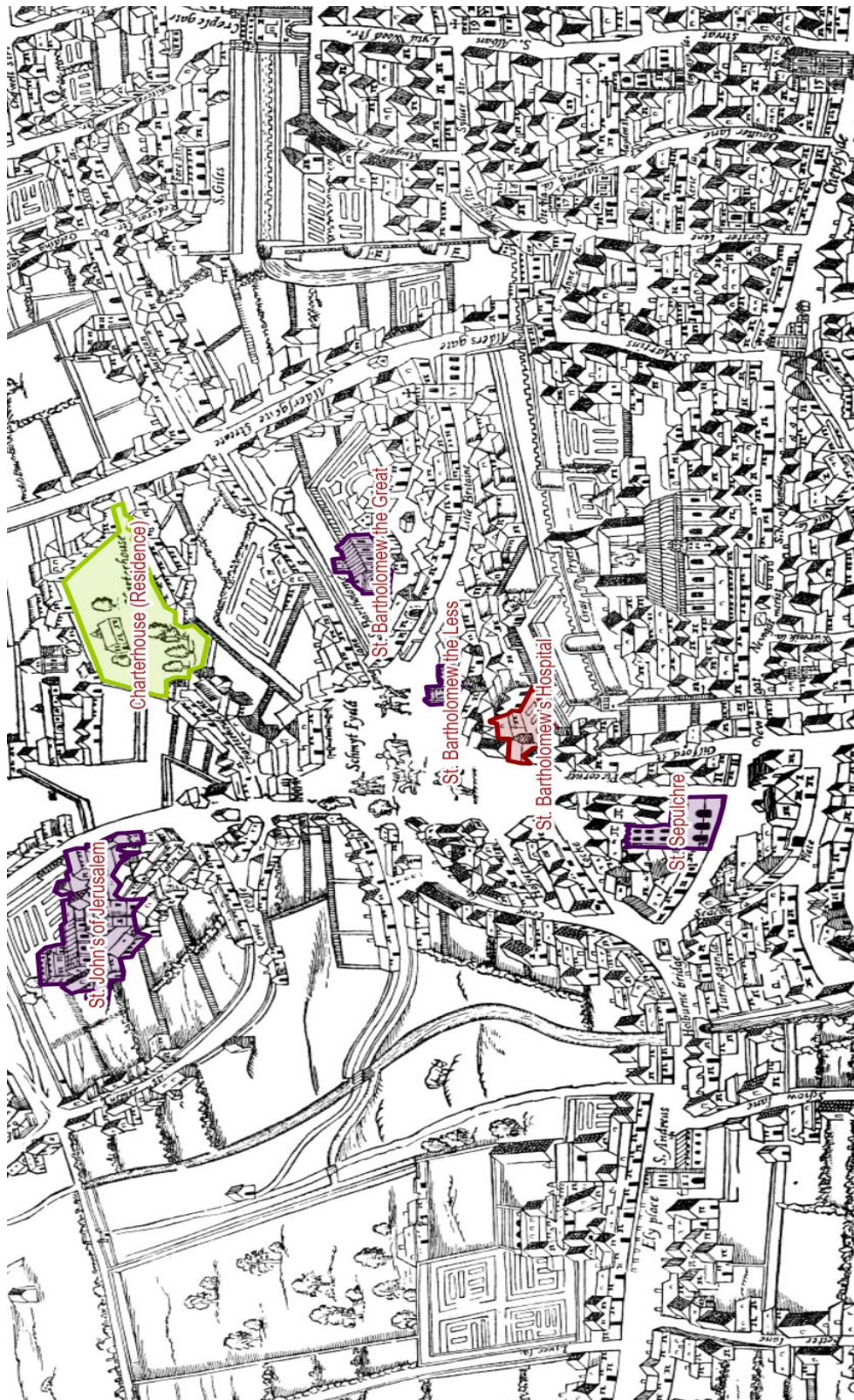
Smithfield as the Equine Heart of Early Modern London

Noteworthy attention to the horse-men enroute to or in Smithfield in the *Survey* raises the question of why this particular urban space mattered to all early modern *Survey* editors and therefore the historiography of seventeenth-century London more broadly. To start exploring potential reasons from a geographical standpoint, it is important to distinguish the Smithfield under my consideration as West Smithfield and different from East Smithfield near the Tower of London at the south-eastern edge of the City. West Smithfield can be found to this day north-west of what remains of the City wall, in the most westerly ward of the City, Faringdon Without. In terms of etymology, '[i]t is thought that the name Smithfield came from a corruption of "smeth field" Saxon for

“Smoothfield””.²²⁶ As for its layout, Smithfield has been described as ‘roughly diamond-shaped [...] tapering into a funnel plan form at its southern end’ (fig. 1.6).²²⁷

²²⁶ City of London Corporation, ‘History of Smithfield Market’
<<https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/supporting-businesses/business-support-and-advice/wholesale-markets/smithfield-market/history-of-the-market>> [accessed 05 September 2024].

²²⁷ City of London Corporation, ‘Historical Development’, in *SCMS*, p. 12
<<https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/assets/Services-Environment/smithfield-conservation-area-character-summary-management-strategy.pdf>> [accessed 05 September 2024].



1.6 Smithfield, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm>.

With regard to its natural topography, Smithfield once bordered the River Fleet and had its own body of water called Smithfield pond until the seventeenth century.²²⁸ This pond was filled in after the Fire in 1666.²²⁹ The *Survey* is the only extant early modern source informing its readers that Smithfield pond was once called Horse Pool and stood close to trees in the north-westerly corner of the field. These trees were called Smithfield elms and also gave the resident gallows, The Elms, their name (1603, vol. 2, p. 29). Since the chivalric nostalgia I am about to explore had material prerequisites, I will examine in Chapter Three the significance of the very ground in Smithfield as well as return in Chapter Four to Smithfield pond and the Smithfield elms in relation to the horse-men hybridity that the site and its topographical features engender. In this respect, it also matters that history writers paid attention to the surface condition of pre-modern Smithfield. For example, Walter Thornbury described Smithfield as an originally ‘unpromising place, [...] almost all marsh and dirty fens, and on the only dry part stood the Elms gibbet’.²³⁰ It was only in the twelfth century when Rahere was granted by Henry I permission to build a priory and hospital in Smithfield that its ‘marsh [was filled] with stones and rubbish’.²³¹

²²⁸ ‘Smithfield’, *MoEML* <<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/SMIT1.htm>> [accessed 05 September 2024].

²²⁹ Henry A. Harben, ‘Horner’s Alley - Horseshoe (The)’, in *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), *BHO* <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/dictionary-of-london/horners-alley-horseshoe#highlight-first>> [accessed 05 September].

²³⁰ Walter Thornbury, ‘Smithfield’, in *Old and New London: Volume 2* (London, 1878), pp. 339-344, *BHO* <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol2/pp339-344>> [accessed 05 September 2024].

²³¹ ‘In 1123 Henry I granted permission to Rahere, an Augustinian monk named as a Minor Canon of St Paul’s Cathedral in 1115, to found a priory and hospital at Smithfield. Rahere died in 1143 and was buried in St Bartholomew-the-Great, where his tomb is surmounted by an early 15th century effigy. The location of the priory was already noted for its horse fair and the priory grounds included part of the Kings Friday Market. During the next 400 years the priory church of St Bartholomew-the-Great expanded until it measured some 300 feet by 86 feet when completed’. *SCMS*, p. 11; Thornbury, ‘Smithfield’.

In terms of the built environment, bearing in mind the example that Rahere set with his charitable work, it comes as no surprise that religious institutions such as St Bartholomew's Hospital, St Bartholomew the Less, St Bartholomew the Great, Holy Sepulchre Church, St John's of Jerusalem and Charterhouse surrounded and dominated Londoners' experience of medieval and early modern Smithfield (fig. 1.6).²³² For instance, St Bartholomew the Great is one of London's oldest surviving churches and therefore projects a continual physical and spiritual presence despite confessional upheavals. Augustinian monks lived at St Bartholomew's from Rahere's era onwards and Dominican Blackfriars took over residency briefly during Mary I's reign. Under Elizabeth I, St Bartholomew the Great became a parish church.²³³ Activities associated with these religious buildings were no doubt a highly visible aspect of daily life. Yet, early modern Smithfield was also well known for its weekly livestock market which was first described by William Fitzstephen in the twelfth century, its annual St Bartholomew Fair (1133-1855) and as a place of medieval tournaments as well as executions predating even the foundation of Bartholomew Priory.²³⁴

In terms of notable absences from the built cityscape, it is interesting that, despite all the regularly recurring economic practices such as markets and fairs, no Livery Company halls existed in early modern Smithfield. Nonetheless, present-day livery halls belong to the Founders, Butchers and Haberdashers.²³⁵ The notoriety that

²³² *MoEML*.

²³³ St Bartholomew the Great, 'A Church for the Ages'

<<https://www.greatstbarts.com/history-of-st-barts>> [accessed 05 September 2024].

²³⁴ Tom Almeroth-Williams, 'The Story of Smithfield Market', *The London Journal*, 36.1 (2011), pp. 72-76, doi: 10.1179/174963211X12924714058760; *Hugh Alley's Caveat*; Janette Dillon, 'Clerkenwell and Smithfield as a Neglected Home of London Theater', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), pp. 115-135 (pp. 124-125), doi: 10.1525/hlq.2008.71.1.115; Thornbury, 'Smithfield'; *SCMS*.

²³⁵ *MoEML*; *SCMS*, pp. 25, 27, 34.

Smithfield gained due to the burning of heretics between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries might have contributed to early modern Livery Companies not wanting to associate themselves with the site.²³⁶ Another potential reason could be because Smithfield ‘was for many years called “Ruffians’ Hall”, by reason it was the usual place of frays and common fighting during the time that sword and bucklers were in use’.²³⁷

It is of hitherto unrecognised importance that horse-men participated in all the customs outlined above and that questions surrounding horse-man hybridity determined whether spectators and readers attached fame or notoriety to markets, fairs, tournaments and executions in Smithfield. For example, since Ruffians’ Hall was ‘a very old nickname for [...] especially the part that was later the site of a horse market’, I will show in the chapters to follow how early modern proverbs and plays such as *Bartholomew Fair* tended to satirise equine Smithfield and how chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* purposefully works against portrayals of the site as an urban epicentre of unruly behaviour and immoral practices.²³⁸ Instead, by painting equine encounters on the way to and in Smithfield itself in chivalric light, the *Survey* reinstates Smithfield as a main seat of civic honour in the cityscape. I therefore consider the shape of the site not to be a diamond but that of a heart: an equine heart to be precise from and to which horse-men traversed along processional routes and flowed like blood through arteries of a civic body. As the equine heart of medieval and early modern London, Smithfield is meant to elicit the most pronounced readerly engagement in the *Survey*. From a literary perspective, Smithfield becomes the one place in the City where its

²³⁶ Dillon, pp. 122, 124.

²³⁷ Thornbury, ‘Smithfield and Bartholomew Fair’, pp. 344-351.

²³⁸ Russ Willey, ‘Ruffians’ Hall’, in *Brewer’s Dictionary of London Phrase & Fable* (Chambers Harrap Publishers, 2011)

<<https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199916214.001.0001/acref-9780199916214-e-1873?rskey=VWgQY8>> [accessed 10 October 2024].

urban horse culture, its citizens' self-perception and portrayal in neofeudal decor and the revival of chivalric literature can be made to converge. In turn, nostalgia-inducing romance strategies can be seen to work at their fullest to produce a powerful civic mythology. Without further ado, let us perambulate and make our way to Smithfield.

Horses of Processional Glory: Horse Bodies as Nostalgic Mirrors and Textual Resistance to Imposed Forgetting

Introduction

The *Survey* brings Londoners' urban horse culture to life with its portrayals of processions. Regardless of whether aristocratic or civic personages participated, these equine spectacles fulfilled a status-affirming function across social groups. Peter Edwards aptly summarises:

When a nobleman rode in public on a great horse, the spectators' attention tended to focus on the horse and his trappings. It was the horse that invested the rider with the sought-after image. In effect, the rider and the onlookers were playing out set roles in a piece of social theatre. In a hierarchical society, the image provided the spectators with a graphic reminder of who ruled them and why, validating the elite's fitness to rule. Easy mastery of a spirited horse, a social signifier in itself, equated with possession of those rare qualities required to govern humans effectively.¹

The act of choreographed processioning through the City offered the aristocratic and civic elite a unique opportunity to act out such social theatre in front of considerable urban crowds lining the streets of London.² In so doing, processions transformed the cityscape into a stage for performances of power that would have lacked impact and credibility without participating horses.

Most horse-led processions described in the *Survey* occur during the Middle Ages. One of the few exceptions is the Midsummer Watch: an annual tradition that survived into the early modern period. Following a literary and memory studies

¹ Peter Edwards, 'Image and Reality: Upper Class Perceptions of the Horse in Early Modern England', in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 281-306 (pp. 294-295).

² I have consciously decided to describe the act of moving through the City streets as part of a procession as 'processioning' rather than 'processing' to draw out and base my thesis on the early modern uses of the verb 'procession', denoting '[t]o honour or celebrate with a procession; to carry in procession'. Entry 'procession, v., 1.', *OED* [accessed 10 September 2024].

approach, I will show that such consistent telescoping is crucial to the *Survey*'s nostalgic mythmaking. Moreover, I explore how, in order to enrich its urban mythology, the *Survey* carefully places both human and horse bodies in relation to each other metonymically, so that these bodies act as reciprocal anthropomorphising mirrors. Along with the deployment of a horse-indexed cultural shorthand, romance strategies allow the *Survey* to evoke a powerful chivalric nostalgia for the processional heritage of medieval London. As a memory strategy, such chivalric nostalgia can be seen to exaggerate the rupture between pre- and post-Reformation traditions not to mislead the reader but to resist official narratives that encouraged the forgetting of communal pre-Reformation traditions.

Why Horse-Led Processions Induced Chivalric Nostalgia

In the *Survey*, horse-led processions such as that of Henry VI in 1432 function as a nostalgic portal because they evoke the chivalric performance culture of medieval London:

Henry the sixt, [...] being crowned in France, [and] returning into England, came to Eltham towards London, and the Mayor of London *John Welles*, the Aldermen, with the comminalty rode against him on Horsebacke (1603, vol. 2, p. 193).

The *Survey* could have paid equal attention to 'the two major [early modern] forms of London street ritual—the coronation entry and the mayoralty show' but does not.³ Yet, the *Survey* is not alone in the genre of history writing to foreground bygone rather than more recent processions. Whilst the chorographies *Perambulation* and *Britannia* do not highlight choreographed processions, we find examples of medieval processioning in the chronicles under my consideration. For instance, Holinshed praises the 'Citizens

³ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 222.

of London cladde in one kynde of liuerie, and very well horsed' when they met Edward III.⁴ Stow's 1580 *Chronicles* enthuse that when Henry III's wife Eleanor was crowned on 20 January 1236 '[t]he Citie was adorned with Silkes, and in the night with Lampes, Cressets, & other lightes, without nu[m]ber' and the citizens met the king and queen 'clothed in long garments, embrodered about with gold and silke of diuers coulours: their Horses finely trapped in array, to the number of 360. euery man bearing golden or siluer cuppes'.⁵ The expressions of being 'well horsed' and of horses being 'finely trapped' combine the low myths inherent in an everyday horse-indexed cultural shorthand and the high myths evoked by notable personages.⁶ The attention to detail that the above histories lavish on processions amounts to noteworthy literary digressions. Not unlike the spectators lining processional routes, the reader is encouraged to linger and take time appreciating the equine spectacles during which both civic and aristocratic horse-men had brought honour to the City in the medieval heydays of chivalry.

Early modern history writers repeatedly recount processions as solemn occasions. For instance, Holinshed's *Chronicles* describe how during the reign of Henry VI 'there was vpon our Ladie daye in Marche a solemne Procession celebrate within the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule in the Citie of London'.⁷ In the *Survey*, the Fishmongers' thirteenth-century procession on Saint Magnus Day is also described as a 'triumphant and solemne shew through the Citie' (1603, vol. 1, p. 214). The *OED* lists ten definitions of 'solemn' which were active in the early modern period including any 'carefully observed' customs, occasions of 'great dignity and importance' or acts

⁴ Holinshed (1577), sig. Nn1r.

⁵ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. R5r.

⁶ Holinshed (1577), sig. Nn1r; Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. R5r.

⁷ Holinshed (1577), sig. Jjj7r.

‘[f]itted to excite serious thoughts or reflections’.⁸ The reference to the religious holiday Lady Day in the *Chronicles* and to Saint Magnus Day in the *Survey* exemplify the spiritual character of medieval solemnity. In terms of the chorographies under my consideration, Lambarde’s *Perambulation* also associates solemn processioning with religious observance:

[In the reign of Edward I, the m]onkes of *Rochester* were agréed amongst themselves, to make a solemne procession from their owne house thorowe the citie, and so to *Frendsbury* on the other side of the water, of a speciall intent and purpose to pray to *God* for raine [at a time of severe drought].⁹

To convey the Rochester monks’ pious intentions to the reader, the *Perambulation* emphasises that the monks purposefully chose and agreed to procession together through the city streets. Conversely, the *Perambulation* implies that to pray for rain was a serious enough reason to be deserving of the act of dignified public processioning. In this light, solemnity and spirituality legitimised medieval processions and the inherent care and reflection transformed the act of processioning into a powerful memory practice. Consequently, early modern chronicles and chorographers could make noteworthy occurrences in medieval history stand out textually simply by pointing out that they warranted a solemn procession.

Post-Reformation changes threatened the solemnity of Londoners’ processional heritage. Before the Reformation, citizens observed a rich and varied liturgical calendar that, according to Eamonn Duffy, brought the urban community together for ‘Advent, Christmastide, Lent, Easter and Whit’ as well as ‘the anniversaries of the saints and [...] feast’ days throughout the year.¹⁰ These religious

⁸ Entry ‘solemn, *adj.*, 3.c., 4.b. and 7.a.’, *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

⁹ *Perambulation* (1576), sig. Oo1v.

¹⁰ Duffy, p. 46.

spectacles often involved processions.¹¹ Horses were never far from the scene on such occasions. For example, Whitsun celebrations across early modern Europe doubled up for the riding into ‘the precincts of [...] territory’ and thereby allowed community members to commemorate and reinscribe their topographical boundaries together.¹² In early modern London, the Churchwardens’ Accounts of St Mary Magdalen Milk Street show expenses of a penny for ‘the man that ladde the horse on palmes sonday’ in 1533.¹³ Yet, these ancient rites came under reformist fire in the 1530s because the high number of religious holidays was seen to prevent people from working and to provoke not only superstition but also social disorder.¹⁴ Grafton’s *Chronicles* register such reformist disapproval by describing bygone Corpus Christi celebrations as ‘then a highe and festiuall daye, in doing of mischiefes’.¹⁵

According to Duffy, the 1536 Act “‘for the abrogation of certain holydays” [...] constituted the first overt attack by the Henrician regime itself on the traditional pattern of religious observance in the parishes’.¹⁶ Since ‘[a]t one stroke, the Crown decimated the ritual year’, Londoners had fewer chances to manifest their shared sense of solemn piety with the help of processions.¹⁷ Harriet Lyon writes that the dissolution of monasteries was a drawn-out process. Yet, it was the Henrician attempt to impose

¹¹ Duffy, p. 46.

¹² Pierre d’Avity, *The Estates, Empires, & Principallities of the World* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, for Mathewe Lowne and Iohn Bill, 1615), sig. Ccc1r; ‘Rogationtide processions were also rituals of demarcation, “beating the bounds” of the community, defining its identity over against that of neighbouring parishes, and symbolizing its own unity in faith and charity’, Duffy, p. 136.

¹³ ‘St Mary Magdalen Milk Street Churchwardens’ Accounts’, in *REED EL*, p. 86; According to the *OED*, ‘ladde’ is an Old English variant of ‘led’, as in having ‘go[ne] before or alongside and guide by direct or indirect contact; to conduct (a person) by holding the hand or some part of the body or clothing, (an animal) by means of a cord, halter, bridle, etc’. Entry ‘lead, v., I.4.a.’, *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

¹⁴ Duffy, p. 394.

¹⁵ Grafton (1569), sig. Gg1r; ‘The medieval pageantry surrounding such feasts as that of Corpus Christ was one of the first victims of the Reformation’ according to Michael Reed. Reed, p. 307.

¹⁶ Duffy, pp. 394-395.

¹⁷ Duffy, p. 395.

a blanket forgetting of the Catholic mnemoscape that made subsequent sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century writers resist official narratives by condensing the dissolution into a magnified ‘temporal rupture with the medieval past’ rather than the decades-spanning accumulation of relatively modest religious reforms.¹⁸ For example, under Edward VI, further reforms repressing Londoners’ street rituals followed. Duffy highlights the following:

Some of the Injunctions of 1547 had no precedent in those [issued in] [...] 1538 or in the acts of Henry’s reign. One of the most dramatic changes ordered was the abolition of all processions, in particular the parish procession with which the main Mass of each Sunday and mayor feast began.¹⁹

Whilst Stow’s *Chronicles* mark the suppression of processioning as Edwardian legislation, they nonetheless condense a range of measures into a singular momentous intervention by the Crown:

The Lorde Protectour and the rest of the Councell sent [...] Commissioners into all partes of the realme, willing them to take all Images out of their Churches, for the auoyding of Idolatrie, wyth them were sent diuers Preachers to perswade the people from their beades, and suche lyke ceremonies, and at that time the going in Procession was forbidden [...]: [...] the Gospel and Epistle were read in *English*.²⁰

By listing religious practices that had been under reformist attack for decades in relation to each other, the *Chronicles* make the magnitude of the combined losses palpable for its early modern readership. However, the erosion of religious performance culture did not stop there. According to Mary C. Erler, ‘with the accession of Elizabeth, the traditional, religiously based dramatic practices were no longer part of parish life in London. After 1558 parish boy bishops, hocking, maying

¹⁸ Lyon, p. 75.

¹⁹ Duffy, p. 451.

²⁰ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sigs. Ttt3v-Ttt4r.

and Palm Sunday drama disappear'.²¹ Consequently, early modern Londoners were exposed to official discourses of forgetting throughout the post-Reformation era and not only during the reign of Henry VIII.

Whilst religious ceremonies were either suppressed or only survived in altered forms, Michael Reed rightly insists that the performance culture of post-Reformation London continued to thrive and was not bereft of solemn processions:

Other public spectacles continued, new ones making their appearances and both come to play an increasingly significant role in public civic life during the course of the seventeenth century, the processions associated with the election of the mayor, for example, and, in those towns where they were held, with the opening of the assizes, whilst attendance at quarter sessions in county towns always brought large crowds of visitors. The Lord Mayor's Procession in London began in the 1530s and became an annual event.²²

In terms of the 'complex relationships between two distinct but interconnected political domains', Manley writes that '[i]n a symbiotic manner, the royal entry and the inaugural show [...] submerged the distinctive segments and echelons of society in a [...] quasi-sacred condition of solidarity expressing the deepest and most basic values of the collectivity'.²³ Tracey Hill illustrates that symbolically charged horses continued to feature in such temporarily unifying spectacles as the Lord Mayor's Shows after the Reformation. For example, citizen pageantry still involved

²¹ REED EL, p. Xxiv; Parish boy bishops: 'In many medieval cathedrals and other collegiate institutions it was customary to elect a boy to act or parody the role of a bishop for a part of the Christmas period (traditionally from St Nicholas' Day to Innocents' Day). The custom was abolished by Henry VIII and again, after a revival under Mary I, by Elizabeth I in 1558, n., 2.', OED [accessed 05 December 2024]; 'Hocking' is another term for 'observ[ing] Hocktide, v., 2.a.', OED [accessed 05 December 2024]; Katherine French writes that before 'its abolition in the Reformation, Hocktide appears most often in parishes in or near towns rather than in rural communities. On Hock-Monday the women set about capturing and tying up the men, releasing them upon payment of a forfeit [to raise funds for their parish]. On Tuesday the roles were reversed'. Katherine L. French, 'Women in the Late Medieval Parish', in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 156-173 (p. 166); I explore the tradition of maying below.

²² Reed, p. 308.

²³ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 214.

participants performing on horseback and horses pulling sumptuously decorated pageant carts. Consequently, Hill agrees with Ian Munro that the Shows consistently evoked an idealised past using animals such as horses and their imagery. This theoretical stance leads Hill to make the observation that the Shows echo nostalgia in the *Survey*.²⁴ Yet, despite the nostalgic propensities of the Shows, the *Survey* strategically omits such noteworthy horse-led processions.

In my reading of chivalric nostalgia pervading the *Survey*, the controversy surrounding the act of processioning in the post-Reformation era is likely to have contributed at least in part to such a marked omission from a chorography that dedicates a whole chapter to the ‘orders and customes of the Citizens’ (1603, vol. 1, pp. 79-91). I will show that by portraying medieval rather than early modern processions as horse-led chivalric endeavours that more often than not coincided with religious holidays, the *Survey* safeguards Londoners’ pre-Reformation processional heritage without taking a confessional stand. From this perspective, processional horses and their martial memory careers serve a purposefully literary strategy that bridges the gulf between Catholic and Protestant memory practices and unites the early modern community under the banner of chivalric nostalgia and the revival of medieval romance traditions. I first explore how the *Survey* insists that it was ultimately the chivalric honour of the City that was at stake in the processioning of aristocratic horse-(wo)men before moving on to the ways in which the *Survey* projects horse-man hybridity onto civic procession participants and their horses so that all Londoners play their part in making medieval London the seat of chivalry. I then establish that the *Survey* counters post-Reformation discourses of suppression ironically by overwriting

²⁴ Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor’s Show, 1585-1639* (Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 163-165.

divisive religious reforms with chivalric nostalgia as a unifying textual resistance to the imposed forgetting of communal traditions.

Alice Perrers: Horse-(Wo)Man Hybridity and Processional Mythmaking

Equine rituality is the *Survey*'s antidote to unprecedented upheaval in the wake of the religious reforms and topographical reconfigurations. The textual reimagining of medieval London with the help of processional horses provides the *Survey* with the ingredients for a nostalgic vision of a reunified and prosperous urban community. The first concerns processional logistics because the *Survey* pays close attention to how medieval procession routes traversed the City and covered as much physical and symbolic ground as possible. Here for example is Edward III's mistress Alice Perrers making her way in 1374 to tournaments in Smithfield:

The 48. of *Edward* the third, Dame *Alice Perrers* (the kings Concubine) as Lady of the Sunne, rode from the Tower of London, through Cheape, accompanied of many Lords and Ladies, euery Lady leading a Lord by his horse bridle, till they came into west Smithfield, and then began a great Iust, which endured seuen dayes after (1603, vol. 2, pp. 29-30).

The *Survey* here emphasises that Perrers and her horse-led procession covered the width and breadth of London by diagonally crossing the City from the Tower of London in the southeast to Smithfield in the northwest. To maximise on potential onlookers, it was important to pass through Cheapside on the way as this was not only a wide street, and therefore suited for large processions, but also a commercial hub with shops, stalls in the street and walking food sellers, ensuring hustle and bustle at any time of the day (fig. 2.1).²⁵ As Vanessa Harding aptly summarises, '[w]hen

²⁵ *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, p. 90.

something was done in Cheapside, it was done for effect, and with an eye to its audience'.²⁶



2.1 Cheapside, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm>.

Cheapside continued to be a focal point during early modern processions such as 'the eight major royal entries from 1501 to 1604 and the more than two dozen surviving Lord Mayor's Shows from 1585 to 1639'.²⁷ The logistics of Perrers's medieval procession therefore tied in with longstanding equine rituality that was there for all Londoners to see, regardless of whether they were lining the streets for the

²⁶ Vanessa Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), pp. 77-96 (p. 77), doi: 10.1525/hlq.2008.71.1.77.

²⁷ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 221.

purpose of watching or just going about their daily business. However, it is Perrers's final destination that is of particular significance to my study of chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey*. Early modern royal entries and Shows did not incorporate Smithfield; instead, they ended at either Westminster or St Paul's.²⁸ In this light, the performance culture that the *Survey* evokes with the route of Perrers's procession is distinctively linked to the medieval past because it served as a dramatic build-up to aristocratic tournaments in Smithfield: an equine custom that no longer took place in this particular urban open space in the early modern period. In the sixteenth century, such spectacles tended to take place away from the City in the 'tiltyards of Greenwich, Westminster Palace and Whitehall'.²⁹ Consequently, the direction in which Perrers's procession travelled is uniquely tied to the chivalric custom of jousting on horseback and allows the *Survey* to set up medieval Smithfield as a chivalric destination.

As far as the participants of the procession were concerned, what stands out the most is that, on this occasion, the person at the centre of the *Survey*'s chivalric mythmaking is not an aristocratic horseman such as a knight but a titleless woman and a mistress at that. F. George Kay writes that Perrers was 'at the very height of her influence at the court' when she processioned to Smithfield in 1374.³⁰ However, the king's favour brought not only power but also enemies since the wealth that Perrers accumulated thanks to royal gifts disgruntled 'commons and courtiers alike'.³¹ For example, Grafton's chronicle claims the following:

[T]he king was riche enough to defende him and his lande, if the land and his treasure were well guyded and gouerned: But it had beene long euill ruled by euill officers, so that the lande could not be plenteous, neyther with Chaffre, marchandise, nor riches. By reason wherof, & by their importune charges the

²⁸ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 223.

²⁹ Young, p. 32.

³⁰ Kay, p. 110.

³¹ Conor Byrne, *Alice Perrers, Mistress of Edward III* (2015) <<http://conorbyrnex.blogspot.com/2015/02/alice-perrers-mistress-of-edward-iii.html>> [accessed 13 September 2024].

commonaltie was greatly empourished. Moreouer, the sayde commons complayned them vpon diuers officers, that were the causers of this disorder, whereof the Lorde Latymer was noted for principall, with also dame Alice Piers, the which the king had long time kept for his Concubyne [...].³²

Holinshed makes near-identical allegations.³³ Consequently, in terms of processional etiquette, Perrers was a controversial outsider who under normal circumstances was unlikely to have been included let alone taken centre-stage at such a highly visible and prestigious aristocratic spectacle. Stow's 1580 *Chronicles* almost seem to celebrate the fact that Perrers was eventually 'banished the lande, and all hir moueable goodes [...] being forfeited to the Kings vse' when Richard II came into power.³⁴ The *Survey* registers equal disapproval of Perrers as 'the kings Concubine' (1603, vol. 2, p. 29) by putting her status in brackets. Yet, out of the history compilations under my consideration, the *Survey* is the only text to telescope its reader to 1374 and to digress at length with a portrayal of the procession to Smithfield rather than to elaborate on the overarching notoriety of Perrers.

Due to the controversy surrounding Perrers, it is interesting to note how the *Survey* positions her metonymically in relation to both human and equine procession participants. Since the *Survey* mentions Perrers first and claims she 'rode' (1603, vol. 2, p. 29) to Smithfield, the reader might be forgiven for thinking that the king's mistress led the procession on horseback. Kay, however, postulates that Perrers was not in the front but 'the centre of the cavalcade [and] rode [as] the Lady of the Sun in a chariot'.³⁵ Whilst Kay does not attribute his attempt at a reconstruction of this procession to a specific early modern source, we find a clue in the *Survey* chapter 'Of

³² Grafton (1569), sigs. Ee5v-Ee6r.

³³ Holinshed (1577), sig. Oo3r.

³⁴ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Gg4r.

³⁵ Kay, p. 111.

Orders and Customes of the Citizens' that Perrers might have traversed the City in a chariot. Women riding side-saddle were not yet customary in Perrers's heyday. Instead, it was '*Anne* daughter to the king of Boheme, that [between 1382 and 1394] first brought hether the riding vpon side saddles, and so was the riding in Wherlicoates and chariots forsaken, except at Coronations and such like spectacles' (1603, vol. 1, p. 84).³⁶ Chariots or Whirlicotes were indicators of status since 'onely [...] Princes or great Estates, such as had their footmen about them' (1603, vol. 1, p. 84) travelled in these kinds of horse-drawn vehicles (fig. 2.2).³⁷ Importantly, the *Survey* voices gender implications when elaborating on who in an elite household was more likely to opt for chariots and carriages over riding on horseback:

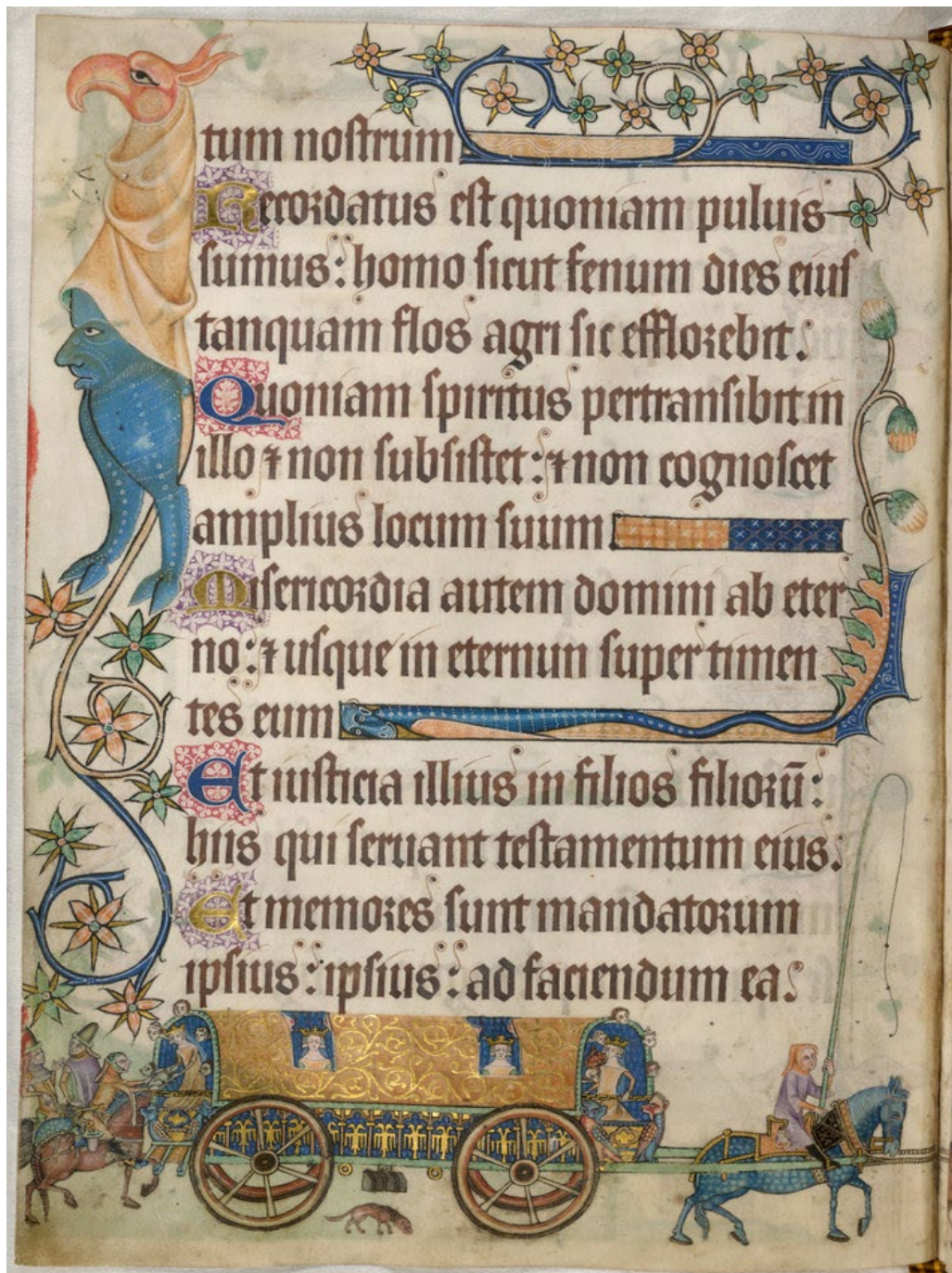
Richard the second, being threatned by the rebels of Kent, rode from the Tower of London to the Myles end, and with him his mother, because she was sicke and weake in a Wherlicote, the Earles of Buckingham, Kent, Warwicke and Oxford, Sir *Thomas Percie*, Sir *Robert Knowles*, the Mayor of London, Sir *Aubery de Vere* that bare the kinges sword, with other Knights and Esquiers attending on horsebacke (1603, vol. 1, p. 84).

According to the *Survey*, it was acceptable for the king's mother to traverse the medieval City by whirlicote but the king and his male entourage were supposed to ride on horseback. Whereas the *Survey* emphasises that travelling in whirlicotes and chariots was a privilege reserved for elite women, there is no such clear association between Perrers and her means of transport, even though the procession to Smithfield appears to have been grand enough an occasion to warrant horse-drawn carriages. By omitting any explicit reference to Perrers making her way to fourteenth-century

³⁶ Westminster Abbey, 'Richard II and Anne of Bohemia' <<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/richard-ii-and-anne-of-bohemia>> [accessed 13 September 2024].

³⁷ A chariot first denoted a 'stately vehicle for the conveyance of persons; a triumphal car, a car of state, or a carriage for private use' in 1374. Entry 'chariot, *n.*, 1.b.', *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024]; The term 'whirlicote' denoted a 'coach, carriage' from 1381 onwards. Entry 'whirlicote, *n.*', *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

Smithfield in a chariot, the *Survey* can be seen to convey to the reader that this woman was not the lawful wife of the king and therefore not a legitimate female member of the royal household (fig. 2.2).



2.2 'Royal Ladies' Travelling Coach', ca. 1325-1335, in Luttrell Psalter. © British Library Board (Add. 42130, f.181v).

Moreover, what looks at first glance like a potentially unintended reading of the horse-indexed cultural shorthand ‘rode’ as riding on horseback in fact introduces gender ambiguity and portrays the king’s mistress as a quasi-masculine figure. Admittedly, it is possible to make the counter-argument that early modern readers might have taken it as a given that Perrers rode in a chariot. Nonetheless, the likelihood that Perrers was on horseback is strengthened by the *Survey*’s description of two knights who at a Smithfield tournament in 1393 ‘rode together certaine courses’ and also ‘*Cookeborne* Esquier of Scotland, [who] chalenged sir *Nicholas Hawberke* knight, and rode fiue courses’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 31) the same year. In these portrayals of martial competitions, the horse-indexed cultural short-hand ‘rode’ only needs to imply rather than spell out that each of the participants was mounted. In this light, the *Survey* conveys Perrers in a gender-ambiguous manner that could be construed twofold; firstly, as her acting out an equine practice that was reserved primarily for male aristocrats at the time and especially in relation to chivalric spectacles such as tournaments and, secondly, as a trailblazer for the impending fashion of women riding side-saddle.

One possible motive for such a textual reimagining and omission of the chariot is to make the event more palatable morally. By turning Perrers into a chivalric personage, the *Survey* overwrites social ambivalence and transforms a controversial historical figure into a more fitting example with which to bestow honour onto this particular aristocratic procession to Smithfield. From a literary and animal studies perspective, the metonymic relations between Perrers and her imagined mount turn her into a rider leading a procession of mounted warriors and thereby mirroring unquestionable aristocratic authority. Processioning in a chariot undermines the engendering of chivalric masculinity since the top-down hierarchy between rider and

horse is no longer given. Such chivalric refashioning circumvents but nonetheless engages with early modern controversy about travel in horse-drawn carriages. The coach, as the early modern successor of the chariot, harboured a host of unwanted cultural baggage in the early modern period that hindered rather than furthered nostalgic mythmaking. For instance, the 1603 *Survey* points out already at the beginning of the seventeenth century that ‘*coatches* [...] [have been] made so common, as there is neither distinction of time, nor difference of persons obserued’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 84) any longer. Other writers expanded on such misgivings about the undesirable ubiquity of the coach by adding overt gender implications. One such example for the period between the 1603 and 1633 *Survey* editions is the water poet John Taylor telling his reader in 1623 that ‘a *Coach* is common, so is a whore’.³⁸ Moreover, the character Knockem in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) hyperbolically claims that coaches ‘are as common as wheelbarrows’ and with the lurid distinction between ‘ride and be ridden’ mocks men who buy their wives coaches only to be cuckolded in them.³⁹ A mistress of low rank riding in a chariot like a queen opens up the scene to criticism about her gender, status and relationship with the king. It is tempting to oversimplify a reading of the sparsely descriptive expression ‘rode’ as basing itself on the understanding that Perrers was likely to be riding in a carriage or as an attempt to purposefully mislead the reader. However, to ride means *not* to be ridden and engenders horse-man hybridity instead. In this light, the omission of the chariot introduces gender ambiguity and weakens the moral, social and political controversy surrounding Perrers’s status and influence, thereby mythologising her participation in the procession for romance-appreciating audiences.

³⁸ Taylor, *The VVorld Runnes on Wheelles*, sig. Bbb4v. This pamphlet was first published in 1623. I am citing from a revised collection of all Taylor’s works published in 1630.

³⁹ *Bartholomew Fair*, 4.5.89-93.

The metonymic relationship between Perrers and her accompanying lords and ladies equally fulfils readerly expectations of chivalric masculinity because the allusion to Perrers atop a horse conveys mastery of a noble steed and of the spectacle more broadly. In this way, the *Survey* asks the reader to perceive Perrers's position as elevated and to compare it to 'euery Lady [other than Perrers] leading a Lord by his horse bridle' (1603, vol. 2, p. 30). These women seem to be participating on foot and therefore contrast starkly to the '60. Ladyes of honour mounted vpon palfraies, riding on the one side, richly apparrelled' (1603, vol. 2, p. 30) attending a procession to Smithfield tournaments in 1391 that I explore below. Consequently, the *Survey* portrays Perrers as the only female participant who is mounted and does not lead a knight by the horse's bridle. Metonymically speaking, Perrers's peers on this occasion are not the female but the male procession participants since the *Survey* puts the king's mistress at eye-level with the lords on horseback.⁴⁰

To single out a supposedly mounted Perrers even further, the *Survey* references the character that the king's mistress was emulating on the occasion. According to the *ODNB*, Perrers 'was exhibited to the Londoners as the Lady of the Sun [...] [and s]uch disregard for conventional morality did not pass without criticism'.⁴¹ Kay attributes moral impropriety to '[t]he hint of paganism' in Perrers declaring herself Lady of the Sun.⁴² However, the likely cause of the Church's outrage at Perrers's choice of festive attire was that, as Lady of the Sun, Perrers emulated the 'Woman Clothed with the Sun' (fig. 2.3) from the Book of Revelation:

[1] And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:

⁴⁰ Miller, p. 962.

⁴¹ C. Given-Wilson, 'Perrers [Other Married Name Windsor], Alice (D. 1401/02), Royal Mistress', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, entry dated 2004, rev. 2019), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/21977.

⁴² Kay, p. 110.

[2] And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

[3] And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.

[4] And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

[5] And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

[6] And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.⁴³



2.3 Albrecht Dürer, 'Woman Clothed with the Sun, and the Seven-Headed Dragon', Harvard Art Museums/ Fogg Museum, Gray Collection of Engravings Fund, Photo President and Fellows of Harvard College (G4463).

⁴³ *Bible*, King James Version, Revelation 12.1-6 < <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/k/kjv/kjv-idx?type=DIV2&byte=5412534> > [accessed 14 September 2024].

The early Church and Catholics to this day interpret, amongst other readings, this female figure as the virgin Mary and the boy child as Jesus.⁴⁴ In light of Revelation making explicit reference to the woman wearing a crown and the idea that her son was meant to ‘rule all nations’, it is plausible that contemporaries perceived Perrers presenting herself as the Lady of the Sun as making claims to the throne and therefore as not only unbridled (pun intended) hubris but also blasphemy.⁴⁵ Whilst Kay may be misguided about his pagan reading of the character that Perrers played on the occasion, he is right to point out that as Lady of the Sun Perrers fashioned herself into the object of courtly love: a pivotal custom in the world of medieval chivalry. The rules of chivalric courtship put the mistress, rather than the wife, at the centre of knightly attention, and thereby legitimised the former’s place in aristocratic society. The mistress could be venerated as an unobtainable higher being whilst unmarried. Even if a woman was of a higher rank, after marriage she had to subordinate herself to her husband.⁴⁶

As Perrers was not of aristocratic stock, she used the high regard of the mistress in the courtly love tradition to elevate her own status symbolically and represent her relationship with the king as complying with the code of chivalric morality. For this reason, it is only the other ladies who ‘lead[...] a Lord by his horse bridle’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 30). These women are linked to their male counterparts by being made to look up physically and metaphorically to the mounted warrior nearest to them and by his riding paraphernalia acting as a conduit for the metonymic and metaphorical dynamics at play. The portrayal of Perrers as riding sets her apart from and above the other female

⁴⁴ Fr. William Saunders, ‘Woman Clothed with the Sun’, *Catholic Education Resource Centre* <<https://catholiceducation.org/en/culture/woman-clothed-with-the-sun.html>> [accessed 10 October 2024].

⁴⁵ Revelation 12:5.

⁴⁶ Kay, pp. 111, 113.

processioners. The knights participating on horseback were allowed and even supposed to venerate Perrers from afar but only the king held the right to intimacy. Whilst problematic from the Church's standpoint, the biblical association between 'Woman Clothed with the Sun' and the virgin Mary makes the evocation of female unattainability all the stronger. Paradoxically, both mistress and virgin can be read as superior to other women. Alan Young argues that tournaments, and the pageantry such spectacles involved, allowed Tudor monarchs to 'consolidat[e] and maintain[...] domestic unity and regal authority'.⁴⁷ The Perrers procession in the *Survey* implies that the Plantagenets revived chivalric ideals with equal enthusiasm. Citywide processions consolidated royal claims to legitimate superiority and silenced any opposing views. In the *Survey*, chivalric rituality achieves the same effect. Perrers's controversial influence over the king and her sexual politics fade into the background in the presence of processional horses and the chivalric honour that the associated pageantry bestowed onto not only Smithfield as the final destination but all the major thoroughfares which the procession passed on its way.

Fetishes and Gendered Horsemanship in the Tower Royal Procession

A 1391 procession from Tower Royal is another powerful example dating back to the Middle Ages through which the *Survey* portrays the urban arteries enroute to Smithfield as a chivalric space:

In the 14. of *Richard* the second, after *Frosart*, royall Iustes and Turnements were proclaimed to be done in Smithfield, to begin on sunday next after the feast of saint *Michael*: many strangers came forth of other countries [...]. At the day appoynted, there issued forth of the tower, about the third houre of the day, 60. coursers, apparrelled for the Iusts, and vpon euery one an Esquier of honour riding a soft pace: then came forth 60. Ladyes of honour mounted vpon palfraies, riding on the one side, richly apparrelled, and euery Lady led a knight with a chayne of gold. Those knights being on the Kings party, had their

⁴⁷ Young, p. 35.

Armour and apparrell garnished with white Hartes and Crownes of gold about the Harts neckes, & so they came riding through the streetes of London to Smithfield (1603, vol. 2, p. 30).

As with the Perrers procession, the *Survey* pays close attention to the processional logistics of this Smithfield-bound equine spectacle. Whilst Tower Royal in Cordwainer Street ward as a starting point did not facilitate as long a route as the Tower of London did, its central location enabled participants to procession to Smithfield along streets that crowds recognised as good vantage points for enjoying the build-up to tournaments. For example, the Tower Royal aristocrats and their guests could follow in Perrers's footsteps and procession north-west towards and then along Cheapside. Alternatively, processioners might have preferred to stay south of Cheapside by following Knightrider Street in Castle Baynard ward which 'ran east-west from Dowgate Street to Addle Hill, crossing College Hill, Garlick Hill, Trinity Lane, Huggin Lane, Bread Street, Old Fish Street Hill, Lambert or Lambeth Hill, St. Peter's Hill, and Paul's Chain'.⁴⁸ They would then skirt St Paul's, keeping the cathedral building to their north, and head through Newgate to enter Smithfield via Giltspur Street (figs. 1.5, 1.6 and 2.7).

The chivalric toponyms of 'Knightrider Street' and 'Giltspur Street' show that the latter route discussed above had a longstanding processional heritage which coloured how Londoners saw and experienced certain urban arteries as spaces which they considered more noteworthy than others. The *Survey* tells its reader that 'betwixt the said Newgate, and the parrish church of S. *Sepulchers* is a way towardes Smithfield, called Guilt spurre, or Knightriders streete, of the knightes and other riding that way into Smith fielde' (1603, vol. 2, p. 22). The *Survey* here confuses matters

⁴⁸ 'Knightrider Street', *MoEML* <<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm>> [accessed 14 September 2024].

somewhat by stating that Giltspur Street was also known as Knightriders Street and was therefore almost identical in name to the street that the *Survey* identifies as Knightrider Street in Castle Baynard ward just around the corner from Tower Royal.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, this toponymic doubling up evokes the knightly world of mounted warriors all the stronger. On the one hand, toponymic commentary for the streets leading towards Smithfield pinpoints an advantageous location from which to watch pre-tournament processions. On the other hand, the *Survey*'s attention to this particular processional route claims medieval Smithfield as an unmistakably chivalric domain. In other words, Smithfield is portrayed as the one urban place in which history was so entwined with the sounds and sights of chivalric customs that riders such as knights and their equestrian paraphernalia such as spurs had left their mark on its very topography. In the *Survey* and its nostalgic version of medieval London, all paths led not to Rome but to Smithfield and Londoners only had to remember street names to find their way to the chivalric heart of their City.

Along with processional logistics, the *Survey* evokes nostalgia by fetishising specific aspects of processional ritual in its portrayal of the Tower Royal procession. The first two aspects under consideration are medieval horses and armour in that '60. coursers [...] [were] apparelled for the Iusts, and [...] palfraies [...] [were] richly apparelled' (1603, vol. 2, p. 30). The emphasis here lies on the procession participants not limiting themselves to the inherent chivalry of their horsemanship but also manifesting their chivalric accolades by physically embellishing their equine counterparts. Since the coursers were apparelled for the jousts, it is likely that plated armour featured on the horses' bodies and, by mirroring the knights' '[a]rmour and

⁴⁹ The *Survey* spells Knightrider Street as Knightriders (plural) Street in the chapter about Castle Barnard ward and in several more chapters.

apparrell [which were] garnished with white Hartes and Crownes of gold about the Harts neckes' (1603, vol. 2, p. 30), evoked horse-man hybridity. We can turn to sixteenth-century horsemanship manuals for evidence that the military apparel of horses was held in equally high esteem as the clothing of their human counterparts. In *The Art of Riding* (1584), Claudio Corte sets out that equine armour was necessary because, when under attack on the battlefield, 'the strokes which offend horsses most, are those that be giuen vpon their faces. Therefore, to the end your horsse may beare them without harme or impatience, you shall do well to arme him with a shaffron'.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Claudio Corte, *The Art of Riding* (London: By H. Denham, 1584), sig. N3v.



2.4 Horse Armour. Reproduced with kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Armourers and Brasiers, London.

A shaffron was a metal covering for the horse's head (fig. 2.4). Marina Vallion explains that such protective headgear was often ornately embossed and that full horse

armour consisted of a saddle, ‘a crinet (neck defense) and a shaffron (head defense)’.⁵¹

Yet, according to Markham’s military manual, medieval warhorses could be armoured far more elaborately:

For [...] [the horse’s] furniture, it should be either a Barbe of Steele or a Caparison of Bend-leather, arming from the pole of the necke to the pomell of the Saddle, and so round about his brest: as also from the hinder part of the Saddle over all his buttockes, and downe to the Cambrell: He shall haue a Shaffron for his forehead, and for the other part of his head, an headstall, and raynes of broad leather [...] and in his mouth a faire Bitt; on his backe a Steele-saddle, with three Girtes of double Webb, with Stirrops, Stirrop-leathers, for his Tayle a faire Saker, with rich Tassels, and a strong Twynsell.⁵²

In the same way that medieval mounted warriors were covered in armour from head to toe, equal care was taken to protect the horse by covering it from ‘forehead’ to ‘buttockes, [...] Cambrell [...] and [...] Tayle’ with protective gear.⁵³ Importantly, Markham describes the horse’s bit and saker as ‘fair’ and the tassels as ‘rich’ which echoes his portrayal of ‘faire Brestplats [...] and Backpeeces [...] for the [...] bodies’ of mounted warriors.⁵⁴ Consequently, both human and equine military apparel served not only a practical necessity and offered protection from injury but also conveyed chivalric aesthetics to the audience.

In its appended translation of William Fitzstephen’s twelfth-century description of London, the 1633 *Survey* encapsulates the many different pieces that make up human and equine body protection and their combined symbolic potency with

⁵¹ Marina Vallion, ‘An Autopsy of Renaissance Equestrianism: The Materials, Making, and Use of a ca. 1535 War Saddle from the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Rennes’, in *The Horse in Premodern European Culture*, ed. by Anastasija Ropa and Timothy Dawson (de Gruyter, 2019), pp. 193-202 (p.193).

⁵² Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, sig. F4r.

⁵³ Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, sig. F4r; Entry ‘cambrell, n., 2.’, *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024]: ‘The bend or joint of the upper part of a horse's hind leg; the hock’.

⁵⁴ Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, sig. F4r; According to the *OED*, the term ‘saker’ is another name for a dock as in ‘[a] piece of leather harness covering the clipped tail of a horse’. Entry ‘dock, n., 6.a.’, *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024]; See fig. 2.9 for the Armourers’ Saint George sculpture as an example of full body horse armour.

the term ‘brave Armour’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v). In the world of militaristic horsemanship, ‘brave’ denoted the quality of a horse-man’s protective apparel as ‘[w]orthy, excellent, good’ because to call someone or something brave in the seventeenth century, according to the *OED*, ‘express[ed] the superabundance of any valuable quality in men or things’.⁵⁵ In this light, there is no need for the *Survey* to spell out that horses wore their own noteworthy armour in the build-up to tournaments or during musters. Contemporary sources evidence that the horse-indexed cultural shorthands of ‘coursers, apparrelled for the Iusts’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 30) and ‘brave Armour’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v) allow the *Survey* to appropriate the bodies of horse-men and for them to paint the City in the idealising hues of chivalric masculinity.

Horses and their brave armour lent themselves to fetishisation because they were the primary target of militaristic spoiling, an act that Susan Harlan defines as ‘the sanctioned theft of the arms and armor of the vanquished and the rearrangement of these fragmentary materials into new aesthetic forms’.⁵⁶ Such sanctioned thefts occurred between chivalric opponents after battles as well as tournaments. Kay elaborates in terms of the spoiling of horses at the conclusion of peacetime martial competitions and war games:

No matter what the reason for the tournament, and whatever the relationship of victor and vanquished, the former always took possession of the weapons, armour, and warhorse of his captive. The weapons might not be of great worth except as trophies; the armour would not fit; but the horse, trained to obey orders and with considerable knowledge of the art of tourneying, was a very valuable prize indeed. Many a knight spent more on the purchase of his charger than on anything else he possessed.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Entry ‘brave, *adj.*, 3.’, *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

⁵⁶ Harlan, p. 2.

⁵⁷ Kay, p. 108.

Keen also emphasises the ‘economic as well as physical [risks of losing at a medieval tournament], since a defeated combatant could be taken prisoner, lose his horse, and have to pay a ransom’.⁵⁸ In addition to such economic and physical consequences, the spoiling of an experienced warhorse constituted a powerful symbolic act of gender-specific humiliation because the fetishised dynamics between human male and horse bodies during acts of training for hybridity were interrupted. Having forfeited his equine counterpart and armour, the defeated combatant was no longer a horse-man and without the chivalric prestige that came with being a mounted warrior, lost a significant aspect of his masculine identity. Consequently, horses and armour as fetishised objects, when withheld in the act of spoiling, had the power to emasculate. Such humiliating emasculation was often expressed theatrically ‘by displaying the [...] [vanquished opponent’s] armor, reversed, at the horse’s tail or by hanging his [...] heraldry emblem there’, according to Andrew G. Miller.⁵⁹ The metonymic positioning of disembodied armour and heraldry emblem facing backwards on a spoiled horse constituted an aesthetic antithesis of the forward-facing battle-readiness of a mounted warrior in possession and control of his noble steed. Consequently, the ‘60. coursers [...] [that were] apparelled for the Iusts’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 30) can be seen as a powerfully suggestive horse-indexed cultural shorthand in two senses: generally speaking, for the chivalric nostalgia-inducing qualities of warhorses and, more precisely, for the implicitly shared knowledge amongst onlookers that the processioning knights might not leave Smithfield tournaments with the horses and armour that they were so proudly parading through the City streets beforehand.

⁵⁸ Keen, p. 25.

⁵⁹ Miller, p. 980.

The other fetishised objects under consideration are the gold chains that belonged to the ritual inventory of the medieval knighthood and continued to be common prizes for winning tournament competitors in the early modern period.⁶⁰ Since the late Middle Ages, such trophies held both material and symbolic value and therefore lent themselves to fetishisation. For example, in the build-up to fourteenth-century tournaments and the competitions themselves, the solemnity inherent in ‘euery Lady le[ading] a knight with a chayne of gold’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 30) on horseback was theatrical but sincerely felt. According to Keen, the binding with gold chains came to signify a knight’s solemn return to the original purpose of chivalric horsemanship and a renewed resolve to defend king and country on the battlefield.⁶¹ Such elaborate rituals became necessary because in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tournaments transformed from preparing mounted warriors for battle in practical ways to fulfilling increasingly ceremonial functions.⁶²

In the *Survey*, the Tower Royal processioners incorporate ritualistic elements into their horse-led spectacle which were in themselves a form of late medieval nostalgia for the martial origins of their chivalric heritage. Boehrer argues that tournaments continued to lose their functionality so that by the early modern period the knightly class had declined from an active force of fighters to sedentary gentry.⁶³ However, Young’s numerous examples of Tudor and Jacobean tournaments show that attendant equine pageantry did not lose its chivalric currency in the period. Instead, consecutive early modern monarchs from Henry VIII to James I deployed these equine spectacles in an attempt to consolidate their domestic power and enhance their

⁶⁰ Young, p. 50.

⁶¹ Keen, p. 212.

⁶² Keen, p. 205.

⁶³ Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p. 42.

international prestige.⁶⁴ In this light, the *Survey* conjures a sense of rupture between medieval and early modern equine pageantry by omitting references to gold chains at sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tournament-related processions. Instead, the *Survey* evokes nostalgia for an already nostalgia-driven historical event because, according to Keen, medieval people purposefully embraced idealisations of the past and considered bygone principles as the best basis for improvement in the future.⁶⁵ Such a memory strategy telescopes the reader into an idealised version of medieval London. In doing so, the *Survey* advocates the continuing relevance of a medieval approach to nostalgia by conveying a specifically late medieval chivalric honour which, in line with synchronic thinking, could and should make a cyclical comeback in seventeenth-century London.

The *Survey* also evokes chivalric nostalgia by referencing coursers and palfreys. The English nobility prized these two kinds of horses from the Middle Ages onwards.⁶⁶ In the heyday of chivalry, the term ‘courser’ denoted any large horse that could be ridden and trained into a prestigious warhorse. In terms of equine aesthetics, Peter Edwards writes that coursers added particular splendour to processions as tournament competitors valued these animals for their impressive size and fashionable head shape.⁶⁷ On the one hand, the ‘Esquier[s] of honour riding [these coursers at] a soft pace’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 30) convey the poise and grace with which elite men wanted to be perceived as mastering these visually appealing and powerful horses. On the other hand, the courser’s physical strength and aesthetics projected a majesty which a mounted warrior could bestow onto himself by displaying control over such a highly

⁶⁴ Young, pp. 35-39.

⁶⁵ Keen, p. 216.

⁶⁶ Hill Curth, p. 22.

⁶⁷ Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (Continuum Books, 2007), p. 11.

esteemed warhorse. Palfreys, on the other hand, had broader uses. Miller writes that medieval women and men typically chose palfreys for travelling but the term ‘palfrey’ could also denote a type of mule often ridden by ‘women and clerics’.⁶⁸ The *OED* makes the gendered implications more concrete by distinguishing palfreys as ‘horse[s] for ordinary riding (as distinct from a warhorse); *esp.* a small saddle horse for a woman’.⁶⁹ The *Survey* reflects a conventional association of coursers with male riders and palfreys with female riders and portrays the latter smaller horses as a preferred choice of the ‘Ladies of honour’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 30). Yet, in contradiction to the *OED*, there is nothing ordinary about the richly attired palfreys participating in the Tower Royal procession because the *Survey* only mentions this kind of horse in relation to this particular aristocratic spectacle and the reader is not given any other examples of, for instance, citizens riding such horses.

Whereas the 1603 and 1633 *Survey* editions safeguard the elitist heritage of coursers and palfreys to bestow honour onto the City as a whole in a sincerely-felt evocation of chivalric nostalgia, Francis Beaumont’s 1613 city comedy *Knight of the Burning Pestle* appropriates the aristocratic elitism inherent in the ownership of such horses and their idealised portrayals in romances to conflate the ambitions of chivalric and citizen classes for satirical effect. For example, the rhetorical transformation of all horses into palfreys embellishes the mythmaking that the grocer’s apprentice Rafe sets in motion by claiming a knightly title for himself and taking off on a make-believe chivalric adventure:

RAFE My beloved squire, and George my dwarf, I charge you that from henceforth you never call me by any other name but the ‘Right Courteous and Valiant Knight of the Burning Pestle’; and that you never call any female by the name of a woman or wench, but ‘Fair

⁶⁸ Miller, p. 969.

⁶⁹ Entry ‘palfrey, *n.*’, *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

Lady', if she have her desires, if not, 'Distressed Damsel'; that you call all forests and heaths 'deserts', and all horses 'palfreys'.⁷⁰

The inherent link between ladies, damsels and palfreys remains intact. Rafe could have chosen to turn all horses into coursers. However, the gender implications of palfreys make for a better comical attack on chivalric masculinity because, according to Cynthia Jenéy, 'the implication is always present that women and men who ride palfreys [...] do so because they are not as "strong" or "manly" as the great knights'.⁷¹ William Hunt argues that the play's disparaging take on knightly values initially flopped because Beaumont misjudged the extent to which an earnest belief in chivalric honour persisted among his London audience and was much greater than anticipated at the time.⁷² The nostalgic solemnity with which the *Survey* invests processioning coursers and palfreys is therefore much more in touch with the continuing appreciation of chivalry as a medieval but still relevant and adaptable value system among seventeenth-century Londoners.

Contrary to Rafe's claims in *The Knight*, not all horses could become palfreys. For this reason, the *Survey* foregrounds the aesthetics inherent in the chivalric horsemanship of not only male riders and their coursers but also of women riding their palfreys at the Tower Royal procession. From an aesthetic and metonymic perspective, the ladies 'mounted vpon palfraies' also played their part by 'riding on the one side' (1603, vol. 2, p. 30). According to the *Survey*, women riding side-saddle had been a custom for less than a decade at the time of the Tower Royal procession and was still a relatively new and fashionable way to move through the City streets in 1391. The

⁷⁰ Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. by Sheldon P. Zitner (Manchester University Press, 1984), 1.273-279.

⁷¹ Cynthia Jenéy, 'Politics and Horsemanship in Chrétien de Troyes' "Erec et Enide", *Arthuriana*, 27.3 (2017), pp. 37-65 (p. 44).

⁷² Hunt, pp. 212-213.

ladies' metonymic relations to their palfreys adds refinement to the 'individual honour' of the mounted lords they lead by a gold chain.⁷³ Such emphasis on male and female riding aesthetics shows that whilst nostalgically appreciating the militant days of early mounted warriors as the source of martial honour, chivalric ideals also contributed to, in Young's words, 'skill and grace in the martial arts [...] beg[inning] to take precedence over brute force, cunning and endurance' in the Middle Ages.⁷⁴ The *Survey* aims for an evocative literary middle ground from which to bestow honour from both conceptions of chivalry onto the City without marring either the reputation of the predecessors or the successors of London's fourteenth-century knighthood.

Elite men and women skilfully riding costly adorned coursers and palfreys must have been a marvellous sight that left a lasting impression not only on the onlooking crowd but also the *Survey*'s romance-appreciating readership. From a memory studies perspective, the *Survey* deploys the militant and ceremonial roles which both coursers and palfreys fulfilled as a fetishised 'mnemonic tool', to borrow Pollmann's words, and thereby reconnects nostalgic audiences with the distinctively chivalric version of the medieval past that they wished to relive in the act of reading romance.⁷⁵ This literary strategy allows the *Survey* to set a ritualistic benchmark for how to 'rid[e] through the streetes of London' (1603, vol. 2, p. 30) with the portrayal of visually striking and symbolically powerful horse bodies at aristocratic processions.

Cloaking Civic Culture in Neofeudal Decor: The Fishmongers' Procession

⁷³ James Titterton, 'Por Pris et Por Enor: Ideas of Honour as Reflected in the Medieval Tournament', in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'Armes, 1100-1600*, ed. by Alan V. Murray and Karen Watts (Boydell Press, 2020), pp. 44-61 (p. 52), doi: 10.1017/9781787449237.

⁷⁴ Young, p. 18.

⁷⁵ Pollmann, p. 101.

The *Survey* applies the same ritualistic benchmark to civic procession participants and paints processions in chivalric light even if they were not staged by the medieval knighthood. The 1298 Fishmongers' procession exemplifies twofold nostalgic mythmaking. On the one hand, the Fishmongers adapted chivalric rituality with the help of horses to increase their Company's standing in medieval society. On the other hand, the example that the Fishmongers set allows the *Survey* to cloak mercantile London past and present in neofeudal decor. For these reasons, the *Survey* both telescopes and digresses by offering a detailed insight into the roles that civic procession participants and their horses played on this occasion:

[I]n the yeare 1298. for victorie obtained by *Edward* the first agaynst the Scots, euery Citizen according to their seuerall trade, made their seuerall shew, but specially the Fishmongers, which in a solemne Procession passed through the Citie, hauing amongst other Pageants and shews, foure Sturgeons guilt, caried on four horses: then foure Salmons of silver on foure horses, and after them six & fortie armed knights riding on horses, made like Lucus of the sea, and then one representing Saint *Magnes*, because it was vpon S. *Magnes* day, with a thousand horsemen, &c (1603, vol. 1, pp. 95-96).

The *Survey* here pays homage to thirteenth-century citizens marking Edward I's battle success, 'according to their seuerall trade' (1603, vol. 1, p. 95), and names the Fishmongers as noteworthy contributors. The Fishmongers, who mostly based themselves in 'Thames streete: [...] in Knightriders streete, and Bridge streete' (1603, vol. 1, p. 81) in the early modern period, according to the *Survey*, were then and still are one of the Great Twelve Livery Companies in the City. Whilst fishmongers had been working together in the City before Edward I came into power, it was during his reign that the Fishmongers' Company was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1272.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Livery Companies started as urban guilds as early as the twelfth century and, from their very beginnings, were 'charged to act as formal governance bodies for their namesake trades, [but] the Companies also offered fraternal, religious and social aspects to their members'. The Fishmongers' Company, 'Traditions & Treasures' <<https://fishmongers.org.uk/traditions-treasures/>> [accessed 15 September 2024].

Consequently, by singling out the Fishmongers' procession during the 1298 celebrations, the *Survey* asks its early modern readership to appreciate the imaginative manner in which one of their most powerful Livery Companies first distinguished itself as a creator and fosterer of civic culture.

As a relatively young Company, the Fishmongers' 1298 display of chivalric pageantry allowed them to establish themselves in the mercantile world of medieval London in three symbolic ways. Firstly, the *Survey* portrays the Fishmongers as evoking the cultural heritage of chivalric horsemanship by having considerable numbers of participants play armed and mounted knights, as demonstrated by the 'six & fortie armed knights riding on horses, [...] with a thousand horsemen' (1603, vol. 1, p. 96). That way, the Fishmongers, as a civic institution, associated themselves with the martial origins of chivalry. The *Survey* does not criticise the Fishmongers for bestowing this distinctively aristocratic accolade onto themselves in their pageantry. On the contrary, the above passage registers approval in the quantifying of the forty-six mounted knights and one thousand horsemen in the same way that the chronicles and chorographies under my consideration foreground historical battles as noteworthy whenever large quantities of chivalric warriors and their horses struggled for glory together. In line with unifying chivalric nostalgia as one of its primary memory strategies, the *Survey* does not distinguish between aristocratic and civic horse-men. As long as their numbers impressed, the chivalric traits of their shared processional rituality transferred without controversy or objections between civic and aristocratic procession participants. When put in relation to each other, the portrayal of both groups tapped into the neofeudal aesthetics appreciated by the early modern citizen class and readers of romance alike.



2.5 'Knights Jousting [with Their Horses Wearing Shaffrons and Caparisons]', ca. 1446. © British Library Board (Harley 4205 f.12).

Secondly, it is significant that the knights' horses were made up to look like hake, or 'Luces of the sea' (1603, vol. 1, p. 96), according to the *Survey*.⁷⁷ For an early modern example of processional horses being disguised as fish, Hill cites Thomas

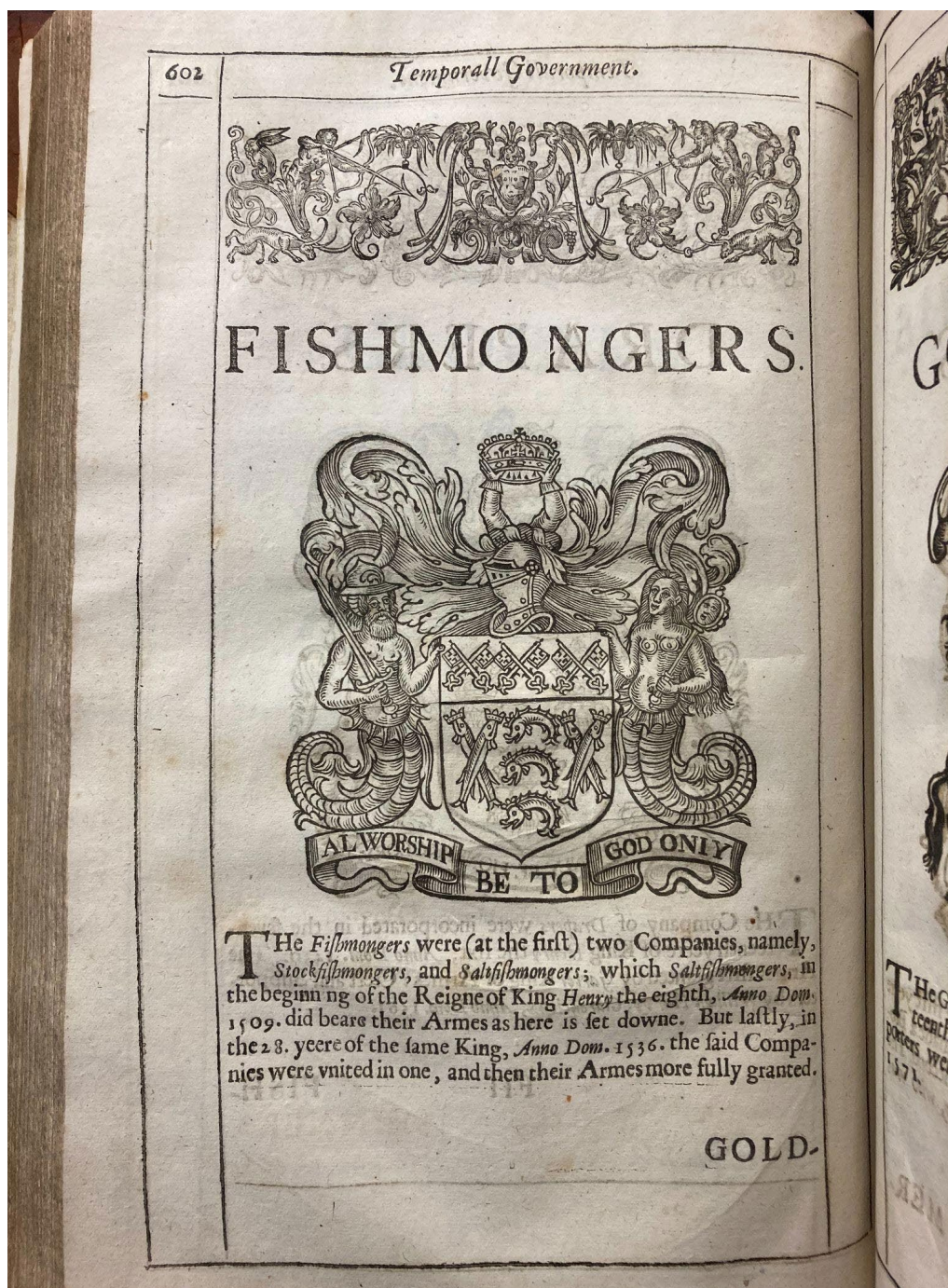
⁷⁷ Entry 'luce of the sea, sea-luce, *n.*, 2.', *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

Dekker's 1612 Lord Mayor's Show *Troia-Noua Triumphans* and suggests that the horses 'may have been hung with painted cloths to create the effect'.⁷⁸ In the context of the Fishmongers' medieval procession, it is plausible that the participants reappropriated caparisons which were 'large textile coverings for the entire horse' (fig. 2.5).⁷⁹ Such ornamental cloths displayed a rider's heraldic lineage on the battlefield and at tournaments and became part of standard horse armour from the early thirteenth century onwards. Since the caparison served a chivalric function, covering equine bodies at the 1298 procession with animal symbols does not diminish the potent horse-man hybridity (see fig. 2.5) I have established in the examples of aristocratic processions discussed above. Instead, the Fishmongers' hake-styled livery repurposes aristocratic modes of heraldic mythmaking such as that of the Tower Royal knights and 'their Armour and apparrell garnished with white Hartes' (1603, vol. 2, p. 30). Whilst the Fishmongers did not receive their coat of arms (fig. 2.6) until 1512, the emblems of stylised fish as well as armed and armoured merman echo the pageantry of their medieval predecessors.⁸⁰ Consequently, medieval and early modern Fishmongers alike tailored chivalric traditions to portray their trade in an aggrandising manner.

⁷⁸ Hill, pp. 152-153.

⁷⁹ The Met New York, 'Horse Armour in Europe' <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/hors/hd_hors.htm> [accessed 15 September 2024].

⁸⁰ The Fishmongers' Company, 'Our History' <<https://fishmongers.org.uk/our-history/>> [accessed 15 September 2024].



2.6 Fishmongers' Coat of Arms, *Survey* (1633), sig. Ffflv. Reproduced with kind permission of the University of Bristol Library, Special Collections (HAj).

Thirdly, a total of eight horses carried 'four Sturgeons guilt' and 'then four Salmons of silver' (1603, vol. 1, p. 96). At first glance, horses only act as a means of transport here. However, representing the fish-shaped pageants in the colour of precious metals and elevating them onto horses transforms gold sturgeons and silver

salmons into objects of fetishisation that shine like the armour-clad figures who follow on horseback. We have already encountered ‘Esquiers of honour’ and ‘Ladies of honour’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 30) at the Tower Royal procession who gain their honourable status in part through their top-down relation to their horses. Since the same metonymic relations are at work among civic procession participants and pageantic objects, we must consider the fetishised sturgeons and salmons as ‘fishes of honour’, symbolically ennobling the occupation of a fishmonger by being on horseback. In light of these chivalric appropriations, we find that the Fishmongers celebrated their monarch’s martial triumph by adapting an aristocratic format of horse-led processions in a way that reflected their unique, mercantile, contribution to the glory of the City.

Importantly, the thirteenth-century Fishmongers combined chivalric and religious elements in their mercantile pageantry, the combined cultural currency of which evokes nuanced nostalgia for romance-appreciating audiences in the *Survey*. For example, whilst the *Survey* does not divulge processional logistics for the occasion, the emphasis nonetheless lies on the Fishmongers undertaking a citywide spectacle because their ‘solemne Procession passed through the Citie [...] vpon S. *Magnes* day’ (1603, vol. 1, pp. 95-96). By praising the Fishmongers’ solemnity on a saint’s day, the *Survey* marks the procession as not only a victory celebration but also a rite of religious observance. Saint Magnus is the patron saint of the Church of St Magnus the Martyr in Bridge ward Within, the same ward where we find Fishmongers’ Hall to this day. Whilst church officials have attributed Magnus’s identity to different martyrs throughout history, an early twentieth-century statue in the church building represents Saint Magnus as an armed soldier wearing a protective

helmet and clothing.⁸¹ The fact that the rider embodying Saint Magnus in the Fishmongers' procession was dressed as a mounted warrior indicates that this particular martyr had been regarded as a source of religious and martial inspiration since the likely foundation of the church in the eleventh century.

By describing a chivalric Saint Magnus atop a horse disguised as fish, the *Survey* lays out for its reader how the Fishmongers achieved in a single horse-led spectacle the solemn veneration of a Catholic warrior saint, the promotion of their monarch's military campaign, the celebration of a church close to the home of their corporate community and the assertion of mercantile symbols that represented their stake in the City. Detailed and repeated listings were one of the ways in which early modern writers attached emotional significance to certain aspects of their local history. Consequently, the quantifying of the Fishmongers' knights, horse-men and fishes acts as a literary memory practice which transports the *Survey* reader back to a moment in time that was so extraordinary in its inherent chivalry and solemnity that it was deserving of commemoration.

Heyday, Discontinuation, Revival and Loss of the Midsummer Watch

The *Survey* does not limit its chivalric nostalgia to the medieval past. Instead, the *Survey* mourns early modern changes to the Midsummer Watch and sets up an exaggerated sense of rupture between pre- and post-Reformation Watch traditions. In doing so, the *Survey* contests official discourses of forgetting which I have shown above to be evident in legislation from the reign of Henry VIII onwards. The portrayal of the Midsummer Watch is noteworthy because it is the only example of a

⁸¹ Saint Magnus the Martyr, 'The History of the Church' <<https://www.stmagnusmartyr.org.uk/the-history-of-the-church/>> [accessed 15 September 2024].

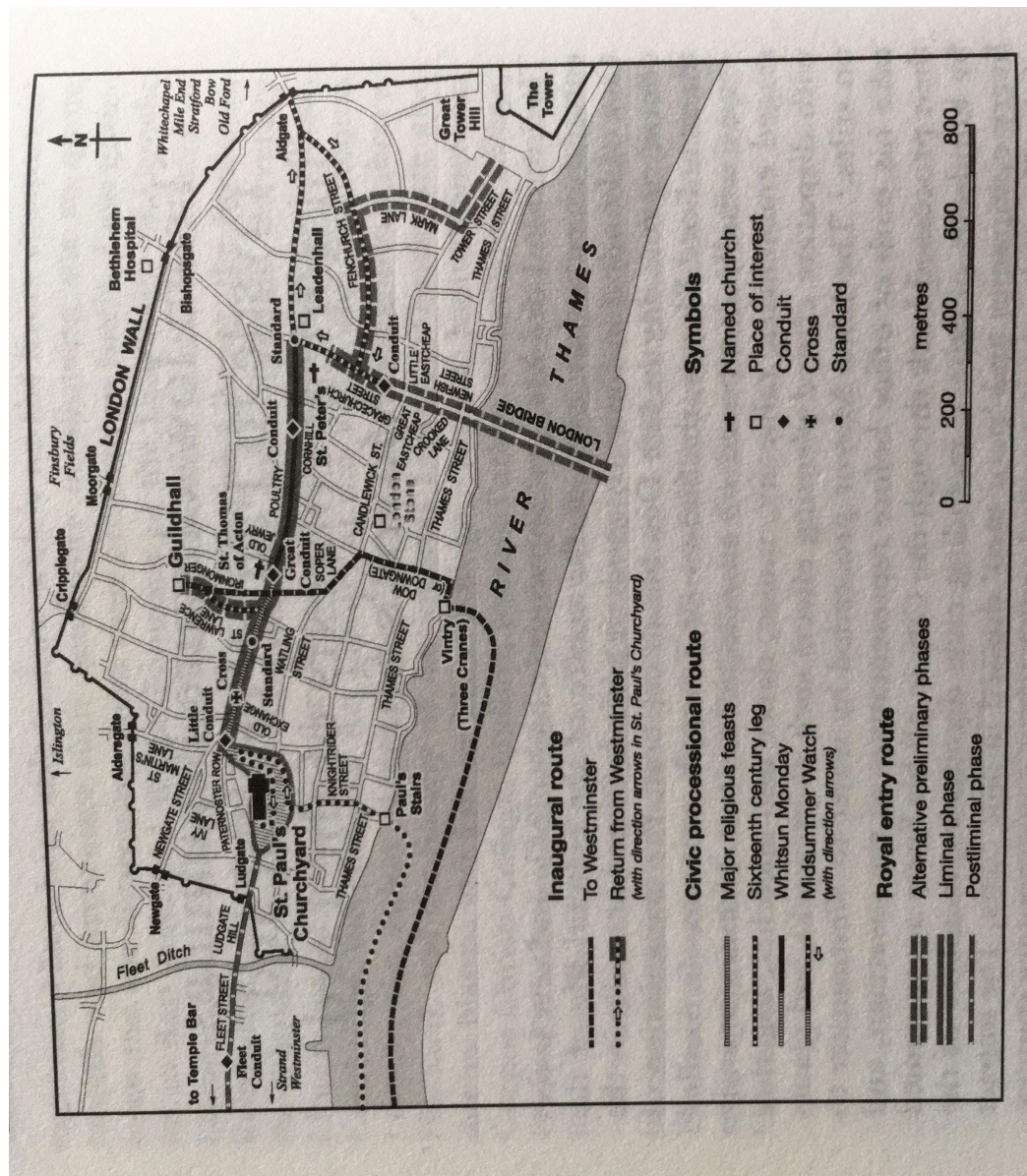
diachronically tracked processional tradition and one of the few accounts of early modern pageantry in the *Survey*. According to Anne Lancashire, the Watch had served military and security purposes since the twelfth century and ‘[b]y the early sixteenth century [...] had become the city’s largest, most spectacular annual occasion for processional display’.⁸² The Watch mattered to the 1603 and 1633 *Survey* editors to the extent that they elaborated on both related pre- and post-Reformation practices. In terms of the pre-Reformation Watch format, the *Survey* digresses at length to bring the extravagance of proceedings to life for its readership:

[A] marching watch, that passed through the principal streets thereof, to wit, from the litle Conduit by Paules gate, through west Cheape, by ye Stocks, through Cornhill, by Leaden hall to Aldgate, then backe downe Fenchurch streete, by Grasse church, aboute Grasse church Conduite, and vp Grasse church streete into Cornhill, and through it into west Cheape againe, and so broke vp: [...] The marching watch contained in number about 2000. men, parte of them being olde Souldiers, of skill to be Captains, Lieutenants, Sergeants, Corporals, &c. Wiflers, Drommers, and Fifes, Standard and Ensigne bearers, Sword players, Trumpeters on horsebacke, Demilaunces on great horses, Gunners with hand Guns, or halfe hakes, Archers in coates of white fustian signed on the breast and backe with the armes of the Cittie, their bowes bent in their handes, with sheafes of arrowes by their sides, Pike men in bright Corslets, Burganets, &c. Holbards, the like Bill men in Almaine Riuetts, and Apernes of Mayle in great number, there were also diuers Pageants, Morris dancers, Constables, the one halfe which was 120. on S. *Iohns* Eue, the other halfe on S. *Peters* Eue in bright harnesse, some ouergilte, and euery one a Iornet of Scarlet thereupon, and a chaine of golde, his Hench man following him, his Minstrels before him, and his Cresset light passing by him, the Waytes of the City, the Mayors Officers, for his guard before him, all in a Liurey [...], the Mayor himselfe well mounted on horseback, the sword bearer before him in fayre Armour well mounted also, the Mayors footmen, & the like Torch bearers about him, Hench men twaine, vpon great stirring horses following him (1603, vol. 1, pp. 102-103).

The *Survey* again displays a keen eye for processional logistics and introduces its retelling of the pre-Reformation Midsummer Watch by laying out its route and direction of travel for the reader, thereby attaching primary importance to the

⁸² REED CL, vol. 1, p. xxxiv.

topographical reach of this procession. Whereas both the previous examples of aristocratic processions in the *Survey* cross the City diagonally south-east to north-west to Smithfield beyond the City walls, the Midsummer Watch confines itself to intramural markets such as Cheapside, Cornhill, Leadenhall and follows these commercial arteries in the opposite direction from St Paul's Gate in the west to Aldgate in the east (fig. 2.7).



2.7 Processional routes in Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power* (2010), p. 2.
Reproduced with kind permission of Tracey Hill.

The *Survey* portrays Leadenhall not only as topographically central to proceedings but also as the operational home of the Midsummer Watch:

The vse of Leaden hall in [...] [the narrator's] youth was [...] reserued for the most part to the making and resting of the pageants shewed at Midsommer in the watch: [...] the lofts aboue were partly vsed by the painters in working for the decking of pageants and other deuises, for beautifying of the watch and watchmen (1603, vol. 1, pp. 159-160).

Once past Leadenhall, the Watch deviates from its trajectory which runs parallel to the Thames and thereby effectively slices the City in half between river and City walls only to loop back to Cornhill and Cheapside via Fenchurch Street and the Gracechurch conduit. With a circuit mostly in Aldgate ward, the impressive procession of '2000. men' (1603, vol. 1, p. 102) reached eastern parts of the City that the Perrers and Tower Royal spectacles did not. Moreover, the Watch interacted with aristocratic procession formats by traversing partly in reverse to the customary route that royal entries followed from the Tower of London towards Westminster (fig. 2.7). In terms of civic occasions, whilst mayoral inaugurations did procession west to east, participants only reached 'the end of Lawrence Lane, near the Standard' and did not go any further east.⁸³ Consequently, whilst the pageantry of aristocratic and civic procession participants mirrored each other in many aspects, the City authorities avoided a complete overlap and forged a distinctive character for the Watch by varying its route from its aristocratic and civic counterparts alike.

Whilst a marching Watch in name, the *Survey* foregrounds the considerable number of horsemen who took part, such as '[t]rumpeters on horsebacke, Demilaunces on great horses, [...] the Mayor himselfe well mounted on horseback, the sword bearer before him in fayre Armour well mounted also, [...] Hench men twaine, vpon great

⁸³ Hill, p. 3.

stirring horses following him' (1603, vol. 1, pp. 102-103), thereby transforming another militaristic procession into an equine spectacle. Gordon and Hill write that eyewitnesses such as Stow's contemporary Henry Machyn bring to life in retellings of civic processions how '[s]pectacular visual stimuli are interspersed with strident auditory interventions' such as trumpets.⁸⁴ The *Survey* achieves the same sense of pageant extravaganza by introducing all other mounted participants with the sensory-laden image of trumpeters elevated on horseback in which both sight and sound evoke the spectacular. The trumpeters call attention to themselves and anyone else who, atop a horse, towers above the crowds and other Watch participants marching on foot. These not-to-be-missed musicians are chivalric figures not only because they participate on horseback but because they evoke the soundscapes of tournaments and military campaigns alike.⁸⁵

The equally chivalric 'Demilaunces on great horses' (1603, vol. 1, p. 102) who follow in the procession consolidate the trumpeters' auditory and visual claims to the knightly world. The term 'demi-lance' is already a metonymic description of a 'light horseman armed with a demilance' which was a 'lance with a short shaft'.⁸⁶ The *Survey* considers it necessary to draw attention to the fact that for the occasion of the Midsummer Watch these 'lightly armed cavalry soldier[s]' participated on 'great horses' (1603, vol. 1, p. 102).⁸⁷ With such double-coding of horse-indexed cultural shorthand, the *Survey*'s portrayal of the Watch leaves no doubt about the chivalric accolade of the procession participants.

⁸⁴ Andrew Gordon and Tracey Hill, 'Moving London: Pageantry and Performance in the Early Modern City', *The London Journal*, 47.1 (2022), pp. 1-12 (p. 4), doi: 10.1080/03058034.2022.1992210.

⁸⁵ Holinshed (1577) offers evidence of trumpets as chivalric soundscapes. For example, the English invading fifteenth-century Scotland were 'called [...] to the campe by sounde of trumpet, and forthwith theyr army was brought into order of battail', sig. Bb3r.

⁸⁶ Entry 'demi-lance, *n.*, 2. and 1.', *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

⁸⁷ Entry 'light horseman, *n.*, 1.a.', *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

The same horse-man hybridity that the *Survey* applies interchangeably to both aristocratic and civic procession participants in the above examples of chivalric pageantry also transfers on to the mayor and his entourage. As far as the figure of mayor was concerned, the incoming officeholder distinguished himself from the other processioners by being ‘well mounted on horseback’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 102). The attention to the high quality of mount reflects prestige and status onto the mayor just as the specifying of coursers and palfreys conveys chivalric ideals onto the lords and ladies in the Tower Royal procession. Moreover, the *Survey* frames the mayor in chivalric fashion by having ‘the sword bearer before him in fayre Armour well mounted also’ and his ‘Hench men twaine, vpon great stirring horses following him’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 103). Interestingly, whilst sword bearers have preceded mayors at ceremonies since the Middle Ages, they have tended to do so on foot (fig. 2.8). It is a prestigious role that only men considered of worthy character and high regard fulfil.⁸⁸ By being portrayed as participating in the Watch ‘well mounted also’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 103), the armoured sword bearer legitimises the mayor as a representative and leader of the communality all the more strongly. The physical positioning of the sword and its bearer above the crowd elevates the mayoral office symbolically as a chivalric mandate to defend and glorify the City with militaristic shows of strength such as the Watch.

The presence of a sword bearer sends a strong and clear message of civic authority to the audience which was not lost on foreign dignitaries. For example, Lodovico Spinelli, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in England wrote to his brother Gasparo, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in France after taking in the

⁸⁸ City of London Corporation, ‘Swordbearer of London’ <<https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/about-us/law-historic-governance/ceremonial>> [accessed 16 September 2024].

1521 Midsummer Watch that he saw ‘the mayor in armour on horseback clad in crimson damask, with his sword-bearer in armour before him, according to the custom here,—for he is never wont to go abroad unless preceded by the sword,—and with the two sheriffs on horseback’ following.⁸⁹ The riders who follow the mayor (referred to as sheriffs by Spinelli and as henchmen in the *Survey*) perform as an equine pageant in the *Survey* by riding ‘vpon great stirring horses’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 103). Sheriffs were second in rank to the Lord Mayor. The *Survey* referring to them as henchmen is not unusual for the period. Whilst nowadays we consider the term ‘henchman’ to denote more often than not someone working for a ‘criminal or villain’, in the sixteenth century a henchman was a ‘high-ranking male servant [...] to a monarch, nobleman, dignitary [...] employed to accompany that person when riding in processions, progresses, marches’ (fig. 2.8).⁹⁰ Consequently, the sheriffs can be seen to fulfil the role of henchmen on the occasion of the Watch by accompanying the mayor. With ‘the explicit function of [the Watch] which was the mustering of the City’s government, police, and defenses’ and in light of the prestige and honour attached to the offices of sword bearer, mayor and sheriff, officeholders become prime subjects for chivalric mythmaking.⁹¹ From this perspective, it comes as no surprise that the *Survey* portrays them as imposing horse-men and rightful participants in the militaristic horse culture of the City.

⁸⁹ ‘Venice: July 1521’, in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Vol. 3, 1520-1526*, ed. by Rawdon Brown (London, 1869), pp. 136-152, *BHO* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol3/pp136-152>> [accessed 16 September 2024].

⁹⁰ Entry ‘henchman, *n.*, 5.b. and 1.a.’, *OED* [accessed 05 December 2024].

⁹¹ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 264.



2.8 'Lord Mayor of London with Attendants in Procession on Horseback', ca. 1616-1618. © British Library Board (Add. 16889, f.25).

The *Survey*'s mythmaking also revolves around equine embodiment since the portrayal of the Watch horses as 'stirring' acts as a visual presentation of both equine aesthetics and elitist militant masculinity. On the one hand, a 'stirring horse' is another name for a courser, a type of horse which the Tower Royal procession shows to have strong associations with male aristocrats.⁹² On the other hand, when considered as a horsemanship metaphor, in the act of stirring the horse bodies also 'mov[e] lightly or tremulously'.⁹³ This specific way of moving sets up a trajectory of equine embodiment in early modern portrayals of warhorses. On the one end we have the *Survey*'s sheriff-henchmen who convey their horsemanship by allowing a tantalising glimpse of their horses' kinetic energy at the same time as keeping the animals' movements to a dignified minimum. For an example of equine embodiment on the other end of this trajectory, we can return to Edward Topsell's portrayal of foaming warhorses. In this case, horses move at speed. The horses' exertion acts as visual presentation of militant

⁹² Entry 'stirring horse, *n.*, 2.b.', *OED* [accessed 06 December 2024].

⁹³ Entry 'stirring, *adj.*, 1.a.', *OED* [accessed 06 December 2024].

masculinity and such equine aesthetics allow Topsell to show approval for how a horse-man conducted himself in battle.⁹⁴ In the context of a peacetime Watch, the outright martial aggression that the term ‘foaming’ encapsulates would have been inappropriate. Instead, the sheriff-henchmen’s stirring horses simultaneously convey masterful horsemanship and the battle-readiness of both horse and rider. That way, the *Survey* deploys ‘the decor of chivalry [to] legitimize[...] [the citizens’] standing in the realm, [...] and [to] provide[...] a pageantic language of parity and reciprocity in which to negotiate their relationships to the crown and aristocracy’.⁹⁵ In this light, horse bodies in the *Survey*’s portrayal of the Watch perform within peripatetic pageants which enhance the status of the civic elite with the same metonymic and metaphoric dynamics that we find in the portrayals of Alice Perrers’s procession and the Tower Royal riders. Thus, chivalric pageantry in the *Survey*’s portrayal of the pre-Reformation Watch acts as a literary memory device that deploys nostalgia to underplay the aristocratic-civic divide and to ennoble the urban community.

This chivalric nostalgia is instrumental in the ‘merry world’ construct, to borrow Harriet Phillips’s term again, that the *Survey* also sets up via Watch traditions that have no direct martial relevance.⁹⁶ For example, the *Survey* itself uses the term ‘merrie’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 101) in its portrayal of the festivities overlapping with the Watch:

In the Moneths of Iune, and Iuly, on the Vigiles of festiuall dayes, and on the same festiuall dayes in the Euenings after the Sunne setting, there were vsually made Bonefiers in the streetes, euery man bestowing wood or labour towards them: the wealthier sort also before their doores neare to the said Bonefiers, would set out Tables on the Vigiles, furnished with sweete breade, and good drinke, and on the Festiuall dayes with meates and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would inuite their neighbours and passengers also to sit, and

⁹⁴ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London: Printed by William Iaggard, 1607), sig. Dd6r.

⁹⁵ Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p. 186.

⁹⁶ Phillips, pp. 14, 38.

bee merrie with them in great familiaritie, praying God for his benefites bestowed on them. These were called Bonefiers aswell of good amitie amongst neighbours that, being before at controuersie, were there by the labour of others, reconciled, and made of bitter enemies, louing friendes, as also for the vertue that a great fire hath to purge the infection of the ayre (1603, vol. 1, p. 101).

Since the Middle Ages, the adjective ‘merry’ has denoted any occasion or person ‘causing pleasure and happiness’.⁹⁷ For the purpose of her study, Phillips considers merry world nostalgia to idealise traditionalist notions surrounding ‘festive abundance and good fellowship’ which followed in the wake of the Reformation changing how communities celebrated and worshipped together.⁹⁸ By praising the festive and communal aspects of traditions during the midsummer period, the *Survey* rehearses Fitzstephen’s twelfth-century opinion that ‘*a citie should not only be commodious and serious, but also merrie and sportful*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 91). The *Survey*’s portrayal of Watch rituality fulfils Fitzstephen’s mandate by showing the City at defence- and piety-based work as well as at play. On the one hand, the Watch itself empowered citizens to show themselves as serious about their military protection and to be physically performative. On the other hand, Londoners enjoyed generosity and goodwill together during accompanying festivities.

Such a glowing verdict on Londoners’ lived communality qualifies as ‘merry world’ fiction because it is set against notions of ‘temporal rupture and of rapid, irrevocable change’ in the *Survey*:⁹⁹

This Midsommer Watch was [...] accustomed yearely, time out of mind, vntill the yeare 1539. the 31. of *Henry* the 8. in which yeare on the eight of May, a great muster was made by the Cittizens, at the Miles end [...]. King *Henry* then considering the great charges of the Cittizens for the furniture of this vnusuall Muster, forbad the marching watch prouided for, at Midsommer for that yeare,

⁹⁷ Entry ‘merry, *adj.*, I.1.a.’, *OED* [accessed 06 December 2024].

⁹⁸ Phillips, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Phillips, p. 15.

which beeing once laide downe, was not rayed againe till the yeare 1548 (1603, vol. 1, p. 103).

The *Survey* here pitches a new and ‘vnusuall Muster’ against a Watch that ‘was [...] accustomed yearely, time out of mind’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 103). Interestingly, the expression ‘time out of mind’ can refer to ‘a time or during a period beyond human memory; from time immemorial’ and simultaneously stand ‘for an inconceivably long future time, indefinitely’.¹⁰⁰ In this light, the *Survey* characterises the Midsummer Watch as a pageantic portal that every year reconnects Londoners with their ancient past and thereby warrants to remain part of the City’s calendrical festivities into perpetuity. Whilst high cost is given as the reason for not holding both the new muster and the old Watch in the same summer, the *Survey*’s narrator seems unconvinced and is more concerned that an until then long-standing tradition was stopped suddenly from one year to the next.

Importantly, the temporary disappearance of the Watch from the City’s ritual calendar in 1539 coincided with two episodes of religious upheaval: broadly speaking, the peak of the dissolution of the monasteries in the late 1530s and, more specifically, the still fresh memory of how the 1536-37 Pilgrimage of Grace, a revolt against reformist legislation that began in Yorkshire, affected Londoners. In terms of the former, Duffy finds ample evidence that preachers and congregations across the country refused to comply with the 1536 Act, the Ten Articles and subsequent injunctions. Whilst unrelated to the discontinuation of the Midsummer Watch at first glance, widespread resistance to religious change was partly due to fear of losing

¹⁰⁰ Entry ‘mind, *n.*, I.1.e.ii.’, *OED* [accessed 06 December 2024].

aspects of civic culture many of which, including the Watch, were intricately linked to Catholic observances such as celebrating saint's days with feasts and processions.¹⁰¹

As for the latter, the Pilgrimage of Grace was still relevant to the Midsummer Watch because 'in November 1536, when the allegiance of the clergy [to the king] was particularly suspect, every London friar and secular priest between the ages of sixteen and sixty had all his weapons confiscated, save his meat knife'.¹⁰² Consequently, rather than arming their City, the authorities set a precedent of depriving its citizens of the means to defend themselves and their urban community with the aim of preventing a local uprising of those most likely to harbour Catholic sympathies. In line with Phillips's, Aston's and Pollmann's earlier discussed evidence for the nostalgia-inducing dynamics between reform and resistance, it is therefore plausible that the *Survey*'s early modern readers experienced any interruptions in how they used their urban space for regularly occurring civic-devotional practices as a temporal and spatial rupture. In the *Survey*, the omission of any horse-men mustering at Mile End is telling and equates to a silent protest mounted against a momentarily felt break in tradition.

The *Survey* only unleashes the full force of its chivalric mythmaking again when the Watch is reinstated:

[T]he second of *Edward* the sixt, Sir *Iohn Gresham* then being Mayor, who caused the marching watch both on the Eue of Sainte *Iohn Baptist*, and of *S. Peter* the Apostle, to be reuiued and set foorth, in as comely order as it had beene accustomed, which watch was also beautified by the number of more then 300. Demilances and light horsemen [...]. Since this Mayors time, the like marching watch in this Citty hath not been vsed, though some attemptes haue beene made thereunto, as in the yeare 1585. a book was drawn by a graue citizen, & by him dedicated to Sir *Thomas Pullison*, then Lord Mayor and his Brethren the Aldermen, conteyning the manner and order of a marching watch in the Cittie vpon the Euens accustomed, in commendation whereof, namely in times of peace to be vsed, he hath words to this effect. The Artificers of

¹⁰¹ Duffy, pp. 404-411.

¹⁰² Brigden, p. 46.

sondry sortes were thereby well set a worke, none but rich men charged, poore men helped, old Souldiers, Trompeters, Drommers, Fifes, and ensigne bearers with such like men, meet for Princes seruice kept in vre [use], wherein the safety and defence of euery common weale consisteth. Armour and Weapon beeing yearely occupied in this wise the Cittizens had of their owne redily prepared for any neede, whereas by intermission hereof, Armorers are out of worke, Souldiers out of vre, weapons ouergrown with foulness, few or none good being prouided, &c (1603, vol. 1, pp. 103-104).¹⁰³

We here encounter another quantifying and qualifying eye for the ‘300. Demilances and light horsemen’ who ‘beautif[y]’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 103) the 1548 Watch. However, there is no more mention of any neighbourly sharing of wine and bread in the now firmly Protestant City under Edward VI. Silence once more implies that such merry side-spectacles only attended the original Watch format of pre-Reformation times. Instead, the *Survey* tells its reader that despite a few half-hearted attempts to follow John Gresham’s example, a book was necessary to remind Elizabethan City authorities of the important martial, economic and social purposes the Watch used to serve. For this reason, the *Survey* quotes from the said book dedicated to Sir Thomas Pullison to draw out how, without the impetus of the Watch, citizens would not necessarily maintain their weapons or practise warfare. Moreover, the skills of professional soldiers would not be put into good use during peacetime and armourers, who clad both male and equine bodies every Midsummer in protective armour, among many other contributors and participants would lose not only a source of income but also the chance to play their part in the honourable defence of their City. Common Council records from 1538-9 make a similar case about the benefits of the Watch by portraying it as a unique spectacle in which ‘many poore people be hyred and sett on worke moche

¹⁰³ According to the *OED*, ‘ure’ refers to the state of someone or something being ‘[i]n or into use, practice, or performance. Often with verbs, as *bring*, *come*, *have*, and esp. *put* (frequently c1510–1630). Also rarely with *into*’. Entry ‘ure, *n.*, I.1.a.’, *OED* [accessed 06 December 2024].

to theyre great *commodityes* and *proffytt*'.¹⁰⁴ The *Survey* and the Common Council records both evoke interlinked social and economic networks that supported and simultaneously depended on the particularly chivalric horse culture that the Watch allegedly engendered in singular ways. From such a nostalgic perspective, the Watch becomes a cure-all from times gone by.

Whereas the emphasis on the nineteen-year-long pause signalled the possibility of irrevocable change, the *Survey* makes the sense of rupture total by listing the manifold negative consequences, such as the erosion of martial skills, readiness and weapons as well as the loss of employment and identity, that followed in the wake of Watch traditions supposedly no longer being upheld. As in the case of the Fishmongers' 1298 procession, the pre-Reformation Watch sets the benchmark for civic honour by merging chivalric and devotional pageantry. By berating the Fishmongers' early modern successors as 'men ignorant of their Antiquities' (1603, vol. 1, p. 215), the *Survey* warns that shared memory is fragile and in the hands of uncaring custodians can erode within the matter of a few generations. For this reason, the *Survey* narrator takes it upon himself to step in as a chronicler for the Fishmongers and tells his reader that for a fuller account of the Company's history it is best to refer to Stow's '*Annales*' (1603, vol. 1, p. 215). In this light, a painstaking retelling of the 1298 procession is necessary because such a memory strategy preserves and remaps memories onto the early modern City. Whilst the *Survey* fights against over three-hundred years' worth of alleged forgetting in the case of the Fishmongers' practices, the recent fate of the Midsummer Watch could be deployed to suggest powerfully just how quickly even the most long-standing and prestigious rituals could disappear abruptly, even if only temporarily, from communal life.

¹⁰⁴ '1538-9 Court of Common Council', *REED CL*, vol. 2, p. 582.

Compared to the other sixteenth-century history compilations under my consideration, the *Survey* markedly exaggerates the rupture between pre-Reformation and post-Reformation Watch rituality. For example, in Grafton's chronicle the wording is almost identical to the *Survey*'s portrayal of the reinstated Watch:

[T]he watch in London, which had not beene vsed nintene yeres before was againe kept by sir Iohn Gressham then Maior of London, both on the euen of saint Iohn Baptist, and also on the euen of saint Peter next followyng, as brauely and freshly as it had bene at any time set out before. And the same was much beutefied with the company of horsemen.¹⁰⁵

However, Grafton does not frame this event with the reason for the tradition being discontinued in the first place or the consequences of its alleged disappearance from the civic calendar altogether under Elizabeth I. Instead, in terms of appraising the Watch revival, Grafton suggests the following:

[C]ertaine of the sayd Citezens were very ioyous because of their new dignities, in that they were made Esquiers which is asmuch to say as horsemen: But the grauer sorte could well haue forborne that preferment, and haue remayned footemen as they were before.¹⁰⁶

According to this claim, more horse-men were ennobled in chivalric fashion in the 1548 Watch than the original format. However, some considered participating in the Watch on horseback a chore rather than a privilege.

Associated costs are likely to have contributed to less-than-enthusiastic sentiments towards riding in the 1548 Watch. Such a reading ties in with Lancashire's standpoint:

[T]he demise of the pageantic Midsummer Watch seems to have been essentially for financial reasons [...]. Some individuals of course might have wanted to eliminate the full Watch for reasons having to do with religion or politics; but it seems unlikely - especially after the 1539 city response to Henry VIII, arguing for the continuation of the Watch - that most aldermen and common council members would have favoured the elimination of the

¹⁰⁵ Grafton (1569), sig. Uuuuu4v.

¹⁰⁶ Grafton (1569), sig. Uuuuu4v.

pageantic Watch had it not been for the extreme financial demands being made on the city and the companies in the 1540s and 1550s.¹⁰⁷

Financial concerns about military pageantry certainly persisted among Companies into the second half of the sixteenth century. For example, the Haberdashers complained in 1585 that their Company was ‘at an afterdeale [disadvantage] by reason of the greater charge of mustringe and settinge out of men this yere’.¹⁰⁸ Yet, in terms of the Watch, the 1548 event did not only coincide with monetary stresses but was also preceded by the newly introduced 1547 Injunctions prohibiting processioning that I have discussed above. So Londoners did experience official pressure to abandon traditional ways of their communities coming together. Consequently, an accumulation of economic, religious and political factors was likely to have contributed to the discontinuation of the Watch in its pre-Reformation format. Since unenthusiastic horsemen would dampen its capacity to engender chivalric nostalgia, the *Survey* does not even hint that financial concerns might be valid or that money for the Watch might be spent in better ways. Consequently, Grafton’s account offers a more nuanced approach to reworked equine pageantry than the *Survey* allows for in its clear preference for pre- over post-Watch formats.

For another example of early modern history writing engaging with the Watch, we can turn to Holinshed’s chronicle which softens any notion of discontinuity by

¹⁰⁷ Lancashire elaborates further that ‘the financial picture as of 1539 ha[d] changed by the mid-1540s. The city’s Watch, as a major spectacle at least from the 1470s onwards, had become elaborate above all through the support of the companies; costs were increasing; and in the 1540s and 1550s both the city itself and the companies were being hard pressed financially from all sides. In the 1540s the king required men and money for his wars; and in 1550 (and for several years thereafter) the companies found themselves having to purchase back their chantry lands which had been seized by the Crown, while the city also purchased from the king the liberties of Southwark. Between 1547 and 1554 the city and the companies also had to pay for three major royal entries’. *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. xxxix.

¹⁰⁸ Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, ‘Court of Assistants Minute Book 1582/3-1652’, GL, CLC/L/HA/B/001/MS15842/001. Full extract transcribed in appendix.

casually referring to ‘Iames Spencer Maior of London’ and that in his ‘time the watche in London on Midsomer night was layd downe’.¹⁰⁹ This imprecision is in stark contrast to the *Survey* telling its readers not only the feast days on which the Watch took place every year but also pinpointing 8 May 1539 as the precise date on which Watch practices stopped due to the Mile End muster occurring that day. Holinshed also offers an opposing voice to the narrative of rupture we find in the *Survey* because Elizabeth I’s reign saw in 1569 ‘[a] standing watch on Saint Iohns euen at Mydsommer, and sir Iohn White Alderman rode the circuyt, as the Lord Maior should haue done’.¹¹⁰ This revived Watch no longer ran over two days and did not involve both standing and marching pageantry like the pre-1539 Watch format. With a mounted alderman instead of the mayor at the centre of proceedings, the event also seems less important. Nonetheless, the above Holinshed reference suggests that Watch rituality continued beyond the timescales given in the *Survey*. For evidence that the mayor was not absent from the Watch as a general rule in the post-Reformation era, we can turn to the St Giles 1571-2 Churchwardens’ Accounts which record that three ‘boies on horsback [were] to go in the Watch befoore the Lorde Maiore vppon midsomer even’.¹¹¹ The Watch clearly still took place well into the second half of the century and mattered enough for the mayor to surround himself with equine pageantry on the occasion.

Whilst the *Survey* turns to Livery Company histories, such as the Fishmongers’, and opinions of ‘graue citizen[s]’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 103) to bolster rupture-based claims, early modern studies have uncovered that the post-Reformation era saw ritualistic continuity blossom in many guises. For example, Lancashire writes that whilst the Watch no longer took place in its original spectacular form from the

¹⁰⁹ Holinshed (1577), sig. Bbb8r.

¹¹⁰ Holinshed (1577), sig. Vvvv8r.

¹¹¹ ‘1571-2 St Giles without Cripplegate Churchwardens’ Accounts’, *REED EL*, p. 148.

1540s onwards, May games took over much of Watch pageantry including the appearance of ‘guns, drums, and morris dances’.¹¹² In the *Survey*, ‘Lords and Ladies [...] [who] rode a Maying’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 98) are yet again tied to the pre-Reformation past because the most prominent example of the tradition falls into Henry VIII’s early reign in which he was still happily married to Katherine of Aragon and which saw an archer disguised as Robin Hood and two hundred bowmen entertain the king and queen. As far as civic maying rituals are concerned, the *Survey* does echo several features pertaining to the Watch:

[I]n the moneth of May, the Citizens of London of all estates, lightly in euery Parish, or sometimes two or three parishes ioyning together, had their seuerall mayings, and did fetch in Maypoles, with diuerse warlike shewes, with good Archers, Morice dauncers, and other deuices for pastime all the day long, and towards the Euening they had stage playes, and Bonefiers in the streetes (1603, vol. 1, p. 98).

Archers also feature in the *Survey*’s account of the Midsummer Watch. As in the portrayal of Watch rituality, military performances are brought into nostalgic relation to the merry world of festive bonfires. Erler considers the Robin Hood games which took place during post-1540s May celebrations as a conservative attempt to preserve martial traditions such as archery.¹¹³ The *Survey*’s approach to maying clings to the London of old in equal measure to its veneration of the Midsummer Watch by telescoping the rituals of civic horsemen and archers alike into a past that is tied to the pre-Reformation Henrician regime.

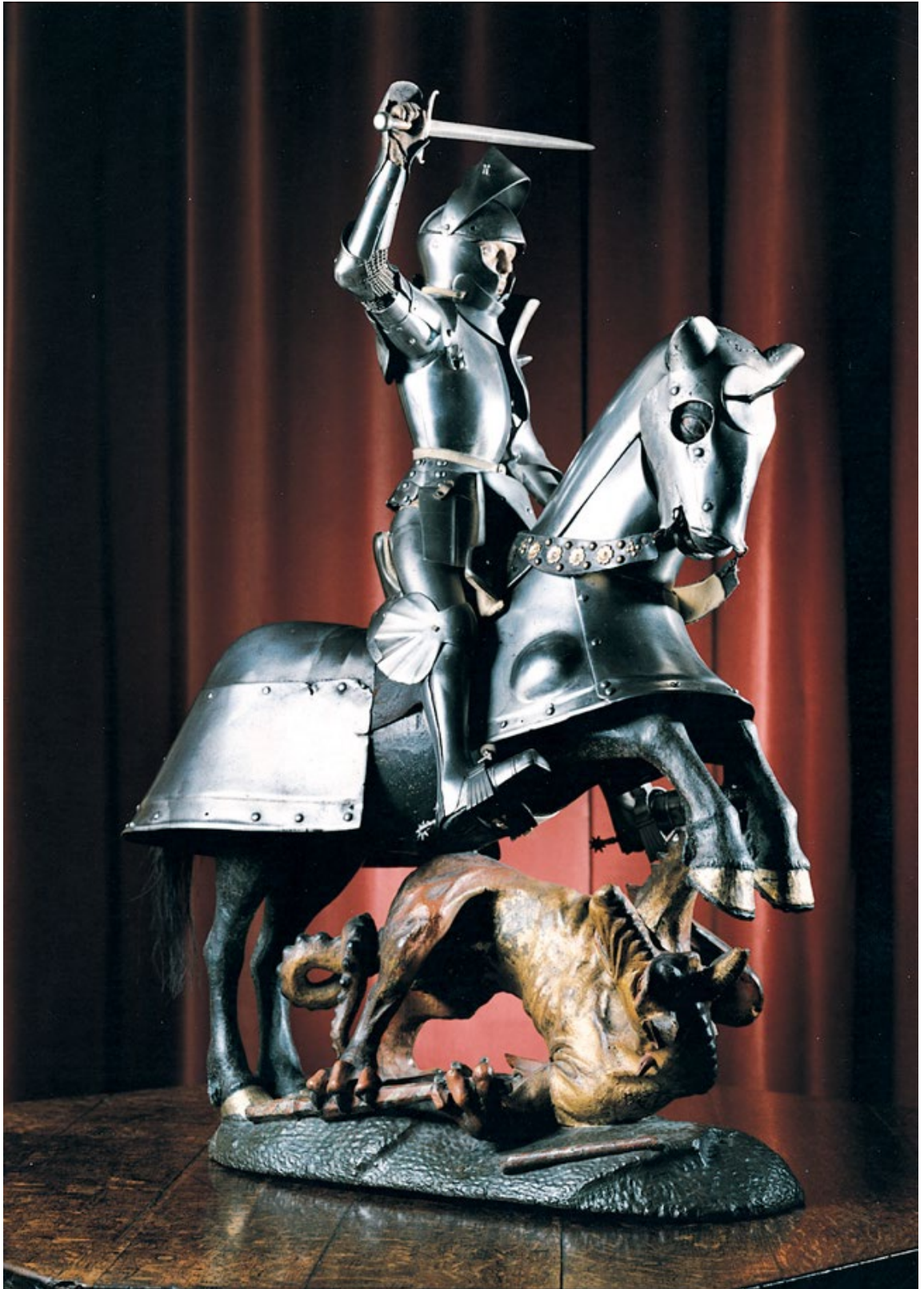
Archers were not the only contributors to the original Watch format who continued to present themselves as chivalric figures throughout the sixteenth century. Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin examines how early modern Livery Companies deployed the

¹¹² REED CL, vol. 1, p. xli.

¹¹³ REED EL, p. xxxi.

material objects in their possession as post-Reformation memory strategies. For this reason, whilst according to the *Survey* armourers were supposedly out of work in 1585, Kilburn-Toppin instead argues that a thriving Armourers and Brasiers' Company was likely to have proudly displayed a beautifully sculpted and costly model of their chivalric patron saint and horseman Saint George in both the Midsummer Watch and later Lord Mayor's Shows (fig. 2.9).¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Material Memories of the Guildsmen. Crafting Identities in Early Modern London', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erika Kuijpers and others (Koninklijke Brill, 2013), pp. 165-181 (p. 176), doi: 10.1163/9789004261259.



2.9 'St George and the Dragon', ca. 1528. Reproduced with kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Armourers and Brasiers, London.

Consequently, the heritage of the Watch lived on in various adaptations in post-Reformation London. Whilst spectacles in their own right, later sixteenth-century civic rituals such as the Lord Mayor's Shows nonetheless honoured aspects of the Watch format.¹¹⁵ The commemorating of processional rituals involving horses ensured an unbroken chronological trajectory with which early modern Londoners continued to act out ideals surrounding the 'security and welfare of the city' with their own take on chivalric pageantry.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

I have shown that the *Survey* has human and horse bodies mirror each other to project chivalric glory onto medieval London in the above examples of aristocratic equine spectacles. According to the *Survey*, Livery Companies and the civic elite appropriated horse-related pageantry not only for its chivalric connotations but also for the symbolic means to imbue religious holidays with the required solemnity. All these processions were shows of societal power relations and communal cohesion that would not have been as memorable without the involvement of horses whose prestige in turn stemmed from long-standing metonymic and metamorphic appropriations of warhorses. The *Survey*'s message is clear: everyone on processional display, including their horses, had chivalric roles to play. The telescoping of such representational dynamics into the medieval past raises questions about the state of sixteenth-century memory politics. Horse-related rituality did not vanish from the ritual calendar of post-Reformation Londoners but lived on in a range of equally rich traditions. The profound nostalgia

¹¹⁵ Felicity Brown, 'A Chivalric Show of Civic Virtue: The Society of Prince Arthur's Archers', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 73.308 (2021), pp. 42-58 (p. 46), doi: 10.1093/res/hgab061.

¹¹⁶ Brown, p. 46.

for pre-Reformation chivalry and piety that we find in the above portrayals of aristocratic and civic procession participants nonetheless engages with readerly experiences of history being rewritten legislatively as part of religious reforms.

Examples of horse-man hybridity in the Fishmongers' procession and the Midsummer Watch allow the *Survey* to deploy the chivalric heritage of processional horses to express judgements about changes in communal rituality. In light of post-Reformation legislation attempting to impose an erasure of the Catholic mnemoscape, the *Survey* can be seen to juxtapose praise for bygone processions with criticism of the erosion and forgetting of traditions. Such a memory strategy warrants analysis with the help of Svetlana Boym's concepts of restorative and reflective nostalgia.¹¹⁷ We can certainly argue that particularly in terms of the Midsummer Watch the *Survey* makes truth-claims about chivalric practices dying out on and off the processional route. Whilst the *Survey*'s sense of loss and rupture is 'absolute', along the lines of Boym's 'restorative nostalgia', the discrepancy between imagined pageantic impoverishment and the lived richness of early modern Watch rituality raises the question of why the *Survey* would try to mislead an early modern readership who experienced regularly occurring May games and Lord Mayor's Shows and therefore knew better. I argue that, in light of the evidence for continuing Watch rituality, the *Survey* does something fairly self-conscious and purposeful with its four-part staging of Watch heyday, discontinuation, revival and loss. From such a perspective, the *Survey* does not protect one truth but questions the truth-claims behind contemporary memory politics with chivalric nostalgia as a literary strategy. Duffy points to a priest advising his reluctant parishioner to "leave the most part of your memories" as

¹¹⁷ Boym [accessed 16 September 2024].

evidence for individuals struggling to conform “to the world as it goeth now”.¹¹⁸ Whereas the priest advocates for the overcoming of the past, chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* asks the reader to hold on not only to “most part” but all the Midsummer Watch used to be and thereby suspends the process of forgetting.¹¹⁹

By positioning itself between communal and official memory, the *Survey*’s nostalgia becomes reflective.¹²⁰ Whilst the dynamics between the Watch’s heyday, discontinuation, revival and loss are neither humorous nor approbatory in the *Survey*, the vocabulary of rupture signifies a hyperbolic opposite of continuing Watch rituality. By portraying the Watch as a lost tradition, the *Survey* withholds the option of returning to a ritualistic home. In a similar vein to the sixteenth-century texts and plays in Phillips’s study, nostalgic merry-world tropes in the *Survey* draw attention to the process of forgetting itself and not just to the lost traditions themselves. We have seen that the *Survey* makes it very clear that Londoners could thank Henry VIII for depriving their community of the full spectacle of the pre-Reformation Watch. As it is down to the civic figure of mayor Gresham to make amends nineteen years later, the Midsummer Watch is the *Survey*’s showcase for how to appropriate the ‘powerful [Henrician] discourse of suppression which underplayed [...] [the dissolution’s] significance as a critical and transformative episode’, to borrow Lyon’s words, and how to take it to its other extreme by exaggerating rupture whenever possible.¹²¹

According to the critical claims of memory studies, all ‘remembering is taken to be reconstructive and dynamic’.¹²² Such a theoretical framework frees us to step

¹¹⁸ Duffy, p. 404.

¹¹⁹ Duffy, p. 404.

¹²⁰ Boym [accessed 16 September 2024].

¹²¹ Lyon, p. 70.

¹²² Jens Brockmeier, *Beyond the Archive: Memory, Narrative, and the Autobiographical Process* (Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 8, doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199861569.001.0001.

away from rehearsing the lack of historical truths in the *Survey* and to focus instead on how the text reclaims the power to fabricate memory from the Crown's narratorial strategies. From this perspective, procession-related nostalgia in the *Survey* becomes a critical discourse with which to uncover the power relations at play in reconstructing individual and collective memory of not only the monastery buildings that used to dominate the cityscape but also all of Londoners' rituals. The *Survey* manipulates ritualistic change in a nostalgic fashion by pitching all the chivalric glory and pious conviviality that the Midsummer Watch bestows onto the civic community against a single decision by Henry VIII. In the *Survey*, the lens of chivalric and devotional practices makes the process of imposed forgetting legible to as many readers as possible because all of them were subject to the piecemeal erosion of Londoners' ritualistic heritage and many, if not most, were familiar with the ways in which horses featured in the romance literature, religious rituals as well as aristocratic and civic performances of their past and present-day. Consequently, the *Survey* mimics the Henrician discourse of suppression ironically. In the same way that the regime encouraged forgetting and underplayed ritual change with textual strategies such as acts and injunctions, the *Survey* evokes an exaggerated sense of loss with the literary means at its disposal. As I will show in the next chapter, the *Survey* can be seen to engender an equally reflective chivalric nostalgia in its romanticised renderings of militant equine encounters and by revealing wistfully to its readers how early modern urbanisation had eroded their longstanding and much cherished horse culture in Smithfield.

Horses of Militant Glory: Hybrid Bodies in Tournaments, Musters and Market

Introduction

As a processional destination, home to tournaments and a weekly horse market, Smithfield embodies the all-pervading horse culture of medieval London more than any other location in the *Survey*. Whilst the aristocratic processions I have discussed so far are instrumental in setting up tournaments as equine spectacles, it is the *Survey*'s renderings of tournaments themselves that convey the most apparent chivalric nostalgia for horse-man hybridity. In line with the editorial choice of including almost exclusively medieval processions, it is no coincidence that medieval, rather than early modern, Smithfield plays host to most examples of tournaments in the *Survey*.¹ According to Maurice Keen, 'at the end of the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth [...] we first begin to hear of tournaments [...] that [...] provide[d] writers [...] with unlimited opportunities to describe the skill of their heroes in unhorsing their opponents' and 'storytellers took care to paint their literary pictures of [...] tournaments in the bright colours that the knightly world loved'.² The *Survey* follows in this literary tradition by painting the horsemanship on display at the Smithfield tournaments in an idealising light for its readership. As my close reading of relevant Smithfield tournaments will show, the *Survey* has aristocratic horse-men bestow chivalric honour onto a civic space in twelve detailed and consecutive digressions, spanning four pages, in the *Survey* chapter 'Faringdon Warde without' (1603, vol. 2, pp. 29-33). In a similar vein, when portrayed as martially inspired, the horsemanship of less reputable horse-men, such as the horse coursers of Smithfield market, becomes

¹ Notable exceptions are the portrayal of medieval tournaments at the Tower of London and in Cheapside in the *Survey*. I will discuss Cheapside as a tournament location below.

² Keen, pp. 25, 91.

noteworthy and contributes to the rendering of Smithfield as a nexus of chivalric activity.³ Yet, the *Survey* complicates its nostalgic version of chivalric Smithfield by meaningfully juxtaposing medieval customs with a cartographic eye for how processes of urbanisation had been obliterating the horse-related topographical features of Smithfield such as its open character and unpaved surface and with them a cherished horse culture that was heavily organised around chivalric ideals.

I continue to follow memory, literary and animal studies approaches to explore how the *Survey* mythologises the human-horse hybridity of aristocratic and civic horse-men in medieval Smithfield. My bringing together of Smithfield tournaments, the resident horse market and the paving of the site reveals for the first time that a distinctively urban horse culture, the persistent cultural currency of chivalric romance and early modern urbanisation are interrelated contexts for the *Survey*'s nostalgic portrayal of Smithfield. Chivalric horse-men act as a nostalgic lens through which the *Survey* traces unprecedented topographical change whilst encouraging early modern readers to invest nostalgically in their present-day Smithfield. In this way, the *Survey* participates in the seventeenth-century revival of romance writing by deploying the literary strategy of chivalric nostalgia which I have already shown to be at work in encounters with horses of processional glory. In this part of my thesis, I establish how the *Survey* deepens the chivalric mnemoscape that it sets up with processional rituality by evoking specifically martial horse-men kinetics pertaining to tournaments and the market in medieval Smithfield and thereby establishes the gold standard that continued to be relevant for all human-horse movements through the early modern City.

³ Horse traders were called horse coursers in the early modern period. I will elaborate on the cultural implications of the term 'horse courser' below.

The Relevance of Tournament History and Chivalric Romance to the Survey's Rendering of Smithfield

The *Survey*'s telescoping of medieval Smithfield and its capturing of readerly attention with a long but nonetheless highly selective list of aristocratic tournaments are crucial romance strategies in the *Survey*'s chivalric mythmaking. The repository of chivalric meaning with which the *Survey* mythologises its rendering of Smithfield had been building from the very beginnings of mounted warriors competing in tournaments for the purpose of battle training in peacetime. Importantly, as Keen notes, 'romantic literature [...] is [...] a principal source for the early history of the tournament'.⁴ Keen acknowledges that whilst medieval romances need to be considered as literary idealisations and that the 'interplay of life and romance is always a complex matter, [...] the importance of that interplay, for the history of tournaments, is not in doubt'.⁵ The multifaceted dynamics between romance and tournament history are evident in that from the thirteenth century onwards medieval romances took chivalric inspiration from stories of martial contests set in a range of geographical regions and time periods and can be categorised as concerning themselves with the matters of Rome, France and Britain.⁶

The subject matter of romances engaging with Britain is Arthurian legend. Since the history of Britain lies at the heart of all the chronicles and chorographies under my consideration and '[a]ll the great heroes of Arthurian story were masters of the tourney', medieval Arthurian romances and their European counterparts provide a historio-literary precedent for the enthusiasm that the *Survey* displays for medieval

⁴ Keen, p. 83.

⁵ Keen, p. 92.

⁶ Fuchs, p. 39.

tournaments in Smithfield.⁷ The *Survey* locates all its examples of Smithfield tournaments in the later Middle Ages. Chrétien de Troyes's twelfth-century and Thomas Malory's fifteenth-century romances provide a chronological context for the continuing cultural currency of tournaments in the *Survey*. Whilst the former coincides with the heyday and the latter with the start of a decline in the relevance of chivalric horsemanship to changing battle strategies, both romances would not be complete without detailed accounts of tournaments. For example, in de Troyes's *Erec*, 'to speak about [the warrior] Erec's deeds, our story recounts that the knights of the Round Table decided to hold a tournament':

When came the day that the knights were to joust, lords from every region descended on the field in great pomp and set up so many tents, pavilions, and canopies worked with silk thread, cloth of gold, and every splendid thing that there was an infinite number, and it was a pleasure to see the pavilions sparkle in different ways in the joyous rays of the sun.⁸

This is a scene of auditory and visual exuberance. Whilst martial in nature and agenda, the tournament held in Erec's honour transforms into a sensory-laden spectacle under de Troyes's idealising gaze. Nonetheless, this medieval romance also draws out the important historical distinction between group tournaments and individuals jousting. Early tournaments took the shape of fierce battles between two groups of mounted warriors across open country. There were next to no rules protecting riders which leads Keen to argue that '[m]ock war and martial training [we]re virtually inseparable from one another' at this stage in tournament history.⁹

⁷ Keen. p. 83.

⁸ *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose*, p. 42. I am using a modern edition because I have been unable to find an early modern translation on *EEBO*. Whenever possible, I refer to medieval or early modern editions of romances for my exploration of chivalric nostalgia because I am most interested in romances in their original forms as contributions to and later revivals of not only chivalric literature broadly speaking but also horse-indexed cultural shorthands and horsemanship metaphors more specifically.

⁹ Keen. p. 83.

Tournaments continued to denote mock battles between groups but also started to comprise jousts: these were contests between mounted individuals and from the thirteenth century onwards became ‘familiar set-piece encounters’ in the build-up of the two teams charging each other.¹⁰ Whilst opening jousts made such equine spectacles more choreographed affairs, the ‘tournament proper remained [...] ferocious and thoroughly dangerous’.¹¹ The fact that the jousts were no less risky expressions of militant masculinity and consequently a subject matter worthy of romanticising can be gleaned from de Troyes’s example of such an one-on-one encounter between Alexander’s son Cligés and Sir Gauvain:

[Cligés] entered the field looking all around and, as soon as he saw Sir Gauvain ready to joust, he lowered his lance and rushed toward him. And Sir Gauvain, spurring his horse, came to meet him. With such speed did the two knights urge on their steeds that they seemed to be lifted into the air. And when they had to lower and break their lances, they did not fail at the attack. They broke lances, bridles, straps, breastplates, and reins, and both men necessarily fell to the ground.¹²

The emphasis here lies on Cligés’s and Sir Gauvain’s shared disregard for danger. By portraying both men as urging on their equine counterparts, de Troyes’s romance transforms these characters into horse-men displaying chivalric bravery in seeking a head-on collision. The referencing of ‘lowered [...] lance[s]’ twice in quick succession is crucial in setting up the ferocity of the impact to come. A lowered lance is in fact a chivalric horsemanship shorthand that encapsulates a significant stage in tournament history because the eleventh century saw for the first time the practice of attacking with ‘lances in the “couched” position (tucked firmly under the right armpit and levelled at the enemy)’ (fig. 3.1).¹³ Together with the recently introduced stirrup

¹⁰ Keen, p. 87.

¹¹ Keen, p. 87.

¹² *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose*, p. 123.

¹³ Keen, p. 23.

giving the ‘mounted warrior a far better stability in the saddle, and an altogether improved control of his horse [...]. Horse, rider and lance [...] thus gathered together [merged] into what has been called a “human projectile”’.¹⁴



3.1 ‘Two Knights Jousting [with Couched Lance] in front of a French King and Queen’, ca. 1470, in *The Romance of Jean de Saintré*. © British Library Board (Cotton Nero D. IX f.55v).

For the purposes of my study, I reconfigure the notion of human projectiles, in line with Haraway’s conception of the cyborg as human-animal-machine, to horsemen as hybrid weapons which foregrounds the significant contribution that horses made to this development in medieval cavalry battle tactics and technology (fig. 3.2). De Troyes’s romance evidences the aptness of my approach because the listing of broken riding paraphernalia such as ‘bridles, straps [...] and reins’ evokes the outline of an equine shape by referencing materials that encase horse bodies under normal

¹⁴ Keen, pp. 23-24.

circumstances.¹⁵ Their shattered state along with the rider's broken lances and breastplates renders the bodies of both horse and man penetrable and makes palpable the bodily risks they share in the act of jousting. When riders and horses fall to the ground, the horse body becomes a threat owing to its weight and size in proportion to the human body. Consequently, it is also the spell of horse-man hybridity that breaks and the no-longer-mounted warriors only save face by getting 'up skillfully, grabbing their bright, shiny, burnished swords, then without delay [...] [going] forward to strike each other'.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose*, p. 123.

¹⁶ *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose*, p. 123.



3.2 Knights jousting with swords after breaking their lances. Shattered lances visible on the ground of the tiltyard. *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (London, 1590), sig. M3r. Image courtesy of the University of Bristol Library, Special Collections (HLaa).

Whilst, according to Keen, the ‘later [medieval] period sees the theatrical and decorative tendencies of the martial sport of jousting running wild and going to seed’, Malory’s fifteenth-century romance stays true to the martial essence of tournament horsemanship.¹⁷ One such example concerns King Arthur jousting with an armed knight:

¹⁷ Keen, p. 201.

[E]uery knyght gat a spere / and therwith they ranne to gyders that Arthurs
spere al to sheuered / But the other knyghte hyt hym so hard in myddes of the
shelde / that horse & man felle to the erthe / and ther with Arthur was egre &
pulled oute his swerd / and said I will assay the syr knyghte on foote / for I
haue lost the honour on horsbak.¹⁸

In a similar vein to de Troyes's romances, *Morte D'Arthur* continues to evoke the
'good, bad, ugly and sad results of mounted warfare' in that the act of jousting either
imbues weaponised horse-man hybrids with chivalric masculinity or deprives them of
it.¹⁹ Again, the emphasis lies on the head-on collision of two riders. The impact of
horse-men's bodies is made sensational for the reader by resulting in the hero of
Arthurian legend and his horse falling to the ground. The other knight unhorses Arthur
and causes him to 'los[e] the honour on horsbak'.²⁰ Consequently, the singling out of
individual contestants and shining a spotlight on which of them, if any, 'unhorse [...]
[their opponent] on the first blow' becomes a primary means of imbuing literary
characters with chivalric honour in both de Troyes's and Malory's romances.²¹ The
Survey follows the same chivalric romance strategy by listing and digressing with
examples of jousts between named competitors in its portrayal of medieval
tournaments in Smithfield.

Literary renderings of jousts did not lose their chivalric currency in the early
modern period as Munday's sixteenth-century translation of the chivalric romance
Amadis of Gaule (1590) shows:

[T]he knight of the Forrest readye for the Ioust [...] called to the Prince to garde
him-self, giuing him such an attainte in the encounter, as his Launce flew in
péeces: but the Prince met him so full, as bothe Horsse and Man were throwen
to the ground, when the Horsse (being more nimble then his maister) seeing

¹⁸ Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur* (London: [Caxton?], 1485), sig. C3r; According to the
OED, 'to gyders' is an obsolete variant of 'together'. Entry 'together, *adv.*, *prep.*, *n.* and
adj.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

¹⁹ Cynthia Jenéy, 'Politics and Horsemanship in Chrétien de Troyes' "Erec et Enide",
Arthuriana, 27.3 (2017), pp. 37-65 (p. 40).

²⁰ Malory, sig. C3r.

²¹ *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose*, p. 57.

him selfe at libertie, ran about the féelde, yet the Prince found the meanes to take him againe, and bringing him to the dismounted knight, saide. [...] The Prince turning back, behelde the Knight whom he so lately dismounted, and an other that bare him company, wherfore he stayed to take his Armes. Now were they so néere the Prince *Agraies* Campe, and he as they all might see the tourney, hauing a farre off noted the Princes comming, meruailing what he was that so gallantly managed his Horsse.²²

Whilst the image of shattering lances initially attributes the upper hand to the knight, the prince eventually not only unhorses the knight with apparent ease but even manages to recapture the knight's fleeing horse and cordially returns it to its owner. By rating the knight's horse as nimbler, and therefore more capable, than its owner and putting the statement in brackets so as to draw attention to the fact, Munday's translation undercuts reciprocal mirroring between the bodies of horse and knight. This anthropocentric gulf is broadened further by *Amadis of Gaule* repeatedly reminding its reader of the horse-less (i.e. dismounted) condition of the knight. The prince, on the other hand, has retained his honour on horseback throughout and his horsemanship is recognisably chivalric even from 'a farre' in that onlookers 'meruail[...] what he was that so gallantly managed his Horsse'.²³ Consequently, both medieval and early modern romances deploy the metonymic positioning of literary figures relative to their horses as a means to pass judgement on individual characters.

We find another example of a horse-less warrior with his warhorse temporarily 'at libertie' in Ludovico Ariosto's poem *Orlando Furioso* (1516):²⁴

Not farre [...] [Rinaldo] walkt, but he his horse had spide.
That praunsing went before him on the way,
Holla my boy holla (*Renaldo* crid:)
The want of thee annoyd me much to day.
But Bayard will not let his master ride,
But takes his heeles and faster go'th away.

²² Munday, *Amadis of Gaule*, sigs. K2v-K3r.

²³ Munday, *Amadis of Gaule*, sigs. K2v-K3r.

²⁴ Munday, *Amadis of Gaule*, sigs. K2v-K3r.

His flight much anger in *Renaldo* bred.²⁵

In this early modern chivalric romance, the warrior Rinaldo ('Renaldo' in Harington's translation) and his trusted steed Bayardo exhibit an extraordinary bond. However, at the very start of the poem Rinaldo's horse escapes, initially depriving the human protagonist of his shared horse-man hybridity. In his reading of Bayardo as a literary character, Boehrer argues that this particular horse 'embodies a specific legacy of equine representation, one that derives from a chivalric culture centered on the relationship between warriors and horses and which [...] assign[s] enhanced subjectivity to certain privileged exemplars of both groups'.²⁶ From such an animal studies perspective, whilst Fuchs rightly argues that the 'tension between martial quest and erotic detour [...] [is] a central organizing principle' in this early modern romance, Rinaldo's horsemanship and relationship with Bayardo remains crucial in setting up the former's chivalric masculinity.²⁷ By not returning willingly to Rinaldo on the occasion, Bayardo displays a subjectivity that seemingly threatens the potential for reciprocal care-filled engagements between warrior and warhorse that 'manifests itself in a common language and a harmony of interest' in *Orlando*.²⁸ Yet, it is also Bayardo's human-like agency and consequent 'refusal to comply with commands or submit to conditions that he considers unjust or misguided' that set him apart from other horses and make him Rinaldo's worthy counterpart.²⁹

In the next sections, I will show that the *Survey* does not overtly imbue its Smithfield warhorses with sentience. However, the absence of Bayardo-shaped equivalents does not signify a move away from the romance tradition. On the contrary,

²⁵ *Orlando Furioso*, sig. A3r, l.32.

²⁶ Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p. 31.

²⁷ Fuchs, p. 68.

²⁸ Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p. 32.

²⁹ Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, p. 36.

thanks to the idealising of tournament history in medieval and early modern chivalric romances, the *Survey* can let the horsemanship on display in its examples of medieval jousts speak for itself allowing the readers to judge successes and failures in horse-man hybridity for themselves. Its listing of one-on-one encounters between mounted warriors bases itself on the legacy of both de Troyes's horsed and unhorsed jousters as well as reciprocal care-filled engagements between individualised horses and their riders in romances such as *Orlando*. In medieval and early modern romances and the *Survey* alike, training efforts for horse-man hybridity leave their mark on the literary renderings of bodies, place and history. In this light, the *Survey*'s listing of jousts acts as a horse-indexed memory practice which pulls in all the historical and cultural weight of literary renderings of chivalric horsemanship. As I will show, the *Survey* encourages romance-appreciating readers to perceive the memory career of martial horse-men kinetics as central to their chorographical understanding of Smithfield. I will then explore how the *Survey*'s rendering of both aristocratic and civic horse-men in and near Smithfield constitutes a reflective nostalgia which is mounted against readerly knowledge that tournaments no longer imbue early modern Smithfield with chivalric glory. As such, the *Survey*'s highly selective tournament history of Smithfield can be seen as a wistful denial of return, in line with Boym's concept of reflective nostalgia, which is made concrete (pun intended) by covering Smithfield's soft ground with paving stones.³⁰

Following the Steps of Chivalric Horse-Men in Smithfield

The *Survey* firmly designates Smithfield and the fields to the north of this urban space as the most appropriate locations for chivalric horse-men to train for war in peacetime.

³⁰ Boym [accessed 03 September 2024].

As the extended list from the *Survey* chapter 'Faringdon Warde without' makes clear, in terms of Smithfield itself (fig. 3.3), its martial horse culture is brought to life with mention of twelve aristocratic tournaments and jousts:

In the yeare 1357. the 31. of *Edward* the third, great and royall Iustes were there holden in Smithfield [...].

1362. The 36. of *Edward* the third, on the first fieve dayes of May, in Smithfield were Iustes holden [...].

The 48. of *Edward* the third, [...] they came into west Smithfield, and then began a great Iust, which endured seven dayes after [...].

Also the 9. of *Richard* the second, was the like great riding from the Tower to Westminster, [...] and on the morrow began the Iustes in Smithfield [...].

In the 14. of *Richard* the second, after *Frosart*, royall Iustes and Turnements were proclaimed to be done in Smithfield [...].

In the yeare 1393. the 17. of *Richard* the second, certaine Lords of Scotland came into England to get worship by force of Armes, the Earle of *Mare* chalenged the Earle of *Notingham*, to iust with him [...].

In the yeare 1409. the 10. of *Henry* the fourth [...] began a royall iusting in Smithfield, [...].

In the yeare 1430. the 8. of *Henry* the 6. the 14 of Ianuary, a battell was done in Smithfield, within the listes [...].

In the yeare 1442. the twentieth of *Henry* the sixt the thirteenth of Ianuary, a challenge was done in Smithfield, within listes [...].

In the yeare 1446. the 24. of *Henry* the 6. *I. Dauby* appeached his Maister *Wil. Catur* of treason, and a day being assigned them to fight in Smithfield [...].

The same yeare, *Thomas Fitz-Thomas Prior of Kilmaine* appeached sir *Iames Butlar* Earle of Ormond of treasons: which had a day assigned them to fight in Smithfield, the listes were made [...].

In the yeare 1467. the seuenth of *Edward* the fourth, the bastard of *Burgoigne* chalenged the Lord *Scales*, brother to the Queene, to fight with him, both on horse backe and on foote [...] (1603, vol. 2, pp. 29-33).



3.3 A pictorial example of the early modern idealisation of militant horsemanship in Smithfield and the telescoping of the onlooker to the medieval site. 'Smithfield: Depiction of an Ancient Tournament at Smithfield in 1390', 17- -. London Picture Archive (318347).

These examples evoke nostalgia in line with synchronic thinking because the *Survey* does not systematically trace how such equine spectacles developed over time. Instead, all twelve date from 1357 to 1467. In the *Survey*, a relatively short 110-year-period in the later Middle Ages represents all of Smithfield's tournament-related history and thereby implies that such equine customs had since remained unchanged even though early modern Smithfield no longer played host to aristocratic tournaments.³¹ Although the 1603 edition does mention on its textual perambulation locations in which early modern tournaments were held, reference to a 'large Tilt yard [in Westminster] for Noblemen and other to exercise themselves in Iusting, Turn(ey)ing, and fighting at Barryers' (1603, vol. 2, p. 101) is the only elaboration on tournament-related horsemanship outside the City proper. Moreover, whilst the 1633 *Survey* updates the earlier editions in many other respects, we find no examples of sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century tournaments taking place within or outside the City in the text. We could easily assume that the *Survey* freezes equine Smithfield in time to evade diachronic questions of whether tournaments continued to ennoble this particular City location with the sights and sounds of chivalric spectacle but persistent editorial omission of early modern equivalents of medieval tournaments points to a deliberate kind of telescoping (fig. 3.3).³² In the case of Smithfield, the *Survey* purposefully transports the reader back in time by claiming that just twelve examples 'may suffice for Iustes' (1603, vol. 2, p. 33) at this site. Consequently, the telescoped jousts reveal themselves as a strategic digression with which to champion a literary version of

³¹ See Chapter Two, p. 91.

³² Hall, p. 5.

Smithfield that resonates strongly with the praise of horse-manship in both medieval and early modern chivalric romance.³³

The *Survey* celebrates the jousting knights of Smithfield in the manner of chivalric romance by metonymically linking the fates of warriors and their warhorses as they struggle together for glory at the medieval site:

Lord *Scales* horse ha[d] on his Chafron a long speare pike of steele, and as the two Champions coaped [coped] together, the same horse thrust his pike into the nostrilles of the Bastards horse, so that for very payne he mounted so high that he fell on the one side (1603, vol. 2, p. 33).³⁴

This episode heightens the kinetic energy that horse-men generate by having them clash in a violent encounter and by bringing their hybrid bodies metonymically close enough to touch and injure each other. On the one hand, the *Survey*'s literary rendering of Lord Scales and the Bastard's joust echoes the early modern 'aestheticisation of traditional cavalry techniques' in the manège in that it rehearses '[t]he movements of horses central to their role in battle (their need to turn and swerve, to halt and to charge)'.³⁵ Nonetheless, the *Survey*'s performative placement of bodies in relation to each other also hinges on medieval-style militancy to evoke nostalgia among its readership. Hence, the detailed description of the protective shaffron covering the head of Lord Scales's horse with its 'long speare pike of steele' (1603, vol. 2, p. 33) not

³³ Keen writes that Arthurian romances offered the 'first heroes of the middle ages to be renowned specifically as horsemen, as model cavaliers', p. 41. For the centrality of the rider-horse relationship to early modern chivalric literature, see Boehrer's chapter on *Orlando Furioso* (1516), *Animal Characters*, pp. 28-73.

³⁴ 'To strike; to come to blows, encounter, join battle, engage, meet in the shock of battle or tournament'. Entry 'cope, v., I.1.', *OED* [accessed 19 September 2024].

³⁵ Elspeth Graham, 'The Duke of Newcastle's "Love [...] For Good Horses": An Exploration of Meanings', in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 37-69 (p. 47); A 'manège' has been denoting '[a]n enclosed space for the training of horses and the practice of horsemanship; a riding school' from the early eighteenth century onwards. Entry 'manège, n., 1.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024]; Whilst the *Survey* predates the practice of training horses in enclosed spaces, the aesthetically refined techniques of the manège have their origins in the training for equine warfare such as the tournament history that the *Survey* invokes.

only dramatises proceedings aesthetically but also emphasises the genuine risks that horses faced at medieval tournaments in Smithfield.

Considerations about horse-man kinetics also played into safety concerns during tournaments elsewhere in the City, according to the *Survey*:

In the middle of the city of London (say they) in a street called Cheape, the stone pauement being couered with sand, that the horse might not slide, when they strongly set their feete to the ground (1603, vol. 1, p. 268).

The *Survey*'s readers here learn that Smithfield was not the only urban tournament venue in medieval London. The temporary gravelling and sanding of City streets for the 'passage of [...] horses' was still a standard procedure for equine spectacles such as coronations or major entries in early modern London.³⁶ For example, according to 1548-9 Court of Aldermen records it was 'orderyd that all the stretes of this Citie betwene London Brydgefote & Temple Barre shalbe gravelyd at the Cities charges ageynst the kynges maiesties commying at one of the klokke'.³⁷ During both tournaments and coronations gravelling served the smooth running of the occasion in question. Yet, the *Survey* considers it necessary to elaborate on the reason for the practice as a prevention of horses slipping. In doing so, the sanding of Cheapside, aside from a matter of processional logistics and economics, can be seen as a care-filled engagement with the animals both as themselves and also as a component of hybrid horse-men. The 1603 *Survey* does celebrate processes of urbanisation that could improve 'passage, [that] by reason of so often turning, was very combersome, and daungerous both for horse and man' (1603, vol. 1, p. 35) as in the case of City authorities changing the City's medieval road layout and building Newgate to ease traffic congestion. However, by explaining the need for the sanding, the *Survey* also

³⁶ *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. xxiii.

³⁷ '1548-9 Court of Aldermen, Repertory 12(1)', *REED CL*, vol. 2, p. 732.

shows how other improvements such as paving impeded the most honourable of equine encounters in the City. Smithfield, on the other hand, ‘hath beene a place for such honourable Iusts and Triumphs, by reason it was a soft ground, and unpaved’ (1633, sig. Oo2r), according to the 1633 *Survey* in its addition and update to the chapter about ‘Faringdon Ward without’. In the chivalric light in which the later edition paints medieval Smithfield, soft and unpaved conditions made covering the ground with sand unnecessary. Such hybridity-promoting topographical characteristics were clearly another important factor for many pre-tournament processions ending up in Smithfield.

Whilst extra precautions had to be taken elsewhere in the City to make urban locations suitable for mock combat, the *Survey* by no means claims that the Smithfield tournaments were any safer. Instead, the *Survey* makes the dangers for the horses’ human counterparts as tangible as for the animals themselves by giving the example of one event that was abandoned after ‘five courses’ because one opponent ‘was borne ouer horse and man’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 31). In 1393 a joust even proved fatal in that the ‘Earle of *Mare* was cast both horse and man, and two of his ribbes broken with the fall, so that he was conuaied out of Smithfield, [...] but dyed by the way at Yorke’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 31). Consequently, the *Survey* conjures an image of chivalric horsemanship in which the quest for honour at the Smithfield tournaments comes at a real cost to both animal and human participants. Erica Fudge rightly warns that we must be careful not to ‘force an alien concept on to a[n early modern] world that has no parallel’ and we cannot find animal welfare concerns in the *Survey*.³⁸ Nonetheless, the *Survey*’s chivalric version of Smithfield pays careful, and therefore potentially care-filled attention, to invoke Fudge’s concept again, to not only men facing injury

³⁸ Fudge, ‘Farmyard Choreographies’, p. 154.

and death but also their equine counterparts potentially slipping or experiencing ‘payne’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 33).³⁹

The *Survey* also makes clear with the above example of medieval jousting in Smithfield that horse-man hybridity had its limits and that the potential for care-filled engagements between horse and man only went so far in the tiltyard:

[T]he Lord *Scales* rode about [his opponent] with his sword drawne, till the King commaunded the Marshall to helpe vp the Bastard, who sayd, I cannot hold me by the clouds, for though my horse fayle me, I will not fayle an incounter companion’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 33).⁴⁰

In terms of care-filled engagements, it can be construed that slipping horses prefigure falling riders. From such a perspective, metonymic and anthropomorphic representations of human-horse dynamics were only desirable for the former if the latter served the purpose for which both had trained. The Bastard’s words make it clear that the state of hybridity only lasted as long as a warrior was securely mounted. Once on ground-level, a self-critical appraisal of one’s horsemanship might be expected but that would have reflected negatively on one’s status. Instead, it comes easy for an unhorsed rider to blame his equine counterpart and denounce an, until very recently, noble steed as a discardable ‘fayl[ure]’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 33). We find a comparable response to being unhorsed by a knight in *Orlando Furioso*:

[The knight’s] Ladie present at the wofull case.

He fetcht a sigh most deeply from his heart,
Not that he had put out of ioynt, or lamed
His arme, his legge, or any other part,
But chiefly he, his euill fortune blamed,
At such a time, to hap lo ouerthwart,
Before his loue, to make him so ashamed:
And had not she some cause of speech found out,

³⁹ Fudge, ‘Farmyard Choreographies’, pp. 146-147.

⁴⁰ ‘Incouter’ is another version of ‘encounter’ and denotes ‘[a] meeting face to face; a meeting (of adversaries or opposing forces) in conflict; hence, a battle, skirmish, duel, etc, n., 1.a.’, *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

He had remained speechlesse out of doubt.

My Lord (said she) what ailes you be so sad?
The want was not in you, but in your steed,
For whom a stable, or a pasture had
Beene fitter then a course at tilt indeed.⁴¹

By being visibly embarrassed, the knight in question seemingly admits that the act of him falling off his horse amounts to a failure in chivalric masculinity and is made all the more shaming by occurring in the presence of his lady. His lady also recognises the symbolic magnitude of her knight being unhorsed and is quick to attribute blame to his horse. According to her reasoning, the interests of the knight and his noble steed no longer align. In allegedly preferring comfort, rest, and nourishment to the vigour required for jousting and its inherent dangers, this horse refuses to be a courser, as in a horse meant to ‘course at tilt’, and to carry the behavioural burden that a courser’s particular memory career demands.⁴² In this light, the knight’s horse falls short of anthropomorphic expectations. Yet, by designating the horse a steed and a courser, *Orlando Furioso* nonetheless marks the animal as an extraordinary and individualised literary character with the implied potential for having a different subjectivity and therefore agenda to its human counterpart. In a similar vein, the *Survey* individualises the equine counterpart of the unhorsed combatant by having the Bastard call it ‘my horse’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 33). This metonymic appropriation implies intention in the horse’s alleged failure and makes it all the more personal and symbolically damaging. By verbally distancing himself from his failing horse, the Bastard can be seen to purposefully sever horse-man hybridity because it no longer reflects positively on him. Consequently, whilst the *Survey* idealises ‘valiantly’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 33) fighting

⁴¹ *Orlando Furioso*, sig. A4v, 1.65-67.

⁴² *Orlando Furioso*, sig. A4v, 1.67.

horse and man, in line with chivalric romance tradition, its selective tournament history also highlights the symbolic complexity and fragility of horse-men hybrids when put to the test in the tiltyard as well as the volatile power structures underpinning their one-sided training and partnership that always privileged the human rider in the end.

The way that the *Survey* telescopes the likelihood of horse-men facing injury and death together into medieval Smithfield also strategically omits the fact that tournaments became less dangerous affairs for horse and man in the early modern period.⁴³ Innovations such as ‘rebated weapons’, ‘the introduction of the tilt barrier’, ‘adoption of plate armour’ and ‘points [...] [being] deducted for [...] striking an opponent’s horse’ all meant that even though aristocrats and their horses continued to prove themselves in ways typical of chivalry in the tiltyards of Greenwich, Westminster and Whitehall, their participation prepared them for war in less realistic ways.⁴⁴ For example, in the second half of the sixteenth century, tournaments were ‘designed to spare their participants from humiliation as well as harm’ to the extent that even ‘keeping score’ was discontinued.⁴⁵ Without its military impetus, the tournament became a vehicle of courtiers’ ‘[s]elf-promotion’ with which to negotiate their relationships with reigning monarchs who continued to attend tiltyard entertainments regularly in the early modern period.⁴⁶ The drama of the period expressed an acute awareness of the gradually changing motives and agendas underpinning tournaments and, by the seventeenth century, registered increasing scepticism surrounding chivalric claims. For example, the 1605 city comedy *Eastward*

⁴³ Keen, p. 205; Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments: From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson* (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 49.

⁴⁴ Young, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁵ Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (University of California Press, 1989), p. 23.

⁴⁶ Heaton, p. 57.

Ho ridicules the so-called ‘thirty-pound knights’ of early modern London who bought their title for a relatively small sum of money rather than earning their honour on the battlefield:

GER. Thou art a fool, Sin. The knighthood nowadays are nothing like the knighthood of old time. They rid a-horse-back; ours go afoot. [...] They were still prest to engage their honour; ours still ready to pawn their clothes. They would gallop on at sight of a monster; ours run away at sight of a sergeant. They would help poor ladies; ours make poor ladies.⁴⁷

The character Gertrude here inverts every positive quality associated with romanticised versions of chivalry when her husband Sir Petronel Flash turns out to be a penniless fraud instead of the upstanding aristocrat he claims to be. Twice a mythologised ‘knighthood of old time’, willing to take on monsters, is defined in relation to horses: firstly, as warriors ‘a-horse-back’ and, secondly, as riding towards danger.⁴⁸ In *Eastward Ho*, present-day chivalry no longer upholds any such honourable ideals and becomes a world of thinly veiled self-interest. We find no such diachronic cynicism in either *Survey* edition’s examples of medieval knightly behaviour. Instead, both editions concur that jousting opponents ‘fought valiantly’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 33) in 1409 and, in 1467, two knights ‘departed with equall honour’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 33). In a similar vein and as an example of topographical telescoping, the 1633 print version of the 1561 ‘Agas Map’ depicts a mounted figure with couched lance (fig. 3.4), thereby imprinting early modern Smithfield with medieval chivalry.

⁴⁷ Entry ‘thirty-pound knight, *n.*’, *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024]; *Eastward Ho*, 5.1.36-47.

⁴⁸ *Eastward Ho*, 5.1.38, 39, 45, 46.



3.4 An example of topographical telescoping as in the depiction of a mounted figure with couched lance in Smithfield, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm>.

Consequently, synchronic thinking in the *Survey* and the map alike directs the reader's gaze to a time when aristocratic horse-men still faced real danger and filled medieval Smithfield with commendable tournament horsemanship as part of what Foucault would define as 'self-disciplining practice' so that their chivalric aspirations could not be called into question.⁴⁹

The *Survey* deploys a range of memory and literary strategies to paint its selective tournament history of medieval Smithfield in the idealising hues of romance traditions. Firstly, the *Survey* chapter about Faringdon deploys synchronic historical consciousness to telescope the reader into the medieval glory days of an unpaved Smithfield and side-steps early modern cynicism about London's increasingly less-than-chivalric knighthood. Secondly, the *Survey* portrays jousters becoming horse-

⁴⁹ Natalie Corinne Hansen, 'Dressage: Training the Equine Body', in *Foucault and Animals*, pp. 132-160 (p. 137).

men hybrids in that their bodies, and implicitly also their minds, work as one in their training efforts and in so doing face real danger together in the tiltyard. Conversely, the portrayal of unhorsed tournament participants in the *Survey* calls attention to the fragility of horse-man hybridity and thereby sets up the same horse-indexed cultural shorthand for the loss of chivalric honour as romances do in their conclusions to martial encounters. In the *Survey*'s representation Lord Scales and the unhorsed Bastard of Burgoigne can be seen to share the fates of horse-men mythologised in medieval and early modern romance so that both historical figures function as the temporarily chivalric protagonists of a chorography the premise of which is not imaginative literature but the creation of a horse-indexed civic mythology.

Following the Steps of Chivalric Horse-Men outside of Smithfield

By shifting its nostalgic focus to the fields north of Smithfield, the *Survey* portrays the military training of 'young men [...] on horsebacke' (1603, vol. 1, p. 84) as notably equivalent to the chivalric war games in nearby Smithfield itself. My consideration of how the *Survey* engages with non-tournament-related practice for warfare outside of Smithfield acts as a short but significant analytical link between my close readings of how the *Survey* portrays aristocratic jousters and why it renders horse coursers as chivalric horsemen. The same chivalric mythmaking is at work across the *Survey*'s histories for the open urban spaces in the north of the City:

Euery sonday in Lent a fresh companie of young men comes into the fields on horsebacke, and the best horseman conducteth the rest, then march forth the Cittizens sonnes, and other young men with disarmed launces and shieldes, and practise feates of warre (1603, vol. 1, p. 84).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ 'To guide or direct in a certain course of action; to bring *to* a place, a particular condition or situation, a conclusion'. Entry 'conduct, *v.*, I.2.a.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

Again, horse-men take centre-stage. They enter the fields first and, not unlike the protagonists of chivalric romance, stand out as the most skilled warriors and are therefore considered worthy of leading the other participants by example. Importantly, the *Survey* does not elaborate on whether the riders in question are civic or aristocratic. The best horseman conducts the others because of his horsemanship, not rank or lineage. In the marginalia of the same section about the ‘Sports and Pastimes of old time used in this Citie’, the 1633 *Survey* focuses solely on the ‘Exercises of warlike feats on horseback with disarmed Lances’ (1633, sig. H2v). This summary of the training event omits all the participants without horses. That way, the citizens’ sons and other young men who march into the fields on foot rather than riding on horseback are reduced to a sideshow even though they also practise with chivalric tournament weapons such as lances and shields.

The same prioritising of horse-men over foot soldiers stands out in the 1633 *Survey*’s portrayal of a muster during the time of King Stephen. In the previous chapter, I have already explored this equine spectacle in terms of the *Survey*’s fetishisation of ‘brave Armour’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v). Now I focus on the other noteworthy horse-indexed cultural shorthand of ‘proper Men’:

The Honour of this City consists in proper Men, brave Armour, and multitude of Inhabitants. In the fatall warres under King *Steven*, there went out to a Master, men fit for warre, esteemed to the number of 20000. horsemen armed, and 60000. footmen. (1633, sig. Ooo6v).

The 1633 *Survey* here quotes William Fitzstephen’s twelfth-century description of London to portray the ‘Honour of this City’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v) as an overarching ideal to which Londoners could contribute with military readiness. Whereas the 1603 *Survey* provides the reader only with Fitzstephen’s Latin original, the 1633 *Survey* is unique among the early modern editions because it has in its appendix an English

translation of the Latin text. The translation given of ‘proper Men’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v) for the Latin term ‘viris’ stands out.⁵¹ Although all editions refer to twenty thousand horsemen participating in this muster, it is only the 1633 *Survey* that singles out a specific group of mounted warriors as the most capable to defend medieval London. The *OED* gives a range of uses of the word ‘proper’ that were already in circulation in the seventeenth century. In relation to the combination of ‘proper’ and ‘men’, the most fitting entry defines proper as ‘[s]uch as a person or thing of the kind specified should be; admirable, excellent, fine; of high quality; of consequence, serious, worthy of consideration’.⁵²

We can look to Gervase Markham to shed further light on the likely composition of ‘proper men’. His military conduct manual sets out ‘the first Principles and necessary knowledge [...] for [...] Muster Masters’ and its very title page therefore directly addresses early modern muster organisers.⁵³ According to Markham, ‘[i]n the old Warres [...] the first and principall Troope of Horse were called, Men at Armes, or Gentlemen at Armes, because the bodie of the whole Troope consisted of Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen’.⁵⁴ In line with this historical account of medieval mustering, the 1633 *Survey*’s ‘proper men’ are at the very least mounted warriors of distinction but also very likely men of noble descent. For this reason, the 1633 translation separates these heroic riders and their armour from the ‘multitude of Inhabitants’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v) syntactically. In this light, whereas the 1603 edition celebrates capable horsemen and does not prioritise aristocratic riders over civic ones, the 1633 edition reimagines the King Stephen muster in more elitist hues.

⁵¹ ‘Vir’ can denote ‘a grown man’ in general or ‘emphatically [...] a man of character or courage’. Entry ‘vir, m., 1. and 3.’, *Cassell’s New Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Donald Penistan Simpson, 4th edn (Cassell & Company, 1966), p. 644.

⁵² Entry ‘proper, adj., III.7.a.’, *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁵³ Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*.

⁵⁴ Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, sig. F3v.

By opting for the horse-indexed cultural shorthand of ‘proper men’ in its translation, the 1633 *Survey* aggrandises the City with the evocation of aristocratic horse-men training to attain the accolade of chivalric masculinity. Nonetheless, their efforts would not be as impactful and worthy of commemoration without the large quantities of other horsemen and footmen. It is the combined show of civic and aristocratic martial strength that makes medieval London ‘glorious in manhoode’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 104). Importantly, in contrast with this celebration of masculinity, it is important to highlight that both *Survey* editions only ever gender the City as feminine. The 1603 ‘Epistle Dedicatory’ refers to London as ‘natieue mother and Countrey’ (1603, vol. 1, p. xcvi) and the same chapter in the 1633 edition enthuses about London ‘being as well a loving Mother to breed them [her owne Off-spring] in her owne Bowels, as a carefull Nurse afterward to bring them up’ (1633, sig. A4v). The *Survey* personifies London as a sovereign matriarch in her own right who is nonetheless made glorious by chivalric masculinity, thereby creating a need for male protection.

In line with romance tradition, the staging of musters upholds the solemn knightly duty to worship and defend the honour of a female figure. According to the *Survey*, the possibility of Alice de Perrers processioning on horseback transforms her into a woman of note in the history of the City who empowered herself as paradoxically both sexualised yet unattainable chivalric mistress and virgin-like Woman Clothed with the Sun. Whilst aristocratic and civic chivalric ideals do not translate perfectly across each other, in a similar but less controversial vein to Perrers, London itself is made to undergo female personification to become an extraordinary historical player. Literary renderings of mistresses, virgins and mothers all offer the potential for chivalric idealisation. Whereas both mistress and virgin might not

necessarily be embodiments of womanhood with a recognisable stake in the urban community, when portrayed as a mother the City can be seen to nurture its population and as deserving of care in return. In this light, chivalric nostalgia broadens the possibilities of care-filled engagements which can be as localised as those between horse and man to those enveloping the whole of the City and its inhabitants. Consequently, equine encounters at military training sessions and musters near Smithfield, when considered as early modern care-filled engagements, allow us to unpack the reciprocal gender implications of the *Survey*'s deployment of chivalric romance for its portrayal of militant horsemanship in City locations.

'A notable Shew of Horses': Horse Coursers as Unexpected Chivalric Horse-Men of Smithfield Market

The *Survey* also broadens the scope of care-filled horse-man engagements in its portrayal of Smithfield market. Digressions on bygone displays of chivalric masculinity near Smithfield appealed to a romance-appreciating readership because of their purposeful mirroring of choreographed militancy within medieval Smithfield. Yet, medieval Smithfield itself offered further significant nostalgic attractions: a strong heritage of both aristocratic and civic horse-related customs in the shape of not only elite horse-men training for war, but also a commonly accessible livestock market. Whilst tournaments might have already belonged to the past of early modern Smithfield, the resident market 'for the sale of live animals, whether horses for riding, or beef, sheep and pigs for eating' was still taking place twice a week at the seventeenth-century site.⁵⁵ In the *Survey*'s version of Smithfield market, horses take centre-stage and put on 'euery fryday [...] a notable shew' whilst 'swine, milch kine,

⁵⁵ *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, pp. 6, 94.

sheepe and oxen' receive considerably less attention and are set aside as 'other cattell' (1603, vol. 1, p. 80):

[T]here may you of pleasure see amblers pacing it dilicately: there may you see trotters fit for men of armes, sitting more hardly: there may you haue [...] wel limmed geldings, whom the buiers do especially regard for pace, and swiftnes: the boyes which ride these horses, sometime two, sometime three, doe runne races for wagers, with a desire of praise, or hope of victorie. In an other part of that field are to be sold all implements of husbandry, as also fat swine, milch kine, sheepe and oxen: there stand also mares and horses, fitte for ploughes and teames with their young coltes by them (1603, vol. 1, p. 80).⁵⁶

The *Survey* here invites its readers to consider themselves part of a distinguished audience of 'Earles, Barons, knights, and Citizens' where they 'may [...] of pleasure see' (1603, vol. 1, p. 80) an equine spectacle of note. Whilst 'a variety of different types of horses in early modern England [...] fulfilled a range of roles' and were therefore all working horses, the *Survey* makes it clear that the saddle mounts on the one hand and draught horses on the other, whilst both available for purchase at Smithfield Market, were neither created nor considered equal.⁵⁷ The saddle mounts that dominate the above portrayal of Smithfield market, as in amblers, trotters and geldings, represented the pursuits and interests of the urban elite such as public display, warfare and the hunt respectively.⁵⁸ The *Survey* sets these superior horses physically and symbolically apart from the 'mares and horses, fitte for ploughes and teams with their young coltes by them' that stood '[i]n an other part of the field' (1603, vol. 1, p. 80). Saddle mounts receive the bulk of the attention and are brought to life twofold; by the interaction, and therefore potentially care-filled engagements, with their human counterparts who 'of pleasure see' or 'ride these horses' and through their

⁵⁶ See the *OED* for examples of 'limmed' as a medieval and early modern spelling of 'limbed'. Entry 'limbed, *adj.*', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁵⁷ Hill Curth, p. 22.

⁵⁸ Hill Curth, p. 22.

own movements of ‘*padding [...] delicately*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 80) and ‘feet [going] on either side up and downe together by turnes, or else crossing’ (1633, sig. Ppp1r). The draught horses, on the other hand, only warrant a passing comment at the end of the section. These animals do not demonstrate their skills or take part in the races I am about to discuss. Instead, they are portrayed as standing motionlessly alongside farming equipment without any onlookers. Whilst neither the portrayal of the saddle mounts nor that of the draught horses is pejorative and both are aimed at promoting Smithfield market, from an animal studies perspective the *Survey* favours saddle mounts anthropomorphically by animating them and attributing them to the world of men; this is in stark contrast to the stock-still draught horses which are consigned in mechanomorphic fashion to the world of objects such as ‘*implements of husbandry*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 80).

Importantly, the *Survey* bases its seventeenth-century portrayal of the anthropomorphised equine kinetics on display at Smithfield Market on a single medieval source: Fitzstephen’s 1174 rendering of the market as an equine spectacle in which racing horses ‘stretch[ed] out their bodies and r[an] speedily away, [with] the Riders spurring them on’ (1633, sig. Ppp1v). We can gather the wider significance of this source from the fact that the 1603 and 1633 *Surveys* not only incorporated William Fitzstephen’s twelfth-century description of medieval London extensively into the body of their versions but also included the entire work in each of their respective appendices. Fitzstephen wrote evocatively about the noteworthy horsemanship on show in Smithfield in the very century in which the world of chivalry enjoyed its heyday.⁵⁹ However, Fitzstephen’s martially inspired vision of medieval Smithfield was not itself written as part of a chivalric romance. Instead, the market description

⁵⁹ Keen, p. 25.

features in the introductory survey of the City found in his biography of Thomas Becket. Since Fitzstephen's own portrayal of Smithfield's horsemen nonetheless offers chivalric role models with which to populate an idealised version of the site, the *Survey* can thus be seen to draw on the precedent it sets as a non-fiction text deploying romance modes in part as a literary strategy. The *Survey*'s temporal and intertextual manipulation signifies a kind of synchronic historical awareness which purposefully omits centuries of change to frame the weekly event within a specifically medieval and chivalric consciousness.

Since the *Survey* refers to medieval Smithfield market as a '*notable shew*', its horse coursers appear to be performing, like the knights at the Smithfield tournaments, for the '*pleasure*' of an appreciative crowd (1603, vol. 1, p. 80). At Smithfield market, equine pageantry is described as consisting of horse coursers parading amblers and trotters as well as racing geldings. The emphasis on how amblers and trotters move is noteworthy because their gaits require different levels of training. Whilst all horses trot, the amble is a four-beat gait and has to be taught.⁶⁰ The *OED* defines ambling '[w]ith reference to a horse [...] [as a] smooth or easy gait, particularly suitable for long-distance riding [...] [,] faster than a walk and often promoted by training'.⁶¹ Jenéy elaborates that a 'side-benefit of riding a well-bred gaited horse [...] would be the dignified, floating effect for the rider'.⁶² The 1633 *Survey* signals the complexity of the 'ambling pace' in that the horse's 'feet [go] on either side up and downe together by turnes, or else crossing' (1633, sig. Ppp1r). A trot, on the other hand, is a simpler

⁶⁰ Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (Continuum Books, 2007), pp. 49-50.

⁶¹ Entry 'amble, *n.*, 1.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁶² Jenéy, p. 44.

two-beat gait since trotters ‘lite up and set downe together the contrary feet on either side’ (1633, sig. Ppp1r).

Seeing as the 1603 and 1633 editions both praise the ambling on show at Smithfield market as delicate, it can be construed that the horse coursers display considerable horsemanship in performing this difficult and dignified gait. Whilst the trot comes easier to horse and rider, the allusion to ‘*men of armes*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 80) nonetheless evokes mounted warriors such as the chivalric knights who tested their skill and mettle at the Smithfield tournaments. Smithfield’s horse coursers thus effectively mimic chivalric warfare by having their horses trot. The ‘*races for wagers*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 80) at Smithfield market might be less dangerous than the Smithfield tournaments; however, the horse coursers’ ‘*desire of praise, or hope of victorie*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 80) echo the knightly ambitions of valour and honour we have already encountered. To paint Smithfield’s horse coursers in chivalric light, the 1633 edition even draws careful attention to ‘the very beasts [of the horse coursers that], after their fashion, doe not cease to strive, while their joynts tremble, and impatient of delay, endure not standing still in a place’ (1633, sigs. Ppp1r-Ppp1v). The foregrounding of the horse coursers’ equine counterparts here goes beyond a reciprocal care-filled engagement by explicitly investing the horses with the human emotion of impatience and portraying them as matching their riders’ eagerness for the race. Since such anthropomorphising of horses is characteristic of the portrayal of horses as intelligent agents in romance, there is no mistaking the chivalric horsemanship that the *Survey* asks the reader to perceive in Smithfield market.⁶³

As in the case of the Smithfield tournaments, horse-man mythmaking is at play in the *Survey*’s portrayal of Smithfield market because synchronic historical

⁶³ See Boehrer’s section on ‘Horse-Sense and Chivalry’ in *Animal Characters*, pp. 30-41.

consciousness circumvents diachronic questions of whether the people associated with horse-related trading practices at the seventeenth-century site were still, in the words of the *Survey*, ‘notable’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 80). Judging by the popular opinion of Smithfield’s horse coursers in early modern culture, the likelihood of notoriety was far higher than that of renown. As my introduction has shown, in a painstakingly detailed account of urban trades the *Survey* neutrally remarks that ‘horse coursers [...] remaine in their olde Market of Smithfield’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 82). This is the only direct reference to horse coursers in the *Survey*. However, just as in the case of the early modern knights, seventeenth-century drama had much more to say about this particular equine occupation. *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), for instance, paints Smithfield as an entertaining but dangerous marketplace in which rogue traders prey on naive visitors. The real-life Bartholomew Fair on which the play was based took place every August in addition to the weekly livestock market. Importantly, it is the character of the horse courser ‘Master Dan Knockem’ who as a dubious ‘knight of the knife’, or in other words a thief by many names such as ‘child of the horn-thumb, a babe of booty, boy; a cutpurse’, personifies the immoral qualities of the annual fair.⁶⁴ The play here explicitly connects horse coursers to the world of knighthood but inverts chivalric honour to make a satirical judgement about horse coursers as disreputable horsemen.

Even writers of non-dramatic literature, such as social observers and authorities on horsemanship, voiced scandalised opinions about the practitioners of this trade. For example, the 1616 posthumous edition of Thomas Overbury’s *His Wife*, to which numerous character sketches were appended, dedicates several passages to the ‘Arrant Horse-Courser’ and singles out Smithfield’s horses as bearing the brunt of

⁶⁴ *Bartholomew Fair*, 2.3.23-28.

the horse courser's 'knauery' in that '[h]is Stable is fill'd with so many Diseases, one would thinke most part about Smithfield were an Hospitall for Horses, or a slaughter-house for the common hunt'.⁶⁵ Markham alleges similar malpractices in his *Cauelarice* (1607):

[I]f the horse haue [...] paines, scratches, splents, or anye eie-sore about the neather ioynt, then the first thing the Horse corser doeth; is to ride his horse into the durt, and by dawbing his legs to hide his faultes.⁶⁶

In both characterisations, the horse courser deceives prospective buyers and wilfully neglects his horses. By refusing to pay care-filled attention to his horses, the horse courser of early modern culture raises questions about the valiant Smithfield horsemen we find in the *Survey*.

We can attribute such persistent vilification to the fact that horse coursers were essential but mistrusted middlemen in the mercantile world of early modern London. Whereas other equine occupations such as farriers and saddlers had a good standing among the City's Livery Companies and looked back on their material history in the form of ordinances, court minutes, audit and memorandum books with corporate pride, early modern horses coursers did not have their own Company identity and instead joined with the Innholders in the early sixteenth century.⁶⁷ As the market for horsepower expanded, specialist horse coursers dedicated themselves to cater for the countrywide demand for horses. Edwards considers the vilification of these equine middlemen as unjustified:

⁶⁵ Thomas Overbury, *Sir Thomas Ouerburie His Wife with New Elegies vpon His (Now Knowne) Vntimely Death* (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Laurence L'isle, and are to bee sold at his shop at the Tigers head in Pauls Church-yard, 1616), sigs. G3v, J2r.

⁶⁶ Gervase Markham, *Cauelarice, or the English Horseman* (London: Printed [by Edward Alde and W. Jaggard] for Edward White, and are to be solde at his shop neare the little north doore of Saint Paules Church at the signe of the Gun, 1607), sig. B3r.

⁶⁷ Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 98, doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511522543.

[Whilst m]any [...] dealers were undoubtedly reputable, [...] a host of small-time [...] dealers had few scruples and often possessed openly criminal proclivities. Unfortunately, the population at large associated the horse trade with such dubious characters and this affected the reputation of honest traders.⁶⁸

Even though many horse coursers conducted their business honestly, the City authorities considered it nonetheless necessary to implement legal measures in order to prevent deceptive horse-trading such as Overbury's character sketch and Markham's husbandry manual alleged. Such deceptions came in two guises: firstly, the sale of a maltreated or diseased and therefore low-quality horse and, secondly, the sale of a stolen horse.⁶⁹

To minimise the risk of both crimes, William Fulbeck's 1601 legal treatise *A Parallele or Conference of the Ciuill Law, the Canon Law, and the Common Law* establishes that the sale of a horse was only lawful if it took place in a location where horse trade was customary:

[I]f a felon sell a horse without couin in a market ouert [overt], this doth alter the propertie, and the verie proprietary cannot haue restitution of the horse [...] but if he had solde him out [outside] of a market ouert the propertie had not bin altered.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p. 15.

⁶⁹ 'The records [...] show [...] that horse stealing was quite widespread in Tudor and Stuart England [...]. One Act of 1547 sought to increase the deterrent effect of the law by making the crime a felony without benefit of clergy. The two Acts of 1555 and 1589 [...] had [...] the aim of making it more difficult for stolen horses to be disposed of'. Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 108.

⁷⁰ William Fulbeck, *A Parallele or Conference of the Ciuill Law, the Canon Law, and the Common Law* (London: Printed by [Adam Islip for] Thomas Wight, 1601), sig. A7r; 'Covin' can here refer to a '[p]rivate agreement, [...] often with unfavourable connotation' or a '[f]raudulent action of any kind to the injury of another; fraud, deceit, treachery'. Entry 'covin, *n.*, 2.a. and 4.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024]; An 'overt' marketplace could be 'uncovered' rather than indoors or denote market transactions 'open to view or knowledge; plain, manifest; done openly or publicly, unconcealed'. Entry 'overt, *adj.*, 1.a and 2.a.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024]. There is also a separate *OED* definition just for 'market overt' that came into use in 1555: '[a] public, open, and legal market; the principles regulating the sale of goods in such a market'. Entry 'market overt, *n.*', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

Doing business in a public market legalised the transfer of ownership to a third party. If the felon attempted to sell the horse in any location other than an official trading place, the horse remained the property of the original owner. However, in *The Lavvyers Light* (1629), Smithfield becomes the exception to the rule:

And for any other goods, where the Sale in a Market or faire shall barre the owner beeing not the seller of his Propertie. It must bee sale in a Market or Faire where vsuall things of that Nature are sold. As for example, if a men steale a Horse, and sell him in Smithfield, the true owner is barred by this Sale; but if he sell the Horse in Cheapeside, Newgate or [...] Westminster market, the true owner is not barred by this Sale; because, these Markets are vsuall for flesh, Fish, &c. and not for Horses.⁷¹

Smithfield is the only market for live horses in the *Survey*. To the *Survey* editors and their citizen readers, it would have been very unusual indeed to buy or sell a horse in Cheapside as in their lifetimes ‘[t]his Eastcheape is now a flesh Market of Butchers there dwelling’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 216). From a legal perspective, Smithfield is noteworthy because law literature refers to the resident market by name as the one City location in which the ownership of an illegally acquired horse can be lawfully transferred to a third party. Consequently, Smithfield’s horse coursers were one step closer to successfully selling stolen horses, if they were so inclined.

Market toll books were intended to offer additional protection to prospective buyers:

[I]f hee bee a horse hee must bee ridden two houres in the Market or Faire, betweene Ten and fiue a clocke, and Tolle for in the Tolle-Booke, and the seller must bring one to avouch his sale knowne to thee Tolle-booke-keeper, or else the sale bindeth mee not.⁷²

⁷¹ John Doddridge, *The Lavvyers Light: Or, a Due Direction for the Study of the Law for Methode* (London: [By Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet] for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his shop in Aldersgate street, at the signe of the Talbot, 1629), sigs. L4v-M1r.

⁷² Doddridge, sig. L4v.

The Lavvyers Light here sets out that identity checks were mandatory even if horses were sold in their proper market location. Moreover, riding the horse for a considerable amount of time during daylight hours established the health and abilities of the horse with the intention of preventing the sale of low-quality animals. The restriction of trading hours, entry of toll payments in official market records and provision of a guarantor should have been considered responsive and appropriate measures for intercepting dishonest traders of both low-quality and stolen horses and, in turn, should have elevated the reputation of Smithfield horse market. Yet, the widespread contempt for horse coursers in early modern sources calls the effectiveness of such legislative means into the question. As toll keepers still had to ‘rely on trust’, deceptive horse trading was not only possible but in all likelihood commonplace in early modern Smithfield as well as at horse markets across the country.⁷³

From etymological and animal studies perspectives, cultural misgivings about and legal measures against the potentially morally corrupt horse coursers of Smithfield ride (pun intended) on the very double-coded naming of the profession. According to the *OED*, the first use of the word ‘courser’ appears in the fourteenth century and described ‘a large powerful horse that is ridden in battle or as part of a jousting tournament; a charger’.⁷⁴ In the second half of the sixteenth century, the courser morphed from explicit warhorse to any ‘horse that runs swiftly, a racer’ such as the geldings to which the *Survey* refers in its portrayal of Smithfield market.⁷⁵ It was only from the fifteenth century that coursers came to mean not only horses but also the men

⁷³ ‘Whatever the intentions of the [1598] Act, in practice its terms must have been difficult to administer. It was almost impossible to restrict sales to known persons or to those with “respectable” vouchers, however assessed, and officials inevitably had to rely on trust’. Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 109.

⁷⁴ Entry ‘courser, *n.*, 1.a.’, *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁷⁵ Entry ‘courser, *n.*, 1.b.’, *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

who bought and sold horses.⁷⁶ Since the courser was the horse most associated with militant horsemanship, its devaluation in a climate of cynicism created horse-to-human hybridity and zoomorphically passed critical judgement onto its human namesake, the horse courser. Several of the *OED*'s illustrative quotations referring to horse coursers in the latter sense describe the profession in a pejorative manner as in 'Coursers of horses, [who] by false menys, make the[ir horses] loke fresshe and fatte'.⁷⁷

Interestingly, by the early seventeenth century, reference to horse traders as coursers seems to have fallen out of fashion with no later examples than one from 1625 featuring in the *OED*.⁷⁸ However, the specific term 'horse courser' was still in sporadic use up to the early nineteenth century.⁷⁹ Human coursers featured most ubiquitously in texts of the medieval and early modern period. The start and end of their most pronounced literary presence therefore mirrors the rise and decline of chivalry and the horses associated with the world of knighthood.⁸⁰ Whilst Edwards argues that 'the courser, on account of its size and conformation, made an ideal parade animal' after it became less useful on the early modern battlefield, according to the *Survey* this impressive warhorse had been participating in processions since the Middle Ages.⁸¹ Consequently, the sight and sound of coursers on the streets of early modern London signified a continuity in processional appreciation rather than a reinvention of the warhorse for the supposedly new purpose of parading. Nonetheless,

⁷⁶ Entry 'courser | corser, *n.*', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁷⁷ Entry 'courser | corser, *n.*', *OED*.

⁷⁸ Entry 'courser | corser, *n.*', *OED*.

⁷⁹ Entry 'horse-courser | horse-courser, *n.*', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁸⁰ Edwards writes that '[b]y the late sixteenth century, however, the military role of men-at-arms, riding on horses like these [Neapolitan coursers, Flemish horses, Hungarian horses], was in decline and with them their mounts. This was due to a change in military tactics which increasingly emphasized firepower at the expense of the cavalry's role as a battering ram'. Edwards, *Horse and Man*, p. 11.

⁸¹ See discussions of coursers at medieval processions in Chapter Two, pp. 108-111.

the courser declined in martial currency at the same time that seventeenth-century texts ridiculed knights and vilified horse coursers as equally satirical stock characters.

The ‘trade identities’ of other equine professions such as farriers were forged ‘through anthropomorphising their [...] veterinary skill-sets to justify self-beneficial socio-economic and gender hierarchies’.⁸² The horse coursers of early modern popular consciousness, however, did not derive status, wealth or masculinity from their handling and caring for the horses they bought, trained and sold. On the contrary, their metonymic closeness to and temporary possession of even esteemed warhorses and racers, such as the *Survey*’s trotters and geldings, stripped non-elite human coursers of the possibility of becoming chivalric horse-men. Alleged self-interest and care-less inattention to horses resulted in debasing zoomorphic hybridity: the polar opposite of the ennobling horsemanship that the *Survey* asks its readers to perceive in its portrayal of Smithfield market. In *The Dead Tearme* (1608), Dekker satirises brothel keepers through a pointed analogy with horse coursers and thereby epitomises particularly strongly how idiosyncratic the *Survey* was in its approach to Smithfield’s horse coursers:

Such as *Smithfield* is to horses, such is a *House of these Sisters* to women: It is as fatal to the[m], It is as infamous. The Bawds *Pettie* Bawds, and *Panders* are the Horse-coursers that bring lades into the market: wher they swear they are frée from diseases, whe[n] they haue more hanging on their bones then are in a French Army.⁸³

Dekker’s polemic here aligns the malpractices of brothel keepers and horse coursers in that both result in abused and diseased women and horses respectively. According to the *OED*, the term ‘jade’ has been a ‘contemptuous name for a horse; [or denoted]

⁸² Amanda Eisemann, ‘Forging Iron and Masculinity: Farrier Trade Identities in Early Modern Germany’, in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 377-402 (p. 378).

⁸³ Thomas Dekker, *The Dead Tearme. Or, VWestminsters Complaint for Long Vacations and Short Termes* (London: Printed [by W. Jaggard] and are to be sold by Iohn Hodgets at his house in Pauls Churchyard, 1608), sig. C3r.

a horse of inferior breed, e.g. a cart- or draught-horse as opposed to a riding horse' from the fourteenth century onwards.⁸⁴ In the sixteenth century, 'jade' also became a 'term of reprobation applied to a woman'.⁸⁵ This analogy between horses and women of questionable worth is particularly harmful to the *Survey*'s nostalgic imbuing of Smithfield with chivalric masculinity. By portraying horse coursers as 'bring[ing] lades into the market', Dekker makes a direct comparison to the procurers of prostitutes and identifies both types of professional middlemen as equally condemnable propagators of moral and physical corruption.⁸⁶

The contemporary proverb that speaks of one '[w]ho goes to Westminster for a wife, to Pauls for a man, and to Smithfield for a horse, may meet with a whore, a knave and a jade' epitomises the gendered nature with which the term 'jade' was used for hyperbolic effect and exemplifies the satirical payoff inherent in the association of horse coursers with jades for portrayals of early modern Smithfield.⁸⁷ In Thomas Middleton's and Thomas Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* (1611), an exchange between the womaniser Laxton and his coachman equally conflates jades with Smithfield:

LAXTON Are we fitted with good frampold jades?
COACHMAN The best in Smithfield, I warrant you, sir.⁸⁸

Readers and audiences were clearly in on the joke that jades connoted both inferior horses as well as prostitutes. In the mocking light that both polemic and drama cast,

⁸⁴ Entry 'jade, *n.*, 1.a.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁸⁵ Entry 'jade, *n.*, 2.a.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁸⁶ Dekker, sig. C3r.

⁸⁷ John Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (Cambridge: Printed by John Hayes [...], for W. Morden, 1678), sig. Y3v.

⁸⁸ Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, *The Roaring Girl*, ed. by Elizabeth Cook, 2nd edn (A & C Black Publishers, 1997), 3.1.10-11; According to the *OED*, the adjective 'frampold' denotes a 'fiery, spirited' disposition in horses. Entry 'frampold, *adj.*, 2.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024]; In relation to humans, 'frampold' describes both men and women as behaving '[s]our-tempered, cross, disagreeable, peevish'. Entry 'frampold, *adj.*, 1.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

Smithfield transforms from glorified seat of chivalric masculinity into a pit of diseased and abused femininity. Since early modern horse coursers were considered as the one equine occupation whose morality and masculinity were controversial at best, the *Survey* could not deploy their horsemanship nostalgically to imbue seventeenth-century Smithfield with chivalric honour. Due to the vilification of horse coursers in cultural and legal discourses, any rendering of Smithfield as a marketplace had to step away from the debauchery brought to life in *Bartholomew Fair* and required a more concerted effort to engender chivalric nostalgia synchronically. Yet, the above discussed horsemanship on display in Fitzstephen's description of Smithfield market works on a nostalgic level because medieval horse coursers who bought, trained and sold their equine counterparts were still indisputable horse-men and 'expert in governing their horses' (1633, sig. Ppp1r). Consequently, the Smithfield market races reveal themselves as a further 'aestheticisation of traditional cavalry techniques', to borrow Graham's words again, the aim of which was engendering a chivalric nostalgia for both aristocratic and civic spheres of City life.⁸⁹

More Unexpected Chivalric Horse-Men outside of Smithfield

We find another example of rather surprising aestheticised horse experts in the *Survey* because horse coursers were not the only urban profession to benefit from a publicity makeover in both *Survey* editions. On the contrary, the *Survey* matches its chivalric nostalgia for the horse coursers of medieval Smithfield market in its noteworthy idealisations of another disreputable profession: the porters of Cornhill and Queenhithe. Again, horsemanship-related mythmaking is at the heart of portraying the activities of everyday Londoners such as porters transporting goods across the City in

⁸⁹ Graham, p. 47.

a manner that bestows honour onto London. On this occasion, the chivalric esteem stems from the porters organising themselves and their horses in a quasi-militaristic manner:

[O]ne large house [in Cornhill] is called the Wey house, where marchandizes brought from beyond the Seas, are to be weighed at the kings beame. This house hath a maister, and vnder him foure maister Porters, with Porters vnder them: they haue a strong cart, and foure great horses, to draw and carrie the wares from the Marchants houses to the Beame, and backe againe (1603, vol. 1, p. 192).

[T]he [Queenhithe] measurer (or the meater) ought to haue 8. chiefe Master Porters, euery master to haue three porters vnder him, and euery one of them to finde one horse, and seuen sakes, and he that so did not, to loose his office. This Hithe was then so frequented with vessels, bringing thither corne (besides fish, salt, fewel, and other marchandizes) that all these men, to wit, the meater, and porters, 37. in number, for all their charge of horses and sakes, and small stipend, liued well of their labors (1603, vol. 2, p. 9).

The activities of the Cornhill and Queenhithe porters were clearly commercial in nature. Yet, the *Survey* draws attention to how the profession organises itself in a strict hierarchy, such as a cavalry regiment would, and how the porters' justified necessity for 'great horses' (1603, vol. 1, p. 192) was a matter of course to the extent that those failing to 'finde one horse, and seuen sakes' (1603, vol. 2, p. 9) risked losing their employment. We can tell that the *Survey* participates in mythmaking with its portrayal of the porters and their horses because the Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters of seventeenth-century London had many preoccupations but horses were not one of them. For example, we find repeated concerns over 'Tolleration of Forreignors without Restraint or Order' so that 'many People of bad or lewd condition daily Resort from the moste Parte of this Realme to the said City', taking work away from registered freemen porters.⁹⁰ Problems also arose between different societies of porters such as

⁹⁰ 'Tacklehouse porters were employed by the City livery companies to convey goods to and from the waterside tacklehouses in which they allowed their members to store the materials of their trade. Street porters, later known as ticket porters, carried goods about the City,

the Billingsgate Porters and Street Porters ‘trench[ing] and intrud[ing] into one anothers Labour’, necessitating an express reminder of ‘their [...] ancient Ordinances, Usages and Customes which both the said Societies did hold and injoy shall be hereafter stil practized [...] whereby a perpetual peace and quietnesse may be between the said Societyes as in time past’.⁹¹ The *Survey*, however, remains silent about porter-on-porter violence. Moreover, none of the Societies’ records that I have encountered, be they from the Street Porters and Corner Porters or from the Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, stipulated that their members had access to horses. In fact, the Porters’ archives hardly mention horses at all.

We find another contradiction between the *Survey* and the Porters’ records in that the *Survey* claims that porters ‘liued well of their labors’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 9) in the past but the Porters’ ordinances time and again refer to ‘the greate povertie of the saide Companye’.⁹² This discrepancy draws attention to the constructed nature of Company identities and raises questions about the standing of porters among urban professions as well as the potential lack of status in being a porter. Since the ‘Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters was [...] brought into being by the City authorities in order to regulate a large, mainly unskilled and intermittently troublesome labour force’, the *Survey* can be seen purposefully to mythologise porters as horsemen to engender chivalric nostalgia.⁹³ Porters and horse coursers once enjoyed good standing,

operating from river or roadside stands’. Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, ‘Administrative History’, in *The London Archives Collections Catalogue* <<https://search.lma.gov.uk/>> [accessed 29 December 2024]; Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, ‘Copy Orders and Ordinances, 1604-1707, and Proceedings of the Court of Registers and Rulers, 1663-97’, GL, CLC/L/TA/A/002/MS03455. Full extract transcribed in appendix.

⁹¹ CLC/L/TA/A/002/MS03455. Full extract transcribed in appendix.

⁹² Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, ‘Copy Orders and Ordinances of the Brotherhood and Fellowship of the Street Porters and Corner Porters (Later Known as Ticket Porters), 1604-1765’, GL, CLC/L/TA/A/001/MS00913. Full extract transcribed in appendix.

⁹³ Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, ‘Administrative History’.

according to the *Survey*. For this reason, a rendering of their professions acts as a memory strategy to telescope the reader back into an idealised version of medieval London. As my introduction has explored, the other equine professions of coach- and draymen, however, stand for the early modern present, the commercialisation of human-horse relations and the abandonment of care-filled engagements in the *Survey*. For this reason, whilst seventeenth-century coach- and draymen are met with nostalgia-enhancing suspicion and criticism, in the case of the porters the *Survey* turns a blind eye to early modern issues of jurisdiction between the various societies and how the profession felt intensely threatened by non-citizens taking over portering. Despite the ‘great wranglings contentions and disorders of the porters at the waterside’ of seventeenth-century London, in the *Survey* the focus lies on the porters of medieval Cornhill and Queenhithe, in that ‘the Hithe was *then* [my emphasis] so frequented with vessels’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 9).⁹⁴ Consequently, the *Survey* strategically associates an occupation not primarily known for its horsemanship with London’s uniquely urban horse culture so that even a controversial profession and its everyday equine encounters make a meaningful contribution to the *Survey*’s chivalric mythmaking.

Categorically Un-Chivalric Horse-Men inside Smithfield

Chivalric mythmaking surrounding the horse coursers’ horsemanship and porters organising themselves and their horses in quasi-militaristic fashion allows the *Survey* to paint these urban characters in honourable light. Conversely, the *Survey* relies on

⁹⁴ Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, ‘Court of Assistants Minute Book, 1582/3-1652’, GL, CLC/L/HA/B/001/MS15842/001. Many thanks to Tracey Hill for alerting me to this section in the Haberdashers’ Court Minutes. Full extract transcribed in appendix.

failures in chivalric horsemanship to act as a horse-indexed cultural shorthand and to amount to a character assassination without the need to spell out an individual's faulty qualities. The prime example is the *Survey*'s noteworthy digression about the medieval rebel leader Wat Tyler (fig. 3.5).



3.5 'The Death of Wat Tyler in 1381', ca. 1460-1480, in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*, vol. 2. © British Library Board (Royal 18 E. I, f.175).

The 1603 and 1633 *Survey* editions both relish the king's mounted entourage confronting Tyler, also on horseback, in Smithfield; a pivotal encounter between elite and civic horsemen which signalled the end of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt. The 1603 *Survey* describes how William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London at the time and 'a man wise, learned, and of an incomparable manhood', brought down Tyler and '[i]n reward of this seruice, [...] the king [...] ma[d]e him knight' (1603, vol. 1, pp. 219-200). The 1633 *Survey* further elaborates that 'not having forgot his old accustomed manhood' the knight Sir John Newton was the first to come 'neere to [...] [Wat Tyler]

on horsebacke' (1633, sig. F2v) and put the rebel leader in his place after Tyler, '[s]etting spurs to his horse, [...] [had] departed from his company, and came so neere to the King, that his horse had touched the crooper of the Kings horse' (1633, sig. F2v).⁹⁵ The rebel leader here breaches the etiquette of chivalric masculinity in several ways.

Firstly, since Tyler is a peasant, he should not be on horseback as he is neither of aristocratic lineage nor has he earned the status of mounted warrior in service of the king. Secondly, as a subject of the king he should keep his respectful distance but does not. Thirdly, his approach to any social superior should be from the front with a bowed head as a sign of respect. The fact that Tyler's horse touched the 'crooper' (1633, sig. F2v) and therefore effectively the rear of the king's horse insinuates that the rebel offended by coming not only too close but also from behind, seeking to provoke the king and his knights on their level. Importantly, Grafton in 1569 describes Tyler's approach to the king, whilst still presumptuous, as less insulting on the level of horsemanship because the rebel leader is described as coming 'to the king, so nere him that hys horse touched the kinges horses heade'.⁹⁶ Tyler still comes too close to the king in Grafton's version and yet he appears to do so either from the side or front so that the heads of his and the king's horse are level. The discrepancy in positioning characters matters in the portrayal of a highly charged confrontation between horsemen. In comparison to this earlier chronicle, the *Survey*'s inversion of chivalric masculinity and consequent affront are more pronounced.

⁹⁵ A 'crupper' denoted '[t]he hind-quarters or rump of a horse' or 'the leathern strap buckled to the back of the saddle and passing under the horse's tail, to prevent the saddle from slipping forwards'. Entry 'crupper, *n.*, 2.a. and 1.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

⁹⁶ Grafton (1569), sig. Gg3r.

Tyler's request of the knight 'Sir *Iohn Newton* [...] to be on foot in his presence' (1633, sig. F2v) shows that the rebel leader fully understands and means his actions to be a chivalric challenge. When Newton refuses by saying 'it was no harme [to stay mounted], seeing [...] [Tyler] was also on horsebacke', Tyler was 'so offended [...], that he drew his Dagger, and offered to strike the Knight' (1633, sig. F2v). The *Survey* here juxtaposes Newton displaying the easy and calm confidence of someone who rightly finds himself on horseback with Tyler giving in to anger and thereby calling the latter's status as horse-man into question. In the *Survey*'s version of events there is no mistaking that Tyler's rebellious provocation in the shape of categorically unchivalric horsemanship makes him unworthy of the ennobling horse-man hybridity that Walworth and Newton represent. The *Survey* mythologises the extraordinary horsemanship of jousting knights, that of horse-men halting Tyler's revolt as well as that of muster masters. The everyday horsemanship of medieval horse coursers and porters are idealised in a similarly militant vein because such portrayals create chivalric continuity throughout the *Survey*'s history of London and its reciprocal interdependence with urban horse culture. It is of hitherto unrecognised importance that, in doing so, the *Survey* flexes its literary muscles in the manner of medieval and early modern chivalric romances. In this light, chivalric myths playing out in and around Smithfield and the nostalgia that they evoke in the *Survey* evidence a setting up of militant aristocratic and civic equine encounters as a finely honed historical consciousness.

'[T]he Onely Meanes, Whereby To Have It Kept in Far Cleaner Condition': Attending to Urbanisation in Early Modern Smithfield

Another aspect of the *Survey*'s finely honed historical consciousness is a complex vigil for the disappearance of the one topographical feature in seventeenth-century Smithfield, namely its unpaved ground, which gave the site its edge over other settings of equine encounters in the City. By textually reviving Fitzstephen's version of Smithfield over four centuries later, the *Survey* telescopes the resident market into the twelfth century in which horse coursers and their horses act out chivalric pageantry. The *Survey* thus suppresses early modern views on horse coursers as vilified tricksters and purposefully reinstates them as capable horsemen of the chivalric era who together with their horses strive for martial and commercial glory in Smithfield. Synchronic renderings of the medieval tournaments, musters and market remind the *Survey* reader that aristocratic and civic horse-men could bestow manifold chivalric prestige onto London past and present. However, for such a hybridity-inspired portrayal of riders and their horses to evoke a profound nostalgia, the *Survey* had to allow for diachronic change and acknowledge that the chivalric glory days of Smithfield have been and gone. Since knights, mustering aristocrats and citizens as well as horse coursers allow the *Survey* to portray Smithfield in the tradition of chivalric romance, these horse-men cannot be implicated in a critical appraisal of a much-diminished space. Instead, the *Survey* brings into play cartographic observations that only serve to strengthen the chivalric nostalgia initiated by the descriptions of medieval horse-men at the site.

Whilst the *Survey* displays chivalric horse-men attaining militant glory in its idealised rendering of Smithfield, it is ultimately the precarious state of the present-day site that the *Survey* challenges with the help of chivalric nostalgia. For this reason,

the *Survey* holds urbanisation directly responsible for the erosion of the chivalric heritage of equine Smithfield:

[F]or encrochments and inclosure of this Smithfield, [...] remaineth but a small portion for the old vses, to wit, for markets of horses and cattle, neither for Military exercises, as Iustings, Turnings, and great triumphes which haue been there performed before the princes and nobility both of this Realm and forraigne countries (1603, vol. 2, p. 29).

The 1603 *Survey* here reinstates horse-related knowledge and historicises how chivalric pageantry has fallen victim to building encroachment and the enclosing of previously open land. At first glance, ever advancing urbanisation raises the question of whether Smithfield can ever be chivalric again. Yet, the *Survey*'s attention to urban change at the site propels all the militant equine encounters of medieval Smithfield such as 'markets of horses and [...] Military exercises, as Iustings, Turnings' (1603, vol. 2, p. 29) that the reader is asked to reimagine elsewhere in the text into the present-day. That way the bygone glory days projected in chivalric romance collide with the processes of urbanisation at work in early modern London. In this light, the *Survey* imbues nostalgic concerns for Smithfield's horse-men with critical immediacy by confronting its readership with the most current topographical threat to the site. Such retrospection allows it to perform, in Philip Schwyzer's words, 'the work of the present [...] to grasp and *respond* [my emphasis] to what has been lost'.⁹⁷

Whilst the disappearance of 'soft ground' (1633, sig. Oo2r) under paving stones in early seventeenth-century Smithfield amounts to an equally significant topographical loss in chivalric terms, the 1618 and 1633 *Survey* editions attempt to portray this transformation as an embodiment of civic corporation and urban progress:

⁹⁷ Schwyzer, p. 98.

Smithfield [...] hath beene a place for such honourable Iusts and Triumphs, by reason it was a soft ground, and unpaved: so was it a Market place for Cattell, Hay, Straw, and other necessary provisions, and likewise (once in the yeere) at *Bartholomewtide* a generall Faire, commonly called *Bartholomew Faire*, hath usually beene kept in that place. But in regard that it was continually subject to the iniquity of weather, and being a place of such goodly extendure [extent], deserved to be much better respected; it pleased the Kings Majesty, with the advice of his honourable Lords of the Councell, to w[r]ite graciously to the Lord Maior and the Aldermen his Brethren, that *Smithfield* might be sufficiently paved, which would bee the onely meanes, whereby to have it kept in far cleaner condition. And as no motion (to any good end and intent) can be made to the City, but they as gladly embrace and willingly pursue it: even so this honourable motion found as acceptable entertainment, and it was very speedily proceeded withall. Some voluntary contribution in the severall Parishes (what each man willingly would give) was bestowed on the worke; but (indeed) hardly deserving any report. Notwithstanding, on the fourth day of February, in *An.* 1614. the City began the intended labour, and before *Bartholomewtide* then next ensuing, to the credit and honour of the City for ever, it was fully finished, and *Bartholomew Faire* there kept, without breaking any of the paved ground, but the Boothes discreetly ordered, to stand fast upon the pavement (1633, sigs. Oo1v-Oo2r).

The above section is worth quoting and considering in its entirety for two reasons. Firstly, it is another noteworthy literary digression concerning Smithfield's tournament and market history. Secondly, at first glance the 1618 and 1633 editions appear purposefully to undermine the 1603 effort to engender chivalric nostalgia for the site. The 1618 and 1633 *Surveys* still echo the 1603 edition, both in their rendition of '*Smithfield* [...] as [...] a place for such honourable Iusts and Triumphs' (1633, sigs. Oo1v-Oo2r) and by the 1633 edition's inclusion of Fitzstephen's medieval description of Smithfield market in even more ways than the first two *Survey* editions. Yet, considerably less effort is made in the later two editions to draw readerly attention to what the paving over of 'soft ground' (1633, sig. Oo2r) meant for the equine customs in question. Instead, the focus lies on royal and civic parties unilaterally agreeing that the topography of Smithfield requires improvement and on the unequivocal success of the works; all of which points to a kind of mythmaking that attempts to idealise the past synchronically whilst celebrating present-day progress diachronically. In this

light, the 1618 and 1633 *Surveys* find themselves in a contradictory position: they cannot (obviously) criticise the king for his instructions even when this means a kind of mnemonic and physical erasure of celebrated equine practice.

The first conundrum that the mythologising mechanisms at work in the 1618 and 1633 editions throw up is the omission that Smithfield was already partially paved. According to Archer, Barron and Harding, '[t]he City had some success in tackling the problems of market accommodation, [...] [by] partly paving Smithfield market in 1567'.⁹⁸ Consequently, covering more of Smithfield with paving stones follows on from an existing sixteenth-century reform and does not amount to the original initiative that the 1618 and 1633 *Survey* editions imply the 1614 paving to be. Whereas paving Smithfield was not an innovative measure in itself, paving was still a new enough technology even after 1614 to be the subject of early modern satire and to make comparisons between urban know-how and supposed rural naivety entertaining:

A country fellow that had not walked much in streets that were paved came to London, where a dog came suddenly out of a house and furiously ran at him. The fellow then stooped to take up a stone to cast at the dog, and finding them fast rammed or paved in the ground, quoth he, 'What strange country am I in, where the people tie up the stones, and let the dogs loose.'⁹⁹

With 'streets paved within the city and out to Charing Cross and Clerkenwell', such an urbanising cityscape set itself apart from the topography of the surrounding countryside in increasingly drastic fashion and must have felt 'strange' to both urban dwellers and visitors at least initially.¹⁰⁰ However, despite the Worshipful Company of Paviers endeavouring to follow their profession 'sufficiently and workmanly [...]

⁹⁸ *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, p. 11.

⁹⁹ John Taylor's 'Dogs and Stones' (1629) in *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology*, ed. by Lawrence Manley (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), p. 132.

¹⁰⁰ Manley, *London in the Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 16, 132.

for the profite [and] worship of the Citie’, paving as an indicator of urban progress had its limitations:¹⁰¹

Streets throughout the period were badly paved, if paved at all, [and] often had middens in them, [so that they] were the haunt of pigs, dogs and rats, [and] could be ankle deep in mud and filth and were cleansed only if there were a heavy downpour of rain.¹⁰²

The disappearance of soft ground in Smithfield no doubt exemplifies, as Laura Williams writes, the ‘key trend [...] in the character of London’s green space from Stow to Strype’ and ‘the shift of focus away from peripheral open fields, meadow and pasture [...] towards more ordered and formal sites’.¹⁰³ Yet, according to the 1618 and 1633 editions, Smithfield remained unclean and disorderly into the seventeenth century. In this light, the apparently limited impact of the sixteenth-century attempt at formalising Smithfield and the questionable cleanliness of paved areas elsewhere in the City throws into doubt the likely success of the second attempt of sanitising Smithfield by way of further paving in 1614.

Blaming the English climate for the unclean state of Smithfield is the second strand of mythmaking at play in the *Survey*’s argumentation for paving the site. The 1618 and 1633 editions were no doubt right to claim that Smithfield had been ‘continually subject to the iniquity of weather’ (1633, sig. Oo2r) for most or all of its existence. Yet, considering the extent to which paving created a mnemonic and physical barrier between Smithfield and its chivalric heritage and reduced the suitability of the site for equine spectacles, naming the weather as the sole reason for such a drastic topographic change seems somewhat disproportionate and dubious. In

¹⁰¹ Worshipful Company of Paviers, ‘Ordinance, Oath and Memorandum Book, 1616-1776’, GL, CLC/L/PD/A/002/MS00179. Full extract transcribed in appendix.

¹⁰² Reed, p. 307.

¹⁰³ Laura Williams, “‘To Recreate and Refresh Their Dulled Spirites in the Sweet and Wholesome Ayre’: Green Space and the Growth of the City”, in *Imagining Early Modern London*, pp. 185-213 (p. 186).

this respect, it is interesting to note that, according to Stow's earlier *Summarie of English Chronicles* (1566), Smithfield had unclean origins for a different reason:

[1102] In this thirde yere of Kynge Henry the churche & hospitall of saint Bartholomew in Smithfield, was begon to be founded by a minstrel of the kynges, named Rayer: And after finished by good and wel disposed citize[n]s of the cite of London, and especially by Richard Whittingto[n]. This place of smithfielde was at that day a laystowe of al ordure of fylth.¹⁰⁴

Since a 'laystowe' designated a 'place where refuse and dung is laid' since the early sixteenth century and 'ordure' meant 'excrement, dung' since the Middle Ages, the soft ground that the 1618 and 1633 editions simultaneously praise but consign to the past can be seen to encompass not only soil but also decaying human and animal waste.¹⁰⁵ By omitting such an undesirable but likely topographical reality in Smithfield, the *Survey* evades questions concerning horse coursers who as mercantile horse-men continued to contribute to the 'ordure of fylth' into the seventeenth century even if tournament participants did not.¹⁰⁶ Yet, as the 1618 and 1633 editions mention Bartholomew Fair as the one spectacle benefitting from the 1614 paving, it is Smithfield's horse coursers, embodied by Jonson's corrupt Knockem, who move to the forefront of readerly consciousness. Consequently, the *Survey*'s insistence that the site 'deserved to be much better respected' (1633, sig. Oo2r) had both topographical and moral implications.

Conclusion

When considered in the context of the zoomorphic condemnation of horse coursers in early modern culture, Smithfield required not only physical but symbolic cleansing

¹⁰⁴ John Stow, *The Summarie of English Chronicles* (London: In Fletestrete by Thomas Marshe, 1566), sig. G5r.

¹⁰⁵ Entry 'laystall, n., 2.a.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024]; Entry 'ordure, n., 1.a.', *OED* [accessed 07 December 2024].

¹⁰⁶ Stow, *The Summarie of English Chronicles* (1566), sig. G5r.

from the ill reputation with which these equine middlemen were perceived to tarnish a rapidly urbanising marketplace. Markham alleged that horse coursers used dirt to hide horses' injuries. Without soft ground, such deceptions were no longer possible. For this reason, the character writer of *His Wife* imagines mockingly that when the horse courser is 'asleepe he dreams very fearefully of the pauing of Smithfield, for hee knowes it would founder his occupation'.¹⁰⁷ In this light, the Paviers' work had the potential to reduce both environmental and moral contamination. From a memory studies perspective, the cultural vilification of the early modern horse courser is a serious enough threat to equine Smithfield ennobling the City in the tradition of chivalric romance that the implied presence of this stock figure warrants physical and textual paving over. Such urbanisation erodes readerly memory of what lies beneath the paving stones. Yet, with knights gone and in the face of failing care-filled engagements between the remaining horse-men hybrids in Smithfield, the *Survey* is forced to historicise equine Smithfield. In doing so, the spell of cyclical thinking that would suggest that 'Military exercises, as Iustings, Turnings, and great triumphes' (1603, vol. 2, p. 29) should and could happen again is broken.

At first glance, this literary mechanism prevents the chivalric heritage of the site from resurfacing. However, on closer inspection, metaphoric paving acts as reflective nostalgia by engendering a wistful longing for anthropomorphic horse-men dynamics. That way, the 1618 and 1633 editions protect their chivalric nostalgia from unwelcome zoomorphic derisions and reinstate respect for a fading yet still cherished horse culture in Smithfield. Moreover, the 1618 and 1633 *Surveys* acknowledge the need to look ahead and convey to their readers the means that were considered necessary to secure the future of the site. Consequently, if it is that the 1618 and 1633

¹⁰⁷ Overbury, sig. J3r.

editions seem to somewhat ‘protest [...] too much’, as David Weil claims quoting Shakespeare, in their praise of the 1614 paving initiative, it is because they attempt to accomplish a difficult balancing act between synchronic and diachronic mythmaking by way of chivalric nostalgia for all of Smithfield’s horse-men.¹⁰⁸ As I will show in the next chapter, this chivalric nostalgia not only sets the gold standard for equine encounters across the City but also allows the *Survey* to invert idealised anthropomorphic hybridity to make zoomorphic judgement calls about individuals who were punished publicly for harming the urban community. When considered in relation with each other, it is the legacy of horses of militant glory as well as of horses of judgement in the *Survey* that readers past and present could reimagine and reinvest in a fully urbanised Smithfield as the once equine heart of the City.

¹⁰⁸ David Weil Baker, “‘Master of the Monuments’: Memory and Erasure in Jonson’s ‘Bartholomew Fair’”, *English Literary Renaissance*, 31.2 (2001), pp. 266-287 (p. 281).

Horses of Judgement: Zoomorphic Inversion of Horse-Man Hybridity in Judicial Processions

Introduction

The punishment of crimes was a public affair in medieval and early modern London. Judicial topography such as ‘gallows, gaols, pillories and stocks’ were commonplace in the cityscape.¹ So much so that, as Andrew Gordon observes, a ‘habitual experience of punishment [was] accessible to a contemporary Londoner’.² The *Survey* foregrounds two marketplaces as particularly noteworthy sites where recurring judicial processes could be witnessed: Cornhill and Smithfield. Whilst the former featured a pillory into the early modern period, the latter had its own resident gallows called ‘The Elms’ only until the late Middle Ages. In both cases, the *Survey* bears witness to how urban locations had been transformed into stages for judicial performances. These spectacles consisted not only of the activities at the pillory and gallows but also of horse-led processions in the respective vicinities. As the *Survey* records, convicted individuals turned into peripatetic ‘pageants of justice’, to borrow Gordon’s words, enroute to and as part of corporal and capital punishments.³ Horses played central roles in such judicial pageantry. For example, prisoners condemned to die at urban gallows were sometimes ‘bound and laid on their back [...] [to be] dragged by horses [...] a few [...] [made their way] on horseback; some walk[ed] between guards; the most [we]re borne in carts’.⁴ Horsepower was clearly crucial. Yet, the *Survey* reveals that horses were employed during judicial processions not just for their

¹ Reed, p. 301.

² Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 19.

³ Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 26.

⁴ Marks, pp. 3-4.

physical strength. On the contrary, descriptive instances of individuals being dragged by horses, carted and made to ride or walk sent specifically horse-indexed messages to an early modern readership which was well-versed in narratives about chivalric horsemanship. In the previous chapter, I have shown how zoomorphic horse-men such as the medieval rebel leader Wat Tyler in the *Survey* and horse coursers in early modern plays, character sketches and polemics acted as literary embodiments of undisciplined horsemanship. I explore here how the *Survey* exploits zoomorphic inversions of chivalric horse-man hybridity to breathe rigour and righteousness into its judicial mnemoscape.

The horse-led punishment of a chantry priest in Cornhill that I consider in depth below is one of only two judicial processions described in the *Survey* that were set in the early modern period, neither of which fall into the post-Reformation era. Accounts of horse-led processions to executions in medieval Smithfield, however, are numerous. Such telescoping creates a purposeful rupture between pre- and post-Reformation judicial pageantry. In the *Survey*, the absence of post-Reformation horses of judgement is symptomatic of early modern London becoming a less law-abiding place in which ‘good orders are not obserued’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 83) and creates a lingering sense that the urban community was no longer resolutely ‘withdrawn from barbarous feritie [wildness] and force to a certaine mildnes of manners and to humanity and iustice’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 197). Again, the *Survey* draws attention to and resists the process of communal forgetting with the textual means at its disposal by celebrating, in Gordon’s terms, the ‘radical and troubling implications of memory to a culture busily reinventing itself’.⁵ This time, in the *Survey*’s temporal manipulation,

⁵ Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 59.

mythmaking and zoomorphic inversions are mounted against urbanisation and changes in legal practices eroding the prestigious horse culture embodied by the Smithfield Elms. That way, the *Survey* imbues its highly selective detours into the legal history of London with chivalric nostalgia reflectively and, in turn, enriches its chivalric nostalgia with another aspect of its citizen readers' urban horse culture that, only at first glance, seems unrelated to knightly horsemanship.

Punishment and Pageantry: Early Modern Disciplinary Practices

For its judicial mnemoscape, the 1603 *Survey* handpicks examples of condemned individuals and groups of people being drawn across the medieval City:

In the yeare 1196. *William Fitzosbert*, a Citisen of London seditiously mouing the common people to seeke libertie [...] was taken and brought before the Archbishop of Canterburie, in the tower, where he was by the Judges condemned, and by the heeles drawn thence to the Elmes in Smithfield, and there hanged (1603, vol. 1, p. 49).

In the yeare 1330. *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March was taken and brought to the Tower, from whence hee was drawne to the Elmes, and there hanged (1603, vol. 1, p. 51).

[In 1381] the Maior caused him [Wat Tyler] [...] to be drawne into Smithfield and there to be beheaded (1603, vol. 1, p. 220).

In the yeere 1414. Sir *Iohn Oldcastell* brake out of the Tower. And the same yeare [...] a Porter of the Tower was drawne, hanged and headed, whose head was sent vp, and set ouer the Tower Gate, for consenting to one *Whitlooke*, that brake out of the Tower (1603, vol. 1, p. 58).

In the yeere 1426. [...] a lewde fellow, feyning himselfe to be sent from the Emperour, to the yong king *Henrie* the sixt, calling himselfe the Baron of Blakamoore, and that he should be the principall Phisition in this kingdome, but his subiltie being knowne, he was apprehended, condemned, drawne, hanged, headed and quartered, his head set on the Tower of London, and his quarters on foure gates of the Citie (1603, vol. 1, p. 58).

[I]n the fourth, yere of Edward the second [...] a Baker named *Iohn* of Stratforde, for making Bread lesser then the Assise, was with a fooles whoode on his head, and loaues of bread about his necke, drawne on a Hurdle through the streets of this Citie (1603, vol. 1, p. 157).

Richard Lions [was] [...] in the 49. of *Edward* the third, and in the 4. of *Richard* the second, by the rebels of Kent, drawne out of that house and beheaded in west Cheape (1603, vol. 1, p. 234).

1284 [...] sixteene men were drawne and hanged [for murder] (1603, vol. 1, pp. 254-255).

[T]he 6. of the said king *Edward* a reformation was made for clipping of the kings coyne, for which offence 267. Iewes were drawne and hanged, three were English Christians, and other were English Iewes: the same yeare the Iewes crucified a child at Northampton, for the which fact many Iewes at London were drawn at Horse tayles and hanged (1603, vol. 1, p. 281).

[I]n the year 1440. the 18. of *H.* the 6. a Fuller of Shorditch appeached of treason many worthy Esquiers and Gentlemen of Kent, but he being proued false, was attaint, condemned and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged and quartered, which was done, his head set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates (1603, vol. 2, pp. 74-75).

The 1633 *Survey* repeats the above and adds another account:

That day *Iohn Lincolne* and divers other were indicted, and the next day thirteen were adjudged to bee drawne, hanged, and quartered: for execution whereof, ten payre of Gallowes were set up in divers places of the City [...]. And these Gallowes were set upon wheeles, to bee removed from street to street, and from doore to doore whereas the prisoners were to be executed. [...] They were on the Hurdles drawne to the Standard in *Cheape*, and first was *Lincolne* executed: and as the other had the ropes about their neckes, there came a commandement from the King, to respit the execution (1633, sig. H5v).



4.1 Gunpowder Plot conspirators being drawn by horses to their place of execution. *Warhafftige ... Beschreibung der ... Verrätherey s*, 1606. © British Library Board (G.6103, after 32. plate 2).

Attention to such judicial practices in the *Survey* is noteworthy because, according to Una McIlvenna, in the ‘early modern conception of capital punishment [...] [b]eing “drawn” was intended to be an intensely shameful experience with deep symbolic and emotional significance for the criminal and the community’.⁶ Public humiliation as a core theme runs through all the examples of the *Survey*’s judicial mythmaking. Foucault postulated that before the age of Enlightenment the torturing of individuals prior to execution set a ‘scene of terror’ with the intention for spectators to gather and to be ‘made [...] afraid’.⁷ Paul Friedland, however, shares McIlvenna’s participatory perspective and argues for the active role of the community in shaping public executions in premodern France. Instead of simply absorbing existing structures and

⁶ McIlvenna, pp. 56-57.

⁷ Foucault, p. 58.

technologies of power, '[t]hose who composed the audience at spectacles of execution [...] were meant to see themselves as full participants in a process of healing the communal body of which they constituted integral members'.⁸ The healing process in question centred around the criminal's expulsion from the communal body.⁹ Spectacular public punishments gave the community the opportunity to pitch their shared sense of identity against convicted criminals, as singled-out agitators, before the execution itself. The *Survey* can be seen to engage with its citizen readership by deploying horse bodies as a textual means to render medieval and early modern expulsions of criminals' bodies from the urban community not only spectacular but also as a focus for nostalgia. I will show that, from an animal studies perspective, the powerful message behind the use of horses of judgement plays not only on the threat of a violent death but also on the widely cherished memory career of warhorses. For this reason, judicial processions would not have been as authoritative or shaming without the zoomorphic inversion of chivalric horsemanship: a symbolic stripping of autonomy which relies on the understanding that being drawn by horses deprives an individual of the anthropomorphic accolade of riding on horseback through the City streets.

The expression 'being drawn' sometimes causes modern readers to confuse two stages of capital punishment. The first stage concerns being dragged by horses from prison to the execution site (fig. 4.1). The second relates to, once in situ, the use of horses to generate the required force to sometimes, but not always, pull an individual apart and that way disembowel the person in question (figs. 4.2 and 4.7).

⁸ Paul Friedland, 'Beyond Deterrence: Cadavers, Effigies, Animals and the Logic of Executions in Premodern France', *Historical Reflections/ Réflexions Historiques*, 29.2 (2003), pp. 295-317 (p. 299).

⁹ Friedland, p. 304.

Alfred Marks adds a third to the above categories by considering the purposeful drawing to death, as in the version related to the first category but used in a more extreme way, as a separate punishment and as a means of execution in its own right.¹⁰ Following both Ian Mortimer's and Una McIlvenna's approach, I define 'being drawn' in line with the *OED* as the first stage of capital punishment, as in the 'drag[ging of] (a person tied behind a horse) about, as a punishment or a form of torture; (in later use) *spec.* to drag (a person tied behind a horse or on a wooden frame) to a place of execution, esp. as a punishment for high treason'.¹¹ Mortimer in particular makes the convincing case that any variations in the running order, for example, in the phrase 'hanged, drawn and quartered' rather than having the practice of being drawn at the start of the expression, does not point to a chronological order but to one denoting importance in early modernity.¹² The hanging as the core punishment of an execution warrants to be mentioned first. All the above examples from the *Survey* editions are in the order of 'drawn, hanged and [be]headed' (1603, vol. 1, p. 58).¹³ As this is the chronological order of practices, the *Survey* does not necessarily prioritise the act of being drawn over being hanged. Nonetheless, the consistent horse-indexed formulation of this particular capital punishment positions horses in a leading role, both physically and symbolically. I will show below that, as the first means of conveying pronounced humiliation, the implied presence of horses of judgement sets the scene for the audience and readers by *drawing* attention to the convicted individual as an unhorsed rider.

¹⁰ Marks, p. 27.

¹¹ Entry 'draw, v., I.i.2.', *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024]; Ian Mortimer, 'Why do we say "hanged, drawn and quartered?"' <<https://www.ianmortimer.com/essays/drawing.pdf>> [accessed 22 September 2024]; McIlvenna, p. 56.

¹² Mortimer.

¹³ 'To cut off the head of; to decapitate, behead'. Entry 'head, v., I.1.', *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024].



4.2 An early modern German but nonetheless illustrative depiction of horses drawing, as in disembowelling, a French individual. 'Executie van Ravailac', 1610. Reproduced with kind permission of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-78.785-349).

In its portrayal of Wat Tyler's punishment for leading the 1381 Peasants' Revolt, consequent chivalric affront and display of a 'proud mind' (1633, sig. F2v) in medieval Smithfield, the *Survey* makes the longstanding tradition of destabilising the chivalric mirror between horse-men legible for its readership:

The Maior arrested [Wat] [...] on the head with a sounde blow [...] and grievously wounded [him] [...] in the necke, [...] an Esquire of the kings house, called *Iohn Cauendish*, drew his sword, and wounded *Wat* twice or thrise euen to the death: and *Wat* spurring his horse, cried to the commons to reuenge him: the horse bare him about 80. foote from the place, and there hee fell downe halfe dead, and by and by they which attended on the king enuironed him about [...]: many of them thrust him in diuerse places of his bodie, and drew him into the Hospitall of S. *Bartholomew*, from whence againe the Maior caused him to

be drawne into Smithfield and there to be beheaded (1603, vol. 1, pp. 219-220).

The king's horsemen reinstate the chivalric order by first unhorsing Tyler and then having horses draw him back into Smithfield to be beheaded. Whereas the mayor is 'of incomparable manhood' (1603, vol. 1, p. 219) for bringing Tyler down, the rebel leader himself is left emasculated. In the process, Tyler becomes the antithesis of the chivalric knight and is symbolically excluded not only from manhood but also from personhood. Chivalric inversions in the *Survey* show that overtly calling or portraying a human character as an animal are not the only means of zoomorphic degradation. Instead, zoomorphic commentary extends to the bringing of human and animal in close proximity and putting them in specific metonymic-metaphoric relations to each other for dramatic effect. In the case of Tyler, the rebel leader transitions from offending man to beastly human in the time that his positioning changes from mounted rider to a body being dragged by animals along the ground. The *Survey* has the men in control of Tyler's body in 1381 Smithfield exploit the metonymic proximity between man and horse to zoomorphic effect so that Tyler empties from an individual with a rational soul to an objectified vessel which can either be refilled with a meaning of their choosing or safely voided of any unwanted connotations, such as damaging sedition. From an animal studies perspective, as Erica Fudge explains, '[t]here is a difference between being an animal and being beastly [...]. The beast in beastliness is always human, you might say; is always other than animal'.¹⁴ Since the king's men reclaim their knightly manhood through horse-related practices such as unhorsing Tyler and having horses drag his body, they deploy the horses in question as a means of their

¹⁴ Erica Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 69.

chivalric judgement. Fudge therefore rightly argues that animals were and still are ‘the limit case [...] of all our structures of understanding. They stand between us and our sense of ourselves, but they also allow us to think about ourselves’.¹⁵ In this light, by recounting Tyler’s story in a way that puts horses at the heart of his affront and consequent death in Smithfield, the *Survey* introduces the chivalric rights and responsibilities that guide its conception of not only citywide honour but also justice.

The spectacle of Tyler’s body epitomises the dominant form of capital punishment that shored up absolutist power in early modern Europe. Whilst neither king nor rebel could foresee the outcome of their encounter in Smithfield, the ad hoc execution of the latter nonetheless wears the hallmarks of choreographed punishment in the period: pain, mutilation and ritual.¹⁶ Pain is implied in Tyler being stabbed several times and ‘wounded [...] euen to the death’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 220). Mutilation followed by ‘they which attended on the king enuiron[ing] him about, [...] [and] thrust[ing] him in diuerse places of his bodie’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 220). The mayor instigated the ritual by ‘caus[ing] [...] [Wat Tyler] to be drawne into Smithfield and there to be beheaded’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 220). As far as the case of Tyler being unhorsed and drawn is concerned, I agree with Foucault’s sense that ‘power relations have an immediate hold upon [...] [the body of the condemned]; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs’.¹⁷ It is of hitherto unrecognised importance that zoomorphic positioning between man and horse contributes to and amplifies the power relations in the *Survey*’s nostalgic ‘festival[s]

¹⁵ Fudge, *Animal*, p. 8.

¹⁶ Foucault, pp. 33-34.

¹⁷ Foucault, p. 25.

of punishment’, to borrow Foucault’s words concerning the ‘body as the major target of penal repression’ in pre-modernity.¹⁸

In judicial pageantry, those who controlled how horses metonymically and metaphorically lowered, rather than raised, individuals across performative spaces in the City were in a position to dictate the narrative or what Foucault calls ‘the truth-power relation [...] [which lies] at the heart of all mechanisms of punishment’.¹⁹ In terms of the *Survey*, Tyler’s violation of chivalric etiquette goes beyond calling the aristocratic superiority of the king and his entourage into question. By approaching Richard II on horseback and coming within touching distance of the king’s mount, Tyler and his horse emit signs that threaten the king’s ‘double body’: the king as a privileged but nonetheless corporal being on the one hand and even more importantly as the temporary embodiment of transferable, but eternal, kingship on the other.²⁰ As a peasant in a monarchical regime, Tyler’s un-chivalric antics undermine the office of king and therefore the kingdom at large. For this reason, the king’s men subject Tyler’s body to pain, mutilation and ritual in an attempt to defuse the threat the rebel poses to existing power relations in front of the urban community. In so doing, ‘[s]overeign power, expressed directly onto the bod[ies of singled-out agitators], is seen to reduce men to their corporeality and thus their animality’.²¹ This zoomorphic shoring up of power would not be possible without the presence of horses adding insult to, in Tyler’s case, fatal injury.

For more examples of such shaming and potentially final equine encounters in early modern history writing, Holinshed mentions the practice of being ‘drawn’,

¹⁸ Foucault, p. 8.

¹⁹ Foucault, p. 55.

²⁰ Foucault, p. 28.

²¹ Alex Mackintosh, ‘Foucault’s Menagerie: Cock Fighting, Bear Baiting and the Genealogy of Human-Animal Power’, in *Foucault and Animals*, pp. 161-189 (p. 170).

‘drawen’ or ‘drawne’ over five hundred times. Many accounts end not only in London but specifically in Smithfield where drawn individuals were either ‘burnt to Ashes’ or ‘hanged and quartered’.²² Stow’s 1580 *Chronicles* describe numerous instances of ‘drawne’ individuals and they come from all walks of life: priests, carpenters, text writers and knights.²³ Again, most such judicial processions take place in London. Yet, the *Chronicles* also refer to the practice occurring in other parts of England, from Cornwall in the west, York and beyond to the north and Essex to the east. Crimes by perpetrators deserving of being drawn through town and city streets range from ‘coynynge and clipping of coyne’, suicide attempts to ‘dismembring of yong children’.²⁴ The most serious of crimes punishable by being drawn were sedition and treason, such as Tyler’s, intended to ‘hinder[...] and harme [...] the king and the Citie of *London*’.²⁵

When not carried out in an ad hoc manner as in the case of Tyler’s punishment, the preferred means of horse-led transport for treasonous individuals was the hurdle (figs. 4.3 and 4.7): ‘[a] kind of frame or sledge on which traitors used to be drawn through the streets to execution’.²⁶ McIlvenna writes that in early modern European punishments the hurdle ranked between the cart, as the kindest, and the ‘bloody hide of a freshly-slain ox’ as the harshest means of transport in terms of public humiliation.²⁷ Marks, on the other hand, provides evidence from medieval annals that at a thirteenth-century execution a journey by ox-hide was not meant to demean primarily but to prevent the convict from dying enroute to the gallows and spoiling the

²² Holinshed (1577), sigs. Dddd2v, Jjjj1r.

²³ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Oo5r.

²⁴ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sigs. Cccc3v, T7v, Pp3v.

²⁵ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Hh8v.

²⁶ Karen Cunningham, ‘Renaissance Execution and Marlovian Elocution: The Drama of Death’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association (PMLA)*, 105.2 (1990), pp. 209-222 (p. 220), doi: 10.2307/462557; Entry ‘hurdle, *n.*, 1.c.’, *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024].

²⁷ McIlvenna, p. 57.

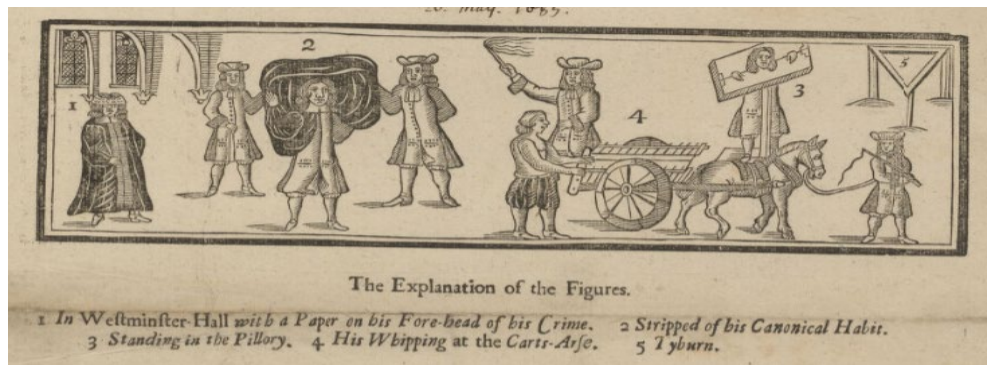
main event.²⁸ Whilst decisions behind the methods of judicial pageantry remain opaque in the *Survey*, horses were likely to have done the drawing on most occasions. Other than Holinshed describing ‘William with the long berde (alias Fitz Osbert)’ as ‘drawn with horsses to the place of execution called the Elmes’, the chronicles and chorographies under my consideration do not make the fact that horses drew convicted individuals on hurdles and with carts explicit.²⁹ In terms of visual evidence for equine involvement, whilst I have not been able to locate any explanatory illustrations of hurdles or carts being drawn by horses in London from the sixteenth century or earlier, two seventeenth-century examples are instructive (figs. 4.3 and 4.4):



4.3 A priest being drawn on a hurdle. *A Warning to All Priests and Jesuites* (1643). Bodleian Libraries, <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/4933> (Ashm. H 23(47)).

²⁸ Marks, p. 28.

²⁹ Holinshed (1577), sigs. K8v, L1v; According to Derek Keene, ‘William fitz Osbert (d. 1196), populist leader, was the son of Osbert the Clerk, and also known as William cum barba (“with the beard”)’. Derek Keene, ‘William Fitz Osbert (D. 1196), Populist Leader’, *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, entry dated 2004), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/9621.



4.4 Titus Oates being ‘Whipp[ed] at the *Carts-Arse*’. *A Full Description of the Manner of Executing the Sentence upon Titus Oates* (1685). Reproduced with kind permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University (EB65 A100 B675b v.3).

Whilst the above illustrations and their accompanying texts refer to events occurring in the mid and late seventeenth century, they nonetheless depict the same acts of public shaming, albeit with some pageantic variations in each case, that the 1603 and 1633 *Survey* editions code into their abbreviations of judicial processions by mention of hurdles. For example, figure 4.3 evidences the participatory nature of encounters with horses of judgement because crowds feature in both of the two images. In line with the *Survey* editions, the 1643 and 1685 accompanying texts themselves refer to horses only implicitly. That way, the tied up ‘Papist Priests drawne along’ in the ballad lyrics and Oates ‘[t]rot[ting] [...] To the Carts-Tayl’ function as horse-indexed cultural shorthands for the practicalities and attending symbolisms of horse-led judicial processions.³⁰

In terms of the *Survey*, the 1633 edition describes the use of hurdles for traitors in that ‘*Lincoln*, one *Shirwin*, and two brethren, named *Betts*, with divers other [...] were on the Hurdles drawne to the Standard in *Cheape*’ (1633, sig. H5v). Yet,

³⁰ *A Warning to All Priests and Jesuites* (London: Printed at London for Fr. Grove, dwelling on [...] hill, 1643); *A Full Description of the Manner of Executing the Sentence Upon Titus Oates* (London: Printed for Tho. Graves, 1685); Peter Edwards and Elspeth Graham, ‘Introduction: The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World’, in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 1-33 (p. 4).

according to the 1603 *Survey*, this device was also used to shame and torture those found guilty of different crimes such as the baker John of Stratforde for ‘making Bread lesser then the Assise’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 157). In other words, whereas the judicial procession for Lincoln et al. concludes with their “natural death”, Stratforde is made to endure a non-lethal but nonetheless intensely shaming “civil death”, to borrow Friedland’s words, by being singled out and expelled from the communal body.³¹ Regardless of whether the practice of being drawn resulted in natural or civil death, the rationale in both scenarios was the same: to make legible to the onlooking crowd just how much the crime on display offended and sullied the reputation of all and, for this reason, justified at the very least banishment if not death. Due to its association with the capital punishment for treason, the hurdle could act as a metonymic stand-in for the practice of being drawn. In this light, the *Survey* conveys the severity of the baker’s offence, for example, simply by mentioning a hurdle to readers who were well-accustomed to the presence and roles of horses during processional spectacles of justice. Consequently, in the *Survey* editions, the execution ballad and the Oates pamphlet, certain facts may be only implied but were yet clearly understood by an early modern audience: that whilst horses were not mentioned, they were nonetheless present; that it was out of the question that convicted individuals would ride these horses in a dignified manner on their last journey; that, on the contrary, the deployment of horses brought pain and humiliation; and that ultimately it was the presence of horses that transformed public punishments into choreographed spectacles of justice.

³¹ Friedland, p. 304.

Unhorsed Riders and Fallen Priests: The Zoomorphic Powers of Horses of Judgement

To unpack the judicial horse-men dynamics evident in the *Survey*, I next undertake a comprehensive close-reading of a fascinating case study for civil death by equine encounter: the horse-led punishment of a chantry priest in Cornhill. The *Survey*'s narrator pays noteworthy attention to this particular judicial procession and seemingly approves of the thoroughness of proceedings and the authorities' equine means of humiliation. For this reason, any analysis of the *Survey* focussing on individuals being drawn to die in Smithfield, must first pay equally close attention to the portrayal of horses of judgement participating in a judicial healing process that required the non-lethal expulsion of an agitator from the communal body. The description of the chantry priest's public humiliation over three days of horse-led processioning through the ward is not only noteworthy for its nostalgic digression and deployment of prosopopoeia but also reveals that a legal storytelling approach contributes significantly to the *Survey*'s chivalric mythmaking.

Having established the literary workings behind the representation of the priest and the accompanying horses gradually building up to civil death, I then explore portrayals of individuals being drawn to meet their actual deaths at The Elms gallows. With these examples, the *Survey* assigns the most pronounced zoomorphic inversions of horsemanship to Smithfield and thereby sets up the site as a seat of not only chivalric glory but also unifying pre-Reformation justice. The *Survey* can be seen to achieve a reflective kind of chivalric nostalgia through a range of strategies: tapping into the legal history of Smithfield; diachronically tracking processes of urbanisation affecting elm trees in Smithfield; exploiting the ambiguity surrounding gallows called 'The Elms' both in Tyburn and Smithfield; the omission of burnings at the latter site; and

pursuing a chorographical agenda of evoking a sense of place rather than aiming for a chronological completeness of record.

A Priest's Punishment as Chivalric Mythmaking: Legal and Religious Requisites

According to the *Survey*, being laid on one's back and drawn along the ground or on a hurdle was not the only noteworthy horse-indexed humiliation and punishment accessible to medieval and early modern London authorities. The judicial procession of a chantry priest through the streets of the Cornhill ward concludes in his civil death, as a singled-out agitator:

I saw [...] [the priest's] punishment to be thus: he was on three Market dayes conveyed through the high streete and Markets of the Citie with a Paper on his head, wherein was written his trespasse: The first day hee rode in a Carry, the second on a horse, his face to the horse taile, the third, led betwixt twaine, and every day rung with Basons, and proclamations made of his fact at every turning of the streets, and also before [...] the Church doore of his Service, where he lost his Chauntrie of 20. nobles the yeare, and was banished the Citie for euer (1603, vol. 1, p. 190).³²

Whereas McIlvenna rightly identifies being drawn as an exercise in shaming someone, she does not explore why and how the humiliation is brought about other than it being done in public view of the community. With the case of the chantry priest, the *Survey* makes symbolic horsepower explicit and legible to its readership. In its attention to detail, the *Survey* rivals the pamphlet and ballad illustrations discussed above by breaking down a prolonged judicial process, which takes three days to complete, into three corresponding, distinctively pictorial, stages. Each stage revolves around a horse-led procession but how horse and priest relate to each other in terms of positioning changes from day to day.

³² According to the *OED*, the term 'carry' denoted a 'cart, wagon, or other small vehicle used to carry or transport something'. Entry 'carry, *n.*, 1.', *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024].

Over the three days the priest becomes beastly through pronounced horse-indexed humiliation because at each stage he is portrayed as being closer to the horses' rears than their heads. First, he finds himself in a cart behind a horse, then facing the horse's tail whilst on horseback and finally on foot so that his head is level with the rear of the animal leading the procession. By riding in a horse-drawn and man-made vehicle on the first day, he is still human but already set apart from his peers who witness and participate in the judgement. This first judicial procession registers sexualising zoomorphism because the priest's discovered beastliness strips him of his ecclesiastical authority and puts him on the same judicial level as the common man. Day two sees an intensifying zoomorphism that emasculates the priest in line with chivalric conventions because the power relationship between man and animal is inverted so that the priest is no longer in control of the horse whose backend he faces. Day three delivers the final zoomorphic blow to de-individualise the priest. On this day he is excluded from man- and personhood by being ritually unhorsed and made to walk between the animals which accompany him before being condemned to civil death in the shape of banishment from 'the Citie for euer' (1603, vol. 1, p. 190).

This tripartite staging of the priest's punishments structures my readings below. Yet, the symbolic horsepower underpinning these repeated acts of judicial processioning can only be understood fully by first considering the nature of the priest's offence, the legal jurisdictions that applied and the priest's role in pre-Reformation religious practices:

Now for the punishment of Priests in my youth, one note and no more. *Iohn Atwod* Draper, dwelling in the parish of Saint *Michaell* vpon Cornehill, directly against the Church, hauing a proper woman to this wife, such a one as seemed the holiest amongst a thousand, had also a lustie Chauntrie priest, of the sayed parish Church, repaying to his house, with the which Priest, the said *Atwod* would sometimes after supper play a game at Tables for a pint of Ale: it chanced on a time, hauing haste of worke, and his game prouing long, hee left his wife to play it out, and went downe to his shop, but returning to fetch a

Pressing iron he found such play to his misliking, that he forced the Priest to leape out at a window, ouer the Penthouse into the streete, and so to run to his lodging in the Churchyard. *Atwod* and his wife were soone reconciled, so that he would not suffer her to be called in question, but the Priest [...] [was] apprehended, and committed (1603, vol. 1, p. 190).³³

The *Survey* accuses the priest of sexual incontinence because the above account is summarised in the margins as ‘Citizens of London punished fornication & adulterie in Priests’ and ‘A Priest punished for lecherie’ (1603, vol. 1, pp. 189, 190). Whilst adultery was considered both a sin and a crime at various points in the judicial history of early modern England, it was not deemed to be a capital offence deserving of the death penalty under normal circumstances. Nonetheless, sixteenth-century priests accused of adultery benefitted from ecclesiastical leniency as it was only in 1650 that ‘this sin, hitherto a church court offence, was turned into a crime when it was made felony without Benefit of Clergy by Act of Parliament’.³⁴ Judith Hudson defines ‘Benefit of Clergy’ as follows:

[T]he privilege of having one’s case transferred from the secular courts to the ecclesiastical. Benefit of clergy was a clerical liberty that became a wider privilege and as such was fundamental to the question of the overlapping jurisdictions of church and common law. Church courts could not give capital sentences, and so a jurisdictional move, whatever the consequence, was effectively a reprieve from death.³⁵

Whilst Richard Cosin deemed ‘all vnlawfull companie of man and woman, not being capitall by lawes of the *Realme* [...] subiect to the *Jurisdiction ecclesiasticall*’ in his 1593 defence of the church courts, the 1603 *Survey* does not reveal to its readers which

³³ In terms of a potential real-life counterpart for the *Survey*’s ‘*Atwod*’, according to the *Records of London’s Livery Companies Online*, a Draper called John Atwood completed his apprenticeship and was freed by his master John Smyth in 1518
<https://londonroll.org/event/?company=drp&event_id=DREB1130> [accessed 23 September 2024].

³⁴ J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England* (Longman Group, 1984), p. 5.

³⁵ Hudson, p. 150.

court tried the chantry priest.³⁶ Instead, the *Survey* makes the priest's case both an ecclesiastical and a secular matter. In terms of the former, the priest's adulterous lechery represents the far-reaching malpractices of a Church, who according to the *Survey* protected its own and allowed corrupt priests 'to liue fauourably in their sinne' (1603, vol. 1, p. 189) rather than see justice done. In secular terms, it was down to the Cornhill community to exact visible justice and pass its humiliating judgement on three days of zoomorphic horse-led processioning.

Due to the adulterer being a chantry priest, the sense of betrayal is not limited to the perpetrator and his involvement with Atwood's wife but extends to the community at large. The deployment of prosopopoeia leads the reader to assume that events took place in the narrator's supposedly Catholic youth and therefore before priests were banished from parish churches by the Edwardian Chantries Act of 1547. Until then, chantry priests enacted cherished Catholic rites and were heavily involved with their local community. As Eamonn Duffy explains:

[T]here is an assumption of the close interconnection between the individual and the parish. This is nowhere clearer than in the provision of chantry priests and services within fifteenth- and early sixteenth century parish churches. [...] Clearly, the central function of a chantry priest was intercession for the soul of his patron, but the cult of commemoration of the dead was inextricably bound up with the late medieval sense of community.³⁷

Consequently, medieval and early modern parishioners who founded 'a chantry at a side altar in a parish church' were not only doing so for themselves but also 'conceived of themselves as providing benefits [...] for the living community of the parish' by expecting their chantry priest to support parish activities such as choirs and mass.³⁸

³⁶ Richard Cosin, *An Apologie for Svndrie Proceedings by Iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall* (London: [By the deputies of Christopher Barker], 1593), sig. M2r.

³⁷ Duffy, p. 139.

³⁸ Duffy, p. 139.

Importantly, if these communal expectations were not met, chantry priests could lose their posts and complaints about chantry priests, such as neglecting their parish duties, were not uncommon.³⁹ The *Survey* clearly associates the chantry priest in question with ‘the parish of Saint *Michaell* vpon Cornhill’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 190) and thereby makes him answerable to the Draper’s fellow parishioners. Such obligations to accountability dissolved in 1547 when the Crown considered the services of chantry priests to be promoting Catholic superstition and for this reason ‘confiscated not only chantry lands but all funds set aside for obit provision’.⁴⁰

The *Survey* provides its own justification for the attention it pays to the chantry priest: a noteworthy foregrounding of an individual belonging to an order of clergy who ranked low in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of pope, cardinals, bishops and so on. Referring to the punishment of priests more broadly, the *Survey* claims that Londoners ‘abhorred not onely the negligence of their Prelates, but also detested their auarice, that studying for mony, omitted the punishment limited by law, and permitted those that were found guiltie, to liue fauourably in their sinne’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 189). In light of such explicit criticism, it comes as no surprise that the *Survey* makes an example of the chantry priest, as someone with responsibility for the community, for his ‘indulgence of lust [and] [...] lewdness of living’.⁴¹ Common Council records show that Cornhill residents and market attendees were well accustomed to lechery being punished at their pillory throughout the medieval and early modern period.⁴² By

³⁹ Duffy, p. 140.

⁴⁰ Duffy, p. 517; Obit provision in the Christian Church denotes ‘[a]n office or service, usually a mass, held to pray for the soul of or otherwise commemorate a deceased person (at the request and usually the expense of that person or his or her family) on the anniversary of his or her death, or at some other appointed time; a yearly or other regular memorial service’. Entry ‘obit, *n.*, 2.a.’, *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024].

⁴¹ Entry ‘lechery, *n.*, a.’, *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024].

⁴² *REED CL*, vol. 1, pp. 256, 275, 292, 293, 324, 325, 344, 357, 358; *REED CL*, vol. 2, pp. 389, 408, 422, 469-470, 506.

attempting to commit adultery with a parishioner, the priest abuses his position of trust and the limited but nonetheless ecclesiastical authority invested in him. Despite the fact that the priest escapes the pillory itself, the amount of detail that the *Survey* dedicates to what follows after the offence implies an approval of the proportionality between the priest's immoral act and consequent punishment. In keeping with the pronounced horse culture that pervades its chapters, the *Survey* portrays the episode as a rightfully horse-indexed judgement served in front of the wronged urban community.

Legal Fiction-Making in the *Survey*

With the punishment of the chantry priest, the *Survey* purposefully digresses and textually reimagines the fate of a local figure of little consequence to inflate certain aspects of Londoners' judicial history and imprint them on readerly memory. The *Survey* achieves this nostalgic agenda by introducing the narrator as a storyteller with firsthand experience of the events in question. The reader imagines that he or she hears the 1603 *Survey* editor speak as a supposed Cornhill parishioner who witnesses and remembers on behalf of his community.⁴³ Since the deployment of prosopopoeia makes the story told more credible and engaging on a personal level, the portrayal of the chantry priest's punishment in the *Survey* wears the hallmarks of 'legal fiction-making': a textual strategy, as Hudson explains, with which 'the narrative of the law was questioned by those who commented on legal verdicts and sentences, either directly in official treatises and case reports, or more obliquely in contemporary

⁴³ 'Born of a London family who for generations had plied the trade of tailor in the parish of St Michael, Cornhill, Stow inherited a love of the city and a pride in its citizens'. Louis B. Wright here establishes the real-life connection between Stow and the parish in which the chantry priest offends. Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 308.

literary works'.⁴⁴ Importantly, Hudson argues that 'where the law cannot provide, providential fantasies are invoked to remedy its shortcomings'.⁴⁵

When considered in the context of legal fiction-making, the *Survey* can be seen to reflect on the narrational inconsistencies that Benefit of Clergy introduced to legal discourses. As an early modern text, the *Survey* incorporates some of the same "storytelling" approach' that Hudson detects in law records in two ways. Firstly, the Cornhill chapter deploys the rhetorical device of 'compiling precedent' by rehearsing the punishment of priests in the past.⁴⁶ Secondly, this precedent is followed by 'blending personal observation [such as the narrator's eyewitness account] with citation of [the ultimate providential] authorit[y]' of 'God's vengeance, [so that] either the pestilence or sworde should happen to [...] [offending priests], or that the earth should swallow them' (1603, vol. 1, p. 190).⁴⁷ In this light, the *Survey* draws in part on 'practices [which] shaped the way legal professionals thought, read, spoke and wrote' in its foregrounding of a single judicial procession in Cornhill.⁴⁸

Another aspect of the *Survey*'s legal fiction-making is that the punishments of female and male sexual offenders are reversed.⁴⁹ Whereas Draper Atwood and his

⁴⁴ Hudson, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵ Hudson, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Hudson, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Hudson, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Hudson, p. 4.

⁴⁹ According to Common Council records, not all adulterous priests faced public humiliation. In 1475-6, the clergyman 'Iohn Chaundeler preest' suffered banishment from the City for being caught 'in bed with oon Iohan Bawdewyn & hir fleshly knewe' when the court stipulated that 'no maner of persone fromhensforth reteyne kepe nor receyve' him. '1475-6 Court of Common Council, Journal 8', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. 215. Whilst being condemned to civil death like the chantry priest in the *Survey*, Chaundeler seemingly avoids having to face his parishioners beforehand. On this occasion, even though common law courts were supposed to punish priests more harshly than church courts would have done, Chaundeler received more preferential treatment than his female counterpart. Whilst there is no mention of market days in the judgement of Iohan Bawdewyn, she was paraded nonetheless 'with vile mynstralcie [...] by the open stretes of this Citee [...] vnto the Pillorie in Cornhull' in much the same manner as the procession of the chantry priest in the *Survey* was 'rung with Basons [...] at euery turning of the streets' (1603, vol. 1, p. 190). '1475-6 Court of Common Council, Journal 8', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. 215; In both cases, visual and

unfaithful wife reconcile without her facing any disciplinary consequences, the chantry priest's ecclesiastical position does not save him from being humiliated like a common bawd. One possible explanation for this role reversal is that priests were looked upon more favourably by late medieval than early modern courts. Such lessening inclination to leniency is in line with 'penal reforms [...] withdrawing clergy in various circumstances' from 1531 onwards.⁵⁰ From a literary studies perspective, however, the *Survey* can be seen to make an example of the chantry priest twofold. Firstly, the *Survey* gives the name and company affiliation of the Draper but does not name the priest. That way, the crime is shown to harm a specific individual and becomes a personal and corporate affront. Whilst the *Survey* does not divulge the priest's identity, this is not an act of leniency. On the contrary, the priest's anonymity deprives him of the personal and corporate ties that he has betrayed and makes his expulsion from the communal body an all the stronger condemnation to civil death. Secondly, the staging and foregrounding of equine performers humiliating their human counterpart, the priest, over three days is unique in the *Survey* and uncommon in legal discourses of the period. In this light, the portrayal of the priest's punishment in the *Survey* departs from the court record narratives by spelling out that horses participated in the judicial processions of pre-Reformation Cornhill.

Such highly selective telescoping aligns the *Survey*'s judicial mnemoscape with the substantial heritage of performative repetition on which early modern Londoners looked back as an integral part of their disciplinary practices. For this reason, the kind of judicial processions that the *Survey* places into Cornhill were familiar enough experiences for medieval and early modern audiences to act as

auditory pageantry draws the repeated attention of the market-frequenting crowd to the crime and punishment on display.

⁵⁰ J. H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History* (Butterworths, 1990), p. 588.

nostalgic memory vehicles. As a self-imposed voice of the community, the *Survey* and its storytelling approach to the priest's punishment echoes the three-day-formula followed by Common Councils who threatened with 'the pillorye aforeseid [of Cornhill on] iij market daies [...] by the space of an houre' in cases of both men's 'Comen Bawd'-like and women's 'Commen harlott and Strumpet'-like behaviour.⁵¹

In fact, already by the Middle Ages three days' humiliation in front of the buyers and sellers of Cornhill markets seems to have been a standard punishment of sexual offences such as the chantry priest's attempted adultery with the Draper's wife. For example, in 1472-3 the Court of Common Council considered several accused to be 'comen bawdes & [...] comen strumpettes'.⁵² Although these individuals were already banished and 'voided oute of this Citee and the ffraunchise of the same Citee [...] for euer', being 'sette on the Pillory [...] iij market daies euery day by the space of an houre' was apparently a powerful enough threat for them not to 'be founde within this Citee' after judgement was passed.⁵³ Whilst thrice-repeated public display constituted a common means of humiliation, none of the above examples refer to horses participating in punishments for sexual deviance. Consequently, the *Survey* self-consciously elaborates on judicial practices for which horse-indexed cultural shorthands should have sufficed. For this reason, I consider the legal fiction-making strategies evident in the punishment of the chantry priest in Cornhill as contributing significantly to the construction of chivalric mythmaking also at play in the portrayals of celebratory processions, tournaments and market races elsewhere in the *Survey*.

⁵¹ '1509-10 Court of Common Council, Journal 11', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, pp. 292-293;

'1515-16 Court of Common Council, Journal 11', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. 325.

⁵² '1472-3 Court of Common Council, Journal 8', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. 209.

⁵³ '1472-3 Court of Common Council, Journal 8', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. 209.

Inversion of Chivalric Horsemanship as Legal Fiction-Making

I propose an analysis of the chantry priest as a rider who is shown to fall in staged slow motion: a fall first from ecclesiastical, then masculine and eventually human grace. Even if the priest was a capable rider, he is at no point permitted to convey mastery over the horses that procession with him. Instead, the *Survey* adopts a pictorial style to unhorse the priest textually and thereby cuts him off from any possibility of embodying chivalric horsemanship. Since ‘equestrian iconography [...] almost always represents the rider firmly and confidently seated upon his horse’s back. The exception[s] to the usually well-mounted riders in visual imagery’ are noteworthy, according to Pia F. Cuneo, because ‘emblems where falling riders are represented [tend to be] in connection with vices such as pride and lack of self-control’.⁵⁴ The priest’s attempted adultery is certainly characteristic of someone who thinks himself above both ecclesiastical and common law and who cannot control his sexual urges. For this reason, zoomorphism can be seen at work throughout the portrayal of his punishment.

From a literary animal studies perspective, the day-by-day increasingly humiliating horse-indexed punishment inverts practices typical of chivalry; in other words an antithesis of the reverence of horsemanship with which mounted warriors expressed the ‘Christian virtues [...] Chastity, Justice and Mercy’ in medieval romances.⁵⁵ Moreover, such zoomorphic storytelling fulfils the requirements of Boym’s reflective nostalgia because the *Survey* critiques the past conduct of ecclesiastical representatives and thereby undercuts any ‘fantasy of return’, to use Harriet Phillips’s terms, to an imagined golden age in which the Catholic clergy

⁵⁴ Pia F. Cuneo, ‘Visual Aids: Equestrian Iconography and the Training the Horse, Rider and Reader’, in *The Horse as Cultural Icon*, pp. 71-97 (pp. 91-93).

⁵⁵ Keen, p. 99.

supposedly lived up to its ideals and responsibilities.⁵⁶ Since horsepower has both physical and symbolic dimensions in the priest's punishment, his three processions through Cornhill require our nuanced attention to grasp fully the chivalric connotations of all horses of judgement in the *Survey*.

In its pictorial description of the first day of punishment, the *Survey* stages the priest's symbolic unhorsing and falling in a way that strips him of the moral high ground that someone of his spiritual calling could demand. By being effectively carted through Cornhill like a common bawd, the priest does not only lose the privileged position of a rider atop his mount but also falls from ecclesiastical grace. As John Taylor hyperbolically enthuses in his satirical pamphlet *The VVorld Runnes on Wheelles* (1623), 'the *Cart* may, and often is the sober, modest, and civill pac'd Instrument of Reformation: [...] the *Cart* often is vices correction'.⁵⁷ Whilst the 1603 *Survey* edition dates to earlier in the seventeenth century, the cart nonetheless works such corrective powers, albeit in less exaggerated fashion, on the chantry priest. In terms of the sixteenth century, 1552-3 Court of Aldermen records spell out the habitual punishment of those 'guyltie of the Detestable vice and cryme of lechery' with the judicial practice of carting:

[A]ccording to the Aunceynte lawe and vsage of this cytie [lecherous citizens are to] be caryede thorough the markett places and open stretes of the said Cytie in a Carte with Ray hodes vpon their heades whyte Rodes in theire handes and basons and pannes of brasse Ringing before theyme and then to be expelled owte of the sam Cytie not to Retorne agayne in to the same except they shall first be lycencede by the Lorde Mayer of the same Cytie or some of his bretheren thaldermen for the tyme being so to do vpon payne of goyng to the pyllorye.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Boym [accessed 03 September 2024]; Phillips, p. 47.

⁵⁷ Taylor, *The VVorld Runnes on Wheelles*, sig. Aaa6r.

⁵⁸ '1552-3 Court of Aldermen, Repertory 13 (1)', in *REED CL*, vol. 2, p. 765; According to the *OED*, a ray hood was '[m]ade of striped cloth; (of cloth) striped' and gives an example of judicial practice dating from the fifteenth century in which '[a]ll the comyn strompetes sholde were raye hodie'. Entry 'ray, *adj.*', *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024].

The *Survey* includes several of the same storytelling criteria in its legal fiction about the chantry priest: the cart as humiliating means of transport, discordant music accompanying the procession and the imprinting of the offence onto the convicted body, either with actual words in the case of the priest or standardised accessories such as hoods and rods. However, whilst the Common Council verdict gives hope to individuals deemed lecherous of potentially reintegrating into the communal body, the *Survey* categorically withholds the possibility of the chantry priest receiving an official pardon and returning to Cornhill. Instead, the chantry priest in the *Survey* becomes a highly visible object such as the non-human cargo that, according to Taylor, carts traditionally carried in the seventeenth century.⁵⁹

Objectification, both physical and symbolic, is the first stage of portraying the priest as a falling rider. As a clergyman who through immorality has forfeited his ecclesiastical privileges, the priest becomes an object of both common and church law. The wronged community can expose such an object publicly in a parody of crowning ‘with a Paper on his head, wherein was written his trespassse’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 190) and, even more powerfully, through horse-indexed humiliation by inverting the prestige that aristocratic horse-drawn carriages bestowed on their passengers in celebratory processions. During the Midsummer Watch and in the processional build-up to tournaments, horsepower distinguishes participants from the onlooking crowd in a status-affirming and ennobling fashion. In the punishment of lechery, the presence of horses also sets carted individuals apart but does so in a degrading manner. Consequently, whilst still traversing through community spaces on the first day, the chantry priest is already separated from the communal body through the shaming process of carting.

⁵⁹ Taylor, *The VVorld Runnes on Wheelles*, sig. Aaa6r.

On the second day of his horse-indexed humiliation, the priest falls from the grace inherent in chivalric manhood by facing the horse's tail: a judicial practice that I consider as closely related to tournament-related rituals with which knights symbolically inverted illustrations of equestrian proficiency to emasculate their opponents. According to Ruth Mellinkoff, the tradition of paraded culprits facing backwards on horseback dates back to antiquity and can be found all over pre-modern Europe. In terms of its judicial rationale, the 'ride backwards seems to have been applied to conduct of any kind that offended popular ethics'.⁶⁰ From this perspective, asking someone to face or even 'kisse his horse under the taile' has universal humiliating and disciplinary appeal.⁶¹ In the same way that thrice repeated humiliation on market days belongs to the repertoire of legal fiction-makers, as seen in the case considered by the Court of Aldermen in 1542-3, so does the portrayal of lecherous individuals as facing the horse's tail:

Iohanne the wyfe of Iohn Modye [...] as abhomynable baude dyd [...] provoke [...] one kateryne flude An honest Damosell [...] to commytt the fylthye & detestable Cryme & synne of lechery [...] [is to be] sett vpon a bare horsebak her face being towards the taylor of the same horse hauyng a paper stonding vpon her hedde declaring the cause of her punysshement a Ray hoode vpon her shulder & A whyte rodde in her hande and so to be ledde furth from thence wyth Basons & pannes rynging before her thurrough Newgate markett & the open stretes vnto the Stondarde in Chepe.⁶²

The storytelling approach in Iohanne's case is consistent with that of the chantry priest's punishment in the *Survey* because, first and foremost, Iohanne stands accused of lechery and is punished by riding through a market facing backwards. Moreover, like the priest she carries a piece of paper which spells out the offence whilst the

⁶⁰ Ruth Mellinkoff, 'Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil', *Viator*, 4.1 (1973), pp. 153-177 (p. 163), doi: 10.1484/J.VIATOR.2.301646.

⁶¹ *Before the Bawdy Court: Selections from Church Court and Other Records Relating to the Correction of Moral Offences in England, Scotland and New England, 1300-1800*, ed. by Paul Hair (Paul Elek Books, 1972), p. 201.

⁶² '1542-3 Court of Aldermen, Repertory 10', in *REED CL*, vol. 2, p. 665.

soundscape of ringing basins and pans draws in crowds of spectators. An interesting deviation is that Iohanne not only faces the horse's tail but does so on 'a bare horsebak'.⁶³ Whilst the *Survey* does not mention the most basic of riding apparel being withheld from the chantry priest, limited evidence from a 1518-19 Common Council verdict offers an insight into offenders riding 'on horsbak withoute sadyll' as a repeated, if not common, judicial practice.⁶⁴

Another sixteenth-century judgement returns to a more formulaic horse-indexed humiliation of facing the horse's tail without referencing a lacking saddle:

[T]he sayd woman shalbe punysshed accordyng to the lusement gyven yn the book of dunthorn folio 127 & the man on horsebakke with hys face to the horse tayll with a paper on hys hedde & to play vpon his owne Instrument afore her & proclamacion to be made of the cawse yn chepe & bothe the man & women to be banaashed for one yere.⁶⁵

This 1536-7 Court of Aldermen record does not specify the woman's punishment for her sexual indiscretions with the man. However, since the treatment of both offenders is listed separately, it stands to reason that it was only the man who faced the horse's tail and was even made to call attention to their joint lechery by 'play[ing] vpon his owne Instrument afore her'.⁶⁶ Interestingly, whereas a certain 'Iohn Chaundeler preest' escaped the public humiliation that his female counterpart had to endure, the male offender in the above 1536-7 case accompanied his partner in crime and sin through the City streets.⁶⁷ Even though both men and women were forced to face the horse's tail in the above examples, this judicial practice looks back on the significantly gender-specific heritage of chivalric masculinity. As we have already seen, horses and armour lent themselves to fetishisation because after battles and tournaments medieval

⁶³ '1542-3 Court of Aldermen, Repertory 10', in *REED CL*, vol. 2, p. 665.

⁶⁴ '1518-9 Court of Common Council, Journal 12', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. 357.

⁶⁵ '1536-7 Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9', in *REED CL*, vol. 2, p. 561.

⁶⁶ '1536-7 Court of Aldermen, Repertory 9', in *REED CL*, vol. 2, p. 561.

⁶⁷ '1475-6 Court of Common Council, Journal 8', in *REED CL*, vol. 1, p. 215.

knights humiliated their losing adversaries by parading armour and heraldry emblems at the horse's tail.⁶⁸ Importantly, to quote Andrew G. Miller, 'dragging anything, for that matter, at a horse's tail in the Middle Ages—in the way that criminals were dragged on their way to execution—was considered highly debasing, especially for a knight'.⁶⁹ The chantry priest was clearly no knight and, as his offence was not punishable by being drawn, the *Survey*, somewhat reluctantly it seems, spares the priest the ultimate form of horse-indexed shaming. Nonetheless, in line with common law fiction-making and chivalric conventions he faces the horse's tail in each of the pictorial stages of slow-motion falling that the *Survey* conveys.

The chivalry-inverting and thereby stigmatising powers of finding oneself facing the horse's tail also play out in the *Survey*'s only other example of a sixteenth-century judicial procession:

In the yeare 1509. the first of *Henrie* the 8. *Darby*, *Smith*, and *Simson*, ringleaders of false inquests in London, rode about the Citie with their faces to the horse tailes, and papers on their heads, & were set on the pillorie, in Cornhill, and after brought againe to Newgate, where they died for very shame, saith *Robert Fabian* (1603, vol. 1, p. 191).

By reducing the horse to its posterior body part, the horse is stripped of its status-enhancing powers and, yet, it does not become a mere animal again. Instead, horses at a judicial procession, such as the ringleaders' as well as the chantry priest's, retain their function as a representational mirror: the damning reflection which allegedly causes Darby, Smith and Simson to 'die[...] for very shame' (1603, vol. 1, p. 191). Consequently, in the horseback processions of the three ringleaders and that of the chantry priest, human-horse relations invert from advantageous anthropomorphism to demeaning zoomorphism. In this light, the horse is no longer elevated closer in status

⁶⁸ Miller, p. 980.

⁶⁹ Miller, p. 980.

to the level of its supposedly superior human counterpart but the person is brought low symbolically to the level of the animal. It is for this reason that the above discussed seventeenth-century pamphlet mocks Oates as '[t]rot[ting]' like a horse instead of walking like a man to his execution and replaces his human skin with an animal's 'Hyde'.⁷⁰ Whilst the illustration does not show Oates as being drawn or riding facing backwards—he walks whilst being whipped instead—reducing horse and cart to 'carts-Tayl', as a variation of the term 'horse's tails', removes horses of judgement even from the animal kingdom. In other words, portraying horses in a mechanomorphic manner assigns the animals in question to the world of objects rather than that of living things.

This shift severs the three ringleaders and the chantry priest in the *Survey* as well as Oates in the pamphlet together with their respectively attending horses from the idealised reciprocal relationships between chivalric riders and their noble steeds. As I have shown, the *Survey* and early modern society more broadly treated the horse as extraordinary among the animal kingdom and as closer in status to mankind than any other species. Yet, horses could still bring a person low in society because, in the context of judicial processions, horses, if they are referred to at all, received only generic mentions instead of being called specifically a courser, trotter or palfrey such as in the examples I have explored in the preceding chapters. Anthropomorphism relies on animal individualisation and on the understanding that as part of the training for horse-man hybridity horses 'were able to form individual bonds with those who tamed them'.⁷¹ Zoomorphism, on the other hand, works most effectively with sweeping umbrella terms such as animal species or metonymic stand-ins. In the case of the horse,

⁷⁰ *A Full Description of the Manner of Executing the Sentence Upon Titus Oates* (1685).

⁷¹ Mary Midgley, *Animals and Why They Matter* (The University of Georgia Press, 1983), p. 112.

the repository of anthropocentric meaning was so vast and strongly developed in the early modern world that zoomorphic inversions did not need to state their reference points explicitly. In other words, judicial processions produced culturally significant cyborgs in the merging of convict-horse-contraption, to follow Haraway's human-animal-machine conceptualisation. In accounts of people being punished with horse-indexed humiliation, the animals in question wield their zoomorphic powers by either remaining textually invisible or by being represented solely by mention of their tails or the hurdles, carts and hides positioned behind them.

As far as the chantry priest is concerned, the cart demotes a former ecclesiastical representative to the status of disgraced clergyman. The judgement of facing the horse's tail on day two subjects the priest to the chivalric punishment of fallen, as in failed, riders. Whereas chivalric horsemanship embodies a man's greatest possible self-discipline on the one hand and control of a worthy equine counterpart on the other, facing the horse's tail as well as being drawn emasculates and disempowers the individual punished in this way. In this light, the chantry priest represents an antithesis to the chivalric riders who participate in the tournaments, musters and Smithfield market races. Consequently, the nuanced attention that the *Survey* pays to how individuals and horses are positioned towards each other during judicial processions signifies a less obvious but equally important participation in the strategic deployment of chivalric nostalgia.

Day three of the priest's punishment sees a fitting conclusion to a story of chivalric inversion; as an unhorsed, fallen rider, the priest walks on foot during the last of his three processions through Cornhill. Importantly, he finds himself amongst animals with one horse leading the way and another following him. On his judicial journey, the priest has been put in every possible debasing position in relation to the

attending horses but at all times is closer to an animal's rear than to its head. In terms of conveying the dissolving of the priest's autonomy textually by way of syntax, it is only the overall process of him being 'on three Market dayes conueyed through the high streete and Markets of the Citie', then being 'led betwixt twaine' horses on the third day and finally being 'banished the Citie for euer' (1603, vol. 1, p. 190) that warrants the deployment of a passive grammatical construction and which effectively deprives the protagonist of agency in the same manner as individuals being drawn. This is in marked contrast to days one and two of punishment on which the priest still 'rode [my emphasis] in a Carry, the second on a horse, his face to the horse taile' (1603, vol. 1, p. 190).

In this light, the priest's procession itself, his walking between horses and consequent banishment equates the processional expulsion from the communal body in corporal but non-lethal punishments with the practice of being drawn and then being executed in cases of capital offences. Such repeated horse-indexed humiliation amounts to a pronounced textual zoomorphism: a literary strategy for which the narrator does not need to portray the priest as an animal as such. Instead, it is the descriptive and repeated positioning between horse and man that yields its zoomorphic power and turns the priestly beastly. Stripped of his ecclesiastical and masculine graces within the community that the priest not only failed to serve but also betrayed, the priest now falls from the grace of human individuality and becomes 'other' because walking tail-to-tail de-faces and de-individualises the person on processional display.⁷² That way, the priest becomes an indistinguishable part of the herd: an 'othered' offending beast among many.

⁷² Fudge talks about 'the beastly herd as a group of de-individualized – you might say defaced – beings'. Erica Fudge, 'The Animal Face of Early Modern England', *Theory Culture Society*, 30.7/8 (2013), pp. 117-198 (p. 185), doi: 10.1177/0263276413496122.

Since walking between horses completes the priest's symbolic expulsion from the urban community, this last of the three human-equine choreographies provides the rationale for the physical exile that follows. The fact that the priest must leave the City and is never to return in the same way as others accused of lechery means that his humiliation shares characteristics with legal practices in pre-modern France requiring *amendes honorables*: symbolic acts, the public nature of which, according to Friedland, 'prevailed on individuals [in pre-modern France] to beg forgiveness, not from the offended parties but rather God, the king and Justice'.⁷³ However, appeals to higher powers fell on deaf ears since sentences, such as the priest's, to 'perpetual banishment', were still carried out even if *amendes honorables* were made as part of judicial processions.⁷⁴ Consequently, early modern commentators on the other side of the channel toned down the potential impact of the practice and aptly translated that 'which in French lawes is called *Amende honorable*; [as that which] [...] with vs in *England* are either dammages against him [...] or els the offenders publik acknowledgement of the fault'.⁷⁵ Whilst the *Survey* does not divulge whether the chantry priest was made to beg for forgiveness, his public punishment functions as an implicit admission of guilt. His amends take the shape of processioning within his community and thereby constitute public acknowledgements of having done dishonour to himself and his parishioners.

Since the priest as thoroughly disgraced clergy-*man* [my emphasis] and fallen rider is positioned away from the chivalric honour that horses could bestow onto their human counterpart, it can only be the honour of the community that horse-indexed humiliation reinstates. Consequently, the priest's punishment in full view of his

⁷³ Friedland, p. 304.

⁷⁴ Friedland, p. 304.

⁷⁵ Cosin, sig. Bb3r.

Cornhill parishioners implies that the horses participating in a judicial procession in early modern London ‘served [...] a ritual whereby the criminal [...] bec[ame] a body apart—a body no longer protected by the community’.⁷⁶ In this light, it becomes clear that ‘the link between crime and sanction [is] conceptualised’ in the *Survey* through chivalric honour in two ways: the honour inherent in chivalric horsemanship which the urban community adapts and claims for itself during celebratory processions and musters on the one hand and on the other by directing zoomorphic inversions of the same chivalric honour at individuals who offend against the community, using judicial processions.⁷⁷

Horse-Indexed Judicial Topography: The Elms in Smithfield

The practice of horses drawing the most serious of offenders to their place of execution can be seen as a logical extension to the gradually intensifying levels of humiliation from carting, to facing the horse’s tail and walking between horses. Since early modern audiences witnessed such practices regularly, the *Survey* does not need to refer to horses in its condensed renderings of pre-execution processions to The Elms gallows in Smithfield. Instead, the shorthand of individuals ‘being drawn’ encapsulates all the equine pageantry spelled out in the case of the chantry priest in Cornhill. In other words, the *Survey* stages symbolic unhorsings and has offenders fall from horseback in two ways: either explicitly by going through various horse-indexed performances such as carting and facing the horse’s tail or implicitly by simply showing the end result of having fallen and being drawn on a hurdle or along the ground. Whereas the *Survey* portrays the head of the walking priest as approximately level with the posterior

⁷⁶ Friedland, p. 304.

⁷⁷ Hudson, p. 3.

of the leading horse on day three, the whole bodies of drawn individuals were understood to be lower than the horse's tail and thereby engendered the most shaming and disempowering positional zoomorphism out of all horse-indexed punishments possible. In this light, the *Survey* reserves the most humiliating encounters with horses of judgement for its portrayals of processions to The Elms in Smithfield.

In the *Survey*, tournaments and executions set up intersecting ceremonial ghost networks that reveal Smithfield as the equine heart of London and thereby engender the most pronounced chivalric nostalgia of any City location. Since none of the examples of Smithfield executions in the *Survey* show individuals to make their final journey on foot through the City, their being drawn to Smithfield conveys The Elms gallows as a specifically horse-indexed topographical shorthand that, as I will show, stands for the inversion of bygone chivalric honour. The chivalric horsemanship on display at the Smithfield tournaments is at the heart of the judicial authority that The Elms hold in the *Survey* because martial prowess is rewarded repeatedly with justice and mercy at the medieval site: virtues which from the very first romances glorified the chivalric endeavours of aristocratic horsemen.⁷⁸ For example, at a tournament in 1409 mounted warriors 'fought valiantly, but the King tooke vp the quarrell into his hands, and pardoned them both' (1603, vol. 2, p. 31). In 1430 when the knights 'had fought long, the King tooke vp the matter and forgaue both the parties' (1603, vol. 2, p. 31). In 1467 the 'king gaue iudgement' (1603, vol. 2, p. 33). In all cases, riders and their horses were judged to perform honourably in the tiltyard and were therefore spared from further harm or injury. Practices located by The Elms in Smithfield flip this judicial process on its head since they invert the positioning of the chivalric rider atop his horse for symbolic effect. Janette Dillon rightly recognises Smithfield as a

⁷⁸ Keen, p. 99.

‘place with both formalized conflict (tournaments) and execution’.⁷⁹ However, we must note that both formalisations are engaged with notions of chivalric horsemanship in the *Survey* because its portrayals of horse-indexed judgements draw on inversion tactics among knights who revelled in the iconography of the fallen rider to call opponents’ reputations into question.

The Smithfield elm trees and the gallows named after them provided customary resources and landmarks for horse-related practices and thereby made the chivalric horse culture at this particular City location possible in the first place. Following a chorographical agenda for charting topographical change, the *Survey* exhibits a keen eye for how urbanisation altered these noteworthy trees:

Then is Smithfield pond, which of olde time in Records was called Horsepoole, for that men watered horses there, and was a great water. In the sixt of *Henrie* the fift, a new building was made in this west part of Smithfield betwixt the said Poole and the Riuer of the Wels, or Turnemill brooke, in a place then called the Elmes, for that there grew many Elme trees, and this had beene the place of execution for Offendors: since the which time the building there hath beene so encreased, that now remaineth not one tree growing (1603, vol. 2, p. 29).

Whereas the reader needs to rely on his or her imagination to picture the layout of the site in the nostalgic renderings of the tournaments and the market, the *Survey* relates Smithfield pond to the Smithfield elm trees with cartographic precision to put both under the tangible threat of urbanisation: water pollution and overuse in the case of the former and the loss of open urban space to building development in the latter.⁸⁰

The *Records of St. Bartholomew’s Priory and St. Bartholomew the Great* confirm that

⁷⁹ Janette Dillon, ‘Clerkenwell and Smithfield as a Neglected Home of London Theater’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), pp. 115-135 (p. 125), doi: 10.1525/hlq.2008.71.1.115.

⁸⁰ ‘*Horsepoole* in *Westsmithfield*, was sometime a great water, and because the inhabitants in that part of the Citie did there water their Horses, the same was in olde Records called *Horspoole*: it is now much decayed, the springs being stopped vp, and the land water falling into the small bottome, remayning inclosed with Bricke, is called *Smithfield pond*’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 16).

the elms were ‘on the other side of Smithfield by the then Horse-pool, due west from’ the church.⁸¹ The precise location of the elms in relation to the pond matters because it allows the *Survey* to tie this topographical feature to the linear place history of Smithfield. Whereas synchronic thinking might suggest that the trees can be planted again, the diachronic message is stark and clear. As ‘now remaineth not one tree growing’ (1603, vol. 2, p. 29), these elm trees were irrevocably lost to the building encroachment.

Yet, in the same way that tournaments no longer graced early modern Smithfield due to interrelated military and socio-cultural developments, so The Elms gallows had been relocated from the site to St Giles’s ‘at some date before 1413’ for jurisdictional reasons rather than solely because of building development.⁸² Whilst most hangings took place elsewhere from the fifteenth century onwards, Stow’s 1566 *Summarie of the English Chronicles* acknowledges that judicial practices and their attendant equine spectacles were not lost to Londoners as a result:⁸³

This yere syr Iohn Oldcastell was sent vnto London by the lorde Powes out of Wales [in 1417], the whiche syr Iohn for he[r]esy and treason was conuicte, and for the same was draw[n]e to saint Giles fiede, where he was hanged on a new payre of Gallowes with cheynes, and after consumed with fyre.⁸⁴

⁸¹ E. A. Webb, ‘The Founder: To 1123’, in *The Records of St. Bartholomew’s Priory and St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield: Volume 1* (Oxford, 1921), BHO <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/st-barts-records/vol1/pp37-55>> [accessed 24 September 2024].

⁸² Marks, p. 58; John Foxe writes that in 1418 Lord Cobham was ‘drawne forth into saint Giles field, where as they had set vp a newe paire of Galowes’. John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or TAMO (The Digital Humanities Institute Sheffield, 2011), 1563 Edition, Book 2, p. 328 <<http://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe>> [accessed 25 September 2024].

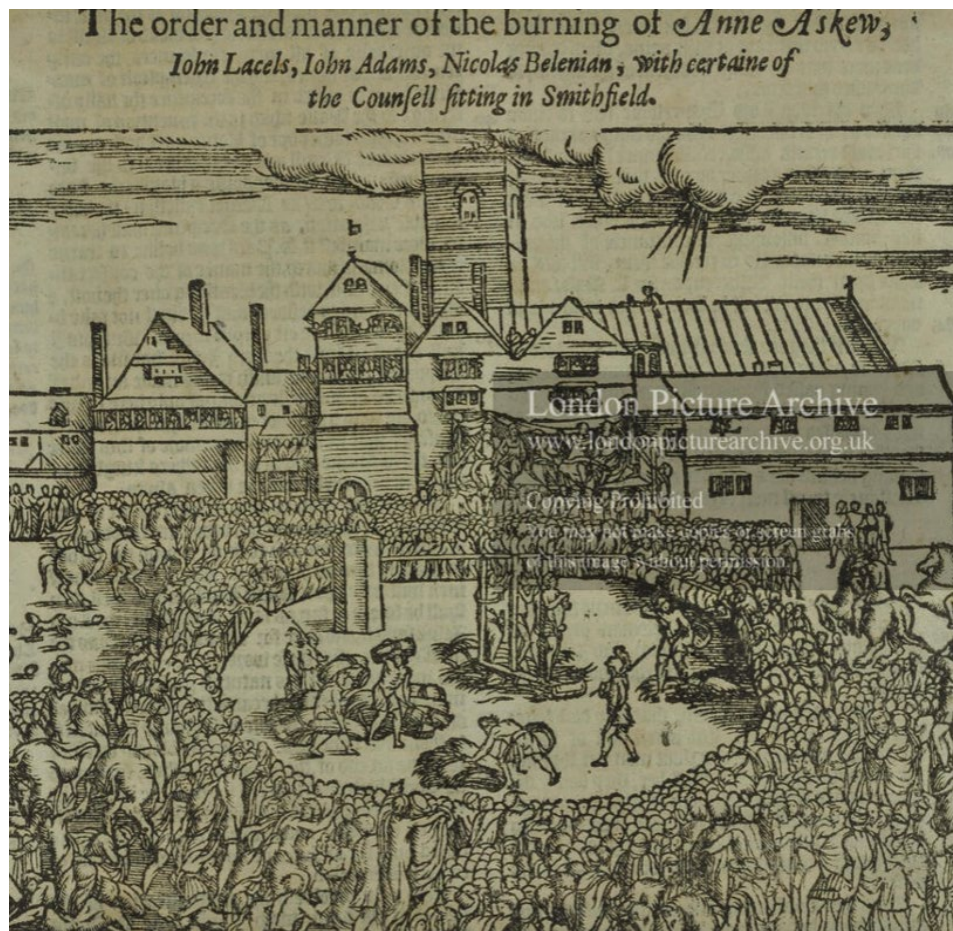
⁸³ According to Anna Cusack, Smithfield continued to be a site which was ‘occasionally used for hangings on temporary gallows erected for that purpose, such as in 1619 when Thomas Horsey was executed there for murder’. Cusack also gives the example of ‘John Perrott [who] was executed there [Smithfield] for fraudulent bankruptcy’ in 1761. Anna Cusack, ‘London’s Public Execution Sites’, *How-to-History Blog* (2013) <<https://howtohistory.substack.com/p/londons-public-execution-sites>> [accessed 25 September 2024].

⁸⁴ John Stow, *The Summarie of English Chronicles* (London: In Fletestrete by Thomas Marshe, 1566), sig. P8r.

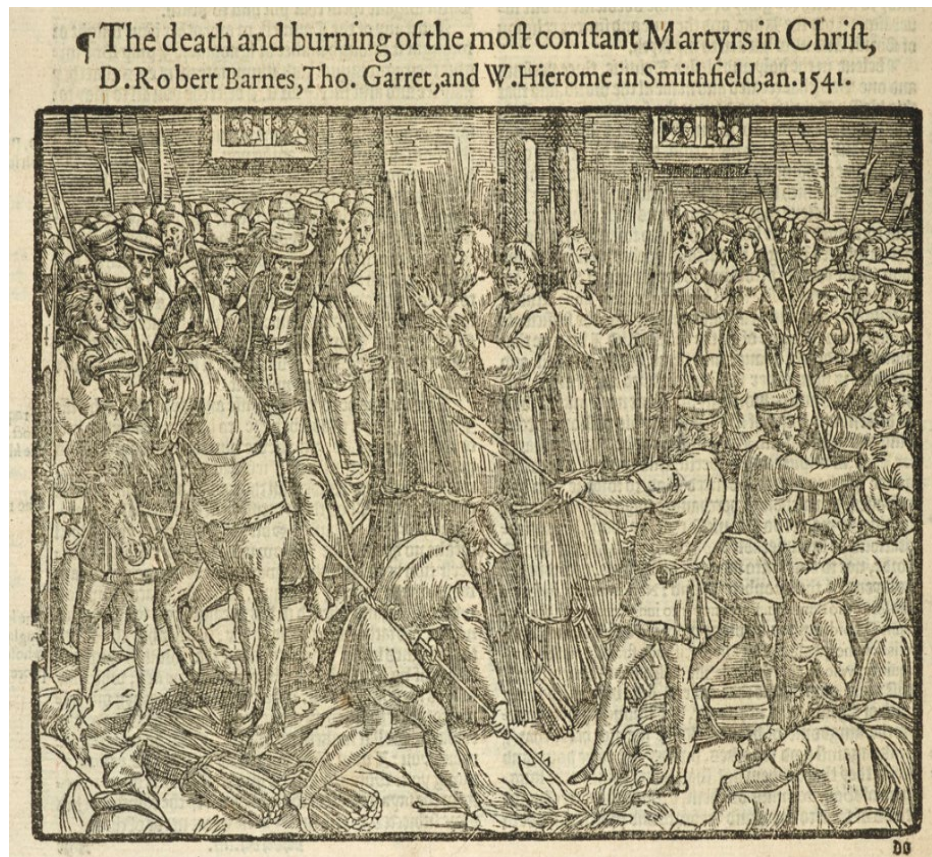
Horses clearly continued to draw convicted individuals such as John Oldcastell to the St Giles gallows. Oldcastell's story also gives us an insight into horses being used not only in the processional build-up to hangings but also to criminals being 'consumed with fyre' at the new place of execution.⁸⁵ However, it was Smithfield that gained renewed notoriety as a site for the burning of heretics (figs. 4.5 and 4.6).⁸⁶ This particular practice is noticeably absent from the *Survey*'s portrayal of judicial Smithfield. I argue that we can find likely reasons for the omission of burnings by considering the influence of the genres of romance and chorography on the *Survey*. In terms of the former, evidence of confessional divides would have detracted from the unifying quality of chivalric nostalgia that encourages *Survey* readers to remember Smithfield primarily in the idealising traditions of romance. Burning at the stake was not a new kind of punishment. However, the post-Reformation era saw tumultuous reigns of both Protestant and Catholic monarchs who deployed death by fire to safeguard their authority against perceived agitators. In this light, the purifying fires that the *Survey* praises in relation to the Midsummer Watch can be seen to take on divisive rather than unifying connotations in popular sixteenth-century consciousness. The *Survey* registers its disapproval of less-than-purifying fires in Smithfield by suppressing more recent stories of burnings in favour of pre-Reformation examples of hangings. This literary omission amounts to the same nostalgic memory strategy that the *Survey* deploys in exaggerating the sense of rupture between the medieval Midsummer Watch and sixteenth-century civic processions by remaining largely silent about the continuing chivalric pageantry of the latter.

⁸⁵ Stow, *The Summarie of English Chronicles* (1566), sig. P8r.

⁸⁶ Marks, p. 59; Dillon, p. 122; With regard to fig. 4.5, other than the hangings taking place at Askew's execution, I have not been able to find similarly striking illustrations of hangings (as the main or only punishment) in medieval or early modern Smithfield.



4.5 'Smithfield: Depiction of the Burning of Anne Askew', 15- -. With helmeted officials in the execution arena as well as on horseback at the margins of the crowd. Reproduced with kind permission of the London Picture Archive (318296).



4.6 Horses of judgement taking centre-stage at burnings in 1541 Smithfield. *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Days* [Foxe's Book of Martyrs], 1583.
© British Library Board (4824.k.3 page 1200).

Whilst the *Survey* does not locate a single burning within sixteenth-century Smithfield, the earlier 1580 *Chronicles* provide ample evidence for this judicial practice. For example, in Henry VIII's reign, in 1540, '[t]he xxx. of July *Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard, William Ierome* Priests, were burned in *Smithfield* [...] for denying the Kings supremacie of the Church'.⁸⁷ In 1550, under Edward VI, '[t]he second of May, *Ioan Knell, alias Butcher*, [...] was brent in *Smithfield* for Heresie, that Christ tooke no flesh of the virgin *Mary*'.⁸⁸ During Elizabeth's reign, in 1575, '[t]he xxij. of July, two *Dutchmen* Anabaptists, were brent in *Smithfield*, who dyed in great

⁸⁷ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Sss3r.

⁸⁸ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Uuu1r.

horror with rearing and crying'.⁸⁹ The *Chronicles* repeatedly convey burnings to the reader and, as Oldcastell being 'drawne to *Saint Giles* field' shows, the individuals facing this terrible and prolonged death still had to be moved more often than not by horsepower; yet, the above examples of burnings in Smithfield no longer make the preparatory practice of drawing explicit.⁹⁰ Since the *Survey* conveys approval of medieval hangings and the early modern punishment of the chantry priest by diligently noting accompanying equine rituality, the omission thereof, to some extent in the *Chronicles* and to a full extent in the *Survey*, in the case of burnings is noteworthy. In other words, when considered as belonging to the same body of historiographical work and in conjunction with each other, the *Survey* completely omits the chivalric inversions attending Smithfield burnings which already start to fade into the background in the *Chronicles*.

The differing but complementing agendas that underpin early modern chronicles and chorographies open new lines of enquiry into how the *Chronicles* and the *Survey* adopt the literary strategy of omission as far as the horses present at Smithfield burnings are concerned. As I have shown in my thesis introduction, sixteenth-century chroniclers concerned themselves with a completeness of record and heavily relied on borrowing and reproducing sections from earlier and contemporary chronicles for their passed-down knowledge and alleged expertise. Chorographers, on the other hand, were more judicious in their selection of materials and first-hand observations. They conjured a vision of place which to their minds best represented how the location, be it town, city or county, was experienced. For this reason, the *Survey* is not 'a [chronicle] story of kings', to borrow Helgerson's words again.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Eeee4v.

⁹⁰ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Pp4r.

⁹¹ Helgerson, p. 72.

Instead, in the *Survey*, loyalty is to a vision of Smithfield as a distinctively chivalric place and to which both aristocratic and civic horsemen contribute. In other words, we can tell that the *Survey* is a chorography, and not a chronicle, because even when kings do take centre-stage in the previously discussed Smithfield tournaments, they ennoble a particular City location rather than simply bestowing prestige onto themselves.

Crucially, chivalric Smithfield is not simply a figment of the *Survey* editors' imagination. On the contrary, chorographies like the *Survey*, as Helgerson observes, are 'repositories of proper names. To the many thousand names packed on the various maps, the discursive descriptions add many thousand more—ancient place names; names of places too small to be mapped; names of particular properties [...] and institutions'.⁹² In Chapter Two, I touched upon how the horsemanship-related toponymy of 'Knightrider Street' and 'Giltspur Street' evidences a longstanding processional heritage and determined how medieval and early modern Londoners perceived the area surrounding Smithfield in chivalric light. Consequently, it is not just the *Survey* in which the connection between 'a way towards Smithfield, called Guilt spurre, or Knightriders streete' and 'the knightes and other riding that way into Smith fielde' (1603, vol. 2, p. 22) was made. Instead, place names such as Knightrider and Giltspur street, Horse Pool and The Elms had all etched horses of celebration and judgement into the physical and cultural fabric of Smithfield long before either the *Chronicles* or the *Survey* were compiled.

The *Survey* does not misremember by omitting burnings as, on the one hand, it focuses on the mnemonic repository of local chivalric meaning in its textual rendering of place. On the other hand, the *Survey* repeatedly reminds its readers that certain aspects of London's history already feature in Stow's chronicle histories; 'as

⁹² Helgerson, p. 73.

ye may reade in my *Summarie* and *Annales*' (1603, vol. 1, pp. 24-25), 'as in my *Annales*' (1603, vol. 1, p. 25), as 'I referre the Reader to my *Annales*, where I haue set downe' (1603, vol. 1, p. 88), as 'Ye may reade in mine *Annales*' (1603, vol. 1, p. 94), 'as in mine *Annales* I haue shewed' (1603, vol. 1, p. 244), 'for causes shewed in my *Annales*' (1603, vol. 1, p. 247) and 'as in my *Annales* I haue expressed' (1603, vol. 2, p. 19). Stow was deeply committed to the generic conventions of chronicles versus chorographies and expected his readers to be aware of the differences too. Moreover, the *Survey* expects its readers to be familiar with Stow's body of work and to contextualise chronicles and chorography in light of each other.

Helgerson therefore rightly argues that chorography is 'devoted to place, as chronicle is the genre devoted to time. The opposition was not, however, necessarily antagonistic'; chronicles often featured chorographical introduction and chorographers 'coupled [...] [both] kinds [of genre] in their careers, if not in any single work'.⁹³ This perspective allows us to bridge genres of early modern history writing and think of the *Chronicles* as an introduction to the topographical project of the *Survey*. In other words, the *Chronicles* do the fact-finding legwork and amass a historiographical repository from which to shape a chorography. Whilst the *Survey* omits burnings to paint Smithfield in chivalric light, this strategy amounts to reflective rather than restorative nostalgia because mention of burnings in the *Chronicles* undercuts the possibility of a return to a medieval past in the *Survey*. The message is clear: if *Survey* readers familiarise themselves with both chronicle and chorography, they have all the knowledge they need to come to their own conclusions about what kind of honour and justice had been lost in post-Reformation Smithfield. It is in line with both the genre of romance and that of chorography that the reader is meant to

⁹³ Helgerson, p. 72.

perceive tournaments, market, and The Elms as fittingly representing this urban space because such horse-related practices follow chivalric conventions. However, burnings neither feature in romance nor fulfil a chivalric sense of unifying justice. They do not advance either of the *Survey*'s interlinked literary agendas and, as a result, are not deemed as deserving of connections to horses of judgement.

When considered as a chronicle introduction to the chorographical *Survey*, the *Chronicles* initiate another important process of omission. Not only does equine pageantry no longer feature in the build-up to Smithfield burnings but burnings at the site dating to the reign of the only Catholic Tudor, queen Mary, are underrepresented. So whilst the above instances of burnings in the *Chronicles* date to the post-Reformation era, executions by fire are more numerous attributed to Protestant monarchs even though the reign of 'bloody Mary' was most notorious, as Duffy explains, for 'the hounding down of so many religious deviants over so wide an area [across England] in so short a period time' and an almost indiscriminate punishing of supposed heretics in this specific manner.⁹⁴ Consequently, the same way that the *Survey* digresses with the Smithfield tournaments, the *Chronicles* already start to manipulate history and telescope the reader into a Catholic past with references to hangings at The Elms because these gallows embodied judicial practices with a shared chivalric heritage of which all Londoners could be proud: in other words disciplinary processes that still healed and unified the community rather than fragmenting its body along confessional divides. Yet, omission in the *Survey* does not serve to falsify history or to mislead the reader. Instead, it is much more fascinating and productive to heed Hall's advice and bear in mind that in the *Survey* the reader's 'view of London is at all

⁹⁴ Duffy, p. 560.

times controlled and mediated'.⁹⁵ When we acknowledge the literary qualities across Stow's body of work, the listing of relatively few examples of Smithfield burnings under Mary in the *Chronicles* directs the reader's gaze to an idealised version of bygone London and Smithfield, to a time before people 'dyed in great horror with rearing and crying' for their faith.⁹⁶ That way, the *Chronicles* textually resist judicial discourses that harm social cohesion: an agenda that the *Survey* sees through more fully by omitting burnings in Smithfield completely.



4.7 'Six Scenes of the Persecution of the Carthusian Order [...] in 1535, during the Reformation; Top Right Shows the Hanging and Disembowelling of Three Priors at Tyburn'. The second scene depicts several members of the order being drawn on a hurdle by a team of horses. Reproduced with kind permission of the London Picture Archive (7345).

Since building development and changes in capital punishments had eroded the *Survey*'s vision of judicial Smithfield, chivalric nostalgia is necessary to reclaim

⁹⁵ Hall, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Stow, *Chronicles* (1580), sig. Eeee4v.

the vanished elms trees and their eponymous gallows as an intrinsic aspect of the longstanding and multifaceted horse culture of the site. Chivalric nostalgia is helped by the fact that references to The Elms in the *Survey* are ambiguous. According to Marks, the Normans started to build gallows near elms since ‘the elm tree was the [Norman] tree of justice’.⁹⁷ In light of the legacy of such potent symbolism, the royal Tyburn tree gibbet (fig. 4.7) was also initially called ‘The Elms’, the same as the civic gallows in Smithfield.⁹⁸ Consequently, we cannot be sure whether chorographies and chronicles mean the Smithfield or the Tyburn gallows by mention of The Elms alone. Cross-referencing amongst the texts under my consideration proves difficult as most of them tend to be equally vague about gallows called The Elms, if they mention them at all. For example, whilst Grafton details numerous incidences of individuals being drawn, he does not name The Elms as a site of execution. Instead, the practice of being ‘drawne hanged and quartered’ tends not to be tied to any specific location other than Tyburn or any specific topographical feature within Tyburn or any other City location.⁹⁹

Whenever a site of execution is mentioned, it is more often than not ‘Tiborne’ even though Smithfield is acknowledged as ‘the place where felons and other transgressors of the kinges lawes were put to execution’ in London.¹⁰⁰ In terms of examples from early modern chorographies, Lambarde does not refer to The Elms in his *Perambulation* either but includes one account of ‘drawne and hanged’ rebel leaders in the reign of Henry VII without giving a location for their choreographed

⁹⁷ Marks, p. 57.

⁹⁸ Marks clarifies at length that Tyburn, outside of City jurisdiction, was the location of the royal gallows: ‘There is [...] no evidence whatever that a [permanent] royal gallows ever existed at St. Giles’s [...]. The confusion will cease if we keep firm hold of the fact that Smithfield was within the liberty of the city, and that the civic gallows was here erected’, pp. 58-59.

⁹⁹ Grafton (1569), sig. Bbbbbb6v.

¹⁰⁰ Grafton (1569), sigs. Gg6v, C6r.

death.¹⁰¹ Camden's *Britannia* mentions elms but not in relation to capital or any other forms of punishment.¹⁰² Even Machyn, whose enthusiasm for judicial proceedings in the City matches the *Survey*'s attention to such matters, does not mention The Elms as either belonging in Tyburn or Smithfield in his diary.¹⁰³ It is therefore only the *Survey* which repeatedly mentions The Elms within Smithfield as 'a place wherein trespassers were executed' (1603, vol. 2, p. 29).

As far as references to The Elms in the *Survey* are concerned, the executions of William Fitz Osbert and Roger Mortimer stand out. Both medieval men were chivalric figures because the former harboured ambitions of becoming a citizen crusader and the latter came from a long line of knights. However, each was charged with committing an offence against chivalric ideals by becoming an 'opponent of authority' and an 'opponent of the king' respectively instead of accepting the judgement of their superiors like the knights at the Smithfield tournaments.¹⁰⁴ The *Survey* claims that in 1196 'William Fitz Osbert, a seditious traitor [...] was by the heeles drawn thence to the Elmes in Smithfield, and there hanged' (1603, vol. 1, p. 254). In 1330 'Roger Mortimer Earle of March' was apparently 'taken and brought to the Tower, from whence hee was drawne to the Elmes, and there hanged' (1603, vol. 1, p. 51). Whilst the 1603 and 1633 *Surveys* do not refer to Smithfield explicitly in relation to Mortimer, the 1633 edition adds that he 'was drawne to the Elmes, and there hanged on the common Gallowes' (1633, sig. E4v).¹⁰⁵ By attributing Mortimer's

¹⁰¹ *Perambulation* (1576), sig. Vv2v.

¹⁰² *Britannia* (1695).

¹⁰³ *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, ed. J. G. Nichols (London, 1848), *BHO* <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42>> [accessed 31 December 2024].

¹⁰⁴ Keene, 'William Fitz Osbert (D. 1196), Populist Leader', *ODNB*; R. R. Davies, 'Mortimer, Roger, First Earl of March (1287-1330), Regent, Soldier, and Magnate', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, entry dated 2004, rev. 2008), doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/19354.

¹⁰⁵ 'Of or belonging to the community at large, or to a particular civic authority'. Entry 'common, *adj.*, I.4.a.', *OED* [accessed 09 December 2024]; The *Survey* uses the term in both

execution to the civic rather than royal gallows, the 1633 edition implies that The Elms in question were to be found in Smithfield.¹⁰⁶

As the *Survey* omits to locate The Elms gallows in any other intra- or extramural place of execution, the reader is led to believe that these offenders against chivalry met their end in Smithfield. However, neither man died in Smithfield. Instead, both were actually executed at Tyburn.¹⁰⁷ We could dismiss these accounts as the result of poor research or even wilful falsification on behalf of the *Survey* editors since, according to Holinshed, Mortimer was drawn to the ‘common place of Execution, called in those dayes the E[l]mes; and nowe Tyborne’.¹⁰⁸ As I have shown in my introduction, the first *Survey* editor held Holinshed in high regard but none of the *Surveys* convey The Elms in Tyburn as a civic execution site. There is of course the possibility that the *Survey* editors found evidence contrary to Holinshed’s claims. One way not to mar the latter’s reputation would be to keep the location of The Elms vague. Speculation aside, as in the case of the *Chronicles*’ partial omission of Smithfield burnings during Mary’s reign and the *Survey*’s omission of all punishments by fire at the site, the executions of Fitz Osbert and Mortimer can be read as legal fictions in the *Survey* which resist and at the same time reappropriate official narratives by moving their executions from the Tyburn tree to The Elms gallows in Smithfield.

senses throughout its chapters. For example: ‘common charges of the Citie’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 9), ‘common Councill of the citie’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 13) and a fountain ‘kept cleane for common vse’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 15).

¹⁰⁶ Other than Marks arguing for The Elms in Smithfield and later the St Giles gallows as civic execution sites that were under City jurisdiction and for Tyburn Tree as the royal gallows, I have not been able to find any other reliable sources to ascertain why specific crimes were punished in the respective locations before the time that Smithfield became the primary site for the burning of heretics.

¹⁰⁷ Keene, ‘William Fitz Osbert (D. 1196), Populist Leader’, *ODNB*; Davies, ‘Mortimer, Roger, First Earl of March (1287–1330), Regent, Soldier, and Magnate’, *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁸ Holinshed (1577), sigs. Hh3v-Hh4r.

From a literary perspective, the textual relocation of these executions from Tyburn to Smithfield exemplifies the ‘imagination and artifice’ that Hall detects throughout the *Survey* and the strategy of fictionalising Fitz Osbert’s and Mortimer’s fates draws repeated attention to the Smithfield Elms as a site of aristocratic and civic chivalry.¹⁰⁹ Having sidelined Tyburn as a site of execution, the *Survey* transforms Smithfield into the pageantic heart of the City where not only celebratory processions but also judicial proceedings come to their conclusion. That way, the *Survey* codes the potential for chivalric romance into every aspect of telescoped horse-related practice and topography in Smithfield, even if they do not appear to be under the influence of chivalry at first glance. By diachronically tracking the disappearance of the trees that gave the Smithfield Elms their name, the *Survey* warns the early modern reader that urbanisation erodes the manifold justice that chivalric Smithfield had been bestowing onto the City for many centuries.

Conclusion

Since the Cornhill punishments of the chantry priest and of Darby, Smith and Simson, the three ringleaders who allegedly died from shame, are the most recent examples of judicial processions in the *Survey*, the implication is that horses of judgement no longer projected complex chivalric meanings onto witnessing and participating crowds from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. Moreover, if we were to interpret the *Survey*’s silence on burnings as lack of evidence, equine pageantry attending judicial processions to Smithfield stopped even earlier. However, as my consideration of the seventeenth-century execution ballad and the Oates pamphlet has shown, horses continued to accompany singled-out agitators to their place of

¹⁰⁹ Hall, p. 12.

punishment despite the implied sense of pageantic rupture that *Survey* sets up in both regards. Yet, my lens of chivalric inversion reveals how the public humiliation that sinful and law-breaking individuals face in the *Survey* communicates reflective nostalgia to its readership. It does so by engendering nostalgia with the literary strategies of digression and prosopopoeia in the case of the Cornhill priest's horse-led punishment and with the literary strategies of omission and telescoping in the case of horses drawing criminals to Smithfield.

In Chapter Two, I have considered the injunctions and acts that abolished Londoners' processional heritage as textual strategies to encourage a forgetting of the Catholic past. These injunctions and acts furnished one-directional legal discourses between the Crown and its subjects. As such, they conjured an official narrative that the *Survey* resists by commemorating and celebrating horses of judgement. In so doing, the *Survey* evades suspicion about Catholic sympathies that the *Survey*, by evoking a sense of rupture in relation to religious processions, might have otherwise raised. The *Survey* achieves reflective nostalgia twofold that way. On the one hand, it tells the story of a post-Reformation world in which injunctions outlawed religious processions and their acoustic accompaniments such as the 'ringing of bells' and 'clamour of handbells' under the guise of preserving public order. On the other, the *Survey* enables its readers to mourn wistfully for a mnemoscape in which judicial processions with their equine rituals and discordant soundscape signified precious remnants of pre-Reformation pageantry.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Duffy, p. 452.

Conclusion

Throughout the *Survey* equine encounters evoke chivalric nostalgia and determine which aspects of the cityscape and its history the reader experiences as worthy of remembrance. Horses of processional glory and horses of judgement lead the way more often than not to Smithfield while horses of militant glory fulfil their nostalgic potential near and in Smithfield itself. In all three cases Smithfield is portrayed as the equine heart and seat of chivalry in the City. Representations of processioning horses facilitate this memory strategy by performing for their human counterparts as anthropomorphising mirrors that ennoble not only the male and female participants but also bestow chivalric honour onto the City at large. The metonymic and metaphoric dynamics at play in the *Survey*'s digression on Perrers's procession, for example, reveal how the chivalric portrayal of a female figure riding on horseback can suppress moral controversy by introducing gender and societal fluidity. Furthermore, in its rendering of the procession from Tower Royal, the *Survey* develops the nostalgia inherent in the memory careers of war horses, so that the retellings of chivalric rituals such as the binding of mounted warriors with gold chains and descriptions of both horse and human male bodies clad in armour become literary acts of fetishisation. The attention that the *Survey* dedicates to the Fishmongers' procession invites the reader to celebrate how a Livery Company adapted chivalric horsemanship metaphors to represent their stake in the mercantile world of medieval London. The Fishmongers and their horses processioned in a manner that bestowed prestige onto their members and their profession.

As I have suggested, the Midsummer Watch can be seen as a scaled-up adaptation of the same chivalric ideals but this time for the specifically civic context

of the City and its citizens, who are given the opportunity to display their militaristic horse culture and battle readiness. By describing how horse-related Watch practices changed pre- and post-Reformation, the *Survey* stages the sixteenth-century disappearance of the most spectacular event on the civic calendar in four parts: heyday, temporary discontinuation, revival and permanent loss. Even though associated equine traditions survived the Watch itself and were manifested in rich and varied post-Reformation celebrations, the *Survey* portrays the demise of the pre-Reformation Watch format as an irreversible and keenly felt break with bygone equine encounters of processional glory. Yet, the *Survey* does not misremember or attempt to mislead the reader with its portrayal of the Watch. On the contrary, by exaggerating a sense of ritualistic rupture, the *Survey* can be seen to deploy the literary strategies at its disposal and with them resist the truth-claims of post-Reformation legislative narratives that encouraged a forgetting of the Catholic mnemoscape. In so doing, chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* becomes reflective by holding onto all the splendour of the pre-Reformation Watch and drawing attention to the process of forgetting itself.

The *Survey* evokes an equally reflective nostalgia in its foregrounding of bygone horses of militant glory and by warning wistfully how early modern urbanisation had eroded the very equine topography in Smithfield that had made a longstanding horse culture possible. In its selective account of Smithfield's tournament history, the *Survey* sidelines the increasing scepticism about knightly morals and martial skills in the early modern period and instead telescopes the reader to a time in which horse and man still faced danger together. For this purpose, head-on encounters between honourable horse-men hybrids are dramatised in the tradition of chivalric romance. In a similar vein to its nostalgic commemoration of aristocratic knights training for battle, the *Survey* also draws attention to the proficient

horsemanship of participants at civic musters in the fields to the north of Smithfield as well as foregrounding elite riders as ‘proper Men’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v) playing their part in the City’s military exercises. Consequently, the *Survey* makes it clear that horse-men from a range of social backgrounds were crucial in setting up the martial ‘Honour of this City’ (1633, sig. Ooo6v): a city that when personified as a motherly female figure was thought capable of nurturing its inhabitants but also deserving of protection from mounted warriors ‘glorious in manhoode’ (1603, vol. 1, p. 104).

The *Survey* also gives unlikely horse-men the chance to imbue Smithfield with the idealising aesthetics of chivalric masculinity. Early modern commentators describe Smithfield’s horse coursers as untrustworthy middlemen who deceived customers and mistreated their animals. Seventeenth-century legislative narratives concerning horse markets in the City substantiate the claims made by the world of satire and drama by attempting to prevent the sale of stolen and low-quality horses. Yet, in the *Survey* medieval horse coursers display commendable horsemanship at Smithfield market and become horse-man hybrids in that both horse and man share the same emotions and are shown to wait eagerly for the market races to start. In addition, horse coursers are not the only unlikely horse-men in the *Survey*. Its portrayal of the City’s porters organising themselves and their horses in a quasi-militaristic manner is equally noteworthy. Since we do not find evidence in the Porters’ archives for the emphasis that the *Survey* places on members of the Society having access to horses, the *Survey*’s rendering of what were low-skilled and sometimes unruly workers is another example of mythmaking wherein even disreputable professions can be seen to engender chivalric honour for the City.

Horses of militant glory also allow the *Survey* to make horse-indexed judgements about categorically un-chivalric horsemen in Smithfield such as the rebel

leader Wat Tyler. Equine terminology such as ‘crupper’, Tyler’s metonymic positioning in relation to this particular riding apparel of the king’s horse and the response of the knights accompanying the king all powerfully convey to the reader how much Tyler’s approach of the king on horseback was intended and perceived as a chivalric challenge. Consequently, the *Survey* deploys portrayals of likely and unlikely horse-men in militant fashion as part of its multifaceted chivalric mythmaking and resulting nostalgia. The 1618 and 1633 *Surveys* seemingly undermine chivalric nostalgia in that they celebrate the seventeenth-century paving of the site as necessary urban progress. However, the physical paving represented by these later editions can be read as reflective nostalgia: a literary strategy that attempts to honour the chivalric past of Smithfield but rather than indulging in a restorative fantasy of return instead looks to the future of the site.

Whilst at first glance unrelated to the world of the mounted warrior, horses of judgement enable the *Survey* to evoke a reflective kind of chivalric nostalgia through the inversion of horse-man hybridity. My case study of the chantry priest’s punishment in Cornhill reveals how a legal storytelling approach in the *Survey*’s portrayal of judicial processions contributes to its chivalric mythmaking. The *Survey* pays close attention to how over three days of processioning the metonymic positioning between priest and accompanying horses changes and thereby conveys intensifying humiliation to the onlooking crowd and reader alike. For this reason, the priest’s punishment must be considered as a significant example of civil death by equine encounter: on the first day, by being carted like a common bawd the priest is stripped of his ecclesiastical status; on day two, the priest is left emasculated by the chivalric punishment of riding on horseback whilst facing the horse’s tail; day three turns the priest beastly in zoomorphic fashion through the act of unhorsing and making him walk between two

horses. At this point of the punishment, the priest's symbolic expulsion from the communal body is complete so that physical banishment from the City becomes a logical conclusion.

Individuals drawn to their site of execution were positioned even lower in relation to accompanying horses of judgement than is the case in any of the priest's equine encounters. Consequently, judicial processions ending in actual deaths at The Elms gallows in Smithfield convey the most profoundly shaming and disempowering zoomorphism out of all horse-indexed punishments. In Smithfield, tournaments and executions set up intersecting ceremonial ghost networks because portrayals of horse-indexed judgements draw on disciplinary conventions among knights in which winning competitors humiliated their opponents via the inversion of chivalric horsemanship metaphors and shorthands. Again, the *Survey* can be seen to set up ritualistic rupture, this time by attributing the loss of elm trees in Smithfield and attending equine pageantry at the eponymous gallows to building encroachment. However, horses continued to draw condemned individuals not only to the relocated gallows at St Giles's but also to burnings in Smithfield. The *Survey* does not suppress burnings in Smithfield to falsify history. Instead, the reader is expected to be familiar with Stow's body of work and consider chronicles and chorography in relation to each other. As a chorography, the *Survey* does not aim for a completeness of record but prioritises a sense of place which in respect to Smithfield is distinctively chivalric. In this light, chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* functions reflectively by textually resisting judicial discourses that played on confessional divides and harmed social cohesion. In a similar vein, the *Survey* can be seen to create legal fictions by sidelining Tyburn and textually relocating the executions of Fitz Osbert and Mortimer to Smithfield. With this literary memory strategy, the *Survey* transforms Smithfield into *the* pageantic

destination in the City and codes chivalric nostalgia into every aspect of the site's horse-related practice and topography.

Ultimately, this thesis argues that chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* constitutes a hitherto unexplored but significant set of literary memory strategies requiring a nuanced analysis that is attentive not to 'historical error, but historical perspective', to quote Raymond Williams again.¹ I have shown that processioning and fighting horses engender a specifically early modern kind of nostalgia in the *Survey* and that the revival of chivalric romance influences how the *Survey* portrays its equine encounters. In this light, nostalgia transforms from negative consuming emotion to a reflective means of communication with which the *Survey* makes momentous urban change, which might be otherwise difficult to grasp, legible for its readership. In the *Survey*, legibility as in 'the ease by which the nature or significance of [...] [urban change] can be understood or interpreted' improves by deploying the horse as a common denominator for shared experiences in the City, by evoking nostalgia for bygone horse-related customs and by raising the alarm over the erosion of care-filled engagements between urban horses and their human counterparts.² As I have set out in my introduction, the reader does not need a comprehensive grasp of centuries-spanning historical processes to interpret how the *Survey* portrays urban change transforming equine encounters over time. Instead, chivalric nostalgia as a literary memory strategy enabled citizen readers to continue to cherish their urban horse culture despite post-Reformation narratives and processes of early modern urbanisation eroding associated traditions and topography.

¹ Williams, *The Country and the City*, p. 10.

² Entry 'legibility, *n.*', *OED* [accessed 04 May 2025].

By establishing chivalric nostalgia as a memory strategy, my thesis has contributed significantly to *Survey* scholarship in that I have expanded on the perspectives of Lawrence Manley, Andrew Gordon and Oliver Harris who consider the *Survey* to engage with past and present in constructive ways. Thus, I have substantiated Kristine Johanson's argument for a multitude of early modern nostalgias because my focus on the portrayal of urban horse culture in the *Survey* has illuminated for the first time that the revival of chivalric literature in the early modern period influences how and why the *Survey* leads its readers through the City streets in the ways it does. I have therefore revealed chivalric nostalgia as a specifically early modern nostalgia which is tied to the cultural context of early modern London. Conversely, I have provided evidence from perspectives in the fields of nostalgia studies and literary studies that biographical and therefore pathological readings of nostalgia in the *Survey* such as those of Daniel Woolf and Patrick Collinson are problematic.

Whereas much of *Survey* scholarship focuses solely on the 1603 edition, I have paid nuanced attention to all four early modern editions. In doing so, I have been able to highlight the collaborative nature of early modern history writing. For this reason, the *Survey*'s narrator must be considered a literary artifice and we cannot assume that the story told amounts to Stow's autobiography. Biographical readings have led to the tendency in academia to mine the *Survey* uncritically for supposedly historical facts. By building on William Keith Hall's pioneering examination of the literary qualities in the *Survey* however, my thesis has demonstrated that fact and fiction cannot be separated in any meaningful way in early modern history compilations. I have therefore set an example for future studies in early modern culture and literature as well as *Survey* scholarship for the need to step away from speculating about any of the

Survey editors' psychologies and of how to engage with the intertextual strategies at play in the work.

I have contributed to debates in the field of early modern horse history in that I have followed the call of horse history scholars such as Peter Edwards, Elspeth Graham, Ian F. MacInnes and Jennifer Flaherty to pay nuanced attention to the important and wide-ranging roles horses played in early modern culture. By grounding my thesis in this field, I have established the hitherto unrecognised significance of the *Survey* to the horse history of early modern London. For example, I have shown that the *Survey* establishes the gold standard for all equine encounters in the City through the lens of likely and unlikely martial horse-men. For this reason, the *Survey* portrays medieval horse coursers as displaying commendable horsemanship at Smithfield market and thereby counteracts the cultural vilification of the real horse coursers of early modern Smithfield. I have also established elm trees and soft open ground in Smithfield as equine topography and that the *Survey* raises the alarm over how building development and urban sprawl had been eroding these topographical features. The resulting chivalric nostalgia can be shown to engage with the concrete threat that early modern urbanisation posed to this urban space and its rich equine heritage.

I have also contributed to debates in the field of early modern animal studies in that I have deployed animal studies concepts to demonstrate that the *Survey* cannot be fully understood without a consideration of the urban horse culture that pervades its pages. For instance, I have considered Claude Lévi-Strauss's categorisations of metaphoric and metonymic relations between humans and animals and have developed a different understanding of metaphor and metonymy that allows for the interplay I detect in the *Survey*'s equine encounters and explore with the concept of reciprocal horse-man hybridity. For this reason, I have engaged with Karen Raber's

definition of the hyphenated formulation of horse-man and have revealed that, as far as participants in the *Survey*'s equine encounters are concerned, the blurring of horse-man boundaries achieves both the attributing of and the depriving of chivalric masculinity. I have also drawn on Donna Haraway's conceptualisation of hybridity to develop my own myth of the Janus-faced horse-man hybrids I explore in the *Survey*. For example, my close reading of the *Survey*'s nostalgic rendering of the Smithfield tournaments has illuminated how medieval and early modern romances influence the *Survey*'s portrayals of opponents attempting to unhorse each other and how unhorsed riders as well as an emphasis on their broken armour and weapons is aimed at breaking not only the spell of horse-man hybridity but more specifically of, what Natalie Corinne Hansen calls, the narrative of reciprocal partnership between man and horse.

I have also shown the relevance of Erica Fudge's concept of care-filled engagements to how the *Survey* evokes its equine encounters. Fudge considers care-filled engagements to arise from non-formulaic animal encounters, for example, from understanding and attending to the needs and movements of an individualised animal. Choreographies are based on improvisations and the stepping away from formulaic human-animal relations. References to horses in the *Survey* do not quite meet these criteria. Nonetheless, portrayals of formulaic training such as the horsemanship of coach- and draymen, tournament and muster riders as well as Smithfield's horse coursers base themselves upon the responsibilities and interactions outlined by Fudge, even if they do not capture improvised day-to-day choreographies. Throughout its chapters, the *Survey* deploys horse-indexed cultural shorthands, to evoke Edwards's and Graham's concept again, to make it clear to the reader that without reciprocal attending, watching, following and leading, training partnerships are less likely to succeed and bring honour to the City.

I have also contributed to the debates in the fields of memory and nostalgia studies because I have based my argument against biographical readings of the *Survey* on Katharine Hodgkin's study of early modern life writing. In doing so, I have provided evidence that the first-person narrator in the *Survey* elicits not personal but readerly nostalgia: an important differentiation for future nostalgia studies concerned with prosopopoeic language in early modern texts. Moreover, I have expanded on Judith Pollmann's stance on the roles of synchronic and diachronic historical consciousness in early modern memory by demonstrating that the *Survey* displays both the synchronic hope that equine customs can continue to bestow chivalric honour onto the City, and Smithfield in particular, and an acute diachronic awareness of how religious reforms and topographical reconfigurations had been changing the urban environment irreversibly over time. Consequently, my thesis aligns itself with the arguments of Pollmann and Dan Todman for the importance of mythmaking in history writing because I have shown that chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* encompasses London's past, present and future in its interplay between synchronic and diachronic historical consciousness. Chivalric nostalgia therefore can be seen to act as a valuable means of communication that does not obscure meaning but attempts to help as many readers as possible to understand and emotionally engage with urban change. For this reason, I have drawn on Susan Harlan's concept of militant nostalgia and have broadened her definition of fetishisation to not only include the animal body but also the dynamics between human and animal bodies that bestow symbolic and real-life powers in reciprocal acts of training for hybridity. Thus, I have established that in the *Survey* it is the hybrid body that the rider conjures with his equine counterpart in portrayal of celebratory processions, tournaments, musters and market races that is the site where 'masculinity, materiality and memory' overlay.

Moreover, I have answered Hall's call for future studies to consider the literary qualities of the *Survey* and have thereby contributed to his seminal literary studies approach to the work. For example I have shown that the *Survey* brings the chivalric qualities of the City's bygone horse culture alive with the literary strategy of telescoping by attributing celebratory and judicial processions, tournaments and Smithfield market to the pre-Reformation past. The literary strategy of omission is deployed in the cases of Perrers's missing chariot, the supposed lack of horse-men at the Mile End muster, turning a blind eye to burnings in Smithfield and the implication that post-Reformation processional pageantry was less rich and varied because of religious reforms. I have also provided evidence that the *Survey* digresses at length with descriptions of the pre-Reformation Midsummer Watch, Smithfield market and the chantry priest's punishment in Cornhill. As my case study of the priest's processions through Cornhill has shown, the *Survey* deploys prosopopoeia to attribute the events in question to the narrator's supposedly Catholic youth and thereby invests the story told with authenticity and authority. Conversely, I have established that the *Survey* follows in part a legal storytelling approach, as defined by Judith Hudson, for its creation of a civic mythology that would not have been as impactful without a nostalgic rendering of the City's horses. As this thesis establishes, chivalric nostalgia signifies a broader historiographical phenomenon which enriches our understanding of not only the *Survey* but also all the chronicles and chorographies under my consideration. For this reason, I suggest that a comprehensive consideration of equine encounters in early modern historiographies is a necessary avenue for future research.

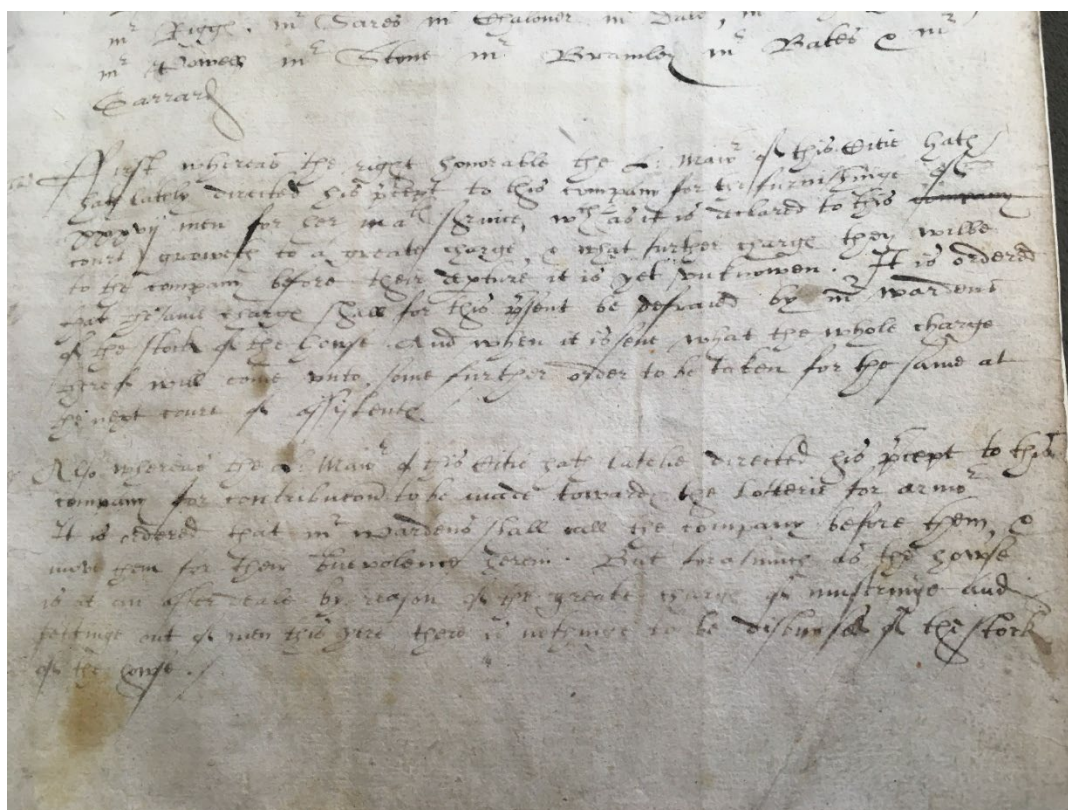
This thesis originated in an approach to the *Survey* that sought to collate all references to animals, including references to associated products, practices, and toponymy, and I found hundreds of animal-indexed citations that did not relate to

horses. Consequently, the scope for further animal studies is considerable. For example, a closer look at the urban pigs and cows upon which I have touched in my introduction would be a worthwhile start. These animals might have held a different status than horses but porcine and bovine encounters were nonetheless capable of engendering care-filled engagements. In this light, research into pig- and cow-indexed cultural shorthands across early modern literary genres and into cultural attitudes towards the human counterparts of these animals would make a fascinating contribution to our understanding of animal-related civic mythmaking and its connections to the representations of urban change in the *Survey*. Another project could expand on my consideration of chivalric toponymy and create a digital map of animal-related street and place names such as Horse Pool, Cow Cross, Houndsditch, Fish Wharf and Fowl Lane with explanatory notes of which practices the *Survey* and other early modern sources associate with specific City locations. Emulating the approach of the *MoEML*, such an annotated topographical overview would reveal concentrations and patterns among citywide animal-related activities and thereby not only open avenues into further historical and literary animal studies but also enable future scholars to contribute to a collaborative animal map of early modern London and to bear witness to the variety of lives that made up the early modern City.

Appendix

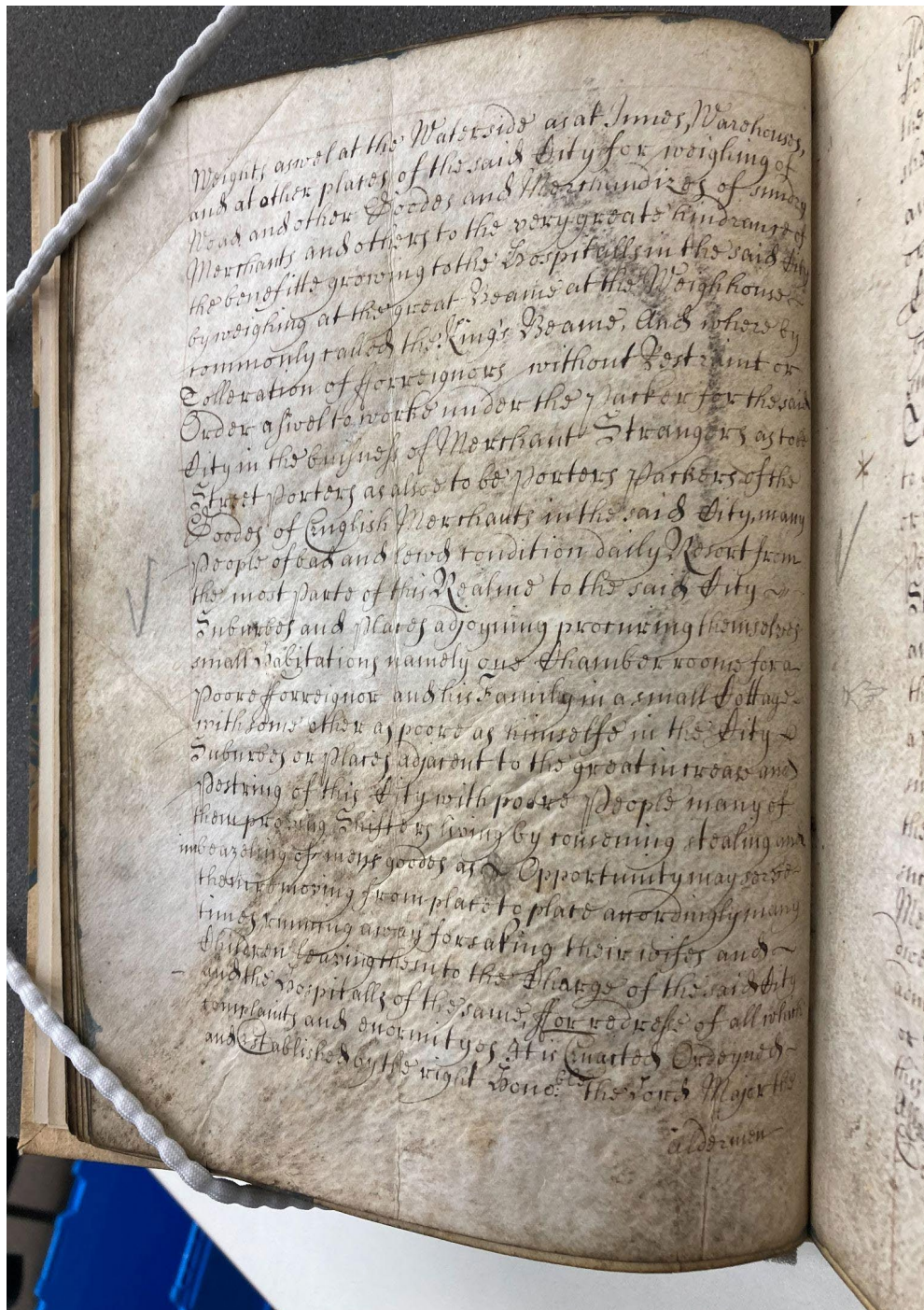
Manuscript Transcriptions

5.1 Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, 'Court of Assistants Minute Book, 1582/3-1652', GL, CLC/L/HA/B/001/MS15842/001. Permission granted by Worshipful Company of Haberdashers.



[...] the L[ord] Maio[r] of this Citie hath latelie directed his p[re]cept to this company for contribuc[i]on to be made towards the Lotterie for arme[r]. It is ordered that M[aste]r Wardens shall call the company before them, & move them for their benevolence herein. [...] [A]s the howse is at an afterdeale by reason of the greate charge of mustringe and settinge out of men this yere there is nothinge to be disbursed of the stock of the howse.

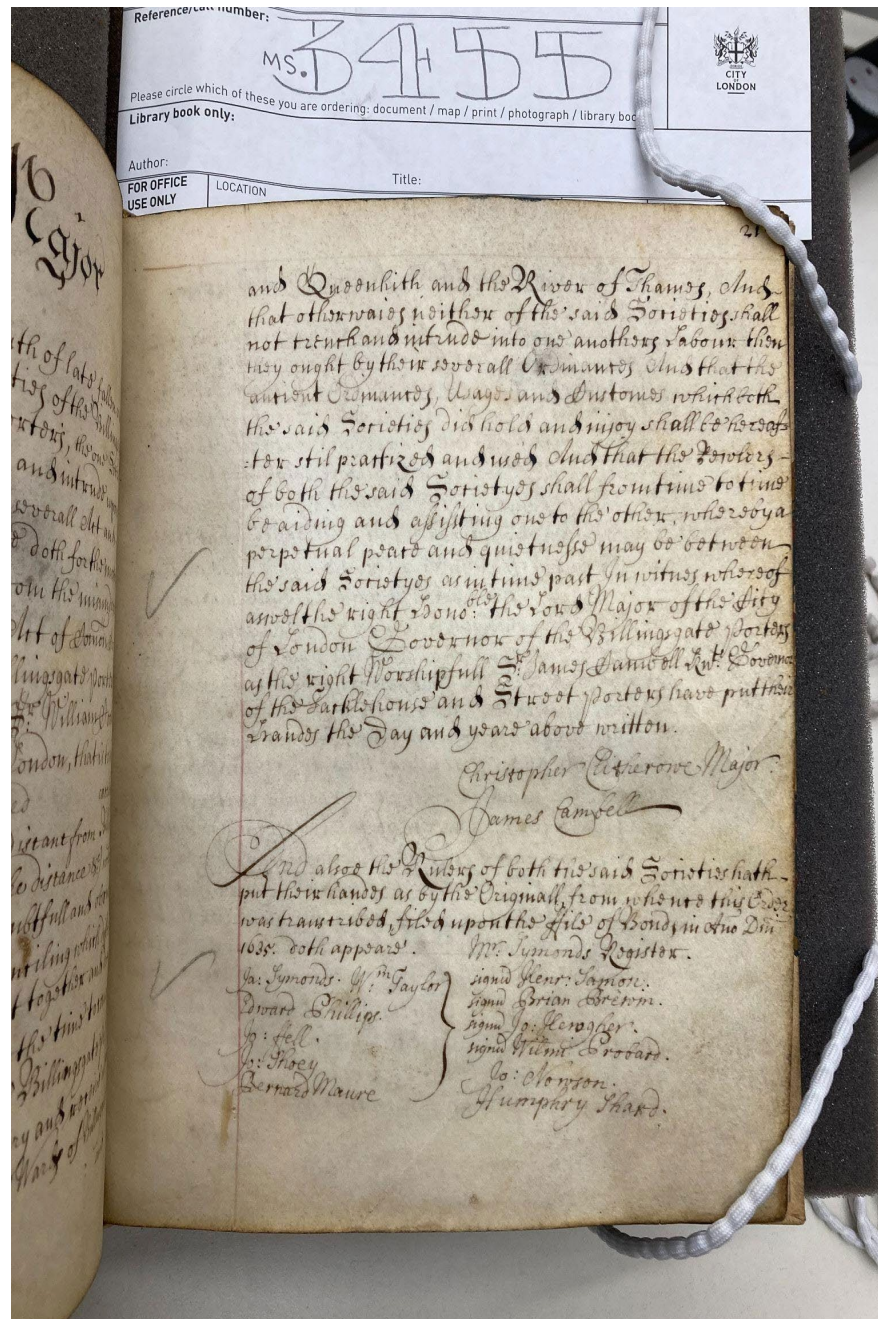
5.2 Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, 'Copy Orders and Ordinances, 1604-1707, and Proceedings of the Court of Registers and Rulers, 1663-97', GL, CLC/L/TA/A/002/MS03455. Reproduced with kind permission of the Guildhall Library, London.



[...] at the Weighhowse commonly called the King's Beame [...] where by Tolleration of Forreignors without Restraint or Order [...] work[ing] under the Packer for the said

City in the buisness of Merchant Strangers as to be Street Porters as alsoe to be Porters
Packers of the Goodes of English Merchants in this said City, many People of bad or
lewd condition daily Resort from the most Parte of this Realme to the said City
Suburbes and Places adjoyning [...] to the great increase and Pestring of this City with
poore People [...]

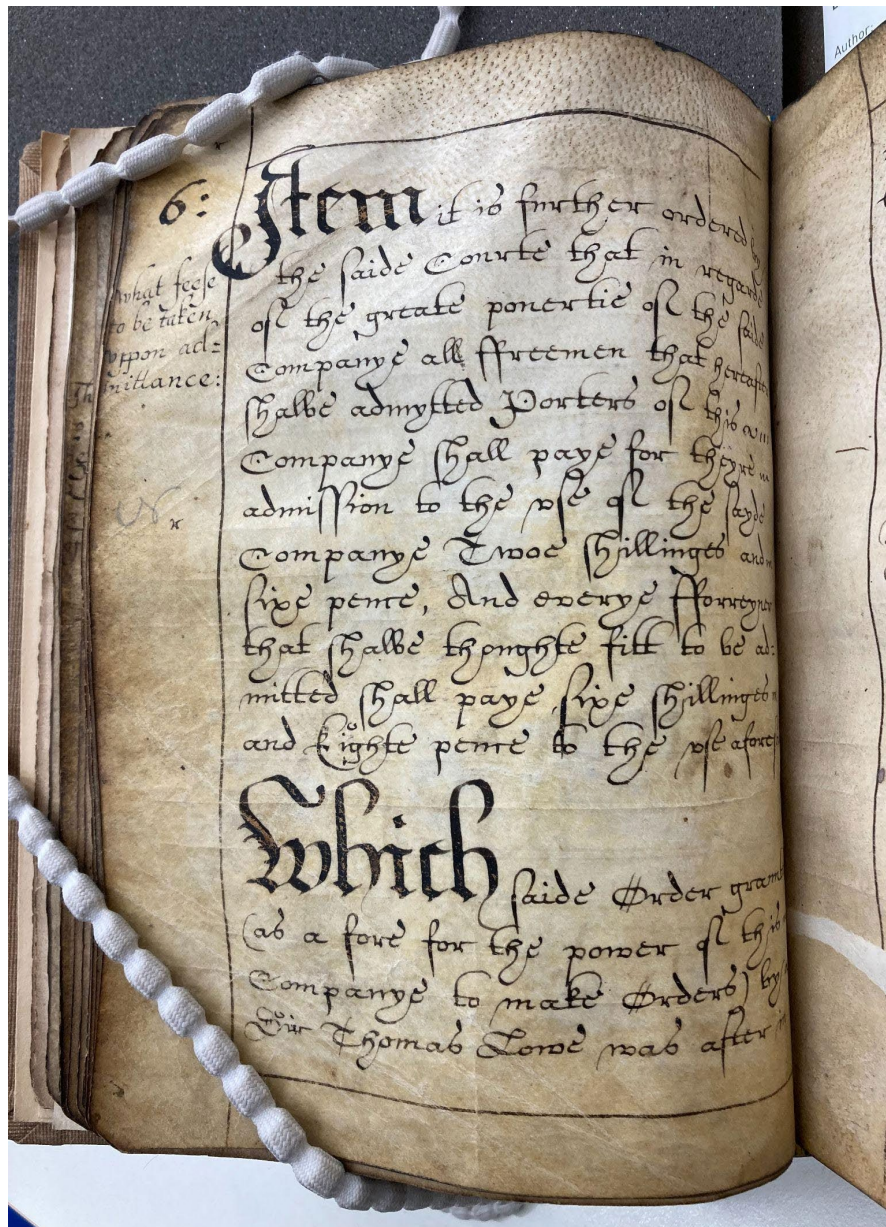
5.3 Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, 'Copy Orders and Ordinances 1604-1707, and Proceedings of the Court of Registers and Rulers, 1663-97', GL, CLC/L/TA/A/002/MS03455. Reproduced with kind permission of the Guildhall Library, London.



[...] And that otherwaies neither of the said Societies shall not trench and intrude into one anothers Labour then they ought by their severall Ordinances And that the ancient Ordinances, Usages and Customes which both the said Societies did hold and injoy

shall be hereafter stil practized and used And that the Rewlers of both the said Societyes shall from time to time be aiding and assissting one to the other whereby a perpetual peace and quietnesse may be between the said Societyes as in time past [...]

5.4 Society of Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, 'Copy Orders and Ordinances of the Brotherhood and Fellowship of the Street Porters and Corner Porters (Later Known as Ticket Porters), 1604-1765', GL, CLC/L/TA/A/001/MS00913. Reproduced with kind permission of the Guildhall Library, London.



[...] it is further ordered by the said Covrte that in regarde of the greate povertrie of the saide Companye all Freemen that hereafter shalbe admytted Porters of this [...] Company shall paye for theyre [...] admission to the use of the sayde Companye Twoe shillings and [...] sixe pence [...]

5.5 Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, 'Court of Assistants Minute Book, 1582/3-1652', GL, CLC/L/HA/B/001/MS15842/001. Permission granted by Worshipful Company of Haberdashers.

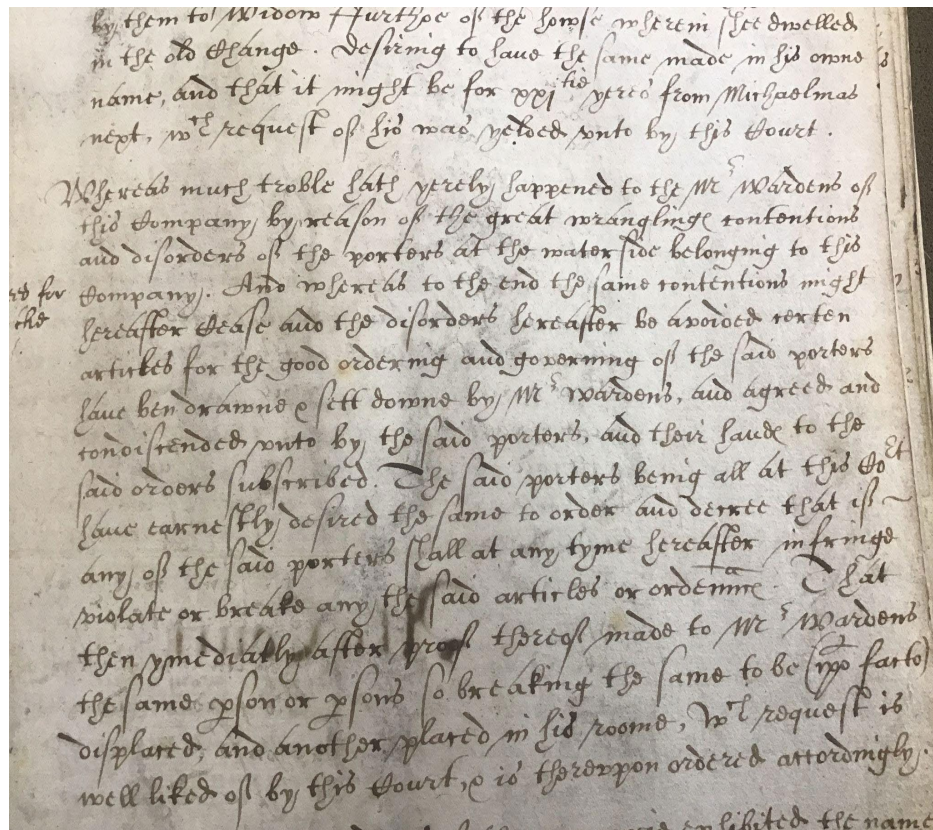
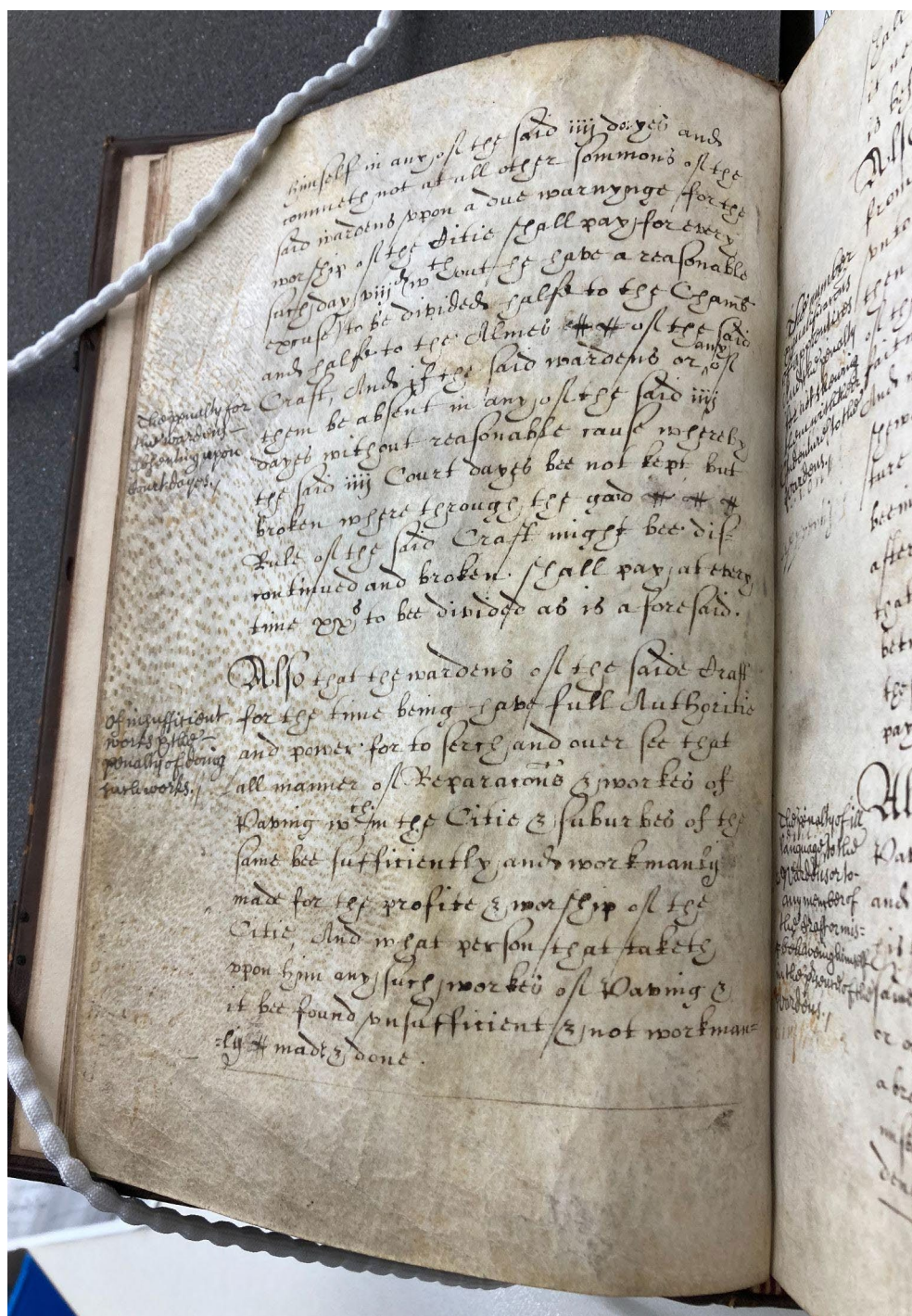


Image courtesy of Tracey Hill.

[...] Whereas much troble hath yerely happened to the M[aste]r Wardens of this Company by reason of the great wranglinges contentions and disorders of the porters at the waterside belonging to this Company. And whereas to the end the same contentions might hereafter Cease and the disorders hereafter be avoided certen articles for the good ordering and governing of the said porters have ben drawne & sett downe by M[aste]r Wardens [...]

5.6 Worshipful Company of Paviers, 'Ordinance, Oath and Memorandum Book, 1616-1776', GL, CLC/L/PD/A/002/MS00179. Reproduced with kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Paviers.



[...] the wardens of the saide Craft for the time being have full Authoritie and power for to serch and ouer see that all manner of Reparac[i]ons & workes of Paving

w[hi]chin the Citie & suburbes of the same bee sufficiently and workmanly made for
the profite & worship of the Citie [...]

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