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Individual, Institution, and Impact: The Untold History of the de Osma Studentship in Spanish Studies at Oxford

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ABSTRACT

Guillermo J. de Osma (1853–1922) was the first Spaniard to study at Oxford after the Universities Tests Act 1871 opened the ancient universities of England to non-Anglicans. Known in his time as a diplomat, politician, art collector, and scholar, Osma established the first Spanish studentship and modern endowment at Oxford—the de Osma Studentship—in 1920. The Studentship has been held by many distinguished Oxford-trained Hispanists over the past hundred years. Yet, despite his active role in Spanish public and cultural life, his unique links with Oxford and his contribution to twentieth-century British–Spanish relations, today, Osma is a little-known figure in the Spanish-speaking world and remains virtually unknown in Anglophone countries. This article is based on previously unseen Spanish and British archival material, interviews and correspondence with de Osma Studentship holders from several generations, and testimonies shared at the celebration of the de Osma Centenary held in Oxford, which was a direct result of the research undertaken here. Drawing on this material, the article traces some of the cultural and academic implications of the establishment of the de Osma Studentship, revealing the untold story of its origins and development.

RESUMEN

Guillermo J. de Osma (1853–1922) fue el primer español en estudiar en Oxford después de que la Universities Tests Act de 1871 abriera las universidades históricas de Inglaterra a los no anglicanos. Personalidad destacada en su época como diplomático, político, coleccionista de arte y erudito, Osma instituyó la primera beca y dotación moderna española en Oxford —la Osma Studentship— en 1920; y no pocos distinguidos hispanistas formados en Oxford durante los últimos cien años fueron beneficiarios de la misma. Sin embargo, a pesar de su activo papel en la vida pública y cultural española, sus singulares vínculos con Oxford y su pionera contribución al fortalecimiento y mejora de las relaciones hispano-británicas del siglo XX, Osma es una personalidad poco estudiada en el mundo de habla hispana y prácticamente desconocida en los países anglófonos. Tomando

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University of Oxford;
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como base esencial de referencia documentos procedentes de archivos británicos y españoles nunca antes analizados o mencionados; entrevistas y correspondencia con beneficiarios de la Beca Osma de varias generaciones; así como los testimonios compartidos y recogidos directamente en la reciente celebración del “Osma Day,” desarrollada en Oxford con motivo del centenario del establecimiento de la beca, consecuencia directa de la investigación realizada para este escrito, el presente artículo traza algunas de las repercusiones culturales y académicas del establecimiento de la Beca Osma, revelando la historia no contada de sus orígenes constitutivos, implantación y desarrollo.

Guillermo J. de Osma (1853–1922) was the first Spaniard to study at Oxford after the Universities Tests Act 1871 opened the ancient universities of England to non-Anglicans. Known in his time as a diplomat, politician, art collector, and scholar, Osma established the first Spanish studentship and modern endowment at Oxford—the de Osma Studentship—in 1920. The Studentship, open to both men and women since its foundation, continues to be under the exclusive remit of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and has been held by many distinguished Oxford-trained Hispanists over the past hundred years.

Osma was the first president of the Board of Trustees of the Alhambra, served as Spain’s Minister of Finance and president of the Council of State, and founded the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (IVDJ) in Madrid, a research centre and cultural treasure trove housed in his former home and showcasing items from his art collection. Yet, despite his active role in Spanish public and cultural life, his unique links with Oxford and his contribution to twentieth-century British–Spanish relations, today, Osma is a little-known figure in the Spanish-speaking world and remains virtually unknown in Anglophone countries.

The purpose of this paper is threefold. First, it sheds light on the reasons that led Osma to link the IVDJ with Oxford, and how this was ultimately achieved. Second, it provides the first account in English on the IVDJ’s art collection, archival material and library, thereby offering valuable information to the academic community. Third, it traces some of the implications of the establishment of the de Osma Studentship, revealing the untold story of its origins and development. The paper attempts to restore a significant but forgotten figure from Spanish history and British–Spanish relations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to his proper place in both Spanish and British cultural history. It is part of a larger project aimed at rigorously investigating early Hispanist institutional history at Oxford, including the establishment of the King Alfonso XIII professorship.

The paper is based on previously unseen Spanish and British archival material, including documents from the IVDJ in Madrid, the Duke of Alba’s Liria Palace, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, the Archivo de Indias, the Oxford University Archive and Special Collections at the Bodleian Library, as well as material from several Oxford colleges, interviews, and correspondence with de Osma Studentship holders from several generations, and testimonies shared at the celebration of the de Osma Centenary held in Oxford in early 2020 to mark the centenary of the establishment of the de Osma

Studentship, and which was a direct result of the research undertaken for this paper (“Centenary Celebration” 2020).

The paper is divided into three sections. The first provides a biographical profile of Guillermo de Osma—the first biography of Osma written in English and the most complete (although, admittedly, still partial) biography to date—and the personal circumstances that led to the de Osma Studentship. The second section identifies the main reasons why Osma decided to establish the studentship at Oxford and examines the process by which he and the University negotiated its establishment. The third section considers some of the concrete academic and cultural implications of the studentship and lists, for the first time, the names of all the de Osma Students from 1920 up to 1982, covering the first sixty-two years of its existence. (The studentship continues to exist, but post-1982 records have not been declassified.) The list of de Osma Students includes influential scholars such as George A. Kolkhorst, Peter Russell, Marie Agnes (Inez) Pearn, Ronald Hilton, Patrick Harvey, Alan Forey, Henry Kamen, Anthony Pagden, Jeremy Lawrance, Jeremy Robbins, Mariam Rosser-Owen, and Duncan Wheeler, among others.

Although Osma and the de Osma Studentship have been largely neglected in the literature until now, de Osma Students have described the de Osma Studentship as “a truly magical experience,” “very useful,” and “a great enabler” of their research and later careers, suggesting that Osma succeeded in his pioneering effort to create an enduring studentship that would support and promote Spanish Studies at Oxford. Osma and the de Osma Studentship therefore deserve overdue credit for their sustained contribution to British Hispanism.

1. Guillermo de Osma: A Life

The Royal Academy of History’s recently published *Diccionario biográfico electrónico* includes an entry on Guillermo J. de Osma y Scull (García-Ormaechea Romero 2018). Although not very detailed, the biography offers a useful sketch of Osma’s life. The entry, however, leaves out some important information on Osma, such as his senatorial status from 1919 until his death in 1922 (Senado n.d.), his receipt of the French Légion d’honneur, and, importantly for the subject of the paper, his college affiliation at Oxford and the establishment of the de Osma Studentship in 1920.

The two existing essays with relevant biographical details on Osma in Spanish focus on specific dimensions of his life: his art collection (Partearroyo Lacaba 2009) and his term as finance minister (González Hernández 2000). Although both papers shed light on important aspects of Osma’s life, they too leave out the establishment of the de Osma Studentship, as well as salient information on his time at Oxford.

The situation in English scholarship is markedly poorer. His name is recorded incorrectly in Charles Firth’s *Modern Languages at Oxford* (1929), an error that was later reproduced in the report “A History of Spanish at Oxford” (EACB 2005), which is available on the University of Oxford’s Modern Languages Faculty website. Thus, he appears in these sources as E. J. de Osma rather than G. J. de Osma. Firth also misunderstands the purpose of the de Osma Studentship, which is not “for the study of Spanish” as a modern language (Firth 1929, 109), but for Spanish Studies (i.e. research on Spain).

The present article does not aim to provide an exhaustive biography of Guillermo J. de Osma, but rather to introduce him to the English-speaking world while correcting certain inaccuracies, and to lay out the information required to make sense of the establishment of the de Osma Studentship at Oxford.

1.1. Transatlantic Origins

Guillermo Joaquín de Osma y Scull was born in Havana, Cuba, on January 24, 1853, into a family of military officers and diplomats with roots on both sides of the Atlantic. He enjoyed a comfortable early life with his parents, Emilia Rosa Scull y Andouin (1829–58) and Juan Ignacio de Osma Ramírez de Arellano (1821–?), and two younger siblings, Emilia (1855–1928) and Juan, who died soon after their twenty-eight-year-old mother (González Hernández 2000, 64).

His paternal grandfather, Gaspar Antonio de Osma y Tricio, was born in 1775 in Nalda, La Rioja, Spain, studied at Alcalá and served as judge (*oidor*) of the Real Audiencia of Lima in the Viceroyalty of Peru (Burkholder 2018), where he married María Josefa Rosa Ramírez de Arellano y Baquijano, a *riojana* born in Lima and niece of the intellectual José de Baquijano y Carrillo (Peralta Ruiz 2018), who was also a judge of the Real Audiencia, and from whom Osma's uncle, José Domingo, inherited the title of Count of Vista Florida.

The maternal side of Osma's family also hailed from both sides of the Atlantic. His grandfather, Joseph (later Hispanicized to José) Scull, was born in Philadelphia but travelled to Havana in 1798 (Archivo de Indias 1812), possibly to facilitate his family's trading ties with Cuba (see Salvucci 2003), where he settled, naturalized in 1812 and married Luisa Rosa Audouin y Dupré, a French migrant, in Pipian, Havana, in 1818 (see Padrón 1997, 20; Amaro Cano 2006; Vázquez Cienfuegos 2005; Agard-Lavallé and Lavallé 2013).¹ The family owned several sugar plantations in San Nicolás, about a day's journey from Havana, as well as in other parts of Western and Central Cuba ("Las fichas azucareras cubanas" n.d.; "Sugar Plantations in the Island of Cuba" n.d., 127–28, 133).

Osma came from a diverse cultural background, which had a significant impact on his later life and on the establishment of the de Osma Studentship. His father, independent Peru's first plenipotentiary minister to the United States in 1846, served as minister of Gobierno, Culto y Obras Públicas in 1857 (Gálvez Montero and García Vega 2016, 80) and later as deputy for the province of Lima in the Peruvian Parliament. Another of Osma's paternal uncles, José Joaquín, was appointed Peruvian foreign minister in 1852 and later plenipotentiary minister to the United Kingdom, where he negotiated debts to Britain incurred during the Peruvian War of Independence (Johnson 2017).

Through his French grandmother, young Osma was exposed to French culture in the family home at 60 Calle Águila, Havana, and completed his baccalaureat at the Sorbonne in Paris.² Paris was a natural place for Osma to move to because he already had family in France and Spain,³ and France's social elite had close ties with Spain,

¹See Valdés Fernández (2014, 196, fn. 5), where he writes that Osma's mother was English.

²His French maternal grandmother outlived both her daughters, Emilia and Cecilia.

³His maternal aunt, Cecilia, who had married his paternal uncle, Gaspar, a lieutenant colonel assigned to Havana (Cuerpo de Infantería 1863), as well as his paternal uncle Joaquín José, already lived in Spain.

especially after Queen Isabella II settled in Paris, where she was welcomed by Napoleon III and his Spanish wife, Empress Eugénie, in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of 1868 (Espadas Burgos 1990, 70). However, Osma would endure the Siege of Paris, lasting from September 1870 to January 1871, during the Franco–Prussian War. He kept a fragment of a bombshell that had landed on his house at Avenue du Roi de Rome (now Avenue Kléber) in Paris “[de] cuando el bombardeo 1870–71” and used it as a paperweight for the rest of his life (Osma n.d.), a sort of amulet.⁴

Osma’s decision to study for his bachelor’s degree at the University of Oxford was probably motivated by political instability in France, old family ties with Britain and the future King Alfonso XII’s enrolment in the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in 1872 (Seco Serrano 2018a). However, this choice would not have been possible had the law in England remained unchanged.

1.2. A Spaniard at Oxford

The Universities Tests Act of 1871 opened the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham to non-Anglicans, including Roman Catholics, for the first time since the Test Act of 1673 had come into force. Oxford had an even older restriction dating back to 1576. Even when the restriction was lifted, however, many English Catholic bishops discouraged Catholic youths from enrolling at Oxford and Cambridge “fearing the universities’ scepticism and Anglican influence” (Yielding 1982, 3). Osma must therefore have been one of very few Catholics attending Oxford at the time of his matriculation and among the first to be admitted after almost three centuries of religious restrictions.

English dissenters played a significant role in encouraging the revocation of the Test Acts, since they believed that “Oxford and Cambridge were national institutions which ought to be open to all Englishmen, irrespective of their religious opinions” (Twaddle 1966). The Test Acts affected not only British ethnic and religious groups (i.e. English Jews and Nonconformists), but also German Lutherans, French Jews, and Spanish Catholics, who were equally barred from studying at Oxford up to that point.⁵

The implementation of the Universities Tests Act had international and unintended consequences that have been overlooked in the official *History of the University of Oxford*. In fact, according to the *Alumni Oxonienses (1715–1886)*, a biographical reference work published in 1888, that lists the alumni of the University, Osma was one of only two students born on the island of Cuba studying at Oxford in over a century and a half, and the only student of Spanish descent from Cuba (Foster 1888). The entry in the volume reads: “Osma, Guillermo Joaquín de, IS. John Ignatius, of Havannah, Island of Cuba, arm. PEMBROKE COLL., matric., 1871, aged 18; B.A. 1874, M.A. 1879, attached to the Spanish Embassy in Paris” (Foster 1888). Further scrutiny of the *Alumni Oxonienses* reveals that he was the only Spaniard to matriculate at Oxford in 1871.

⁴Osma also kept a four-bullet projectile fired by Prussian troops during the Siege of Paris, which he also used as a paperweight. Inventory by Osma held at the Instituto (n.d.).

⁵The *Alumni Oxoniensis* records an increase in the frequency of international names from 1871 onwards (Foster 1888). For example, Gustave Schorstein, eldest son of Lazarus Schorstein, an Austrian Jew, of Neuilly, near Paris, was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in classics in 1885. He went on to study medicine at the London Hospital.

Osma must therefore have been an extremely rare sight at Oxford due to his faith, place of birth, and nationality.

In this context, it is not surprising that Osma's time at Oxford had a lasting effect on him. Osma kept the furniture, including the desk, from his student days at Oxford in his study at the family home in Madrid, which now houses the IVDJ. In fact, Osma's study has remained practically untouched since his death almost a century ago. There are still several photographs from his Oxford days hanging on the walls and on the mantelpiece, including a picture of his college rooms, a (matriculation) group photograph from Pembroke College, Oxford, and a picture of an ivy-covered Oxford quad. A banner bearing the coat of arms of Pembroke holds a prominent place in the study.

Osma made some lifelong friends at Oxford, including Sir Maurice de Bunsen and Evelyn Hubbard, who were both at Christ Church, which is located on St Aldate's in central Oxford just opposite Pembroke, meaning the three men were probably neighbours at some point. Bunsen served as diplomatic secretary in Madrid in the 1880s (Dugdale 1934), as British ambassador to Spain from 1906 to 1913, then in Vienna as British ambassador to the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the outbreak of the First World War (Franckenstein 2010). Hubbard served as a director of the Bank of England from 1890 to 1909, chairman of the Guardian Insurance Company, and Member of Parliament for the City of London from 1896 to 1900 (Cassis 1994, 90). His obituary in the *New York Times* described him as "an early leader in investment trusts and long distinguished in financial London" ("Hon. Evelyn Hubbard: British Financier and former MP succumbs at 82" 1934). Bunsen and Hubbard played an important role in the negotiation process to establish the de Osma Studentship. Indeed, according to the Oxford registrar, "the negotiations were carried on with the University on behalf of Osma by Sir Maurice de Bunsen and Mr. Evelyn Hubbard" (Veale 1948).

Until recently, it was unclear which subject Osma had read as an undergraduate at Oxford. Biographical entries in Spanish state that he studied arts or history of art, but this is simply a mistranslation into Spanish of *Magister Artium* or Master of Arts (MA)—an honorary academic title often conferred to Oxford graduates a few years after completion of their Bachelor of Arts (BA) or *grado*, as it is known in Spain.⁶ Meanwhile, one of the Oxford mementos found in Osma's study and labelled posthumously by one of his aides says he read economics, which is unlikely, as this subject did not exist as a distinct academic discipline at Oxford in the 1870s. In fact, Osma obtained a first-class degree in modern history or *historia moderna* (The Historical Register of the University of Oxford 1900, 314).

Interestingly, Bunsen and Hubbard, Osma's friends from Christ Church, also read modern history (The Historical Register of the University of Oxford 1900, 314–16). In Osma's time as a student at Oxford, the study of modern history began with 476 AD (The New Examination Statutes for the Degrees of B.A. and B.C.L 1874, 102–03)], which may help to explain why Osma later showed no interest in collecting Greek and Roman artworks, preferring instead to focus on post-Roman Spain. Modern history at Oxford consisted of English history, European history, international law, political economy, constitutional law, and occasionally a period of literature. It is likely that

⁶Several authors erroneously state that Osma earned a doctorate at Oxford. See for example Sánchez Vigil, Olivera Zaldúa, and Salvador Benítez (2015, 17).

Osma chose Molière's plays, which he could read in the original French. This broad curriculum influenced his career and the later creation of the de Osma Studentship.

1.3. The Career of a Diplomat and Politician

Osma joined the Spanish diplomatic service in 1877, serving in Paris, London, and Brussels, until he took leave in 1891 (Rull Sabater 1991, 168). He went into politics in the same year and was elected Member of Parliament for Monforte, Lugo, a seat he held until 1919. He served as the Spanish delegate to the International Monetary Conference in 1892 (Andrews 1893, 206).

His diplomatic file indicates that he served as secretary at the Madrid Conference in 1880, where the major European powers and the United States decided to preserve the territorial integrity of Morocco and to maintain equal trade opportunities for all (Ratliff 1991, 378–79). Osma received the “Cruz de primera clase de la orden del mérito naval por servicios prestados a la Marina” (AHN Osma y Scull 1878) at the Paris World's Fair in 1878, which celebrated the recovery of France after the 1870–71 Franco–Prussian War. The Spanish Pavilion, a lavish Mudéjar design by Spanish architect Agustín Ortiz de Villajos (Sánchez Gómez 2006), potentially anticipated and inspired Osma's own artistic and scholarly interests later in life. Osma's participation in the international art world may also have brought him in contact with his future father-in-law, who was involved in a special loan exhibition of Spanish ornamental art at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in 1881 (Partearroyo Lacaba 2018; Baillot 2019).

Although Osma spent most of his diplomatic career in Paris (1877–85), he served in London between 1885 and 1886, but soon decided to leave the diplomatic service out of frustration. In a candid letter, Cipriano del Mazo Gherardi, Spanish ambassador to Britain, wrote to the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Segismundo Moret, to inform him of Osma's decision.⁷ He added:

No puedo omitir la expresión del disgusto que me causa la separación del servicio activo de un empleado tan laborioso, tan instruido y tan inteligente, dispuesto siempre para obedecer y cumplir los trabajos de cancillería que exigen más delicada atención. La sustitución no es fácil si han de llenarse las condiciones que se requieren en la Legación de Londres. Comprendo por otra parte que al Señor Osma, con la ilustración real y efectiva que posee, no le pueda interesar la continuación en la actividad de una carrera que solo puede ofrecerle un porvenir lento y poco en proporción con sus medios intelectuales. (del Mazo 1886)

A few short years after his resignation, Osma was appointed on special mission under direct orders from Prime Minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (AHN Osma y Scull 1890). Historian María Jesús González suggests that Osma's family ties with Cánovas opened the doors for him to eventually enter politics in Spain (2000, 63). His paternal uncle, Joaquín José, had married Ana de Zavala y de la Puente, a member of a prominent royalist family and later marchioness de la Puente, in Lima. He was the co-founder and chairman of the Sociedad General de Crédito Mobiliario Español, the

⁷The Spanish representation in Britain was a legation, a diplomatic representative office of lower rank than an embassy, until 1886. Osma would have been based first at 12 Queen's Gate Place and then at 50 Onslow Place. For more information, see Miguel Ángel Ochoa Brun (2018, 287).

forerunner of the Banco Español de Crédito (Banesto, now part of Santander), from 1856 to 1864 (Hoyo Aparicio 2016, 343). Their daughter, Joaquina, who was approximately the same age as her cousin, married politician and historian Cánovas, who served six terms as Prime Minister of Spain (Seco Serrano 2018b).

Osma served as *subsecretario del Ministerio de Ultramar* between 1895 and 1897 and *subsecretario de Hacienda* under Cánovas from 1897 until 1899, when he officially resigned due to health problems (Archivo Central de Hacienda). Osma later served as finance minister under Prime Minister Antonio Maura in 1903–04 and again in 1907–08. His official parliamentary profile describes him as a member of the Conservative Party, or a *Maurista* (Congreso 2018).⁸

1.4. Married Life in Madrid

Osma married Adelaida (Adela) Crooke y de Guzmán on May 1, 1888. Born in Madrid on November 20, 1863, she was ten years his junior. Her mother, Adelaida (Adela) de Guzmán y Caballero, Countess de Valencia de Don Juan, had inherited the title from Adela's maternal grandfather, Carlos Luis de Guzmán y de la Cerda, Duke of Nájera and Count of Oñate. Her father, Juan Crooke y Navarrot, was born in 1829 in Málaga to a trading and banking family of Irish descent that was involved in setting up the Banco de Málaga; they had strong ties to the city's growing textile and steel industries (see García Montoro 2007). He served as a diplomat in London, Lisbon, and The Hague in the 1850s. Adela's parents married in Madrid in 1855 and had five children together, but four did not reach adulthood, so Adela was their only heir.

Apparently, Osma met Adela through her father, Juan Crooke, at his *tertulias domingueras*, or Sunday literary gatherings, at the family's apartments on 36 Carrera de San Jerónimo in Madrid. Osma must have made a good impression on Adela's family. He was a diplomat and came from a trading family, like her father, and he was related to several Spanish noble families, both in Spanish America and in the Iberian Peninsula. He spoke English, French, and Spanish, and was an Oxford graduate.

Renowned Spanish educationalists such as José Castillejo and Alberto Jiménez Fraud from the Institución Libre de Enseñanza were inspired by the "English ideal of masculinity" fostered by British tertiary education (i.e. the educational and personal development of an "ideal man"). From 1898 onwards they built residential institutions modelled on the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge to recreate the formative experiences of Oxbridge university students (Martínez del Campo 2012; 2016b). This means that Osma, an Oxford graduate in 1874, predated this trend by at least twenty years. The fact that he had studied at Oxford prior to Oxford and Cambridge-style education becoming popular in Spain must have made him a much-admired rarity in Madrid. After all, he was the first Spaniard to have enrolled at Oxford in modern times and most likely the only Spanish Oxonian in Madrid in the late eighteen hundreds.

⁸Osma's book collection in Madrid is a testament to his diverse work history and active public life. In his study at the Instituto, one can find the volumes *Foreign Relations of the United States 1895* (1896) and *Foreign Relations of the United States 1897* (1898); Gutiérrez de la Concha (1853); *A Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain* (1899); Wheaton (1863); de Pando (1843); Vandam (1892); Rae (1891); Mateo Sagasta (1915), who belonged to the opposing political party; Fernández Villaverde (1900), Osma's then chief and predecessor as finance minister; and Palgrave (1903).

Osma's wife, Adela, was a scholar and artist in her own right. A keen photographer and watercolourist (Partearroyo Lacaba 2009, 117),⁹ she kept and expanded her father's art collection, curated a large exhibition at the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in 1905 to great acclaim by the press (Nebreda 2016, 193) and recorded and catalogued part of her and her husband's own collection, which they then bequeathed to the IVDJ.

Adela probably inherited her passion for the arts from her father, who was an honorary member of the Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique and the Society of Antiquaries of London. He was gentleman of the bedchamber—*gentilhombre de cámara*—to two kings (Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII), served as director of the Royal Armoury, and wrote *Tapices de la Corona de España* (Crooke y Navarrot 1902) and the *Catálogo histórico-descriptivo de la Real Armería de Madrid* (Crooke y Navarrot 1903). He was elected fellow of Spain's Royal Academy of History and was involved in the Exposition Universelle of 1900 held in Paris, for which he was awarded France's Légion d'honneur (see Partearroyo Lacaba 2018). In turn, Osma himself served as *gentilhombre de cámara* to King Alfonso XIII and was elected to several royal academies of letters, fine arts and sciences.¹⁰

Adela inherited her mother's title in 1901, thus becoming the twenty-fourth Countess de Valencia de Don Juan, with Osma fulfilling his important role as consort, although he mostly avoided using the title. Adela's father died three years later, in 1904, bequeathing her a very valuable collection (Partearroyo Lacaba 2013).

1.5. Setting up the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan

As a newly married couple, Osma and Adela left her old family home on Carrera de San Jerónimo and moved to the up-and-coming, recently planned neighbourhood of Almagro, buying a plot of land at the corner of Calle del Cisne (now Eduardo Dato) and Calle Fortuny in Madrid. Later neighbours included the Conde de Bermejillo del Rey, who, in 1913, built himself a mansion (now the Office of the Ombudsman or *Defensor del Pueblo*) right opposite Adela and Osma's home at 43 Calle Fortuny. Their home was also situated close to the Residencia de Estudiantes, the Residencia de Señoritas del Centro de Ampliación de Estudios, and the Instituto Internacional de Madrid. Osma's cousin, Joaquín, lived nearby in *La huerta* (now the location of the US embassy in Madrid) with her husband, Cánovas.

⁹A newly published monograph by Sánchez Vigil (2019) on Adela Crooke and her passion for photography has revealed fresh details and important visual information about her and her husband. However, it perpetuates a number of old inaccuracies, while also introducing new ones. For instance, the book repeatedly mislabels photographs of Pembroke College, Oxford, as "Pembroke College, Wales." In addition, the author states incorrectly that Osma's parents "se encontraban de paso en la ciudad caribeña" (i.e. they were merely "passing through" Havana at the time of his birth), whereas his mother, at least, is documented as having resided in Havana for many years: she is buried in the Cementerio General de La Habana (Guía del cementerio de La Habana 1868, 198) and several official papers related to the inheritance she left behind refer to her as being "natural de La Habana." Despite these shortcomings, the book successfully illustrates Adela's erudition and artistic skill, which may help to explain why the de Osma Studentship was open to both men and women from the beginning.

¹⁰Osma was inducted to the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas in 1906, where he gave a speech on tariff protection, and to the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in 1909, where he spoke on "Consideraciones de la arquitectura" (not "Asociaciones en los monumentos históricos" as stated erroneously in his biographical entry in the online *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*). He was also a member of the Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo, and the Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba.

Spanish architect Enrique Fort Guyenet built the Palacete Osma, its design inspired by the *Giralda* in Seville, between 1889 and 1893 (da Rocha Aranda 2018). He added other distinctive elements of traditional Islamic architecture, such as pyramidal merlons and tiles by Daniel Zuloaga, uncle to painter Ignacio Zuloaga, but also a three-storey-high bow window, which is historically associated with English Renaissance manor houses. The Palacete Osma was thus a Spanish neo-Mudéjar mansion with a British touch.

In a neighbourhood that had not yet been fully developed, Adela and Osma's home must have been particularly distinctive. Their house did not conform to the taste of the aristocracy and high bourgeoisie in Madrid at the time, which typically shunned the cheap brick associated with middle- and working-class property developments in favour of French-inspired or historicist *palacetes* made of granite or marble and stucco.

Their choice of an eclectic architectural style reflected a sense of social legitimacy, intellectual pursuit, and individuality. Its medieval style traced Adela's family title back to the Infante Juan (Conde de Valencia), son of Alfonso X, in the late thirteenth century; it matched part of their art collection and also mirrored the trend of Gothic revival architecture in Britain, and Oxford in particular. The British touch was suggestive of Osma's education and work experience as a diplomat in London. The style of the mansion reflected the personality of its owners and is further proof that Adela and Osma felt comfortable with their wealth and *abolengo*, despite their evident unconventionality in Madrid. Indeed, an obituary in *La Época* newspaper referred to Osma as an "hombre sincero y modesto, un tanto original y extraño por su carácter" (Nebreda 2016, 96).

Osma and Adela had no children. In 1915, despite having become estranged, they set up a private foundation to keep their collection safe. They asked architect Vicente García Cabrera to build a neo-Mudéjar style pavilion to house the collection in the *palacete* gardens.

The IVDJ was formally established on March 15, 1916 by a notary in Madrid.¹¹ The Board of Trustees was made up of five very distinguished men: Prime Minister Antonio Maura (1853–1925), who was chairman of the Board; Miguel Asín Palacios (1871–1944), a Catholic priest and Arabist scholar (de la Cruz Herranz 2018); Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, Duke of Alba (1878–1953); Archer M. Huntington (1870–1955), founder of the Hispanic Society of America; and Sir Charles Hercules Read (1857–1929), keeper of British and medieval antiquities and ethnography at the British Museum and president of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Arabist scholar Julián Ribera (1858–1934) (López García 2018) and Antonio Vives Escudero (1859–1925) (Canto García 2018), professor of epigraphy and numismatics at the Universidad Central de Madrid, were named by Osma as alternates and future members of the the Board of Trustees. These prominent scholars, philanthropists, politicians, and diplomats of different nationalities were all history and art enthusiasts and personal friends of Osma, though they belonged to different generations—from Maura, the eldest, to the Duke of Alba, the youngest—thereby ensuring continuity in the IVDJ.¹²

¹¹The notary was Modesto Conde Caballero, C/Alcalá, 12, Madrid.

¹²To show her support for the Instituto and in memory of her friend Adela, former French Empress Eugénie gifted to Osma the *Códice de la Orden del Toisón de Oro*. Her letter reads: "Farnborough Hill (Inglaterra). Septiembre

The statutes of the IVDJ show the extent of Osma's trust and affection for his *alma mater* and his strong wish to link his and Adela's newly established foundation with Oxford. Indeed, Article seven states that the IVDJ will report its work annually to the Chancellor of the University of Oxford (Osma 1916a). The Instituto sent the Chancellor a detailed annual report and accounts from 1916 onwards, including information ranging from heating bills to purchases of books and artwork (Actas del Patronato 1935).

The most surprising item in the statutes of the IVDJ comes at the very end. The text of the final article states:

it is the will of the Founder that if the purposes of the Instituto should ever lapse through neglect into abeyance, or the terms of the Foundation be manifestly infringed, the Instituto de Valencia de don Juan shall in such case be considered as forming part of the University of Oxford. (Osma 1916c)

Therefore, the University of Oxford has the mandate to ensure that the statutes are followed and, in cases where statutory duty is breached, take ownership of the IVDJ's assets and transfer its collection to Oxford.

1.6. Art and Archival Material at the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan

According to Sotheby's, the IVDJ "is considered one of the most important Spanish museums dedicated to decorative arts" (Sotheby's n.d.). This paper is by no means intended to offer a detailed account of the collection held at the IVDJ—others have already undertaken this task for different aspects of the collection—nor to trace how the artwork, archival documents, and books reached the Instituto in the first place. However, because the de Osma Studentship is intimately connected with the IVDJ and none of the published literature on the collection has yet been translated into English, it seems relevant to highlight some of the more important materials held at the Instituto.

The initial collection was inherited from Adela's aristocratic maternal family and then added to by her father, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, through the purchase of art objects put up for auction by his wife's relatives. In 1884, Adela's parents bought twenty-one paintings from the late Countess of Oñate's estate, which included several portraits of prominent individuals from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Kings Philip III and Philip IV, and a copy of Velázquez's lost portrait of the writer Quevedo (Barrio Moya 1998).

Less than a decade later, and also from the Oñate collection, came El Greco's *Allegory of the Camaldolese Order*, to which portraits of Queen Joana of Castile and Philip the Handsome, possibly by painter Pantoja de la Cruz, were soon added. Francisco Sánchez Cantón, later director of the Prado Museum, published a complete record of the

1918. Mi querido Osma: La fundación de vuestro Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan me ha sido simpática y la apruebo, de tal modo que quiero ser un poco asociada a él. Esta es la razón por la cual te doy para la Biblioteca del Instituto el libro del Toisón de Oro, que ya conocéis. Así será guardado en España. El será igualmente durante vuestra vida un recuerdo del afecto que yo tenía a Adela (q.e.p.d.), fundadora contigo de vuestro Instituto; no estará en mejores manos; y es para mí de una gran satisfacción saber que está tan bien guardado. Recibid mis sentimientos afectuosos. Eugenia" (de Andrés 1995, 503). In 2019, Patrimonio Nacional bought the *Códice del Toisón de Oro* from the Instituto for half a million euros (Riaño 2019).

paintings held at the Instituto (1923); it includes a portrait of a lady attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola (an official court painter to King Philip II), *Jóvenes bailando* by Goya, a portrait of Aline Masson by Raimundo de Madrazo, a study by Mariano Fortuny, and works by Prime Minister Maura and Osma himself, particularly *Hunting Dogs* (or *Trailla*), which he painted while at Oxford.

There is also a set of drawings (Ocaña Martínez 1999, 2001) that includes a print by Goya titled *Las cifras de la mano*, a manual alphabet. The ink drawing is dated 1812 at Piedrahita Palace—a property of the Dukes of Alba—years after Goya had become deaf (Serra 1997; Gascón Ricao 2004). The collection of sculptures includes items ranging from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Barrio Moya 1998), as well as a bust of Osma by the famous sculptor Mariano Benlliure dating from 1918 (Fundación Benlliure 2016).

The Instituto also has a collection of ivories, which includes the so-called *cajita de Wallada* from Medina Azahara, Córdoba, and a significant collection of *azabaches compostelanos*—jet figure souvenirs made for sale to pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela—from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, which Osma himself carefully catalogued and published in 1916.

There is a large coin collection ranging from Greek and Roman (Ruiz Trapero, de Santiago Fernández, and María de Francisco Olmos 2007), Iberian (García-Bellido García de Diego and Blázquez 1987–1988), Visigoth (Mateu Llopis 1951), and Hispanic-Muslim and Hispanic eras (Ruiz Trapero, Fernández, and María de Francisco Olmos 2000), in addition to a small glass collection with pieces from the Real Fábrica de Cristales de La Granja.

The Instituto holds a collection of weapons and ammunition (Florit and Sánchez Cantón 1927) ranging from swords and armour to crossbows, horse regalia (Martín Ansón 2004) and headpieces, including a helmet from the fifteenth century that belonged to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II, conqueror of Constantinople (Barrio Moya 1998). There is also a collection of silver jewellery, which ranges from the Bronze Age to the Caliphate (Forteza del Rey Oteiza and García 1998), including the *tesorillo de la Garrucha*, to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Pérez Grande 2015), with some items hailing from the Viceroyalty of New Spain (see Montalvo Martín 2003, 2009, 2015, 2016), up to the early twentieth century.

The Instituto also holds a highly valuable collection of textiles from the Caliphate, Almohad, Almoravid, and Nasrid periods (Partearroyo Lacaba 1986); carved velvets and damasks; medieval rugs (Partearroyo Lacaba 1982, 2003); Flemish tapestries; a rich collection of lace and embroidery (González Mena 1974, 1976); Iberian votive offerings (Blázquez Martínez 1958; Moreno Conde 2017); Roman and Muslim chapiters and steles; Visigoth metal objects; and *artesanado* roofing.

The Instituto's collection of Spanish ceramics is outstanding, stretching from the Muslim period to the eighteenth century (Martínez Caviro 1978). Osma dedicated a significant amount of time and energy to this particular collection and published extensively on it (Osma 1902, 1906a, 1906b, 1908/1911, 1909). Indeed, a caricature of Osma by the artist José María Florit (1904) shows him surrounded by piles of ceramic plates and vases in front of his neo-Mudéjar style house under a large banner that states “La cerámica española,” while he reads *The Times* newspaper. Osma's suit pockets

overflow with scrolls and papers—the image of a scholar—while his dog, Cherry, no less a scholar, sits on a half-written parchment with an inkwell and a pen next to him, as well as several books, including a *Diccionario anglo-canino* and *Impuestos por GJDO* [Osma's initials]. On the floor, a sign reads *cave canem*, Latin for “beware of the dog,” and on the column to the right a wall etching reads “On parle français” and below that, “[English] spoken.” Above them, a ceramic plate reads “Viva mi dueño” (Long live my owner), a friendly reference, no doubt, to Osma. The cartoon drives home the point that Osma is a polyglot (there are references to four languages in the scene: Latin, Spanish, French, and English). The cartoon encapsulates what matters most to him: his house, his dog, his political career, his research, his international vocation, and his art collection.

The Instituto also has a remarkable archive and book collection. There is very limited information on them available in English, except for a short article published in 1966 by the American scholar De Lamar Jensen, who highly praised the Instituto. “Out of the hundreds of European libraries and archival depositories containing manuscripts and other documents of value to historians of early modern Europe,” he wrote, “none is more interesting to work in than the tiny library of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid” (Jensen 1966, 81). It is important to note that Jensen made this enthusiastic observation before the archival material had been fully catalogued, let alone digitized.

The archival material at the Instituto is arranged in five main collections: Conde-Duque de Olivares, manuscripts, medieval documents, Casa de Velada, and Osma. The Conde-Duque de Olivares collection takes its name from the Count-Duke of Olivares, who originally created the collection by taking advantage of a series of royal *cédulas*, which allowed him to acquire many political documents, including the papers of Mateo Vázquez, who served as Philip II's secretary for almost twenty years. After changing hands several times, the Conde-Duque's collection was finally inherited by the House of Altamira, which owned the collection for over two hundred years until the Duke of Sessa sold it off to remedy his liquidity problems (de Andrés 1986, 587). The archive of the House of Altamira is at present divided between the British Museum, the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire in Geneva, the Biblioteca Zubárburu in Madrid and the IVDJ—Adela Crooke's father bought one of the four lots for his personal collection. Osma's aim was to keep the archival material held by his wife's family intact and in Spain.

The Conde-Duque de Olivares collection now held at the Instituto ranges in chronology from the Catholic Monarchs to Charles II and is stored in approximately 202 boxes or *envíos*, to use the terminology coined by Osma (1915) and still used at the Instituto. It includes materials related to the Spanish embassy in Rome; the Council of Trent; the Councils of Castile, Aragon and the Indies; the Royal Treasury; Juan of Austria; the Viceroyalties of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Milan; Flanders; El Escorial; military orders; ecclesiastical affairs; Portugal; Oceania; genealogy; Germany; France; England; poetry; and epidemics, to name a few. On Osma's commission, Antonio Paz, deputy director of the Biblioteca Nacional and archivist at the Casa de Alba, catalogued the collection (Paz y Meliá 1912–15). Osma was working on a biography of Mateo Vázquez when he died.

The manuscript collection contains 248 manuscripts in book format. To quote Jensen again, “for the interested historians [...] the Instituto’s rare manuscript collection is its most valuable possession” (Jensen 1966, 81). In fact, an incunabulum of a papal bull was recently discovered at the Instituto (de los Reyes Gómez, Sánchez-Molero, and Prieto 2017). The collection of medieval documents dates from the ninth to the late fifteenth century; it includes material by Kings Alfonso X and Ferdinand III, royal donation letters and *privilegios rodados*. The Instituto’s former librarian, Gregorio de Andrés, who served as head cataloguer of the Greek collection at El Escorial for years, catalogued both collections (de Andrés 1983, 1993; Martínez Caviro 2018), though he unintentionally left out some medieval documents from the catalogue, such as a letter from Ferdinand the Catholic to the King of Naples, or a deciphered letter from Ambassador Garcilaso de la Vega, father of the poet of the same name, to Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, *el gran capitán*, reporting that he had secured several fortresses in Southern Italy.

The Instituto’s Board of Trustees acquired the Casa de Velada collection in the mid-twentieth century; it is catalogued in two volumes (López Pita 2002; López and del Ser Quijano 2003). This collection includes the *Book of Hours* of Doña Mencía (Hidalgo Ogáyar 2002), a patroness of the arts in her own right and a student of Juan Luis Vives (López-Ríos Moreno 2018), who was appointed tutor to Mary Tudor and lectured at Oxford in the sixteenth century.

Finally, the digitized Osma collection contains the Instituto’s correspondence with the British Museum and the Hispanic Society of America, as well as some of Osma’s personal letters from his wife and friends. Additional material under the Osma collection, such as his private correspondence with Archer M. Huntington, founder of the Hispanic Society of America (Santos Quer 2015), and Hercules Read, keeper at the British Museum (Santos Quer 2012), has not yet been fully catalogued. The Osma collection offers a glimpse of the world of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century intellectuals and art collectors, their tastes and motivations, and their international social networks.

Additionally, the Instituto owns a large photography collection (Lázaro Martínez 2002; 2003; Santos Quer 2004/2009). It includes daguerrotypes (the first practicable method of obtaining permanent images with a camera); photo negatives taken by Adela Crooke (Sánchez Vigil and Olivera Zaldúa 2014) and many photo albums from her travels, which were recently exhibited at the Ateneo de Madrid; urban landscapes; around one thousand slides of art objects; and a collection of photographs by Jean Laurent, *fotógrafo de S. M. la Reina*, and his successors, Joseph Lacoste and Juan Roig, and by Fratelli Alinari, the world’s oldest photographic firm (Sánchez Vigil, Olivera Zaldúa, and Benítez 2016, 17). The photography collection offers unique insights on the lives of Osma and Adela, and the people and spaces around them; it serves as a visual historical record and a study reference for scholars and artists alike.

It is relevant to mention that the Instituto holds seventeen daguerrotypes of members of Osma’s family, including several portraits of him as a child (Sánchez Vigil, Olivera Zaldúa and Benítez 2016, 40, 44, 56) produced by Mathew Brady, best known for his photographs of the American Civil War, which makes the IVDJ the largest collection of Brady’s works in Europe (Olivera Zaldúa, Vigil, and Benítez 2018, 1). There is a family

album, which Osma clearly collated and labelled himself, and a photo album titled “Pem[broke] Coll.[ege], Oxon. 1871–1874” with high-quality pictures of Osma’s rooms, which were later turned into the Middle Common Room (MCR), and photos of Pembroke College and the river Isis.¹³ Osma’s Pembroke photo album offers insights into student life and the history of Oxford in this period, a unique find in a research centre in Madrid.

The library at the Instituto has a collection of old books dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Villacé Farto 2007) on a range of subjects from Church history and heraldry to theatre and poetry. There are many reference books on Spanish history and art, and Osma’s own collection of books published in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in English, French, and Spanish, is also of interest.

It is important to place Osma and his wife in the context of other Spanish art collectors in Madrid at the time, such as Enrique de Aguilera y Gamboa, who in 1922 left a significant part of his estate to the Spanish State, in particular his *palacete* in Madrid, which was turned into the Cerralbo Museum in 1944; José Lázaro Galdiano, who also bequeathed his estate to the Spanish State in 1947 and whose home later became the Museo Lázaro Galdiano; and the Marquis de la Vega-Inclán, founder of the Casa-Museo del Greco in Toledo (1911) and the Casa de Cervantes (1915) in Valladolid, but whose art collection was donated to the Museo Romántico in Madrid upon his death in 1942.

In contrast to these other collectors, Osma, who had held senior government positions, and his wife, left their estate to a private trust comprising their international scholarly friends, and ultimately to the University of Oxford, rather than to the Spanish State (“An Archival Apprenticeship Experience” 2020). His first-hand knowledge of some of the limitations of Spanish political life at the time may have played a role in this decision. Clearly, Osma wished to keep the State out and scholars—national as well as international—in. The IVDJ was not to be transformed into a public museum but should rather continue as an independent research centre, one permanently linked to Oxford.

2. The de Osma Studentship: Origins and Establishment

An unassuming framed document hangs on the wall in the IVDJ: the official approval for the establishment of the de Osma Studentship by the University of Oxford’s main legislative body.¹⁴ Despite its importance, the document has not been published previously. It reads as follows:

University of Oxford

Decree passed by the Convocation of the University on Saturday, July 10, 1920:

¹³There is a photo of Osma with his Pembroke rowing team and another with all the members of the 1873 Common Room, which the Pembroke archive itself does not seem to have a copy of, posing in front of the Chapel Quad between the Fellows Staircase and Broadgates Hall. This insight comes from Amanda Ingram, whom I would like to thank for her help.

¹⁴A copy of the text is held in the Bodleian Archive. UR 6/OD/1 Osma Studentship. 1918–50 file 1.

Whereas Guillermo Joaquín de Osma, M. A., late of Pembroke College, founder of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan at Madrid, has offered to the University of Oxford a sum of £2,110 1s. 4 d. Four per cent. Funding Loan 1960–90 for the foundation of a Studentship to be held by a member of the said University studying in Madrid in connection with the said Instituto, the University gratefully accepts his offer and decrees as follows

1. The income of the fund presented to the University by Señor Don Guillermo de Osma, after discharging the necessary expenses of administration, shall be paid to a member of the University desirous of studying in Madrid in connection with the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, who shall be called the de Osma Student.
2. The de Osma Student shall be appointed by the Vice-Chancellor in Michaelmas Term, and shall hold the Studentship till the thirty-first day of October in the following year. The same person may be appointed Student for a second and third year.
3. The Student shall undertake to study in connection with the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in any subject for which facilities are provided there, for the space of not less than six weeks. The income of the fund shall be paid to the Student at such dates and in such manner that the Vice-Chancellor may from time to time determine.
4. The first appointment to the Studentship shall be made in Michaelmas Term, 1920.

University Registry, Registrar of the University

Oxford,

July 14, 1920

The de Osma Studentship was thus formally established in July 1920. Osma's wife, Adela, had passed away two years earlier (on January 17, 1918) in Paris. Though her passing might have pushed Osma to take further action and negotiate the establishment of the de Osma Studentship at Oxford, Adela's death certainly did not trigger the idea to set it up. In his *Memoria 1916*, which gives an account of the IVDJ's major goals and achievements of the previous year, Osma writes:

En la relación más estrecha—que es natural que me acompañe en mis deseos—con estudio ó interés hispánico que tenga raíces y dé fruto en la Universidad de Oxford, pienso que podrá ser útil un encargo que años ha encomendé por testamento á Bunsen, y que acaso se traduzca en su día, según él acuerde con las autoridades competentes de la Universidad, en viajes ó estancias que se realicen, ó en trabajos históricos que allá se premien, cada dos ó tres años (ó cuando fuere ello), en relación con el IVDJ. No habré dispuesto más en tal orden de ideas, porque buenamente no pude. (Osma 1916a, 41)

Osma had therefore already entrusted his old friend, Maurice de Bunsen, with the task of setting up an endowment at Oxford long before he even founded the IVDJ. Though his *testamento* or will has not yet been located, it is safe to assume that Osma would have assigned Bunsen the responsibility of negotiating the studentship with Oxford sometime between 1906 and 1913, when Bunsen served as British ambassador in Madrid.

The task now is to identify Osma's prime motivation for establishing the studentship. Again, his report of activities in 1916 provides us with highly significant insights into

his thinking. Indeed, the passage where he discusses his motivations is so revealing that it is worth transcribing in full (Osma 1916a, 39–40):

Lo anterior me trae á la mente—es un decir, porque nunca me olvido de ello—, lo que pudiéramos llamar el carácter ó el alcance internacional del Instituto. Y bien comprendo que para muchos, y por no ser cosa corriente o camino trillado, puede ofrecer dudas, que son naturales; ó suscitar críticas, que nada importan. Desde luego comprendo que la actuación del Instituto con alcance ó carácter útil, puede ser más activa en unos que en otros tiempos: pues en la realidad no dependerá tanto de los Patronos como de las ocasiones que se les presenten; pero espero, porque deseo, que siempre se esté dispuesto á aprovechar toda oportunidad.

Siendo la Fundación española, el interés internacional a que mire ha de ser siempre, en primer término, interés español. Es decir, que computo en primer término el interés de que demos siempre á conocer lo que fuimos y cómo era la sociedad española de aquellos tiempos, tal como ella se da á conocer en sus documentos y monumentos coetáneos. Creo, y aun pudiera decirse que sé, que ganan aquellos tiempos—ganando nosotros, que en ellos nos hemos heredado—con ser conocidos, y á medida que mejor se conozcan. Y porque he visto desarrollarse en mi tiempo afán y deseo, en el extranjero, de conocerlos, en corrientes de interés que puedan trascender á reposición de autos y revisión de juicios sobre las leyendas que forjaron en su día prejuicios y pasiones naturales, que han quedado luego como cimientos de ignorancia popular, es por lo que creo que tenemos interés nosotros en servir aquellos afanes y aquel interés: que en años recientes reviste expresiones de razonada simpatía. Sírvala—es todo el fondo de mi pensamiento—el Instituto: con la eficacia real que consiste en no desperdiciar ocasión que se ofrezca, ni cosa por pequeña que sea; y siempre sin especial anuncio ni alarde.

Por esta razón también, y aparte de que son muchos más los extranjeros que los españoles que se interesan de verdad por la historia de nuestras artes é industrias de antaño, contiéndose en la Fundación el precepto de carácter general que á ello mira. Y siendo imposible concretar la actuación que dependa de oportunidad, sólo se me ocurre que aparte y con ocasión de la misión oficial, por decirlo así, de amparar y en su caso de promover el estudio que se lleve á cabo sobre la base de las Colecciones y del Archivo del Instituto, se darán ocasiones—incidentalmente y como al paso—de contribuir á que en el extranjero nos conozcan mejor, en lo que merezcamos ser conocidos. Caso se ha dado, reciente ahora, en que algo hemos podido hacer en tal sentido, como debíamos, y en oportunidad que por sí sola nos buscó; y ocasiones muchas al andar de tiempo habrá, con tal de que ni se ambicionen ni se desaprovechen.

The IVDJ and the de Osma Studentship at Oxford were created partly with the aim to challenge and dispel many preconceived myths and legends about Spain, some of which had been explored by Julián Juderías, another Spanish polyglot, in his *La leyenda negra* (1917). This aspiration was built on the premise that Spain possessed a fascinating past that was worth researching and that foreign scholars were often more interested in learning Spanish history than Spaniards themselves. Therefore, Osma planned to stimulate and maintain that interest by facilitating foreign research on Spain. He believed this was in Spain's national interest.

Osma was not alone in thinking that the history of Spain was a worthwhile subject of study. In 1910, the Count of Romanones, then Minister Education, signed a decree establishing the Centro de Estudios Históricos (CEH) “con el fin de promover las investigaciones científicas de nuestra historia patria en todas las esferas de la cultura” and as

part of the *Junta de Ampliación de Estudios* established three years earlier. Osma cultivated an intellectual bond with several reputed scholars at the CEH. Many attended his *tertulias domingueras* and were later appointed to a wide range of positions in the IVDJ, including Miguel Asín Palacios and Julián Ribera, heads of the “Fuentes para la historia de la filosofía árabe española” and “Instituciones sociales de la España musulmana” sections of the CEH, respectively, and trustees of the IVDJ; Manuel Gómez-Moreno Martínez, head of the “Arqueología y arte medieval español” section of the CEH and director of the IVDJ between 1925 and 1950; and Pedro Longás, collaborator in the “Instituciones sociales y políticas de León y Castilla” section and later librarian at the IVDJ until 1968 (Morales Moya 2013). For decades, therefore, the IVDJ served as a home and research hub for several scholars of the CEH, especially after the CEH was disbanded in 1939. Unlike the CEH, the IVDJ promoted research on Spain by scholars coming from abroad, and through the de Osma Studentship it encouraged and supported Oxford-based research on Spain.

Osma’s international yet profoundly Spanish family background, his Oxford education, his experience as a Spanish diplomat, his commitment to public service and his passion for collecting and sharing Spanish art and history with scholars inside and outside Spain can explain why he decided to set up the IVDJ and the de Osma Studentship in the first place. The international dimension of his very Spanish enterprise was always at the back of his mind.

He realized that this was not a well-trodden path in Spain. He felt he might be criticized—perhaps he had been criticized for his international vocation before—but he was sufficiently committed to the cause of furthering knowledge about Spain to withstand such criticism. In any case, Osma was quite probably the only Spaniard of his time with the vocation and background suitable to establish closer links between Spain and Oxford and create a Spanish studentship at Oxford.

To that end, Osma encouraged his two old friends from Oxford to negotiate the studentship on his behalf. Bunsen and Hubbard made a strong working pair. While Bunsen played the diplomat and focused more on the politics of negotiating the studentship, Hubbard took care of the financial and legal details. Each played to his strengths. More importantly, Bunsen and Hubbard were committed to the task because of their friendship with Osma. In a letter to Bunsen on the subject of the negotiation with the University, Osma wrote that “it is rather nice that we should all three be together in it: more than *quarante ans après* [forty years later],” referring to both their old bond and their joint venture to set up the de Osma Studentship (Osma 1920, 11).

Though an in-depth study of the institutional history of Spanish Studies in the UK has not been written yet, we can glimpse the academic context in which the de Osma Studentship was established from a few recent publications. They include Ann Frost’s report, “The Emergence and Growth of Hispanic Studies in British and Irish Universities,” commissioned by the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland (2019); an inaugural lecture (Garner 2007)¹⁵; passages in monographs on related

¹⁵ I thank the current holder of the Cowdray Chair, Professor Duncan Wheeler, for allowing me to read the lecture.

subjects (Martínez del Campo 2016a), and John Macklin's article "In the Memory of Trading Subjects: The Origins of Hispanism in the United Kingdom" (2015).

The Gilmour Chair of Spanish at the University of Liverpool (endowed in 1908), the Cervantes Chair of Spanish Language and Literature at King's College, London (1916), and the Cowdray Chair of Spanish at the University of Leeds (bequeathed in 1916 but not established until 1954) all focused initially on teaching the language for commercial interests, and consequently took a business-oriented approach to the subject of Spanish Studies (Frost 2019, 21). Indeed, as Macklin suggests, Spanish was "promoted in provincial universities by local, wealthy businessmen [... with] commercial interests in Spain though, more often, in Latin America" (Macklin 2015, 116). Osma had very different motivations and aims in mind for his Studentship, which he resolved to create several years before the London and Leeds chairs were bequeathed.

In a letter dated May 1920, Bunsen told Osma:

It is a most striking, and I would think unique example of devotion to alma mater on the part of a non-Englishman, combined with the provision of very effective means of really permitting/promoting in a practical way the study of Spanish art and history. (This is badly expressed, but you will understand what we feel). (Bunsen 1920c)

The de Osma Studentship focused on history and art for the advancement of scholarship, rather than proficiency in Spanish for commercial use.

Earlier that year, Bunsen had written to update Osma on the studentship and mentioned, "There is much appreciation (*no faltaba más*) of your scholarship everywhere. I mentioned it the other day at a meeting of the Spanish Chair (Cervantes) Committee at King's College (London), Merry del Val in Chair, and again at a lecture in the Anglo-Spanish Society rooms—and there was much applause!" (Bunsen 1920b). Such a positive reaction, though perhaps somewhat exaggerated, likely stemmed from an interest in academic diversification, which strengthened the link between Britain and Spain and contributed to the sense that Spain had finally set an institutional foot in a historic university in England. After all, the de Osma Studentship constituted the first endowment funded by a Spaniard in modern times at the oldest English-speaking university in the world and was, therefore, a matter of national pride for Spain, especially for connoisseurs and enthusiasts such as Spanish Ambassador Merry del Val and members of the Anglo-Spanish Society.

In a letter dated February 29, 1920, Bunsen wrote:

The Vice-Chancellor [...] is personally taking an interest [in the Studentship], as indeed he may, for you have founded a most valuable Institution, which I am convinced will go a very long way towards establishing and keeping up an intellectual bond between the two countries. Indeed I think it will do more than the Professorships and the Anglo-Spanish Societies, which have sprung up since the beginning of the war. I hope and believe it will lead to much good work being done. (Bunsen 1920a)

Bunsen's views were informed by his friendship with Osma and his own involvement in the establishment of the Studentship at Oxford, but they were expressed by an experienced diplomat who "knew their country [Spain] probably as well as they [the Spanish] did," as an obituary put it ("Obituary" 1932, 365). In addition, he had been

trusted with a trade mission to South America during the First World War, after which he sat on the founding committee of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House). In reference to the de Osma Studentship and the IVDJ, Bunsen frequently quoted a line by Horace to Osma: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* [I have erected a monument more lasting than bronze].

In July 1920, the de Osma Studentship was established under the direct care and supervision of Vice-Chancellor of the University Louis Richard (Lewis) Farnell. In fact, a letter from the registrar, Douglas Veale, to Evelyn Shuckburgh at the Foreign Office in 1936 reveals the extent to which the Vice-Chancellor had been involved in the negotiation process: “I am unable to find out exactly what his plan was because he [Bunsen] discussed it in detail only with the Vice-Chancellor of that time who is now dead” (Veale 1936, 11).

Farnell and Osma were approximately the same age—just three years apart—so they might have attended Oxford as undergraduate students at around the same time. Farnell and Bunsen were just two years apart. Vice-Chancellor Farnell went on to play an important role in the establishment of the King Alfonso XIII Chair of Spanish Studies at Oxford in 1927 (Modern Languages Faculty), perhaps motivated by his involvement with the de Osma Studentship.¹⁶ Thus, the de Osma Studentship may have set a precedent for the endowment of Spanish Studies at Oxford.

3. The de Osma Studentship: Advancing Scholarship in Spanish Studies

The first appointment to the de Osma Studentship was made in Michaelmas term, 1920. It proved to be a powerful and formative experience for George Alfred Kolkhorst (1897–1958), the first de Osma Student. Kolkhorst had lived in Chile until the age of fourteen and then taken up Spanish at Oxford, but it was while studying at the IVDJ in Madrid that he perfected his spoken Spanish. According to Professor Sir Peter Russell’s obituary of Kolkhorst:

the Spanish he had learnt in South America was dropped and replaced by the patrician Castilian which used to impress both Spanish visitors to Oxford, and his own pupils. It was modelled on the speech of the late Duke of Alba, who befriended him when he was studying at the IVDJ, and whose blending of scholarship with *grandeza* he much admired. (Russell 1959, 51–52)

Immediately after his return from Madrid, Kolkhorst was appointed Taylorian lecturer in Spanish to assist Professor Fernando de Arteaga at Oxford. The de Osma Studentship would therefore have obvious benefits for Kolkhorst as well as for later recipients, including Russell himself, as will be discussed later.

Indeed, David Hook, a doctoral student of Russell’s at Oxford, later chair in Medieval Spanish Studies at King’s College, London, and, successively, chair of Hispanic Studies at Bristol until 2010, described his appointment as de Osma Student 1973–74 as “la honra más señalada que jamás se me otorgó” (Hook 1973a). In a letter written after his return to Oxford from Madrid and addressed to Julián Paz Espeso, Secretary-General of

¹⁶Material consulted for an upcoming article on the establishment of the King Alfonso XIII Chair of Spanish Studies at Oxford, which has not been properly researched either. Vice-Chancellor Farnell was also Rector of Exeter College.

the IVDJ, Hook expressed “mi estimación y gratitud perpetuas” and promised Paz he would send “un ejemplar de cada obra mía que de aquí en adelante se publique, para mantener vivo el deudo espiritual que une dicho Instituto con esta Universidad” (Hook 1973b).

In his answers to a questionnaire circulated by the author to former Studentship holders, Hook indicated that “naturally one knew various people later in one’s career who, it transpired, had also held the Studentship, but this would emerge as an incidental fact in conversations on other matters. No list of former holders was ever circulated, for example.” No such list exists either at Oxford or the IVDJ. It has been collated by the author and is published here for the first time.

De Osma Studentship Holders, 1920–82

1920–21: George Alfred Kolkhorst, Exeter	1938–39: Vacant
1921–22: William Augustus Henry King, Balliol	1939–40: Vacant
1922–23: Joseph Watkins Rees, Exeter	1940–41: Vacant
1923–24: Daniel William Lascelles, Balliol	1941–42: Vacant
1924–25: John Bayard Morris, Queen’s	1942–43: Vacant
1925–26: Campbell Hackforth-Jones, Wadham	1943–44: Vacant
1926–27: Stewart Carlton Mason, Worcester	1944–45: Vacant
1927–28: Edwin Harry Hocker, Queen’s	1945–46: Vacant
1928–29: Edwin L. G. Powys, St Edmund Hall	1946–47: Vacant
1929–30: Robert Edward Storrar, Queen’s	1947–48: Robert A. Stobbs, New
1930–31: Ronald Hilton, Christ Church	1948–49: Vacant
1931–32: Henry D. V. Pakenham, St John’s	1949–50: Vacant
1932–33: Stanley O. Speakman, St Catherine’s	1950–51: Cecil William Baker, Magdalen
1933–34: Victor James Biggs, Christ Church	1951–52: David Vittal Grossman, New
1934–35: Peter E. L. Russell, Queen’s	1952–53: Alistair M. Hennessy, Hertford
1935–36 Marie Agnes (Inez) Pearn, Somerville	1953–54: Leonard Patrick Harvey, Magdalen
1936–37: Vacant	1954–55: Anthony Luttrell, Oriel
1937–38: Vacant	1955–56: Gerald Logan Taylor, Trinity
1956–57: Alan John Forey, Wadham	1969–70: B. Dexter Hoyos, Worcester
1957–58: Alan John Forey, Wadham	1970–71: Nigel Howard Griffin, Keble
1958–59: Gerald Griffiths Brown, Magdalen	1971–72: Anthony R. D. Pagden, Oriel
1959–60: Nicholas Round, Pembroke	1972–73: David Hook, St Catherine’s
1960–61: Gerald Griffiths Brown, Magdalen	1973–74: Vacant
1961–62: Peter Rycraft, Merton	1974–75: John Wasserstein, Wolfson
1962–63: Henry A. Kamen, University	1975–76: Jeremy N. H. Lawrance, Wolfson
1963–64: John David Rutherford, Wadham	1976–77: Colin Alan Youlden, Merton
1964–65: David Pattison, Exeter	1977–78: Colin Alan Youlden, Merton
1965–66: David Pattison, Exeter	1978–79: Aviva Aviv, St Antony’s
1966–67: Anthony Lambert, St John’s	1979–80: Colin Marshall Wight, Queen’s
1967–68: Richard A. Fletcher, Worcester	1980–81: Julian Michael Weiss, Magdalen
1968–69: John Anthony Crosbie, Queen’s	1981–82: Charles Davis, Christ Church

De Osma Studentship Holders, 1982–present¹⁷

1982–90: Unavailable	2004–06: Unavailable
1990–91: Jeremy Robbins, St Anne's	2006–07: Kathleen Mountjoy, New
1991–92: Jules R. Whicker, Christ Church	2007–08: Alessandra Sulzer, Corpus Christi
1992–93: Andrew Hegarty, Merton	2008–09: Duncan Wheeler, Wadham
1993–94: Bruce Taylor, Exeter	2009–10: Xenia Elsaesser, St Anne's
1994–95: Kristin Kennedy, Queen's	2010–12: Unavailable
1995–96: Alistair Malcolm, Magdalen	2012–13: Javier Martínez Jiménez, Lincoln
1996–97: Unavailable	2013–15: Unavailable
1997–98: Kristin Kennedy, Queen's	2015–16: Marina Pérez de Arcos, St Cross
1998–99: Luís Gomes, Keble	2016–17: Ernesto Oyarbide, Wolfson
1999–00: Mariam Rosser-Owen, Wolfson	2017–18: Annabel Rowntree, Lady Margaret Hall
2000–01: Mariam Rosser-Owen, Wolfson	2018–19: Rebecca de Souza, Hertford
2001–02: Unavailable	2019–20: Anna Espinola Lynn, Somerville
2002–03: Miriam Alí de Unzaga, St Antony's	
2003–04: Miriam Alí de Unzaga, St Antony's	

The list of de Osma Students from 1920 to 1982 includes some of the most reputed Oxford-trained Hispanists of the twentieth century: Henry Kamen, John Rutherford, Anthony Pagden, Jeremy Lawrance, and Julian Weiss, among others. A more detailed look at the list also reveals that most recipients came from the older Oxford colleges or halls. One has to scroll down to the mid-1970s section of the list to find de Osma Students studying at newer Oxford colleges (such as Wolfson College, founded in 1965) and to 1978–79 to find a student from St Antony's College, despite the fact that the college was established in 1950 and had a buoyant community of Hispanist scholars, including Professor Sir Raymond Carr, who served as warden of St Antony's from 1968 to 1987.

There were four recipients who returned twice to Madrid as de Osma Students in this period: Alan Forey, David Pattison, Gerald Griffiths Brown, and Colin Alan Youlden. Forey won the Studentship in 1956–57 and again in 1957–58; he is reader emeritus in history at the University of Durham, and has written several books on military orders in the Middle Ages, including *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (1973) and *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (2001). In his speech at the de Osma Centenary held on February 7, 2020 at Oxford, Forey admitted that the idea of studying the Templars for his doctorate was suggested to him by Anthony Luttrell, a previous de Osma Studentship holder who had been working on the Hospitallers in fourteenth-century Aragon (“Osma Students From the Past” 2020).

The de Osma Studentship allowed Forey to travel to Spain for the first time, and again a year later; it covered his living expenses and paid for his research travel costs in Spain. “I was very anxious and keen on getting the de Osma Studentship; it meant that I could make ends meet,” he recalled. “The de Osma Studentship was valuable to me in the first place to pursue the research I wanted to be engaged upon; it provided the money that I

¹⁷This is only a partial and unofficial list of post-1982 Studentship recipients compiled by the author. Files pertaining to post-1982 de Osma Students have not yet been declassified by the registrar of the University and are therefore inaccessible.

needed (165 pounds—a significant sum for a student). Of course, it provided much more” (“Osma Students from the Past” 2020). At the Instituto, Forey read a great deal of relevant material and some periodicals he had been unable to obtain in the Bodleian. He found the Archivo Histórico Nacional an inhospitable place to work, which “really contrasted with the situation in the Institute, where I went part of every day to read.”

He noted that “apart from providing pleasant surroundings for reading, they [the Institute] were also very welcoming.” He found the librarian, Pedro Longás, a Zaragoza-born historian and priest who had earlier been in charge of the manuscript section of the Biblioteca Nacional, “very helpful indeed.” Longás “was able to offer advice about reading. He would come up with a book in his hand, and say something like, ‘I think you might find this interesting to look at,’ and of course, it always was. I got help in that way. And we were also able to talk about Aragonese history, particularly as it affected the Templars,” which was the subject of his doctoral research (“Osma Students from the Past” 2020). An earlier de Osma Student, Leonard Patrick Harvey, head of the Spanish Department at Queen Mary College, London (now Queen Mary University of London) from 1963 to 1973, having been appointed the college’s first Professor of Spanish in 1967; Cervantes Professor of Spanish at King’s College, London, from 1983 until his retirement in 1990; and one of the foremost academic authorities on Islamic Spain, thanked Longás in *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500* (1990, ix) for “patiently [teaching him] to read the Andalusí scripts of the Mudejars of his native Aragon.” Harvey referenced archival material from the IVDJ in this work and in his later book *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (2005).

As Forey himself acknowledged, the time spent in Madrid on the de Osma Studentship “set the pattern for the rest of my academic career” (“Osma Students from the Past” 2020). In fact, in his opening remarks at the de Osma Centenary, Bodley’s Librarian, Richard Ovenden, paid a special tribute to Forey, one of his former tutors at Durham, and admitted to having “a special reason to thank the de Osma Studentship because his [Forey’s] influence on me as a young student was transformative and really made it possible for me to envisage the career that I have been so fortunate to enjoy” (“An Archival Apprenticeship Experience” 2020). This is indeed an eloquent example of sixty-five years’ worth of impact: Forey received his research idea from a fellow de Osma Student, and during his academic career, which had been enabled by the Studentship, he mentored other prominent scholars.

Pattison also won the de Osma Studentship in two consecutive years: 1964–65 and 1965–66. He was a reader in Spanish, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and published on medieval epic poetry and the *Celestina*. Bruce Taylor (de Osma Student 1993–94) fondly referred to him as “one of those who had the good fortune of having the Studentship twice in the 1960s” (“Stories of Past de Osma Students” 2020). Taylor himself reapplied but did not win the Studentship a second time, indicating that the de Osma Studentship was in demand, not only in the 1950s when Forey had applied, but also forty years later.

Griffiths Brown also won the studentship twice, but in alternate years—first in 1958–59 and again in 1960–61. He died relatively young (Paterson 1980), having published *A Literary History of Spain: The Twentieth Century* (1972). Youlden had already served as Oxford Union president in the Trinity term of 1969 by the time he was awarded the de Osma Studentship in 1976–77 and 1977–78. He went on to

complete his doctorate in 1979–1980 at Oxford, on the political evolution of Marcel Déat, with special reference to his ideology.

Another striking pattern in the list of recipients is the scarcity of women: Inez Pearn, of Somerville College, was the first woman to be awarded the de Osma Studentship in 1935 and remained the only female de Osma Student until 1978. This seems odd for at least two reasons. First, women were allowed to matriculate at Oxford since 1920, that is, the same year the de Osma Studentship was established. Second, many women undergraduates studied modern languages, including Spanish, at Oxford.

Professor William Entwistle's comments on the de Osma Student selection process in 1947 shed some light on the absence of female de Osma Students until well into the second half of the twentieth century. At the very end of a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, he wrote: "The Statute does not deny the Studentship to a woman. If you wish to consider one, I could commend Miss J. A. Pontremoli, St Hugh's, who is bilingual and intelligent. One woman was once appointed, but, in the somewhat mannish atmosphere of the Instituto, she seems to have secured too marked a popularity!" (Entwistle 1947). Entwistle was referring to Inez Pearn, who was young and attractive.

This contrasts with Osma's own views. In one of his letters to Bunsen, Osma wrote:

I don't know whether it may be a sign of the times, but the last two [foreign scholars who had come to do research at the Instituto] have been women. Last December, a very remarkable young American Miss G. Goddard King, for a good many years past professor of Art at Bryn Mawr College, brought me letters from Archer Huntington [...]. And last month a young English lady, Miss Wake, a cousin of Lady Laren's [?] travelling with them, proved to be a student of palaeography! She has a real gift [...]. She could read Spanish documents of the Middle Ages better than I can. (Osma 1920)

In 1922, Vice-Chancellor Farnell wrote to Secretary-General of the Instituto Javier García de Leániz, then Director of Fine Arts and later Minister of Education (*Instrucción Pública*), to enquire whether "we should by Statute make women eligible for the De Osma Studentship, as we have done in the case of most other University scholarships." Farnell ended his letter by stating, "I think it would be natural for any Vice-Chancellor (who has the privilege of appointment solely in his hands) to prefer, *ceteris paribus*, that a male student should be sent to you" (Farnell 1922). Osma had purposely drafted the endowment deed in genderless terms, referring to the recipient of the Studentship as "a member of the said University," "the Osma Student," or simply "the Student." Therefore, the Board of Trustees replied to Farnell's enquiry clarifying that the de Osma Studentship was open to any man or woman freely appointed by the University of Oxford.

Subsequent Vice-Chancellors must have followed Farnell's lead in preferring male students, for the first woman was not appointed to the Studentship until over a decade later. Even then, the letter of appointment expressed a sense of apprehension, stating, "Miss Pearn will be the first woman to hold this Studentship, and I trust you will find her to be satisfactory and acceptable" (Lindsay 1935). The length, style and content of the letter contrast starkly with previous letters of appointment, which were typically shorter and full of praise for the appointee, and which never suggested that he might be anything other than "satisfactory and acceptable." Leániz replied with the standard formula: "puedo asegurarle, complaciéndome mucho en ello, que en esta Casa hallará, lo mismo que todos sus dignos antecesores, la buena acogida que merece, por sus

personales cualidades y por ser alumna de esa ilustre Universidad de Oxford, tan conscientemente admirada y querida por el insigne Fundador de esta Institución y por su Patronato” (García de Leániz 1935).

It was not until 1978–79 that the de Osma Studentship was awarded to another woman, Aviva Aviv. Aviv, who at the time of her studentship was married to St Antony’s senior associate member, Isaac Aviv (see Aviv and Aviv 1981), was working on her doctoral thesis under Carr on *Tradition and Change in the Madrid Bourgeoisie, 1900–1914*, which she completed in 1982.¹⁸ The couple hailed from Israel, which also made Aviv the first non-British student to receive the de Osma Studentship. Her appointment as de Osma Student thus reminds us of the almost complete absence of non-British awardees—all but she held British nationality.

The typical profile of the award recipient, therefore, was male, British and a student at one of the older Oxford colleges, likely reflecting the deeply entrenched dynamics of the University of Oxford in this period, despite the de Osma Studentship having been open to women from the very start. Javier Marías’s depiction of the staff at the Spanish and Portuguese sub-faculty (now two different sub-faculties) at Oxford in the early 1980s in his semi-autobiographical novel *Todas las almas* (1989) offers a picture of the average de Osma Student that is not dissimilar from what the list suggests. There is not a single mention of a female instructor, let alone a Fellow in Spanish, in the novel. Except for the main character, who does not have a permanent post at Oxford, all staff members in the sub-faculty are British.

Perhaps the most evident pattern in the list of de Osma Students is the absence of recipients from 1936 to 1947. The IVDJ’s meeting minutes offer a fairly reasonable explanation:

A continuación el Secretario General manifestó su respuesta al Sr. Sánchez Cantón que desde el año 1936 en que se presentó Miss Marie Agnés Pearn, designada “Osma Student” por la Universidad de Oxford; para el curso académico 1935–1936, no ha vuelto a ser nombrado ningún otro estudiante para ocupar la beca que dejó fundada en dicha Universidad Don Guillermo J. de Osma, debido sin duda, a causa de la revolución española primero y de la guerra europea después. Posteriormente es posible que motivos de índole económica y dada la carestía de la vida, no compensa el importe de la beca los gastos de viajes y estancia en Madrid. El Patronato acordó que el Secretario General se dirija por carta al Excmo. Sr. Chancellor de la Universidad de Oxford con ruego de que se digne informar al Patronato sobre este particular. (Actas del Patronato 1947)

The Studentship was resumed in 1947.

The Studentship was also a means to creative production. Ian Gibson notes that Federico García Lorca had met Campbell Hackforth-Jones, “un inglés a quien había conocido unos años antes en la Residencia, que le había visitado en Granada en las vacaciones navideñas de 1926 y a quien le había dedicado uno de los poemas de *Canciones*” (2016, 220). They met up again in New York in the late 1920s, where Hackforth-Jones took him to visit the New York Stock Exchange, which García Lorca featured in his *Poeta en Nueva York* (Gibson 2016, 373–74). Hackforth-Jones was the de Osma Student 1925–26.

¹⁸In her acknowledgements, Aviva Aviv writes, “I am also grateful for the De Osma Studentship for studies and research in the Institute of Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid, granted to me by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University in the academic year 1978/79” (Aviv 1982, x).

While some de Osma Students influenced the creative output of Spanish artists, others drew inspiration from their research stay in Madrid to write. Pearn, known by her pen name, Elizabeth Lake, went on to write *Spanish Portrait*, a novel set against the tensions leading up to the Spanish Civil War. She met her first husband, the poet Stephen Spender, at the local Spanish Aid Committee in November 1936, soon after she had returned from Madrid. John Sutherland, Spender's biographer, states that *Spanish Portrait*, which was published after the end of the Second World War, was an autobiographical novel (Sutherland 2004, 198, 232). Maria, the novel's main character, works in a library "situated in the rich, residential part of Madrid, near the Castellana," the narrator explains that Maria had "won a prize which was given with the proviso that the winning student should work in a certain library at Madrid" (Lake 2019, 80). In the afterword to a new edition of *Spanish Portrait*, the author's daughter mentions that "the library Maria worked in is also still in existence in a mansion at Calle Fortuny, 43, Madrid," (Randall 2019, 231)—that is, the IVDJ. The afterword also states that "the University of Oxford still awards one lucky student a year the 'De Osma' bursary," which confirms that the prize mentioned in the novel is indeed the de Osma Studentship.

Thanks to Pearn's narration of Maria's story, we learn what her first visit to the IVDJ at Easter, 1936, must have been like:

Besides being a library, it was a museum. The building and everything in it had been left to an Institute for Research by the founder, a well-known scholar and collector. Letters of recommendation had preceded her from England and everything was prepared for her arrival. She was received with great ceremony. The door was opened by a small, round man whom she discovered later to be the caretaker. She tried to explain who she was. "Ah, the English scholar!" he said, shook hands with her and hurried off to find the librarian [...] The library and the museum took up all the first floor (it was a very wide house) and the rest of the house was still as it had been when the founder lived there and was kept as a kind of museum of his books, pictures, furniture and photographs [...] Everyone from the Trustees and Padre [the librarian] to the caretaker and his wife declared to her that they were at her disposal. (Lake 1945, 80)

The de Osma Studentship allowed Javier Marías's work to be translated into English and published in Britain for the first time. "It was thanks to the de Osma Studentship," recalls Colin Wight, de Osma Student 1979–80, "that I was able to travel to meet Marías, whom I came to know better when he came to Oxford."¹⁹ Taking advantage of an introduction from Félix de Azúa, a novelist he had collaborated with at Oxford and one of Marías's predecessors as the Spanish *lector* at the sub-faculty, Wight met Marías, who "suggested some short passages I might translate into English from his latest novel, *El monarca del tiempo* (*The Monarch of Time*) for an article I was planning." The three excerpts were published a year later, in 1981, in a Scottish literary magazine called *Cencrastus* (Wight 2019). "It is a most welcome honour," Marías told Wight in a letter, "to have some texts translated into English [...] I really felt moved when I started reading my prose in your beautiful admired language [...] I feel myself obliged not only to thank you for them but also to congratulate you."²⁰ Wight's translation predated

¹⁹Colin Wight, e-mail message to author, January 10, 2020.

²⁰Javier Marías, letter to Colin Wight, 1980.

Margaret Jull Costa's translation of *Todas las almas* by approximately a decade; it was published at a time when the author was completely unknown in England. Thus, the de Osma Studentship had an impact on the inspiration, production and translation of various creative works over the past hundred years.

The Studentship has also had an impact on academic output. Through the support of research agendas and personal development, the provision of funds and consultation material for research, the stimulation of academic interests, the creation of connections and furtherment of social and intellectual networks, the de Osma Studentship has played an as-yet unrecognized part in the advancement of Spanish Studies.

One example is that of Ronald Hilton, de Osma Student 1930–31, who travelled to Spain for the first time thanks to the Studentship, changed his main degree from French to Spanish after that, and went on to establish the Institute of Hispanic American and Luso-Brazilian Studies at Stanford, California, in 1948, where he served as director until 1964. "My wanderings in Spain [which began with the de Osma Studentship] were excellent preparation," he wrote in his memoir, *Spain, 1931–1936: From Monarchy to Civil War. An Eye Witness Account* (Hilton 2000, 18). Hilton recalled how the appointment came about: after assessing an exam Hilton had taken, Salvador de Madariaga, Oxford's first King Alfonso XIII professor (1928–31), told him, "I liked your essay and I have a scholarship for you to go to Spain" (6). "And thus began my long connection with Salvador de Madariaga," continued Hilton. "He did not have a son, and he treated me like one."

Hilton commends the "pleasantly located" Instituto in Madrid and writes, "I was impressed, but too ignorant to appreciate it fully" (11), as he was only in his second year at the time. Hilton arrived in Madrid in March 1931, just weeks before the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic. While in Madrid, Hilton met Pedro Salinas and Ramón del Valle Inclán, who autographed a book for him, dedicating it to "my old friend Ronald Hilton." Hilton wrote, "I am the only living Hispanist who witnessed the drama of Spain's II Republic" (1) and who knew most of the leading intellectuals (2). The opportunity to travel to and live in Madrid at a time of great political effervescence thanks to the de Osma Studentship left a lasting impact on Hilton and propelled his distinguished academic career.

Because of his de Osma Studentship in 1973–74, Osma's fellow Pembrokian, Nicholas Round, Stevenson Professor of Hispanic Studies at the University of Glasgow for twenty-two years and Hughes Professor of Hispanic Studies at Sheffield until 2003, was received and treated by former Cervantes Professor Antonio "Pastor and his wife as one of the household" while in Madrid.²¹ At that time, Round met the poet Dámaso Alonso, whom John Rutherford, de Osma Student 1963–64, Lecturer in Spanish at Oxford and founder of the Centre for Galician Studies at the Queen's College, Oxford, had also met while on his Studentship a decade earlier.²² Round noted that he returned "with an enhanced sense that [he] actually owned (or at least, could own) the area of research with which [he] was engaged, and more widely with a clearer awareness of what it was to be its owner ... [he] was beginning to see [himself] as a Hispanist."

²¹Nicholas Round, e-mail message to author, January 24, 2020.

²²John Rutherford, in interview with the author, January 10, 2020.

In his doctoral thesis acknowledgements, Dexter Hoyos, de Osma Student 1969–70 and recently retired associate professor of classics at Sydney University, thanks the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford for the de Osma Studentship, which “enabled me to visit Spain and survey the lands I was writing about; in this connexion I would also wish to record the kind and friendly assistance of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, in Madrid” (Hoyos 1971, v). His task was to inspect Roman remains in various cities for his research on Roman settlements and administration between 205 BC and AD 14. In his first week in Madrid, he attended the Instituto and “was most graciously received by its then director. Further travel took me to Mérida, Seville, Tarragona, and Barcelona. From these bases I made visits to other Roman centres like Segovia, Toledo, Cáceres, Cádiz, Italica, Carmona, and Córdoba.”²³ On a more personal level, “it was a very rewarding visit [his first] to the land of my mother’s grandfather, and contributed importantly to the final thesis [...] I benefited as well by gaining a much fuller knowledge of Spanish culture, with particular enlightenment about Spanish art and architecture.”

In his responses to the questionnaire administered by the author, Hook, de Osma Student 1972–73 and chair of Hispanic studies at Bristol until 2010, indicated that his period of research in Madrid during his Studentship was “very useful.”²⁴ Although he did not find material in the Instituto that he could use in his future research, “other Madrid libraries for which D. Julián [Paz, the Instituto’s secretary-general] kindly signed a letter of introduction” offered resources that would benefit his work. Thus, the award served Hook as a platform for research, and he later thanked Paz for “sus valiosísimas ayudas tan francamente prestadas” (Hook 1973b). Anthony Pagden, de Osma Student 1971–72, and now professor of political science and history at the University of California, Los Angeles, commented that his research stay in Madrid on the de Osma Studentship was “immensely [useful]. It was then that I began my research and in great measure formulated what the shape of my future doctoral dissertation would be.”²⁵ Jeremy Lawrance, de Osma Student 1975–76, professor of Spanish at the University of Manchester between 1993–2006 and later professor of Spanish Golden Age Studies at the University of Nottingham (2004–18), recalls that “it was certainly a great help to me at that time.”²⁶ In fact, all but one of the questionnaire respondents until 1982 said the de Osma Studentship had been their first research trip to Spain (this point was especially significant before the Erasmus Programme was established in 1987).

The collection held at the Instituto features in several de Osma Students’ academic output on a range of different periods and fields within Spanish Studies: history, literature, art history and archaeology. To take one example, de Osma Student 1962–63 Henry Kamen’s books *Philip of Spain*, published in 1997, and *The Duke of Alba*, published in 2004, contain several notes on material held at the Instituto, including references to President of the Council of the Indies Juan de Ovando’s correspondence and a letter from Governor of the Netherlands Luis de Requesens to Juan de Zúñiga, Philip II’s ambassador to Rome. Kamen taught early modern Spanish history at the

²³Dexter Hoyos, e-mail message to author, January 1, 2020.

²⁴David Hook, in questionnaire administered by the author, November 29, 2019.

²⁵Anthony Pagden, in questionnaire administered by the author, December 5, 2019.

²⁶Jeremy Lawrance, e-mail message to author, December 16, 2019.

University of Warwick between 1966 and 1992, and was a professor in the Spanish National Research Council (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, CSIC) in Barcelona from 1993 until his retirement in 2002. In short, material held at the Instituto featured in Kamen's scholarly work even forty years after he first visited the IVDJ in the early 1960s.

Richard Fletcher, a distinguished historian of medieval Spain who was the de Osma Student 1967–68 and later professor at the University of York, published *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (his doctoral thesis turned into a book) in 1978, for which he used a number of twelfth-century charters, mainly from Galicia, held at the Instituto. Fletcher's *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (1984) about the bishop of Santiago and papal legate who turned his remote town into a destination for pilgrims from across Europe, also contains several references to material in the Instituto. Although *Moorish Spain*, published in 1992, is intended for the general reader, Fletcher asserts that it is based on extensive use of original sources. Therefore, it is likely that he again used material from the IVDJ.

A later example from the field of literature is Julian M. Weiss, who won the Studentship in 1980–81. In the preface to his doctoral thesis, *The Poet's Concept of his Art: Castilian Vernacular Verse, c. 1400–60* (1984), Weiss writes that the Studentship “was invaluable in the preparation of this thesis (especially chapters IV and V), and it also helped me to gather material for many other projects.”²⁷ After holding positions at the Universities of Liverpool, Virginia, and Oregon (where he was head of romance languages), Weiss went on to become professor of medieval and early modern Spanish Studies at King's College, London. Forty years after winning the Studentship, Weiss described his research stay in Madrid as “very useful because it gave me the opportunity to develop research skills, palaeographical and codicological expertise, and to pursue new lines of thought.”²⁸

Andrew Hegarty (de Osma Student 1992–93), whose doctoral thesis was on the University of Salamanca in the era of the Conde-Duque de Olivares, spent many hours at the Instituto “ploughing through annotated government papers, many of the era of Philip II,” and even came to an arrangement with the Instituto's *bedel* “for his assistant to photocopy for me anything I wanted.”²⁹ That included original government papers of Philip II!³⁰ Like many other de Osma Students before him, this was Hegarty's first research stay in Spain.

Hegarty intimated to his friend Bruce Taylor, who was Professor Sir John Elliott's student, that the IVDJ might contain material of interest for Taylor's doctoral research (1996) on the Mercedarian Order (*La Orden de la Merced*), “an extremely naughty, unruly, rebellious, recalcitrant, and generally ill-assorted order of friars that the Crown and the Papacy were trying to reform with mixed success in the second half of the sixteenth century” (“Stories of Past de Osma Students” 2020). Taylor took up Hegarty's

²⁷In the same preface, Weiss (1984, i) also writes, “My thanks go to Dr Jeremy Lawrance [de Osma Student 1975–76] for his generous and forthright comments on this and other subjects,” and also acknowledges the support from the Laming Research Fellowship from Queen's College, Oxford.

²⁸Julian Weiss, in questionnaire administered by the author, January 9, 2020.

²⁹Andrew Hegarty, in questionnaire administered by the author, December 4, 2019.

³⁰Envíos 9, 21, 51, 72, 86, 89, 90 and 91.

suggestion and visited the Instituto on his last research week in Madrid. He later described his eureka moment with great passion:

I was shown to a carved desk and was brought the catalogue. Listed there was *envío* 72 part 2, *Mercedarios*, it said. 500 folios. So I ordered up the documents, and there were the papal nuncio's papers; the very heart of my research. I had struck gold! I was so overwhelmed by the discovery, that I was back on C/Fortuny after half an hour. How would I have the time or the funds to study this wonderful trove? Returning to Oxford I realized that my only hope was the Osma Studentship. ("Stories of Past de Osma Students" 2020).

On his return to Oxford, he applied to the de Osma Studentship with King Alfonso XIII Professor Ian Michael's support.

"All who went before me, all who came after me, and doubtless the legion yet to come, share a special bond of privilege doubtless product of the munificence of don Guillermo," Taylor declared in his capacity as de Osma Student 1993–94 ("Stories of Past de Osma Students" 2020). Indeed, several chapters of his dissertation—Chapter 4, "An Order to be Reformed (1561–1567)"; Chapter 5, "The Path to Reform (1567–1579)"; and Chapter 6, "The Progress of Reform (1570–1575)"—are full of references to archival material held at the IVDJ. When Taylor's *Structures of Reform: The Mercedarian Order in the Spanish Golden Age* was published in 2000, a reviewer commended his research and noted that the book would be "essential reading for experts on the history of church and state in Habsburg Spain and also of interest to specialists in the study of the Golden Age writer Tirso de Molina" (Wright 2002), himself a Mercedarian monk. Taylor is currently writing the biography of Peter Russell, an early holder of the de Osma Studentship, of whose papers he is the custodian, and recently accessed material on Russell's time in Madrid held at the IVDJ. Taylor's is a prime example of the de Osma Studentship bringing academic research full circle.

Alistair Malcolm, lecturer at the University of Limerick, remembers that "winning the de Osma scholarship for 1996–97 was very important to me, both for the completion of my doctoral thesis, and in my subsequent career as a historian of early modern Spain."³¹ His most recent publication on the later years of the reign of Philip IV from the perspective of his *valido*, Luis Méndez de Haro, contains royal correspondence held at the IVDJ (2017).

Mariam Rosser-Owen, de Osma Student 1999–2000, now head curator for the Middle East at the V&A, spent a year in Madrid, of which she said, "It was a truly magical year and experience and I have clear memories of sitting in that wonderful library in the Instituto browsing books and archives, even objects! They just brought me the little 10th-century Cordoban ivory casket to study at my desk!"³² "That was a truly special experience; literally touching the history I was studying [...] You couldn't get closer to the Omayyad court."³³ She narrowed down her research topic (2004) after getting hold of publications that were not available in Oxford libraries and working with artefacts held at the IVDJ; she later published widely on the subject of Islamic art.

³¹Alistair Malcolm, e-mail message to author, February 2, 2020.

³²Email correspondence with Mariam Rosser-Owen, de Osma Student 1999–2000 and 2000–01, December 11, 2019.

³³Interview with Mariam Rosser-Owen, de Osma Student 1999–2000, December 12, 2019.

Rosser-Owen curates one of the most significant collections of Spanish Islamic art outside Spain. “The objects I studied then and the connections I developed with the colleagues there have remained important to me throughout my career, and still are” (“Looking Forward to the Next 100 Years of the Osma Studentship” 2020). She curated an exhibition, held at the V&A Museum and later at the Alhambra in Granada (“Owen Jones and the Grammar of Ornament” n.d.; “La exposición Owen Jones y la Alhambra. El diseño islámico: descubrimiento y visión” 2011), on the influential nineteenth-century design theorist Owen Jones’s study of, and inspiration from, the Alhambra (of which Osma was the first president of the Board of Trustees; see Álvarez Lopera 1988). Her book *Islamic Arts from Spain* (Rosser-Owen 2010) addressed the creation, suppression, rediscovery and influence of Islamic art in Spain from the eighth to the twentieth century. An earlier publication on ivory forgeries that were produced in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries drew extensively on material she had obtained at the Institute, including a report Osma had written on an ivory item he had been offered in 1921 (Rosser-Owen 2005, 252). A more recent publication re-examined the ivory casket she had been allowed to touch during her de Osma Studentship in the context of female agency in medieval Islamic art (Rosser-Owen and Anderson 2015). She concluded her talk at the de Osma Centenary commemoration with the following remark:

I’m exceedingly grateful to have been a recipient of the de Osma Studentship. I think my career to date has shown that the experiences there twenty years ago were important, formative, and continue to bear fruit. And I hope the Studentship is able to continue for another 100 years and give many more students access to this fantastic collection and library, and the unique experiences that we have all benefited from. Thank you, don Guillermo. (“Looking Forward to the Next 100 Years of the Osma Studentship” 2020).

Also in the field of art history, Kirstin Kennedy, de Osma Student 1995–96 and 1997–98, recalls that she “read widely on medieval Spanish ceramics at the Instituto” while on her Studentship.³⁴ Her report reads: The “sheer availability of books and objects is one of the most wonderful things about the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan. Given the battles that have to be waged simply to cross the threshold of the Biblioteca Nacional (let alone consult anything there), such free access to the Instituto’s holdings is a privilege indeed. I used my privilege to examine the important collection of medieval seals, and to read and photocopy periodicals which either simply do not exist in the Biblioteca Nacional, or which would have been too troublesome to locate and request” (Kennedy 1995). “Fortuitously in the light of my subsequent career as a museum curator”—she is now a curator of metalwork, also at the V&A, specializing in silver—the de Osma Studentship “introduced me to the world of Spanish decorative arts.”³⁵

In more recent years, the impact of the de Osma Studentship has taken several different forms in terms of academic output. Miriam Alí de Unzaga was working on her doctorate in anthropology and oriental studies and investigating Moroccan rural textiles when she won the de Osma Studentship, first in 2002–03 and again in 2003–04 (2006). In an interview, she described her arrival at the Instituto as a “coup de foudre.”³⁶ Her

³⁴Kirstin Kennedy, questionnaire administered by the author, December 20, 2019.

³⁵Kirstin Kennedy, questionnaire administered by the author, December 20, 2019.

³⁶Miriam Alí de Unzaga, in interview with the author, November 23, 2019.

research stay allowed her to consult bibliographies that were otherwise largely inaccessible and to refocus her research on Hispano-Islamic medieval textiles, of which there is a magnificent collection at the IVDJ. At the de Osma Centenary commemoration, Alí de Unzaga explained that because of her association with the IVDJ she was able to inspect the Pendón de las Navas de Tolosa (2007, 2014a, 2014b), one of only four complete al-Andalus military textiles in Spain, while it was being restored at the Royal Palace in Madrid.³⁷ “I was touching history,” she exclaimed (2020), and noted that discussing this artefact took up an entire section of her doctoral thesis. She and the head curator of the Instituto, Cristina Partearroyo Lacaba, established a working relationship then. Today, almost twenty years later, they continue to work together on the publication of the Instituto’s textile collection.

The de Osma Studentship allowed Duncan Wheeler, de Osma Student 2008–09 and now chair of Spanish at Leeds, to fund his first fieldwork on contemporary productions of Spanish Golden Age plays, expand his then limited knowledge of Spanish cities, develop an interest in the history of medieval Spain and learn how to do archival research. To use his own words, Wheeler learnt “to think outside the box” when sourcing Spanish archival material, which has since proved extremely useful in his recent research on the cultural politics of the Spanish Transition and on *taurromaquia* censorship.³⁸ For him, the Studentship “was a great enabler” (“An Archival Apprenticeship Experience” 2020). The fact that the Studentship has supported and influenced the advancement of research on Spain for the past hundred years is clear testament to the success of its founder’s aim to promote the study of Spanish Studies, as Bunsen had predicted at the creation of the endowment in 1920.

The de Osma Studentship, however, would go on to have practical implications beyond academia as well. Sir Peter Russell, King Alfonso XIII Professor of Spanish at Oxford between 1953 and 1981, was the de Osma Student 1934–35. In his obituary of Russell, Nigel Griffin, who was a former student of Russell’s, as well as the de Osma Student 1970–71, writes that “Russell’s travels in Europe in the 1930s had alerted him to the dangers of fascism. Recruited into the secret services in mid-decade, he monitored developments in Spain before the civil war of 1936–39, and in 1940 was commissioned into the Intelligence Corps” (Griffin 2006; Taylor 2011; “Professor Sir Peter Russell” 2006, 80). Another obituary of Russell identifies 1935 as the year when Russell “was engaged by the secret services in monitoring the international situation” (Halikowski-Smith 2007). While on the de Osma Studentship in Madrid, Russell stayed at the Residencia de Estudiantes, “where he encountered many of the luminaries of the Second Republic, including Américo Castro, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Luis Buñuel and Federico García Lorca” (Taylor 2011). Russell was later involved in wartime counter-espionage, including tracking “the movements of Nationalist warships which had on several occasions interfered with the passage of British goods into Republican ports” (Taylor 2011) during the Spanish Civil War. It seems, therefore, that the Studentship had a far-reaching, though unforeseen, political impact.

³⁷Osma had bought fragments of the *pendón* and later donated them to the Royal Armoury at the Royal Palace, Alí de Unzaga (2020).

³⁸Duncan Wheeler, in interview with the author, November 20, 2019.

The IVDJ's link with Oxford would unexpectedly turn out to be of utmost importance during the Spanish Civil War. On August 28, 1936, a month and ten days after the start of the war, Julián Paz wrote on behalf of the IVDJ to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and the *chargé d'affaires* at the British embassy in Madrid, George Ogilvie-Forbes, to ask them to allow the Instituto to fly the Union Jack. Ogilvie-Forbes wrote back on the same day to certify that the IVDJ and the Institute's collection were under the embassy's direct protection: "por considerar que todos esos objetos y el edificio están provisionalmente bajo la tutela de la Universidad de Oxford, mientras no se reúnan y tomen otros acuerdos los trustees del citado Instituto" (Paz 1936). The Union Jack was raised off the Instituto's balcony and Osma's extraordinary collection came under British protection.

The following year, Don Jacobo, Duke of Alba, who was chairman of the Board of Trustees at the Instituto, and who had some of his *oeuvres d'arts* from the Liria Palace transported to the Instituto, again took action and wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Sandie Lindsay, to inform him that:

the University of Oxford is entitled to intervene in the event of any danger threatening the Institute. The Institute has so far been under the protection of the British Flag, and it appears to be the only Museum in Madrid that has not suffered from intervention. But I now have reason to fear the possibility of intervention which may be prejudicial to the Museum and that is why I am writing to you. (Duke of Alba 1937)

The collection at the IVDJ remained safe and the de Osma Studentship was resumed after the end of the Second World War. The final clause of the IVDJ statutes allowed for such an important Spanish heritage collection to endure and for researchers to carry on studying the Instituto's rich holdings decades later. The fact that Osma tied the Studentship to Oxford twice—directly through the endowment and also via the Instituto's statutes—enabled the Studentship to survive and support the academic and cultural output of many future de Osma Students and the advancement of Spanish Studies for over a century.

As a result of the research carried out for this paper, the University of Oxford and the IVDJ have recently renewed their collaboration and agreed to strengthen bonds between them, in a memorandum of understanding exceptionally signed by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Professor Louise Richardson, and the Duke of Alba. The first event under the new framework was the de Osma Centenary, held at the Weston Library, Convocation House and Pembroke College on February 7, 2020 in Oxford to mark the hundred years of the establishment of the de Osma Studentship on the anniversary of Osma's death, and only a week after the formal exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union. The commemoration brought together de Osma Students from across countries and generations (Wight 2020; Peyró 2020). The Principal at Pembroke and former CEO of the British Library, Dame Lynn Brindley, paid tribute to Osma and included him in the list of prominent alumni (such as Senator J. William Fulbright, who established the Fulbright Program—see Johnson and Colligan 1965) who have contributed significantly to promoting intercultural relations, transnational research and knowledge exchange between Britain and their own countries.

In addition, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford visited the IVDJ in September 2019. This was the first visit that either a Vice-Chancellor or Chancellor has

made to the Instituto since its foundation.³⁹ The current chairman of the Board of Trustees, the Duke of Alba, Carlos Fitz-James Stuart, grandson of Osma's old friend don Jacobo (a founding trustee of the Instituto and recipient of an honorary degree from Oxford in 1935 [Oxford University Archive]), welcomed Lord Patten to the Instituto, alongside the current Secretary-General, the head curator and the head librarian, who showed him the collections and the *palacete*. Other eminent present-day members of the Board of Trustees are Carmen Iglesias, director of the Royal Academy of History, Rafael Manzano Martos, award-winning architect and member of the Royal Academy of History, Fernando de Terán, director of the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts, and the late José Antonio Bonet, art historian and former director of the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts, all of whom are entrusted to carry out Osma's mission.

4. Conclusion

Based on a broad range of new archival material and first-hand accounts, this article has introduced Osma to an English-language audience for the first time and corrected and expanded the limited information available on him. It has also claimed him as the first Spaniard to graduate from Oxford after the Universities Tests Act 1871, which opened the ancient universities of England to non-Anglicans, and as the creator of the first recorded endowment by a Spaniard at Oxford. In addition, the article has provided the first report in English—but also the first comprehensive review of—the IVDJ's art collection, archival material and library, thereby offering valuable information to future de Osma Studentship applicants and the wider Hispanist community.

Osma was a man of many firsts. His family background and exceptional transatlantic education, his multidisciplinary life as a diplomat, politician, finance minister, art collector and scholar as well as his interdisciplinary education at Oxford, are imprinted on the de Osma Studentship, which is not discipline-specific but rather open to scholars in any subject “for which facilities are provided” at the IVDJ, ranging from history and art to archaeology and international relations. In other words, the Studentship's nature reflects the founder's view of Spanish Studies as a broadly defined field and an arena for scholarly encounters.

Also, on a personal level, the Studentship resulted from the network Osma had created at Oxford and nurtured throughout his later life. Likewise, high-profile friends from across generations, from both sides of the Atlantic and the Channel, came together in the IVDJ's Board of Trustees. In both cases, Osma was the node of these social networks. He was the glue that brought institutions and networks together in order to make the de Osma Studentship happen.

The fact that Osma placed the IVDJ under the care of the University of Oxford tells us what his expectations were with regard to excellence in academic research and the financial sustainability of a scholarly project; he also ensured the Instituto's continuity. The IVDJ's statutory bond with Oxford penned by Osma would allow the collection to endure the Spanish Civil War, enabling the preservation of a rich heritage centre. Iberian votive offerings, medieval Islamic textiles, Golden Age state papers, royal correspondence, several

³⁹The author organised the visit.

Old Master paintings and early-twentieth-century photographs, among a remarkable array of *objects d'art* and significant historical documents, are still available for scholars and visitors to study and appreciate over a century after the IVDJ's creation.

Osma's trust in Oxford's academic authorities, however, limited the profiles of scholars appointed to the de Osma Studentship. He decided to give full discretion to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, who had the final say in the appointment of de Osma Students. This arrangement resulted in appointments that reflected internal trends and institutional changes, or lack thereof, within the University during the first sixty-two years of the Studentship. Awardees were almost exclusively male, with the exception of two women; all except one held British nationality (though some were born in the British Dominions); and most studied at older Oxford colleges, with only a few newer colleges represented in the mid-1970s. Interestingly, there were no Spanish de Osma Students. Had Osma applied for his own Studentship, he would probably have failed.

Over the past century, the de Osma Studentship has contributed to academic research, translation, and creative output. At the IVDJ, it offered students various academic skills, from teaching them to read Andalusí scripts to thinking outside the box when sourcing archival material. Secondary bibliographies, art objects and archival material held at the IVDJ have appeared in their doctoral research and many later publications on medieval Spain, Islamic Spanish art, and early modern history, among other topics. The first Spanish Studentship at Oxford provided financial support for research and contributed to the personal and scholarly development of de Osma Students. Their time in Madrid informed many de Osma Students' politics, including later political engagement in the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War.

The Studentship allowed recipients to travel to and perform research in Madrid and to access the IVDJ's exceptional collections of artwork, books and archival material. It also provided several recipients with valuable contacts in Spain, allowed them to use the Instituto as a platform for further research and, in many cases, take the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to travel and undertake fieldwork in Spain. The list of de Osma Studentship recipients is impressive and includes King Alfonso XIII Chair Peter Russell and several founders of research institutions dedicated to Spanish Studies, in one form or another, on both sides of the Atlantic, including Ronald Hilton and John David Rutherford. Other well-known de Osma Students are Leonard Harvey, Alan Forey, Henry Kamen, Anthony Pagden, Jeremy Lawrance, and Julian Weiss, to name a few.

Some possible avenues for future research based on the outcome of this study include a complete biography of Guillermo J. de Osma, in both Spanish and English; a biographical study of Maurice de Bunsen, diplomat, Spain connoisseur, de Osma Studentship negotiator and witness to significant historical events, such as the arrival of Princess Victoria Eugenie (who would become Queen of Spain as the wife of Alfonso XIII) in Spain and the outbreak of the First World War in Vienna⁴⁰; and an in-depth study of the de Osma Studentship winners' profiles (beyond the simple facts that they were mostly male and British), and what this tells us about the status of female students

⁴⁰From Bunsen to his daughter, Hilda, May 28, 1906: "We are on the brink of our agitated week—Quite ready for it, I think, and all well. The journey with the King to the frontier was most entertaining. He sat in my compartment with me for some time and I sat with him at dinner for a long time [...] He was full of his love match, and Sr Moret, the Prime Minister, spurring Spanish poetry appropriate to the occasion [...]."

and Hispanists at Oxford between 1920 and 1982. The methods and findings of the paper have also laid the groundwork for a comprehensive study of institutional history and higher education relations between Oxford and Spain, which includes the untold story of the establishment of the King Alfonso XIII professorship at Oxford.

Through the de Osma Studentship, Osma aimed to support and promote Spanish Studies at Oxford—and influence British Hispanism as a result—and contribute to the scholarly study of Spain. As Osma put it, the international vocation of the IVDJ was paramount. The evidence presented here demonstrates that he fulfilled the goal of sustained international reach and international influence by permanently associating his *alma mater* in Britain with the institution he engendered in Spain. Osma's life and contribution to Spanish Studies at Oxford deserve to be acknowledged and written into the historical narrative of British Hispanism. The time has come to recover Osma from oblivion.

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The author has not disclosed any potential conflict of interest.

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