IMAGES OF OXFORD, 1191–1759

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Prospect of the City of Oxford
The bookplate of John Buchan, after James Green

"A great city, whose image dwells in the memory of man, is the type of some great idea."

Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), *Coningsby*, Book IV, 1844

"I wonder anybody does anything at Oxford but dream and remember, the place is so beautiful. One almost expects the people to sing instead of speaking. It is all like an opera."

William Butler Yeats (1865–1939), letter to Katharine Tynan, 25 August 1888

"City of weathered cloister and worn court;
Gray city of strong towers and clustering spires:
Where art's fresh loveliness would first resort;
Where lingering art kindled her latest fires."

Lionel Johnson (1867–1902), 'Oxford', *Poems*, 1895

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ABSTRACT

The foundation of this research is the assembly and analysis of a corpus of over 500 images of Oxford produced between 1191 and 1759, affirming Joseph Skelton's claim that 'Perhaps no place in England can boast such a succession of delineations of itself, from an early period, as Oxford.' Structured analysis at an individual level permits outstanding questions on attribution and authorship to be addressed. At an aggregate level, several conclusions can be drawn. Oxford's persistent iconic self-image – its walls, spires and towers – was already established by 1191. The flood of images appearing from 1675 was not the result of the antiquarian or any other movement, but the serendipitous presence in Oxford of two men, John Fell and David Loggan. It is argued that *Oxonia Illustrata* was not simply a suite of images to accompany Anthony Wood's *Historia et antiquitates*, but conceived as an emulation of Dutch 'praise and description' books, with which Loggan would have been familiar. His successors as University Engravers – Michael Burghers, George Vertue and John Green – also made notable contributions. From the early 1700s, many prints were designed to seek funding or approval for building projects, or to celebrate completion. Rare early states of such prints can provide information on the development of designs supplementing better known original architectural drawings. Only after 1690, with Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, and 1720, with Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, did any other British city begin to compete with Oxford as to the quality and quantity of prints produced. From the 1750s, the rather severe style of Loggan and his immediate successors began to be replaced by the more naturalistic style adopted by John Donowell, presaging the advent of the Picturesque. This corpus of images can supplement textual resources in supporting more general historical research.

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ABSTRACT

In 1823 Joseph Skelton, an Oxford antiquarian, artist and engraver, speculated: 'Perhaps no place in England can boast such a succession of delineations of itself, from an early period, as Oxford.' The principal purposes of this research are to examine the truth of Skelton's claim and, given that it is correct, to understand how this came about. The period focused on is 1191 to 1759. The first date is that of the earliest surviving image of the city that has been identified, an impression of the municipal seal attached to a charter. The second date is the last year of a decade during which occurred numerous events presaging major changes to images of Oxford: the deaths of two important engravers (George Vertue and James Green); the publication of the first 'picturesque' views of Oxford (John Donowell); and the publication of the first ichnographic map of the city based on a new survey. By the end of the eighteenth century, copper-plate line engravings began to be supplanted by aquatints, lithographs and, later, steel engravings.

No comprehensive attempt has previously been made to identify images of the city produced during this period, so this was the first task. Through searching a wide variety of archives and publications, more than 500 images of the city and university of Oxford and their constituent buildings (excluding original architectural drawings) were eventually identified. These can be categorised in various ways, of which one of the more important is whether they were designed to be engraved and distributed in print form, thus becoming available for 'public' consumption. The first printed image of Oxford was not published until 1588 and until 1675 the number remained very small. In the category of early images not originally intended to be reproduced fall a small number of memorials in brass, wood, stone and glass and a slightly larger number of manuscript illustrations. The majority of these were produced by people without formal artistic training and provide impressions of the city, rather than accurate depictions. However, the image of the city's walls, spires and towers that appeared in many of these was to become iconic and Oxford is the only English city to have been depicted on a coin. The municipal seal is a special case in that wax impressions of the matrices were attached to numerous documents.

Another possible categorisation is between maps and prospects of the city, and views of individual buildings. The earliest surviving map of the city dates from 1588, drawn (and probably engraved) by Augustine Ryther, although more commonly associated with the name of Ralph Agas, who carried out the survey on which it was based in 1578. Agas was a capable estate surveyor, but his reputation as a cartographer has been exaggerated – there is no evidence that he incorporated a 'plot' with his survey and the engraving should be described as the Agas/Ryther map. As a scenographic map of the city it provides important information on the buildings extant in 1588. Other than a few estate and military maps, the Agas/Ryther map served as the basis for all those of the city published until 1751. These include facsimiles, or copies with only minor updating, by Hollar, Whittlesey and Williams, and more comprehensive updating by Loggan and Williams. Although the university paid Agas for his survey, it did not finance the publication of any of these maps. This was also true of the city's first ichnographic map to be based on a trigonometric survey, published by the entrepreneur William Jackson in 1751.

The idealised original prospect of the city by Hoefnagel, dating to *c.*1568, does not survive, but the transfer drawing (probably drawn by the engraver) does, as does the engraving in book two of Braun and Hogenburg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1575). As with the Agas/Ryther map, it was copied many times and the view of the city from the east served as a prototype for many that followed. William Smith's southerly view of 1588 in *A particular description of England* (BL Sloane MS. 2596) was an unashamedly chorographical representation, also imitated by later artists. The first topographical view of the city, again from the east, was that of Hollar as an inset to his Oxford map of *c.*1643. Similar topographical prospects were provided by Loggan and Williams, with later engravers such as Buck and Boydell favouring slightly different viewpoints. In addition to his map, Hollar provided an engraving of the ruins of Osney Abbey for *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655) and King similarly provided a plate of Christ Church Cathedral. True landscapes of Oxford are rare, an example being that of Jan van der Vinne (*c.*1687).

The only fifteenth- and sixteenth-century images of specific Oxford buildings on paper (or vellum) are those of New College in the Chaundler MS., of various colleges and university buildings by John

Bereblock in Thomas Neale's *Topographical delineation* (Bodley MS. 13a) and the buildings depicted in the Agas/Ryther map.

Until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, images of Oxford were no more commonplace than those of other cities in England and Scotland, but a watershed occurred in 1675. In that year was published David Loggan's forty-plate *Oxonia Illustrata*, on which he had been working for a decade since leaving plague-ridden London in 1665. *Oxonia Illustrata* was the result of a serendipitous nexus: the talented Loggan, who had been trained in the Netherlands; the driven John Fell, who, in his efforts to promote the antiquity and importance of the university, encouraged Loggan; and the city itself, with a wealth of architecturally and historically significant buildings within the area of a square mile. *Oxonia Illustrata* is inevitably linked with Anthony Wood's history of the university, *Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1674), but the evidence presented here argues for its prior conception as a work in its own right, rather than merely as illustrations for the latter.

Loggan's example, which was unprecedented in England and inspired by illustrated topographical books published in the Netherlands and France, was only gradually copied in England, with the *Britannia Illustrata* of Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff (1707) and John Strype's illustrated edition of John Stow's *Survey of London* (1720). In Oxford, Loggan was succeeded as University Engraver by Michael Burghers, George Vertue and James Green, while William Williams' sixty-plate *Oxonia Depicta* (1732/3) capitalised directly on Loggan's earlier work. Green also left an important collection of drawings of Oxford's old halls and gates, almost all of which were to be demolished within a few decades of his death in 1759. Another of Fell's initiatives was the publication of an annual Oxford University Almanack, much of the engraving being undertaken by Michael Burghers until his death in 1727. John Donowell's *Eight views of the colleges and public buildings of Oxford* (1755) was not as substantial a work as those of Loggan or Williams, but important in depicting buildings in the context of their surroundings and as a harbinger of the Picturesque.

For a century or so from the Restoration, accelerating after the Glorious Revolution, Oxford underwent a building boom as the colleges competed with one another and with the university. New residential blocks and libraries were erected at colleges including All Souls, Christ Church, Magdalen,

New, Queen's and Trinity. The university built the Sheldonian Theatre, the Old Ashmolean Museum and the Clarendon Building, benefitting also from the Radcliffe Library. In addition to the architectural drawings for these projects, many of which survive, all involved the production of engraved plates for fund-raising or celebratory purposes. Burghers was again responsible for many of these, and only in his declining years was his place taken by a new generation of engravers. Burghers' contribution to engravings of Oxford, in terms of both quality and quantity, has been underestimated.

The works of Loggan and Williams were commercial ventures, doubtless with the encouragement of the university, but undertaken at their own financial risk in each case. Although Loggan died in debt, his Oxford project must have been sufficiently profitable to encourage him to try his hand in Cambridge, with the publication of *Cantabrigia Illustrata* in 1690. Williams never produced anything else on a similar scale and returned to estate mapping after he left Oxford. Earlier, Hollar almost certainly profited from his single-sheet maps of Oxford and his jobbing engraving for the *Monasticon Anglicanum* and other works, but died in poverty. The Whittlesey facsimile of the Agas/Ryther map, almost certainly not engraved by Whittlesey (also an estate surveyor), was another commercial venture likely to have been successful. Donowell's *Views of Oxford* was on a smaller scale than Loggan and Williams and produced in a matter of months rather than years, doubtless providing a profit for its publisher, artist and engraver (probably William Woollett). Subscription lists for prospects of Oxford included in series published by the Bucks and Boydells were also healthy. The Oxford Almanacks, of higher quality than all of their competitors, were financially highly successful, the number printed requiring the engraving of multiple copper plates in most years. Isaac Taylor's 1751 ichnographic map is likely to have been profitable for its original publisher, William Jackson, and for William Faden, who purchased the plates and published a later version with minor revisions.

Plates engraved for fund-raising purposes began to appear frequently from the early years of the eighteenth century, their costs being written off against benefactions from alumni and important patrons. The quantity of these (over thirty) has not previously been appreciated, with examples at All Souls, Christ Church, Exeter, Magdalen, Queen's, Worcester and elsewhere, of which Burghers was responsible for over half. Other building schemes, not all executed, were advertised in the Almanack

(e.g. Brasenose) and *Oxonia Depicta* (e.g. St Edmund Hall). Celebratory plates to be provided as gifts to visitors could be commissioned by the university (e.g. the Sheldonian Theatre), or the colleges (e.g. Pembroke), while Burghers was happy to engrave such plates on a commercial basis (e.g. the Old Ashmolean Museum and New College garden quadrangle). Even the burghers of the city commissioned an engraving by Paul Fourdrinier after the architect Isaac Ware when the new Town Hall was opened in 1751. James Gibbs employed Fourdrinier to engrave 18 plates of the Radcliffe Library to advertise his skills as an architect.

Despite Loggan being granted a Royal 'privilege' for his work, in theory providing him with copyright protection for a period of fifteen years, this was unenforceable abroad and his work was mercilessly copied on a reduced scale by Continental publishers, including van der Aa and Coronelli. On his death, his plates were sold to Henry Overton, who published new editions of both *Oxonia* and *Cantabrigia Illustrata*. Many of the engravings in *Oxonia Depicta* were derived from the relevant plates in *Oxonia Illustrata* (e.g. the university buildings), or taken from architectural designs under consideration or construction (e.g. Brasenose). Burghers' engravings of Christ Church and Queen's, probably commissioned by Henry Aldrich and sold by his estate, later appeared in editions of *Britannia Illustrata*. The Almanack plates engraved by Vertue between 1727 and 1751 were almost all direct copies of Loggan or Williams engravings, even where the design was ostensibly original.

The 'sponsorship' of plates, whereby individuals would pay a sum of money towards the cost of production of a plate and benefit from their name appearing in a 'dedication', was commonplace from the time of Loggan onwards and could provide an important contribution towards the working capital invested in a large project. The tendency of sponsors to be old as well as wealthy meant that opportunities for replacing their names for a new fee could occur when mortality intervened and a new edition was contemplated. Cases also occurred where a plate would be plagiarised by a different engraver and a completely different sponsor's name substituted.

Between 1191 and 1759, Oxford indeed had a richer history of visual images than any other comparable town or city in England and only towards the end of this period was it surpassed by London. This remained true when Skelton made his assertion in 1823 – the Almanack still appeared

annually and was supplemented by numerous illustrated guidebooks and the published print series of Malton, Nattes, Ackerman and Skelton himself. The 500 or so images analysed in this research throw important light on the social history of the city. Their contribution to an understanding of the topographical and architectural history of the city and university needs to be treated with more caution. None of Chaundler, Bereblock or Ryther had training in architectural drawing and their contributions must be viewed with this limitation. Those that followed did have such training, but even where highly skilled the circumstances of the production of the image need to be considered. Significant evidence attests to Loggan's skill, but Pembroke and University Colleges were both being reconstructed when he drew them and the plans for the former were never executed as originally intended. Nothing in *Oxonia Depicta* suggests that the engraving of St Edmund Hall is for a scheme that was never even begun. The rigour of the analysis undertaken in this research should allow a better appreciation of the extent to which these images of Oxford can be used to support more general historical research. Application of a similar analytical framework to topographical images generally should be beneficial in research on other cities. In terms of artistic criticism topography may never rise above Fuseli's categorisation of 'tame delineation', but with caution it can certainly provide an important adjunct to textual sources.

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During the undertaking of this research, two academic papers were published on specific findings, one on the duc de Chaulnes atlas at the British Library (in *Imago Mundi*) and the other on the Hollar maps of Oxford (in *Oxoniensia*). The comments of the respective editors of these journals, Catherine Delano-Smith and Stephen Mileson, greatly improved the papers as published.

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KEY WORDS

Ralph Agas; Henry Aldrich; All Hallows; George Anderton; Elias Ashmole; John Aubrey; Friar Bacon's Study; John Bereblock; Binsey Chapel; Jacob and Tilleman Bobart; Bodleian Library; Claude du Bosc; Botanic (Physick) Garden; John and Josiah Boydell; Thomas Brathwaite; Georg Braun; Adam Browne; Samuel and Nathaniel Buck; William Byrd; Michael Burghers; Colen Campbell; Carfax Conduit; Arthur Charlett; duc de Chaulnes; Thomas Chaundler; Christ Church Cathedral; Clarendon; George Clarke; Benjamin and John Cole; Cosimo III de' Medici; William Cuningham; Danby Gate; Divinity School; William Dobson; John Donowell; William Dugdale; William Faden; John Fell; Paul Fourdrinier; Paulus Furst; James Gibbs; Glastonbury Abbey; Godstow Nunnery; Bernard de Gomme; Richard Gough; Grandpont; Gravel Walk; James and Benjamin Green; Jan Griffier; Michael and Gerard van der Gucht; William Halfpenny; John Hall; John Hamond; John Harris; Nicholas Hawksmoor; Thomas Hearne; *Hebraismi typus*; Jerome Hesketh; Frans and Remigius Hogenburg; Edward Holdsworth; Wenceslaus Hollar; Joris (Georg) Hoefnagel; William Hulett; Henrik Hulsberg; Iffley Church; Islip Chapel; William Jackson; Inigo Jones; Everhardus Kickius; Daniel King; Johannes and William Kip; Leonard Knyff; Lady Chapel; Thomas Langdon; Clement Lemprière; Abraham and Bernard van Linge; Littlemore Minchery; William Lodge; David Loggan; Richard Lyne; Daniel Meisner; Matthäus Merian; Minerva; Edward Rowe Mores; David Mortier; James Mundy; Peter Muser; Thomas Neale; Sutton Nichols; Abraham Ortelius; Osney Abbey; Oxford; Nathaniel and Richard Parr; Francis Place; Robert Plot; Port Meadow; Public Schools; John Radcliffe; Thomas Rawlins; Richard Rawlinson; Rewley Abbey; Augustine Ryther; Aegidius Sadeler; St Aldates Church; St Clement's Church; St Ebbe's; St Frideswide Abbey; St George's-in-the-Castle; St Martin's Church; St Mary's Church; St Michael-at-the-Southgate; St Peter's-in-the East; St Peter-le-Bailey; Gilbert Sheldon; Ralph Sheldon; Joseph Skelton; John Speed; Nicholas Stone; John Stow; Robert Streater; John Strype; John Sturt; Isaac Taylor; James Thornhill; William Thorpe; William Henry Toms; William and John Townesend; John Tradescant; *Typus Collegii*; John Vanbrugh; George Vertue; James Wale; Robert White; Robert Whittlesey; William Williams; Browne Willis; Henry Winstanley; Francis Wise; Anthony Wood; William Woollett; Christopher Wren; Jan de Wyck.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

b	born
BnF	Bibliotèque national de France, Paris
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
Bodley	Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
BQR	*Bodleian Quarterly Review*
Ch Ch X3	Christ Church portfolio X3 (Henry Aldrich print collection)
d	died
DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
FRS	Fellow of the Royal Society, London
FSA	Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London
GPR	Ground penetrating radar
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
NA	National Archives
OAHS	Oxfordshire (formerly Oxford) Archaeological and Historical Society
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OHC	Oxfordshire History Centre (formerly Oxfordshire Record Office)
OUA	Oxford University Archives
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historic Monuments
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects, London
RKD	Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (Netherlands Institute for Art History)
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
VCH	*Victoria County History*
WC LIII	Worcester College portfolio LIII (George Clarke print collection)

1 INTRODUCTION

Somewhere in the opening sequence of any film about Oxford will be a panoramic view of its roofs and spires. This is not a new image. From the twelfth century, Oxford has been visually defined by its buildings, early representations appearing on municipal seals, coins and memorials. From the seventeenth century, engraved prints of individual buildings were given to visiting dignitaries and formed the basis of benefaction requests that would not be out of place in a twenty first-century funding appeal. As long ago as 1823, by which time the commercial sale of printed images had been important for over a century, Joseph Skelton speculated that 'Perhaps no place in England can boast such a succession of delineations of itself, from an early period, as Oxford.'[1] Skelton's most important work, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, reproduced a wide variety of images of Oxford, including maps and distant views as well as building views. It is for this reason that a similarly broad selection of images has been examined in this research. This research will, for the first time, show that Skelton was correct, certainly for the period from 1191 to 1759. Over a period of almost six centuries Oxford had a richer history of visual images than any other comparable town or city in England. In addition to testing Skelton's assertion, the material gathered is used to explore the reasons for Oxford's pre-eminent position and to help understand the development of Oxford, not just in terms of the built environment, but where possible in a broader socio-economic context.

Before attempting this, it is first necessary to assemble a comprehensive list of the images produced over the period considered, a task that for Oxford has never previously been attempted. This material does not comprise a single, homogeneous group. Of the 500 or so surviving images of Oxford pre-dating 1760 (excluding original architectural drawings), all but approximately 80 are prints made from engraved or etched copper plates. Their sheer number dictates that they will be the main focus of this research. In terms of distribution, these prints could be published individually, as part of a series, in collections, or as book illustrations (in antiquarian, topographical and architectural works). The fact that prints were designed to be distributed was of key importance – they enabled the beauty of Oxford and its buildings to become known well beyond the confines of the city. However, some 'unique' two-

[1] J.J. Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restuarata* (2 vols., Oxford, 1823), 2, pl. 142 (notes).

dimensional images also survive – unique in the sense that when made or commissioned they were not intended to be reproduced; these include drawings, watercolour and oil paintings, stained glass and tapestries. For the purposes of this research, all prints and unique images, regardless of their source, have been allocated to one of three categories, although by using such a restricted number of categories these allocations are in a few cases other than ideal. The categories used are: (i) maps and plans; (ii) prospects and city views; and (iii) building views (the varieties of which are described in Chapter 4).[2] In the cartographic sense of projections, the terms map and plan are largely synonymous, with a tendency for the former to be used to describe larger areas (for example countries) and the latter smaller (for example buildings). In so far as towns are of intermediate size, the terms have historically been applied interchangeably and this will be the case in this research, particularly in Chapter 2. Unless otherwise stated, and subject to the four varieties described in Chapter 3, the terms prospect and view will also be used interchangeably to mean the vista afforded from a particular place. Rarely described three-dimensional images of Oxford (on seals, coins, carvings and brasses) will also be examined in Chapter 3. The last, largest category of building views has been sub-divided into two: (a) images produced primarily for the commercial benefit of the engraver or publisher, or commissioned for aesthetic or antiquarian reasons; and (b) images produced in connection with building projects. The principal large-series of engraved building views considered in Chapter 4 (including *Oxonia Illustrata* and *Oxonia Depicta*) had a very straightforward common primary motive for their publication – commercial success (this motive may also have applied to some of the individual building views engraved and offered for sale by Michael Burghers). Many of the buildings depicted were already very old and some of them, especially those in images commissioned by antiquaries, were demolished not long thereafter. However, the majority of single and small-series Oxford building views issued between 1680 and 1759, considered in Chapter 5, fell into a different category: commissions from third parties depicting new building projects, where the commercial sale of the print was not necessarily the primary motive. The purpose of the engraving would be to gain approval for a design,

[2] Alternative image groupings were considered (including, for example, antiquarian images and book illustrations), but were ultimately rejected on the basis that some of the groups would have been quite small and still not entirely eliminated the problem of possible allocation to more than one category.

or to encourage the donation of funds towards the expense of the project, or to celebrate or advertise the completion of the building. The concluding chapter reviews the evidence to support Skelton's assertion and summarises other research findings. Given this, the chapter organisation is as follows:

Chapter 2: *Hic est Oxonium*: maps and plans

Chapter 3: Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects: prospects and views

Chapter 4: Shadows in ink and paper: commercial and antiquarian building views

Chapter 5: *Oxonia explicata et ornata*: project related building views

Chapter 6: Conclusions

In order to understand the scale of this corpus of material and how it came to exist, it is first necessary to understand the circumstances in which the images were produced. The analytical framework developed here for this purpose may be of more general applicability when an historical researcher is presented with an unfamiliar image of a city or building. For a unique image, such as a pencil drawing, to come into existence requires several steps and more are needed in the case of a reproduced image, such as an engraving. The motive for producing the image can be mundane or sophisticated: an antiquary sketching for pleasure, or an architect seeking approval for his work. Was the image intended to be accurate, or in some sense symbolic? There will be a cost to the production of the image: the opportunity cost of the time taken to make the drawing oneself, or the actual cost of paying another to do so, to which must be added the cost of the materials used. Reaching the point at which sufficient skill has been achieved to produce a passable image will certainly have involved an investment in time and tuition fees – possibly a long apprenticeship. Are such costs simply to be expended, or treated as an investment in the hope of producing later commercial gain, or achieving some other objective? Without the skill oneself to draw or engrave, how would suitable craftsmen be identified, and where and how did they obtain the necessary skills? When prints were produced for commercial purposes, how were copies distributed?

To answer these questions, thereby understanding the social and historical context of the image, requires an examination of the work of the artisans, artists, engravers and surveyors who, from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the eighteenth, recorded the principal buildings of the university

and city of Oxford. Although several of the relevant artists and engravers and their oeuvres have been studied individually in considerable depth, no attempt has previously been made to understand how their work in Oxford developed from and related to that of their predecessors in that city and their contemporaries working elsewhere. Such inter-relationships were not always legitimate: casual plagiarism is evident from even a cursory review of Oxford images.

Having identified and analysed this abundance of visual material, it can be put to another purpose. Throughout much of its existence, the principal municipal, university and college buildings of Oxford were all located within a well-defined area of a little under a square mile. Many of these buildings and their institutions have well documented social and architectural histories and much is also known of the layout and demographics of mediaeval and early modern Oxford. There are, however, lacunae, some of which can be filled from visual rather than textual sources, but only if the circumstances in which the image was produced are known and a judgement can be made on how far it reflects reality. This can be done with greater confidence when the image has been subjected to rigorous analysis.

This introduction is split into six sections. The first relates to primary sources, of which the majority are the images themselves, or contemporary items closely related to them. Some images remain *in situ* and others are dispersed among a variety of collections. Contemporary comments on the production or publication of images can be found in letters, diaries, building accounts, newspapers and handbills.

The second relates to general secondary sources (more specific references are provided in each chapter). It has not been possible to identify any published works related to an analysis of the images of Oxford on a broad basis, or, for that matter, any other British city. That which comes closest is Adams' *London Illustrated*, but even this is limited principally to illustrated books, rather than individually issued prints or other types of image.[3] The literature that has been reviewed in approaching this research has therefore been that believed to have influenced the production of images of Oxford, particularly from the sixteenth century onwards.

[3] B. Adams, *London illustrated, 1604–1851* (London, 1983).

The third and fourth sections provide context for the production of these images. The third is a summary of Oxford's development from its origins in the eighth or ninth century to the middle of the eighteenth. The opportunity is taken to introduce some of the more important images produced within this chronology. As will become clear, Oxford has a unique place among the towns and cities of England in terms of its historical development.

The fourth is a short review of the introduction into Britain of the printed image, with particular regard to antiquarianism and topography. Reference is made to the reproduction techniques that were adopted, the principal engravers and etchers who produced the work, and the rise of the illustrated book. The emphasis is on those who had a particular connection with Oxford. No attempt is made to provide a comprehensive history of printmaking, which is well covered elsewhere, or to deal generally with contemporary developments in Continental printmaking. Continental examples of printmaking are provided only occasionally for comparative purposes. As again will become clear, Oxford also has a unique place in terms of the quality and quantity of such engravings.

The fifth relates to methodology. While every attempt has been made to ensure that no categories of image have been arbitrarily excluded, it has been necessary to introduce a cut-off date, set at 1759. The reasons for this and the implications are explained.

The sixth relates to terminology, particularly in connection with the conventional suffixes used after the names of contributors to the manufacture of prints.

Volume 2 contains all of the images of Oxford discovered during the course of the research, together with a small number of images of other subjects included for comparative purposes. The images are grouped together, where possible, according to the main categories (and sub-categories) described above. However, for a work that includes images in more than one category, for example David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, images from more than one category are kept together. For reasons stated below, not all images have been described. The consequence of this is that references to illustrations in the text do not necessarily run consecutively, but the possible inconvenience of this is minimised by presenting the images in a second volume.

Many of the images included in Volume 2 are of a much larger size than the A4 format of this thesis and in only very few cases is even a full page devoted to a single image. This inevitably results in a loss of detail, but in all cases the source of the image is clearly stated in the caption: for unique images this is the archive, gallery or museum in which the image is kept, together with an accession number; for prints issued in book form it is the name of the book (with publication details provided in the bibliography). Almost all of the books listed are available in the Bodleian Library and/or the British Library and this is also true of individually issued prints. Specific locations are also provided for rare states of prints.

The maximum permitted length of the thesis precluded a description of all of the images and, in any event, this was not necessary or desirable. There are several series of prints that can be considered as large groups with common characteristics, for example Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, Williams' *Oxonia Depicta* and the Almanacks. This leaves a smaller number of images, both unique and printed, that have to be considered in smaller groups, or individually. Narrative descriptions of images are anyway avoided, other than where they can lead to useful conclusions. Copies of all of the images have, nonetheless, been included in Volume 2 on the grounds that they should prove to be an invaluable resource to future researchers. The index to images in Volume 2 shows clearly the images that have not been referred to or described in the text. The format of image captions is explained in Volume 2, with the original size being given for most of the more the more important images.

1.1 Principal Primary Sources

In 1929, Bodley's Librarian commented that 'the Bodleian may be said to possess the great bulk of existing drawings and engravings of Oxford'. This was not quite true then or now.[4] What the Bodleian does contain are copies of virtually all of the books printed at the university containing images of the city and its buildings, whether as the main illustrations (for example *Oxonia Illustrata* and *Oxonia Depicta*), incidental illustrations (Robert Plot's *Natural history of Oxfordshire*), or title pages (John Baskett's 'Vinegar' Bible). Locating illustrations contained in books not printed at the university is more problematic. For topographical works, leads can be

[4] Falconer Madan, 'Notes and news', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 6.61/2 (1929), pp. 5–6.

found in the Cordeaux and Merry bibliographies of the city and university of Oxford and more general bibliographies of topographical works.[5]

Individual prints and drawings of Oxford subjects at the Bodleian are contained in various series, especially Wood and MSS. Gough Maps, Gough Additions, Rawlinson Prints and Top. Oxon. It also holds extra-illustrated (Grangerised) editions of Wood's *City of Oxford* and *University and Colleges of Oxford*. The cataloguing of individual prints and drawings and manuscripts held by the Bodleian is inconsistent, although some help in relation to more recent accessions can be found in Spokes, the manuscript listings of Minn and Ellis and the card catalogues.[6] Original drawings in these series are few and with very rare exceptions the prints are finished states. Known to be lacking in the Bodleian collection are some individually issued engravings, especially related to college building projects, and early (sometimes unique) states of those that it does hold. These rarer engravings are more widely dispersed among print collections, including those of Henry Aldrich at Christ Church, George Clarke at Worcester College and the King's Topographical Collection in the British Library, which contains two volumes largely devoted to prints and some architectural drawings of Oxford (Maps K. Top. 34–5).

Another area in which the Bodleian is relatively deficient is architectural drawings. It does have a few, but the major collections in Oxford are held at All Souls, Brasenose, Magdalen, Queen's, and Worcester Colleges and the Ashmolean Museum (which also holds the Sutherland and Hope print collections). Outside of Oxford there are important examples in the British Library, Guildhall Library and the Royal Institute of British Architects Library. The colleges also hold other original works in various categories, including drawings and paintings of their buildings (sometimes as the background to portraits), statutes and other illustrated manuscripts and benefactors' books, estate and similar maps. Other estate maps are held by the British Library and various provincial archives.

[5] E.H. Cordeaux and D.H. Merry: (1) *A bibliography of printed works relating to the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1968); and (2) *A bibliography of printed works relating to the City of Oxford* (Oxford, 1976).
[6] (1) P.S. Spokes, *Summary Catalogue of the topographical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library relating to the City, County, and University of Oxford. Accessions 1916–62 (Oxford*, 1962); (2) MS. Top. Oxon. e.258: a list of the principal printed works containing engravings, woodcuts, lithographs, &c., of Oxford, 1575 to *c*.1850, compiled by H. Minn, 1931; and (3) MSS. Top. Oxon. c.243–4: a list of prints and drawings in the Bodleian relating to the university and city, including a list of the principal volumes indexed, compiled by W.P. Ellis, 1916–19.

The Ashmolean also holds many of the original designs for the Oxford University Almanack, along with several proof and variant states.

The earliest images of Oxford are sufficiently rare that most have been referred to at one time or another in various journals, especially *Oxoniensia*, the journal of Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society ('OAHS'), and *Print Quarterly*. Tracking them down is not always easy, with their current (or even historic) locations not always recorded. The largest collection of impressions of the Oxford municipal seals is at the Oxfordshire History Centre, with a few casts of these held by the Ashmolean (none of the matrices survives), which also holds examples of the Oxford Crown. Funerary monuments, brasses, windows and misericords with Oxford images can variously be found at Christ Church, Merton, New and Queen's Colleges, and Carlisle Cathedral.

The Bodleian holds the single most important collection of early original images of Oxford, Bodley MS. 13a, otherwise the *Topographical delineation*, and the collection of drawings of old halls and other buildings by James Green (MS. Gough 50). Unfortunately, it does not hold the original 1578 Agas survey of the city (or the anonymous survey of 1590), but it does hold the single surviving copy of an engraving of the Agas/Ryther map of 1588, the manuscript de Gomme map of Oxford from the time of the English Civil War and examples of all the later engraved maps. The British Library holds the duc de Chaulnes atlas of manuscript maps, including that of Oxford. Sketches by John Aubrey are contained in the manuscript for *Monumenta Britanniae* and in correspondence with Anthony Wood, both held by the Bodleian, which also holds one of Wood's notebooks with a sketch of University College's old buildings. A drawing of Osney Abbey commissioned by Aubrey from Jerome Hesketh, once held by the Ashmolean, can no longer be found.

Drawings and watercolours can be found in other collections, such as a Hoefnagel drawing in the Royal Collection and a watercolour in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a drawing by a court artist of Cosimo III de' Medici in the Laurentian Library (with a later copy in the British Library) and drawings by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

References to artists and engravers working in Oxford can be found in various special collections at the Bodleian, including the diaries and notebooks of Anthony Wood and Thomas Hearne (also

published by the OAHS), correspondence of John Aubrey, Sir James Thornhill and others (for example in MSS. Ashmole, Ballard and Rawlinson), and building accounts of the Radcliffe Library and other university buildings (many other building accounts are held by colleges).

Correspondence of David Loggan with Sir Thomas Isham is held by the Northamptonshire Record Office. The British Library holds the notebooks of George Vertue and other correspondence.

Contemporary printed references to the publication of engraved works are rare, although some advertisements for new and second hand (estate sale) copies of *Oxonia Illustrata* and *Oxonia Depicta* have been found in newspapers. Broadsheet advertisements for *Oxonia Depicta*, some Oxford maps and the surveying services of Ralph Agas have been found in ephemera collections, including those of Chetham's Library and the British Library.

1.2 Principal Secondary Sources

There is a vast literature on the history of the city and university of Oxford. Among works consulted have been the relevant volumes of the Victoria History of the County of Oxford and the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.[7] Oxford before the university is covered by Dodd.[8] The history of the university has most recently and comprehensively been published in eight volumes under the general editorship of Aston and Catto, summarised in a single volume by Brockliss.[9] Gadd's three volume history of the Oxford University Press is comprehensive, supplemented by more specialist works by Barker and Johnson and Gibson.[10] Where available recent histories of the colleges have been consulted, but the series published by F.E. Robinson in *c.*1898–1902 is still valuable (the bibliography lists all these works). Similarly, many OAHS publications, including the bibliographies

[7] (1) W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford, vol. 2: general volume, including religious houses* (London, 1907), hereafter '*VCH Oxford* 2'; (2) H.E Salter and M.D. Lobel (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford, vol.3: the University of Oxford* (London, 1954), hereafter '*VCH Oxford* 3'; (3) A. Crossley and C.R. Elrington (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford, vol. 4: the City of Oxford* (London, 1979), hereafter '*VCH Oxford* 4'; and (4) Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An inventory of the historical monuments in the City of Oxford* (London, 1939), hereafter '*RCHM Oxford*'.
[8] A. Dodd (ed.), *Oxford before the University* (Oxford, 2003).
[9] (1) T.H Aston and J.I. Catto (eds.), *History of the University of Oxford* (8 vols., Oxford, 1984–94); and (2) L.W.B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford, a history* (Oxford, 2016).
[10] (1) I.A. Gadd (ed.), *History of the Oxford University Press* (3 vols., Oxford, 2013); (2) N.J. Barker, *The Oxford University Press and the spread of learning, 1478–1978* (Oxford, 1978); and (3) J. de M. Johnson and S. Gibson, *Print and privilege at Oxford to the year 1700* (Oxford, 1966).

of Falconer Madan and Cordeaux and Merry, remain indispensable. Oxford's important buildings remain the subject of analysis and reinterpretation.[11] Petter's *The Oxford Almanacks* is invaluable.[12] The *Encyclopaedia of Oxford* is often of use.[13]

Since a high proportion of the images to be considered are engravings, particular attention has been paid throughout to the history of the English print. Early engraving and engravers were covered in a single volume by Colvin, albeit with some surprising omissions.[14] Hind's *Engraving in England* was originally intended to comprise four volumes covering, respectively, the Tudor period, James I, Charles I and the period to 1688.[15] The first two had been published by the time of his death and the third, albeit less comprehensive, was completed and published not long afterwards. The fourth never approached publication. Griffiths' *The print in Stuart England* covered again the periods dealt with in Hind's second and third volumes and the intended fourth, although less comprehensively overall and using a different methodological approach.[16] Clayton carried forward Griffiths' approach until the end of the seventeenth century, while Jones effectively covered the whole of the periods dealt with by Hind and Griffiths.[17] Griffiths' *The print before photography* covers printmaking across the whole of Europe from 1550 to 1820.[18] Vallance's *Art in England during the Elizabethan & Stuart periods* contains a chapter by Salaman on engravings.[19] In all these the emphasis on topographical prints is low. Other than library and museum catalogues and bibliographies, specialist works on English topographical illustrations covering the period before 1759 have not been identified. Technical aspects of printmaking have been covered very widely, including by Griffiths.[20] Each of these authors has also

[11] See, for example: (1) C. Ferdinand, *An accidental masterpiece: Magdalen College's new building* (Oxford, 2010); (2) M. Kemp, *The chapel of Trinity College Oxford* (London, 2013); (3) A. Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre* (New Haven, CT, 2013); and (4) S. Hebron, *Dr Radcliffe's Library* (Oxford, 2014).
[12] H.M Petter, *The Oxford Almanacks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).
[13] C. & E. Hibbert (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Oxford* (London, 1988).
[14] S. Colvin, *Early engraving & engravers in England (1545–1695): a critical and historical essay* (London, 1905).
[15] A.M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A descriptive catalogue with introductions* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1952–64).
[16] A.V. Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain* (London, 1998).
[17] (1) T. Clayton, *The English print, 1688–1802* (New Haven, CT, 1997); and (2) M. Jones *The print in early modern England* (New Haven, CT, 2010).
[18] A.V. Griffiths, *The print before photography: an introduction to European printmaking, 1550-1820* (London, 2016).
[19] M.C. Salaman, 'The first century of English engraving' in Aymer Vallance, *Art in England during the Elizabethan & Stuart Periods* (London, 1908), pp. 107–12.
[20] A.V. Griffiths, *Prints and printmaking* (London, 1980).

made a significant contribution to the subject in *DNB* entries, journal articles, exhibition catalogues and elsewhere. Another author who has made multiple contributions is Hyde, particularly in relation to town prospects and panoramas.[21] Specialist aspects of the print trade, such as print (and map) selling, have been covered by Globe, Arber and Tyacke.[22] The relationships between literature and print culture and between literature and architecture have been considered respectively by Jung and Myers, while the printed image in early modern Britain has been examined in Hunter.[23] Early English illustrated books have been covered by Pollard and Knapp.[24]

Maps and plans produced between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries also have a very broad literature. The *History of cartography*, published by Chicago University Press, is by far the most comprehensive treatment of the subject as a whole, with several chapters in volumes 3 and 4 containing matter relevant to England generally and Oxford in particular.[25] Karrow has focussed on sixteenth-century maps.[26] Specialist English aspects have been dealt with by a number of authors, including Harvey and Speed in relation to topographical and Tudor maps.[27] Skelton has provided works on decorative maps and, with Harvey, local maps and plans.[28] Estate maps, which have a significant relevance to Oxford, have a wide literature of their own.[29] There are also chapters on this and other relevant subjects in Tyacke's *English map-making 1500–1650*.[30] English street and urban

[21] R. Hyde: (1) *Gilded scenes and shining prospects: panoramic views of British towns, 1575–1900* (New Haven, CT, 1987); and (2) *A prospect of Britain: the town panoramas of Samuel and Nathaniel Buck* (London, 1994).
[22] (1) A.V. Globe, *Peter Stent: London printseller circa 1642–1665* (Vancouver, 1985); and (2) E. Arber, *The Term Catalogues*, 1668–1709 (3 vols., London, 1903–06); and (3) S. Tyacke, *London map-sellers 1660–1720* (Tring, 1978).
[23] (1) S. Jung (ed.), *British literature and print culture* (London, 2013); (2) A.M. Myers, *Literature and architecture in early modern England* (Baltimore, MD, 2012); and (3) M.C.W. Hunter (ed.), *Printed images in early modern Britain: essays in interpretation* (Farnham, *c.*2009).
[24] (1) A.W. Pollard, *Early illustrated books* (London, 1893); and (2) J.A Knapp, *Illustrating the past in Early Modern History* (London, 2017).
[25] J.B. Harley *et al* (eds.), *The history of cartography* (6 vols., Chicago, IL, 1987-2015).
[26] R.W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the sixteenth century and their maps* (Chicago, IL, 1993).
[27] (1) P.D.A. Harvey: (1) *The history of topographical maps* (London, 1980); (2) *Maps in Tudor England* (London, 1993); and (3) *Medieval maps* (London, 1993); and (2) J.J. Speed, *Tudor townscapes* (Waddesdon, 2000).
[28] R.A. Skelton: (1) *Decorative printed maps of the 15th to 18th centuries* (London, 1965); and (2) *Local maps and plans from medieval England* (Oxford, 1986).
[29] (1) D. Buisseret (ed.), *Rural images: estate maps in the Old and New Worlds* (Chicago, IL, 1996); (2) R. Davis, *Estate maps of Wales, 1600 to 1836* (Aberystwyth, 1982); (3) D.H. Fletcher, *The emergence of estate maps: Christ Church, Oxford, 1600–1840* (Oxford, 1995); and (4) S. Bendall (ed.), *Dictionary of land surveyors and local map-makers of Great Britain and Ireland 1530–1850*, 2nd edn. (2 vols., London, 1997).
[30] S. Tyacke, (ed.), *English map-making 1500–1650* (London, 1983).

mapping has been covered by Elliott, Millea and Kain and Oliver.[31] The early maps of Oxford were discussed by Hurst and some of them more recently (and not always entirely accurately) by MacCannell.[32] An atlas of historic maps of Oxford by the Historic Towns Trust is in preparation and should be published by 2018. Barber and Mitton have described maps of London, important for comparative purposes.[33] The most comprehensive dictionary of British map-makers to 1850 (many of whom were also general engravers) is that of Worms and Baynton-Williams.[34]

Very few engravers working in Oxford have been the subject of extensive studies, although most have entries in *DNB* and specialist dictionaries of artists and engravers. Loggan's life has been summarised in Clark's facsimile edition of *Cantabrigia Illustrata* and Hollar's in Pennington's catalogue of his work.[35] Vertue's life is well documented.[36]

Antiquaries and their studies began to have an influence on the quantity and quality of topographical prints from the middle of the seventeenth century, their activities as a group being discussed by Parry, Sweet and Douglas.[37] Roberts has described Hollar's illustrations for Dugdale.[38] From the early eighteenth century the London Society of Antiquaries became influential, of which the most recent history has been edited by Pearce.[39] Of the antiquaries with particular importance to Oxford, Hearne and Aubrey have been the subject of individual studies.[40] Ashmole's life is dealt with by Ovenell in

[31] (1) J. Elliot, *The city in maps: urban mapping to 1900* (London, 1987); (2) N. Millea, *Street mapping: an A to Z of urban cartography* (Oxford, 2003); and (3) R.J.P. Kain and R.R. Oliver, *British town maps: a history* (London, 2015).
[32] (1) H. Hurst, *Oxford topography: an essay* (Oxford, 1900); (2) D. MacCannell *Oxford: mapping the city* (Edinburgh, 2016).
[33] (1) P. Barber (ed.), *London: a history in maps* (London, 2012); and (2) G.E. Mitton, *Maps of old London* (London, 1908).
[34] L. Worms and A. Baynton-Williams, *British map engravers* (London, 2011).
[35] (1) D. Loggan (ed. J.W. Clark), *Cantabrigia Illustrata ....* (Cambridge, 1905); and (2) R. Pennington, *A descriptive catalogue of the etched work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677* (Cambridge, 2002).
[36] G. Vertue (eds. K.A. Esdaile *et al*), 'The Notebooks of George Vertue', *Walpole Society* (6 vols., 1930–55).
[37] (1) G. Parry, *The trophies of time: English antiquarians of the seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1995); (2) R. Sweet, *Antiquaries: the discovery of the past in eighteenth-century Britain* (London, 2004); and (3) D.C. Douglas, *English scholars, 1660–1730* (London, 1939).
[38] M.E. Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: history illustrated* (Newark, DE, *c*.2002)
[39] S. Pearce (ed.), *Visions of antiquity: the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707–2007* (London, 2007).
[40] (1) T. Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age: Thomas Hearne 1678–1735* (Oxford, 2000); (2) A. Powell, *John Aubrey and his friends* (London, 1948); and (3) John Aubrey (ed. Kate Bennett), *Brief Lives with an apparatus for the lives of our English mathematical writers* (Oxford, 2015).

his history of the museum.[41] Myrone and Peltz consider the relationship between antiquarianism and the printed image.[42]

Gombrich writes generally on art history, Andrews deals specifically with landscape in Western Art and Links with townscape.[43] Developments in perspective in art history have been considered (somewhat idiosyncratically) by Brener.[44] The British landscape tradition has been the subject of works by Grant, Hermann and the Ogdens.[45] The influence of Dutch landscapes and townscapes on British topographical works is considerable and is the subject of short works by Brown in the National Gallery's *Themes and Painters* series.[46] Schama's work on Dutch Golden Age culture is also relevant.[47] The important building and city views of Hans Vredeman de Vries have been explored by Heuer and catalogued by Fuhring.[48]

The relevant volumes of *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain* (4: 1557–1695; and 5: 1695–1830) and *A history of Cambridge University Press* (1: 1534–1698; and 2: 1698–1872) contain information of value, for example in relation to university printing, atlases, book illustration and almanacs (on the last of which there are also several specialist works).[49]

Harris is invaluable for context and in tracking down early works on architecture and Colvin for providing details on many Oxford architects and builders. [50] Colvin also wrote numerous other

[41] R.F. Ovenell, *The Ashmolean Museum 1683–1894* (Oxford, 1986).
[42] M. Myrone and L. Peltz (eds.), *Producing the past: aspects of antiquarianism culture and practice, 1700–1850* (Farnham, 1999).
[43] (1) E.H.J. Gombrich, *The story of Art*, 16th edn. (London, 1995); (2) M. Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford, 1999); and (3) J.G. Links, *Townscape painting and drawing* (London, 1972).
[44] M.E. Brener, *Vanishing points: three-dimensional perspective in art and history* (Jefferson, NC, 2004).
[45] (1) M.H. Grant, *Chronological history of the old English landscape painters* (8 vols., Leigh-on-Sea, 1926–61); (2) H.V.S. and M.S. Ogden, *English taste in landscape in the seventeenth century* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1955); and (3) L. Herrmann, *British landscape painting of the eighteenth century* (London, 1973).
[46] C. Brown: (1) *Dutch Townscape* (London, [1972]); (2) *Dutch Landscape* (London, [1976]); and (3) *Dutch Genre Painting* (London, 1976).
[47] S. Schama, *The embarrassment of riches* (Berkeley, CA, 1988).
[48] (1) C.P. Heuer, *The city rehearsed* (Oxford, 2009); and (2) P. Fuhring (compiler) & G. Luijten (ed.), *The new Hollstein Dutch and Flemish engravings, etchings and woodcuts, 1450-1700 – Hans Vredeman de Vries* (2 vols., Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 1997).
[49] (1) D.F. McKenzie *et al* (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain* (6 vols., Cambridge, 1999–2009); and (2) D.J. McKitterick, *A history of Cambridge University Press* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1998–2004).
[50] (1) E. Harris, *British architectural books and writers, 1556–1785* (Cambridge, 1990); and (2) H.M. Colvin, *Biographical dictionary of British architects, 1600–1840*, 3rd edn. (New Haven, CT, 1995).

relevant books and papers.[51] The main source used on the history of British architecture was Summerson, while Gerbino and Johnston also provided important insights.[52] Oxford's surviving architecture has been well described by Tyack.[53] Hawksmoor's contribution to Oxford is covered by Downes and in numerous papers.[54] Cambridge architectural history has been recorded comprehensively by Willis.[55]

1.3 Oxford from the ninth to the eighteenth centuries

The date of the first settlement at Oxford is unknown, but likely to have been before the ninth century, given its location close to a river crossing important in north–south trade. Firm archaeological evidence is lacking, yet the tradition of an eighth-century religious foundation that came to be associated with the name of St Frideswide may have some basis in fact.[56] The town is first named, as Oxnaforda, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, which were begun in the late ninth century.[57] It was expanded by King Alfred, or his son, Edward the Elder, as one of the defensive burghs, or fortified towns, during the late ninth century, or early tenth, being so mentioned in the *Burghal Hidage* of *c*.914.[58] The first wall, of earth construction with some stonework, was built at this time and not rebuilt entirely in stone until the early thirteenth century. The original eastward extent of the burgh may only have been as far as Catte Street/Magpie Lane.[59] The town boasted six mints in the tenth century and suffered burning by the Danes early in the eleventh. Several important Councils were held at Oxford in the early eleventh century and it became a well-established county and market town. By

[51] See especially: (1) H.M. Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford* (New Haven, CT, 1983); (2) H.M. Colvin, *The Canterbury Quadrangle, St John's College* (Oxford, 1988); and (3) H.M. Colvin and J.S.G. Simmons, *All Souls: an Oxford college and its buildings* (Oxford, 1989).
[52] (1) J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1983); and (2) A. Gerbino and S. Johnston, *Compass & Rule, architecture as mathematical practice in England 1500–1750* (New Haven, CT, 2009).
[53] G. Tyack, *Oxford, an architectural guide* (Oxford, 1998).
[54] J.K. Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 1959).
[55] R. Willis (ed. J.W. Clark), *The architectural history of the University of Cambridge and of the colleges of Cambridge and Eton* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1886).
[56] See: J. Blair, 'St Frideswide reconsidered', *Oxoniensia*, 52 (1987), pp. 71–127.
[57] See: http://anglosaxondiscovery.ashmolean.museum/Leeds/oxford-chronicles.html [accessed 20 Jun 2015].
[58] M. Butler, *The Burghal Hidage: a burh by burh examination of the A-version Burghal Hidage* (CreateSpace, 2014).
[59] (1) Dodd, pp. 24–5; (2) D. Poore *et al*, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle: Oxford's western quarter from the mid-Saxon period to the late eighteenth century (based on Daniel Poore's Tom Hassall Lecture for 2008)', *Oxoniensia*, 74 (2009), pp. 1–18 (5).

the time of the Norman invasion it comprised around a thousand dwellings, equivalent to a population of perhaps 5,000, between a quarter and a third that of London at the same date. It had thirteen entries, as Oxenford, in *Domesday* (1086), although interpretation of these is not straightforward.[60] For obscure reasons, the town suffered a decline during the latter years of the century, despite the construction (or reconstruction) of grandpont. The early years of the twelfth century saw some recovery.

Although there is evidence for parts to have incorporated elements of the Anglo-Saxon defences, for example St George's Tower, Oxford Castle's first major phase of construction began around 1071, it later being strengthened considerably.[61] There are signs of numerous dwellings having to be cleared during its construction, probably contributing to some decline in population at this time, along with general post-Invasion uncertainty. It served as a refuge for Matilda in 1142, when the town was burned again, this time by Stephen's forces. Impressions of the Oxford municipal seal survive from 1191 and are notable in that they show a clear visual self-identity that has survived to this day – a depiction of the town's walls, spires and towers.[62] This and a London example of similar date are the first instances in which an English town or city adopted an image of itself on its seal.[63] Although it is common today for cities to promote an iconic visual image, these are invariably relatively modern and it is doubtful if any predate Oxford's towers, or have survived almost unchanged for more than six centuries.

The origins of Oxford as a centre of learning are unclear, but are likely to have occurred no later than beginning of the twelfth century. St Frideswide was re-founded as a monastery after 1002, following the destruction by fire in that year of the original nunnery, and was advanced to priory status in 1122. A college of secular canons was established by Robert d'Oilly and Roger d'Ivri at St George's-in-the Castle Church in 1074, 'thought to have some claim to be the most likely source from which the

[60] See: (1) http://opendomesday.org/place/SP5106/oxford/ [accessed 20 Jun 2015]; and (2) Dodd, pp. 50–1.
[61] Dodd, pp. 49–50.
[62] Detailed references and descriptions for all of the images noted in the Introduction will be provided in the following chapters.
[63] (1) R.H.C. Davis, 'An Oxford Charter of 1191 and the beginnings of municipal freedom', *Oxoniensia*, 33 (1968), pp. 53–65 (54–5) & pls. VI–VII; (2) C. Platt, *The English mediaeval town* (London, 1979), pp. 40–1.

schools immediately sprang'; this may have been a re-foundation of an earlier establishment.[64] Osney Priory was founded in 1129 and advanced to abbey status in 1154. Cases in Roman and canon law were heard in Oxford by the late twelfth century, offering learning opportunities in those subjects.[65] A spurt in population growth occurred in 1167, when numerous students returned to England from Paris. Teaching in theology, the liberal arts and medicine may all have commenced in response to increased demand at this time.[66] Records of lectures given at Oxford survive from the end of the twelfth century, when Edmund of Abingdon was among those in residence acting as a Regent Master.[67]

There is no single foundation date for the university at Oxford:

> The University of Oxford was not created; it emerged. It emerged after a long period of discontinuous and fitful scholastic activity, which only gradually received the stamp of corporate identity in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[68]

The intention of the Bishop of Lincoln, on the periphery of whose diocese the town was located, to appoint a Chancellor over the 'clerks' at Oxford was mentioned in a document of 1214, but the first appointment was not recorded until 1221.[69] This document also asserted the right of clerks to appear before ecclesiastical rather than lay courts. Friaries of Dominicans and Franciscans were established in the 1220s, doubtless attracted by the town's increasing reputation for learning. The *de facto* university was granted a Royal Charter in 1248, following a long series of disputes between the townspeople and clerks. Thereafter the privileges awarded to the university continued to increase. The Parliament that approved and carried out the 'Provisions of Oxford' met at the Dominican friary in 1258.

The first colleges were endowed between 1249 and 1264 (University, Balliol and Merton). In due course these came to supplant the academic halls that had previously housed students, which had never benefited from endowments and lived very much on a hand to mouth basis. Of the several hundred that existed in mediaeval times, only four remained by the end of the seventeenth century and only one of these, St Edmund Hall, now exists as a college in its own right. The fourteenth century

[64] S. Gibson, 'The University of Oxford' in *VCH Oxford* 3, pp. 1–38.
[65] Dodd, p. 63.
[66] M.B. Hackett, 'The university as a corporate body' in *History of the University of Oxford*, 1, pp. 37–95 (37).
[67] M. Paris (ed. C.H. Lawrence), *Life of St Edmund* (London, 1999), pp. 16–20.
[68] R.W. Southern, 'From schools to university' in *History of the University of Oxford*, 1, pp. 1–36 (1).
[69] *VCH Oxford* 3, p. 2.

saw the foundation of a further four colleges (Exeter, Oriel, Queen's and New) and the fifteenth century another three (Lincoln, All Souls and Magdalen).

In addition to looking after the needs of students (bookbinders, parchment-makers, limners, copyists and scriveners), the Oxford townspeople were involved during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in a variety of manufacturing industries mainly based on wool (fulling and weaving) and leather (skinning, tanning, saddlery and shoemaking).[70] The wool industry was adversely affected by an outbreak of sheep scab in 1270 and increasing Flemish imports of cloth around the end of the thirteenth century.[71] The number of dwellings by 1300 had increased to around 1,400, equivalent to a population of perhaps 6,500; of these the university accounted for around 1,500.

The main impact on the British population during the fourteenth century was the Black Death, reaching the island in 1348 and soon arriving in Oxford. Mortality levels may well have reached fifty percent, not just in Oxford, but throughout the country, with a consequent effect on the economy.[72] Large areas within the city walls, previously occupied for residential or commercial purposes, became 'waste'. Traditional trades declined during the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, with servicing the needs of the academic population becoming the principal source of direct and indirect employment and a particular emphasis on victualing (bakers, brewers, butchers and coopers), apparel (hatters, tailors and shoemakers) and building (blacksmiths, masons and carpenters). The military value of Oxford Castle diminished during the fourteenth century and it came to be used mainly for administrative purposes, housing the county assizes and gaol.

As late as the early fourteenth century Oxford represented the head of the Thames navigation and was an important thoroughfare, particularly for the transport of heavy goods, such as stone and coal. Thereafter there was a decline in its navigability and importance as mills and weirs were built on the

[70] *VCH Oxford* 4, pp. 35–48.
[71] Platt, pp. 84–6.
[72] J.F.C. Hecker (trans. B.G. Babington), *The epidemics of the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn. (London, 1859), p. 25. The uncertainty and variability across the country of mortality levels has been discussed in: R.M. Smith, 'Measuring adult mortality in an age of plague: England, 1349–1540' in M. Bailey *et al* (eds.), *Town and countryside in the age of the Black Death* (Turnhout, 2012).

upper reaches of the river, its place as head of the river being usurped by Henley. The upper navigation was re-opened in the early seventeenth century, partly financed by Oxford tradesmen.[73]

Until the late fourteenth century most of Oxford's halls and the few colleges occupied buildings originally designed for other purposes and their expansion was somewhat piecemeal (Mob Quad at Merton, constructed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was an exception). This changed with the foundation of institutions such as New College in 1379, All Souls in 1438 and Magdalen College in 1458, where the arrangement of key buildings including a refectory (hall) and chapel around a central quadrangle became the norm. An image of the city's towers and spires appears in a New College misericord dating from *c.*1390 and an image of the college itself in the Chaundler MS. of *c.*1463 (along with its sister institution, Winchester College). Construction of these new foundations was facilitated by the availability of large parcels of waste land that had become vacant due to the decline in the town's population. The first important building of the university, the Divinity School, was constructed fitfully between 1427 and 1483. Thereafter the skyline of Oxford, which had previously been dominated by the towers of the castle and the churches and the walls and gates of the town, was complemented first by the towers of the colleges and later by the towers of university buildings and the Theatre.

Any recovery in population by the end of the fifteenth century is likely to have been knocked back by the 'English sweating sickness', which struck Oxford for the first time in 1485, again in 1507 and more seriously in 1517, when mortality rates may again have approached fifty percent.[74] By the middle of the sixteenth century the population of Oxford had still not recovered to its level of a century and a half before, standing at around 3,500. Despite a reduction in the economic activity of the town and a relative strengthening of the position of the university under Wolsey's Charter of 1523, Oxford achieved city status in 1542 with the creation of the see of Oxford, originally at Osney Abbey and translated to St Frideswide Priory Church, now Christ Church Cathedral, in 1546. The Abbey and Priory had been dissolved by Henry VIII immediately before this, leading to an exit of the monks and

[73] F.S. Thacker, *The Thames highway: a history of the inland navigation* (London, 1914), pp. 12–36.
[74] Hecker, p. 195.

the various friars that had also occupied substantial establishments in the city. Osney had been a thriving community from the twelfth century and is the subject of another of the earliest surviving images of an Oxford building, preserved as an illumination in one of the Abbey's rental books from 1453–79. The advowsons of many of the city's parish churches were transferred to colleges on the Dissolution, further strengthening the influence of the university.

Queen Mary's brief reign (1553–1558) saw the trial for heresy at St Mary's Church of Bishops Latimer and Ridley and Archbishop Cranmer, with the two former being burnt at the stake in Broad Street in 1555 and Cranmer in 1556. Woodcut illustrations in the first English edition of *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (1563) show both executions near to the Bocardo, where they had been imprisoned, and Cranmer's denunciation by Henry Cole within St Mary's.

From the second half of the sixteenth century the relative importance of the university increased still further, with Elizabeth making an important visit in 1566 and surveys of the city being commissioned in 1576–8 and *c.*1590.[75] Images of the Divinity and Public Schools and the colleges were considered sufficiently important to be included in the gift of an illustrated book presented to Elizabeth during her visit, the *Topographical delineation* (Bodleian MS. 13a). The earlier (Agas) survey was the basis for a map of the city published in 1588, drawn and probably engraved by Augustine Ryther. This map followed a precedent set in 1475, when the first European city map was produced that would have allowed the owner to find his way around with reasonable confidence. This city was Florence and the large woodcut bird's-eye view in eight blocks attributed to Francesco di Lorenzo Rosselli is generally known as the 'Catena view' or 'Chain map' (Ill. 1.8).[76] This also set a trend in another way, by the number of copies it spawned over the following decades, sometimes with minor updating. Like this map, the Agas/Ryther map of Oxford was 'scenographic', a term in use since at least the seventeenth century, rather than ichnographic – it was not simply a ground plan, but showed buildings as they would have been viewed from the air. The elevated viewpoint commonly adopted gave rise to the term 'bird's-eye views', or more properly 'bird's-flight views', since as noted by Hurst the perspective

[75] Ralph Agas, *A preparative to platting of landes and tenements for surveigh* (London, 1596), p. 15.
[76] Bode Museum, Berlin. There is a similar and slightly later map of Venice (1500, Ill. 1.9).

often changed according to which part of the city concerned was being depicted.[77] The first scenographic map of London was the 'copperplate map' of *c*.1560 (Ill. 1.12).[78] No contemporary impressions survive (although three of its plates do) and it was used as the basis for a later woodcut map that has sometimes been misattributed to Ralph Agas. Outside of London the first printed example in England, albeit on a much smaller scale, was a double-page woodblock plan of Norwich in William Cuningham's *The Cosmographical Glass*, of 1559 (Ill. 1.10).[79] The earliest surviving copper plate engraving is Richard Lyne's 1574 plan of Cambridge, probably commissioned for the *Historia Cantabrigensis Academia* by John Caius, although it is also found separately (Ill. 2.40).[80]

By 1588 the inhabitants of the town and university could be justifiably proud of their collections of buildings. The Agas/Ryther map includes a Latin couplet attributed to Daniel Rogers (*c*.1538–1591):

> If God himself on earth abode would make
> He Oxford sure would for his dwelling take.[81]

The economic importance of the university was well understood by 1574, Oxford's High Steward, Sir Francis Knollys (*c*.1514–1596), in a declaration to the town's citizens 'acknowledgeing y^{e} University to be y^{e} grounde and cause of y^{e} wealth of their Towne, if any there be'.[82]

The first prospect of the city, by Georg (or Joris) Hoefnagel (1542–1601), dates from *c*.1568 and was subsequently published in the second volume of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1575), again following a Continental tradition.[83] Early city prospects were often chorographical in nature – there was no attempt to introduce a vertical or horizontal scale and there might even be no consistency in the relative size of the buildings, their physical relationship to one another, or other features depicted. This was the case, for example, with many of the woodcuts in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae*

[77] Hurst, p. 4.
[78] See: A. Saunders and J. Schofield (eds.), *Tudor London: a map and a view* (London, 2001).
[79] A description of *The Cosmographical Glass* is contained in D.N. Livingstone, 'Tradition and the Scientific Revolution: an interpretive essay', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 15.3 (1990), pp. 359–73.
[80] John Caius, *Historiae Cantebrigiensis Academiae ab urbe condita* (London, 1574).
[81] J. Dougill, *Oxford in English Literature: the making, and undoing, of 'the English Athens'* (Ann Arbour, MI, 1998), p. 38.
[82] See: W.H. Turner and R.S. Hawkins (eds.), *Selections from the records of the City of Oxford with extracts from other documents illustrating the municipal history: Henry VIII to Elizabeth, 1509–1583* (Oxford, 1880), p. 357.
[83] Although associated mainly with the names of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, the *Civitates* was inspired and encouraged by the great cartographer Abraham Ortelius, a kinsman of Daniel Rogers.

Universalis (Basel, 1550). The first large scale collection of uniformly printed maps with a descriptive text, or atlas, had been published by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) in Antwerp in 1570, entitled *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.[84] The first edition contained 70 plates, all based largely on maps that had previously been published separately by a wide variety of cartographers. Ortelius issued a series of supplementary maps over the remainder of his life and the process continued after his death, so that by the 1612 edition the atlas contained over 160 maps. The success of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* inspired a series of companion volumes containing prospects, bird's-eye views and plans of cities. This was titled *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and eventually comprised six volumes, of which the first was published in 1572. The final volume was published in 1617, by which time there were images of over 540 cities. The editor of *Civitates*, who was strongly encouraged in his enterprise at the outset by Ortelius, was Georg Braun (1541–1622). The principal engraver working for Braun on the first four volumes of *Civitates* was Frans Hogenberg (1539–1590) and among the many artists who contributed drawings for engraving was Hoefnagel. Many of the *Civitates* prospects, including that of Oxford in the second volume, later formed the basis of the illustrations in Daniel Meisner's multi-volume emblem book, *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*, published between 1623 and 1631 and eventually comprising over 800 images.[85] These plates were also later re-used in the *Sciographia Cosmica* of Paulus Furst and elsewhere.[86] William Smith's 1588 illustration of Oxford in his manuscript *Description of England* represents a highly stylised southern view of the city with the main buildings spread across the northern horizon, a format favoured in the *Cosmographiae Universalis*.

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed the foundation of a further eight colleges in Oxford, including Brasenose, Christ Church (Cardinal), Jesus and Wadham. In 1610, the University gained the confidence to engage in its first major building project for over a century, with the construction of the Proscholium and Arts End addition to the Divinity School (1610–12), followed almost immediately by the Schools Building (1613–24) and the Convocation House/Selden End (1634–7). This was also the period when William Laud (1573–1645) was consolidating the legal status

[84] Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [*Theatre of the World*] (Antwerp, 1570).
[85] Daniel Meisner, *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus* (7 vols., Dresden, 1625–6).
[86] Paulus Furst, *Sciographia Cosmica* (8 vols., Nuremburg, 1638–78).

of the university press.[87] There was some recovery in the population, as can be seen from a map of the castle area prepared by Christ Church in a boundary dispute with the city of *c*.1617.

Several images of Oxford appeared in the early years of the seventeenth century, incidental to the extent that they did not constitute the principal subject matter of the image. The old buildings of Queen's were shown in a memorial brass to Bishop Henry Robinson in Queen's College Chapel; one of the ranges of Corpus Christi appeared in the background of an illustration to a treatise on sundials by Robert Hegge; paintings of Merton and Eton appear below a memorial to Sir Henry Savile in the Merton College Chapel; and Osney Abbey *c*.1542 appears in the background of a memorial window to Oxford's first Bishop, Robert King (?–1558), at Christ Church Cathedral. Portraits of college founders, such as Wolsey, Waynflete and William of Wykeham (not to mention a scullion of Christ Church) by artists including Richard Greenbury and Sampson Strong, could also feature college buildings in their backgrounds. A painting of Magdalen College also dates from around this period and slightly later an image of All Souls College appeared in the *Typus Collegii*. By the eighteenth century, even an undergraduate might commission a portrait with his college in the background.

Among the unique attributes of Oxford is that it is the only city other than London to have served as the country's capital since it was moved there from Winchester in the twelfth century. Notwithstanding a less than wholly enthusiastic local population, Oxford was a logical choice for this purpose when Charles I was forced to leave London in 1642. The town had had royal connections since Henry I built Beaumont Palace (originally the 'King's Houses') outside the Northgate around 1130 and Richard I had been born there in 1157. Beaumont can be viewed as the furthermost of a string of Thames-side royal residences stretching west from Greenwich via Somerset House, Whitehall, Richmond, Hampton Court, Oatlands and Windsor to Oxford. Briefly, the population of Oxford rose to perhaps 10,000.[88] Oxford is also the only city of England to have been featured on a

[87] See: J. Peacey, 'Printers to the University 1584–1668' in *The History of Oxford University Press*, 1, pp. 51–78.
[88] J. de Groot, 'Space, patronage, procedure: the Court at Oxford, 1642–46', *English Historical Review*, 117/ 474 (November 2002), pp. 1204–27 (1208).

coin, the obverse of the Civil War crown of 1644.[89] Parliament sat again in Oxford briefly in 1665 (as a result of the plague in London) and in 1681 during the Exclusion Crisis.

The church towers and spires contributed to the appearance of the city and provided adornment for some fine buildings, but no images specifically of Oxford ecclesiastical buildings appeared until the middle of the seventeenth century. The antiquarian movement was then responsible for a few surviving images of Oxford. Around 1653 John Aubrey (1626–1697) sketched the decaying keep of the castle in a letter to Anthony Wood, a plan of Rosamond's Bower at Woodstock and, in *Monumenta Britanniae*, several windows of Oxford buildings.[90] He also commissioned Jerome Hesketh and William Dobson to produce four drawings of the ruins of Osney Abbey, one of which was later engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677) for Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*.[91] Aubrey also refers to a prospect he had drawn of Godstow Nunnery from the bastion at St Giles.[92] The *Monasticon* also featured an engraving by Daniel King of a Richard Rallinson drawing of Christ Church Cathedral. These were the first engraved (or etched) images of Oxford buildings, although the maps of Agas/Ryther (1578/88) and Hollar (1643) were also engraved.

In his notebooks and elsewhere, Anthony Wood (1632–95) would occasionally sketch places of interest, including some old buildings of University College before they were demolished, prospects of Osney Abbey (based on Agas), Godstow Nunnery and Bampton Castle (engraved by Burghers), rough plans of areas within the city and grave plans.[93] They are listed, together with illustration references, in Table A18. Somewhat later, James Green's thirty or so drawings of the old halls and other ancient buildings of Oxford made during the 1750s for Edward Rowe Mores (1730–1778) provide a unique insight into buildings considered unimportant by most of his predecessors.[94]

[89] See: http://britisharchaeology.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/oxford-crown.html [accessed 20 Jun 2015].
[90] (1) MS. Wood F.39 f. 200; (2) MS. Wood 276b f. 43; and (3) Bodley MS. Gen. Top. c.25 ff. 155–77.
[91] Bodley MS. Wood F.39 ff. 183, 190, 200, 247 & 282; MS. Wood F.45 ff. 171 & 186; and MS. Ballard ff. 14, 86, 108, 111 & 135.
[92] Bodley MS. Ballard 14 f. 108 and Wood F.39 ff. 258, 291 & 362. I am indebted to Dr Kate Bennett for pointing out the existence of this prospect and providing these references (e-mail, 20 August 2016).
[93] (1) Bodley MS. Wood 276b f. 117; (2) Bodley MS. Rawlinson B.408 (at front); (3) Bodley MS. Wood E.1 f. 12; (4) Bodley MS. Wood F.29a ff. 379a and 44a/45; (5) MS. Wood 276[b] ff. 114-5; and (6) Wood 430 (at back).
[94] J. Munby, 'James (not John) Green (1729–59), Engraver to the University', *Oxoniensia*, 62 (1997), pp. 319–21.

In Oxford, as elsewhere in England, the predominant pre-Restoration architectural style was Gothic: unsurprisingly, since the designers of Oxford's college and university buildings were the master builders employed to manage their construction, undoubtedly with some input from the heads of houses concerned and important benefactors. Even into the eighteenth century, master builders continued to play an important role alongside the amateur arbiters of architectural good taste and those who would later be described as professional architects. By the early sixteenth century, however, some of the earliest signs of classical (or, at least, Renaissance) influence on English architecture can be found in elements incorporated by Wolsey at Hampton Court. Almost contemporary with these are the *putti* and *grotteschi* carved beneath the oriel window in the tower at the south end of the St Aldates façade of Christ Church.[95]

Despite classical/Renaissance features continuing to influence London (mainly Court) architectural design during the sixteenth century, their influence languished in Oxford, only becoming more pronounced during the early seventeenth century. Examples include the Tower of the Five Orders in the Schools Quadrangle, completed by 1618 and itself based on a smaller tower in the Fellows' Quadrangle at Merton built by John Ackroyd (1608–10).[96] Although largely of Gothic design, the east range of Wadham College (built 1610–1613) has Renaissance details. The Canterbury Quadrangle at St John's was commissioned by Archbishop Laud and completed in 1636, incorporating on its south side the pre-existing sixteenth-century library. Its design was leavened with several Renaissance features, including arcaded loggias and a pedimented gate tower.[97] Adam Browne (? –1655), the architect-mason concerned, was Surveyor of Westminster Abbey and would have been familiar with London architectural fashion. Three smaller structures, all attributed (with more or less evidence) to Nicholas Stone (1587–1647), were largely designed on classical principles: the three gates to the Botanic Garden, including the Danby Gate (1632/3); the old gateway to Magdalen at the east end of Gravel Walk (1635); and the south porch of St Mary the Virgin (1637). Stone was responsible for building the banqueting House at Whitehall, designed by Inigo Jones in Palladian style, and funerary

[95] Tyack, *Oxford, an architectural guide*, p. 76.
[96] J.C. Cole, 'The building of the Tower of the Five Orders', *Oxoniensia*, 38 (1968), pp. 92–107
[97] Colvin, *The Canterbury Quadrangle, St John's College*, pp. 15-55.

monuments in Oxford that incorporated classical elements, including that of Sir Thomas Bodley at Merton. None of these designs appeared in surviving contemporary print publications, although many were drawn and engraved later by Loggan and others.

Following the Restoration, Oxford moved forward again in some, but not all, respects: student numbers were not high and intellectual rigour was not universal among the dons.[98] With the example of William Laud as Chancellor of the University before him, John Fell (1625–1686) strengthened the university press, centralising its activities in the Sheldonian Theatre (1664–68) and bringing in type from the Dutch Republic, and it was not long before the new buildings began to be noticed.[99] Soon after the completion of the Theatre, Oxford received a visit from the indefatigable Celia Fiennes:

> y^e^ Theater stands the highest of all and much in y^e^ middle Encompass'd with y^e^ Severall Colledges and Churches and other Buildings whose towers and Spires appeares very Well at a Distance …[100]

The Oxford University Almanack first appeared in 1674 and was published annually from 1676 under the able direction of Henry Aldrich; the initial designs were mainly allegorical, but the backgrounds often contained views of Oxford.[101] Fell also took advantage of the presence in Oxford of two men who could help him in his objective of strengthening the reputation of Oxford beyond the realms of the kingdom – Wood and David Loggan (1634–1692), the latter having escaped to Oxford from plague-ridden and fire-destroyed London. Loggan's contribution to images of Oxford was the stunning and incomparable *Oxonia Illustrata*, started around 1665 and published in 1675, the year after Wood's *Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*. One of those to view the work in progress was Cosimo III de' Medici, whose court artist recorded a prospect of Oxford now in the Laurentian Library (1699). The forty beautifully drawn and engraved plates of *Oxonia Illustrata*, including two prospects and an updated version of the Agas/Ryther map, equalled the total number of Oxford images surviving from dates prior to its publication – certainly no more than forty – and easily exceeded them in quality. The university continued its programme of building after the completion of the Sheldonian, with the original Ashmolean Museum (1678–83) and the Clarendon Building (1711–15), the latter to relieve

[98] G. Midgley, *University life in eighteenth century Oxford* (New Haven, CT, 1996), pp. ix–x.
[99] See: V. Larminie, 'The Fell Era 1658–1686' in Gadd, *The History of Oxford University Press*, 1, pp. 79–106.
[100] Celia Fiennes (ed. E.W. Griffiths), *Through England on a side saddle in the time of William and Mary, being the diary of Celia Fiennes* (London, 1888), p. 24.
[101] See: Petter, pp. 1–18.

pressure on the Sheldonian, which within a few years was unable to serve the dual purposes of a home for the university's academic gatherings and its printing activities. Numerous old buildings on the corner of Catte and Broad Streets to the north of the Schools were demolished to accommodate the Clarendon Building, a process that was continued in the 1720s and 1730s in what was to become Radcliffe Square as a prelude to the construction of the Radcliffe Library (1737–49). In this phase, the university and others first began to employ professional 'architects' in tandem with experienced masons: Christopher Wren (1632–1723, Sheldonian), Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661–1736, Clarendon) and James Gibbs (1682–1754, Radcliffe). Hawksmoor's ideas on urban planning and in particular those for his *Forum Universitatis* are largely responsible for the appearance of the heart of the University that we see today, although the concept of clearing what would become Radcliffe Square and raising there 'a fair and capacious Room, advanced on Pillars' was discussed by William Laud and Charles I as early as 1629.[102] Hawksmoor's proposals for a *Forum Civitatis* at Carfax were unsuccessful.

It was not only the university itself that was engaged on a building spree. Among the colleges to expand with new buildings at this time were All Souls, Christ Church, Queen's, Trinity and University, while the Church of All Saints was rebuilt after the collapse of its spire. In many of these projects the arbiter of architectural good taste was Henry Aldrich, who was succeeded in this role by another Oxford man, George Clarke (1661–1736), an exact contemporary and close friend of Hawksmoor. Those colleges without adjacent land allowing them to expand laterally were forced to do so vertically, with attics and additional storeys being added to existing buildings, a practice that had begun in the sixteenth century. Space for residential and commercial properties also became scarce. The castle ditch had begun to be filled in by the beginning of the seventeenth century and many tenements were extended rearwards into what had been their gardens, as can be seen from the Loggan map of 1675, which also showed extra-mural building developments.

[102] (1) Geraghty, *The Sheldonian theatre*, pp. 21–4; (2) P. Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus; or the history of the life and death of … William [Laud]* … (London, 1668), p. 404.

Unique images of buildings, actual or proposed, appeared in benefactors' books at University College (the library, *c*.1678–90), St Edmund Hall (the new chapel and library, *c*.1682), Trinity College (the new garden quadrangle, 1717 and1728), Magdalen College (a proposed crescent-shaped building, *c*.1720) and Exeter College (ruins of Osney Abbey, *c*.1757).

By the close of the seventeenth century perhaps a hundred images of Oxford can be counted; by the middle of the eighteenth this number had jumped to over 500. A large part of the growth can be attributed to two men – William Williams and Michael Burghers – of whom the former was responsible for *Oxonia Depicta*, which contained over 60 plates. The latter produced almost as many, including: several Almanacks (featuring architectural subjects after the death of Aldrich); illustrations for antiquarian texts published by Thomas Hearne; a series for Queen's College of their 'new' buildings; and numerous individual plates. The significant contributions of Burghers and Williams have been overshadowed historically by that of Loggan, a fact that this research will address. One building alone, the Radcliffe Library (known as the Radcliffe Camera from 1861), was the subject of more than 20 plates in two books illustrated with engravings by George Vertue (1684–1756) and Paul Fourdrinier (1698–1758) after designs by James Gibbs. Several of Hawksmoor's designs for All Souls and Brasenose were also engraved. From the 1730s an increased interest by the public in topographical works provided entrepreneurial artists such as Samuel Buck and John Boydell with a ready market.

The decade of the 1750s was important for Oxford imagery and it is at its end this research terminates. Michael Burghers, Loggan's successor as University Engraver, engraved his last Almanack in 1724 and William Williams was responsible for only two, in 1725 and 1726. George Vertue, who replaced Burghers as University Engraver, was responsible for almost all of the Almanacks from 1727 until 1751, taking as his subjects many of the designs that had already been engraved by Loggan, Burghers and Williams. The year 1751 also saw the publication of the first truly ichnographic map of Oxford based on a new survey by Isaac Taylor, arguably the first of the city not to have been dependant to some degree on the Agas/Ryther map of 1578/88. James Green succeeded Vertue as University Engraver and died young in 1759. John Donowell's views of the city, published in 1755, represent a

departure from the style of any of his predecessors in Oxford and he was the first to produce views of the High Street, later to become as ubiquitous as views of the towers and spires, especially as the Picturesque movement grew in importance from the second half of the eighteenth century.[103] Beyond the end of this decade the number of views of the city and its buildings grew even more rapidly, monochrome copper engravings and etchings eventually being replaced by aquatints (invented by Jan van de Velde IV *c.*1650, but not introduced to England until the 1770s, following its 'rediscovery' by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince around 1768), lithographs (1796) and steel engravings (invented by Jacob Perkins in 1792, but not introduced to England until the 1820s), many hand coloured.[104]

It has been noted that a difficulty in describing the history of British towns during the period 1500 to 1700 is the variety in their particular economic and social characteristics, 'vexing and defying the historian who tries to generalise about their character and development'.[105] Other cities had their townscapes and buildings depicted during this period, but outside London none could match Oxford in the sheer quantity and quality of such images. Engraved images of London and its buildings appeared from the early seventeenth century and because there was much subject matter the number of engravings was quite large, but their quality rarely matched the standard achieved in Oxford by Loggan, who undertook little topographical work in the capital. Loggan's former assistant, Robert White, undertook some topographical commissions in London, but his main work was in portraiture. There was no attempt to produce a comprehensive portfolio of the most important buildings of London until 1720, when John Strype published his first illustrated edition of John Stow's *Survey of London*. Cambridge, although smaller than Oxford, might have competed, but in the 1660s/70s it did not offer an environment quite so conducive and it lacked anyone of the stature and influence of John Fell to act as a catalyst. In the event, Cambridge came late to the party, only enticing Loggan after he had

[103] Although William Gilpin did not publish his observations on picturesque beauty and travel until 1770, his treatise on picturesque prints was published in 1768: *An essay upon prints; containing remarks upon the principles of picturesque beauty …* (London, 1768).
[104] Griffiths, *The print before photography* (p. 547) has lithography was 'invented by Gutenberg [*c.*1398-1468] in the late 1790s', but the inventor was actually Alois Senefelder (1771-1834).
[105] P. Clark and P. Slack, *English towns in transition, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 1–2.

completed his work in Oxford and never having a resident engraver as skilled as Burghers, or an annual publication as popular as the Almanack.

1.4 The image multiplied, antiquarianism and topography

Printed images of Oxford were important not just by virtue of their relative number, but by the fact that they were inherently transportable, unlike the wall-mounted memorials at Merton and Queen's, the wood-carving at New College, the oil paintings at Magdalen (and elsewhere) and various benefactors' books. They were available to be viewed by the public at large, or at least some privileged part thereof. The development of reproduction techniques therefore provides an important context for images of Oxford.

The printing of multiple images from a single source was one of two parallel developments that commenced in Europe during the fifteenth century, the other being the printing of books using moveable type. The earliest printed images were made using woodblocks, or woodcuts. Whether woodcuts were invented in Germany or the Low Countries is not known with certainty, but they were certainly being produced in both countries around the close of the fourteenth century.[106] In this technique (xylography) the design is first drawn in reverse on the side-grain of a block of seasoned softwood. Using a knife, or gauge, the cutter then removes the wood around and between the lines carrying the design.[107] The remaining surface of the block is inked and the design applied firmly to the medium to be used to carry the image, usually paper (sometimes vellum in the case of books). Since this is a relief technique (the ink is transferred from the surface of the block), only moderate pressure is required to apply it to the image medium. Although the technique was first used for printing mundane items, such as playing cards, the church soon adopted it as a means of communicating religious images.[108] The invention of moveable type by Johannes Gutenberg (*c.*1398–1468) around 1440 and its commercial development from a decade later gave an immediate impetus to the use of woodblocks for book illustration. Printing using moveable type is also a relief technique – the ink is applied to the surface of the

[106] Mayor, figs. 110–14 and accompanying text.
[107] For a full description of techniques used in etching and engraving see, for example: (1) A. Gross *Etching, engraving and intaglio printing* (Oxford, 1970); and (2) Griffiths, *Prints and printmaking*.
[108] A.H. Mayor, *Prints & people: a social history of printed pictures* (New York, NY, 1971), figs. 5–8 & 14–18 and accompanying text.

composed block of type and transferred to the image medium in a press. By aligning the surfaces of the woodblock and the type, both can be printed in a single operation. The invention of the printing press and improvements to ink manufacture meant that such pages could be printed in very high quantities. Because the presses worked at low pressures, the woodblocks had a long working life.

Meanwhile, a quite distinct printing process, known as intaglio, was also being developed. From ancient times, decorative patterns or designs had been cut into metal, stone and precious gems, the technical term for this technique, still widely used, being engraving. The visual impact of engraving could be enhanced by introducing into the engraved lines a material of contrasting colour (niello). Since the filler material was often softer than that into which it was introduced, pressing a paper onto the surface of the object could result in a partial transfer of an image to the paper. This might be done deliberately, for example to preserve the detail of a particular design for later re-use, and engraving designs on metal for making reproductions was underway in the Netherlands by the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The metal substrate used for producing the image, which also came to be described as an engraving, was originally copper, which combined ease of cutting with an acceptable working life (measured in terms of the number of prints that could be reproduced before the printed image lost definition). The design was cut into the metal using a specialist tool known as a burin, any 'burr' remaining at the edge of a line being removed using a scraper, leaving little in the way of raised edges at the sides of the incised line. The degree of pressure exerted on the burin would determine the width and depth of the line. The emphasis on cutting lines gave rise to the term 'line engraving' for such images. Once the plate was complete, ink was wiped onto it and then wiped off the surface, leaving ink trapped within the engraved lines. The plate was then applied to the transfer medium, usually paper, often slightly dampened, and pressure applied. Because the ink had to be forced out of the engraved lines onto the paper, significantly greater pressure had to be applied than is necessary in the case of relief printing techniques, necessitating the use of a roller press. This also meant that, unless cut away, the marks of the edges of the plate ('plate-marks') could be seen around the image.

Etching, like line engraving, is thought to have developed from decorative work on metal, particularly armour. The technique is believed to have been developed by Daniel Hopfer (*c.*1470–1536) as a means of

recording designs, but it was soon taken up by artists, especially in Italy.[109] The metal plate on which the image is to be incised, initially usually copper, is covered with a ground of acid-resistant wax into which the design is drawn with an etching needle. The plate is put into an acid bath, or mordant, which 'bites' the exposed lines on the plate, the ground being impervious to the acid. When the design is complete, the wax is removed and the plate used for printing as it would in line engraving.

Due to the wear of copper plates, earlier impressions are almost invariably sharper than later ones, although with care from the printer and minimally abrasive inks, an engraved copper plate can be used to make a thousand or more images before significant deterioration is noticeable (fewer in the case of etchings).[110] Prior to the introduction of harder metals for plates, notably steel, the production of a greater number of images would require either multiple plates, or the 'reworking' of the plate, where lines were re-cut. Re-cutting almost invariably resulted in thicker and darker lines, so it is often obvious when such plates have been used. Plates could also be reworked for other reasons, a common example being where the plate was sold by the original owner (often the engraver) and the new owner added their own name, usually in a lower margin. The differing versions of an engraving produced as a result of such changes from a single plate are termed states.

Line engraving and etching were soon adopted by recognised artists as a means of generating additional income from the sale of prints, while simultaneously advertising their work and generating commissions. Among the first of these were Martin Schongauer (*c.*1448–1491) and Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). By 1477 copper line engravings were being used to illustrate books, the two earliest being Antonio Bettini's *Monte dei Santi de Dio* (Florence, 1477) and a Latin edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (Bologna, 1477). Because the letterpress and the images had to be printed separately, additional work was required. Either the engravings, once printed separately, had to be manually inserted in the correct position within the printed book, or the page concerned had to be printed a second time on a different press with the plate instead of the letterpress, involving careful positioning.[111] When used for illustration purposes, and sometimes more generally, copper engraving could be referred to as chalcography. Where illustrations

[109] Mayor, fig. 228 and accompanying text.
[110] Griffiths, *The print before photography*, pp. 50-5.
[111] The copperplate engravings could also be printed before the letterpress, as with *Flandria Illustrata*.

were the principal focus of a work, the greater definition available in a copper plate in comparison to a woodblock was essential.

The accurate representation of buildings in visual art requires mastery of perspective and one of the first Frenchmen to write a treatise on this subject, in *Leçons de perspective positive* (1576), was the artist, designer and engraver Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the elder (1510–1584). Du Cerceau demonstrated his grasp of perspective in numerous suites of engravings, including two volumes of *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, published at Paris in 1576–9. *Bastiments* contained detailed plans, elevations and bird's-eye views of eighteen royal residences and twelve other important French châteaux, in many cases including their gardens (Ills. 1.17–18).

Representational art in the Low Countries had largely developed in parallel with that of Italy during the early years of the Renaissance, but the movement of artists around Europe and the publication of works such as those by du Cerceau ensured that important technical and stylistic developments in Italy were not ignored in the north. In 1604, Hendrik Hondius the elder (1573–1650), the Flemish born cartographer, engraver and publisher who had settled in the Netherlands, published the *Perspective* of Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–*c.*1607), the Dutch architect, painter and engineer.[112] Although the work of de Vries often featured imaginary buildings and cities, his style was readily adaptable to the portrayal of real buildings (Ills. 1.19–20). Any artist or engraver trained in the Low Countries from this point onwards would have been expected to have a firm grasp of perspective in theory and practice. One of seven children of Hendrik Hondius the elder was Willem Hondius (*c.*1598–*c.*1652), who settled in Gdansk (Danzig), where Loggan was born and who commenced his studies under him. Loggan, therefore, would have been well-schooled in architectural drawing and perspective.

Broadsheets and squibs, many illustrated with engravings, began to appear in the Netherlands from around 1616, covering a wide range of subject matter, from religion and politics to public executions and tulip mania. Generally serving a subservient role to the text, the illustrations needed to be prepared skilfully, but did not have to be works of art. The same was true of book illustrations, which began to

[112] Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Perspectiva, id est Celeberrima ars Inspicientis aut Transpicientis Oculorum Aciei, in Pariete, Tabula aut Tela Depicta* (The Hague, 1604–5).

appear on a larger scale from the middle of the seventeenth century. These covered a wide range of subject matter and while some were copies of works by Masters, others were contemporary designs. The latter was especially the case with almanacs, emblem books and topographical works, the last of these sometimes called '*lof en beschryving*' (praise and description books), which often contained copper engravings depicting prospects, bird's-eye views and individual city sights.[113] It was not uncommon for such engravings to be sold individually through print-sellers for as little as a few stuivers each, as well as in the form of book illustrations.[114] Among those who produced such illustrations were Claes Janszoon Visscher (1587–1652) and Crispin van de Passe the younger (*c*.1597–1670). David Loggan studied with the latter in Amsterdam in the early 1650s.

One of the earliest Flemish illustrated topographical and historical books was the *Flandria Illustrata* of Antonius Sanderus, published in the 1640s.[115] The illustrations included maps of provinces, cities and fortifications, prospects and views (Ills. 1.21–24). Their similarities to plates in Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* will be clear and even if Loggan had never intended to specialise in engravings of this sort, it is highly likely that he would have been aware of the work. In 1663, the year that Loggan married and two years before he left London, another important book, *Historische beschryving der stadt Amsterdam*, was published in Amsterdam.[116] This finely illustrated topographical and historical description of the city of Amsterdam was written by the Dutch historian Olfert Dapper (*c*.1636–1689). Subjects included views of secular and ecclesiastical buildings, city gates and surrounding villages, all engraved from designs by J. Veenhuyzen.

It was common in the Netherlands for large, expensive books to be republished in a smaller and less expensive format.[117] Within a few years two derivative works appeared: the *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam* of Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689) and the *Beschrijvinge der Stat Amsterdam* of Tobias

[113] Schama, p. 298.
[114] Schama, pp. 318 and 529. At this time a labourer might earn 300 guilders a year, a skilled artisan 600 guilders and a successful tradesman ten times this. There were twenty stuivers in a guilder.
[115] Antonius Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata* [*Illustrations of Flanders*] (2 vols., Cologne, 1641–4). The online edition is available at: http://belgica.kbr.be/fr/coll/lp/lpVB10335E_fr.html [accessed 2 Jan 2014].
[116] Olfert Dapper, *Historische beschryving der stadt Amsterdam …* [*Historical description of the city of Amsterdam*] (Amsterdam, 1663).
[117] Schama, pp. 4–6.

van Domselaer (1611–1685).[118] The engravers are unknown, but the style of the illustrations in each is again similar to that adopted later by Loggan. This can be seen by a comparison of the Amsterdam House of Correction in *Beschreibung* (Ill. 1.25) with Oriel College (Ill. 4.92) in *Oxonia Illustrata*, where even the slightly out-of-scale staffage in the foreground could have been by the same hand.

Whenever images of buildings appear as book illustrations, a certain amount of scepticism as to their accuracy is healthy, particularly when the building concerned is in a distant land. A good example is provided by the engraving of the second-century Odeon of Herodes Atticus in a 1675 publication on ancient Athens, which turned out to bear no resemblance to the original (Ill. 1.53).[119]

Copper plate engraving had been introduced to England around 1540, but the technique was slow to be adopted and was initially mainly used for maps and scientific or technical book illustrations.[120] When Archbishop Matthew Parker needed to engage engravers to produce plates for the Bishop's Bible, first published in 1568, he had a problem.

> In 1563 there were no English engravers to approach; both Geminus and Shute died in, or about, that year, and the latter was without professional craft as engraver, so the Archbishop had of necessity to appeal to the foreigner with his command of craft, and an unbroken tradition since the time of Dürer.'[121]

Geminus and Shute were not directly connected with Oxford, but are important as being two of the earliest engravers of copper plates for books published in England.

The presence in England of many artists and engravers trained on the Continent from the middle of the sixteenth century was a function of supply and demand. The supply side was, initially, a function of the religious unrest present in Continental Europe over a very long period, certainly from 1566 to 1685 (the revocation of the Edict of Nantes). From 1689, the presence in London of William III must have encouraged his fellow countrymen to try their luck in London. On the demand side, the dearth of English engravers from 1563 usually meant that any major project required the importation of the

[118] (1) Philipp von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam …* [*Description of the City of Amsterdam …*] (Amsterdam, 1664); and (2) Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschrijvinge der Stat Amsterdam …* [*Description of the City of Amsterdam …*] (Amsterdam, 1665).
[119] [André] Georges Guillet, *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle* (Paris, 1675). My thanks to Dr Matthew Walker for pointing this out.
[120] See: Salaman, 'The first century of English engraving', pp. 107–12.
[121] Hind, 1, p. 65.

necessary craftsmen. Efforts by the few Englishmen engaged in the trade during this period, including Daniel King, were usually second-rate (Augustine Ryther was an exception).

It is known that Remigius Hogenberg (*c*.1536–*c*.1580), originally from Mechelen near Antwerp, worked for Archbishop Parker and his younger brother, Frans (1535–1590), may well have done so as well. Both Hogenberg brothers appear to have been working in England by the early 1570s at latest, so their acceptance of an invitation from Parker may well have been influenced by religious unrest at home. This was certainly the case with their neighbour Joris Hoefnagel, who left Antwerp after the Spanish invaded in force in 1567, and Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder (*c*.1520–*c*.1590), who arrived in London in 1568. William Kip, who also arrived around this time, probably left his native Utrecht for similar reasons and is best remembered for his engravings for Stephen Harrison's *Arch's of Triumph* (London, 1604). Peter Muser, who engraved the Cambridge map of John Hamond with Ryther in 1592, is also thought to have come to England from the Netherlands.[122]

Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677) was born in Prague and underwent his early training there under Aegidius Sadeler (1570–1629).[123] His family was forced to leave Bohemia following the first sack of Prague by Habsburg troops in 1620 and he was working in Frankfurt by 1627, where he studied under the Swiss Matthäus Merian the elder (1593–1650). He later moved to Strasburg and then to Cologne, where in 1636 he attracted the notice of Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Employed as a draftsman, he travelled with Lord Arundel to Vienna and Prague and, in 1637, returned with him to England. Arundel left England in 1642 and Hollar passed into the service of James, Duke of York, until he left England for Antwerp in 1644. His work in England included two versions of his map of Oxford and an etching of Osney Abbey.

Religious unrest in France led to the Protestant Bernard van Linge leaving Paris for London in 1621, followed by his brother Abraham two years later. Bernard only remained in England for two years, returning then to Emden, where he had been born, but Abraham remained much longer, only leaving London 1642; he is believed to have been responsible for the memorial window to Bishop King in

[122] Hind, 1, p. 150.
[123] Adams, p. 15.

Christ Church Cathedral. Another Huguenot family to leave France to escape religious persecution were the Fourdriniers, travelling originally to the Netherlands. Paul Fourdrinier was born in Groningen, studying first under another French émigré, Bernard Picart (1673–1733). He remained with Picart at Amsterdam for six years, coming to England in 1719. His work in Oxford included the engravings for *Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, Gibbs' illustrated work on the Radcliffe Camera.

Michael Burghers (*c*.1648–1727) is believed to have left his native Utrecht at the time of the War of Dutch Devolution (1667/8) and became the principal assistant to David Loggan, succeeding him as University Engraver. Both Johannes Kip of Amsterdam (*c*.1653–1722) and Michael van der Gucht of Antwerp (1660–1725) arrived in England around 1689, shortly after the accession to the English throne of William and Mary. Leonard Knyff (1650–1722), of Haarlem, had arrived in London a little earlier, probably around 1681. David Mortier (1673–1728), another native of Amsterdam, was in London at the latest by 1696 and began to employ Johannes Kip by 1700. The *Nouveau Théâtre* (also known as *Britannia Illustrata*), first published in 1707 featuring the work of Kip and Knyff, contained many plates of country seats sponsored by their owners, but also included plates of Oxford**.** Henrik Hulsberg, also from Amsterdam, was in London by 1709 and like van der Gucht produced plates of Oxford for Nicholas Hawksmoor. Everhardus Kickius is known to have been working in London in 1700/1701, shortly before his death, but may have been in England much earlier, assisting Loggan with *Oxonia Illustrata* and *Cantabrigia Illustrata*.

Notwithstanding the presence of these aliens, John Evelyn complained about the standard of British engraving in 1707:

> … those shameless Bunglers of Ours, who daily disgrace so Noble and Ingenious an Art with their wretched *Sculps* of *Frontis-pieces*, lame *Figures*, *Landskips* and *Prospects*, without *Design*, *S[y]mmetry*, or any regard to *Perspective*.[124]

He went on to draw a comparison with what was being produced on the Continent:

> … perform'd (as to the Graving part) with extraordinary Accuracy by the *Burines* of *Marot*, *Le Clerc*, ... &c. all of them incomparable Artists, and of *Paris* alone, where they abound with excellent *Gravers*; whilst our whole Nation hardly affords us *One* comparable to any I have nam'd, or indeed, that's almost Tolerable.

[124] Roland Fréart de Chambray (ed. and trans. John Evelyn), *A parallel of architecture both ancient and modern* 2nd edn. (London, 1707), p. 8.

> This I mention to stir up an *Emulation*, and if possible, to encourage our Country-Men … by Applying themselves more seriously to it: And that we may not for ever be out-done by the *French* and *Dutch* … [125]

However, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, a cadre of English-trained engravers were establishing themselves, including: Robert White (1645–1703), another of Loggan's assistants at Oxford; William Williams (?–1739); John Harris (*c.*1670–1740); Sutton Nicholls (1668–1729); George Vertue; and William Henry Toms (*c.*1700–*c.*1758). All of these contributed images of Oxford. A further incentive to use English engravers occurred in 1738 when the British Government introduced a 20% duty on 'worked copper' from abroad.[126]

The early British antiquarians modelled themselves on their Continental counterparts, but there was a difference. The wealth of surviving classical material available to the antiquaries of the Continent, including art, architecture and writing, was almost limitless, much of it amenable to reproduction. In Britain, there was far less material and no such tradition of illustration. A series of antiquarian publications by such as Richard Verstegan (*c.*1550–1640), Sir Henry Spelman (*c.*1562–1641), Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), Inigo Jones (1573–1652), John Weever (1576–1632), James Ussher (1581–1656) and John Selden (1584–1654) appeared between 1605 and 1655, but were either unillustrated, or illustrated with poor quality woodblocks. In some of these works an important building would be mentioned in passing, but as Myers notes its significance would depend 'little on the visual elevation of facades, proportions, or symmetries and more on its relation to both landscape and human history'.[127] This reason for the lack of interest by the writers in visual illustrations may well be true, but was also dictated by a dearth of competent artists.

With but little loss, the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth can largely be ignored in terms of the contribution made by antiquarianism to the demand for engraved images. Camden's *Britannia* was first published, in Latin, in 1586, illustrated only by a few woodblocks in the text.[128] Myers has pointed out that architecture was not entirely ignored by Camden, but 'positioned

[125] Fréart, p. 8.
[126] (1) Griffiths, *The print before photography*, p. 189; and (2) T.M. Bayer and J.R. Page, *The development of the art market in England: money as muse, 1730–1900* (London, 2011), p. 87.
[127] Myers, p. 51.
[128] William Camden, *Britannia siue florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae ...* (London, 1586).

through its relation to narrative records and traditions', rather than illustrations.[129] The seventh edition published in 1607, considerably enlarged, was the first to be illustrated by a set of engraved county maps based on the work of Christopher Saxton and John Norden; it also contained a few additional woodblocks.[130] The first English edition was published in 1610, but it was not until 1660 that Daniel King published a single sheet of 101 accompanying illustrations with the title *An orthographical designe of severall views upon ye road in England and Wales* (Ill. 2.49). In the lower right-hand corner is an inscription 'This designe is to illustrate Cambdens Britannia that where he mentions such places the curious may see them. Which is the indeavour, by God's assistance, of Y.S. Daniell King.' [131] Although his name does not appear, the engraving is almost certainly the work of Hollar.[132] The sheet was reissued in 1695.[133]

John Stow first published his *Survey of London* in 1598, its lack of illustrations causing Adams to comment: 'What a topographical treasure would the first edition of Stow's *Survey* have proved to future ages had it been illustrated with maps and views by competent engravers!'[134] Three further editions of Stow appeared in the seventeenth century and by 1694 an illustrated edition of Stow's *Survey* seemed desirable, but the project had foundered by 1696 and took nearly a quarter of a century to rematerialize; when it did the number of illustrations had fallen by thirty percent from that originally intended. It was not until 1720 that a copper-plate illustrated edition of Stow's *Survey* was produced by John Strype.[135] This edition of Stow was not the first illustrated work on London, having been preceded by Hollar's *Prospects* (1647) and Thomas Delaune's *Present state of London* (1681), neither remotely comprehensive. An expanded edition of the *Survey* with additional illustrations was published in 1754/5.

[129] Myers, p. 24.
[130] William Camden, *Britannia* ..., 7th edn. (London, 1607).
[131] William Camden (trans. Philemon Holland), *Britain, or, a chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* ..., 1st English edn. (London, 1610).
[132] Pennington, p. 148.
[133] William Camden (trans. White Kennett *et al*), *Britain* ..., New English edn. (London, 1695).
[134] (1) John Stow, *Survey of London* (London, 1598); (2) B. Adams, *London illustrated, 1604–1851* (London, 1983), pp. 51–2.
[135] John Stow (ed. John Strype), *Survey of London*, 5th edn. (London, 1720).

The use of the word topographical by Adams in this context requires some discussion. In a literary historical context, topography usually involves the precise, detailed description of a place or region. In the context of the visual arts, it is applied to images claiming to show an accurate representation of the physical features of an area (albeit sometimes with embellishments). These features can be on a large scale (e.g. landscapes), or a small scale (e.g. single buildings). Architectural images, representing structures as they were intended to be, were similar to small-scale topographical images. Myers has pointed out that 'Architecture was not … particularly susceptible to the kind of antiquarianism that focused on the acquisition, importation, and preservation of objects', but collecting and preserving topographical and architectural prints was no more difficult than collecting coins or other small archaeological specimens, although the latter tended to be more numerous.[136]

In the early years of the seventeenth century, topographical prints by Continental artists and engravers such as Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), Hans Bol (1534–1593), Jan Sadeler I (1550–1600), Hendrik Goltzius (1558–1617) and Crispin van de Passe the elder (1564–1637) were circulating in London, made available by the Dutch publisher and printmaker Hans Woutneel (fl. 1586–1603) and his successors.[137] During the first half of the seventeenth century, a market developed for separately published maps and prospects of cities as 'wall furniture', also with a greater emphasis on topographical accuracy. Topographical works were, however, considered inferior to the 'artistic' landscape and came in for criticism, not least from Henry Fuseli:

> … we subjoin, as the last branch of uninteresting subjects, that kind of landscape which is entirely occupied with the tame delineation of a given spot: an enumeration of hill and dale, clumps of trees, shrubs, water, meadows, cottages, and houses; what is commonly called views. These … may delight the owner of the acres they enclose, the inhabitants of the spot, perhaps the antiquary or the traveller, but to every other eye they are little more than topography.[138]

Nonetheless, by the middle of the seventeenth century engraved topographical works of Wenceslaus Hollar and a few other Continental artists working in England became popular. Towards the end of the

[136] Myers, p. 22.
[137] Trevisan, pp. 874–5.
[138] Henry Fuseli, 'Invention (continued)' Lecture IV in R.N. Wornum (ed.) *Lectures on painting, by the Royal Academicians: Barrie, Opie and Fuseli* (London, 1848), pp. 449–50.

century they were joined by the British artists Henry Winstanley (1644–1703), William Lodge (1649–1689) and Francis Place (1647–1728), although there is no evidence that any of these visited Oxford.

With William Dugdale (1605–1686), the situation with respect to illustrated antiquarian works changed. Unlike many antiquaries, his real skill was in bringing his researches (and those of others) to publication, men like Roger Dodsworth (1585–1654) and Sir Simon Archer (1581–1662).[139] Of his four most famous works, three were profusely illustrated.

Antiquities of Warwickshire (London, 1656) was illustrated by a combination of woodblocks and engraved/etched maps and plates, many of the latter by Hollar.[140] Whereas *Antiquities* was almost certainly intended to be illustrated from its earliest conception, this may well not have been the case for *Monasticon Anglicanum*, of which the first volume had appeared in the previous year (1655), but only after a long gestation.[141] The work is a compendium of monastic charters and similar documents and, notwithstanding the fifty plates of abbeys, churches and cathedrals, as Parry says, 'The indifference of Dugdale to architectural and monumental details is remarkable to a modern reader.'[142] Dugdale was not unique, as Sweet comments in relation to the early antiquaries who studied monastic foundations, 'The physical ruins aroused admiration, emotion and a powerful sense of the mutability of human fortune … but as objects of interest in terms of their physical appearance they were of secondary importance.'[143] Whether Dugdale felt that some visual record of the buildings he was describing was important, or whether the inclusion of plates was primarily intended to encourage sales, or whether their sponsorship by third parties was simply a method of generating additional funds is not clear. Even with its illustrations, the first volume of *Monasticon* did not sell particularly well, reflecting a public unfamiliar with the concept of an illustrated book. Sales figures for Daniel King's *Cathedral and conventuall churches* (London, 1656), containing the same images without the dry Latin text, are not known, but may have been better.[144] Dugdale

[139] Douglas, p. 47.
[140] William Dugdale, *The antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated* (London, 1656).
[141] William Dugdale [and Roger Dodsworth], *Monasticon Anglicanum* (3 vols., London, 1655–73).
[142] Parry, p. 240.
[143] R. Sweet, *Antiquaries: the discovery of the past in eighteenth-century Britain* (London, 2004), p. 242.
[144] Daniel King, *The cathedrall and conventuall churches of England and Wales orthographically delineated* (London, 1656).

charged his connections £5 for sponsoring the plates that were engraved by Hollar and King, which given their simplicity may each have yielded a small profit to subsidise his general costs.[145] Myers considers that Dugdale's sponsors were inspired to encourage the urgent preservation of these buildings due to '… the Reformation and, more immediately, the historical and religious ruptures of the Civil Wars', but in many instances their egos must have played a role.[146] *Survey of the cathedrals* by Browne Willis (1682–1760) contained not only several engraved views based mainly on the King/Hollar plates from *Monasticon Anglicanum*, but also a series of newly engraved orthographies executed by Michael Burghers, John Harris, John Cole and others (Ills. 4.40–41).[147]

The third relevant work, *The history of St Paul's cathedral* (London, 1658), to which the illustrations were integral, was an attempt to record a building that was rapidly falling into ruins.[148] Hollar was the etcher, but the original designs may have been by King. King also brought out a single sheet version of Dugdale's *St Paul's* illustrations that included a prospect of the City of London engraved by David Loggan after Visscher, which was republished by John Bowles in 1731 with images of new St Paul's (Ills. 1.51–52).[149] The *Vale-Royall of England*, attributed to King, but largely based on the work of other authors, was also illustrated, by himself and others.[150]

The long list of antiquarian works edited with great care by Thomas Hearne (1678–1735) included early English chronicles and works by Camden, Leland and Spelman. As noted by Harmsen, 'Hearne also paid much attention to the quality of the paper and type, the layout, and the illustrations (mostly by Burghers).'[151] It was Hearne's custom to add to the principal work appendices, sometimes of limited relevance, and illustrations, sometimes of no relevance, but often of interest. The subjects included St Peter's-in-the-East and other churches, Osney and Rewley Abbeys, Godstow Nunnery, the tessellated pavement at Stunsfield and the Bereblock drawings of

[145] (1) Parry, p. 235; and (2) Griffiths, *The print before photography*, pp. 314-5.
[146] Myers, p. 150.
[147] Browne Willis, *Survey of the cathedrals* (3 vols., London, 1742).
[148] William Dugdale, *The history of St. Paul's cathedral in London. From its foundation untill these times; …* (London, 1658).
[149] Daniel King, *On St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658); 2nd edn. by John Bowles (London,1731).
[150] Daniel King, *The vale-royall of England, or, the county palatine of Chester* (London, 1656).
[151] Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age*, p. 217.

Oxford Colleges. After his death, these engravings were collected and published as *Ectypa varia*.[152] Hearne succeeded in making money out of his publishing, charging his subscribers half a guinea for his works and producing over 100 volumes in his lifetime.

George Vertue's name is inextricably linked with the Society of Antiquaries, which came into formal existence in January 1717. From the outset, the Minutes indicate that one of the principal objectives of the society was the publication of prints.[153] As early as February 1717, Vertue, who in due course was appointed Engraver to the Society, was paid two guineas for an engraving of the carved font of St James's Church in Piccadilly (possibly by Grinling Gibbons and closely related to a font once in St Peter's-in-the-East). Vertue's two official appointments, as Engraver to both the University of Oxford (where he succeeded Burghers) and the Society of Antiquaries, brought him in annual fees of £75, in addition to any other work that he undertook (for example, on the Oxford University Almanacks). This was 'reckoned to be the proper reward for a tolerable engraver' by Robert Campbell in *The London Tradesman* in 1747, although Campbell believed that the best engravers could earn half a guinea a day.[154] Many of Vertue's prints were of architectural and archaeological subjects and were issued with the intention of being collected into folio volumes; known collectively as *Vetusta monumenta*, the first volume was commenced in 1718 and deemed complete in 1747.

1.5 Methodology

Inevitably, when confronted with an image and asked to analyse its historical relevance, the relative importance of questions concerning the image and whether they can be answered will vary from case to case. This may tempt the researcher into adopting an *ad hoc* analytical approach, recognising that the relevant questions relating to the next image to present itself will be slightly

[152] Thomas Hearne, *Ectypa varia. Ad historiam Britannicam illustrandam* (Oxford, 1637).
[153] J. Evans, *A history of the Society of Antiquaries* (London, 1956), p. 62.
[154] (1) M. Myrone, 'Graphic antiquarianism in eighteenth-century Britain: the career and reputation of George Vertue, 1684–1756' in M. Myrone and L. Peltz (eds.), *Producing the past: aspects of antiquarianism culture and practice, 1700–1850* (Farnham, 1999), pp. 35–54 (40); (2) R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 114.

different to the last. A more satisfactory approach is to develop a general framework for deconstructing and analysing such images, which involves at least two dimensions.

The first dimension is related specifically to the image concerned, including its commissioner (or sponsor), purpose, designer (which might be an artist, or surveyor, or both), medium (for example wood or copper engraving, or etching), engraver, publisher, distribution method and seller. In many instances, certain of the roles will be combined (e.g. artist and engraver, publisher and seller) and, in some cases, it will not be possible to answer all of these points with equal certainty.

The second dimension concerns the milieu in which publication occurred. It is more difficult to provide a comprehensive list of such issues that are likely to be important. The more obvious examples will include the political, religious and economic state of the country, the increasing importance of and interest in cartography and trends in publishing, particularly the increasing popularity of illustrated historic and topographical works, facilitated by advances in printing.

Understanding as fully as possible all of the circumstances of the production of an image, including the social context, is just as critical as understanding the circumstances of the production of a textual source. Using such a framework, for unique images the first two questions arising are likely to be who commissioned the image and why. In some instances, the 'commissioner' will have been the artist himself, in which case the further question arises of what he was doing in Oxford and was the image executed purely for pleasure, or perhaps with the hope of future sale. The reason for commissioning by a third party will usually have been as a result of a perceived specific need (for example to beautify or record a building), although such needs may have been influenced by historic trends (for example the illumination of manuscripts).

The next question is whether the image is likely to have been 'accurate' or 'truthful'. In assessing this some knowledge is required of the artistic training and skill of the artist concerned, itself in part determined by general advances in artistic techniques. As an example, representations of buildings became much more reliable (and convincing) once perspective was understood. In most cases the artist will have worked in near-monochrome rather than natural colour (in any event constrained by pigment availability), sometimes enhancing pencil or pen and ink with a pale

watercolour wash. This is equivalent to a loss of visual information, for which different artists might try to compensate in different ways. Skill levels, training and personal preferences for artistic materials varied widely and even before an artist attempted to introduce his own interpretation of a subject there was a high probability that the outcome would be very different from another artist making a similar attempt. Where the commissioner was a third party, he would be responsible not only for choosing the subject matter, but could also influence the viewpoint selected and the extent to which a 'gloss' was added by the artist.

For reproduced images (almost invariably from copper plates over the period considered), a series of further questions needs to be asked, first concerning the skill and training of the engraver (or etcher), who had to work in strict monochrome. Until the development of the aquatint (beyond the period of this research), the engraver had a limited number of techniques available for rendering light and shade – essentially varying the thickness of cut or etched lines and the density and pattern of hatching. Many reproductions were on a reduced scale compared to the original (especially book illustrations), which meant that decisions needed to be made as to what details in the originals were ignored. The incorporation of greater detail also required more time to be spent on the engraving, increasing cost and, when undertaken for commercial purposes, impacting profitability. The result was that two engravings after the same original image could look quite different, while degenerate re-engravings of originally high-quality engravings were commonplace.

The contribution of the printer was important. Whilst the process of printing gradually became more automated, the printer was still capable of introducing his own personality to a print, for example by means of the amount of ink applied, or the pressure exerted on the plate. When the printer was the artist/engraver, as was the case with Rembrandt, such effects could be critical. There were also important developments in ink and paper technology, particularly after Gutenberg's developments of the printing press. Ink was not always black when printed, sepia could also be used, and both could fade if not properly made, or left in sunlight for long periods. High quality paper was available, at a price, from the sixteenth century.

The principal distinction relating to the publication and distribution of engraved prints in their own right (i.e. as opposed to book illustrations) was whether the publisher/distributor was the artist/engraver, or a third party. Publication of single-sheet engravings was a relatively low risk activity and it was not uncommon to find the artist/engraver taking on such a risk. For multiple-sheet works techniques such as raising subscriptions in advance could be used, but involving a specialist publisher could reduce the risk, as well as improving cash flow. Even if a third-party publisher were not involved, the artist/engraver would have to make arrangements with print and book sellers for the distribution of his work in London and other provincial centres. In Oxford, this could be facilitated by working with the university press, which had a long list of such contacts. Both print sellers and artists/engravers could make use of newspaper advertisements and broadsheets to advertise their wares. The economics of print publishing will be considered in Chapter 4.

The earliest identified extant image of Oxford dates from the late twelfth century, with only a very small number of images identified in the period up to 1675; all of these have been included in the analysis. The cut-off point selected is the late 1750s. In this decade several notable events occurred, including the deaths of George Vertue and James Green, the publication of the first map of Oxford based on a new survey since 1588, and Donowell's ground-breaking views of the city. By the end of the eighteenth century, new techniques (aquatint, lithography and, later, steel engraving), changing styles (the Picturesque movement) and a profusion of artistic talent working in Oxford (including John Baptist Malchair, Thomas Malton, William Turner, J.M.W. Turner and the Bucklers) contributed to an almost exponential increase in the number of images appearing annually.

1.6 Terminology

In non-cartographic prints, it was normal for there to be three principal contributors: an artist; an engraver; and a publisher. When two names appeared beneath such a print it was usual for them to be distinguished by an abbreviation immediately thereafter designating the role each had played, often *delin* (short for *delineavit*, 'he drew it'), and *sculp* (short for *sculpsit*, 'he engraved it'). When one person had acted as both artist and engraver this was normally designated by *delin et sculp*, or *fecit* ('he did it'). Some artists and engravers acted as their own publishers, but where this was not the case

the name of the publisher, often a print-seller, was often shown on a separate line, with *exec* (short for *execudit*, 'he made it') used to signify the publisher (or, sometimes, the printer). *Pinx* (short for *pinxit*, 'he painted it') implied the engraving was after a painting by the person named. Rarely a fourth party was involved, who provided the idea for the design, as was the case with the early Oxford University Almanacks. The designs for many of these were inspired by Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, who never added his name, although after his death Michael Burghers signed one of them (that for 1722) with the suffix *inven* (short for *invenit*, 'he invented it') signifying this additional role.

Ichnographic cartographic prints also usually involved three contributors: a surveyor; an engraver; and a publisher. The surveyor would measure the city and lay out the basic grid of the map or plan without embellishments, which would then be passed to the engraver, who, if he added his name, would usually follow this by *sculp*. The names of the surveyor, and publisher if different, would then be shown separately, again usually on a different line.

The situation with scenographic cartographic prints was different. In principle, such prints would usually have four contributors: a surveyor; an artist to provide the drawings of the main buildings; the engraver; and the publisher. Here again it is possible for two or more of the roles to be combined and indicated by the appropriate suffix, although in some cases the identity of all of the contributors is not known, or the extent to which a particular person made multiple contributions (e.g. drawing and engraving). In rare cases two or more artists or engravers worked on the same print, in which case both may appear. The name by which maps are commonly or popularly known may relate to the surveyor, artist, engraver, or even publisher.

2 *HIC EST OXONIUM*: MAPS AND PLANS OF OXFORD

2.1 Chapter introduction and research questions

In this chapter, the contribution of maps of Oxford to understanding the historical development of the city up to 1759 will be assessed. Although the emphasis in this chapter will be on engraved maps, manuscript maps are also described. While the chronology of the production of these maps is fundamental, the derivative relationships of several of these maps to a single prototype – the Agas/Ryther map of 1578/88 – is also important and therefore a primarily thematic approach has been adopted. In addition to the set of maps based on Agas/Ryther, the other groups considered will comprise: estate and related maps; military maps; and the later ichnographic maps. With only one exception, a manuscript plan of All Souls, plans of the individual colleges are dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4, whether of the colleges as they existed, or of proposals for their rebuilding. A complete list of the Oxford maps discussed herein is provided in Table 1 below, with more detailed descriptions in Table A1.

The Oxford maps vary widely in the area of the city and its environs they cover and the level of detail portrayed within that area. Nevertheless, to the extent practicable the research questions that will be applied to each of the maps will be similar. In each case the key question is, usually, what was the principal purpose for which the map was prepared? In most cases the answer to this question is known, as is the answer to the closely related question of who was its commissioner. The result is that it is usually possible to determine how far the purpose was achieved. Identifying those responsible for surveying, drawing, engraving and publishing the map, and their skills, can provide insight into the probable faithfulness of the map to the city it was attempting to represent. One obvious example of faithfulness is linear accuracy, which can be established in those cases where the map includes a scale. Another, in the case of scenographic maps, is the extent to which the depiction of buildings is correct or credible. In many cases, independent evidence (including surviving buildings) is available that can be used to check this. Finally, do any of the maps present information on the city otherwise unavailable? The perspective nature of the early scenographic maps often provides the only surviving image of buildings from the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Table 1: Maps of Oxford, *c*.1500 to 1751

Known as	*Surveyor/ designer*	*Engraver*	*Date*	*Type*	*MS. or other source ref.*
Grandpont 1	Unknown	N/A	*c*.1569	Bird's-eye	BNC Clennell B13.4.
Agas	Agas	A. Ryther	1578/88	Bird's-eye	Bodley
Waram Banck	Unknown	N/A	*c*.1600	Estate plan	Bodley Wood 276[b]
After Agas	Speed after Agas	J. Speed	1610	Inset	*Theatre of the Empire*
Schools extension	William Webb	N/A	1613	Estate plan	Bodley MS. C17:70 Oxford (95) (R)
Castle	Unknown	N/A	*c*.1617	Bird's-eye	Christ Church
Duc de Chaulnes	Unknown	N/A	<1643	Military plan	BL Add. MS. 11,564
Hollar (V1S1)	Hollar after Agas	Hollar	1643	Bird's-eye	P1055; NH436
Hollar (V1S2)	Ditto	Hollar	>1643	Bird's-eye	P1055; NH436
Hollar (V1/Merian)	Ditto	Hollar?	>1643	Bird's-eye	P1055; NH436
Hollar (V2S1)	Hollar and Gage	Hollar?	>1643	Bird's-eye	P1054; NH2523
Hollar (V2S2)	Ditto	Hollar?	>1643	Bird's-eye	P1054; NH2523
de Gomme	de Gomme	N/A	1644	Military plan	Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.167
Wood 1	Unknown	Unknown	1644	Military plan	Bodley Wood 276.b f.30
Oxonium Comitatus	Jansson after Agas	Jansson	1646	Oxfordshire	
Oxonium Comitatus	Blau after Agas	Blau	1648	Oxfordshire	
Hermannides	Hermannides after Hollar	Hermannides	1661	Oxford (small)	*Brittania Magna*
Wood 2	Rallinson?	Unknown	1648/74	Military plan	*History & Antiquities*
Loggan	Loggan after Agas	Loggan?	1675	Bird's-eye	*Oxonia Illustrata*
Lea	Lea after Agas	Lea	1689	Bird's-eye	
Beer	Beer after Agas	Beer	1690	Bird's-eye	
Port Meadow (S1)	B. Cole	B. Cole	*c*.1699	Bird's-eye	
Port Meadow (S2)	B. Cole	B. Cole	*c*.1720	Bird's-eye	MS. Top. Oxon. c.300 (f.65)
Grandpont 2	Whittlesey	N/A	1726	Estate survey	BNC Clennell B14.1/30c.
Whittlesey	Whittlesey after Agas	Unknown	1728	Bird's-eye	
Williams (old)	Williams after Loggan	Williams?	1732	Bird's-eye	*Oxonia Depicta*
Williams (new)	Williams	W.H. Toms	1733	Plan	*Oxonia Depicta*
Jackson	Taylor	Anderton	1751	Plan	
le Rouge	Unknown	N/A	1759	Plan	*Recueil des villes ports d'Angleterre*
Faden	Taylor	Anderton	1789	Plan	
British Isles 1		Walton/Hollar	1654	Inset	P649; NH1330
British Isles 2		Gaywood/ Hollar	1662	Inset	P651A; NH2582
British Isles 3		Hollar	1667	Inset	P648; NH2581
Berkshire	Ballard	Roque	1756–61	Inset	

2.2 Pre-Elizabethan and Elizabethan maps

Although the arguments for a thematic rather than chronological approach have been recited, it is necessary to dispose of two maps of Oxford that are supposed to predate the Agas/Ryther map of 1578/88. These are the 'old plan of Oxford' and John Bereblock's plan of Oxford.

Thomas Hearne was of the opinion that a 'map' (or prospect) of Oxford engraved on wood, predating that of Agas (surveyed in 1578), had once existed and that a copy had been owned by the antiquarian Anthony Wood.[1] Sometime prior to 1712, Hearne had been told by a reliable (but unidentified and, by then, deceased) source that there had been such a map, possibly dating from the time of Henry VII or VIII.[2] However, such a map was not listed in the inventory of Wood's books and manuscripts made after his death and it is generally thought that when he referred to 'another old plan of Oxford' in his possession (that is, in addition to his copy of Agas/Ryther) he was referring to the Hollar engraving.[3]

The earliest map of the City of Oxford that has been described in some detail, but never reproduced, is that of John Bereblock (*fl.*1557–1572). Little is known of Bereblock or his life, although he was a student and fellow at St John's College from the late 1550s until 1566, when he moved to Exeter College as Dean. He left the University to travel abroad in *c.*1572.[4] In September 1566, Elizabeth I and the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University, made a visit to Oxford. The visit was described by a number of contemporary writers, including Miles Windsor, Nicholas Robinson, Richard Stephens and an anonymous author who may very well have been Bereblock himself.[5] Bereblock's manuscript account in Latin was dedicated to Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Sir William Petrie, a benefactor of Exeter College, with the title 'Commentarii sive Ephemeræ Actiones rerum illustrium

[1] (1) Thomas Hearne (eds. C.E. Doble *et al*), *Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne* (11 vols., Oxford, 1884–1918), 2, p. 406; (2) Bodley MS. Ballard 12 f. 16.
[2] Hearne, *Collections*, 3, pp. 485, 491.
[3] N.K. Kiessling, *Catalogue of library of Anthony Wood* (Oxford, 2002). See also review in *English Historical Review*, 119/482, (June 2004), pp. 722–4.
[4] See: G. Tyack, 'Bereblock, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), hereafter '*DNB*', http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/1813 [accessed 27 Aug 2013].
[5] Full references for each of these descriptions are contained in: L. Durning [with S. Knight] Queen Elizabeth's Book of Oxford*: Bodley 13a, a facsimile with introduction and translation (Oxford, 2006), p. 115. The Bereblock account is given in* C. Plummer, *Elizabethan Oxford: reprints of rare tracts* (Oxford, 1886).

Oxonii gestarum in adventu serenissimæ principis Elizabethæ'. It was not printed until Thomas Hearne published it as an appendix to his edition of the *Historia et vita Ricardi II* in 1729.[6]

To celebrate the visit, Bereblock hung on the door of St Mary's Church for some days 'A Table, or Map, describing the Colleges and Halls in Oxon, with Verses underneath each'.[7] The Queen saw this during several visits to the church to hear academic disputations. According to Wood this was a map of the city accompanied by a series of 'bird's-eye' drawings of college and university buildings and a set of Latin verses describing the buildings. Durning has proposed an alternative interpretation, that the display did not include a separate map, but only the drawings arranged on the door in their respective geographical positions, with the verses beneath.[8] This is supported by one of the contemporary descriptions referring to it as a city view, rather than a map.

Also during this visit the Queen was presented with a small illustrated book. This was the *Topographical delineation*, an innovative discourse concerning Oxford by Thomas Neale (*c*.1519–*c*.1590), Regius Professor of Hebrew, in the form of a dialogue in Latin verse between the Queen and the Earl of Leicester.[9] It was illustrated by Bereblock's drawings of the colleges and it seems likely that the verses were those on the church door. However, Plummer has questioned whether what was presented to the Queen was actually a book, or a map with Bereblock's views and Neale's verses in the margin.[10] Hardly a disinterested observer, Bereblock recorded: 'Eas formas Berblokus ex collegio Exoniensi calamo suo fecit, opus admirantur omnes.'[11]

The obvious question is what became of the original map hung on the door of St Mary's. Bereblock left Oxford in *c*.1572 and, directly or indirectly, the map passed into the ownership of William Nutburn, an alumnus of St John's College. It was donated by him to his old college, possibly around 1600, and thereafter hung in the President's lodgings. In 1616, it was given to Sir Thomas Lake

[6] Thomas Hearne (ed.), *Historia vitæ et regni Ricardi ii. …* (Oxford, 1729), pp. 251–96.
[7] Anthony Wood (ed. Philip Bliss), *Athenae Oxoniensis* (4 vols., London, 1813–20), 1, cols. 577–8 and 2, col. 168.
[8] Durning, p. 27.
[9] See: G.L. Jones, 'Neal, Thomas', *DNB* http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/19818 [accessed 27 Aug 2013].
[10] Plummer, pp. xv–xviii.
[11] Hearne, *Historia et vita Ricardi II …*, p. 283.

(1561–1630), secretary of state to James I, in exchange for a contribution of £20 towards building works. Its subsequent fate is unknown.[12]

The fate of the book given to the Queen is also uncertain. Bodley MS. 13a is either a near-contemporary copy, or the original, inscribed by John More as being donated in 1630.[13] The bird's-eye perspective adopted in these drawings fits in with the contemporary descriptions. Bereblock's initials do not appear on any of the drawings in MS. 13a, supporting the theory that it is a copy, but if so by whom is unknown. So far as is known a calligraphic comparison (which might answer the question as to its authorship) has never been undertaken of the writing in Bodley MS. 13a and that in the first Statutes of St John's, definitely written by Bereblock. The similarities between the depictions of some of the buildings on the Agas/Ryther map described next and the same buildings in the MS. 13a illustrations are notable. The MS. 13a drawings and other illustrations attributed to Bereblock will be examined in Chapter 3.

2.3 The Agas/Ryther map and its derivatives

2.3.1 The Agas/Ryther 'original'

Bodley's earliest map of Oxford (Ill. 2.2) is a copper engraving from eight plates on a scale of *c*.1:1,650, now in a much damaged and discoloured condition. It is a scenographic map of the city, viewed from the north. At top-left is the title 'Celeberrimæ Oxoniensis academiæ aularum et collegiorum … Ano Dni 1578' in an elaborate cartouche. Beneath the cartouche is the coat of arms of Sir Christopher Hatton (1540–1591), who was Chancellor of the University from 1588 to his death. At the bottom-centre in a small compartment is 'Augustine Ryther Anglus Delineavit 1588' and above this three scales. There is no compass rose. Above this again in another compartment is a poem in English by Agas relating the history of the printing of his map. The coats of arms of fourteen colleges are shown (excluding Christ Church), with brief adjacent notes in Latin on their foundations, plus the

[12] Tyack, 'Bereblock, John'.
[13] Bodley MS. 13a. A modern edition is available: Durning *Q*ueen Elizabeth's Book of Oxford*. See also Collegiorum scholarumque publicarum academiae Oxoniensis topographica delineatio, auctore Thoma Nelo, cum figuris Johannis Berebloci (*Oxford, 1882), which has an introduction by Falconer Madan. The drawings were also published as an appendix to Hearne's edition of *Henrici Dodwelli de parma equestri Woodwardiana dissertatio* (Oxford, 1713).

arms of the university and city. Four other compartments contain notes on the history of the city in Latin (including one in verse) and there are two other Latin notes, not in compartments.

There is a significant amount of surviving primary material relating to the life and works of Ralph, or Radulph, Agas (*c.*1540–1621). This includes a pamphlet and a broadsheet published by him, letters written by him to Lord Burleigh (for whom he worked periodically), several estate surveys and accounts of court proceedings in which he was involved.[14] Originally trained for the church and for a time the parson of Dereham, he became involved with the making of estate maps no later than 1575, when he produced a survey of West Lexham in Norfolk with George Sampson. Of his surviving estate surveys in the British Library, two (Akenham 1576 and Abbas Haule 1592) do not have accompanying maps, while the third (Toddington 1581) does.[15] There was also a map of Dunwich in Norfolk, which later came into the hands of Thomas Gardner.[16] Gardner caused a copy to be engraved (a simple ichnographic plan) for his book on the town published in 1754. Davy owned the map at the time he compiled *Athenae Suffolciensis*, but it has subsequently disappeared.[17]

Agas lay claim to a long list of skills in numerous documents, including letters to Lord Burleigh and his *Preparative* of 1596, but these did not include drawing or engraving.[18] The *Preparative* argues for the use of a theodolite as the principal surveying instrument, rather than the older plane table, and that persons employed in surveying should be properly trained and experienced in its use. This pamphlet was followed a few years later (*c.*1600) by a simple broadsheet advertising his skills as a surveyor and noting that he then had forty years' experience.

For many years Agas' name was associated with three important early town or city plans: London; Oxford (surveyed in 1578 and published in 1588); and Cambridge. The last was recorded by the

[14] See, for example: (1) entry in H.J. Rose (ed.), *A new general biographical dictionary* (12 vols., London, 1839), 1, 148; (2) P. Cunningham, 'A few facts about Radulph Agas, the land surveyor and engraver' in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 189 (May 1851), pp. 468–70; (3) preface to W.H. Overall, *Civitas Londinium* (London, 1874); (4) 'L.G.', 'Mapmakers in the Fens: Ralph Agas', *Fenland notes and queries*, 6 (October 1906), pp. 114–8; and (5) D.N.J. MacCulloch, 'Radulph Agas: virtue unrewarded', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 33 (1973–5), pp. 275–84.
[15] These are, respectively, Additional MS. 41,305, Sloane MS. 3664 and Additional MS. 38,065.
[16] Thomas Gardner, *An historical account of Dunwich …* (London, 1754).
[17] BL Additional MS. 19165–19170: D.E. Davy's *Athenae Suffolciensis* 1847.
[18] Agas, *A preparative to platting.*

Hearne, but was probably the 1592 plan now attributed to Hamond, of which only a single complete copy remains in the Bodleian.[19] The surviving London plan is a large, multi-block woodcut; it was first attributed to Agas by George Vertue.[20] It is a copy of an earlier, larger work on copper plates by an unknown engraver, probably not English, in *c.*1557–61, generally referred to as 'the copperplate map of London'.[21] For the printing medium of the surviving map to be wood rather than copper would have been a retrograde step for Agas, since we know from his poem on the Oxford plan that his proposed London map had still not been published by 1588. Internal evidence suggests that at least some parts of the earlier plan were resurveyed between 1570 and 1605. The surviving woodcut version is no longer considered to be based on a full original survey by Agas, although he may have made some contribution.[22] Agas' residual fame as a mapmaker thus rests on one town plan, that of Oxford, Gardner's engraved map of Dunwich and one estate map.

The payment of £20 to Radulph Agas by the University has long been noted.[23] It was made in 1578 under the category 'Expensae Extraordinariae' and was described as 'Et in donarijs datis Radolpho Agas pro descriptione Oxoñ____xx^{li}' ['And the (cash) payment made to Radulph Agas for his survey of Oxford – £20.'].[24] Alternative translations are possible, but the term 'descriptione Oxoñ' does not have to refer to a map. As Harvey points out, until the 1570s it was actually rare for an estate survey to be accompanied by a map, although it is unlikely that the university commissioned an estate survey *per se*, since it owned very little property in the city.[25] There is ample evidence to support the skill of Agas as a surveyor and as such he would have been a natural candidate when the university sought to employ one, but he was not an engraver, or architectural draftsman, and does not seem to have had any

[19] An earlier Cambridge plan, Richard Lyne's Cambridge of 1574, was the first on copper by an English engraver. See R.A. Skelton, 'Town plans in John Speed's *Theatre*', *Archaeological Journal*, 108 (1951), pp. 109–20.
[20] Mitton, p. 8.
[21] (1) A. Prockter *et al* (eds.), *The A to Z of Elizabethan London* (London, 1979), pp. v & xi; (2) see also: http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/archive/exhibits/lostmap/lostmap.htm [accessed 27 Apr 2011].
[22] See: http://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/collage/app?service=external/Item&sp=H39028&sp=31446&sp=X [accessed 27 Apr 2011].
[23] OUA WP beta/21/4 Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1621–66 plus some earlier years.
[24] Roughly 'And the (cash) payment to Radulph Agas for his description of Oxford – £20.' Thanks to Nick Davidson and Rebecca Shorter of St Edmund Hall for assisting in the transcription and translation of this line.
[25] P.D.A. Harvey, 'English estate maps: their early history and their use as historical evidence' in Buisseret, pp. 27–62 (30).

previous experience of 'scenographic' maps. Precisely what Agas delivered to the university is therefore unclear – it may have included a map, but not one resembling that published ten years later.

Was the university involved or even concerned as to the engraving and publication of a map once their commission had been delivered? Two pieces of evidence suggest they were not. The first is the length of time between the payment to Agas for his map in 1578 and its publication in 1588. The second is the failure to find any later payment to Agas, Ryther, or anyone else for any later work on the map in the years 1576 to 1592. It is therefore likely that the commission (now lost) having been completed to the university's satisfaction, the subsequent publication was a commercial transaction by Agas alone. The delay is referred to in a poem at the bottom-left corner of the map and rather contradicts the proposition that Oxford was keen to have a map of the city and university published.

Ravenhill raises the question of who would have inspired Agas to publish the map.[26] One possibility is the unknown designer of the copperplate map of London, but another is William Cuningham (*c*.1531–?), possibly in person, but more likely through the medium of his book, *The Cosmographical Glasse*.[27] Cuningham, a doctor originally from Norwich who developed a passionate interest in surveying, had trained for a time in Heidelberg and is likely there to have become familiar with the Continental penchant for scenographic maps.[28] Agas mentions the use of a 'Cosmographers glass' as one of his instruments in a pamphlet he wrote about the science of surveying in 1596.[29] In the same pamphlet he made a curious statement, not previously commented on:

> And whereas a skilful person (unto me unknown, yet duly regarded, for report of his learning) was lately employed (as I hear) in bounding the libertie for the University of Oxford, touching their provision to be taken in markets there, without impeachment of her Majesties Officers &c.[30]

The question arises as to the exact meaning of the phrase 'bounding the libertie' of the city. A libertie was a district outside a city over which its jurisdiction nevertheless extended, sometimes possessing a

[26] W. Ravenhill, 'Bird's eye view and bird's-flight view', *The Map Collector*, 35 (1986), pp. 36–7.
[27] W. Cuningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse* … (London, 1559).
[28] (1) J.C. Buckland-Wright, 'Readers of anatomy at the Barber-Surgeon's Company in the Tudor period', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 78 (Oct 1985), pp. 802–11; and (2) L.G. Matthews 'Medical men as mapmakers', *Pharmaceutical Historian*, 5.2/3 (1975), pp. 2–4.
[29] Agas, *A preparative to platting*, p. 13.
[30] Hind, 1, p. 65.

degree of independence.[31] In its strictest form the phrase would then mean establishing the boundaries of the city, including its libertie. It is possible that it could have had a more general meaning, implying the mapping of the city as a whole, with the implication that the city had recently been mapped by someone unknown to Agas. Given his propensity for self-publicity, there is no obvious reason why in 1596 he should here be coy about mentioning the fact that he had surveyed the city himself in 1578. Perhaps the answer is that when he undertook the work he had not made use of the theodolite, the instrument he now favoured, and that his survey was therefore flawed. There was a good reason for this, in that the theodolite only came to general public notice in 1571.[32] It is certainly likely that Agas did not adopt it until after he had completed the Oxford commission. Any survey or map based on this later 'bounding the libertie' has also has not survived.

If the Oxford survey was accompanied by a map, that of Toddington Manor prepared in 1581 (three years after the Oxford commission) for Lord Cheney probably provides the best idea of how it would have looked (Ills. 2.45a-b). Drawn on vellum, its original size was *circa* 345 x 260 cm, but it has since been divided into 20 sections. The title and labels are neatly drawn, with boundaries and features in black, blue, green, red and yellow. The cartouche containing the title comprises competently drawn figures, but seems unfinished. Features such as hills, trees, bushes, streams and lakes are shown schematically only. In only two areas of the map are there scenographic representations of buildings.

Although it is commonly stated that Agas' map of Oxford was *engraved* by Augustine Ryther (?–1593), this is likely, but not certain. Nothing is known of Ryther's origins, but by the 1570s he was working in London as an instrument maker and map engraver for, among others, Christopher Saxton. In a profession dominated by Continental engravers, he emphasised his English credentials by signing himself 'Augustine Ryther Anglus'. More than twenty of his maps survive, including the Hamond map of Cambridge (Ill. 2.41), which he engraved in 1592 on nine copper plates with Peter Muser. His signature on the Oxford map is given as 'Augustinus Ryther Anglus delineavit 1588', thus claiming the drawing or design of the map (or at least the version that was engraved), but not the engraving,

[31] For a description of the extent of the liberty of Oxford, see J. Cooper, 'Outlying parts of the liberty' in *VCH Oxford* 4, pp. 260–83.
[32] Leonard Digges (ed. Thomas Digges), *A geometrical practise, named Pantometria* (London, 1671).

which would have involved the addition of 'sculpsit' or 'fecit'.[33] For example, in his map of the whole of England for Saxton he signed himself 'Augustinus Ryther Anglus Sculpsit Ano Dñi 1579' and the inscription on the Cambridge map was 'Augustine Ryther et Petrus Muser Sculpserunt'.

If a plan as simple as that of Toddington had been presented to Ryther for redrawing and engraving, it would have effectively been a *tabula rasa* and it is likely that he was allowed considerable licence in depicting the major buildings. This aspect of the task may even have been entirely delegated to him, fully justifying the term 'delineavit'. Stylistically, the buildings in the Oxford map are far closer to those in his engraved map of Cambridge than they are to the spindly manor house and church in the Toddington plan. Using the example of Saxton in the 1570s, Delano-Smith has pointed out that we have no surviving evidence of what his manuscript maps actually looked like when they were passed to his various engravers.[34] Ryther's contribution to the 1588 Oxford map is definitely greater than has been previously assumed and it should certainly be referred to as the Agas/Ryther map.

Agas gives as his reason for choosing north as the viewpoint for his map that 'there the buildings make the bravest showe and from those walkes the Scholers best it knowe'. Although his decision was followed by his many copyists, none of the early prospects of the city was drawn from the north.

The Agas map has not been without its critics. According to one, 'His drawing of buildings is sometimes careless (for example St Cross and St Peter le Bailey)', while another observed 'The insertion of false windows, and the making the heads of all to be circular or elliptical, should be ascribed to the same cause [licences in perfect accordance with then existing fashion]'.[35] On the other hand Ravenhill thought highly of the map: 'the portrayal of towns, incorporating the third dimension, reaches its highest point of perfection … using a technique which … seems not to have been surpassed even in our own time'.[36] In each case the implied criticism or praise is directed at Agas, but as the 'delineator' Ryther should probably have been the chief object of the praise or criticism.

[33] Griffiths, *The print before photography*, pp. 82–4.
[34] Catherine Delano-Smith, 'Signs on printed topographical maps, *c*.1470–*c*.1640' in Harley, J.B. *et al* (eds.), *The history of cartography*, (6 vols., Chicago, IL, 1987-2015), vol. 3, pp. 528–590 (532).
[35] (1) See M.D. Lobel, 'Rural and urban geography in early maps' in *Imago Mundi*, 22.1 (1968), pp. 50–61; and (2) Hurst, p. 4.
[36] Quoted in Harley *et al*, 3.2 p. 1655.

What is indisputable is that the map was not particularly accurate, which may be the result of it having been surveyed before Agas' adoption of the theodolite. A detailed analysis of the errors has been produced by Hurst, who showed that there was significant positive and negative variation in measurements derived from Agas' plan compared to his own measurements, with an overall tendency to underestimate distances (but not heights – perhaps because Agas had no responsibility for the drawings of buildings).[37] There could be other explanations for these inaccuracies, of which one is that Agas, disabled from birth, relied significantly on others to undertake his field surveying.[38] What the map did show clearly was the large amount of open space within the city after the vicissitudes of the previous centuries.

Nothing is known of how Agas distributed his map – there are no surviving subscription lists or advertisements. Given its size it would have been intended as a conversation piece or status symbol, not as an aide to finding one's way about Oxford. It is notable that neither the Bodleian nor any of the Oxford or Cambridge college libraries contains a contemporaneously purchased copy, suggesting that no effort was made to sell the map in these cities.

The sad state of the single surviving copy of the Agas/Ryther map means that it is today of very limited use to historians. Fortunately, various facsimiles and derivative versions have been made, which will next be described. From these it is possible to say that, architectural detail aside, where independent evidence does exist the Agas/Ryther map seems to have shown the principal buildings very faithfully, although less so in the case of some of the smaller churches and other buildings.

The publication of the Lyne map of Cambridge of 1574 is unlikely to have prompted Oxford's employment of Agas, but the engraved Agas/Ryther map of 1588, a far more sophisticated work than Lyne's, may well have prompted the publication of the Hamond/Ryther/Muser map of Cambridge in 1592 and Hamond's decision to employ Ryther.

A recent discovery suggests that the Agas/Ryther map can still reveal new information. Although occupying only a tiny area of the map, the depiction of the quadrangle of St Edmund Hall shows a

[37] Hurst, p. 8.
[38] MacCulloch, p. 275.

building running north–south to the west of what is now the eastern range of the college, containing the chapel/library and 'cottage', of which the latter can be clearly seen. This building is not mentioned in any of the histories of the college, although the possibility of it having once existed was mentioned in an article by the author in 2009; this article also suggested that if the opportunity arose it would be interesting to undertake an archaeological survey of this part of the quadrangle.[39] Such an opportunity arose in January 2015, when a ground-penetrating radar ('GPR') survey of the quadrangle was undertaken by Sumo Services Limited in preparation for the repaving of the quadrangle. The interpretation of the GPR results by Sumo confirms the existence of a building in the south-west corner of the quadrangle, approximately in the position shown in the Agas/Ryther map (Ill. 2.50).

Before moving on to the seventeenth century, one other map must be mentioned, the so-called Sheldon Tapestry Map of Oxfordshire, usually dated to *c.*1590.[40] In the context of this research its most important aspect is the depiction of Oxford, which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.3.2 Wenceslaus Hollar

Hollar's training and career has been briefly described in Chapter 1. He was an etcher of enormous ability and would turn his hand to almost any subject matter. His interest in maps started at a young age, as recorded by John Aubrey:

> … he told me that when he was a schoole-boy he tooke a delight in drawing of mapps; w^{ch} draughts he kept, and they were pretty.[41]

He began to produce highly detailed scenographic maps as early as 1635, in which year he published a fine map of Cologne. Probably a little later he produced a map of Hull, for which the original copper plate survives. Although he supplemented his income throughout his life by etching maps and panel decorations for maps, his output in this regard was modest during the period for which he worked for Lord Arundel.[42] The earliest attempt at compiling a *catalogue raisonné* of his works was by George

[39] J.W. Hawkins, 'A chronological curiosity', *St Edmund Hall Magazine*, 18.1 (2009/10), pp. 129–39.
[40] Bodley Gough Maps 261 (R).
[41] J. Aubrey (J. Walker ed.), *Letters written by eminent persons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (2 vols. London: Longmans, 1813), 2.2, p. 401.
[42] See: Peter Barber, *Wenceslaus Hollar as a map-maker* https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/wenceslaus-hollar-as-a-map-maker [accessed 23 Jun 2017].

Vertue in 1759.[43] The next attempt was by Parthey in 1853,[44] which was updated by Borovský in 1898.[45] A major revision was undertaken by Pennington in 1982, retaining the original Parthey 'P' numbers even where he disagreed with the chronological sequence. The more recent New Hollstein catalogue of Turner and Bartrum has introduced a completely new 'NH' numbering sequence.

Although it is usual for references to be made to *the* Hollar map of Oxford, in fact there are two distinct versions, each with two known states, and a third version that seems to be based on the first, but engraved by a different hand (see Ills. 2.11a–c and 2.12a–b). The smaller map (V1) is dated 1643 and was assigned the number P1055 by Parthey, who believed it was engraved later than the larger map (V2), surrounded by the coats of arms of the colleges and with a larger inset prospect of the city, to which he assigned the number P1054. This date ordering has been reversed in New Hollstein, which has assigned the numbers NH433 for the smaller map and NH2523 for the larger. The versions and states are fully described in Table A1 and have been analysed in detail (including the differences between them) by the author in his recent paper in *Oxoniensia*, written in the course of this research.[46] The conclusions reached in this paper are summarised below.

Notwithstanding the addition of some buildings (such as the Schools Quadrangle), the absence of the New College mound in either of the variants is one of the real clues that in most respects they are no more than copies of Agas/Ryther. The records of New College reveal that the creation of the mound commenced no later than 1594 and although the steps were not finally added until 1648/9 it would have been substantially complete by 1643.[47] The lack of building development in the castle area, easily seen from the Christ Church castle area map of *c.*1617, and the absence of any Civil War earthworks are also telling. Roberts has pointed out that Hollar's street map of Warwick was based on Speed's map of *c.*1605 and, although his Oxford maps are more detailed, it may well be that Hollar

[43] George Vertue, *A description of the works of the ingenious delineator and engraver Wenceslaus Hollar …* (London, 1759), pp. 27 & 38.
[44] Gustav Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche* [*Wenzel Hollar, The descriptive directory of his etchings*] (Berlin, 1853), p. 223.
[45] F.A. Borovský, *Wenzel Hollar, Ergänzungen zu G. Parthey's Beschreibendem Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche* [*Wenzel Hollar, additions to G. Parthey's descriptive directory of his engravings*] (Prague, 1898), p. 35.
[46] J.W. Hawkins, 'Wenceslaus Hollar's maps of Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 79 (2014), pp. 47–59.
[47] C. Bell, 'New College Mound, Oxford: an archaeological investigation', *Garden History*, 22.1 (summer 1994), p. 116.

never visited Oxford.[48] A *c.*1640 (or later) map of Cambridge by Hollar (P960, Ill. 2.42) similar in appearance to the second version of his Oxford map, is likewise deficient in its updating of Hamond.

The modern consensus that P1055/NH433 (V1) preceded P1054/NH2523 (V2) seems likely to be correct. There does not seem to be any reason to doubt that V1 was originally etched by Hollar himself, although he was probably not responsible for the drawing of the prospect and used Agas' plan as his starting point for the map. There was some attempt to update the city's buildings and correct obvious errors, but this was far from comprehensive. The minor additions in state 2 of V1, produced before 1647, were probably not made by Hollar. The identity of 'D. Gage', whose name appears on the prospect in V2, is a complete mystery, as is the reason for him having been commissioned to draw a new prospect not very different to that in V1.

Turner and Bartrum's attribution of the reworked version of state 1 of V1 to Matthäus Merian the elder (V1/Merian), who died in 1650, may well be correct, although it could conceivably have been the work of one of his sons. The earliest work in which it has been found is the 1649 edition of *Archontologia Cosmica.*[49]

The etching style of V2 differs even more from that of states 1 and 2 of V1 than that of the reworked version of V1 and seems to be less trustworthy in its depiction of buildings. If Hollar did not etch V2 himself, as seems possible, it may date from even later than 1665.

The Hollar maps need to be used by the historian with great caution and most questions on the development of the city are better answered by looking at the Agas/Ryther map of 1578/88 and the Loggan map of 1675.

Versions of Hollar's maps and views of Oxford were reused by him as vignettes in at least three maps of England and Wales and the British Isles (Ills. 2.46–48).

[48] Roberts, p. 29.
[49] Pierre d'Avity, *Archontologia Cosmica* (2 vols., Frankfurt, 1649), vol. 1, p. 341.

2.3.3 David Loggan

The importance of David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, the background to its publication and biographical details of Loggan will be provided in Chapter 4. The second plate in *Oxonia Illustrata* was a scenographic map of the city to a scale of *c*.1:3,250, viewed from the north, with a distant prospect from the east inset at the top-left corner (Ill. 2.20). At bottom-left is inset a compartment containing the key to 31 references in Latin marked on the map. At bottom-right is inset a compartment containing the key to 50 references in English marked on the map, surmounted by the conjoined arms of the university and city and with a scale of 'Pedes Angl.' below. There is no compass rose. At top-right, within an elaborate cartouche, is a dedication to Henry Compton, Bishop of Oxford. Loggan's signature is at bottom-centre: 'Dav. Loggan Delin. et Sculp. Cum privill. S.R.M.'. The title of the map is 'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae Universitatis Civitatisque Oxoniensis scenographia'. The title of the inset prospect is 'Oxoniae prospectus ab Oriente'. A copy of the map is among Wood's possessions at the Bodleian, bearing the following note in his own hand:

> Memorandum that this map or platforme of the University and Citie of Oxon was mostly drawne by the hand, with a pencill, of David Loggan, the Universitie engraver, anno 1673: engraven on a copper plate anno 1674: and published with the book of maps of colleges and halls anno 1675. The said David Loggan using my direction in the matter and an old map of Oxon which I have in my hands, he in gratitude gave me this map in April anno 1675.[50]

Loggan had no known training as a surveyor and, unlike Hollar, was not known for his skill in engraving maps. We know that Hearne's copy of the Agas/Ryther map was 'much shattered', but other copies in better condition were then still available. Notwithstanding this, the overall design, with a prospect of the city in the top-left corner, owes much to that of Hollar published only three decades earlier. Loggan took greater pains to update the buildings on the map (apparently in 1673) than had been done by Hollar, but the basic survey was still that of Agas (whom he did not credit). Munby has described it as 'The finest map of a European city of the seventeenth century.'[51] One of the few errors noted by Munby is the omission of the kitchen at Lincoln College, showing only a small building next

[50] Bodley Wood 276[b] f.31.
[51] J. Munby, 'Malchair and the Oxford topographical tradition' in C. Harrison, *John Malchair of Oxford, artist and musician* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 45–57

to the buttery.[52] The extensive key provides references to all of the university buildings, colleges, halls and churches then extant, together with other locations including the Physick and Paradise Gardens, the East and North Gates, Friar Bacon's Study, and the 'Ruins of the Fortifications', the last not shown at all by Hollar. The Botanic Gardens are shown much closer to their true size than they had been by Hollar in P1055 [V1]. Loggan does not provide street names, either *in situ*, or, as Hollar did, in the key. Despite Loggan's extensive usage of staffage in his bird's-eye views of the colleges, only two tiny human figures appear on the map – boatmen on the branches of the Thames to the west of Gloucester Green and to the south of Friar Bacon's Study – and a few grazing animals. The representations of the colleges and university buildings will be considered in detail in Chapter 3. When compared with the Agas/Ryther map of a century before, the city's development can be clearly seen.

Although outside the scope of this research, it is interesting to compare this map with Loggan's 1688 ichnographic map of Cambridge (Ill. 2.43), which was not simply an updated version of Hamond's scenographic map of 1592 (Ill. 2.41). This map did include street names, being much closer to Williams's 1733 ichnographic map of Oxford, and was oriented with north to the right.[53] The reasons for these differences and the question of whether a new survey was undertaken for Loggan at Cambridge, which appears to have been the case, seem never to have been addressed.

2.3.4 Michael Burghers

Biographical information on Michael Burghers and a discussion of his substantial contribution to images of Oxford will be found in Chapter 4. Burghers engraved the map of Oxfordshire for Plot's 'Natural History' of the county published in 1677, but cartographic engraving was not one of his specialities.[54] However, over a period of many years he was reputed to be working on a re-engraving of the Agas/Ryther map of Oxford.

[52] Z. Kamash and D. Wilkinson, 'Late Saxon and Medieval occupation: evidence from excavations at Lincoln College, Oxford 1997–2000', *Oxoniensia*, 67 (2002), pp. 199–286 (224, fn. 22).
[53] (1) Baggs and Bryan, p. [7]; (2) Loggan, *Cantabrigia Illustrata*.
[54] Robert Plot, *Natural history of Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1677).

The Agas/Ryther map is first mentioned by Thomas Hearne in his diaries in May 1707, when he remarked that Dr Arthur Charlett (1655–1722), the Master of University College, had a copy and intended to have it re-engraved with the colleges and university buildings added, using the drawings by John Bereblock.[55] Charlett was not a serious antiquarian, but his interest in the university and the rarity of the Agas map must have encouraged this ambition. Hearne himself later reproduced Bereblock's drawings and Neale's accompanying verses (but not the map) as an appendix to his edition of Dodwell's *De parma equestri Woodwardiana dissertatio*.[56] Who engraved the illustrations for Hearne's edition is not known, although a strong candidate is Michael Burghers, whose style they are in and who certainly did other work for Hearne around this time, not always signed.[57] Although Hearne was aware of a brief reference to Agas in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, he knew nothing else of him and was unsure of whether he was a scholar or a 'mechanick', suspecting the latter. He also noted that the Agas map had been reprinted, 'but not exactly', probably a reference to Hollar's version (of which he may have owned a copy), or even Loggan's.

The re-engraving project does not then seem to have been proceeded with and it is not mentioned again by Hearne until 1712, when he asked one of his correspondents, Robert Watts (1683–1726), to look out for additional copies of the Agas map, suspecting that there might be some variation in the design or inscription. In a letter to Charlett of 1715 Hearne expressed regret that the 'old map of Oxford' had not been used to illustrate Wood's *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*.[58] Apart from some intermittent correspondence in 1719 with the Cambridge antiquarian Thomas Baker (1656–1740), who owned poor copies of the Agas map of Oxford and the Hamond map of Cambridge, there the matter lay until 1720.[59] In that year Hearne noted that the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Robert Shippen (1675–1745), and a Buckinghamshire antiquarian, Browne Willis (1682–1760), were both keen for the Agas map to be re-engraved. Unlike Willis, Shippen also seems to have been motivated

[55] Hearne, *Collections*, 7, pp. 11–13.
[56] Dodwell (ed. Hearne), *Henrici Dodqwelli* de *parma equestri Woodwardiana dissertatio* (Oxford, 1713).
[57] John Leland (ed. Thomas Hearne), *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea* (Oxford, 1715). Of the three plates, one is signed 'MB del. f.', one 'MBurg delin. et sculp.' and the other is unsigned.
[58] Hearne *Collections*, 5, pp. 113-4.
[59] For a discussion of Baker and his library see F.J.M. Korsten, *A catalogue of the library of Thomas Baker* (Cambridge, 1990).

by his promotion of the university, rather than antiquarian interest. By 1721 Michael Burghers, who succeeded Loggan as engraver to the university, was reported to be at work re-drawing the Agas map prior to it being re-engraved and was also preparing a new map of Oxford showing the city in its present condition. However, Hearne expressed scepticism that this was within Burghers' capabilities and that there was a view that 'it must be done by some Londoner who is good at surveying'.[60] Although Hearne had a high regard for Burgher's technical ability, it must be remembered that he also accused him of lying with prostitutes, libelling his competitors (including Benjamin Cole) and engaging in sharp business practices.

Charlett died in 1722 and his collection of books, manuscripts and maps was dispersed, with his copy of the Agas map falling into the hands of Dr Thomas Brathwaite, Warden of Winchester College (1711–20) and formerly Warden of New College (1703–11).[61] Hearne was of the opinion that this copy of the map had previously belonged to Anthony Wood.[62] A proposal for a new large prospect of Oxford, unusually to be from the south-west, was published by James Mundy, an engraver, in 1723, leading Hearne to note that he would have preferred the Agas map to have been reprinted and a new map prepared along the same lines.[63] There is no evidence that this project ever advanced. In 1725, a poor copy of the Agas map was purchased by Mr Baker, a wiredrawer of Cornmarket, who had been negotiating for its purchase from Stanton Harcourt for ten years. William Vesey (*c*.1680–1755), an antiquarian and Fellow of Lincoln College, again proposed to Hearne the re-engraving of the Agas map, taking advantage of the services of one 'Hulet' (probably William Hulett, one of the engravers for the Almanacks of 1725 and 1726). Again, nothing further was heard.[64]

In 1726 Hearne was able to examine the maps of Oxford and Cambridge first mentioned to him by Thomas Baker over a decade before, both 'much shattered'. Hearne described the Cambridge map as similar to that in *Civitates*, while the Oxford map was said to be superior to the plate of Oxford in the

[60] Hearne *Collections*, 7, pp. 6, 20, 28, 166, 206. However, Burghers had engraved the map of Oxfordshire that appeared as a frontispiece to Plot's *Natural history of Oxfordshire*.
[61] Hurst, pp. 1–2.
[62] Hearne, *Collections*, 4, p. 261.
[63] Hearne, *Collections*, 8, p. 117; the 'publication' mentioned by Hearne has not been identified and it is just possible the reference may be to James Mynde (1702–1771).
[64] Hearne, *Collections*, 9, pp. 1–2.

same publication (i.e. the Hoefnagel prospect).[65] On Hearne's death the maps passed to Richard Rawlinson, who bequeathed them to the Bodleian in 1755.[66] The fate of the other copies is unknown.

Evidently Burghers never did complete his re-engraving project, but as will be seen it is quite possible that the partially completed plates, or drawings for them, came into the hands of William Williams.

2.3.5 Robert Whittlesey

Robert Whittlesey, like Agas, was primarily a land surveyor and little is known of his background. He produced surveys of Powderham and Kenton (1723) and Exwell Barton (1725) for Sir William Courtenay; Swanswick (1729) and Shenington (1732) for Oriel College; and Cow Mead for Brasenose. His name figures prominently in the double-plate facsimile of the Agas/Ryther map published in 1728 (Ill. 2.32). It was titled: 'Oxonia Antiqua Instaurata … A^{o}.D^{i}. MDCCXXVIII …'. As far as can be determined this is a faithful facsimile of the original Agas/Ryther map, on a reduced scale of *c*.1:2,500. As with the original, the facsimile contained no key to the principal buildings. In the centre below the map is a compartment with a dedication to Henry, 3rd Duke of Beaufort, with the name of Whittlesey following. As suggested by Charlett two decades earlier, it included copies of John Bereblock's views of Oxford from MS. 13a around the edge of the plan. From which copy of the original the engraver worked is unclear – the Wood/Charlett/Brathwaite copy that may have been used by Loggan was, by 1728, in Winchester and the Baker/Hearne copy, by then in Oxford, was 'much shattered'. Hearne never mentions in his diary that his copy was used by Whittlesey for copying.

Whittlesey's role was almost certainly that of publisher: the map did not require a new survey, given that it was based on the Agas/Ryther original; no examples exist of Whittlesey as an engraver; and he was not the printer (stated to be F. Butler). Whittlesey had worked for Beaufort as a surveyor on his estates in Monmouthshire.[67] The fact that it was dedicated to him rather than to the Chancellor of the University, or the Mayor of the city, provides *prima facie* evidence that this was a private commercial undertaking, rather than an 'official' publication – after all, a succession of Oxford antiquarians had

[65] Hearne. *Collections*, 9, p. 112.
[66] Korsten, pp. 85 & 89.
[67] Davis, *Estate maps of Wales*, p. 11.

expressed a desire for the map to be reprinted. Beaufort may very well have made a contribution to the cost of the plate. The university did approve of the project to the extent that beneath the title at top-right is inscribed 'Imprimatur Edv. Butler, Vice-Can. Oxon'. Edward Butler was Vice-Chancellor of the university from 1728 to 1732. The absence of any financial involvement in the project by the university is supported by an examination of relevant debit and credit entries in the university's accounts. By the 1720s, the account books showed regular payments to engravers, mainly in connection with the University Almanacks, categorised as 'Expensae Extraordinariae'.[68] The relevant entries for the years 1726 to 1730, spanning the period during which the Whittlesey version of the Agas/Ryther map was published, are contained in Table A6. No payment occurred to Whittlesey (or Harris, or Hulett) during this period and in fact this is true for the whole of the period 1723 to 1732. Given that the designers and engravers of the Almanack charged £35 for each plate (around half the size of what would have been needed for Whittlesey's map), the amount involved is likely to have been at least £50 and probably more. There are no unexplained entries of this magnitude and one is left to conclude that the arrangement for the republication of the Agas/Ryther map was a private one, not formally involving the university. In passing it may also be noted that in 1725 and 1726, payments were made to Williams only for the Almanacks, so he presumably passed on some of these payments to his two engravers, Harris and Hulett. Receipts for the sale of 'Calendaryis' occur regularly under the category 'Reditus and Recepta' and are identifiable for most of the years of this period, but there are no obvious entries for the sale of maps or plans (see Table A6).

Hearne passed no comment on the publication of the Whittlesey map in his diary. No contemporary advertisements for the map have been discovered and it is most likely that it was simply made available through book and print sellers in Oxford, London and provincially. The investment of Whittlesey and his sponsors must have been well over £50 before paper and printing costs, implying that more than a thousand copies would have had to have been sold in order to generate a positive return on investment. Copies of the map were still being advertised in 1781 by Robert Sayer for 4*s*,

[68] OUA WB beta/21/6 Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1697–1735.

who may well have purchased the two plates.[69] Only a single state has been recorded, so it may well be that no alterations were made when the map was reprinted.

If Whittlesey was not the engraver of his map, the question arises as to who was. Given that it was engraved on two plates because of its large size, it is even possible that two engravers were employed, although a close examination gives no evidence of this. One possibility, not previously suggested, is that the engraver was William Hulett, whose name had been proposed to Hearne for this task in 1725. Hulett engraved the calendar text for the Almanacks for 1725 and 1726, which were designed by Williams and had the main part of each image engraved by John Harris (*fl.*1686–1740). Hearne noted in October 1725 that Hulett was working in Oxford Castle and is known to have engraved maps for several works published from 1720 before he arrived in Oxford.[70] Hulett is included in Sympson's list of leading engravers who endorsed the accuracy of his book of cyphers compiled around 1726.[71] There is a record of a marriage between William Hulett and Elizabeth van der Gucht in 1714 and it may well be that William was a pupil of Michael van der Gucht (1660–1725), Elizabeth's father. Hulett is a much more likely candidate as the engraver of the 1728 map than Whittlesey. Whoever did the work may have had to use a significant amount of imagination in filling in any gaps and also took the trouble to introduce shadows to the buildings, not present in the original.[72]

2.3.6 William Williams

Detailed biographical information on William Williams and the background to the publication of *Oxonia Depicta* will be found in Chapter 4. With Burghers unavailable through sickness, Williams produced the drawings for the 1725 and 1726 Almanacks. After some years of ill health, Burghers died in 1727 and it is quite possible that Williams took over the dual scenographic/ichnographic map project described above and incorporated it within *Oxonia Depicta*. He may even have purchased partially completed plates from Burghers' executors.

[69] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 16 Nov 1781.
[70] (1) Hearne, *Collections*, 9, p. 112; and (2) for list see Worms and Baynton-Williams, p. 333.
[71] Samuel Sympson, *New book of cyphers* (London, 1726). Among the others listed who had Oxford connections were Isaac Basire, Claude du Bosc, Benjamin, James and Maximilian Cole, Paul Fourdrinier, Gerard and John van der Gucht, John Harris, John Sturt and William Henry Toms.
[72] I am indebted to Alan Crossley for pointing this out (conversation, 13 April 2017). The shadows appear consistently to the west of the buildings.

The first map, to a scale of *c.*1:2,500 (Ill. 2.33), was again titled 'Oxonia Antiqua Instaurata … A^{o}. D^{i}. MDCCXXXII'. It was a scenographic map of the city, viewed from the north. At bottom-centre is a compartment divided in two. In the top half is the title as given above; in the bottom half is a dedication to Sir William Stapleton of Rotherfield Grays (1698–1740) and Henry Perrot of Northleigh (1689–1740), both Tory members of parliament for Oxfordshire. This dedication is followed by a signature: 'Guili. Williams'. Above this compartment are the arms of the university and city. There is no scale or compass rose. To all intents and purposes this is another facsimile of the Agas/Ryther original, using the same title as that of Whittlesey, and was engraved by Williams himself.

The second map, on a scale of *c.*1:3,400 (Ill. 2.34), was titled 'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae Universitatis civitatisque Oxoniensis Ichnographia, MDCCXXXIII'. It was an ichnographic map of the city, viewed from the north. At top-left is a simple cartouche containing a dedication to Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury (1710–1753) and George Clarke of All Souls. At bottom-right is inset a compartment containing the key to 32 references in Latin marked on the map. To the left of this compartment are the conjoined arms of the university and city. At top-right is inset a compartment containing the key to 50 references in English marked on the map, with a scale of 'Pedes Angl.' below. The title, in a panel below map, is as above. Signed, immediately above title 'Guil^{i}. Williams delin. Toms sculp^{t}. and again 'Guil: Williams.' after dedication.' The engraver was William Henry Toms. The style of the map and its title are extremely close to that of David Loggan's 1688 map of Cambridge in *Cantabrigia Illustrata* ('Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae Universitatis oppidique Cantabrigiensis ichnographia. Ann^{o} 1688'), with which he may well have been familiar.

Although Williams had surveying skills, there is no evidence to suggest that he carried out a survey of the city in connection with his 'new' map. In fact, although he had drawn his earlier map of Denbigh and Flint (which will be described later) with north at the top of the page, he did not even bother to turn the Agas/Ryther map through 180^{o} for his 'new' map of Oxford. There were, nevertheless, some attempts to update even Loggan's map of 1675. One example is the depiction of the chapel of Magdalen College. In the Loggan map of 1675 and even the bird's eye view of the college in *Oxonia Depicta* this is shown with a transept on the south side, but, as noted by Wilson, in the 'new' map in

Oxonia Depicta it has disappeared.[73] There are, however, errors and omissions: for example, the large ceremonial entrance on the east side of the Ashmolean Museum is not shown.

2.3.7 Other Agas/Ryther derivatives

The first published derivative of the Agas/Ryther map was the inset in John Speed's map of Oxfordshire (Ill. 2.7), published in his atlas of 1610/11. Some of the inset town and city maps were surveyed by Speed himself (in which case they are distinguished by a 'Scale of passes' and normally had north at the top). The Oxford map does not have such a scale and has south at the top, covering the same extent as Agas/Ryther. 'Oxonium', a small map of the city in the 1661 *Britannia Magna* of Hermannides, is similar to Speed's version, but differs in detail and he may have worked from either the Agas/Ryther original, or one of Hollar's versions (Ill. 2.17a).[74] Other Agas/Ryther derivatives are found in a small atlas of British town plans published by Beer in 1689 (Ill. 2.17b) and as an inset to a map of Buckinghamshire and Berkshire published by Philip Lea, also in 1689 (Ill. 2.17c).[75]

2.4 Estate and similar maps

The tradition of landowners commissioning estate maps was rare in the middle of the sixteenth century, but common by its end. Disputes over the extent of landholdings had always occurred, but the realisation dawned during the latter half of the sixteenth century that estate maps drawn up by 'professional' surveyors could contribute to the settling of these on a permanent basis. The possession of such maps, often elaborately drawn, also became something of a status symbol. As large landowners, Oxford's colleges were in the forefront of commissioning estate maps – the collections of Brasenose, Corpus Christi, Merton and St John's being particularly numerous. Although many of the Oxford examples are drawn with considerable detail and accuracy, relatively few deal with parts of the city of Oxford itself and of these even fewer show buildings in elevation or perspective. It is with this last sub-set that we are mainly concerned here.

[73] H.A. Wilson, *Magdalen College* (London, 1899), p. 25.
[74] Rutger Hermannides, *Britannia Magna* … (Amsterdam, 1661).
[75] Johann Christoph Beer *Neu Geharnischte Groß-Britannien* ... (1690). For the relationship between the maps appearing in various seventeenth-century atlases, see also: D. Smith, 'The enduring image of early British townscapes', *Cartographic Journal* 28 (1985), pp. 163–75.

Brasenose has an untitled sketch map on paper of an area to the south of the city generally known as 'grandpont' (Ill. 2.1).[76] It contains scenographic representations of several buildings, including: the causeway, Folly Bridge, St Nicholas's Chapel, with its gardens, and Friar Bacon's Study. There is no scale, or compass rose; west is at the top. St Nicholas's Chapel, owned by Abingdon Abbey, was first recorded in 1365 and continued in use until the late sixteenth century, but disappeared during the seventeenth.[77] Butler thought that the map might date from *c*.1500, but a more recent analysis by Crossley puts the date at *c*.1569, more consistent with the views of Hurst.[78] As with the later Christ Church map of the castle area, it is likely to have been drawn in connection with a legal dispute.

'The description and cituation of Waram Banck' (Bodley Wood 276[b], f.16, Ill. 2.5) has been described by MacCannell.[79] It shows a very small area to the south of the castle along both sides of the Castle Mill Stream. Houses and bridges are shown with some individuality and an attempt to use perspective and the owners of several of the properties are noted. For the reasons stated by MacCannell it can be dated to 1593–1617. The reason for its production is unclear, but as with the grandpont and castle area maps it may have related to a legal dispute.

Magdalen College has a hand-drawn sketch map on a single sheet of paper showing St Clement's parish (Ill. 2.4).[80] It is unsigned and without a scale, although the cardinal points are shown. The map has been considered in some detail by Woolgar, who assigns it a date of 1584–92.[81] The map is not of high quality and the depiction of the buildings, including St Clement's Church, is not entirely consistent with Agas/Ryther and Loggan. The most likely reason for the production of the map was a boundary dispute, but no confirming evidence of this has been found in Magdalen or other archives. Part of the same area is covered in a more sophisticated map of part of Cowley prepared in 1605 by an estate surveyor, Thomas Langdon, for Corpus Christi College.

[76] Brasenose College Library Clennell B13.4.
[77] J. Cooper, 'Churches' in *VCH Oxford* 4, pp. 369–412.
[78] (1) A.J. Butler 'The College estates' in Falconer Madan (ed.), *Brasenose College Quatercentenary Monographs* (2 vols. in 3, 1: Oxford, 1909; 2: Oxford, 1909), 2.1.6, pp. 28–9; (2) A. Crossley 'Oxford' in R.A. Skelton and P.D.A. Harvey, *Local maps and plans from medieval England* (Oxford, 1986), p. 355; and (3) Herbert Hurst, *Oxford topography: an essay* (Oxford, 1900), Appendix I, pp. 213–4.
[79] MacCannell, pp. 10–13.
[80] Magdalen College Archive Miscellaneous Deeds 348.
[81] C.M. Woolgar, 'A late sixteenth century map of St. Clement's, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 46 (1981), pp. 94–8.

The *Typus Collegii* is a hand-drawn and hand-coloured plan of the college in the possession of All Souls (Ill. 2.6).[82] Not strictly an estate map itself, this was the frontispiece to a series of hand-drawn maps of the college's property prepared by Thomas Langdon for Warden Robert Hovenden in *c.*1598.[83] The very high (southerly) viewpoint gives the delineator limited scope for showing the detail of elevations, but he nevertheless does so with great care. The perspective is well handled. The cloister is more rectangular than shown by either Agas/Ryther or Hollar and closer in size to the main quadrangle than shown by Agas/Ryther. The Warden's Garden, which had been constructed by Hovenden in 1573/4, is clearly shown.

Now in the Bodleian, but for many years in the university archives, is a small ichnographic plan, drawn in 1613 in connection with the lease of land by the university from Magdalen College for the proposed Schools Quadrangle extension to the Bodleian (Ill. 2.8).[84] Drawn by William Webb, a little-known estate surveyor who worked for Magdalen, it has been described in detail by David Vaisey.[85]

A detailed, hand-drawn and hand-coloured map on vellum of the castle area within an elaborate coloured floral border, with scenographic representations of some buildings is in the possession of Christ Church (Ill. 2.9).[86] The cardinal points are marked, north is at the top, but there is no scale. The map has been dated to *c.*1617 and was prepared in connection with a dispute from 1615 to 1622 between Christ Church and the city in connection with houses built by the city in the castle ditch.[87] Christ Church, already owner of the church of St George's-in-the-Castle, had purchased the remainder of the site in 1613 and was keen to demonstrate that its ownership extended to the ditch. The college was unsuccessful, but retained ownership of the castle until 1785, when it was sold to allow enlargement of the gaol. The map indeed shows a significant amount of building in what had previously been the castle moat, especially on the west, south and east sides. Of the castle itself, relatively little remained. The main tower is still standing on the mound and there are at least four

[82] All Souls Library MS. *Typus Collegii.*
[83] P. Eden, 'Three Elizabethan estate surveyors: Peter Kempe, Thomas Clerke and Thomas Langdon' in Sarah Tyacke (ed.), English map-making 1500–1650: historical essays (London, 1983), pp. 68–84 (72).
[84] Bodley MS. C 17:70 Oxford (95) (R).
[85] D. Vaisey, 'An extension to the Bodleian Library', in D. Hall (ed.), *Treasures from the Map Room* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 94–5.
[86] Christ Church Archive Maps Oxford St. George 1.
[87] See J. Cooper 'Castle' in *VCH Oxford* 4, pp. 296–300. This provides the original archival references.

other towers, including that of St George's-in-the-Castle, the tower over the main gateway to the south, and two others. Also still standing is the old Session House, with its arcaded lower floor. This map provides a rare Oxford example of a convention being ignored. Usually in scenographic maps when three dimensional representations of buildings are included they are all viewed from a single direction and their bases are aligned with the base of the map, here south. This is not the case with this map, where several of the buildings are turned through 90º, or even 180º. Part of the importance of the map lies in the fact that it demonstrates the limitations of Hollar's attempts to update Agas/Ryther, in that he completely failed to show the considerable development in the castle area.

Probably the least-known early map of Oxford showing a number of buildings is that of part of Holywell, St Peter's and St Mary's parishes in the possession of Merton College.[88] There are two very similar versions of the map, one on two sheets of paper and one on a single sheet of vellum, both in ink (Ills. 2.18–19). This map does not appear to have ever been reproduced. Merton College acted as 'Lord of the Manor of Holywell' from an early date.[89] Bendall believed this map was probably produced in connection with a dispute.[90] The High Street and its St Clement's extension eastward have been artificially 'straightened', imparting a skew to the map. North is notionally at the top of the map, but some of the writing runs north–south, rather than east–west; there is no scale or compass rose. The relative importance of Holywell Street is indicated by the buildings on both sides of that street being drawn in elevation – very few other buildings are shown at all, although a few of these are shown in rough perspective (for example the Lady Chapel and Holywell Church). A date of *c.*1666 for the map, which is that given in the Merton manuscript catalogue, would seem about right. There are other maps in the Merton archives showing: land granted to New College in Holywell in the late seventeenth century; meadows in Holywell owned by the college (J. Speakman, 1722); a plan for Holywell bridge (Daniel Bowden, 1753); and a plan of Holywell (Edward Smith, 1758).

[88] There is also a photograph at Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.84.
[89] B.W. Henderson, *Merton College* (London, 1899), p. 13.
[90] S. Bendall, 'Merton College and the Mapping of its Estates, 1601–1836', *Oxoniensia*, 65 (2000), pp. 79–110 (93).

In addition to the early map of grandpont in the possession of Brasenose, the college also owns a later map on vellum of almost the same area (Ill. 2.31).[91] It is an estate map with representations of some buildings and is titled: 'A map of Cow Mead and Swinsell Farm, in the Parish of S^{t}. Aldates al. S^{t}. Oles, and of Egroves in Kennington, Berks. Belonging to Brazen Nose College. Taken from a Survey made in the year 1726 by Robert Whittlesey.' At top-right is an elaborate representation of the coat of arms of Brasenose College. At top-left in another cartouche is the title, as above. At bottom-right is a compartment with a key to seventeen lettered property references on the map, with the relevant rents generated by each alongside. A faint scale is contained in the bottom of the compartment. A compass rose is above this compartment, with north at the top. The Isis stream is clearly shown as navigable as far as Folly Bridge and St Nicholas's Chapel is no longer present. There are no perspective views of buildings. While providing supporting evidence for Whittlesey's skills as a land surveyor and his familiarity at that time with at least one Oxford college (his Oriel commissions came later), the Cow Mead map does not help in explaining why he would have been commissioned by the university to produce the Agas/Ryther facsimile of 1728 and why his name is given such prominence thereon. Although not all of his output relating to Oxford comprised estate maps, the work of Benjamin Cole primus (1667–1729) should be noted. Cole was a bookbinder, surveyor, mapmaker, instrument maker and engraver in Oxford and also had interests in heraldry and genealogy.[92] Hearne's opinion of him was not high, 'a poor pitifull Pretender to ingraving', although he became a 'privileged person' of the university as a 'bibliophila' on 10 October 1690 (a fact not previously noted).[93] He had five children including Benjamin secundus (1695–1766) and Maximilian (1702–?). Benjamin secundus lived in Oxford and followed the same variety of professions as his father. Maximilian also lived in Oxford and worked mainly as an engraver. Hearne thought somewhat better of the sons, whom he had but little choice to employ after Burghers' eyesight began to fail, Philips recording that Hearne 'continued to employ Burghers up to 1722 and, compared with the plates done for his later works by Benjamin

[91] Brasenose College Library Clennell B14.1/30c.
[92] See: Benjamin Cole, *A chronological account of all that have born office in the city of Oxford from ... 1660 to ... 1720* (Bodley Gough Maps 43 (147)).
[93] (1) Hearne, *Collections*, 7, p. 71; and J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1715–1886* (4 vols., Oxford, 1891–2), 1, I, 300.

and Maximilian Cole, the outlay on Burghers' work was money well spent.'[94] Several other Coles worked on the Almanacks and other engravings associated with the university and its colleges, for example the proposals for rebuilding Magdalen. Their contributions and possible relationship to Benjamin Cole are discussed by Petter, but with few firm conclusions.[95]

Hearne mentions Benjamin Cole in his diaries on a number of occasions and associates him with a map of Port Meadow and maps of the areas 20 miles around Oxford and Cambridge.[96] Cole was also responsible for a map of Shropshire and was probably the B. Cole who engraved several maps of overseas countries for atlases around this period. Despite being actively maligned by Burghers and not thought of highly by Hearne, he enjoyed the confidence of Vice-Chancellors of both Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The British Library holds a letter extolling Cole's engraving and cartographic skills from Thomas Ford of Christ Church, Oxford to John Coville (1638–1722), Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1708/9.[97] In a set of tables accompanying his map of Cambridge, Cole was still advertising for work as an estate surveyor as late as 1709.

Two hand-drawn maps by Benjamin Cole survive in the Bodleian. The first is 'A Plan of the Parish House lying between the Theater and the New Printing House in S^{t} Maries Parish in Oxford. Survey'd and Drawn January Anno Dom. $17^{12}/_{13}$ By Benjamin Cole' (Ill. 2.24).[98] There is a scale of feet, but no compass rose (north is at the top). Apart from showing the position of the Parish House it contains minimal additional information. This plan seems never to have been reproduced.

A 1713 survey and plan by Cole shows the area surrounding the Clarendon Building (built 1711–15).[99] The title is 'Plot of the Lands and Tenements &c. which stood formerly on and about the site purchased by the University for the erection of the Clarendon Printing House drawn by Benjamin Cole. December 4th, 1723' (Ill. 2.25). There is a scale of feet and inches above the plan and a compass rose at top-right (north is at the top). The second volume of Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*

[94] I.G. Philips, 'Thomas Hearne as a publisher', *Bodleian Library Record*, 3.31, pp. 146–55 (151).
[95] Petter, pp. 25–6.
[96] Hearne, *Collections*, 7, pp. 171 & 324 and 10, p. 206.
[97] BL Add. MS. 22,910 f.513 (correspondence of John Covill).
[98] Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.245 (R).
[99] Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.40.

includes an engraving of this plan.[100] The plan has been commented upon by Daniell and is useful in that it shows the ownership of properties demolished to make way for the printing house.[101]

Cole also engraved and published two states (*c.*1699 and *c.*1718) of a map of Port Meadow. This is not an estate map, but it is difficult to find a more appropriate category under which to describe it and its importance is not such as to justify a category of its own. The map, on a scale of *c.*1:6,000 is titled: 'A map of Port-Meadow …' (Ill. 2.22). It is a scenographic map of Port Meadow, to the north-west of Oxford, viewed from the east. Hearne believed that it might have been based on a drawing by Maurice Wheeler (*c.*1648–1727) of Christ Church, better known for his almanac of 1673.[102] In the first state, at top-left is an elaborate cartouche with the arms of the city and a dedication to the Mayor and Aldermen, etc. At top-right is a similar cartouche with a dedication to James, Earl of Abingdon, with his coat of arms. James Bertie, 1st Earl of Abingdon, died in 1699, so the map must first have been drawn and engraved prior to his death. At top-centre, between the two cartouches, is a box with an inset prospect of the city from the north, below which is a small compartment containing the key to twenty numbered references in the prospect. At bottom-centre is a compartment containing the title, as given above. Above this is a smaller compartment, with putti holding a measuring chain above and to the right, containing a scale of perches. To the left of this is a compass rose.

Although the dedications have not been altered (by now Montagu Venables-Bertie was 2nd Earl of Abingdon), from entries in Hearne's diary we can safely date the second state to after 1718 (Ill. 2.23), although for reasons explained below it is more likely have been in or after 1720.[103] The overall appearance of the second state is very similar to the first, but there have been several material changes to the map itself, including the addition of a teardrop shaped racecourse on the north side of the meadow and the replacement of a modest house to the west of the river at the southern end of the meadow by a grand new house. To the left of the list of references for the prospect is also inserted

[100] Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 2, pl. 100.
[101] J. Daniell, 'The city wall and ditch in the Clarendon quadrangle', *Oxoniensia*, 4 (1939), pp. 153–61 + pls. XVI & XVII.
[102] (1) Hearne, *Collections*, 7, pp. 70–1; and (2) S. Handley, 'Wheeler, Maurice (1647/8–1727)', *DNB* (Oxford, 2004) http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/29189?docPos=16 [accessed 28 Oct 2016].
[103] The second state is illustrated in E.H. Cordeaux and D.H. Merry, 'Port Meadow races', *Oxoniensia*, 13 (1948), pp. 55–65 + plate VI.

'The Ground Plat of Esq[r]. Swete's House'. There is a modified field pattern in the lower left-hand corner of the prospect.

The added vignette of St Martin's Church provides not only the first relatively large-scale view of the church that we have, but also of the new butter market and neighbouring assembly rooms for the Mayor and Councillors that had been opened on the south-west corner of Carfax in 1713. The arcaded 'Penniless Bench', running along the east side of the church and projecting into the street, had previously been used as the assembly point and as a 'butter bench' on market days; this had been rebuilt in stone in 1667 and remained standing until 1747.

The new house of 'Esq. Swete' at Binsey is of interest and it is certainly possible the owner may have contributed to Cole's cost of updating the plate. Hearne, in 1723, referred to Swete's plans for a new house somewhat disparagingly, noting that the area was liable to flooding.[104] It has been pointed out that it is difficult to reconcile the house as drawn and its walled garden, or indeed its precise position, with any of the surviving parts of Medley Manor Farm, which is close to the position of a substantial building in the first state of the map and possesses some seventeenth-century characteristics.[105]

Comparison of the distances implied by the two states of Cole's map (given that he moved and slightly altered the scale on the second) and a modern Ordnance Survey map suggests that he was reasonably accurate in his surveying. The distance from the tower of St Peter's Church, Wolvercote to the middle of Godstow Bridge was 1,600 yards, compared to a modern estimate of 1,570 yards. The prospect, which will be described in Chapter 3, is the first that viewed the city from the north, which makes sense given that Port Meadow is itself to the north of the city.

The publication of the original Port Meadow map can only have been a commercial venture, although why Cole should have chosen Port Meadow of all places to portray is unclear. One can speculate that the city, the owner of the land, might have contributed towards the costs, but their motive for doing this is not obvious. For the second state, with the race course added, the city may have perceived some advertising benefit, but it is unlikely they would then have made a further contribution. However,

[104] Hearne, *Collections*, 8, p. 53.
[105] Cooper, 'Outlying parts of the liberty'.

some versions of the second state were printed on extra-wide paper with multiple columns to the left and right containing a list of officers of the city (mayors, aldermen, bailiffs and chamberlains) for the years 1660 to 1720, so there may have been some financial sponsorship by the city.

The Radcliffe Library records in the Bodleian contain two versions of a plan showing the houses and gardens in Radcliffe Square and south of Brasenose College prior to their purchase and demolition (Ills. 2.27–28).[106] The first, on paper, is bound in with the minutes of a trustee meeting for 9 March 1719 and is likely to have been commissioned by them the previous year; some of the houses shown are labelled with the names of their tenants. The second, on vellum and probably of slightly later date, is mounted on a roller and differs in several respects from the first, having the names of more tenants shown, those of some of the landlords and a plan of the Radcliffe Library superimposed on these buildings. The east-west axis of the library here aligns with the main entrance to Brasenose College and the north-south with the north entrance to St Mary's Church (rather than the south entrance to the Schools Quadrangle). The drawings, which are unsigned, may have been prepared by Benjamin Cole and the second was later engraved by Skelton for *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata* (Ill. 2.30).

2.5 Military maps

Work commenced on the fortifications of the city of Oxford soon after the outbreak of the English Civil War in August 1642. It has been suggested that the overall scheme for the defences was drawn up no later than 1643 by Richard Rallinson (or Rallingson), a member of Queen's College.[107] Surviving plans specifically of the fortifications of Oxford at this time have been described at length by Lattey *et al*.[108] There is no extant copy of Rallinson's original scheme, but others do need to be briefly considered.

The Bodleian has a manuscript map on paper by Sir Bernard de Gomme dated 1644 (Ill. 2.13). [109] It is a skeleton map of the city with its defences and scenographic representations of some churches; north

[106] Bodley MS. DD Radcliffe Records c.48 and Radcliffe Records B.3 (roll).
[107] J.R. Magrath, *The Queen's College* (2 vols., Oxford, 1921), 1, pp. 267–8.
[108] R.T. Lattey *et al*, 'A contemporary map of the defences of Oxford in 1644', *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1936), pp. 161–72.
[109] Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.167.

is at the top. The cardinal points are marked and there is a scale of paces at bottom-centre. In the bottom-left corner is a compartment with a key to twenty numerical references on the plan. There are bird's-eye views in pen and ink of some of the city's churches, but, apart from Gloucester Hall, none of the colleges is shown and Christ Church Cathedral is only present as a pencil outline. De Gomme (1620–1685) was a Dutch military engineer who accompanied Prince Rupert to England and served as an engineer and quartermaster-general in the Royalist army. It has been pointed out by Lattey *et al*, based on errors in the map (some manually corrected), that de Gomme may not have been very familiar with Oxford in 1644. It is the opinion of Varley that the map represented a working plan for the strengthening of the fortifications undertaken in 1644–5, rather than a record of how they appeared when the map was drawn.[110] There is a reference to what may well be the de Gomme map by Hearne on 26 August 1710: 'Remember that D^{r} Hudson procure of M^{r} Vincent of Magd. Coll. a Map of Oxon. as fortified in the late Rebellion, & a Map of Cambridge in w^{ch} very old Halls are mention'd.'[111] The second map referred to may very well have been the Lyne map of Cambridge.

There is a painting based on the de Gomme map (Ill. 2.16), 'The siege of Oxford in the Civil War', by the specialist in military paintings Jan de Wyck (1652–1702).[112] The painting is dated 1689, long after the events depicted (*c.*1645). Kemp notes that the only churches shown by de Wyck are those in de Gomme's map, which does seem to be the case, but fails to explain why the viewpoint has been turned through 180^{o} (unless one believes that the northern approach would have been most interesting militarily).[113] Munby has pointed out that the painting may well have been commissioned by George Legge, Lord Dartmouth (*c.*1647–1691), around the time he was appointed Admiral of the Fleet. His father, William Legge (*c.*1608–1670), had been governor of Oxford in 1645, during the second siege of the city.[114] Munby has also suggested that de Wyck may have been familiar with Loggan's view of

[110] F.J. Varley, 'Further notes on de Gomme's plan of Oxford, 1644', *Oxoniensia*, 2 (1937), pp. 207–8 and 3 (1938), pp. 175–7.
[111] Hearne, *Collections*, pp. 44–5. 'Hudson' was Dr John Hudson (1662–1719), a classical scholar then at University College.
[112] The painting is on loan by the Dartmouth Heirloom Trust to the Oxford City Museum.
[113] A. Kemp, 'The fortifications of Oxford during the Civil War', *Oxoniensia*, 42 (1977), pp. 237–46 (241). The churches are: St Peter's-in-the-East, St Mary's, All Saints, St Martin's (Carfax), St Michael's, St Mary Magdalen, St Giles, St Peter-le-Bailey, St Aldates, St Clements, St Cross (Holywell).
[114] J. Munby, 'The siege of Oxford and the revolution of 1688', *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), pp. 346–7. However, note that a Wyck 'battle piece' was mentioned in the will of George Clarke NA PCC probate registry 11/680.

1675 allowing him to indicate the positions of other buildings in the top half of the painting (including, anachronistically, the Sheldonian Theatre). The composition of the Oxford painting is based on 'Le siège de Bréda' by Jacques Callot (1592–1635).[115] Callot visited Breda in 1625 and the six etched plates depicting the siege were published in 1629, serving as an inspiration for similar works.[116]

The Bodleian also has a unique copy of an engraving titled 'Oxforde as it now lyethe, fortified by his ma^{ties} forces 1644' (Ill. 2.15).[117] The top part of the map is a plan of the city within its walls. The bottom part of the map, to a different scale, shows the Thames exiting the city and travelling through Abingdon and Wallingford to Reading. At top-right within a compartment is the coat of arms of the city, beneath which is the title as above. At bottom-left is a compartment containing a key to 28 alpha-numeric references. There is no scale or compass rose. The genesis of this map is unknown. It contains, in addition to the position of the defences, bird's-eye views of the colleges and some other buildings. The whole of the city has been inverted about an east–west axis, although the star-shaped battery is present near Magdalen Bridge and guns are clearly marked in the meadows. Whoever drew it may well have been working from Speed's map of 1611 (the legends are similar), but the engraver made a fundamental error. As Wood noted on it: 'This map is made very false.'[118]

The next map to be considered, 'Ichnographia Oxoniæ una cum Propugnaculis et Munimentis quibus cingebatur Anno 1648', was engraved at the instigation of John Fell and appeared in *Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, published in 1674. It is an ichnographic plan of the city and its defences, with north at the top (Ill. 2.14a). The title is in a simple cartouche towards the top-right. The map contains 75 alpha-numeric references, which are explained in a key spread across five columns, not in compartments, spread across the left and bottom of the map. There is no scale or compass rose. Wood was famously unhappy with the translation and additions of Fell, including his choice of illustrations. Wood left a manuscript note in his copy: 'A map containing ye fortifications of Oxon: the

[115] I am indebted to Marion E. Roberts and Larry Goedde of the University of Virginia for pointing this out. See also: Griffiths, *The print before photography*, pp. 321-3.
[116] Stadtsarchief, Breda.
[117] Bodley MS. Wood, 276^{b} f. 30. There is a reversed photographic copy at Bodley G.A. Oxon. a.41 f. 26.
[118] F.J. Varley, *The siege of Oxford* (Oxford, 1932), p. 111.

names of streets, lanes, and other places are false, and I had noe hand in it, or knew anything of it till 'twas done.'[119] Lattey *et al* reached the conclusion that this was not a plan of the fortifications as actually built, but a reasonably faithful copy of Rallinson's original scheme. This, however, is disputed by Kemp.[120] A survey of the actual fortifications was reportedly drawn *c*.1646 by Sir Edward Sherburn (1618–1702), commissary-general of the Royal Artillery, but this is now also lost and did not form the basis of Wood's illustration. The Wood illustration served as the basis for the half-plate plan of Oxford included in Coronelli's *Viaggi*, 'Oxfort, com era cinto di Mura nel 1648' (Ill. 2.14b).[121] It is on a reduced scale and lacks the key to the buildings. Here east is at the top of the map as printed and a vignette of the 'Teatro Seldoniano', probably based on Burghers, is inset in the top-right corner.

A little-known atlas in the British Library comprises 117 maps and plans of geographical regions, cities and towns (usually concentrating on their defences) and fortifications.[122] The first 29 items are towns and cities in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland and are almost certainly present here because of their military interest. With two exceptions (Bristol and Edinburgh) they represent a subset of the 70 or so city plans appearing as insets in the county maps in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*.[123] Although the town names have generally been Gallicized, their idiosyncrasies in several cases follow those of Speed (for example, Shrowesbery/Schrowesbury) and around half have as their scale measure the *pas* used by Speed for the town plans that he surveyed himself. Most have north at the top. The atlas and its contents have been described and analysed at length in the author's recent paper in *Imago Mundi*, 'The duc de Chaulnes atlas', written during the course of this research.[124] The name given to the atlas is based on the bookplate of Michel Ferdinand d'Albert d'Ailly (1714–1769) on the flyleaf of the atlas, but it is likely to have been commissioned around 1650. There are several gaps in the provenance of the atlas. The British Museum purchased it from a dealer, Thomas Thorpe,

[119] Varley, *The siege of Oxford*, p. 110.
[120] A. Kemp, p. 240.
[121] Vincenzo Coronelli, *Viaggi del P. Coronelli* (2 vols., Venice, 1697). See example at Bodley G.A. Oxon. 4º 10, which is bound with *Oxoniæ atque Cantabrigiæ universitates celeberrimæ*, containing two other maps of Oxford derived indirectly from Agas/Ryther (Ills. 2.14c–d).
[122] BL Additional MS. 11,564.
[123] John Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611).
[124] J.W. Hawkins 'The duc de Chaulnes atlas: a seventeenth century French atlas of manuscript military maps of British and Continental towns and cities in the British Library', *Imago Mundi*, 67/2 (2015), pp. 215–28.

on 13 April, 1839, who had himself bought it from 'Hon. Twisleton Fiennes', almost certainly a reference to William Thomas Eardley-Twisleton-Fiennes, later 15th Baron Saye and Sele.

'Plan de Oxford' (art 22; folios 44v and 45r) in the duc de Chaulnes atlas is hand-drawn on paper with original colour, to a scale of *c.*1:4,250; south is at the top, although no cardinal points are given (Ill. 2.10). It is a skeleton plan of the city with scenographic representations of the walls and a few buildings. As with the title, all labelling (with one exception) is in French. Most of the city walls are represented, but the intra-mural area is empty. Instead, considerable attention appears to have been paid to the low-lying open space around the city to east, west and south, with its network of tree-lined rivers – the Cherwell, the Isis and their numerous branches. The selection of colleges represented on the map seems arbitrary. Of the few colleges and churches that are shown, all are without the walls, except for Christ Church Cathedral, which directly abuts the wall on the inside. Almost the whole circuit of the city walls is shown, except for a gap in the southwest quadrant between Christ Church and Oxford Castle, where the church of St Aldates and the alms houses across from Christ Church are also marked. Although fragments of the wall were upstanding in this section early in the seventeenth century, its overall state of preservation was far less than in the other quadrants. The depictions of buildings, which are on a necessarily small scale, are clearly secondary to the main purpose of the map and provide minimal architectural detail, some of which anyway seems very unlikely to be correct. For example, the north and southwest towers of Balliol College have curiously shaped roofs of a 'chateau' style, quite unlike anything built in Oxford.

While the duc de Chaulnes atlas may have been produced *c.*1650, it is clear that Oxford is shown at a significantly earlier date. The focus of almost all of the maps in the atlas is military, so that for any map of Oxford drawn in the period immediately after the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642 one would expect to see not just the old city walls and castle, but also the new earthworks, which were substantial. Of Wadham College (built 1610–13), which might be thought to provide a natural complement to the three colleges forming a group north of the city walls (Balliol, St John's and Trinity), there is no sign. Further east there is no sign of the Physick Garden, which had been laid out adjacent to the city wall across the High Street from Magdalen College in 1621, yet the extra-mural

'Prairies et alleés de l'Eglise de Christ' (Christ Church Walks) to the south are labelled. The castle, shown on the Christ Church map of *c.*1617 (Ill. 2.9) as in severe decay with houses built within the moat, is here shown with towers intact and a functioning moat.

The question that arises is whether the map was drawn from an original survey undertaken well before 1650, or simply copied from an existing earlier map. For someone drawing a plan of Oxford without any preconceptions as to a standard vantage point, it is hard to imagine why anyone would choose the north, especially if their main interest was military. More obvious would have been to choose a spot on the approach from London, or opposite the castle. Even south would have been more logical. The fact that the north was actually chosen suggests that cartographer may have been familiar with the map of Agas/Ryther, or more likely the small insert in the Speed map of Oxfordshire, which retained a high degree of detail. However, if the cartographer did base his map on Agas/Ryther or Speed, he did so with little care. The map certainly deserves to be better known and the atlas, not previously described in detail, may well be worthy of further study in the context of early military cartography.

2.6 The true ichnographic maps

Although Williams had adopted an ichnographic style for his 'new' map of Oxford, it was based on the original Agas survey, as updated by Loggan. Not until 1751 was a true ichnographic map published based on a new survey carried out in 1750 by Isaac Taylor, probably the first to make use of the theodolite and triangulation (Ill. 2.35). On a scale of 1:2,376, the map was engraved on two copper sheets by George Anderton and published by William Jackson. In the four corners are compartments with views of the city (from Headington Hill and the Parks), Magdalen College New Building and the Radcliffe Library (Ills. 2.35–6 and 4.359–360). At bottom-centre, between the arms of the university and city and within a cartouche, is a dedication 'To the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor & Heads of Colleges, and the High Steward, Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of the University & City of Oxford; this plan is humbly Inscribed by their most obed^{t} Servants Will^{m}. Jackson, Geo. Anderton, Isaac Taylor.' Between the cartouche and the bottom-right corner is a scale of perches. There is a compass rose near the top-right corner (north is at the top). Left of centre is a cartouche containing 'Oxford' and brief details of the city, with the names of the publisher, surveyor and engraver. Towards the bottom-right,

above the view is a cartouche containing a list of streets with the number of their houses and inhabitants. Near the top-right view, in a cartouche, is a key to 25 references.

Isaac Taylor (*c*.1720–1788), of Ross in Herefordshire, was a prolific land surveyor and mapmaker.[125] During the 1750s to 1770s he was employed to produce estate maps in Cambridgeshire, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Hampshire and Middlesex – more than 120 in total. It is not clear whether his first city map was that of Oxford, or Wolverhampton, both being surveyed in 1750 and published in 1751. Although the latter was published and engraved by Thomas Jefferys (1719–1791), 'Geographer to the King', it is very similar to Jackson's map of Oxford, with views in two of the corners and a table showing the number of houses and individuals in each street. A city map of Hereford appeared in 1754 and a map of the county of Herefordshire in 1757, with other county maps following. Dissatisfaction with the London engravers he employed for his county maps, including Richard Benning, encouraged him to train as an engraver, but this was never one of his strengths. George Anderton (fl.1740–1763) was a little-known Birmingham engraver and printer.

William Jackson (1724–1795) is now best remembered as the publisher of *Jackson's Oxford Journal*. He arrived in Oxford, probably from Leeds, in the mid-1740s and with William Walker of London started the *Oxford Flying Weekly Journal and Cirencester Gazette* in 1746.[126] This newspaper survived only two years and he then turned his hand to other ventures, but in 1753 he launched another paper which, after a number of name changes, became *Jackson's Oxford Journal*. General printing was one of the business areas in which he became involved, taking over the responsibility for the Almanacks in 1768 and the bible printing activities of the Clarendon Press from 1780. From 1782, he took on a lease of the Wolvercote paper mill from the Duke of Marlborough. He was also a founder of Oxford Old Bank and took a seat on the City Council.

Although a true ichnographic plan, certain of the city's churches, including St Mary's and St Peter's-in-the-East, were shown in perspective, as viewed from the south, the first time this had occurred. Whether these buildings were drawn by Taylor is open to question – the style is somewhat similar to

[125] B.S. Smith, *Herefordshire Maps 1577 to 1800* (Logaston, 2004), pp. 48–50. He is frequently confused with a close contemporary, Isaac Taylor of Worcester (1730–1807), who also worked as a surveyor/engraver.
[126] See: [http://www.headington.org.uk/history/famous_people/jackson.htm [accessed 28 Aug 2013].

that of Burghers, although by 1750 he was long-dead. This is another example of the name of only a single person usually being associated with a map that involved the collaboration of at least two others. How Jackson came to employ Taylor and Anderton is unknown. Taylor had no known connection with the county of Oxfordshire and it may simply have been that Jackson heard of the Wolverhampton project and saw in it a local opportunity. Although London was the centre of the English engraving trade, Birmingham was little further from Oxford and Jackson may have been able to employ Anderton at a lower rate than an equivalent engraver in London.

Along with those for several of Taylor's county maps, the Oxford plates eventually fell into the hands of the cartographer and map publisher William Faden (1750–1836), who republished the plan in 1789 (Ill. 2.36). The names of Taylor, Anderton and Jackson were removed from the dedication in the cartouche at bottom-centre and replaced with his own. Whom he employed to make the changes to the plate is not known. Despite Faden's claims to the contrary, there was only minimal updating to the map (for example, the covered market is now shown and the Carfax conduit has disappeared) and the data in the tables did not change. The view of Magdalen College New Building was retained at bottom-right, now with the Observatory in the bottom-left, Peckwater Quadrangle in the top-left and Christ Church west front in the top-right.

The next ichnographic plan of the city was published only a few years later. 'A Plan of the City of Oxford' is inset within a scroll cartouche at the top of one of the sheets of John Roque's celebrated 'A topographical map of the County of Berks', eventually to be engraved on 18 copper plates (Ill. 2.38). The title is at top-left in a compartment; there are scales of yards and chains at bottom-left, in a scroll cartouche, and a compartment of references at top-right. Some brief notes are provided in a compartment at bottom-centre. In panels to the left and right are more detailed references. There is a compass rose at centre left; the scale is 1:*c*.10,800. Roque, a Huguenot and by the 1750s 'Chorographer and cartographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales', first issued a prospectus for his proposed map of Berkshire on four sheets in 1749, promising delivery in 1751. The survey was undertaken by Josiah Ballard, a little-known estate surveyor. In 1751 a new prospectus was issued, now promising delivery in 1753. By the time the first sheets were published in 1752, the number of

plates had grown to 18, on a scale of 1:126,720, and the last sheet was not published until 1761. The 1761 complete edition incorporated amendments to several of the earlier plates, together with a geographical and historical index.

As an ichnographic plan of the city published within a few years of William Jackson's engraving, but on a much smaller scale, the question inevitably arises as to whether this plan of the city was based on an original survey, or a copy of Jackson. Nothing is known of Ballard's surveying methods and his plan is certainly much cruder than Jackson's, so it is possible it may have been based on a new survey, but less accurate than that undertaken by Isaac Taylor. In practice, any questions on the layout of the city at this period are likely to be better answered using Taylor's work.

There is another plan of the city that may be related to the Roque plan. 'Oxford a 52 milea Oeust de Londres' is a copper engraving from George-Louis le Rouge's (1712–1790) *Recueil des villes ports d'Angleterre* (Ill. 2.37), published in 1759.[127] It is an ichnographic plan of the city, with north at the top. The title is at top-right, not in a cartouche or compartment. There is no scale or compass rose. The design and engraving of the plan, similar to the map of Chester in the same work, are unattributed. Given le Rouge's acknowledgement to John Rocque in his book title, it may be based on the inset plan of Oxford in Rocque's multi-sheet map of Berkshire described above, but it is much cruder and has a slightly different compass orientation.[128] Why le Rouge should incorporate a plan of Oxford in his work on ports is unclear, although MacCannell has speculated that it might relate to a projected French invasion of England, which seems unlikely.[129] The accuracy, including the street layout, is extremely poor and several colleges are shown without their quadrangles.

As would be expected from a rather heterogeneous collection of maps, their individual utility to the historian as a supplement to textual sources varies considerably. Of greatest importance is the series of scenographic maps – Agas/Ryther, Hollar (to some extent) and Loggan – showing the development of the city between 1578/88 and 1675. For the architectural historian, these show how buildings are

[127] George-Louis le Rouge, *Recueil des villes ports d'Angleterre …* [*A series of port cities of England …*] (Paris, 1759).
[128] P. Laxton, *John Rocque's map of Berkshire, 1761* (London, 1973).
[129] MacCannell, pp. 56–9.

likely to have looked that have long since disappeared, or that have since been heavily modified. For the urban historian, they demonstrate clearly the recovery of the city after the travails of the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which is itself evident from the many vacant plots shown in the Agas/Ryther map. This recovery, present within both town and gown, has been detailed by Tyack and others.[130] Of the university estate, the most obvious example is the area now occupied by Radcliffe Square and the Schools Quadrangle of the Bodleian. The growth in residential property both within the walls and in the extra-mural suburbs is also particularly striking, with the walls to the north of the city along Holywell Street and the south of Broad Street being largely overbuilt or obscured. On the south side of the High Street numerous burgage plots were infilled, sometimes with quite substantial buildings offering greater levels of comfort than those that had preceded them. Some of these remain little-changed today, albeit in other uses, such as Kemp Hall behind 130 High Street, built in 1637 as a private residence and now a restaurant. Residential development in the castle ditch is also shown in the Christ Church map of the castle area. The later ichnographic maps, from 1732/3, also provide useful information on urban growth and redevelopment, but with less visual detail. The military and estate maps are of more interest to specialist historians, while Loggan's map (but not Hollar's) also shows the English Civil War earthworks.

[130] (1) Tyack, *Oxford*, pp. 115–121; and (2) *VCH Oxford* 4, pp. 85–101.

3 'GAY GILDED SCENES AND SHINING PROSPECTS': VIEWS OF OXFORD

3.1 Chapter introduction and research questions

The poet Joseph Addison (1672–1719) travelled to Italy in 1701 and in a letter to Charles, Lord Halifax (1661–1715) wrote:

> For wheresoe'er I turn my ravish'd eyes,
> Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise,
> Poetic fields encompass me around,
> And still I seem to tread on classic ground; …[131]

In 1985, the Yale Center for British Art borrowed a phrase from this letter for an exhibition entitled *Gilded scenes and shining prospects: a panoramic view of British towns, 1575–1900*.[132] The concept underlying this exhibition was that a study of town prospects could inform the viewer as to how the occupants of such increasingly economically important units viewed themselves and were viewed by others. The object of this chapter is to apply a similar approach to prospects of Oxford, over the period 1191–1759. A complete list of the Oxford prospects discussed herein is provided in Table 2 below, with more detailed descriptions in Table A2.

With no equivalent for Oxford of Adams' *London Illustrated*, the identification of images of Oxford of any sort is a matter of scouring major collections, auction and print-sellers' catalogues, print journals, estate inventories and reference works on prints and landscape art.[133] Using this approach, fewer than thirty unique prospects of Oxford have been identified in the time period considered and within these some bear a clear relationship to others, usually through the same viewpoint having been adopted. This number excludes a dozen incidental prospects of Oxford appearing as part of designs for the Almanack between 1677 and 1718 (see Table A10).[134] Even allowing for differences in viewpoint, however, the image group is far from homogeneous and it is convenient to identify four classes under which headings the prospects will be analysed: representational images; chorographical views;

[131] Reprinted in R. Hurd (ed.), *The works of Joseph Addison* (6 vols., London, 1899–1903), 1, p. 29.
[132] Hyde, *Gilded scenes and shining prospects*.
[133] Among the print sellers who published catalogues were: Francis Constable, Peter Stent, John Overton (who took over Stent's business), Henry Overton, Thomas Jenner, Robert Walton, John Garrett (who took over the business of Thomas Jenner), Thomas Bowles, John Bowles, Arthur Tooker and Pierce Tempest.
[134] See: Petter.

topographical views; and 'pure' landscapes. With little research done on images of English towns and cities other than Oxford, this may be found to be a convenient framework to apply elsewhere.

A small number of examples of representational images exist, all produced before 1500.[135] Such images were invariably produced by inhabitants of the town (or their employees) and attempted to do no more than capture its visual essence; it is therefore unsurprising that they bear some resemblance to the slightly later chorographical views of the city. Such images were 'unique', in the sense that there was never any intention for the design to be reproduced for public consumption (except in the case of impressions of the Oxford municipal seal). Other than these early representational images, almost all of the surviving prospects of Oxford are in the form of engravings and etchings printed from copper plates and were specifically designed with a view to their commercial sale.

The chorographical view builds on the Continental European tradition well-established by the end of the sixteenth century. Such prospects, usually produced by non-residents of the city, were also intended to portray the essence of a town and were not always concerned with spatial accuracy, but they were generally more sophisticated than those that preceded them. They often appeared as one of a series of city studies (combining maps, map-views and prospects), such as those in *Cosmographia* and *Civitates*.[136] A market for images of this type remained even after the third category, the topographical view, began to appear in the middle of the seventeenth century. William Smith's early chorographical view was only reproduced, in facsimile form, almost three centuries after it had been drawn.[137]

The topographical view is the largest class of prospects for Oxford and also for many other towns and cities, not least because such images could appear in a variety of guises. Single or double-sheet prospects of towns attempting to show them accurately rather than simply capturing their essence became popular from the first half of the seventeenth century. From then onwards, prospects of different cities tended to be more similar in style, without the individual idiosyncrasies of earlier

[135] See: Munby, 'Malchair and the Oxford topographical tradition', pp. 45–57.
[136] See: (1) M.A. McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: describing the world in the Reformation* (Farnham, 2007); and (2) J. Keuning, 'The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenburg', *Imago Mundi*, 17.1 (1963), pp. 41–4.
[137] William Smith (ed. H.B. Wheatley and E.W. Ashbee), *The particular description of England. 1588: with views of some of the chief towns and armorial bearings of nobles and bishops* (Hertford, 1879).

chorographical depictions. One of the most highly regarded exponents of this style was Hollar, although there is no record that he ever published a standalone prospect of Oxford despite doing so for other cities and university towns.[138] Hollar did include a vignette prospect of the city in both versions of his map of Oxford, an example followed later by Loggan. Loggan also included two prospects of the city in *Oxonia Illustrata*, providing visual context for his collection of engravings of buildings within the city, a practice followed later by Williams in *Oxonia Depicta*. The format languished during the second half of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth, thereafter being revived by artists such as Samuel Buck and John Boydell, who both published series of such views. As the eighteenth century progressed, the market for city views became more sophisticated and artists had to work harder at their designs. These images were characterised by a level of accuracy and detail generally absent in chorographical images, the intention being to convey 'truth' rather than an overall impression. Because artists engaging in such work considered themselves precluded from moving buildings around to suit the composition, two or even three images of the town might have to be produced to come close to matching the information presented in a single chorographical image.

Depicting Oxford from different viewpoints was not simply a question of necessity, it also provided opportunities. As the antiquary James Dallaway (1763–1834) pointed out:

> The architectural views of Oxford, in every direction, are singularly interesting. From Botley Hill, on the north-west, the prospect resembles that from the hills above Cologne. There are various lofty edifices happily grouped, which exhibit the Radcliffe library to the greatest advantage as a central object … From the second hill in Bagley wood, the landscape is foreshortened; with Christ Church hall as the principal object, and Magdalene tower, to the east. From Headington Hill, Iffley, and Nuneham, the great features change their position, without losing their beauty.[139]

The final class is the landscape, where the presence of Oxford in the image is almost incidental to the artist's intention to portray a scene of aesthetic harmony. Distinguishing landscapes from topographical images is a subjective process, particularly during a period when the genre was scarcely recognised in England. As far as Oxford is concerned the least controversial assignment to this category is the drawing by Jan van de Vinne (1663–1721) in the British Museum, which was apparently never engraved or worked up into a painting. His training, and most of his working life,

[138] See: (1) G. Parry, 'Wenceslaus Hollar, the antiquarians' illustrator', *Ariel*, 3 (1972), pp. 42–52; and (2) Roberts.
[139] J. Dallaway, *Observations on English architecture* (London, 1806), p. 111.

was spent on the Continent, so it is unsurprising that he adopted a style more common in northern Europe.[140] The artist in the retinue of Cosimo III de' Medici who drew the prospect of the city now in the Laurentian Library may well have had a similar training, accounting for some stylistic similarities. The Medici drawing was only published, in the form of a poor aquatint, 150 years later.[141]

The questions that will be applied to these prospects of Oxford will be broadly analogous to those applied to maps and plans of the city in Chapter 2, the object being to evaluate the contribution of the images to understanding its historical development. These questions will include the circumstances of the commissioning of the images and the identities of the artists, engravers and publishers involved.

A word on commissioning is necessary. Ralph Hyde states that 'Prospects and panoramas were essential manifestations of city pride.'[142] City views could serve as advertisements and, in so far as city corporations could influence artists, it is doubtless true that they were happy to have their cities shown gilded and shining. This was true from as early as 1544, with the publication of *Cosmographia*. Although the woodcuts for this were produced in Basel, the original drawings from which Münster's engravers worked 'were based on drawings by local artists, executed at the behest of local councils and patrons'.[143] In many instances, however, and as far as Oxford goes the majority, the artists were not beholden to the city fathers. A dedication to the Mayor and Aldermen of a town or city somewhere on an engraving was usually a sign that they had made a contribution towards the cost of the plate, but while common generally these are absent from most of the views of Oxford. Where there was a heavy influence, in two special cases, was that of the university and its colleges on the publications of Loggan and Williams, although the prospects contained therein are arguably the least important components of these two works. The absence of influence did not mean that the artist had no vested interest in showing the subject in a favourable light, but the gloss they introduced would be based on increasing sales rather than keeping sponsors happy.

[140] See: https://rkd.nl/en/artists/81163 [accessed 3 Aug 2015].
[141] Count Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England during the Reign of King Charles the Second, 1669* (London, 1821).
[142] Hyde, *Gilded scenes and shining prospects*, p. 11.
[143] McLean, p. 224.

Table 2: Prospects of Oxford, 1191 to 1753

MS., publication, or other source	*Artist/Engraver*	*Date*	*Title/View*	*From*
Oxford municipal seal		1191		
New College misericord		*c*.1390		
Osney Abbey rental book		1453–79		
Royal Collection	G. Hoefnagel	*c*.1568/9		East
Braun & Hogenburg *Civitates*	G. Hoefnagel	1575	*Oxonium*	East
Sheldon Tapestry Map	Unknown	*c*.1590	Oxfordshire	N/A
Meisner *Thesaurus*	After Hoefnagel	1625	*Ochsenfuhrt*	East
British Library	W. Smith	1588	*Oxford*	South
Description of England	W. Smith facsimile	1879	*Oxford*	South
Plan of Oxford	W. Hollar	1643	*Oxforde*	East
Plan of Oxford	W. Hollar/D. Gage	*c*.1665	*Oxford*	East
Oxford Crown		1644		
Laurentian Library [Cosimo III]	Unknown	1669	*Oxford*	East
British Library [Cosimo III]	Shepherd copy	*c*.1809	*Oxford*	East
Cosmo's *Travels*	Engraving	*c*.1821	*Oxford*	East
Phillimore collection	Griffier?	*c*.1680	Prospect	
Private collection	Griffier?	*c*.1730	Prospect	
Oxonia Antiqua Restuarata	After Griffier?	1823	Prospect	South
Oxonia Illustrata	D. Loggan	1675	Prospect	South
Oxonia Illustrata	D. Loggan	1675	Prospects	East & South
Oxonia Illustrata (title page)	D. Loggan	1675	Prospect	North
Sketch book	N. Hawksmoor	*c*.1680–3	Prospect	East
Sketch book	N. Hawksmoor	*c*.1680–3	Prospect	South
British Museum	J. van der Vinne	*c*.1687	Prospect	South-west
Nouveau Theatre	J. Kip	*c*.1705	*Oxoniae*	South
Nouveau Theatre	S. Nicholls	1724	*Oxoniensis*	South
Ashmolean (Sutherland)	P. Schenk	*c*.1702		
Plan of Port Meadow	B. Cole	*c*.1699		North
Plan of Port Meadow	B. Cole	*c*.1720		North
Not known	S. Buck	*c*.1730		
	N. & S. Buck	1731	Prospect	South-west
Nummorum	J. Green	1750	Prospect	North-east
Bodleian Library	S. Buck	*c*.1752	Prospect	South-east
Fitzwilliam Museum	S. Buck	*c*.1752	Prospect	South-east
	N. & S. Buck	1753	Prospect	South-east
Oxonia Depicta	W. Williams after C. Lemprière	1733	Prospects	South & East
Oxonia Depicta (title page)	W. Williams	1733	Prospect	North
Boydell *Views in England*	J. & J. Boydell	1751	Prospect	West
Boydell *Views in England*	J. & J. Boydell	1751	Prospect	East
Boydell *Views in England*	J. & J. Boydell	1751	Prospect	South
Jackson	G. Anderton	1751	Prospect	East
Jackson	G. Anderton	1751	Prospect	North

3.2 Early representational images of Oxford

There exist at least three remarkably similar images of the city of Oxford dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. The municipal seal of Oxford dating from the twelfth century is well-known and the specimen of its impression attached to a charter of 1191 in the possession of the city (Ill. 3.1) was described by Davis in *Oxoniensia*:

> The seal depicts a complete walled city whose identity is established by the superimposition of an ox passant (from dexter to sinister, and not from sinister to dexter, as in later times). Inside the city are three cylindrical towers with conical roofs which do not resemble any of the existing towers in Oxford. It is possible that the central (and tallest) one, which is adorned with large chevrons, may be intended as the original tower of St. Martin's at Carfax, since (according to a charter of 1172) it was in the cemetery of that church that the portmanmoot met.[144]

He went on to note, quoting the Council Acts, that the seal was destroyed in 1662 'by reason of its absurd, ill and unhandsome cutting' and thus being 'dishonourable to the Cittie and unfit to be used'.

A photograph of an impression of the seal had earlier been used by Salter as a frontispiece for his book on early Oxford city properties (Ill. 3.2).[145] In the caption to this photograph Salter claimed that the impression of the seal concerned appeared on a Magdalen College deed of 1384. What does not seem to have been noted previously is that the impressions must have been made from different seal matrixes, as can be seen from even a cursory comparison of the two illustrations. The cross on top of the central tower, for example, is wholly within the surrounding inscription in the case of the Magdalen college version, whereas it begins well below this in the city version. The dome of this tower is also more elongated in the Magdalen version. Regrettably, Salter did not provide a reference for the 'Magdalen College deed of 1384' and a search has failed to determine which of the documents in the Magdalen muniment room it might refer to. The location of a third version of the seal impression on an indenture of 1638 described (and drawn) by Brian Twyne is also now unknown, as is a cast of the seal mentioned by John Carter in his Preface to Salter's work, said to have been in the possession of the Ashmolean Museum in 1926.[146] There are, however, two impressions of the seal in reasonably good condition from later dates (1598 and 1614) attached respectively to a lease and a

[144] Davis, pp. 54–5. The ox was also depicted with its head to the right in the Osney Abbey rental of 1453–79 and Hoefnagel's view of *c.*1568 (and its derivatives), but to the left by Smith in 1588 and generally thereafter.
[145] H.E. Salter, *Oxford City properties* (Oxford, 1926).
[146] (1) Bodley MS. Twyne 3, f.127; (2) Salter, p. vii.

power of attorney in the Oxfordshire History Centre (Ills. 3.3–4).[147] These also exhibit some differences from each other and the earlier examples. One is left to draw the unsurprising conclusion that while the design of the seal remained unchanged from some time before 1191 until 1662, the seal matrix was repaired or replaced on more than one occasion over this 470-year period.

The design of the Oxford municipal seal epitomises Hyde's sentiment of 'city pride' in so far as it was certainly one of the earliest English towns to incorporate an image of itself on its municipal seal and it remained little changed for almost five centuries.[148] The selection of the image is also of interest. The ox is a clear reference to the town's name, but the remainder of the image does not continue this idea by showing it above a river (as in the modern city coat of arms). Instead it shows a walled city with prominent towers within the walls. The townspeople who commissioned the seal were clearly proud of the strength of their fortifications and the magnificence of their buildings. Over the course of eight centuries the skyline of Oxford has changed – spires appeared from the thirteenth century, domes from the sixteenth and some of the walls have crumbled – yet the iconic image of Oxford's skyline remains.

The chapel of New College dates originally to the fourteenth century, but few of the surviving features are from this period. Among those that are is a series of 62 misericords, all of which have been described and illustrated by Steer.[149] The misericord of interest here (Ill. 3.5), given the reference SR01 by Steer, has been described thus:

> One of the most charming was evidently intended as an allegory for New College itself: a bishop, presumably Wykeham, welcoming four scholars at the entrance of a walled town filled with sumptuous Gothic buildings, whence they emerge as a cardinal, an archbishop, a monk and a doctor.[150]

It would take much imagination to interpret the architectural features of the buildings in the misericord as a reference to New College, but they certainly bear a resemblance to the municipal seal in terms of the walls and towers. To these have been added a gateway with a portcullis, a spire and several pinnacles, possibly intended to represent the important university church of St Mary the Virgin.

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[147] Oxfordshire Record Office: OCA/K.4/4 and OCA/I.27/5.
[148] (1) Davies, pp. 55–6; and (2) Barber, pp. 4–7. London adopted a seal with an image of the city showing its walls, towers and spires from around 1190, when its first mayor was elected. The first stylised image of London appears on a gold medallion struck in Trier in CE 297 (Musée des Beaux Arts, Arras).
[149] F.W. Steer, *Misericords at New College, Oxford* (London, 1973).
[150] J. Buxton and P. Williams (eds.), *New College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1979), pl. 15 and p. 172.

Although the town and the university would continue to have serious disagreements for centuries to come, it seems as though they had a common image of their city from a very early date.

An historiated initial letter 'O' in an Osney Abbey rental book now in the Bodleian shows a spire, towers and gateway above an ox passant, again with its head to the right (Ill. 3.6).[151] Skelton was of the opinion that the image depicted Osney Abbey:

> In the Ashmolean Museum, an old rental book is preserved …, which is a general view of Osney Abbey, comprised in the ornamental letter, the first word of the page being Osney. The book bears the dates 1453 to 1479, which is upwards of two hundred years after the abbey was built. It is highly interesting, although so small, as it affords some idea of the sumptuous building, as it was called in those days, and the spire upon the central tower was, probably, the appropriate termination of that represented in Pl. 115 [the Hollar etching of the ruined abbey].[152]

Skelton may have been correct, but the presence of the ox suggests that the illuminator was attempting to do more than simply depict a single group of buildings. Even if what they were depicting differed in detail, on the basis of this evidence, by the end of the fifteenth century, the town, the university and the church all now had a remarkably similar idea of how they wished Oxford to be viewed. As a point of detail, the 'fish scale' cladding of the spire in this image should be compared to that of the spire cladding in the misericord. The penetration of the central spire through its natural frame is also a point of similarity between the rental image and at least one version of the seal matrix.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs (first English edition, 1563) contains two woodcuts showing the deaths at Oxford of Latimer and Ridley, in 1555 (Ill. 3.4 bis), and of Cranmer, in 1556 (Ill. 3.4 ter).[153] In both images the tower of the Bocardo, where they were imprisoned, is clearly visible in the background; in the former Cranmer can be seen watching from the tower. Another image (Ill. 3.4 quater) shows Cranmer being denounced by Henry Cole within St Mary's Church. An earlier Latin edition (Basel, 1559) had a less sophisticated version of Cranmer being burnt, but in an unidentifiable setting.[154]

[151] Bodley Wood MS. F.10 f. 117r.
[152] Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 2, pl. 114.
[153] John Foxe, *Acts and monuments of the latter and perilous days …* [*Foxe's Bok of Martyrs*] (London, 1563)
[154] John Foxe, *Rerum in ecclesiæ gestarum …* (Basel, 1559).

3.3 Chorographical images of Oxford

The parallel development of maps and prospects in various forms has been described in Chapter 2. In this section, the views of Oxford that fall squarely in the chorographical tradition will be considered.

The artist of the first recorded prospect of Oxford on paper, probably in 1568 or 1569, was Georg (or Joris) Hoefnagel (1542–1601). Born in Antwerp into a merchant family, his interest in art led him to become a student of his Flemish fellow-countryman Hans Bol at Mechelen, although by his own admission he was largely self-taught. After the Spanish entered Antwerp in force in 1567 he travelled widely in Europe, including a visit to England in *c.*1568–69 (described by Kunzle as his 'London exile'), during which he painted *A fete at Bermondsey* (Ill. 1.15).[155] In addition to his painted works he was a prolific engraver of a wide variety of subject matter, including highly realistic botanical and zoological illustrations. He is particularly well known as one of the many artists who contributed plate designs for *Civitates*, including those of Oxford and Windsor (the only two English towns or cities he contributed) for the second volume published in 1575.[156] He also contributed a view of Nonsuch Palace in Surrey, which was published in the fifth volume of *Civitates* in 1598 and bears the unlikely date of 1582; a drawing in the British Museum and a related watercolour both bear the date 1568.[157]

The images of the cities in *Civitates* were highly disparate, ranging from two dimensional plans, through bird's-eye perspectives to three dimensional views. No particular template seems to have been specified by Braun and Hogenburg, even when artists were given commissions in respect of specific locations. The volumes did not have a single geographical theme and anything that came to hand remotely resembling a town or city view seems to have been a candidate for eventual inclusion. Although Hogenburg engraved most of the plates for books one to four of *Civitates* (1572–1588), those for books five (1598) and six (1617) were largely the work of Simon van den Neuwel.

[155] D. Kunzle, *From criminal to courtier: the soldier in Netherlandish art 1550–1672* (Leiden, 2002), p. 135. This painting has also been attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the elder.
[156] Keuning, 'The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenburg', pp. 41–4.
[157] L. Nuti, 'The mapped views by Georg Hoefnagel: the merchant's eye, the humanist's eye', *Word & image: a journal of verbal/visual enquiry*, 4.2 (1988), p. 555.

The question of the year in which the original drawings for Oxford and Windsor were made bears examination, particularly given that the Nonsuch Palace view in book five of *Civitates* was dated 1582. The evidence for the presence of Hoefnagel in London during the years 1568 and 1569 has been nicely summarised by Beard and Norman.[158] Conversely, there is no evidence that Hoefnagel revisited England after 1569, and it is reasonable to assume that the sketches upon which the published views of Oxford, Windsor and Nonsuch were based were all made during his visit of 1568/9.

It may be asked why only three views of England by Hoefnagel appeared in *Civitates* and why the last appeared more than twenty years after the first two. There are three reasons for this. First, when Hoefnagel visited England he was still carrying on the family business of gem trading and, if not actually secondary, his sketching had to be fitted in with his commercial activities. Second, it is unlikely that he would have been specifically commissioned to provide illustrations for *Civitates*, of which the first book was only published in 1572, so he would have had little incentive to maximise the number of views. Third, the popularity of the early volumes of *Civitates* ensured that Braun and Hogenburg received many drawings from a wide variety of artists for inclusion. The major cities of Europe and their principal features naturally took priority (hence the inclusion of Oxford and Windsor in book two), while the rather less well-known Nonsuch Palace was not required till book five.

The process for the appearance of Hoefnagel's views in *Civitates* involved at least three steps. The first step for which evidence survives was the original pen and ink drawing, sometimes embellished with a wash (Ills. 3.7 and 3.9). In at least one case, Nonsuch, this drawing was then used as the basis for a watercolour (Ill. 3.8). The next step, which might occur after a gap of some years, was to prepare a reduced scale version of the view for the engraver, including a grid to facilitate the transfer of the image to the plate (Ill. 3.10). Finally, the engraved plate, of a similar size to the original drawing, was used to illustrate *Civitates* (Ills. 3.11–13). For the Windsor plate, there are several differences between the original drawing and the grid. Nevertheless, some of the detail appearing in the engraved version is present in the original drawing, but not the grid version, suggesting that the engraver had access to

[158] (1) C.R. Beard, 'George Hoefnagel's visit to England in 1568', *The Connoisseur*, 83 (1929), p. 167; (2) P. Norman, 'On an allegorical painting in miniature by Joris (Georg) Hoefnagel', *Archaeologia*, 57.2 (1901), pp. 321–30.

both. Part of the Windsor drawing was also re-used by Hoefnagel in the background of a miniature drawing (*An allegory of the struggle between avarice and ambition*, Ill. 1.16) signed and dated Antwerp, 1571, thus preceding its publication in *Civitates*.[159]

It is possible that even the 'original' drawings may have been preceded by sketches made on the spot that have not survived. The reason for this supposition is that the foreground of the Windsor drawing is imaginary and that of the Nonsuch drawing may well be so. White and Crawley have noted that the foreground of the Windsor drawing should in reality show the Thames, while there is no record of Queen Elizabeth having visited Lord Arundel at Nonsuch in 1568 or 1569, as depicted in the Nonsuch drawing.[160] The original drawings survive for Nonsuch (dated 1568) and Windsor (undated), held by the British Museum and the Royal Collection respectively; a watercolour of Nonsuch (also dated 1568) is now owned by the V&A, bought privately after having failed to sell at auction in 2010.[161] The undated combined transfer drawing for Windsor and Oxford is also held by the Royal Collection.

Although a more refined and detailed view than that of Smith, which was the next to be published, Hoefnagel's view of Oxford still leaves something to be desired. The 'arms' of the city are here an ox over a river, but with the ox's head still to the right. At least one commentator has observed that Hoefnagel's views were generally out of scale.[162] The Oxford prospect follows the normal pattern in *Civitates* of having figures in the foreground and the buildings of Oxford only occupy a small part of the centre of the view, partly obscured by a tree. The engraver is likely to have been Hogenberg.

Despite its limitations as to the number of buildings clearly identifiable and the detail of them that is discernible, the prospect was, for the time, a relatively sophisticated view of the city and it is arguable that it should be categorised as topographical rather than chorographical. In *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, Joseph Skelton commented on the prospect as follows:

> … if reliance can be placed on the fidelity of the drawing, it is valuable as having been taken before the destruction of the buildings of the leading monasteries embraced in the space here represented, the suppression of which took place about thirty years before the publication of the

[159] C. White and C. Crawley, *The Dutch and Flemish Drawings at Windsor Castle (The pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen)* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 39–40. The drawing sold for £365,000 at Sotheby's in 2015.
[160] White and Crawley, p. 39.
[161] See: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1365705/nonsuch-palace-from-the-south-watercolour-hoefnagel-joris/ [accessed 25 Jun 2017].
[162] A.E. Popham, *Georg Hoefnagel and the Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Rome, 1936), pp. 183–201.

> work, in which the engraving appeared. We are led to consider the representation tolerably correct, as far as related to the general forms and situations of the larger buildings; for, by examining it from the point whence it was taken, which is upon the rising ground on the right of the road, opposite the end of Marston Lane, it will be found correct, as far as regards the buildings yet existing, and therefore it is fair to conclude, that it is equally correct in buildings which are now no more, and of which there is not known to be any other view.[163]

There seems no good reason why Hoefnagel should have represented Oxford as it had been in an earlier time, regardless of whether he was drawing for pleasure, or executing a commission. Dallaway suggests that there were eight towers in Oxford prior to the dissolution of the monasteries (in addition to various spires, such as that of the Cathedral): those of Magdalen, Merton and New College, the monasteries of Osney and Rewley, and the friaries of the Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans.[164] Dallaway does not mention the Carmelites, who were also present in Oxford, or any of the parish churches (of which several had substantial towers). Osney certainly had a tower, still standing in Hesketh's drawing made in the 1640s, and this may well be represented in Hoefnagel's view. The buildings of the Augustinians, on the site of what would become Wadham, had already been demolished by the time of the Agas/Ryther map. This map, drawn not long after Hoefnagel's prospect, does show the properties of: the Franciscans (Grey Friars) east of Paradise Garden, although not labelled as such; the Dominicans (Black Friars) slightly south-east of this, incorrectly labelled as Grey Friars; and the Carmelites (White Friars) immediately to the east of Gloucester Hall, correctly labelled. None of these buildings, or, indeed, Rewley House, is shown as having a tower. The claim of the importance of the view as a record of pre-Dissolution Oxford is therefore exaggerated.

Marston Lane (now Road) joins Headington Road at the point where it becomes St Clement's Street. Skelton therefore suggests that the viewpoint is on the lower slopes of Headington Hill, which may well be correct. This conclusion as to the viewpoint was also drawn by Case.[165] Until the end of the eighteenth century the main London Road did not pass through Headington, but turned right half way up Headington Road into Cheney Lane and then on over Shotover. Many travellers to Oxford would

[163] Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 2, pl. 142.
[164] Dallaway, pp. 111–2, fn. a.
[165] T. Case, *St. Mary's clusters, an historical enquiry concerning the pinnacled steeple of the University Church, Oxford* (Oxford, 1893), p. 22.

have started their journeys in London, especially those from overseas, so an easterly viewpoint from the lower slopes of Headington Hill is quite natural as reflecting their first view of the city.

Meisner's emblem book, *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*, was originally issued in 1625–6 with 52 plates. They were based on previous work by Braun and Hogenburg, Matthäus Merian and others. In the tradition of emblem books the original scenes, usually enhanced with allegorical figures, were accompanied by a motto (in German) and moralising verses (in Latin and German). Meisner died in 1625 and the project was taken over and completed by Eberhard Kieser of Frankfurt (1583–1631) and Johann L. Gottfried, who continued publication until 1731 with over 800 cities illustrated in 16 books. Paulus Furst then acquired the plates and used them in the eight books of *Sciographia Cosmica*, published between 1638 and 1678. These plates are recognisable by the addition of numbers in the top-right corners, representing the book number (A to H), followed by the plate number. The final version, also in eight books, was published in Nuremburg in 1700 by Rudolf J. Helmer.[166]

The prospect of Oxford in Meisner's seventh book, 'Ochsenfũhrt in Engellandt Univers', (Ill. 3.14a, with a variant 3.14b) is based on Hoefnagel, with the original foreground figures removed and the addition of a drunken figure on a donkey (Bacchus) holding a large wine cup. As with Hoefnagel's original, the arms of the city are shown, but not those of the university. Why Meisner should have chosen Oxford in particular as a suitable backdrop for moralising verses on slothfulness and drunkenness seems never to have been examined, notwithstanding general scepticism on the energy and sobriety of university students. Case imbues the Hoefnagel design with even wider influence:

> [Hoefnagel's] view is the foundation on which similar prospects *ab Oriente* were built; that of Ochsenfuhrt, which appeared in the *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*, Pars Septima, (Frankfort, 1625), but of no independent value; that of 'Oxforde', which appeared in Hollar's Engraving of Oxford (1643); the 'prospect of Oxford from the East', signed 'D. Gage delin. W. Hollar sc.' in Hollar's undated Engraving of Oxford; and finally the *Oxoniae Prospectus ab Oriente*, and the *Prospectus Oxoniae Orientalis* in Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*.[167]

Had he wished to do so, Case might also have mentioned prospects from the east by Williams (1733) and Boydell (1751). The predominance of east as the viewpoint for Oxford prospects again raises the question why Agas should have felt that north was the appropriate viewpoint for his map.

[166] Rudolf J. Helmer, *Politica-politica* ... (8 vols., Nuremburg, 1700–4).
[167] Case, p. 22.

The plates for *Civitates* were eventually acquired from Johannes Janssonius around 1684 by Pieter Schenk the elder (1660–*c.*1712), who published a 'new' edition of 100 city views (*Hecatampolis*), including updated views of some of the towns and cities depicted, generally with brief descriptions below in German and Latin.[168] Schenk was a publisher and engraver (his signature on the plate is 'P. Schenk ex. Amstel.'), not an artist, and it is not known who drew the design for this print. The absence of Tom Tower suggests that the drawing may have been made before 1681/2 (Ill. 3.39).[169] Although still from the east, the engraving is a quite different view from that of Hoefnagel and adopts a topographical rather than chorographical style. Magdalen College tower on the left, St Mary's spire in the centre and the Schools towards the right are all readily identifiable, while the building on the far right is probably New College. Very clearly visible in the middle-ground, between St Mary's and the Schools, but east of the city wall, is an unidentified low round tower. A similar structure is present in the Cosimo III prospect. The plate was later re-used by Mortier in some editions of *Atlas Anglois*.[170]

After Hoefnagel, the next Oxford view chronologically was by William Smith (*c.*1550–1618), a man of diverse interests and accomplishments. He entered the College of Heralds as Rouge Dragon Pursuivant in 1597, having previously trained as a haberdasher, run an inn in Nuremburg and written several plays.[171] Smith had an interest in cartography from an early age and carried out a survey of Bristol in 1568. In 1588, prior to his armorial appointment, he had written a topographic and heraldic work *Particular description of England*,[172] which was not published in facsimile until 1879.[173] The manuscript is illustrated with a map of Great Britain, a sketch of Stonehenge, bird's-flight views of seven cities and prospects of eight more. There were boxes left unfilled in the text for maps or prospects of at least another fourteen cities and it was perhaps because these were not completed that he never had the work published. The Norwich and Cambridge bird's-flight views were based on Cuningham and Lyne respectively and the London plan was also borrowed.

[168] Peter Schenk, *Hecatampolis* [literally, *Island of 100 cities*] (Amsterdam, 1702).
[169] B. Kentish, *Antique maps and prints of Oxford and Oxfordshire, 1573–1850* (Oxford, 1980).
[170] D. Mortier, *Atlas anglois, ou Description generale de l'Angleterre* ... (London, 1715).
[171] D. Kathman, 'Smith, William', *DNB* http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/25922 [accessed 22 Jul 2013].
[172] BL Sloane MS. 2596.
[173] William Smith (eds. H.B. Wheatley and E.W. Ashbee), *The Particular Description of England, 1588* ... (London, 1879).

Through having lived on the Continent, Smith would have been familiar with scenographic views and prospects. He certainly did not seem afraid of plagiarising the work of others, which lends some support to the absence of a surviving map or prospect of Oxford from before this date (given the publication of the Agas/Ryther map only in 1588). At one time he planned to publish a series of county maps, but the prospect of Oxford from the south that appeared in the *Particular description* has to be regarded as retrograde compared with Hoefnagel's earlier work, particularly as it only occupied half a plate and compared very poorly to the full-page depictions of other cities such as Cambridge (based on Lyne's engraving of 1574), which were fully developed bird's-flight views.

Exactly what is depicted in William Smith's prospect of Oxford (Ill. 3.15a, facsimile 3.15b) is a matter of opinion. His manuscript provides the following brief description of the City, but there is no key:

> Oxford is a Brave Cittie, walled about rounde, much lyke unto Canterbury, and a flourishing Univ'sytie of all kinds of Learning, standing on y^{e} south side of the Shyre, where the River of Cherwell falleth into y^{e} Thamise.[174]

The majority of the buildings are artificially spaced more or less equally across the northern horizon and may be divided into three main categories: churches with towers; churches with spires; and flatter buildings representing colleges (a similar pattern was adopted in his other prospects). There is no real attempt to indicate their relative sizes, or the extent to which they lay in front of or behind one another. The compass circle at the bottom-left has the points abbreviated in Latin, so south is at the bottom and east at the right. Given this we see a view of the city from the south, with the outer south gate, otherwise known as Friar Bacon's Study, two bridges across the Isis and a causeway (grandpont) across the marshy lands leading to the city's main south gate in the city wall. The south gate appears to be more or less centrally spaced in the south wall, whereas in practice it was further to the west. The south gate spanned St Aldate's and within the gate on the right side of St Aldate's can be seen what may be the embryonic Christ Church (St Michael-at-the-Southgate had been demolished in 1525). However, Christ Church had a spire by this period, which is not shown.

Whether the buildings in the image are meant to represent actual colleges and churches is unclear. If they are, at the left end of the image is probably St Thomas's Church, with the west gate and the

[174] British Library, MS. Sloane 2596 William Smith *The particular description of England*, 1588 f. 74.

castle. At the right end of the image is probably St Clement's Church, with Magdalen Tower, St Peter's Church, Merton Tower and All Souls, with the spire of St Mary's Church apparently rising from it. To the left of this the next building is probably the Schools, possibly followed by Brasenose. One would then have expected the spire of All Saints, followed by the tower of St Martin's Church (Carfax), but the order seems to be reversed. The other possibility here is that Carfax is further to the west than would have been expected in relation to the south gate. The other two buildings in the centre probably represent churches, with St Ebbe's and St Peter-le-Bailey respectively as candidates. The remaining three buildings at the western end are problematical, but may be representations of Balliol, Trinity and St John's, with minimal concern for their true forms or positions.

The reason for the choice of a southerly aspect can only be guessed at, particularly as it required an artificially high viewpoint where there is no naturally rising ground. The most likely reason is the fact that many of the city's important buildings lie on, or just off, an east–west axis, enabling them to be spaced across the horizon as seen from the south (or north). This is an example of unreconstructed chorography and should not be interpreted as a serious attempt to depict the city. Smith again shows an ox above a river as the 'arms' of the city, but here, for the first time as far as prospects are concerned, the head is to the left.

The Sheldon Tapestry Maps, including that for Oxfordshire in the Bodleian Library, have been described in detail by Turner.[175] They are notable for their detail, including scenic representations of the principal towns and cities of the four counties concerned. Oxford (Ill. 2.3) is shown from the south, occupying a triangular area between the Isis and the Cherwell, with some development in St Clement's.[176] Although the image is too small to allow much depiction of street patterns and individual buildings, there is a fine representation of the castle and two very prominent spires, of which one must be St Mary's and the other, possibly, the old All Saints. Magdalen Bridge is shown, along with two others across the Isis (in somewhat doubtful positions).

[175] H.L. Turner: (1) 'The Sheldon tapestry maps belonging to the Bodleian Library' *Bodleian Library Record*, 17.5 (2002), pp. 293–313; and (2) 'The Sheldon tapestry maps: their content and context', *Cartographic Journal*, 40.1 (June 2003), pp. 39–49.
[176] Bodley Gough Maps 261 (R).

Published in *c.*1705, 'Oxoniae Prospectus. A prospect of the University and City of Oxford', engraved on two copper plates by Johannes Kip (1653–1722), bears a strong similarity to the William Smith prospect in terms of its style and southerly orientation (Ill. 3.36). Kip was born in Amsterdam and trained there and in The Hague. He moved to England around 1687, where he spent much of the remainder of his life and he may very well have visited Oxford during his long sojourn.[177] Compared to the views of Hollar and Loggan, by both of which it was predated, Kip's view apparently represents a deliberate return to a chorographic approach, although there is at least some attempt to show the buildings in their relative sizes and positions. It is unlikely that Kip would have been aware of Smith's (then unpublished) earlier work and his choice of a southerly viewpoint may have been determined independently by the location of many of the important buildings on or near to the east–west line of the High Street. Alternatively, both Smith and Kip may have been familiar with the city views appearing in the *Cosmographia* of Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), published in various German, French and Latin editions from 1544, many of which adopted the 'skyline' format used here by Kip.[178] Although illustrated with woodcuts rather than copper engravings, the quality of the artists used to produce these, including Hans Holbein the younger, was generally high and they compare favourably with those in the later *Civitates*.

There is, however, another possibility. The engraving appeared as a single print *c.*1705, sold by Henry Overton, and was included in the *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, first published in 1707 and reprinted in 1713 and 1715.[179] Not all of the plates in the *Nouveau Théâtre* were original and it is possible that this one was based on an earlier engraved work similar to that of Smith, but now lost. There are three reasons for this conclusion: first, by *c.*1705 the chorographical style was long out of favour; second, this chorographical style was not generally adopted by Kip in the *Nouveau Théâtre*, or elsewhere; and third, one of Oxford's most iconic buildings, the Sheldonian Theatre (constructed 1664–8), is absent from Kip's view. The other principal buildings, including a high proportion of the city's churches, are present and referenced in a key (as was generally the case in *Cosmographia*). Tom

[177] N. Grindle, 'Kip, Johannes', *DNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16945 [accessed 12 Jan 2013].
[178] See: McLean.
[179] Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff, *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne* (London, 1708).

Tower is in the centre of the foreground, with an elaborate version of Friar Bacon's study just in front. The prospect stretches as far as the castle and St Thomas's Church to the west. Magdalen College Tower, Magdalen Bridge and St Clement's Church are at the eastern extent. The Isis meanders in front of the city in a somewhat unlikely course.

Nouveau Théâtre was very successful and other editions followed from 1724; these were also published in London, but by Joseph Smith.[180] For these editions the Oxford prospect (appearing in volume three) was re-engraved on a single plate to a reduced scale by the print seller, globe maker, draftsman and engraver, Sutton Nicholls. Nicholl's oeuvre as an engraver was quite varied, including architectural elevations, botanical and anatomical studies, bookplates, portraits and song-sheets, as well as other city views (of London and Westminster). The Nicholls version was re-titled 'Oxoniensis Universitas. The south prospect of the City of Oxford.' (Ill. 3.37). The most notable difference was the addition of the Sheldonian Theatre, placed in one of the few spaces available between Tom Tower and the spire of St Aldate's. Several other colleges are now mentioned by name (Balliol, Oriel, All Souls and Worcester) and St Clement's Church has gained a small tower. Although Nicholl's own accuracy and command of perspective has been questioned, here he has done a competent job of updating Kip's original design. The key is an extended version of the Kip original, although the Physick Garden (still shown) has been omitted.

Essai Geographique sur les Isles Britanniques by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (1703–1772) was published in Paris in 1757.[181] Bellin was a French hydrographer and geographer and member of the French intellectual group known as the *philosophes*. The *Essai* contains some forty copperplate illustrations comprising maps, plans and prospects of towns and cities. Not all of these are attributed to an artist or engraver, but several of them bear the names (or variants thereof) of Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (1734–1790), a Spanish engraver and cartographer, and Pierre-Philippe Choffard (1731–1809), a French draftsman and engraver. The de la Cruz plates are generally followed by 'sculp', implying that he was the engraver, but not the designer, while those for Choffard are more likely to be followed by

[180] L. Peltz, 'Nicholls, Sutton', *DNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16945 [accessed 12 Jan 2013].
[181] Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, *Essai Geographique sur les Isles Britanniques …* [*Geographical essay on the British Isles …*] (Paris, 1757), p. 7.

'fecit', implying both functions. The 'Veue d'Oxford' (Ill. 3.38), a reduced sized version of the Nicholls view (including the Sheldonian Theatre), is unattributed, but in terms of format and style resembles more closely the views attributable to de la Cruz. By 1757 there were several readily available views of Oxford that could have been copied by de la Cruz and it is curious that he opted for a view in a no longer fashionable style and did not include the recently completed Radcliffe Library.

The *Essai* is often found bound together with an addendum, the *Recueil des villes ports d'Angleterre* of George-Louis le Rouge (1712–1790), first published in 1759.[182] This work contains around twenty maps plans and prospects of British towns and cities, not all of them ports, about half of which had appeared previously in the *Essai*. The Oxford prospect is not among them, but one of the new plates is 'Oxford a 52 milea Oeust de Londres', already described in Chapter 2.

3.4 Topographical images of Oxford

3.4.1 Wenceslaus Hollar and Thomas Rawlins

As was noted in Chapter 2, the versions and states of the Hollar maps of Oxford in which his prospects appear as insets have been analysed in detail by the author in his paper in *Oxoniensia*.[183] Here a few issues related specifically to the prospects will be discussed.

The first state of the earlier version (V1S1) can be dated to 1643, although the drawing may well have been made before the construction commenced of Oxford's defences in 1642. Only Hollar's name is credited on the engraving in either of its two states (Ills. 3.16a–b) and it is therefore usually assumed that he was responsible for the design of the prospect, 'Oxforde', as well as of the city plan. The viewpoint is to the east of the city, probably almost as far north as Wadham and well to the east of the Cherwell. There are no discernible differences between the views in the two main states of V1. The reworked version of V1, possibly by Merian, should also be considered (Ill. 3.16c). This is clearly a completely new plate, but seems to be a faithful copy of V1S1 as far as the prospect goes.

[182] Le Rouge, [pl. 4].
[183] Hawkins, 'Wenceslaus Hollar's maps of Oxford', pp. 47–59.

Neither state of V2 is dated, with the consensus opinion now being that they are both later than V1, notwithstanding the counter-arguments set out in Chapter 2. A date of *c.*1665 has been suggested for the later state (V2S2). Within the inset, 'Prospect of Oxforde from the East', but not the plan itself, the name of the artist is given as D. Gage. Gage's name does not occur in association with any of Hollar's other work, or on any other prints of Oxford. His identity is a complete mystery. Despite the fact that the prospect in V2 is almost twice the length and twice the overall size of that in V1, thus permitting the inclusion of greater detail of the buildings, the view itself is very little changed in terms of the area of the city depicted. This is achieved by foreshortening the foreground and reducing the amount of sky. Why Hollar needed someone to create a drawing for him with only minimal differences to the earlier prospect is another mystery. It is just possible that Gage may also have been responsible for drawing the original prospect (V1), with this only being acknowledged in the later version (V2). There are no discernible differences between the views in the two states of V2 (Ills. 3.17a–b).

There is no key to the earlier prospect (V1), but the principal buildings are readily identifiable. It shows at least two buildings erected since Hoefnagel's time: the Schools and Wadham College. The later (V2) is the first prospect to be accompanied by a key, a feature copied by many later engravers of Oxford prospects. The substantive content is very similar to that of the earlier prospect, with one addition, the Botanic Garden, which should have been included in V1. The Botanic Garden is not included in the plans of either state of V2.

Although in V2 the title of the view is 'Prospect of Oxforde from the East', the viewpoint is further to the north than that adopted by Hoefnagel, with Magdalen College Tower well to the left and the Schools in the centre middle-ground. The two very similar Hollar and Gage/Hollar designs are sufficiently different from Hoefnagel's view to suggest that this was not used as a basis for either. Hollar was never shy of recycling his work (a small version of the prospect appeared as one of a series of insets in a map of England and Wales, P651A, usually dated to 1662) and yet another mystery is why he did not produce a larger scale version of the prospect to be sold on its own, as he had done for other university cities, such as Heidelberg (P852, P852A and P853). Presumably he must have been of

the opinion that a view of Oxford alone would not sell as well as a city plan, perhaps based on a perceived difference between British and Continental tastes.

An image of another sort appeared in 1644. Between 1643 and 1646, when Oxford served as the country's royal capital and Charles I was in residence, Oxford housed a mint located in New Inn Hall that was set up under the direction of Thomas Bushell (*c*.1593–1674). Charles brought with him a supply of silver and also arranged for regular deliveries from his mines, supplemented with plate 'donated' by the colleges and the re-minting of foreign coinage that came into his hands. Original strikes of the rare 1644 Oxford Crown (Ills. 3.18a–b), proudly declare the king's presence in Oxford.

The obverse of the coin shows the king mounted on his horse above a view of the city of Oxford ('OXON'), apparently from the east. Although emblematic views of cities had been used previously on municipal seals, a detailed prospect of a city such as this on English coinage was unparalleled.[184] In the foreground are the approaches to the city from the east with the Cherwell and city wall in the middle-ground. Beyond these, the tower on the left is probably meant to represent Magdalen and the central spires those of the churches of All Saints and St Mary's. The Schools Building, with its tower, is shown to the left of the spire of St Mary's, with New College and its bell tower in front.

Separating the words 'Rex' and 'Carolus' on the obverse is a cross constructed of lilies, the personal mark of the engraver Thomas Rawlins (*c*.1620–1670), whose work this is. He had been appointed 'Graver of Seals, Stamps and Medals' at Oxford in 1643 and was known as a writer of poetry and plays, as well as an engraver. He is thought to have been the pupil of the Frenchman Nicholas Briot (1579–1646), who, following his arrival in England in 1625, had become the favoured coin engraver of Charles I and was appointed chief engraver to the Royal Mint in 1633.

3.4.2 David Loggan, Jan Griffier and the Master of Cosimo III de' Medici

David Loggan's biographical details and the genesis of *Oxonia Illustrata* will be considered in detail in Chapter 4. *Oxonia Illustrata* contained three general prospects of Oxford: his reproduction of Agas' map of Oxford had within it a small prospect from the east in the top-left corner, *Oxoniae Prospectus*

[184] See Barber, pp. 40–41 for a description of the great seal of Charles II engraved by Thomas Simon (1618–1685) in use from 1663 to 1672, which shows an image of London beneath the horse on which the king is seated.

ab Oriente (Ill. 3.26), and one of the large plates had a prospect of the city from the east near London Road, *Prospectus Oxoniae Orientalis*, above a prospect from the south near Abingdon Road, *Prospectus Oxoniae Meridionalis* (Ill. 3.27a). These large prospects had very helpful keys to the principal buildings, following the example set by Hollar. The small prospect inset within the map, *Oxoniae Prospectus ab Oriente*, was a reduced scale version of the large upper half-plate. Reduced scale versions of the south prospect are also encountered from time to time (Ills. 3.27b–c).

The prospect from the east seems to be from a point similar to that chosen by Hollar, but higher and further to the east. As a consequence, the prospect extends further to the north and south, with the main city and university buildings concentrated in the centre middle-ground. For this reason, the architectural detailing is less than might be expected in even half of a large double plate. Loggan follows Hoefnagel's example by introducing grazing animals into the foreground.

The prospect from the south is very different from the only surviving earlier example, that of Smith. Although it is stated to be from a point near the Abingdon Road, it is actually some way to the west, with grandpont and Friar Bacon's Study towards the right; the meadow in the foreground is conveniently labelled 'South Hincksey'. Because Loggan uses a real viewing position and there is no rising ground near this point, the prospect is much flatter than either Smith's attempt or Loggan's view from the east, where he could take advantage of Headington Hill. With this prospect Loggan eschews farm animals, but he does include three agricultural labourers walking through a field of waist-high corn, two of whom carry scythes for the harvest.

Loggan's prospect from the east was re-used in 1715 by Philip Overton as a vignette, who republished with additions a map of Oxfordshire by John Seller and John Oliver originally published *c*.1681. Other vignettes on this map included two views of Blenheim, the tessellated pavement at Stunsfield (after Michael Burghers), and the Schools (also after Loggan).

There is one other prospect in *Oxonia Illustrata*, albeit of only a small part of the city (Ill. 3.28). It is found on the lower portion of the title page. In the foreground is Minerva, goddess of learning, with her accoutrements. Behind her can be seen New College, with its tower, the tower of St Mary's Church, the Schools Building, and the Sheldonian Theatre in front of the Divinity Schools. The

density of old buildings running along what are now Broad Street and Holywell Street is very clear, many of the former being demolished shortly thereafter to provide room for the Clarendon Building. This view was also used by Burghers in numerous title pages (Ills. 3.29–31) and Vertue (Ill. 3.32).

Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata* contained an engraving of a picture in the possession of the former Prime Minister, Lord Grenville (the father of Thomas Grenville, mentioned below in connection with Cosimo III), who was Chancellor of the University from1810 until his death in 1834 (Ill. 3.25). Skelton described it follows:

> The picture is in good preservation; but it is difficult to determine by whom it was painted, as no artist's name is attached to it. Had Loggan been in the habit of painting Landscape subjects, we might conjecture that it was done by his hand, for it is evidently the original from which he engraved his distant view of Oxford from the east; and there is a peculiar finish in the pencilling, which is more the touch of an engraver than a painter.[185]

Skelton is certainly correct that the picture is closely related to Loggan's easterly prospect, although the aspect ratio of the drawing differs from that of the engraving due to the inclusion of a greater extent of sky and foreground features. This argues against the design having been made by Loggan, who would have had no incentive to produce a drawing (later worked up into a painting) that he would then have had to adapt to fit a plate the size of which he already knew.

Luke Herrmann has pointed out that there are actually a number of drawings and paintings of Oxford from the east that resemble Loggan's view, one of which has been attributed by Grant in *Old English landscape artists* to Jan Griffier the elder (*c*.1652–1718); the detailed group of foreground figures is considered typical of his style, and dated to *c*.1680 (Ill. 3.23).[186] The collection in which this painting was then held was not stated by Grant.

Herrmann was also aware of another Oxford view, again close to the Loggan, 'an oil on canvas in the possession of Sir Henry Phillimore' (Ill. 3.24).[187] In fact the owner was almost certainly (Mr) Henry Augustus Grenville Phillimore (1894–1969), one of whose great grandfathers was Dr Joseph Phillimore (1775–1855), a politician and supporter of Lord Grenville (1759–1834). The similarity between the staffage in the Grenville and Phillimore oil paintings certainly suggest an even closer

[185] Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 2, pl. 133 (notes).
[186] Grant, 1, pp. xx + pl. 43. The collection is not stated.
[187] L. Hermann, 'An early view of Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 28 (1963), p. 99 + pls. IA–B.

relationship between them than between either of these and the Loggan engraving. Herrmann rejects an attribution of this view to Griffier, mainly on the grounds that he would not have stooped to using a Loggan drawing or engraving as the basis for his oil painting, and he also suggests a somewhat later date on stylistic grounds, perhaps in the 1730s. The fate of the painting engraved by Skelton on Grenville's death is unknown, but it may well have ended up in the possession of Henry Phillimore. Sadly, its current location is also unknown and this does raise the more general question of what became of the drawings that served as the basis for Loggan's engravings.

While Loggan was working on *Oxonia Illustrata*, he was occasionally called upon to demonstrate his work to important visitors to the university. Vallance's *Old Colleges of Oxford* has a useful bibliography, including some references to primary material. One of these is as follows:

> Oxford, from the site of the corner between Iffley Road and Cowley Place. Drawn by an Italian artist in the suite of Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, on the occasion of his visit to Oxford in 1669. The original drawing, never published, is preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence.[188]

There are a number of issues with Vallance's description. Cosimo III (1642–1723) did not inherit his father's title and position until 1670, so in May 1669 he was still only the Grand Prince of Tuscany. A good copy of the original drawing was made *c*.1821, serving as the basis for an 1821 aquatint.

Cosimo made two extensive journeys throughout Western Europe between 1667 and 1669, arriving in England in April of the latter year and remaining for more than two months. During this visit he was welcomed at the universities of both Oxford and Cambridge. At Oxford he stayed at the Angel Inn, visited several of the colleges, inspected David Loggan's progress on the engravings for *Oxonia Illustrata* and declined the offer of an honorary degree.[189] Travelling in his extensive entourage was Count Lorenzo Magalotti (1637–1712), a natural philosopher and diplomat, to whom Cosimo entrusted the task of creating a written account of his journey. Among the others in the retinue of Cosimo was the painter and architect Pier Maria Baldi (*c*.1630–1686), who served for a time as his chamberlain. The visual record of Cosimo's journey, comprising some forty pen and ink illustrations,

[188] Aymer Vallance, *The old colleges of Oxford* (London, [1912]), p. 111.
[189] Letter from Thomas Lamplugh (1615–1691) to Joseph Williamson (1633–1701), 5 [15] May 1699. See: J. Wallis (eds. P. Beeley and C.J. Scriba) *Correspondence of John Wallis (1616–1703)* (3 vols., Oxford, 2003–?), 3, pp. 169–70.

has been credited to Baldi, but with no proof supporting that accreditation. These illustrations may be the work of more than one artist and Magalotti's own skill in sketching can be seen from his diaries. Crinò, who published a critical edition of the manuscript in 1968, states that the opinion of Professor Edward Croft-Murray, former director of the Prints and Drawings section of the British Museum, was that they were probably made by a Dutch painter.[190] The 'official' drawings were of cities, towns, palaces and seats of noblemen and gentlemen. Magalotti's manuscript and the illustrations were later deposited in the Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, Florence.[191] Cosimo's artist would undoubtedly have had a professional interest in Loggan's work and may well have been influenced by his choice of viewpoint for his Oxford view (Ill. 3.20) having seen proofs of Loggan's prospects.

The Magalotti manuscript was translated into English (by whom is unknown) and published with engraved versions of the original illustrations during 1821 in London by Joseph Mawman, a Protestant publisher.[192] According to a note on the flyleaf of a copy once owned by the politician and bibliophile Thomas Grenville (1755–1846), a transcript of the original manuscript and a translation were commissioned by 'Sir Robert Lawley', who also wrote the life of Cosimo III contained in the preface.[193] This was probably the 6th Baronet, who befriended the portrait artist John Hollins (1798–1855) early in his career and journeyed with him to Italy in 1825. In 1831 he was created 1st Baron Wenlock and died, childless, three years later in Florence. Hollins' obituary in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* refers to his return to Italy after Lawley's death 'having been entrusted with a confidential management of the affairs of that nobleman'.[194] It is likely that Lawley also commissioned the copies of the original drawings that were later reduced and engraved for Mawman's work. Both the copy drawings and the transcript were purchased by Grenville and bequeathed to the British Museum.[195]

[190] Count Lorenzo Magalotti (ed. A.M. Crinò), *Un Principe di Toscana in Inghilterra e in Irlanda nel 1669 …* [*A Prince of Tuscany in England and Ireland in 1669*] (Roma, 1968). See also partial transcript and notes at: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/I100078/ [accessed 24 Aug 2015].
[191] I am indebted to Penny Tyack for tracking down the original in the Laurentian Library and arranging for a colour image.
[192] Count Lorenzo Magalotti. The plate of Oxford (29) is opposite p. 251 and the description of Cosimo's activities at Oxford is given on pp. 251–76.
[193] BL G.7411.
[194] *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 197 (May 1855), pp. 539–40.
[195] BL MSS. Add. 33,767 A & B.

Grenville gives no clue as to the identity of either the translator of the transcript, or the artist who drew the facsimile copies, none of which is signed. However, at least one authority has attributed them to Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1792–1864), a watercolour artist known for his architectural works. It is known that Shepherd travelled to France in 1810 and he may have continued then to Italy with a commission from Lawley (or even Mawman) to copy the originals.[196] These copies were made in Indian ink with grey and brown wash, close in size to the originals, which were very large (in some cases over 15 x 40 inches). The Shepherd copy of the image of Oxford (Ill. 3.21) is a close facsimile of the original, although the city arms in the top-right corner have gone.[197]

In a manuscript note in the bound volume of drawings, Grenville describes Mawman's illustrations as 'very unsatisfactory' and that he was not impressed by their standard is certainly easy to understand. The illustrations were made using the technique of aquatint and printed in sepia, giving them an anaemic appearance. In the case of the Oxford prospect, where the city is seen from the east, the southern and northern extents of the original have been excised, leading to the loss of a large civil war earthwork in the published version. They also had unnecessary embellishments in some cases, for example rays descending from the sun hidden behind a cloud in the Oxford prospect (Ill. 3.22). The engraver is not known, but among the aquatint engravers with whom Shepherd worked on other projects were M.J. Starling, I.L. Marks and John Cleghorn senior (1784–1873).[198]

Vallance states that the viewpoint is near the junction of Cowley Place and Iffley Road, but this seems too close to the city and too low. It would also have meant that the old St Clement's Church would have been in the immediate foreground on what is now the Plain, which it clearly is not. Magdalen College Tower is readily visible towards the right of the prospect, but is in the middle-ground rather than the foreground. Also, the course of the Cherwell, which can be seen, is further from the viewer than would be the case if the viewpoint were near to the eastern end of old Magdalen Bridge. The

[196] See: (1) http://www.chrisbeetles.com/artists/shepherd-thomas-hosmer-1793-1864.html# [accessed 13 Jul 2013]; and (2) L. Peltz, 'Shepherd, George Sidney', *DNB* http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/25331 [accessed 1 Aug 2013].
[197] Most of the engraved plates can be viewed at: http://www.buildinghistory.org/primary/magalotti/ [accessed 31 May 2013].
[198] J.R. Abbey, *Scenery of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1972), p. 151.

large structure towards the left of the prospect is almost certainly the Cathedral and the spired tower in the centre St Mary's. To the left of Magdalen appear to be St Peter's-in-the-East and New College Bell Tower, but identification of the other towers and spires is more difficult. The large mound to the north of Magdalen on the east side of the Cherwell appears to be the remnants of one of the Civil War earthworks – possibly a gun emplacement. Such a structure appears in de Gomme's map of Oxford's defences. Another possibility is that it was a sconce, forming part of the Parliamentarian siege works.[199] A more likely viewpoint is further up Iffley Road.

In 1918, a photograph of the original drawing came into the possession of the Bodleian Library through the Manning bequest. Its acquisition was described in the *BQR*, almost certainly by the Librarian, Falconer Madan, who stated that 'The view is taken from Cherwell Hall at the end of Cowley Place, and embraces the various towers and buildings from St Thomas's on the left to Magdalen Bridge.'[200] Cherwell Hall was adjacent to Cowley House, the first building to be occupied by what became St Hilda's College, and it may well be that Madan also misinterpreted the viewpoint. The Cosimo III drawing is poorly known and has not been mentioned in any of the standard works on Oxford topographical drawings and engravings. In terms of age it is predated as an original drawing only by Hoefnagel's prospect and the poor attempt by Smith.

3.4.3 Michael Burghers

Between 1677 and 1718, several designs for the Almanacks featured in their backgrounds prospects of the city as a whole, or Christ Church and its surroundings. Each of these was engraved by Michael Burghers and, due to their small scale, none provides significant architectural detail of the buildings included. A listing is provided in Table A10, with cross references to the illustrations (Ills. 3.60–71).

Burghers did a great deal of work for Thomas Hearne and in 1716 engraved the title page for his edition of Thomas Roper's *Life of Thomas More*.[201] Having fallen out with the university authorities

[199] This second possibility was pointed out by Peter Harrington, currently Curator of the Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection at Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island.
[200] [Falconer Madan], 'Notes and news: old views of Oxford', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 2 (1918), pp. 2–3.
[201] William Roper (ed. Thomas Hearne), *Guilielmi Roperi Vita D. Thomæ Mori…* [*William Roper's life of Thomas More …*] (Oxford, 1716)

for his non-juring beliefs, Hearne was then prevented from advertising the fact that his works were printed in Oxford, or stating that he was connected with the university. For this reason, the title page engraving is somewhat unusual, showing a herd of oxen in the foreground crossing a river with a city, patently Oxford (Osney and Rewley Abbeys are named), in the distance beyond; the inscription above the image, 'Vad. Boum Vet.' means the old oxen ford (Ill. 3.31).[202]

Although it is possible that Burghers engraved a major prospect of the city that has now been lost, there is no evidence that this was the case. This is probably because he was never commissioned to do so and was unconvinced of the success of a plate engraved speculatively at his own risk. Although changes and additions to the buildings of the city and the university occurred continually throughout Burghers' occupancy of the position of University Engraver, those that would have been apparent in a distant prospect of the city would have been limited, as can be seen by comparing the prospects in *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675) and *Depicta* (1732/3).

3.4.4 Nicholas Hawksmoor

The Victoria & Albert Museum has a sketchbook with 55 leaves of topographical drawings by Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661–1736) dated from 1680 to 1683.[203] Included within it are building studies and views from Bath, Bristol, Coventry, Nottingham, Northampton, Oxford and Warwick. These somewhat amateurish drawings predate Hawksmoor's first official appointment, as Deputy Surveyor to Sir Christopher Wren at Winchester Palace, from March 1683 until February 1685. The sketch book was described by Downes as follows:

> … the pages of the sketch-book in the Royal Institute of British Architects of 1680-3 show a scarcely formed writing hand, and a naïve drawing style in which only the selectivity of what is drawn anticipates in any way the future interest and capacity of the student: some of the views have the customary Latin titles of topographical prints …[204]

The two Oxford prospects in pen and ink (Ills. 3.33–34) are drawn respectively from the east (with the viewpoint probably somewhere on the slopes of Headington Hill) and the south (probably from near

[202] (1) T. Harmsen 'Bodleian imbroglios, politics and personalities, 1701–1716: Thomas Hearne, Arthur Charlett and John Hudson', *Neophilologus*, 82.1 (1998), pp. 149–68 (163); and Barker, p. 30.
[203] Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection: Hawksmoor sketchbook NH [9] ff. 47 & 52.
[204] J.K. Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 1969), pp. 13–14.

grandpont). The two prospects, although numbered in sequence, are separated by four blank sheets in the sketch book (ff. 48–51 inclusive) and it may be that Hawksmoor originally intended also to draw some of Oxford's main buildings to accompany the prospects. The swallow-tailed and tasselled banner of the first prospect has the words 'Anno 1683 Oxoniae [Pr]ospec[us] Ori[entalis]', the presumed missing letters being hidden in the folds of the banner, while the second is untitled. Both prospects have keys, although there are issues with each. The 'New tower' in the first is actually Tom Tower at Christ Church, built to Wren's design in 1681–2. The tower of 'St Pulchres, or the Synogoge' in the second, from its position and height, can only be St Mary's. In each case there are also one or two towers/spires that are not identified in the relevant key. The labelling suggests that Hawksmoor was unfamiliar with Oxford, which is probable given that this was long before he became associated with Vanbrugh at Blenheim. The prospect from the south demonstrates clearly the problem that artists had in showing the buildings of the city if they did not adopt an artificially high viewpoint.

Were these the only city prospects recorded by Hawksmoor, his prescience in depicting a skyline on which he would later have a major impact would be remarkable. In practice he also drew similar prospects of several other cities and he seems to have had a general fascination with skylines. Although not of great artistic merit, the prospects are of interest in that they were preceded by only a handful of previous Oxford views (Hoefnagel, Smith, Hollar, Loggan and Cosimo III's court artist) and it is quite possible that Hawksmoor was not familiar with any of these.

3.4.5 Benjamin Cole

The two states of the Benjamin Cole's map of Port Meadow in which his 'Prospect of Oxford from the North' are inset have been described in Chapter 2. This prospect (Ills. 3.40–41), to which a similar key was attached in both states, was the first of the city that was viewed from the north, which would make sense given that Port Meadow is itself to the north of the city. The viewpoint is unidentified, but may well have been to the east of Port Meadow, possibly close to Summertown. This would be consistent with the castle being towards the right of the view, All Saints Church straight ahead and Magdalen College Tower to the left. Even at Summertown the rise of the ground would not have provided sufficient elevation to permit the view depicted, so it must have been artificially high. In several cases

the separation of the buildings has been exaggerated (e.g. the Schools, the Theatre and St Mary's Church), while in others it has been contracted (e.g. Magdalen and New College Towers). A number of buildings that might expect to have been included are not, for example St Peter's-in-the-East. Trinity College new chapel, built 1694, is shown. The only material changes in the two versions of the prospect are the heightening of the tower of St Aldate's Church and the addition of weather vanes to the tops of the towers of St Mary's, All Saints and St Aldate's Churches.

3.4.6 William Williams

Williams' biographical details and the genesis of *Oxonia Depicta* will be considered in detail in Chapter 4. In the prospectus, Williams stated that 'a South Prospect of the said University be taken, and engrav'd by a Masterly Hand.' As with *Oxonia Illustrata* there were actually two prospects of Oxford on the same sheet, *Prospectus Oxoniae Meridionalis* and *Orientalis* (Ills. 3.49a–b). Toms ('Sculp[t].') is the engraver, with the name of C. Lempreire [sic] ('Perfec.'), almost certainly Clement Lemprière, below that of Guil. Williams ('Delin.'). W.H. Toms engraved several of the plates, so why Williams should have singled out the south prospect only for comment in the prospectus is unclear. Clement Lemprière (*c.*1683–1746) was a native of Jersey, but apparently travelled widely, visiting mainland Britain, Portugal, the Balearic Islands and Bermuda. A cartographer by profession, being a draftsman in the service of the civil branch of the Ordnance Survey, he also made drawings and paintings of wildlife, landscapes and seascapes. Nine of his seascapes with warships were engraved by Toms in 1738, so it is possible that Toms was instrumental in obtaining for him this commission.[205]

The main prospects in *Oxonia Depicta* were very similar to the large prospects of Loggan. Again, both have keys, although the references are sometimes doubtful (for example, no. 19 on the far right of the southern prospect is evidently not Friar Bacon's Study and much more likely to be St Clement's Church). Neither of the maps of the city in *Oxonia Depicta* had an inset prospect.

Buildings shown by Williams and referred to in the key, but not shown by Loggan, are: Trinity College (new chapel completed 1694); All Souls College (new buildings 1713–34); All Saints Church

[205] (1) G.R. Balleine, *Biographical dictionary of Jersey* (London, [1949]); and (2) http://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php?title=Clement_Lempriere_(1683-1746) [accessed 18 Jun 2013].

(rebuilt 1702–20); Queen's College (new buildings 1693–1735); Exeter College (new buildings 1668–1708); and Tom Tower at Christ Church (constructed 1681–2). The Clarendon Building had been erected in 1711–13, but was insufficiently tall to rise above the buildings to its south (the Schools) and east (New College). Given the relatively few material amendments and additions to the Loggan prospects, the motivation of Williams for employing Lemprière to 'perfect' them is unclear.

As with *Oxonia Illustrata*, Williams' work also included a small prospect of the university buildings from the north, including now the Clarendon Building, with Minerva still seated in front, as part of the title page (Ill. 3.50). Far less architectural detail is provided than in the Loggan equivalent.

3.4.7 James Green

Green's prospect of Oxford is found in Francis Wise's *Nummorum antiquorum* (Ill. 3.51a).[206] Wise lived at Elsfield Manor, a few miles north-west of Oxford, and created an ornamental garden that became well-known.[207] In the prospect of Oxford from this garden, the buildings occupy only a small area at the top-centre of the plate, surrounded by trees on either side and below and sky above (a device used also by Donowell), with an ornamental lake in the foreground. The buildings appear closer than they actually were: New College to the left, the Radcliffe Library in the centre and the Schools to the right. Another plate in the same work, also by Green, is a view of the garden with a modest cascade and pool at its centre, a small temple above right and the manor house at top-left (Ill. 3.52a). A slightly larger and modified version of the prospect by Green was also published (Ill. 3.51b), while the garden view was re-drawn and re-engraved by Charles John Smith in 1836 (Ill. 3.52b).[208]

3.4.8 William Jackson, Isaac Taylor and George Anderton

The ichnographic map of the city published by Jackson, surveyed by Taylor and engraved by Anderton was first published in 1751 and was republished by Faden in 1789 with a variety of changes. In the first version, there were small views of the city in the four corners: prospects from Headington Hill ('A View of the Town from Heddington Hill', top-left) and the Parks ('A View of the Town from

[206] Francis Wise, *Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis …* (Oxford, 1750).
[207] P.L. Johnson, 'A history of the garden of Elsfield Manor, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 74 (2009), pp. 71–86.
[208] John Murray, *Graphic illustrations of the life and times of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1835).

the Parks', top-right) and views of the Radcliffe Library (bottom-left) and the Magdalen College 'New Building' (bottom-right), the last two of these not long completed (Ills. 2.35–6 and 3.57–58).

Although originally from Leeds, William Jackson, the sponsor of Taylor's map, moved to Oxford and lived in Headington, eventually building a house there, and may well have encouraged the inclusion of a prospect of the city from this location. Market gardening is being carried on in the foreground of the prospect and the building on the left may be Cabbage Hall, a well-known tavern situated directly opposite London Road on Headington Hill.[209] The buildings in the middle-ground are on a small scale, not drawn with great accuracy and not always close to their true positions.

The choice of the low-lying Parks as a viewpoint is less readily explicable, although it had been in use as a place for taking walks from as early as the Civil War. In the foreground of the prospect is a field of corn being cut, an idea used previously by Loggan and others. In the middle-ground only two buildings can be seen in any detail – New and Wadham Colleges – and even these are partially obscured. On the right hand side several people are walking along Love Lane, then a route to the Parks. The tops of various other buildings can be seen, including Tom and Magdalen Towers, the spires of St Mary's and All Saints, and the dome of the Radcliffe Library. The same view of the Parks was used by Jackson as the masthead for his newspaper, *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, from its first publication in 1753 (Ill. 3.59). It was unusual for a newspaper to carry the name of its publisher and equally unusual for the masthead to contain an image of the city in which it was published, once again highlighting the ubiquity of the city's skyline as a visual reference.

3.4.9 Samuel and Nathaniel Buck and John Boydell

With the exception of the drawings of Oxford produced by the court artist of Cosimo III and Nicholas Hawksmoor, all of the topographical prospects described up to this point have been incidental, in the sense that they were either used as inserts on maps (for example Hollar or Cole), or were single plates in a large illustrated book (for example Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* or Schenk's *Hecatampolis*). As the eighteenth century progressed the public developed a taste for individual topographical prints, often of

[209] B. Allen, *Morrells of Oxford: the family and their brewery 1743–1993* (Oxford, 1994), p. 31.

a larger size than had previously been common and that could therefore be used for 'wall furniture'. These prints, often published as a series covering numerous towns and cities, could be bought with original hand-colouring and obtained by subscription direct from the publisher, or through London or provincial print dealers. By the end of the eighteenth century, William Calcott, a recent graduate of Oxford, was advising new undergraduates to 'Get the most expensive prints you possibly can, they will ornament your sitting room prodigiously, and in the end not cost you more than sixpence to the Porter who carries them back to the print shop from whence you had them' (implying either that they could be resold at the same price, or that they were never paid for).[210] An undergraduate at Lincoln a few years before this had purchased furniture from the previous occupant of his rooms including two prints and two maps.[211] Two of the most important series of such prints included views of Oxford.

Samuel Buck (1696–1779) was first encouraged to produce town prospects by a fellow Yorkshireman, the antiquary Ralph Thoresby (1658–1725).[212] From 1719 to 1726, he worked independently on his first ten prospects of England's towns and cities, financed by subscription, published alone and printed from double copper plates. At least one of these was engraved by Gerard van der Gucht. Although some of these early attempts have been described as 'wooden and awkward', they were well received (by the time he advertised it, his prospect of Lincoln had already attracted over 300 subscribers), giving him the confidence to proceed on a larger scale.[213] He moved to London around 1724 and from 1728 invariably worked on his town prospects with his brother Nathaniel (fl. 1724–1759), with somewhat changed arrangements. The prints were now smaller (making them easier to mount in a guard book), printed from a single copper plate and usually sold in sets of six. This second series eventually comprised 77 engravings and there were six others that did not form part of the sequence, including new views of Oxford and Birmingham that were the very last to be published in 1753. Thus

[210] [William Calcott], *A few general directions for the conduct of young gentlemen in the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1795); quoted in Midgley, p. 22.
[211] (1) Midgley, p. 22; and (2) V.H.H. Green *The commonwealth of Lincoln College, 1427–1977* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 405–7, where other examples are also given.
[212] R. Hyde, 'Buck, Nathaniel' in 'Buck, Samuel, *DNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16945 [accessed 12 Jan 2013]. One of Buck's early sketch books from 1719–20 is in the British Library (BL Lansdowne MS. 914) and many other of his drawings survive elsewhere (including the Ashmolean, Fitzwilliam and British Museums), with some 'squared-up' for engraving.
[213] Hyde, *A prospect of Britain*, pp. 14–16.

89 town prospects were published in total. Oxford appeared in the second set to be issued, at a price of fifteen shillings for the set (perhaps £100 in today's values), along with Peterborough, Coventry, Warwick, Birmingham and Northampton.[214] The published subscription lists for the various series expanded to include 'the nobility, gentry and clergy generally', as well as antiquaries, there being over 1,300 subscribers for the London series in 1748.[215] Notwithstanding the commercial success of these enterprises, Nathaniel died young (between 1753 and 1759) and Samuel, in poverty, in 1779.

Although most of their engraved work was signed 'Saml. & Nathl. Buck delin. et sculpt.', as time progressed the brothers also began to rely more on other artists to work up their field sketches.

> It is true that the Bucks were the initiators of the views and in charge of the drawing and engraving operations, but other artists were employed to strengthen the outlines of the drawings made on the spot, to improve the appearance of the landscape, to people the foreground with figures appropriate to the scenes depicted, and generally to bring the Bucks drawings to life.[216]

Among the artists known to have worked with the Bucks are Hubert-François Gravelot (1699–1773) and Jean Baptiste Claude Chatelain (*c*.1710–1771).

Not all of the early prints in the second series are particularly inspiring, including 'The South-West Prospect of the University and City of Oxford', published in 1731 (Ill. 3.43). The composition is similar to that adopted by the Bucks in their other city views (and later by John Boydell) – an artificially high viewpoint that allows the inclusion of most of the city's major buildings. The viewpoint appears to be somewhere between those adopted earlier by van der Vinne in 1668–9 and Loggan for his southerly prospect in 1675, perhaps between South Hinksey and Harcourt Hill. The buildings and other points of interest are readily identifiable from the key and there is a history of the city and university beneath. The foreground is enlivened only with some rather unconvincing trees and there are no figures. Hyde has pointed out that some of the minor buildings may be stylized.[217]

[214] The current value estimate of £100 is based on the purchasing power algorithm used by MeasuringWorth.com. See: http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/ [accessed 25 Aug 2015].
[215] Hyde, *A prospect of Britain*, pp. 20–2.
[216] Hyde, *A prospect of Britain*, p. 26.
[217] Hyde, *A prospect of Britain*, p.29.

The original drawing from which this engraving was made sold at least twice in the twentieth century, at Phillips in 1976 and at Christies in 1981 (Ill. 3.42), although its present location is unknown.[218] Hyde notes that 'This differed from the engraved version in having the date 1731 in its title, and in being signed "Samuel Buck delint. 1734 [sic]." The landscape detail and also the notes on it differed too.'[219] The writer of the notes for the Phillips catalogue suggested that the drawing was made three years after the print was engraved, for an alternative purpose, but this seems unlikely. Despite the differences noted above, the drawing is almost completely 'worked up', including the explanatory text at the bottom, so earlier field sketches may well also have existed at one time.

The new 'South-East Prospect of the University and City of Oxford', published in 1753 and sold together with the new view of Birmingham, was notably more sophisticated in design and execution than its predecessor (Ill. 3.46). The new Oxford and Birmingham engravings were advertised on several occasions in the month before they were due to be published, although the date actually appearing on the engraving is May 1753, not March.

> S. and N. Buck having been desired by many of their subscribers to add to their collection two new views, one of the University and City of Oxford; and the other the Town of Birmingham (those places having been considerably improved since their former drawings, which were taken in the year 1730) give notice that prints of the said prospects will be ready to be delivered to their subscribers by the 25th of next March … The price will be five shillings for the two prints.[220]

The staffage in the Oxford print includes a dozen or so figures on the right (possibly by Chatelain) and the vegetation is much more realistic than in the earlier engraving. The 'station where this drawing was taken' is stated to be between 'Eafley and the Henley Road', probably close to where the Eastern By-pass now crosses the main branch of the Isis. The key is not as extensive as in the earlier prospect and the history is absent, permitting more depth to the image.

Two pen and ink drawings survive closely related to the engraving. The earlier (presumably) has the same title as the published engraving, but lacks the foreground staffage and the key (Ill. 3.44); it may be the master drawing, produced in the field or from sketches made on the spot.[221] The later, possibly

[218] See catalogues: (1) *Fine watercolours and drawings* (London: Phillips, Son & Neale, 22 Nov 1976); and (2) *Important English drawings and watercolours* (London: Christies, 30 Jun 1981).
[219] Hyde, *A prospect of Britain*, p. 50.
[220] *Public Advertiser*, 10, 13, 17 & 20 Feb 1753; *London Evening Post*, 17 Feb 1753.
[221] Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. c.301 (R).

that used by the engraver, still lacks the key, but now has the foreground staffage; curiously it has a shortened title 'The University and City of Oxford' (Ill. 3.45).[222] A 'final' version of the drawing (analogous to the surviving drawing of the south-west prospect, Ill. 3.42), with the complete title, staffage and key may once have existed.

Samuel Buck's anonymous biographer in the 1885–1900 edition of the *DNB* noted that: 'Eleven of the larger drawings of cities were sold in London in 1882 and fetched high prices; among them was one of Oxford, never engraved.'[223] It is known that on several occasions the Bucks would draw two or more prospects of towns and only later choose the one to be engraved, so this is not unlikely. The whereabouts of this drawing today is unknown, it having been displayed at the Golden Buck in Fleet Street for some years. Whether the Bucks were in the habit of selling trial drawings and those from which the engraving was made has not been determined.

The town prospects were not the only project of the Bucks at this period; they had been encouraged by another antiquary, William Stukeley (1687–1765) to produce a county by county survey of England's antiquities, which appeared from 1726 to 1742 in sets of 24 at two guineas a set. Oxford was not rich in antiquities, but the fifth set to be published, in 1729, included 'The West View of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford' (pl. 4, Ill. 3.47), dedicated to the 2nd Earl of Abingdon, and 'The North View of Oxford Castle' (pl. 7, Ill. 3.48), dedicated to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral (Ills 2.26–7). Although not strictly city prospects, they are illustrated along with the two city views. In 1774, a complete set of the Buck antiquities and town prospects was reprinted by the publisher and print seller Robert Sayer (1725–1794), who had bought the plates. The town prospects were collected together alphabetically in the third volume and were distinguished by the addition of a plate number.

The leading prospect engraver of the next generation was John Boydell (1720–1804), who did not commence his apprenticeship as an engraver, to W.H. Toms, until 1740, when he was 25 years of age. Buying himself out of the final year of his apprenticeship, he produced his first important work in 1747 and married on 1 January 1749, spending his honeymoon sketching scenes for later working up

[222] Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, accession no. 756.
[223] *Dictionary of National Biography* (63 vols., London, 1885–1900), 7, pp. 198–9.

and engraving.[224] He did not always adopt the subscription method of selling plates and the practice he often used, continued until 1751, is described in his autobiography:

> I began immediately to Engrave some of the Views I had drawn and published them two at a time my method was to carry them in the Morning my self in a Portfolio to all the Print Shops in the City. In the afternoon to all in the West End of the Town, brought what I rec'd and always gave it to my Wife to take care of; I likewise made drawings of Oxford and Blenheim.[225]

He was also happy to advertise in the press, usually the *London Evening Post* or the *Daily Advertiser*:

> *This day are publish'd (Price 4s.) Drawn and engrav'd by John Boydell.* Four Perspective Views of Blenheim House and Park; and four Views of Oxford, Price 4s. *viz*. of Ratcliff's Library and the Buildings on each Side; an East View; a West View, and a South View. Sold by John Boydell, the Corner of Queen-Street, in Cheapside.[226]

His three prospects of Oxford (Ills. 3.53–55) and view of the Radcliffe Library (Ill. 3.56) were published just before the second Oxford view by the Bucks appeared. There are obvious similarities in style, although the Boydell engravings are not accompanied by a key to the buildings.

The south prospect is largely inspired by that of Loggan, down to the portrayal of corn being cut by figures in the foreground. The viewpoint is closer in, however, and although the eastern extent is still defined by Magdalen College Tower and St Clement's Church, to the west no major buildings are shown beyond the Cathedral and Tom Tower. The east prospect is viewed from the now traditional point somewhat to the north of Magdalen College, with the spire of the rebuilt All Saints Church more or less in the centre and the spire of St Mary's Church a little to the right. A large plantation of trees obscures the lower buildings further to the north, with only the Radcliffe Library, the top of the tower of the Schools and the top of the gatehouse tower of Wadham College visible. Beyond Magdalen can be seen Merton College, Tom Tower and the Cathedral. The west prospect is taken from a position close to that chosen by Buck's 1731 view, ostensibly from the south-west. The main difference is that the scene is now dominated by the Radcliffe Library, finished only a few years earlier.

The series of city views continued until around 1755. John Boydell, who became Lord Mayor of London in due course, later went into business with his nephew Josiah Boydell (1752–1817), so when

[224] T. Clayton, 'Boydell, John', *DNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16945 [accessed 12 Jan 2013].
[225] J. Boydell (ed. W.B. Jones), 'An autobiography of John Boydell, the engraver', *Flintshire Historical Society publications*, 11 (1925), pp. 79–87 (86).
[226] *Daily Advertiser*, 12 Mar 1752; and *London Evening Post*, 21 Apr 1752.

the four Oxford prints appeared some years afterwards in a compendium of city views (plates 40–3) they are sometimes attributed to J. & J. Boydell.[227]

3.5 Landscapes of Oxford

The distinction between 'mere topographical' works and landscapes is subjective. While the Cosimo III view could possibly be allocated to this category, there can be little argument against the inclusion of van der Vinne's drawing under the heading of landscapes.

According to the RKD, van der Vinne visited England in the years 1686–8 (presumably when the Oxford drawing was made), where he was on friendly terms with Jan de Wyck.[228] Van der Vinne is best known for Italianate landscapes, into which category falls this pencil drawing with brown wash (Ill. 3.35). The drawing was exhibited in 'Drawings in England from Hilliard to Hogarth' at the British Museum in 1987. The British Museum online catalogue entry describes the view as follows:

> View of Oxford from the north-west; taken from rising ground, looking towards Wytham, with Headington Hill in the left distance, Boar's Hill to right; in the foreground of the city is the Castle Mound, with New College tower beyond to right and St Mary's Church, further to right Tom Tower, on the extreme left the tower of Magdalen Chapel, in the foreground cattle and figures, including a woman with a basket on her head. Graphite with grey-brown wash.[229]

There are some difficulties with this. The castle mound is in the middle-ground immediately above the horns of the two cows on the right of the group. Adjacent, and to its right, is the old tower of the castle, which is slightly to the south-west of the mound. St Mary's Church does seem to be identifiable a short distance to the right of the mound, but this presents the first problem. St Mary's is almost due east of the mound (actually a little north), so that for it to appear to the right of the mound the viewpoint has to be to its south, probably on the slopes of Harcourt Hill in North Hinksey. This would then place Tom Tower in its correct position and the tower to its right would be Magdalen. New College Tower would then correctly lie between St Mary's Church and the castle. The small tower to the left of the castle mound is likely to be St Thomas's Church. Headington Hill would therefore be on the horizon behind this main group of buildings, not on the left, with Boars Hill correctly placed on

[227] J. Boydell, *A collection of views in England and Wales …* (London, 1790).
[228] Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie [Netherlands Institute for Art History] http://www.rkd.nl/rkddb/(S(0rswq55edpq1tps4uv1uxvhj))/default.aspx [accessed 5 Aug 2013].
[229] http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=710053&partId=1&subject=16308&page=1 [accessed 5 Aug 2013].

the right. This leaves only one remaining problem – the large building in the middle-ground well to the left of the main group. If the suggested viewpoint is correct, this would be the approximate position of Osney Abbey, although by this time almost none of its major buildings would have remained standing.

In the period considered this is the only undoubted example of an Oxford landscape, as opposed to a topographical view – the presence of a number of Oxford buildings is almost incidental. The drawing, if engraved, would not have served as a memento of a visit to the city, or have been suitable for inclusion in a series of city views. It is more likely that van der Vinne intended to work the drawing up into a painting for private sale following his return to the Netherlands, but no oil painting with this subject has been described and it is possible that he sold the drawing prior to leaving England.

The importance of the early views and prospects of Oxford is more to do with their existence than what they depict. The fact that Oxford was among the earliest British cities to be included in *Civitates* and the similar works that followed indicates its international stature, although what the views of Hoefnagel and others showed is often a matter of guesswork and debate. The chorographical views of Smith, Kip and their imitators are particularly problematical. More reliance can be placed on the later views of Buck and Boydell, but even here artistic license could be exercised and caution is appropriate.

4 SHADOWS IN INK AND PAPER: COMMERCIAL AND ANTIQUARIAN BUILDING VIEWS

4.1 Chapter introduction and research questions

Dugdale's *The history of St. Paul's cathedral in London* was published in 1658. The 'dedicatory' to the Comptroller of the late King's Household, Lord Hatton (1605–1670), included:

> … you often and earnestly incited me to a speedy view of what Monuments I could, especially in the principall Churches of this Realme; to the end, that by Inke and Paper, the Shadows of them, with their Inscriptions might be reserved for posterity, foreasmuch as the things themselves were so neer unto ruine.[230]

These shadows in ink and paper were the engravings with which *St Paul's* were illustrated. Their existence resulted from a combination of social change and technical advances, including an understanding of perspective, which before the end of the seventeenth century was to be exemplified in Oxford by David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*.

Before proceeding to an analysis of building views, their variety needs to be considered. In architectural drawing, the four standard views are the (cross-) section, the floor/ground plan, the elevation, and the projection, to which may be added architectural perspective drawings. While the concept of standard architectural views is normally limited to use in connection with buildings, two of them have analogous forms in relation to more extensive subjects, such as towns or cities. In the latter usage, the equivalent to the plan is the ichnographic map, while the equivalent of the ground level perspective view is the landscape, or townscape. Although not strictly a standard architectural view, there are some similarities between the elevated view and the projection. Elevated views of buildings and towns are commonly referred to as bird's-eye views, in their simplest forms generally retaining a single vanishing point. The advantage of the bird's-eye view over the elevation is that much more of a building can be portrayed, along with important surrounding features. This elevated viewpoint is also encountered in scenographic maps, although here the more correct description is bird's-flight rather than bird's-eye, for reasons already discussed. The relationship between these views is set out in Table 3 below. Neither architectural nor art history textbooks offer a collective term for the elevations and

[230] William Dugdale, *The history of St. Paul's cathedral in London. From its foundation untill these times; …* (London, 1658).

perspective views of buildings (shown as shaded in Table 3), in effect elaborations of standard architectural drawings, which figured largely in the works Loggan and others. The obvious term is 'building view' and this will be used here.

Table 3: Architectural drawings and artistic applications

Architectural term	*Building*	*Building (elevated)*	*Region*	*Region (elevated)*
Section	Section			
Plan	Ground plan / ichnography		Ichnographic map	Scenographic map / chorographic view
Elevation	**Orthography (or 'upright')**			
Projection / Perspective	**Ground level view**	**Bird's-eye view**	Landscape / townscape	Bird's-eye view

Had the drawings in Bodley MS. 13a been engraved at the time the gift was presented to Queen Elizabeth, the course of engraving history in Oxford and England might have been altered. Competent designers and engravers were working in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, so the questions of why Bereblock was chosen by Neale for this commission and why the drawings were not engraved until after the publication of *Oxonia Illustrata* bear examination.

The publication of *Oxonia Illustrata* by David Loggan was unprecedented. While Loggan's engravings were not the first to depict Oxford and its buildings, this suite of some forty, high-quality architectural/topographical images was without precedent not only in the context of Oxford, but also in that of the rest of Britain and much of Continental Europe. In only France and the Low Countries had anything on a similar scale been published and even there nothing comparable had been produced for a group of buildings in a single city covering less than a square mile in area.[231] In France, the production of *Le Cabinet du Roi*, showing 'tous ses palais, maisons Royalles, les plus belles vüeus et aspects de ses jardins, assemblées publiques, carouzels et entours des villes' of Louis XIV had commenced in 1663 and proceeded in parallel with Loggan's work, but this was a national work under Royal sponsorship.[232] The debt that Loggan's work owed to the Dutch tradition of engraved scenes of

[231] *Palazzi di Genova*, depicting and describing the palaces of Genoa, had Italian subject matter, but was written and illustrated by Peter Paul Rubens, published in Antwerp in 1622.
[232] This quotation is taken from: A. Schnapper 'The King of France as collector in the seventeenth century', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17.1 (Summer 1986), pp. 185–202 (195). The brevet issued by Louis XIV

towns and buildings and to his training under Dutch masters is profound. The magnificence of *Oxonia Illustrata* has never seriously been questioned, but how such a work came to appear when and where it did has never been the subject of serious research. The sponsorship and financing of the project has also been obscure. Answering these questions requires an analysis of the background of David Loggan, how he came to be in Oxford and his relationships with John Fell and Anthony Wood.

Loggan may have been the first competent artist/engraver to concentrate his attention on Oxford (Hollar's interest in the middle of the sixteenth century had been very limited), but he was far from the last. The two most important to follow Loggan were Michael Burghers and William Williams, neither of whose careers has hitherto been examined in detail and the contributions of both of whom have arguably been underestimated. These were followed by a host of lesser designer/engravers and three of greater importance: George Vertue; John Donowell (fl. 1753–1786); and James Green (1729–1759). Although Vertue had the greater reputation, his work in Oxford was derivative in nature (if not outright plagiaristic), whereas that of Donowell represented a significant departure (in Oxford, at least) from previous practice and Green's surviving drawings provide a unique record of the smaller and more obscure halls now lost.

4.2 Oxford building views before Loggan

By far the earliest image of a specific Oxford building is that of New College in the Chaundler MS. The manuscript has been dated to *c*.1463, written on vellum by Thomas Chaundler (1418–1490), Warden of New College from 1453/4 to 1475.[233] Besides several Latin pieces in praise of the Founder, William of Wykeham, it includes four drawings, generally attributed to Chaundler, depicting: New College; Winchester College; Wells Cathedral; and the founder with other ecclesiastical figures (Ills. 4.1a–d). The upper part of the New College image is a bird's-eye view from the south of the main quadrangle, with the bell tower and part of the cloister just visible on the left. The handling of the north-west and north-east corners of the quadrangle is flawed, with the northern parts of the west

and countersigned by Henri du Plessis-Guénégaud is transcribed in full in: E. de Silvestre *Renseignements sur quelques peintres et graveurs de XVII^e and XVIII^e siècles Israël Silvestre et ses descendants* 2nd edn. (Paris, 1868), p. 142.

[233] J.I. Catto, 'Chaundler Thomas', *DNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4047 [accessed 13 Apr 2013].

range (gatehouse and tower) and east range (muniment tower and hall entrance) angled inwards, rather than being orthogonal. However, for the middle of the fifteenth century the composition is remarkably sophisticated and Chaundler, if he was indeed the artist, may well have been influenced by examples he had seen in illuminated manuscripts.[234]

The next century saw little progress in terms of draftsmanship. The possible existence of a map or prospect of Oxford drawn by Bereblock on the occasion of the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Oxford in 1566 has been discussed in Chapter 2. Also discussed was the presentation during the same visit of a book of Latin verses by Thomas Neale, the *Topographical delineation*, with seventeen illustrations of colleges and university buildings by Bereblock. Bodley MS. 13a is likely to be either the original gift or a close contemporary copy, quite possibly also drawn by Bereblock. A list of the drawings in the order in which they appear in MS. 13a is given in Table A4 (Ills. 4.5 and 4.7a–23a). In assessing Bereblock's skills and limitations as a draftsman, it would be useful to identify other drawings made by him, of which there turn out to be very few. They comprise illuminations in the original Statute Book of St John's College, Oxford, a drawing of Dover Castle, at least two illustrations in an emblem book and the title page of another work by Thomas Neale. A plan of Rochester has been lost.[235]

Bereblock had clearly received sufficient basic training in calligraphy and illumination to earn the trust of St John's for the important commission of writing its statutes. The result was competent enough and must have satisfied the college and its founder, Thomas White, although the illuminations were unremarkable (Ills. 4.2a–f).[236] The drawing of Dover Castle, signed with the initials 'IB' in two places, is undated, but likely to be roughly contemporary with MS. 13a (Ills. 4.4a–b).[237] Brodie's comment on this drawing is informative: 'It contains a wealth of plausible detail but contains some major errors, including reducing the width of the Great Tower by half and omitting many of the

[234] M.R. James, *The Chaundler manuscript* (London, 1916).
[235] (1) Antony Wood (ed. Philip Bliss), *Athenae Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1691), 1, col. 168; and (2) Thomas Hearne (ed.), *De rebus gestis Oxoniae* in *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi II*, p. 252.
[236] W.H. Stevenson and H.E. Salter, *The early history of St John's College (Oxford,* 1937), p. 143.
[237] College of Arms, London: MS. Philipot P.b.47 at end.

buildings in the Inner Bailey.'[238] This demonstrates both Bereblock's knowledge of the concept of the bird's-eye view and the limitations to his skill in architectural drawing.[239]

A more controversial attribution is a series of drawings in an emblem book, BL Sloane MS. 3794, the *Two hundred poosees* of Sir Thomas Palmer, *c.*1565/6 (Ills. 4.3a–u).[240] 1565/6 is when Palmer lost his fellowship at St John's (where Bereblock was also a fellow), having come into an inheritance.[241] There are 21 original pen and ink drawings in Sloane MS. 3794, of which two (Emblems 6 and 10) are signed with the initials 'IB' and 19 are unsigned. Manning has noted stylistic similarities between the drawings with the initials and the other unsigned drawings, leading him to conclude that they may all have been by the same artist.[242] Durning has pointed out three specific stylistic similarities with aspects of the drawings in MS. 13a.[243] A comparison of the initials in Philipot MS. P.b.47 and Sloane MS. 3794 supports the connection (Ills. 4.24a–d).

Durning has also pointed out the similarity of the title pages of MS. 13a (f.2v) and another work presented by Neale to Elizabeth during her visit, a translation of *Kimhi's commentaries on the minor prophets* (BL Royal MS. 2.D.xxi f.1), (Ills. 4.5–6). In both cases the subject is the '*Hebraismi typus*', or emblematical tree representing Hebrew learning. In each example, the tree occupies the top portion of the page and is drawn directly onto the manuscript. Although Durning does not make explicit the possibility of both having been drawn by Bereblock, if we accept Bereblock as the artist of the drawings in MS. 13a, then there is a high likelihood that he also drew these title pages.[244] There is

[238] A. Brodie, *Arthur's Hall, Dover Castle, Kent, analysis of the building* (English Heritage Historic Buildings Report, Research Department Report Series No. 40-2011).
[239] Durning, p. 128, notes that one of the drawings in Palmers *Two hundred poosees* was copied from a plate in Cuningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse*, which itself contains a bird's eye view of Norwich.
[240] A poosee (or posy) was an alternative word for 'emblem', which in this context meant 'a drawing or picture expressing a moral fable or allegory … such as might be expressed pictorially' (*OED*). See also: (1) D. Dean, 'Another source for Palmer's Two hundred poosees', *Notes and queries* (24 Jan 2012); and (2) Thomas Palmer (ed. John Manning), *The emblems of Thomas Palmer, Sloane MS. 3794, edited with an introduction and notes by John Manning* (New York, 1988), pp. iv–v.
[241] Durning, p. 32; Palmer (ed. Manning), p. xxxiii. John Bereblock was at St John's from probably 1557 to 1566, when he was elected Fellow and Dean of Exeter College. Thomas Palmer, originally of Brasenose College, was at St John's from 1558 until 1566, although he probably lost his Fellowship in the first half of 1564. See also Stevenson and Salter, pp. 324–5 & 332.
[242] Palmer, p. xxxiii.
[243] Durning, p. 127.
[244] Durning, pp. 10 & 117.

another possibility, which is that both versions of *Hebraismi typus* were drawn by Neale, not Bereblock. He was, after all, professor of Hebrew and may have considered this a personal device.

On balance, it seems probable that: (i) the artist of Emblems 6 and 10 was responsible for some, if not all, of the other 19 surviving original drawings in Sloane MS. 3794; and (ii) that 'IB' was indeed Bereblock. Even if responsible for only two of the illustrations, he would have been able to study the others pasted and drawn therein and to examine other emblem books in Palmer's library. There have never been serious claims for Bereblock's skills as a draftsman and his grasp of perspective was poor, but he did succeed in adapting the bird's-eye view to buildings of Oxford.

In MS. 13a both text and pictures are contained within left and right-hand margins drawn on the manuscript pages. The drawings are always at the top of a page, below a similarly drawn top margin (in some cases the drawing impinges on the top margin). In each case approximately half a page is allowed for the drawing, although in some cases not all of this space is utilised. In very few cases is a complete building depicted – in the majority more or less of the side extremities are cut off. It has been suggested that the use of space and curtailment might be for artistic effect, but this is unlikely. Even if MS. 13a is 'original', the drawings may have been copied from those used in the 'map' of Oxford, with which it is supposed to have been contemporaneous. It is easy to imagine that an inexperienced or time-pressured copyist might have misjudged the amount of space allocated on the manuscript and failed to fit in the whole of the original drawing.

Bereblock did not simply lack the ability to handle perspective. The architectural accuracy of Bereblock's drawing of Dover Castle has been questioned and some idiosyncrasies of his Oxford drawings noted.[245] Durning argues that at least some of these mistreatments are deliberate – for example 'to allow the display of an uninterrupted run of chapel windows in the case of All Souls', but a similar argument could not reasonably be extended to all.[246] The fact remains that the gift, though amateurish, was original in combining dialogue and illustrations and there was very little with which it

[245] Durning, p. 124, note 48.
[246] Durning, p. 104.

could be compared – its novelty value would have outweighed any aesthetic criticism. Ultimately, accuracy in the depiction of the buildings was simply not the priority of Bereblock and Neale.

The drawings languished in obscurity for a century and a half. Promulgating the images was never part of the plan of Bereblock and Neale and from the acquisition of MS. 13a by the Bodleian in 1630 until 1713 they would have been known to only a limited number of people. Hearne deserves to be congratulated for having the drawings engraved for the first time in his edition of Dodwell's *De parma equestri* (Oxford, 1713), although the 1728 versions on the Robert Whittlesey facsimile copy of the Agas/Ryther map are now the more familiar (Ills. 4.7b–23b and 4.7c–23c). The accuracy with which Bereblock depicted the buildings can be criticised, but, alongside Agas/Ryther, they remain the only other significant source of sixteenth-century Oxford views.

The remaining decades of the sixteenth century saw no further images of Oxford (apart from that in the Sheldon Tapestry Map), or its buildings, and three of those surviving from the first half of the seventeenth century are incidental, forming part of memorials. In the antechapel of Merton College Chapel is a wall-mounted monument to Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622) (Ills. 4.26a–c).[247] The memorial comprises various features including a bust of Savile, his coat of arms, a globe, statuary figures and two paintings, one of Merton (of which he had been Warden) and the other of Eton (of which he had been Provost). Neither the sculptor responsible for the bust nor the artist responsible for the paintings is known, although Nicholas Stone (1587–1647) was responsible for a nearby and contemporary bust of Sir Thomas Bodley. Knöll and others have pointed out that the overall design of the monument is very similar to the title page design of Savile's 1612/3 edition of *S Ioannis Chrysostom*, engraved by Léonard Gaultier (1561–*c.*1635) (Ill. 4.26b), although in this case the two views are of Eton and King's College, Cambridge.[248]

[247] R.D. Goulding, 'Savile, Sir Henry', *DNB* http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/24737 [accessed 20 Oct 2015].
[248] S.A. Knöll, *Creating academic communities: funeral monuments to professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen, 1580–1700* (Equilibris, [2003]), p. 303.

Henry Robinson (1552–1616), a graduate of Queen's College, was appointed Bishop of Carlisle in 1598.[249] Following his death, a monumental plate (*circa* 61 x 40 cm) was erected in the chapel of Queen's College and an almost identical plate in Carlisle Cathedral (Ills. 4.27a–c). The plates have been described in detail by Haines and Knöll and the iconography has been discussed by Höltgen.[250] The monument at Queen's has been attributed to Richard Haydock (1570–*c.*1642), known also as a physician and preacher, which is supported by an entry in the college accounts to 'Mgro Haydoke'.[251]

The last Abbot of Osney and first bishop of Oxford, whose see was translated from Osney to Christ Church, was Robert King (?–1558). He is memorialised in a stained-glass window of *c.*1630–40 at Christ Church by Abraham van Linge (1598–*c.*1644), which may show the west end of Osney Abbey as it had been in 1542 (Ills. 4.28b–d).[252] This image is closely related to an oil painting of King by or after Richard Greenbury (fl. 1615–50), but it is not clear which is earlier (Ill. 4.28a).

Also surviving from this period is a small group of manuscript drawings and sketches. One example is a letter from John Aubrey (1626–1697) to Anthony Wood of *c.*1643 containing a sketch of the keep on the castle mound (Ill. 4.43), made from memory, in a form very similar to that shown by Loggan, but threatened by a very large crack.[253] The notes written between 1665 and 1693 for Aubrey's unpublished four-part *Monumenta Britanniae* are contained in two Bodleian manuscripts (MSS. Gen. Top. c.24–5), which also contain annotations by John Evelyn (1601–1685) and Thomas Gale (1636–1702). The contents of the MSS. are described in the Bodleian catalogue.[254] A two-volume, annotated facsimile edition of parts 1–3, with an index, was published in 1980–2.[255] This did not incorporate part 4, which includes the *Chronologia Architectonica* (c.25 ff. 153–182) and within which is a section 'of

[249] M. Clark, 'Robinson, Henry', *DNB* http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/23840 [accessed 20 Oct 2015].
[250] (1) H. Haines, *A manual for the study of monumental brasses: with a descriptive catalogue of four hundred and fifty 'rubbings' in the possession of the Oxford Architectural Society* (Oxford, 1848), pp. 182–4; (2) Knöll, pp. 318–20; and (3) K.J. Höltgen, *Aspects of the emblem: studies in the English emblem tradition and the European context* (Kassel, [1986]), pp. 126–8.
[251] S. Bakewell, 'Haydock, Richard', *DNB* http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/12746 [accessed 20 Oct 2015].
[252] (1) *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 41 (Apr 1771), p. 153; (2) Henry King (ed. J. Hannah), *Poems and psalms of Henry King* (Oxford, 1843), p. lxxxv.
[253] Bodley Wood MS. F.39, f.200.
[254] Falconer Madan, *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1905), 5, pp. 449–50.
[255] John Aubrey (ann. R. Legg and ed. J. Fowles), *Monumenta Britanniae* (2 vols., Sherborne, 1980–2).

Glasse-windowes'. This section includes numerous pen and ink drawings of windows by Aubrey, several relating to Oxford buildings. While Aubrey was no great draftsman, very few original images of any Oxford structures survive from the end of the seventeenth century.

The library at Corpus Christi contains two manuscript versions of a treatise by Robert Hegge on sun-dials, both of which contain illustrations of the two dials then on the college grounds (one, by Kratzer, then in the garden, has since disappeared). In the case of the quarto version of the manuscript (MS. 40), the illustration of the Turnbull dial (Ill. 4.25) includes an internal view of part of the quadrangle.[256] The position of the gnomon suggests that the view is looking north, but if so the gatehouse tower should be in the background, which is not the case.

Even before the employment of 'architects' by the college and university authorities, it was not uncommon for models of proposed new buildings made from cardboard or wood to be commissioned, of which very few survive. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the original buildings of University College were considered inadequate and sufficient funds were available to commence reconstruction of the college. A pasteboard model from *c.*1634 showing a design that was almost as built survives in the college archives (Ill. 5.41b).[257] The new quadrangle was not completed until 1677, following the rebuilding of the old east range. Anthony Wood included a sketch of this in his notebook (Ill. 4.46).[258] The benefactors' book of University College contains a sketch of the interior of the library, dating from *c.*1668–70 (Ill. 4.45).

Of the many portraits in the possession of the university and colleges of Oxford dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, a small number have in their backgrounds architectural features, some of which are recognisable and relate to Oxford itself. Examples include: William of Wykeham with New College by Sampson Strong (*c.*1550–1611); Cardinal Wolsey with Christ Church, also by Strong; and William Waynflete with Magdalen College by Richard Greenbury (bef. 1600–1670) (Ills. 4.29–34). Each of these has been much copied and descriptions are contained in

[256] Corpus Christi College Library MS. 40 *Treatise of Dials and Dialling*, Robert Hegge, *c.*1625–30.
[257] See Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, p. 11.
[258] Bodley Wood 276[b] f. 116, *c.*1668.

Poole's catalogue.[259] The architectural elements generally add little to our knowledge of the building concerned and in the case of the William of Wykeham portrait the depictions of New College and Winchester are taken directly from the Chaundler MS. The Greenbury portrait may be similar in date to the oil on panel painting of the south front of Magdalen by an unknown artist dated by Vallance to between 1630 and 1665 (Ill. 4.44).[260] The college is viewed from the position of the Botanic Gardens. The dominant feature is the great tower, but the buildings to either side are clearly shown and in the background behind these can be seen the hall and the Founder's Tower, with the old bridge across the Cherwell to the right. A scullion of Christ Church was depicted in a Riley canvas of *c*.1682 (Ill. 4.35) and, by the eighteenth century, college buildings even featured in the background to portraits commissioned by undergraduates (Ill. 4.35 bis).

Possibly the first engraving on copper of an Oxford college appeared on the title page of *Mercurius Rusticus* (1646), although the depiction of Christ Church by an unknown artist and engraver was so poor as to have probably been drawn from imagination rather than life (Ill. 4.47).[261]

The first volume of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655) featured an engraving (subsequently much copied) by Daniel King of a Richard Rallinson drawing of Christ Church Cathedral, possibly the same Rallinson to whom the design for Oxford's defences has been credited (Ills. 4.38–40). Volume two of the *Monasticon* (1661) contained an illustration of Osney Abbey already referred to (Ill. 4.37). Around 1643, John Aubrey commissioned at least four drawings of Osney Abbey from Jerome Hesketh, a hedge-priest, and his master, William Dobson, who was court painter in residence at Oxford during part of Aubrey's time there.[262] Aubrey mentions these drawings of Osney in his correspondence with Wood on several occasions during 1672/3.[263] By 1694 the original *Monasticon* drawing was in the possession of Wood and Aubrey requested him to give it to the Ashmolean, but it

[259] R.E.M. Poole, *Catalogue of portraits in the possession of the university, colleges, city, and county of Oxford* (3 vols., Oxford, 1912–25).
[260] Vallance, *The old colleges of Oxford*, p. 49.
[261] Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius rusticus, or the countries complaint of the barbarous outrages committed by the secretaries of this late flourishing kingdom …* (London, 1646).
[262] Pennington, pp. 187–8.
[263] (1) Powell, pp. 50–1, 148 & 233; (2) Bodley MS. Wood F.39 f. 183; (3) Bodley MS. Wood F.39 f. 190^{v}; and (4) Bodley MS. Wood F.39 f. 202.

is unclear whether Wood ever complied with his request.[264] Aubrey retained the hope that his other drawings of Osney would also be engraved as revealed in correspondence (also in the Bodleian's Ballard MSS.) quoted in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*.[265] The fate of the original drawings is unknown. Hesketh occasionally included landscapes in the backgrounds of his paintings (Ill. 1.54).[266]

With the exception of the *Mercurius* and *Monasticon* illustrations, the common denominator of all of these images was that they were for private rather than public consumption – some of them were subsequently engraved, but this was not the original intention.

4.3 David Loggan, John Fell and *Oxonia Illustrata*

Loggan was born in Danzig in 1634, the son of a merchant of Scottish descent.[267] Based largely on notes by Joachim von Sandrart, it is believed that his initial training in design and engraving was in Danzig under William Hondius, who was originally from The Hague, but who had settled there in 1636.[268] Loggan continued his studies in Amsterdam under Crispin van de Passe the younger, remaining there until *c*.1656. He was in London by 1658, where he developed a reputation for his plumbago portraits on vellum. Here he also produced engravings of prospects and buildings. One of the former was a re-engraving of Visscher's 1616 Panorama of London for Daniel King's 1658 broadsheet *On St. Paul's Cathedral* (Ills. 1.51–52). Among the latter were the illustrations of triumphal arches for Ogilby's *Entertainment of Charles II* (Ills. 1.45–48), closely based on the earlier William Kip engravings for Harrison's *Arch's of Triumph* (Ills. 1.37–44).[269]

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[264] Bodley MS. Ballard 14 f. 135, 2 Sep 1694.
[265] *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 41 (May 1771), p. 204
[266] 'Keeper Bullock gralloching a buck' by 'JH', probably Jerome Hesketh, *c*.1660 (oil on canvas); National Trust Collection, Lyme Park, Cheshire.
[267] Biographical notes based on: (1) G. Tyack, 'Loggan, David' in *DNB* **http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/16945** [accessed 9 Aug 2016]; and (2) Sir Gyles Isham (ed.), 'The correspondence of David Loggan with Sir Thomas Isham', *The Connoisseur*, 152.614 (April 1963), pp. 231–5 and 154.620 (October 1963), pp. 84–91. See also: Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain*, pp. 133–4.
[268] Joachim von Sandrart *Teutsche Academie …*, (1679), 3, pp. 83 & 94.
[269] (1) John Ogilby, *The relation of the entertainment of His Majesty Charles II …* (London, 1662); (2) Stephen Harrison, *The Arch's of Triumph …* (London, 1604); and (3) Griffiths, *The print before photography*, p. 324.

Having married Anna Jordan in 1663, whose family owned property at Kencot in Oxfordshire, he and his wife moved from London to Oxford in 1665, probably to escape the plague.[270] Being 'taken notice of' while making a drawing of All Souls is reported by George Vertue, but unconfirmed.[271] Among those with whom he came into contact there were the antiquaries Elias Ashmole (1617–1892), John Aubrey and Anthony Wood, as well as John Fell (1625–1686). The son of Samuel Fell, also a Dean of Christ Church, John was appointed to that position in 1660, receiving the further appointment of Bishop of Oxford in 1676, holding both positions until his death. He also served as Vice-Chancellor in 1666–9, retaining considerable influence after he stepped down. An authoritative biography of Fell remains to be written, but his promotion of Oxford University in general and of its press in particular, whose future he secured, is well known.[272] Among his achievements were the construction of the Sheldonian Theatre, which he gained permission to use as the printing house for the press in 1669. Recognising that England lacked competent type founders and printers, he imported them from the Netherlands. Undoubtedly his knowledge of Continental European printing practices extended beyond these technical issues into the varieties of books that were being printed on the Continent.

Evidence concerning the relationship between Loggan and Fell is sketchy – no correspondence between them or with third parties survives concerning what would become the *Oxonia Illustrata* project and indirect evidence from the accounts of the university and its press is very limited. In particular, it is not known whether Fell first approached Loggan in connection with the idea of producing a series of plates of the Oxford colleges and university buildings, or *vice versa*. When Loggan arrived in Oxford Fell must have realised that he had a talented artist and engraver at his disposal. If Loggan showed Fell the illustrations in *Flandria Illustrata*, or *Historical description of Amsterdam*, they cannot have failed to impress him and, given the wealth of subject matter in the city, the seed could have been sown in Fell's mind for encouraging a similar work on Oxford.[273] Loggan's

[270] Griffiths, *The print before photography* (p. 111) has Loggan being enticed to Oxford by his appointment as University Engraver in 1669, but this is quite incorrect.
[271] Horace Walpole, *A catalogue of engravers* ... 2nd edn. (London, 1786), pp. 152–60.
[272] V. Larminie, 'Fell, John', *DNB* http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/9257 [accessed 31 Oct 2015]. See also: S. Morison and H.G. Carter, *John Fell, the university press and the 'Fell' types* (Oxford, 1967).
[273] (1) Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*; (2) Dapper, *Historische beschryvinge der stadt Amsterdam*. Unlike *Oxonia Illustrata*, however, these combined narrative text and images in a single volume.

Dutch training would not only have made him comfortable with producing high-quality drawings of Oxford's colleges, but also with the concept of publishing the drawings in engraved form as a book.

We do know that the plates for *Oxonia Illustrata* were not commissioned by Fell in the sense that after completion they became his property, free to print them as he wished – copies from the plates had to be purchased from Loggan, who printed them himself. In the preface to his later work on Cambridge, *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, Loggan confirmed that 'I have already printed Oxford at my own expense', so the equity interest in the venture was entirely his own.[274] This does not preclude Fell from having undertaken to purchase a minimum number of copies from Loggan, or having encouraged the heads of colleges to introduce Loggan to potential sponsors of the plates. Whatever the genesis of the project, by soon after 1665 it must have been well underway. No signatures other than that of Loggan appear on the plates of *Oxonia Illustrata*, but it generally believed that he was assisted in the engraving by another Dutchman, Michael Burghers (*c.*1653–1727), an Englishman, Robert White (1645–1703), and possibly others.[275] Vertue, not always reliable, stated that he had also been assisted in the drawings:

> One Kickers drew the views. & draughts of the Colleges of Oxford (for D. Loggan) & those of Cambridge in partnership with him.[276]

'Kickers' was Everhardus Kickius (1636–1701), a Dutch artist/engraver, who certainly worked in and around London in the late 1600s. In the preface to *Cantabrigia Illustrata* Loggan admitted to the fact that on occasion he would 'find artists sufficiently capable to relieve me to a certain extent of my labour'.

Loggan is mentioned by Anthony Wood, who noted on 14 October 1665 that he 'lent the old map of Oxon to Mr. David Loggan who at present lives at Nuffeild', probably a reference to the Agas/Ryther map.[277] There is a period of four years during which period Wood occasionally records that he met

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[274] David Loggan, *Cantabrigia Illustrata …* (Cambridge, [1690]). Comments that Fell had borne the cost of both Wood's *Historia* and Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* are quite wrong; see, for example: Andrew Clark, *Lincoln College* (London: F.E. Robinson, 1898), p. 9.
[275] Falconer Madan, *Oxford books: a bibliography of printed works relating to the University of Oxford, or printed and published there* (3 vols., Oxford, 1895–1931), 3, p. 304. See also: George Vertue (eds. K.A. Esdaile *et al*), 1.98, 2.29 & 6.182.
[276] G. Vertue (eds. K.A. Esdaile *et al*), 'Vertue notebooks volume 1', *Walpole Society*, 18 (London, 1929–30), p. 105; BL Add. MS. 23,069.
[277] Anthony Wood (ed. A. Clark), *The life and times of Anthony Wood* (5 vols., Oxford, 1891–1900), 2, p. 49.

Loggan, and then, on 30 March 1669: 'David Loggan was elected public sculptor of the University and had a stipend of 20*s.* per annum allowed him so long as he should tarry in the University.'[278] These payments appear as regular annual amounts until 1677 and, despite the fact that he no longer lived in Oxford, he received quinquennial payments of £5 in 1682, 1687 and 1692.[279]

The appointment as University Engraver suggests a change to whatever were the original financial arrangements and may well have presaged the proposal made by Fell to Wood later in the year. Moreover, the Vice-Chancellor's 'computus' for the period September 1668 to September 1669 contains the following entry as a disbursement from the 'Schools Account': 'Item to Mr. Loggan for the Rouling-presse £5 1*s* 6*d.*'[280] A later comment by Wood suggests that the press may have remained at Loggan's house in Holywell while *Oxonia Illustrata* was brought to completion.

Certainly by 1669 Loggan must have been making good progress with his undertaking.[281] Cosimo III de' Medici visited Oxford that year and Wood records on 4 May 1669: 'The next morning Mr. Loggan came with the lord Goretsi to the duke; and shewing him the draught of the colledges and presenting him the picture of the king in sarsenet, (the duke) rewarded him with 5 ginnyes.'[282] Sarsenet is a fine soft fabric, often made of silk, and like satin was used as the medium for printing special impressions to be given to important personages and those to whom plates were dedicated.[283]

Over a period of many years, Wood had been painstakingly compiling detailed notes on the history of the university *and* city of Oxford. Wood worked in English with carefully transcribed quotations from original Latin texts and to the extent that he considered publication of his notes the resulting work would have undoubtedly been in English. Fell, however, decided that a version of Wood's notes on the university alone would serve an excellent purpose alongside the plates being prepared by Loggan – as an international advertisement for its importance and antiquity. There was one problem: if published in

[278] (1) Wood, *Life and times*, 2, p. 153; and (2) OUA NEP/supra/Reg Ta, Register of Convocation, p. 257.
[279] OUA WP beta/21/5 Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1667–1698.
[280] OUA WP beta 21/5. Also quoted in J. de M. Johnson and S. Gibson *Print and privilege at Oxford to the year 1700* (Oxford, 1966), p. 41.
[281] P.W. Nash *et al* (eds.)., *Early printed books 1478–1840: catalogue of the British Architectural Library Early Imprints Collection* (5 vols., London, 1994–2003), 2, p. 1006.
[282] Wood, *Life and times*, 2, pp. 158 & 160–1.
[283] Griffiths, *The print before photography*, pp. 311-2.

English the text would be incomprehensible to most readers in Continental Europe, so it would have to be translated into Latin. On 22 October 1669, Wood was approached by Fell and the other delegates of the press and was told that 'they would for his paines give him an 100*li.* for his copie, conditionally that he would suffer the book to be translated into Latine for the honour of the University in forreigne countries'.[284] It is thus clear that Fell's encouragement of Loggan to produce the plates for what would become *Oxonia Illustrata* must have predated Fell's decision to translate and publish the Latin version of Wood's *History and antiquities of the University of Oxford*, which was to take five more years. This contradicts the commonly held view that the plates in *Oxonia Illustrata* were always intended as illustrations for the published version of Wood's history.

1669 also saw the completion of the Sheldonian Theatre, construction of which had commenced in 1665. Two of the plates in *Oxonia Illustrata* showed views of the theatre from the north and the south, but Loggan also engraved a slightly larger view from the south with a differing dedication and staffage, for which he was paid separately by the University in 1669 (see below). This print was made available in advance of the sale of *Oxonia Illustrata* and was bound in with some presentation copies of Wood's *Historia*.[285] As a project related image, it will be considered further in Chapter 5. Loggan matriculated in the university and thereby became a 'privilege person', subject to its jurisdiction rather than that of the city, on 9 July 1672, signing the 39 Articles on the same day.

A year before the publication of *Oxonia Illustrata*, another work was published in Oxford that is associated with Loggan's name, *Habituum academicorum*.[286] Although the engravings have been attributed to Loggan, none of them is signed by him and the only name that appears (on the engraved title page) is that of George Edwards, who had also provided woodcuts and copperplate engravings for the university press.[287] The work comprises the title page and eleven plates showing Oxford academic

[284] Wood, *Life and times*, 2, pp. 172–3. The brief descriptions of the colleges and their histories in *Oxonia Illustrata* were also in Latin.
[285] See: Kiessling, cat. no. 4212. The 1669 version shows 13 people and 3 dogs, with the theatre framed by walls only (4 vases on each); the 1675 version shows 8 people and 2 dogs, framed by the walls (4 vases and 3), the Bodleian and the Divinity School.
[286] George Edwards, *Reverendis et eruditis viris in theologia, medicina, et jure civili doctoribus, academiae Oxoniensis haec omnium ordinium habituum academicorum exemplaria qua par est observantia* (Oxford, 1674).
[287] (1) Gadd, *History of the Oxford University Press*, 1, p. 327, etc.; and (2) J. Wells, *The Oxford degree ceremony* (Oxford, 1906).

dress, in several of which distant background views of the city can be seen (Ills. 4.58–70). The figures are similar to those in the composite plate of academic dress published in *Oxonia Illustrata*. The plates were republished in 1680 with a re-engraved title page by John Oliver (1616–1701).

Wood's dissatisfaction with the translation and editing process of his work is well known and by 1672 he and Fell were on poor terms, despite an additional payment of £50 having been agreed. *Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* was published in July 1674. Although Loggan's engravings were by then closely associated with *Historia* (the *Index tabularum* lists the pages opposite which the plates are to be bound), the publication of *Oxonia Illustrata* the following year went unremarked by Wood in his diary, although the work is included in 'A catalogue of books printed at the Theater in Oxon', on which Wood notes 'This was not printed in the Theater but in his (the printer's) house in Halywell.'[288] Printing them himself would have allowed Loggan to take great care to preserve the life of the plates.

At the beginning of *Oxonia Illustrata* are a title page and three pages of text, the first two in Latin and the third a 'privilege' in English from Lord Arlington on behalf of King Charles II.[289] The first is a dedication to Charles, in which Loggan expresses the hope that the work will exhibit to the world the splendours of the university. The second is an address to the reader stressing the time and effort involved in the completion of the task and the fact that it was more befitting of his skills than the drawings and engravings of rustic cottages and ignoble villages ('rustica tuguriola et ignobiles pagos') on which he had previously been engaged, which is something of an exaggeration. The forty meticulously detailed double-page plates of *Oxonia Illustrata* (Oxford, 1675) following the front matter comprise two prospects of Oxford and a plan of the city (already described in Chapters 2 and 3) and 38 other mainly bird's-eye views of the colleges, academic halls, and university buildings; they are listed in Table A5 (Ills. 4.71–115). In the case of two colleges, University and Pembroke, building work was in progress when Loggan drew and engraved his views.[290] With University the work was completed very close to Loggan's depiction, but with Pembroke the main gate was never rebuilt in the

[288] Bodley Wood 660[b] (8). Although Wood's work was listed in the Term Catalogue for Michaelmas 1674. Loggan's work the following year was omitted.
[289] Henry Bennet, 1st Earl of Arlington (1618–1685), in 1675 Lord Chamberlain to Charles II.
[290] Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 181, fn. 192.

centre of the range as shown.[291] The two plates for New College were engraved a few years apart, probably in 1670 and 1674, clearly showing developments during this period (for example by the addition of a third storey in the main quadrangle).[292] Other plates depicted the Bodleian Library, Botanic Garden, Sheldonian Theatre, St Mary's Church, Winchester College and Oxford academic dress. Most of the plates incorporate brief historical notes on the institution concerned in Latin beneath the image, some of which were written by Wood.[293] No doubt the college heads would have been happy to provide the information for these to enhance further their reputations that would anyway have benefitted from the publication of the book. Although other artist/engravers had produced bird's-eye building views in England, Loggan's main influence was undoubtedly the unknown engravers who illustrated the histories of Amsterdam and the Low Counties.[294] The bird's-eye view he adopted was speedily copied by other artists in England, including Robert White in *Temple*, *Royall Exchange* and *Bethlem Hospital* (Ills. 1.26 and 1.35–36) and William Sherwin in *Royal Exchange* (Ills. 1.33–34).

In June 1675 Wood records the gift of a copy of his *Historia et antiquitates* to a visiting prince of 'Neoburg': 'And the next morning [he] had presented to him in two volumes the *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxon* penned by Mr. Ant a Wood, with the cuts.'[295] The 'cuts' are normally here taken to be Loggan's engravings from *Oxonia Illustrata*, but in fact the *Historia* did include two illustrations: an elaborate frontispiece engraved by Robert White after Adriaen de Hennin (Ill. 4.349) and the plan of the Civil War fortifications, possibly after Rallinson (Ill. 2.14a).[296] A comment by Wood in Hearne's edition of his autobiography draws a distinction between these 'cuts'

[291] In 1677 Loggan also worked from a plan rather than a completed building when he engraved the unfinished anatomy theatre of the Royal College of Physicians for the *Pharmacopoeia*, published that year (the as-built design differed in some respects). There is a copy of this engraving in Bodley Gough Maps 20 at f. 52, together with another Loggan engraving showing the courtyard of the College (Ills. 1.49–50). Loggan (and Robert White) were both mentioned in the diaries of Robert Hooke, who was closely involved with the building of the College, but there are no records of payments made for engravings. I am indebted to Dr Matthew Walker for pointing this out (conversation, 15 December 2016).

[292] Buxton and Williams, p. 209.

[293] Madan, *Oxford books*, 3, p. 289: 'the latest Colleges and Halls, other than those of Magdalen and St Edmund'.

[294] Earlier English examples, albeit by Continental engravers, include the views of the 'old' and 'new' Royal Exchanges by Frans Hogenburg in 1569 and Wenceslaus Hollar in 1644/7 (Ills. 1.29–32).

[295] Wood, *Life and times*, 2, p. 315. 'Neoburg' is probably Neuberg, a duchy within the kingdom of Bavaria, and the prince concerned Johann Wilhelm, who had made a Grand Tour to Italy in 1674 and was Elector Palatine from 1690 until 1716.

[296] Several prospects of Osney Abbey and a prospect of Godstow Nunnery given by John Aubrey to Anthony Wood for this purpose were not used, presumably because Fell took over the project.

in the *Historia* and those in *Oxonia Illustrata*: 'Dr. Fell and other Doctors made a Present to him at his Departure, of the *Historia et Antiq. Oxon.* with Cuts, in two Volumes fairly bound, together with the *Bodleyan Catalogue* and *Loggan's Oxonia Illustrata*.'[297] Wood's personal annotated copy of the *Historia* also contains a copy of the earlier (1669) Loggan engraving of the Sheldonian Theatre.[298]

The economic investment in an engraved plate would comprise the costs of the copper plate and its polishing, the design and the engraving.[299] The estimates in Table 4 below are based on the actual size and complexity of the majority of the plates in *Oxonia Illustrata* (*circa* 32 x 45 cm), although a few, such as the Christ Church plate and the plan of the city, were either larger or more complex.[300] The bird's-eye views were not simply straightforward field sketches and in many cases spires and towers did not exist from which they could conveniently be taken, so the average time assumed to draw the design (60 hours) could well be an underestimate. As pointed out by Cavers, John Slezer paid an unnamed artist 40*s* per draught for the designs engraved for *Theatrum Scotiae*, which were generally smaller (no more than 27 x 42 cm) and far less complex than those in *Oxonia Illustrata*, together with a further 10*s* per design to Jan de Wyck for adding staffage.[301] Slezer also paid 70s for each of two interior church designs, one of which was by Robert White and the other, possibly, by Jan de Wyck.[302] The apparent accuracy of the depictions also suggests that Loggan reviewed his designs with representatives of the colleges and the university, who may also have been responsible for suggesting the inclusion of certain details. Example are the tethered fox at Corpus Christi, a reference to the Founder, and the raven at Trinity. There are also examples where spelling errors in early proofs have been corrected by the time of the first edition.[303] The city plan would have involved a great deal of

[297] Anthony Wood (ed. Thomas Hearne), *The life of Anthony à Wood from the year 1632 to the year 1672 …* (Oxford, 1772), p. 263.
[298] Bodley Wood 430 (Madan *Oxford Books* 2996), 2.25.
[299] For a general discussion of the costs of producing engraved plates, see: Griffths, *The print before photography*, pp. 62-9.
[300] The estimates here are based on 0.12 cm plates. The weight of a 50 x 50 cm plate (2500 cm^2) is 2892.8 gm. See, for example: http://intaglioprintmaker.com/shop/polished-copper-500x500mm [accessed 23 May 2017].
[301] Keith Cavers, *A vision of Scotland*, (London, 1993), p. 9; see also: David Laing (ed.), 'Papers relating to the *Theatrum Scotiae* and *History and present state of Scotland* by Captain John Slezer, 1693–1707' in *The Bannatyne Miscellany* (Edinburgh, 1827), vol. 2, pp. 307–44 (317).
[302] Cavers, p. 11.
[303] R. Hutchins, '"Bowlin Greens" in Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675)', *New College Notes* (Michaelmas Term, 2013) http://www.new.ox.ac.uk/ncnotes [accessed 27 Oct 2013].

preparatory field work, even if a new ground survey was not carried out. Loggan would almost certainly have sub-contracted the engraving of the dedications, involving an additional outlay. The cost of polished copper (3s/lb) and the rates for drawing and engraving in London (in both cases a shilling an hour) are based on contemporary sources for high quality artists and engravers. For a complex plate 5cm^2 per hour would have been a very good engraving rate to achieve consistently, although etching was considerably faster.[304] Robert White was paid 90s per plate by Slezer for the engraving (sub-contracted in London and also Amsterdam, which may have been less expensive) of the smaller and less complex *Theatrum Scotiae* plates, which would not have included dedications.[305]

Table 4: Estimated cost of engraved plates

Plate		*Copper*		*Engraving*		*Design*		*Total*
Area cm^2	*Volume* cm^3	*Weight* *gm*	*Cost* *s*	*Time* *hours*	*Cost* *s*	*Time* *hours*	*Cost* *s*	*Cost* *s*
1440	1733	1543	10	288	288	60	60	358

For 40 plates, together with the engraved text, the investment would have exceeded £700, perhaps much more. To the cost of the plates had to be added the cost of his rolling press (although he sold this to the university in 1669) and other tools. Printing the plates would have required the cost of paper and ink, amounting to a few pence per printed sheet (unless very expensive thicker paper was used). Most sets were sold unbound ('in quires'), leaving the buyer free to choose the sumptuousness or otherwise of the binding.

For one person without assistants working only on this project for 40 hours per week, the elapsed time taken would have been approaching seven years. The situation is complicated by the fact that Loggan is known to have had assistants for at least part of the period, offset by the fact that he must also have been working on other commissions in parallel.[306] Loggan's honorarium of 20*s* a year, payable only from his appointment as University Engraver in 1669, would not have been enough for him to live on and he must still have been undertaking portrait work and contract engraving. The other source of

[304] (1) Conversation with Joseph W. Winkelman, engraver of 2007 Oxford University Almanack (13 April 2017); and (2) Griffiths, *The print before photography*, pp. 48–9.
[305] Laing, p. 317.
[306] Madan, *Oxford books*, 3, p. 304.

income would have been sponsorship of the *Oxonia Illustrata* plates by the colleges, or by individuals to whom they were dedicated. All but one of the main plates bears the name of a sponsor and some names appear on more than one plate. Personal archives for the dedicatees have proved all but impossible to trace and there are surprisingly few references in the college and university archives. The evidence that does exist suggests that the contribution Loggan received from colleges and dedicatees would not have covered the cost of each plate.

For the 1669 Sheldonian Theatre plate, Loggan was paid £15 from the building accounts:

> to Mr. <David> Loggan 10*li*., (and to another that came with him, 40*s*.) who engraved the print of the Theatre;
> to Mr. Logan who engraved the back part of the Theatre and presented his grace with it, 5*li*.[307]

There is a record in the Queen's College archives of a payment of £5 made to Loggan for presenting his 'scenographia' (probably a bound copy of *Oxonia Illustrata*) to the college:

> Domino Loggan sculptori collegiorum scenographiam presentanti £5.[308]

The Winchester College bursar's account books include two payments of £6 each to David Loggan in the autumn of 1674 and the spring of 1675:

> Sol. Dº Lggan Chalcographuo Acad. Oxoñ. figuram Collegy delineanti in parte 06 – 00 – 0
> Dno Loggan Chalcographo Acad. Oxoñ. figuram Collegy delineanti pro residuo conventum 06 – 00 – 0.[309]

Another reference found to a possible payment to Loggan is in an undated draft letter in the University College archives from one of the fellows, Obadiah Walker, to Francis Brudenell, son of Robert, Earl of Cardigan, to whom the engraving was dedicated: 'you have been pleased to complete [the main quadrangle] in picture; we humbly beseech you assist the finishing of it in reality'.[310]

If Loggan managed to persuade sponsors to part with £5–£15 for each plate (consistent with amounts charged by other engravers, albeit normally for smaller plates), this would have contributed towards his working expenses, perhaps by 50%, reducing his net investment to around £350.

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[307] Wood, *Life and times*, 4, p. 68 (extracts from Bodley MS. 898, Sheldonian Theatre building accounts).
[308] The Long Roll of Lancelot Bland and John Mill from 31 Jul 1675 to 31 Jul 1676; quoted in Magrath v.2, p. 37.
[309] Winchester College Muniments 22221, Bursar's account book for 1672–93. My thanks to Suzanne Foster, College Archivist, for pointing out this reference.
[310] University College archives: UC:MA30/2/C1/3; quoted in R. Darwall-Smith, *A history of University College* (Oxford, 2008), p. 193. I am indebted to Robin Darwall-Smith for pointing out this reference.

Looking at the other side of the equation, we do not know the total number printed of the first edition – if a subscription list was ever opened for *Oxonia Illustrata*, no trace has survived. Some hint may be provided by the subscription list for Williams' *Oxonia Depicta*.[311] Williams' book contained 50% more plates than Loggan's and was considerably more expensive, being advertised at 3 guineas for the basic version. Like the earlier work, it took almost a decade to bring to fruition. By the time it was published the subscription list included 221 names, more than twice the number that had appeared on a broadsheet advertisement a few years earlier.[312] We do know that *Oxonia Illustrata* was advertised for sale in the *Gazette* at 25*s* in 1675.[313] In that year the university bought two copies – one at 25*s* (in quires, to be sent to the Duke of Florence) and another at 33*s* (presumably richly bound) for Dr Wallis 'for his paines about the University buisinesse'.[314] In 1677 the partnership purchased seven copies for various accounts (including a gift to the Prince of Neuberg) at 22*s* 6*d* each, two copies in 1682 at 24*s* each and, in 1689, 50 copies for £50.[315] Only fragments of the partnership accounts (as opposed to those for the Vice-Chancellor) have survived and there may have been numerous other sales in 1675/6 and later years. The Exeter College rector's accounts show the purchase of a copy direct from Loggan between November 1674 and 1675:

> Mr Logan 02 – 10 – 0.[316]

Trinity College also purchased a copy from Loggan in 1675, for three guineas, but this was almost certainly bound:

> Given to M^{r} Loggan for his book of y^{e} cuts of y^{e} Colleges 3 guinies 03 – 04 – 6.[317]

However, Oriel College's records that Loggan gave that college a copy of *Oxonia Illustrata*.[318]

[311] William Williams, *Oxonia depicta, sive Collegiorum et Aularum in Ipclyta Academia Oxonienis Ichnographica, Orthographica, et Scenographica. Delineatio ...* (Oxford, 1732/3).
[312] Chetham's Library HP H.P.862, William Williams's 1727 prospectus for *Oxonia Depicta.*
[313] *London Gazette*, 5 Jul 1675. See also: (1) Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of painting* (3 vols., London, 1786), 3, pp. 937–9; and (2) quoted in R. Willis, 1, p. cix.
[314] OUA WP beta/21/5.
[315] OUA WP beta/21/5 and Bodley MS. Rawl. D.397 f. 407v. See also: H.G. Carter *A history of the Oxford University Press* (Oxford, 1975), 1, pp. 82–3.
[316] Exeter College archives, Rector's accounts for Arthur Bury, 1674/1675.
[317] Trinity College archives *Librum Mineravlium* February 167$^{4}/_{5}$.
[318] Oriel College archives benefactors' book BT 1 A/1.

The university press had an extensive list of booksellers in London and the provinces with which it dealt regularly, but whether the press handled sales of *Oxonia Illustrata* to these, or Loggan retained the right to deal with them directly is unknown.[319] Speculative sales to booksellers, probably at a discount of *circa* 30% of the published price, may well have amounted to several hundred more copies, but we can only guess the number produced.[320] At a net price of 20*s*, Loggan would have had to have sold over 700 copies to break even, not allowing for his honorarium and any other payments he may have received from Fell and the plate sponsors. Taking sponsorship into account, this number may have fallen to around 350. Given the number of surviving copies, this seems entirely possible and he must certainly have been sufficiently encouraged to contemplate a similar work for Cambridge.

Loggan became a naturalised British citizen on 31 May 1675.[321] By then his work in Oxford was complete and he had left the city, perhaps having done so the previous year. Thereafter Loggan's professional concerns were in London and Cambridge and there is no evidence that he returned to Oxford. In 1676, he commenced work on *Cantabrigia Illustrata* and engraved Wren's design for the new library at Trinity College, Cambridge, presumably to encourage subscriptions towards the project. Despite his appointment as University Engraver having been only for so long as he should 'tarry in the University', he retained the position until his death in 1692. After this the plates (together with those of *Cantabrigia Illustrata* and his single Sheldonian plate of 1669) passed into the hands of Henry Overton, the London print-seller, who published a second edition around 1706. This was notable for the fact that the impressions were still very clear, suggesting that a comparatively limited number had been printed with great care during the first run of 1675.[322] Loggan's designs were much copied, for example by James Beeverell and Vincenzo Coronelli, especially after his privilege expired in 1690.[323]

The obvious importance of Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* is as a unique record of Oxford in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, just before the boom in new building. Its only precursor was

[319] Falconer Madan, 'Oxford oddments', *The Library*, 9.4 (March 1929), pp. 341–56 (343).
[320] Griffiths, *The print before photography*, pp. 294–6.
[321] R. Willis, 1, pp. cvii–cxiv.
[322] B. Kentish, *Oxonia Illustrata 1675–1900* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 24–5.
[323] (1) James Beeverell, *Les délices de la Grand'Bretagne & d'Irlande; …* (Leiden, [1707]); and (2) Vincenzo Coronelli, *Viaggi del P. Coronelli*. (2 vols., Venice, 1697).

Bereblock's series of more than a century before and his many obviously inaccurate representations give little basis for confidence in the remainder of the detail he purports to show. Pembroke aside, Loggan's work seems to have been highly accurate. *Oxonia Illustrata* is of no less importance as the precursor of his *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, the *Britannia Illustrata* of Kip and Knyff, the *Theatrum Scotiae* of John Slezer, the *Oxonia Depicta* of William Williams and Strype's illustrated edition of Stow's *Survey of London*.[324] While Loggan and his successors may not have accumulated great personal wealth, the evidence that does exist suggests that most of these projects were more or less profitable.

4.4 Oxford building views after Loggan

4.4.1 Michael Burghers

No contemporary account of the life of Burghers has survived. He merits a few words in Walpole's *Catalogue of engravers* and is mentioned in the diaries and notebooks of some of those he lived and worked alongside in Oxford, such as Wood, Hearne and Vertue, but there are few details of his life.[325] A definitive catalogue of his work has never been compiled, but a listing of his more important plates is provided in Table A7.

Burghers was born in Amsterdam and baptised into the Lutheran Church. Petter and Bradshaw describe him as poorly educated, but there seems to be no contemporary evidence for this.[326] When called as a witness in the libel trial of Anthony Wood in 1692, Burghers stated that he was forty years old and had been in Oxford for about twenty years, thus suggesting a birth year of 1652 and arrival in Oxford around 1672, consistent with Walpole's statement that he arrived shortly after the fall of Utrecht to the French.[327] He was naturalised in Oxford on 3 May 1685.[328] On his arrival he worked as a journeyman assistant to Loggan and, with Robert White, is believed to have been one of the

[324] Griffiths, *The print before photography*, p. 188.
[325] (1) Walpole, *Catalogue of Engravers*, pp. 164–5; (2) Wood, *Life and times*; (3) Hearne, C*ollections*; and (4) Vertue, 'Notebooks'.
[326] H.M. Petter and J.R. Bradshaw, 'The Oxford Almanack for 1724', *Oxoniensia*, 60 (1995), pp. 451–6.
[327] Wood, *Life and times*, 4, p. 30.
[328] Historical Manuscripts Commission *The manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1678–1688* (London, 1887), p. 301

engravers of *Oxonia Illustrata*.[329] Loggan moved to London soon after its completion, leaving Burghers with almost a monopoly of engraving business in Oxford, although it was not until three years after Loggan's death in 1692 that he succeeded him as University Engraver, remaining as such until his death. He was not the automatic choice, the position being left open for some time and then apparently advertised by the university press in a somewhat cursory manner in three issues of the *Collection* in 1694.[330] His appointment was confirmed on 7 July 1694, on which day he also subscribed to the 39 Articles. Unlike Loggan and James Green later, he seems never to have matriculated and therefore did not become privileged of the university.[331] In 1695 for the first time he signed his plate for the Almanack as 'M. Burghers Calcog. Univ. Oxon.'[332] Thereafter he usually indicated his connection with the university by adding 'Univ. Oxon.' after his name.

Even while University Engraver, Loggan had not been involved with the Almanacks, which were published annually from 1676, and from the outset the engraving of the plates fell largely to Burghers. The early designs were all by Aldrich, based on classical works, but Burghers may well have had a practical input into some of them and claimed the design for that of 1722, which he signed uniquely 'M. Burghers inven & delin'. His position as University Engraver and physical proximity to the Theatre made him the engraver of choice for its printers, of which he took full advantage by providing many frontispieces, title page illustrations and internal illustrations, including the first illustrated edition (by John Fell) of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.[333] He also engraved a few maps, such as that of Oxfordshire in Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*.[334] During the period from 1683 that the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* were printed in Oxford under the direction of Plot, most of the engravings were done by Burghers. Hearne, who lived in the parish of St Peter's-in-the-East, as did Burghers, thought him both a 'rogue' and 'the best general engraver in England', using him extensively to illustrate his works and travelling with him to sites of interest that he wished Burghers

[329] Hearne, *Collections*, 9, pp. 254–5.
[330] *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 4 (1926), p. 125. The issues of the *Collection* concerned are 118–120, of 2, 9 & 16 Nov 1694
[331] OUA: (1) NEP/subtus/Reg Bc, Register of Convocation, p. 27; and (2) SP/42 f 7r, Register of Subscriptions.
[332] In Oxford, the University Almanack is invariably spelled with a 'k'.
[333] John Milton (ed. John Fell), *Paradise Lost* (London, 1688).
[334] Plot, *Natural history of Oxfordshire*.

to draw and engrave.[335] Hearne was happy to sell separate copies of the prints taken from plates commissioned by him from Burghers to illustrate his editions, for example that of Stunsfield Pavement in volume 8 of Leland's *Itinerary*, writing to John Urry (1666–1715) on 7 August 1712:

> Mr. Burghers's Plate is mightily approv'd of, for which reason I have had supernumerary Copies wrought off, and 'tis to be sold separate, at six pence a Copy to those that take off a Douzen or more, but at 9*d*. to those that take under.[336]

Hearne's enmity towards Burghers had been aroused by him selling privately, and without his permission, copies of prints made from plates that he had commissioned and paid for. He also recorded that Burghers had written anonymously and unjustifiably to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge attempting to dissuade him from employing Benjamin Cole, another of Hearne's acquaintances, who had drawn and engraved maps of the area around Oxford and was being considered for a similar undertaking in Cambridge.[337] Hearne did not subscribe to the dictum of speaking only well of the dead, noting on Burghers' passing that he was a great villain and very debauched. He also recalled in 1728 that Burghers had spent much money on the services of one Jenney Newton, who had just died, a 'great Whore' of the parish of St Peter's.[338]

Hearne's antiquarian friend Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755) was another patron of Burghers, his rooms 'were adorned with copperplate engravings, many of which he commissioned from Michael Burghers', although few of these were of a topographical nature (Ills. 4.367–369).[339] Between 1735 and 1742 Rawlinson employed another engraver, Robert Sheppard (once apprenticed to John Sturt), on several occasions.[340] There is a large collection of copperplates commissioned, or otherwise acquired, by Rawlinson in the Bodleian and eight volumes of prints.[341]

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[335] Hearne, *Collections*, 7, p. 323 & 9, pp. 254–5. Later, Dr Arthur Charlett (1655–1722), Master of University College, forced Hearne to have his printing and engraving done outside of Oxford.
[336] (1) Hearne, *Collections*, 3, p. 425; and (2) A.V. Griffiths 'Notes', *Print Quarterly* 16.4 (Dec 1999), pp. 374-5. Elsewhere (*The print before photography*, p. 190) Griffiths states that Burghers engraved several plates for Hearne's edition of the *Itinerary*, but this is incorrect.
[337] (1) Hearne, *Collections*, 7, p. 323; and (2) N. Valpy, 'Plagiarism in prints The "Musical Entertainer" affair', *Print Quarterly* 6.1 (Mar 1989), pp. 54–9.
[338] Hearne, *Collections*, 10, p. 1.
[339] Quoted in M.B. Pritchard and V.L. Sites, *William Byrd II and his lost history: engravings of the Americas* (Williamsburg, VA, *c*.1993), pp. 15–16. The original source is Brian Enright, 'Richard Rawlinson: collector, antiquary and topographer' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1956), p. 26.
[340] St John's College Library MS. 268, account book of Richard Rawlinson.
[341] The plates are listed in MS. Top. Oxon. d.276 (R.6.236).

Although Burghers' representations of buildings were occasionally subject to criticism, he clearly had some intellectual interest in architecture. This is evidenced by his ownership of Inigo Jones's personal annotated copy of the 1601 folio edition of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, referred to in Cunningham's *Life of Inigo Jones*, which was subsequently purchased by George Clarke and then bequeathed by him to Worcester College.[342] Hearne also makes a note to himself to show to Burghers a book, '*The Painters Journey to Italy*'.[343] This may be a reference to *The painter's voyage of Italy*, an English edition by William Lodge (London, 1679) of Giacomo Barri's *Viaggio Pittoresco* (Venice, 1671).

Another of those for whom Burghers worked was the antiquary Browne Willis, whose opinion of Burghers was not high:

> The Plans of *York*, *Carlisle*, *Durham* and *Chester*, (committed near five Years ago to Mr. *Burghers* now deceased, who had been about fifty Years Engraver to the *University of Oxford*) being done with more Exactness, after the form of the Churches, than Nicety of Work, in my Opinion; when I had got clear of him, to make some Amends, I gave the uprights of them to Mr. [John] *Harris* of London, a more able Workman …[344]

Sir James Thornhill (1675–1734), who provided the Almanacks designs of 1720 and 1721, also considered Burghers a 'bad graver':

> On my arrival last week I found myself favoured wth yours, w^{ch} put me in mind of a promise w^{ch} I do not forget by any means; but my real intention was then & still is if I can prevail to have not only a good Design, but a good print also, w^{ch} is impossible to be done by a bad graver … I do not you may safely perceive say this by way of excuse or delay, but to prevent my being asham'd of a bad Design worse executed w^{ch} I know must be its fate if done as usual.[345]

John Evelyn thought sufficiently well of Burghers that several of his engravings and three rare original drawings of his were contained in a folio collection once owned by him.[346] In later years, also, not everyone was so disdainful. In reference to the engravings of churches and seats in *Parochial Antiquities*, Sir Egerton Brydges (1762–1837) wrote that they were '… distinguished by a certain kind of character like that of the Flemish school of painters, which is exceedingly amusing and

[342] (1) P. Cunningham, *Inigo Jones, a life of the architect* ... (London, 1848), p. 16; and (2) J.A. Gotch, *Inigo Jones* (London, 1928), p. 251.
[343] Hearne, *Collections*, 3, p. 47.
[344] B. Willis, pp. vi–vii. In a letter to Thomas Hearne dated 16 Feb 1726 Browne Willis wrote: 'Harris of London, for whom I have a particular respect, drew it.' Hearne, *Collections*, 9, p. 93.
[345] (1) Petter, pp. 11 & 52–4; and (2) Bodley MS. Ballard 11 f. 122, 1 Jun 1717, letter from Thornhill to John Barron, Vice-Chancellor.
[346] Bodley MS. Auct. V.3.1, the 'Scroop Album'.

attractive.'[347] His illustrations for Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* drew praise from the anonymous editor of *The Topographer*: 'Plot has given a very good view of the south-west front [of Keel Hall], executed by that admirable delineator of houses, Michael Burghers, whose plates are infinitely more gratifying as "portraits" (to use Mr. Gilpin's term) than the pretty pictures of modern artists.'[348] The antiquarian and publisher John Britton (1771–1857) also approved: 'Dr. Plot has given a very excellent view of the west front of this house, executed by that excellent artist Michael Burghers.'[349] Thomas Warton (1728–1790) also had a favourable opinion, albeit with reservations: 'Plot's, though a neat engraving, and in the most finished manner of that excellent architectural sculptor, Michael Burghers, is by no means a faithful and exact representation.'[350]

Nicholas Amhurst (1697–1742), who as 'Terrae-Filius' wrote numerous essays about Oxford and published them as broadsheets in the form of letters addressed to 'Signor Pasquin', had this to say:

> I happened to call upon old *Michael Burghers*, when he was engraving the plate of this [1723] *Political Almanack*, and found him half frighted out of his Wits, lest he should be taken up for it. He desired me to stand his Friend, and to tell him impartially whether I did not think it amounted to *High-Treason*. I have a Respect for the poor old Man, knowing that he would not willingly do anything against the Government, or the King, whom he calls his Countryman, and therefore was willing to ease him of his Fears; which I did by telling him that I believed it could not be proved *High-Treason*, according to the strict Letter of the Law, tho' it evidently contained a traiterous Design.[351]

A description of the 1723 Almanack, which depicted a design for rebuilding Brasenose, has been provided by Petter.[352] Two plates were engraved, one by Burghers and one by George Vertue, which differed in several details. In Vertue's, one of the foreground figures was clearly recognisable as Charles I, whereas in that of the nervous Burghers the character was anonymous.

An example of the quality that Burghers could demonstrate is provided by his plate of Pembroke, which had been illustrated incorrectly by Loggan. The receipt still exists in the college archives: 'Apr.

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[347] (1) White Kennett, *Parochial antiquities attempted in the history of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent parts in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks …* (Oxford, 1695); and (2) Sir Samuel Brydges *Censura literaria …* (10 vols., London, 1805–9), 4, p. 265.
[348] 'Excursion from Newcastle to Stone, in Staffordshire', *The Topographer*, 1.2 (May 1789), pp. 63–9 (64). William Gilpin (1724–1804) was an English artist and author, known as one of the originators of the Picturesque movement.
[349] John Britton (ed.), *The beauties of England and Wales …* (19 vols., London, 1801–15), 13, pt. 2, p. 935.
[350] Thomas Warton, *History and antiquities of Kiddington*, 3rd ed. (London, 1815), p. 16.
[351] 'Terrae-Filius' ('Son of the land', otherwise Nicholas Amhurst) in *Pasquin*, 17 Apr 1723. See: Nicholas Amhurst (ed. W.E. Rivers), *Terrae-Filius: or, the secret history of the University of Oxford* (Newark, DE, 2004).
[352] Petter, p. 54.

18, 1700. Rec'd. then of y^e^ Right Reverend y^e^ Master of Pembroke College y^e^ sum of twelve pounds three shillings for drawing and engraving Pemb: Coll: and for y^e^ copper plate. I say rec^d^. by me, Michael Burghers, 12 3*s*. 0*d*.'[353] The total number of prints taken was 475, of which the last 125 cost 27*s*. The price of 243*s* charged for the plate may be compared with the estimate of 358*s* for the slightly larger plates in *Oxonia Illustrata* (Table 4). The cost per printed sheet of a little over 2½*d*, covering paper, ink and the printer's profit, is consistent with other estimates.

The important series of plates by Burghers, either produced speculatively or commissioned in connection with Oxford building projects, will be described in Chapter 5. Although generally on a smaller scale, the topographical book illustrations engraved by Burghers for Hearne are also of importance, mostly showing buildings that were never engraved by Loggan or Williams (for a list of such engravings by Burghers and Benjamin Cole for Hearne, see Table A8).

Prior to 1674, title pages of books printed at the Theatre were often illustrated by a crude woodcut of the university arms within a starburst, this design being elaborated upon as time went on and copper replaced wood.[354] In 1675 a new title page appeared in Nepos' *Vitae excellentium imperatorum*, showing the Theatre itself from the north (Ill. 4.168a). This design, attributed to Burghers, could vary in size and detail from book to book, but persisted until at least 1699. It was not, however, the only design used for this purpose. A more complex variant by Burghers (based on the title page of *Oxonia Illustrata*), still showing the north of the Sheldonian Theatre, but with the Bodleian to the left, the Ashmolean to the right and Minerva in the foreground, first appeared around 1682/3 (Pearson's *Cyprianici annales* and Plot's *Natural history of Staffordshire*) and also continued in use until at least 1695 (Ills. 3.29–30). The earlier version clearly shows the old buildings to the east of the Theatre still standing before their demolition to make way for the Clarendon Building. A simplified version of this, without the figure of Minerva, was used by Burghers as one of the visual ornaments in the 'Encyclopaedia', a calendar of lectures and curriculum published by him in 1709 (Ill. 4.119). The south side of the Theatre was shown on the title page of Hickes' 1705 *Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus*

[353] D. Macleane, *History of Pembroke College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1897), pp. 274–5.
[354] See: *Pietas Universitatis Oxoniensis in obitum augustissimae & desideratissimae Reginae Mariae* (Oxford, 1695).

(Ill. 4.83b) and the north side of the Bodleian in Bernard's 1697 *Catalogi* (Ill. 4.176a), both often re-used. The removal of the press from the Theatre to the Clarendon Building required another engraving for title pages and in fact Burghers designed two, one showing the new building from the north and one from the north-east (Ills. 4.173–174).[355] The Theatre also appears in the background to the frontispieces of Wood's *Historia et antiquitates* (1674), engraved by Robert White (Ill. 4.348), and Wise's *Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis* (1750), engraved by James Green (Ill. 4.350).

Burghers died in 1727 and was succeeded as University Engraver by George Vertue, who had engraved one or more of the Almanack plates from 1722 to 1724. In 1725 and 1726 Burghers' eyesight had declined to the extent that the Almanacks were designed by William Williams. Burghers' health generally had been failing for some years, but Hearne's view was that he would have survived for longer had his daughter and son-in-law, with whom he was by then living and to whom he had entrusted his affairs, treated him better and arranged earlier for medical treatment.[356] Hearne thought that Burghers' rolling press had been the cause of much of his wickedness and in 1725 had penned a short address to be given on the occasion of its burning, which he considered to be a suitable fate. [357] Curiously the press was not among the inventory of his possessions prepared after his death and the fate of the '61 copper plates and a few prints' he left is unknown.[358]

Probably because Burghers' was not responsible for producing a single work on the scale of *Oxonia Illustrata* or *Depicta*, he has not been considered as important a figure in the context of Oxford engraving as Loggan or Williams. This is unfair in terms of both the quantity, quality and variety of his oeuvre. He contributed by far the largest number of Almanack and architectural engravings of Oxford, over 70 during the period 1673 to 1726. Although Petter and others have commented positively on his contributions in respect of the Almanacks, his aggregate contribution has never really been appreciated. Leaving aside the shenanigans of his daughter and son-in-law towards the end of his

[355] See: Johannes Asser (ed. Francis Wise), *Alfredi Magnia Auctore Asserio Menevensi …* (Oxford, 1722).
[356] Hearne, *Collections*, 9, pp. 254–5.
[357] Hearne, *Collections*, 8, pp. 366–7.
[358] OUA Hyp/B/11 ff. 48–9, 29 Apr 1727.

life, he seems to have enjoyed a comfortable financial position in his later years, perhaps because he never put his capital at risk by engaging in a project such as *Oxonia Illustrata* or *Depicta*.

4.4.2 William Williams and *Oxonia Depicta*

William Williams appeared in Oxford around 1724.[359] From 1722 to 1724 one plate each of the Almanacks had been engraved by Burghers and Vertue, the latter having become involved due to the declining eyesight of Burghers, which seems to have failed almost entirely by 1725. The design credentials of Williams, perhaps based on work now lost, were sufficient that he was assigned the commission for producing the Almanacks of 1725 and 1726 (Ills. 4.266–267), both of which were engraved by John Harris (the scenes) and William Hulett (the calendar). Burghers died in 1727 and Williams may well have hoped to be appointed University Engraver on his death, but this was not to be, Vertue being appointed to the vacancy almost immediately. Williams disappeared after the publication of *Oxonia Depicta* in 1733. He has been variously described as an 'architect' or a 'designer' (with no supporting evidence for either) and is often assumed to have been an engraver, since on some of the prints in *Oxonia Depicta* only his name appears (on others the name of an engraver is explicitly mentioned). Several of the engravers employed by Williams were London based, including John Harris and W.H. Toms. Despite negligible information on his life in standard reference works, it is possible to piece together rather more of his life than his sojourn in Oxford, mainly because of an obituary that appeared in the list of deaths in the January 1740 [o/s 1739] edition of the *Gentleman's Magazine*: 'Mr. William Williams, at Hathertin, near Namptwich, Cheshire, of a Gout in his Stomach. He was the Author of *Oxonia Depicta*, and a Map of Flint and Denbighshire.'[360]

Hathertin (now Hatherton) is a hamlet around four miles south-east of what is now Nantwich in Cheshire, only a few miles from the border with Flintshire. The highly decorated *New Map of the Counties of Denbigh and Flint* published *c*.1720 on a scale of one inch to one mile was the first large

[359] (1) E. Potten, 'William Henry Toms, engraver and copper-plate printer', *The Bookplate Journal*, 7.2 (Sep 2009), pp. 118–9; and (2) G. Walters, 'Themes in the large scale mapping of Wales in the eighteenth century', *The Cartographic Journal*, 5.2 (December 1968), pp. 135–46.

[360] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 9 (1739), p. 46. A handwritten note in the files of the Flintshire Record Office gives his date of death as 27 December 1739, but this has not been corroborated from parish or probate records. A William Williams, 'son of Thomas Williams, of Namptwich, Esq.', possibly related, was elected a fellow of Brasenose College on 20 May 1740 (*Daily Gazetteer*, 3 Jun 1740).

scale map of these counties (Ill. 2.44). The map has been described in detail by Walters.[361] The engraver of the map was John Sennex (1678–1740), originally from Ludlow, Shropshire. He was a prolific and highly regarded engraver of maps and globes, so it is very unlikely that Williams played any part in the engraving of the four copper plates from which the map was printed, leaving his possible contribution as artistic designer, or surveyor (or both). The former is certainly likely given his subsequent involvement with *Oxonia Depicta*. The latter is also probable given his documented involvement with at least half a dozen other mapping projects.[362] The earliest estate maps produced by Williams predate the Oxford project and he continued to undertake at least one while working on *Oxonia Depicta*, later returning to estate surveying in Wales and Cheshire.

Following the printing of the second edition of Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, the plates had doubtless reached the end of their working life and any further illustrated work on Oxford would require new engravings. There had also been many alterations to the colleges and university buildings since Loggan's day. Although the idea does not seem to have been actively promoted by the university, it may well have been that by the mid-1720s the Vice-Chancellor (John Mather of Corpus Christi, 1723–8) was happy to encourage a proposal for a new volume of illustrations. The idea for such a project probably brought Williams to Oxford in the first place and his negotiations commenced as early as February 1725 (o/s 1724), at which time he would have been working on the design for his second Almanack. However, it was not until 6 January 1728 (o/s 1727) that the first prospectus for his work with a subscription list appeared, to comprise 60 plates 'much larger than Mr. Loggan's' at three guineas a set upon royal paper (*circa* 20 x 25 in), and six guineas imperial (*circa* 22 x 30 in), with various incentives for the purchase of multiple sets, including duplicates of the larger plates 'being proper Furniture for Halls, Stair-cases, &c'.[363] Specimens of the plates were by then already available and the plan was for publication to be complete within five months. The subscription deposits were secured by a bond entered into with two trustees, one of whom was Mather. The names of 101 subscribers were printed on the prospectus and the copy at Chetham's Library contains an additional

[361] Walters, pp. 135–46.
[362] See Bendall.
[363] See copy in Chetham's Library, Manchester, HP H.P.862.

five names in ink, possibly added by Williams himself. The plates being larger than those in *Oxonia Illustrata* would have been more expensive to produce, probably at least 400*s* each. With sixty plates the total cost of the investment would have been at least £1200, requiring the sale of around 400 sets to break even (not allowing for any discounts made available to book and print sellers).

The following year, after his original self-imposed deadline of June 1728, he advertised in the press with several differences, including four more plates and an increased number of duplicates.[364] The cost had also been adjusted and was now a guinea a set on elephant paper (*circa* 23 x 28 in), although still six guineas on imperial. There was a new delivery date, of October 1728. He noted: 'There will be a Plan copy'd from a Survey made in Queen Elizabeth's Days to shew the Alterations and Improvements done since', confirming that the 'new' ichnographic plan was also based on Agas' survey. His revised completion estimate was still hopelessly optimistic and the full set of plates was not available until 1733, which cannot have been a surprise given its scale and the fact that Loggan's project had taken ten years. The result did not impress Hearne, whose opinion of Williams was very low, thinking him 'a sorry fellow' and his drawings 'miserably done, he being neither an expert drawer nor engraver'.[365] There were 221 entries in the final list of subscribers, compared with 101 in the printed prospectus, plus the five added by hand. This would still have been far short of the number of sales needed to break even, especially at the lower price for the less expensive edition. Nine of the names in the original prospectus cannot be identified in the final list, so the number of additional subscribers in the six years was 124. Comprising also numerous members of the aristocracy and church, the subscribers included antiquarians such as John Conybeare, Dean of Christ Church, so Hearne's somewhat jaundiced opinion of Williams was obviously not shared by all. George Clarke, another subscriber, even directed in his will and codicils that alterations to All Souls and Worcester should be carried out according to the relevant prints in *Oxonia Depicta*.[366]

Of the 66 plates, three comprised a title page in Latin, an introduction and a combined table of plates/list of subscribers. The introduction included a dedication to the Chancellor (Charles, Earl of

[364] *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 3 Aug 1728.
[365] Hearne, *Collections*, 8, pp. 186–7 & 11, p. 246.
[366] NA PCC probate registry 11/680.

Arran), the Steward (Henry, Earl of Clarendon), the Vice-Chancellor (William Holmes, President of St John's College) and other officers of the university. Williams goes on to refer to the completion of his 'septennial' work having been delayed by bad health, which had assailed him from the very beginning of the project, and for which he had attempted to compensate by including four extra plates. A full list of the plates is contained in Table A9 (Ills. 4.193–258).

The work included two prospects of Oxford, a facsimile of the Agas/Ryther plan and an ichnographic plan showing the present state of the city (already described in Chapters 2 and 3). The other plates were also all double pages, except for one larger folding page with a composite view of the Clarendon Building, Sheldonian Theatre, Old Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library and figures in academic dress. In a few cases the views are re-engravings of those in Loggan, sometimes with minor changes. In some plates the gardens of the colleges concerned figure prominently (for example, Corpus Christi, New College, St John's, Trinity and Wadham). In other cases, as described below, the buildings shown do not represent buildings that actually existed, but plans for new buildings or redesigns of old ones. For several colleges more than one view is provided, or different designs are combined on a single plate, often comprising prospects (bird's-eye views, or scenographies), plans (ichnographies) and elevations (orthographies). This is an idea developed earlier by Burghers.

Some of the plates were issued individually for advertising purposes or for 'furniture' without plate numbers as they were engraved and printed, but in most editions of the book all of the plates are numbered as per the table of plates.[367] The plates not etched/engraved by Williams are by W.H. Toms, John Sturt, William Thorpe and members of the Parr family (Nathaniel and Richard). This group is notable in that none was Dutch, or Dutch-trained.[368] The extensive use of other engravers would have necessitated hard cash for their wages, rather than just the investment of Williams' own time, making the subscription deposits and sponsorship important. Although Williams was based in Oxford, it is apparent that he was familiar with London engravers and members of the print and book trade.

[367] Nash, 4, p. 2409.
[368] According to the *Benezit dictionary of British graphic artists and illustrators* (2 vols., Oxford, 2012), Sturt was a pupil of Robert White and Nathaniel Parr (*c*.1705–1751) a pupil of William Hulett; Richard Parr (*c*.1707–1754) was apprenticed to William Hulett (*c*.1690–1730) in 1722 (Barber, p. 110).

A peculiarity of *Oxonia Depicta* is that some of the buildings represented were not existing structures, but proposals for new buildings, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Several examples have been noted, including: All Souls (Ills. 4.222–224); Magdalen (Ills. 4.225–227); Brasenose (Ills. 4.228–30); and Worcester (Ills. 4.250–251).[369] Another example, not previously discussed, is the proposed north range of St Edmund Hall, which was never built in the form shown by Williams (Ill. 4.254). The part of the north range to the east of the sundial was built *c.*1596 during the Principalship of Thomas Bowsfield (1581–1601); that to the west was built *c.*1746 by Thomas Shaw (1740–51). Henry Felton (1722–40) had intended to replace the whole north range, including the ruinous medieval buildings at the western end in 'correct but dull' Palladian style as shown by Williams.[370] Funds did not permit this and, after refurbishing the eastern half of the north range, Shaw demolished the western half and rebuilt it, closely copying Bowsfield's design of the eastern end. He sent to Robert Thomlinson, his principal benefactor, an 'Ichnography of the whole, with an Upright of that Part of it which makes half the side of the Quadrangle', but this has not survived.[371]
The artist who drew the Williams engraving is unknown, but it may have been Robert Speakman 'expert in the Art of Surveying, and being well skill'd also in drawing Mapps' or his brother Thomas ('joyner'), whom Hearne observed measuring the range in 1727 and who became privileged of the university in 1723.[372]

While the general opinion is that *Oxonia Depicta* is a poor imitation of *Oxonia Illustrata*, its importance has tended to be underestimated. It was produced at a time when schemes for rebuilding Oxford's colleges were rife and in cases such as St Edmund Hall it provides a unique depiction of the scheme concerned. With two exceptions, Wadham and Pembroke, Loggan's designs tended to show little detail of college gardens, whereas Williams showed several of these. The composite plate of the university buildings is quite the equal of anything by Loggan. While Loggan's plates were almost all embellished with staffage, Williams's were not, which may be explained by his emphasis on

[369] (1) Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, pp. 46, 54, 81n & 86; and (2) J. Buchan *Brasenose College* (London, 1898), p. 82.
[370] J.N.D. Kelly, *St Edmund Hall: almost seven hundred years* (Oxford, 1989), p. 58.
[371] H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Building work on the north range of the front quadrangle of St. Edmund Hall, 1741–8' *Oxoniensia*, 63 (1993), pp. 287–304 (299).
[372] (1) Hearne, *Collections*, 9, pp. 92–3 & 373; OUA SP/8 1 Feb 1723.

architectural subjects, or a wish to avoid additional costs. Unlike Loggan the results of the efforts of Williams in Oxford did not result in a similar project for Cambridge, supporting the conclusion that the Oxford project was not a financial success. Outside the *Oxonia Depicta* and Almanack engravings and the map of North Wales, it has not been possible to identify any other engravings attributable to Williams. With his failure to be appointed University Engraver, Williams had little reason to remain in Oxford after the publication of *Oxonia Depicta* and may have moved to London. From 1727 to 1751 Vertue signed all of the Almanacks, except for 1732 and 1733, several of the designs ironically being copies from *Oxonia Depicta*.[373]

4.4.3 The Oxford University Almanacks

The importance of the Oxford University Almanack has been noted. Burghers had much to do with the Almanack, but also made many other contributions to Oxford engraving. The next engraver/designer to be considered, George Vertue, had virtually no connection with Oxford other than through the Almanack, despite being appointed University Engraver on Burghers' death, so this is a convenient point at which to address the importance of almanacs in general (usually without a 'k') and the Oxford University Almanack in particular (invariably with a 'k').

Writing a century ago, Bosanquet made the claim that the almanac has been the most popular book in the English language for 350 years – in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries comprising half of the entire family library (along with the Bible).[374] Bosanquet's original work dealt with the period to 1600 and described not only almanacs, but also calendars and prognostications.[375] By the middle of the sixteenth century, almanacs, calendars and prognostications started to be bound together in a booklet format convenient to be carried about. Broadsheet almanacs continued to be published alongside the composite booklets and, although most were then printed in London, one was printed in 1518 by John Scholar of Oxford.

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[373] Petter, p. 12.
[374] E.F. Bosanquet, *English printed almanacks and prognostications: a bibliographical history to the year 1600* (London, 1917), p. vii.
[375] E.F. Bosanquet: (1) 'English printed almanacks and prognostications: a bibliographical history to the year 1600: addenda and corrigenda', *The Library*, 8.4 (Mar 1928), pp. 456–77; and (2) 'Notes on further addenda to *English printed almanacks and prognostications to 1600*', *The Library*, 18.1 (Jun 1937), pp. 39–66.

By 1583 the Stationers Company in London had a patent for the printing of single-sheet almanacs, but this was extended to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge during the early 1600s.[376] Oxford was granted the right to print almanacs in 1632 and was certainly exercising this right by 1637. Shortly thereafter Oxford gave up its right to print almanacs to the Stationers for an annual payment of £200. With one exception, this agreement seems to have been adhered to. In 1672 Oxford modified its agreement with the Stationers to allow it to print single-sheet almanacs.

Although 1674 is usually given as the first year of production for the Oxford University Almanack, a simple single-sheet almanac illustrated by woodcuts was actually produced in 1673 to accompany a composite booklet almanac written by Maurice Wheeler, a minor canon of Christ Church.[377] For many years a statement by Anthony Wood that around 30,000 copies were sold was taken at face value, apparently demonstrating its success.[378] In fact, 20,500 copies of the booklet and 15,000 of the sheet almanac were printed at the press and sold to the Stationers for almost £50, which promptly burnt them to avoid competition with their own almanacs.[379] No copies of the sheet almanac have survived and the booklet is extremely rare.

The first 'official' Oxford University Almanack thus appeared in 1674, comprising astronomical, calendar and regnal data integrated within various elements of the design. The designer was Robert Streater (1621–1679), appointed Serjeant-Painter to Charles II in 1663, who also decorated the ceiling of the Sheldonian Theatre. The engraver was Robert White, well-connected with Oxford through his work for David Loggan.[380] There was no edition of 1675, but from 1676 they appeared annually and the Almanack data was presented in a single table with separate ornamentation based on classical designs. From 1676 Burghers was responsible for engraving the illustrations, although George Edwards may well have been initially responsible for the engraving of the calendars. The Almanack

[376] E.F. Bosanquet, 'English seventeenth-century almanacks', *The Library*, 10.4 (Mar 1930), pp. 361–97.
[377] B.F. Capp, *Astrology and the popular press: English almanacs 1500–1800* (Ithaca, NY, 1979), p. 28.
[378] Petter, pp. 2–3.
[379] Madan, 'Oxford oddments', pp. 345–6.
[380] Petter, pp. 3–4. See also: (1) *A century and a half of designs engraved for the Oxford Almanack for the years 1716–1865* (2 vols., Oxford, [1866]); and (2) J.R. Bradshaw, 'A classification by subject of the Oxford Almanacks 1674–1991', *Oxoniensia*, 56 (1991), pp. 131–44.

was available in Oxford and through London print sellers, with advertisements periodically appearing in the press and Term Catalogues.

Maidment has described the Oxford University Almanacks as 'self-consciously glamorous and sophisticated'.[381] If Maidment means deliberately glamorous, he is probably correct. Fell, who led the publication process, would have seen the Almanack as a means of advertising Oxford's sophistication as well as a means of generating income for his fledgling press. The single-sheet almanacs with which Oxford competed were often of poor quality in terms of content (risible prognostications), illustrations (generally woodcuts), typography and paper. The new Oxford Almanack had to bear 'all the marks of dignity, scholarship, and quality consistent with the production of a learned body'.[382] What Fell notably did not do was use the Almanack to publicise the architecture of the university and its colleges, which he may well have felt he had done adequately by encouraging Loggan's publication of *Oxonia Illustrata* in 1675. In delegating the design process to Aldrich from 1676, Fell chose a man of broad interests, with a particular fondness for engravings of Renaissance art.[383]

Actual buildings in Oxford and designs for them did not begin to replace or supplement the largely allegorical subject matter of the illustrations until 1714, with Hawksmoor's designs for the hall of All Souls and the Clarendon Building (Ill. 4.261), and the process was not complete until 1723 (Brasenose, Ill. 4.264) with Christ Church following in 1724 and 1725 (Ills. 4.265–266). In the interim, there had been a representation of Hawksmoor's proposed *Forum Universitatis* in 1715 (Ill. 3.70) and another depiction of the Clarendon Building in 1720 (Ill. 4.263). There had been several earlier occasions in which prospects of Oxford were used in the background of Almanacks.

In 1720 and 1721 Burghers was the engraver of only one of the two plates, the others being contributed by, respectively, Claude du Bosc (1682–1745) and Gerard van der Gucht (1696–1776). Gerard van der Gucht was one of the thirty-two children of Michael van der Gucht (1660–1725), who engraved one of Hawksmoor's six engravings of designs of All Souls College. Among his other works

[381] B. Maidment, 'Beyond usefulness and ephemerality: the discursive almanac, 1828–1860' in Jung, pp. 158–94 (159).
[382] Petter, p. 3.
[383] The modest portfolio of Aldrich's Oxford architectural prints, Ch Ch X3, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

were a set of engravings from the paintings in the cupola of St Paul's Cathedral by Sir James Thornhill. The Almanack for 1722 was doubly unusual, in that it was apparently uniquely designed by Burghers and for the first time one of the plates was engraved by Vertue, who, like Gerard van der Gucht and his brother Jan, had been a pupil of their father. It is likely that Vertue also engraved at least one of the plates in each of the two following years. The designs for the Almanacks of 1725 and 1726 (Ills. 4.266–267) were provided by Williams, with John Harris and William Hulett as engravers, although he employed neither of these in his *Oxonia Depicta* project, which by then may have been under consideration. A list of Almanacks with architectural interest between 1683 and 1759, together with their designers and engravers, is provided in Table A10. Many original designs for Oxford Almanacks are held in the Ashmolean Museum.

4.4.4 George Vertue

The life of George Vertue is well documented, not only through his own notebooks, but through the diaries and letters of his contemporaries and through the monographs and catalogues he published in his own lifetime.[384] An account of his life is contained in Walpole's edition of Vertue's notes on engravers.[385] More recently his engraved work has been examined by Alexander.[386] Whereas Loggan, Burghers and Williams are known primarily as artist/engravers and have their names inextricably linked with Oxford, Vertue's skills were broader and his links with London were more important than those with Oxford. Born in London, he was apprenticed to an heraldic silver engraver, Blaise Gentot, at the age of thirteen and, after a period of study under the portrait painter Thomas Gibson (1680–1751), worked for seven years for Michael van der Gucht.[387] Alongside his formal training, he developed important interests in antiquarianism and the history of art. In his travels around Britain, he accumulated over forty notebooks containing his observations, often accompanied by detailed drawings. His interests led to his appointment as engraver to the Society of Antiquaries in 1717, the

[384] See: (1) M. Myrone, 'Vertue, George', *DNB* http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/28252 [accessed 18 Jul 2013]; and (2) I. Bignamini, 'George Vertue, art historian', *Walpole Society*, 54 (1988), pp. 2–18.
[385] Walpole, *A catalogue of engravers*.
[386] D. Alexander, 'George Vertue as an engraver', *Walpole Society*, 70 (Leeds, 2008), p. 207–517.
[387] (1) A. Grimwade, 'The master of George Vertue', *Apollo Magazine*, 127 (1988), pp. 83–9; and (2) Myrone, 'Vertue, George (1684–1756)'.

year of its re-foundation. Most of the engravings in the Society's *Vetusta Monumenta*, a series of volumes containing illustrated papers on ancient buildings, were executed by Vertue, until his death.

Among Vertue's many contacts were Robert Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford (1689–1741), and George Clarke. It is most likely through these connections that Vertue was employed by the university press, initially as an assistant engraver to Burghers and, on his death in 1727, University Engraver. He never moved to Oxford and his Almanack plates were engraved in London. The first Almanack to which Vertue contributed was that of 1722. It was an allegorical design by Burghers and Vertue seems to have had a hand in engraving two of the four plates.[388] Vertue's name appears on one of the four plates of Brasenose in 1723 and, although his name is absent from the plates, he was paid for one of those of Christ Church in 1724.[389] He was not involved as an engraver in the Williams plates of 1725 and 1726. From 1727 to 1751 he signed all of the Almanacks except for 1732 and 1733, his annual fee usually being £50. On several occasions he re-used designs that had originally appeared in *Oxonia Depicta*, or used architectural designs drawn up for the rebuilding of colleges such as Magdalen.[390] For the 'original' designs, the artist was usually 'Mr. Green'. Soon after James Gibbs was selected as architect of the Radcliffe Library by the trustees of John Radcliffe, they caused a short brochure to be published containing five illustrations of the proposed building engraved by Vertue (discussed in Chapter 5).[391]

The only other significant Oxford engraving with which Vertue's name is associated is that of Antiquity Hall, one of the names given to a 'pot-house' in the parish of St Thomas, on the south side of and standing back from the street leading from Hythe Bridge to Rewley (Ill. 4.184). The name Antiquity Hall may have derived from its real antiquity, as observed by Skelton, but it was also associated anecdotally with Hearne.[392] The engraver of the plate is not known with certainty, but on the back of a copy in the Bodleian Library is a note dated 25 September 1765 signed by John Price, Bodley's Librarian from 1768 until 1813:

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[388] Petter, p. 53.
[389] Bodley MS. W.P. beta 21/6 Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1697–1735.
[390] Petter, p. 12.
[391] [James Gibbs], *Bibliotheca Radcliffiana* (Oxford, [1737] and [1740]).
[392] (1) Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 2, pl. 126 (notes); and (2) T. Wharton *A companion to the guide, and a guide to the companion: being a complete supplement to all the accounts of Oxford hitherto published* ..., 3rd edn. (London, 1762), pp. 21–2.

> This print was given me by the Rev. Mr. [Francis] Wise, formerly fellow of Trinity College, now Keeper of the Archives, and Head Librarian of the Radcliffe Library. There were very few printed. It was done by Vertue, at his and Bp. [Thomas] Tanner's expence.[393]

However, Gibson believed the plate to have been engraved by Burghers at the behest of Wise and one 'Tristam' of Pembroke College.[394] Vertue's skill as an engraver is undoubted and all of the Almanack plates for which he was responsible were of high quality, but his contribution to original images of the city and university was minimal.

4.4.5 James Green

James Green was responsible for the design and/or engraving of all of the Almanacks between 1752 and 1759 (Ills. 4.293–298). At least three artists/engravers with the surname Green were working in Oxford from the 1730s to the 1760s.[395] The earliest, 'Mr Green' (possibly with the given name William), was paid for several designs for the Almanack between 1737 and 1751, all engraved by Vertue, most of which were derivative of original designs by Loggan, Burghers and Williams. The second, James Green (1729–1759), was one of six sons of William Green of Halesowen. It is not known if his father was the William responsible for the earlier Almanack designs. Walpole believed that James had trained under James Basire, but incorrectly believed his given name to have been John.[396] Benjamin Green (1739–1798), a younger brother of James, engraved the Almanacks between 1760 and 1762. James' Almanack work was at least as professional as that of his immediate predecessor as University Engraver and of greater originality.

In 1751, Edward Rowe Mores was acting as archivist of Queen's College and commissioned three drawings from Green of the old gateway and 'Black Prince's apartment' of Queen's College in what is now Queen's Lane, almost opposite the entrance to St Edmund Hall.[397] Until at least 1921, all three were hanging in the Provost's study at Queen's and have been described by Magrath and Vallance

[393] See: Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 2, pl. 126 (notes).
[394] Strickland Gibson, 'Francis Wise, B. D.: Oxford antiquary, librarian, and archivist' in *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1936), pp. 173–95 (173). 'Tristram' may be the little-known William Tristram (1706–?), who matriculated at Pembroke in 1723.
[395] See Munby, 'James (not John) Green (1729–59), Engraver to the University', pp. 319–21.
[396] Walpole, *Catalogue of engravers*, p. 242.
[397] J. Makala, 'Mores, Edward Rowe', *DNB* http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/19203 [accessed 27 Oct 2015]. Makala states that 'At Oxford he [Mores] had made over thirty engravings of architectural elements of the university', but it has not been possible to substantiate this.

(Ills 4.338–340).[398] These three drawings were also engraved by Green and signed 'J. Green delin & sculp Oxon 1751', adding two staffage figures in the main illustration. Between 1751 and 1757, Green produced over thirty additional drawings of mediaeval Oxford buildings, all of which were subsequently to be demolished or altered. The originals of 28 of these drawings have survived and are arguably of greater importance than Green's Almanack contributions. Bodley MS. Gough 50 is a leather-bound portfolio of 28 approximately foolscap-size pen and ink landscape format drawings, one is initialled 'J.G.' [24] and another is signed 'J Green delin' [18], but it is highly likely that all are by James Green. A list of the drawings is provided in Table A11 (Ills. 4.308–335). Mores may also have commissioned the drawings in MS. Gough 50, but there is no surviving evidence of this (despite the comment in the *DNB* entry) and Nicholls states categorically that they were purchased (possibly from Rowe Mores, or his estate) and given to the Bodleian by Richard Gough (1735–1809), incorrectly stating that they were drawn by 'that very ingenious artist B. Green'.[399] Nicholls also refers to an engraved drawing of Godstow Nunnery and a drawing of Iffley Church done for Rowe Mores (Ill. 4.337), without attributing them to Green. Whilst it may have been the intention of Green, or Mores, for the drawings in MS. Gough 50 to have been engraved and published as a set, this did not occur. Several were, however, used by Skelton for engravings in *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*.[400]

A drawing of the old Town Hall *c*.1751 is contained in Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.14 (Ill. 4.336). This is a leather-bound folio into which have been pasted 36 pen and ink drawings. A list of the drawings is provided in Table A12. Several of the drawings appear to be copies of the Green drawings in MS. Gough 50, especially those on pages 5, 15 and 20. The dates of 1751/52 given on some of the drawings may therefore be of the originals copied, rather than the copies themselves. The drawing of

[398] See: (1) Magrath, 1, pp. xx & xxiv and 2, p. xiii; and (2) Vallance, *The old colleges of Oxford*, p. 31. Vallance incorrectly dates the drawings to *c*.1720, before Green was born, while Magrath suggests the buildings were demolished by 1735. Although the High Street screen and the southernmost part of the east range of the south quadrangle were built in 1733–35 (necessitating the demolition of some houses on the west side of the southern end of Queen's Lane), the northern part of the range was not completed until 1757 and these buildings probably stood until then.
[399] J. Nichols, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century comprising biographical memoirs of William Bowyer, printer and many of his learned friends …* (6 vols., London, 1812), 5, pp. 389–405.
[400] Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*.

the old Town Hall on page 16 is in a different style and, unlike most of the others, is not enclosed within a ruled ink frame. It is possible that this was actually drawn by Green.

Green also worked for another antiquarian, Francis Wise of Trinity College. For him he engraved the title page and frontispiece of his book *Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis* (Ills. 4.346 and 4.350), the latter an allegorical scene with the Sheldonian Theatre and Old Ashmolean in the background after a design by James Wale.[401] The title page engraving is a contrived view from the east showing St Mary's Church, the Radcliffe Library (with Brasenose beyond), the Schools, the Sheldonian Theatre and the Clarendon Building. A reduced version of the Wise title page was used by Green in 1754 for Rotheram's *Truth of Christianity* (Ill. 4.345).[402] His engraving of Christ Church garden exists in two versions, of which the larger and rarer is very impressive (Ills. 4.365–366).

Green was also the engraver of the plates that appeared in the first illustrated 'pocket' Oxford guide and companion, probably published in 1753.[403] This contained 112 pages of text and only four illustrations: a very small engraving of the Radcliffe Library and page-sized plates of the north front of Magdalen College New Building, the garden quadrangle of New College (after Burghers) and Christ Church Peckwater Quadrangle (after Burghers). A 'new and enlarged' edition was published in 1759 with 132 pages of text, lacking the very small Radcliffe engraving, but now including a folding plan based on Taylor's map of 1751 (engraved by Benjamin Green) and additional page-sized plates of the Sheldonian Theatre, the Radcliffe Library, Queen's south front and Merton College from the Meadows (Ills. 2.39 and 4.351–358).[404] The engraving of the New Building at Magdalen was also changed, the old north view being substituted by a south view that was in some respects reminiscent of the style of Donowell. James Green had died between the publication of these editions and it is unclear whether Benjamin Green replaced him as engraver on all of the new plates. Later editions contained

[401] Wise, *Nummorum antiquorum*.
[402] John Rotheram, *A sketch of the one great argument, formed from the several concurring evidences, for the truth of Christianity* (Oxford, 1754).
[403] John Ayliffe, *The ancient and present state of the University of Oxford …* (London, 1723).
[404] *A pocket companion or guide through the University* (Oxford, [1753], 1759, etc.). There was an equivalent guide for Cambridge no later than 1763.

even more plates. The real growth in these guides did not occur until the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

Green recorded buildings that had escaped the notice of Loggan, Burghers and Williams and were practically indistinguishable in the Agas/Ryther map and its later facsimiles. These included several of the smaller halls and four of the gates, all of which would be demolished within a short time. He was also the first to record several of the city's churches, although the majority of these have survived more or less intact.

Green's entry in Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis* and his death notice in the *London Magazine* both describe him as 'engraver to the university', in succession to George Vertue.[405] He is also described as such in a report of his election to the Society of Antiquaries and his appointment as its engraver on Vertue's death 'from the Superiority of his Specimens'.[406] A short obituary noted that he was 'A young man whose genius in his profession entitles him to be classed among the first artists.'[407]

There is a drawing of Queen's by George Bellas, a fellow, from around this period (Ill. 4.341). Although bearing a similarity to the same view by Green, it seems to be drawn from 'life', rather than a simple copy of his drawing.

4.4.6 John Donowell and the *Views of Oxford*

Donowell was a little-known, eighteenth-century British architect, draftsman and engraver, most notable for his architectural work at West Wycombe Park in Buckinghamshire, where he appears to have been influenced by the works of Colen Campbell. The plan and elevation of West Wycombe Park in the fifth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1761) bear his name as architect.[408] He is considered to be the equivalent of Thomas Sandby and Thomas Malton as one of the principal architect-draftsmen

[405] (1) *Alumni Oxonienses, 1715–1886*, 2, p. 556; and (2) *London Magazine, or Gentlemen's monthly intelligencer*, 28 (1759), p. 52.
[406] *London Evening Post*, 8 Feb 1757.
[407] *London Chronicle*, 23 Jan 1759.
[408] J. Woolfe and J. Gandon *Vitruvius Brittanicus* … (2 vols. (5 & 6), London, 1770–1), 5.

in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.[409] Donowell made a number of topographical drawings for engravings, mostly views of London, and exhibited widely from 1761 to 1786.

In November 1754, he issued proposals for engraving and publishing by subscription a series of 'Perspective Views of the Colleges and Other Public Buildings of Oxford'.[410] He must have made rapid progress, since they were published in February 1755 by the print-seller and engraver John Tinney of Fleet Street as *Eight views of the principal buildings of the University of Oxford* (Ills. 4.372–379). Although none of the plates carries an engraver's name, it is believed to be William Woollett (1735–1785), who is known to have worked for Tinney. He exhibited at the Society of Artists from 1760 to 1777 and became a member in 1766, also serving as secretary for several years. From 1775 to 1785 he served as 'Historical Engraver to the King'.

The importance of the plates is that they were a departure from anything produced previously showing Oxford, adopting a low-level perspective view of buildings in the context of their actual surroundings rather than the bird's-eye view of a single building generally favoured by Loggan, Burghers and Williams. This style set a trend, much-copied by later delineators of the city including Michael 'Angelo' Rooker (1746–1801) and John Baptiste Malchair (*c*.1779–1812), presaging the Picturesque movement of later in the eighteenth century. The plates all include a variety of well-drawn staffage. The original Donowell plates appeared again in *The complete English traveller* (1771) and they were copied by other engravers, notably for a series of *vues d'optique* from *c*.1780.[411]

In addition to the contributions of the artists and engravers discussed above, there is a small body of additional work that provides some insight into why and when images of Oxford were recorded in the period after which Loggan set the standard that many others found it difficult to emulate.

The embellishment of the benefactors' book of University College with an image of its library has already been mentioned, but several similar examples are notable. The first page of the St Edmund Hall benefactors' book, presented by Principal Stephen Penton around 1680, has an historiated initial

[409] Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects*, pp. 316–7.
[410] *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 9 Nov 1754.
[411] Nathaniel Spencer [actually Robert Sanders], *The complete English traveller; or, a new survey and description of England and Wales* (London, 1771).

letter 'S' showing the new chapel and library he caused to be built (Ill. 4.48). This is the first image of the building, which had not existed when Loggan published *Oxonia Illustrata*. Another unknown artist around 1720 drew a design for a Magdalen College rebuilding scheme in its benefactors' book, largely notable for the fact that it incorporated a crescent shaped building, long before that design became popularised by John Wood (1728–1782) in Bath and John Nash (1752–1835) in London (Ill. 4.49). An angle of the garden quadrangle at Trinity College appears in the benefactors' book for 1717, a design for a new façade in 1728, and the great gates of the college in *c*.1730 (Ills. 4.50–4.52). The Exeter College benefactors' book contains an historiated initial letter 'T' for a gift of an orrery in 1757, depicting 'Osney Abbey as standing in 1528' (Ill. 4.54). This is an error, since the abbey was still active in 1528 and it shows a ruin remarkably similar to that in the Agas/Ryther map of 1578/88.

In Burghers' declining years, others began to take a hand in producing book illustrations of all types and other commissions in Oxford, some of whom may well have been introduced to the city and university through Williams and Hawksmoor. These included Paul Fourdrinier (Ills. 4.182–183 and 4.185), Michael and Gerard van der Gucht (Ills. 4.175 and 4.189), John Sturt (Ills. 4.170 and 5.35), Nathaniel Parr (Ills. 4.187–188 and 4.190), Claud du Bosc (Ill. 4.178) and William Thorpe (Ill. 4.186). Many of these were highly derivative (or outright copies) of those contained in *Oxonia Illustrata* and *Oxonia Depicta*.

The earliest building views in the Chaundler MS. and MS. 13a are of limited utility for the general historian. By the time of Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, however, the accuracy of his depictions (with rare exceptions) is such that they can provide important information – it is unusual to find a college history that is not prefaced by the relevant Loggan print. The limitation of these prints, and those of Williams and others, is that they did not show the buildings in the context of their surroundings, which only occurred much later with Donowell and those who followed his lead. The public appetite for such prints was indicated by the popularity of the Almanack and the almost industrial scale of the plagiarism that occurred.

5 *OXONIA EXPLICATA ET ORNATA*: PROJECT RELATED BUILDING VIEWS

5.1 Chapter introduction and research questions

In the post-Restoration upsurge in building activity in Oxford, a change occurred. Although Wren was quite capable of designing in the Gothic style (as was Hawksmoor), for the Sheldonian Theatre, his first major Oxford commission, he adopted for the first time a classical style for essentially the whole of a major building. The rules of classical architecture were well understood in England by the seventeenth century. In addition to the works on artistic theory, particularly perspective, that began to be published from the fifteenth century onwards in Continental Europe, so also were works on architecture, especially relating to the rediscovery of the classical forms.[1] Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren are known to have had Italian editions of Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, (*The Four books of architecture*, 1570). Jones' annotated copy of the 1601 folio edition of *Quattro Libri* eventually passed into the hands of Michael Burghers. Gifted amateurs such as Henry Aldrich and George Clarke had substantial sections on architecture in their libraries, not to mention collections of architectural prints, mainly produced on the Continent. Highly able men such as Wren therefore had a wealth of information available when called upon to undertake architectural commissions and, if they wished to view examples at first hand, they could, with some effort, visit Paris or Rome. Jones, Wren and Sir John Vanbrugh were all self-taught as regards architecture and all combined other careers with their architectural work, but by the beginning of the eighteenth century, Hawksmoor, James Gibbs (1682–1754), Colen Campbell (1676–1729) and Isaac Ware (1704–1766) had studied architecture from an early age and were fully deserving of the title architect in its modern sense.

In due course Campbell, Gibbs and Ware produced important illustrated architectural works of their own. The first published three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British architect* between 1715 and 1725, with two further volumes using the title being published in 1767 and 1771. It was not an architectural treatise, *per se*, but a collection of engraved designs of English buildings by Jones, Wren,

[1] For a comprehensive review see Harris; for a more detailed introduction see J. Burford, 'The historical development of architectural drawing to the end of the eighteenth century', *The Architectural Review*, 54 (Jul–Dec 1923), pp. 1–5, 59–65, 83–7, 141–5 and 156–60.

other prominent architects of the era and Campbell himself. Not represented in Campbell's work was Gibbs, who published the first edition of *A book of architecture, containing designs of buildings and ornaments* in 1728; this contained illustrations of many of his own works. Ware's *Complete body of architecture* was published in 1756.[2] The engravers of these works, including Hulsberg, Fourdrinier, Sturt, Nicholls and Benjamin Cole were not all British, but permanently based in London.

The key research questions in this chapter are who commissioned the plate, why was it commissioned, and who was selected as the engraver. This permits conclusions to be drawn on the importance in Oxford of the engraving as a communications medium between colleges and trustees (for example of John Radcliffe and at All Saints) on the one hand and potential benefactors and other stakeholders on the other (for example alumni). The architects, both amateur and professional, and the builders responsible for Oxford's 'golden age' of construction from the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth are reasonably well known and only a brief introduction to the more important of them will be provided here, concentrating on their activities in Oxford. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to their major projects in Oxford and the engravings that resulted.

The collections of original architectural drawings at All Souls, the Ashmolean, the Bodleian, Brasenose, Magdalen, New, Queen's and Worcester are well-known and much-studied. The existence of engravings related to these drawings has been noted, although the precise relationship between the drawings and engraved variants has seldom been examined closely and never comprehensively. This will also be attempted here. Not all of the proposed schemes came to fruition, as explored by Colvin.[3]

Construction of new college and university buildings did not cease in Oxford in 1759. Residents of the city and university continued to hold strong views on what had been done and what remained to be done, sometimes committing these to print. One such in 1777 (notionally anonymously) was Edward Tatham in his 'proposals for disengaging and beautifying the university and city of Oxford', *Oxonia explicata & ornata* (*Oxford explained and adorned*), which seems an appropriate chapter title.[4]

[2] Isaac Ware, *A complete body of architecture* (London, 1756).
[3] Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*.
[4] [Edward Tatham], *Oxonia explicata & ornata: proposals for disengaging and beautifying the university and city of Oxford* (London, 1777).

5.2 Building activity in Oxford, 1660–1759

5.2.1 The personalities

Improvements and additions to the fabric of the colleges at Oxford and the university buildings have taken place more or less continuously since the university's foundation. There was, however, a period of around a century when the scale of building and rebuilding exceeded anything that occurred before or after. There was no single over-riding reason for this. The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution may well have played their parts simply by raising spirits in Oxford as elsewhere, but competition also played a role. Although student numbers, at around 1,850 in 1700, were well down on the peak they had reached before the English Civil War (around 3,300), and had yet further to fall, a higher proportion were lucrative gentlemen commoners who demanded better standards of accommodation than had previously been the norm.[5] To attract such students, colleges needed to erect new residential buildings, doubtless with an eye on their neighbours. Libraries became status symbols for colleges, with important examples at Queen's, All Souls and Christ Church, major bequests of books and/or money sometimes being made specifically for this purpose. While colleges competed amongst themselves, there also existed competition between the colleges and the university, the latter feeling obliged to increase the fabric of its estate in the area that almost by default became its academic heart.

Projects undertaken during the period from 1660 to around 1750 included the completion of Tom Quad and the building of Peckwater Quad and the library at Christ Church, new buildings at All Souls, Corpus Christi, Hertford, Magdalen, New, Pembroke, Queen's, Trinity, University, Wadham and Worcester Colleges, the Sheldonian Theatre, the Old Ashmolean Museum, the Clarendon Building and the Radcliffe Library. Numerous members of the Oxford academic community were involved with these projects, not least the heads of the various colleges concerned and successive Vice-Chancellors, but three names in particular stand out: John Fell, Henry Aldrich and George Clarke. The professional architects and builders who worked in Oxford on these projects were numerous, but here

[5] Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, pp. 139, 158 & 262.

four names are important: Sir Christopher Wren; Nicholas Hawksmoor; William Townesend; and James Gibbs.

The primary interest of Fell (1625–1686) was the university press and not architecture *per se*, but he was largely responsible for the completion of Tom Quad at Christ Church and was one of the chief promoters of the Sheldonian Theatre, as both a home for his press and also to permit the desecularisation of St Mary's Church. Fell, like others, was uncomfortable at the use of St Mary's Church for the sometimes-scurrilous university Acts and other non-religious events. During his life, the Oxford University Almanack, which he supported, was not of great architectural significance, but he did encourage the publication of Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*. Fell's choice of architect for the Sheldonian was Wren (1632–1723). He had entered Wadham in *c.*1650 and was elected a fellow of All Souls in 1653, resigning in 1661 on his appointment as Savilian Professor of Mathematics. His first Oxford architectural commission was the sun-dial at All Souls (1659), followed by the Sheldonian Theatre (1664–9), new buildings at Trinity (1665–8) and Queen's (1671–2), Tom Tower at Christ Church (1681–2) and chancel screens at All Souls (1664), St John's (*c.*1670) and Merton (1671–4). Ch Ch X3 (see below) contains a manuscript plan by Wren of his design for Tom Tower, while a rare engraved elevation of Tom Tower after Wren's design was probably engraved by Burghers (Ill. 4.118). Wren's connection with Oxford was limited after the Great Fire of London in 1666 and his appointment as Surveyor-General in 1669, when London and its churches became his main concern.

Aldrich (1647–1710) was appointed Dean of Christ Church in 1689 and retained the position until his death, bequeathing his library, including his music and print collections, to the college.[6] The last of these comprised a score or so of large folio volumes containing a huge number of engravings, most of which were prints of Old Masters and classical subjects by Continental engravers. These had been drawn on extensively by Aldrich as patterns for the designs of the Almanacks. A gifted amateur architect, no doubt founded upon the many classical architectural books and prints in his collection, the full extent of Aldrich's influence on Oxford's architectural developments at the end of the

[6] E.F.A. Suttle, 'Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church', *Oxoniensia*, 5 (1940), pp. 115–39 (135).

seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth is unlikely ever to be known with certainty.[7] It is generally conceded that he designed the north, east and west sides of Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church (1705–14) and heavily influenced the design of its library (1717–72), only completed long after his death. It is quite probable that he had a major influence on the design of All Saints Church (1701–20), again completed after his death. Over and above this he may have been involved to a greater or lesser extent with the building of the Old Ashmolean (1679–83), the library (1692–6) and the hall/chapel range (1713–15) at Queen's College, the Fellows' Building at Corpus Christi College (1706–12) and, possibly, rebuilding at Exeter College (1699–1703).

The Aldrich print collection incorporated a small number of contemporary prints and drawings related to architectural subjects, several of which were also engraved by Burghers, and which today are mainly contained in Christ Church Library Portfolio X3 (hereafter 'Ch Ch X3'). A hand-list of the contents of this portfolio was prepared in April 1961 and a transcript of this, with a few additional notes, is contained in Table A18. Four of the engravings in Ch Ch X3 (of the Old Ashmolean, Trinity College chapel, and Queen's College library and hall/chapel) are unique or rare states added to the portfolio during his lifetime, hinting at Aldrich's engagement in the respective design processes.

Although the print collection of Aldrich passed to Christ Church on his death, four copper plates that he had commissioned of Queen's College (the library and hall/chapel) and Peckwater Quadrangle (the north and south prospects) were sold at some time before 1714. Having commissioned the plates, most probably from Michael Burghers, Aldrich would have been quite entitled to keep them, calling for modifications to be made and additional copies run off at his pleasure, but they would have been of limited ongoing value to his executors, or the college. Had any of these plates been owned by Burghers himself, it is unlikely that they would have been sold before his own death in 1727. As it was they passed into the hands of Joseph Smith for incorporation in later editions of *Britannia Illustrata* (from 1714 onwards). The somewhat complex publishing history of the multi-volume illustrated work generally known as either *Britannia Illustrata* or the *Nouveau Théâtre* has been described by Adams.[8]

[7] See: E. Pistis, 'Henry Aldrich's *Elementa Architecturae* and architectural education at Oxford' in Carvais, Robert *et al* (ed.) *Traduire l'architecture* (Paris, 2015).
[8] Adams, pp. 36–44.

Clarke (1661–1736) entered Brasenose in 1675 and became a fellow of All Souls in 1680, remaining there until his death. He served as a Member of Parliament for the University for a long period and also for other constituencies. His government offices included Judge Advocate to the Army and Secretary at War. In Oxford, he is best known as a gifted amateur architect, succeeding Aldrich as the arbiter of architectural good taste and taking over from him responsibility for the design of the Almanack. Projects in which he was involved, not all of which were built in their entirety, or according to his own preferences, included All Souls, Brasenose, Christ Church (the library), Magdalen, Queen's, University and Worcester. In the words of Downes: 'Clarke was concerned with practically every Oxford building scheme between 1703 and his death in 1736.'[9] As had been the case with Aldrich, Clarke had a very extensive collection of engravings and architectural drawings, which passed into the hands of Worcester College after his death; they have been catalogued and were the subject of a paper by Clayton.[10] Volume LIII (hereafter 'WC LIII', see Table A19) is an extra-illustrated edition of *Oxonia Illustrata* containing several engravings by Burghers of projected Oxford buildings, some of which are again rare or unique (like those in Ch Ch X3). The introduction to the catalogue suggests that 'He [Clarke] commissioned prints of projected buildings from the University engraver, Michael Burghers, to distribute to interested parties', but, while this is an attractive and likely proposition, it is not corroborated by surviving documentary evidence.

Hawksmoor (1661–1736) was an exact contemporary of George Clarke. An assistant to, first, Wren, and later to Sir John Vanbrugh at Blenheim, he began to work on his own account from the end of the first decade of the 1700s. By around 1708 Clarke regularly consulted Hawksmoor on his ideas for the rebuilding of colleges including All Souls, Brasenose, Magdalen and Queen's. They continued to exchange views on other projects, notably the new buildings at Worcester, until shortly before the ends of their lives. Hawksmoor's involvement with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and his plans for their architectural reformation have been much researched and discussed. Cambridge will not be considered further here, but Oxford can be usefully revisited in the context of the engravings (rather

[9] Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1969), p. 67.
[10] (1) http://prints.worc.ox.ac.uk [accessed 25 Nov 2015]; and (2) T. Clayton, 'The print collection of George Clarke at Worcester College Oxford', *Print Quarterly*, 9.2 (1992), pp. 123–41.

than original drawings) that were made of Hawksmoor's proposals and his actual achievements, which differed significantly. It is, however, also necessary to consider briefly some of his surviving original plans and drawings for Radcliffe Square and the surrounding colleges to provide context.[11]

William Townesend (1676–1739) was the successor to the business of his father John (1648–1728), who was mason at Queen's College from 1688 to 1712. William worked on numerous projects including the Clarendon Building, the Radcliffe Library and works at All Souls, Christ Church, Magdalen, Queen's and Worcester Colleges. The nature of the building profession was then such that many of the detailed design features of these projects were provided by him, rather than by the combination of amateur and professional architects often involved in drawing up the outline plans.

Gibbs (1682–1754) is best remembered in Oxford as the architect of the Radcliffe Library, now the Radcliffe Camera, although the basic concept for its design had much to do with Hawksmoor. He also completed the interior of the Codrington Library at All Souls, left unfinished by Hawksmoor, and provided a new screen in the hall of St John's College.

5.2.2 The projects

In this section, the dates given in parentheses after the names of the various projects relate to the period over which the projects were conceived and built (or not built, in some cases), rather than the dates of actual construction. In the last few decades of the seventeenth century and the first few decades of the eighteenth, the university and several of the colleges used the medium of engraved plates to seek approval and funding for building schemes, among which were those described below. Many of these plates were copied shamelessly by Williams (for *Oxonia Depicta*) and Vertue (for his Almanacks), often long after the designs concerned had been superseded or discarded.

[11] In addition to standard biographical works on Hawksmoor, relevant parts of several specialist publications and papers gave been consulted on Hawksmoor in Oxford, all of which are listed in the bibliography.

The Sheldonian Theatre (1663–8)

Work on the theatre began in 1663.[12] The architecture of the building has been described by Geraghty and others.[13] It was largely financed by the University Chancellor, Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon. Work was completed by 1668 and the south façade was engraved by Loggan in 1669 (Ills. 4.83c–d), as already been described in Chapter 4.[14] This is the first Oxford example of a celebratory engraving and would have been provided to distinguished visitors in advance of the completion of *Oxonia Illustrata* in 1675. In Loggan's print the original roof dormers can be clearly seen, along with the flank walls to the east and west of the building connecting with the curved wall to the south. Portions of the Arundel Marbles and Inscriptions can be seen affixed to the insides of these walls, above low hedges.

Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* included an explanation of the design of the roof and a plate by Burghers showing details of its construction (Ill. 4.148).[15] This design was redrawn by Henry Flitcroft and re-engraved on two plates by Gerard van der Gucht for *Parentalia* (Ills. 4.370–371).[16] The span of the roof was over 70 feet and for a number of reasons Wren was persuaded to avoid the use of pillar supports. The resulting 'geometrical flat roof' was based in part on a design developed some years earlier by an Oxford Savilian Professor of Geometry, John Wallis, and for many years was, according to Tinniswood, the largest unsupported floor in existence.[17]

The Theatre appeared in innumerable engravings, including many of the title page illustrations by Burghers and others already described in Chapter 4. The south front of the Theatre was depicted in the design for the 1759 Almanack by James Green (Ill. 4.298), by which time the eastern flank wall, hedges and marbles had disappeared. Hanging in the Theatre is a portrait of Wren, commenced by Antonio Verrio (*c*.1636–1707) and finished after his death by Sir Godfrey Kneller and Sir James Thornhill (Ill. 4.36). St Paul's Cathedral appears prominently in the background, but on the floor in front of Wren is an open book with an engraving of the Theatre.

[12] (1) *VCH Oxford* 3, pp. 50–3; *RCHM Oxford*, p. 11; (3) Hibbert, p. 430.
[13] Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre*.
[14] Wood, *Life and times*, 4, p. 68.
[15] Plot, *Natural history of Oxfordshire*.
[16] Christopher Wren, jun., *Parentalia: or memoirs of the family of the Wrens; ...* (London, 1750).
[17] A. Tinniswood, *His invention so fertile: a life of Christopher Wren* (Oxford, 2001), p. 102

Trinity College Garden Quadrangle (1668–1728)

In 1668, the college added a new building, to a design by Christopher Wren, to the north of the original Durham College quadrangle. Various drawings in connection with this project survive at All Souls.[18] In 1682 a building in a similar style was erected between Wren's building and the north range of the old quadrangle, thus forming a quadrangle with one side open to the east. William Townesend was employed to rebuild the north range of the old quadrangle (which also constituted the south range of the new quadrangle) in 1728. This design was represented in the 1732 Almanack, which showed the parapet around the top of the new building being carried on around the west and north ranges of the new quadrangle (Ill. 4.273). In fact, the proposed modifications to these ranges to bring them into uniformity were not carried out until 1802. The engraver of the two Almanack plates is unknown and there is no surviving original drawing.[19] Williams' 1733 engraving of the college in *Oxonia Depicta* showed a similar design, but with an iron screen between the east ends of the north and south ranges and without flanking wings to the east of the north and south ranges (Ill. 4.240). The 1756 Almanack showed almost exactly the same design as had appeared in 1732 (Ill. 4.296), reflecting the lack of progress. Two drawings associated with this Almanack, probably by James Green, also survive in the Ashmolean's volume of original Almanack drawings (Ills. 4.300 and 4.305) and there is a related watercolour at Trinity (Ill. 4.301).

The Old Ashmolean Museum (1679–83)

The Old Ashmolean was built at the cost of the university to house: Elias Ashmole's collection of curiosities (inherited from John Tradescant the younger); the increasingly important School of Natural Philosophy; and a chemical 'elaboratory'.[20] An engraving by Burghers dedicated to Timothy Halton, Vice-Chancellor in 1685/6, bears at the bottom-left the inscription 'T. Wood archit.' and at the bottom-right 'Sold drawn and engraven by MBurghers in S^{t}. Peter's in the East, in Oxford' (Ill. 4.116b). The view is looking west and shows the ceremonially more important east entrance.

[18] Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre*, pp. 24–5.
[19] Petter, pp. 58–9.
[20] (1) *VCH Oxford*, 3, pp. 47–8; (2) *RCHM Oxford*, pp. 13–4; (3) Hibbert, pp. 288–9.

This is another celebratory engraving, but it is unclear whether Burghers produced it speculatively for commercial purposes, or received a commission from the university, or Fell. If it was one of the latter, or he received a sponsorship fee from the dedicatee, no supporting records have been found. Notwithstanding Burghers' inscription, which credits the design to Thomas Wood, an otherwise little-known stone-cutter, the identity of the architect of the Old Ashmolean has been the subject of debate.[21] It is possible the formal east entrance porch may have been designed by a hand other than that responsible for the main part of the building.[22] Ch Ch X3 f.18 is a double plate by Jean Marot (1619–1679) showing the plan and west entrance porch of the Church of Val-de-Grâce in Paris (1645–67, Ill. 1.28). Although there are significant architectural differences between the two designs, the massive grandeur of the Val-de-Grâce porch may well have inspired in Aldrich the idea for a grand ceremonial entrance on the east side of the museum across from the entrance to the Theatre, together with some of its design elements. Hiscock speculates that the Ashmolean plate was either commissioned or encouraged by Aldrich.[23] If Aldrich did have a hand in the design of the porch and was in a position to influence Burghers, it could explain why he encouraged him to show the east elevation, rather than the more natural Broad Street elevation.

As also noted by Hiscock, Ch Ch X3 f.17 is an apparently unique (probably earlier) state of the engraving with three differences from the more common state: (1) at the top the title words are lacking, 'Musaei Ashmoleani par orientalis'; (2) there is no inscription at the bottom-right; and (3) at the bottom-left there is 'MBurghers deline. sculp et executit' (Ill. 4.116a), implying that he drew, engraved and published the plate. It may have been that on inspecting the proof Aldrich felt that the omission of Wood's name was unfair, insisting on these modifications.

Christ Church Tom Tower (1681–1682)

In 1681 John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, entered into correspondence with Wren concerning the completion of Wolsey's great gateway tower of Christ Church.[24] Under cover of a letter of 26 May

[21] See, for example: R.F. Ovenell, *The Ashmolean Museum 1683–1894* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 18–19.
[22] Suggested by Geoffrey Tyack, conversation (8 February 2016).
[23] W.G. Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, 1648–1710* (Oxford,1960), pp. 16–17.
[24] W.D. Caröe (ed.), *'Tom Tower', Christ Church, Oxford: some letters of Sir Christopher Wren to John Fell, Bishop of Oxford …* (Oxford, [1923]).

1681, Wren sent Fell two drawings for his consideration: a plan of the tower (or 'campanile') at several levels and an 'orthography', which may well have included one or more elevations of the tower. Wren wished Fell to return these drawings, but suggested that one or more should be engraved:

> If You resolve to follow it [the design], tis necessary to have 2 Copies 1 for me and another for workmen with some parts more at large. If You should grave it it would quite Cost, especially if You depend upon Benefactors.

Although contemporary references to the use of engravings for fund raising and celebratory purposes are not uncommon, this is a rare early example of any suggestion that engraving might be more cost effective than having the drawing simply copied for the convenience of craftsmen. Fell must have agreed with this suggestion and proceeded to commission an engraving immediately, since in another letter, of 30 June 1681, Wren adds in a postscript: 'If Yr Lp please to suspend a little the printing of more copies till I see whether the emendations will be considerable.' The problem alluded to was the lack of an accurate plan of the existing buildings, causing Wren to adjust his original design.

The collection of Wren's architectural drawings at All Souls College includes a large and extremely rare engraving of the eastern elevation of Tom Tower, normally described as a proof. Another copy of this engraving (Ill. 4.118) has recently been acquired by Christ Church, complementing the original ground plan of Tom Tower by Wren, Ch Ch X3 f.24(c) (Ill. 5.39) and a similar plan at All Souls (Ill. 5.38). The usual assumption is that this Tom Tower engraving was based on some part of the 'orthography' to which Wren referred and, given its size, may well have been 'more at large'. Support for this is provided in the *Parentalia*.[25] Part II Section XII comprises 'A catalogue, and account of designs of buildings in the Universities of Oxford, and of Cambridge.' The first item relates to the roof structure of the Sheldonian Theatre, including a quotation from Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*. The second item is an 'Orthography of the Campanile, or Bell-Tower over the Gate, in the Front and principal Access to the great Quadrangle of Christ Church, Oxon, in the Gothick style; begun on the old Foundations (laid by Cardinal Wolsey) in June 1681, and finished November 1682.'

[25] Wren, *Parentalia*, p. 342.

In Geraghty's *Sheldonian Theatre*, the Tom Tower engraving is illustrated, with an attribution to David Loggan.[26] This is based on a mis-reading of a passage from Caröe:

> We may pause to note the reference to the saving of costs by reproduction of the design. The method adopted at the time was by engraving upon copper, and David Loggan (employed by Wren) the most famous expert. It is interesting to note that in 1703 Wren himself is paid in connexion with St. Paul's a sum of no less than £232 'For engraving Prospects of ye Fabrick.'[27]

The paragraph continues by describing Loggan's background and connections with Wren. Read carefully, however, there is nothing here to suggest that Caröe was even aware of the existence of a surviving engraving of the Wren design, much less that it had been engraved by Loggan.

In questioning the attribution to Loggan, the main argument is his probable location in 1681. On the completion of *Oxonia Illustrata* in 1675, he moved back to London with his family. In 1676 he engraved a plate of Trinity College library and in the same year commenced work on *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, which was not completed until 1690.[28] Whilst his presence in Oxford during May and June of 1681 cannot be entirely discounted, it is unlikely he would have been Fell's natural choice as an engraver of the plate of Tom Tower. Fell was a great admirer of Loggan, but for this relatively straightforward commission that he wished completed in a timely manner, it is more likely that he would have employed someone closer to hand. That person may very well have been Burghers, who at that date had a virtual monopoly of engraving work in Oxford. Burghers was quite capable of executing a plate with this degree of detail, more so as he was copying a drawing rather than having to be creative himself. It is possible that Fell abandoned the engraving project before completion, perhaps because it proved unnecessary to approach benefactors, or the design was superseded.

New College (1682–1711)

The garden quadrangle was designed by William Byrd and built in 1682–4, the wings to the south and north were added in 1700 and 1707 respectively, and the wrought iron screen was erected in 1711. The college archives contain an incomplete series of alternative plans and elevations in Byrd's hand, likely to have been produced between 1678 and 1681 (see Table A17, Ills. 5.121–130).[29] These drawings

[26] Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre*, p. 47 + fig. 20.
[27] Caröe, p. 40.
[28] Tyack, 'Loggan, David'.
[29] J.C. Cole, 'William Byrd, stonecutter and mason', *Oxoniensia*, 14 (1949), pp. 63–74 (70).

gave rise to two rare engravings, probably both issued for fund raising purposes (Ills. 5.131–132). On the basis of payments in the building accounts, the earlier, *c.*1681 (printed by 'Mr Hall'), has been attributed to Michael Burghers and shows a conventional closed quadrangle; the later, *c.*1682, has been attributed to George Edwards (possibly after a drawing by 'Mr Crown') and shows an open courtyard similar to that actually constructed.[30] Both engravings show an elevation and plan, although Burghers' is unusual in that the elevation is designed to fold up, providing a three-dimensional effect.

Burghers received another payment, for £1 in October 1692, for 'sketching y^{e} upper end of y^{e} chappell', but neither the drawing, nor any engraving thereof, survives.[31] He was employed again in August 1702 and paid £15 for '300 prints of the New Buildings', but here again no copies have been identified.[32] A later engraving with the legend 'Sold drawn and engraven by MBurghers in S^{t}. Peters in the East Oxford 1708' celebrates the completion of the north wing and has three compartments (Ill. 4.122). The bottom compartment contains a view of the garden quadrangle almost certainly based on the Ashmolean drawing described below and from a similar low viewpoint, without a screen. The smaller compartment at the top, on the right, is a view looking east from the garden quadrangle towards the mound in the distance. The larger compartment at the top-left contains a plan of the college, also with no screen between the flanking buildings. There is an unsigned sepia pen and wash drawing in the Ashmolean in which the buildings are the same as the engraving, but with differing staffage (Ill. 4.299), and this may also have been the basis for the earlier engraving that has not been found. The central part of the 1729 Almanack shows a similar view, but from a higher viewpoint and with the screen in place (Ill. 4.270). The main plate in *Oxonia Depicta* is a bird's-eye view of the whole college from the east, in which the garden quadrangle is prominent in the foreground (Ill. 4.218). Another plate incorporates a plan of the college that seems to be an updated version of the Burghers plan of 1708 covering a slightly extended area, now with the screen between the flanking buildings (Ill. 4.217). Beneath the plan is a similar view to that in the top-right of Burghers' plate.

[30] (1) New College archives NCA 951; (2) Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, p. 22. Crown was paid £2 for a perspective drawing in 1681/2, Burghers £4 10 6 for a copperplate in 1681/2 and Edwards £5 10 0 for an engraving in 1682.
[31] Quoted in Buxton and Williams, p. 219 (NCA 951).
[32] Quoted in Buxton and Williams, p. 223 (NCA 951).

Trinity College Chapel (1692–94)

The existence of two distinct versions of the Burghers engraving of Trinity College Chapel is well known and has been discussed, among others, by Kemp.[33] The first version was sent out to potential benefactors in the winter of 1691 and of this only one example survives, Ch Ch X3 f.19; it is signed by Burghers and dated 1691 (Ill. 4.117a). Who was primarily responsible for the design of the chapel is unknown, but Aldrich was certainly consulted. As Kemp points out this design differs in a number of important respects from the chapel as built, including pinnacles rather than statues atop the tower, differing fenestration of the upper tower storey and a more elaborate balustrade. In the spring of 1692 Wren was asked to comment on the design and appears to have passed on the request to Hawksmoor, a sketch in whose hand survives in the All Souls archive (Ill. 5.28).[34] The exact advice offered by Wren in 1692 is not known, but it resulted in a revised design that was also engraved by Burghers, Ch Ch X3 f.20 (Ill. 4.117b). The copper plate itself for this version (but not the first) survives in the Trinity College archives and Kemp notes that it was a completely new plate, with the unchanged elements traced from the original. It is, however, odd that Burghers retained the date of 1691 for an engraving that cannot have been produced before 1692. The elevation of the chapel on the Williams plate is similar to Burghers', but from the south rather than the north.

Queen's College Library (1692–95)

The development of the buildings at Queen's College commenced in 1671–2 with the erection of a residential block on the east side of the old, north quadrangle, paid for by Sir Joseph Williamson to a design by Wren. This was followed by the building of the library on the opposite west side of the old quadrangle in 1692–5. Ch Ch X3 f.21 is a unique state of an engraving of the front façade of the library, which bears the date 1693 and the signature 'MBurghers sculp' (Ill. 4.132a). This state has been commented on by Hiscock:

> In this variant the windows fill the entire space between the friezes and the entablature; as built they fill three-quarters of the space. There are minor differences in the keystones. Some tazzae and two statues above the pediment were dispensed with.[35]

[33] M. Kemp, *The chapel of Trinity College Oxford* (London, 2013), pp. 60–7.
[34] (1) M. Kemp, pp. 63–4; and (2) Geraghty, *The Sheldonian Theatre*.
[35] W.G. Hiscock, *A Christ Church miscellany* (Oxford, 1946), p. 26.

Tyack and Colvin have both pointed out that the design in this version offends against several principles of classical architecture, not least the fact that the entablature rests directly on top of the window arches.[36] Despite the fact that the engraving must have been published when the library was approaching external completion, in 1694, changes were indeed made to the design.

A unique second state, or what may be a unique first state of a new plate, is contained in WC LIII f.048. This is dated 1695, the year after Burghers was appointed University Engraver and has a modified signature reflecting this appointment 'MBurghers Cal Univ Oxon Sculp' (Ill. 4.132b). The north elevation is now separated from the east elevation and the title is contained in a separate compartment above the image. The revised design here corrects most of the offences and one can therefore speculate as to whether it was Aldrich who influenced the changes to the design, which had obviously proceeded to an advanced stage by the time the first engraving was produced. In addition to reflecting design changes, this version is embellished with the coat of arms of the college on a drapery in the lower right-hand corner (replacing a key to various features in the earlier version). The building is shown almost exactly as it was after its completion.[37]

Britannia Illustrata contains either a third state, or a second state of the second version (Ill. 4.132c). It is very similar to the 1695 version, but is undated and now bears the publishing imprint of Joseph Smith. An even later version, from the 1735 edition of *Nouveau Théâtre*, bears the imprint of Thomas Millward (Ill. 4.132d).[38] Essentially the same design was also shown in Tab 6 of the various editions of the appeals issued by Queen's between *c*.1714 and 1730 (Ills. 4.132a–b), discussed below.

Wadham College (1693–1694)

In 1693/4 the college authorities demolished an old building (visible in Loggan's view of 1675, Ill. 4.107) that had stood immediately to the south-west of the west front of the college and replaced it with a residential building on Parks Road (then Park Street) more in keeping with the main design.[39]

[36] (1) Lecture by Geoffrey Tyack entitled 'Who built Queen's College?' Oxford Historical Society, Rewley House, 9 Dec 2014; and (2) Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, p. 32.
[37] Magrath, 2, p. xi; Magrath means to refer to the plate by Williams, not Williamson.
[38] This plate is in the Bodleian Rawlinson copper plates collection, a.9.
[39] J. Wells, *Wadham College* (London, 1898), p. 128.

Burghers' engraving of *c*.1701 (Ill. 4.121) shows a scheme for erecting a corresponding building to the north-west of the west front, with an elaborate screen of masonry and iron between them and a formal garden on each side of the path leading from the street to the college entrance. The same scheme was shown in Vertue's Almanack illustration for 1738 (Ill. 4.279), which otherwise resembles Loggan's earlier view of the college. Oddly this scheme had not been noticed by Williams when designing his plate for *Oxonia Depicta* in 1732/3 (Ill. 4.247).

Exeter College (1699–1703)

Around 1699/1700 the old buildings seen in the Loggan plate (Ill. 4.91) at the south end of the west range, between the gate and the hall, were demolished and rebuilt in 1701–3. At the same time the upper part of the Turl Street entrance tower was rebuilt in the classical style and the gables in the north end of the west front removed, the whole of the west front then being embattled. Something very similar can be seen in a Burghers engraving of 1709 (Ill. 4.124). This shows a proposal (elevation and plan) for an embattled west range with redesigned tower, including a small image of the inside of the entrance gate. This is not one of Burghers' celebratory plates and it is unclear why he was called upon to engrave the plate after the work on the frontage was finished. Around 1708/9 the building at the north end of the east range were demolished and replaced with a building similar to that immediately to its south, closing the gap in the north-east corner. It is likely that at this time Periam's Mansions were reduced to three storeys (in the Loggan plate there are four) and the gables and sun dial removed, so as to present a consistent appearance. Another Burghers engraving, of the previous year (Ill. 4.123), shows a proposal (elevation and plan) by an unknown designer for the rebuilding and re-facing of the entire east range of the main quadrangle. The style is reminiscent of that of the residential ranges of Christ Church's Peckwater Quadrangle and one must inevitably wonder whether Aldrich was involved. The other obvious possibility is Townesend, but he was not in the habit of employing Burghers for this purpose. There is also a remarkable similarity between this design for the new building and the design for a replacement north range at St Edmund Hall that appeared in *Oxonia Depicta* (Ill. 4.254). The first Williams plate for Exeter (Ill. 4.209) shows an internal elevation of the west range very similar to that drawn by Burghers (albeit with the addition of chimneys), with a plan

of the college below. The second plate (Ill. 4.210) shows an external elevation of the west range (again based on Burghers), with a perspective view of the quadrangle from the west below. The embattled east range in the second plate is of a similar appearance to the west range, quite unlike the classical design engraved by Burghers. The Almanack of 1739 (Ill. 4.280) is a bird's-eye view from the west, showing the Turl Street west front as well as the west front of the new east range. Stride points out that the east range rebuilding work had occurred by the time the George Vertue Almanack design was finalised, but it had at least been under consideration six years earlier.[40]

All Saints (All Hallows) Church (1701–20)

The steeple is recorded as having 'rocked' in 1662, causing a temporary local evacuation. The tower finally collapsed completely in 1700 and almost immediately plans were set afoot for the rebuilding of the church. A board of trustees, including Aldrich, was formed to agree a design, raise funds and oversee construction. Much of the design has been attributed to Aldrich, although he died in 1710 and did not live to see its completion. A design showing an elevation above a plan, unsigned but quite possibly drawn by Aldrich himself, survives in the Duke of Portland collection (Ill. 5.33).[41] In this classically influenced design of five bays with a tower and spire at the west end and no distinct chancel, highly unusual for an English church at the time, there were entrance porches in the centre of the south and north fronts of the church, although only that on the south side was porticoed.

A cut-down copy of the Sturt engraving (see below) in the Bodleian (G.A. Oxon. a.69, f.1) has a contemporary inscription on its reverse: 'All Souls [sic] at Oxford with a proposall for a Tower by Nicholas Hawkesmoor Esqr.'. This attribution may be incorrect, but four related drawings exist (Ills. 5.29–32). These designs for towers and steeples of All Saints may be apprentice copies in an unknown hand, but Jeffery provides strong arguments that the originals from which they would have been copied are by Hawksmoor.[42] If so, they may represent an instance where Hawksmoor provided gratuitous designs unsuccessfully for a building where he hoped to obtain a formal commission.

[40] W.J.F.K. Stride, *Exeter College* (London, 1900), p. 195.
[41] RIBA drawings: Cavendish-Bentinck loan collection, call/ref no. SC111/16.
[42] P. Jeffrey, 'Originals or apprentice copies? Some recently found drawings for St. Paul's Cathedral, All Saints, Oxford and the City Churches', *Architectural History*, 35 (1992), pp. 118–39.

An appeal to benefactors and the public for funds was accompanied by a large engraving of the Aldrich design by John Sturt, *c.*1705 (Ill. 5.35), which incorporated a modified (perhaps incorrect) design for the roof and the names of the trustees. Why Sturt, who did relatively little work in Oxford, was chosen as engraver, is unclear.

Within five years a modified and smaller version of the design was engraved by Burghers (Ch Ch X3 f.24, Ill. 5.36) incorporating a revised list of trustees and a statement to the effect that there had been no unauthorised 'farming' of the funds received by those who had agreed to undertake the collections in each parish on behalf of the trustees. The main design differences in this version are that the southern and northern entrances had been moved to the western end of the nave in a more traditional position and the shape of the roof has reverted to that in the original design. A modified version of the Burghers engraving with a mitre above the roof of the church and below the cartouche (Ill. 5.37) is probably of similar date. The reason for the addition of the mitre is unclear, although it forms part of the coat of arms of Lincoln College, which presented the living, and is also the name of the inn nearby. A cut down version of this engraving, without the cartouche above and the plan, etc. below appeared in Peshall's edition of Wood's *City of Oxford.*[43]

There was a break in work after 1710 and at some time during the period 1710–18 Hawksmoor was consulted in connection with the upper stages of the tower, for which he proposed a 'dome and peristyle' design, which failed to meet with unanimous approval. The drawing for this survives (Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. a.48 f. 74, Ill. 5.34), but it was never engraved. The evolution of the design for the spire has been described by Colvin.[44] The version that was finally completed in 1720 combined features of the Aldrich and later Hawksmoor designs, but leaning towards the earlier.

The left-hand side of the Williams plate (Ill. 4.258) shows the exterior design more or less as-built. The pinnacle lacks the piercings in the original Aldrich design and the fenestration beneath the pinnacle has been modified. The roof line is, however, incorrect, as it had been in the Sturt

[43] Anthony Wood (ed. Sir John Peshall), *The antient and present state of the City of Oxford* (London, 1773), opp. p. 38. This work is very poorly illustrated and in most copies there is only one other plate, a simple unsigned view of St Giles Church from the south, dated 1754, opp. p. 214.
[44] (1) Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*; and (2) H.M. Colvin, 'The architects of All Saints Church, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 19 (1954), pp. 112–6 + pls. V–VIIA.

engraving. Williams also provides an internal view, looking east. The engraver of both plates was W. Thorpe (probably William Thorpe, who also engraved some views of London churches including St Anne, Limehouse), his only contribution to *Oxonia Depicta*.

In 1717 Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, gave £100 for the erection of an altarpiece, which was also engraved by Burghers (Ill. 4.151), and another £200 towards the cost of the tower and spire.

The Forum Universitatis

A detailed evaluation of Hawksmoor's complex contribution to the architecture of Oxford is well beyond the scope of this research. It is also likely that it would soon be made redundant by the proposed monograph on the subject by Eleanora Pistis, formerly Research Fellow in Architectural History at Worcester College.[45] However, given its lasting influence on the heart of the university, something does need to be said concerning Hawksmoor's concept of a *Forum Universitatis* (together with a *Forum Civitates*, or *Civile*), which was developed in a series of drawings produced between 1710 and 1734, now scattered between several institutions. Although most have been described at one time or another, their chronology is still the subject of some debate. These drawings are therefore listed in Table A13.[46] The two most important of these only are described briefly below.

'Environs of the Schooles and Publick buildings of ye University next the new Forum' (Ashmolean Museum WA 1925 299, Ills. 5.7a–b), of *c*.1713, shows the Schools Quadrangle, the Divinity School, the Clarendon Building, the Sheldonian Theatre, the Old Ashmolean Museum (sketched in) and St Mary's Church, all as they then stood. It also showed a circular building on a square base to be attached to the Schools at the north end of Radcliffe Square, a rectangular building (possibly sketched in as an afterthought) to the west of Selden End, a large building across Catte Street from the Schools Quadrangle, with a small building to its north, a building to the north of the Ashmolean, of similar size to the Museum and in line with the Clarendon Building, and a gate from Catte Street into Broad Street. Opposite the Clarendon Building, across a realigned Broad Street, there is a small building or portico

[45] See: http://www.columbia.edu/cu/arthistory/faculty/Pistis.html [accessed 13 Feb 2017].
[46] There is no union list of Hawksmoor's drawings held at Oxford, or even of those in the Bodleian Library, although some 500 of the Hawksmoor drawings then known were listed in Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959).

at the end of a wall (unconnected with two other stretches of the old city wall on the opposite side of the road). Radcliffe Square is shown cleared of buildings and decorated in its centre with a statue, possibly of Queen Anne, lying on the main axis leading from the portico in Broad Street, through the Clarendon Building and the Schools Quadrangle, and across the square towards the tower of St Mary's Church. This particular axis has been discussed by Tyack.[47] Three of Hawksmoor's early proposals for the Radcliffe Library involved rectangular buildings to the west of Selden End and only latterly did a circular design for this position emerge. The fact that this plan still shows two possible locations and designs for the library would suggest a date of *c*.1713. Lang argues that Hawksmoor used this plan to persuade Radcliffe that a new 'Forum' was a more appropriate location for his library, rather than out of sight between Exeter College and the Divinity School; he must have been so persuaded and actually stipulated this position for the library in his will of 1714.

'*Regio Prima, Academiae Oxoniensis Amplificatae et Exornatae*' (Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. a.26 (R), Ills. 5.8 a–b) is a Hawksmoor plan of *c*.1713/14, given to the Bodleian in 1918 by Falconer Madan.[48] Unlike the plan described above it covered a larger area of the town, including a proposal for a *Forum Civitates* at Carfax, surrounded by a colonnade, with a Trajan-like column on a sculptured base in its centre and with the vista along Cornmarket emphasised by a *porta septentrionalis* at its end and the vista along the High Street by a *porta orientalis* to be placed at the corner of Longwall Street. These were to replace, respectively, the earlier and smaller north and east city gates, while new gates were also to be placed at the Bocardo and the north end of Turl Street. A faintly drawn elevation near to the column (previously undescribed) may well have been a proposed new façade for St Martin's church. In the *Forum Universitatis*, at the northern end, the *Bibliotheca Radcliffiana* is shown joined to the Schools (although a fainter circle still shows an alternative location west of Selden End). On the site of Hart Hall is the *capella universitatis* and to its north is a small circular structure, probably too small for a campanile. A new gateway is proposed for the west end of the New College cloister. Both sides of the city wall to the north of the *capella* were to be cleared and a vista opened up from a straightened

[47] G. Tyack, 'The Clarendon Building: printing house and propylaeum', *Bodleian Library Record*, 23.1 (2010), pp. 41–63 + pl. 4.
[48] Madan, 'Notes and news: old views of Oxford', pp. 2–3.

Catte Street to New College. The area to the north of the *capella* was to be the *pomoerium*, or formal city boundary. The gate formerly proposed from Catte Street into Broad Street is covered by a flap of paper pasted on to the plan. Tyack has pointed out that the Michael van der Gucht illustration on the title page of the 1717 Vinegar Bible (Edition 'A') shows how this opened-out area would have looked, with St Mary's Church and the Schools Quadrangle clearly visible through the wide space between the Clarendon Building and a retained Lady Chapel, but no sign of a *capella* (Ill. 4.175).[49] The additional building to the north of the Ashmolean is again shown, here an *elaboratori* and now apparently separated from the older building by a porticoed courtyard. The original Old Ashmolean contained an 'elaboratory' on its lowest floor, but the increasing size of the collection may have argued for moving this to a new building. To the south of this in Exeter College garden is shown another new building, to be a house for the Master Printer (*domus archetypograph*). Details for the rebuilding of All Souls and Brasenose are not shown.

These plans may have been used by Hawksmoor to explain how the *Forum Universitatis* fitted into an overall plan for the rebuilding of key parts of the city on classical principles. Lang points out that the title of the second, *Regio Prima* [first region], implies that the architect planned improvements for other regions of Oxford, as well as the *Forum Universitatis* and the *Forum Civitates*, but it is hard to imagine where these would have been (Downes thought it might have been the area to the south of the High Street).[50] In any event the concept of a *Forum Universitatis* must have been very quickly adopted by the university authorities. Of the seven Vice-Chancellors holding office between 1706 and 1732, five (William Lancaster at Queen's, Thomas Brathwaite at New, Bernard Gardiner at All Souls, Robert Shippen at Brasenose and Edward Butler at Magdalen) were involved in rebuilding projects in their own colleges and might have been expected to be sympathetic to Hawksmoor's proposals. By 1715 the concept was illustrated in the Almanack (Ill. 3.70), now under the control of Clarke, albeit without the library in the north of what would become Radcliffe Square. This design provides two views of the Forum, that on the left looking south towards St Mary's Church and that on the right

[49] See T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moulet, *Historical catalogue of printed editions of the English Bible* (2 vols., London, 1903), 1, pp. 259–60.
[50] Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959), p. 123.

north towards the Schools Quadrangle. Petter has pointed out that the design shown here for the Codrington Library was that accepted by the Warden and Fellows of All Souls in February 1715, so the Almanack designer, probably Clarke, must have had access to Hawksmoor's plans before they were submitted. The statue in the centre of the Forum is shown atop a tall column, rather than a plinth.

In the Almanack of 1716 (Ill. 4.262), the Radcliffe Library is shown more or less in its final position in front of the south range of the Schools Quadrangle. The design is based on a Hawksmoor drawing in the Ashmolean Museum originally intended to occupy the position to the west of the Divinity School.[51] Despite the evident enthusiasm difficulties, including the clearing of Radcliffe Square and the adjoining areas, no doubt coupled with financial constraints, interfered. None of the campanile, *capella*, *elaboratori* and *domus typographicus* would have been seen as critical additions to the university's fabric, especially after the recent expenses of the Ashmolean and Clarendon.

All Souls College (1703–34)

The subject of new buildings at All Souls was first raised seriously in 1703, when George Clarke proposed building a house for himself within the grounds that would revert to the college on his death. The first site considered was within the area of the cloisters to the north of the main quadrangle and as a consequence these were partially demolished. The proposal was then reconsidered and the result was the building of what are now the Warden's lodgings on the High Street, to the east of the original south front. Replacement of the old cloister to the north of the main quadrangle then came under consideration, with proposals sought from a variety of amateur and professional architects for a new accommodation block, hall and library.

One of the earliest surviving plans, probably from *c*.1708/9, is by Clarke, a fellow of the college as well as an alumnus of Brasenose (Worcester C90, Ill. 5.13).[52] The proposal involves rebuilding the south quadrangle and the area to its east with a library raised upon arches leading from the new gate on the High Street to a passage between the chapel and the hall on the north side of this quadrangle.

[51] An almost complete list of drawings and plans relating to the Radcliffe Library held by the Ashmolean Museum, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, Brasenose College and Worcester College is contained in: S. G. Gillam, *The building accounts of the Radcliffe Camera* (Oxford, 1953–4), pp. 147–79.
[52] Worcester College library holds around 100 drawings and plans of All Souls College, mostly by Hawksmoor.

The new north quadrangle would have porticoes on the east and west sides and a new Fellows' Building in the north. No entry into Catte Street was planned for the north quadrangle.

Events were overtaken in 1710 by the Codrington bequest of £6,000 for a new library and £4,000 for books. A plan for a major rebuilding of All Souls is included in Hawksmoor's Forum proposal of *c*.1712/13 (Ill. 5.5), this not having been a feature of his earlier drawings of the Forum area (Ills. 5.1–4). With no legend, interpretation of the plan is difficult and it is certainly possible that the same general layout as described in detail in the legend to Clarke's plan was intended.

The next drawing chronologically is inscribed: 'A Scetch shewing that y^{e} College of All Souls may be Rebuilt after y^{e} Grecian Manner, keeping y^{e} Old Gothick Chapell and Rebuilding y^{e} Hall after y^{e} Gothick. N.H. Anno 1714' (WC C3, Ill. 5.15). This shows the library located on the High Street front, but now with a cross-portico leading to the chapel/hall range and the building across the north side of the new quadrangle described as a 'grand dormitory', with cloisters on either side.

On 17 February 1715, Hawksmoor submitted a new scheme comprising six detailed drawings and two sketches, together with a manuscript 'Explanation' of his design, probably addressed to Clarke.[53] The six original drawings were described by Hawksmoor in his Explanation and are listed Table A14; two of these, or closely related contemporary copies, survive in the Bodleian (as Gough Plans 8 and 7, Ills. 5.17–18) and another at Worcester (WC C70, Ill. 5.16).[54] Downes also notes other drawings to which they are related and tentatively identifies the two sketches.[55] Gough Plans 7 is over three metres long and shows the whole of the western elevation of the college from what would become Radcliffe Square; it is notable for the absence of a cloister on the west side of the proposed new quadrangle.

Almost immediately the college decided to proceed with the building of the new library in the same external style as the chapel, according to the design that had been presented.[56] On 26 November 1716, the college further decided that Hawksmoor should be asked to draw the buildings as their design then

[53] Nicholas Hawksmoor, *Explanation of Designs for all Souls College, Oxford* by (Oxford, 1960). See also: Colvin and Simmons, *All Souls*, pp. 19–46.
[54] The Worcester College collection of architectural drawings has been catalogued by Colvin, each hereafter designated as WC CN, where N is the Colvin catalogue number.
[55] Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959), p. 278.
[56] Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, p. 41. He does not provide references to the quotations that he gives.

stood and that there should be made: 'a Cut of ye s'd buildings, to be shown to future Benefactors'.[57] In fact at least two engravings were made, bearing the date 1717, and another, although undated, is likely to be of 1717–18.[58] Another set of three engravings was published bearing the date 1721, with Hawksmoor being paid a total of just over £50 for copper plates in 1721 and 1722. The fact that he was paid such a large sum strongly implies that he was given the responsibility of selecting and paying the engraver and overseeing the engraving of the plates.

A list of the engravings is provided in Table A15 (Ills. 5.19–24). The set at Worcester College Library (bound into volume LIII with plates from Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* and other material) also includes two proof states believed to be unique. LIII f.053 (Ill. 5.19a) is a proof before all letters of the plan, in which the east end of the hall is apsidal and the vestibule is to the west; LIII f.059 (Ill. 5.20a) is a proof of the plan and elevation of the great dormitory, which again shows differences in the eastern end of the hall compared to the finished plate, but it does not here seem to be an apse. The engraved plan and elevation of the hall/chapel also shows an apse at the end of the hall, but here at its western end with the vestibule in the east. These changes to the design of the hall have been discussed by Downes, but he fails to point out the fact that the apse has been moved.[59]

At least three engravers were employed by Hawksmoor. Claude du Bosc was one of the two engravers of plates for the Almanack of 1720, which had been designed by James Thornhill. Michael van der Gucht was the father of Gerard van der Gucht, who had been one of the two engravers of Thornhill's Almanack plate for 1721 and who worked with Thornhill and Hawksmoor on other projects. Both du Bosc and van der Gucht had also provided illustrations for the 1717 'Vinegar Bible' of John Baskett (?–1742), whose main business was based in London. Henrik Hulsberg was another Dutch engraver specialising in architectural subjects who worked in England in the early 1700s and engraved many of the plates for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Of these three Hawksmoor had certainly worked already with van der Gucht, who had engraved a plate of the west front of Beverly Minster for him in 1716. For

[57] Quoted in Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959), p. 141.
[58] Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959), p. 141, fn. 25.
[59] Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959), p. 144. Downes incorrectly states the proof copies to be bound into Clarke's copy of *Oxonia Depicta*, rather than *Oxonia Illustrata*.

Hawksmoor not to have used Burghers as the engraver for any of the plates suggests that he may have agreed with Thornhill's assessment of Burghers as a poor engraver, although Burghers did engrave some of Hawksmoor's drawings of the temple of Baalbek for Maundrell's *Journey from Aleppo*.[60]

The plates commissioned by Hawksmoor on behalf of the college and produced over the period from 1717 to 1721 were not simply engravings of the original drawings submitted in 1715. The first four of the plates can be linked to the first four of the drawings described by Hawksmoor, but the designs had moved on and plates 2 (east side of new quadrangle), 3 (south side of new quadrangle) and 5 (cloister on west side of quadrangle) largely show the buildings as eventually constructed. However, the designs for the proposed south front on the High Street (plate 4) and the cross-portico from the High Street entrance to the hall and chapel (plate 6), both dated 1721, were never executed. These features are also shown in the undated engraved plan (plate 1), suggesting that Hawksmoor (or Clarke) had not lost hope that the south quadrangle would be rebuilt even by 1721, or even later.[61] A transcription of the Explanation and a brief note was printed by the college in 1960, together with a portfolio of the six engravings. Gough suggests the identity of the engraver of the unsigned plates:

> The great S front of the college, upright and plan, in two sheets, the N side and cloister joining chapel and library, the middle portico from the high street to the chapel and hall porch were drawn by N. Hawksmoor, and engraved by Vandergucht and Hulsberg 1717 1721. The E side of the court, built by Hawksmoor, was engraved by Dubosc [1717]. The plan, the two N fronts to the court and green, and the two W fronts by J. Cole [? 1721]. [62]

There is no other surviving evidence that John Cole was the engraver of the remaining three plates, but he was certainly the engraver of at least two plates of the Magdalen proposals at about this time, so it would not be surprising. However, the plates for Hawksmoor's *A short historical account of London-bridge* were apparently engraved by Benjamin Cole (rather than John) and W.H. Toms.[63]

The Worcester College collection has two copies of the engraved Hawksmoor plan with manuscript additions. WC C1 has a flap showing an alternative design for the screen and gateway to Radcliffe

[60] Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter 1697* (Oxford, 1703).
[61] M. Whinney, 'Review: *Architectural Designs for All Souls College*, by Nicholas Hawksmoor', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 40.3/4 (Oct 1960), p. 252.
[62] Richard Gough, *Anecdotes of British Topography* (London, 1768), p. 440.
[63] Nicholas Hawksmoor, *A short historical account of London-bridge …* (London, [1736]).

Square, engraved (in Hawksmoor's hand): 'Plan of y^e^ Greek portico vide Prop^n^. II'. There is also a perspective elevation of this design (WC C5, Ill. 4.302b), inscribed: 'The Cloyster of All S. after the Greek N.H. 1720 Propositio II'. WC C126 is the same plan with a manuscript addition by George Clarke showing the Warden's Lodgings, endorsed: 'The manner in which the [old] Warden's Lodgings may be conveniently joined with my House' (WC C91–3 show alternative elevations).

The Almanack for 1728 shows a bird's-eye perspective from the west of Hawksmoor's proposal for rebuilding the college (Ill. 4.269). As pointed out by Petter, this may be based on 'a general Perspective of the Chapell, Library, and great Dormitory with a part of the Old Quadrangle Alter'd', which he sent with his letter to Clarke.[64] WC11 is a red ink and wash drawing, not in Hawksmoor's hand, which was probably the immediate basis for this engraving (Ill. 4.302a). The Codrington Library had been begun in 1716 (although not completed internally until 1751) and the east range of the north quadrangle was built in 1720–4. These are shown as they were built, other than the west windows of the library, which here match those of the chapel. The west range is also as built in 1727–34.

The first All Souls plate in *Oxonia Depicta* (Ill. 4.222) is largely a plan of the college copied from Hawksmoor's Plate 1. It persists in showing a cross-portico from the High Street entrance to the hall and chapel. In the top-left of this engraving is a reduced copy of the depiction of the cloister on the west side of the north quadrangle, taken from Hawksmoor's plate 6 with minor changes to the finials, etc. The second plate (Ill. 4.223) shows the old quadrangle looking north, with the actual High Street frontage beneath. The third plate (Ill. 4.224) shows the new residential block on the east side of the new quadrangle (as in Hawksmoor's Plate 1, but with the library shown on the north and the hall and chapel on the south). Beneath this is an alternative redesign for the High Street frontage, with the old attics replaced by an embattled third storey, marked '*ex Designatione nova*'; this incorporates two towered-gateways (that to the east matching the old gateway to the west) and thus seems to accept that the old quadrangle beyond would not be rebuilt.

[64] Petter, p. 57. A bird's-eye view of the college is illustrated in Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, pl. 3, pp. 44–5.

Christ Church Peckwater Quadrangle (1706–1713)

Ch Ch X3 contains examples of two unsigned prospects of Peckwater Quadrangle (ff. 1–2, Ills. 4.129–130), viewed from the north and the south. Hiscock has suggested that a bill in Christ Church archives, dated nine months before Aldrich's death on 14 December 1710, from Mary Bobart for printing 900 'uprights' and 120 'ground plots' relates to these engravings, but this is not the most likely explanation.[65] Bobart was the second wife of John Hall, a warehouseman and printer of Oxford.[66] After his death she married Tilleman Bobart (1645–1724), a son of Jacob Bobart the elder (1599–1680), first Keeper of the Oxford Physic Garden, and brother of Jacob Bobart the younger (1641–1719). Tilleman had business connections with William Townesend and had some involvement with the later building of the Christ Church library.[67] A plan of the Clarendon Building area, where much of Oxford's printing activity had occurred from an early period, was drawn by Benjamin Cole in 1713 (Ill. 2.25).[68] It contains several references to tenements and gardens owned by 'Mr. Bobart(s)', one of which was occupied by Cole himself, and also a 'printing house' owned by 'Mr. Hall'. Although Burghers had his own rolling press, this was probably used only for printing proofs and surreptitious copies of plates commissioned by others, so the contracting of the printing of these plates to a third party is unsurprising. The engravings to which the bill relates, previously undescribed, are more likely to be those in WC LIII f.066, a unique ground plot, and f.067, a double prospect ('upright').

The ground plot looks very much like the work of Burghers. A unique feature is that the north range of Peckwater is shown extending well beyond the east range into Oriel Square. When combined with a new building on the north side of what would eventually become Canterbury Quadrangle (also shown), this would have effectively formed an irregular quadrangle of three ranges with an enclosing wall on the east side opposite to Oriel. The south and east sides of Canterbury were also to be rebuilt, although the south range would not extend past what was to become the library (but see below concerning the 1724 Almanack).

[65] *Peckwater Building Accounts*, III: Christ Church Treasury; the total was for £20 11*s* 10*d*.
[66] M. Prior, 'Wives and wills, 1558–1700' in J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds.), *English rural society, 1500–1800: essays in honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 214–5.
[67] J. Cook and J. Mason, *The building accounts of Christ Church Library 1716–1779* (London, 1988), pp. 105–6.
[68] Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.40. See Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 2, pl. 100.

The rare upright 'Atrij Pecwateriensis designati Scenographia', signed in the lower right margin 'MBurghers delin et sculp', has the north prospect above the south prospect, with the combined title between them.[69] Work on Peckwater began under William Townesend in 1706, so the main function of the plate was probably to attract funding. The ground plot, printed in a much smaller quantity and without any title or other embellishment, was probably intended for a more utilitarian purpose.

The double prospect differs from the single versions in that the sky area has been increased in the latter, as has the amount of space taken up by the titles, which are now below and expanded in both cases. Also, there is no staffage in the double prospect and in both single prospects there is a compass rose in the centre of the quadrangle. Burghers may have engraved the single prospects, although it would have been unusual for him to incorporate staffage in his architectural subjects. The style of the title lettering is not the same as that used on other Burghers plates (for example, at Queen's College) and differs slightly between the two plates. Letter engraving, however, would often be undertaken by a specialist engraver, so this is inconclusive. Kip's name has also been associated with these plates, but this is almost certainly as a result of them being included in *Britannia Illustrata*.

The Almanacks for 1724 and 1725 were both illustrated with views of Christ Church (Ills. 4.265–266), the earlier by Burghers from the west and the later by Williams from the north. Petter has pointed out that a proof of the earlier in Worcester College shows none of the Peckwater buildings, suggesting that the drawing on which it was based predates the commencement of the new quadrangle.[70] A drawing by Burghers in the Bodleian possibly related to this Almanack also shows only an embryonic layout for Peckwater (Ill. 4.303).[71] This plate also shows a building immediately to the south of what would become the library, constituting the south range of a new Canterbury Quadrangle with buildings of similar design to the east and north. This does not appear in the following year's Almanack design and Canterbury Quadrangle would not be completed until 1783.

[69] Only two other copies of the upright have been found: BL K. Top. a.34; and Bodley MS. Auct. V.3.1 f.372 a.204 (the 'Scroop Album'), which contains numerous other examples of engravings by Burghers and four drawings. The absence of a copy of the double view in Ch Ch X3 is surprising.
[70] Petter, pp. 54–5.
[71] Bodley G.A. Oxon. a.88a f. 120.

Queen's College Hall and Chapel (1710–15)

Drawings of Hawksmoor, Clarke and Townesend for the development of Queen's College are contained in two main series, at Queen's and Worcester, with a further two drawings in the British Library and one in the Bodleian (Ills. 5.42–88).

A portfolio of 20 plans and drawings at Queen's College, unsigned and undated, but apparently prepared by Hawksmoor in 1709, represents seven different projects, entitled 'propositions'. Six propositions are numbered with Roman numerals I–VI, and one is labelled with the letter 'A'. Propositions I, II, III, V and VI have one drawing each, proposition IV has four drawings and proposition A has five. There are also a further six drawings without a proposition reference for alternative designs: three plans, two High Street front elevations and one chapel elevation. The drawing in the Bodleian is a variant of proposition IV. None of the designs agrees exactly with the buildings actually erected. There are an additional five drawings by William Townesend, all probably somewhat later than those by Hawksmoor. The drawings have been catalogued and described by White.[72] They have also been analysed by Pistis.[73] The 20 drawings of designs for Queen's College in the Worcester collection (16 by Clarke dated to *c.*1708 and 4 by Hawksmoor dated to *c.*1708–10) comprise a less homogeneous group. They have been catalogued and described by Colvin.[74] The King's Collection at the British Library holds two unsigned drawings of Queen's College that are dated in its catalogue to *c.*1733–5.

The Clarke/Hawksmoor designs show that by 1708 the college had decided on a new layout for the whole of the site; all the medieval buildings were to be swept away, including Williamson's range of 1671–2, which was out of square with the proposed new north quadrangle. The library (1692–4) and

[72] (1) R. White, *Catalogue of the Hawksmoor and Townesend drawings in the library of The Queen's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1998); and (2) R. White, *Nicholas Hawksmoor and the replanning of Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 15–23.
[73] E. Pistis 'Nicholas Hawksmoor, William Lancaster and the Queen's College designs', *The Queen's College Library Insight* 2 (Trinity Term 2012), pp. 5–9.
[74] H.M. Colvin, *A catalogue of architectural drawings of the 18th and 19th centuries in the library of Worcester College Oxford* (Oxford, 1964).

north range (1707) in the north quadrangle were to be incorporated in the new plan. The west range of the new south quadrangle was built in 1709–1711 and the old hall demolished in 1713–14.

Ch Ch X3 f.22 is a copy of a rare state of an engraving of the hall and chapel at Queen's College, lacking a title, date or signature (Ill. 4.133a). A very similar plate in editions of *Britannia Illustrata* appearing after 1714 seems to be a second state of this plate, still lacking a signature or date, but now with a title and the imprint of the publisher, Joseph Smith (Ill. 4.133b). In the second state clouds have been added to the sky, enlivening what would otherwise have been a simple architectural elevation. Both states show design elements that differ from what was actually built, for example the Baroque cupola which was to be replaced by a more classical design. The engraving is sometimes attributed to Kip on the basis of its inclusion in *Britannia Illustrata*, but it must surely be by Burghers, who was certainly responsible for the engraving of the similar hall/chapel design in the appeals (Ills. 4.139a–c).

There are four drawings related to this engraving, on one of which Hiscock comments:

> A sketch by Clarke in the Worcester College drawings collection [WC C76, *c.*1708, Ill. 5.78] provides a partial answer to the question of the authorship of the façade of the Hall and Chapel. It shows the main outline, but the iron gates and cupola are lacking. If a copy of the finished engraving could be found in Clarke's library, the whole could well be attributed to him. But no such copy is known. Now Aldrich, who seems to have made a habit of possessing unique copies of engravings, had a proof issue in reverse showing the façade with gates and cupola, obviously published by, but without the name of, Joseph Smith.[75]

It is only the scale at the bottom of the print that has been engraved in reverse – the statuary and flag have the same orientation as in the second state. Hiscock was probably wrong about Smith (the publisher) having originally commissioned the engraving, but the remainder of his reasoning may be correct. The engraving is even more closely related to two Worcester drawings not explicitly mentioned by Hiscock, C124 and C125 (Ills. 5.79–80), both usually attributed to Hawksmoor and dated to *c.*1710. Another design entirely for the façade, QC23 (Ill. 5.65) has been attributed by White to William Townesend and dated *c.*1712–3.[76] This differs significantly from the Hawksmoor versions in several ways, including four, rather than six, bays on each side of the central bay (without gates) and a curved, rather than a triangular, pediment. Drawing any conclusions from these images is made

[75] Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich*, p. 25.
[76] White, *Nicholas Hawksmoor and the replanning of Oxford*, pp. 15–24.

difficult by uncertainties in dating and the likelihood of lost intermediary designs, but as far as the hall and chapel façade is concerned there seems to be an argument that the original idea was Clarke's (*c*.1708), which was embellished by Aldrich (*c*.1709), further improved by Hawksmoor (*c*.1710) and built with a simpler central bay as envisaged by Townesend.

The new hall was finished by 1715, by which time the chapel was probably roofed; work continued intermittently on the chapel until its consecration in late 1719. The north range of the north quadrangle, built by John and William Townesend, was completed before 1718.

Hertford College (1710–1716)

Two engravings by Williams (Ill. 4.253) and Gerard van der Gucht (Ill. 4.189) are very similar. It might be imagined that Williams copied an earlier engraving by van der Gucht produced for fund-raising purposes, but that does not seem to have been the case here. On the left-hand side of both engravings are cartouches, differing in detail but both dedicating the plate to John Crewe with the name of Williams beneath. Possibly both are copied from an earlier engraving of *c*.1710, now lost, perhaps by Burghers. These engravings show a proposal for the rebuilding of the quadrangle developed by Richard Newton, who became Principal in 1710. On the south side in the centre was to be a chapel of four bays. In the north range, not shown, it was intended that there should be a hall of similar design. The library was to be built above the main gateway in the west range, here shown on the right, opposite to rebuilt lodgings for the Principal in the east range.[77] An elevation of this latter building is shown in the lower part of the engravings. In the four corners of the quadrangle, to either side of the chapel, library, hall and lodgings, were to be sets of rooms for students and fellows. Of this scheme, only the buildings on the south-east corner were constructed ('Newton's Angle'), together with a chapel (consecrated in 1716) that differs from the original design in having only three bays and an unornamented cornice.[78] This is illustrated in a Burghers plate of 1720 (Ill. 4.125). The Almanack design for 1745 (Ill. 4.286) is a perspective of the interior of the proposed new quadrangle, based on the top half of the Williams/van der Gucht plates, but by then of only historic interest.

[77] *VCH Oxford* 3, p. 312.
[78] S.G. Hamilton, *Hertford College* (London, 1903), pp. 41–2.

The Clarendon Building (1711–15)

Plans by Hawksmoor showing the location of a new printing house to the north of the Bodleian exist from at least 1712. A detailed plan of the Clarendon area is of the same date (Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24 f.45, Ill. 5.6), while two plans of a similar area showing the buildings that were on the site until demolished in 1710/11 to make way for the new building were drawn by Benjamin Cole in 1712/13 (Bodley MSS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.40 and b.245 (R), Ills. 2.27–28). Plans for the building itself by Hawksmoor and its builder, Townesend, survive at Worcester College and elsewhere.

Two Almanacks, for 1714 and 1720 (Ills. 4.261 and 4.263), illustrated the Clarendon Building, the earlier showing more or less the finished design for the printing house and also an early design for part of All Souls. Petter's comment on this is as follows:

> The building on the left is a design for the hall of All Souls based on a drawing in the Clarke Collection (Colvin, *Catalogue*, no. 30).[79] The hall mirrors the existing chapel and the colonnade of coupled Ionic columns running at right angles to it is similar to the one on the west of the quadrangle which was built in 1703 when the cloisters were demolished (*VCH* Oxon III 190). The drawing is connected with a plan dated *c*.1708 (Colvin, *Catalogue*, no. 30), but the hall was not built until 1730–1733.[80]

As had been the case with the Sheldonian Theatre previously, the Clarendon Building featured in many of the title page illustrations for works printed at Oxford from the time of its completion. Notwithstanding this, Burghers never seems to have engraved a celebratory plate of the Clarendon analogous to his earlier plate of the Ashmolean, a surprising omission, perhaps influenced by the absence of a close relationship with Hawksmoor.

Brasenose College (1712–1734)

Hawksmoor's earliest plans for the redevelopment of the Forum area, dating from *c*.1710–13, incorporated a complete rebuilding of Brasenose College (see, for example, Brasenose B15.1 and B15.1 (s), Ills. 5.4–5). One of the plates in *Oxonia Depicta* (Ill. 4.230) shows a bird's-eye view from the south of a proposal to rebuild the college along these lines, although the plan was effectively abandoned long before its publication in 1732/3. This plate was similar to the illustration for the 1723

[79] Colvin, *Catalogue of architectural drawings*.
[80] Petter, p. 48.

Almanack (Ill. 4.264), which also showed a bird's-eye view, here from the south-east and a lower elevation, of the completely rebuilt college. Both plates show the chapel (to the south) and hall (to the north) almost back to back between the two quadrangles. The main architectural distinction between the two bird's-eye views is a simplification of the cupola design in the later version.

No progress with the rebuilding scheme then seems to have occurred for five or six years and the next plan of *c*.1720 (WC C65, Ill. 5.9) shows the outline of the existing north quadrangle mostly unchanged, but with the range of buildings on the south side to be demolished and rebuilt. A new and larger hall occupies the south side of the old quadrangle and to its south is the new chapel, with a façade of classic columns, fronting the great new southern quadrangle extending all the way to the High Street. An associated drawing of an elevation of part of the High Street frontage with channelled rustication for the main part of the façade and plain ashlar for the Venetian windows is inscribed with the date 1720 by Hawksmoor and Clarke. Another *Oxonia Depicta* plate (Ill. 4.230) shows two plans, that on the right being of the college in its original state, while that on the left is based on WC C65.

The long delay in acquiring the properties between Brasenose and the High Street (which did not commence until 1736), together, with a lack of funds, meant that more than a decade passed before Clarke again seriously pursued the matter of the college's expansion and even then on a more modest scale. These schemes, too, were ultimately abortive and the actual construction of a new south quadrangle was not completed until the early years of the twentieth century.

The Radcliffe Library (1712–1749)

John Radcliffe died in 1714 and left £40,000 for the construction of a library in Oxford, with further sums available to pay for its upkeep, a librarian and the purchase of books. Completing the purchase of the buildings in what would become Radcliffe Square, where the library was to be built, was a complex procedure and took some years. Even when this was done there was disagreement among the Radcliffe trustees as to when work should commence. The choice of an architect was first considered in 1720, candidates initially including Christopher Wren, John Vanbrugh, Thomas Archer, James Thornhill, John James, Nicholas Hawksmoor and James Gibbs. Over a prolonged period, most of these died and of the two remaining and most favoured, Hawksmoor and Gibbs, the former also died

in 1736. Gibbs had trained as an architect in Rome and had been responsible for the rebuilding of St Martin's-in-the Fields in London in 1722–4. It is possible the trustees had reached a decision to appoint him before the death of Hawksmoor, who was in failing health in his later years.[81]

In 1737 Gibbs was finally selected and the trustees distributed to heads of houses and other influential Oxford figures a set of five engravings of his architectural drawings to ensure that they would have no objections to the proposal; the original drawings survive (Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. ff. 107–111, Ills. 5.91a–95a). These were engraved by Vertue, who was paid £88 6*s* for his trouble, and published as a pamphlet with the title *Bibliotheca Radcliffiana* with a print run of 600 copies (Ills. 5.91b–95b). A second impression with reworked plates (considerably in some cases) was issued by the trustees in 1740 due to the number of changes insisted on by Gibbs, for which Vertue received an additional £65 1*s* 6*d* (Ills. 5.91c–5.95c).[82] The second set of drawings has not been located. Another work with a similar title, *Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, and an explanatory text was published by James Gibbs in 1747 with a significantly increased number of plates (18) showing the Library in its as-built state, all engraved by Fourdrinier (Ills. 5.97b–119b), doubtless as a showcase for Gibbs' work.[83] The original drawings for these (in reverse and with some title variants) also survive (Ills. 5.97a–119a).[84]

Views of the Radcliffe Camera were used to illustrate the Oxford Almanacks for 1751 and 1752 (Ills. 4.292–293). The main part of the 1751 Vertue design shows the interior of the building with its keys being delivered by the trustees to the officers of the University. Above this is a small exterior view of the building. It is based on Plate 14 of *Radcliviana*, but shows also the statue of Radcliffe from above the main entrance. The 1752 James Green design showed an exterior view from the east with St Mary's to the left, the Bodleian to the right and Brasenose beyond. The open arches in the rusticated base were enclosed when the library became part of the Bodleian in 1862. Isaac Taylor's map of Oxford published in 1751 was illustrated by vignettes of Oxford buildings in its four corners, that at

[81] Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959), p. 127.
[82] (1) Gibbs, *Bibliotheca Radcliffiana*; (2) Gillam, pp. xiii–xiv; and (3) S. Hebron, *Dr Radcliffe's Library* (Oxford, 2014), p. 46.
[83] (1) James Gibbs, *Bibliotheca Radcliviana …* (London, 1747); and (2) *James Gibbs 1682–1754, and the Radcliffe Camera* (Oxford, 1982), p. 31.
[84] Ashmolean Museum, Gibbs i ff. 106–16; for detailed descriptions see Gillam, pp. 175–6 (who incorrectly states the plates were for *Radcliffiana* rather than *Radcliviana*).

the lower left being a view of the Radcliffe Library from the north-west corner of the square, with St Mary's Church to the right and All Souls College to the left (Ill. 4.359). Three other engravings of the building appearing *c*.1750 were by Nathaniel Parr after William Halfpenny (Ill. 4.190) and by James Green as title pages (Ills. 4.345–346).[85]

Christ Church Library (1717–72)

A building with a giant order of columns in the position of what would become the Christ Church library appeared in Burghers' prospects and ground plot of Peckwater. It is shown detached from the east and west wings of the quadrangle, possibly to grant clear access, respectively, to the old Canterbury College buildings (later Canterbury Quadrangle) and the Great Quadrangle via Kilcannon. In the south prospect the building, of three storeys, is shown with uniform windows on the ground floor (except in the central bay, which is open) and a uniform row of windows on the second floor; the third floor has a row of smaller windows. After Aldrich's death in 1710, his design was adapted by Clarke and Townesend – the building was reduced to two storeys and modifications they considered included a Venetian (triple) window in the upper central bay and an open ground floor, with arched entrances in each of the bays. Work commenced in 1717 and proceeded in fits and starts until 1772.

The Almanack for 1725 by Williams (Ill. 4.266), which would almost certainly have been approved personally by Clarke, showed these Clarke/Townesend modifications, later copied thoughtlessly by Williams for his 1732/3 *Oxonia Depicta* (Ill. 4.237). This design was also engraved by Burghers and forms the basis for the engraving of which a unique unaltered copy of the first state exists in the Worcester College collection (WC LIII f. 067, Ill. 4.131a). In the Christ Church collection (Ch Ch X3 f.5, Ill. 4.131b) there is an altered version of this engraving. In this example, the upper central bay showing the Venetian window has been cut out and a pen and wash drawing showing the final window design inserted in its place. A second state, Ch Ch X3 f.7 (Ill. 4.131c) shows the revised design for the upper windows (in fact, much like the original design of Aldrich). It also shows a partially amended treatment of the ground floor – four of the open bays have been replaced by alternative treatments for

[85] (1) Wise, *Nummorum*; and (2) Rotheram, *The truth of Christianity*.

closed bays with recesses. As discussed by Weeks, there is a difficulty in dating these engravings.[86] The first state was certainly engraved in or before 1725 – fundraising would probably have started around 1717, or even earlier. The second state, still signed by Burghers, would then date from after 1725. The problem this poses is that Burghers, who died in 1727, had badly failing eyesight by 1725 and may have been incapable by then of work of this detail. Weeks has also pointed out that the technique used for the shading of the central bay in the second state differs slightly from that of the other bays, suggesting that the reworking may have been carried out by someone other than Burghers. No payments relating to either state exist in the building accounts for the library, implying that they were not commissioned by the college.[87]

Queen's College, completion of New Quadrangle (1718–65)

By 1718 substantial progress had been made with the rebuilding program, but much remained to be done. In the old north quadrangle, the library (west range) and a residential building (north range) were complete; the Williamson Building (east range) needed to be replaced, or altered, and the south range needed to be replaced. In the new south quadrangle, the Provost's lodgings (west range) and hall/chapel (north range) were complete, although the chapel would not be consecrated until the following year; work had not yet begun on the cloister and gate (south range), or the east range.

In that year William Lancaster's successor as Provost, John Gibson, issued an appeal for funds to fit out the chapel, purchase and demolish the buildings on the High Street to the south of the college and complete the remaining buildings in the north and south quadrangles. To maximise the impact of his appeal, which took the form of a pamphlet containing letterpress text bound in paper covers, it was accompanied by a series of engravings by Burghers, who had succeeded Loggan as University Engraver in 1694. Although single plates had been engraved of building schemes at other Oxford colleges before this, it is the earliest occasion on which such a large group of engravings was assembled and published (the set of six All Souls engravings was not completed until 1721).

[86] J. Weeks, 'The architects of Christ Church library', *Architectural History*, 48 (2005), pp. 107–38.
[87] See: Cook and Mason.

When the Appeal was issued by Gibson in 1718 it contained eight plates (see Table A16, Ills. 4.134–143). The pamphlet, of roughly A5 size, was bound in portrait format and six of the plates were double mounted one above the other, inserted following the text of the appeal. A larger plate of the south front preceded these and had to be folded out, while a plan of the college served as a frontispiece.

In addition to the two dated versions of the pamphlet with text, there is another version differing in several respects. Although of similar size it is bound in landscape format and contains two extra plates, one of which is sufficiently large that it also has to be folded in, despite the changed format. The numbering of the plates suggests that at least fourteen were originally envisaged. The copy of this version at Worcester College is inscribed 'DD: Reverendus Gul: Lancaster SS:T:D:Coll: Reginensis Propositus - Oct: 4 - 1715 GC.' It is therefore clear that the plates were commissioned from Burghers not by Gibson, but by Lancaster, and that the idea of an appeal must have been under consideration well before his death. Worcester College also has what is believed to be a unique copy of an even earlier version, inscribed 'GC / DD: Rev. Dris Gul: Lancaster Propositi dign: 1714.' This has one fewer plate than the 1715 version and several of the plates are clearly earlier proof states.

The 1718 appeal was only moderately successful and allowed little more than the completion of the building work then underway and some urgent additional work. Demolition of the old chapel had commenced in 1719 and by then the ground had also been cleared for the erection of the buildings on the south side and in the south-east corner of the north quadrangle, these buildings being distinct from the hall and chapel to their south; they included the kitchens to the north of the hall. By 1721 the north quadrangle was completed by the addition of the eastern half of the south side, its extension over the chapel archway and above the kitchen to form a unified façade, its junction with the Williamson building and the modification of the latter, which involved adding a storey and building, on the inner side, a wedge-shaped addition broadening towards the south, in order to make the quadrangle rectangular. The bird's-eye view of the college in the 1727 Almanack (Ill. 4.268) by Vertue showed the eastern range of the north and south quadrangle and the south façade as though they had been completed according to the Burghers plan (Ill. 4.134). This design could never have been achieved as shown, since the eastern side of the replacement for the Williamson Building would have projected

into Queen's Lane, almost as far as the western end of St Peter's-in-the-East. This supports the contention that Hawksmoor's 'propositions' for the rebuilding of Queen's were produced without the benefit of a detailed ground plan.[88]

Gibson did not attempt to carry the new design any further, but Joseph Smith, on becoming Provost in 1730, immediately issued a second appeal. The 1730 version included the same plates, but with an updated letterpress text. Burghers had died in 1727 and only one plate seems to have been amended, a finial replacing a weather cock above the tower on the hall/chapel range (Ills. 4.140a–c). The next view to appear was that in the 1733 *Oxonia Depicta*; Magrath notes that an incomplete proof of the Williams view exists with an empty space for where the gate should be, suggesting that the design was still then under discussion (Ills. 4.215 and 4.257). Neither the proof to which Magrath refers, nor any related plate, can now be found and it is possible the 'proof' actually represents an incomplete attempt to rework the plate with the gate shown correctly. In any event the matter was obviously unresolved by the time Williams had to finish his plate and it appears with the same design as the 1727 Almanack.

In 1733, work commenced on the screen and cupola of the south range of the new quadrangle under the general direction of William Townesend. A significant contribution of £1000 was received from Queen Caroline in 1733–5, to commemorate which the college commissioned from the renowned English monumental mason Sir Henry Cheere (1703–1781) a larger than life sculpture. This was to be mounted above the gate within the cupola, calling for a modification of its original design, said to have been based on that of the Luxembourg Palace in Paris (Ill. 1.27).[89] The British Library holds two unsigned drawings of the High Street façade, dated in its catalogue to *c*.1733–5 (Ills. 5.89–90). Tyack has pointed out the similarity between the first of these and WC C123 (Ill. 5.69), attributed to Hawksmoor.[90] Magrath also illustrates an engraving by 'Rooker sc' (Ill. 4.260c) showing the gate in its final form with the statue in place, described, probably incorrectly, as 'contemporary'.[91] This is likely to have been Edward Rooker (1724–1774), who engraved the 1775 Almanack showing Queen's

[88] Pistis, 2012, p. 9, fn. 14.
[89] Ayliffe, p. 301.
[90] Lecture by Geoffrey Tyack entitled 'Who built Queen's College?', Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, Rewley House, 9 Dec 2014.
[91] Magrath, 2, pp. xiii–xiv & 94–5.

drawn by his son, Michael 'Angelo' Rooker (*c.*1747–1801). It is based on a sketch of the gate decorating a manuscript of 1733 celebrating the gift of Queen Caroline (Ill. 4.260b), or a similar drawing in one of the college's benefactors' books (Ill. 4.260a).[92] This phase of the work, including the southern half of the eastern range, was completed in 1735. The remainder of the east range was completed in stages between 1757 and 1765, when the Queen's Lane gate was finally demolished.

Worcester College (1720–91)

Hawksmoor was first approached by George Clarke for suggestions in connection with Worcester College around 1717, following the award of the Sir Thomas Cooke legacy to the college by the Court of Chancery. His involvement continued until at least 1735 and is documented by a group of seven drawings, described by White, although the final design is generally credited to Clarke.[93] Clarke's designs were illustrated in a separately published plate by Burghers of *c.*1720 (Ill. 4.126), in *Oxonia Depicta* (Ill. 4.251) and Vertue's Almanack for 1741 (Ill. 4.282). The last two of these both showed the south range of the main quadrangle rebuilt on classical lines to match the north range.

Magdalen College (1733–40)

The architectural drawings of Magdalen have been comprehensively catalogued by White and Darwall-Smith.[94] In 1724, Hawksmoor sent Clarke a plan and a bird's-eye view of a proposal to redevelop Magdalen College, which would have involved the demolition of all of the existing buildings except for the bell tower.[95] Neither drawing was engraved and the proposal was not pursued. In 1728 an alumnus of the college, Edward Holdsworth, proposed an equally dramatic scheme for rebuilding almost the whole college. This scheme was illustrated in the Almanack of 1731 (Ill. 4.272) and three individually issued plates commissioned for fund-raising purposes, of which at least two were engraved by John Cole (Ills. 5.25–27).[96] Clarke asked Hawksmoor to comment on the proposal,

[92] BL Maps K. Top. 35 (10.9).
[93] (1) White, *Nicholas Hawksmoor and the replanning of Oxford*, pp. 71–8; (2) Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1959), pp. 147–50; and (3) G. Tyack, 'Building on Hawksmoor: Worcester College, Oxford', *Country Life* (13 Jan 2016), pp. 36–43.
[94] R. White with R.H. Darwall-Smith, *The architectural drawings of Magdalen College, Oxford: a catalogue* (Oxford, 2001).
[95] White, *Nicholas Hawksmoor and the replanning of Oxford*, pp. 79–83.
[96] For the circumstances of their commissioning, see Ferdinand, pp. 51–71.

which he did in two letters, together with a plan and two elevations. Again, none of these gave rise to engravings. Only the north range of Holdsworth's proposed new north quadrangle was ever built (the 'New Building'), commenced in 1733 and finished by 1740.

In addition to the above, designs for new buildings at other colleges and halls were illustrated in the Almanacks of 1742 (Balliol, Ill. 4.283) and 1746 (St Mary Hall, Ill. 4.287).

In terms of general historical utility, the prints of Oxford related to building projects are of comparatively limited value. They come into their own for architectural historians, especially if they exist in multiple states, when they are viewed in conjunction with original drawings for the project concerned. The sheer number of such prints produced in Oxford for fund-raising purposes is of importance in underlining the relatively early date at which visual images became important as an adjunct to text in communicating with alumni, sponsors and others. Oxford's ability to do this was down to the foresight of John Fell in employing Loggan in the first place and the subsequent appointment of Burghers as his replacement.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. The first is to present the evidence in support of Skelton's assertion that Oxford had been the most delineated of British cities from an early date and to identify the time periods and image categories over which it was true. The second is to summarise other research findings, particularly in relation to the socio-economic circumstances of image production and the use of engravings of buildings as a communications medium.

Until the end of the sixteenth century, almost all images of Oxford were unique (not designed to be reproduced) and created for a specific purpose, where the cost of producing the image was essentially irrelevant. Into this category fell the matrices for the early municipal seals, the misericord at New College, the Grandpont estate map, the Osney Abbey rental illumination, the Chaundler MS., and even Bereblock's illustrations for Bodley MS. 13a. It was during this period that the city's self-image became established and has remained essentially unchanged over eight centuries. With almost all of these early images it was the spirit of Oxford, its *genius loci*, that was being conveyed, rather than a topographically accurate depiction. The demand for unique images did not disappear at the end of the sixteenth century, later examples including other estate maps and the Christ Church map of the castle area (where accuracy was important), military maps, illuminations in the benefactors' books of various colleges and the *Typus Collegii* of All Souls.[1] During this early phase, Oxford held its own with other British cities in terms of the quantity and quality of images produced, but did not lead the way.

During the sixteenth century, the technique of engraving was increasingly used on the Continent for book illustrations, and in the Low Countries, particularly, there was a demand for large-scale wall maps (either on rollers, or framed). The use of maps as 'wall furniture' also became popular in England and as early as 1606 the probate inventory of Sampson Newton of Magdalen College included ten maps – two framed and eight unframed.[2] In England, several cities had engraved scenographic maps published before Oxford, notably Norwich (1559, Ill. 1.10), London (*c.*1560),

[1] The small scale of drawings in benefactors' books limits their ability to provide useful architectural information, but a comprehensive review could provide information of social interest.
[2] Brockliss, *The University of Oxford*, p. 286.

Cambridge (1572, Ill. 2.40) and Bristol (drawn 1568, published 1581). With the help of Augustine Ryther, Ralph Agas published his map of the city in 1588, so Oxford was close behind the leading English cities in urban cartography and remained in this position. Facsimile and updated versions of Agas/Ryther by Hollar, Loggan, Whittlesey and Williams were published over the following century and a half. The advent of ichnographic city plans and the demise of their scenographic counterparts was heralded by Williams's 'new' map of 1733, but the death knell of the scenographic map was finally sounded in 1750, when Oxford was resurveyed professionally by Isaac Taylor. The resulting map, published the following year, was reissued with minimal updating by William Faden in 1789, but even before this (1773) Barak Longmate had based his *New Map of the City of Oxford* on Taylor's survey and he reissued it several times thereafter with minor changes. Likewise, Richard Davies based *A Plan of the University and City of Oxford* (1797) on Taylor, although the remainder of his 16-sheet map of Oxfordshire may have been largely original. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century was there another professional survey resulting in a new map, the *Plan of Oxford* by Robert Syer Hoggar (1850), and in 1876 the Ordnance Survey undertook their first detailed survey of the city.

The increasing demand for illustrated books included those of a chorographic nature, a direct result of which was the publication of Hoefnagel's image of Oxford in volume 2 of *Civitates*.[3] In 1575 this was among the first of an English city to be published, alongside images of Cambridge and Windsor (London had appeared in volume 1, published in 1572). Derivative versions continued to appear throughout the seventeenth century. Hollar published full-sized prospects of London and other cities, but not Oxford, and it seems likely that at least the later version of the prospects inset in his Oxford maps was not drawn by him. Engraved prospects of Oxford continued to appear alongside and sometimes inset within maps during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as they did for other cities. Loggan's two fine prospects of the city in *Oxonia Illustrata*, from the east and the south, were the first after Hollar's small map insert to adopt a topographical approach and, as in so many other ways, Williams emulated this in *Oxonia Depicta*. In neither instance, however, were the prospects as impressive as the building views and there is some doubt as to who made the drawings

[3] Braun and Hogenburg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 2.

engraved by (or for) Loggan and Williams. By the 1730s there was a strong public demand for prospects, epitomised by the series of Samuel Buck and John Boydell, where Oxford was adequately, but unexceptionally, represented. Samuel and Nathaniel Buck also employed other artists to work up their drawings and, overall, prospects of Oxford tend to be more collaborative works than building views.

Although most early prospects of Oxford were from the east or south, each vantage had its problems. Areas to both the east and west of Oxford had rising ground and therefore provided natural viewpoints for the city, but the fact that many of its important buildings were on or close to the High Street meant they appeared clustered together when viewed along this axis. The south aspect had no rising ground, necessitating an artificially high viewpoint. Later prospects, from the south-east and south-west, were probably designed to deal with this issue, as well as introducing an element of originality. Whichever geographical viewpoint was adopted, it was inevitably the towers and spires that provided the principal subject matter, a practice that was well-established before the end of the fourteenth century and remains true.

The relatively few unique prospects of Oxford that survive from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (for example by the court artist of Cosimo III de' Medici, Griffier and van der Vinne) underline the fact that Oxford, with an established international reputation for learning from mediaeval times, was one of the major stops for Continental visitors on their tour of England. It is quite possible that inadequately, or incorrectly, catalogued prospects of Oxford, some resulting from records of 'grand tours' and other official visits to Oxford by important dignitaries, remain to be discovered in Continental collections.[4] Overall, as with urban cartography, Oxford was represented early among printed urban prospects and retained its position.

Also popular as wall furniture were large almanacs of many varieties, of which the Oxford University Almanack stood at the pinnacle from its permanent inception in 1676. The Almanack was encouraged

[4] See list of records of such visits in: Cordeaux and Merry, *Bibliography of printed works relating to the University of Oxford*, pp. 21–5. A folded broadside by Simon Bibye of Lambeth containing woodcuts of the arms of the colleges was published in Tubingen in 1602 to accompany a description of a visit to Oxford by the Duke of Württemberg in 1592.

by John Fell, neither an artist nor an engraver, but Dean of Christ Church, Bishop of Oxford, sometime Vice-Chancellor of the University and promoter of the university press. Almost from the outset he wisely delegated the supervision of its production to Henry Aldrich. In its early years the illustrations were mainly of an allegorical nature, sometimes with Oxford in the background. Initially, Oxford's buildings rarely took a leading position in the design of the Almanack and even after Aldrich's death in 1710, when his role was taken on by George Clarke, it took another decade or so for the change of emphasis to be effected fully.

By the middle of the seventeenth century there was a growing expectation that important antiquarian books such as Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* would be illustrated, even if the images were not central to the subject matter.[5] Oxford was represented in the *Monasticon* by views of Christ Church Cathedral and the ruins of Osney Abbey. Not long thereafter, a project was conceived in Oxford that would place the images at the heart of a book, with no letterpress text. This project culminated in the publication, in 1675, of David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, after a gestation of almost a decade. John Fell's role in the production of *Oxonia Illustrata* may historically have been imperfectly understood – although consistent with his object of promoting the university, it was not commissioned by him as a set of images to accompany Wood's *Historia et Antiquitates*. However, his involvement was clearly critical and without his sponsorship and encouragement the likelihood of David Loggan bringing his project to a successful conclusion must have been significantly reduced. Loggan's unparalleled skill (in England) and first-hand experience of the demand for such works on the Continent placed him in a unique position to understand the risks involved and, with the encouragement of Fell, to undertake the work. That the project was an apparent financial success at the time is confirmed by Loggan immediately on its completion embarking on a similar project at Cambridge.[6]

The successes of *Oxonia* and *Cantabrigia Illustrata* demonstrated, or perhaps instigated, a burgeoning public enthusiasm in Britain for high-quality, lavishly illustrated topographical books of a type that had been popular on the Continent for some years. This may have been fostered by increasing Dutch

[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*.
[6] Loggan, *Cantabrigia Illustrata*.

influence on cultural taste following the Glorious Revolution. Yet, even with these two examples, it was to be some years before private capital was again put at risk on a significant scale. The various incarnations of *Britannia Illustrata* (from 1707) and Strype's illustrated editions of Stow's *Survey of London* (from 1720) both went through several reprints and editions, their profitability being boosted in each case by additional sales of individual plates from these works. It is notable that *Britannia Illustrata* and its variants were heavily dependent on three Dutchmen working in London: David Mortier, Leonard Knyff and Johannes Kip. The last of these was also responsible for many of the illustrations in Strype's edition of Stow. Without Dutch-trained engravers of the quality of Loggan and Kip, four of the most important illustrated books of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century would never have been published. Only from the beginning of the eighteenth century did these Dutchmen begin to be joined by a group of English engravers, mostly working in London, who would eventually be able to turn their hands to any subject matter.

If *Oxonia Illustrata* was not substantially pre-sold on the basis of a subscription list (and none has been found), sales of *Oxonia Illustrata* would have been to a combination of the university authorities (to be given as gifts to visiting dignitaries, or sent abroad), colleges and their fellows (possibly even some wealthy undergraduates), London and provincial booksellers, and directly to the public as a result of advertisements in the general press. London-based print sellers, who also often sold books and sometimes maps, had published lists of their stocks from the middle of the seventeenth century and by the early eighteenth century were an important force in the distribution of prints and illustrated books. In order to be able to supply prints in considerable quantities, these print sellers commissioned plates of their own and purchased plates from other dealers and engravers, or from their estates (as did Henry Overton with Loggan's Oxford and Cambridge plates).

In 1732/3, when Williams eventually published *Oxonia Depicta*, he certainly made use of London print sellers, as well as having opened a subscription list some years before. Benjamin Cole, in the 1705 prospectus for his map of twenty miles around Oxford, also announced that subscriptions would be received by a variety of named provincial booksellers.[7] Williams specifically mentioned in his

[7] Bodley I 2.2(a) Med. advertisement concerning delay to publication of map of 20 miles round Oxford.

advertising the possibility of using plates from *Oxonia Depicta* printed on large paper for wall furniture. Displaying such items openly allowed the owner to advertise his own erudition and wealth. Later the city views of Boydell and the Bucks came to be used similarly, often elaborately coloured and framed. The total sales of *Oxonia Depicta* are unknown, but without sales to the general public either directly, or through print sellers, it would never have made a profit and Williams never took on a similar project for Cambridge. Williams was shameless in his use of images from *Oxonia Ilustrata*, the Almanacks and other sources for *Oxonia Depicta*, but his images of contemporary building projects and college gardens are important.

Donowell's *Views of Oxford* was a much more modest undertaking than those of Loggan and Williams and the financial risk was almost certainly shared with his publisher, John Tinney.[8] Its real distinction, however, was that it showed an almost idyllic view of Oxford presaging the arrival of the Picturesque movement, as distinct from the somewhat cold (albeit accurate) views that had generally preceded it. The High Street, Broad Street and Cornmarket now became as important as subjects in their own right as the buildings for which they provided a setting. Donowell's engraving of Carfax was the first to show in any detail the impressive conduit, which had been in position since 1617. Given that Donowell's main claim to fame was as an architect, this is the more surprising and in the absence of his original drawings the contribution to the final designs of the engraver, probably William Woollett, can only be speculated upon. Although outside the scope of this research, the influence of Donowell on later publishers of series of Oxford prints such as Malton (1802) and Nattes (1805–14) is clear.[9]

With the exception of two images in the *Monasticon*, notably absent from the list of those responsible for images of Oxford buildings considered thus far are the antiquaries. Significant numbers of them were active in and around Oxford from the middle of the seventeenth century (for example Aubrey and Wood) until at least the middle of the eighteenth (Wise, Rawlinson and Rowe Mores). They were attracted by the university's academic reputation, especially after the Restoration, and the resources of the Bodleian, but with two exceptions their influence on images was light and sporadic. John Aubrey

[8] John Donowell, *Eight views of the colleges and other public buildings of Oxford* (London, 1755).
[9] (1) T. Malton, *Views of Oxford* (London, 1802); and (2) J.C. Nattes, *Oxford delineated: a graphic and descriptive tour of the University of Oxford* (London, 1805–14).

sketched the castle while at Oxford and commissioned images of Osney Abbey from Hesketh and Dobson. William Dugdale took advantage of one of these Osney images for the *Monasticon* and either commissioned or took advantage of another of the cathedral by Rallinson. The original Latin version of Wood's history of the university did contain two engravings, including one of the Civil War defences, also possibly based on a Rallinson drawing, but is chiefly remembered for the *Oxonia Illustrata* plates published in parallel.[10] An exception is the commissioning by Thomas Hearne from Michael Burghers and Benjamin Cole of plates depicting places of antiquarian interest in and around Oxford, providing a small but valuable resource (Ills. 4.153–168). Their collection and publication as *Ectypa varia* in 1737, some years after Hearne's death and a time when the *Antiquities* series of the Bucks was selling well, was an opportunity missed in so far as there is no evidence that the work was ever advertised for sale in the general press and no text was included describing the plates, or the buildings they showed.[11] Another exception was the encouragement by Rowe Mores of James Green to record the old halls of Oxford that even then had all but disappeared. The project began promisingly with the early publication of engravings of his three drawings of the old gatehouse of Queen's College, but if the intention had been to publish engravings of his other drawings the project foundered, possibly as a result of Rowe Mores' departure from Oxford around 1753, or Green's death.

The many parish churches and other ecclesiastical buildings of Oxford were poorly represented in images. The cathedral was illustrated (not very well, by Daniel King) in the *Monasticon*, but it was St Mary's University Church that was selected for inclusion by Loggan and Williams in their works, the latter also including the recently rebuilt All Saints. St Peter's-in-the-East was engraved by Burghers for Hearne, but only because both lived in that parish. The city church of St Martin's (Carfax) appeared as a vignette in the second state of a map of Port Meadow by Benjamin Cole, but only by virtue of its proximity to the newly-built assembly rooms.

Fell's motive for sponsoring and encouraging Loggan to produce *Oxonia Illustrata* was part of a larger plan to promote his university, in which he was successful. The common primary motive for many of

[10] Anthony Wood, *Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1674).
[11] Hearne, *Ectypa varia*.

the others who were thereafter engaged in the production of Oxford prints, including those in the Almanack, was financial. Loggan's Oxford and Cambridge projects may well have been individually successful, but they did not prevent him from dying in debt, as Hollar had died in penury before him. Michael Burghers apparently made a good living from his jobbing engraving, perhaps because he never undertook a large project at his own risk. The financial condition of Williams at his death is unknown, but he did not make sufficient money out of *Oxonia Depicta* to undertake a similar project in Cambridge, or to be able to give up his estate surveying. Donowell's personal circumstances are also unknown, but even if his *Views of Oxford* were successful, they did not encourage him to undertake similar projects in other cities. The series of city views by Buck and Boydell sold well, but this did not prevent Samuel Buck from dying in poverty and John Boydell being in serious business difficulties at the time of his unexpected death. George Vertue was an exception, but like Buck and Boydell he was only peripherally an Oxford engraver. If his reputation depended solely on the originality of his Almanack designs, he would not have one, and it is hard to disagree with Gilpin's evaluation that: 'Vertue was an excellent antiquarian; but no artist.'[12] James Green inherited the roles of University Engraver and Engraver to the Society of Antiquaries from Vertue and may well have become financially successful and more widely recognised had he not died young.

Oxonia Illustrata and the Almanack were far from Fell's only contributions to engraving in Oxford. The success of his university press called for a steady supply of book illustrations, many of which were provided by Michael Burghers and others by a lesser gallery of engravers who spent at least part of their time working in Oxford, such as John Sturt, Nathaniel Parr and Benjamin Cole.

Anyone opening *Oxonia Illustrata* could not fail to have been impressed, but equally could not fail to have noticed that only one of Oxford's magnificent buildings (the Theatre) had been erected since the Restoration. Completed in 1669, it was the first truly classically inspired design on a large scale in Oxford, although even here there were non-classical elements. Thereafter the style was adopted for several major projects, notably the Ashmolean Museum, All Saints Church, the Clarendon Building, Christ Church (the Peckwater buildings), new buildings at Magdalen, Queen's, Trinity and Worcester

[12] William Gilpin, *An essay upon prints*, 2nd edn. (London, 1768), pp. 126-7.

Colleges and the Radcliffe Library. The Gothic, however, fought a long defence, aided by innate conservatism at some of the colleges (Exeter), the need to blend in with existing buildings (All Souls and University) and constraints on money (St Edmund Hall) and room to expand (Brasenose).

The century-long 'building boom' that commenced in Oxford following the Restoration and accelerated after the Glorious Revolution was certainly facilitated by a return to political stability, but it was a local phenomenon rather than a manifestation of a national trend. Elsewhere, for example in London, Edinburgh and Bath, the aesthetics of town development were being seriously reconsidered, but this was never the case with Oxford. Oxford was not competing with these cities for commerce and industry, and to only a limited extent academically with Cambridge. Importantly, the colleges did compete among themselves and with the university itself for students and prestige, for example by erecting libraries and chapels, but there was no requirement for a grand palace to replace Beaumont, or any perceived need for a magnificent residential crescent. The old guildhall was not replaced with a new town hall until 1752. The closest Oxford came to building a temple of commerce was the Clarendon Building, in design terms a far cry from London's Royal Exchange rebuilt only a few decades before. Hawksmoor's proposals for a new university church were met with unenthusiastically.

The original architectural drawings in the various Oxford collections have rightly been much-studied and the associated engravings occasionally mentioned in passing, but as a corpus the importance of the engravings of these Oxford projects, many of which fill in visual lacunae, has been underestimated. Whatever the reasons for their production, engravings of buildings permitted the broad dissemination of architectural knowledge far more effectively than did architectural drawings. In Oxford, the production of individually issued prints related to building projects generally fell into one of two broad categories: fund raising and celebratory. The first category comprised those that were sent to potential benefactors for fund-raising purposes, or to those whose political support was required in gaining the approval for a specific design, or some combination of the two. Such plates could be expensive and as an investment would be expected to pay for themselves. If sufficiently carefully prepared they might also be used by builders for operational purposes (as implied by the correspondence between Wren and Fell concerning Tom Tower), but this rarely seems to have been their primary purpose. Henry

Aldrich and George Clarke were involved between them with numerous major building projects, including All Saints Church, Christ Church, Queen's College, Trinity College, Worcester College and, probably, Exeter College, so it is no surprise that they were among the commissioners of plates.

Michael Burghers, left behind in Oxford when Loggan moved on to Cambridge and eventually to succeed him as University Engraver, was entrusted with the task of engraving most of these designs. Aldrich was almost certainly not the first Dean of Christ Church to employ him, for all the evidence points to him having been the engraver of Wren's elevation of Tom Tower (1681) for Fell. For Aldrich to have employed, or encouraged, him in 1685 on the Old Ashmolean project would have been entirely natural and, once a rapport had been established, further commissions would have been likely. Aldrich had a close and extensive working relationship with Burghers over a lengthy period, who engraved not only architectural subjects for him, but also a long series of Almanacks designed by Aldrich and the illustrations for his edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.[13] Likewise, George Clarke would have had no reason to look elsewhere when an engraving of the proposed library at Christ Church was required after Aldrich's death and he continued to employ him on the Almanack. This does leave some unanswered questions, including the reason for Sturt to have been chosen for the first engraving of the new All Saints Church and for atypical staffage in the version of the Peckwater plates that appeared in *Britannia Illustrata*. Sturt did have an indirect connection with Oxford, having been an apprentice to Robert White, who reputedly assisted Loggan with *Oxonia Illustrata*.[14]

The existence of rare and unique states of engravings of the chapel at Trinity College, the library and hall/chapel at Queen's College, and Peckwater Quadrangle and the library at Christ Church in the Aldrich and Clarke architectural print portfolios respectively at Christ Church and Worcester supports the argument of a close involvement in a collaborative design process between these two amateurs and the professionals, such as Hawksmoor and Townesend. There is no evidence to suggest that Burghers played a role in the design process itself in any of these buildings, but he was evidently an important and overlooked member of an informal team.

[13] S. Boorsch, 'The 1688 *Paradise Lost* and Dr. Aldrich', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 6 (1972), pp. 133–50.
[14] Worms and Baynton-Williams, pp. 641–2.

Not included in the list of projects given above in which Aldrich and Clarke were involved (but Burghers was not) was the proposed rebuilding of All Souls College, one of the two major 'completed' projects at Oxford with which Nicholas Hawksmoor was involved (the other being the Clarendon Building). Notwithstanding an obvious affection for Oxford and a close relationship with Clarke (who was involved with All Souls), Hawksmoor was essentially a London man and chose London-based engravers to engrave his plates for All Souls: du Bosc, M. van der Gucht and Hulsberg. The fact that no large engravings were made of the Clarendon Building at the time its design was being finalised, or after its completion (analogous to Burghers' engraving of the Old Ashmolean) is an oddity. Of course, as the home of the university press, the Clarendon Building (and before it the Theatre) did appear in numerous title page engravings of books published there, often flanked by the Bodleian and the Old Ashmolean. Inevitably Burghers was responsible for the greatest number of these and his name would also often be found on any illustrations these books might contain, regardless of the subject. In promoting the design of the Radcliffe Library, after Burghers' death, its trustees employed Vertue to engrave the five plates of a short booklet, two editions appearing as Gibbs' design progressed.[15]

The second broad category of building project prints comprised engravings designed to celebrate the completion of a building. They might be commissioned by the university or college concerned, to be provided as gifts to distinguished visitors, or by the architect responsible for the building as a means of advertising. Here also Burghers succeeded Loggan as the pre-eminent exponent, further supporting the argument that his contribution in quantity and quality terms to the visual record of Oxford needs to be reappraised. The tradition of celebratory prints in England goes back to 1569 with Frans Hogenberg's two engravings of the recently completed Royal Exchange in London. The earliest example in Oxford is the Loggan engraving of the Sheldonian Theatre, issued in 1669, well before the publication of *Oxonia Illustrata* as a whole (in 1675) and for which he was paid separately. Later examples include the Burghers engravings of the Ashmolean Museum (*c.*1685), Pembroke College (1700) and New College garden quadrangle (1708). The opening of the new town hall in 1752 was the subject of an

[15] Gibbs, *Bibliotheca Radcliffiana*.

engraving by Paul Fourdrinier after the architect, Isaac Ware (Ill. 4.183), although Ware was also a competent engraver.[16] The best example of 'advertising' prints is the edition of *Bibliotheca Radcliviana* published by Gibbs after the completion of the Radcliffe Library in 1747, containing 18 plates engraved by Fourdrinier. Gibbs had made his reputation before he ever came to Oxford, but he was determined to enhance it by publishing widely his accomplishments in the university. Like Campbell with *Vitruvius Britannicus*, he understood the power of the print in marketing classical architecture in general and his own skills in particular.[17]

The architectural drawings of Aldrich, Clarke, Gibbs, Hawksmoor, Townesend, Wren and others provide a deep insight into the development of the major buildings in a British city during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a period of considerable construction activity. The original drawings represent a rich resource for architectural historians, of which full advantage has been taken by researchers. All of these projects evolved as financial and other constraints became apparent, not to mention the changing tastes and preferences of the sponsors. While such evolution can be analysed through a consideration of the drawings alone, a review of the related engravings by Burghers and others, produced to communicate these designs and changes thereto, can provide additional information, particularly when their chronology is understood. The Aldrich and Clarke architectural print portfolios at Christ Church and Worcester College (Ch Ch X3 and WC LIII respectively) are well known, but the contents of each have never previously been explicitly compared, leading to some new insights into the development of the states of engravings of Christ Church and Queen's College and the complexities of the design process, with implications for building history. The engraved plan of Peckwater showing an extension into Oriel Square, probably also by Burghers, has never previously been described. The proposed and actual changes to the college and university buildings certainly fuelled the demand for engraved images, leading to a scale of operation that few can have imagined. The plates could also appear later in general illustrated works, for example the Burghers plates of Christ Church and Queen's College were sold to Joseph Smith for inclusion in *Britannia Illustrata*.

[16] Harris, p. 61.
[17] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British Architect* … (3 vols., London, 1715–25).

Given the considerable corpus of Oxford architectural engravings by Burghers and others, why is it not better known? The simple answer is that it was never collected together and published in a single volume for sale to the public at large. Had it been, it would certainly have ranked as at least as significant a body of work as that contained in *Oxonia Depicta*, perhaps even *Oxonia Illustrata*. This does not diminish the importance of the individual items. These plates acted as a communications medium, attracting funding, promoting the university and its colleges and publicising the skills of Wren, Hawksmoor, Gibbs and Ware. The extent to which this occurred has never previously been pointed out. Oxford took full advantage of the use of the medium for this purpose and it was well placed to do so with the tradition of appointing a University Engraver, commenced with Loggan and continued by Burghers, Vertue and Green. Taken together, the Almanack, the entrepreneurship of Loggan and his imitators and the architectural ambitions of the university and its colleges go a long way to explaining the comparable wealth of engraved images of Oxford.

Oxford has the benefit of a large textual archive, comprising charters, deeds, leases and many other documents. Taken as a group, the 500 or so surviving images of the city (excluding original architectural drawings) spanning the period from the late twelfth century up to 1759 provide a visual record of the city to complement these textual sources that, outside of London (perhaps even including London), is unparalleled in Britain. The rigour of the deconstruction and analysis applied herein to these images should facilitate their future use for a wide variety of historical research purposes with increased confidence and there is no reason why a systematic review of images of other cities should not be similarly useful. Implicit within this assertion is the recognition that it is possible to ask quite different types of research question, requiring images to be categorised in different ways. For example, Loggan can generally be regarded as the artist/engraver who showed the major buildings of Oxford as they then stood with the greatest detail and verisimilitude, while Donowell did far more to place them in their physical context within the city. The untrained Bereblock can at best be described as idiosyncratic, whereas James Green, despite the somewhat *naïf* style he adopted in his sketches, left images of real importance.

Engraved, etched and lithographed prints of Oxford continued to be produced beyond 1759 until well into the nineteenth century – the Almanack still appeared annually and was supplemented by numerous illustrated guidebooks and the published print series of Malton, Nattes, Ackerman and Skelton. These later images could easily be analysed in a similar manner and would certainly continue to support Skelton's assertion of 1823.

Although the emphasis of this research has been the analysis of the whole body of Oxford images, the necessary pre-analysis of individual examples has led to several conclusions contrary to previously accepted views. The existence of a municipal seal from 1191 that continued in use for several centuries is well known, but not that three versions at least of the seal matrix were used, probably more. The university played a minimal role in the publication of the Agas/Ryther and Whittlesey maps, notwithstanding its commissioning of the Agas survey on which the first was based (later not considered sufficiently important to have been preserved in the university archives). Ryther's role in the earlier map has been underestimated and Whittlesey's role in the later overestimated, of which Hulett is the most likely engraver. Hollar probably never visited Oxford and may not himself have engraved the second and more ornate version of his map. Loggan was able to use the Agas/Ryther map as a basis for his updated scenographic map of Oxford, but who carried out the survey for his ichnographic map of Cambridge remains unknown – he was not a trained surveyor. The previously undescribed duc de Chaulne map of Oxford in the British Library is also likely to have been an Agas/Ryther derivative, via Speed. Unless George Clarke had some involvement with the architectural changes at Exeter College, it is hard to imagine why Burghers would have been employed to produce his two plates at a late stage in the proceedings. The early Tom Tower engraving is likely to have been the work of Burghers, not Loggan, and the Peckwater engravings in *Britannia Illustrata* were also his, not Kip's. Perhaps most importantly, David Loggan's self-financed *Oxonia Illustrata* was conceived as an important work in its own right several years before Anthony Wood was approached by John Fell for the rights to translate and publish *Historia et antiquitates*. Only later did its plates come to be considered as illustrations for *Historia*.

The existence of such a large number of images of Oxford from an early date underscores the contemporary public interest in this university and its colleges, not only in England, but also on the Continent. Williams and Donowell could have chosen London, Cambridge or some other city for the subject of their first illustrated works, but, with no obvious constraints imposed upon them, both chose Oxford, as had Loggan long before. This collection of images is highly diverse, showing Oxford not just as it saw itself, or how it wanted to be seen, but how it was actually seen by the outside world.

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IMAGES OF OXFORD, 1191–1759

by

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Volume 2: Illustrations and additional tables

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Prospect of the City of Oxford from Benjamin Cole's 1715
'Map of twenty miles around Oxford'

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Note: image entries in the above index table that have been infilled in grey are not specifically described or referenced in the main text in Volume 1.

Table A1: Detailed descriptions and sources of the maps

Title/Description	*Ill.*
Untitled plan of Grandpont. Hand-drawn on paper, 1569. 35.5 x 57.5 cm. Brasenose College, Clennell B13.4.	2.1
'Celeberrimæ Oxoniensis academiæ aularum et collegiorum aedificiis totius Europae magnificentissimis cum antiquissima civitate conjunctae elegans simul et accurata descriptio Radulpho Agaso autore Ano Dni 1578.' [The most famous halls and colleges of the University of Oxford, the most magnificent in all of Europe, with the ancient city, together with the elegant and accurate description of the author, Ralph Agas, 1578.] Around the cartouche containing the title is the phrase: 'Vicit industria repugnantem naturam.' Beneath this is the coat of arms of Sir Christopher Hatton (1540–1591), who was Chancellor of the University from 1588 to his death, with above it the words: 'Quae tibi mater erat quondam, nunc filia facta: se tibi tota vovet; Digna favore tuo.' At the bottom centre in a small compartment is 'Augustine Ryther Anglus Delineavit 1588' and above this is a scale of 'peti' (perches), 'pas' (ells) and 'vinar' (yards). There is no compass rose. Surveyor: Ralph Agas (1578); designer/engraver: Augustine Ryther (1588); publisher: Ralph Agas (1588). Copper engraving on eight sheets. ~81 x 117 cm. Scale: *c*.1:1,650. Bodley, no shelf mark.	2.2
Sheldon tapestry map of Oxfordshire. Bodley Gough Maps 261 (R).	2.3
Plan of St Clements. Hand-drawn on paper, 1582–94. 44 x 58 cm. Magdalen College Archive, Miscellaneous Deeds 348.	2.4
'The description and cituation of Waram Bank wth the rivers, bridges, buildings on eatch side: the leter **A**, on the north side of S^{t} Georges Churtch, was the Churtch yarde, the letter **B** is a piec of ground w^{ch} was of late times cut out of the churchyard when now runneth a streame' Hand-drawn on paper, *c*.1600. No scale or compass rose, south at top. Bodley MS Wood 276^{b}, f.16.	2.5
Plan of All Souls College. 'Scala pedum' and compass rose, north-west at top. Hand-drawn and coloured on vellum, *c*.1600. All Souls College MS. *Typus Collegii*	2.6
'OXFORDSHIRE described with ye Citie and the Armes of the Colledges of ye famous University', copper engraving from John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire*, 1610. ~38 x 50 cm. Inset plan of Oxford after Agas/Ryther.	2.7
'The true Plot Ground worke and Foundation of the Scholes in the University of Oxford …' Pen and ink on vellum, 1613. 27 x 48 cm. 'Scale of feete' and compass rose (west at top). The 'Public Schools' quadrangle is shown, between 'Catt Street' and 'Part of the Librairie' (the Proscholium). The site of the properties owned by Magdalen College is marked in the south-east corner of the quadrangle. Bodley MS. C17:70 Oxford (95) (R).	2.8
Untitled plan of Oxford Castle. Hand-drawn and coloured on vellum, *c*.1617. 68 x 81 cm. Christ Church Archive, Maps Oxford St. George 1.	2.9
'Plan de Oxford.' Unsigned, hand-drawn on paper with original colour, *c*.1645. 40.2 x 58.8 cm. British Library MS. Add. 11,564 (art 22), the duc de Chaulnes atlas.	2.10
'Oxforde'. Engraver: Wenceslaus Hollar after Agas/Ryther (1643). Copper etching/engraving on single sheet. Scale: *c*.1:6,000. 22.3 x 32 cm. P1055; NH436. Version 1/State 1, 2.11a; Version 1/State 2, 2.11b (publisher Francis Constable); Version 1/State 3-Merian, 2.11c.	2.11
Oxforde. Engraver: Unknown (?) after Wenceslaus Hollar/J. Green (*c*.1660). Copper etching/engraving on single sheet. Scale: *c*.1:6,000. ~30 x 36 cm. P1054; NH2523. Version 2/State 1, 2.12a; Version 2/State 2 (publisher John Overton), 2.12b.	2.12
Untitled plan of Oxford's defences. Sir Bernard de Gomme, hand-drawn on paper, 1644. Bodley MS. Top. Oxon b.167	2.13
'Ichnographia Oxoniæ una cum Propugnaculis et Munimentis quibus cingebatur Anno 1648.' Plan of Oxford with surrounding ramparts and fortifications in the year 1648.	2.14

Copper engraving, 1674. Possibly after lost plan by Richard Rallinson *c.*1648. 42 x 54 cm. (*Historia et antiquitates*) Also illustrated is Coronelli derivative and two Coronelli derivatives of Agas/Ryther (*Viaggi*, etc.)	
'Oxforde as it now lyeth', plan of Oxford and environs with defences and River Thames. Copper engraving, *c.*1644. Bodley Wood 276[b], f.30.	2.15
Siege of Oxford. Oil painting, Jan de Wyck, 1689. Partially based on engraving after Rallinson. Dartmouth Heirloom Trust, Oxford City Museum.	2.16
'Oxonium', plan of Oxford. Rutger Hermannides after Hollar, 1661 (*Brittania Magna*)	2.17a
'Oxonium, Oxford', Beer after Agas/Ryther, 1689 (*Neu Geharnischte Groß-Britannien*)	2.17b
Oxford (detail from map of Bucks and Berks), Philip Lea after Agas/Ryther, 1689	2.17c
Untitled plan of Holywell and St Peters' parishes, hand-drawn on two sheets of paper, *c.*1666. Merton College archives.	2.18
Untitled plan of Holywell and St Peters' parishes, hand-drawn on single sheets of vellum, *c.*1666. Merton College archives.	2.19
'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae Universitatis Civitatisque Oxoniensis scenographia.' [New and accurate scenographic map of the celebrated University and City of Oxford.] Engraver: David Loggan after Ralph Agas/Augustine Ryther (1675). Copper engraving on single sheet. Scale: *c.*1:3,250. 41.5 x 53.5 cm. (*Oxonia Illustrata*)	2.20
'Plan de la Ville d'Oxford' [Plan of the town of Oxford] Engraver: van der Aa after David Loggan (1707). Copper engraving on single sheet. Scale *c.*1:11,430. (*Les Délices de la Grand'Bretagne*)	2.21
'A map of Port-Meadow with a prospect of all the adjacent place, &c. Containing 439 acres 1 rood and 30 perches of land. Engraven and sold by Benjamin Cole near Wadham-Coll. in Oxon.' There are two dedications. (1) Top left-hand corner, below Oxford city coat of arms: 'To the Right Worshipfull the Mayor, the Worshipfull Aldermen & Assistants: to the Bailiffs, with y[e] other Gentlemen of the House and also to y[e] Commonalty of y[e] Ancient & Loyal City of Oxford, (the Proprietors of this large & noble Meadow) this Map is humbly Dedicated, by Benjamin Cole.' (2) Top right-hand corner, below the Earl of Abingdon's coat of arms: 'To the Right Hono:[ble] James Earl of Abingdon; Baron Norries of Rycott; L[d] Chief Justice & Justice in Eyre, of all their majesties Forrests, Chaces, Parks, & Warrens, on the South side of Trent; L[d] Lieutenant & Custos Rotulorum of y[e] County & High-Steward of the City of Oxford this Map is humbly Dedicated by your Lordships Most Obedient & Most Faithfull Humble Servant Benjamin Cole.' Engraver and publisher: Benjamin Cole, *c.*1699 (state 1). Copper engraving on single sheet. Scale: *c.*1:6,000. 38.9 x 57.5 cm. British Museum, Maps 188 P1 (6).	2.22
'A map of Port-Meadow with a prospect of all the adjacent place, &c. Containing 439 acres 1 rood and 30 perches of land. Engraven and sold by Benjamin Cole near Wadham-Coll. in Oxon.' Engraver and publisher: Benjamin Cole, *c.*1718 (state 2). Copper engraving on single sheet. Scale: *c.*1:6,000. 38.9 x 57.5 cm. Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. c.300, f.65.	2.23
'A Plan of the Parish House lying between the Theater and the New Printing House in S[t] Maries Parish in Oxford. Survey'd and Drawn January Anno Dom. $17^{12}/_{13}$ By Benjamin Cole.' Hand-drawn on paper. Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.245 (R).	2.24
'A plan of the land and Tenements &c. which stood formerly on and about the site purchased by the University for the erection of the Clarendon Printing Hose, drawn by Benjamin Cole. Dec. 4[th] 1713.' Hand-drawn on paper. 64 x 38.5 cm. Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.40.	2.25
Plan of Clarendon Building area based on 2.22. Copper engraving by Joseph Skelton after Cole, 1823. (*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*)	2.26
Plan of Radcliffe Square area showing Schools, etc. Hand-drawn on paper, 1719. Bodley MS. DD. Radcliffe c.48 (Radcliffe Trustees Minute Book)	2.27

Plan of Radcliffe Square area showing Schools, etc. Hand-drawn on vellum, *c*.1720. Bodley MS. DD. Radcliffe b.3 (updated version of 2.24). (Radcliffe Trustees Minute Book) 2.28

'A plan of the Schools, Bodleian Library, S^{t} Mary's Church, All Souls and Brazen-nose Colleges. In the centre is Black Hall, and a number of Tenements; which Hall and Tenements were all taken down for the erection of D^{r} Radcliffe's Library, and to have a sufficient space of Ground around it.' Hand-drawn on paper; >1720 (based on 2.24/2.25). Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. c.16, f.1034. 2.29

Plan of Radcliffe Square area based on 2.25. Copper engraving by Joseph Skelton after Cole, 1823. (*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*) 2.30

'A map of Cow Mead & Swinsell Farm, in the Parish of S^{t}. Aldates al. S^{t}. Oles, and of Egroves in Kennington, Berks. Belonging to Brazen Nose College. Taken from a Survey made in the year 1726 by Robert Whittlesey.' Surveyor: Robert Whittlesey (1726). Hand-drawn on vellum. Brasenose College, Clennell B14.1/30c. 2.31

'Oxonia antiqua Instaurata, Sive Urbis & Academiae Oxoniensis Topographica delineato olim a Radulpho Agas impressa A^{o}.D^{i}. 1578 nunc denuo aeri incisa A^{o}.D^{i}. MDCCXXVIII. Huic in Margine accessit Cod: MS. Bodl.: Collegiorum & Scholarum Scenographia amplior & accuratior a Th: Neale S.T.B. calamo descripta A^{o}.D^{i}. 1566.' [Old Oxford restored, or, the Town and the University of Oxford, from a Topographic Map of Radulphus Agas, drawn in 1578 and engraved in 1588. In the margin, from a Codex MS. in the Bodleian, are large and accurate views of the Colleges and Schools from the pen of Thomas Neale, S.T.B., drawn in 1566.] In the centre below the map is a compartment with a dedication to the Duke of Beaufort, with the name of Whittlesey following: 'Illustrissimi Principi henrico Duc de Beaufort Marchioni & Comiti de Worcester Baron Herbert Domino de Chepstow Raglan & Gower &c. Tabulam hanc humillimi DDD. Robertus Whittlesey'. Surveyor: Ralph Agas (1578); engraver: unknown (1728), after Augustine Ryther (1588); publisher: Robert Whittlesey (1728); printer: E. Butler. Copper engraving on two sheets. Scale: *c*.1:2,500. ~ 66 x 95.5 cm. Bodley Gough Maps Oxfordshire 2. 2.32

'Oxonia Antiqua Instaurata sive urbis & academiae Oxoniensis topographica delineato olim a Radulpho Agas impressa A^{o}. D^{i}. 1578 nunc denuo aeri incisa A^{o}. D^{i}. MDCCXXXII.' [Ancient Oxford restored, or a topographic map of the city and university of Oxford from Ralph Agas's map of 1578, now re-engraved in 1732.] Engraved by William Williams after Augustine Ryther, 1732. Copper engraving on single sheet. Scale: *c*.1:2,500. 43.5 x 50.5 cm. (*Oxonia Depicta*) 2.33

'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae Universitatis civitatisque Oxoniensis Ichnographia, MDCCXXXIII.' [New and accurate ichnographic map of the celebrated University and City of Oxford, 1733.] Engraved by William Henry Toms after William Williams, 1733. Copper engraving on single sheet. Scale: *c*.1:3,400. 45 x 53 cm. (*Oxonia Depicta*) 2.34

Oxford. Surveyor: Isaac Taylor (1750); engraver George Anderton; publisher: William Jackson (1751). Copper engraving on two sheets. Scale: 1:2,376. 69 x 58 cm. Bodley Gough Maps Oxon 12. 2.35

Oxford. Surveyor: Isaac Taylor (1750); engraver George Anderton; publisher: William Faden (1789). Copper engraving on two sheets. Scale: 1:2,376. 69 x 58 cm. Bodley Maps Oxon. C17:70 (66). 2.36

'Oxford a 52 milea Oeust de Londres.' Copper engraving on single sheet by George-Louis Le Rouge, 1759. ~7.4 x 10.35 cm. (*Recueil des villes ports d'Angleterre*) Bodley Gough Gen. Top. 200. 2.37

'A Map of the Counties of Berks and Oxon …' Surveyor: John Rocque (1760); Publisher: Mary Ann Rocque (1762). Copper engraving. Inset 'A Plan of the City of Oxford'. Scale: *c*.1:10,560. 17.5 x 31 cm. Bodley Gough Maps Berks. 7. 2.38

'A plan of the University and City of Oxford'. Copper engraving by Benjamin Green after Isaac Taylor (1766). (*A pocket companion or guide through the University*) 2.39

'Oppidum Cantabrigiae' ['The town of Cambridge'] Engraver: Richard Lyne, 1574. Copper engraving on single sheet. 38 x 27.5 cm.	2.40
'Cantebrigia'. Surveyor: John Hamond, 1592; engravers: Augustine Ryther and Peter Muser. Copper engraving on nine sheets. 91.5 x 86.5 cm.	2.41
'Cambridge'. Copper engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar after Hamond, *c*.1640. 26 x 29 cm.	2.42
'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae Universitatis Oppidique Cantabrigiensis ichnographia. Ann^{o}. 1688.' ['New and accurate scenographic map of the celebrated University and Town of Cambridge. A.D. 1688.']. Engraver: David Loggan after unknown, 1688. Copper engraving on single sheet. 40.5 x 53.5 cm (*Cantabrigia Illustrata*)	2.43
'New Map of the Counties of Denbigh and Flint'. Copper engraving on eight sheets; scale: one inch to one mile. Surveyor: William Williams; engraver John Sennex, *c*.1720. Scale: 1:63,360. 180 x 120 cm. National Library of Wales, Maps vtls002843258 (PZ0402).	2.44
Survey of Toddington Manor. Hand-drawn on vellum. Ralph Agas, 1581. 345.5 x 259 cm. BL MS. Add. 38,065.	2.45
'A curious new and plaine map of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales …' (with inset map of Oxford) Hollar, 1654 (and several later states). 64 x 52 cm. P649; NH1330.	2.46
'A new map of the Kingdome of England and Principality of Wales …' (with inset prospect of Oxford) Hollar, 1662 (and several later states). 38.5 x 50 cm. P651A; NH2582.	2.47
'A new and exact map of Great Brittanie …' (with inset map of Oxford) Hollar, 1667(and several later states). 41.5 x 52 cm. P648; NH2581.	2.48
'An orthographical design of severall views upon y^{e} road, in England and Wales.' King's illustrations for Camden's *Britannia*, Hollar. S1 *c*.1660; S2 (illustrated) *c*.1695. 28.5 x 36 cm. P906A: NH2518.	2.49
St Edmund Hall quadrangle, Ground Penetrating Radar survey, 2015	2.50
Oxford Historical Society, key to historical maps by Herbert Hurst (*Old maps of Oxford*)	2.51

Table A2: Detailed descriptions and sources of the prospects

Description/Title	*Ill.*
Wax impression of Oxford municipal seal on City Charter, 1191. Diameter ~7.5 cm.	3.1
Wax impression of Oxford municipal seal on Magdalen College Deed, 1384. (Original not examined.)	3.2
Wax impression of Oxford municipal seal on City Lease, 1598. Diameter ~7.5 cm.	3.3
Wax impression of Oxford municipal seal on Power of Attorney, 1614 Diameter ~7.5 cm.	3.4
Wood engravings from Foxe's Book of Martyrs, 1563, showing deaths of Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer and denunciation of Cranmer (3.4 bis – quater).	3.4
New College misericord, *c*.1390. Wood carving.	3.5
Osney Abbey rental book, 1453–79. Pen and ink on paper.	3.6
Nonsuch Palace. Joris Hoefnagel, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1568. British Museum, 1943,1009.35	3.7
Nonsuch Palace. Joris Hoefnagel, watercolour on paper, 1568. Private collection.	3.8
Oxford and Windsor Castle. Pen and ink drawings on paper by Joris Hoefnagel, *c*.1568.	3.9
Oxford and Windsor Castle. Pen and ink transfer drawings on paper by Joris Hoefnagel, *c*.1570.	3.10
'Oxonium nobile Anglie oppidum, septentrionalem Tamesis ripam elegantissimo atque salubri situ illustrat.' [Oxford, famous town of England, on the north bank of the Thames elegantly and salubriously situated, is illustrated] 'Depingeb. Georg. Hoefnagle.' Copper engraving by Frans Hogenberg, 20 x 53.1 cm., *Civitates*, book two, 1575.	3.11
'Vindesorium celeberrimum nglia castrum locus amoenissimis: aedificia magnifica: artificiosa Regum sepulchra: & illustris Garettioru societas memorabilia reddunt.' 'Depingeb. Georg. Hoefnagle.' Copper engraving by Frans Hogenberg, 20 x 53.1 cm., *Civitates*, book two, 1575.	3.12
'Palatium Regium in Angliae Regno appelatum Nonciutz, hoc est nusquam simile.' [The Royal Palace in England called Nonsuch, is illustrated.] 'Effigiavit Georgius Hoefnaglis Anno 1582 [sic].' Copper engraving by Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates*, book five, 1598.	3.13
'Ochsenfuhrt in Engellandt. Univers.' [Oxford, England, University.] Copper engraving by Daniel Meisner, 9.9 x 14.3 cm., *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*, book seven, 1625. The motto at the top of the picture 'Die Pferd so Reũter' can roughly be translated 'As is the horse, so is the rider'. The verses beneath, in Latin and German, read: 'Ebriũs Arcadico Vehitũr bene Bacchũs Asello: Pigritiae Ebrietas ũvida mater erit.' [Drunk Bacchus is appropriately carried by the Arcadian ass: drunkenness is the mother to slothfulness]; and 'Bacchũs aũf einem Esel sitzt, Voll ũnd Toll, dass er keũcht ũnd Schwitzt; Pferd ũnd Reũtter sind gleicher acht, Trũnckenheit faũle Bengel macht.'[Bacchus on an ass sitting, drunk and frantic he gasps and sweats; horse and horseman are one and the same, drunkenness make lazy rascals.]	3.14
'Oxford.' Facsimile of pencil and watercolour by William Smith, 10 x 14.5 cm., *Description of England*, 1588 (published 1879).	3.15
'Oxforde.' Copper etching by Wenceslaus Hollar, 5.4 x 13.5 cm., detail from map. Version 1, states: 1 (1643); 2 (n/d, *c*.1655); and 3/Merian (n/d).	3.16
'Prospect of Oxforde from the East.' Copper etching by Wenceslaus Hollar after D. Gage, 6.4 x 23 cm., detail from map. Version 2, states: 1 (n/d, *c*.1665); and 2 (n/d, *c*.1670).	3.17
Oxford Crown, 1644; obverse and reverse. The obverse circumference inscription is 'Carolus. D: G: Mag: Brit: Fran: et. Hiber. Rex.' ('Charles, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland'). The reverse of the coin bears the legend 'Relig. Prot. Leg. Ang. Liber. Parl. 1644. Oxon.' (The Protestant religion, the laws of England and the freedom of Parliament. 1644. Oxford'); these were the aims of the king in the prosecution	3.18

of his war. The writing around the circumference (from Psalm 68) is 'Ex[s]urgat Deus Dissipentur Inimic' ('Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered ').

Oxford Crown, 1644 (restrike); obverse and reverse. 3.19

'Oxford.' Pen and wash by unknown artist, ~35 x 120 cm. 1669. Laurentian Library, Florence: LL Med.Pal.123.2c.054bis. 3.20

'Oxford.' Pen and wash by Shepherd (?) after unknown artist, 33 x 120 cm. *c*.1821. 3.21

'Oxford.' Aquatint by unknown engraver after Shepherd, ~22 x 27 cm. *Cosmo's Travels*, 1821. 3.22

Oxford from the east. Jan Griffier, oil on canvas, *c*.1680. Illustrated in *Old English Landscape Painters*; collection not stated. 3.23

Oxford from the east. Unknown artist, pen and ink with wash? [Sir] Henry Phillimore collection. 3.24

'View of Oxford from Headington Hill.' Copper engraving by James Skelton after unknown artist in Grenville collection, ~22 x 30 ins cm., *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 1823. 3.25

'Oxoniae Prospectus ab Oriente.' Copper etching by David Loggan, 7 x 22 cm., detail from map, *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675. 3.26

'Prospectus Oxoniae Orientalis' and 'Prospectus Oxoniae Meridionalis'. Copper etching by David Loggan, 32.5 x 44.5 cm., *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675. 3.27

Central Oxford from the north with Minerva. Copper etching by David Loggan, [13] x 23.7 cm., title page *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675. 3.28

Central Oxford from the north with Minerva. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers (?), 1682, detail from title page, *Cyprianici annals*. 3.29

Central Oxford from the north with Minerva. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers, 1683, detail from title page, *Natural history of Staffordshire*. 3.30

Oxford from the south. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers, 1716, detail from title page, *Guilielmi Roperi*. 3.31

Central Oxford from the north. Copper engraving by George Vertue, *c*.1730, unidentified publication. British Museum, 1850, 0223.665 3.32

'Anno 1683 Oxoniae [Prospect]us Ori[entalis]' Pen and ink drawing by Nicholas Hawksmoor, 1683 (V&A RIBA collection 84041, f.47, fig. 19). 3.33

Oxford from the south. Pen and ink drawing by Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1683 (V&A RIBA collection 84042, f.52, fig. 20). 3.34

Oxford from the west. Pencil drawing with brown wash by Jan van der Vinne, 23.6 x 39.8 cm., *c*.1668/9. British Museum no. 1879, 0308.1. 3.35

'Oxoniae prospectus. A prospect of the University and City of Oxford.' Copper engraving by Johannes Kip, 52 x 89 cm., *Nouveau Théâtre*, *c*.1705. 3.36

'Oxoniensis universitatis. The south prospect of the City of Oxford.' Copper engraving by Sutton Nicholls after Johannes Kip, 44.5 x 69 cm., *Nouveau Théâtre*, 1724. 3.37

'Veue d'Oxford'. Copper engraving, probably by Juan de la Cruz, after Johannes Kip, ~5 x 10 cm., *Essai Géographiqe sur les isles Britanniques*, 1757. 3.38

'Oxfort.' 'Oxonium urbs Angliae Clarissima, Artium Studiorumq. mater incomparabilis.' [Oxford, England, famous city, incomparable place for the study of the Arts]. Copper engraving by Pieter Schenk, 26 x 31 cm. *Hecatampolis*, *c*.1710. 3.39

'The Prospect of Oxford from the North.' Detail from copper engraving by Benjamin Cole, 6.9 x 37.4 cm., *c*.1699. 3.40

'The Prospect of Oxford from the North.' Detail from copper engraving by Benjamin Cole, 6.9 x 37.4 cm., *c*.1720. 3.41

'The South West Prospect of the University and City of Oxford, 1731.' Pencil, pen and black ink drawing with grey wash by Samuel Buck, dated (probably incorrectly) 1734, 29.8 x 78.1 cm.	3.2
'The South West Prospect of the University and City of Oxford.' Copper etching by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 24.1 x 78.8 cm., 1731. Plate 56 in Robert Sayer 1774 compendium.	3.43
'The South East Prospect of the University and City of Oxford.' Pen and ink drawing with grey wash by Samuel Buck, *c*.1752. ~31 x 80 cm. (Without staffage.) Bodleian MS Top Oxon c.301 (R).	3.44
'The University and City of Oxford.' Pen and ink drawing with grey wash by Samuel Buck, *c*.1752. 31 x 80 cm. (With staffage.) Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.	3.45
'The South East Prospect of the University and City of Oxford.' Copper etching by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 28.2 x 80 cm., 1753. Plate 57 in Robert Sayer's 1774 compendium.	3.46
'The West View of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford' dedicated to the 2nd Earl of Abingdon. ' Copper etching by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck.	3.47
'The North View of Oxford Castle' dedicated to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral. ' Copper etching by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck.	3.48
'Prospectus Oxoniae Meridionalis' and 'Prospectus Oxoniae Orientalis'. Copper engraving by William Henry Toms after Clement Lemprière, *Oxonia Depicta*, 1733. ~45 x 54 cm.	3.49
Central Oxford from the north. Copper etching by William Williams, ~[10] x 20 cm., title page *Oxonia Depicta*, 1733.	3.50
Prospect of Oxford. Copper engraving by James Green, 1750, *Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis*.	3.51
View of Trinity College Garden? Copper engraving by James Green, 1750, *Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis*.	3.52
'A South Prospect of the City of Oxford.' Copper engraving by John Boydell, 1751. 24.4 x 42.5 cm.	3.53
'An East Prospect of the City of Oxford.' Copper engraving by John Boydell, 1751. 24.4 x 42.5 cm.	3.54
'A West Prospect of the City of Oxford.' Copper engraving by John Boydell, 1751. 24.4 x 42.5 cm.	3.55
'A View of Radcliff's Library in the City of Oxford …', John Boydell, copper engraving, 1752	3.56
'A View of the Town from Heddington Hill'. Copper engraving by George Anderton, 1751.	3.57
'A View of the Town from the Parks'. Copper engraving by George Anderton, 1751.	3.58
Oxford from the north. Woodcut, used as masthead of *Jackson's Oxford Journal* from its first publication in 1753.	3.59
Oxford from the west. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1677. At far left is the Castle mound, followed by the Sheldonian Theatre, with next to it the Bodleian. In the centre are the churches of All Souls and St Mary's and to the right Christ Church.	3.60
Oxford from the south (in two halves on either side of the central figure). Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1679. The left-hand portion is sparsely populated with buildings, although the Castle Mound can be seen to the left of centre. The right-hand portion has the Schools and the Cathedral on the left, with Magdalen College Tower and Old Bridge on the right.	3.61
Christ Church from the south. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1683.	3.62
Oxford from the east. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1685. Christ Church is on the left, Magdalen College Tower towards the centre, with the	3.63

Old Bridge to its left, and on the right between two figures the Bodleian and Sheldonian Theatre.	
Oxford from the east. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1692. Tom Tower is at left, St Mary's spire in the centre and on the right the Bodleian and the Sheldonian Theatre.	3.64
Christ Church from the east. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1698.	3.65
Christ Church from the south. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1700.	3.66
Oxford from the east. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1710. St. Mary's Church is in the centre, with the Schools and Sheldonian Theatre to the right.	3.67
New College from the north. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1712.	3.68
Oxford from the east. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1713. At left are the spires of All Souls and St Mary's, in the centre is the Bodleian Library and immediately to its right New College.	3.69
Forum Universitas. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1715. On the left of the central pillar is St Mary's Church, flanked by All Souls and Brasenose. On the right are the Schools.	3.70
Oxford from the south. Copper engraving by Michael Burghers. Oxford University Almanack 1718. Slightly right of centre is the spire of St Mary's, with the rebuilt All Saints to its left. Further to the left can be seen Tom Tower and the Sheldonian. To the right is an exaggerated version of what can only be the proposed east range of the new quadrangle of All Souls. This would not even have been begun when Burghers made the drawing for the Almanack, probably in 1717, although this was the year in which Hawksmoor's engraving of the 'Grand Dormitory' with its twin towers was published.	3.71

Table A3: Drawings in BL Sloane MS. 3794 (Thomas Palmer's *Two hundred poosees*)

Emblem	*Folio*	*Subject*	*Palmer Title*	*Ill.*
5	25	Atlas	Beare and forbeare	4.3a
6	4	Oxford	The arms of Oxford …	4.3b
10	5	Elephant	Religion	4.3c
11	6	Hourglass	An image of mans lyfe	4.3d
12	6v	Hourglass	Death bringeth an other lyfe	4.3e
13	8v	Eagle	The sinner is only relieved by Christe	4.3f
14	9	St Christopher	One good tourney asketh an other	4.3g
15	10	Ass	A man for all words	4.3h
16	10v	Narcissus	The force of selfe love	4.3i
17	11v	Falconer	Adversitie forceth a man to know him selfe	4.3j
18	12	Phoenix and palm	Baptime	4.3k
19	12v	Man and serpent	A soveraigne medicine for sensulatie and carnall affection	4.3l
20	13	Scribe	The whole state of the courte	4.3m
93	53v	Man at table	The ignoraunte man ys soneste deceyved	4.3n
94	54v	Man with torch	Yonge men thinkes theim selves wiser then their elders	4.3o
95	55v	Troy with horse	A cloke for the rayne	4.3p
96	56	Lion and owl	Strength to wisdom gives place	4.3q
97	57	Fox	Desire not that thow canste not have	4.3r
98	57v	Man ploughing	Love god with al thy harte, with all thy soule etc.	4.3s
99	58	Swimmers	We knowe not howe sone we shall dye	4.3t
100	58v	Men and wolf	Againste those that will say more then thei will doe	4.3u

Table: A4: Drawings in Bodley MS.13a (Thomas Neale's *Topographical delineation*)

Folio	*Page*	*Title*	*Ill.*
iiv		Hebraismi typus (Hebrew tree of knowledge)	4.6
5v		Ecclesia Christi (Christ Church)	4.7
6v		Collegium Oriall (Oriel College)	4.8
7r	7	Collegium Corporis Christi (Corpus Christi College)	4.9
7v		Collegium Mertonense (Merton College)	4.10
8r	8	Collegium Novum (New College)	4.11
8v		Collegium Magdalense (Magdalen College)	4.12
9v		Collegium Omnium Animarum (All Souls College)	4.13
10r	10	Collegium Reginale (Queen's College)	4.14
10v		Collegium Universitatis (University College)	4.15
11v		Collegium Aeni Nasi (Brasenose College)	4.16
12r	12	Collegium Lincolniense (Lincoln College)	4.17
12v		Collegium Exoniense (Exeter College)	4.18
14r	14	Collegium Trinitatis (Trinity College)	4.19
14v		Collegium Balliolense (Balliol College)	4.20
15v		Collegium Ioannis Baptiste (St John's College)	4.21
16v		Schola Theologica (Divinity School)	4.22
17r	17	Scholae Publicae (Public Schools)	4.23

Table A5: Plates in David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*

Plate	*Title*	*Translation*	*Ill.*
i		Title page	4.71
ii		Table of contents	4.72
iii		Royal dedication	4.73
iv		Introduction	4.74
v		Privilege	4.75
I	Oxoniae Prospectus bini	Two prospects of Oxford	4.76
II	Ichnographiae Oxoniae	Plan of Oxford	4.77
III	Frontispicum Scholarum Publicarum	Front of the Public Schools	4.78
IV	Scholarum Public. Atq$_z$ Bibliothecae prospec. Australis	South view of Public Schools/Library	4.79
V	Scholarum Public. prospec. interior	Interior view of the Public Schools	4.80
VI	Scholae Theologicae prospectus interior	Interior view of Divinity School	4.81
VII	Bibliothecae Publicae prospectus interiores	Interior views of Library	4.82
VIII	Theatri Prospectus Meridionales	Southern view of Theatre	4.83
IX	Theatri prosp. Septentrionales	Northern view of Theatre	4.84
X	Habitus Academicae	Academic dress	4.85
XI	Ecclesia B. Mariae Virginis	Church of St Mary the Virgin	4.86
XII	Hortus Botanicus	Botanic Garden	4.87
XIII	Collegium Universitatis	University College	4.88
XIV	Collegium Balliolense	Balliol College	4.89
XV	Collegium Mertonense	Merton College	4.90
XVI	Collegium Exoniense	Exeter College	4.91
XVII	Collegium Orielense	Oriel College	4.92
XVIII	Collegium Regiense	Queen's College	4.93
XIX	Collegium Novum	New College	4.94
XX	Collegium Novi Prospectus interior	Interior view of New College	4.95
XXI	Collegium B. Mariae de Winton	Winchester College	4.96
XXII	Collegium Lincolniense	Lincoln College	4.97
XXIII	Collegium Omnium Animarium	All Souls College	4.98
XXIV	Collegium B. Mariae Magdalenae	Magdalen College	4.99
XXV	Collegium Aenei Nasi	Brasenose College	4.100
XXVI	Collegium Corporis Christi	Corpus Christ College	4.101
XXVII	Collegium Aedis Christi	Christ Church	4.102
XXVIII	Collegium S^{ti}. Trinitatis	Trinity College	4.103
XXIX	Collegium Divi Joannis Baptistae	St John's College	4.104
XXX	Aedificium Cantuariense s. area nova collegii	St John's College, Canterbury Quadrangle	4.105
XXXI	Collegium Jesu	Jesus College	4.106
XXXII	Collegium Wadhamense	Wadham College	4.107
XXXIII	Collegium Pembrochianum	Pembroke College	4.108
XXXIV	Aula S^{ti}. Albani	St Alban's Hall	4.109
XXXV	Aula Cervina	Hart Hall	4.110
XXXVI	Aula S^{ti}. Edmundi	St Edmund Hall	4.111
XXXVII	Aula B. Mariae Virgin	St Mary the Virgin Hall	4.112
XXXVIII	Novum Hospitium	New Inn Hall	4.113
XXXIX	Aula B. Mariae Magdalenae	Magdalen Hall	4.114
XL	Aula Glocestriensis	Gloucester Hall	4.115

Table A6: Engraving related payments in the University Accounts

Payments to David Loggan, 1669–92

No.	*Year*	*Vice-Chancellor*	*Ordinary/Extraordinary: Description*	*£-s-d*
1	1669?	John Fell	to Mr. <David> Loggan 10*li*., (and to another that came with him, 40*s*.) who engraved the print of the Theatre to Mr. Logan who engraved the back part of the Theatre and presented his grace with it, 5*li*.	
2	9/1668–9/1669	John Fell	E: Item to M^{r}. Loggan for the Rouling presse	5-1-6
3	9/1669–9/1670	Peter Mews	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
4	9/1670–8/1671	Peter Mews	O: Item M^{ro}. Loggan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
5	8/1671–8/1672	Peter Mews	O: Item M^{ro}. Loggan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
6	8/1672–10/1673	Peter Mews	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
7	10/1673–10/1674	Ralph Bathurst	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
8	10/1674–10/1675	Ralph Bathurst	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
9	Ditto		E: Item for y^{e} Oxford Cutts given to D^{r}. Wallis for his paines about the University buisinesse	1-13-0
10	Ditto		E: Item to M^{r}. Logan for one of the Oxford Cutts in Quires to be sent to the Duke of Florence	1-5-0
11	10/1675–10/1676	Ralph Bathurst	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
12	10/1676–10/1677	Henry Clerke	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae	1-0-0
13	Ditto		[Mr.] Loggan [7] Cutts of the Coll. [various accounts, including Prince of Neuberg]	7-17-6
14	10/1681–10/1682	Timothy Halton	E: Item Logan's Cutts of the University (2 copies)	2-8-0
15	10/1682–10/1683	John Lloyd	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae pro 5 Annis finit as Festum S^{ti}. Mich	5-0-0
16	8/1687–9/1688	Gilbert Ironside	O: Item M^{ro}. Logan Sculptori Academiae pro 5 Annis finit as Festum S^{ti}. Mich	5-0-0
17	9/1688–9/1689	Gilbert Ironside	E: Item to M^{r}. David Logan for 50 Bookes of Cutts of y^{e} Colleges & Halls	50-0-0
18	9/1690–9/1691	Jonathan Edwards	E: Item to M^{r}. Logan for his Booke Containing a Description of the University of Cambridge	3-4-6
19	10/1691–10/1692	Henry Aldrich	O: Item to Mr. Loggan the University Engraver	5-0-0

Payments to others, 1726–1730

Year	*Entry*	*£-s-d*
1726	Item paid to Williams the Engraver	63-0-0
	Item paid to Burgers the Engraver	1-0-0
1727	Item paid to Williams the Engraver	63-0-0
	Item paid to Burgers the Engraver	1-0-0
	Item paid to Vertue & others for engraving &c. the Almanack of 1727	76-7-6
1728	Item paid to Vertue & others for engraving 2 Alm. plates for 1728	70-0-0
	Item for engraving the two plates for 1729	70-0-0
1729	–	
1730	Item p^{d} M^{r} Vertue & others for engraving two plates for 1730	70-0-0

Sources: all items from OUA WP beta/21/5 and beta/21/6, except: 1 (Bodley MS. 898, quoted in Wood's *Life and times*); and 13 (Bodley MS. Rawl. D.397 fol. 407^{v}).

Table A7: Important plates of Michael Burghers

Subject	*Ill.*
Sheldonian Theatre, etc., north view *Vitae excellentium imperatorium*, 1675	4.168a
Sheldonian Theatre roof, *Natural history of Oxfordshire*, 1677	4.148
Christ Church Tom Tower elevation, after Sir Christopher Wren, *c*.1681 [?]	4.118
Sheldonian Theatre and Schools looking south *Marmora Oxoniensis*, 1676	3.29a
Sheldonian Theatre and Schools looking south *Cyprianici Annales*, 1682	3.29b
Sheldonian Theatre, etc. north view *Natural history of Staffordshire*, 1683	3.30
Old Ashmolean, state 1, *c*.1685	4.116a
Old Ashmolean, state 2, *c*.1685	4.116b
Trinity College chapel, state 1, 1691	4.117a
Trinity College chapel, state 2, 1691?	4.117b
Queen's College library, state 1, 1693	4.132a
Queen's College library, state 2, 1693	4.132b
Queen's College library, state 3, *Britannia Illustrata*, *c*.1709	4.132c
Bodleian Library interior view *Heptateuchus*, 1698	4.149
Pembroke College, state 1 (proof), *c*.1700	4.120a
Pembroke College, state 2, 1700	4.120b
Wadham College, proposal for west front, *c*.1701	4.121
Sheldonian Theatre, etc. north view *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, 1703	4.172
Sheldonian Theatre south view *Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus*, 1705	4.83b
New College Garden Quadrangle, 1708	4.122
Exeter College, proposed east range, 1708	4.123
Exeter College, proposed west front, 1709	4.124
Christ Church Peckwater Quadrangle plan, *c*.1709 [?]	4.127
Christ Church Peckwater Quadrangle double prospect, *c*.1709	4.128
Christ Church Peckwater Quadrangle north prospect *Britannia Illustrata*, *c*.1709 [?]	4.129
Christ Church Peckwater Quadrangle south prospect *Britannia Illustrata*, *c*.1709 [?]	4.130
Christ Church Cathedral prospect *Britannia Illustrata*, *c*.1709	4.39
Christ Church Cathedral prospect *Survey of cathedrals c*.1720 [1742] [?]	4.40
Christ Church Cathedral plan *Survey of cathedrals c*.1720 [1742] [?]	4.41
'Encyclopaedia', 1709	4.119
Queen's College hall and chapel, state 1, *c*.1709	4.133a
Queen's College hall and chapel, state 2 *Britannia Illustrata*, *c*.1709 [?]	4.133b
Queen's College plan of old chapel, *c*.1709	4.145
Queen's College position of old chapel, *c*. 1709 [?]	4.146
Queen's College old great gate, *c*.1720	4.150
All Saints Church after John Sturt, state 1, *c*.1710	5.36
All Saints Church after John Sturt, state 2, *c*.1710	5.37
Botanic Gardens Danby Gate *Vertumnus*, 1713	4.147a
Christ Church library, state 1, *c*.1717	4.131a
Christ Church library, state 1, amended, *c*.1717	4.131b
Christ Church library, state 2, *c*.1725	4.131c
All Saints Church altar piece, 1718	4.151

Magdalen College altar piece after Isaac Fuller *The Resurrection*, 1719	4.152
Hertford College, design for chapel, *c.*1720	4.125
Worcester College west front, 1720	4.126
Magdalen College tower *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, 1724	4.181
Clarendon Building north view	4.173
Clarendon Building north-east view	4.174
Bodleian Library north view 1698 *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*	4.176a
Bodleian Library north view 1698 *Catalogi impressorum*	4.176b
Bodleian Library interior 1698 *Catalogi impressorum*	4.177

Notes:

(1) [?] indicates probable attribution

(2) Excludes plates engraved for Thomas Hearne (see Table A8)

(3) Excludes plates of Queen's College in *The present state of the new buildings* (see Table A16)

(4) Excludes Oxford University Almanack plates (see Table A10)

Table A8: Engravings by Michael Burghers and Benjamin Cole for Thomas Hearne

Subject	*Source 1*	*Source 2*	*Year*	*Engraver*	*Ill.*
St Peter's-in-the-East Church	Leland's *Collectanea*	*Ectypa*	1710/12	Burghers	4.153
St Peter's-in-the-East Church	Leland's *Collectanea*	*Ectypa*	1710/12	Burghers	4.154
St Peter's-in-the-East Church	Leland's *Collectanea*	*Ectypa*	1710/12	Burghers	4.155
Stunsfield Pavement	Leland's *Itinerary*	*Ectypa*	1712	Burghers	4.167a
Stunsfield Pavement	Pointer		1713	'EL'	4.167b
Bodley MS.13a drawings	Dodwell's *De parma equestri*	*Ectypa*	1713	Burghers?	4.7b–23b
Title page view of Oxford	Roper's *Vita D. Thomæ Mori*		1716	Burghers?	3.31
Binsey Chapel	*Rerum Anglicarum*	*Ectypa*	1717	Burghers	4.159
Godstow Nunnery	*Rerum Anglicarum*	*Ectypa*	1717	Burghers	4.157a
Oxford Castle	*Rerum Anglicarum*	*Ectypa*	1719	Burghers	4.156
(South) Osney Abbey	*Textus Roffensis*	*Ectypa*	1720	Burghers	4.162a
Rewley (North Osney) Abbey	*Textus Roffensis*	*Ectypa*	1720	Burghers	4.163a
Islip Chapel	*Curious discourses*	*Ectypa*	1720	Burghers	4.160a
Littlemore Minchery	*Glastonbury*	*Ectypa*	1722	Burghers	4.161a
Godstow Nunnery	*Monasticon Anglicanum (sup)*		1722	Cole?*	4.157b
Rewley (North Osney) Abbey	*Monasticon Anglicanum (sup)*		1722	Cole*	4.163b
Rewley (North Osney) Abbey	*Monasticon Anglicanum (sup)*		1722	Cole*	4.163c
Sandford Manor	Unknown publication	*Ectypa*	1722	Cole	4.166a
Sandford Manor	Unknown publication	*Ectypa*	1722	Cole?	4.166b
Sandford Manor	Unknown publication	*Ectypa*	1722	Cole?	4.166c
Glastonbury Abbey	*Adami de Domerham*	*Ectypa*	1727	Burghers?	4.42

Note: * Benjamin Cole after Burghers

Table A9: Plates in William Williams *Oxonia Depicta*

Plate	*Title*	*Translation*	*Ill.*
I	Titulus	Title	4.193
II	General Dedicatio	General dedication	4.194
III	Oxoniae bini Prospectus	Two prospects of Oxford	4.196
IV	Scenographiae Oxoniae	Scenographic Plan of Oxford	4.197
V	Ichnographiae Oxoniae	Ichnographic Plan of Oxford	4.198
VI	Publicae Aedificiae Academiae	Public academic buildings	4.199
VII	Bibliothecae Bodleianae et Scholae Theolog: Prospectus Interiores	Interior views of Bodleian Library and Divinity School	4.200
VIII	Hortus Botanicus	Botanic Garden	4.201
IX	Collegii Universitatis Frontispicium &c.	University College, front	4.202
X	Ejusdem Coll. Atria bina	University College, two quadrangles	4.203
XI	Collegii Balioliensis Ichnographia	Balliol College, plan	4.204
XII	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium &c.	Balliol College, front etc.	4.205
XIII	Collegii Mertoniensis Ichnographia	Merton College, plan	4.206
XIV	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium &c.	Merton College, front etc.	4.207
XV	Ejusdem Coll. Latus Meridion et Latus Orient.	Merton College, south and east elevations	4.208
XVI	Collegii Exoniensis Ichnographia &c.	Exeter College, plan etc.	4.209
XVII	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium &c.	Exeter College, front etc.	4.210
XVIII	Collegii Orieliensis Ichnographia	Oriel College, plan	4.211
XIX	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium &c.	Oriel College, front etc.	4.212
XX	Ejusdem Coll. Prospectus	Oriel College, view	4.213
XXI	Collegii Regiensis Ichnographia	Queen's College, plan	4.214
XXII	Ejusdem Coll. Prospectus	Queen's College, view	4.215
XXIII	Elevation Utriusq$_z$ laterus Bibliotecae	Queen's College, library elevations	4.216
XXIV	Collegii Novi Ichnographia &c.	New College, plan etc.	4.217
XXV	Ejusdem Coll. Prospectus	New College, view	4.218
XXVI	Ejusdem Coll. Capella, &c.	New College, chapel etc.	4.219
XXVII	Collegii Lincolniensis Frontispicium &c.	Lincoln College, front etc.	4.220
XXVIII	Ejusdem Coll. Atria bina	Lincoln College, two quadrangles	4.221
XXIX	Collegii Omnium Animarium Ichnographia	All Souls College, plan	4.222
XXX	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium &c.	All Souls College, front	4.223
XXXI	Ejusdem Coll. Atrium Novum, &c.	All Souls College, new quadrangle etc.	4.224
XXXII	Collegii B. M. Magdalanae Prospectus	Magdalen College, view	4.225
XXXIII	Ejusdem Coll. Ichnographia Nova	Magdalen College, new plan	4.226
XXXIV	Ejusdem Coll. Latus Septentrionale ut designatum	Magdalen College, northern elevation and design	4.227
XXXV	Collegii Aenei Nasi Ichnographia	Brasenose College, plan	4.228
XXXVI	Ejusdem Coll. Prospectus	Brasenose College, view	4.229
XXXVII	Ejusdem Coll. ut designatum	Brasenose College, design	4.230
XXXVIII	Collegii Corporis Christi Ichnographia	Corpus Christi College, plan	4.231
XXXIX	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium	Corpus Christi College, front	4.232
XL	Ejusdem Coll. Prospectus Meridion	Corpus Christi College, southern view	4.233
XLI	Collegii Aedes Christi Ichnographia	Christ Church, plan	4.234
XLII	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium, &c.	Christ Church, front	4.235

XLIII	Ejusdem Coll. Latus Meridion & Latus Septentrion Majoris Atry	Christ Church, northern and southern elevations in Great Quadrangle	4.236
XLIV	Ejusdem Coll. Atrium Peckwateriense	Christ Church, Peckwater Quadrangle	4.237
XLV	Collegii S^{te}. Trinitatus Prospectus	Trinity College, view	4.238
XLVI	Ejusdem Coll. Capella	Trinity College, chapel	4.239
XLVII	Ejusdem Coll. Atriae bina	Trinity College, two quadrangles	4.240
XLVIII	Collegii Divi Johannis Baptistae Prospect.	St John's College, view	4.241
XLIX	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium, &c.	St John's College, front etc.	4.242
L	Ejusdem Coll. Atriae bina	St John's College, two quadrangles	4.243
LI	Collegii Jesu Ichnographia, &c.	Jesus College, plan etc.	4.244
LII	Ejusdem Coll. Atriae bina	Jesus College, two quadrangles	4.245
LIII	Collegii Wadhamiensis Ichnographia, &c.	Wadham College, plan etc.	4.246
LIV	Ejusdem Coll. Frontispicium, &c.	Wadham College, front etc.	4.247
LV	Ejusdem Coll. Prospectus	Wadham College, view	4.248
LVI	Collegii Pembrochianum	Pembroke College	4.249
LVII	Collegii Vigorniensis Frontispicium, &c.	Worcester College, front etc.	4.250
LVIII	Ejusdem Coll. ut designatum	Worcester College, design	4.251
LIX	Aula Sancti Albani	St Alban's Hall	4.252
LX	Aula Cervina seu Collegium Hertfordiensis	Hart Hall, also called Hertford College	4.253
LXI	Aula Sancti Edmundi	St Edmund Hall	4.254
LXII	Aula B. M. Viriginis	St Mary the Virgin Hall	4.255
LXIII	Novum Hospicium	New Inn Hall	4.256
LXIV	Aula B. M. Magdalena	Magdalen Hall	4.257
LXV	Ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum	All Saints Church	4.258
LXVI	Index Tabularum	Table of contents [and list of subscribers]	4.195

Table A10: Oxford University Almanacks with architectural interest, 1683–1759

Year	*Architectural Subject*	*Designer*	*Engraver(s)*	*Ill.*
1677	City prospect (background)		M. Burghers	3.60
1679	City prospect (background)		M. Burghers	3.61
1683	Christ Church (background)		M. Burghers	3.62
1685	City prospect (background)		M. Burghers	3.63
1692	City prospect (background)		M. Burghers	3.64
1698	Christ Church (background)		M. Burghers	3.65
1700	Christ Church (background)		M. Burghers	3.66
1710	City prospect (background)		M. Burghers	3.67
1712	New College (background)		M. Burghers	3.68
1713	City prospect (background)		M. Burghers	3.69
1714	Designs for Clarendon Building and All Souls		M. Burghers	4.261
1715	Design for *Forum Civitatis*	[Hawksmoor]	M. Burghers	3.70
1716	Design for Radcliffe Library	[Hawksmoor]	M. Burghers	4.262
1718	City prospect (background)		M. Burghers	3.71
1720	Clarendon Building	Thornhill	M. Burghers/C du Bosc?	4.263
1723	Design for Brasenose	[Hawksmoor]	M. Burghers/G. Vertue	4.264
1724	Christ Church (from the west)		M. Burghers/G. Vertue?	4.265
1725	Christ Church (from the north)	Williams	J. Harris/W. Hulett	4.266
1726	Corpus Christi	Williams	J. Harris/W. Hulett	4.267
1727	Design for Queen's College	[Williams]	G. Vertue	4.268
1728	Design for All Souls College	[Hawksmoor]	G. Vertue	4.269
1729	New College Garden and Old Quadrangles		G. Vertue	4.270
1730	Magdalen College		G. Vertue	4.271
1731	Design for Magdalen College	[Cole]	G. Vertue	4.272
1732	Design for Garden Quadrangle of Trinity College	[Williams]	Overton?	4.273
1733	St John's College	Green	Du Bosc	4.274
1734	St John's College Canterbury Quadrangle	G. Vertue?	G. Vertue	4.275
1735	University College		G. Vertue	4.276
1736	Oriel College		G. Vertue	4.277
1737	Merton College	Green/Loggan	G. Vertue	4.278
1738	Wadham College	Green/Burghers	G. Vertue	4.279
1739	Exeter College	Green/Burghers	G. Vertue	4.280
1740	Jesus College	Green	G. Vertue	4.281
1741	Design for Worcester College	[Williams]	G. Vertue	4.282
1742	Design for Balliol College		G. Vertue	4.283
1743	Lincoln College	Green	G. Vertue	4.284
1744	Pembroke College	Green/Burghers	G. Vertue	4.285
1745	Design for Hertford College	Green/Van der Gucht	G. Vertue	4.286
1746	Design for St Mary Hall	Green	G. Vertue/J. Cole	4.287
1747	St Edmund Hall	Green	G. Vertue	4.288
1748	St Alban Hall	Green/Williams	G. Vertue	4.289
1749	Old Magdalen Hall	Green/Williams	G. Vertue	4.290
1750	New Inn Hall	Green	G. Vertue	4.291
1751	Radcliffe Library interior	J. Green?	G. Vertue	4.292
1752	Radcliffe Library exterior	J. Green	J. Green/Cole	4.293
1753	University College Radcliffe Quadrangle	S. Wale	J. Green	4.294
1754	St Mary's Church (north view)	J. Green	J. Green	4.295
1756	Design for Garden Quadrangle of Trinity College	J. Green	J. Green/Cole	4.296
1758	Corpus Christi	J. Green?	J. Green/Cole	4.297
1759	Sheldonian Theatre (south front)	J. Green	J. Green	4.298
1762	Queen's College	B. Green	B. Green	4.144

Principal source: Petter, *The Oxford almanacks.*

Table A11: Drawings by James Green in Bodley MS. Gough 50, etc.

Bodley MS. Gough 50

No.	*Page*	*Title*	*Translation*	*OAR**	*Ill.*
	1		Index		
1	2	Porta Orientalis	East Gate	123	4.308
2	3	Porta Australis	South Gate	123	4.309
3	4	Porta voca Little-Gate	Little Gate (called)	123	4.310
4	5	Porta Borealis	North Gate	123	4.311
5	6	Ecc. D. Aegidij conspectus bor.	North view of St. Giles Church †		4.312
6	7	Ejusdem conspectus austral.	South view of the same		4.313
7	8	Ecclesia D. Martini	St Martin's Church (Carfax)		4.314
8	9	Ecclesia D. Mary Magd.	St Mary Magdalen Church		4.315
9	10	Eccl. D. Thomas	St Thomas's Church		4.316
10	11	Eccl. [?] crucis	St Cross Church		4.317
11	12	Eccl. D. Clementi	St Clement's Church		4.318
12	13	Eccl. D. Ebbe	St Ebbe's Church		4.319
13	14	Aula S. Georgij	St George's Hall	147	4.320
14	15	Ejusdem conspectus interior	Interior view of the same	147	4.321
15	16	Aul. Minor Leonis	Little Lion Hall	141	4.322
16	17	Aul. Major Leonis	Great Lion Hall	141	4.323
17	18	Aul. Bulkeleyensis	Bulkeley Hall	147	4.324
18	19	Aula alba	White Hall	147	4.325
19	20	Aula	Un-named hall ‡	157	4.326
20	21	Aula Regina	Queen's Hall [College]		4.327
21	22	Cornu. Reginense	Queen's College Horn [Cornucopia]		4.328
22	23	Aul. Coventriensis	Coventry Hall	137	4.329
23	24	Aul. Nov. hosp. contra eccl. D. Mich. ad port bor.	New Inn Hall		4.330
24	25	Aula Graca	Greek Hall	137	4.331
25	26	Domus conversorum	Conversion House	157	4.332
26	27	Aula Bohem	Beam Hall §	154	4.333
27	28	Capella B. M. Virg	Lady Chapel	157	4.334
28	29	Paletium	Beaumont palace [ruins]		4.335
	30		[blank]		
	31		[blank]		

Other sources

Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.14	Old Town Hall	4.336
Queen's College	Queen's College 1	4.337
Queen's College	Queen's College 2	4.338
Queen's College	Queen's College 3	4.339

Notes:
***** '*OAR*' is the plate reference in Skelton's *Oxford Antiqua Restaurata.*
† In fact the north and south views of St Giles have been reversed.
‡ This may be Billing Hall. See Anne Dodd (ed.) *Oxford before the University: the Late Saxon and Norman archaeology of the Thames crossing, the defences and the town* (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2003), p. 60.
§ Probably actually Merton College stables.

Table A12: Drawings in Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.14

Folio	*'Title'/Original Notes*
1	'A view of St Frideswide Shrine in the Canons Ile, Christ Church Coll. Oxon.'
2	'A view of St Frideswide Shrine in the Latin Chapell, Christ Church Coll. Oxon.'
3	Bastion in north wall of City, at back of houses in Broad St., v. Gough Prints & Drawings XXVII 37b. [Northgate]
4	North Gate from the south; small door is not shown in Malchair's drawing.
5	'North Side' and 'South Side'. Littlegate; with view of North Side cf. drawing by J. Green in Gough MS Oxon 50, f.14 [sic – should be 3] engraved by Skelton pl. 123.
6	'North front'. The Shire Hall, Oxford Castle.
7	'South Side'. Shire Hall, Oxford Castle.
8	'A North View of Holywell Church, Oxford'.
9	'A North View of Holywell Church, Oxford'.
10	[St Giles Church, south view. See MS Gough 50, f.5–6.]
11	'The North View of St Mary Magdelen Church, Oxford, 1752'
12	'The South View of St Mary Magdelen Church, Oxford, 1752' [See MS Gough 50, f.8.]
13	'Pray to the Coule of Philip Caxton widow which died the seventh{?} day of Cept …' Brass of Philippa Caxton in St Mary Magdalen's; the effigy is lost. V. Haines, p. 172.
14	Ch. Ch. Alms houses, now part of Pembroke Coll.
15	'East Side of the old Town Hall in Oxford. MDCCLI' Probably by the same hand as, or a close copy of, the drawing engraved by Skelton, pl. 157 under the title of Domus Conversorum, the original of which is in Gough MS Oxon. 50, f.26.
16	'The West View of the Ruines of the Town Hall oxon'
17	'A View of the Arches under the Town Hall Oxford'
18	'The Town Hall in the City of Oxford' [with scale of feet]
19	[Plan of 'Town Hall' and 'County Hall', with scale of feet]
20	'Postmaster Hall and the house Anthony Wood was born in' Biham (now Beam) Hall, and Postmasters' Hall, in Merton St., there is a similar drawing by J. Green in Gough MS Oxon. 50, f.27, engraved by Skelton pl. 154.
21	The Well-house in the Castle Mound.
22	'Plan of the Markett. This is a ground plan of the old Town Hall. It was later enclosed and made into offices.' This is really a plan of the Town hall; v. f.19
23	[Effigies]
24	Brass to William de Lodyngton, at Gunby, Lincolnshire; v. Haines p.118.
25	'7 Inch. ½ high. } 9 Inch. ¼ high. } 13 Inch. ¾ high. } 17 Inch. ½ high.' [Four pottery vessels.]
26	[Two Sibyls in plaster work from house once at extreme W. end of Osney Lane (near the Hand{?}) now over doorways of Ch. Ch. Library. H. Hurst, May 7 1895. Sibylla Cumara, Sibylla Persica.]
27	[Effigy]
28	[This is a close copy of an illumination, probably by John Bereblock, in the Statutes of St John's College.]
29	[Memorial to Joshua Lasher.]
30	Corbel with Bishop's Head; this must be the left hand corbel inside the old Town Hall, v f.16.
31	Carving over the door of the Lady Chapel at the E. end of Broad St.
32	Ibid. 'In New College Cloisters'
33	'All Souls'
34	Corbel with Bishop's Head; this must be the left-hand corbel inside the old Town Hall, v f.16. [v. f.30.]
35	Right hand seal is that of the Carmelites of Beaumont palace; ~~the~~ now in the Ashmolean Museum.
36	'Oxford Castle from the North West'

Table A13: Plans of *Forum Universitatis*, etc. by Hawksmoor *et al*

Date	*Ref*	*Title/Subject (Author)*	*Ill.*
c.1692	Trinity	Design for Trinity College chapel (Hawksmoor)	5.28
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2, f.15	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.29
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2, f.16	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.30
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2, f.17	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.31
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2, f.18	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.32
c.1700	RIBA SC111/16	Designs for All Saints Church (Aldrich)	5.33
c.1708/9	Worcester C90	All Souls (Clarke)	5.13
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.43	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.2
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.44	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.1
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.45	Clarendon Building (Hawksmoor)	5.6
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.46	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.3
c.1710/12	Brasenose MS. B15.1	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.4
c.1712/3	Brasenose MS. B15.1 (s)	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.5
c.1713	Ashmolean GI 7	'Environs of the Schooles and Publick buildings of y^{e} University next the new Forum' (Hawksmoor)	5.7
c.1713	MS. Top. Oxon. a.26 (R)	'*Regio Prima, Academiae Oxoniensis Amplificatae et Exornatae*' (Hawksmoor)	5.8
1714	Worcester C3	All Souls (Hawksmoor)	5.15
c.1715	MS. Top. Oxon. a.48 f.74	Design for All Saints Church steeple (Hawksmoor)	5.34
1719	MS. Radcliffe Records B.3 (R)	By an unknown hand (Benjamin Cole?), these plans show the properties in Catte Street and south of Brasenose prior to their demolition. The later was engraved by Skelton; there is an enlarged manuscript version of at MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.42.	5.23
c.1720	MS. DD Radcliffe c.48		5.24
c.1720	Worcester C65	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.9
1734	Worcester C68	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.10
1734	Worcester C67	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.11
1734	Brasenose B15	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.12

Table A14: Descriptions of Hawksmoor All Souls College drawings

No.	*Hawksmoor's description*	*Present Location*	*Ill.*
1	y^e^ Plann Generall of y^e^ Whole Designe [Colvin catalogue description: Plan of scheme for the North Quadrangle of All Souls College, including the Hall and Codrington Library, and showing an entrance from Radcliffe Square.]	Worcester C70	5.16
2	y^e^ Designe of ye Great Dormitory and Common Room with y^e^ parts adjoyning [Bodleian Gough Plans hand list (incorrect): Design for ground plan of Radcliffe Square front of all Souls College Oxford.]	Bodley Gough Plans 7	5.18
3	y^e^ Entry or Vestibulum between y^e^ hall and Chapell and y^e^ same will be in Appearance on y^e^ Wing of y^e^ Library	Lost	
4	y^e^ front of y^e^ Old Quadrangle to y^e^ high-Street with an Additional Storye, and y^e^ Windows Somewhat Alter'd	Lost	
5	a bay of y^e^ Old building at Large with the manner of Chassing (if required)	Lost	
6	a general perspective of y^e^ Chapell, Library, and great Dormitory, with a part of y^e^ Old Quadrangle Alter'd [Bodleian Gough Plans hand list: Design for Radcliffe Square elevation of All Souls College Oxford.]	Bodley Gough Plans 8	5.17

Table A15: Engravers and subjects of Hawksmoor's All Souls College plates

Plate	*Engraver/Date*	*Title, etc.*	*Ill.*
1	M. van der Gucht Undated	*Collegii Omnium Animarum Oxonii Ichnographia.* [Plan of All Souls College, Oxford.] White 35f.	5.19
2	C. du Bosc 1717	*Latus Orientale Atrii Interioris Collegii Omnium Animarum, Oxon.* [East side of interior of quadrangle, All Souls, Oxford.] White 35c.	5.20
3	H. Hulsberg 1717	*Latus Australe Atrii interioris, collegii Omnium Animarum. Oxon.* [South side of interior of quadrangle, All Souls, Oxford.] White 35d.	5.21
4	Not stated 1721	*A. Facies Australis Colleg. Omnium Animarum Plateam alt. Urbis respiciens. B. Porticus sub austral latere capella jacentes ad pronaon Capella, Vestibulum Refectorii et Culinam Ducentes. C. Hospitium custodis, et Domicilia Privat: Civium, Cura meliore readificata.* [South front of All Souls College looking back at the city. B. Gallery along the south side of the chapel leading to the antechapel, refectory and kitchens. C. Dormitories and private rooms.] The Great South Front of All Souls Coll. in Oxford. White 35a.	5.22
5	M. van der Gucht 1721	*Claustrum, Atrii Borealis ad aream Radcliffiana jacens, Capellam et Bibliothecam: connectens.* The Cloyster of All Souls College next Radcliffs Area in y^e^ North Court; this Cloyster joyns y^e^ Chapell to the Library. White 35e.	5.23
6	Not stated 1721	*Porticus mediae â Platea Urbis, vulgo alta, ad Capellae et Refectorii Vestibulum, ducente*. The cross Portico leading from High Street, to y^e^ Hall & Chapell. All Souls in Oxon. White 35b.	5.24

Table A16: Engravings of Queen's College in *The present state of the new buildings*

Tab	*Subject*	*1714 (9)*	*1715 (10)*	*1718/1730 (8)*	*Ill.*
1	Collegii Reginae Ichnographia. The plan of Q.C. Oxon.	State 1	State 2	States 3/4	4.134
2	The South Front. Conspectus Australis.	State 1	State 2	State 2	4.135
3	Conspectus Collegii Reginae as Occidentem.	State 1	State 1	Missing	4.136
4	The West side of the South Court. Areae Austr: latus Occidentale.	State 1	State 2	State 2	4.137
5	The East side of the South Court. Areae Austr: latus Orientale.	State 1	State 2	State 2	4.138
6	South sight of y^{e} Hall & Chappell. Refectorij + Capellae conspectus Australis.]	State 1	State 2	State 3	4.139
7	Aula Conspectus Interior.	Missing	States 1/2	Missing	4.140
8	Missing	N/A	N/A	N/A	
9	The North sight. Conspectus Borealis.	State 1	State 2	State 3	4.141
10	Missing	N/A	N/A	N/A	
11	The Library. Bibliotheca.	State 1	State 2	State 2	4.142
12	Missing	N/A	N/A	N/A	
13	Missing	N/A	N/A	N/A	
14	This with two other sides of the Same Building & the Library makes the North Court.	State 1	State 2	State 2	4.143

Table A17: Byrd's architectural drawings of New College

Date	*Item*	*Comment*	*Ill.*
Late 17th C (*c*.1679–82)	NCA 1171/1–5	'Drafts or Plans of Building for ye lower Court'; architect unknown but J.C. Cole in *Oxoniensia* XIV (1949), p. 71 attributes them to William Byrd and notes endorsements apparently in his handwriting. 5 unsigned plans and 3 elevations in ink and grey wash of proposed buildings in a new quadrangle never carried out. Now hinge-mounted on large sheets of card:	
		1171/1r elevation ('XXII')	5.121
		1171/1v floor plan ('XXIII')	5.122
		1171/2r floor plan ('XVII')	5.123
		1171/2v floor plan ('XIX')	5.124
		1171/3 floor plan and scale ('XV')	5.125
		1171/4 variant elevation ('XXIV')	5.126
		1171/5r variant elevation ('XIV')	5.127
		1171/5v variant floor plan ('XXI')	5.128
		For more variant elevations in this series, see NCA 1133 ('XIV' on the back, now in a framed mount) & 526 ('XXVIII' on the back). *Note*: Plans 'I' – 'XIII' and 'XVI are lacking.	
Late 17th C (*c*.1679–82)	NCA 1133	Drawing, in ink and grey wash, of elevation of a new building. Name of architect not stated but probably the same as NCA 1171/1-5 & 526. 1 document, (endorsed 'XIV').	5.129
Late 17th C (*c*.1679–82)	NCA 526	Drawing, in ink and grey wash, of the elevation and section of a large building in the classical style with the arms of New College, supported by lions (as in the carving now in the Senior Common Room), in the pediment. Name of architect not stated but probably the same as 1171/1-5 & 1133. 1 document, (endorsed 'XXVIII').	5.130
Late 17th C (*c*.1678–80)	NCA 1135 & NCA 1682	Engraved perspective view and plan, with an elevation on a flap, by Michael Burghers (?) after William Byrd for the proposed Garden Quadrangle (never built, but see NCA 951 & 1153 for payments to Burghers for a copper plate, which may be this one). 2 copies. At some time after 1949 1135 was mounted on card and the flap elevation made capable of standing upright. 1682 remains unmounted.	5.131
Late 17th C *c*.1682–83	NCA 1134	Engraved perspective view from the east and plan for the first phase of the Garden Quadrangle, by George Edwards (?) after William Byrd. 1 document, undated. Became staircases OB 9 and 10.	5.132

Table A18: Sketches by Anthony Wood and John Aubrey

Artist	*Subject*	*Date*	*Source*	*Engraved*	*Ill.*
Wood	Area around Queen's Lane	*c*.1660	MS. Wood 276b, f.114		
Wood	Choir of Merton College chapel	*c*.1671	MS. Wood 276b, f.115		
Wood	University College old buildings	*c*.1668	MS. Wood 276b, f.116		4.46
Wood	North prospect of Osney Abbey	*c*.1657	MS. Wood 276b, f.117		4.57
Wood	Prospect of Bampton Castle	1664	MS. Wood E.1, f.12	Burghers	4.179a
Wood	Prospect of Eynsham Abbey	*c*.1664	MS. Wood E.1, f.45		4.180
Wood	Prospect of Godstow Nunnery	1666	MS. Rawlinson B.408 (at front)	Unknown	4.343
Wood	Area around Pembroke College		MS. Wood F.29a, f.44b/45		
Wood	Area around Exeter College		MS. Wood F.29a, f.379a		
Wood	Christ Church Cathedral burials	1671	Wood 430 (at back)		
Aubrey	Oxford Castle, keep on mound	*c*.1643	MS. Wood F.39, f.200		4.43
Aubrey	Rosamond's Bower, Woodstock	*c*.1659	MS. Wood 276b, f.43		

Table A19: Contents of Christ Church Portfolio X3

Folio	*Description*
1	Peckwater, North prospect, coloured engraving, 58 x 47.5
2	Peckwater, South prospect, coloured engraving, 60 x 48 (also uncoloured version)
3	Library, two sketches by George Clarke of alternative designs for front
4	Library, two sketches by George Clarke of alternative designs for front
5	Library, front elevation and plan, engraving by Michael Burghers, with pasted addition, 58 x 47.5
6	Library, front elevation and plan, engraving on cloth, incorporating amendment from fol. 5, etc., 58 x 47.5
7	Library, front elevation and plan, engraving, incorporating amendment from fol. 5, etc., 58 x 47.5
8	Library, drawing of front by William Townsend
8	Library, drawing of east and west end by William Townsend
8	Library, drawing of ground floor windows by William Townsend (unsigned)
9	Library, sketch for east (and west) end by George Clarke
9	Library, sketch for east (and west) end by anon. (possibly James Gibbs)
10	Library, drawing of south side by William Townsend
11	Library, manner of placing sash frames by Henry Keene
12	Library, manner of placing sash frames by Henry Keene
13	Library, scheme of interior by anon.
14	Library, sketch of plan by George Clarke
14	Library, sketch of show shelving by George Clarke
15	Library, roof plan
16	Library, roof plan
17	Old Ashmolean, engraving by Michael Burghers (unique state), 43 x 40.5
18	'Plan du Val-de-Grâce', engraving by Jean Marot, (on same sheet as next, but different plate), 17.5 x 24
18	'Portaille du Val-de-Grâce', engraving by Jean Marot 28.5 x 28.5
19	Trinity College Chapel, engraving by Michael Burghers (unique first version), 33.5 x 44
20	Trinity College Chapel, engraving by Michael Burghers (second version), 34 x 45
21	Queen's College Library, engraving by Michael Burghers (unique first state), 55 x 38
22	Queen's College Hall and Chapel, engraving by Michael Burghers (unique first state), 65.5 x 41.5
23	All Saints Church, engraving by John Sturt (first large version), 40 x 65.5
24	All Saints Church, engraving by Michael Burghers (second small version), 15 x 27
24	Sketch plan of part of Rome, possibly by Henry Aldrich, 27.5 x 18
24	Tom Tower, ground plan by Sir Christopher Wren, 29 x 29
N/A	Tom Tower, engraved elevation by anon. (probably Michael Burghers), 44.5 x 68.5

Notes:

(1) Dimensions, where given, are in cm (to the nearest half centimetre), W x H.

(2) The engraving of Queen's College Hall and Chapel is based on a sketch by George Clarke in Worcester College Library and features a cupola taken from Phillipo Bonanni *Numismata summorum pontificum temple Vaticani fabricam indicantia* (Rome, 1696), pl. 66.

(3) At the end of the portfolio there was, formerly, a drawing of Versailles, probably by Henry Aldrich. A note states that this has been transferred to cupboard Arch I.F.

(4) Folios 1, 2 (both) and 23 are oversized and not kept in the blue Solander box with the other items.

(5) After restoration and reframing it is intended that the Tom Tower engraving should be hung in the SCR.

Table A20: Partial contents of Worcester College Portfolio LIII

Folio	*Description*
044	'Encyclopaedia', engraving by Michael Burghers
045	Old Ashmolean, engraving by Michael Burghers (second state)
046	Exeter College, new building, engraving by Michael Burghers 1708
047	Exeter College front, engraving by Michael Burghers 1709
048	Queen's College Library, engraving by Michael Burghers (unique first state)
049	Queen's College Hall and Chapel, engraving by Michael Burghers? (first state)
050	Portrait of William Lancaster, engraving by George Vertue after Thomas Murray
054	Plan of All Souls [proof before letters] after Hawksmoor
055	Plan of All Souls after Hawksmoor
056	Proposal for south front of All Souls, etc. after Hawksmoor 1721
057	Proposal for cross-portico at All Souls after Hawksmoor 1721
058	Proposed elevation (north front) and plan for hall/chapel at All Souls Hulsberg after Hawksmoor 1717
059	Proposed elevation (west front) and plan for dormitory [proof] at All Souls du Bosc after Hawksmoor 1717
060	Proposed elevation (west front) and plan for dormitory at All Souls du Bosc after Hawksmoor 1717
061	Proposed elevation (west front) and plan for cloister at All Souls van der Gucht after Hawksmoor 1721
062	Plan of Magdalen College, engraving by John Cole?
063	North Front of Magdalen College, engraving by John Cole
064	West Front of Magdalen College, engraving by John Cole
065	View of Hertford College, engraving by Gerard van der Gucht after William Williams
066	Plan of Peckwater Quadrangle, engraving Michael Burghers?
067	Double prospect of Peckwater Quadrangle, engraving by Michael Burghers (unique copy)
068	Ch Ch Library, front elevation and plan, engraving by Michael Burghers (first state, un-amended)
069	Trinity College Chapel, engraving by Michael Burghers (second version)
070	View of Wadham College, engraving by Michael Burghers
071	View of Pembroke College, engraving by Michael Burghers

Table A21: Partial contents of Bodley MS. Auct. V.3.1 (*The Scroope Album*)

Folio	*Arts. [no.]*	*Comment*
365	175–191 [17]	Engravings: Bereblock engravings of colleges, etc. from Hearne's edition of John Woodward; probably by MB, but unsigned
366	blank	
367	192 [1]	Original: watercolour study of farm animals; signed 'MBurghers delinneavit'
368	193 [1]	Engraving: 'The Front of Exeter College in Oxford, 1709' 'Engraven and Sold by MBurg in S^{t}. Peters the East at Oxford'
369	194–197 [4]	Four engravings: (1) memorial of John Wallis; (2) chapter header (?) including portrait of Anthony Wood; (3) memorial portrait of Wood; and (4) ornamentation from Hearne's edition of John Woodward.
370	198 [1]	Engraving: syllabus and calendar of the University
371	199–203 [5]	Engravings: probably chapter embellishments
372	204 [1] folded	'Atry Peckwateriensis designate Scenograhia' 'MBurghers delin et sculp'
373	205–216 [12]	Engravings: various unidentified illustrations
374	217–222 [6]	Engravings: three unidentified illustrations and three maps of Greece and the Levant (possibly from Edward Wells (1667-1727) *A New Sett Of Mapps Of Ancient And Present Geography* ... (1700).
375	223–234 [12]	Engravings: all probably unidentified illustrations, including one that is untitled by has a handwritten inscription 'Tho: Hearne Stud. Of Edmund Hall' and another untitled that appears to be based on Loggan's view of University College, but on a smaller scale and with some changes to details, plus *putti* above and below and also a portrait of King Alfred (?) below.
376	235–240 [6]	Engravings: two small illustrations, a coat of arms, two capital letters and the Almanac k for 1706
377	241 [1]	'The Ichnography of New College in Oxford' 'The Prospect of New College from the East' 'MBurghers sculpt Univ Oxon.'
378	242–246 [5]	Three engravings: two portraits of Clarendon and one unidentified; two original drawings with wash, one of a bridge ('Michael Burghers delin') and the other of an unidentified house ('MBurghers invent').
379	247–260 [14]	Thirteen engravings, including illustrations, capital letters, a portrait of Timothy Halton, a view of the Sheldonian Theatre, a view and plan of All Saints Church and an unidentified original portrait drawing with wash signed 'MBurghers delin'.
380	261–264 [4]	Two Faithorne engraved portraits, an engraved portrait of Clarendon, possibly by MB and a composite plate of decorations, also possibly by MB.

Table A22: Plates in John Donowell's *Perspective views of Oxford*

Plate	*Original Description*	*Notes*	*Ill.*
1	A View of Magdalen College in the University of Oxford.	View looking west across a branch of the Cherwell with the main buildings to the left and the New Building to the right. There are several horses in the field in the foreground.	4.352
2	A View of Queen's College (a), University College (b), All Souls College (c), the Steeple of St Mary's Church (d), &c in the University of Oxford.	View looking west along the High Street from a point on the south side just across from Queen's Lane with Queen's College, All Soul's College and St Mary's Church beyond.	4.353
3	A view of part of St Mary's Church (a), All Saints Church (b), the Conduit (c), Carfax Church (d), &c in the University of Oxford.	View looking west along the High Street from a point on the south side just across from St Mary's, Church with All Saints Church beyond and in the distance the Conduit and St Martin's Church.	4.354
4	A view of the Radcliffe Library (a), Brazen nose College (b), the West Front of All Souls College (c), part of the Schools (d), a distant View of the Tower of Wadham College (e), &c in the University of Oxford.	View looking north along Catte Street from just north of St Mary's Church with Brasenose College, the Radcliffe Camera and the Schools on the left, All Souls on the right and, in the far distance, the tower of Wadham.	4.355
5	A View of the Printing House (a), the Theatre (b), the Museum (c), part of the Schools (d), part of All Souls (e), St Mary's Church (f), &c in the University of Oxford.	View looking south-west across Broad Street from the corner of Park's Road with the Clarendon Building, part of the Sheldonian Theatre and the Old Ashmolean Museum to the right, with parts of the Schools, St Mary's Church and All Souls to the left in the distance.	4.356
6	A View of Exeter College back gate (a), the Museum (b), the Theatre (c), the Printing House (d), &c. in the University of Oxford.	View looking east along Broad Street looking south past the back entrance to Exeter College with beyond it the old Ashmolean Museum, the Sheldonian Theatre and the Clarendon Building. [Sanders refers to this as the third plate in the series.]	4.357
7	A View of Baliol [sic] College (a), Trinity College (b), &c in the University of Oxford.	View looking north across Broad Street from its south side across from the entrance to Trinity, with Balliol College on the left and Trinity College Chapel further back to the right.	4.358
8	A View of the Conduit (a), part of Carfax Church (b), the Piazza called the Butter Market (c), the Town Hall (d), the West Front of Christ Church College, &c in the University of Oxford.	View looking south along St Aldate's from just in front of St Martin's Church, with Butter Bench and Town Hall on the right and the Conduit and Christ Church on the left.	4.359

ILLUSTRATIONS

Note on numbering

The first digit of the illustration number normally relates to the chapter in which the image is first discussed, although there are exceptions, for example where a plan or prospect appears in a volume of plates largely discussed in a later chapter (e.g. David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*), or an image is a general example of a non-Oxford subject (where the first digit is usually 1). The digits following the decimal point normally run in a chronological sequence, but again with exceptions, for example where a second state or version is produced some years after the first and other images would intervene. For this reason images by the same artist/engraver also tend to be grouped together. Variations of essentially the same image are also kept together where possible, even when from different types of source (e.g. book title plates and individually issued plates).

Note on captions

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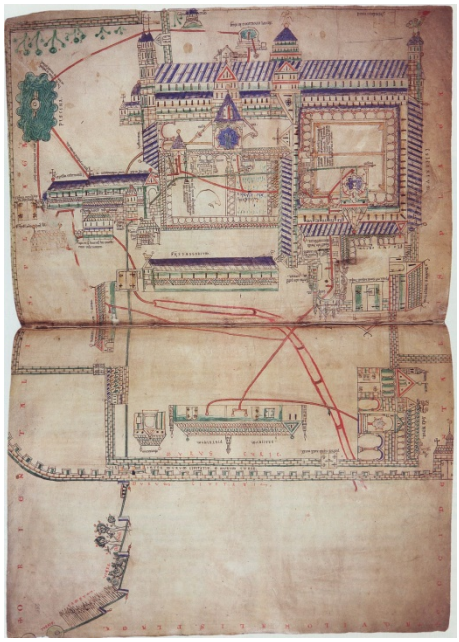
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Ill. 1.1: *Tabula Peutingeriana* (detail)
Unknown, ink and wash on parchment, 13th century
© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek



Ill. 1.2: 'The Gough Map'
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1360, 115 x 56
© Bodley Gen. Top. Oxon. 200



Ill. 1.3: *Eadwine Psalter* (Canterbury waterworks)
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1160
© Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.17.1, f 284v–285r



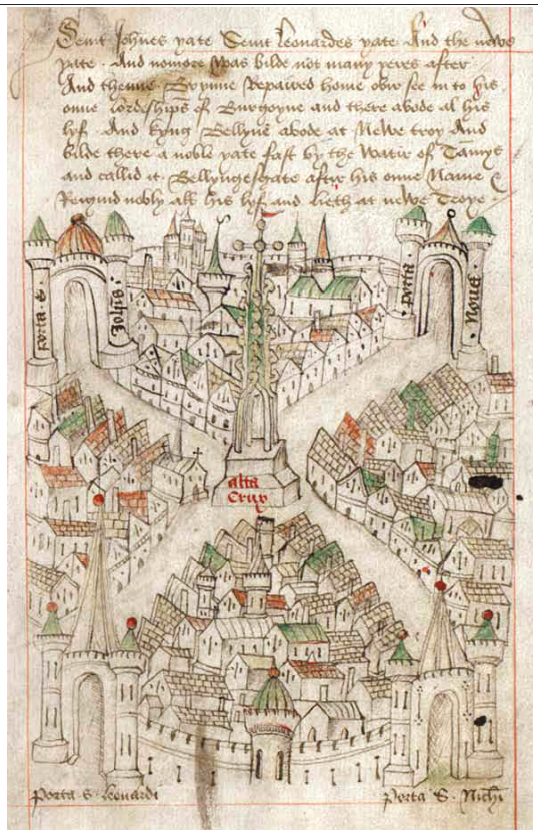
Ill. 1.4: *Mappa Mundi*
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1300, 159 x 134
© Hereford Cathedral



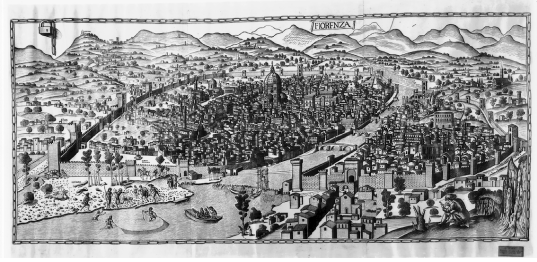
Ill. 1.5: Evesham World Map
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1390, 36 x 24.5
© College of Arms Muniment Room 18/19



Ill. 1.6: Constantinople
Christoforo Buondelmonti, ink and wash on vellum, 1420
© Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS. Laur. Plut. 29.25 c.42



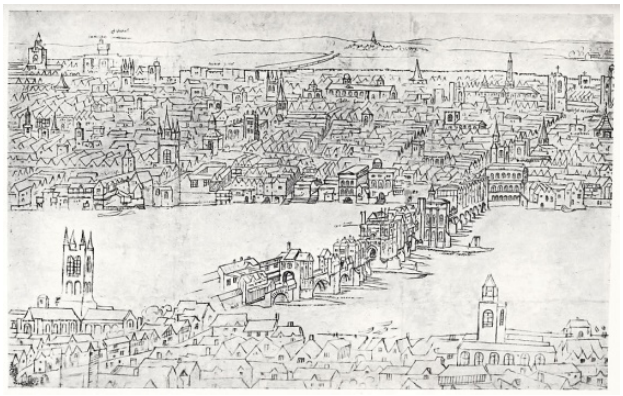
Ill. 1.7: Plan of Bristol
Robert Ricart, ink on vellum *c.*1480
© MS. 04720 (CC/2/7), Bristol Record Office



Ill. 1.8: 'Catena' or 'Chain map' view of Florence
Francesco di Lorenzo Rosselli, woodcut, 1475, 58.5 x 131.5
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.9: View of Venice
Jacopo de' Barbari, woodcut, 1500, 133 x 277.5
Individually issued plate



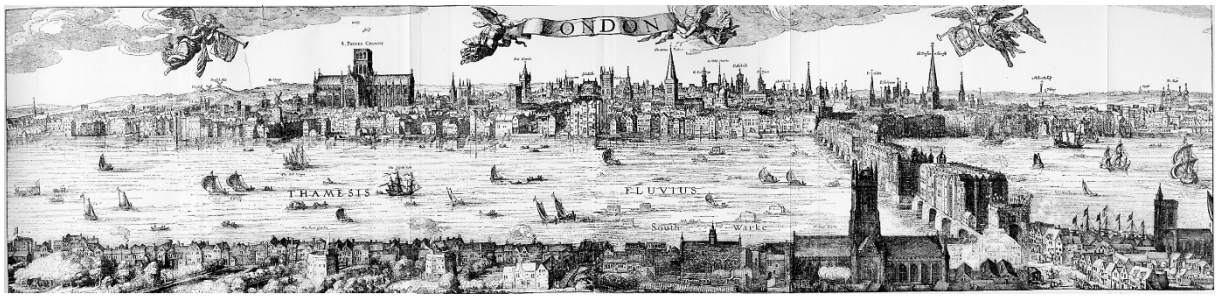
Ill. 1.10: View of London (detail)
Anton van den Wyngaerde, woodcut, *c.*1544
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.11: Plan of Norwich
William Cuningham, 1559
The Cosmographical Glasse



Ill. 1.12: 'Copperplate' map of London (detail)
Unknown, *c.*1559
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.13: View of London (detail)
Claes van Visscher, 1616
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.14: View of London
Daniel King and David Loggan after Visscher, 1658
On St. Paul's Cathedral



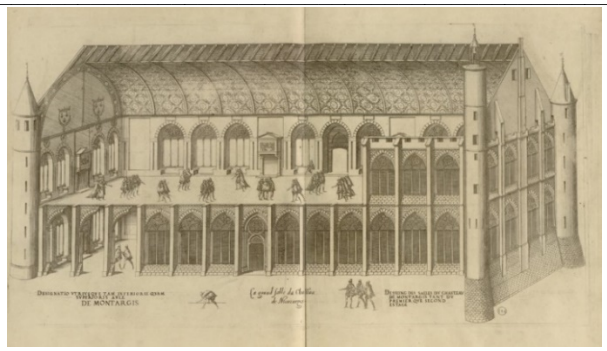
Ill. 1.15: 'A Fete at Bermondsey'
Georg (Joris) Hoefnagel, oil painting on panel, *c.*1569–70
© The Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House, 73.5 x 99



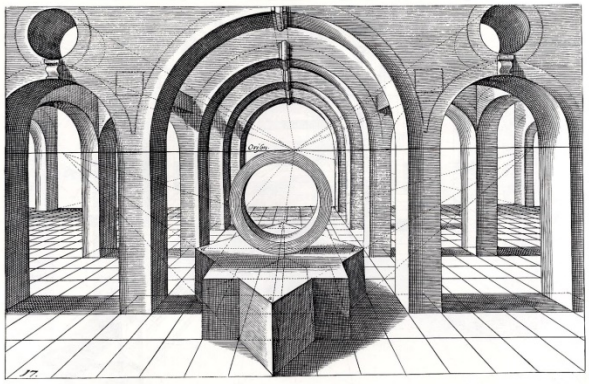
Ill. 1.16: 'An allegory of the struggle between avarice and ambition'
Georg (Joris) Hoefnagel, pen and ink with gouache, 1571
© Private collection, 16.5 x 21.5



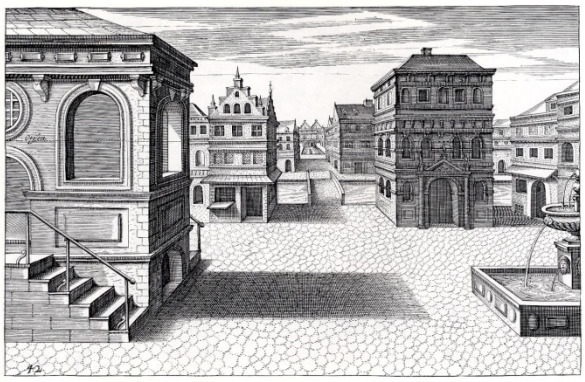
Ill. 1.17: The Louvre
Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the elder, 1576
***Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, Book 1**



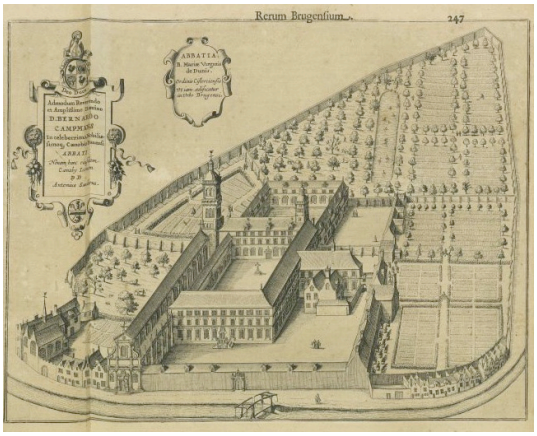
Ill. 1.18: Chateau de Montargis
Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the elder, 1576
***Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, Book 1**



Ill. 1.19: Demonstration of perspective
Hans Vredeman de Vries, 1604–5
Perspectiva



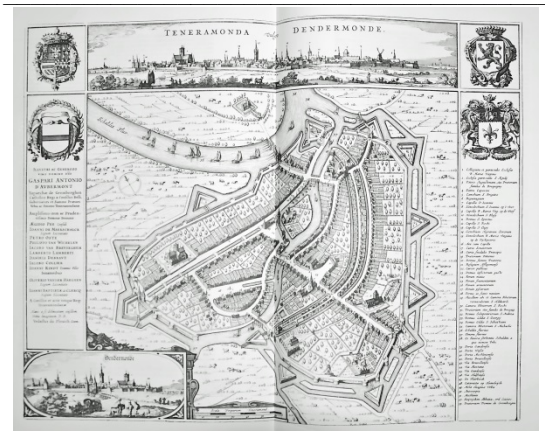
Ill. 1.20: Imaginary city
Hans Vredeman de Vries, 1604–5
Perspectiva



Ill. 1.21: 'Rerum Brugiensis'
Unknown, *c.*1640
***Flandria Illustrata*, 38 x 50**



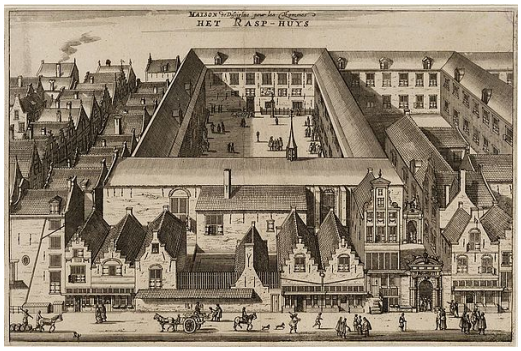
Ill. 1.22: 'Watanum'
Unknown, *c.*1640
***Flandria Illustrata*, 16 x 23.5**



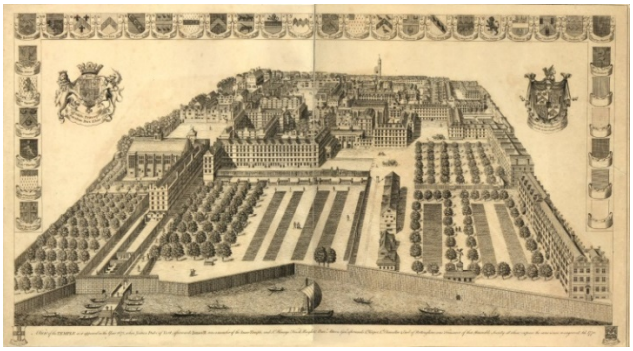
Ill. 1.23: 'Teneramond *vulgo* Dendermonde'
Unknown, *c.*1640
***Flandria Illustrata*, 42 x 52.5**



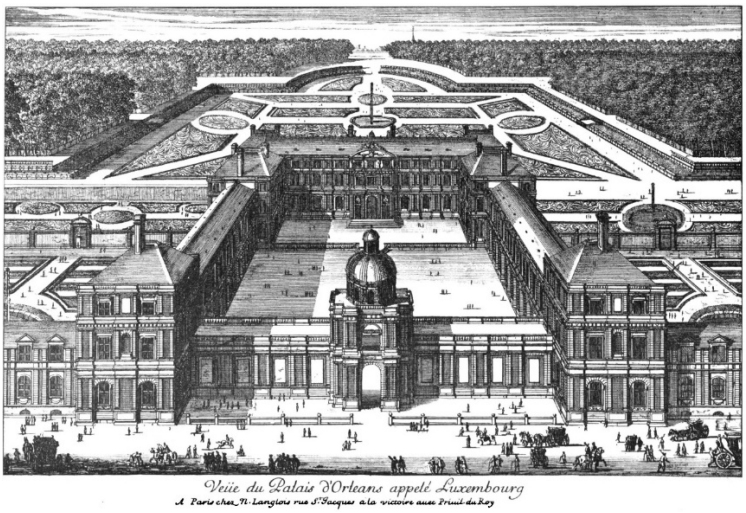
Ill. 1.24: 'Sotteghem'
Unknown, *c.*1640
***Flandria Illustrata*, 16 x 23**



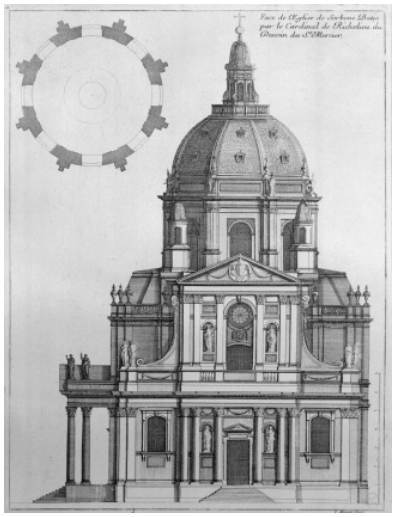
Ill. 1.25: Amsterdam House of Correction
Unknown, 1665
Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam



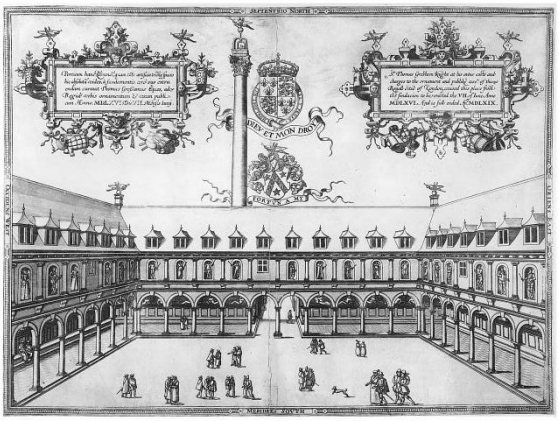
Ill. 1.26: The Temple, London
Unknown (1780) after Robert White, 1671
Individually issued plate



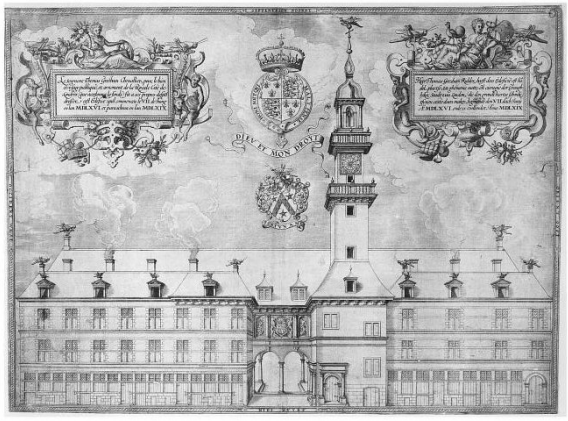
Ill. 1.27: Luxembourg Palace, Paris
Gabriel, Nicholas and Adam Pérelle, *c.*1680
Veües des plus beaux bâtimens de France



Ill. 1.28: Val-de-Grâce, Paris
Jean Marot, *c.*1662
***Petit Marot* (later edition)**



Ill. 1.29: Interior of Royal Exchange, from north
Frans Hogenberg, 1569, 25 x 30
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.30: Exterior of Royal Exchange, from south
Frans Hogenberg, 1569, 22.5 x 30
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.31: 'Byrsa Londiniensis': Royal Exchange, from east
Wenceslaus Hollar (P1036), 1644, 29 x 39
Individually issued plate



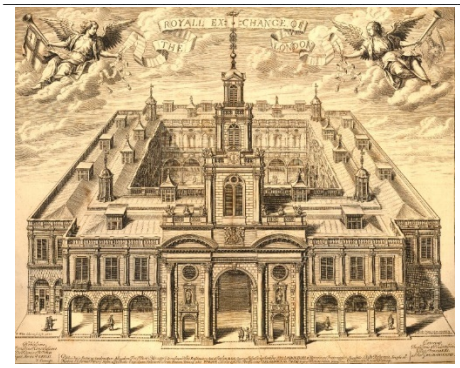
Ill. 1.32: 'Byrsa Londiniensis': Royal Exchange, from north
Wenceslaus Hollar (P907), 1647, 14.5 x 25.5
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.33: 'Byrsa Londiniensis': Royal Exchange, from east
William Sherwin, 1669, 47.5 x 57
Individually issued plate



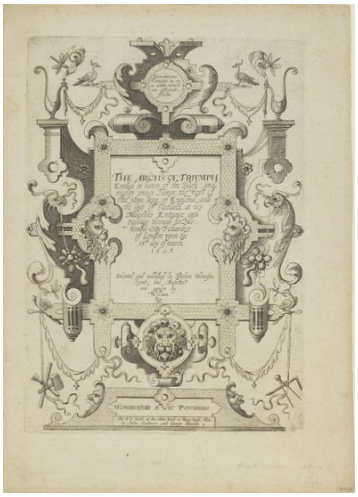
Ill. 1.34: Royal Exchange from south-west
William Sherwin, 1674, 67 x 60
Individually issued plate



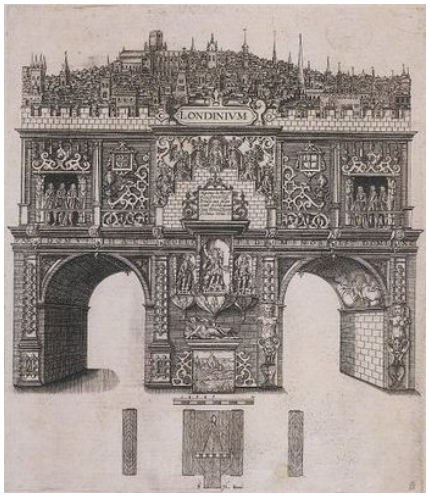
Ill. 1.35: 'The Royall Exchange of London'
Robert White, 1671, 46 x 57.5
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.36: Bethlehem Hospital
Robert White, 1677
Individually issued plate



Ill. 1.37: Title page
William Kip, 1604, 32 x 23
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 1**



Ill. 1.38: Londinium (Fenchurch Street)
William Kip, 1604, 32 x 30
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 2**



Ill. 1.39: The Italians (Gracious Street)
William Kip, 1604, 32 x 23
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 3**



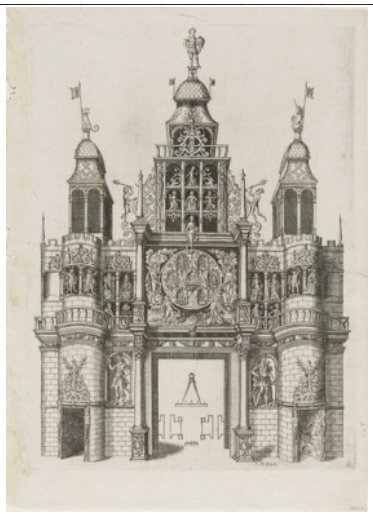
Ill. 1.40: The Dutchmen (Royal Exchange)
William Kip, 1604, 32 x 23
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 4**



Ill. 1.41: New Arabia Foelix (Cheapside)
William Kip, 1604, 32 x 23
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 5**



Ill. 1.42: Garden of Plentie (Cheapside)
2illiam Kip, 1604, 32 x 23
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 6**



Ill. 1.43: New World (Fleet Street)
William Kip, 1604, 32 x 23
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 7**



Ill. 1.44: Temple of Ianos (Temple Bar)
William Kip, 1604, 32 x 23
***Archs of Triumph*, plate 8**



Ill. 1.45: 'Monarchy Restored' (Leadenhall Street)
David Loggan, 1662, 44.5 x 29
***Entertainment of Charles II*, plate 1**



Ill. 1.46: 'Garden of Plenty (Fleet Street)
David Loggan, 1662, 44.5 x 29
***Entertainment of Charles II*, plate 2**



Ill. 1.47: 'Temple of Concord' (Wood Street)
David Loggan, 1662, 44.5 x 29
***Entertainment of Charles II*, plate 3**



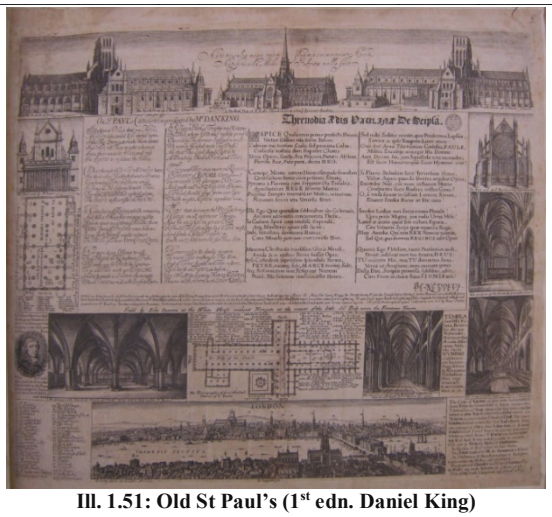
Ill. 1.48: 'Loyalty Restored' (Cornhill)
David Loggan, 1662, 44.5 x 29
***Entertainment of Charles II*, plate 4**



Ill. 1.49: Physicians' Anatomy Theatre
David Loggan, 1677, 27.5 x 18
Pharmacopoeia Collegii Regalis Londini



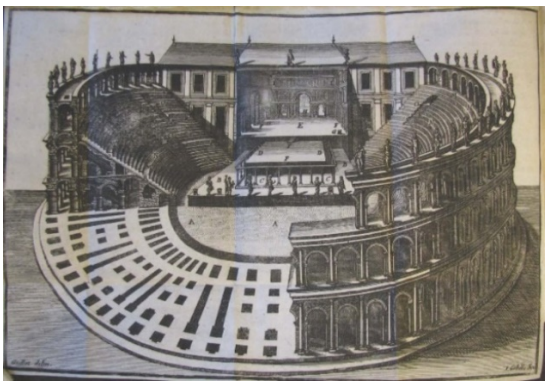
Ill. 1.50: *Collegium Regale Medicorum Londiniensium*
David Loggan, *c*.1677, 23 x 31.5
Unknown publication



Ill. 1.51: Old St Paul's (1st edn. Daniel King)
David Loggan, 1658
Individually issued plate, 39 x 46



Ill. 1.52: Old St Paul's (2nd edn. John Bowles)
David Loggan and unknown, 1731
Individually issued plate, 39 x 46



Ill. 1.53: The Odeon of Herodes Atticus
Jean Gobille after Georges Guillet de Saint-George, 1675
Athènes ancienne et nouvelle



Ill. 1.54: Keeper Bullock gralloching a buck
'JH' (Jerome Hesketh?), oil painting on panel, *c*.1660
© National Trust Collection, Lyme Park, 203 x 231

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 2.1: Plan of Grandpont
Unknown, ink on vellum, *c*.1569
© Brasenose College, Clennell B13.4



Ill. 2.2: 'Celeberrimae Oxoniensis'
Augustine Ryther, 1588, based on Ralph Agas survey, 1578
© Bodley, no shelf mark



Ill. 2.3: Sheldon Tapestry Map of Oxfordshire (detail)
Unknown artist and manufacturer, *c*.1590
© Bodley, Gough Maps 261 (R)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 2.4: Plan of St Clements
Unknown, ink on paper, *c*.1590
© Magdalen College Miscellaneous Deeds 348

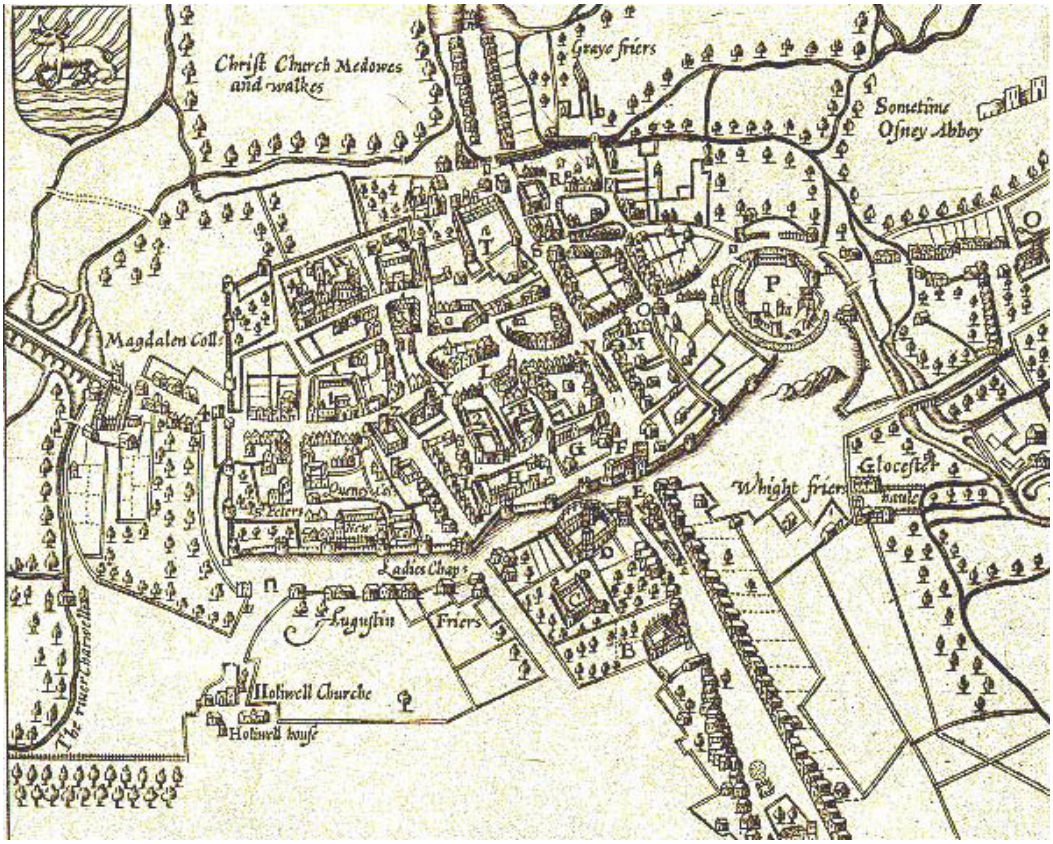

South
The description and cituation of Waram Banck wth the rivers bridges buildings on eatch side the letter A on the north side of St Georges Church was the Church yard the letter B is a peck of ground wch was of late time cutt out of the churchyard where now runneth a streame
St George his Church
Mr Carpenter
Castle
Mr Dobsons
Mr Dobsons
Mr Dobsons



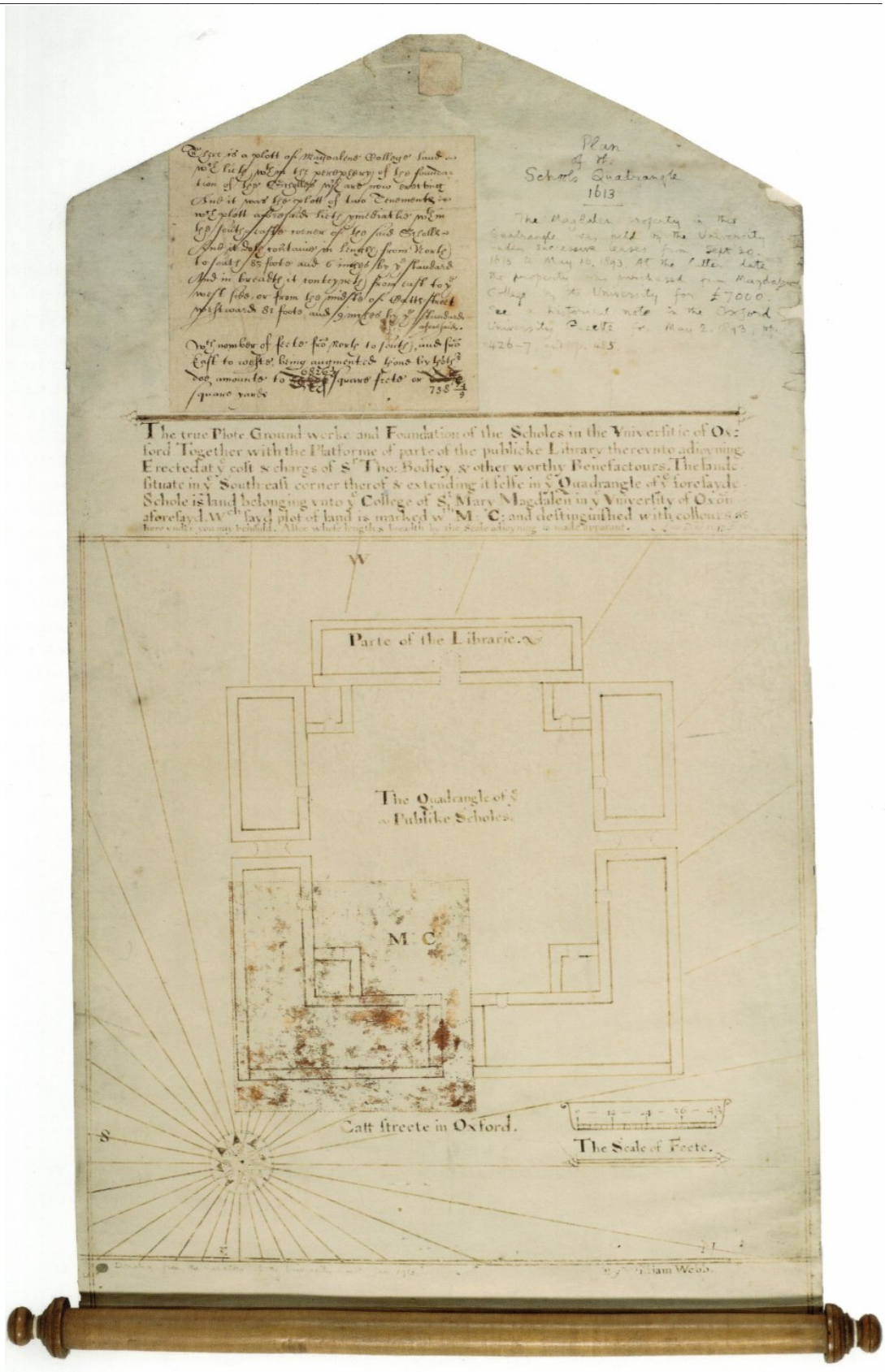
Ill. 2.6: Plan of All Souls
Thomas Langdon, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1600
© All Souls College MS. *Typus Collegii*



Ill. 2.7a: Plan of Oxford
Speed after Agas/Ryther, 1610
Theatre of the Empire



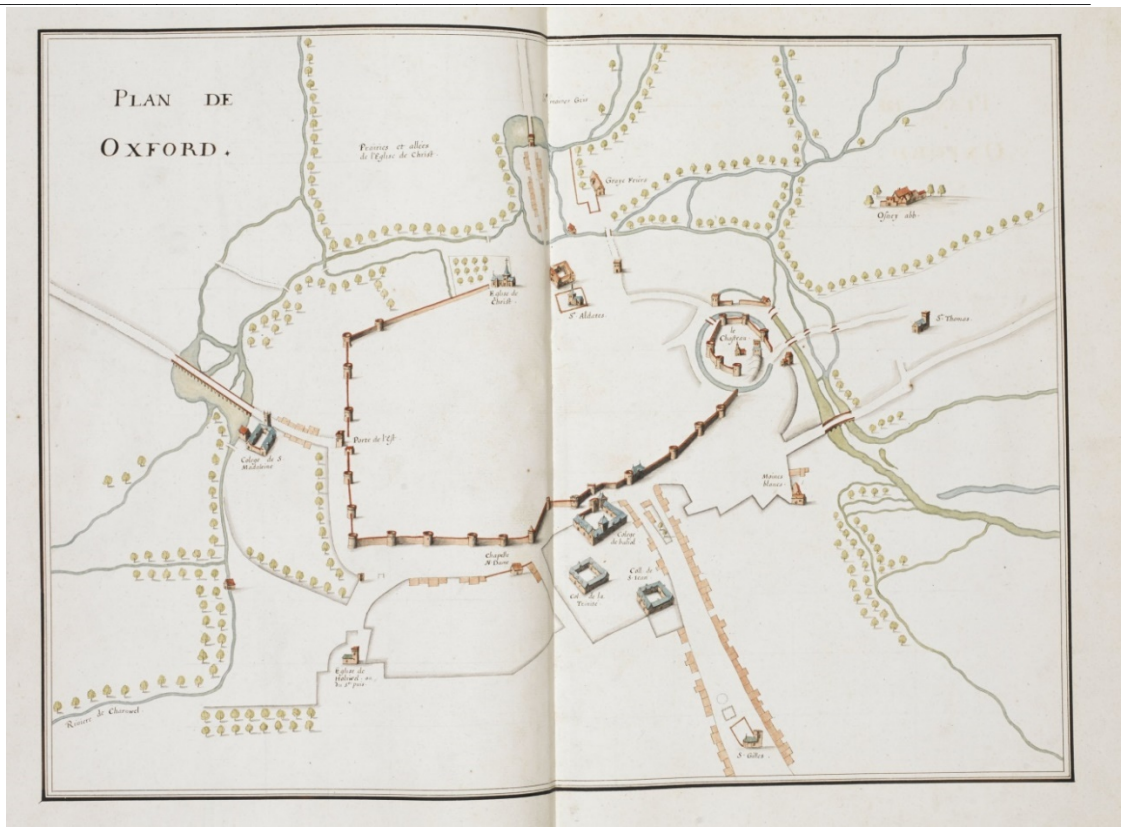
Ill. 2.7b: Plan of Oxford (detail)
Speed after Agas/Ryther, 1610
Theatre of the Empire



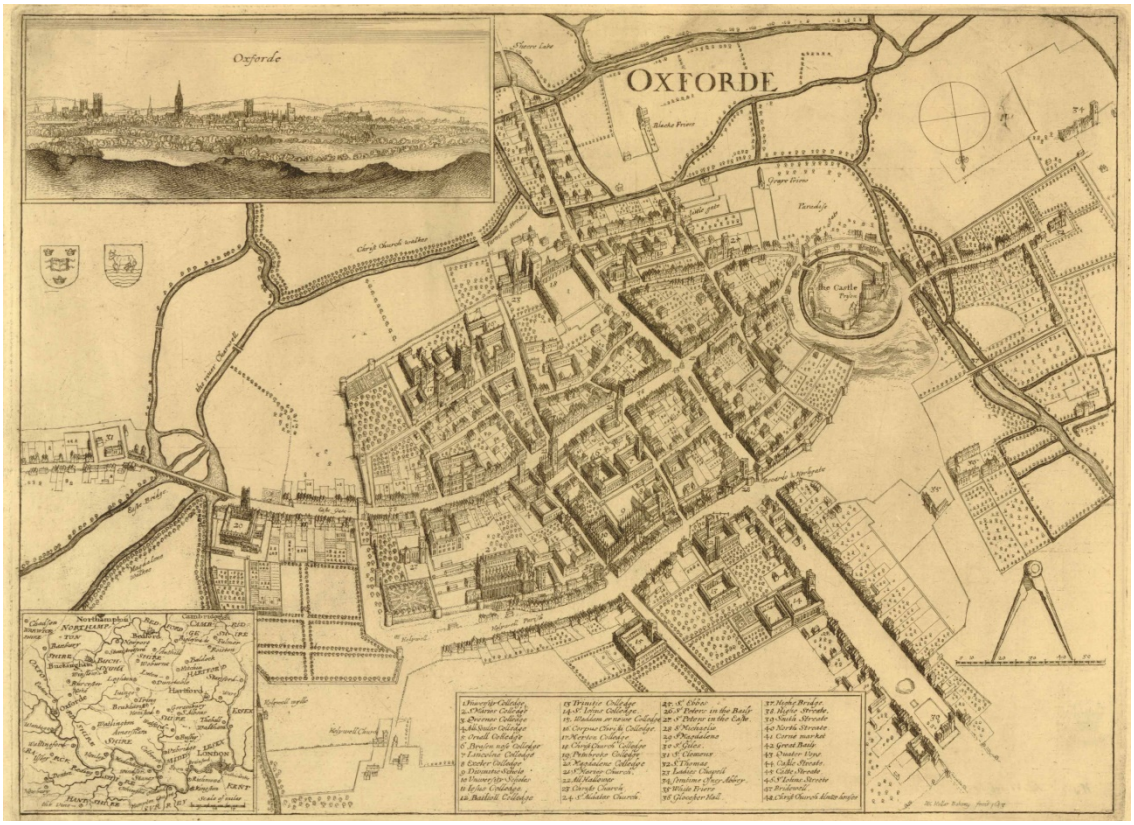
Ill. 2.8:The Schools extension to the Bodleian Library
William Webb, ink on vellum, 1613
© Bodley MS. C17:70 Oxford (95) (R)



Ill. 2.9: Plan of Oxford Castle area
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1617
© Christ Church Maps Oxford St George 1



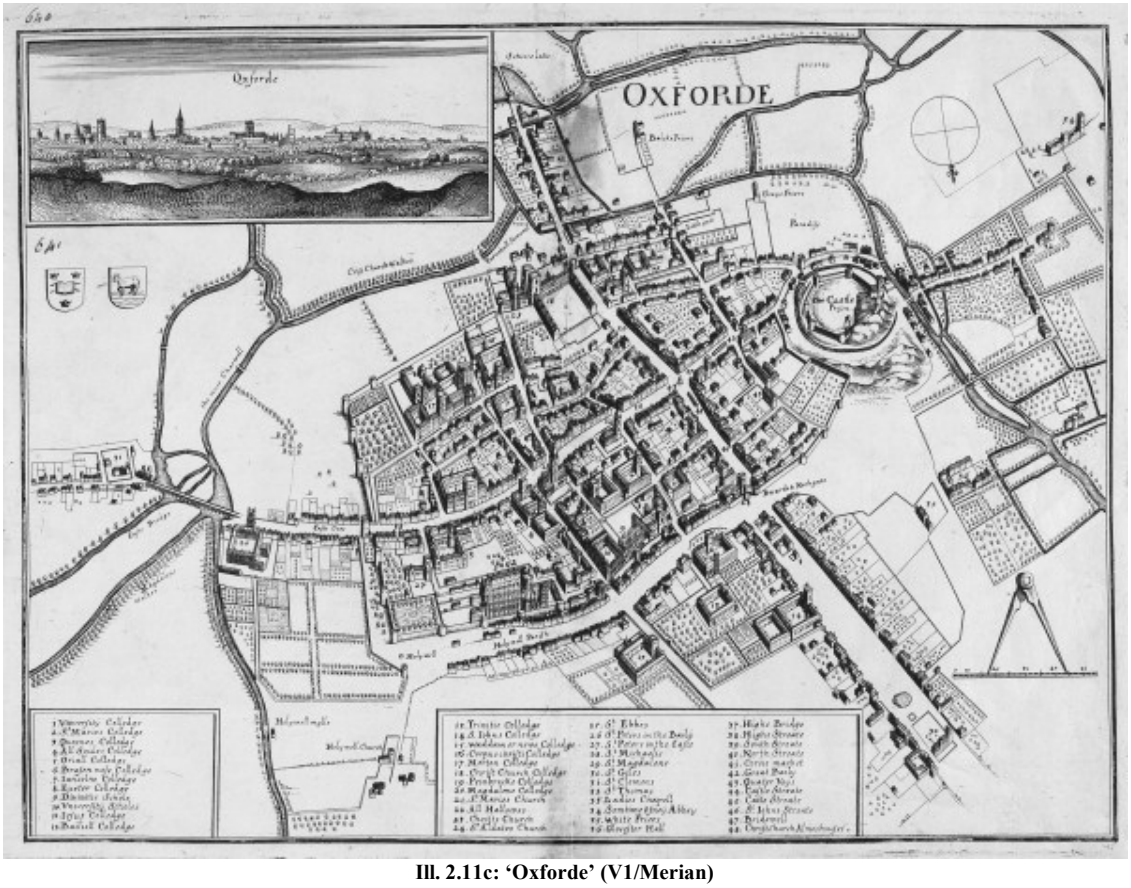
Ill. 2.10: Plan of Oxford
Unknown, ink and wash on paper, c.1640, 40 x 59
© BL MS. Additional 11564, art 22 f.44–5 (the duc de Chaulnes atlas)



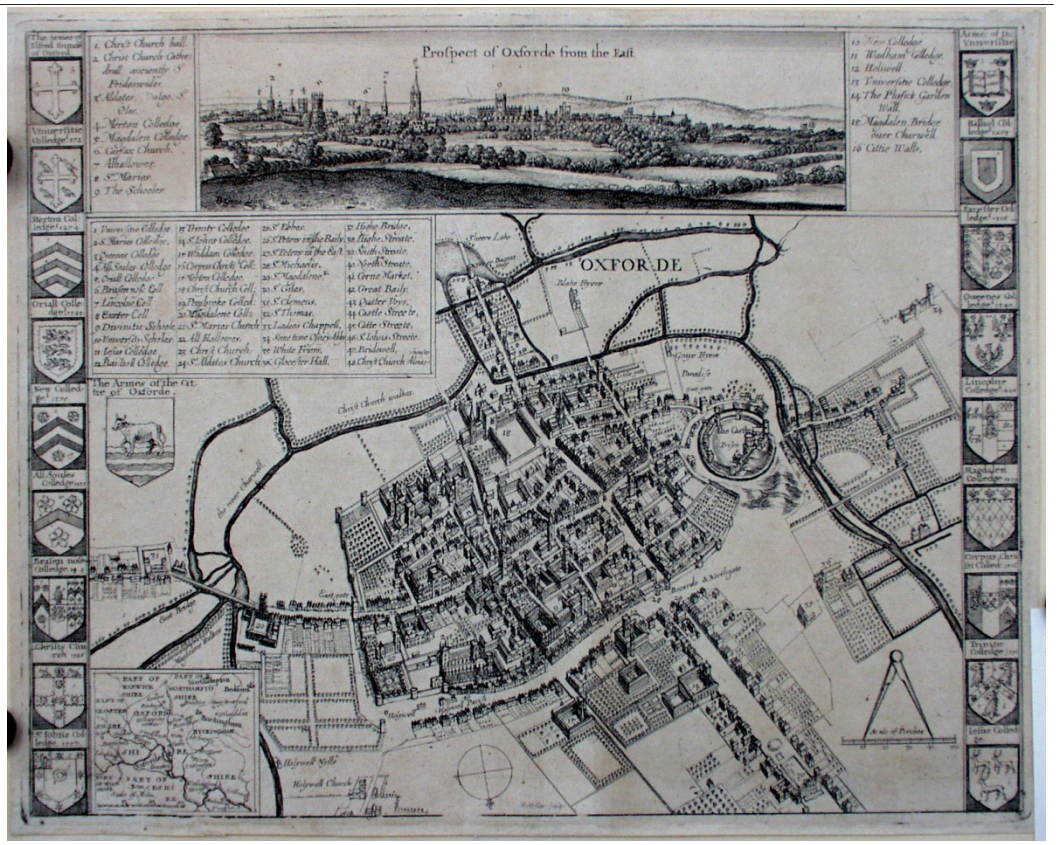
Ill. 2.11a: 'Oxforde' (V1S1)
Wenceslaus Hollar after Agas/Ryther, 1643, 23 x 31.5
Individually issued plate (P1055)



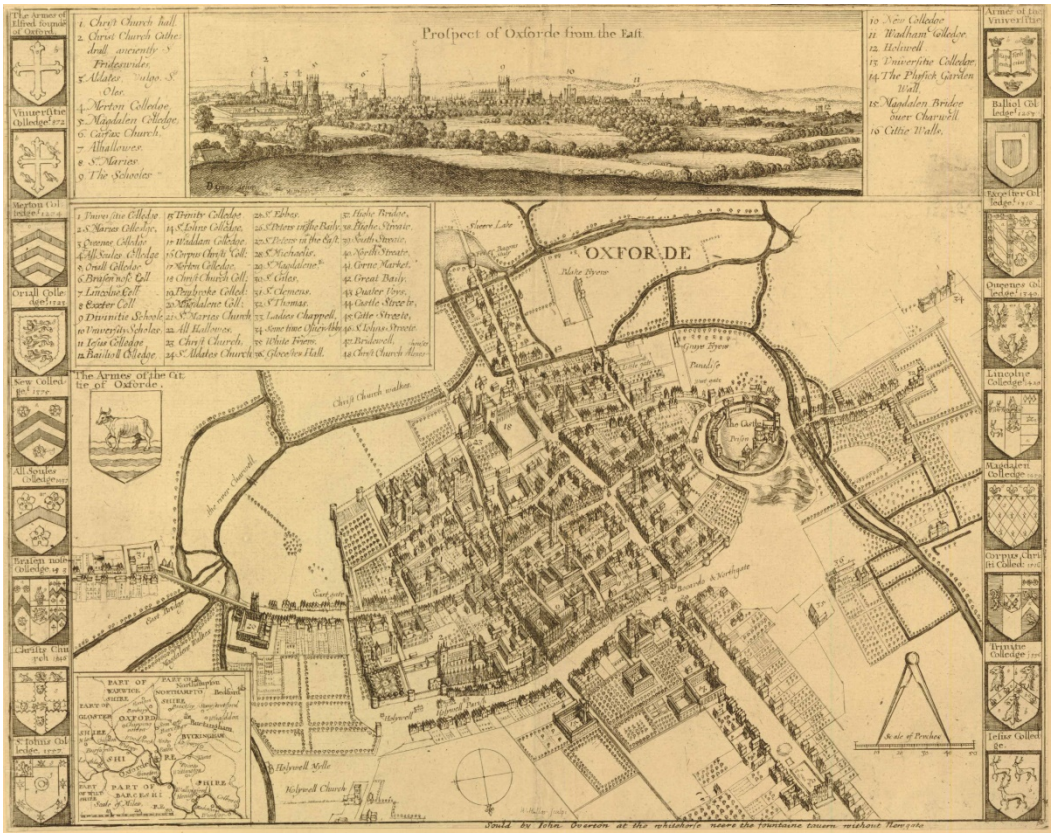
Ill. 2.11b: 'Oxforde' (V1S2)
Wenceslaus Hollar after Agas/Ryther, >1643, 23 x 31.5
Individually issued plate (P1055)



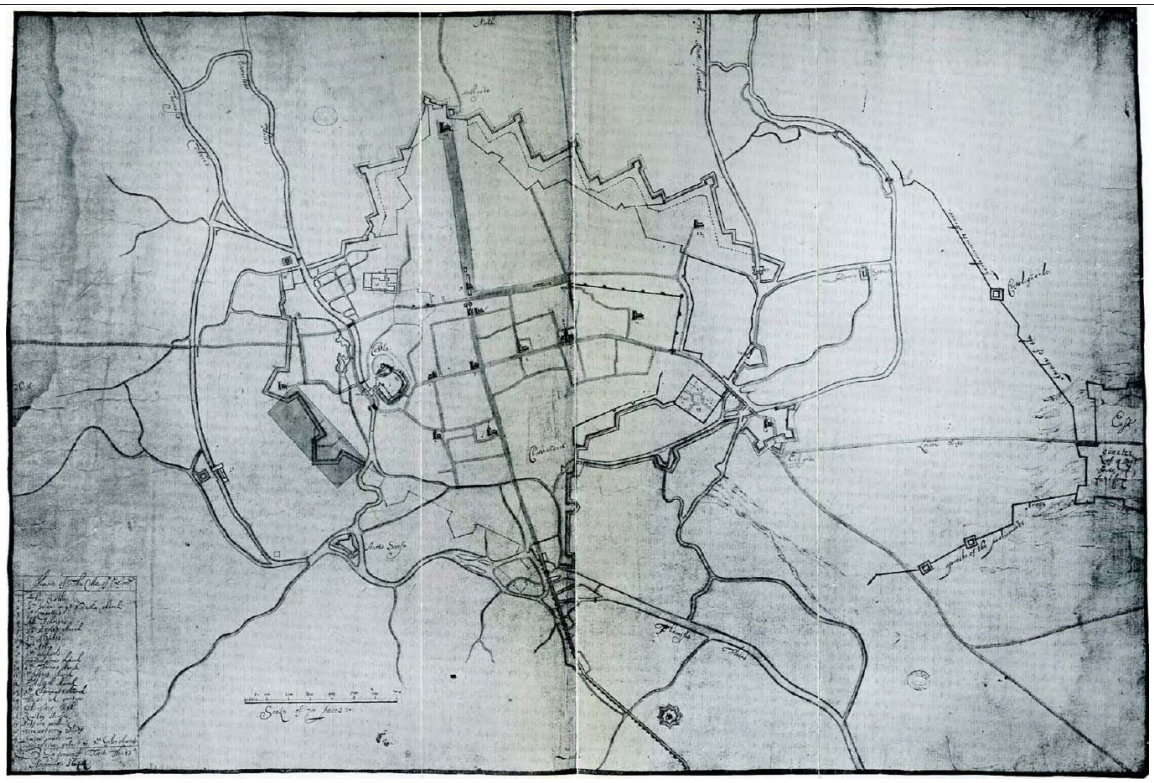
Ill. 2.11c: 'Oxforde' (V1/Merian)
Matthäus Merian (?) after Agas/Ryther, ~1649, 23 x 31.5
Archontologia Cosmica **(P1055)**



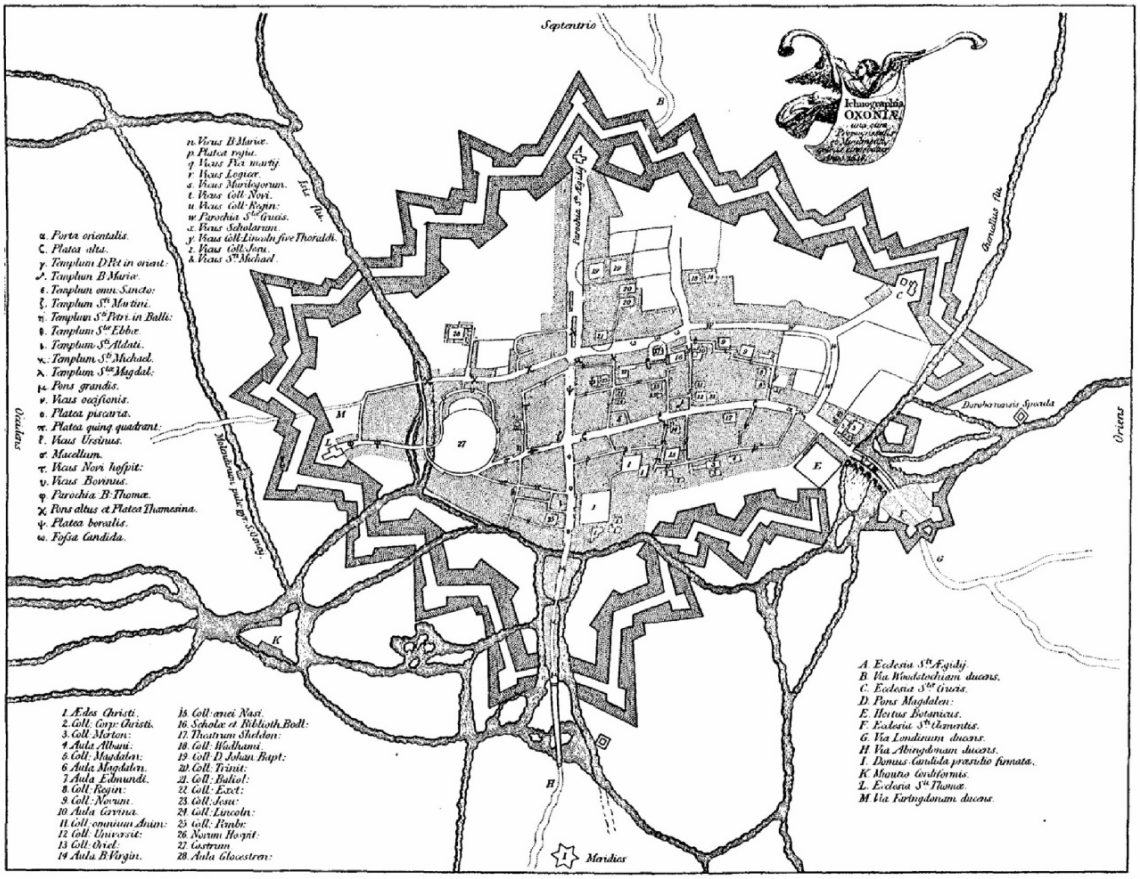
Ill. 2.12a: 'Oxforde' (V2S1)
Wenceslaus Hollar/J. Gage after Agas/Ryther, >1643, 28 x 36
Individually issued plate (P1054)



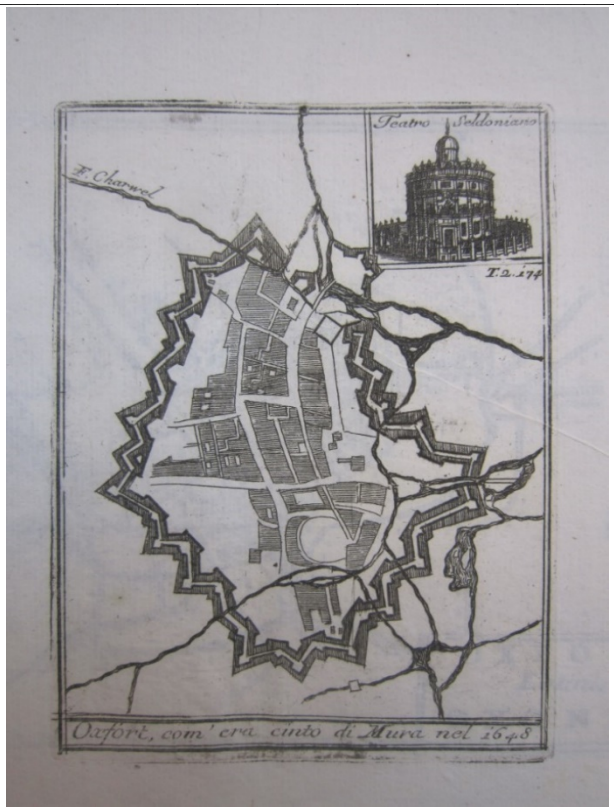
Ill. 2.12b: 'Oxforde' (V2S2)
Wenceslaus Hollar/J. Gage after Agas/Ryther, >1643, 28 x 36
Individually issued plate (P1054)



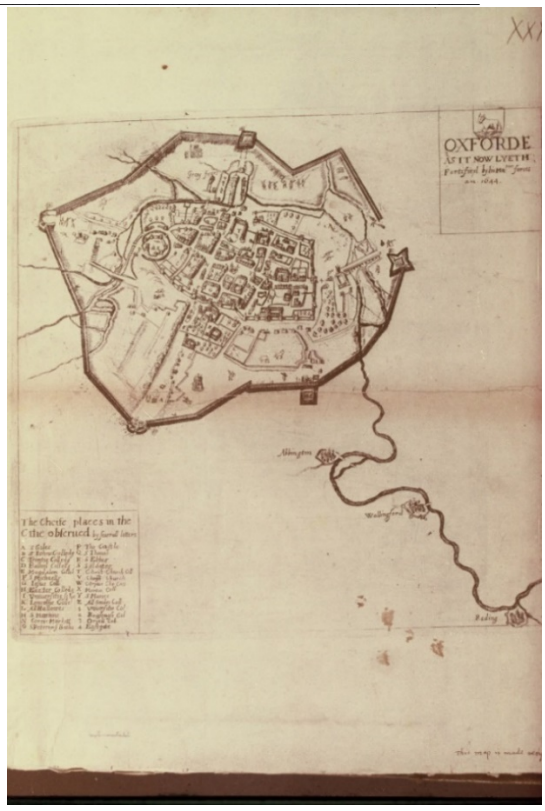
Ill. 2.13: Oxford defences
Bernard de Gomme, ink and wash on paper, 1644
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.167



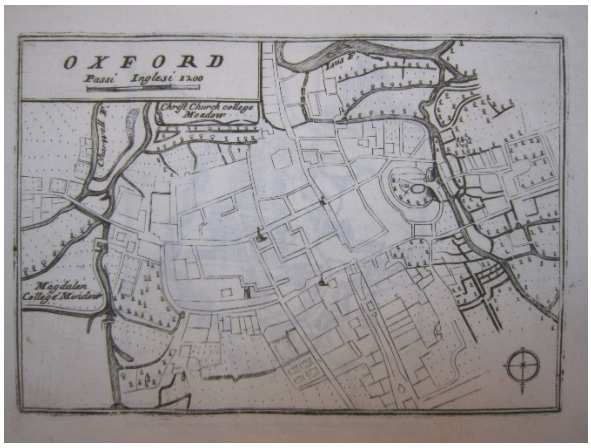
Ill. 2.14a: 'Ichnographia Oxonia'
Unknown, 1674, after Richard Rallinson (?), *c*.1644
Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis



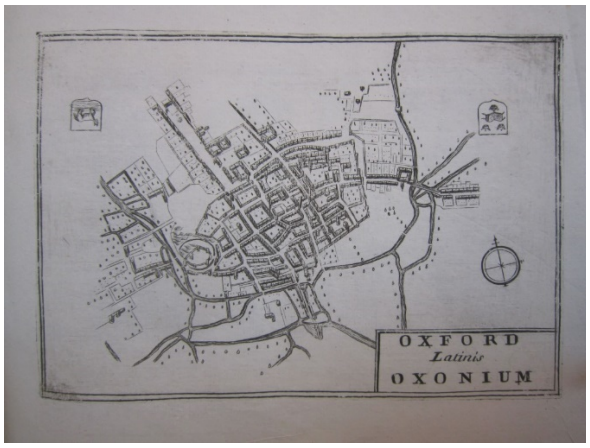
Ill. 2.14b: 'Oxfort, com era cinto di Mura nel 1648'
Unknown, *c.*1697, after Richard Rallinson (?), 1644
Viaggi del P. Coronelli



Ill. 2.15: Oxforde as it now lyeth'
Unknown artist and engraver, *c.*1644
© Bodley Wood 276[b], f.30



Ill. 2.14c: 'Oxford'
Unknown after Agas/Ryther, *c.*1706
Oxoniæ atque Cantabrigiæ universitates celeberrimæ



Ill. 2.14d: 'Oxford *Latinis* Oxonium'
Unknown after Agas/Ryther, *c.*1706
Oxoniæ atque Cantabrigiæ universitates celeberrimæ



Ill. 2.16: 'The siege of Oxford'
Jan de Wyck, partly after de Gomme, oil painting on canvas, 1689, 173 x 239
© Dartmouth Heirloom Trust Oxford City Museum



Ill. 2.17a: 'Oxonium, Oxford'
Rutger Hermannides after Agas/Ryther, 1661
Brittania Magna



Ill. 2.17b: 'Oxonium, Oxford'
Johann Christoph Beer after Agas/Ryther, 1689
Neu Geharnischte Groß-Britannien



Ill. 2.17c: Oxford (detail from map of Bucks and Berks)
Philip Lea after Agas/Ryther, 1689
Individually issued plate

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

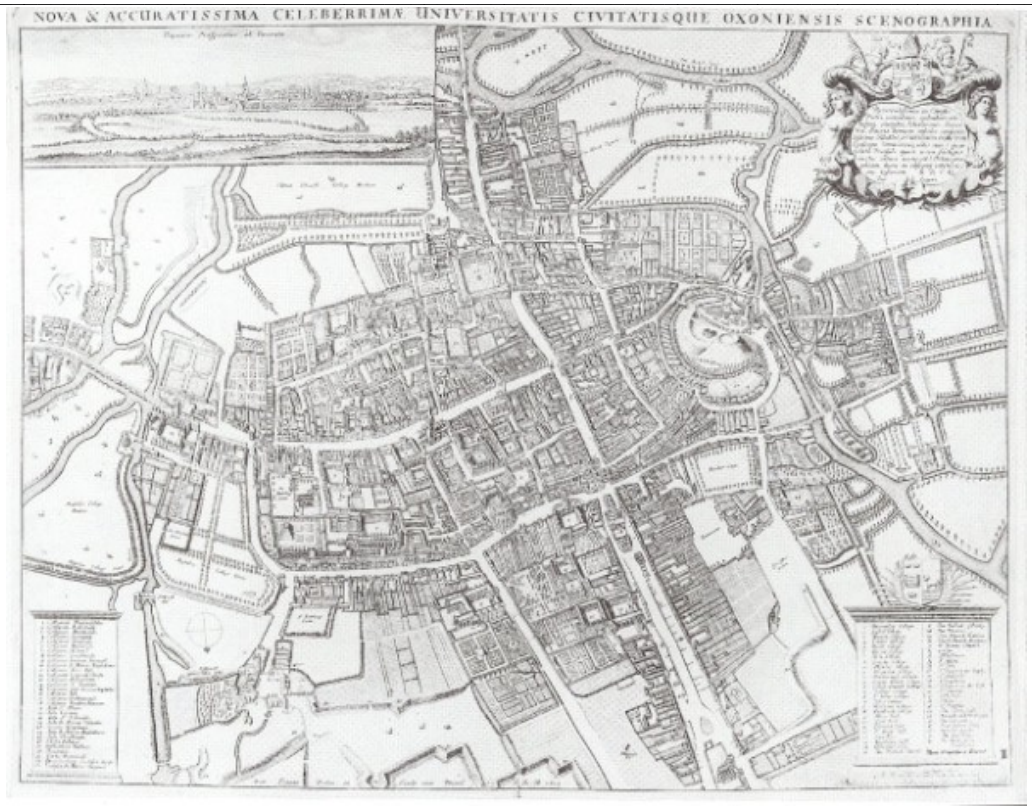
Ill. 2.18a&b: Plan of Holywell and St Peter's parishes
Unknown, ink on paper, *c*.1666
© Merton College estate maps

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

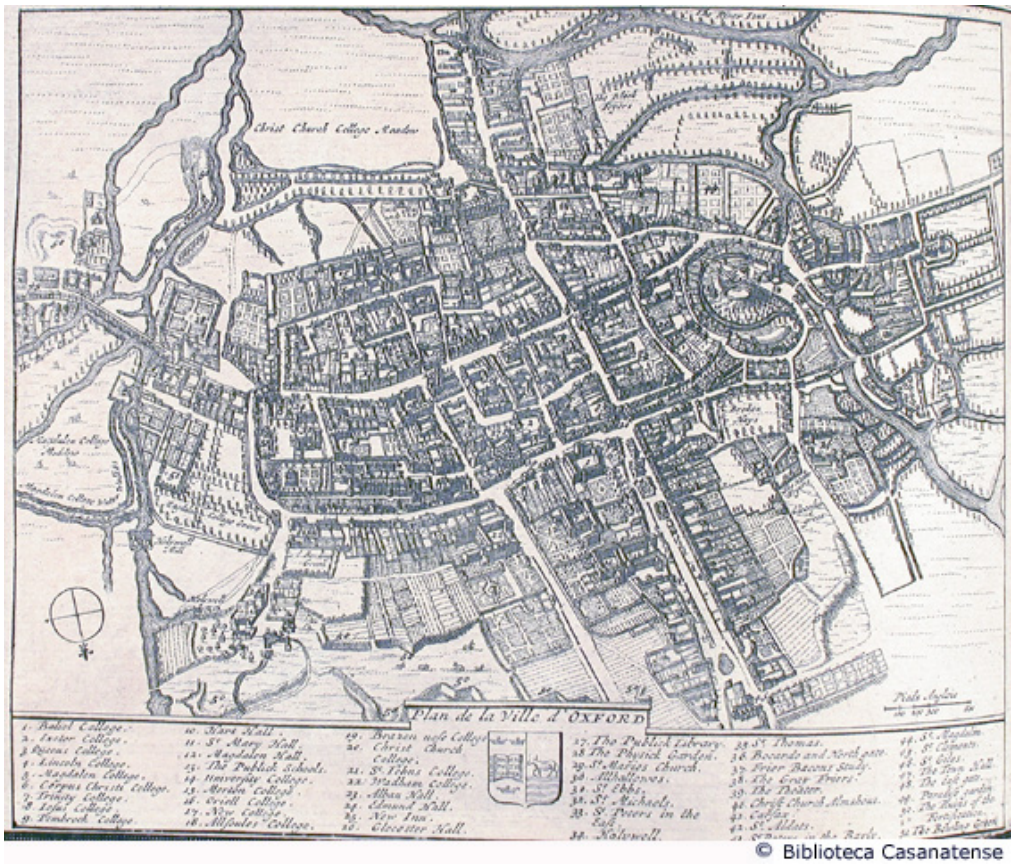
Ill. 2.19a: Plan of Holywell and St Peter's parishes
Unknown, ink on vellum, *c*.1666
© Merton College estate maps

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

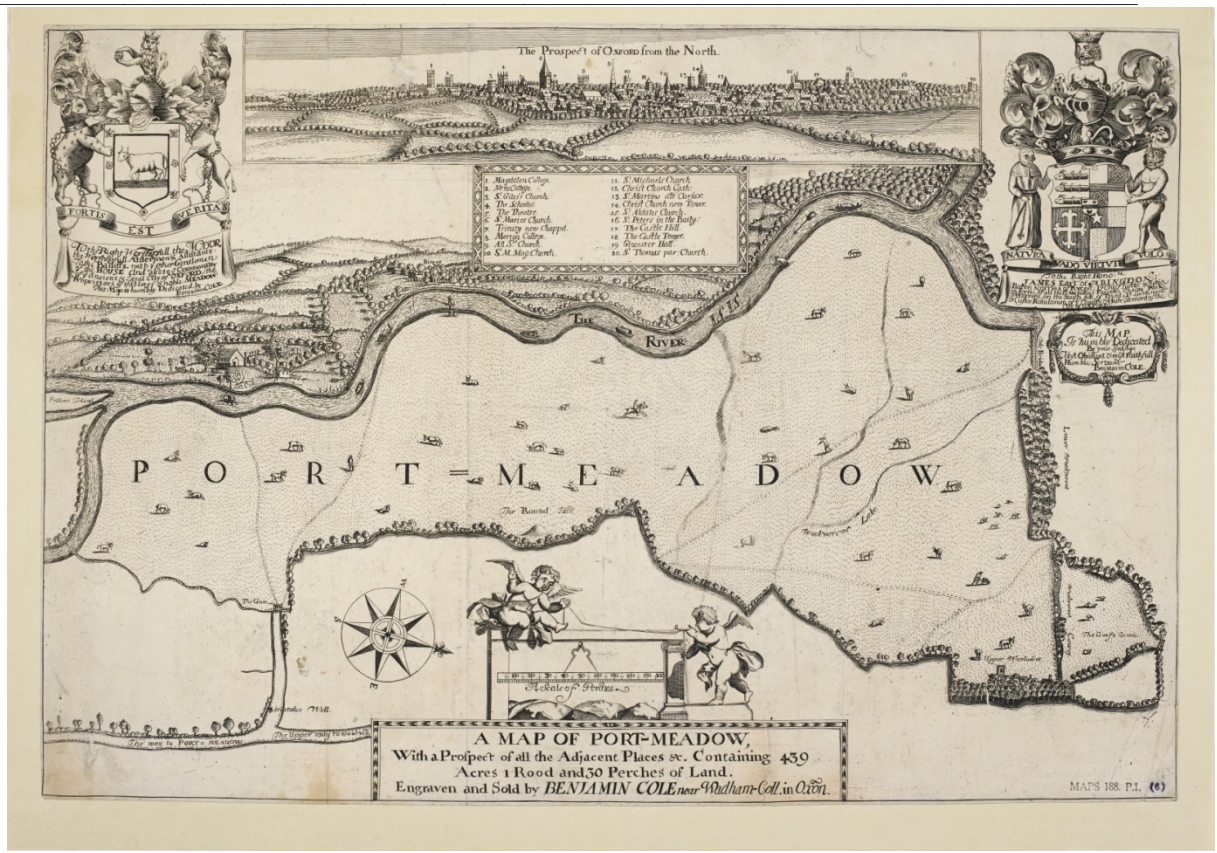
Ill. 2.19b: Photographed plan of Holywell and St Peter's parishes (1913)
Unknown, *c*.1666
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.84)



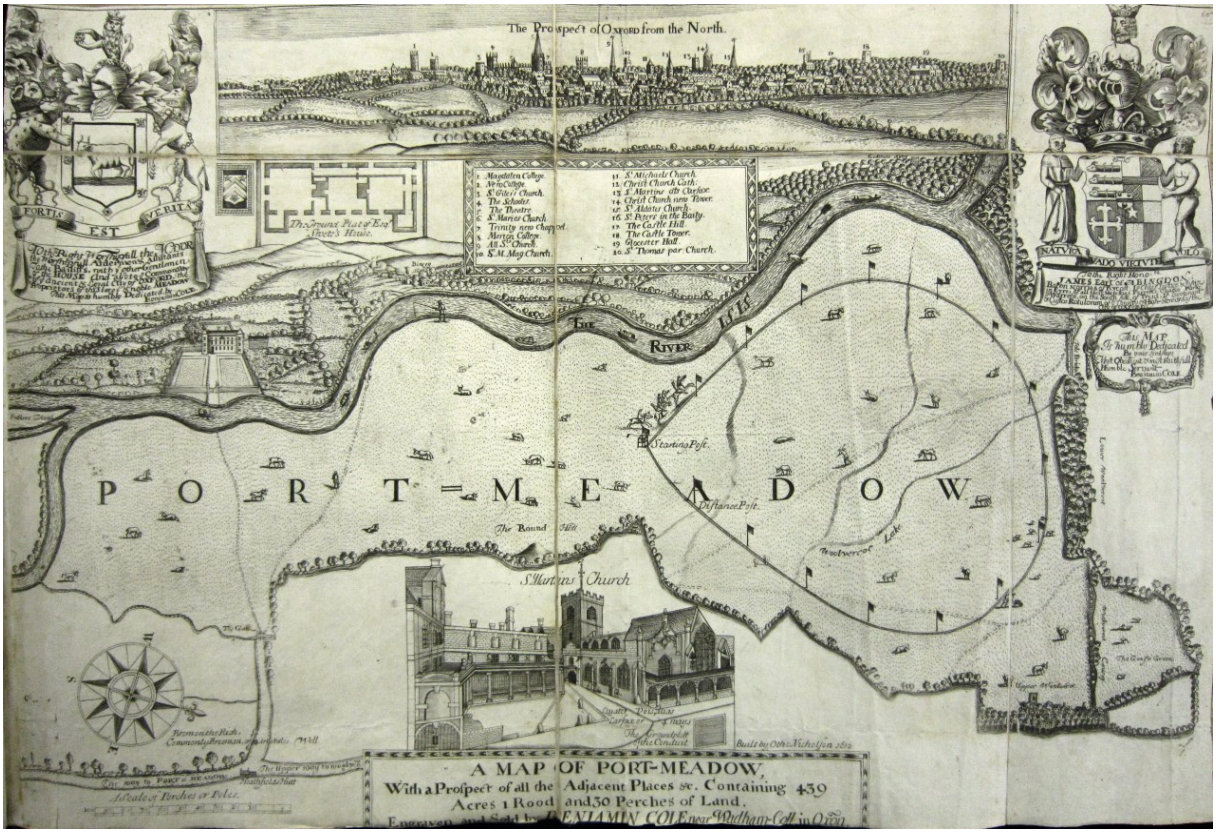
Ill. 2.20: 'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae Oxoniensis'
David Loggan after Agas/Ryther, 1675, 43 x 53.5
Oxonia Illustrata



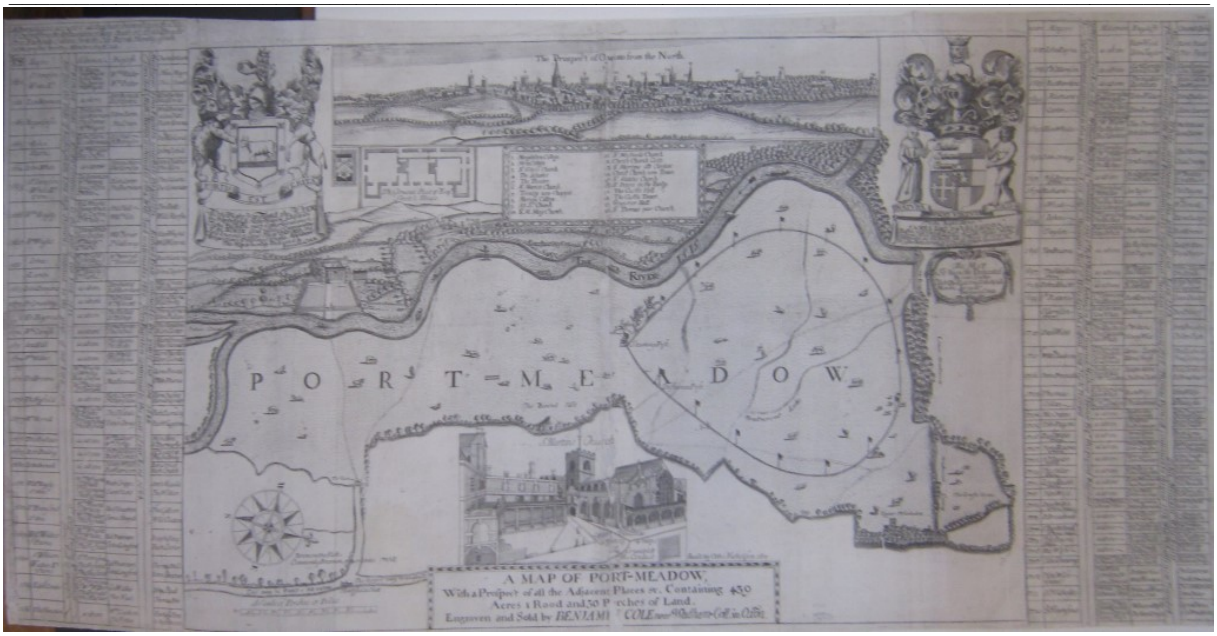
Ill. 2.21: 'Plan de la Ville d'Oxford'
van der Aa after Loggan, 1707
Les délices de la Grand'Bretagne



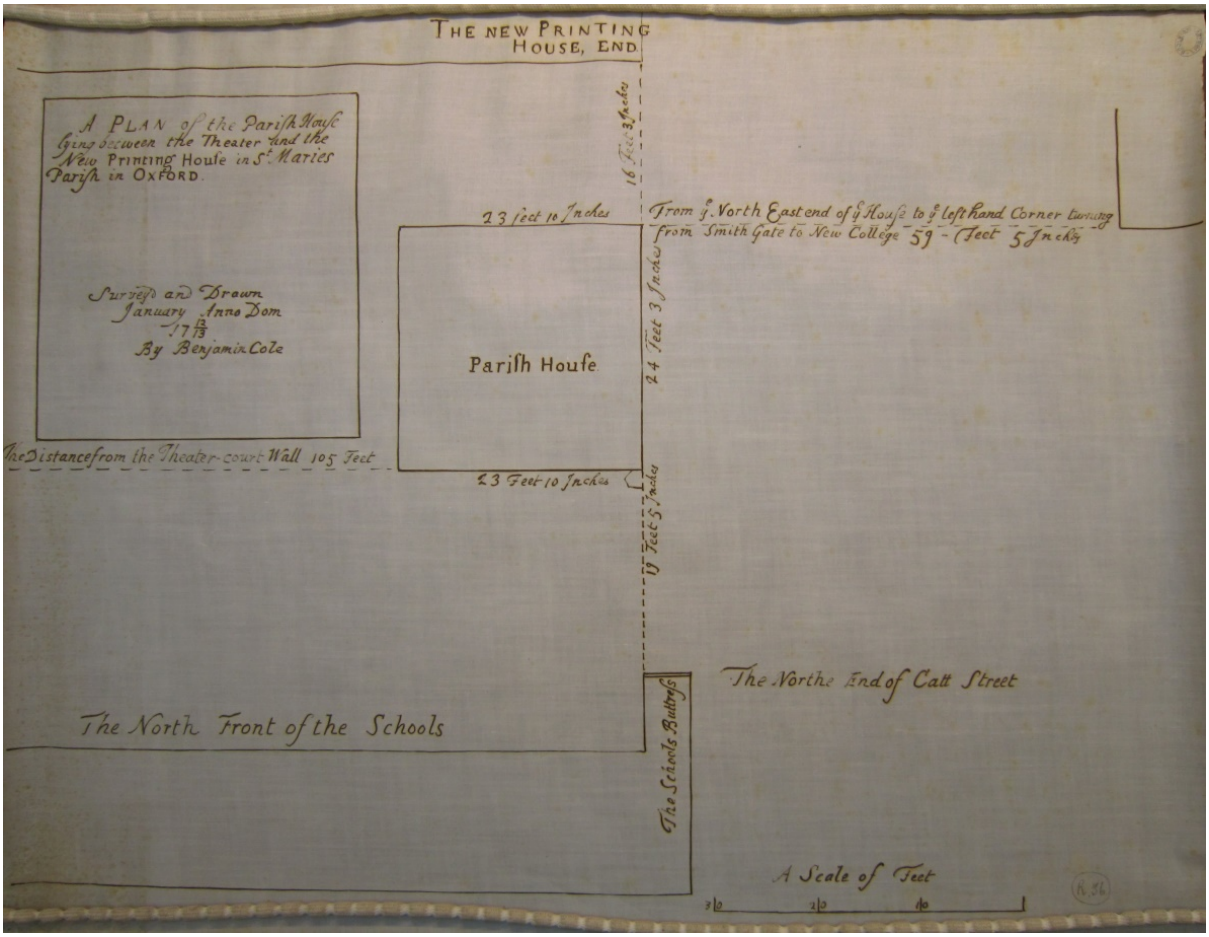
Ill. 2.22: 'A map of Port Meadow' V1
Benjamin Cole, *c*.1699, 41 x 58
Individually issued plate



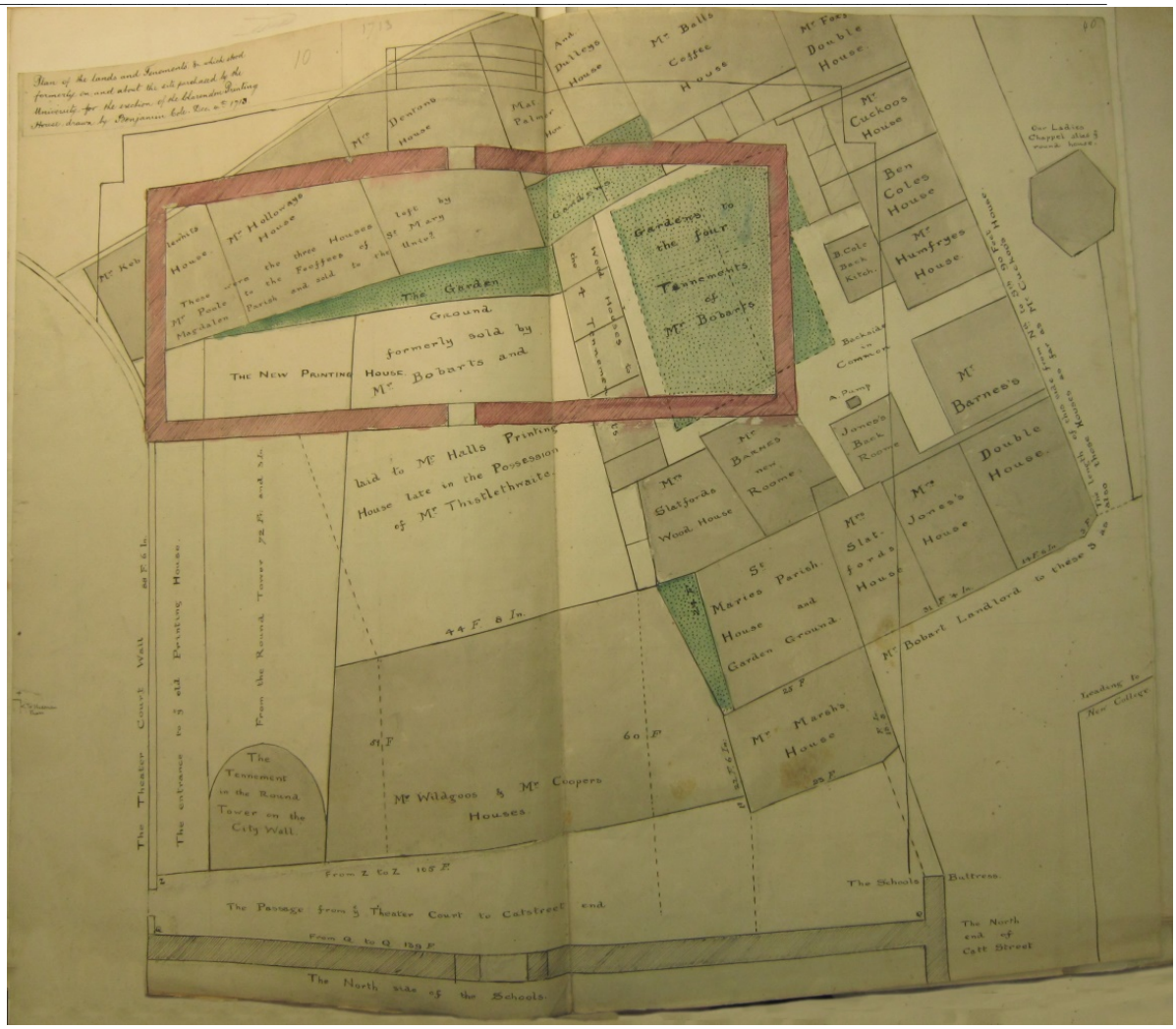
Ill. 2.23a: 'A map of Port Meadow' V2
Benjamin Cole, *c*.1718, 41 x 58
Individually issued plate



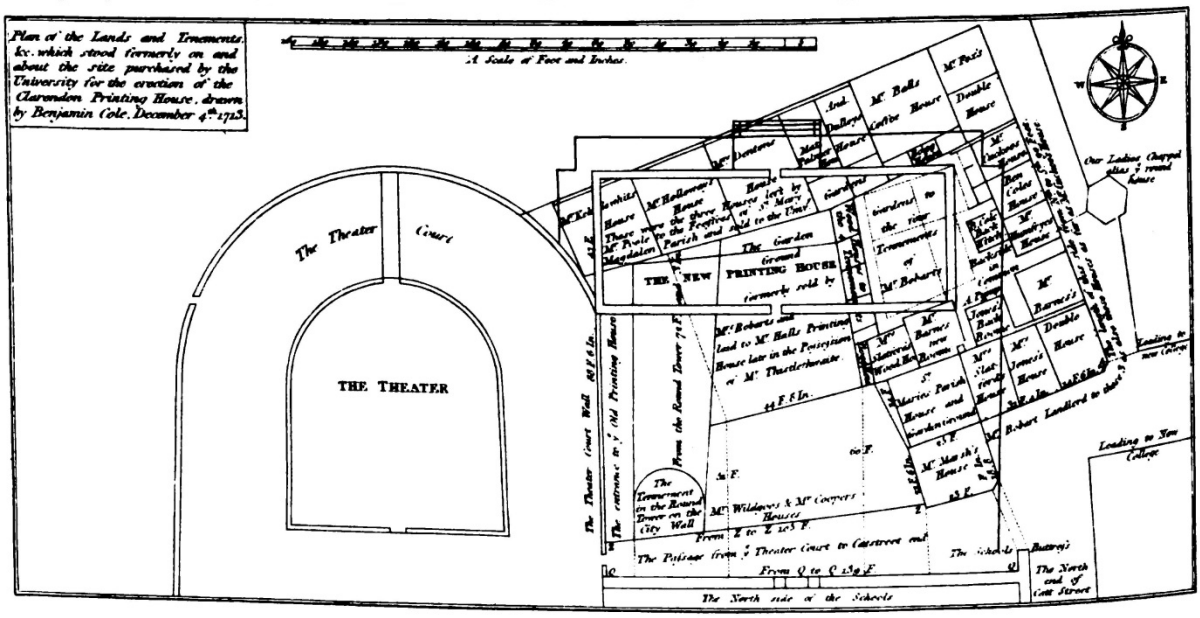
Ill. 2.23b: 'A map of Port Meadow' V2 (with borders)
Benjamin Cole, *c.*1718
Individually issued plate



Ill. 2.24: 'St Maries Parish'
Benjamin Cole, ink on paper, $17^{12}/_{13}$
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. b.245 (R)



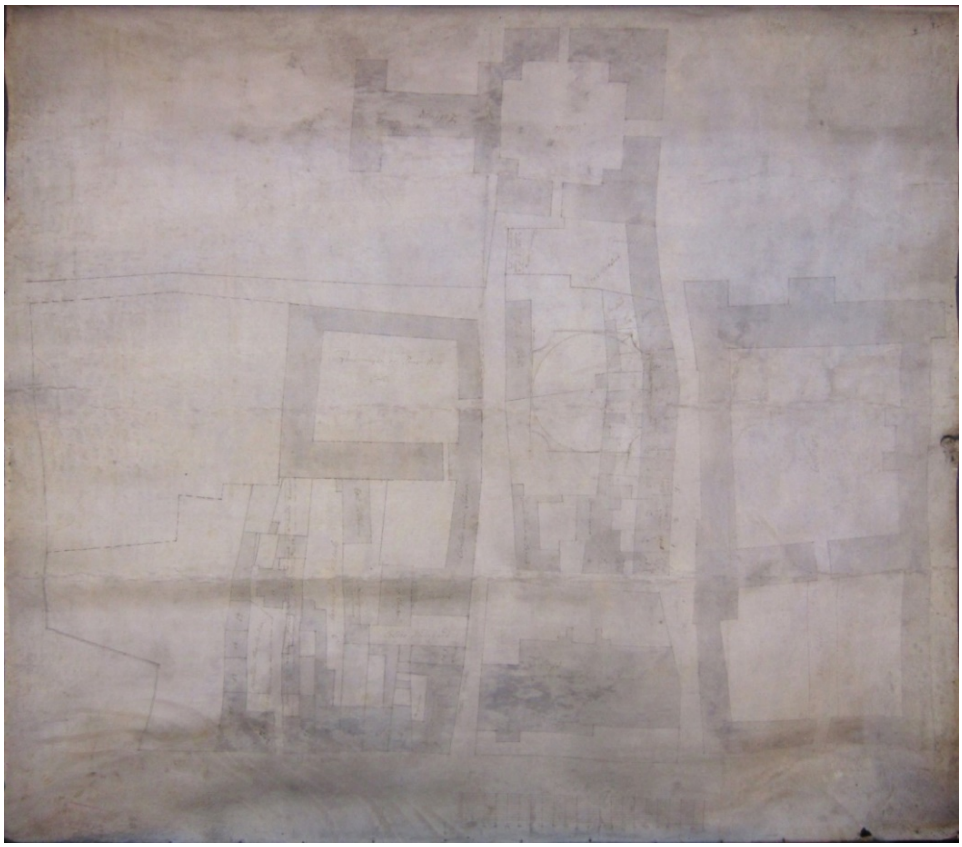
Ill. 2.25: Plan of Clarendon Printing House area
Benjamin Cole, ink and wash on paper, 1713
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.40



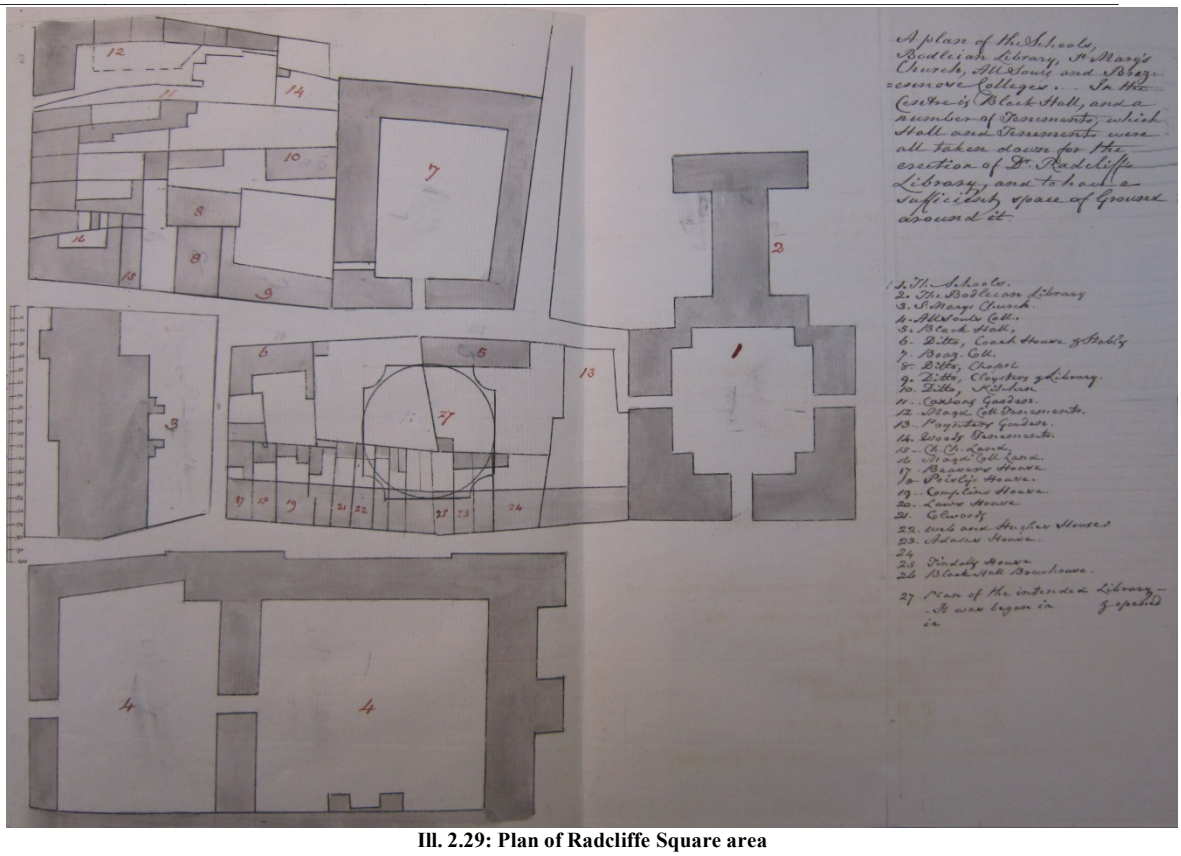
Ill. 2.26: Plan of Clarendon Printing House area
Joseph Skelton (1823) after Benjamin Cole, 1713
***Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata* (based on Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.40)**



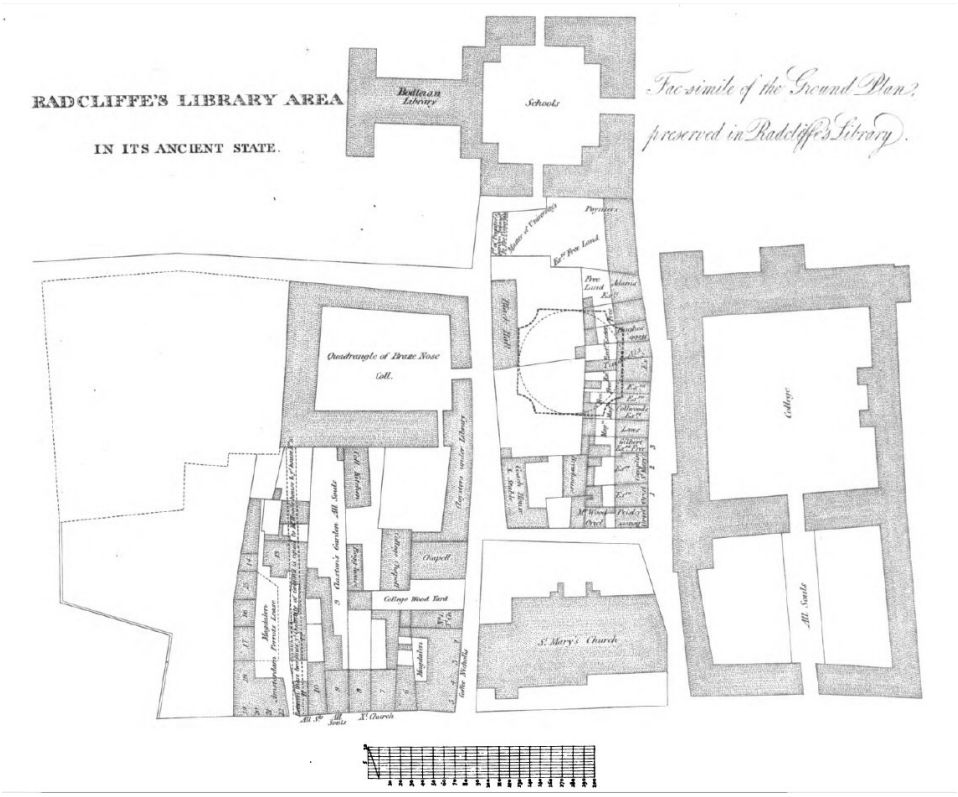
Ill. 2.27: Plan of Radcliffe Square area
Unknown, ink and wash on paper, 1719
© Bodley MS. DD. Radcliffe c.48 (Minute book of the Radcliffe Trustees)



Ill. 2.28: Working plan of Radcliffe Square area
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1720
© Bodley MS. DD. Radcliffe b.3



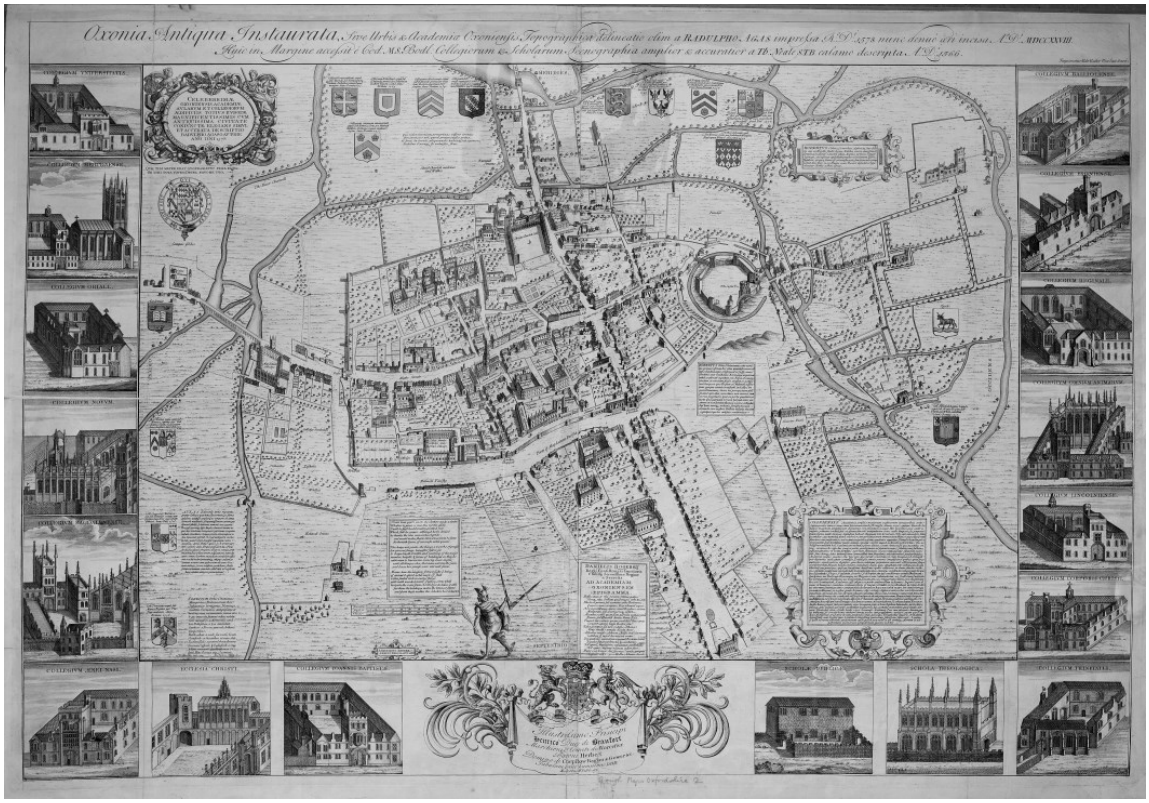
Ill. 2.29: Plan of Radcliffe Square area
Unknown, ink and wash on paper, >1720
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. c.16, f.1034 (based on Bodley MS. DD. Radcliffe b.3)



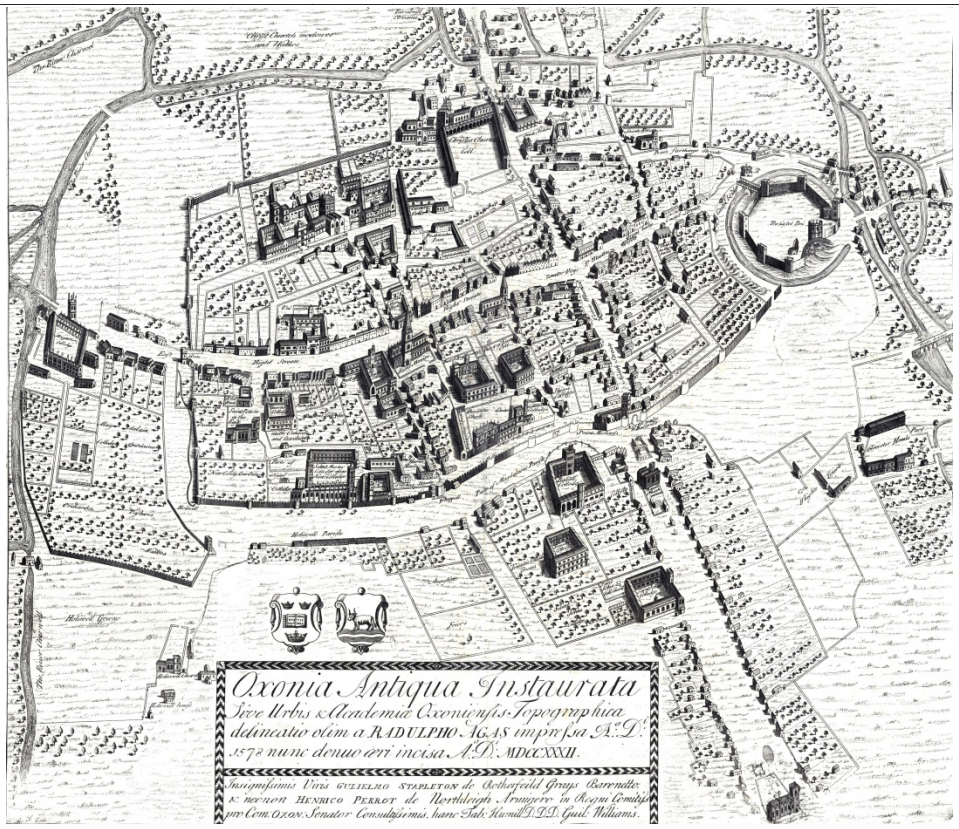
Ill. 2.30: Plan of Radcliffe Square area
Joseph Skelton (1823) after unknown, *c*,1720
***Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata* (based on Bodley MS. DD. Radcliffe b.3)**

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

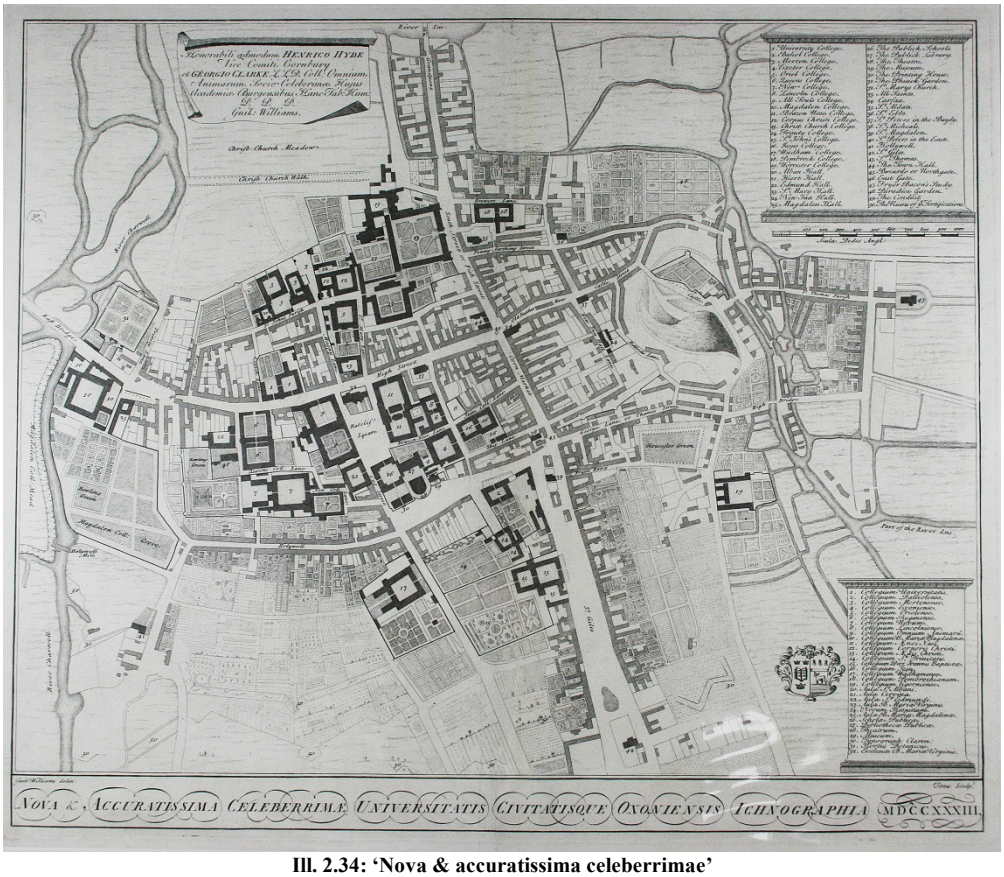
Ill. 2.31: Plan of Grandpont
Robert Whittlesey, ink and wash on vellum, 1726
© Brasenose College Clennell B14.1/30c



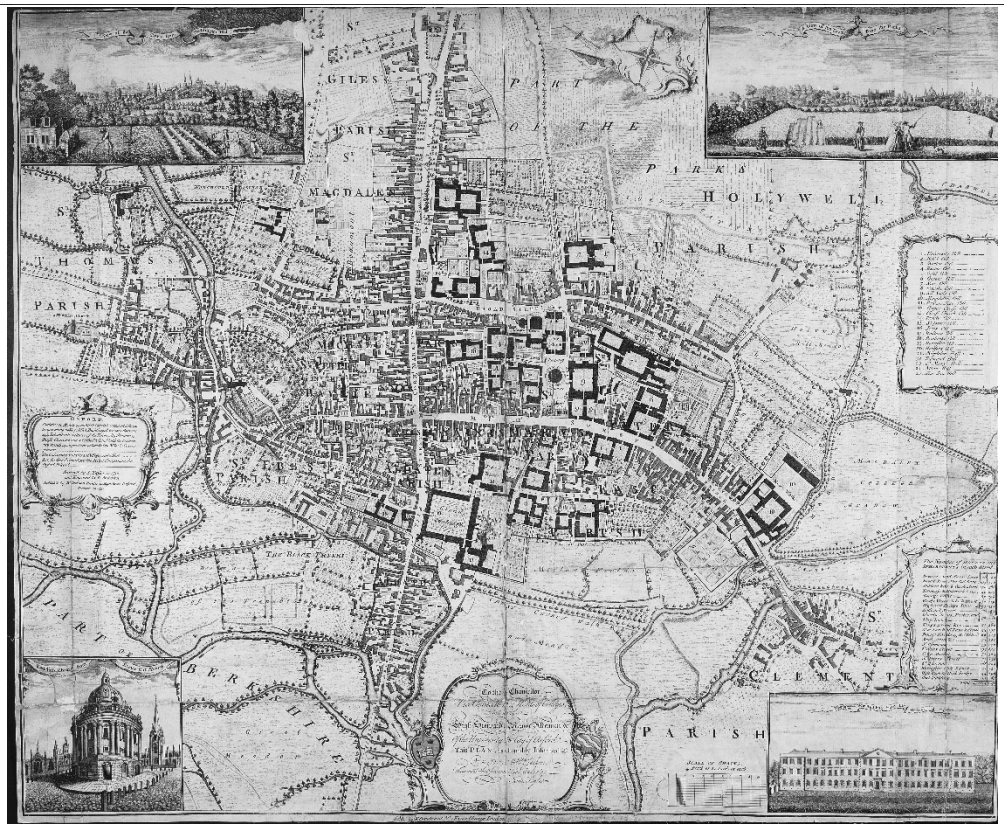
Ill. 2.32: 'Oxonia antiqua instaurata'
Unknown (William Hulett?) after Agas/Ryther and Bereblock, 1728, 67.5 x 98.5
Individually issued plate (published by Robert Whittlesey)



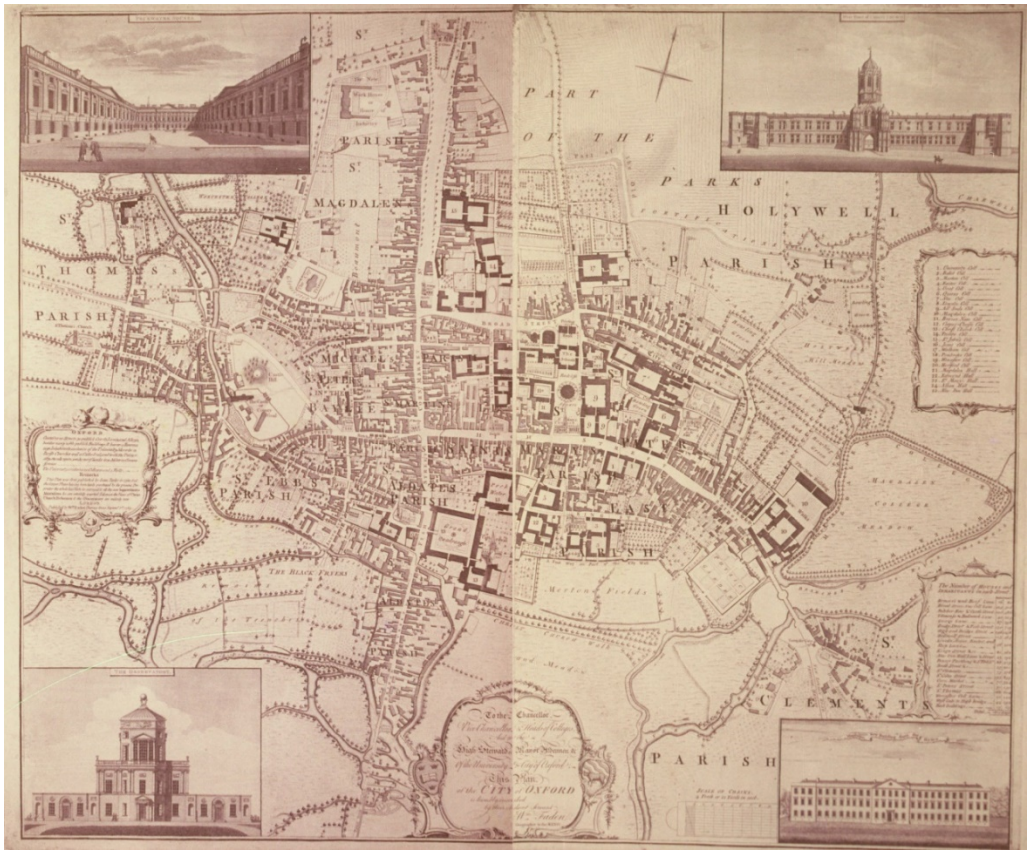
Ill. 2.33: 'Oxonia antiqua instaurata'
William Williams after Agas/Ryther, 1732, 45 x 52.5
Oxonia Depicta



Ill. 2.34: 'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae'
William Williams after Agas/Ryther, 1733, 46 x 55
Oxonia Depicta



Ill. 2.35: Plan of Oxford
George Anderton after survey by Isaac Taylor, 1751
Individually issued plate (published by William Jackson)



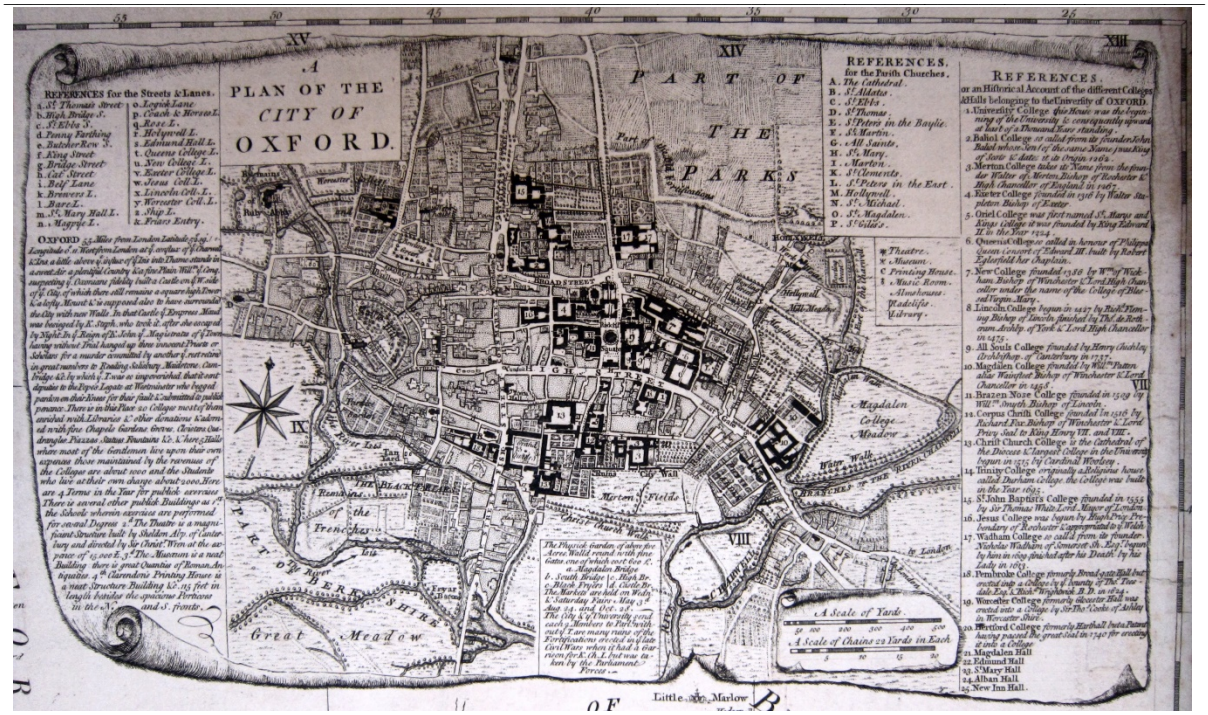
Ill. 2.36: Plan of Oxford
George Anderton after survey by Isaac Taylor, 1789
Individually issued plate (published by William Faden)



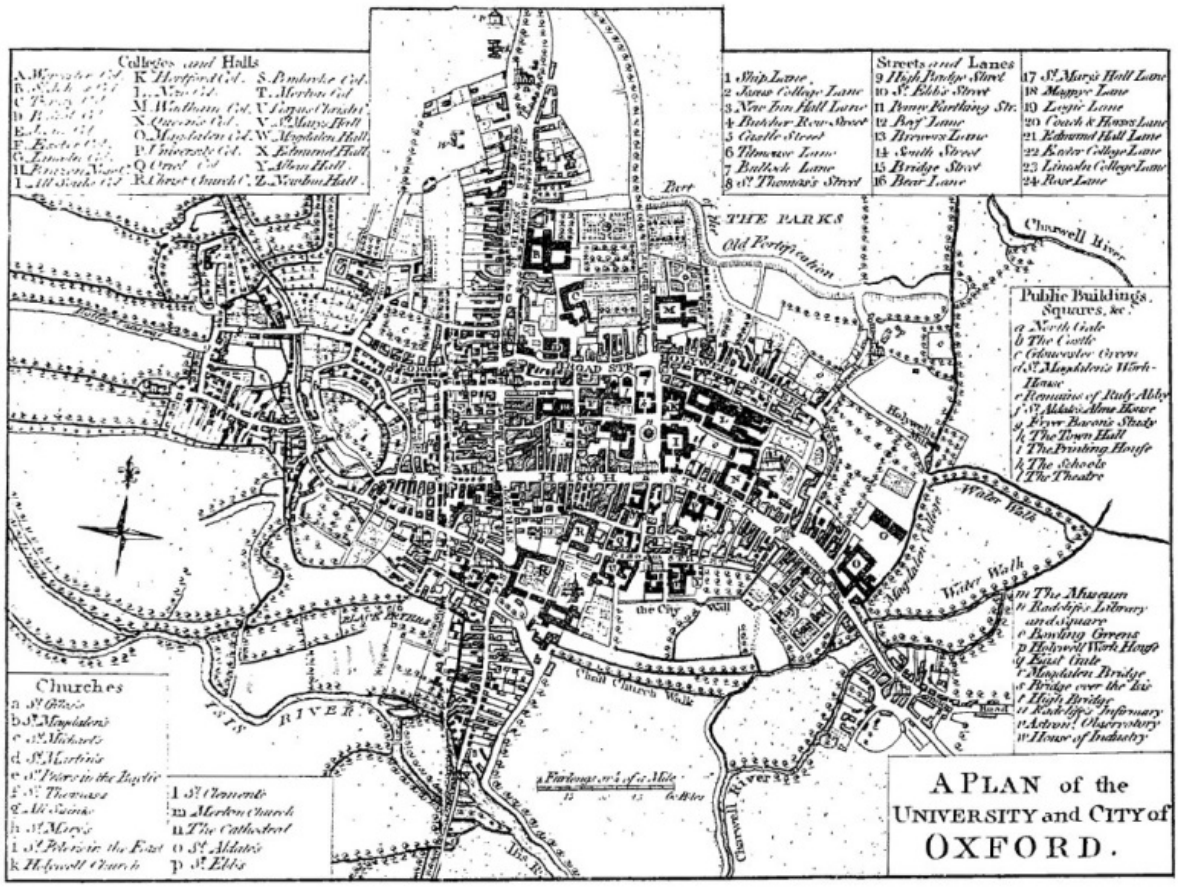
Ill. 2.37: 'Oxford a 52 miles oeust de Londres'
Unknown after John Roque (?), 1759
Recueil des villes ports d'Angleterre



Ill. 2.38a: Map of Berkshire and Oxfordshire
John Rocque, 1762
Individually issued plate



Ill. 2.38b: 'A plan of the City of Oxford' (detail from map of Berkshire and Oxfordshire)
John Rocque, 1762
Individually issued plate



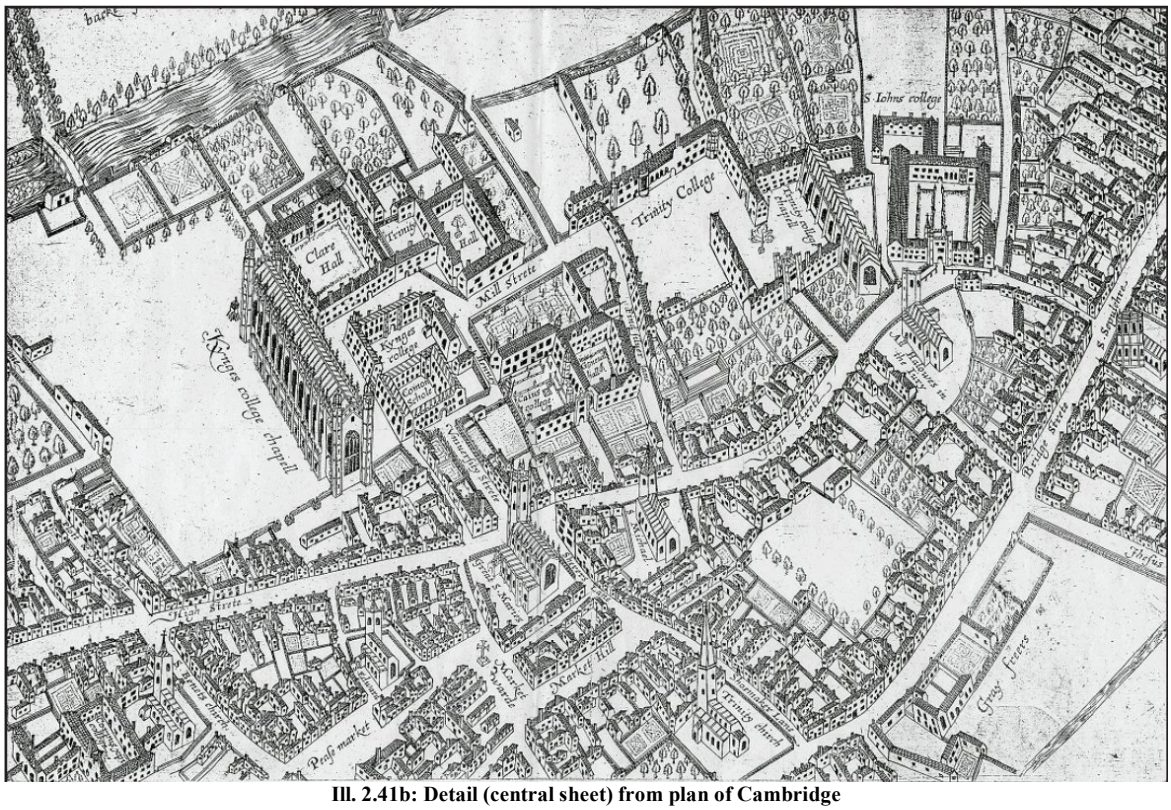
Ill. 2.39: 'A plan of the University and City of Oxford'
Benjamin Green after Taylor, 1766
A pocket companion or guide through the University



Ill. 2.40: 'Cantebrigiae'
Richard Lyne, 1574, 43 x 29
Historia Cantabrigensis Academia



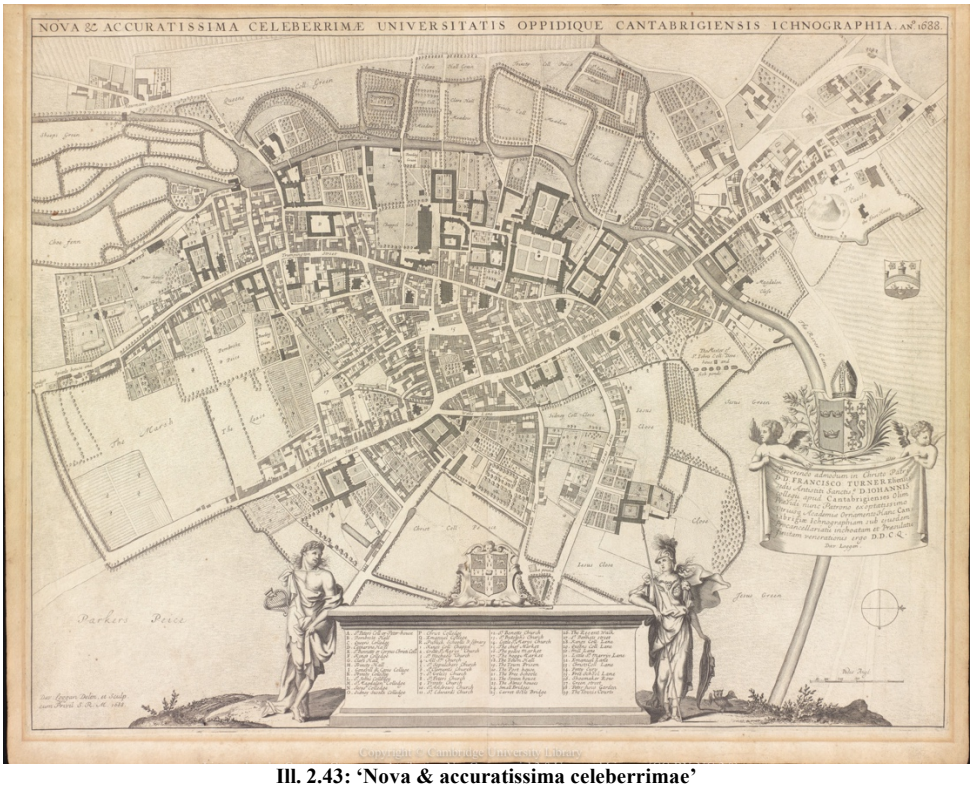
Ill. 2.41a: Plan of Cambridge
Augustine Ryther and Peter Muser after John Hamond, 1592, 87.5 x 119
Individually issued plate



Ill. 2.41b: Detail (central sheet) from plan of Cambridge
Augustine Ryther and Peter Muser after John Hamond, 1592
Individually issued plate



Ill. 2.42: 'Cambridge'
Wenceslaus Hollar, *c.*1640 (P960), 25.5 x 24
Individually issued plate



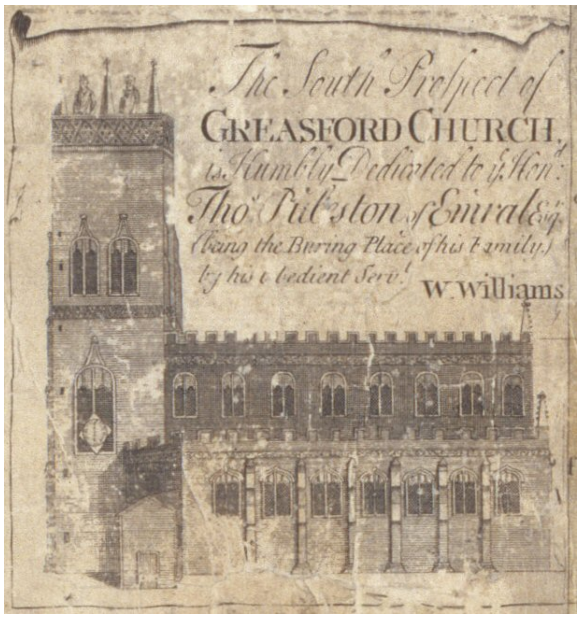
Ill. 2.43: 'Nova & accuratissima celeberrimae'
David Loggan after unknown, 1690, 39.5 x 52
Cantabrigia Illustrata



Ill. 2.44a: 'A new map of the counties of Denbigh and Flint'
John Sennex after survey by William Williams, *c.*1720, 123 x 123
Individually issued plate



Ill. 2.44b: 'Map of the counties of Denbigh and Flint' (detail)
John Sennex after survey by William Williams, *c.*1720
Individually issued plate



Ill. 2.44c: 'Map of the counties of Denbigh and Flint' (detail)
John Sennex after survey by William Williams, *c.*1720
Individually issued plate



Ill. 2.45a: Detail from survey of Toddington Manor (house)
Ralph Agas, ink and wash on vellum, 1581/2
© BL MS. Add. 38065



Ill. 2.45b: Detail from survey of Toddington Manor (village)
Ralph Agas, ink and wash on vellum, 1581/2
© BL MS. Add. 38065



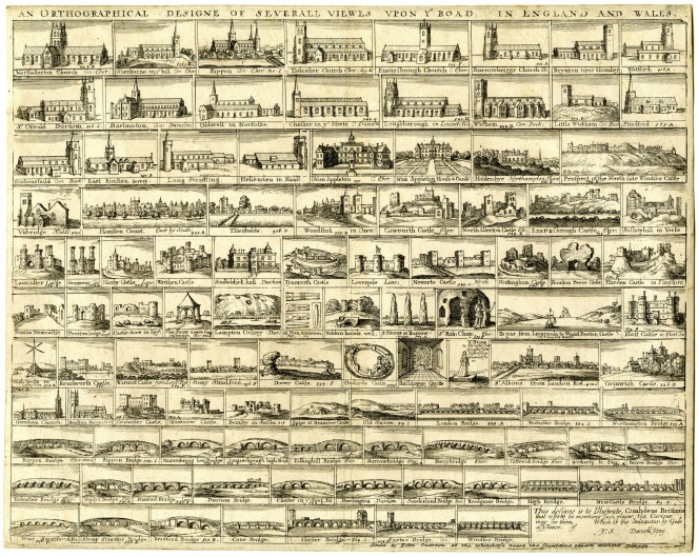
Ill. 2.46: 'Great Britannie'
Wenceslaus Hollar, 1654, 41.5 x 52
Individually issued plate (P648)



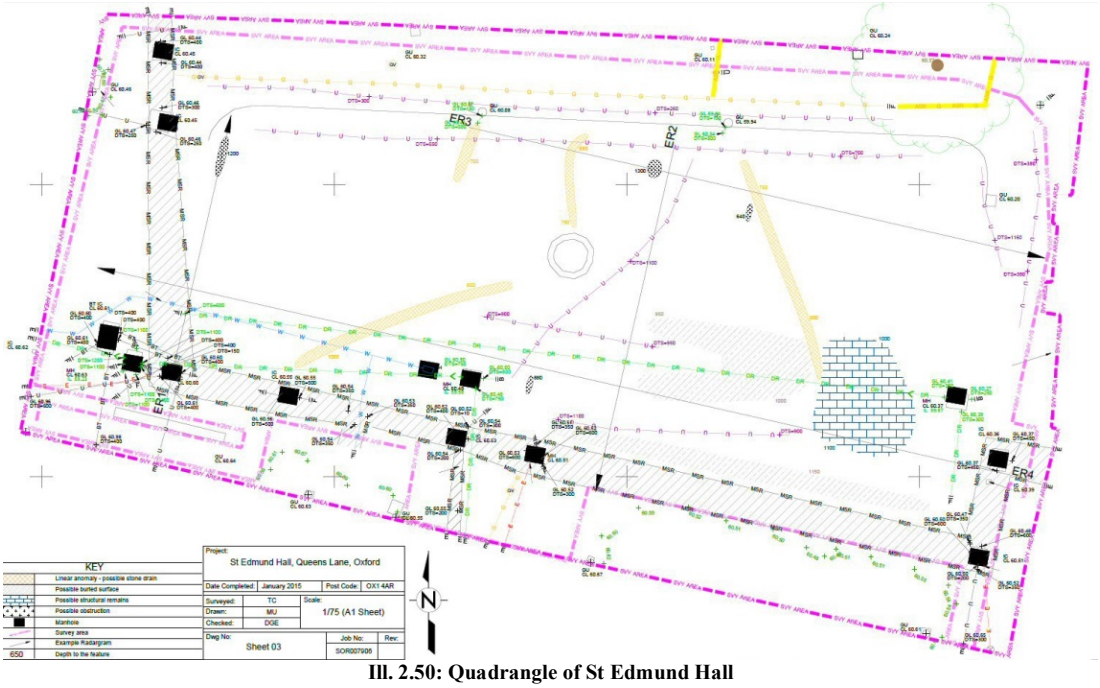
Ill. 2.47: Map of England and Wales
Wenceslaus Hollar, 1662, 38.5 x 50
Individually issued plate (P651A)



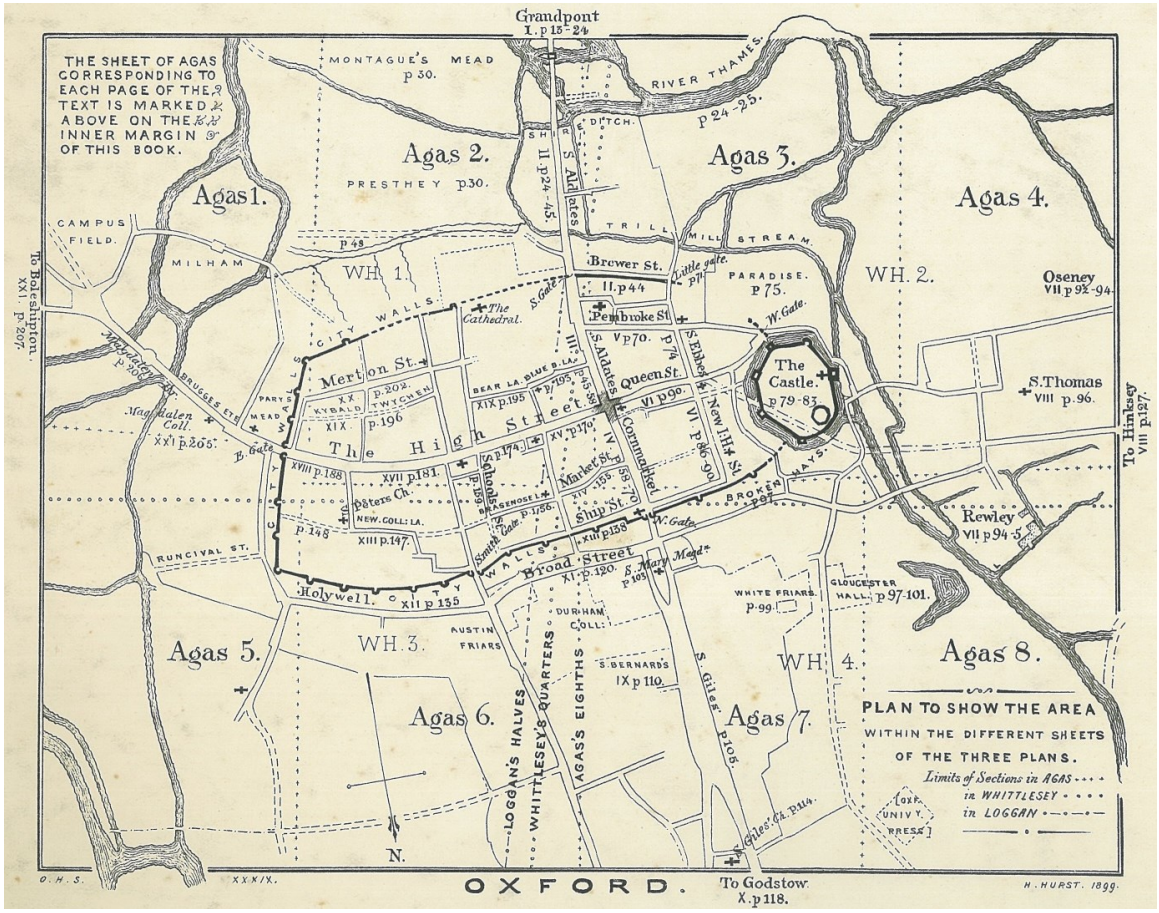
Ill. 2.48: Map of Great Britain and Ireland
Wenceslaus Hollar, 1667, 64 x 52
Individually issued plate (P649)



Ill. 2.49: Illustrations for Camden's *Britannia*
Wenceslaus Hollar, 1660, 28.5 x 36
Individually issued plate (P906A)



Ill. 2.50: Quadrangle of St Edmund Hall
Ground penetrating radar survey, 2015
© St Edmund Hall



Ill. 2.51: Comparative extents of Agas, Whittlesey and Loggan plans of Oxford
After Herbert Hurst, 1899
Old plans of Oxford



Ill. 3.1: Walls and towers of Oxford, with ox
Unknown, wax seal impression, 1191
© City of Oxford Museum Oxford charter



Ill. 3.2: Walls and towers of Oxford, with ox
Unknown, wax seal impression, 1384
© Magdalen College miscellaneous deeds



Ill. 3.3: Walls and towers of Oxford, with ox
Unknown, wax seal impression, 1598
© Oxfordshire Record Office lease



Ill. 3.4: Walls and towers of Oxford, with ox
Unknown, wax seal impression, 1614
© Oxfordshire Record Office power of attorney



Ill. 3.4 bis: Execution of Latimer and Ridley
Unknown, woodcut
***Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, 1563**



Ill. 3.4 ter: Execution of Cranmer
Unknown, woodcut
***Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, 1563**



Ill. 3.4 quater: Denunciation of Cranmer
Unknown, woodcut
***Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, 1563**



Ill. 3.5: Walled city [Oxford?] with church
Unknown, wood-carving, late 14th century
© New College misericord (SR01)



Ill. 3.6: Gate and towers with spire [Osney Abbey?], with ox
Unknown, ink on vellum, 1453–1479
© Bodley MS. Wood F.10, f.117r (Osney Abbey rental book)



Ill. 3.7: Nonsuch Palace
Georg Hoefnagel, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1568
© British Museum 1943,1009.35



Ill. 3.8: Nonsuch Palace
Georg Hoefnagel, watercolour on paper, 1568
© Victoria & Albert Museum E.2781-2016

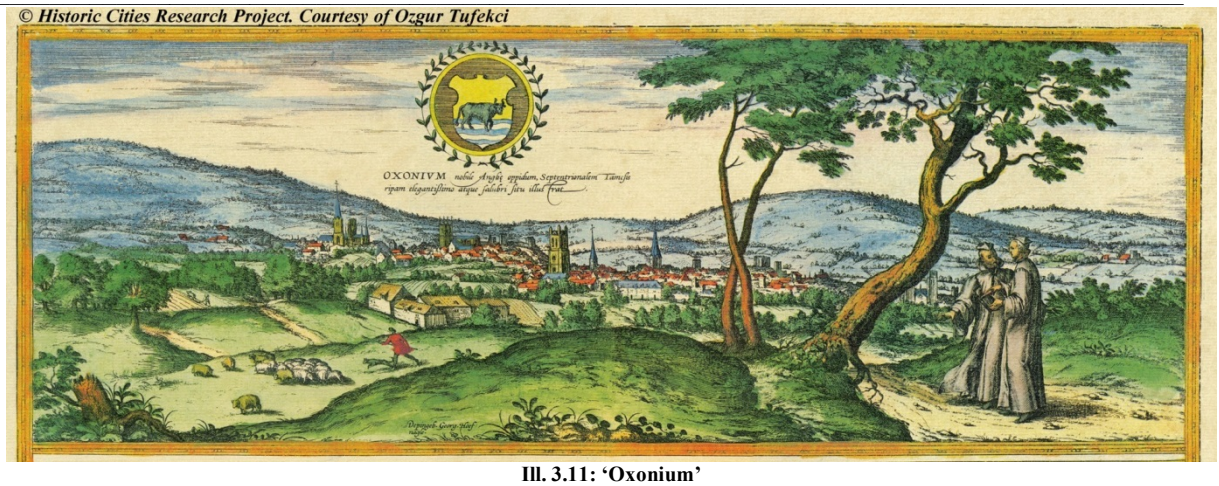


Ill. 3.9: Windsor Castle
Georg Hoefnagel, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1568
© Royal Collection RCIN 912936

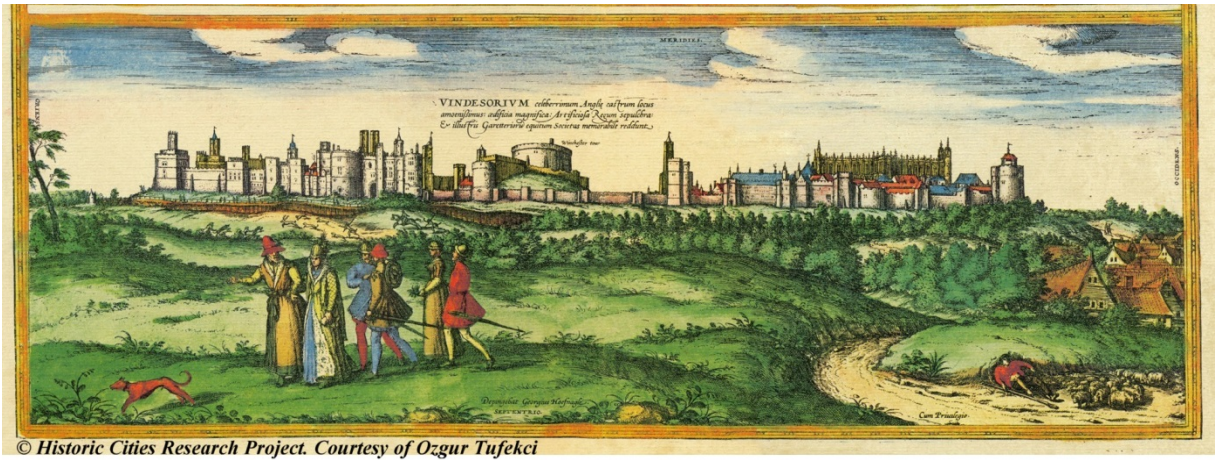


Ill. 3.10: Oxford and Windsor Castle
Georg Hoefnagel, pen and brown ink on paper, *c.*1570
© Royal Collection RCIN 913261

© Historic Cities Research Project. Courtesy of Ozgur Tufekci



Ill. 3.11: 'Oxonium'
Frans Hogenberg after Hoefnagel, 1575, 16 x 45
***Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, book 2**



© Historic Cities Research Project. Courtesy of Ozgur Tufekci

Ill. 3.12: 'Vindesorium'
Frans Hogenberg after Hoefnagel, 1575, 16 x 45
***Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, book 2**



Ill. 3.13: 'Nonciutz'
Frans Hogenberg after Hoefnagel, 1598, 23 x 45
***Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, book 5**



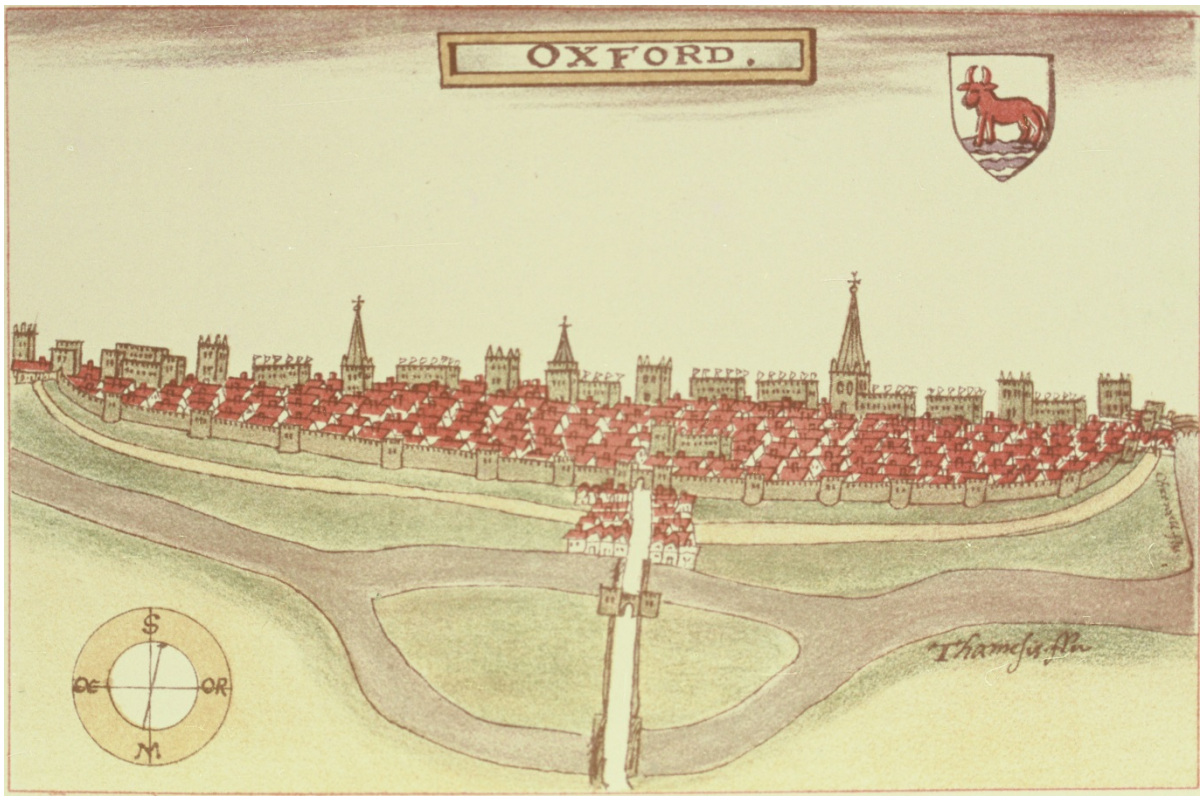
Ill. 3.14a: 'Ochsenfuhrt'
Daniel Meisner after Hoefnagel, 1625
***Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*, book 7**



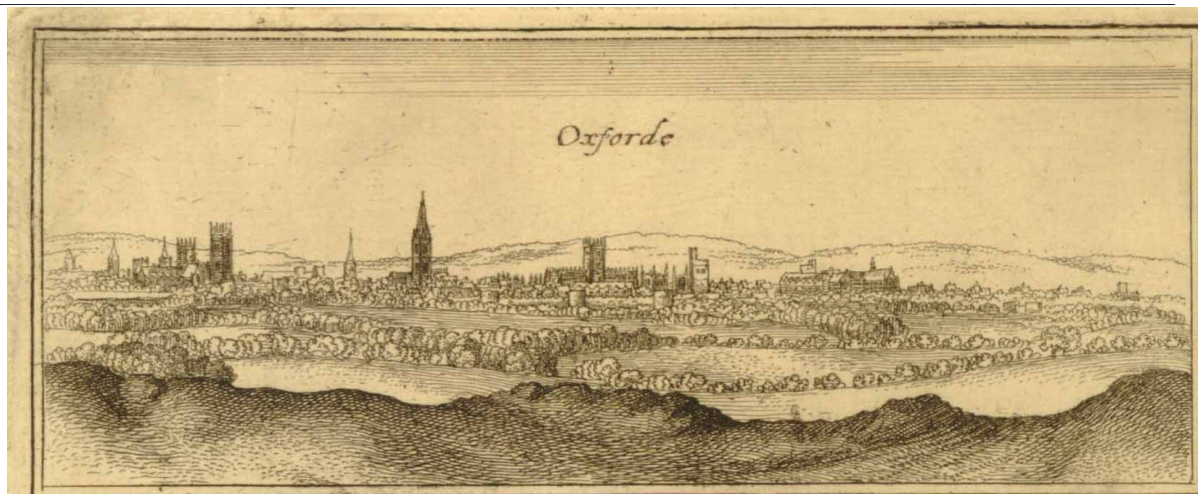
Ill. 3.14b: 'Ochsenfuhrt'
Afrer Daniel Meisner, > 1625
Unknown publication



Ill. 3.15a: 'Oxford'
William Smith, pencil and watercolour, 1588
© BL MS. Sloane 2596 ***The particular description of England***



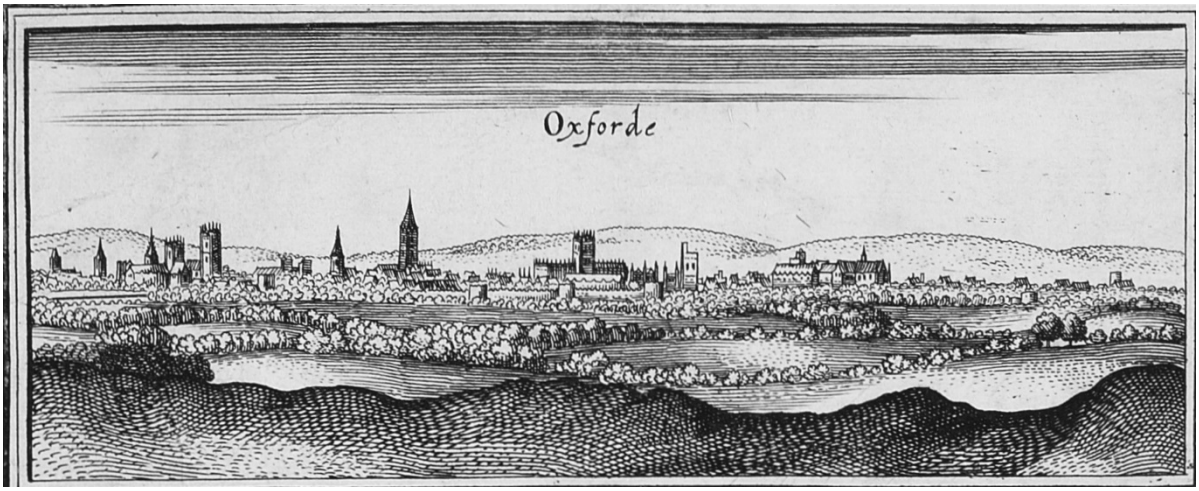
Ill. 3.15b: 'Oxford'
Facsimile (1879) after William Smith, 1588
© BL MS. Sloane 2596 ***The particular description of England***



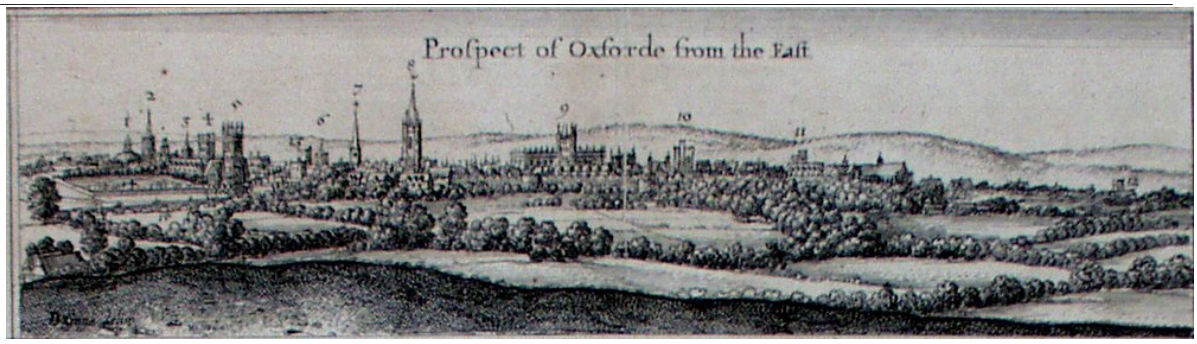
Ill. 3.16a: 'Oxforde'
Wenceslaus Hollar, 1643, 5.5 x 13.5
Detail of inset from map of Oxford (P1055), V1S1



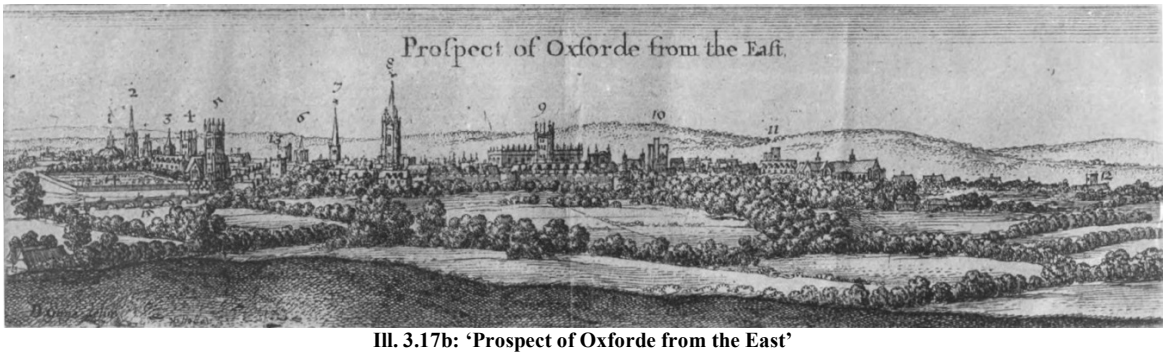
Ill. 3.16b: 'Oxforde'
Wenceslaus Hollar, >1643, 5.5 x 13.5
Detail of inset from map of Oxford (P1055), V1S2



Ill. 3.16c: 'Oxforde'
After Wenceslaus Hollar, >1643, 5.5 x 13.5
Detail of inset from map of Oxford (P1055), V1/Merian



Ill. 3.17a: 'Prospect of Oxforde from the East'
Wenceslaus Hollar (?) after J. Gage, *c*.1665, 6.5 x 23.5
Detail of inset from map of Oxford (P1054), V2S1



Ill. 3.17b: 'Prospect of Oxforde from the East'
Wenceslaus Hollar (?) after J. Gage, >*c*.1665, 6.5 x 23.5
Detail of inset from map of Oxford (P1054), V2S2



Ill. 3.18a Oxford Crown (obverse)
Thomas Rawlins, original strike, 1644
© Ashmolean Museum, HCR6571



Ill. 3.18a Oxford Crown (reverse)
Thomas Rawlins, original strike, 1644
© Ashmolean Museum, HCR6571



Ill. 3.19a Oxford Crown (obverse)
Thomas Rawlins, restrike, >1644
© Ashmolean Museum



Ill. 3.19b Oxford Crown (reverse)
Thomas Rawlins, restrike, >1644
© Ashmolean Museum



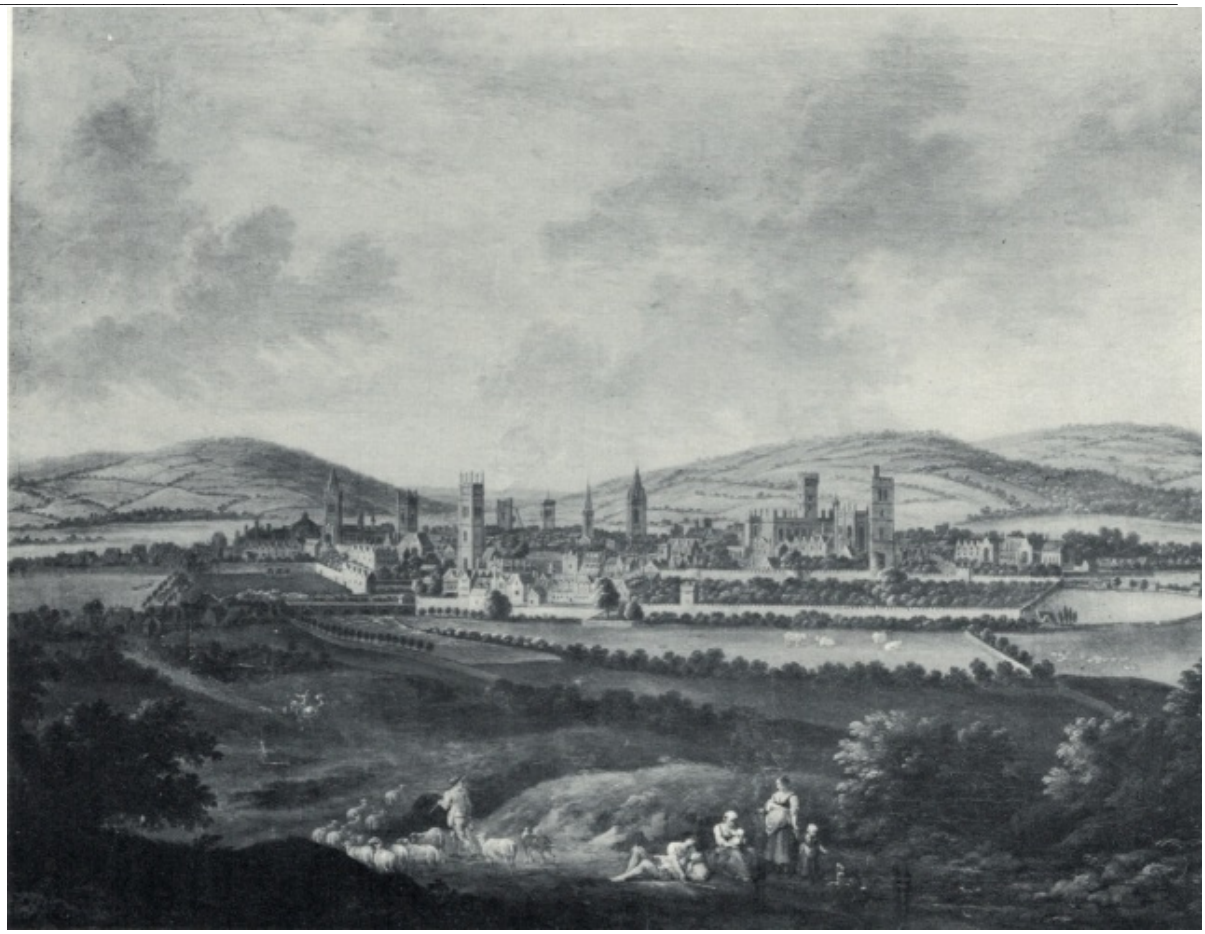
Ill. 3.20: 'Oxford'
Unknown artist, ink on paper, 1669
© Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS. Med. Pal. 123.2c.054bis



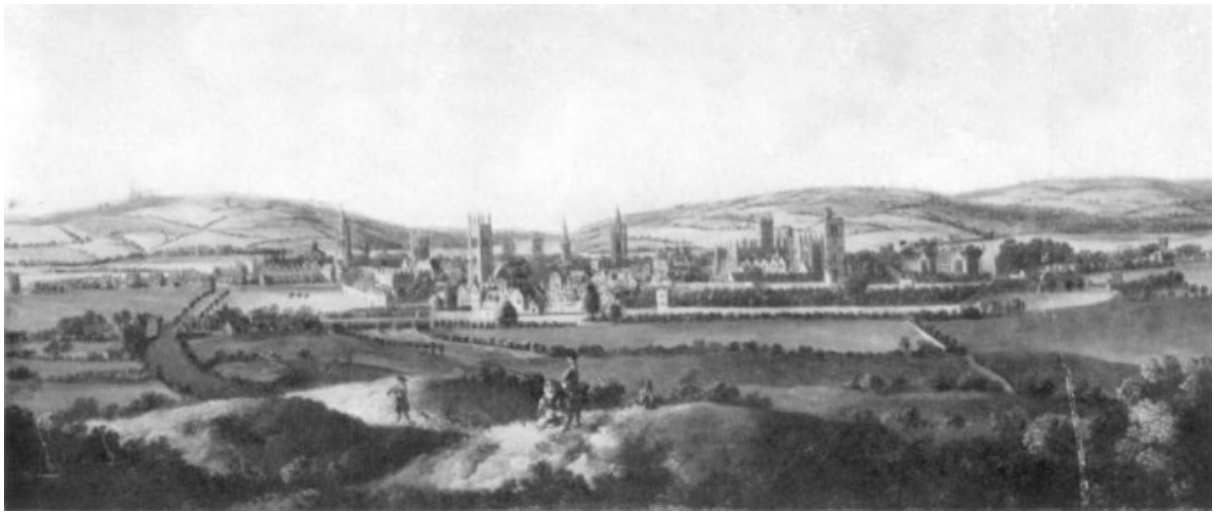
Ill. 3.21: 'Oxford'
Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (?) after Medici court artist, ink on paper, *c.*1820
© BL MS. Add. 33767 A



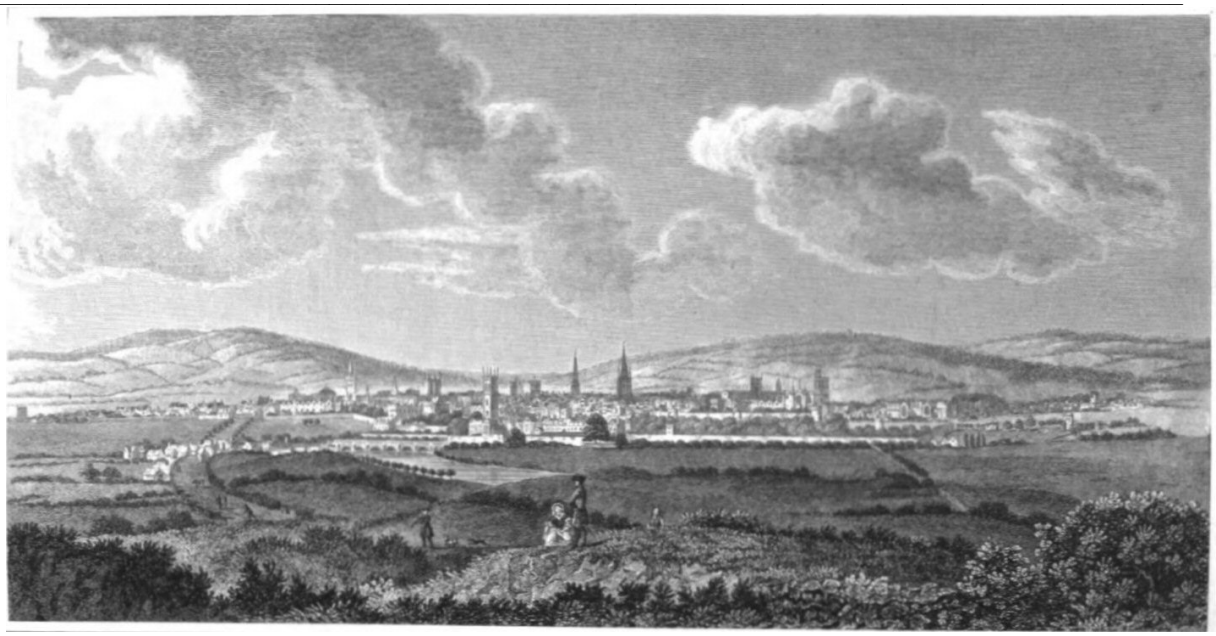
Ill. 3.22: Oxford from the east
Unknown aquatinter after Shepherd (?), 1821
Travels of Cosmo III



Ill. 3.23: Oxford from the east
Jan Griffier, oil painting, *c*.1680
© Private collection (*Old English Landscape Painters*)



Ill. 3.24: Oxford from the east
Unknown artist, oil on canvas, *c*.1680
© Phillimore collection (*Oxoniensia*)



Ill. 3.25: Oxford from the east
Joseph Skelton (1823) after unknown artist (then in Lord Grenville collection), *c.*1680
Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata



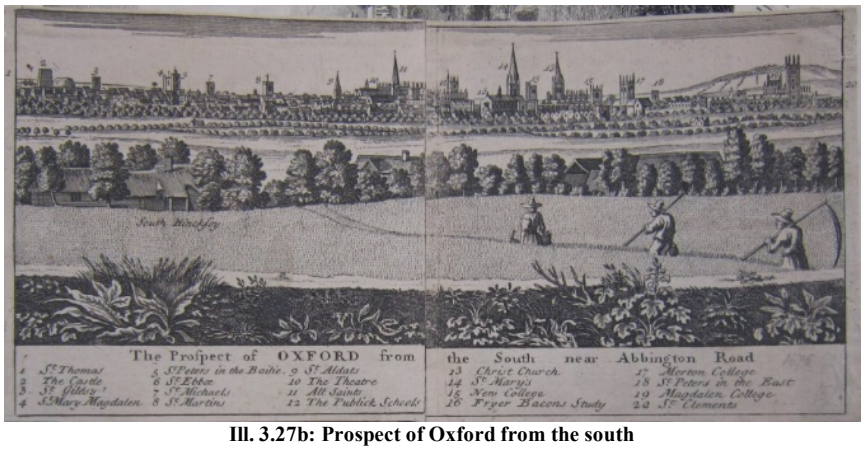
Ill 3.26a: 'Oxoniae Prospectus ab Oriente'
David Loggan, 1675, 7 x 21.5
***Oxonia Illustrata* (detail of inset from map of Oxford)**



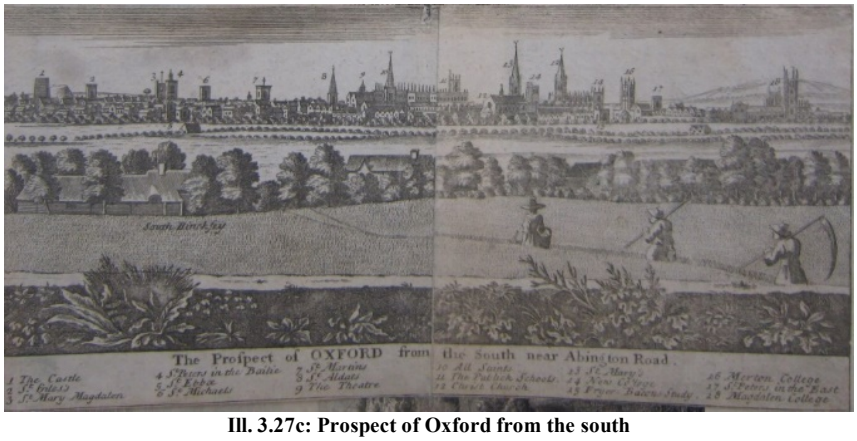
Ill 3.26b: 'The Prospect of Oxford from the East near London Road'
Unknown after Loggan, 1715
Philip Overton's map of Oxfordshire



Ill. 3.27a: 'Prospectus Oxoniae Orientalis' and 'Prospectus Oxoniae Meridionalis'
David Loggan, 1675, 32.5 x 44.5
Oxonia Illustrata



Ill. 3.27b: Prospect of Oxford from the south
After David Loggan, >1675
Unknown publication



Ill. 3.27c: Prospect of Oxford from the south
After David Loggan, >1675
Unknown publication



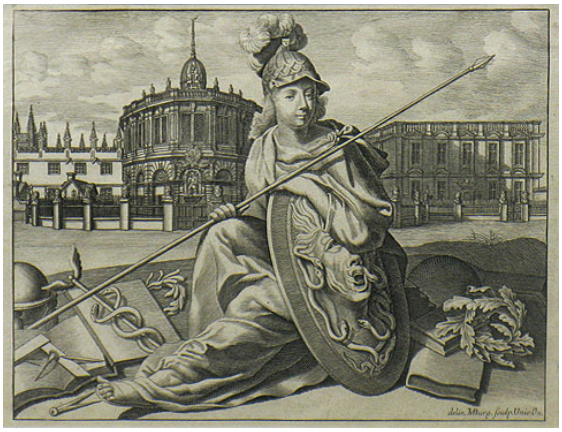
Ill. 3.28: Central Oxford from the north with Minerva
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata* (detail from title page)**



Ill. 3.29a: Central Oxford from the north with Minerva
Michael Burghers (?), 1676
***Marmora Oxoniensia* (detail from title page)**



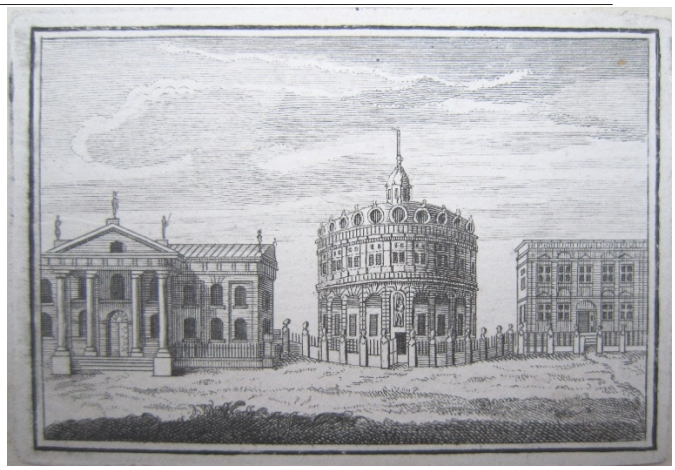
Ill. 3.29b: Central Oxford from the north with Minerva
Michael Burghers (?), 1682
***Cyprianici annals* (detail from title page)**



Ill. 3.30: Central Oxford from the north with Minerva
Michael Burghers, 1683
***Natural history of Staffordshire* (detail from title page)**



Ill. 3.31: Oxford from the south
Michael Burghers, 1716
Guilielmi Roperi **(detail from title page), 8.5 x 10**



Ill. 3.32: Central Oxford from the north
George Vertue (?), *c.*1730
© British Museum 1850, 0223.665

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 3.33: 'Anno 1683 Oxoniae [Prospect]us Ori[entalis]'
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, 1683
© V&A RIBA collection 84041, f.47, fig. 19

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 3.34: Oxford from the south
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c.*1683
© V&A RIBA collection 84042, f.52, fig. 20



Ill. 3.35: Oxford from the west
Jan van der Vinne, pencil with body-colour on paper, *c.*1686–8, 24 x 40
© British Museum, 1879, 0308.1



Ill. 3.36: 'Oxoniae Prospectus'
Jan Kip, *c*.1705
Nouveau Théâtre



Ill. 3.37: 'Oxoniae Universitatis'
Sutton Nicholls after Kip, 1724
Nouveau Théâtre



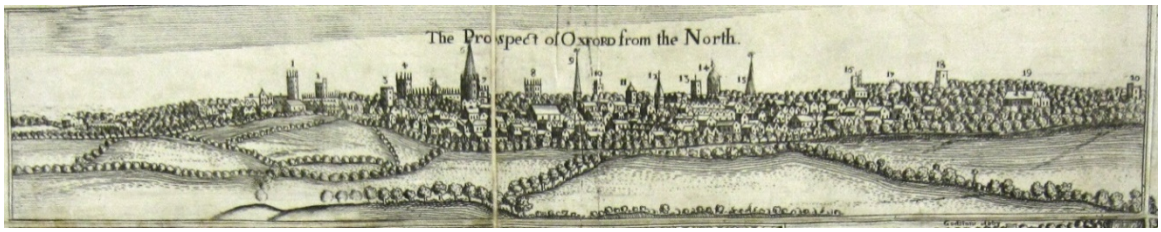
Ill. 3.38: 'Veue d'Oxford'
Juan de la Cruz (?) after Kip, engraving, 1757
Essai Geographique sur les Isles Britanniques



Ill. 3.39: 'Oxfort'
Pieter Schenk, 1702
Hecatampolis



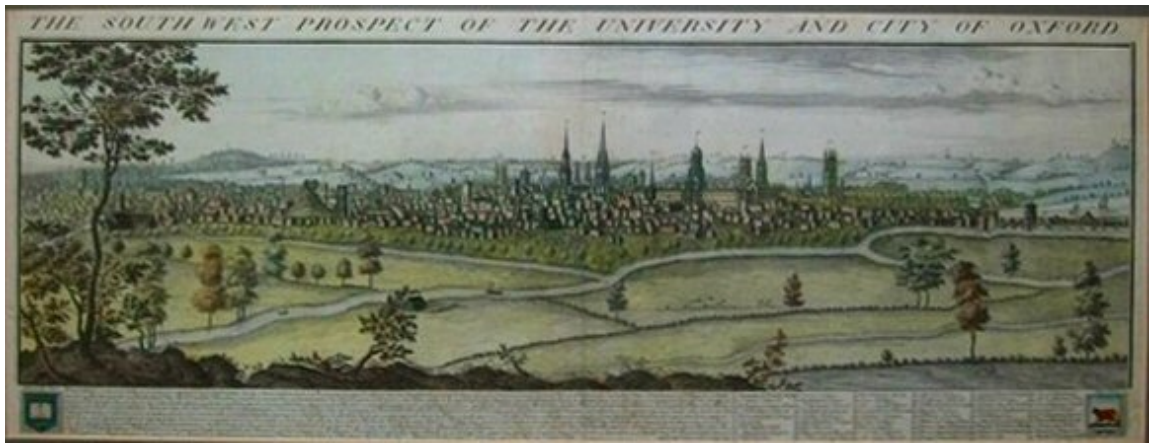
Ill. 3.40: 'The Prospect of Oxford from the North'
Benjamin Cole, *c.*1699
Detail from inset on map



Ill. 3.41: 'The Prospect of Oxford from the North'
Benjamin Cole, *c.*1710
Detail from inset on map



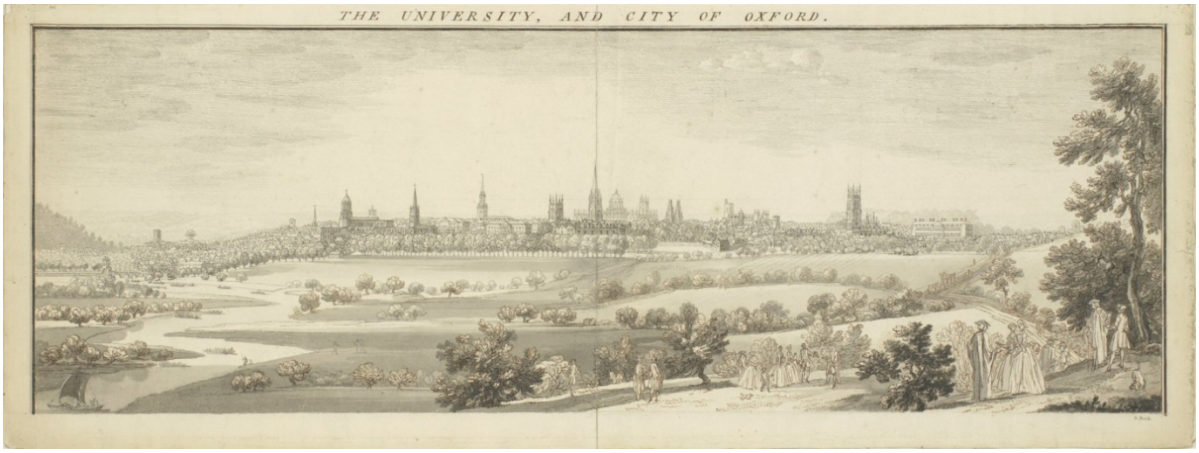
Ill. 3.42: 'The South West Prospect of the University and City of Oxford'
Samuel Buck, pencil, ink and wash on paper, 1731
© Unknown collection (auction catalogue)



Ill. 3.43: 'The South West Prospect of the University and City of Oxford'
Nathaniel and Samuel Buck, 1731, 24 x 79
Individually issued plate



Ill. 3.44: 'The South East Prospect of the University and City of Oxford'
Samuel Buck, ink and wash on paper, c.1752
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. c.301 (R)



Ill. 3.45: 'The University and City of Oxford'
Samuel Buck, pen and wash on paper, *c*.1752
© Fitzwilliam Museum 756



Ill. 3.46: 'The South East Prospect of the University and City of Oxford'
Nathaniel and Samuel Buck, 1753, 28 x 80
Individually issued plate



Ill. 3.47: 'The West View of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford'
Nathaniel and Samuel Buck, engraving, 1729
Individually issued plate



Ill. 3.48: 'The North View of Oxford Castle'
Nathaniel and Samuel Buck, engraving, 1729
Individually issued plate



Ill. 3.49: 'Prospectus Oxoniae Meridionalis' and 'Prospectus Oxoniae Orientalis'
William Williams after Clement Lemprière, 1732/3
Oxonia Depicta



Ill. 3.50: Central Oxford from the north
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta* (detail from title page)**



Ill. 3.51a: Prospect of Oxford from Elsfield Manor
James Green, 1750
Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis



Ill. 3.52a: View of Elsfield Manor garden
James Green, 1750
Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis



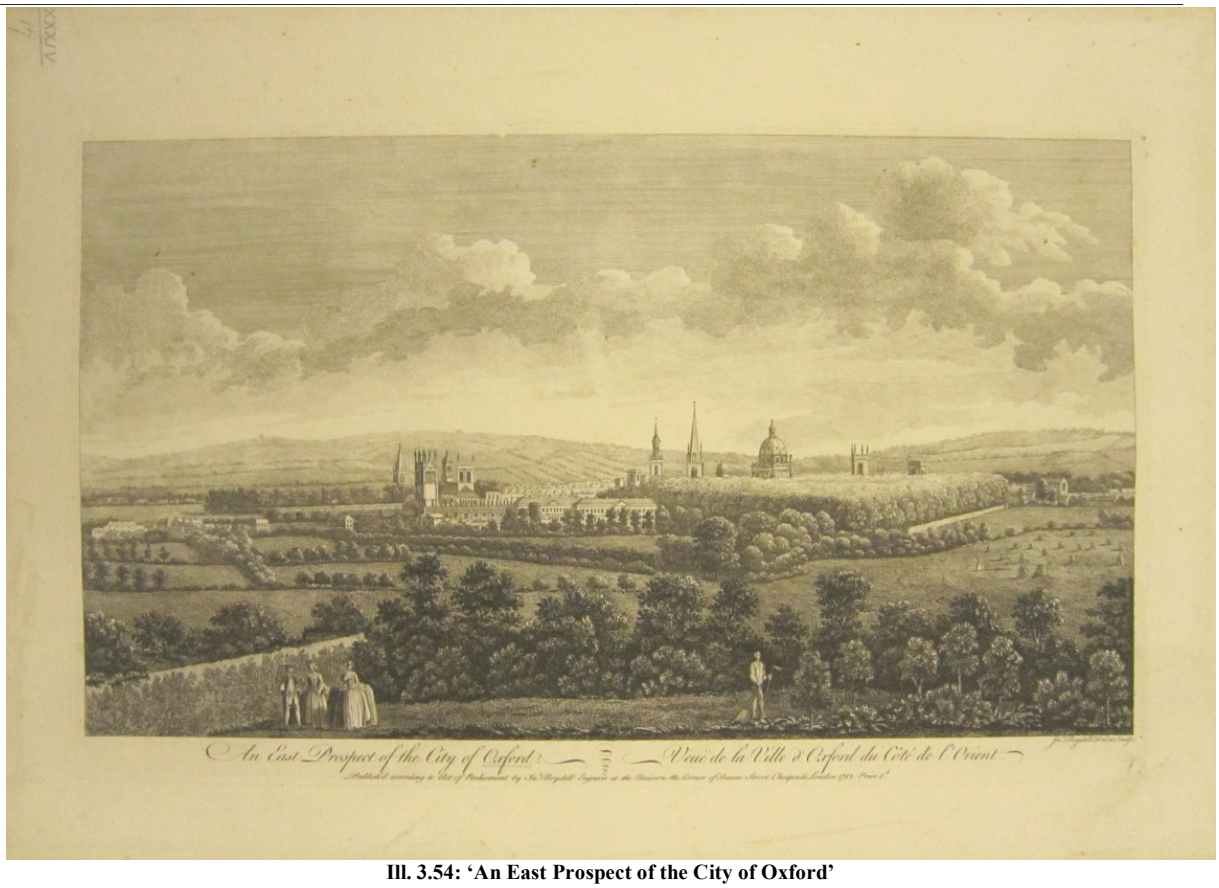
Ill. 3.51b: Prospect of Oxford from Elsfield Manor
Charles John Smith (?) after Green, 1836, 17.5 x 25
Life and times of Samuel Johnson



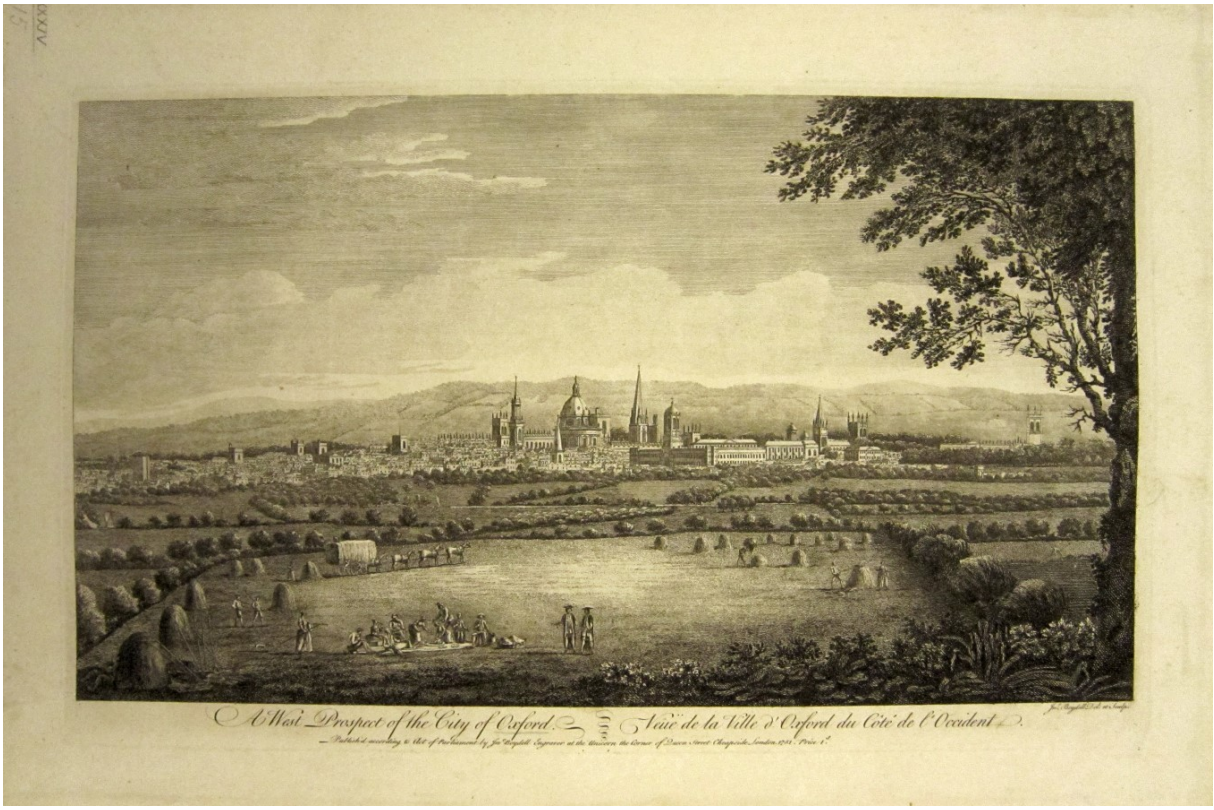
Ill. 3.52b: View of Elsfield Manor garden
Charles John Smith after Green, 1836
Life and times of Samuel Johnson



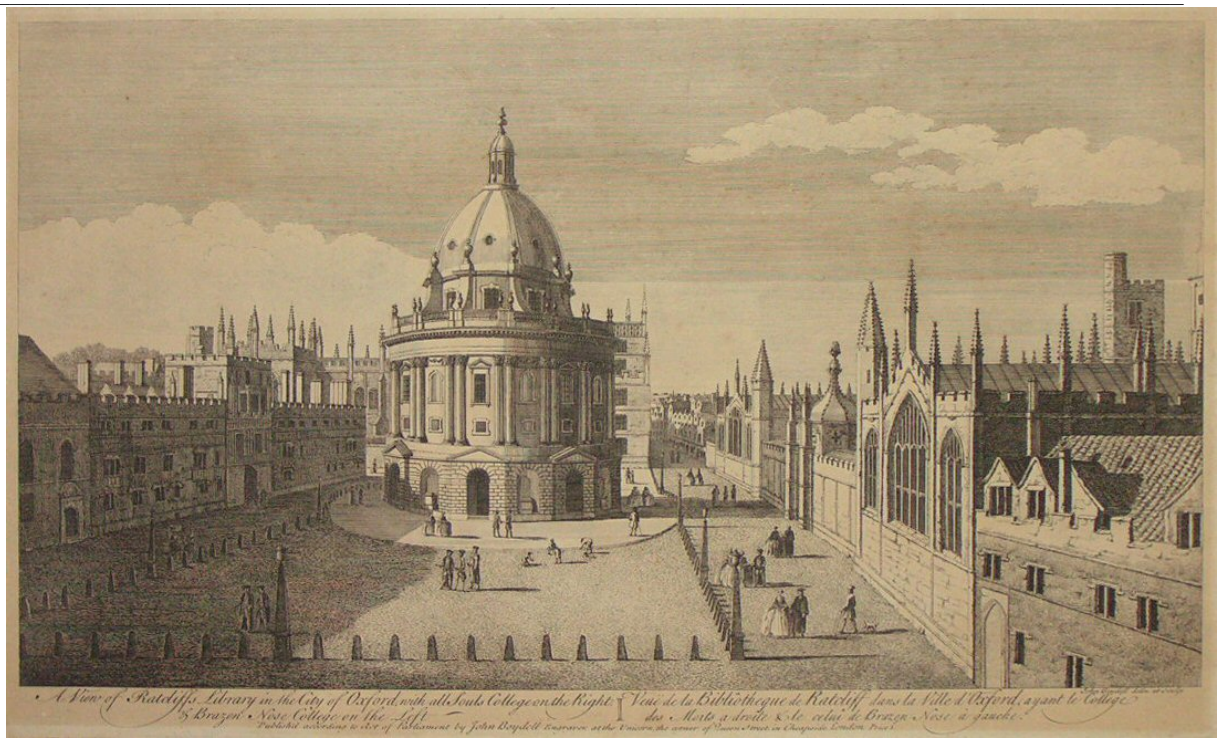
Ill. 3.53: 'A South Prospect of the City of Oxford'
John Boydell, 1751, 28 x 44.5
Individually issued plate



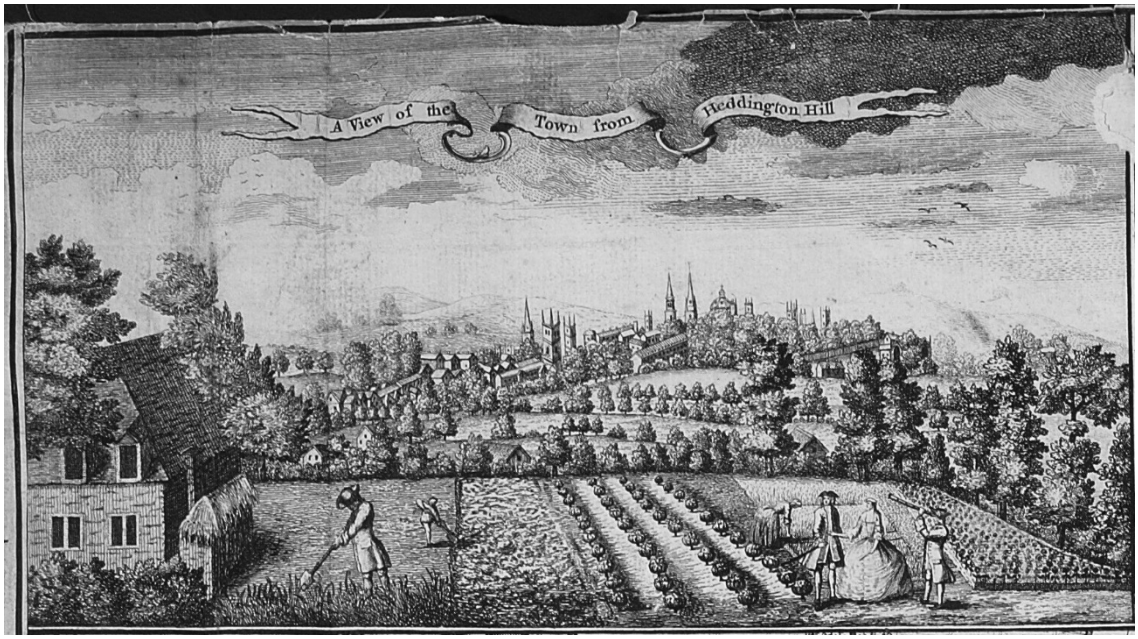
Ill. 3.54: 'An East Prospect of the City of Oxford'
John Boydell, 1751, 28 x 44.5
Individually issued plate



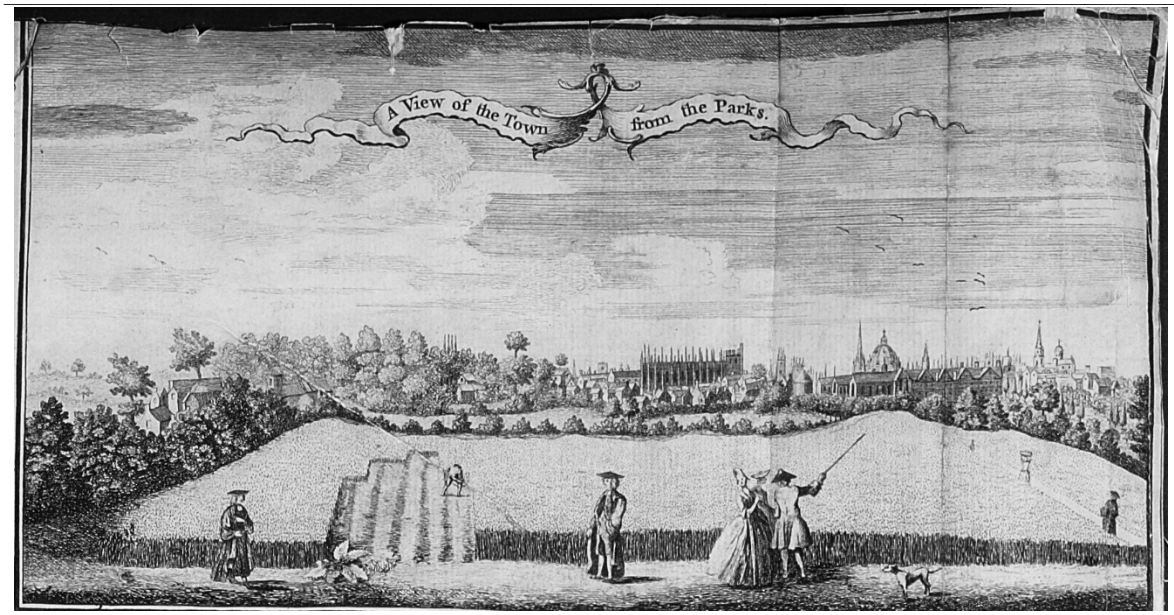
Ill. 3.55: 'A West Prospect of the City of Oxford'
John Boydell, 1751, 28 x 44.5
Individually issued plate



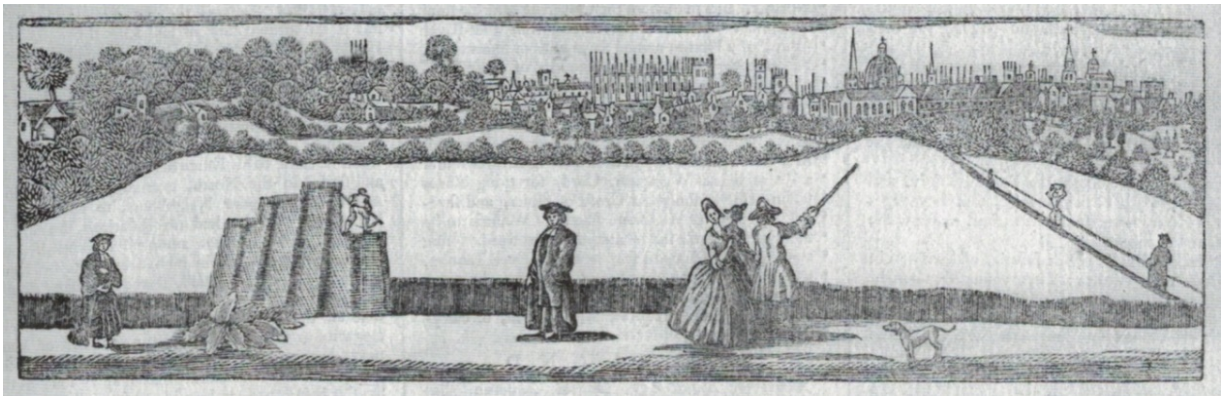
Ill. 3.56: 'Radcliff's Library in the City of Oxford ...'
John Boydell, 1752, 28 x 44.5
Individually issued plate



Ill. 3.57: 'A View of the Town from Heddington Hill'
George Anderton, 1751
Detail from inset vignette on William Jackson's map



Ill. 3.58: 'A View of the Town from the Parks'
George Anderton, 1751
Detail from inset vignette on William Jackson's map



Ill. 3.59: View of Oxford from the Parks
After George Anderton, woodcut, 1753
***Jackson's Oxford Journal* (masthead)**



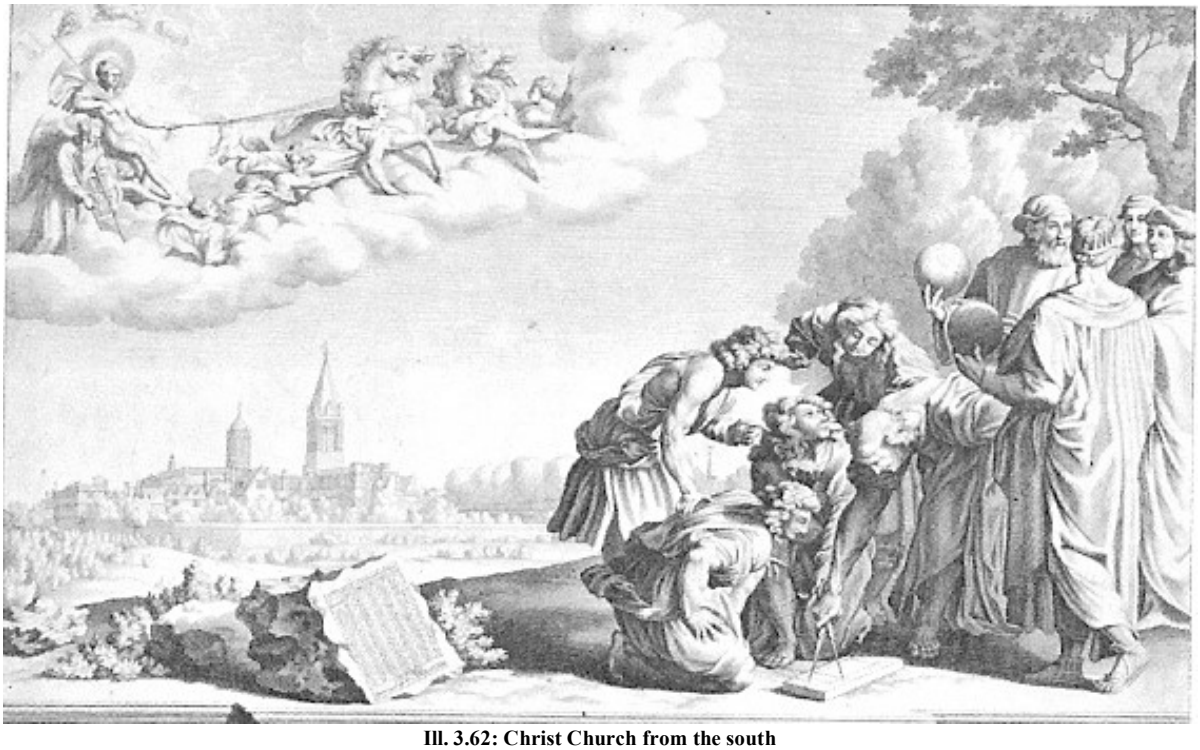
Ill. 3.60: Oxford from the west
Michael Burghers, 1677
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.61a: Oxford from the south
Michael Burghers, 1679
Detail from Oxford University Almanack (left side)



Ill. 3.61b: Oxford from the south
Michael Burghers, 1679
Detail from Oxford University Almanack (right side)



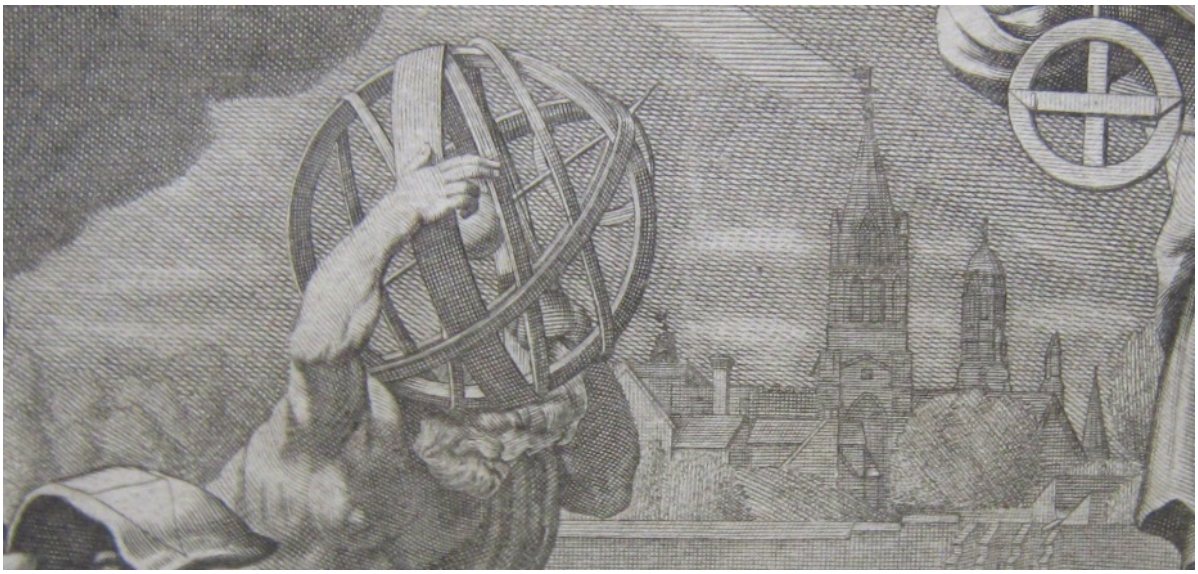
Ill. 3.62: Christ Church from the south
Michael Burghers, 1683
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.63: Oxford from the east
Michael Burghers, 1685
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



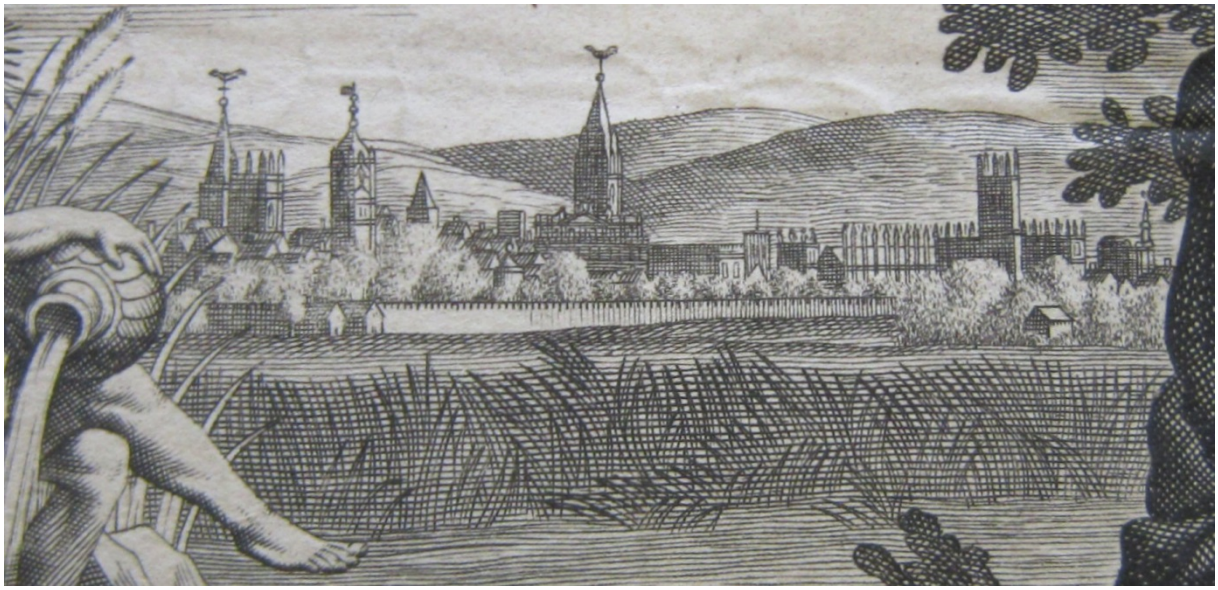
Ill. 3.64: Oxford from the east
Michael Burghers, 1692
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.65: Christ Church from the east
Michael Burghers, 1698
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



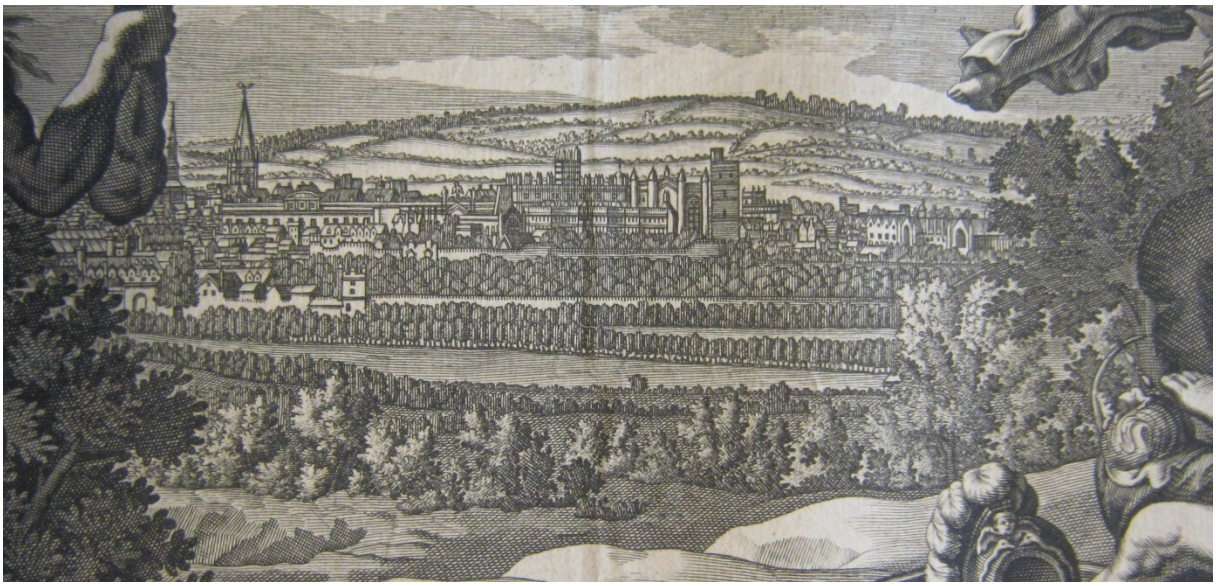
Ill. 3.66: Christ Church from the south
Michael Burghers, 1700
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.67: Oxford from the east
Michael Burghers, 1710
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.68: New College from the north
Michael Burghers, 1712
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.69: Oxford from the east
Michael Burghers, 1713
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.70: *Forum Universitatis*
Michael Burghers, 1715
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.71: Oxford from the south
Michael Burghers, 1718
Detail from Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 3.72: Oxford from the south
Unknown, 1763
***Marmora Oxoniensia* (detail from title page)**



Ill. 4.1a: New College
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1463
© New College, Chaundler MS. 288



Ill. 4.1b: Winchester College
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1463
© New College, Chaundler MS. 288



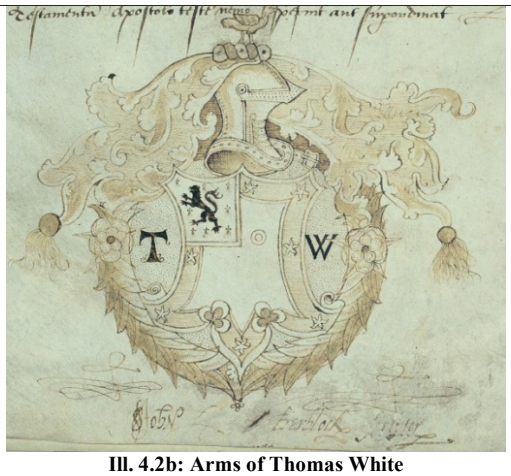
Ill. 4.1c: Wells Cathedral
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1463
© New College, Chaundler MS. 288



Ill. 4.1d: William of Wykeham
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, *c*.1463
© New College, Chaundler MS. 288



Ill. 4.2a: Queen Elizabeth & St John
John Bereblock, 1562
© St John's College, Statutes



Ill. 4.2b: Arms of Thomas White
John Bereblock, 1562
© St John's College, Statutes



Ill. 4.2c: Historiated initial
John Bereblock, 1562
© St John's College, Statutes



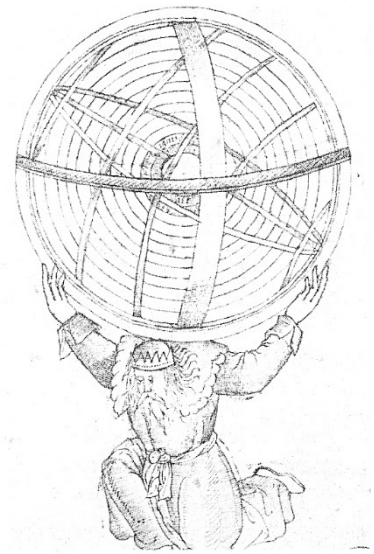
Ill. 4.2d: Historiated initial
John Bereblock, 1562
© St John's College, Statutes



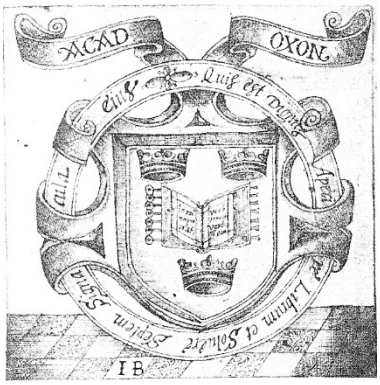
Ill. 4.2e: Historiated initial
John Bereblock, 1562
© St John's College, Statutes



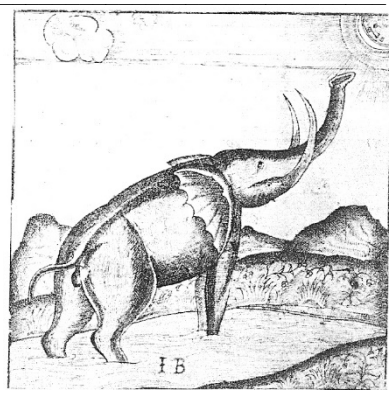
Ill. 4.2f: Historiated initial
John Bereblock, 1562
© St John's College, Statutes



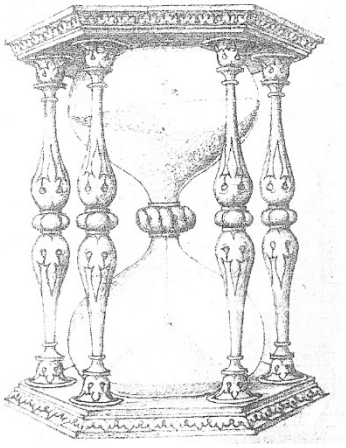
Ill. 4.3a: Emblem 5
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



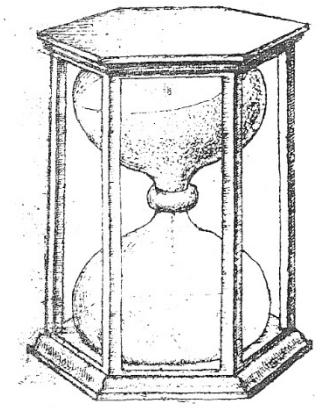
Ill. 4.3b: Emblem 6
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



Ill. 4.3c: Emblem 10
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



Ill. 4.3d: Emblem 11
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
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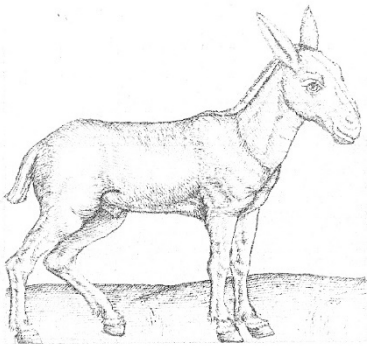
Ill. 4.3e: Emblem 12
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



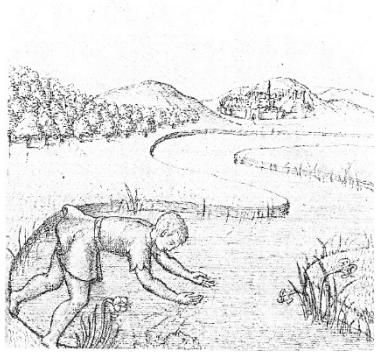
Ill. 4.3f: Emblem 13
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
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Ill. 4.3g: Emblem 14
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
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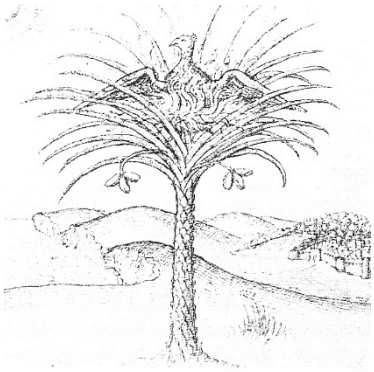
Ill. 4.3h: Emblem 15
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



Ill. 4.3i: Emblem 16
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



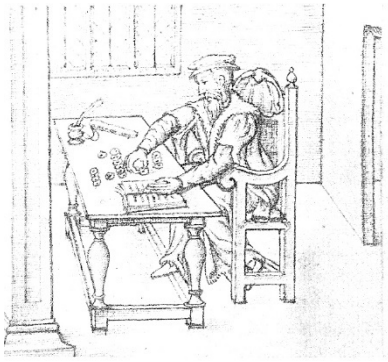
Ill. 4.3j: Emblem 17
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
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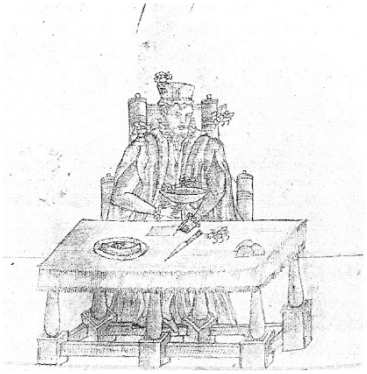
Ill. 4.3k: Emblem 18
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



Ill. 4.3l: Emblem 19
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
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Ill. 4.3m: Emblem 20
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
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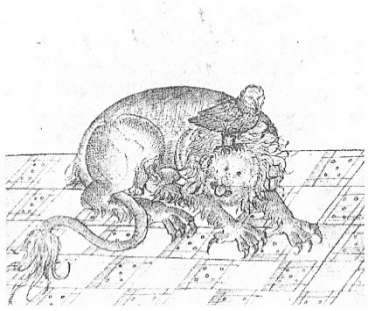
Ill. 4.3n: Emblem 93
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



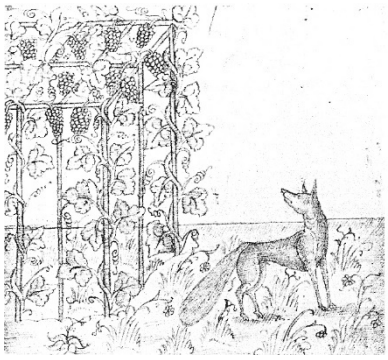
Ill. 4.3o: Emblem 94
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



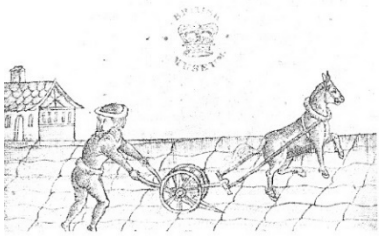
Ill. 4.3p: Emblem 95
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



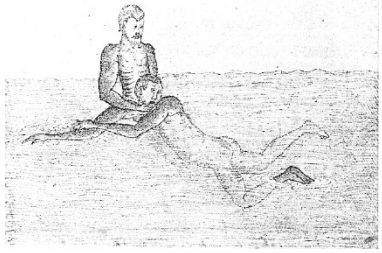
Ill. 4.3q: Emblem 96
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



Ill. 4.3r: Emblem 97
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



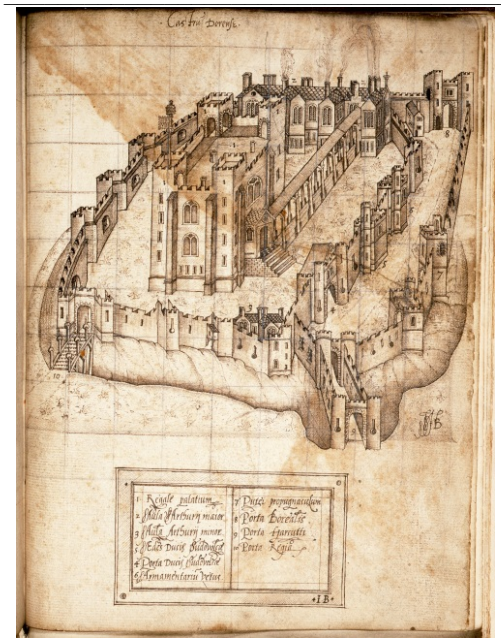
Ill. 4.3s: Emblem 98
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



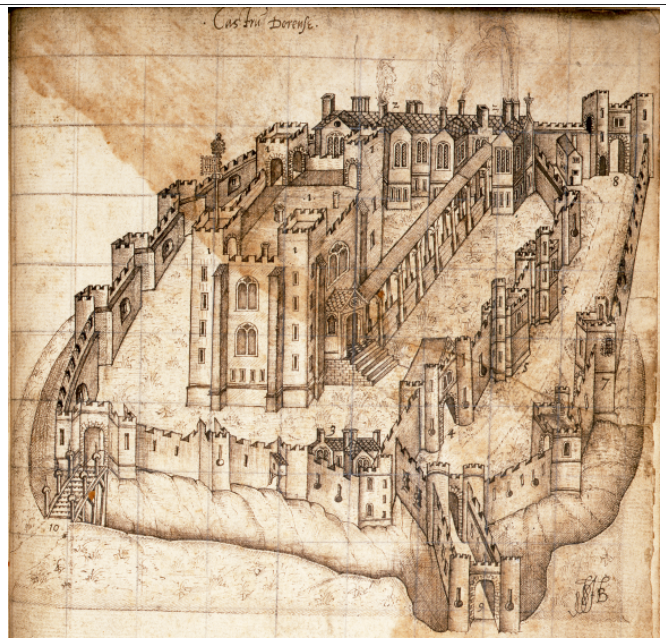
Ill. 4.3t: Emblem 99
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



Ill. 4.3u: Emblem 100
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL MS. Sloane 3794



Ill. 4.4a: Dover Castle
John Bereblock, *c.*1566
© College of Arms, MS. Philipot P.b.47



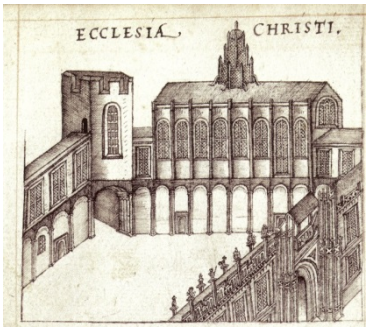
Ill. 4.4b: Dover Castle (detail)
John Bereblock, *c.*1566
© College of Arms, MS. Philipot P.b.47



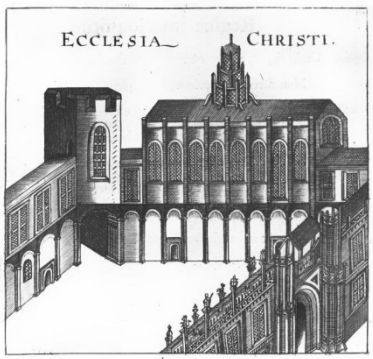
Ill. 4.5: *Hebraismi typus*
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© BL Royal MS. 2.D.xxi



Ill. 4.6: *Hebraismi typus*
John Bereblock (?), c.1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 7.5 x 9



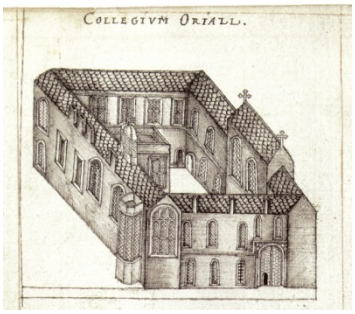
Ill. 4.7a: Christ Church
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 10



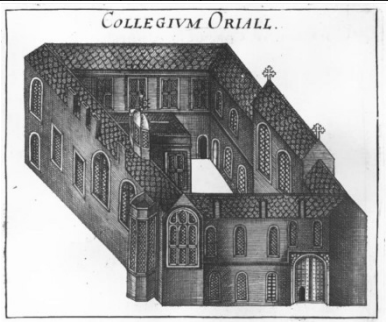
Ill. 4.7b: Christ Church
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 9.5 x 10**



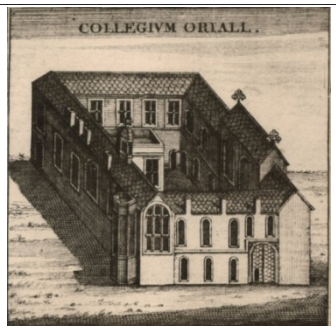
Ill. 4.7c: Christ Church
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10 x 10



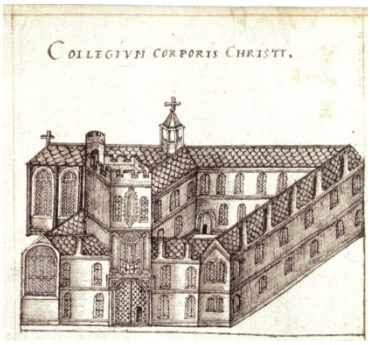
Ill. 4.8a: Oriel College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 10



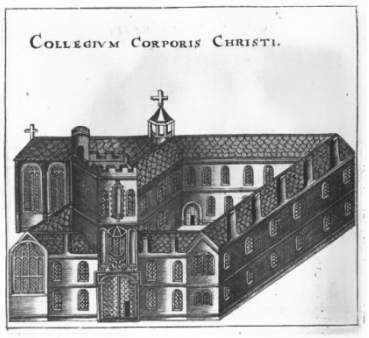
Ill. 4.8b: Oriel College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 7.5 x 9.5**



Ill. 4.8c: Oriel College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 9.5 x 9.5



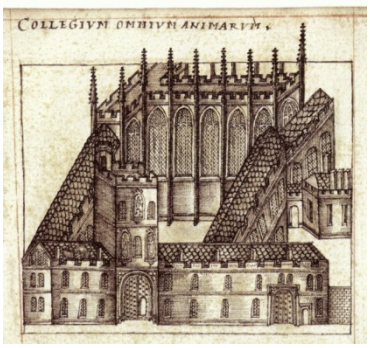
Ill. 4.9a: Corpus Christi College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 8.5 x 9.5



Ill. 4.9b: Corpus Christi College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 8.5 x 9.5**



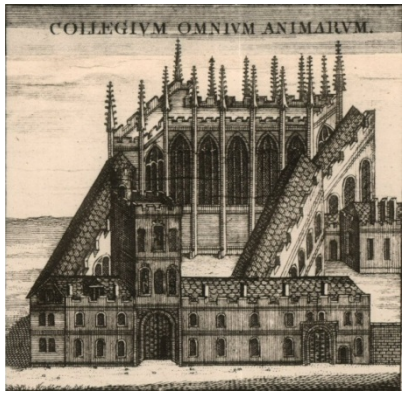
Ill. 4.9c: Corpus Christi College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 7 x 9.5



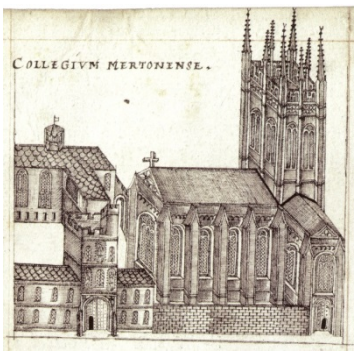
Ill. 4.10a: All Souls College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 9.5



Ill. 4.10b: All Souls College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 9 x 9**



Ill. 4.10c: All Souls College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 9.5 x 9.5



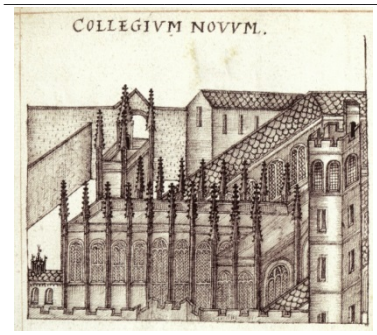
Ill. 4.11a: Merton College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 9.5



Ill. 4.11b: Merton College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 9.5 x 9.5**



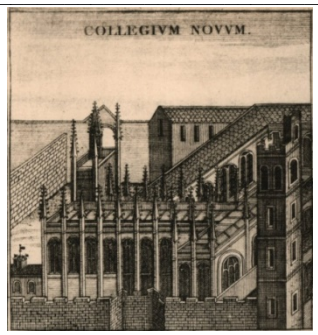
Ill. 4.11c: Merton College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10.5 x 9.5



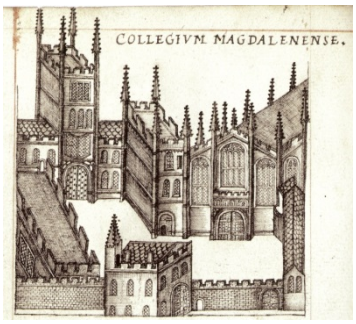
Ill. 4.12a: New College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9.5 x 10.5



Ill. 4.12b: New College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 9.5 x 10**



Ill. 4.12c: New College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10 x 9.5



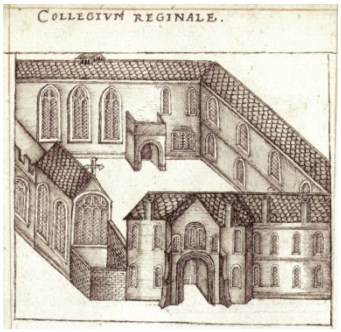
Ill. 4.13a: Magdalen College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 10 x 9.5



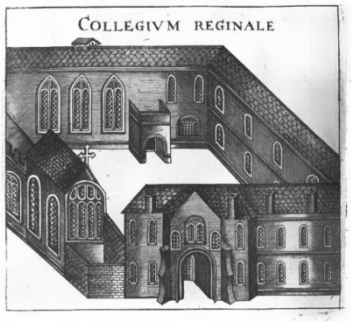
Ill. 4.13b: Magdalen College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 10.5 x 9.5**



Ill. 4.13c: Magdalen College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 12.5 x 9.5



Ill. 4.14a: Queens College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 9.5



Ill. 4.14b: Queens College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 8 x 9.5**



Ill. 4.14c: Queens College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 8.5 x 9.5



Ill. 4.15a: University College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 8.5 x 10



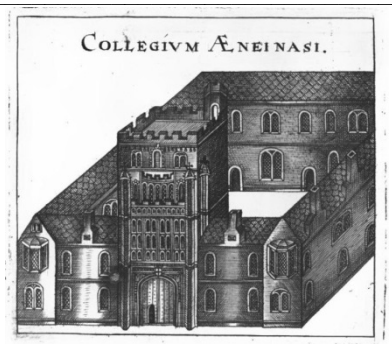
Ill. 4.15b: University College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 8.5 x 9.5**



Ill. 4.15c: University College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 8 x 9.5



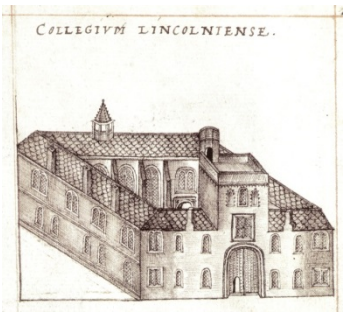
Ill. 4.16a: Brasenose College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 8.5 x 9.5



Ill. 4.16b: Brasenose College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 8.5 x 9**



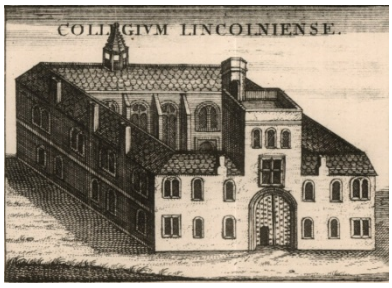
Ill. 4.16c: Brasenose College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10 x 9.5



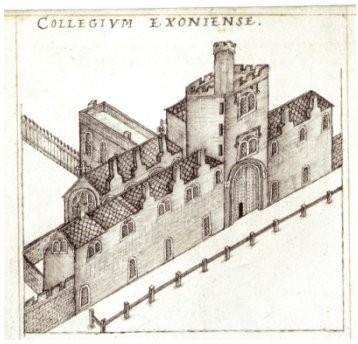
Ill. 4.17a: Lincoln College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 8.5 x 9.5



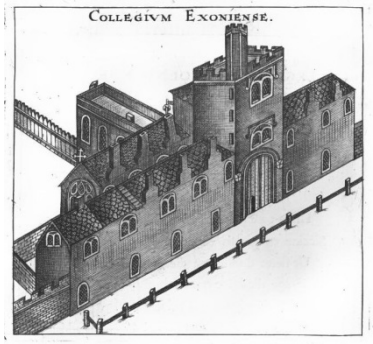
Ill. 4.17b: Lincoln College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 8.5 x 9.5**



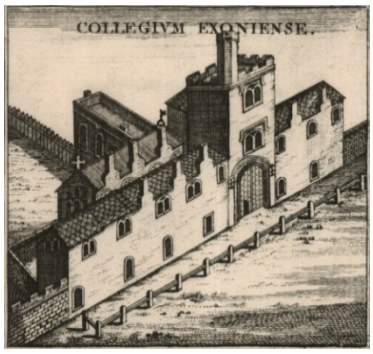
Ill. 4.17c: Lincoln College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 7 x 9.5



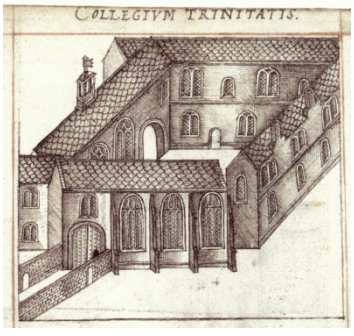
Ill. 4.18a: Exeter College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9.5 x 10



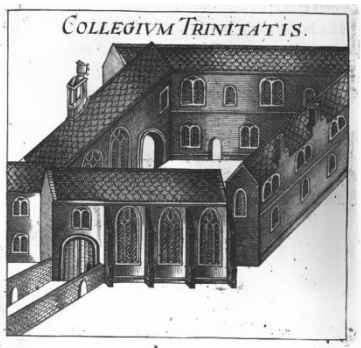
Ill. 4.18b: Exeter College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 9 x 9.5**



Ill. 4.18c: Exeter College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 9 x 10



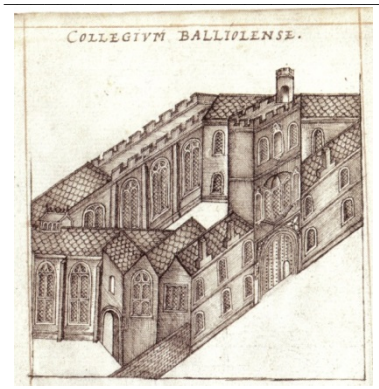
Ill. 4.19a: Trinity College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 9.5



Ill. 4.19b: Trinity College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 9 x 9.5**



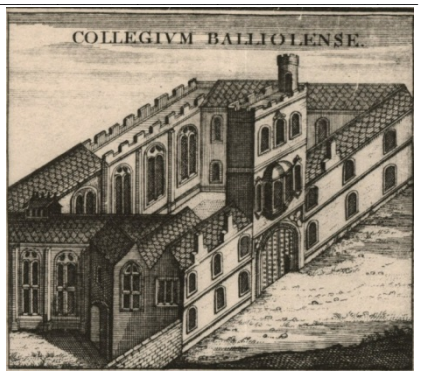
Ill. 4.19c: Trinity College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10 x 9.5



Ill. 4.20a: Balliol College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9.5 x 9



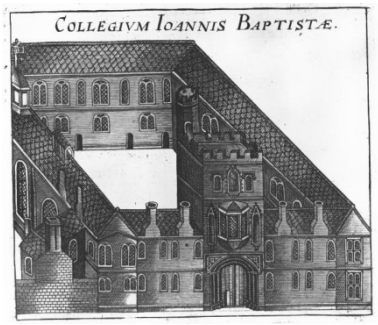
Ill. 4.20b: Balliol College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 8.5 x 9**



Ill. 4.20c: Balliol College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 8.5 x 9.5



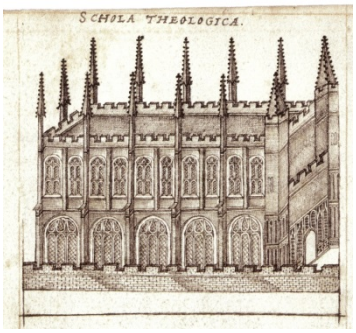
Ill. 4.21a: St John's College
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 10



Ill. 4.21b: St John's College
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestri*, 8.5 x 9.5**



Ill. 4.21c: St John's College
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10 x 10



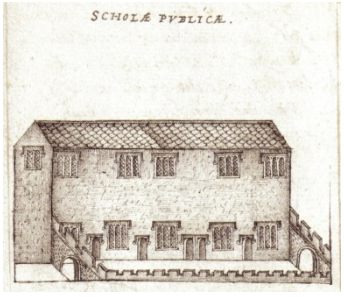
Ill. 4.22a: Divinity School
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 9 x 9.5



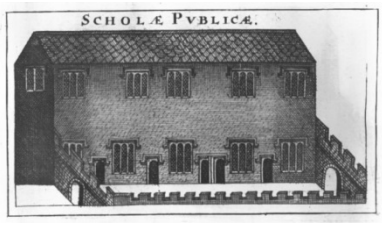
Ill. 4.22b: Divinity School
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma equestr*, 9 x 9**



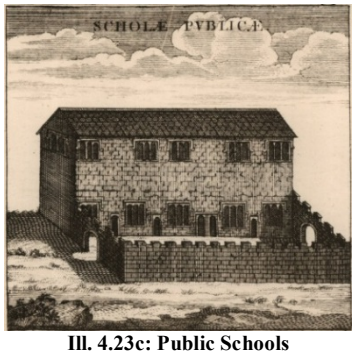
Ill. 4.22c: Divinity School
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10 x 10



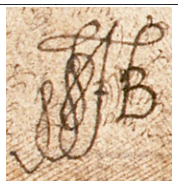
Ill. 4.23a: Public Schools
John Bereblock, 1566
© Bodley MS. 13a, 8.5 x 9.5



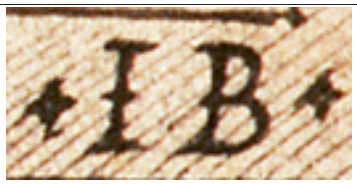
Ill. 4.23b: Public Schools
Michael Burghers after Bereblock, 1713
***De parma* equestri, 5.5 x 9.5**



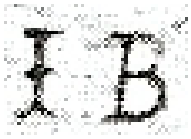
Ill. 4.23c: Public Schools
Unknown after Bereblock, 1728
Whittlesey map, 10 x 10



Ill. 4.24a: 'JB' initials
Dover Castle (drawing)
© College of Arms, MS. Philipot P.b.47



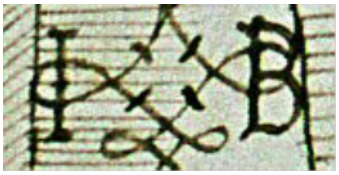
Ill. 4.24b: 'JB' initials
Dover Castle (table)
© College of Arms, MS. Philipot P.b.47



Ill. 4.24c: 'JB' initials
Religion
***Two hundred poosees*, © BL MS. Sloane 3794**



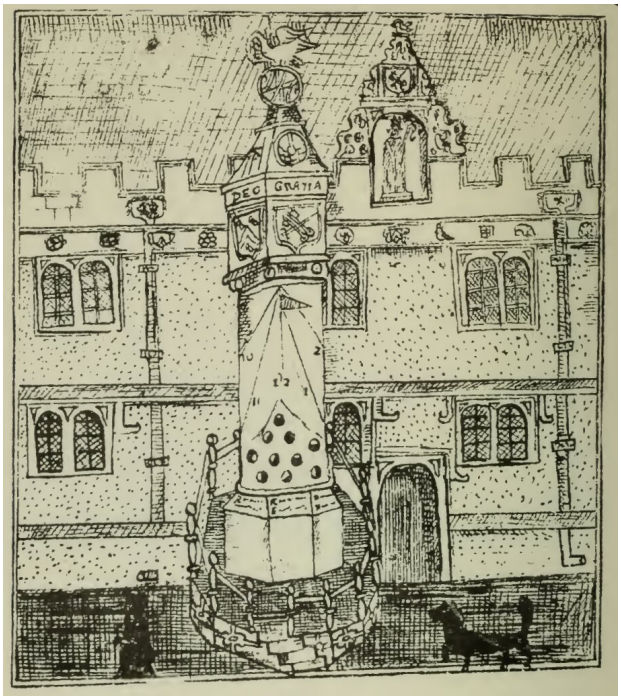
Ill. 4.24d: 'JB' initials
Oxford
***Two hundred poosees*, © BL MS. Sloane 3794**



Ill. 4.24e: 'JB' initials
Queen Elizabeth
© St John's College, Statutes



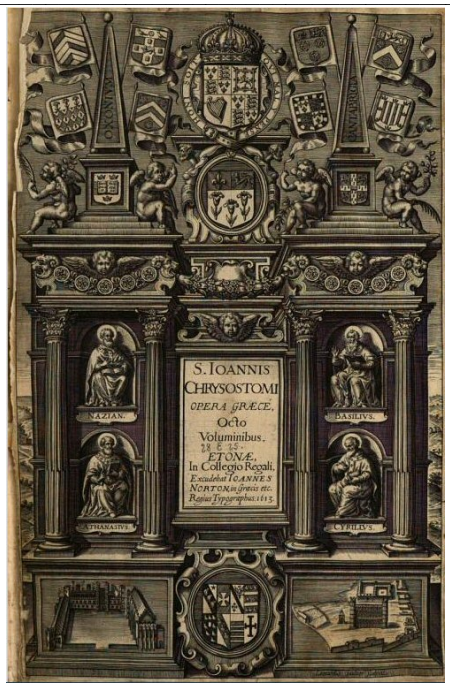
Ill. 4.24f: John Bereblock signature
Arms of Thomas White
© St John's College, Statutes



Ill. 4.25 Turnbull's sun dial at Corpus Christi
Robert Hegge, ink on paper, *c.*1625
© Corpus Christi *Treatise on Dials and Dialling*



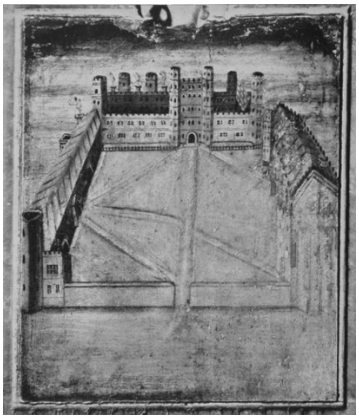
Ill. 4.26a: Views of Merton and Eton Colleges
Unknown, oil paintings, *c.*1640
© Merton College Savile Memorial



Ill. 4.26b: Title page illustration
***Léonard Gaultier* after unknown , 1612/3**
S Ioannis Chrysostom



Ill. 4.26c: View of Merton College
Unknown, oil painting, *c.*1640
© Merton College Savile Memorial



Ill. 4.26d: View of Eton College
Unknown, oil painting, *c.*1640
© Merton College Savile Memorial



Ill. 4.27a: View of Queen's College
Richard Haydock (?), brass plaque, *c.*1640
© Queen's College, ~ 61 x 40



Ill. 4.27b: View of Queen's College
R. Carlyle sen. (1793) after Haydock
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.27c: View of Queen's College
Richard Haydock (?), brass plaque, *c.*1640
© Carlisle Cathedral, ~ 61 x 40



Ill. 4.28a: Robert King, Abbot of Osney
Richard Greenbury, *c.*1640, oil on canvas
© Ch Ch, 180 x 82



Ill. 4.28b: Robert King and Osney Abbey
Abraham van Linge, stained glass, *c.*1630–9
© Ch Ch Cathedral Bishop King Memorial



Ill. 4.28c: Robert King and Osney Abbey
Robert Loder, *c.*1790
Unknown publication



Ill. 4.28d: Robert King and Osney Abbey
William Fowler, 1808
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.29: William of Wykeham
Sampson Strong, oil on panel, 1596
© New College, 127 x 104



Ill. 4.30: Cardinal Wolsey
Sampson Strong, oil on panel, 1610/11
© Christ Church, 109 x 92



Ill. 4.31: William Waynflete
Richard Greenbury, oil on panel, *c.*1638
© Magdalen College, 111.5 x 86



Ill. 4.32: Joseph Smith
unknown artist, oil on panel, *c.*1720
© Queen's College, 126 x 101



Ill. 4.33: Edward Butler
unknown artist, oil on panel, *c.*1730
© Magdalen College, 233.5 x 142



Ill. 4.34: William Buckland
S. Howell, *c.*1830
© Corpus Christi, 90 x 69



Ill. 4.35: Scullion at Christ Church
John Riley, oil on canvas, *c.*1682
© Christ Church, Oxford, 100 x 60.5



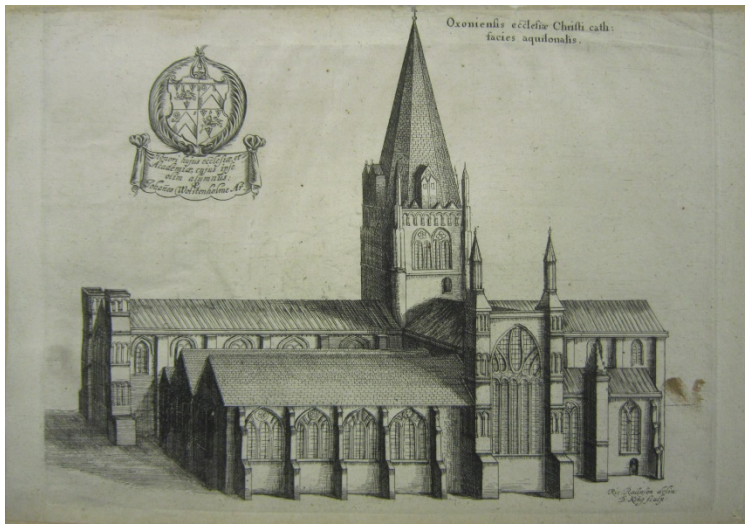
Ill. 4.35 bis: A graduate of Merton College
George Knapton (?), oil on canvas, *c.*1755/7
© National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 127.5 x 102



Ill. 4.36: Sir Christopher Wren
Antonio Verrio *et al*, oil on canvas, *c.*1707
© Oxford University, 233.5 x 178



Ill. 4.37: Osney Abbey, looking north-west
Wenceslaus Hollar (1657) after Jerome Hesketh (P1052), *c.*1643, 28.5 x 22
Monasticon Anglicanum



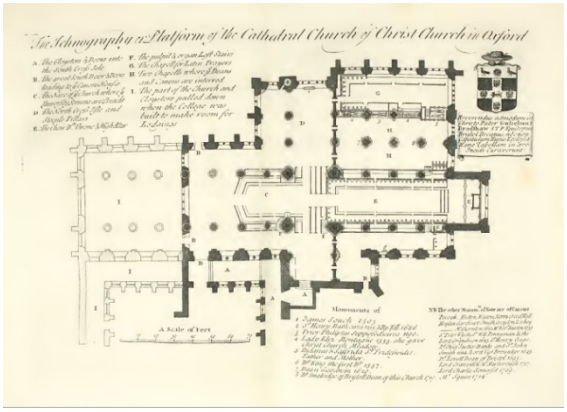
Ill. 4.38: Christ Church Cathedral, looking south
Daniel King (1655) after Richard Rallinson, *c.*1645, 22 x 28
Monasticon Anglicanum



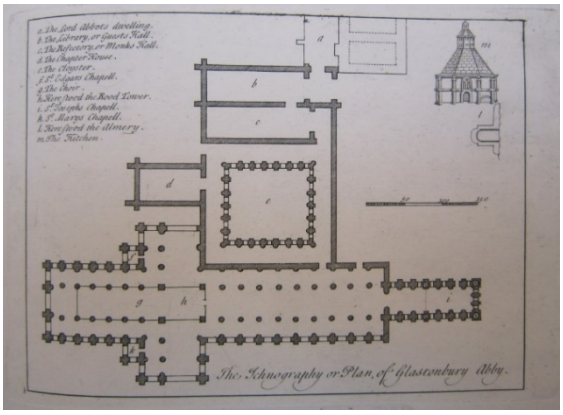
Ill. 4.39: Christ Church Cathedral
Michael Burghers, *c.*1709
Britannia Illustrata



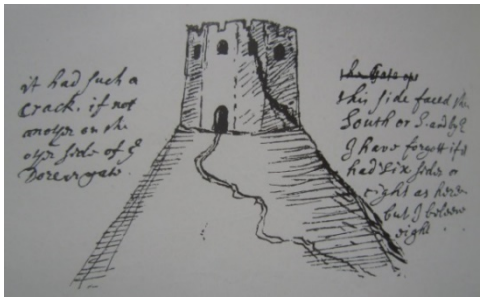
Ill. 4.40: Christ Church Cathedral prospect
John Cole after Burghers, 1742, 19.5 x 29
***Survey of cathedrals* (vol. 3)**



Ill. 4.41: Christ Church Cathedral, plan
Michael Burghers (?), *c.*1720, 21 x 29
***Survey of cathedrals* (vol. 3)**



Ill. 4.42: Glastonbury Abbey, plan
Michael Burghers (?), 1727
***Historia Glastonburiensis*, 14 x 20.5**



Ill. 4.43: Oxford Castle, Keep on mound
John Aubrey, ink on paper, *c.*1643
© Bodley MS. Wood F.39, f.200

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 4.44: Magdalen College, south front
Unknown, oil painting, *c.*1650
© Magdalen College, 86.5 X 178

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 4.45: University College Library
Unknown, ink on vellum, *c.*1678–80
© University College, Benefactors' Book



Ill. 4.46 University College: west half of old quad before rebuilding
Anthony Wood, ink on paper, *c.*1668
© Bodley MS. Wood 276[b], f.116



Ill. 4.47: Christ Church
Unknown artist, 1646
Mercurius Rusticus



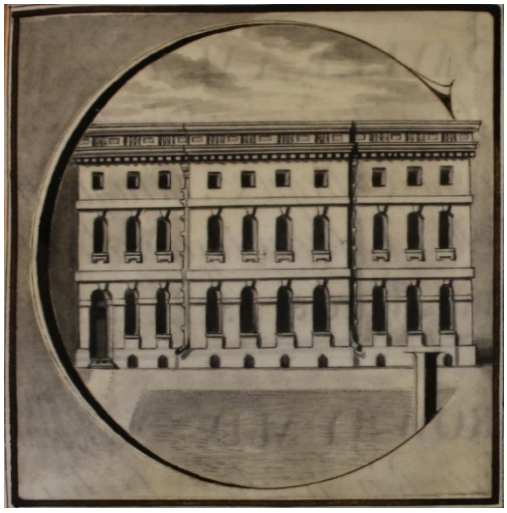
Ill. 4.48: St Edmund Hall, Library and Chapel
Unknown artist, ink on vellum, *c.*1688
© St Edmund Hall, Benefactors' Book



Ill. 4.49: Magdalen College, rebuilding scheme
Unknown artist, ink on vellum, 1720
© Magdalen College, Benefactors' Book



Ill. 4.50: Trinity College, garden building
Unknown, ink and wash on vellum, 1717
© Trinity College, Benefactor's Book



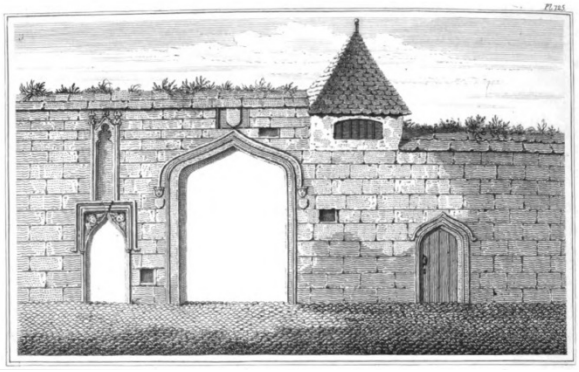
Ill. 4.51: Trinity College, proposed new building
Unknown, ink on vellum, 1728
© Trinity College, Benefactor's Book



Ill. 4.52: Trinity College, great gates
Unknown, ink on vellum, *c.*1730
© Trinity College, Benefactor's Book



Ill. 4.53a: Trinity College, the ancient gate
Francis Wise, ink on paper, 1733
© Trinity College



Ill. 4.53b: Trinity College, the ancient gate
After Francis Wise, *c.*1880
Unknown publication



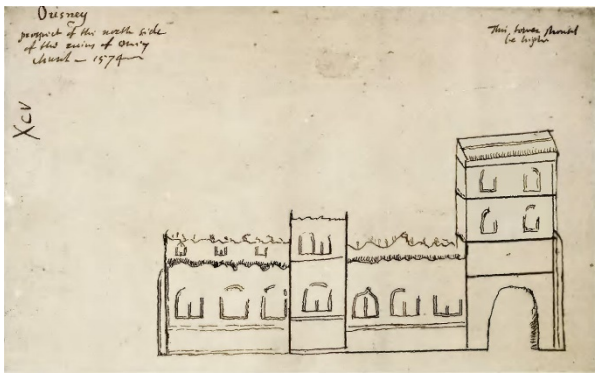
Ill. 4.54: 'Osney Abbey … in 1578'
Unknown artist after Agas, ink on vellum, 1757
© Exeter College, Benefactors' Book



Ill. 4.55: Osney Abbey [1574]'
Unknown artist after Agas, ink on paper, >1757
© Exeter College



Ill. 4.56: Osney Abbey
Unknown artist after Agas, ink on paper, >1757
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. c.313



Ill. 4.57: Osney Abbey
Anthony Wood after Agas, ink on paper, *c.*1658
From *Life and Times*, vol. 1, p. 241



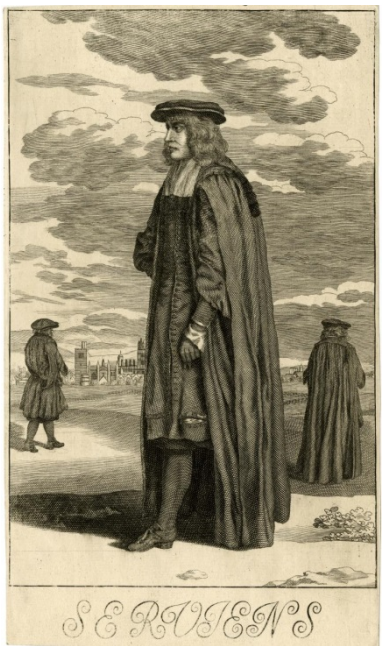
Ill. 4.58: Academic procession
George Edwards, 1674, 24.5 x 45.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.59: Commoners
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.60: Gentlemen Commoners
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



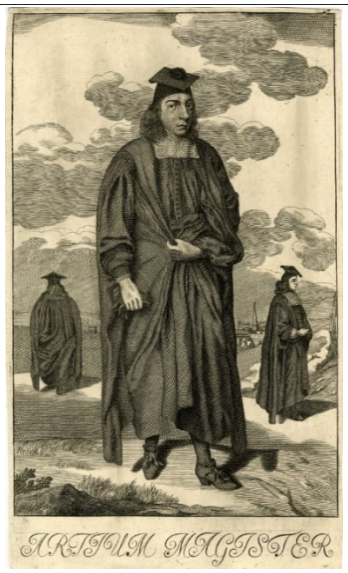
Ill. 4.61: Servitors
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.62: Students of Civil Law
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.63: Bachelors of Arts
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.64: Masters of Arts
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.65: Doctors of Divinity
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.66: Doctors of Theology
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.67: Doctors of Medicine
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



Ill. 4.68: Proctors
George Edwards, 1674, 23 x 13.5
Habituum academicorum



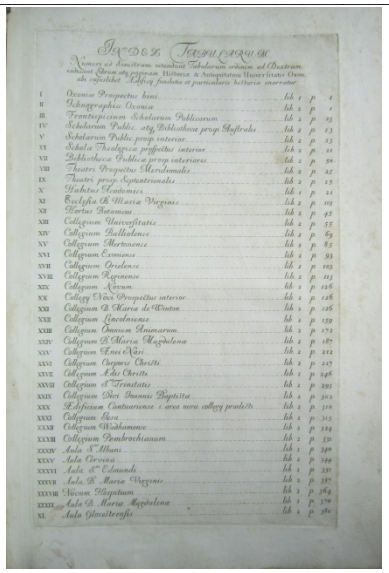
Ill. 4.69: Title Page
George Edwards, 1674
Habituum academicorum



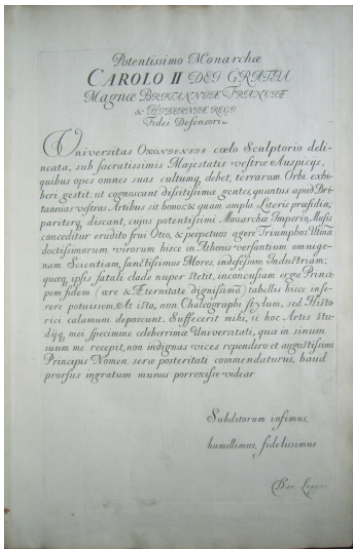
Ill. 4.70: Title Page (Oliver)
After George Edwards, 1680
***Habituum academicorum*, 2nd edn.**



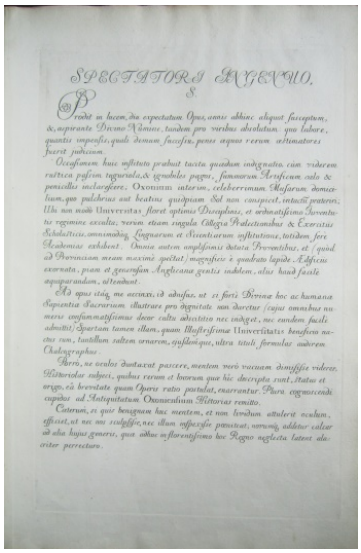
Ill. 4.71: Title page
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate i**



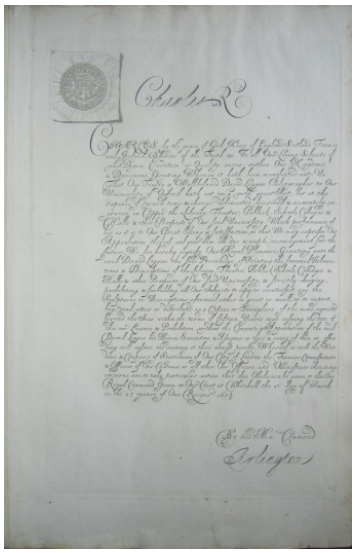
Ill. 4.27: Index of plates
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate ii**



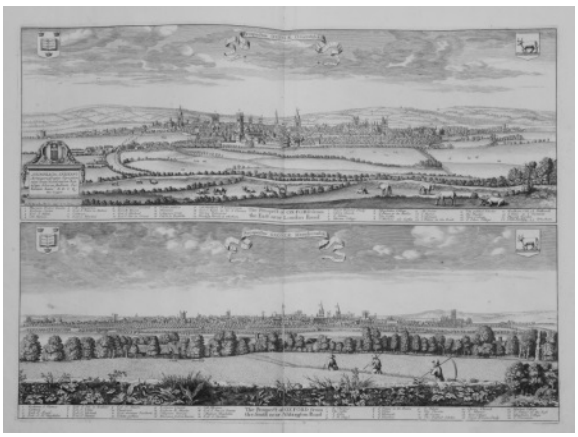
Ill. 4.73: Royal dedication
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate iii**



Ill. 4.74: Introduction
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate iv**



Ill. 4.75: Privilege
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate v**



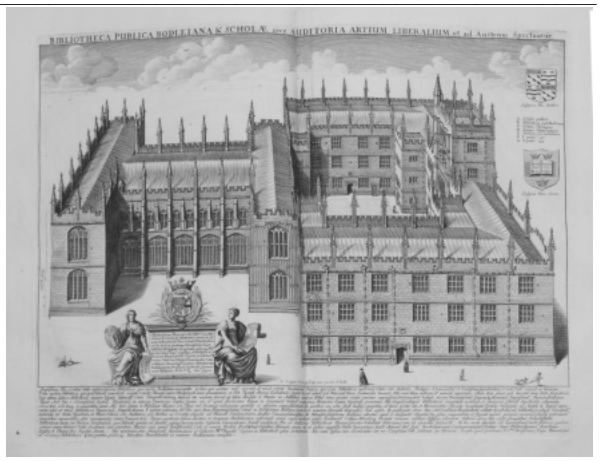
Ill. 4.76: Prospects of Oxford
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 1, 32.5 x 44.5**



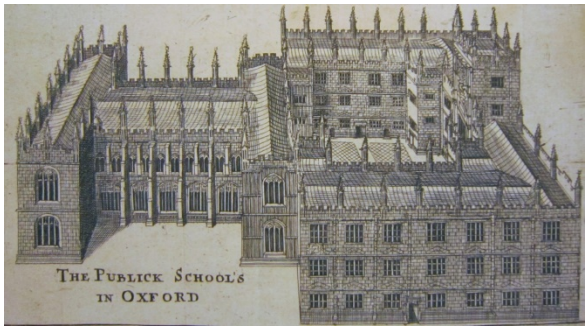
Ill. 4.77: Plan of Oxford
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 2, 43 x 53.5**



Ill. 4.78: Front of Schools Quadrangle
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 3, 33 x 41.5**



Ill. 4.79a: Bodleian Library
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 4, 30 x 40**



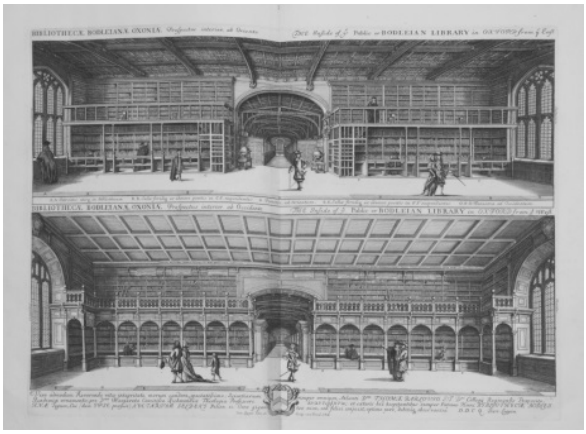
Ill. 4.79b: Bodleian Library
Unknown after Loggan, 1715
Philip Overton's map of Oxfordshire



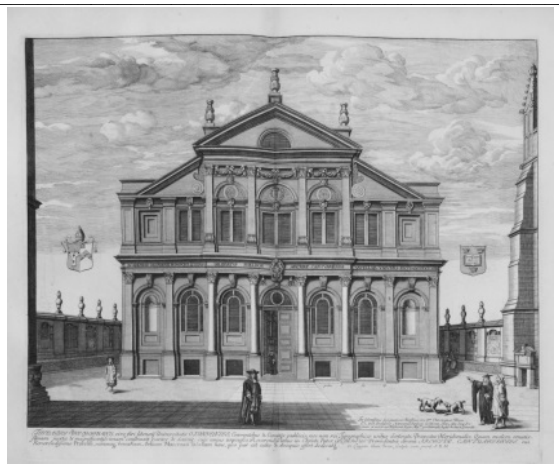
Ill. 4.80: Inside of Schools Quadrangle
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 5, 38 x 46**



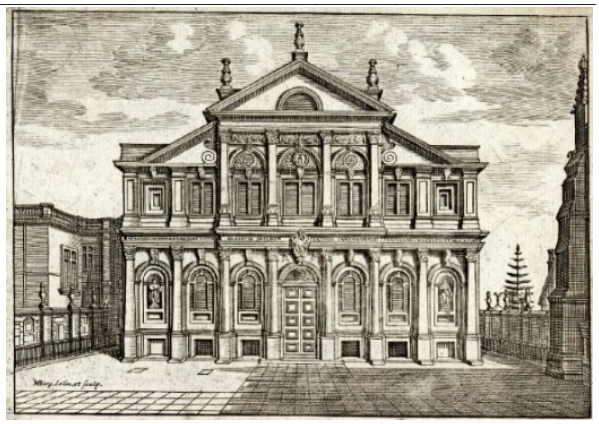
Ill. 4.81: Inside of Divinity School
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 6, 34 x 39**



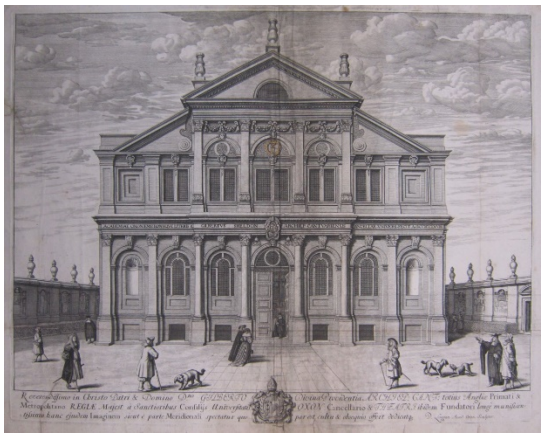
Ill. 4.82: Inside of Duke Humfrey's
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 7, 33 x 44**



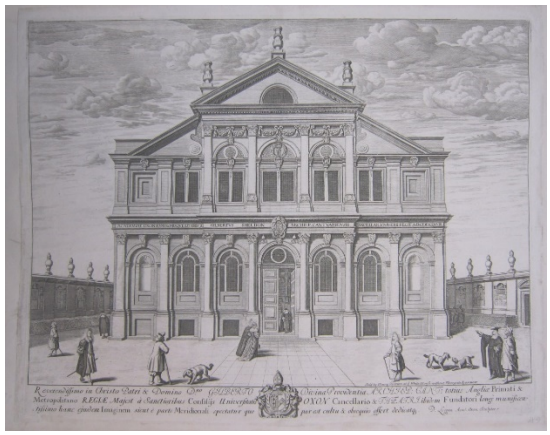
Ill. 4.83a: South side of Sheldonian Theatre
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 8, 36.5 x 44**



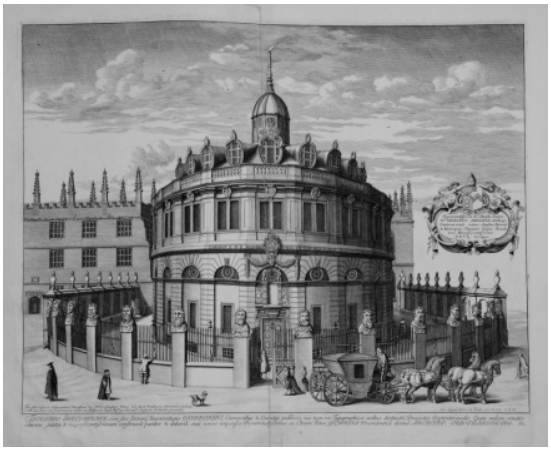
Ill. 4.83b: South side of Sheldonian Theatre
Michael Burghers after David Loggan, 1705
Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus



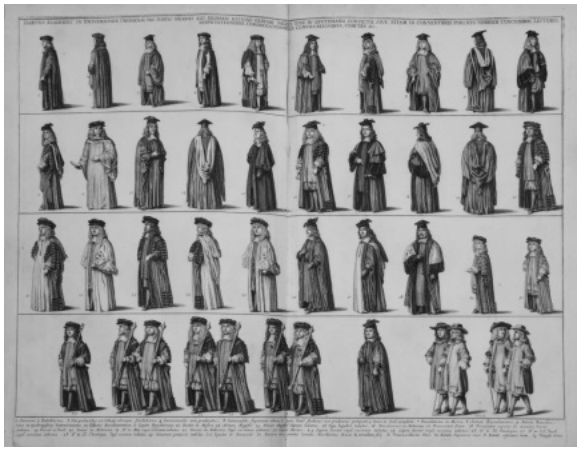
Ill. 4.83c: South side of Sheldonian Theatre
David Loggan, 1669, 40 x 51
Individually issued plate (state 1)



Ill. 4.83d: South side of Sheldonian Theatre
David Loggan, 1669, 40 x 51
Individually issued plate (state 2)



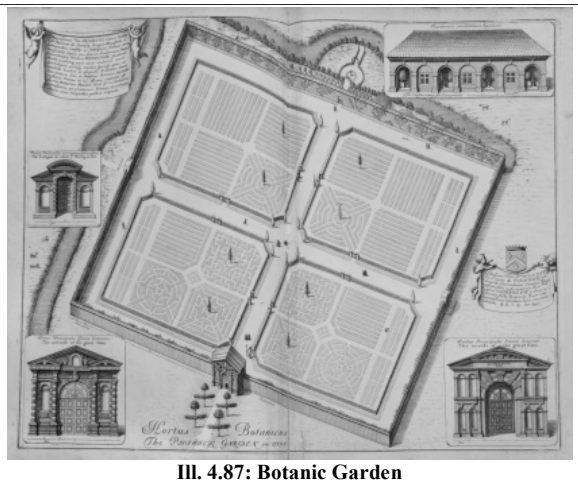
Ill. 4.84: North side of Sheldonian Theatre
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 9, 36.5 x 43.5**



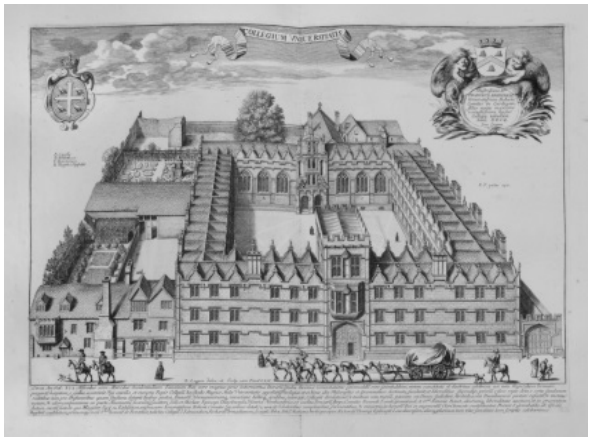
Ill. 4.85: Oxford Academic Dress
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 10, 40.5 x 50.5**



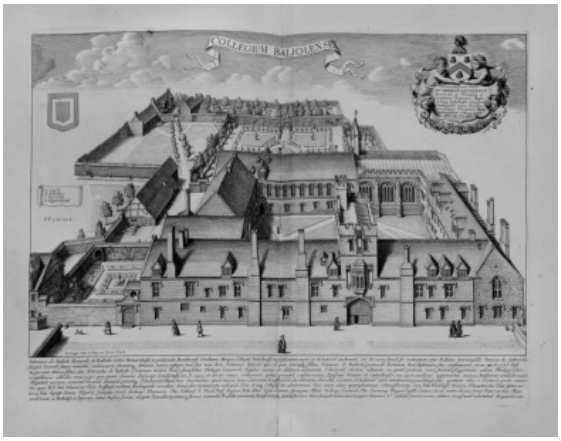
Ill. 4.86: St Mary's Church
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 11, 39 x 41.5**



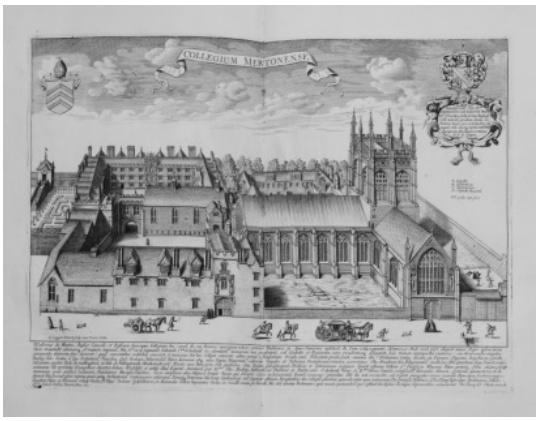
Ill. 4.87: Botanic Garden
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 12, 41 x 49.5**



Ill. 4.88: University College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 13, 29 x 39.5**



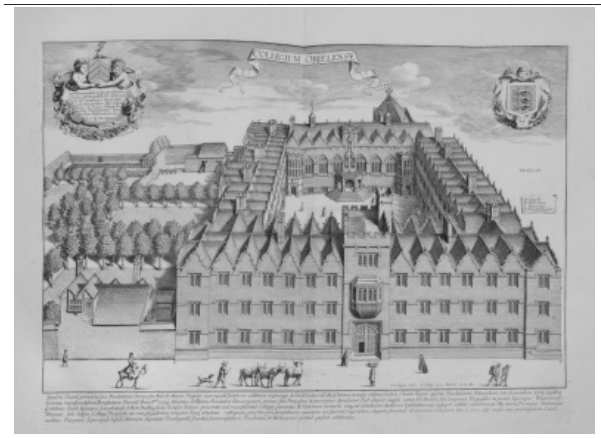
Ill. 4.89: Balliol College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 14, 29 x 39.5**



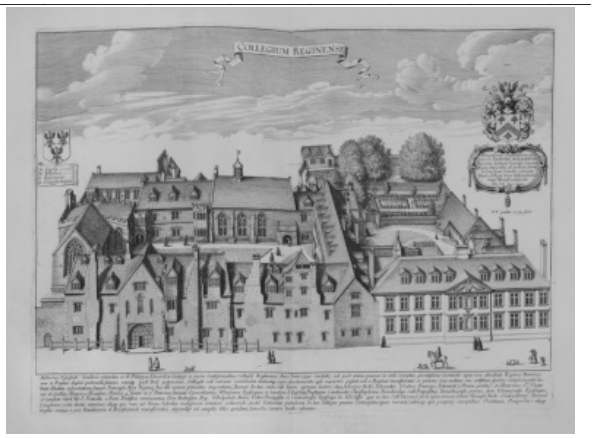
Ill. 4.90: Merton College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 15, 29.5 x 40.5**



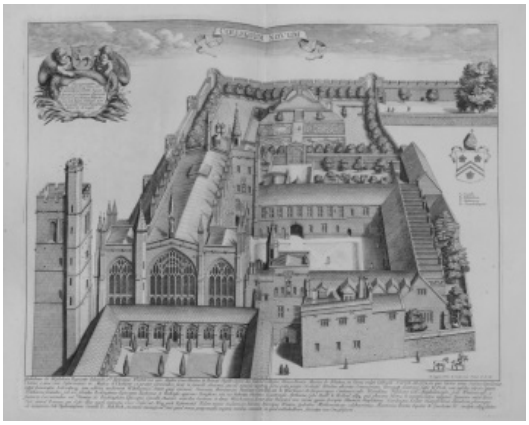
Ill. 4.91: Exeter College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 16, 29 x 41**



Ill. 4.92: Oriel College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 1730 x 40.5**



Ill. 4.93: Queen's College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 18, 29 x 39.5**



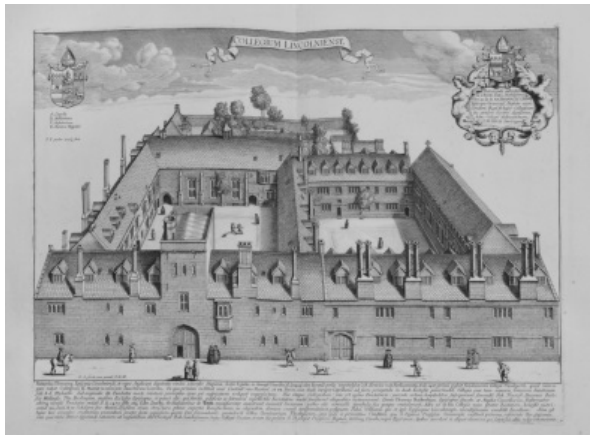
Ill. 4.94: New College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 19, 35.5 x 43**



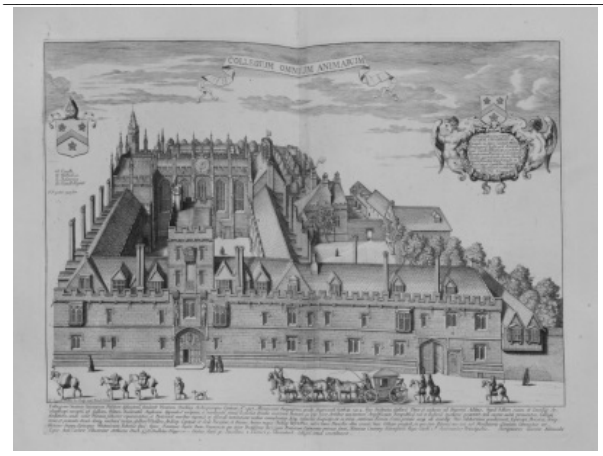
Ill. 4.95: New College, main quadrangle
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 20, 31 x 48**



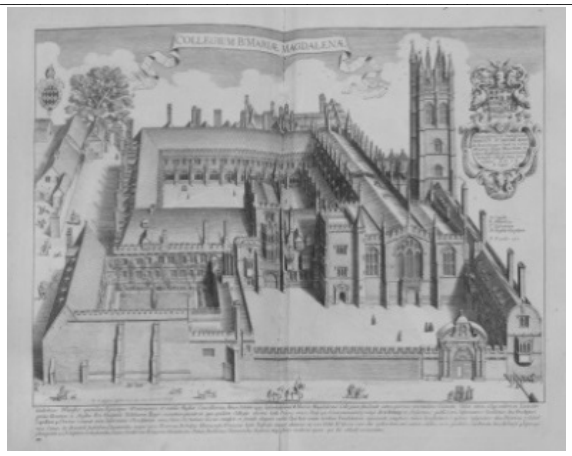
Ill. 4.96: Winchester College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 21, 40.5 x 45.5**



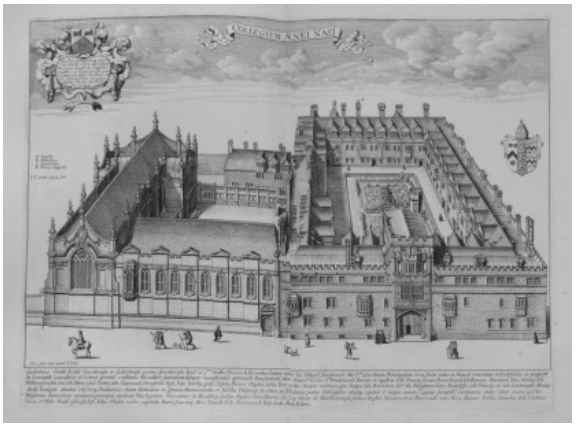
Ill. 4.97: Lincoln College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 22, 30 x 40**



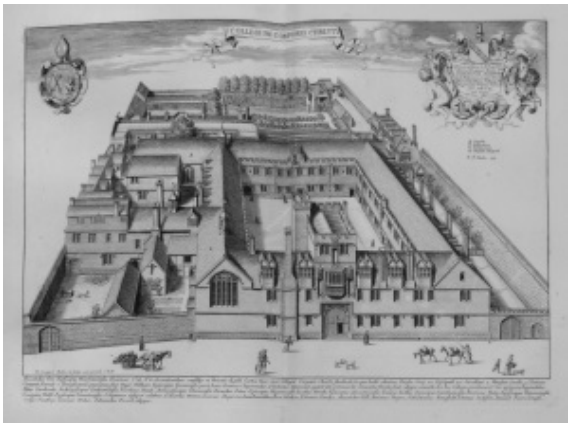
Ill. 4.98: All Souls College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 23, 29.5 x 39.5**



Ill. 4.99: Magdalen College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 24, 31 x 40.5**



Ill. 4.100: Brasenose College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 25, 30 x 40.5**



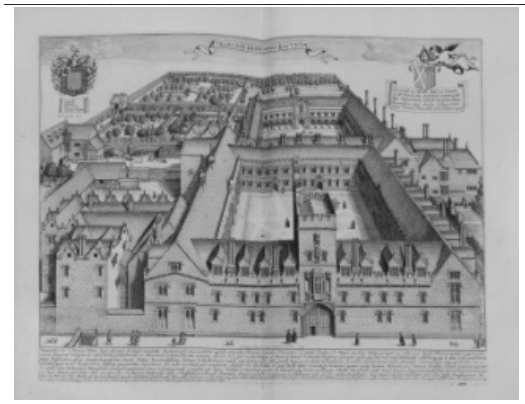
Ill. 4.101: Corpus Christi College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 26, 29.5 x 40**



Ill. 4.102: Christ Church
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 27, 43 x 82**



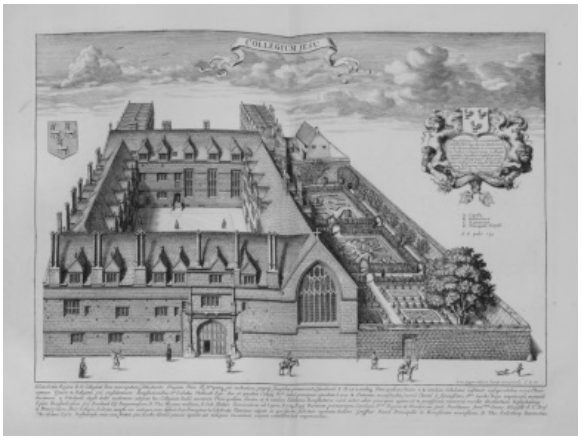
Ill. 4.103: Trinity College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 28, 31.5 x 40**



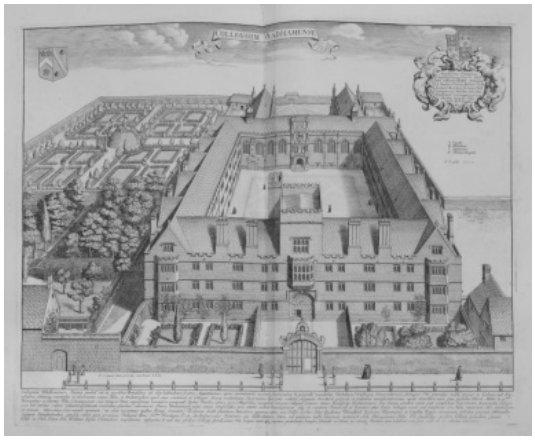
Ill. 4.104: St John's College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 29, 31.4 x 40.5**



Ill. 4.105: St John's College, Canterbury Quadrangle
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 30, 31.5 x 50**



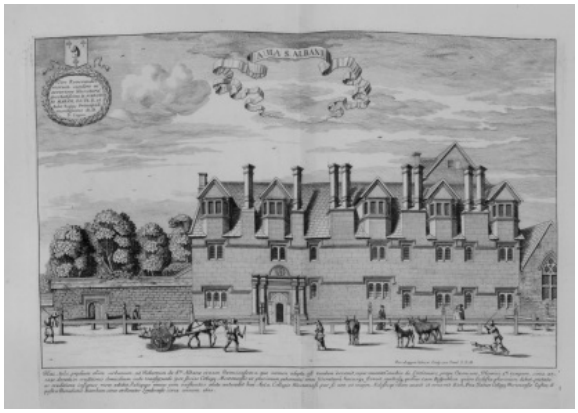
Ill. 4.106: Jesus College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 31, 30 x 40**



Ill. 4.107: Wadham College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 32, 34 x 42**



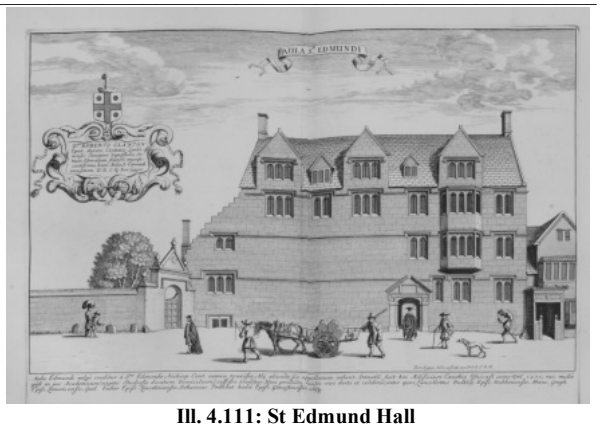
Ill. 4.108: Pembroke College
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 33, 29.5 x 41**



Ill. 4.109: St Alban Hall
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 34, 24.5 x 34.5**



Ill. 4.110: Hart Hall
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 35, 27.5 x 37.5**



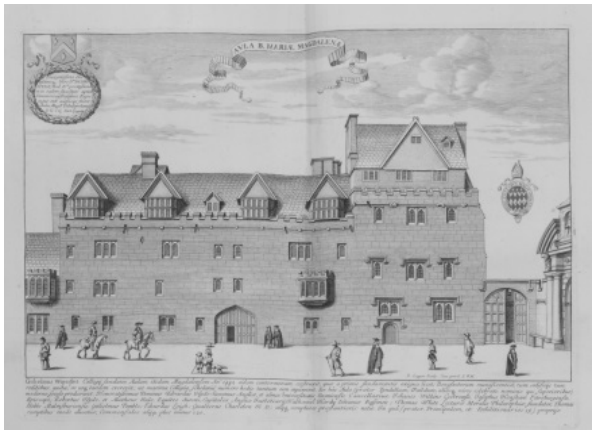
Ill. 4.111: St Edmund Hall
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 36, 24.5 x 34**



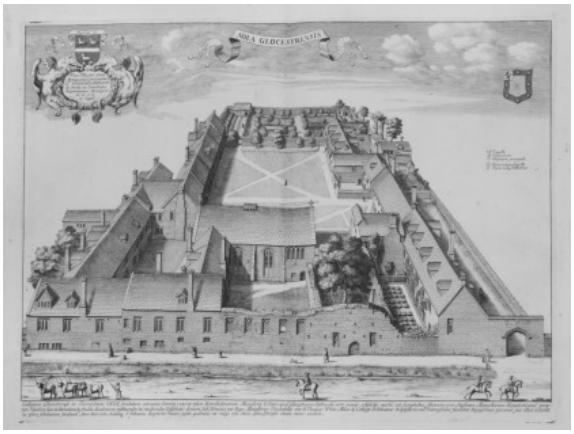
Ill. 4.112: St Mary Hall
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 37, 24 x 34.5**



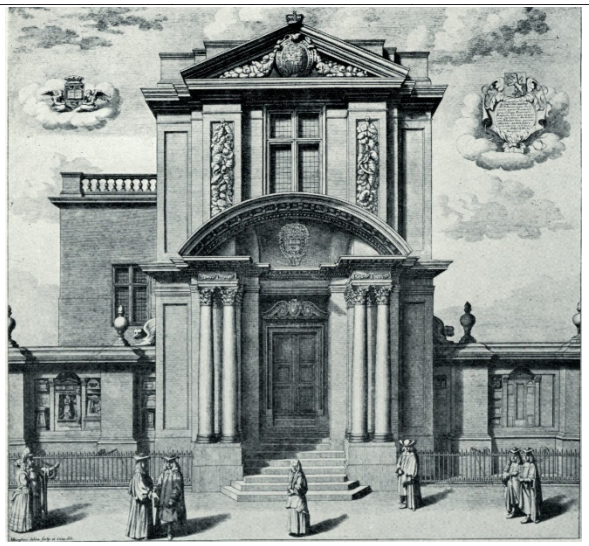
Ill. 4.113: New Inn Hall
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 38, 24.5 x 35**



Ill. 4.114: Magdalen Hall
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 39, 24.5 x 34.5**



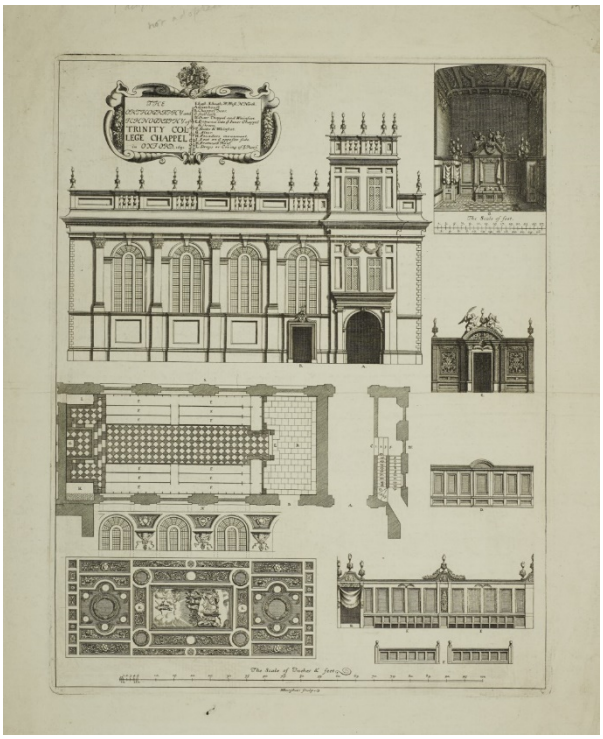
Ill. 4.115: Gloucester Hall
David Loggan, 1675
***Oxonia Illustrata*, plate 40, 31 x 43**



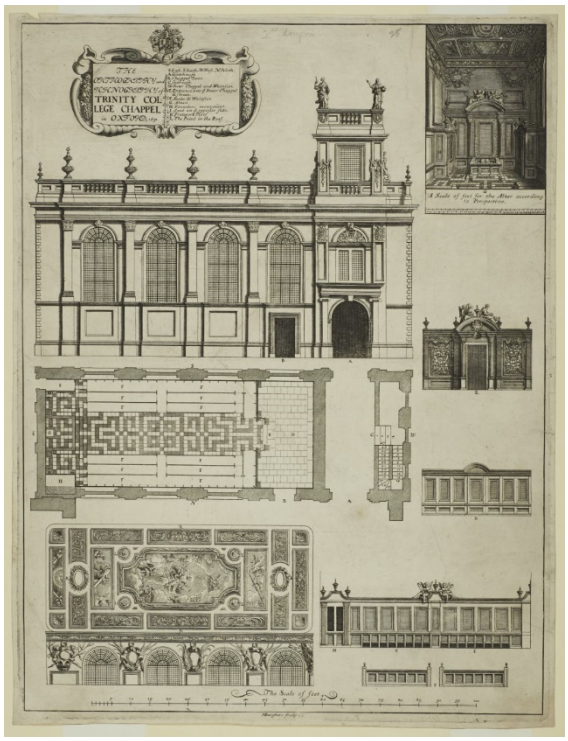
Ill. 4.116a: Old Ashmolean, proof state
Michael Burghers, *c*.1685
Individually issued plate, 40.5 x 43



Ill. 4.116b: Old Ashmolean, normal state
Michael Burghers, *c*.1685
Individually issued plate, 40.5 x 43



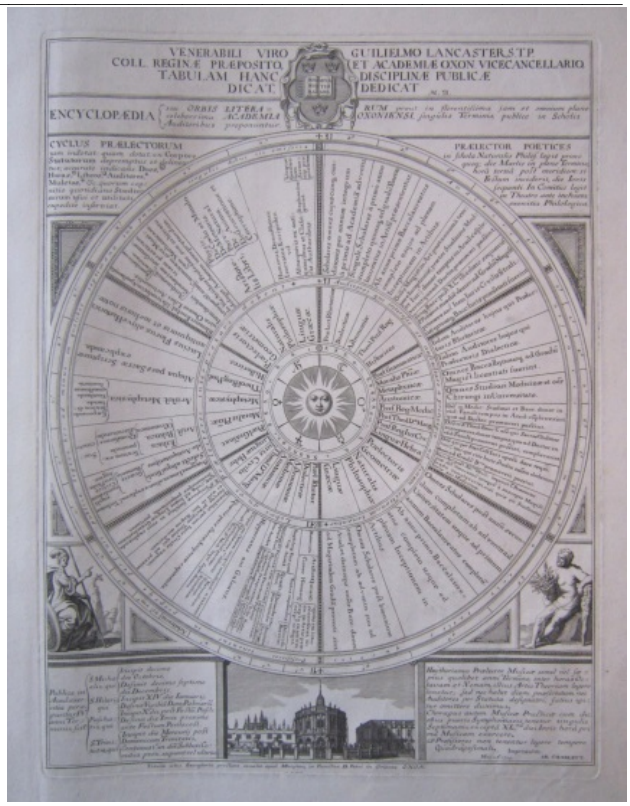
Ill. 4.117a: Trinity College chapel, state 1
Michael Burghers, 1691
Individually issued plate, 33.5 x 44



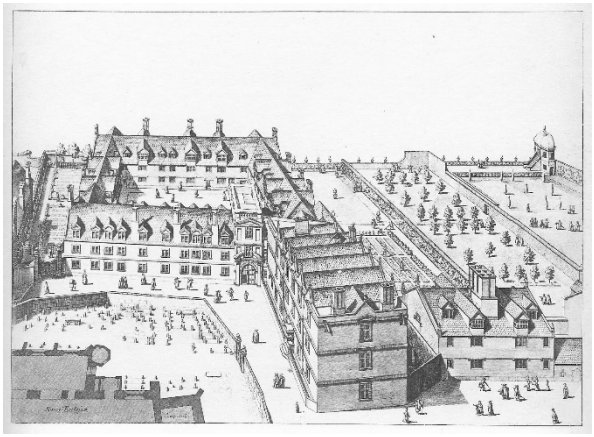
Ill. 4.117b: Trinity College chapel, state 2
Michael Burghers, 1691?
Individually issued plate, 34 x 45



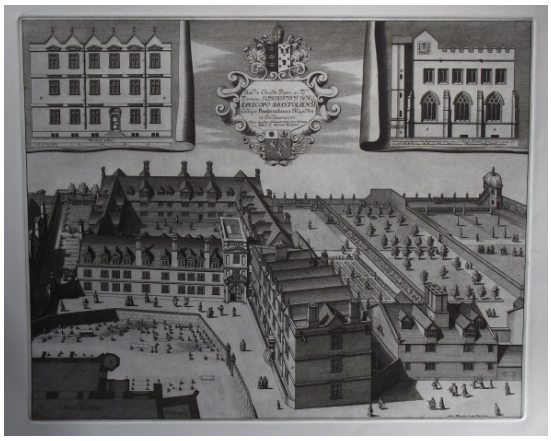
Ill. 4.118: Tom Tower elevation
Michael Burghers (?) after Wren, *c.*1681, 68.5 x 44.5
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.119: 'Encyclopedia'
Michael Burghers, 1709, 38.5 x 29.5
Individually issued plate



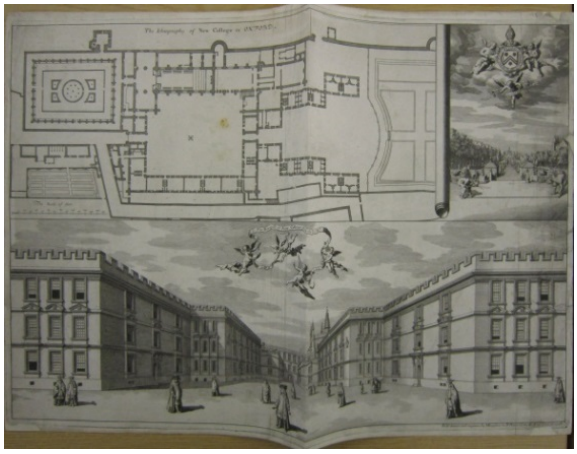
Ill. 4.120a: Pembroke College, proof
Michael Burghers, *c.*1700, 46 x 56
Individually issued plate



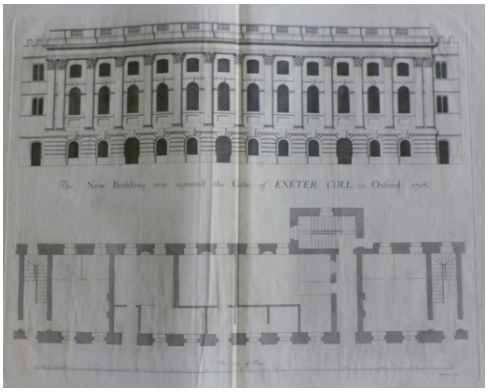
Ill. 4.120b: Pembroke College, normal state
Michael Burghers, 1700, 46 x 56
Individually issued plate



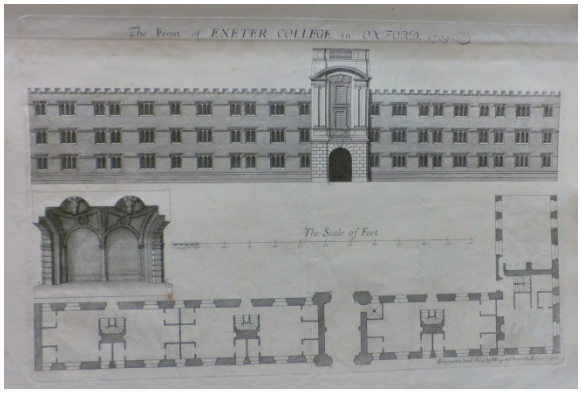
Ill. 4.121: Wadham College, proposal for west front
Michael Burghers, *c.*1701
Individually issued plate



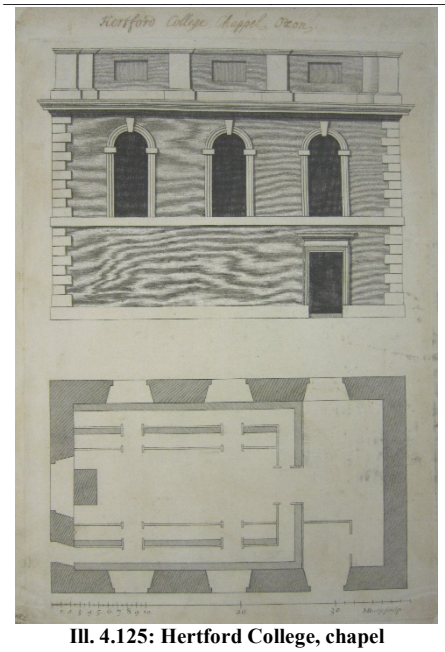
Ill. 4.122: New College Garden Quadrangle
Michael Burghers, 1708, 45 x 64.5
Individually issued plate



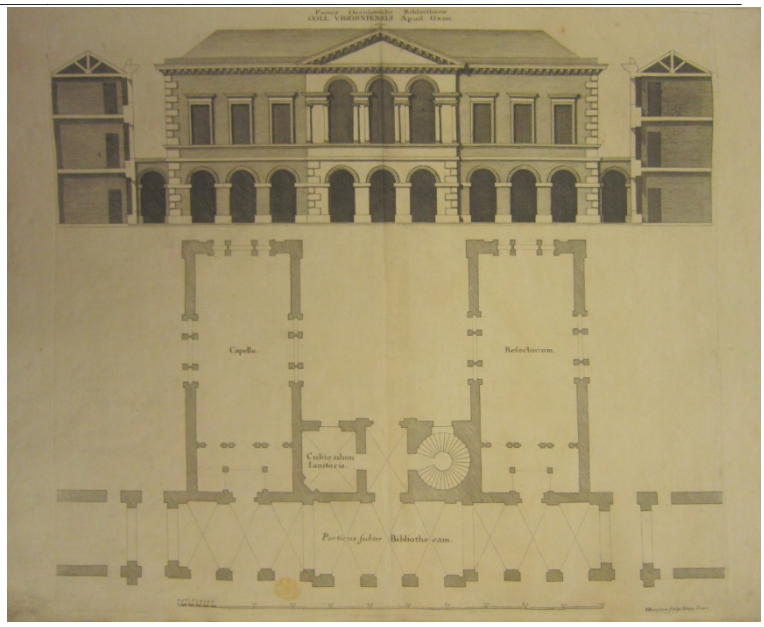
Ill. 4.123: Exeter College, proposed east range
Michael Burghers, 1708, 30 x 46
Individually issued plate



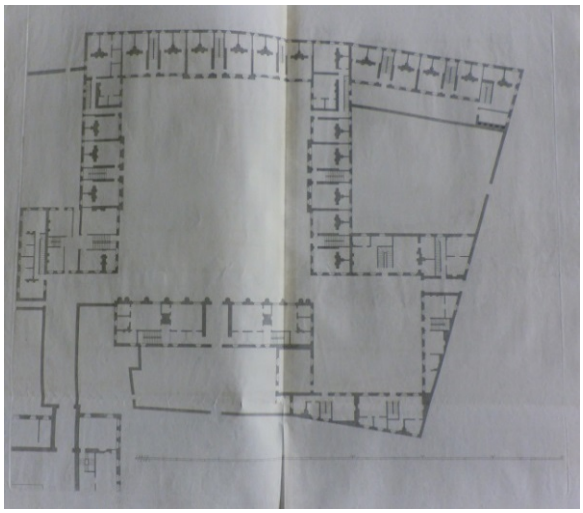
Ill. 4.124: Exeter College, proposed west front
Michael Burghers, 1709
Individually issued plate



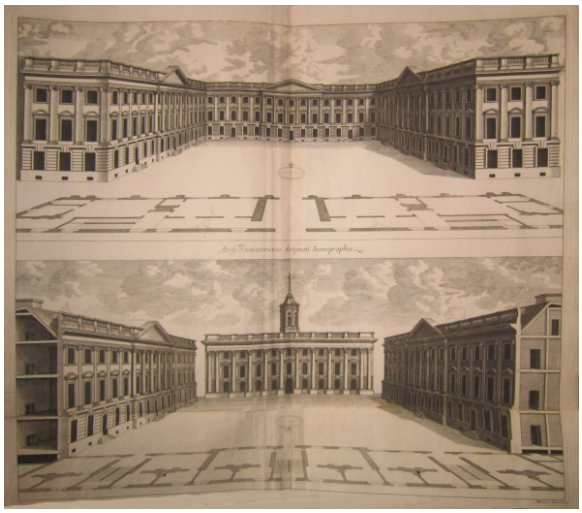
Ill. 4.125: Hertford College, chapel
Michael Burghers, *c.*1720, 38 x 25
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.126: Worcester College, plan and west front
Michael Burghers, 1720, 48 x 54
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.127: Christ Church, Peckwater plan
Michael Burghers (?), *c.*1709
Individually issued plate



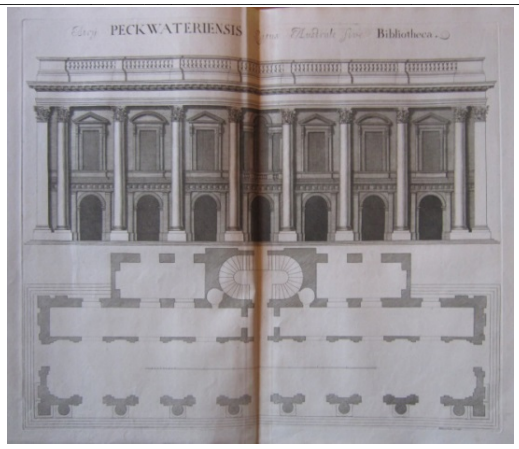
Ill. 4.128: Christ Church, Peckwater Quadrangle, double view
Michael Burghers, *c.*1709, 60 x 68.5
Individually issued plate



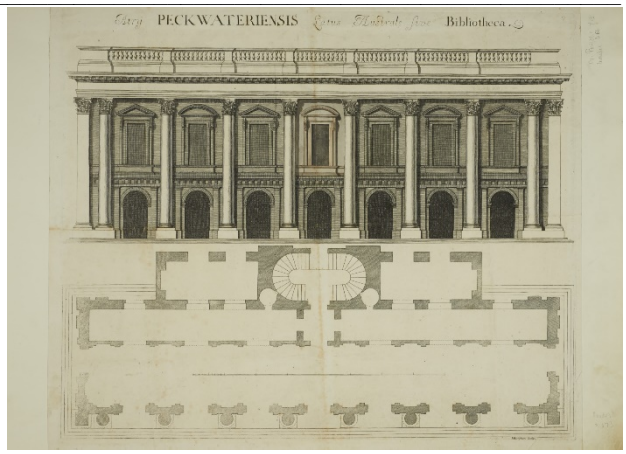
Ill. 4.129: Christ Church, Peckwater Quadrangle north view
Michael Burghers (?), 1714
***Britannia Illustrata*, 58 x 47.5**



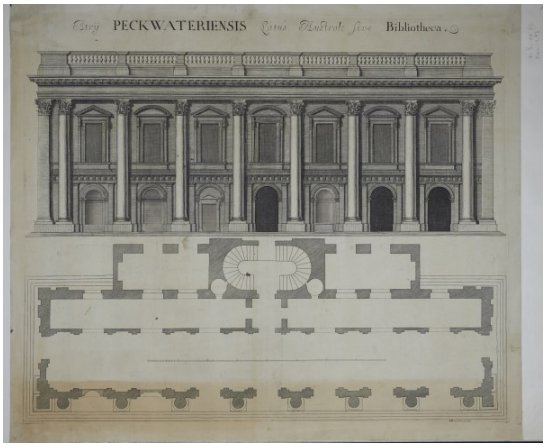
Ill. 4.130: Christ Church, Peckwater Quadrangle south view
Michael Burghers (?), 1714
***Britannia Illustrata*, 60 x 48**



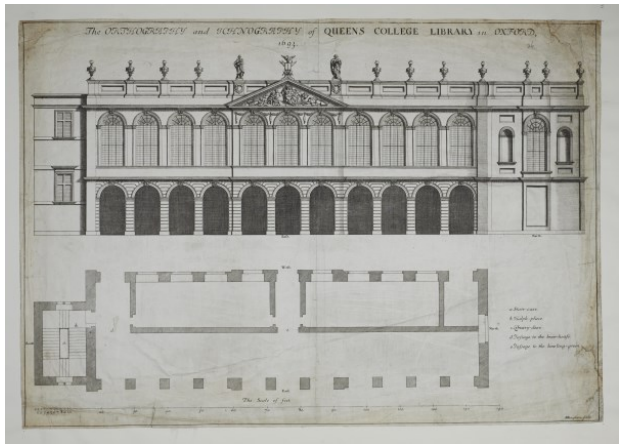
Ill. 4.131a: Christ Church library, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1717
Individually issued plate, 47.5 x 58



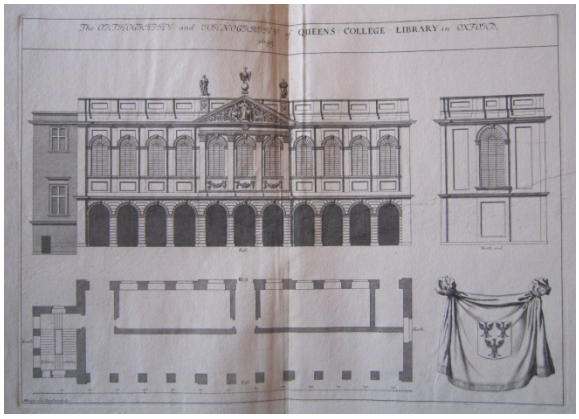
Ill. 4.131b: Christ Church library state 1 (amended)
Michael Burghers, *c.*1717
Individually issued plate, 47.5 x 58



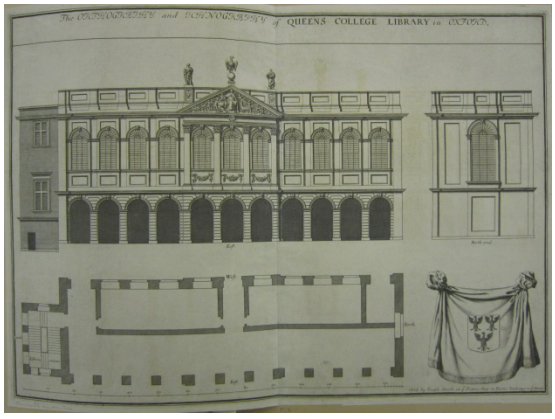
Ill. 4.131c: Christ Church library, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1725
Individually issued plate, 47.5 x 58



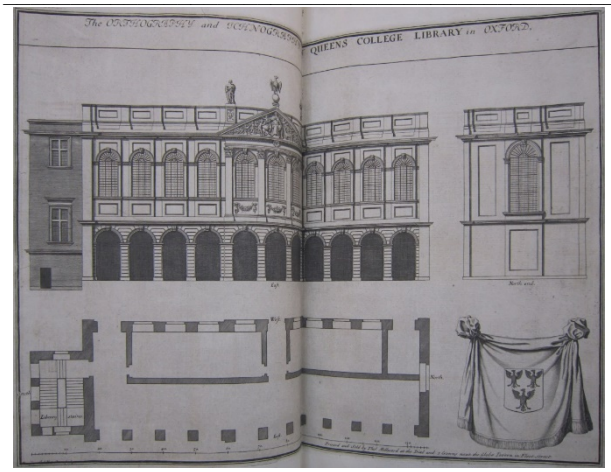
Ill. 4.132a: Queen's College library, state 1
Michael Burghers, 1693
Individually issued plate, 55 x 38



Ill. 4.132b: Queen's College library, state 2
Michael Burghers, 1693
Individually issued plate, 36 x 44



Ill. 4.132c: Queen's College library, state 3 (Smith)
Michael Burghers, 1714
***Britannia Illustrata*, 36 x 44**



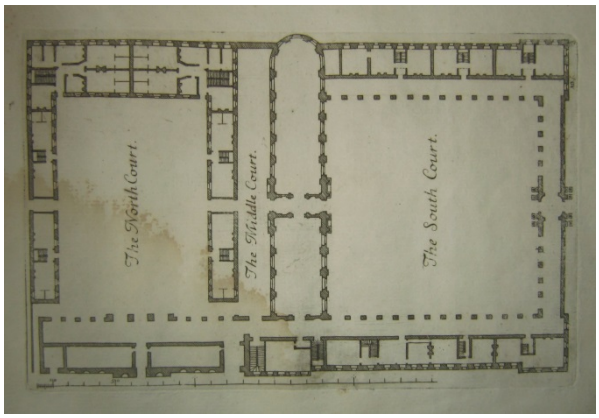
Ill. 4.132d: Queen's College library, state 4 (Millward)
Michael Burghers, [1735], 36 x 44
Nouveau Théâtre



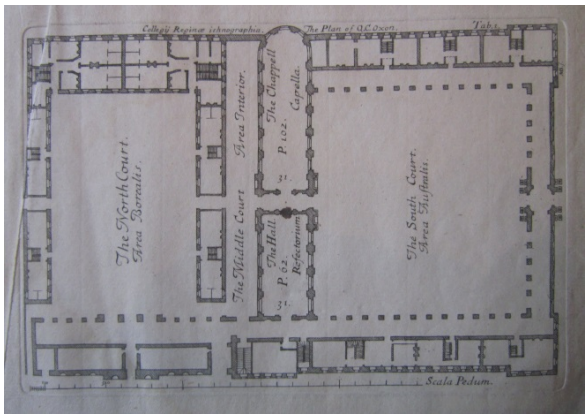
Ill. 4.133a: Queen's College hall and chapel, state 1
Michael Burghers (?), *c.*1710, 42 x 66
Individually issued plate



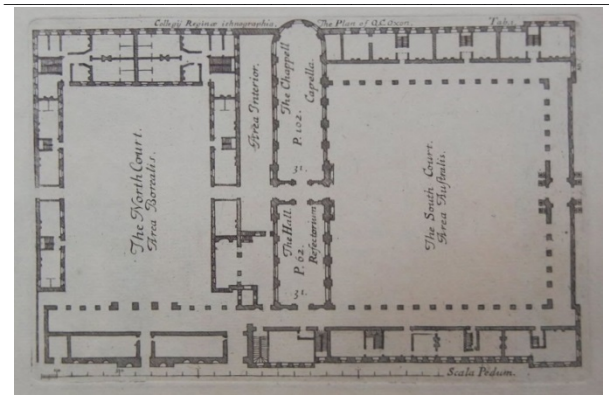
Ill. 4.133b: Queen's College hall and chapel, state 2
Michael Burghers (?), 1714, 42 x 66
Britannia Illustrata



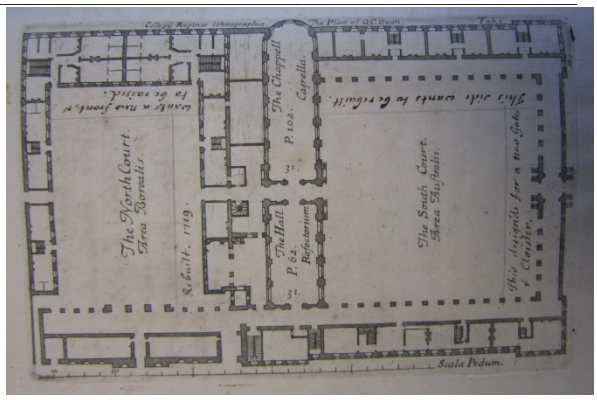
Ill. 4.134a: Queen's College plan, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714
Present state of the new buildings **(tab 1)**



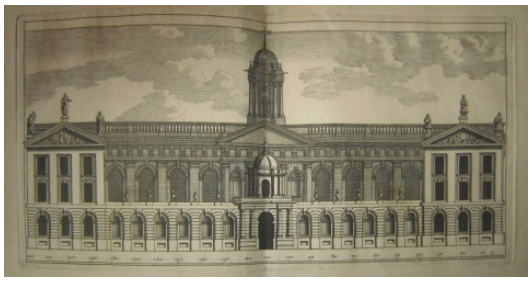
Ill. 4.134b: Queen's College plan, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715
Present state of the new buildings **(tab 1)**



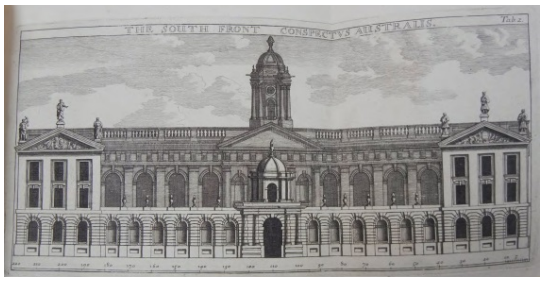
Ill. 4.134c: Queen's College plan, state 3
Michael Burghers, *c.*1718
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 1)**



Ill. 4.134d: Queen's College plan, state 4
Michael Burghers, *c.*1730
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 1)**



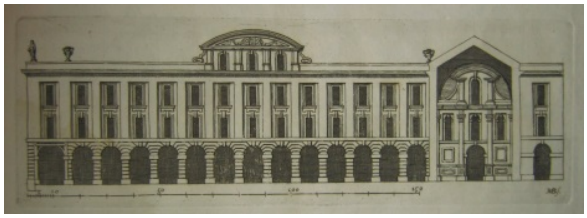
Ill. 4.135a: Queen's College south front, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 14 x 29
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 2)**



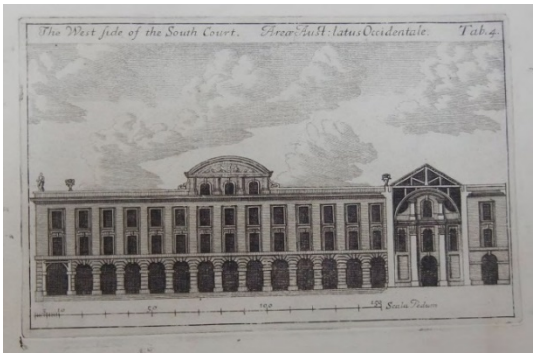
Ill. 4.135b: Queen' College south front, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 14 x 29
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 2)**



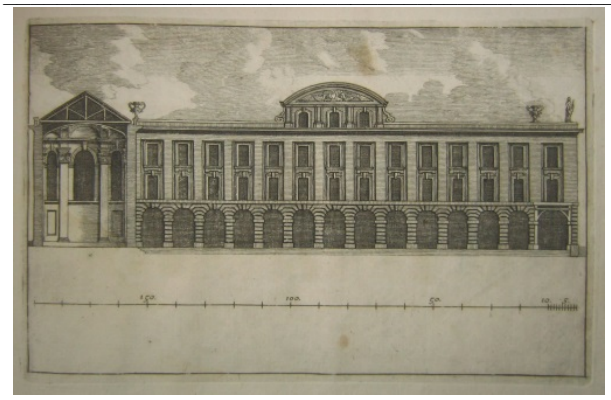
Ill. 4.136: Queen's College prospect from the west
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 12.5 x 43
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 3)**



Ill. 4.137a: Queen's College west side of south court, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 4)**



Ill. 4.137b: Queen's College west side of south court, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 4)**



Ill. 4.138a: Queen's College east side of south court, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 12 x 17.5
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 5)**



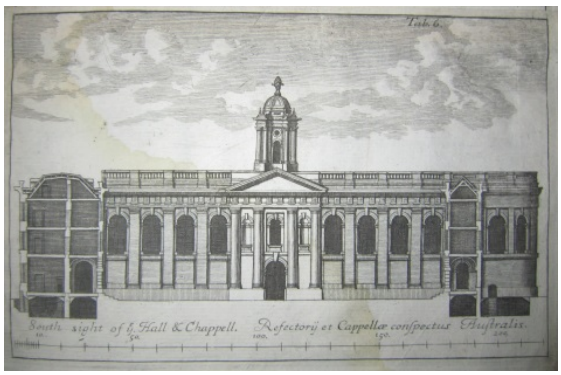
Ill. 4.138b: Queen's College east side of south court, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 12 x 17.5
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 5)**



Ill. 4.139a: Queen's College south side of hall and chapel, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 6)**



Ill. 4.139b: Queen's College, south side of hall, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 6)**



Ill. 4.139c: Queen's College south side of hall and chapel, state 3
Michael Burghers, *c.*171812 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 6)**



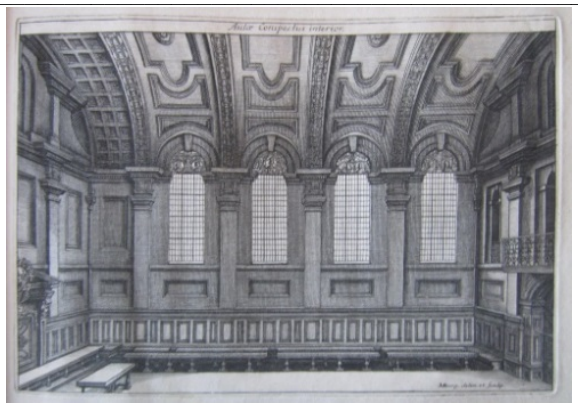
Ill. 4.140a: Queen's College north side of hall and chapel, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 9)**



Ill. 4.140b: Queen's College north side of hall and chapel, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 9)**



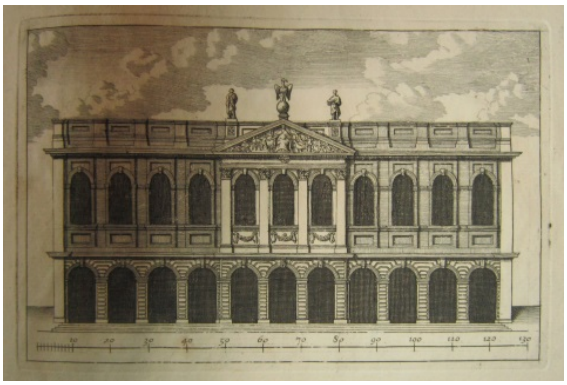
Ill. 4.140c: Queen's College north side of hall and chapel, state 3
Michael Burghers, *c.*1730, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 9)**



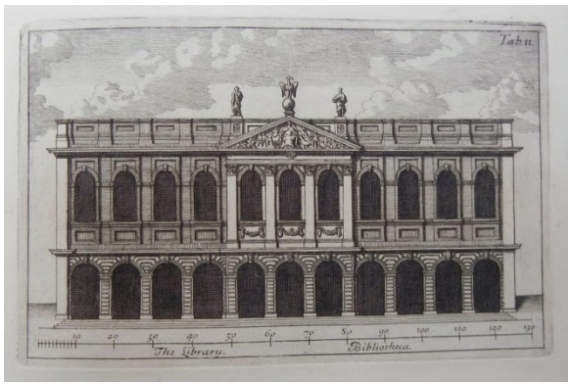
Ill. 4.141a: Queen's College interior of hall, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 14 x 20
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 7)**



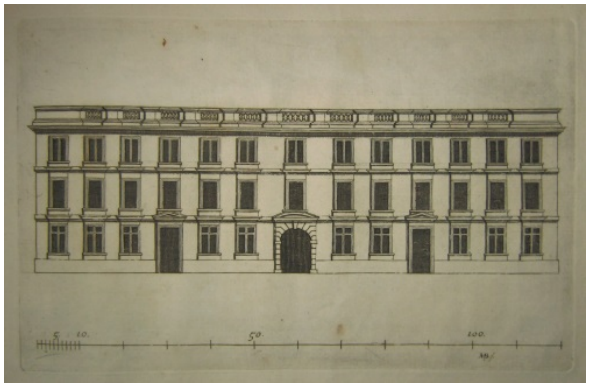
Ill. 4.141b: Queen's College interior of hall, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 14 x 20
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 7)**



Ill. 4.142a: Queen's College library, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 11)**



Ill. 4.142b: Queen's College, library, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 11)**



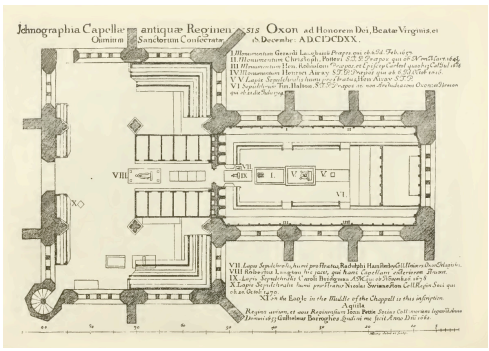
Ill. 4.143a: Queen's College one side of north court, state 1
Michael Burghers, *c.*1714, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 14)**



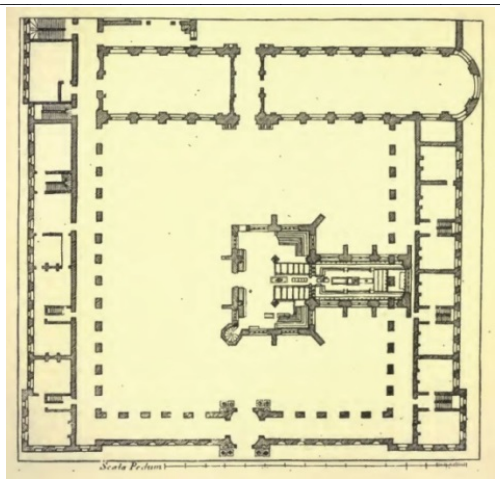
Ill. 4.143b: Queen's College one side of north court, state 2
Michael Burghers, *c.*1715, 12 x 18
***Present state of the new buildings* (tab 14)**



Ill. 4.144: Queen's College south front
Benjamin Green, 1762
Oxford University Almanack (detail)



Ill. 4.145: Queen's College, plan of old chapel
Michael Burghers, *c.*1709
Individually issued plate



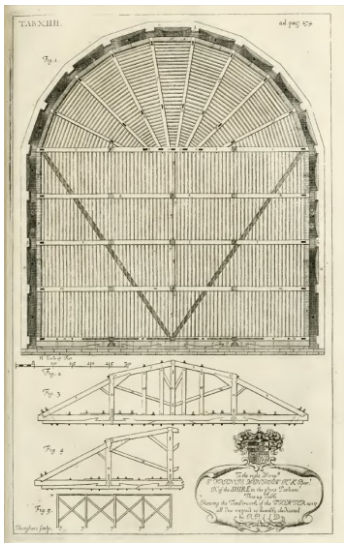
Ill. 4.146: Queen's College, position of old chapel
Michael Burghers (?), *c.* 1709
Individually issued plate



Ill 4.147b: Botanic Gardens Danby Gate
Unknown after Michael Burghers, china plate, *c.*1760
© Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 23 diam.



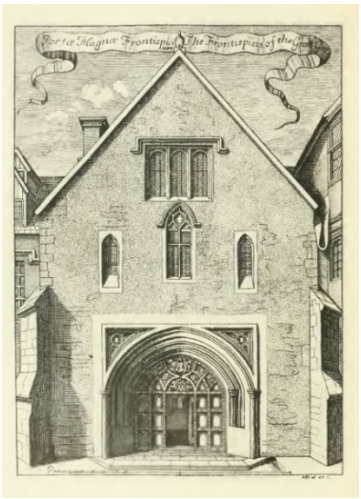
Ill 4.147a: Botanic Gardens Danby Gate
Michael Burghers, 1713
Vertumnus



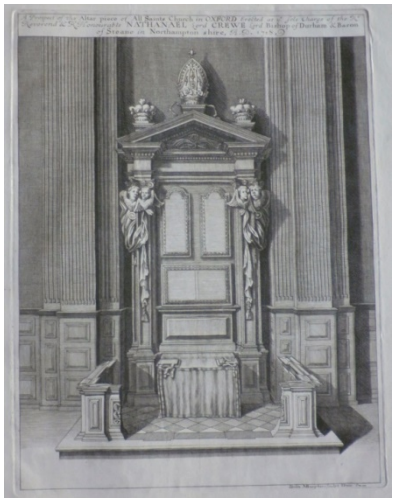
Ill. 4.148: Roof of Sheldonian Theatre
Michael Burghers, 1677
Natural History of Oxfordshire



Ill. 4.149: Bodleian Library, interior
Michael Burghers, 1698
Heptateuchus



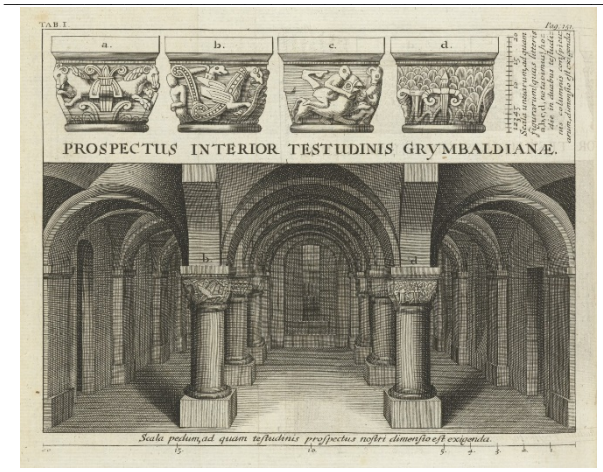
Ill. 4.150: Queen's College, Old Gate
Michael Burghers, *c.*1709
Individually issued plate



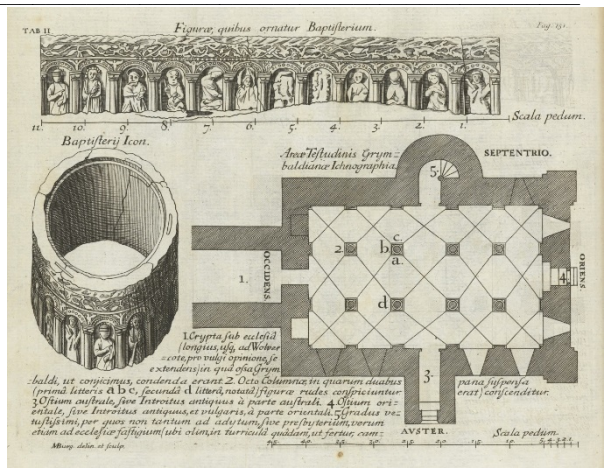
Ill. 4.151: All Saints Church altar piece
Michael Burghers, 1718
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.152: Magdalen College altar piece
Burghers after Isaac Fuller, 1719
The Resurrection



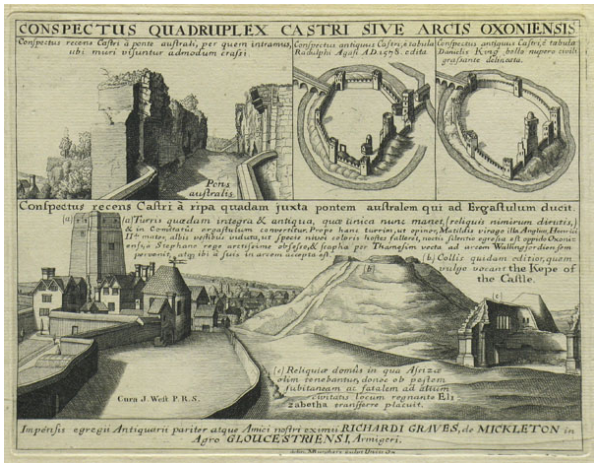
Ill. 4.153: St Peter's-in-the-East Grymbald's Crypt
Michael Burghers, *c*.1710
***Collectanea*, 16.5 x 20.5**



Ill. 4.154: St Peter's-in-the-East plan of crypt
Michael Burghers, *c*.1710
***Collectanea*, 16.5 x 21.5**



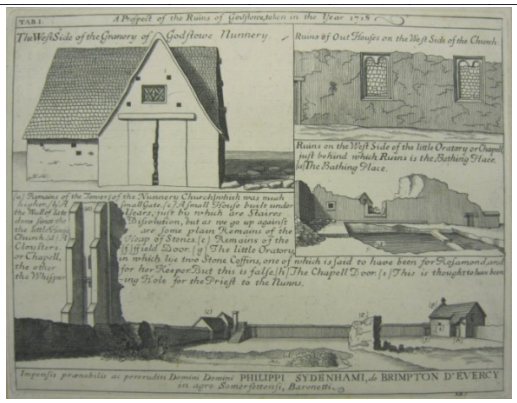
Ill. 4.155a: St Peter's-in-the-East south front
Michael Burghers, *c*.1710
***Collectanea*, 16.5 x 21.5**



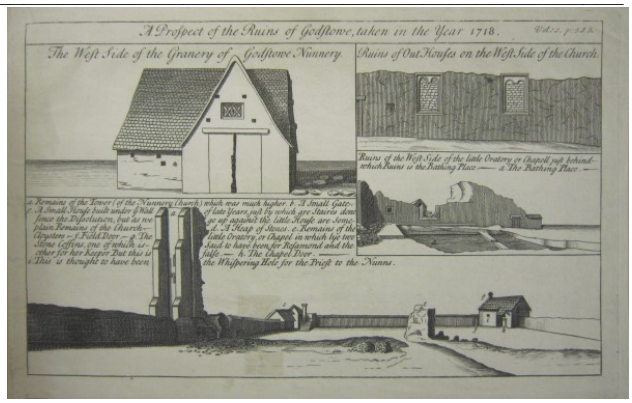
Ill. 4.156: Oxford Castle
Michael Burghers, 1719
***Rerum Anglicarum*, 17 x 22.5**



Ill. 4.155b: St Peter's-in-the-East south front
William Shipley after Burghers, pen and ink, *c*.1755
© SAL Red Portfolio for Oxford



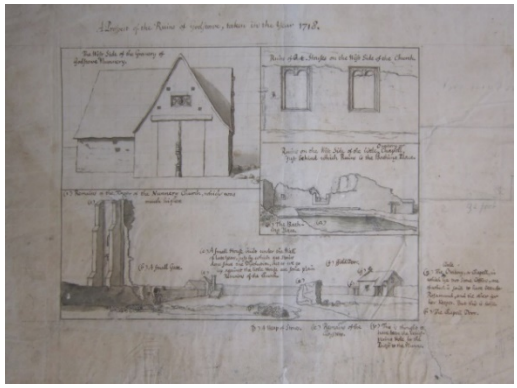
Ill. 4.157a: Godstow Nunnery
Michael Burghers, 1719
***Rerum Anglicarum*, 16.5 x 22**



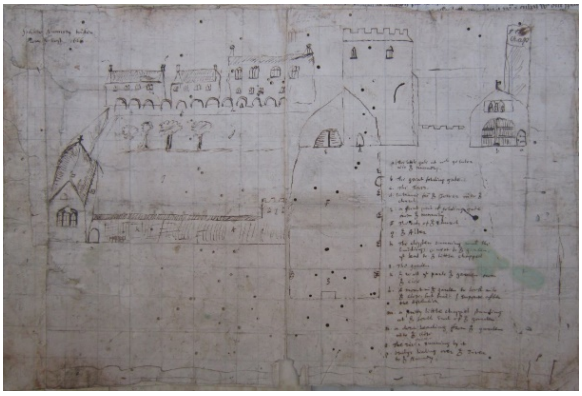
Ill. 4.157b: Godstow Nunnery
Benjamin Cole after Michael Burghers, 1722
***Monasticon Anglicanum* (supplement)**



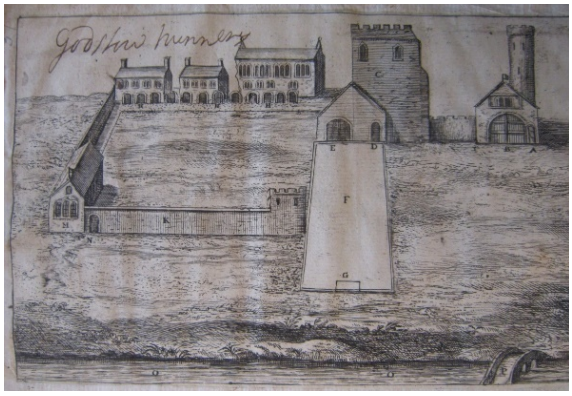
Ill. 4.157c: Godstow Nunnery
Sutton Nicholls after Michael Burghers, 1723
Memoirs of the Antiquities of Great Britain



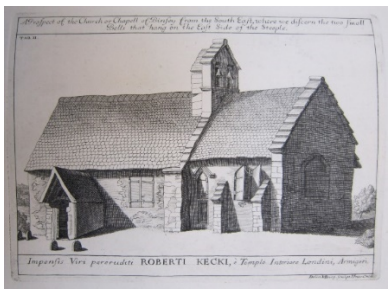
Ill. 4.157d: Godstow Nunnery
Michael Burghers (?), 1718, 24 x 34.5
© Bodleian Gough Maps 26



Ill. 158a: Godstow Nunnery
Anthony Wood, 1666
© Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B.408



Ill. 158b: Godstow Nunnery
Unknown after Wood, *c.*1720, 11 x 16.5
© Bodleian Rawlinson plate



Ill. 4.159: Binsey Chapel
Michael Burghers, 1719
***Rerum Anglicarum*, 17 x 23**



Ill. 4.160a: Islip Chapel
Michael Burghers, 1720
***Curious Discourses*, 18 x 24**



Ill. 4.160b: Islip Chapel
Michael Burghers (?), 1720
© Bodleian Gough Maps 26, ~ 18 x 20



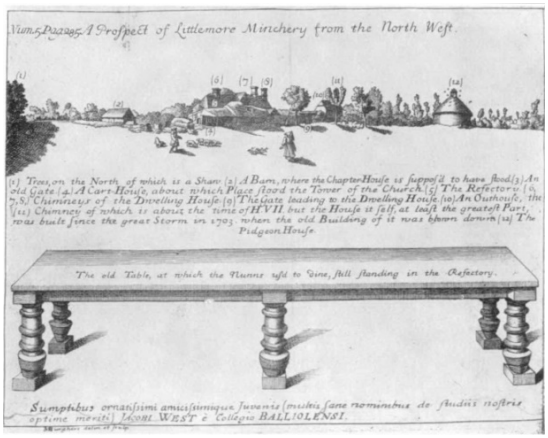
Ill. 4.161a: Littlemore Minchery
Michael Burghers, 1722
© Bodley MS. Rawl. D.932, f.126a



Ill. 4.161b: Littlemore Minchery
Michael Burghers, 1722
© Bodley MS. Rawl. D.932, f.126b



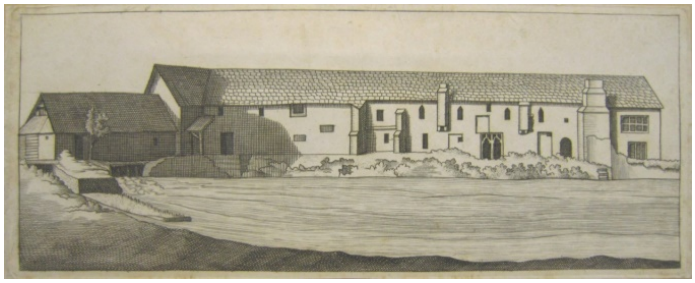
Ill. 4.161c: Littlemore Minchery
Michael Burghers, 1722
© Bodley MS. Rawl. D.932, f.126c



Ill. 4.161d: Littlemore Minchery
Michael Burghers, 1722
History and antiquities of Glastonbury



Ill. 4.162a: Osney Abbey
Michael Burghers, 1720
***Textus Ruffensis*, 18 x 25**



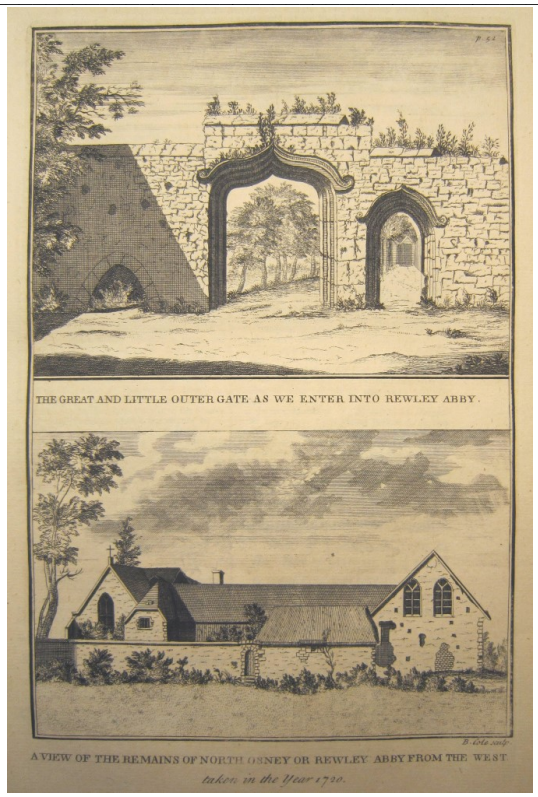
Ill. 4.162b: Osney Abbey
After Michael Burghers (?), *c*.1730, 7.5 x 19.5
Rawlinson plate



Ill. 4.163a: Rewley Abbey
Michael Burghers, 1720
***Textus Ruffensis*, 18.5 x 28**



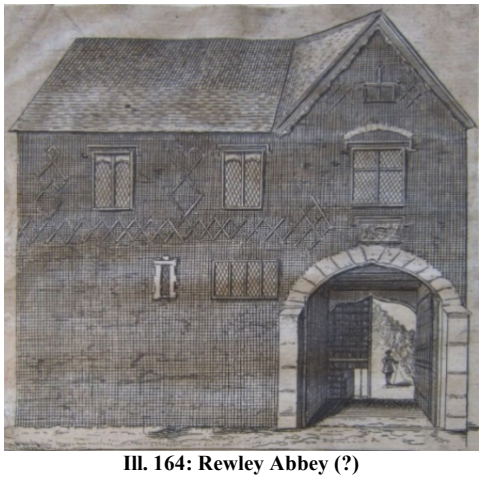
Ill. 4.163d: Rewley Abbey
Unknown after Burghers, *c*.1720, 7.5 x 9.5
Unknown publication



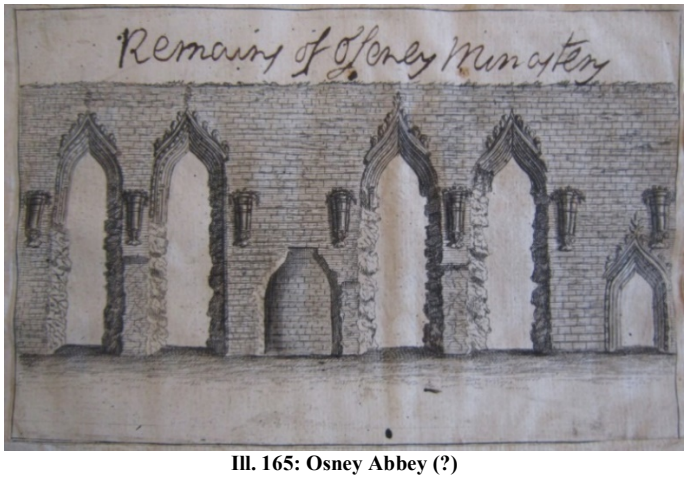
Ill. 4.163b: Rewley (North Osney) Abbey, two views
Benjamin Cole after Burghers, 1722
***Monasticon Anglicanum* (supplement, vol. 2)**



Ill. 4.163c: Rewley (North Osney) Abbey, two views
Benjamin Cole after Burghers, 1722
***Monasticon Anglicanum* (supplement, vol. 2)**



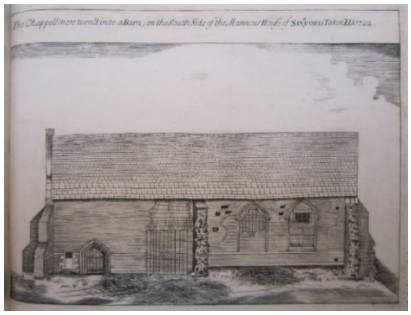
Ill. 164: Rewley Abbey (?)
Unknown, *c.*1720
Unknown publication



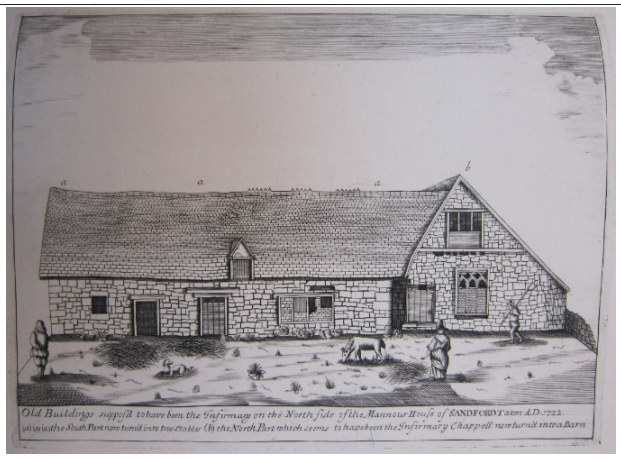
Ill. 165: Osney Abbey (?)
Unknown, *c.*1720
Unknown publication



Ill. 4.166a: Sandford Manor
Benjamin Cole, 1722 [1737]
***Ectypa varia*, 18 x 40**



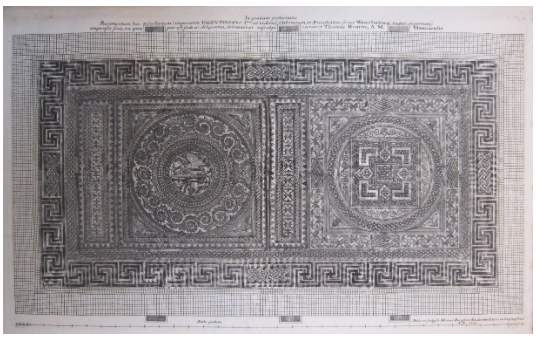
Ill. 4.166b Sandford Manor old chapel
Benjamin Cole (?), 1722 [1737]
***Ectypa varia*, 19 x 25**



Ill. 4.166c: Sandford Manor old buildings
Benjamin Cole (?), 1722 [1737]
***Ectypa varia*, 19 x 25**



Ill. 4.166d: Sandford Manor old buildings
Benjamin Cole (?), 1722
Proof (Rawlinson Prints)



Ill. 4.167a: Stunsfield Pavement
Michael Burghers, 1712
Leland's *Itinerary* (vol. 8), 21 x 35



Ill. 4.167b: Stunsfield Pavement
Unknown after Burghers, 1715
Philip Overton's map of Oxfordshire



Ill. 4.168a: Sheldonian Theatre
Michael Burghers, 1675
Vitae excellentium imperatorium



Ill. 4.168b: Sheldonian Theatre
Unknown after Burghers, 1715
Overton's map of Oxfordshire



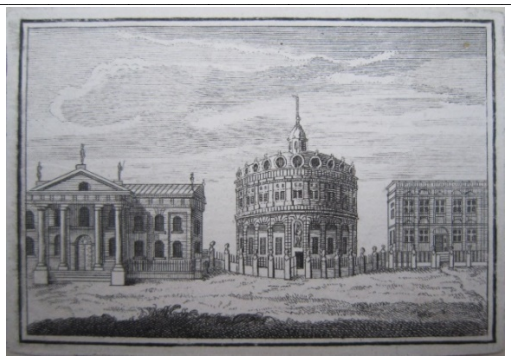
Ill. 4.169: Sheldonian Theatre
John Sturt, *c.*1725
Ware's *Bible* (title page detail)



Ill. 4.168c: Sheldonian
Unknown, 1721
Parecbolae



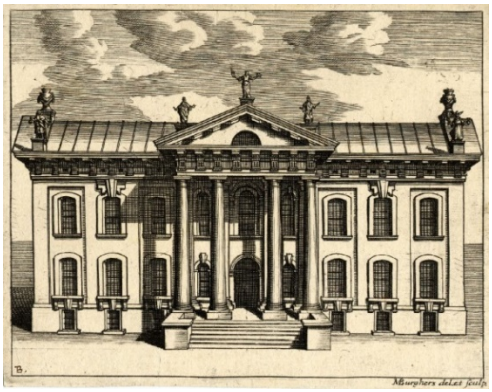
Ill. 4.170: Sheldonian Theatre
James Mynde, 1753
A dissertation … of sea water



Ill. 4.171: Clarendon, Sheldonian and Ashmolean Museum
Unknown artist, 1745
Leland's *Itinerary*, 2nd edition



Ill. 4.172: Sheldonian Theatre, etc., north view
Michael Burghers, 1703
A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem



Ill. 4.173: Clarendon Building, north view
Michael Burghers, *c.*1720
Unknown publication (© British Museum 1977, U.1169)



Ill. 4.174: Clarendon Building, north-east view
Michael Burghers, *c.*1720
Unknown publication



Ill. 4.175: Clarendon Building, looking south
Michael van der Gucht, 1716
***Vinegar Bible* (Edition A)**



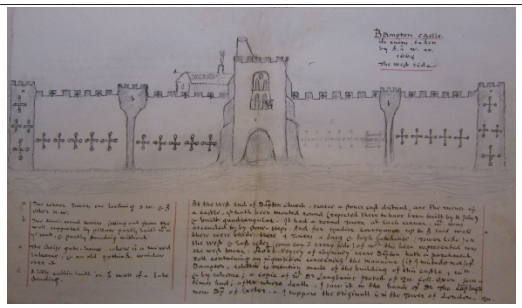
Ill. 4.177: Bodleian Library, interior view
Michael Burghers, [1738]
Catalogus impressorum



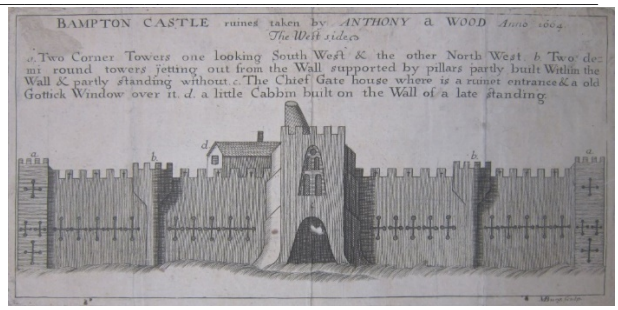
Ill. 4.176a: Bodleian Library, north view
Michael Burghers, 1697
Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum



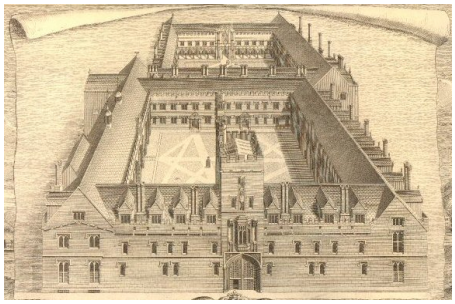
Ill. 4.176b: Bodleian Library, north view
Michael Burghers, [1738]
Catalogus impressorum



Ill. 4.179a: Bampton Castle
Anthony Wood, 1664
© Bodley MS. Wood E.1, f.12



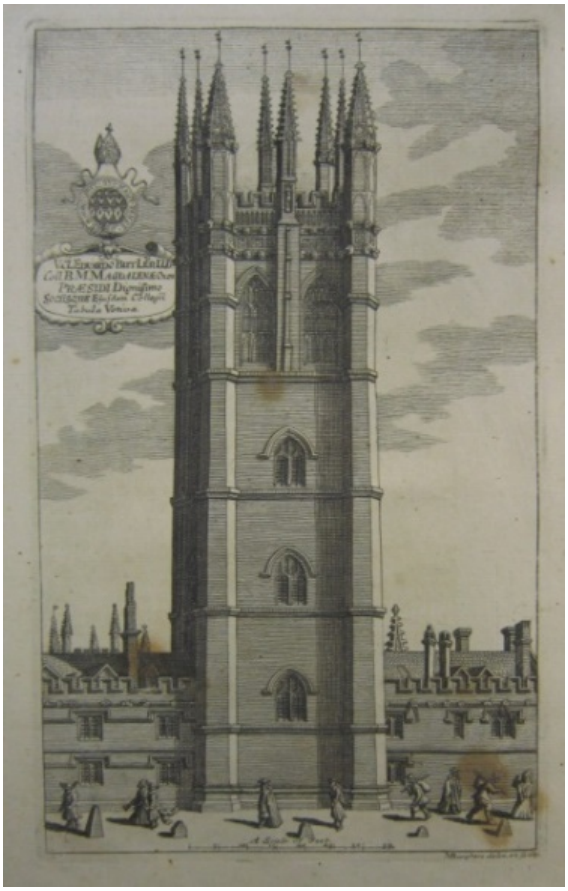
Ill. 4.179b: Bampton Castle
Michael Burghers (*c.*1670) after Anthony Wood, 1664, 14 x 28
Unidentified publication



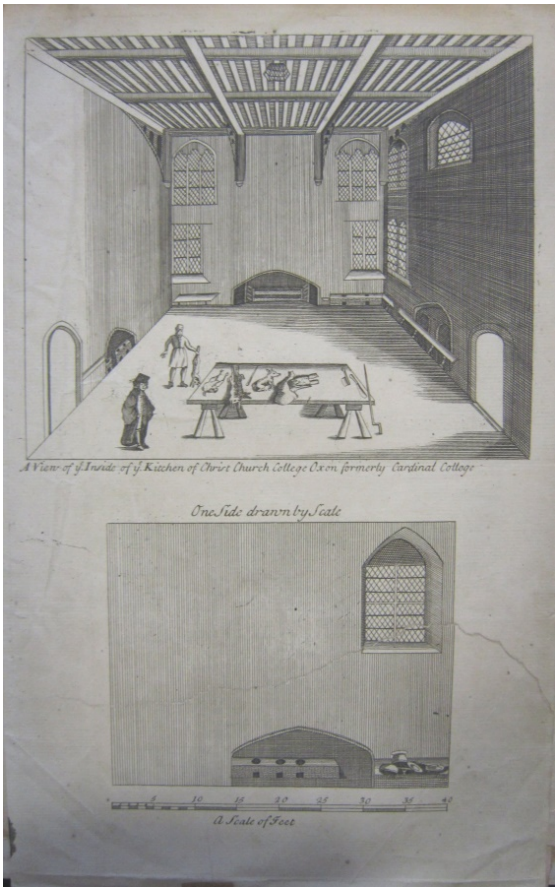
Ill. 4.178: St John's College looking east
Claud du Bosc, *c.*1733
Unknown publication (detail)



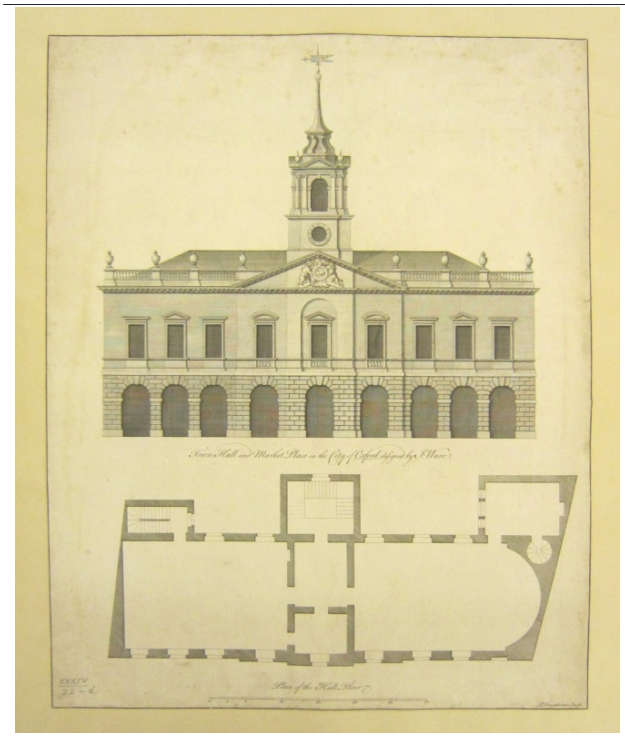
Ill. 4.180: Eynsham Abbey
Anthony Wood, *c.*1664
© Bodley MS. Wood E.1, f.45



Ill. 4.181: Magdalen College, tower
Michael Burghers, 1724, 27.5 x 16.5
Life of Cardinal Wolsey



Ill. 4.182: Christ Church, kitchen
Paul Fourdrinier (?), 1724, 30 x 20
Life of Cardinal Wolsey



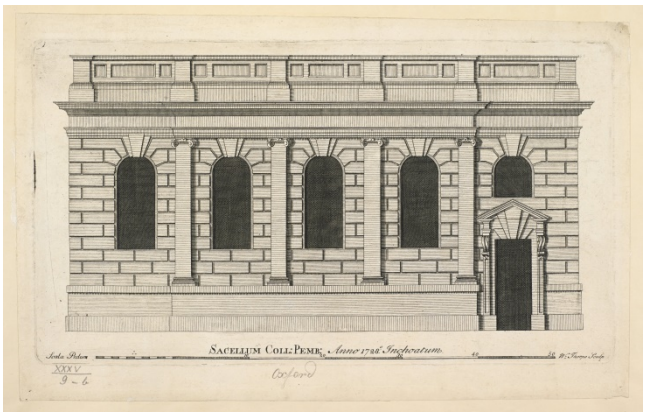
Ill. 4.183: Oxford Town Hall
Paul Fourdrinier after Isaac Ware, *c.*1753
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.184: Antiquity Hall, looking south
George Vertue (?), *c.*1723, 28 x 22
Individually issued plate



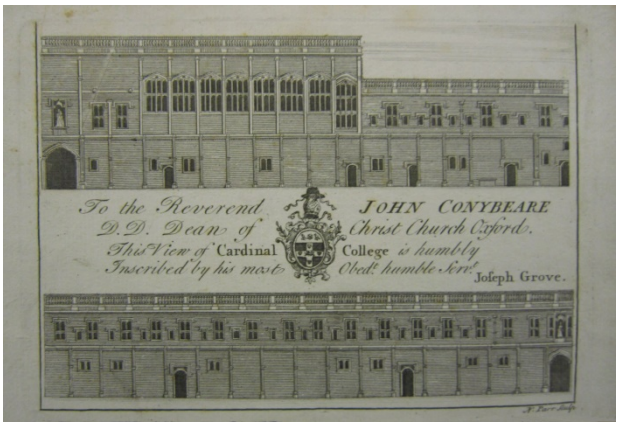
Ill. 4.185: Christ Church, hall looking south
Paul Fourdrinier, 1724, 27 x 35
Life of Cardinal Wolsey



Ill. 4.186: Pembroke College: revised design for chapel
William Thorpe, 1728
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.187: Christ Church, looking south
Nathaniel Parr, *c.*1740
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.188: Christ Church, hall looking south
Nathaniel Parr, *c.*1740
Individually issued plate



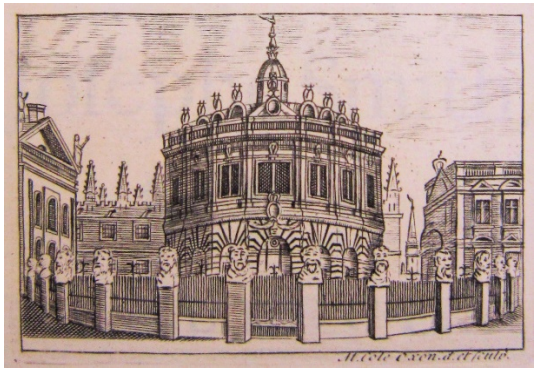
Ill. 4.189: Hertford College, proposed west range
Gerard van der Gucht, *c.*1735
Individually issued plate



Ill. 4.190: Sheldonian Theatre
Nathaniel Parr after William Halfpenny, *c.*1750
Individually issued plate



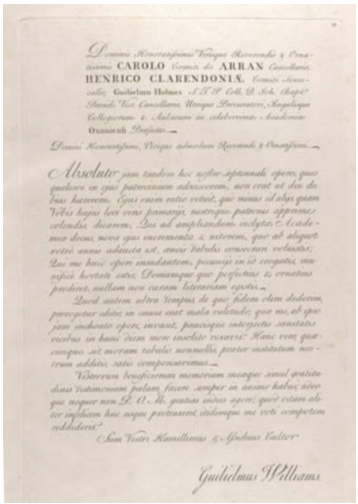
Ill. 4.191: New College Garden Quadrangle
Unknown after Burghers, >1708
Unknown publication



Ill. 4.192: Sheldonian Theatre
Maximilian Cole, 1739
Epitecti



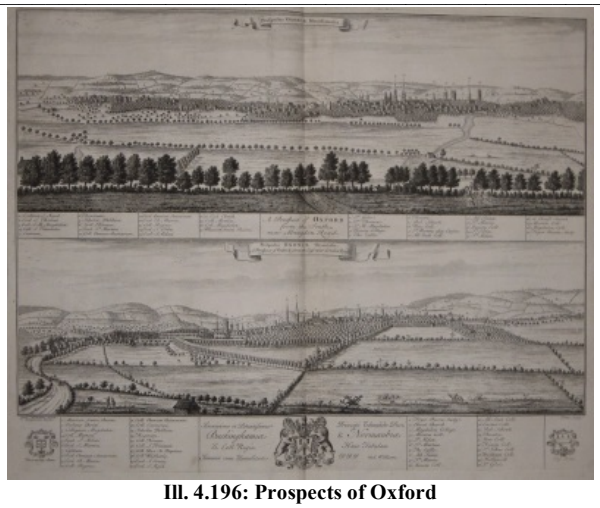
Ill. 4.193: Title page
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 1, 41.5 x 27.5**



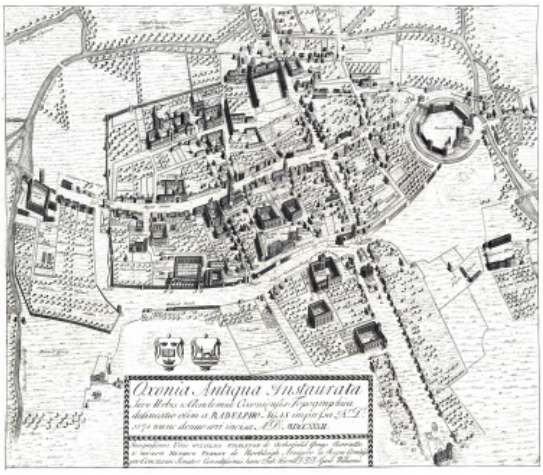
Ill. 4.194: Royal dedication
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 2, 38 x 25**



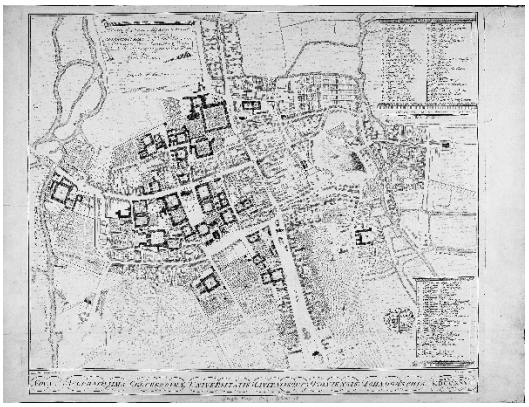
Ill. 4.195: Index & Subscribers
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 66, 48 x 29**



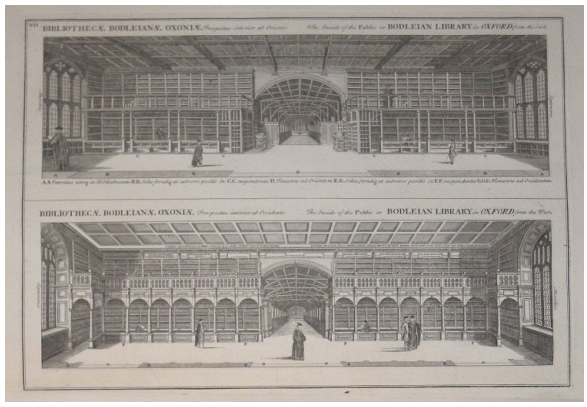
Ill. 4.196: Prospects of Oxford
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 3, 46.5 x 60**



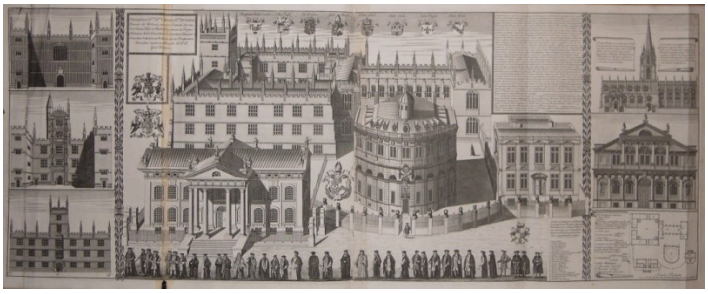
Ill. 4.197: Plan of Oxford
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 4, 46 x 52.5**



Ill. 4.198: New plan of Oxford
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 5, 46 x 50**



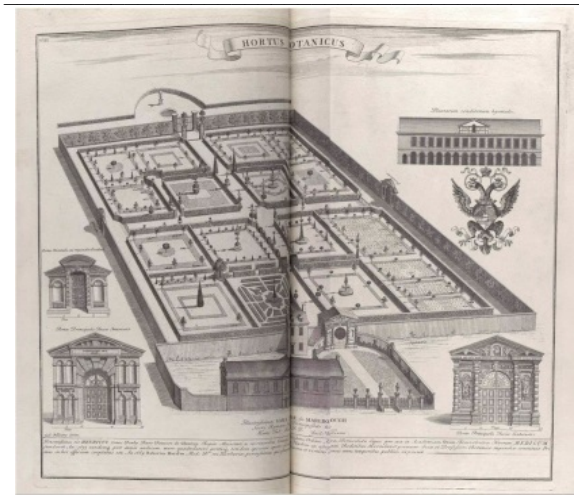
Ill. 4.200a: Duke Humfrey's
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 7 (upper part), 24 x 38**



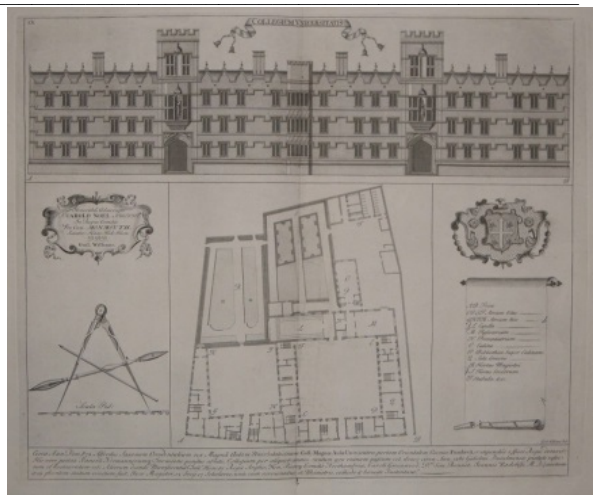
Ill. 4.199: University Buildings
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 6, ~ 45 x 130**



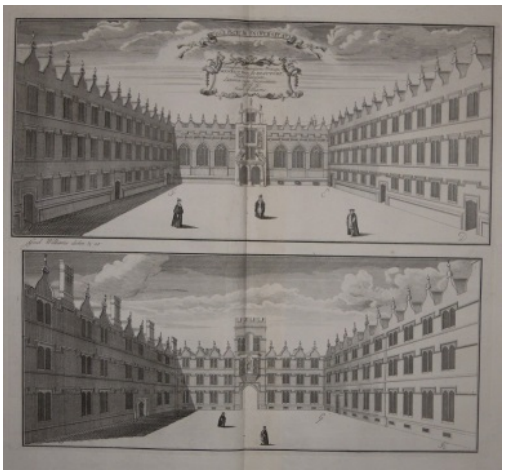
Ill. 4.200b: Divinity School
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 7 (lower part), 24 x 38**



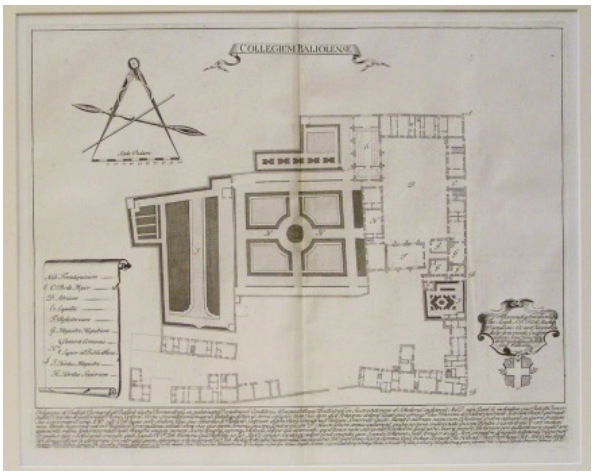
Ill. 4.201: Botanic Gardens
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 8, 43 x 50**



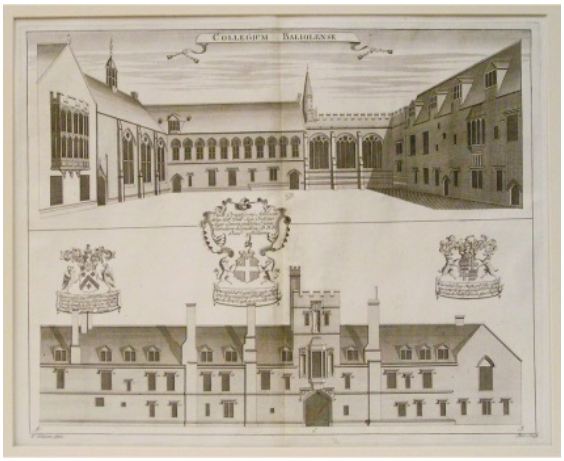
Ill. 4.202: University College, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 9, 47 x 49**



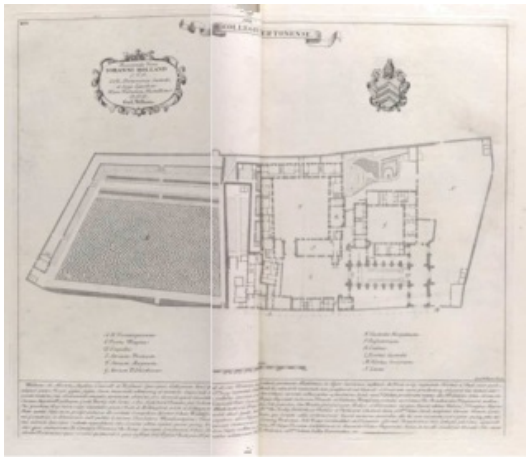
Ill. 4.203: University College, inside of quadrangles
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 10, 42 x 44.5**



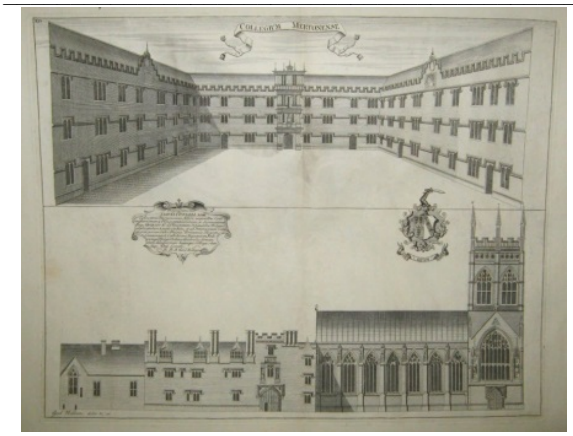
Ill. 4.204: Balliol College, plan
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 11, 37.5 x 46**



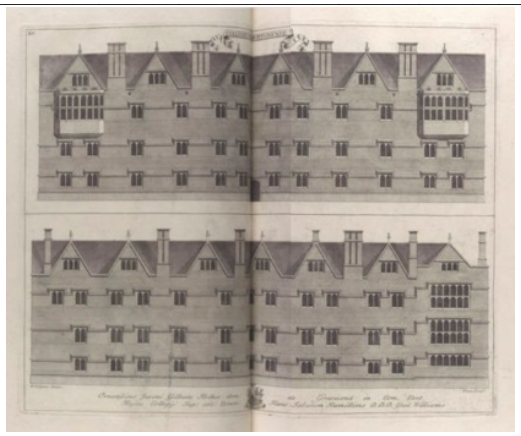
Ill. 4.205: Balliol College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 12, 38 x 45**



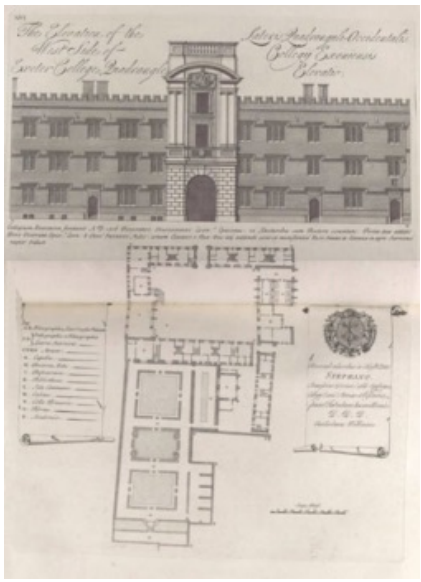
Ill. 4.206: Merton College, plan
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 13, 40 x 45**



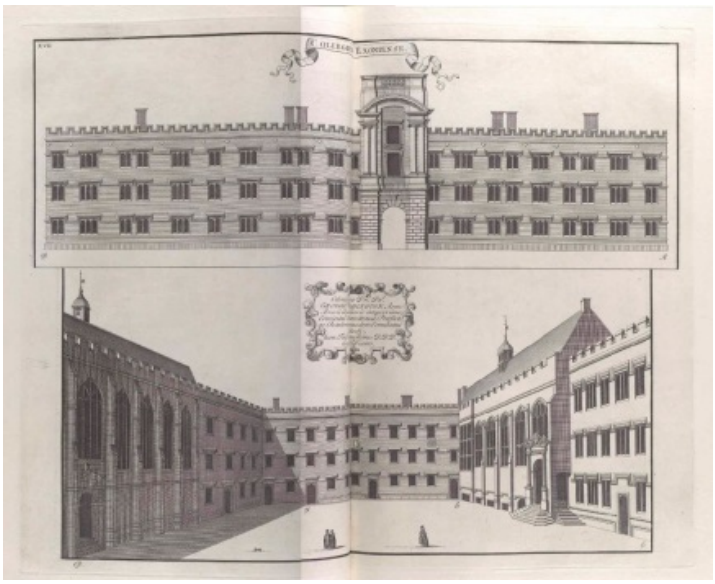
Ill. 4.207: Merton College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 14, 37 x 44**



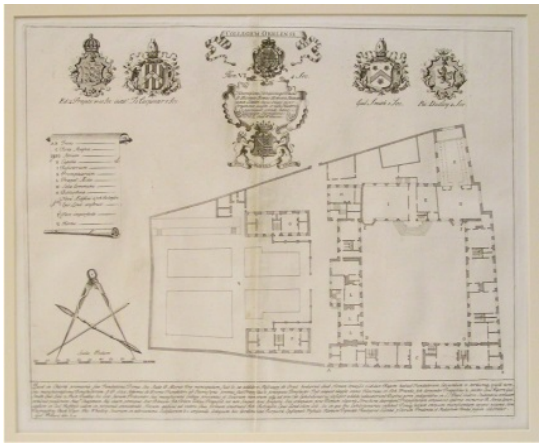
Ill. 4.208: Merton College, elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 15, 37 x 44**



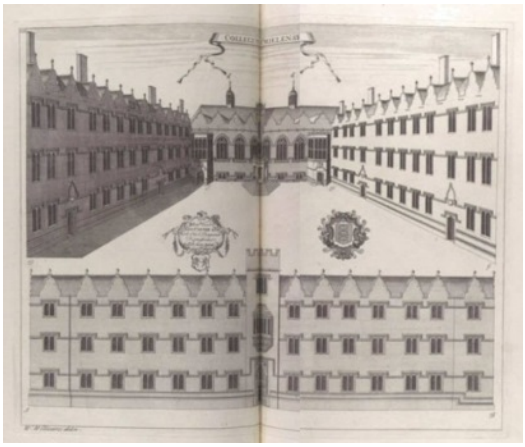
Ill. 4.209 Exeter College, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 16, 43 x 33**



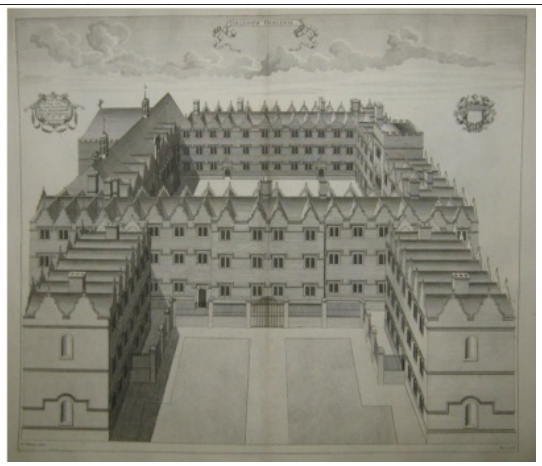
Ill. 4.210: Exeter College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 17, 38 x 44.5**



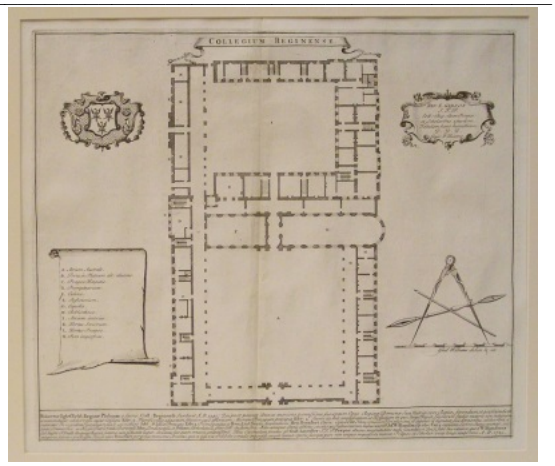
Ill. 4.211: Oriel College, plan
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 18, 37.5 x 44**



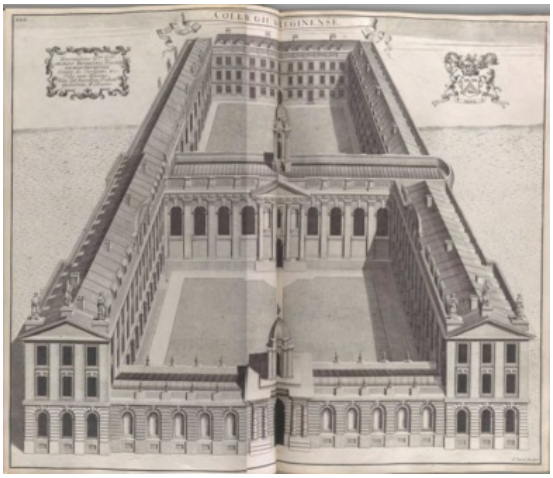
Ill. 4.212: Oriel College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 19, 38 x 44**



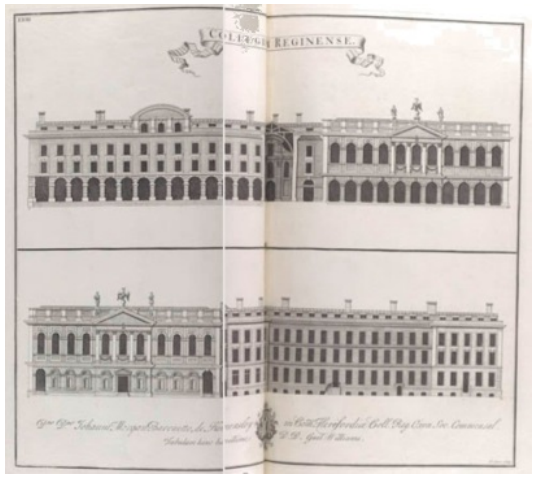
Ill. 4.213: Oriel College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 20, 47.5 x 52.5**



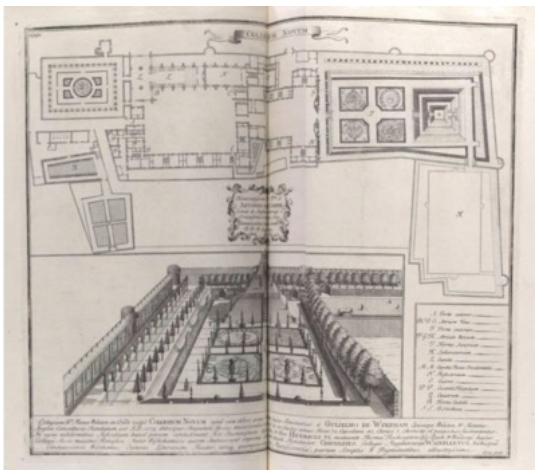
Ill. 4.214: Queen's College, plan
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 21, 40.5 x 45**



Ill. 4.215: Queen's College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 22, 48.5 x 58**



Ill. 4.216: Queen's College, elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 23, 40 x 47**



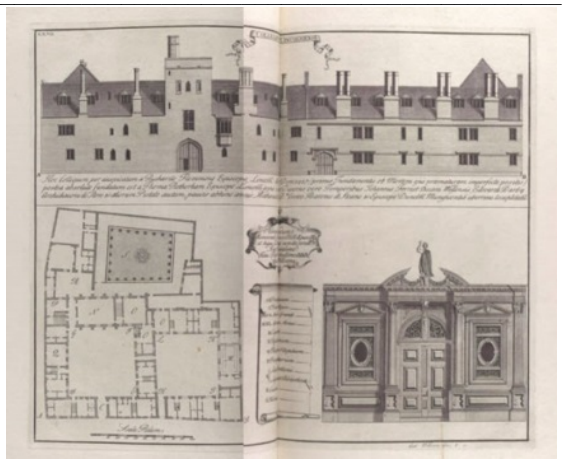
Ill. 4.217: New College, plan and garden
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 24, 42 x 48**



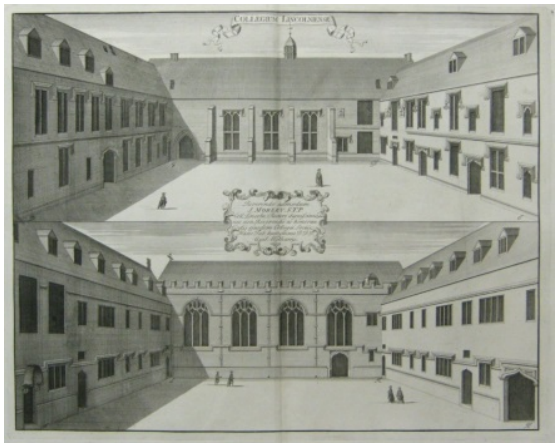
Ill. 4.218: New College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 25, 44 x 47**



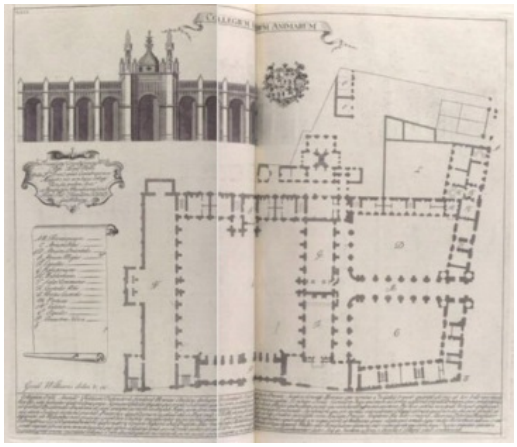
Ill. 4.219: New College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 26, 37.5 x 47**



Ill. 4.220: Lincoln College, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 27, 38 x 48**



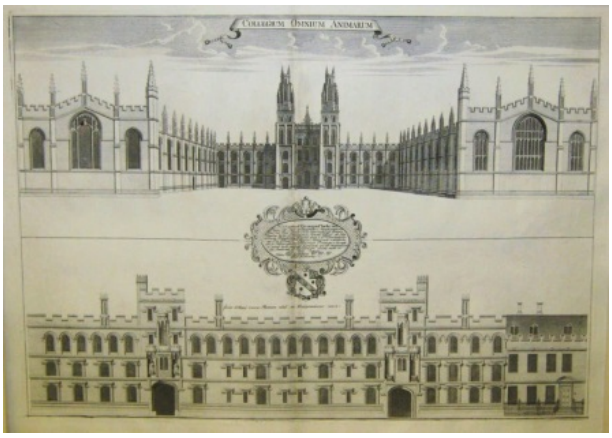
Ill. 4.221: Lincoln College, quadrangle
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 28, 39 x 47**



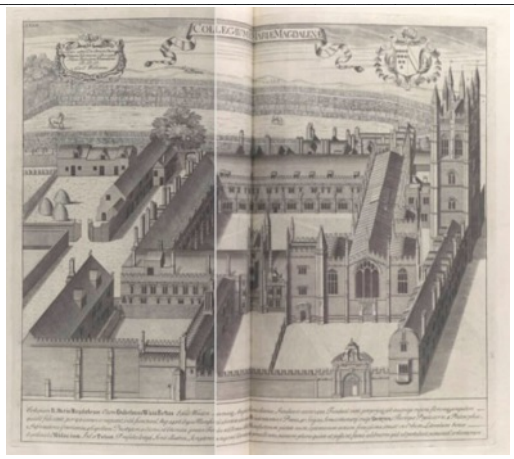
Ill. 4.222: All Souls College, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 29, 39 x 47**



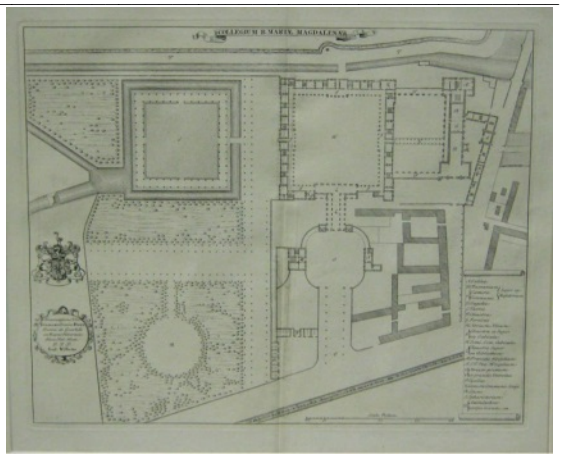
Ill. 4.222: All Souls College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3, 45 x 56
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 30, 38 x 47**



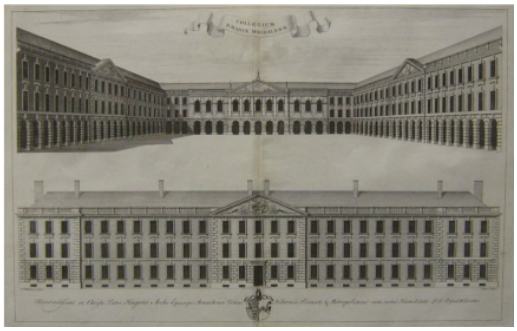
Ill. 4.224: All Souls College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3, 45 x 56
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 31, 42 x 58.5**



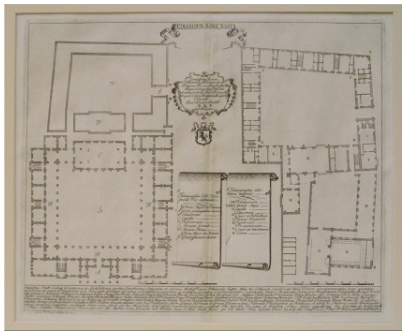
Ill. 4.225: Magdalen College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 32, 38 x 44**



Ill. 4.226: Magdalen College, plan
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 33, 39 x 49**



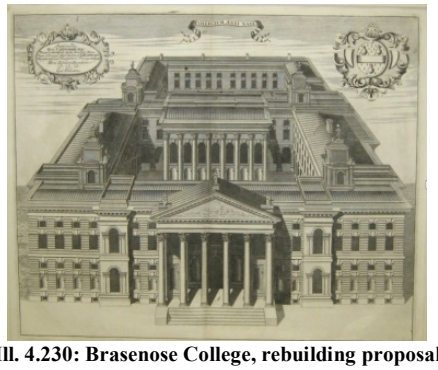
Ill. 4.227: Magdalen College, elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 34, 42 x 58.5**



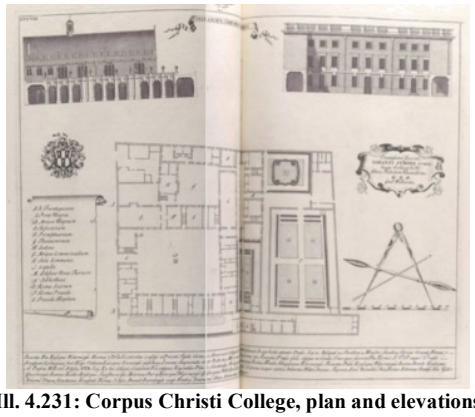
Ill. 4.228: Brasenose College, plan
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 35, 38 x 47**



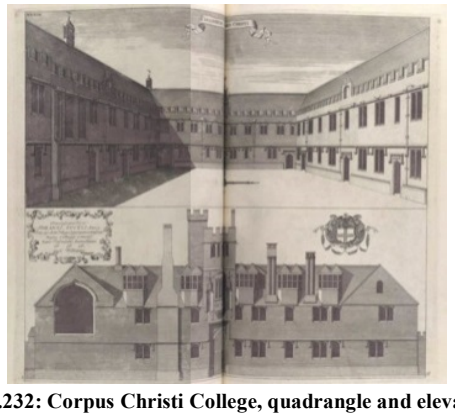
Ill. 4.229: Brasenose College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 36, 39.5 x 57**



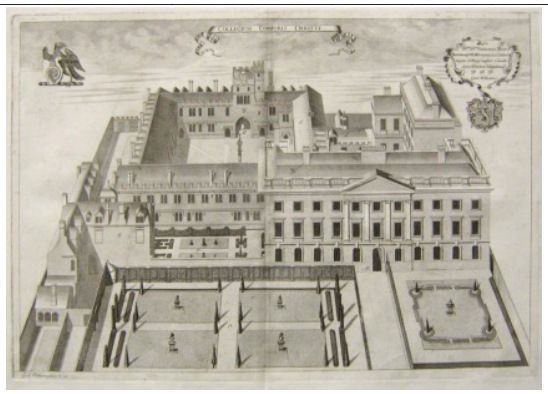
Ill. 4.230: Brasenose College, rebuilding proposal
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 37, 39.5 x 57**



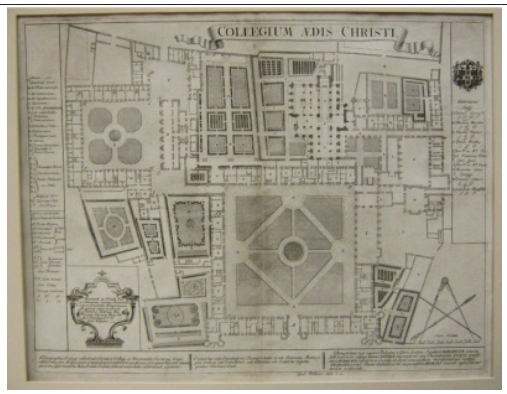
Ill. 4.231: Corpus Christi College, plan and elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 38, 38 x 48**



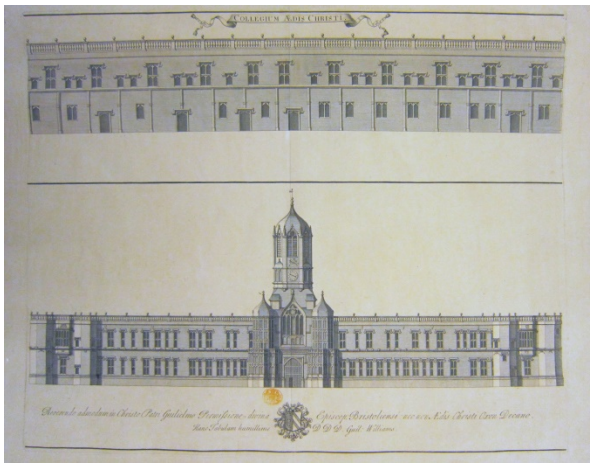
Ill. 4.232: Corpus Christi College, quadrangle and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 39, 39 x 48**



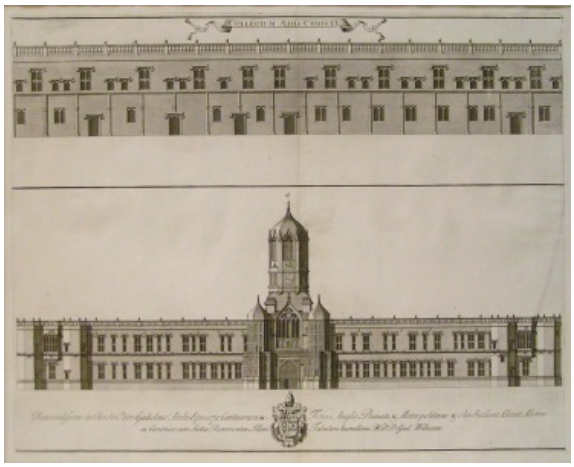
Ill. 4.233: Corpus Christi College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 40, 39 x 56**



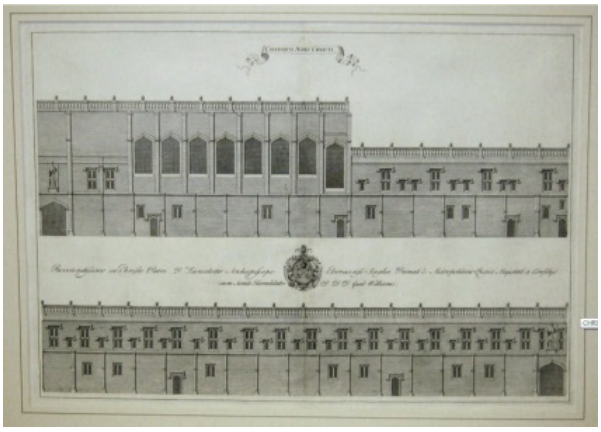
Ill. 4.234: Christ Church, plan
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 41, 47 x 60**



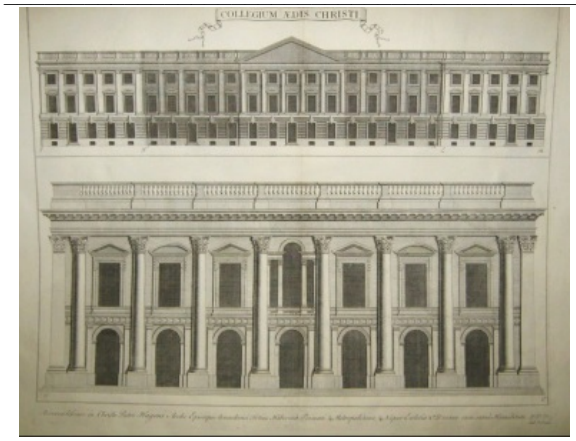
Ill. 4.235a: Christ Church, elevations, state 1
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 42, 47.5 x 58**



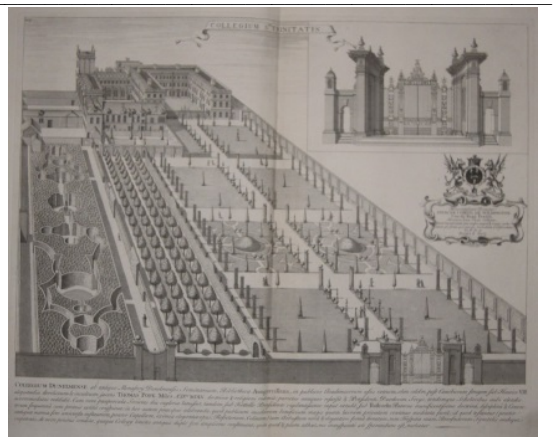
Ill. 4.235b: Christ Church, elevations, state 2
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 42, 47.5 x 58**



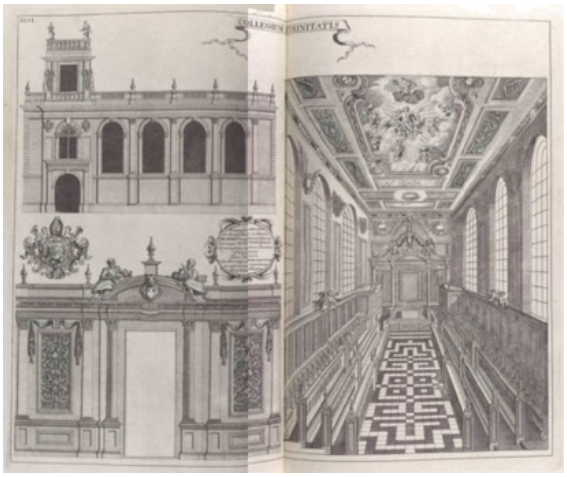
Ill. 4.236: Christ Church, elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 43, 47.5 x 59**



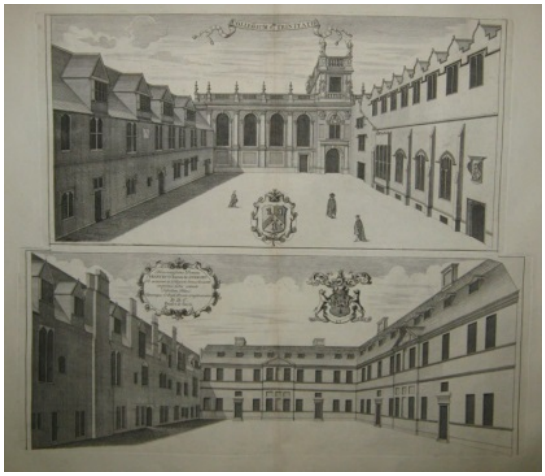
Ill. 4.237: Christ Church, elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 44, 47 x 58**



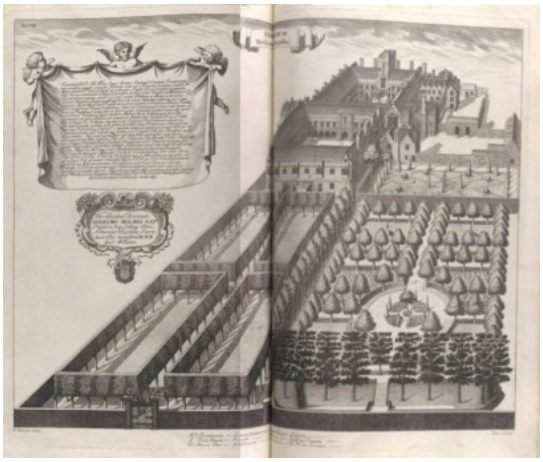
Ill. 4.238: Trinity College, garden
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 45, 48 x 55**



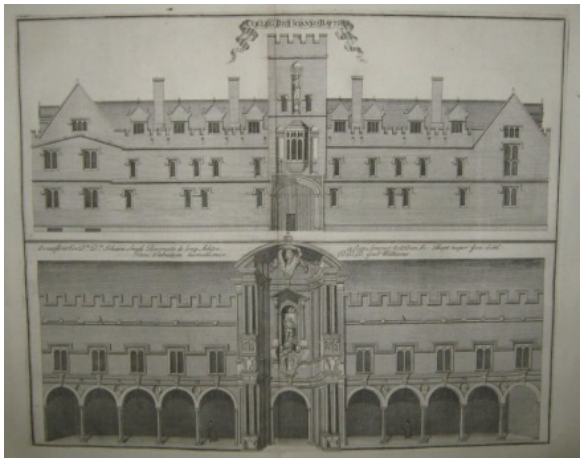
Ill. 4.239: Trinity College, chapel
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 46, 38 x 46.5**



Ill. 4.240: Trinity College, elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 47, 21.5 x 41 & 19.5 x 47**



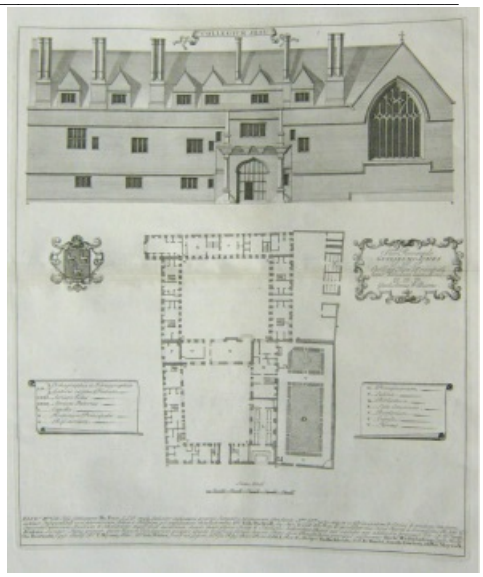
Ill. 4.241: St John's College, garden
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 48, 44 x 57**



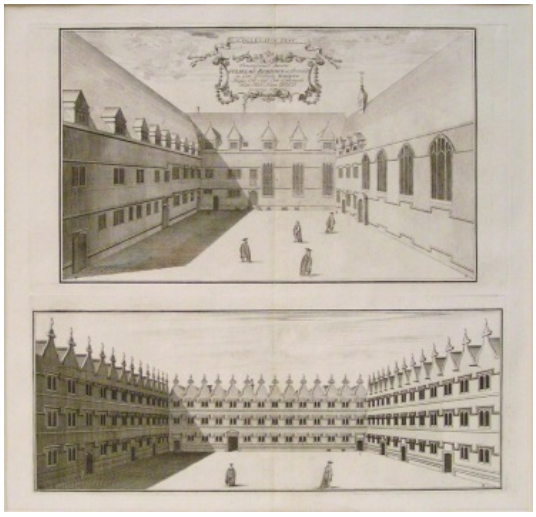
Ill. 4.242: St John's College, elevations
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 49, 37.5 x 45.5**



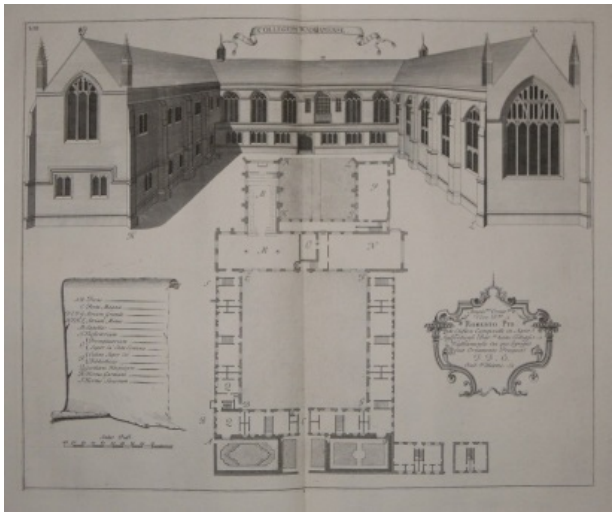
Ill. 4.243: St John's College, quadrangles
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 50, 41.5 x 54**



Ill. 4.244: Jesus College, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 51, 47 x 40.5**



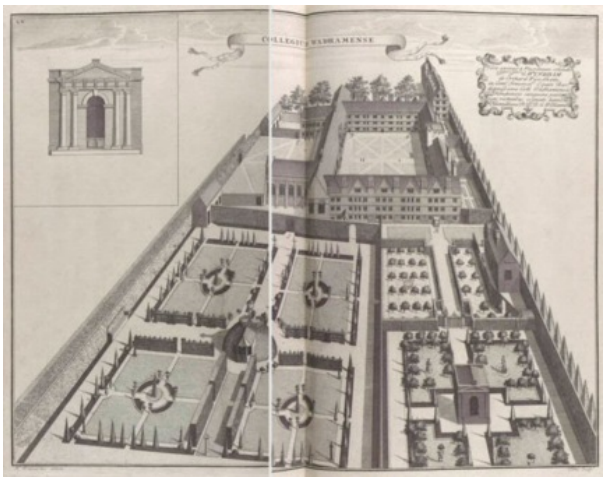
Ill. 4.245: Jesus College, quadrangles
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 52, 25 x 41 & 17 x 41**



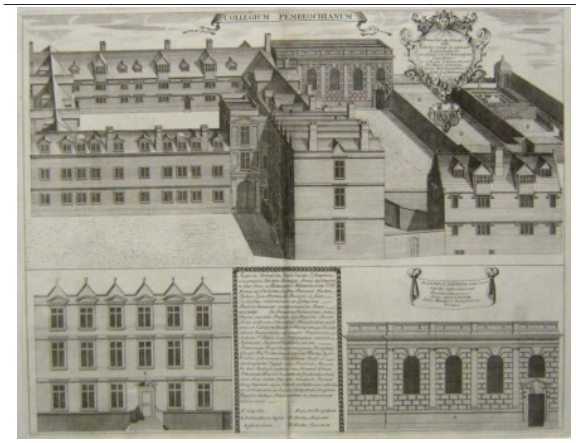
Ill. 4.246: Wadham College, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 53, 41.5 x 54**



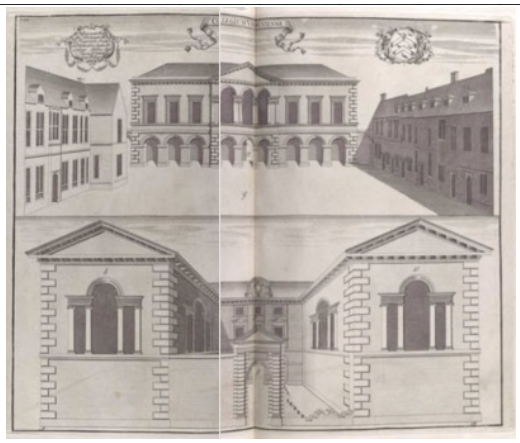
Ill. 4.247: Wadham College, elevation and quadrangle
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 54, 40.5 x 47**



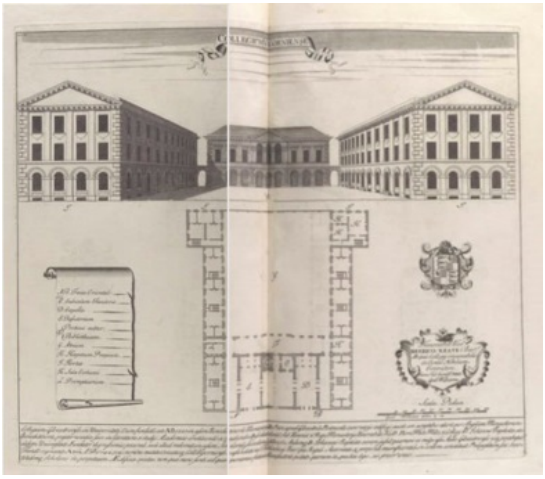
Ill. 4.248: Wadham College, garden
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 55, 41.5 x 54**



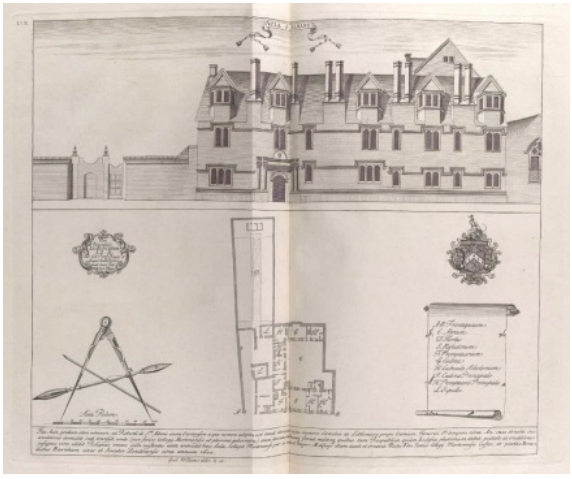
Ill. 4.249: Pembroke College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 56, 42 x 52**



Ill. 4.250: Worcester College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 57, 38.5 x 57**



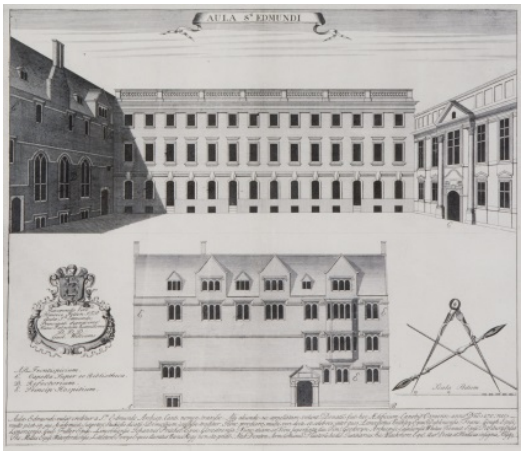
Ill. 4.251: Worcester College, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 58, 37.5 x 44**



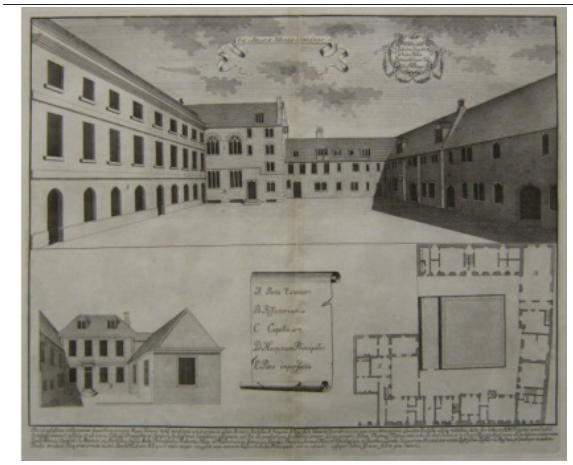
Ill. 4.252: St Alban Hall, plan and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 59, 3.5 x 47**



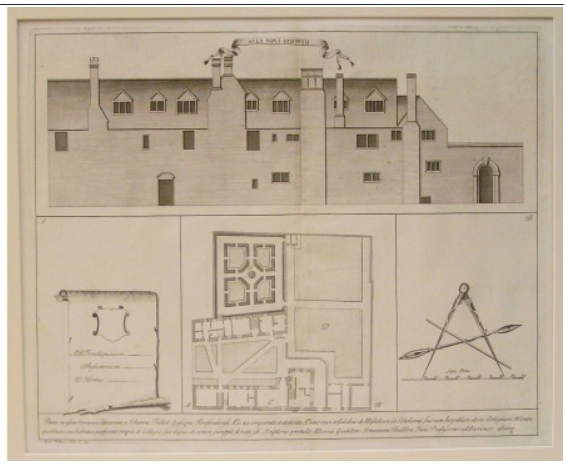
Ill. 4.253: Hertford College
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 60, 36 x 44.5**



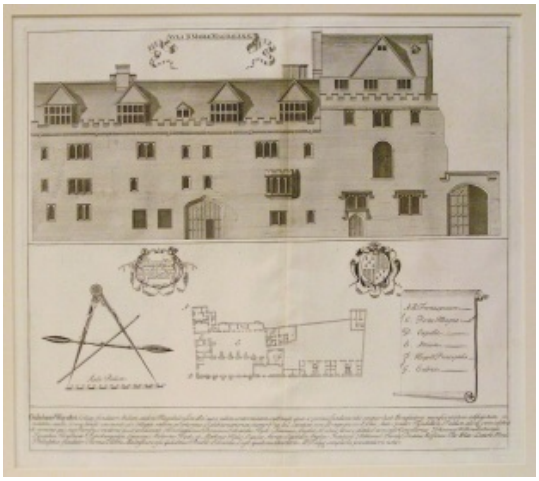
Ill. 4.254: St Edmund Hall, proposal and elevation
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 61, 38 x 45**



Ill. 4.255: St Mary Hall
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 62, 37.5 x 45**



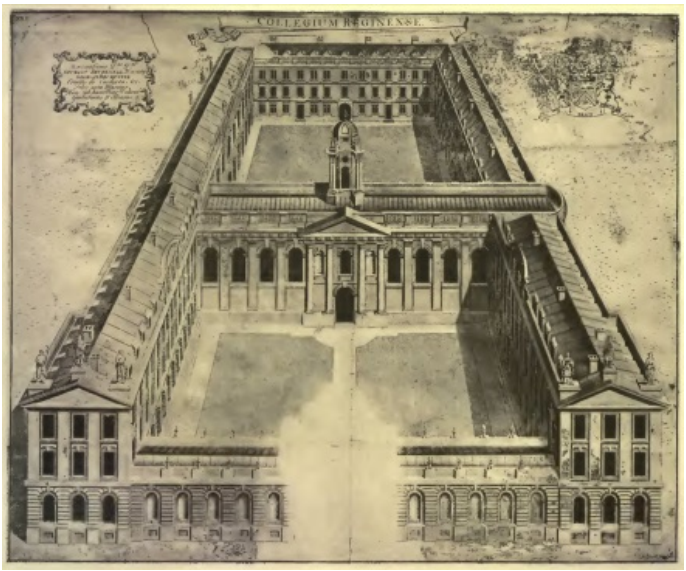
Ill. 4.256: New Inn Hall
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 63, 38 x 47**



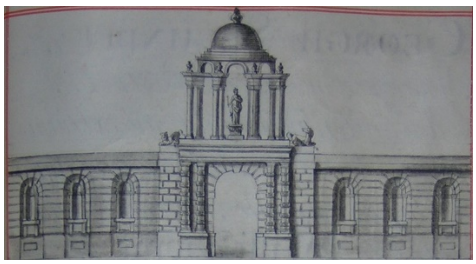
Ill. 4.257: Magdalen Hall
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 64, 32.5 x 45**



Ill. 4.258: All Saints Church
William Williams, 1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 65, 38 x 45**



Ill. 4.259: Queen's College
After Williams, >1732/3
***Oxonia Depicta*, plate 21 modified (*The Queen's College*), 48.5 x 58**



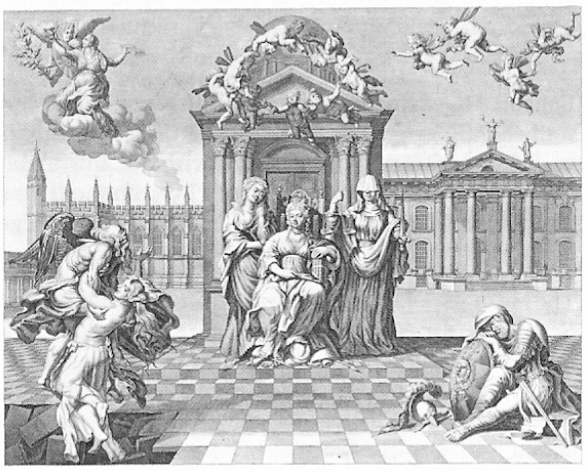
Ill. 4.260a: Queen's College, south gate
Unknown, 1733
© Queen's College, Benefactors' Book



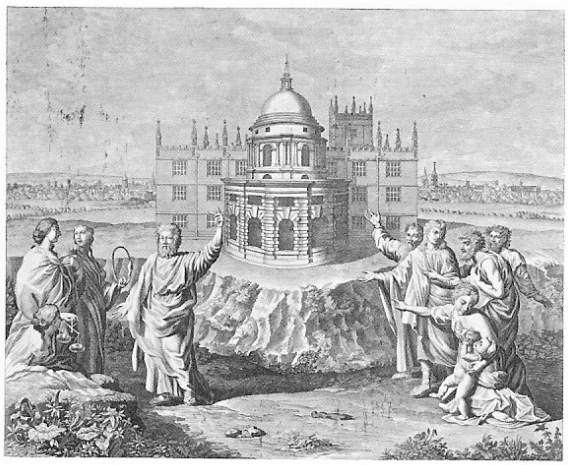
Ill. 4.260b: Queen's College, south gate
Unknown, 1733
© BL Maps K.Top.35 (10.9)



Ill. 4.260c: Queen's College, south gate
Edward Rooker, *c.*1753
Unknown publication (*The Queen's College*)



Ill. 4.261: Proposals for All Souls College and Clarendon
Michael Burghers, 1714
Oxford University Almanack



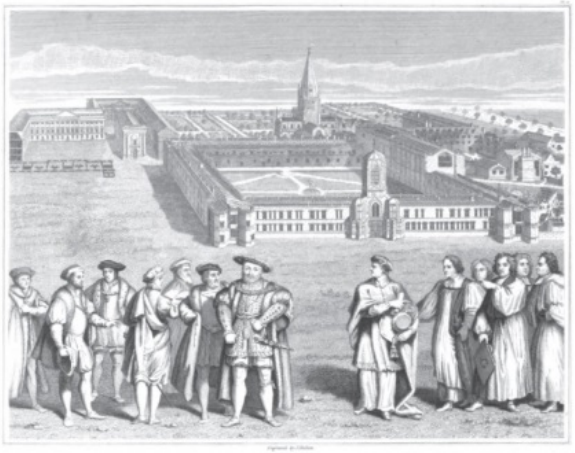
Ill. 4.262: Proposal for Radcliffe Library
Michael Burghers, 1716
Oxford University Almanack



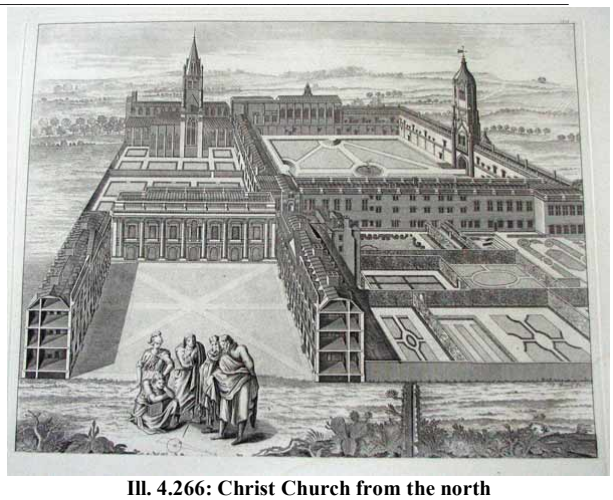
Ill. 4.263: Clarendon Building with Muses
Michael Burghers/Claud du Bosc after Thornhill, 1720
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.264: Design for Brasenose College
Michael Burghers/George Vertue after Hawksmoor, 1723
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.265: Christ Church from the west
Michael Burghers/George Vertue, 1724
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.266: Christ Church from the north
John Harris after William Williams, 1725
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.267: Corpus Christi College
John Harris after William Williams, 1726
Oxford University Almanack



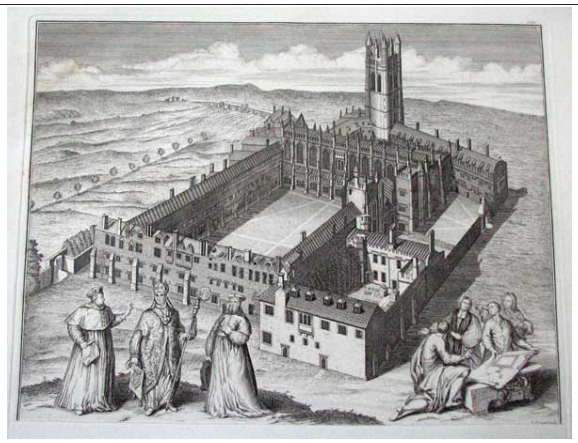
Ill. 4.268: Design for Queen's College
George Vertue, 1727
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.269: Design for All Souls College
George Vertue, 1728
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.270: New College Garden Quadrangle, etc.
George Vertue, 1729
Oxford University Almanack



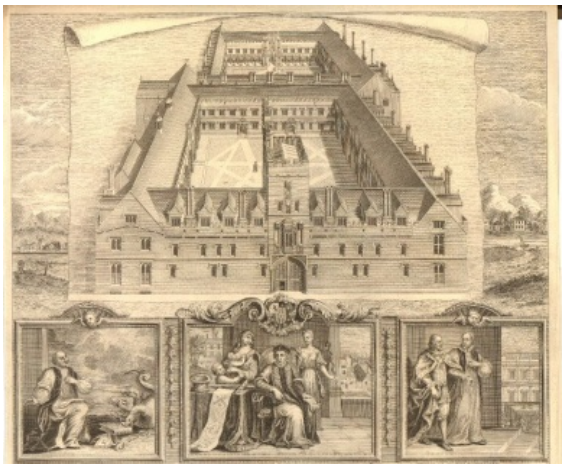
Ill. 4.271: Magdalen College
George Vertue, 1730
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.272: Design for Magdalen College
George Vertue, 1731
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.273: Design for Trinity College
Unknown, 1732
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.274: St John's College
Claude du Bosc after Mr Green, 1733
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.275: St John's College Canterbury Quadrangle
George Oxford University, 1734
Almanack Vertue



Ill. 4.276: University College
George Vertue, 1735
Oxford University Almanack



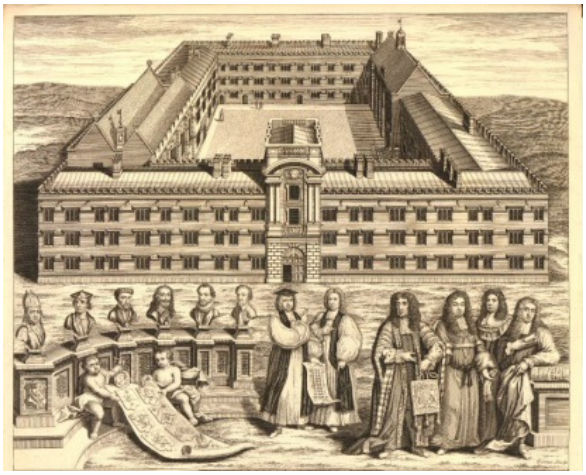
Ill. 4.277: Oriel College
George Vertue, 1736
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.278: Merton College
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1737
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.279: Design for Wadham College
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1738
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.280: Exeter College
George Vertue, 1739
Oxford University Almanack



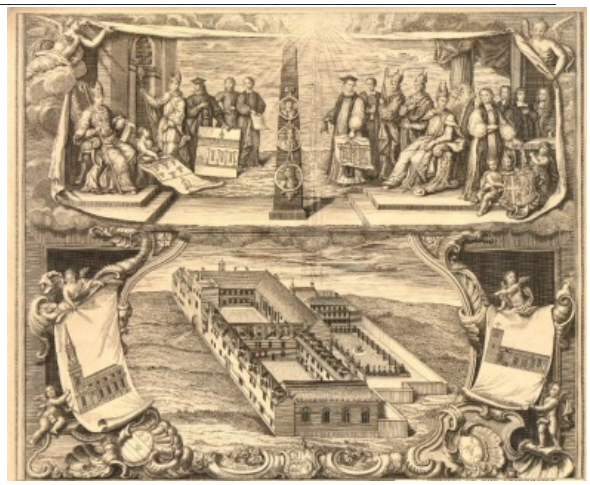
Ill. 4.281: Jesus College
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1740
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.282: Design for Worcester College
George Vertue, 1741
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.283: Design for Balliol College
George Vertue, 1742
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.284: Lincoln College
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1743
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.285: Pembroke College
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1744
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.286: Design for Hertford College
George Vertue, 1745
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.287: Design for St Mary Hall, 1746
George Vertue after Mr Green
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.288: St Edmund Hall, 1747
George Vertue after Mr Green
Oxford University Almanack



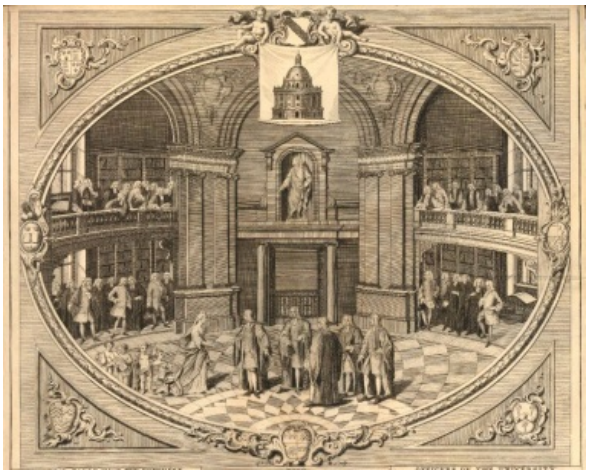
Ill. 4.289: St Alban Hall
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1748
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.290: Old Magdalen Hall
George Vertue, 1749
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.291: New Inn Hall
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1750
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.292: Radcliffe Library, interior
George Vertue after Mr Green, 1751
Oxford University Almanack



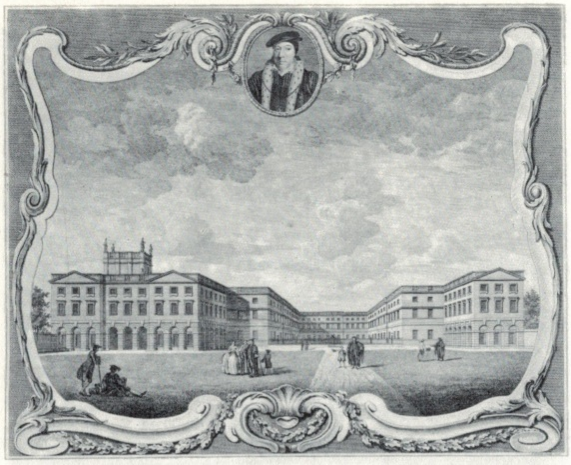
Ill. 4.293: Radcliffe Library
James Green, 1752
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.294: University College, Radcliffe Quadrangle
James Green after Samuel Wale, 1753
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.295: St Mary's Church, north view
James Green, 1754
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.296: Trinity College
James Green, 1756
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.297: Corpus Christi College
James Green, 1758
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.298: Sheldonian Theatre south front
James Green, 1759
Oxford University Almanack



Ill. 4.299: New College, Garden Quadrangle
Michael Burghers (?), ink on paper, *c*.1707
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Ill. 4.300: Trinity College design for Almanack
James Green, ink on paper, 1756
© Ashmolean Museum, Almanack volume

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 4.301: Trinity College design for Almanack
James Green, ink on paper, *c*.1756
© Trinity College

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 4.302a: All Souls College, design for Almanack
After Hawksmoor, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1717
© Worcester College, Colvin 11

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]



Ill. 4.303: Christ Church, design for Almanack
Michael Burghers, ink on paper, *c.*1724
© Bodley G.A. Oxon. a.88a

Ill. 4.302b: All Souls College, design for cloister gate
Hawksmoor, ink and wash on paper, 1720
© Worcester College, Colvin 5



Ill. 4.304: Radcliffe Library, design for Almanack
James Green, ink and wash on paper, 1752
© Ashmolean Museum, Almanack volume



Ill. 4.305: Trinity College, design for Almanack
James Green, ink and wash on paper, 1756
© Ashmolean Museum, Almanack volume



Ill. 4.306: Unidentified subject
Michael Burghers, *c.*1700, 17 x 28
© Bodley MS. Auct. V.3.1, f.378 a.244



Ill. 4.307: Unidentified subject
Michael Burghers, *c.*1700, 33 x 44
© Bodley MS. Auct. V.3.1, f.378 a.246



Ill. 4.308: East Gate
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



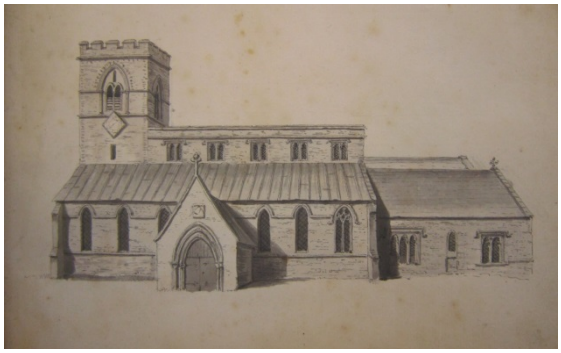
Ill. 4.309: South Gate
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.310: Little-Gate
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.311: North Gate
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.312: St Giles, north view
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.313: St Giles, south view
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.314: St Martin's
James Green, ink and wash on paper *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.315: St Mary Magdalen
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



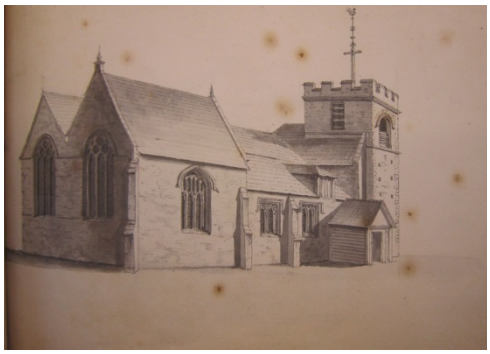
Ill. 4.316: St Thomas
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.317: St Cross
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



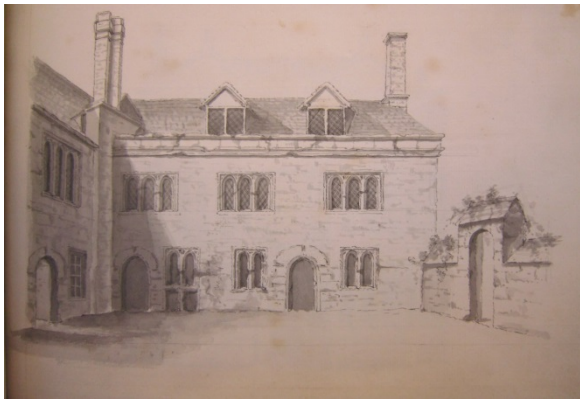
Ill. 4.318: St Clement's
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.319: St Ebbe
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.320: St George's Hall, exterior
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.321: St George's Hall, interior
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.322: Little Lion Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.323: Great Lion Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.324: Bulkley Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



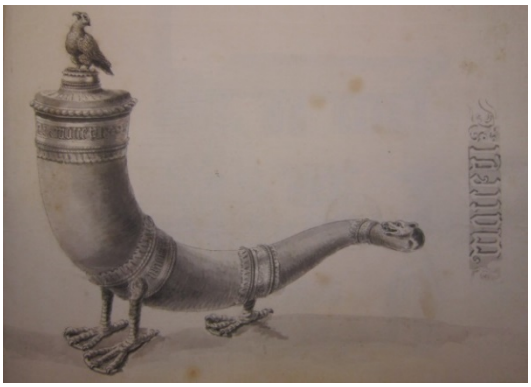
Ill. 4.325: St Alban's Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.326: Billing Hall?
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.327: Queen's College
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.328: Queen's College, Cornucopia
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



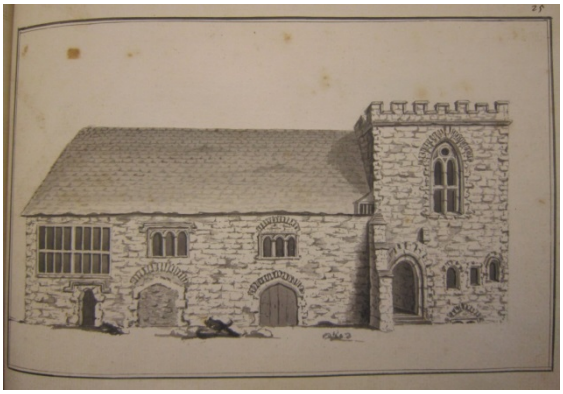
Ill. 4.329: Coventry Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c.*1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



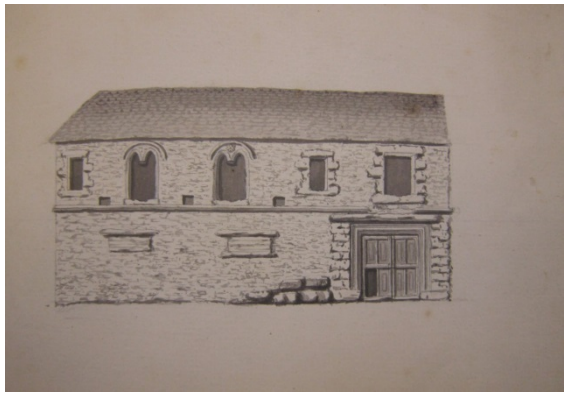
Ill. 4.330: New Inn Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.331: Greek Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.332: Converts' House
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.333: Bohemia Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.334: St Mary the Virgin Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.335: Beaumont Palace
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Gough 50



Ill. 4.336: Old Town Hall
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1751–7
© Bodley MS. Top Oxon b.14



Ill. 4.337: Iffley Church
Unknown artist (for Mores), *c*.1751–7, 16 x 19
Unknown publication

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]



Ill. 4.338a: Queen's College, old gate
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1753
© Queen's College (*The Queen's College*)

Ill. 4.338b: Queen's College
James Green, 1753, 17.5 x 27
Unidentified publication (plate I)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]



Ill. 4.339a: Queen's College
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1753
© Queen's College (*The Queen's College*)

Ill. 4.339b: Queen's College
James Green, 1753, 21.5 x 17.5
Unidentified publication (plate II)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]



Ill. 4.340a: Queen's College
James Green, ink and wash on paper, *c*.1753
© Queen's College (*The Queen's College*)

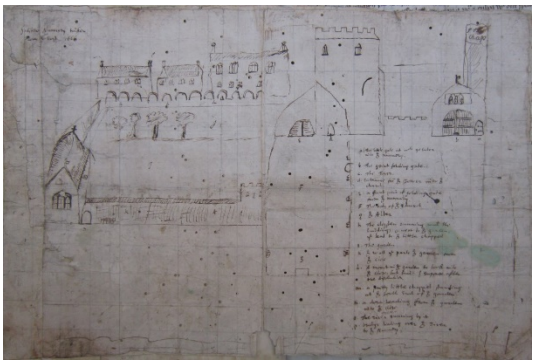
Ill. 4.340b: Queen's College
James Green, 1753, 21.5 x 17.5
Unidentified publication (Plate III)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

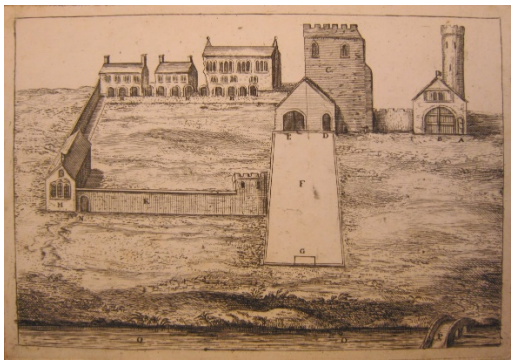
Ill. 4.341: Queen's College, old gate
George Bellas, ink on paper, 1753
© Queen's College



Ill. 4.342: 'The Ruin of Godstow Abby'
Unknown artist (for Mores?), *c.*1751–7, 18.5 x 22
Unknown publication



Ill. 4.343: Godstow Nunnery
Anthony Wood, 1666
Bodley MS. Rawlinson B.408



Ill. 4.344: Godstow Nunnery
Unknown after Wood, *c.*1720

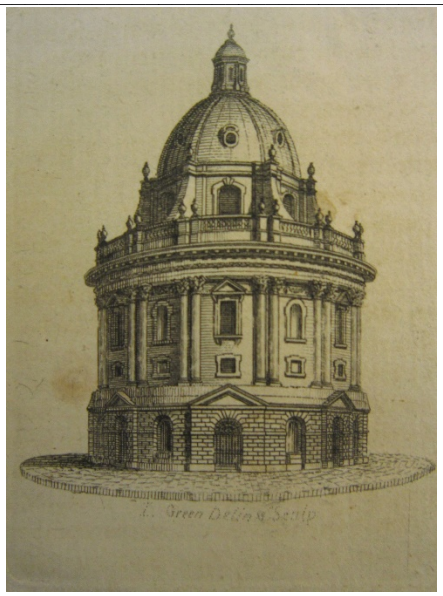
awlinson plate



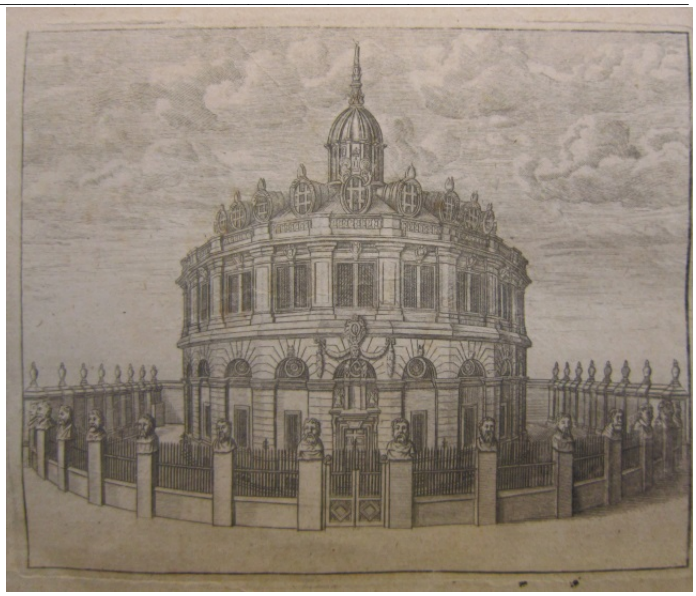
Ill. 4.345: Radcliffe Square
James Green, 1754
The truth of Christianity



Ill. 4.346: Radcliffe Square
James Green, 1750
Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis



Ill. 4.347: Radcliffe Library
James Green, *c.*1753
Unknown publication



Ill. 4.348: Sheldonian Theatre
Unknown, 1674
Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis



Ill. 4.349: Sheldonian Theatre
Robert White after Adrian Hennin, 1674
Historia et antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis



Ill. 4.350: Sheldonian Theatre and Old Ashmolean
James Green after James Wale, 1750
Nummorum antiquorum scriniis Bodleianis



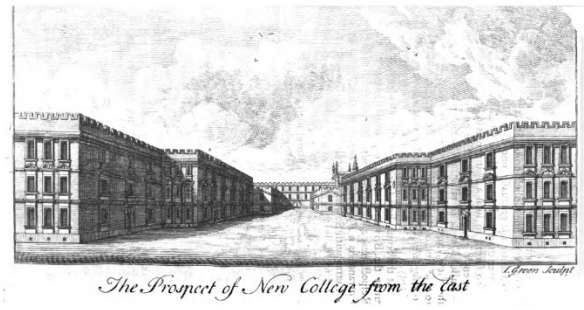
Ill. 4.351: All Souls, Dormitory Building
James Green, 1753
A pocket companion or guide through the University



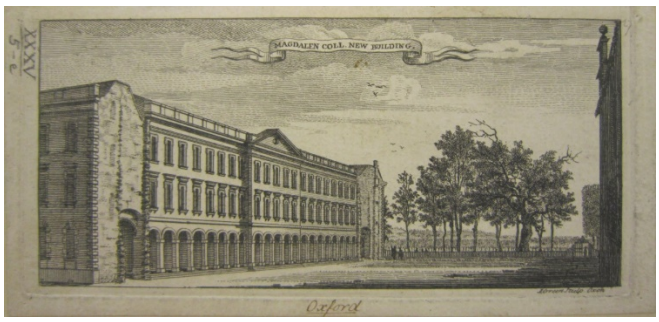
Ill. 4.352: Christchurch, Peckwater Quadrangle
James Green after Michael Burghers, 1753
A pocket companion or guide through the University



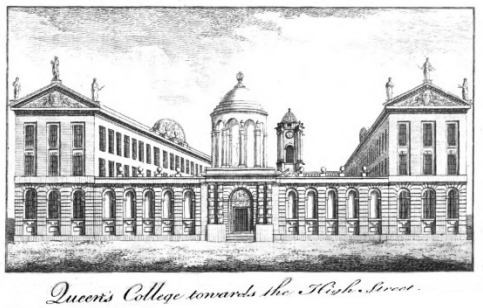
Ill. 4.353: Magdalen College, New Building
James Green, 1753
A pocket companion or guide through the University



Ill. 4.354: New College, garden quadrangle
James Green after Michael Burghers, 1753
A pocket companion or guide through the University



Ill. 4.355: Magdalen College, New Building
Unknown, 1759
A pocket companion or guide through the University



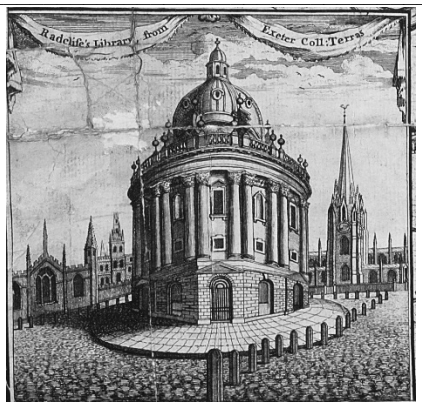
Ill. 4.356: Queen's College, south front
Unknown, 1759
A pocket companion or guide through the University



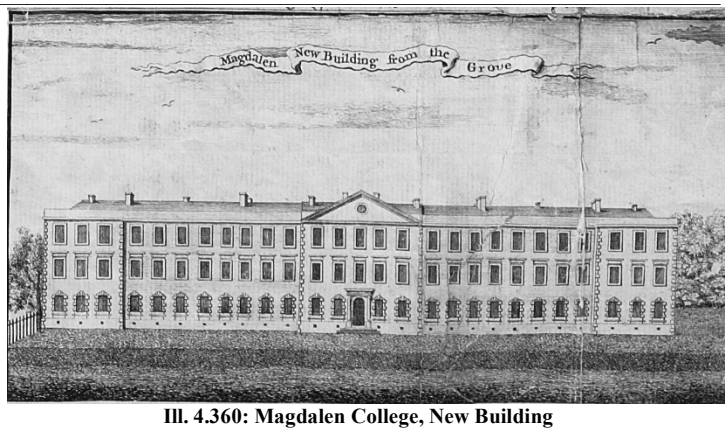
Ill. 4.357: Radcliffe Library
Unknown, 1759
A pocket companion or guide through the University



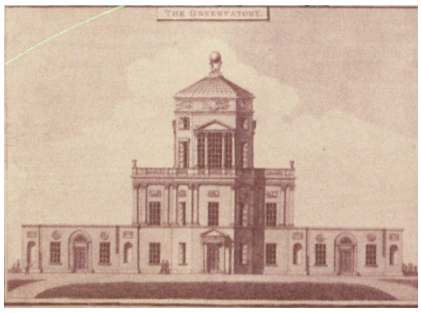
Ill. 4.358: Sheldonian Theatre
Unknown, 1759
A pocket companion or guide through the University



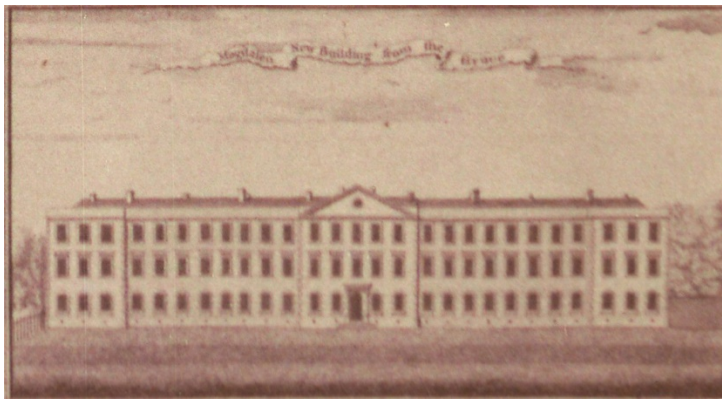
Ill. 4.359: Radcliffe Library
George Anderton, 1751
Map of Oxford (Isaac Taylor)



Ill. 4.360: Magdalen College, New Building
George Anderton, 1751
Map of Oxford (Isaac Taylor)



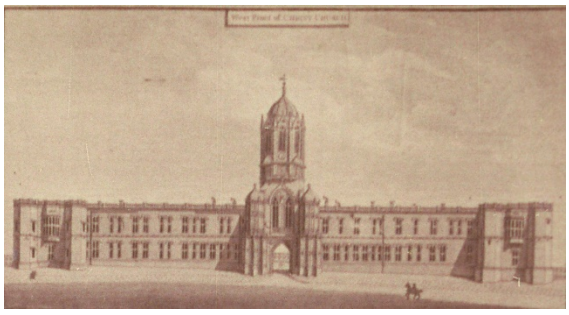
Ill. 4.361: The Observatory
Unknown, 1789
Map of Oxford (William Faden)



Ill. 4.362: Magdalen College, New Building
After George Anderton, 1789
Map of Oxford (William Faden)



Ill. 4.363: Christ Church, Peckwater Quadrangle
Unknown, 1789
Map of Oxford (William Faden)



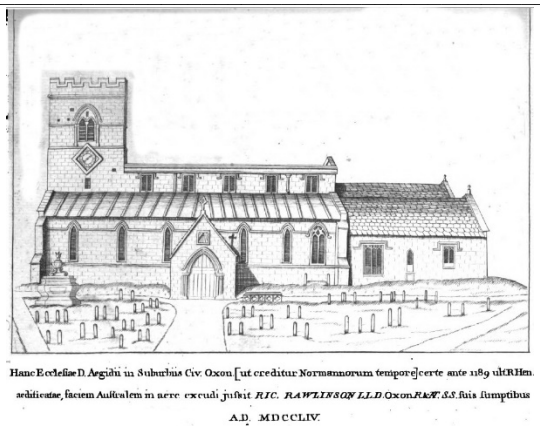
Ill. 4.364: Christ Church, north front
Unknown, 1789
Map of Oxford (William Faden)



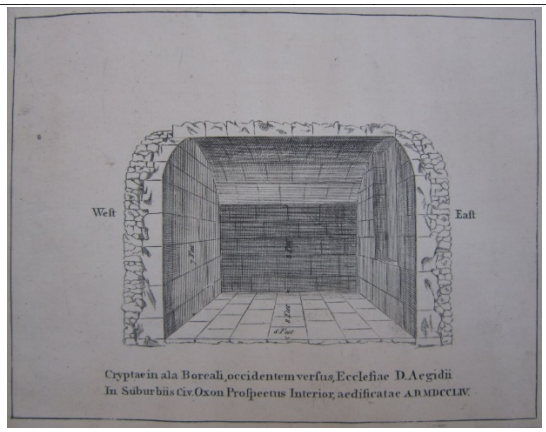
Ill. 4.365: Christ Church, view from garden
James Green, *c.*1757, 53 x 75
Individually issued plate



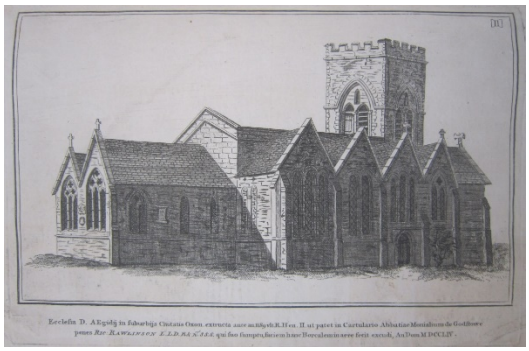
Ill. 4.366: Christ Church, view from garden
James Green, *c.*1757, 19 x 25
Unknown publication



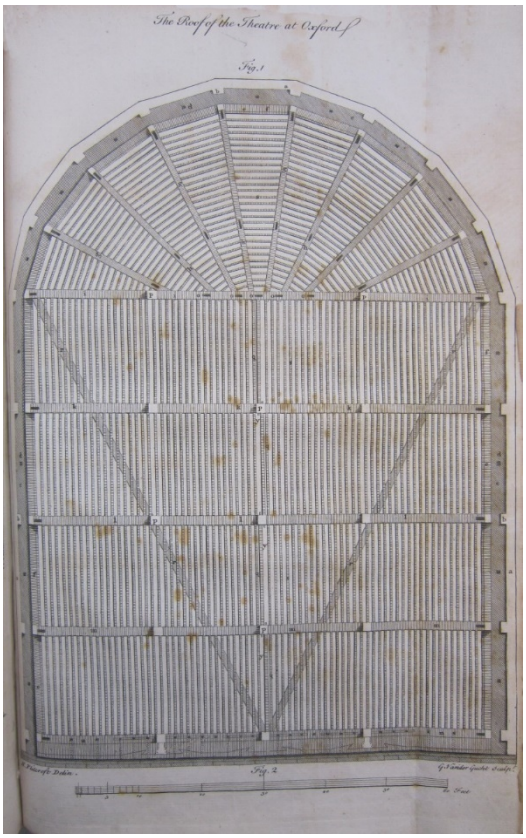
Ill. 4.367: St Giles Church
Unknown, 1754
Peshall's *City of Oxford* (1773)



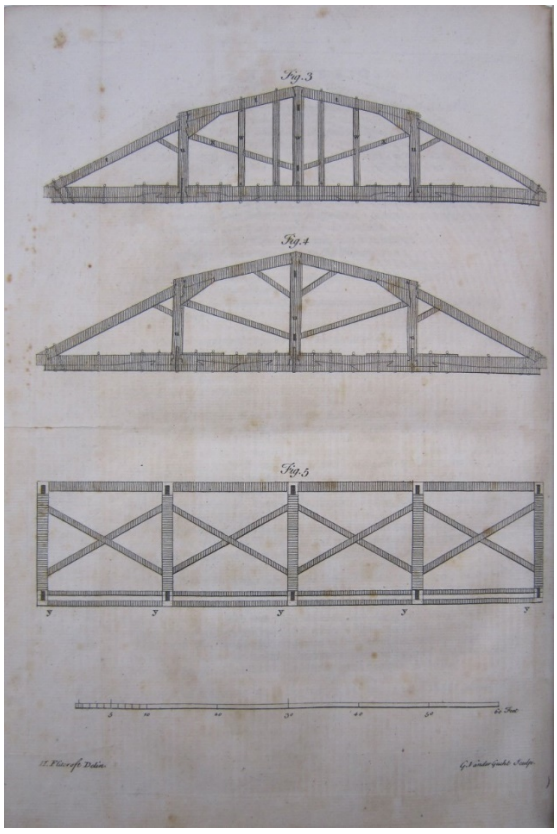
Ill. 4.368: Crypt of St Giles Church
Unknown, 1754, 17.5 x 22
Rawlinson plate



Ill. 4.369: St Giles Church
Unknown, 1754, 22 x 32.5
Rawlinson plate



Ill. 4.370 'The roof of the Theatre at Oxford …'
Gerard van der Gucht after Flitcroft, 1750
Parentalia



Ill. 4.371 'Rafters and windows of the Theatre at Oxford'
Gerard van der Gucht after Flitcroft, 1750
Parentalia



Ill. 4.372: Magdalen College
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



Ill. 4.373: Queen's and All Souls Colleges and St. Mary's
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



Ill. 4.374: St Mary's and All Saints Churches
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



Ill. 4.375: Radcliffe Camera, Brasenose and All Souls Colleges
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



Ill. 4.376: Clarendon Building, Sheldonian and Ashmolean
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



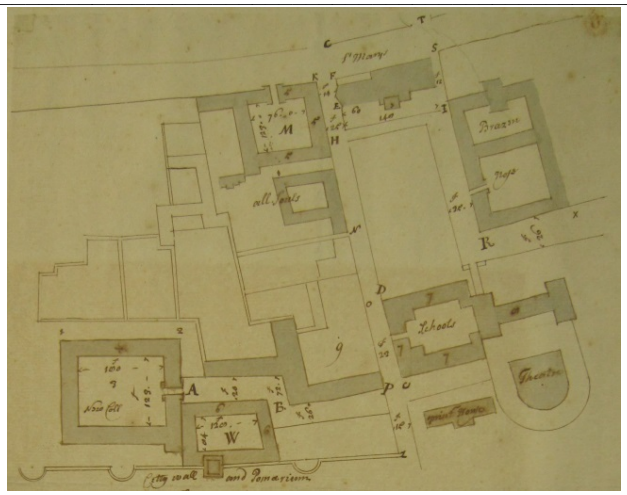
Ill. 4.377: Ashmolean, Sheldonian and Clarendon Building
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



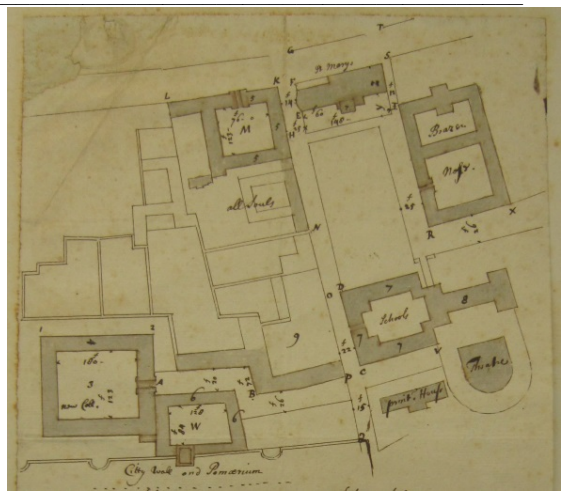
Ill. 4.378: Baliol and Trinity Colleges
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



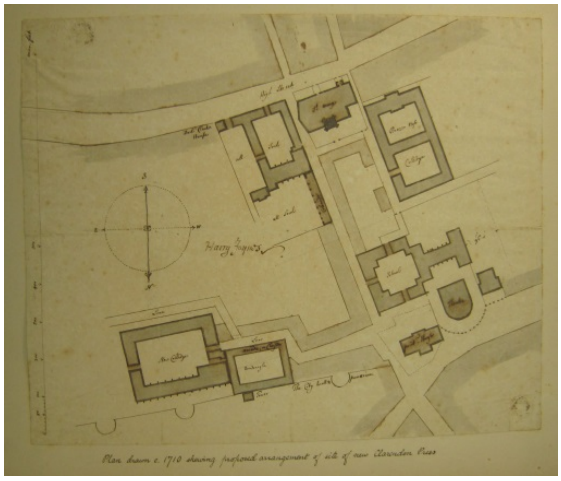
Ill. 4.379: The Conduit, the Butter Market and the Town Hall
John Donowell, 1755, 29.5 x 43
Perspective views of Oxford



Ill. 5.1: Forum area, version 1
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1710/12
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.44 (detail)



Ill. 5.2: Forum area, version 2
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1710/12
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.43 (detail)



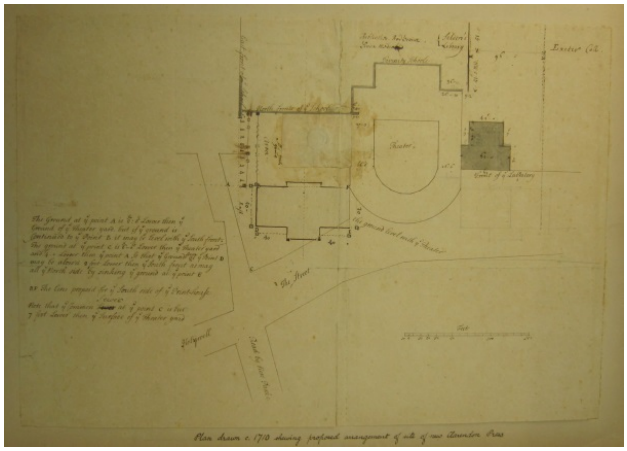
Ill. 5.3: Forum area, version 3
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1710/12
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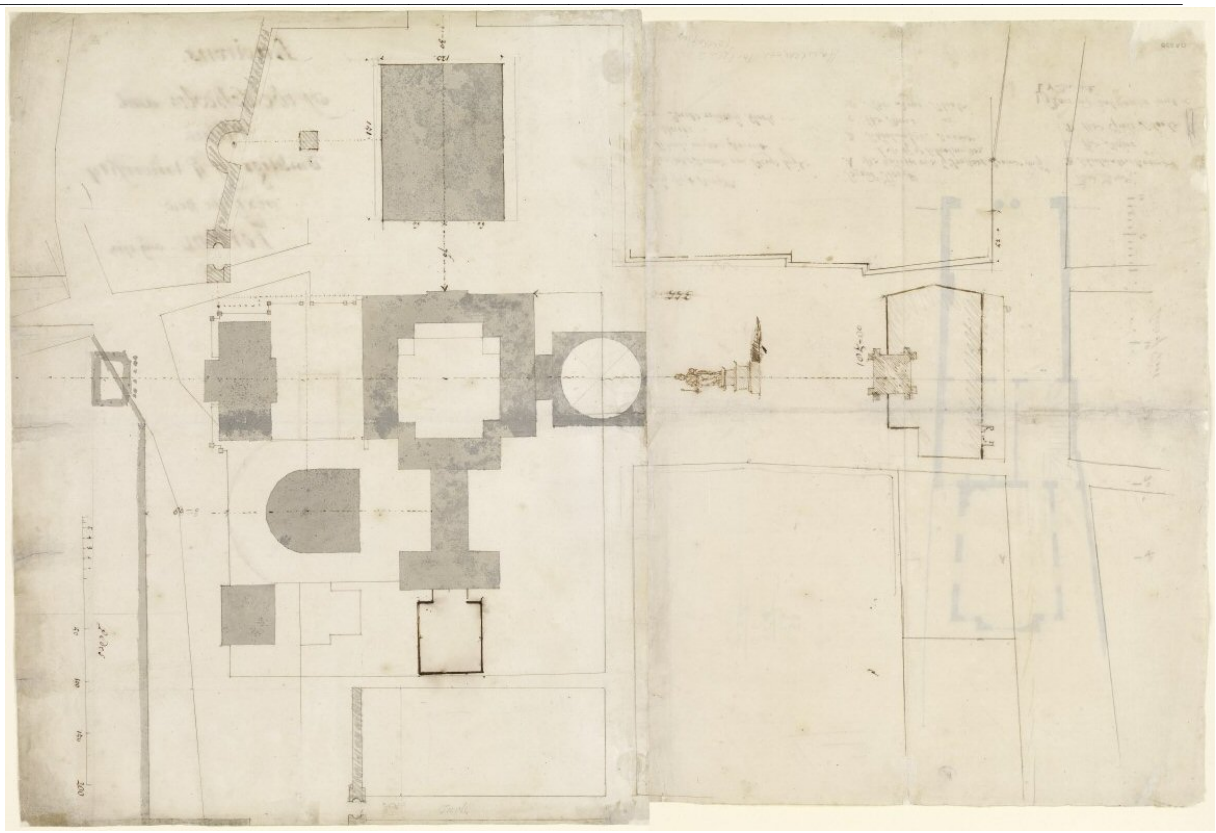
Ill. 5.4: Forum area, version 4
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1710/12
© Brasenose College, Clennell B15.1

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

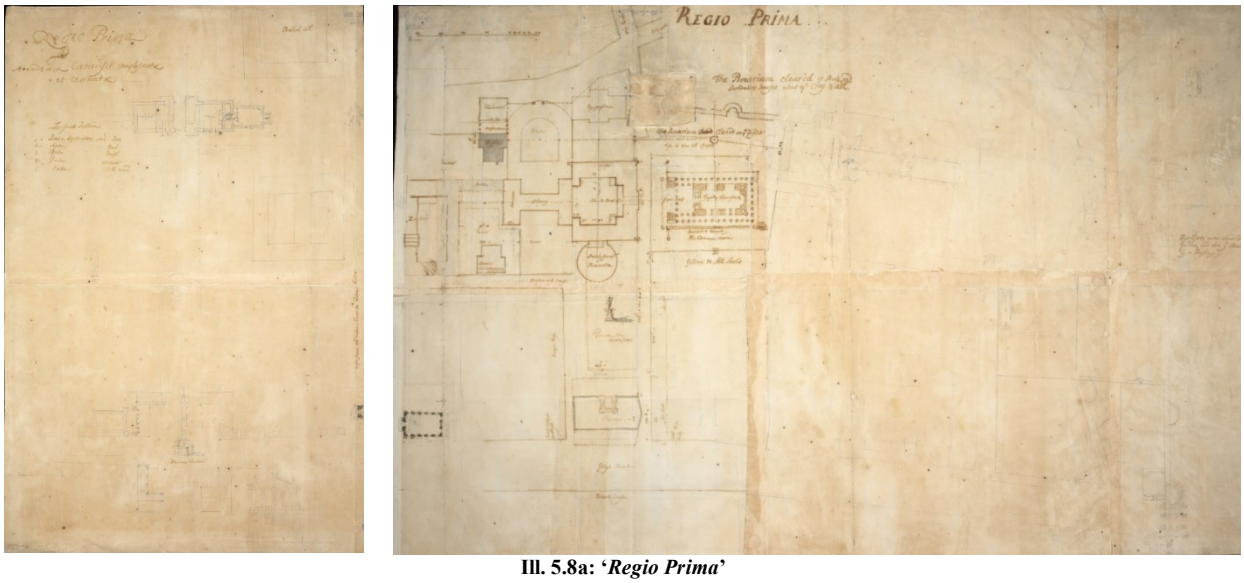
Ill. 5.5: Forum area, version 5
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1712/13
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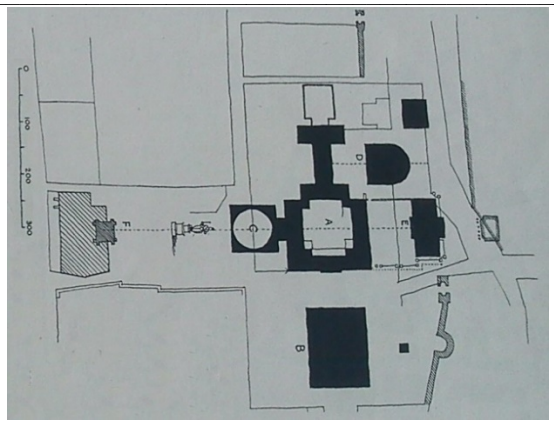
Ill. 5.6: Clarendon area
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1710/12
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.24, f.45



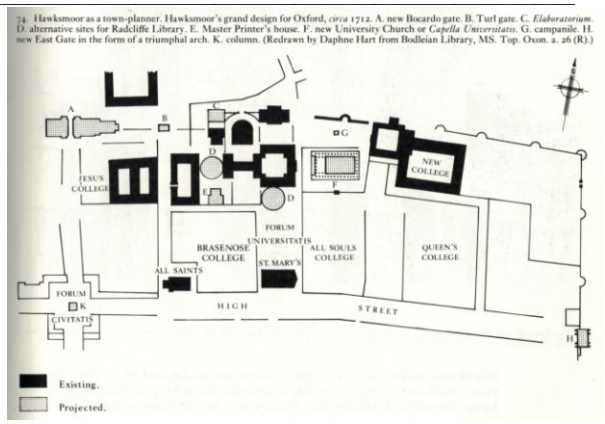
Ill. 5.7a: 'Environs of the Schools'
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, 1713
© Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925 299



Ill. 5.8a: '*Regio Prima*'
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1714
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.26 (R) (detail)



Ill. 5.7b: 'Environs of the Schools' (redrawn detail)
After Hawksmoor
Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925 299



74. Hawksmoor as a town-planner. Hawksmoor's grand design for Oxford, *circa* 1712. A. new Bocardo gate. B. Turl gate. C. *Elaboratorium*. D. alternative sites for Radcliffe Library. E. Master Printer's house. F. new University Church or *Capella Universitatis*. G. campanile. H. new East Gate in the form of a triumphal arch. K. column. (Redrawn by Daphne Hart from Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. a. 26 (R).)

Ill. 5.8b: '*Regio Prima*' (redrawn detail)
After Hawksmoor
Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.26 (R)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.9: Brasenose College, plan
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1720
© Worcester College, Colvin 65

Ill. 5.10: Brasenose College, plan
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, 1734
© Worcester College, Colvin 68

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.11: Brasenose College, plan
Nicholas Hawksmoor, 1734
© Worcester College, Colvin 67

Ill 5.12: Brasenose College and Forum, plan
Nicholas Hawksmoor, 1734
© Brasenose College, Clennell B.15

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.13: All Souls College, plan
George Clarke, ink on paper, *c*.1708/09
© Worcester College, Colvin 90

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

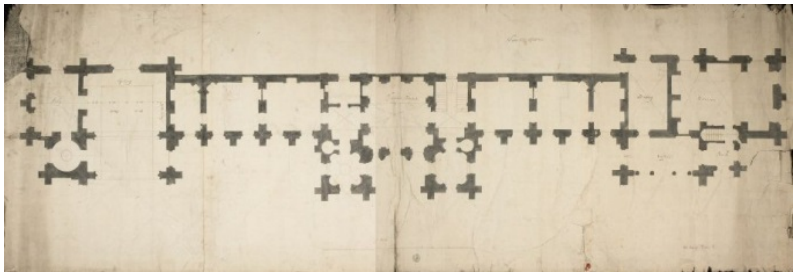
Ill. 5.14 All Souls College, plan (detail)
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1712/13
© Brasenose College, Clennell B15.1 (s)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.15: All Souls College, plan
Nicholas Hawksmoor, 1714
© Worcester College, Colvin 3

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

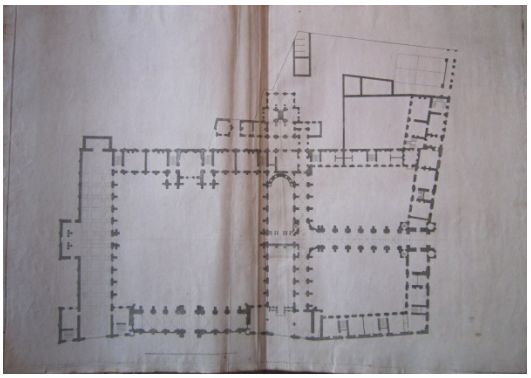
Ill. 5.16: All Souls College, plan
Nicholas Hawksmoor, 1715
© Worcester College, Colvin 70



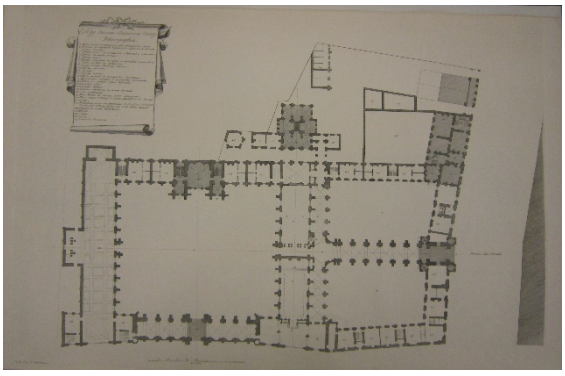
Ill. 5.17: All Souls College, plan of dormitory
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1715
© Bodley Gough Plans 8



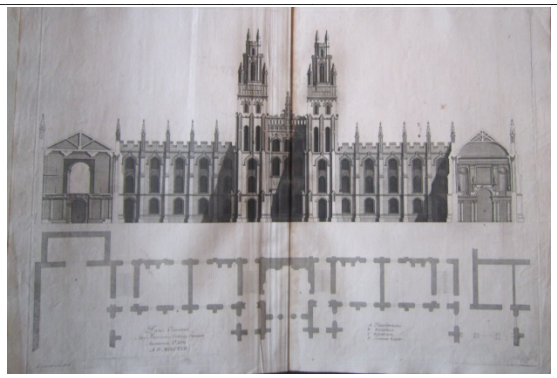
Ill. 5.18: All Souls College, west elevation
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1715
© Bodley Gough Plans 7



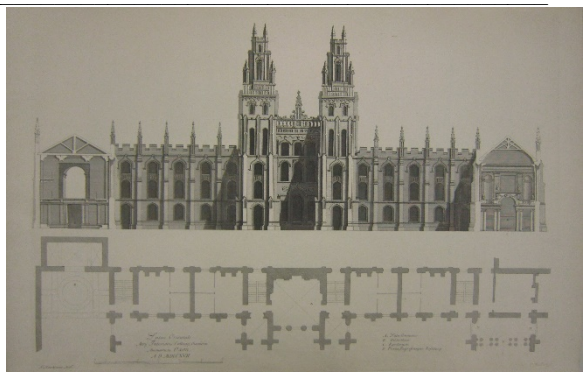
Ill. 5.19a: Plan of All Souls, state 1
Michael van der Gucht (*c*.1717) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 1), 51 x 56



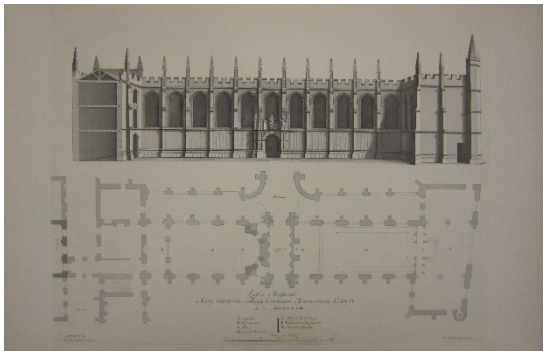
Ill. 5.19b: All Souls College, plan, state 2
Michael van der Gucht (*c*.1717) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 1), 51 x 56



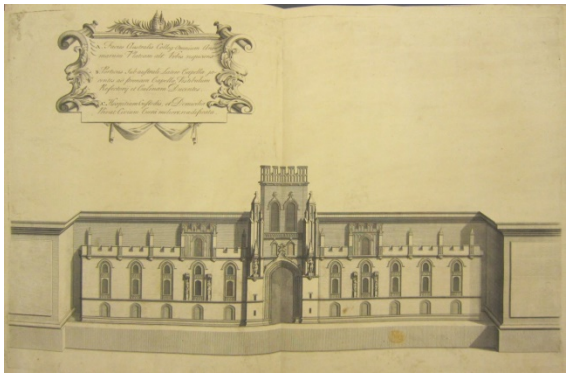
Ill. 5.20a: All Souls College, east side of quadrangle, state 1
Claude du Bosc (1717) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 2), 49.5 x 66



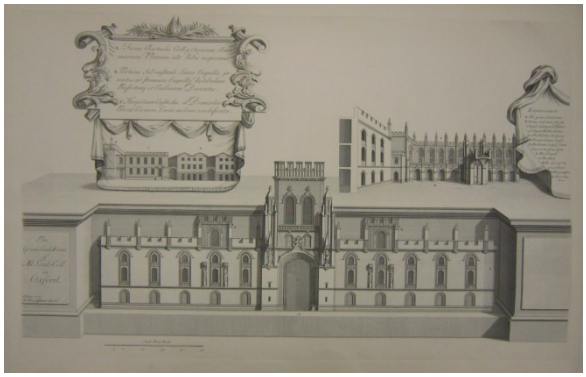
Ill. 5.20b: All Souls College, east side of quadrangle, state 2
Claude du Bosc (1717) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 2), 49.5 x 66



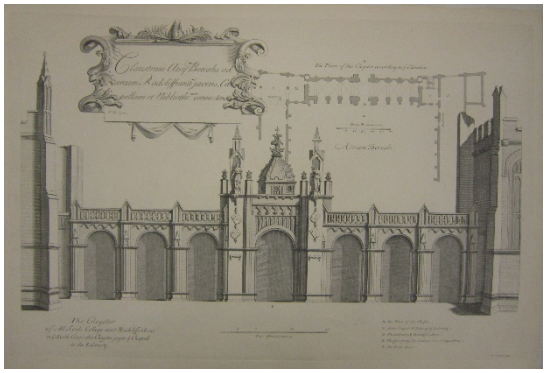
Ill. 5.21: All Souls College, south side of quadrangle
Henrik Hulsberg (1717) after N. Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 3), 47.5 x 59



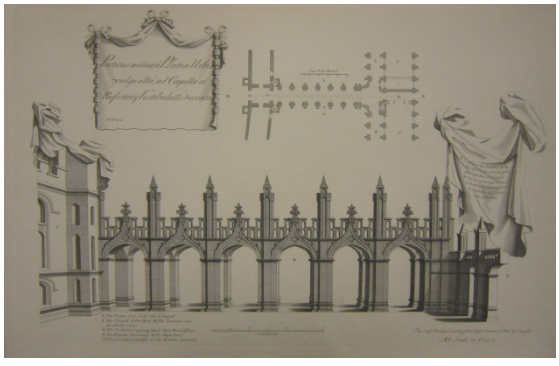
Ill. 5.22a: All Souls, south front of college, etc., state 1
John Cole? (1721) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 4), 46 x 69



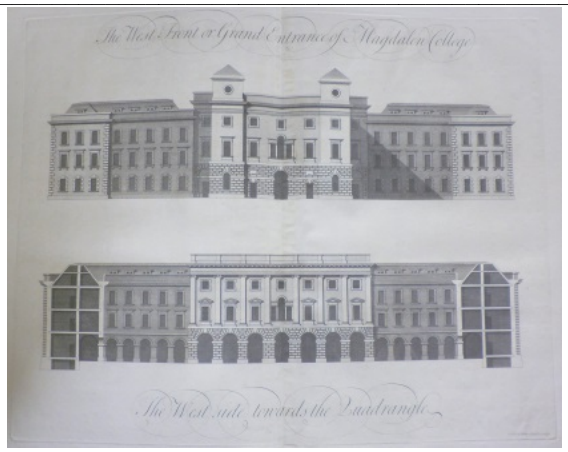
Ill. 5.22b: All Souls, south front of college, etc., state 2
John Cole? (1721) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 4), 46 x 69



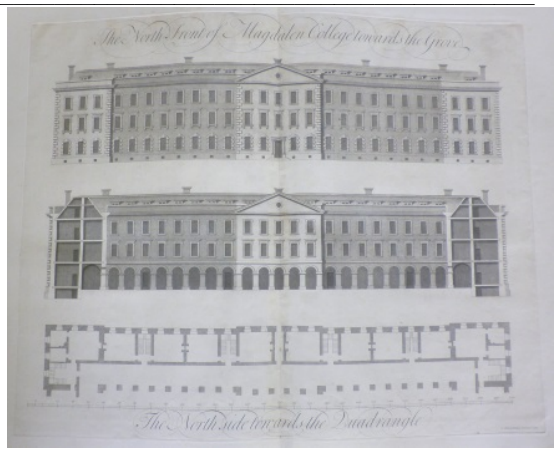
Ill. 5.23: All Souls, cloister on west side of quadrangle
Michael van der Gucht (1721) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 5), 47 x 68



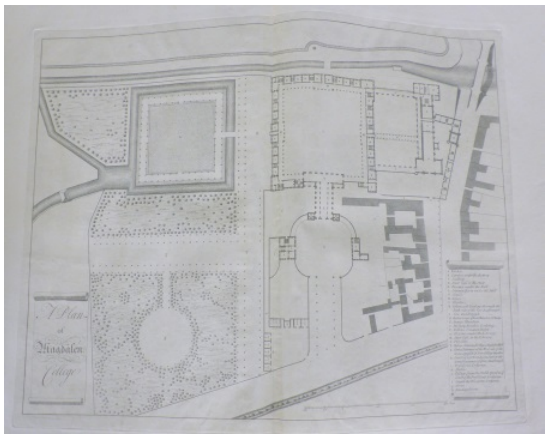
Ill. 5.24: All Souls, proposed 'cross-portico' from High Street
John Cole? (1721) after Hawksmoor
Individually issued plate (plate 6), 47 x 68



Ill. 5.25: Magdalen College, elevations
John Cole after Edward Holdsworth, 1731
Individually issued plate



Ill. 5.26: Magdalen College, elevations and plan
John Cole after Edward Holdsworth, 1731
Individually issued plate



Ill. 5.27: Magdalen College, plan
John Cole (?) after Edward Holdsworth, 1731
Individually issued plate

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.28 Trinity College, chapel
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1692
© All Souls College Library AS II.103

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.29: All Saints Church, elevations and half sections of steeples
After Hawksmoor (?), ink on paper, *c*.1700
© Guildhall Library GR 2.1.2, f.15

Ill. 5.30: All Saints Church, elevation and section
After Hawksmoor (?), ink on paper, *c*.1700
© Guildhall Library GR 2.1.2, f.16

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.31: All Saints Church, elevation of tower and steeple
After Hawksmoor (?), ink on paper, *c*.1700
© Guildhall Library GR 2.1.2, f.17

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.32: All Saints Church, elevations of two towers
After Hawksmoor (?), ink on paper, *c*.1700
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Ill. 5.33: All Saints Church, elevation and plan
Henry Aldrich (?), ink on paper, *c*.1702
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Ill. 5.34: All Saints Church, steeple
Nicholas Hawksmoor, ink on paper, *c*.1715
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Ill. 5.35: All Saints Church
John Sturt (*c.*1705) after Aldrich
Individually issued plate, 65.5 x 40



Ill. 5.36: All Saints Church
Michael Burghers (*c.*1710) after Aldrich
Individually issued plate, 27 x 15



Ill. 5.37: All Saints Church
Michael Burghers (*c.*1711) after Aldrich
Individually issued plate

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.38: Tom Tower, Christ Church, plan
Christopher Wren (?), ink on paper, *c.*1681
© All Souls College, Wren Collection AS40

Ill. 5.39: Tom Tower, Christ Church, plan
Christopher Wren (?), ink on paper, *c.*1681
© Christ Church, Portfolio X3, f.24

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.40: Balliol College, plan
Unknown, ink on paper, *c.*1695
© Balliol College

Ill. 5.41a: University College, plan for new quadrangle
Unknown, ink on paper, *c.*1634
© University College (redrawn, *Unbuilt Oxford*)

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Ill. 5.41b: University College, proposed new quadrangle
Unknown, pasteboard model, *c*.1634
© University College (photograph, *Unbuilt Oxford*)

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Ill. 5.42: Queen's College, design for High Street façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1708/9, 31.5 x 63.5
© Queen's College, QC2

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.43: Design for Chapel range south façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor (scheme IV), *c*.1708/9, 34.5 x 65
© Queen's College, QC11 (scheme IV)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.44: Queen's College, design for High Street façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1708/9, 44 x 64.5
© Queen's College, QC10 (scheme IV)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.45: Design for chapel range south façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1708/9, 40.5 x 64
© Queen's College, QC3 (scheme A)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.46: Design for west side of new (south) quadrangle
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1708/9, 52 x 138.5
© Queen's College, QC4 (scheme A)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.47: Design for west side of new quadrangle and library
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1708/9, 35.5 x 93
© Queen's College, QC12 (scheme IV)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.48: Queen's College, plan of proposed hall/chapel range
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1708/9, 41 x 63.9
© Queen's College, QC9 (scheme IV)

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Ill. 5.49: Queen's College, design for an oval chapel
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c*.1708/9, 49.5 x 38.5
© Queen's College, QC19

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Ill. 5.50: Queen's College, design for High Street façade Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 39 x 70
© Queen's College, QC20

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.51: Queen's College, design for High Street façade Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 38.5 x 70
© Queen's College, QC18

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.52: Plan of proposed rebuilding Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 63 x 39.5
© Queen's College, QC1 (scheme A)

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Ill. 5.53: Plan of proposed rebuilding Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 48 x 36
© Queen's College, QC5 (scheme I)

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Ill. 5.54: Plan of proposed rebuilding Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 47.5 x 36
© Queen's College, QC6 (scheme II)

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Ill. 5.55: Plan of proposed rebuilding Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 49 x 35
© Queen's College, QC7 (scheme III)

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Ill. 5.56: Plan of proposed rebuilding NH (scheme IV), *c.*1708/9, 49.5 x 35
© Queen's College, QC8 (scheme II)

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.57: Plan of proposed rebuilding NH (scheme IV?), *c.*1708/9
© Bodley MS. Top. Gen. a.4, f.61

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.58: Plan of proposed rebuilding NH (scheme V), *c.*1708/9, 50 x 35
© Queen's College, QC13 (scheme V)

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Ill. 5.59: Plan of proposed rebuilding Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 47 x 35
© Queen's College, QC14

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Ill. 5.60: Plan of proposed rebuilding NH, *c.*1708/9, 47.5 x 36.5
© Queen's College, QC15

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Ill. 5.61: Plan of proposed rebuilding Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 48.5 x 35
© Queen's College, QC16 (scheme VI)

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Ill. 5.62: Plan of proposed rebuilding Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708/9, 50 x 37.5
© Queen's College, QC17

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Ill. 5.63: Queen's College, design for High Street façade John Townesend, *c.*1709/10, 26.5 x 53
© Queen's College, QC21

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.64: Queen's College, design for west side of new quadrangle
John Townesend, *c.*1709/10, 25.5 x 47.5
© Queen's College, QC22

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.65: Queen's College, design for chapel range south façade
John Townesend, *c.*1709/10, 28 x 53
© Queen's College, QC23

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.66: Queen's College, design for new east range façade
John Townesend, *c.*1734/5, 25 x 46
© Queen's College, QC25

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.67: Proposed plan for new east range façade
John Townesend, *c.*1734/5, 29.5 x 44
© Queen's College, QC24

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.68: Queen's College, proposed plan for a house
John Townesend, early 18th C., 41 x 32.5
© Queen's College, QC26

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Ill. 5.69: Design for High Street façade
NH, *c.*1709, 49.5 x 35.5
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Ill. 5.70: Plan for new quadrangle
George Clarke, *c.*1708, 47 x 30.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 151

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.71: Plan for new quadrangle
George Clarke, *c.*1708, 47 x 29
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[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.72: Plan for new quadrangle
George Clarke, *c.*1708, 38 x 29
© Worcester College, Colvin 153

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Ill. 5.73: Plan for part of new quadrangle
George Clarke, *c.*1708, 40.5 x 30.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 154

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Ill. 5.74: Plan for part of new quadrangle
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 38 x 29
© Worcester College, Colvin 158

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.75: Plan for part of quadrangle
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 29 x 37
© Worcester College, Colvin 159

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Ill. 5.76a: Design for chapel screen
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 25.5 x 20.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 164

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Ill. 5.76b: Design for chapel screen
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 25.5 x 20.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 164

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.77: Design for High Street façade
George Clarke, *c.*1708, 30.5 x 16
© Worcester College, Colvin 157

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Ill. 5.78: Queen's College, design for chapel range south façade
George Clarke, 1708, 29 x 45.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 76

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.79: Queen's College, design for chapel range south façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1710, 30.5 x 52
© Worcester College, Colvin 124

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.80: Queen's College, design for chapel range south façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1710, 49.5 x 71
© Worcester College, Colvin 125

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.81: Queen's College, outline plan for new quadrangle
Nicholas Hawksmoor, *c.*1708, 47 x 30.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 150

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.82: Queen's College, design for chapel range south façade
George Clarke, *c.*1708, 12.5 x 26.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 155

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.83: Queen's College, design for chapel range south façade
George Clarke, *c.*1708, 15 x 25.5
© Worcester College, Colvin 156

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.84: Queen's College, sketch plan of Colvin 159
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 30.5 x 38
© Worcester College, Colvin 160

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Ill. 5.85: Queen's College, design for chapel screen
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 20.5 x 38
© Worcester College, Colvin 161

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

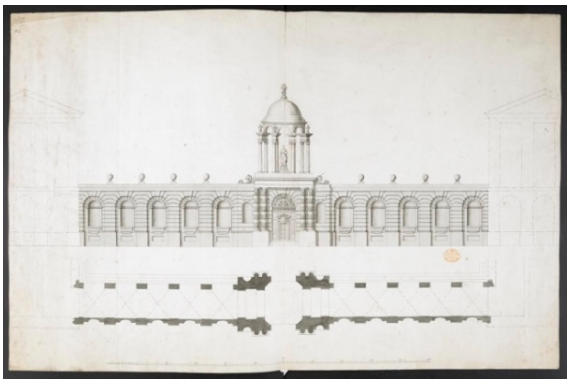
Ill. 5.86: Queen's College, design for chapel screen
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 25.5 x 38
© Worcester College, Colvin 162

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Ill. 5.87: Queen's College, design for chapel screen
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 25.5 x 38
© Worcester College, Colvin 163

[IMAGE OMITTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

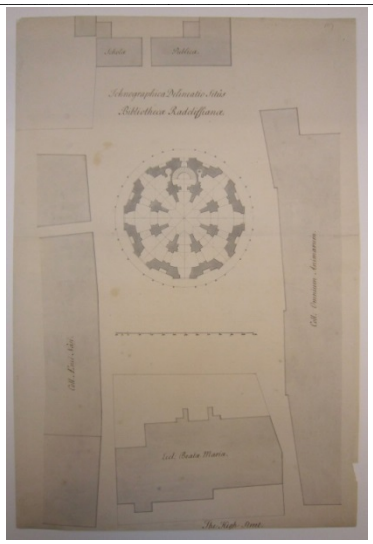
Ill. 5.88: Queen's College, design for chapel screen
George Clarke, *c.*1709, 30.5 x 44.5
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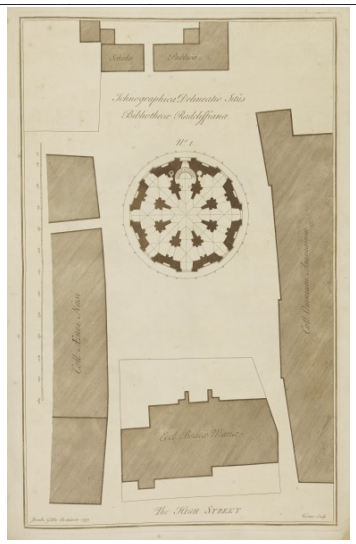
Ill. 5.89: Queen's College, design for High Street façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor (?), ink on paper, *c.*1733–5
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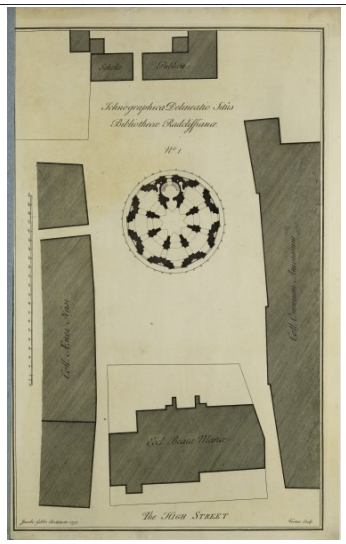
Ill. 5.90: Queen's College, design for High Street façade
Nicholas Hawksmoor (?), ink on paper, *c.*1733–5
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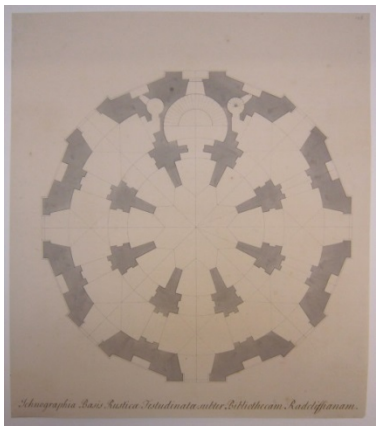
Ill. 5.91a: General plan, plate I
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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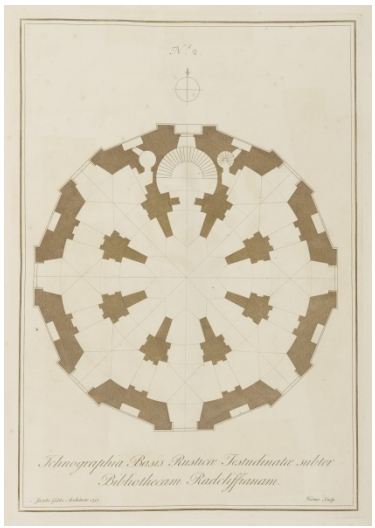
Ill. 5.91b: General plan, plate I
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1737
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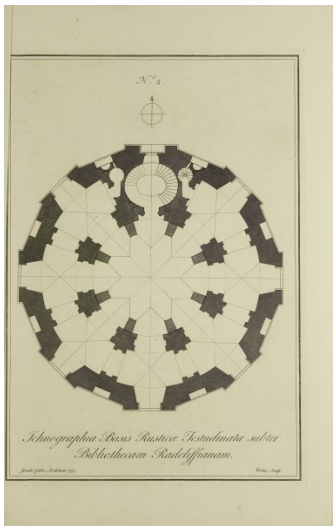
Ill. 5.91c: General plan, plate I
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1740
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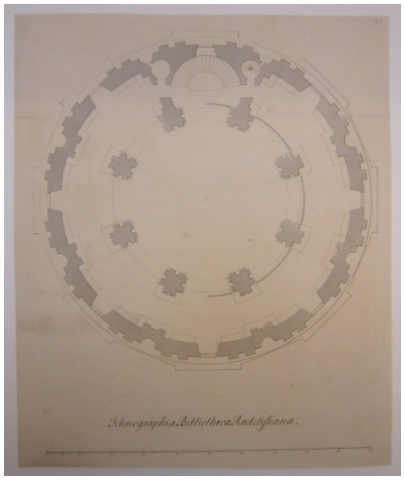
Ill. 5.92a: Plan of cloister, plate II
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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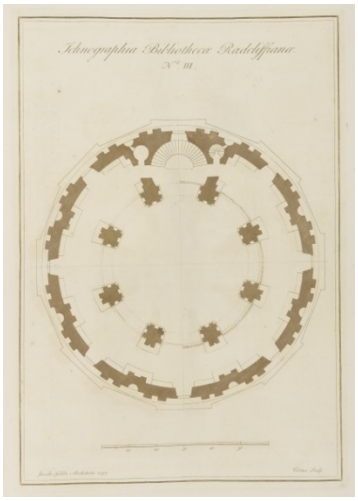
Ill. 5.92b: Plan of cloister, plate II
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1737
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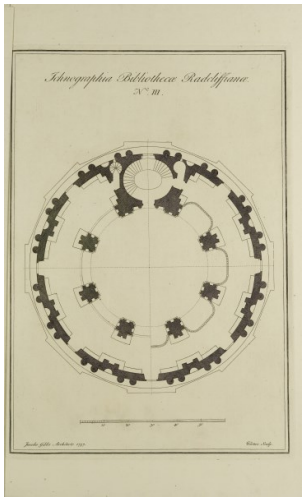
Ill. 5.92c: Plan of cloister, plate II
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1740
***Bibliotheca Radcliffiana*, 2nd edn.**



Ill. 5.93a: Ground plan (plate III)
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
© Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. a.48, f.109



Ill. 5.93b: Ground plan (plate III)
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliffiana*, 1st edn.**



Ill. 5.93c: Ground plan (plate III)
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1740
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Ill. 5.94a: Elevation, plate IV
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.94b: Elevation, plate IV
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1737
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Ill. 5.94c: Elevation, plate IV
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1740
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Ill. 5.95a: Section, plate V
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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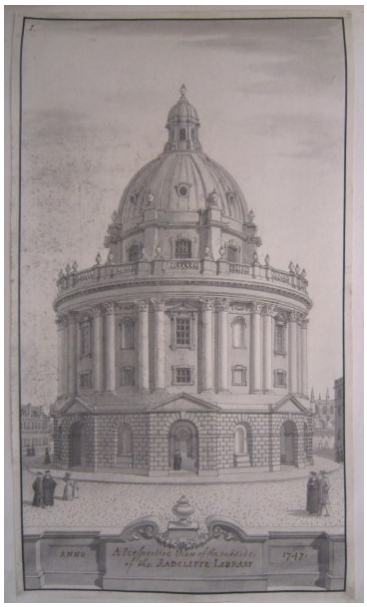
Ill. 5.95b: Section, plate V
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1737
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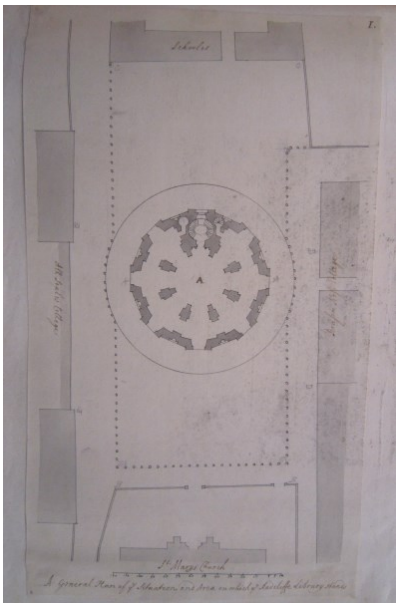
Ill. 5.95c: Section, plate V
George Vertue after Gibbs, 1740
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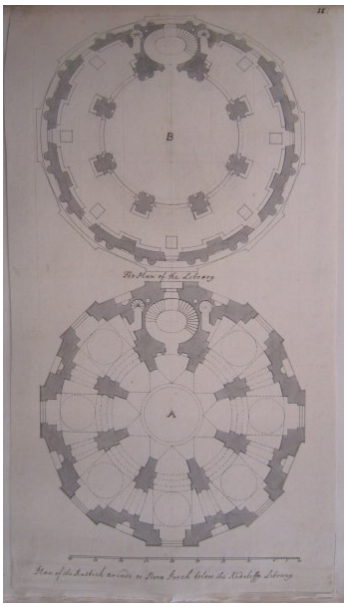
Ill. 5.96: Elevation and plan
James Gibbs, ink on paper, *c.*1737
© Bodley MS. Don. a.7, f.12



Ill. 5.97a: Perspective view, plate I
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
© Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925.340.206



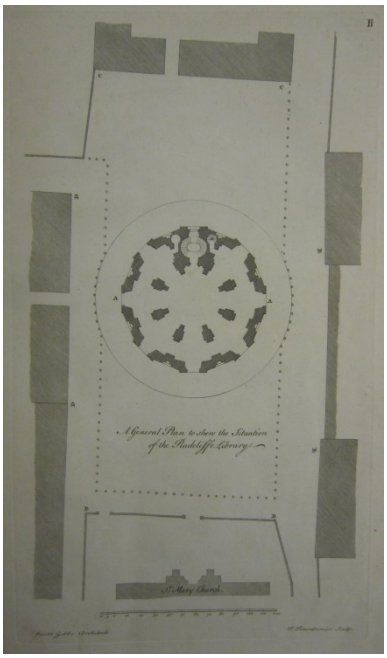
Ill. 5.98a: General plan, plate II
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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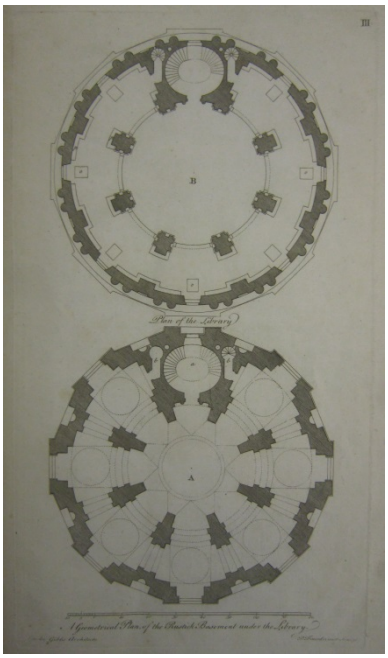
Ill. 5.99a: Two plans, plate III
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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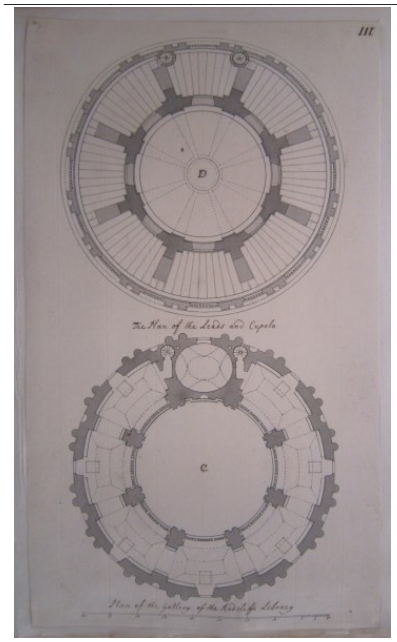
Ill. 5.97b: Perspective view, plate I
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 34.5 x 20**



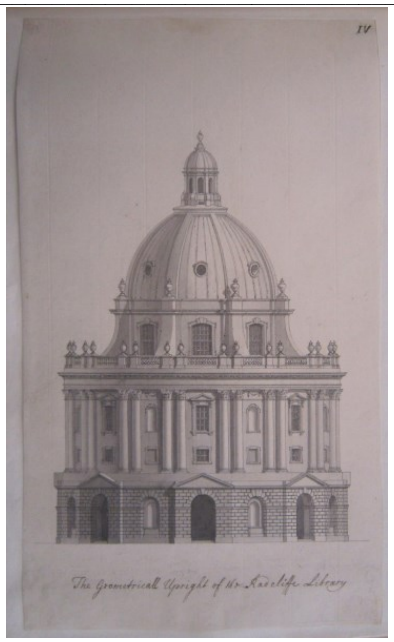
Ill. 5.98b: General plan, plate II
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 35 x 20**



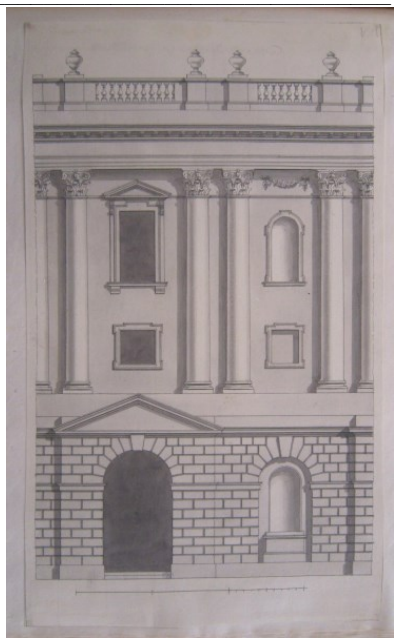
Ill. 5.99b: Two plans, plate III
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 36 x 20**



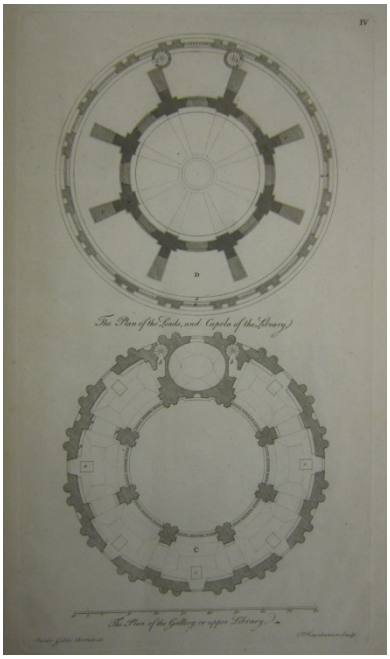
Ill. 5.100a: Two plans, plate IV
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
© Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925.340.209



Ill. 5.101a: Elevation, plate V
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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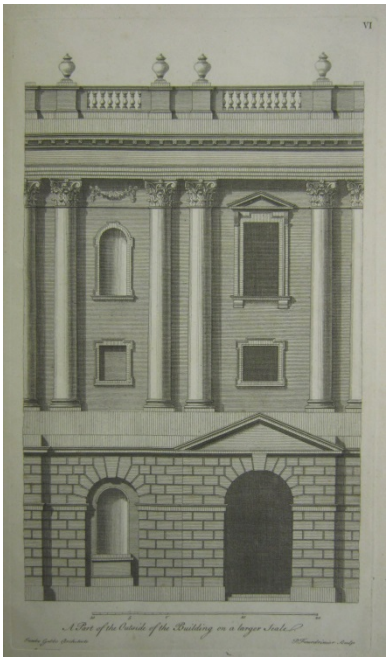
Ill. 5.102a: Columns, plate VI
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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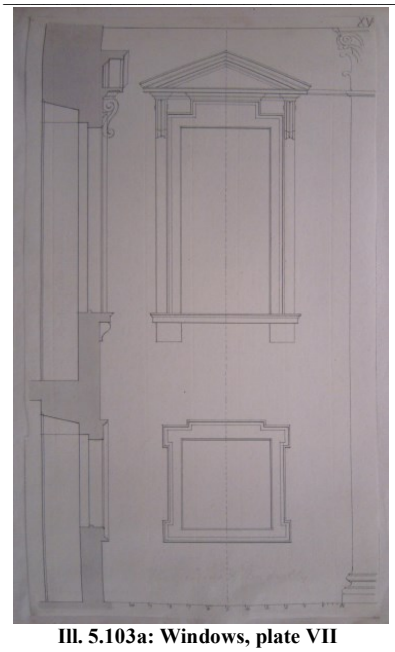
Ill. 5.100b: Two plans, plate IV
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 36 x 20**



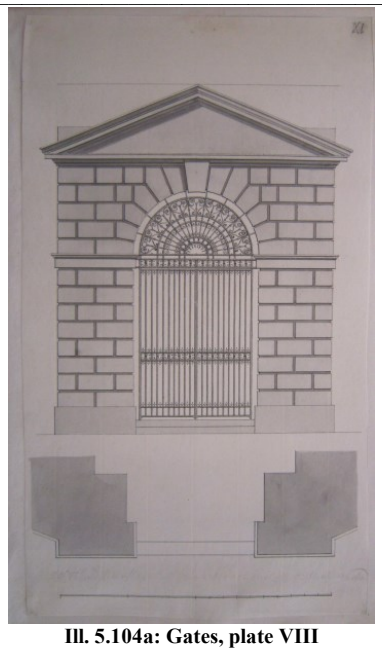
Ill. 5.101b: Elevation, plate V
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 35 x 20**



Ill. 5.102b: Columns, plate VI
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 35 x 20**



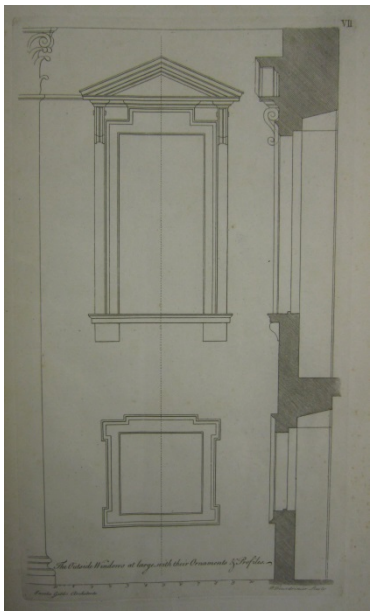
Ill. 5.103a: Windows, plate VII
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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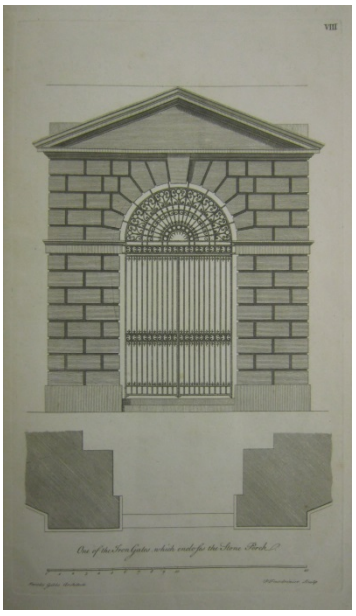
Ill. 5.104a: Gates, plate VIII
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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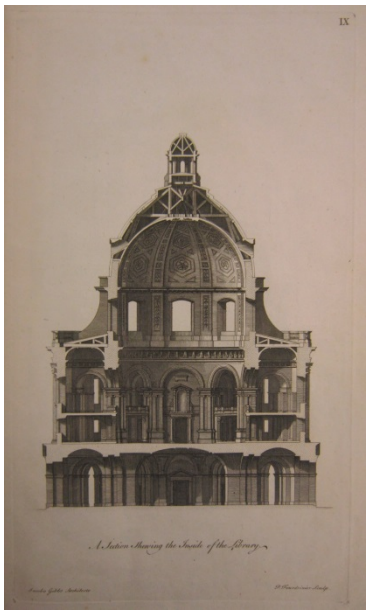
Ill. 5.105a: Section, plate IX
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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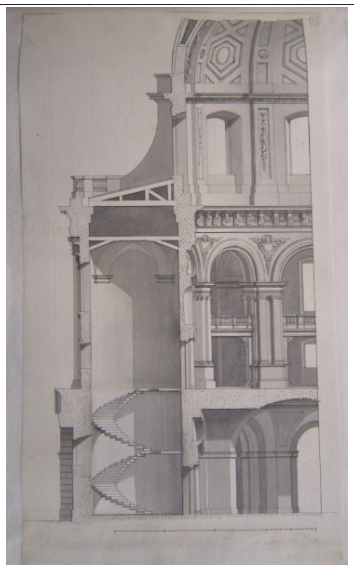
Ill. 5.103b: Windows, plate VII
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
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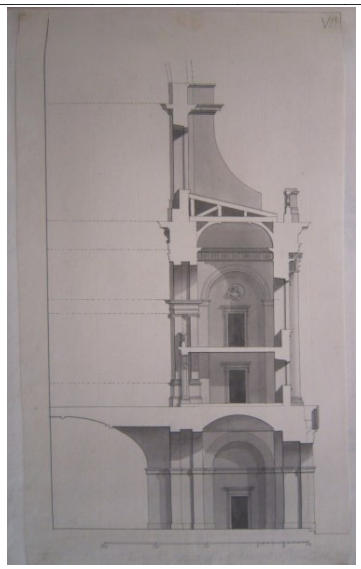
Ill. 5.104b: Gates, plate VIII
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 35 x 20**



Ill. 5.105b: Section, plate IX
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
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Ill. 5.106a: Staircase, plate X
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.107a: Bay, plate XI
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.108a: Niche, plate XII
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.106b: Staircase, plate X
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
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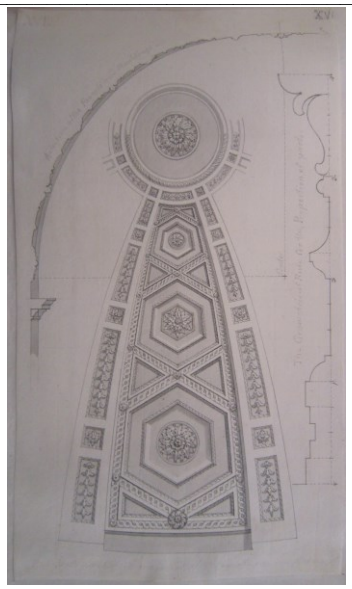
Ill. 5.107b: Bay, plate XI
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
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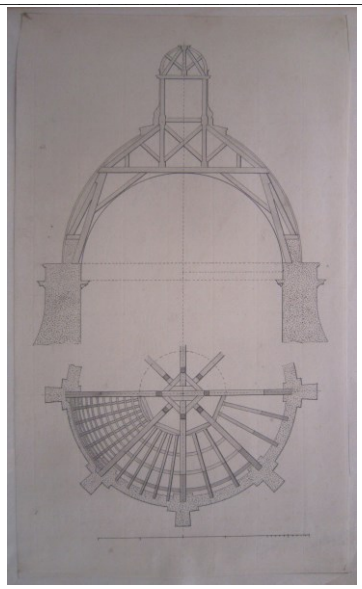
Ill. 5.108b: Niche, plate XII
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
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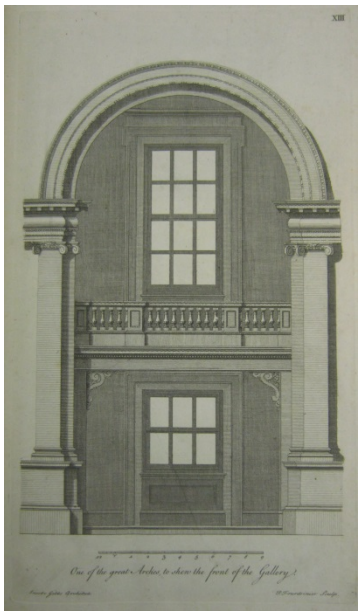
Ill. 5.109a: Arch, plate XIII
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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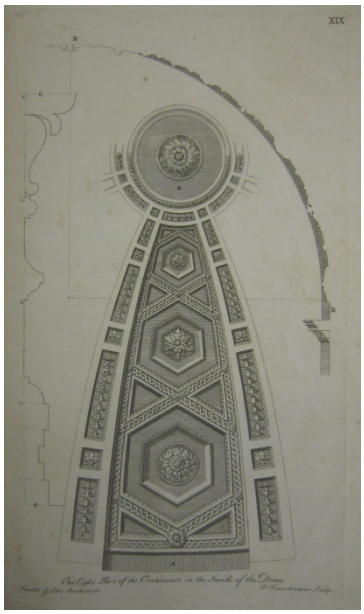
Ill. 5.110a: Dome ornaments, plate XIX
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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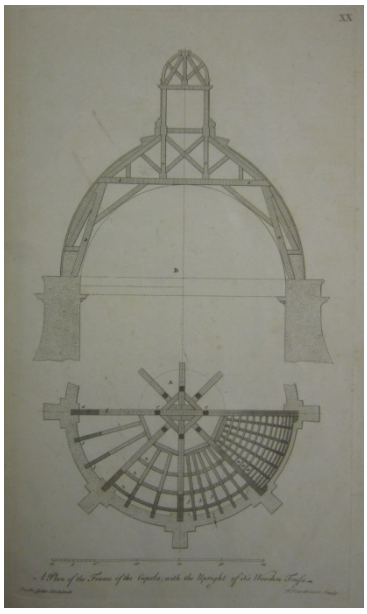
Ill. 5.111a: Cupola section, plate XX
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.109b: Arch, plate XIII
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
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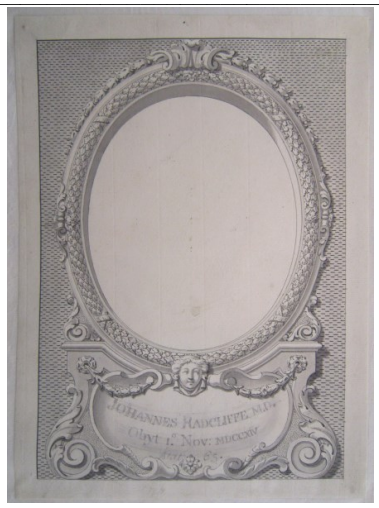
Ill. 5.110b: Dome ornaments, plate XIX
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 35 x 20**



Ill. 5.111b: Cupola section, plate XX
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 35 x 20**



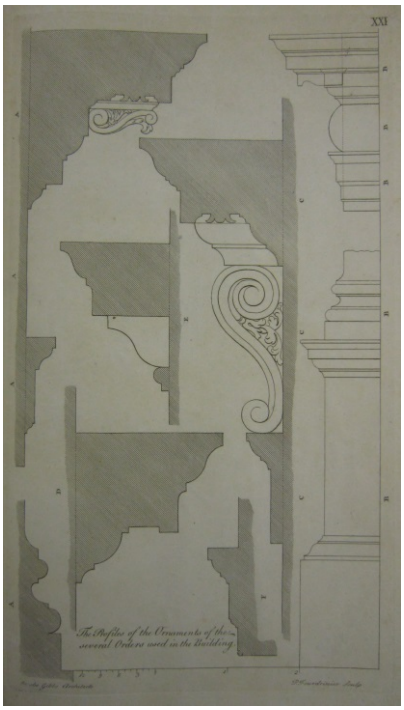
Ill. 5.112a: Ornaments, plate XXI
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.113a: Frame for 4.108b
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.114a: Frame for 4.109a
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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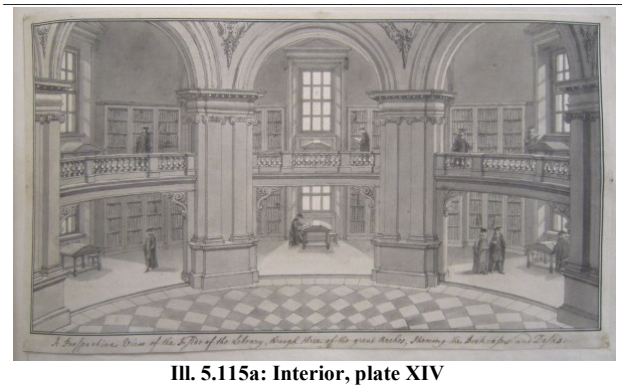
Ill. 5.112b: Ornaments, plate XXI
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 35 x 20**



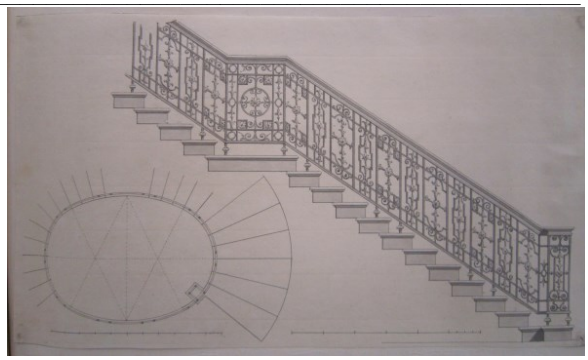
Ill. 5.113b: John Radcliffe
Paul Fourdrinier after Godfrey Kneller
Bibliotheca Radcliviana



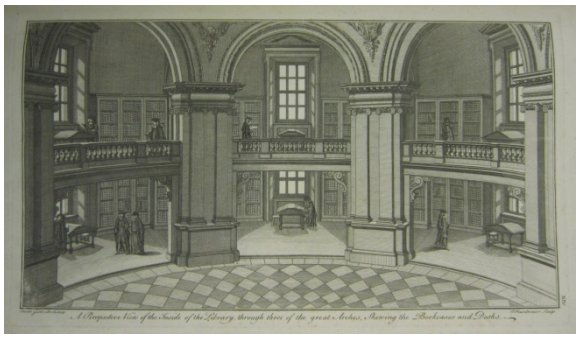
Ill. 5.114c: James Gibbs
Bernard Baron after William Hogarth
Bibliotheca Radcliviana



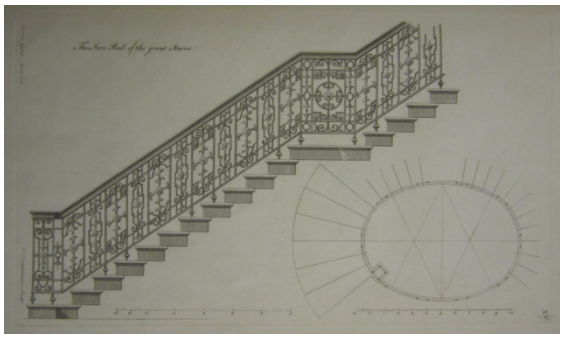
Ill. 5.115a: Interior, plate XIV
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
© Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925.340.219



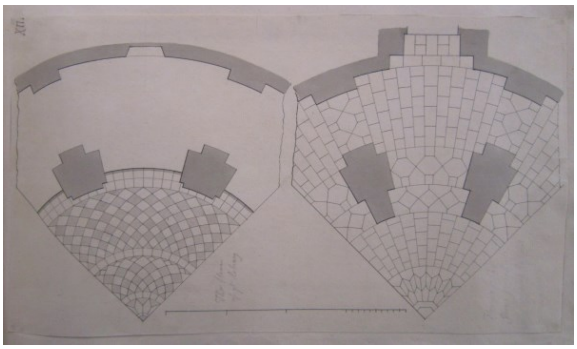
Ill. 5.116a: Staircase, plate XV
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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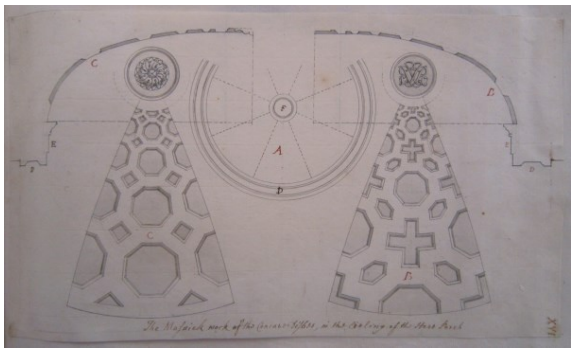
Ill. 5.115b: Interior, plate XIV
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 20 x 35**



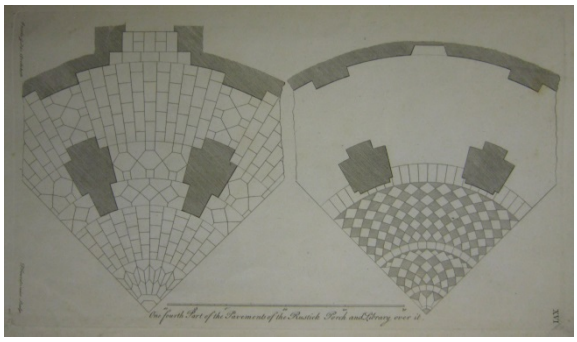
Ill. 5.116b: Staircase, plate XV
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 20 x 35**



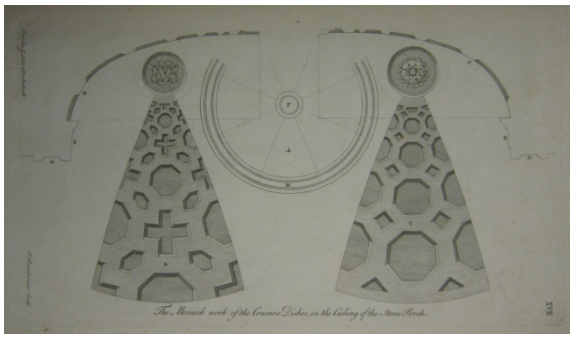
Ill. 5.117a: Pavement, plate XVI
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
© Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925.340.221



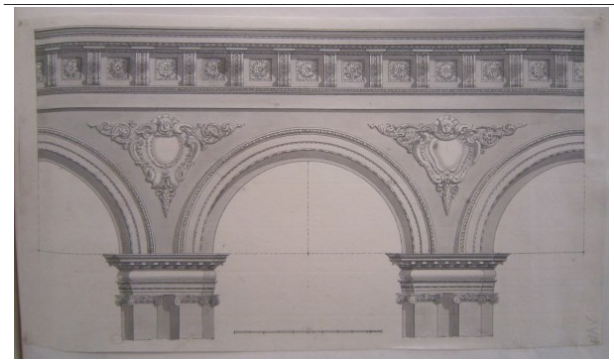
Ill. 5.118a: Ceiling, plate XVII
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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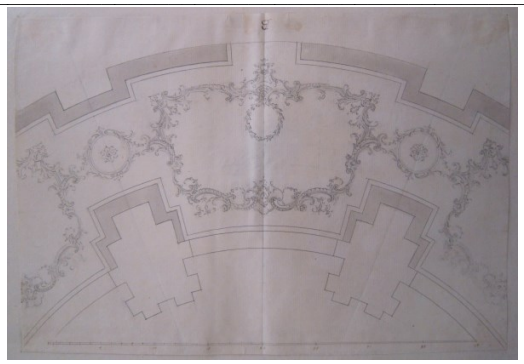
Ill. 5.117b: Pavement, plate XVI
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 20 x 35**



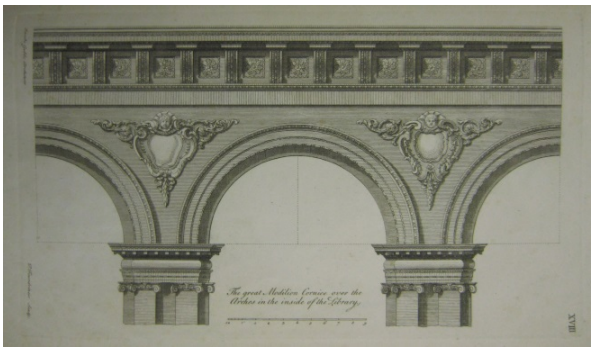
Ill. 5.118b: Ceiling, plate XVII
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 20 x 35**



Ill. 5.119a: Cornice, plate XVIII
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.120: Ornament, unused
James Gibbs, ink on paper, 1737
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Ill. 5.119b: Cornice, plate XVIII
Paul Fourdrinier after Gibbs, 1737
***Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, 20 x 35**

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Ill. 5.121: New College, proposed elevation 'XXII'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.122: New College, proposed floor plan 'XXIII'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.123: New College, proposed floor plan 'XVII'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.124: New College, proposed floor plan 'XIX'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.125: New College, proposed floor plan 'XV'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.126: New College, proposed elevation 'XXIV'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.127: New College, proposed elevation 'XX'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.128: New College, proposed floor plan 'XXI'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.129: New College, proposed elevation 'XIV'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.130: New College, proposed elevation 'XXVIII'
William Byrd, *c*.1678–82
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Ill. 5.131a: New College, proposed plan for garden quadrangle
Michael Burghers after William Byrd, *c.*1681
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Ill. 5.131b: New College, proposed plan for garden quadrangle
Michael Burghers after William Byrd, *c.*1681
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Ill. 5.132: New College, proposed plan and elevation
George Edwards after William Byrd, *c.*1682
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IMAGES OF OXFORD, 1191 – 1759

by

JOHN WALTER HAWKINS, MA (OXON), MBA, MSC, PHD
ST EDMUND HALL

Appendices to thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

University of Oxford, Faculty of History

Volume 3: supplementary material (unexamined)

Trinity Term 2018



Unidentified view
Pen, ink and wash drawing by Michael Burghers
Bodley MS. Auct. V.3.1., f.378 a244

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INTRODUCTION

Volume 3, comprising additional and ancillary material, does not form part of the formal academic submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of History Sciences at the University of Oxford.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Oxford chronology, early 8th C to 1750

Date	*Event*
Early 8th C	Foundation of St Frideswide's monastery? (Priory founded 1122)
Late 9th C	One of the defensive burghs
911	Control of town assumed by Edward the Elder
c.930	Six mints in Oxford (high)
1002	St Brice's Day massacre of Danes
1009	Sacked by Danish army (succumbed in 1013)
1015–65	Several important Councils at Oxford
1066	Oxford had expanded well beyond its original walls, and, with some thousand recorded houses and perhaps eleven churches, was one of the largest towns in England, exceeded in size only by London, York, Norwich, Lincoln and Winchester.
c.1070	Building of the castle
1086	Well established as County town; Grandpont constructed before end of 11th C. Oxford had suffered a severe set-back and 57% of the recorded houses were 'waste', more than in any other major town except Ipswich with 60%. Even in York, after the Danish sack of 1069, the Conqueror's harrying in 1069–70, and the destruction of a whole ward for the building of two castles, only 30% of the properties were 'waste' and 29% empty. Oxford's decline between 1066 and 1086 was considerable. The causes of the temporary decline are obscure.
c.1100	Site of an annual fair; Oxford begins to recover some of its prosperity; during remainder of century University becomes a loose association of masters and students
1129	Osney Priory obtains Abbey status
1133	Henry 1 stays at new Beaumont Palace; Godstow Nunnery founded
1138	Large part of town destroyed by fire
1142	Town captured and burnt by Stephen
1149	Osney Abbey acquires St George in the Castle
c.1155	First town charter granted by Henry II; **first seal impression survives from 1191**
1165–1207	Further Councils held at Oxford; Richard 1st (1157) and John (1167) born at Beaumont.
1190	Fire; St Frideswide priory destroyed
1199	Burgesses granted fee farm
Late 12th/early 13th C's	The town's rising prosperity is based largely on its trade in cloth and wool. In 1227 Oxford paid 300 marks in tallage, the same amount as York and more than any other town except London. In 1166/7 its tallage had been exceeded by London, Northampton, York, Lincoln, Winchester and Dunwich.
13th C	University emerges as a major factor in the town's economy. Trades included: bookbinders, parchment-makers, limners, copyists and scriveners.
1209	First major clash between town and gown; university disperses
1214	Settlement between town and gown; Ecclesiastical court established; position of Chancellor formalised?
1221–4	Dominicans and Franciscans attracted to Oxford by University
1228–51	Further problems between town and gown
1231	St John's Hospital re-founded by Henry III (originally late 11th C).
1236	Fire
1258	The parliament that approved and carried out the 'Provisions of Oxford' met at the Dominican friary in St. Ebbe's parish.
1264 (April)	The town was 'the military and administrative centre of England'
1265	Putative university at Northampton suppressed
1279	The town was fully surveyed in the Hundred Rolls. It was at the limits of its medieval expansion. There were probably some 1,400 properties of various kinds, no large open spaces and few vacant tenements. The university's own properties comprised only 6 schools and 7 houses in the eastern part of the town; most other schools, such as those owned by Osney abbey, lay in Schools Street or Catte Street, close to St. Mary's church, which was the centre of the university even before the congregation house was built in the early 14th century. 'Architecturally Oxford was still dominated by its walls, gates, castle, and churches.' Occupational surnames recorded included 16 leather-workers, 9 cloth-workers, 10 tailors, 6 building workers, 5 mercers and a spicer, and 3 taverners. 11 religious houses held over 100 properties in demesne and received rents from 420 others.

Early 1300s	Governed by Mayor; University population at a peak (*c.*1,500)
1312	Ecclesiastical corporations held over 62% of the rent-income of the town as assessed for tallage, and another 4% was held by the university and colleges. Probably no large town other than Canterbury was so completely taken over by ecclesiastical landlords
1318	Beaumont given to Carmelite friars
1327	Confirmation of town charter
1334	8th amongst English provincial towns on the basis of taxable wealth; some scholars remove to Stamford after north/south clashes
1348–9	Black death; Oxford probably lost a third of its population
1355	Great riot on St Scholastica's day; University's privileges confirmed thereafter
1361	Second outbreak of bubonic plague, but death rates not so high. Further outbreaks in 1370–1, 1406–7, most years between 1448 and 1463 and in 1478, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1489, 1493 and 1499.
1370	Several vacant houses demolished; endowed colleges increase their landholdings (continuing into 15th C)
1377	2,357 adults were assessed for poll tax and it ranked 14th in population, showing signs of recovery
1379	Foundation of New College; **misericord *c.*1390; Chaundler MS *c.*1463**
*c.*1400	University population *c.*1,200
1438	University population *c.*1,000 (decline may have contributed to economic pressures); foundation o All Souls College
1453–79	**Osney Abbey rental book**
1459	An agreement defined fairly closely the classes of allowable privileged persons (but extended thereafter)
*c.*1470	University 'greatly diminished and in decay'
Early 16th C	'He that hath Oxford seen, for beauty, grace / And healthiness nor saw a better place. / If God himself on earth abode would make / He Oxford sure would for his dwelling take' [Daniel Rogers, *c.*1538–1591] (also version on Agas map). Bodl. MS. Twyne xxiv, p. 295; there is a slightly different Latin version on Agas's map of 1578: Old Maps of Oxf. (O.H.S. xxxviii).
1517–18	Outbreak of sweating sickness
1523–4	It had fallen at least as low as 29th in taxable wealth. For the subsidy only 533 people were assessed, including privileged persons of the university but not scholars. If, as has been suggested, that number represents about two-thirds of the adult male population, which itself might amount to some 30% of the whole population, Oxford's population was only *c.*2,665. In towns of similar size but without a captive body of consumers, such as Leicester or Northampton, only *c.*40% of the taxpayers were engaged in the victualling, distributive, clothing, and building trades; in Oxford the proportion in those trades was about three-quarters, and there was a further fifth directly employed by the university.
1523–8	Wolsey's Charter, strengthening University privileges (disclaimed by University in 1543)
1536	Covered market built in Northgate Street
1542	Became a City on the creation of the See of Oxford (initially at Osney)
1543–4	Similar multipliers applied to the subsidy, after adjustments for the absence of wage earners, yield a population figure of not much more than 3,000
1545	Penniless Bench constructed (removed *c.*1750)
Mid 16th C	Removal of the houses of Black, Grey, White, and Austin friars, and the abbeys of Oseney and Rewley; advowsons of city parish churches transferred to colleges
1563	Publication of ***Foxe's Book of Martyrs***, showing executions in Broad Street of Bishops Latimer and Ridley (1555) and Archbishop Cranmer (1556)
1566	Visit of Elizabeth I (also 1592); **Bodley MS. 13a 'Queen Elizabeth's Book of Oxford'**
1571	Outbreak of plague
1574	Oxford's High Steward described the university as 'the ground and cause' of the town's wealth, 'if any there be'.
*c.*1576	Agas commissioned to produce survey of city
1577	Outbreak of gaol fever
1578/88	**Agas/Ryther map published**; shows large undeveloped areas within city
1592	City's boundaries clarified by the purchase of Northgate hundred (decision that Holywell belonged to the liberty in 1667); this may have been the cause of the survey noted by Agas
*c.*1598	All Souls College *Typus Collegii*
1603	Outbreak of plague; visit of James I (and in 1605)

1605	New Royal Charter granted to city; re-opening of the river Thames to Oxford in early 17th century, mainly for heavy goods (e.g. stone and coal); partly financed by Oxford tradesmen
Early 17th C	Removal of south and west gates
1613–19	Schools Building constructed
1617	Carfax Conduit constructed; **Ch Ch Castle map**
c.1620	**Henry Robinson monuments in Queen's College Chapel** and Carlisle Cathedral
1625–6	Outbreak of plague (Parliament had previously been adjourned there because of plague in London); Charles I at Ch Ch
1625–30	**Hegge treatise on sundials showing Corpus Christi College**
c.1630	**Henry Savile monument in Merton College Chapel**
1630s	Laud consolidates legal status of University Press
1630–40	**Robert King memorial window at Christ Church Cathedral**
c.1635–50	**Painting of Magdalen College**
1642–51	English Civil War; Charles I in Oxford (siege 1642–6); outbreak of typhus in 1643; fire in 1644; castle and fortifications slighted in 1649
c.1643	**Aubrey sketch of Oxford Castle keep; Hesketh drawing of Oseney Abbey** commissioned by Aubrey (engraved by Hollar in 1661 for *Monasticon*); **Hollar map of Oxford** (first version; second version *c*.1665)
1644	**Oxford Crown**
1655	**Rallinson drawing of Christ Church Cathedral** (engraved by King for *Monasticon*)
1660s	Fell further strengthens University Press
1662	On the basis of the hearth-tax assessments, it ranked eighth among English provincial towns, with Cambridge significantly close behind:
1664–8	Sheldonian Theatre (immediately appears on bookplates)
1665–75	Loggan works on plates for ***Oxoniensia Illustrata***
c.1668	**Wood sketch of University College**
1669	Anthony Wood commissioned by Fell to produce *Historia, et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (published 1674)
1674	Publication of first Oxford University Almanack
c.1678–80	**Sketch of University College library**
1678–83	Old Ashmolean Museum
c.1695	Celia Fiennes described Oxford as: 'y^e^ Theater stands the highest of all and much in y^e^ middle Encompass'd with y^e^ Severall Colledges and Churches and other Buildings whose towers and Spires appeares very Well at a Distance.'
1710–28	Several outbreaks of smallpox
1711–15	Clarendon Building
1728–33	Williams works on plates for ***Oxonia Depicta***
1737–49	Radcliffe Camera
1754–55	Donowell works on plates for ***Views of Oxford***

Appendix 2: Chronology of Hawksmoor's involvement with Oxford, 1708–1736

Date	*Event*	*Comment*
c.1708–9	Clarke considers rebuilding All Souls/Queen's	
c.1708–9	NH designs for rebuilding of Queen's	Never executed (except screen)
c.1708–9	NH commissioned to redesign All Souls	Codrington bequest made in 1710
c.1710–18	NH revised design for tower of All Saints	Only partially implemented
c.1710	NH commissioned to design printing house	Erected 1712–15
c.1711	NH design for remodelling University	
c.1711–12	NH commissioned to redesign Brasenose	
1712	NH first design for Radcliffe Library	At west of Selden's End
c.1712–13	NH first proposals for *Forum Universitatis*	BNC1; All Souls cross-portico; *Oxford Almanack*
c.1713–14	NH further development of *Forum* scheme	AM1, BL1
c.1713–14	NH revised proposals for Radcliffe Library	
1714	NH revised proposal for All Souls	Library above High Street entrance
c.1715	NH consulted re. Worcester by Clarke	Sir Thomas Cooke's bequest made in 1714
1715	NH revises All Souls proposal	
1716	NH produces detailed All Souls drawings	
1717–21	NH All Souls drawings engraved	Also *Oxford Almanack*
c.1720	NH revises Brasenose proposal	BNC4; *Oxford Almanack*; *Oxonia Depicta*
1724	Correspondence with Clarke re Magdalen	See Colvin p. 81; plans never pursued
c.1728	NH comments on Magdalen Holdsworth plan	
1733	NH advises on Queen's entrance gateway	
1734	NH further revises Brasenose scheme	BNC3
1735	Bulk of All Souls work completed	Library finally completed in 1751
1736	Death of NH	

Appendix 3: Chronology of Queen's College rebuilding, 1671–1765

Building	*Dates*	*Comment*
North Court:		
East range (Williamson Building)	1671–72	Original design by Christopher Wren
	?–bef.1721	Altered to fit with north and south ranges
West range (library)	1692–6	
North range	?–1707	
South range	?–bef.1721	
South Court:		
West range (Provosts' lodgings)	1709–16	
North range (hall and chapel)	1714–19	Fitting out of chapel completed later
South range (gate and cloister)	1730–5	
East range	1730–5	South end
	1757–65	North end

Appendix 4: *Oxonia Illustrata*, translation of dedications, etc.

To the most powerful monarch Charles II, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith.

The university of Oxford, having been delineated and engraved with the burin, under the most holy auspices of your majesty, to which it owes all its wealth and culture, desires to be exhibited to the world: so that the most remote races learn how great honour to the arts there is among your people of Britain, and how large a help it is to literature; and especially they should become acquainted with the way, by the command of a very powerful monarch, grants are made to muses to enjoy erudite leisure time and make perpetual triumphs. If only some of the most learned men in Athens were busying themselves with all kinds of science, very holy morals and indefatigable industry, who formerly were subject to a fatal destruction, I would have been able to insert unshaken faith towards the leader (very worthy for time and eternity) in these tablets. And those things demand not the style of an engraver, but the pen of a historian. It will have been sufficient for me, if I return not unworthy duties by this example of my art and study to your most celebrated university, which received me into its protection; and being about to commend the name of the most majestic leader to late posterity, I may be seen to offer a certainly by no means an unpleasant service.

The lowest, most humble, most faithful of subjects.

David Loggan.

To a noble spectator.

There has been produced a work that has been awaited for a long time and was first undertaken several years ago, and, with divine will providing inspiration, it was at length completed according to my strength: by what labour, by how great costs and by what kind of success, the judgement will be in the hands of fair appraisers of these matters.

A certain silent indignation provided an occasion for beginning this task, since I was appearing to make famous rustic cottages everywhere and low born country people by the chisel and tools of the highest artificers; Oxford, meanwhile, the most celebrated home of the muses, upon which the sun does not look upon anything more beautiful or blessed, passes by untouched; when not only does the university flourish in the best disciplines and is improved by the very well ordered government of youth, but also every single college exhibits also just as many academies with lectures and scholastic exercises, and every kind of instruction of languages and sciences. Moreover, all things, endowed to very large successes, and (which relates especially to my area) magnificent buildings, adorned from squared stone, show the pious and noble nature of the English race, by no means to be easily compared to others.

Therefore I have made myself ready for this work, so that, if by chance a sanctuary is not given to divine and human wisdom to illustrate this according to its worthiness (whose very consummate charm is not lacking in culture and knowledge in all numbers, nor does it easily admit the same), I might, nevertheless, at least adorn a little that ‘Sparta’, which I obtained to the benefit of the most illustrious university, and I, as the engraver of the same, might hear it beyond the formulas of the title.

Henceforth, in order that I do not appear, as far as this matter is concerned, to nourish eyes or to have let go an empty mind, I have subjected these small histories, for which the state and origin of the matters and places, which are described here, are explained in detail with such brevity as the method of the work demands. I send forth those who desire to learn more to the histories of the antiquities of Oxford.

For the rest, if anyone will have brought here a kindly disposition and a not envious eye, it is enough that he is not displeased that we have sculptured this or that he has looked at it; and a new stimulus will be added and continued for other things of this type, which still actively lie hidden and neglected in this very flourishing kingdom.

Appendix 5: *Oxonia Depicta*, transcripts of prospectus, advertisement and final subscribers' list and translation of dedication

(1) Prospectus, including initial subscriber list

OXONIA DEPICTA.

The University of Oxford *being of late Years very much improved by many additional Buildings, insomuch that Mr.* Loggan*'s Representation of it is very imperfect, the following* Proposals *are Humbly offer'd by*

WILL. WILLIAMS.
Jan. 6, 1727.

I. That an Accurate Survey of the whole University be taken by the Undertaker, *viz*. a Plan of all the Buildings, both publick and private, Streets, Lanes, *&c*. and also an Old Plan, publish'd in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Days (at which time several Streets and Lanes were call'd by other Names) shall be both Engraved, in order to shew the Improvements and Alterations done since.

II. That a South Prospect of the said University be taken, and engrav'd by a Masterly Hand.

III. That a Prospect of *All-Saints* Church, and all the Buildings down to *Queen's-College*, including *St. Mary's* Church, and *All-Souls-College*, &c.

IV. That a Prospect of the Theatre (in Front) Publick *Schools* and *Printing-House*, as Wings taken from *New-College* Lane.

V. That three sides of the Quadrangle of the Publick *Schools* be drawn in Perspective; with the whole Procession of a *Grand-Compounder*, from the Front Gate to the *Divinity-School*, in their proper Habits, several of the figures drawn from Life: All fix upon Imperial Paper, 25 Inches long, and 18 broad.

VI. That a Geometrical Plan of each *College*, *Hall*, Publick *Schools*, *Theatre*, *Printing-House*, and the best *Churches* be taken, also their several fronts in Perspective, and the Geometrical Elevation of the rest; the Quadrangles, three sides of each in perspective; with the Rear and sides of some Colleges; The whole will consist of Sixty large Copper-Plates, the least 19 Inches long and 15 broad, being much larger than those of Mr. *Loggan*'s.

VII. The New Designs of *Brazen-Nose*, *All-Souls*, *Queen*'s, and *Magdalen* Colleges, *&c*. shall be exhibited, each on Imperial Paper, also the Sections or Insides of some Churches and Chapels shall be taken in Perspective, at three Guineas a Set upon Royal Paper, and six Guineas Imperial; half to be paid down, and the rest at the Delivery of the Work in Sheets. Those who subscribe for 6 Sets to have a 7th *Gratis*. And for the Encouragement of those that subscribe at six Guineas a Set, they shall have Duplicates of the 12 larger Plates, being proper Furniture for *Halls*, *Stair-Cases*, *&c*.

On one of the Plates belonging to each *College* and *Hall*, will be engrav'd an historical Account of its Foundation, Benefactions, &c. to be collected by one of the Appointment of each Society.

To convince the World of the Undertaker's sincere Intention, in the Performance of what is above offer'd, he has enter'd into a Bond, (with two able Securities) to the *Vice-Chancellor*, which was executed in the presence of *Thomas Brown*, Esq; at his Chambers in the *Inner-Temple*, Feb. 18, 1724.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in, and printed Receipts, sign'd by the Undertaker, are given at Mr. *Smith*'s at the Sign of *Inego Jones's Head* in the Strand, Mr. *King* and Mr. *Bowles* near *Stock's-Market*, Mr. *Glass* at the *Royal Exchange*, Mrs. *Henekin* in St. *Martin's-Lane*, Print-Sellers: Mr. *Weldie* at the great Toy-Shop, St. *Paul's Church-Yard*. Mr. *John Stagg* Bookseller in *Westminster-Hall*, and at the *Parliament Coffee-House* in the *Court of Requests*, Mr. *Roberts* at the *Picture Room* in the said *Court of Requests*. Mr. *Strahan*, facing the *Royal Exchange*, Mr. *Creake*, over against St. *James*'s Church, *Jermyn-Street*, Booksellers. Mr. *Kirkall* in *Wine-Office Court*, *Fleet-Street*, Mr. *Cole*, at the Crown in *Kirby-Street*, *Hatton Garden*, Mr. J*ohnston* at the *Golden Eagle* on the lower End of the Pavement in St. *Martin's-Lane*, and Mr. *Clark* at *Gray's-Inn*, Engravers. Mr. *Methold* at the *Tennis Court Coffee-House*, *Whitehall*, Mr. *Brown*'s *Coffee-House*, near the Passage to the Park in *Spring Gardens*. Mr. *Cluer* in

Bow Church-Yard, and Mr. *Campbell* in *Westminster*, printers. And at the Undertaker's Lodgings in *Oxford*.

N.B. The Whole will be finish'd in five Months. And Specimens of the finish'd Plates are to be seen at all the Places abovemention'd.

Subscribers	Guineas	Subscribers	Guineas	Subscribers	Guineas
Earl of Arran, *Chan*.	6	J. L. *Bp. of St.* Asaph	3	H. Bigg *Ward. of* New-Coll.	3
J. Mather, *Vice-Chan*.	6	Francis *late L. Bp. of* Chester.	6	J. Conybeare *Sen. Proct.*	3
Duke of Beaufort	6	B. L. *Bp. of* Sarum.	3	W. Jones *late Princip. of* Jesus	3
Tho. Scawen, *Esq*;	6	Tho Brown, *Esq;*	3	*Mr.* Brown *of* Ch. *Ch.*	3
Sir John Aubrey, B*art*.	6	*Lord* Boyl	3	Fran. Keck, *Esq;*	3
Lord Craven	6	*Lord* Cornbury.	6	Eub. Thelwal, *Princip. of* Jesus	3
Earl of Plimouth	6	J. Meredith, *Esq;*	3	W. Sherrard, *L.L.D.*	3
Corp. Ch. *College Library*	6	*Mr.* J. Jones	3	*Dr.* Gibbons	3
Jesus *College Library*	6	*Mr.* Fr. Wise, *Fell. of* Trin.	3	*Sir* W. Wyndham	3
St. John's *College Library*	6	J. Wynne, *Fell. of* Jesus	3	*Ld. Bp. of* Winchester	3
Brazen-Nose *Coll. Libr.*	6	H. Lloyd, *Fell. of* Jesus	3	W. Bodvell, *Esq;*	3
All-Souls *Coll. Libr.*	6	Sir Joseph Wyles	3	*Earl of* Dalkeith	3
Merton *Coll. Libr.*	6	Geof. Shakerley, *Gen. Com.* Braz.	3	*Earl* Cholmundley	3
New *Coll. Libr.*	6	J. Robinson, *Esq;*	3	*Lord* Carteret	6
Balliol *Coll. Libr.*	6	*Sir* Griffith Williams, *Bart.*	3	_____ Brewston, *Esq'*	3
Trinity *Coll. Libr.*	6	David Roberts, *Esq;*	3	*Rev. Mr.* Chambres	3
Wadham *Coll. Libr.*	6	Wat. Williams Wynn, *Esq;*	6	*Rev. Mr.* Parfect	3
Exeter *Coll. Libr.*	6	*Earl of* Clarendon	6	*Mr.* N. Heath	3
University *Coll. Libr.*	6	*Rt. Hon.* George Doddington	6	W. Robinson Litton, *Esq;*	3
Christ Church *Coll. Libr.*	6	*Hon.* Albemarle Bertie	6	B. Jithel, *Esq;*	3
Earl Cowper	6	W. *Lord Bp. of* Durham	3	*Mr.* James Cole	3
Earl of Shaftsbury	6	*Lord* Brudnel	6	Thomas Hals, *Esq;*	3
Sir James Clavering, *Bart*.	6	*Mr.* Attwell	3	James Creed, *Esq*.	3
Earl of Oxford	6	*The Hon.* Dixie Windsor	3	*Mr.* John Harries	3
W. Delaune, *Pres. of St.* Joh.	3	*Sir* R. Grosvenor, *Bart.*	6	*Mr.* Peter Tilleman	12
W. Dobs. *Presid. of* Trin.	3	T. Price, *B.M.* Jesus *Coll*.	3	Thomas Puleston, *Esq;*	6
B. Gard. *late Ward.* of All-Souls	3	*Earl of* Litchfield	3	George Shakerley, *Esq;*	3
J. Morley *Rect. of* Lincoln	3	*Ld. Bp. of* Bristol	6	Robert Cholmundley, *Esq;*	3
J. Dobs. *Ward. of* Winchest.	3	*Ld.* St. John *of* Blestoe	3	John Morley, *Esq;*	3
E. Buttler *Presid. of* Magd.	3	*Dr.* Foulks, *Can. of* Ch. *Ch.*	3		
M. Panting *Mast. of* Pemb.	3	*Dr.* Tanner, *Can. of* Ch. *Ch.*	3	*J^mo Griffeth Esq'*	3
R. Thistlethwayt *W. of* Wad.	3	*Mr.* Gregory *of* Ch. *Ch.*	3	*Lord Gower*	3
R. Shippen *Princip. of* Braz.	3	*Mr.* Le-Hunt of Ch. *Ch.*	3	*Lord Willoughby*	3
J. Boucher *Pres. of* St. Alb. H.	3	*Mr.* Will. Davis of Ch. *Ch.*	3	*M^r. A. Fountain*	6
G. Clark, *Esq;*	3	*Mr.* Birch of Ch. *Ch.*	3	*D^r. Stratford*	3
J. L. *Bp. of* Oxford	3	*Earl of* Abingdon	6		

(2) Advertisement, *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 3 August 1728

OXONIA DEPICTA.

Being an accurate Survey of the University, on 64 large Copper Plates, containing Plans, Elevations, Prospectives, and sections of all the Colleges and Halls, &c. The publick Schools, Library, Printing-House, Theatre, and the Museum, are represented in one print, being 48 inches long, and 20 broad, and on the Fore Ground, a procession of a grand Compounder in 40 Figures, of all the academical habits. The Historical Accounts of all the several Colleges and Halls, &c. are drawn up by a member of the respective Societies. The whole will be ready to be deliver'd to the Subscribers in October next at furthest, at a Guinea a Sett, upon Elephant Paper, and at six Guineas upon Genoa, of Imperial Size, but those that subscribe to the large Paper shall have duplicates of 15 of the best Prints, being 24 inches long, and 18 broad. Those that are willing to subscribe are desired to send their Names and half their Subscriptions to Mr. J. Stagg, in Westminster-Hall, Mr. A. Johnson, Engraver, in St.

Martin's-Lane, London, or to W. Williams, the Undertaker, at the Two Faced Pump in Oxon, where Proposals are to be seen at large.

N.B. There will be a Plan copy'd from a Survey made in Queen Elizabeth's Days to shew the Alterations and Improvements done since.

(3) Final subscribers' list

Duke of Beaufort	A.	M.
Duke of Leeds	John Anstis, Esq^{r}. Garter King at Arms	John Mather S.T.P. Pre^{t}. of Corp. Christi Coll.
Dutchess Dow. of Marlborough	Jos. Attwell S.T.P. Rector of Exeter Coll.	John Morley S.T.P. late Rec^{r}. of Lincoln Coll.
Duke of Buckingham		John Morley Esq^{r}.
Duke of Hamilton	B.	John Moulding Esq^{r}.
Duke of Montague	John Boulter Esq^{r}.	Pett. Morris Dean of Bangor
Duke of Kent	John Basket Esq^{r}.	Con. Myddleton S.T.P.
	H. Bigg S.T.P. Warden of Winchester	John Myddleston Esq^{r}.
Earl of Berkshire	Hum Whirley Birch Esq^{r}.	
Earl of Clarendon	Tho^{s}. Bisse S.T.P.	N.
Earl of Shaftsbury	John Boucher L.L.D. Prin^{l}. of St. Alban's Hall	A. Newton S.T.P. Prin^{l}. of Hart Hall
Earl of Litchfield	Will^{m}. Badwel Esq^{r}.	Rich^{d}. Nash Esq^{r}.
Earl of Abingdon	Ralph Bridges S.T.P.	
Earl of Plymouth	Tho. Brown Esq^{r}.	O.
Earl of Cholmondley	Brewston Esq^{r}.	
Earl of Oxford	Edwd. Buttler L.L.D. Pri. Of Magdalen Coll.	P.
Earl Cowper	Will^{m}. Buttler Esq^{r}.	Mat. Panting S.T.P. Master of Pembrock Coll.
Earl of Wilmington	Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Brooks	Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Parfect
Earl of Arran		Henry Perrot Esq^{r}
Earl of Dalkieth	C.	Tho. Palmer Esq^{r}.
Earl of Thomond	C. Humberstone Colley Esq^{r}.	Tho. Price B.M.
Earl of Orrery	Will^{m}. Cartwright Esq^{r}.	Tho. Puleston Esq^{r}.
Earl of Burlington	George Carter S.T.P.	
Earl of Northampton	John Carruthers Esq^{r}.	Q.
	Rob^{t}. Cholmonley Esq^{r}.	
Lord Noel Somerset	Cha. Chambers A.M.	R.
Lord Viscount Gage	Geo. Clarke Esq^{r}.	R^{d}. M^{r}. Ratcliffe Fellow of Pembrock Coll.
Lord Cornbury	John Codrington Esq^{r}.	Edw^{d}. Richards Esq^{r}.
Lord Brudenel	James Creed Esq^{r}.	Will^{m}. Robinson Esq^{r}.
Lord Willoughby	Jo. Conybeare S.T.P. Dean of Ch. Ch.	David Roberts Esq^{r}.
Lord S^{t}. John of Blethoe	John Cotton Esq^{r}.	Tho. Romney Esq^{r}.
Lord Craven	M^{r}. James Cole	Will^{m}. Russell Esq^{r}.
Lord Carteret		
Lord Gower	D.	S.
Lord Mordaunt	Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Darrel	Tho. Scawen Esq^{r}.
Lord Rumney	John Davies S.T.P.	Robert Shippen S.T.P. Prin^{l}. of Braz. Nose Col.
James Lord Barry of Brazen Nose Coll.	Will^{m}. Davies A.M. and Student of Christ Ch.	Geo. Shakerly Esq^{r}
Lord Digby	Cha. Delesay Esq^{r}.	Will^{m}. Sherrard L.L.D.
	Will^{m}. Delaune S.T.P.	Geoffery Shakerly Esq^{r}.
Lord Arch. Bish^{p}. of Canterbury	Will^{m}. Dobson S.T.P.	Will^{m}. Stratford S.T.P. Can. of Ch. Ch.
Lord Bishop of London	John Dobson S.T.P.	Starkie Esq^{r}.
Lord Bishop of Durham	Rich^{d}. Dyer Esq^{r}.	John Symonds Esq^{r}.
Lord Bishop of Winchester	J.T. Desaguliers L.L.D. F.R.S.	
Lord Bishop of Worcester	E.	T.
Lord Bishop of Salisbury	Will^{m}. Egerton Esq^{r}.	Tho^{s}. Terry S.T.P.
Lord Bishop of Bath & Wells	F.	Cha. Talbot Esq^{r}.
Late Lord Bishop of Brystol	H. Felton S.T.P. Prin^{l}. of Edmund Hall	Eub. Thelwall S.T.P. late Prin^{l}. of Jesus Coll.
Late Lord Bishop of Chester	Peter Foulks S.T.P. Can. of Christ Church	Rob^{t}. Thystlethwayte S.T.P. War. Wad. Coll.
Lord Bishop of S^{t}. Asaph	Edw^{d}. Foulkes Esq^{r}.	Jam^{s}. Tuffnell Esq^{r}.
Lord Bishop of Oxford	Rob^{t}. Foulkes L.L.B. Stud. of Ch. Ch. Coll.	M^{r}. Townsend, Oxon.
Lord Bishop of Exeter	Fox Bar^{t}. of Holywell	Mr. Will^{m}. Hen^{y}. Toms

Hon^ble^. Albemarle Bertie
Hon^ble^. Dixey Windsor
Hon^ble^. Spencer Cowper
Hon^ble^. Edward Leigh
Hon^ble^. Benj. Bathurst
Hon^ble^. W^m^. Leveson Gower, of B. N. C.
Right Hon^ble^. W^m^. Bromley
Right Hon^ble^. Geo. Doddington
Hon^ble^. Judge Brice

S^r^. Rob^t^. Grosvenor Bar^t^.
S^r^. John Aubrey Bar^t^.
S^r^. Will^m^. Kyte Bar^t^.
S^r^. Will^m^. Morrice Bar^t^.
S^r^. Henry Keate Bar^t^.
S^r^. John Chester Bar^t^.
S^r^. John Smith Bar^t^.
S^r^. James Clavering Bar^t^.
S^r^. Griffith Williams Bar^t^.
S^r^. Will^m^. Wyndham Bar^t^.
S^r^. Will^m^. Templeton Bar^t^.
S^r^. Halswell Tyrite Bar^t^.
S^r^. John Morgan Bar^t^.
S^r^. George Wynne Bar^t^.
S^r^. John Eyles Bar^t^.
S^r^. Sir Joseph Eyles Kn^t^.
S^r^. Will^m^. Morgan Knight of the Bath
S^r^. George Beaumont Bar^t^.
S^r^. John Bridgman Bar^t^.
S^r^. John Dolben Bar^t^.

OTHERS.

Eaton College Library
Windsor Chapter
Worcester Chap.
Hereford Chap.
Glocester Chap.
Bath and Wells Chap.
Chester Chap.

G.

B. Gardner L.L.D.
J. Gibbons M.D.
J. Gibson S.T.P.
Hon^le^. Godolphin S.T.P Prov. of Eaton
Sidney Godolphin Esq^r^.
D. Gregory S.T.P.

H.

Will^m^. Holmes S.T.P. Vice Chac^r^.
Hen. Harper Esq^r^.
Tho. Hals Esq^r^.
Gilbert Holker Esq^r^.
Robert Heysham Esq^r^.
Will^m^. Le Hunt S.T.B.
Rev^d^. M^r^. Hadderton
M^r^. John Harris
M^r^. Nevel Heath
M^r^. Haynes
Will^m^. Jones S.T.P. late Prin^l^. Of Jesus Coll.
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K.

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Tho. Lloyd Esq^r^.
Will^m^. Robinson Litton Esq^r^.
John Lane M.D. of Brystol
M^r^. Lambert

V.

Gwin Vaughan Esq^r^.

W.

Watkin Williams Wynn Esq^r^.
Fran. Wise Keep^r^. of y^e^ Archives
Will^m^. Wynn Esq^r^.
John Wynn Rector of Llanymyneck &c.

In OXFORD.

University College Library
Baliol Coll. Lib.
Merton Coll. Lib.
Exeter Coll. Library
Oriel Coll. Lib.
Queen's Coll. Lib.
New Coll. Lib.
Lincoln Coll. Lib.
All Souls Coll. Lib.
Magdalen Coll. Lib.
Corpus Christi Coll. Lib.
Brazen Nose Coll. Lib.
Christ Church Coll. Lib.
Trinity Coll. Library
S^t^. John's Coll. Lib.
Jesus Coll. Lib.
Wadham Coll. Lib.
Pembrock Coll. Lib.
Worcester Coll. Lib.
Christ Church Com^n^. Room

In CAMBRIDGE.

St. John's College Library
Trinity Coll. Lib.
Emanuel Coll. Lib.
Caijus Coll. Lib.
Clare Hall Lib.

(4) Dedication

To the very honourable lords and reverend and most ornate masters Charles, earl of Arran, chancellor, Henry, earl of Clarendon, steward, William Holmes, professor of sacred theology, president of the college of St. John the Baptist, vice-chancellor, both proctors, and every single official of the colleges and halls in the most famous academy of Oxford.

The most honourable lords and very reverend and most ornate masters.

This our septennial work now at last being complete, I would take these and such men into its patronage, something which I did not doubt for a long time. For its method forbade me from devoting this to others than you, the primary men of this place, and especially worshipful as our patron; you, who, in order to enlarge the glory of the renowned academy, its new increases and splendour, by which it was augmented several years ago, wished to be consecrated by bronze tablets; you generously encouraged me to toil at this work and you pay me with money for this; and then, so that it appears more perfectly and ornately, you have taken some care in writing.

The reason, moreover, that the issuing extended beyond the time, about which I once gave my word, was bad health, which took over me already from the very beginning of the work, and after a few changes

of health intervening, has troubled me up to this day in an unusual manner. Indeed, we have compensated enough for this delay, whatsoever it was, by adding several plates beyond our undertaking.

I always intended to make public a memory of your kindnesses and at the same time testimony of my gratitude; and so far I was not unable to give thanks to the best and greatest God from day to day, which has prolonged a life which had been unfortunate up to this point, and likewise rendered me sound of will. I am your very humble and assiduous supporter. William Williams.

Appendix 6: 1718 and 1730 Queen's College appeals transcripts

(1) 1718 version

THE **PRESENT STATE** OF THE **New Buildings** OF ***Queens College* in *OXFORD.***

With an Ichnography of the Whole, and Cuts of the several Parts of the said *Buildings* Engraved.

[Ground plan and coat of arms.]

An Account of the Progress made in the New Buildings *of* Queens College *in* Oxford; *and how much remains unfinished, for want of Abilities in the College to* complete *that Work.*

The Buildings *that are already finished*.

The *Library* on the West side of the North Court about 123 feet in Length, and 55 in Height, was begun by the Reverend Dr. *Timothy Halton* Provost and the Fellows, *An*. 1693, and finish'd 1696, chiefly at the expence of the Society. A noble Building of the *Corinthian Order*, with a beautiful Cloister to the East, and the Statues of the Founder and principal Benefactors to the College in Niches to the West. 'Tis furnish'd with a good Collection of Books from the Old Library, with a great part of the excellent Libraries of the Right Reverend Dr. *Barlow* late Bishop of *Lincoln*, and of the Reverend Dr. *Halton* successively Provosts of the College, with the entire and incomparable Collection of Sir *Joseph Williamson* Knight, sometime Fellow of the College, *&c*.

The *Library* is joyn'd by the *Provost's Lodgings*, and other Apartments belonging to the *Fellows* and *Scholars*, extending from the South end, to the *High-street*, in Length about 222 feet, in height upwards of 51, with a Cloister continued in a line to that of the Library. This was finish'd *An*. 1710, and made the West side of the College near 345 feet Long.

On the North side of the North Court is erected a *New Building*, containing Apartments for *Gentleman Commoners* and *Commoners*, in Length about 210 feet, in Height 39: one half of it built at the sole charge of Dr. *Lancaster* late Provost, and the other half at the common expence of the Society.

The *New Hall* and *Chapel* begun *An*. 1713, strike in at the West end between the *Library* and *Lodgings*, and extend to the East, 220 feet in Length, in height 54, being very well proportion'd and agreeable to their respective designs. There is a *Passage* between them from the South to the North Court (fronting the *New Gate* design'd to be made into the *High-street*) the Walls of which carry a large and handsome *Cupola* with 8 *Ionick* Columns, and all the proper Ornaments of that *Order*. The outside of the whole is a *Dorick Building*, and the inside of the *Hall* beautified with the same *Order*: but the inside of the *Chapel* is entirely *Corinthian*, the *Ceiling* of which being *Fretwork* is not inferior to that *Order*.

For these Buildings and this happy Change of our very old and *decaying Mansion*, the College is principally indebted to the Munificence of Sir *Joseph Williamson* Knight (before mention'd) who by his last Will left 6000*l*. to be applied to this purpose, and to that of the Rev^{d}. Dr. *Lancaster* then Provost, who, besides the expence of a plentiful yearly income, laid out upon it the greatest part of his Fortune whilst Living, and left a legacy of 1000*l*. at his Death, which has been employ'd partly in discharging Arrears occasion'd by the greatness of the Undertaking, and partly towards finishing the inside of the Chapel.

The Right Reverend and Right Honourable the Lord *Crew* Lord Bishop of *Durham*, Mr. *Lewis* of *Hampshire*, and Mr. *Clitherow* of *Boston*, pleased with our endeavours, and sensible of our condition,

contributed very *generously*, and many who formerly were Fellows of the College have been *liberal* according to their Preferments and Circumstances, on which account they may depend on the grateful remembrance of their Successors in a proper manner.

The Parts of the Building *which remain unfinished*.

The *Ancient Quadrangles* yet remain in their former condition on the *East*, and *South sides*: one of these *Quadrangles*, *viz*. that towards the North wants repairs very much, and proper conveniences are also wanting for the Scholars; which has induced the Society to come to a resolution, with *Gods Blessing*, immediately to set about rebuilding in a Regular manner the two sides which want repairing, though it thereby happens (as it has done for several years) that by thus promoting the *Publick Good* of the College they very much straiten themselves in such conveniences of life as are suitable to a liberal Education, and were design'd them by their pious Founder.

To complete these, with what is still wanting in the *New Chapel*, 'tis computed that at least 2400*l*. will be requisite, besides the materials already provided. This is what they are indeed almost under a necessity of Undertaking at present, since besides the *ruinous* Condition of part of their very *Old Buildings*, they some time ago took an opportunity of making a convenient purchase of Timber with this view, which they fear will receive damage if exposed to the weather any longer.

As to the *East*, and *South sides* of the *South Quadrangle*, though the Society does not despair of seeing those finished, yet the following computation of the charge deters them from flattering themselves with the hopes of a near prospect of it, however desirable that is to them, and generally wished for by others.

The Expence of the *East side* is computed at 3600*l*.
That of the *New Gate* and *Cloister* at 800*l*.
The Purchase of the *Old Tenements* where the *New Gate*, and *Cloister* are to be, at about 600*l*.
The Society are ready to go on, and do what in them lies (even to the straitning of themselves) towards the completing of this great Work; but since it is far above their own strength, and what they cannot hope to see affected without considerable Assistance, they take the freedom to apply themselves on this occasion to all those worthy persons who are inclined to encourage such Publick, and Charitable Undertakings; and particularly to those who have heretofore belong'd to the College, and have had the benefit of their Education in it.

Whatever Benefactions are given will be receiv'd with all imaginable gratitude, and faithfully employ'd for the purposes above mention'd; and particular care will be also be taken to transmit the memory of them to Posterity.

Queens Coll.
Feb. 20, 1718.

(2) 1730 version

THE **PRESENT STATE** OF THE **New Buildings** OF ***Queens College* in *OXFORD.***

With an Ichnography of the Whole, and Cuts of the several Parts of the said *Buildings* Engraved.

[Ground plan and coat of arms.]

An Account of the Progress made in the New Buildings *of* Queens College *in* Oxford; *and how much remains unfinished, for want of Abilities in the College to* compleat *that Work*.

The *Library* on the West side of the North Court about 123 feet in Length, and 55 in Height, was begun by the Reverend Dr. *Timothy Halton* Provost and the Fellows, *An*. 1693, and finish'd 1696, chiefly at His and the Society's Expence. A noble Building of the *Corinthian Order*, with a beautiful Cloister to the East, and the Statues of the Founder and principal Benefactors to the College in Niches to the West. 'Tis furnish'd with a good Collection of Books from the Old Library, with a great Part of the excellent Libraries of the Right Reverend Dr. *Barlow* late Bishop of *Lincoln*, and of the Reverend Dr. *Halton* successively Provosts; with a curious and valuable Collection of Books given by Sir *Joseph Williamson*

Knight, sometime Fellow of the College, Secretary of State to King *Charles* the Second, and Plenipotentiary at the two Treaties of *Cologne* and *Ryswick*.

The *Library* is joyn'd by the Provost's Lodgings, and other Apartments belonging to the *Fellows* and *Scholars*, extending from the South end, to the *High-street*, in Length about 222 feet, in Height upwards of 51, with a Cloister continued in a line to that of the Library. This was finish'd *An*. 1710, and made the West side of the College near 345 feet Long.

On the North side of the North Court is erected a *New Building*, containing Apartments for *Gentleman Commoners* and *Commoners*, in Length about 210 feet, in Height 39: one half of it built at the sole Charge of Dr. *Lancaster* late Provost, and the other half at the common Expence of the Society.

The *New Hall* and *Chapel* joyning the *Library* and *Lodgings* begun *An*. 1713, extend to the East, 220 feet in Length, in height 54, being very well proportion'd and agreeable to their respective designs. There is a *Passage* between them from the South to the North Court (fronting the *New Gate* design'd to be made into the *High-street*) the Walls of which carry a large and handsome *Cupola* with 8 *Ionick* Columns, and all the proper Ornaments of that *Order*. The outside of the whole is a *Dorick Building*, and the inside of the *Hall* beautified with the same *Order*: but the inside of the *Chapel* is entirely *Corinthian*, the *Ceiling* of which being *Fretwork* is not inferior to that *Order*.

For these Buildings and this happy Change of our very old and *decaying Mansion*, the College is principally indebted to the Munificence of Sir *Joseph Williamson* Knight, before mention'd, (who by his last Will left 6000*l*. to be applied to this purpose) and to that of the Rev^{d}. Dr. *Lancaster* then Provost, who began the *New Building* upon that Fund, and who, besides expending the greatest Part of the Annual Income of his Preferments while living, left a Legacy of 1000*l*. at his Death, to carry on the Work.

It must also with Honour and Gratitude be acknowledg'd, that the Right Reverend and Right Honourable the Lord *Crew* Lord Bishop of *Durham*, Mr. *Lewis* of *Hampshire*, and Mr. *Clitherow* of *Boston*, pleased with these beginnings, and sensible of the great Misfortune the College lay under, in the Loss of their worthy Provost, contributed very generously upon this occasion; and many who had formerly been Fellows of the College, were likewise very Liberal according to their Preferments and Circumstances in the World.

But notwithstanding these Benefactions, the Society being burthen'd with a considerable Arrear, on account of the Buildings, at Dr. *Lancaster*'s death, and having the North Court in part, and yet a greater part of the South Court left upon their hands unbuilt, the then Provost and fellows endeavour'd by all means possible to extricate themselves from these Difficulties, and carry on the Plan design'd. And so successful were their Endeavours by God's Blessing to this End, that by the farther Assistance of Others who had been of the College, and by Contributing Annually themselves all that could possibly be spared out of their own Subsistence for Thirteen Years together, they have been happy to pay off the forementionʼd Arrears, and to see the North Court entirely finish'd, during the Provostship of Dr. *Gibson* lately deceased.

What remains towards compleating the whole Plan of the College, and making it farther Commodious for the Reception of young Scholars from the several Counties (as our pious Founder in his Statutes directs) is another Wing of Buildings on the East side of the first Court, and a *New Cloister* and *Gate-way* opening to the *High-street* on the South.

The Expence of which, upon the nicest Computation the Builders are able to make, will amount to 5000*l*. viz.

1. For the *East-side Wing* 3600*l*.
2. For the *New Gate* and *Cloister* 800*l*.
3. For the Purchase of the *Old Tenements*, where the *New Gate* and *Cloister* are to be, 600*l*.

The Society is ready to do what in them lies (even to the straitning of themselves, as they have hitherto done) towards the compleating of this great Work; but since it is far above their own Abilities , and what they cannot hope to see affected without very considerable Assistance from abroad, they take the freedom in this publick manner ingenuously to represent the State of their Case, and humbly to offer it to the Consideration of all such Generous Persons whose Dispositions incline, and whose Abilities impower them to Encourage so noble and generous a Design. There is but one thing more, necessary to

be mention'd on this occasion, *viz.* That whatever Benefactions are given to the Society, they shall not only be receiv'd with all imaginable Gratitude, but faithfully employ'd for the Purposes above mention'd: And that particular Care will be taken to record the Names of the several Benefactors in their Publick Register, and transmit their memory with due Honour to succeeding Generations.
Queens College,
Dec. 21. 1730.
[Manuscript addition on Queen's College copy, in copperplate.]

Since the printing of this State, her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Caroline, out of Her Royal Bounty and under Regard for this College, of which she is Patroness, has most Graciously Contributed a Thousand Pounds towards the further advances of these Buildings, which sum is employed in finishing the New Cloyster and Gate-Way fronting the High-Street.
Queen's Coll.
Feb. 27th. 1733/4.

Appendix 7: Cosimo III de' Medici visit to Oxford, ancillary material

(1) British Library MSS.

Add MS 33767 A: Forty large facsimile drawings, copied from the originals preserved at Florence, which were made to illustrate the travels of Cosmo III in England in 1669, and were engraved for the translation of his travels published in London in 1821.

A small hand-written note has been pasted into the top left-hand corner of the first page:

> 'These are Fac Simile Copies of the Original Drawings made by Cosmo 3rd's orders, of what he saw in England in 1669. / They were reduced & engraved for Mawman's 4^{o} publication of Cosmo's Travels published in 1821 – but these being very unsatisfactory, I purchased the Copies of the Original Drawings now at Florence.'

Add MS 33767 B: 'VIAGGIO di Cosmo 3. in Inghilterra, 1669'; narrative by Lorenzo, Count Magalotti, of the travels in England of Cosmo III. de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, when Hereditary Prince. Transcribed from the original MS. in the Laurentian Library in Florence.

A small hand-written note has been pasted into the top left-hand corner of the first page:

> 'Cosmo's viaggio. 4^{o} M.S.S. This is the transcript of Magalotti's Italian published by Mawman in 1821. / This original Italian is more agreeable to read than the Translation.'

G.7411: Thomas Grenville's copy of *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, during the reign of King Charles the Second (1669). Translated from the Italian Manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence. To which is prefixed, a memoir of his Life. Illustrated with a portrait of His Highness and thirty-six views of the Metropolis, Cities, Towns and Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, as delineated at that period by artists in the suite of Cosmo* (London: printed for J. Mawman, Ludgate Street, 1821).

> 'Cosmo 3^{d}'s Travels. 4^{o}. 1821. – S^{r}. Robert Lawley had a Transcript made from the original Italian M.S.S. at Florence, which was afterwards translated by an English Clergyman employed by Mawman the bookseller. The prefixed life of Cosmo was written by S^{r}. R^{t}. Lawley.'

(2) Extract from article: Stefano Villani 'La religione degli inglesi e il viaggio del principe. Note sulla Relazione Ufficiale del viaggio di Cosimo de' Medici in Inghilterra (1669)' ['The Religion of the English and the Voyage of the Prince. Notes on the Official Report of the travels of Cosimo de' Medici in England (1669)'] in *Studi Secenteschi* vol. 45 (1 January 2004), pp. 175–94.

The British stage of the European journey of Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Prince of Tuscany, began on 1 April 1669 and lasted for two and a half months. A precious, anonymous, handwritten 'official report' of the entire journey, illustrated with a series of watercolors and a more ample manuscript copy, without illustrations, are preserved in Florence in two and four undated (but written around 1689) volumes at the Marucelliana and the National library. Villani recalls the interest the pages of this report regarding the English stage of the journey have always provoked among scholars as a first hand report of Restoration Britain. Villani also discusses another four sources of Cosimo's travels: the journals by Lorenzo Magalotti (since 1660 secretary to the Academy of Cimento), marquis Filippo Corsini, physician Giovan Battista Gornia and abbot Filippo Marchetti, master of the household. The official report was a team effort and these journals were used to write the final text. Since Anna Maria Crinò's studies, the inspiration was attributed to Lorenzo Magalotti, who was also conceived as the coordinator of the team who wrote the report. Villani contests this idea investigating the anachronistic use of Anthony Bruodin's *Veritatis Propugnaculum Catholicae*, published in Prague in 1669, as the main source for the digression on religion in England found at the end of the 'Official Report'. In his book Bruodin describes the religious situation of English in 1640s and 50s. The editor of the 'official report' limited himself to translate what Bruodin wrote, sometimes verbatim and sometimes summarizing it. This means that the report did not describe the real state of religion in England at the

time of the journey of Cosimo de' Medici, rather providing a stereotypical and anachronistic image of the country as a land swarming with many heretical sects.

Appendix 8: Some Continentally trained artists and engravers

Artist / Dates	*Comments*
Remigius Hogenberg *c*.1536–*c*.1588	The elder son of Nicholas Hogenberg, a painter and engraver from Munich in Germany, who settled in Malines (or Mechelen), near Antwerp, where his two sons were born. It is likely that Remigius was invited to England by Archbishop Matthew Parker to join his household of artists and craftsmen at Lambeth Palace, where he certainly was working in 1574. He is known from his bird's-eye plan of Exeter to have still been working in England in 1587. [See Hind biography.]
Frans Hogenberg *c*.1540–*c*.1590	Two views of the Royal Exchange made in 1569 have traditionally been attributed to Frans Hogenberg and it may be that he was also part of the Parker household. He is best known for his collaboration with Georg Braun on *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and also worked with Ortelius on *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. [See Hind biography.]
Joris Hoefnagel 1542–1601	Born in Antwerp into a merchant family, his interest in art led him to become a student of his Flemish fellow-countryman Hans Bol at Mechelen, although by his own admission he was largely self-taught. After the Spanish entered Antwerp in force in 1567 he travelled widely in Europe, including a visit to England in *c*.1568–9 (described by Kunzle as his 'London exile'). If this was indeed the case, he would have been in England at the same time as Frans Hogenberg, also from Mechelen, for whom he provided drawings of Oxford, Windsor and Nonsuch for the *Civitates*.
Bernard van Linge 1598–*c*.1644	A glass painter, he was born in Emden, East Friesland, close to the United Provinces, the eldest child of Bernard van Lingen (*fl*. 1595–1627). He learned his trade from his father and possibly his grandfather, both of whom were masters of the Emden glaziers' guild. Bernard worked in Paris from 1617 to 1621. That year religious conflict broke out again in France and Bernard's protestant sympathies led him to flee to London. He utilized family connections within the Dutch stranger community to obtain employment in the studio of a glazier, Thomas Langton. However, the traditional rivalry between English and Dutch glaziers made it difficult to find work in the capital and that July Langton recommended him to the warden and fellows of Wadham College, Oxford for the execution of their chapel's east window. The glass portrait of the doctrinal trimmer Bishop Robert King (*d*. 1557) in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, has been attributed to Bernard, but he left England in 1623, and the style of the pieces is more reminiscent of his brother's work. In 1625 Bernard was admitted a master in the glaziers' guild at Emden. The family remained active in both the guild and civic government for the rest of the century. [See DNB.]
Abraham van Linge fl. 1623–1642	Also a glass painter, he was the fourth child of Bernard van Lingen. He probably arrived in England in 1623 and, although less well documented, is better represented in surviving work. Apart from projects on which he collaborated, or in which he has been confused with his brother, he has been convincingly connected to a number of schemes, including a cycle of biblical themes in Christ Church Cathedral (1630–40), of which only the Jonah window remains *in situ*; a typological east window at Lincoln College, Oxford (1631); The Life of Christ, Last Judgment, and a portrait group at Queen's College, Oxford (1635–7); and an Old and New Testament programme at University College, Oxford (1641). Abraham is last mentioned in correspondence relating to the final project in 1642. As the religious and political establishment (together with its art patronage) came under ever-increasing attack, care was taken to arrange for payment in the event of involuntary incompletion and Abraham's hasty departure for the continent. Although he fulfilled his contract, it appears that he emigrated in that year: no further record of him survives.
William Kip fl. 1585–1615	An engraver, born in Utrecht, he arrived in England about 1585. He was perhaps primarily a goldsmith and jeweller and is so described on the various returns of aliens which provide almost the sole extant biographical record. While no known

	examples of his work as a goldsmith or jeweller survive, his output of printed work is notable for a number of important maps. The most significant of these is the four-sheet wall-map of the British Isles, *A Descripsion of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland & Ireland with al the Ilands Adiacent*, engraved for Hans Woutneel in 1603, a handsome production known only in a single surviving copy, with a pictorial genealogical table celebrating the union of the crowns of England and Scotland. More widely known is the important sequence of thirty-four county maps after John Norden and Christopher Saxton engraved by Kip for the 1607 edition of William Camden's *Britannia*. Other examples include the map of Hertfordshire for Norden's *Speculi Britanniae* (1598), two miniature maps in roundels of England and the world of about 1602, also engraved for Woutneel, and Edward Wright's important untitled two-sheet map of the world of about 1610. Beyond maps, Kip was responsible for engraving a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, probably dating from the 1590s but known only in a later state, as well as Stephen Harrison's magnificent series *The Arch's of Triumph Erected in Honor of James* (1604) – the earliest English set of plates to show the lavish temporary architecture erected for ceremonial events. [See DNB.]
Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677	Born in Prague in 1607, he was first taught by the noted Flemish painter and engraver Egidius Sadeler (*c*.1555–*c*.1609), engraver to the Imperial Court in Prague. By 1627 Hollar lived in Frankfurt, where he studied with the Swiss Matthäus Merian the elder (1593–165), who greatly influenced his style, before moving to Strasburg and then, in 1633, to Cologne. It was in Cologne in 1636 that he attracted the notice of Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Employed as a draftsman, he travelled with Lord Arundel to Vienna and Prague and, in 1637, returned with him to England. Arundel left England in 1642 and Hollar passed into the service of the Duke of York, until he left England for Antwerp in 1644. [See DNB, etc.]
David Loggan 1634–1692	Loggan was born in Danzig, the son of a merchant of Scottish descent. His teachers were Willem Hondius (*c*.1598–1652) in Danzig and, after his death, Crispijn van de Passe the younger (*c*.1597–1670) in Amsterdam. Both Hondius and van de Passe were second generation engravers who undertook a wide variety of work, including some cartographic commissions, but neither specialised in architectural subjects. His original intention was to study further in France and Italy, but around 1656 he settled in London, where he developed a reputation for his portraits. He also engraved four Triumphal Arches for Ogilby's *Entertainment of Charles II* (the main illustrator having been Wenceslaus Hollar). [See DNB, etc.]
Everhardus Kickius 1636–1701	Natural history draughtsman of great competence, who came from Holland to work for Hans Sloane. The plates in Sloane's *Natural History of Jamaica* 1707 (plants), and 1725 (zoology) were engraved by Michael van der Gucht after drawings made for Sloane by the Rev. Garret Moore (in Jamaica) and Kickius back in London (many are dated 1700 and 1701). These are now mainly in the Sloane Herbarium in the Natural History Museum. There are also drawings by him in the Royal collection, at Badminton and in the BM. It has been suggested that he was one of Loggan's assistants on *Oxonia Illustrata*. [See British Museum biography.]
Leonard Knyff 1650–1722	He was a painter born at Haarlem in the Netherlands. His father, Wouter Knyff, specialized exclusively in river scenes, in a manner which owed much to Salomon van Ruysdael and Jan van Goyen, but as Leonard originally specialised in still life works he may have been trained elsewhere. By 1681he was in London, living in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields. He returned to Holland in 1693 and again in 1695, when a pass was issued for 'Mr Leonard Knife, a protestant, to go to Harwich or Gravesend for Holland'. He was one of a number of resident aliens on whose behalf a warrant was sent to the attorney-general, on 8 June 1694, to prepare a bill for the great seal to make them 'free denizens of England'. In London he also became known for portraits and topographical works, although his grasp of perspective was not good. Many of his drawings were engraved by Jan Kip for volume 1 of *Britannia illustrata*, or *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, published by David Mortier from 1707. [See DNB.]

Johannes Kip 1652/3–1722	A draughtsman and engraver, he was born in Amsterdam. He trained there under the engraver Bastiaen Stopendael from May 1668, probably for two years, and lived in Stopendael's house on the Angeliersgracht. Kip's earliest dated engraving is from 1672 and he provided many plates for books published from this date onwards. In 1686 he made six plates of *William of Orange, his Wife and Attendants near The Hague*. Shortly after William's usurpation of the English throne in 1689 Kip travelled to England, although it is not known if this was motivated by connections with William's court. The majority of Kip's work consists of topography. It was possibly for William's court that he began to develop and produce the bird's-eye prospect views of country houses on which his reputation rests. The first view was of the Chelsea Hospital, which Kip drew and engraved in 1690. About 1698 he began producing drawings and plates for his best-known work, *Britannia Illustrata*, a collection of high-quality engraved bird's-eye prospects sold on single sheets from about 1700 and issued together in 1707. For the first volume of this work, which achieved 'immediate success', Kip engraved the views drawn by Leonard Knyff, but for the second volume he drew and engraved the views himself. He probably sold out his interests in the work before or shortly after its publication, and it was expanded by booksellers with contributions from other artists from 1709. Kip also drew and engraved the sixty-five plates for Robert Atkyn's *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* (1712) and engraved Thomas Bladeslade's drawings for John Harris's *The History of Kent* (1719). [See DNB.]
Michael van der Gucht 1660–1725	Van der Gucht, was a native of Antwerp, studying engraving there under the Flemish portrait engraver Philibert Bouttats (*c*.1650–1722). He came to London about 1690 and established a business engraving title pages, book illustrations, portraits and other types of work. He also trained numerous pupils, among whom were his two sons, Gerard and Jan van der Gucht, and George Vertue. His only known connections with Oxford were his engravings of two of the six plates for Nicholas Hawksmoor's *Explanation* of his scheme for All Souls College (1715). [See DNB.]
David Mortier 1673–1728	A Dutchman, born in Amsterdam, brother of the famous Amsterdam bookseller Pierre who specialised in atlases. He was naturalised in England on 10 July 1696 and ran a bookselling business at the sign of Erasmus's Head near the Fountain Tavern in the Strand. Two catalogues of his stock have survived. The earlier, which can be dated *c*.1696, is of 8pp. and seems to contain plates imported from his brother in Amsterdam (BL 821 g.3(10)). The latter, which has been dated *c*.1703, is of 46pp. and contains mostly imported maps (BL Sc.84(1)). He remained in England until his death, apart from various periods in 1711–21 when he had to return to Amsterdam to help run Pierre's business after his brother's death. During these years his London shop was run by Peter Dunoyer. He is best known for his involvement in the publication from 1707 onwards of *Britannia Illustrata*, later called the *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*. [See British Museum biography.]
Henrik Hulsbergh ?–1729	He was a Lutheran born in Amsterdam, but was in London by 1709 when he engraved a frontispiece to Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memorial of English Affairs*. He is best remembered for his architectural plates, including several for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. He died in 1729 after an illness of two years. [See DNB.]
Claud du Bosc 1682–*c*.1745	Born and trained in in France, he came to England in 1712 with Claude Dupuis to assist Nicholas Dorigny (1658?–1747) in engraving the cartoons of Raphael at Hampton Court. Leaving Dorigny's employment in 1714, he set up as an engraver on his own account in London. Thereafter much of his work consisted of engravings after the Old Masters. He also undertook book illustrations, notably some of those for an English edition of Bernard Picart's *Religious Ceremonies of All Nations* (1733), which he published himself, and those for a folio edition of the *History of England* (1743) by Paul de Rapin (1661–1726). He engraved one of the two plates for the Almanack of 1720, after Sir James Thornhill, the other being engraved by Michael Burghers, of whose engraving skills Thornhill did not think highly. He also engraved two plates for the 1733 Almanack, designed by 'Mr. Green', but largely based on Loggan's 1675 perspective drawing of St. John's

	College. He was responsible for one of the six plates for Nicholas Hawksmoor's *Explanation* of his scheme for All Souls College (1715). [See DNB.]
Gerard van der Gucht 1696–1776	He was the eldest son of Michael. He studied initially under his father and later under Louis Chéron (1660–1725) at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, which Chéron had co-founded in 1718. Gerard preferred to work in the medium of etching, rather than engraving. His main output was of book illustrations of little importance, but he also produced a set of four engravings from the paintings in the cupola of St. Paul's Cathedral by Sir James Thornhill (1719). His only connection with Oxford was as the engraver of one of the two plates for Thornhill's 1721 design for the Oxford Almanack, the other engraver again being Michael Burghers. [See DNB.]
Paul (Peter) Fourdrinier 1698–1759	He was born in Groningen in the Netherlands, his Huguenot parents having left France to escape persecution. Around 1713 he became a pupil of Bernard Picart, another French engraver who had left his home country. He remained with Picart at Amsterdam for six years, coming to England in 1719. By 1727 he had an established business in Charing Cross, not only undertaking engraving himself, but acting as a retailer of prints, maps and stationery, a business carried on by his sons after his death. [See DNB.]

Note: various sources have been used in compiling these brief biographies, including *DNB* and various specialist dictionaries/encyclopaedias, all of which are listed in the bibliography.

Appendix 9: References by Aubrey and Wood to Osney and Godstowe

Date	*Document*	*Transcript of extract*	*MS. Reference*
2 May 1642	Aubrey notes	I got Mr Hesketh, Mr Dobson's man, a priest, to draw the ruins of Osney abbey 2 or 3 wayes before 'twas pulled down. Now the very foundation is digged up.	Aubrey 7, ff. 3-5
4 Nov 1660	Wood notes	After my diligent survey of this nunnery I took a prospect of its ruins a copie of which is in notes A.V. <i.e. Wood MS. D ii (i)> [This drawing is not now found in Wood's MS. 'A.V.'. Prefixed to MS. Rawl. B.408 ('the English leiger book of Godstow') is a drawing of 'Godstow nunnery taken from the East 1666' by Wood, which is probably more elaborate than the missing drawing, because on a larger page than MS. 'A.V.'.]	
29 Jun 1669	Aubrey to Wood	I have the prospect of Ouseney several other ways than that on the Monasticon, which for the pleasauntness thereof, Mr. Hollar told me he would etche.	Ballard 14, f. 86
19 Aug 1672	Aubrey to Wood	You must not forgitt that I have 3 other faces or Prospects of Osney abbey, as good as that now in the Monasticon, they are in my trunke yet at Easton Piers.	Wood F.39, f. 183
22 Oct 1672	Aubrey to Wood	I will bring you about march my 2 other draughts of Osney ruins, one by M^{r} Dobson himselfe, the other by his man, one M^{r} Hesketh, but was a Priest.	Wood F.39, f. 190^{v}
10 Mar 1672/3	Aubrey to Wood	Did I never tell you that I have the prospect from the Bastion at St Giles ch: where is to be seen the prospect of Godstow tower & nunnery	Wood F.39, f. 258
7 Apr 1673	Aubrey to Wood	I have 3 other draughts (1) draughts of the severall views of Ousney abbey besides that I gave to the monasticon in my trunke at Kington by Easton-Piers but dare not trust my brother with the key, for my books would be like butter-flies, & fly about the countrye: but if you shall have ought to make of them I will send for my trunke & Chalke. Will you not ??? the building of the Keepe of the Castle, w^{ch} was not long since taken downe. [it has such a crack, if not another on the other side of y^{e} ???] [this side faced the South or S and by E. I have forgot if it had six sides or eight as here but I believe eight]	Wood F.39, f. 200
25 Dec 1673	Aubrey to Wood	My prospects of Osney are very fine things, as well as rare, and Mr Hollar would do them finely: that in the Monasticon is one of the finest prints there: next Summer you shall (Deo volante) have them.	Wood F.39, f.247v
25 Feb 1674	Aubrey to Wood	Did you never receive (1) ??? ½ ??? a draught in a ??? of sheet of a Prospect from y^{e} Bastion at St Giles, to Godstow, &c, where is the picture of Godstow Tower &c. now downe.	Wood F.39, f. 291
18 Aug 1674	Aubrey to Wood	I have sent wth it my draughts of the Ruines of Osney abbey and a fine Prospect of Godstowe nunnery &: parts adjacent taken from the Bastion by St Gyles ch: the former will be proper to be engraved for y^{r} History of Oxford: and the latter when you make a Description of Oxfordshire. I	Ballard 14, f. 108

		??? you to keep them safe.	
6 Sep 1674	Wood to Aubrey	Upon my return out of y^e^ country after a months absence I found among others, 4 of y^r^ letters, prospects of Osney, Hist. Roff. ???, &c all w^ch^ I shall safely keep & ??? at y^r^ summons.	Wood F.45, f. 171
1674?	Wood to Aubrey	As for the prospects of Osney abbey I shall preserve them safe; the first of which is printed, but the 3 other that follow I understand not, or whether they are to be joined together.	Wood F.45, f. 186
1674?	Aubrey to Wood	Concerning Osney, I very well remember (and so perhaps may you) that the Tower of Osney abbey was on the West part of the Church, neer to the River, and to my best remembrance not far from the mill. Having this Datum, your Queries will easily be resolved. concerning the severall Viewes.	Wood F.39, f. 282
15 Sep 1674	Aubrey to Wood	I hope the Gravir will do Osney ruines handsomely. If you please, I will ask Mr. Hollar, whether his plate that he did for me in the Monasticon was burnt in the general conflagration.	Ballard 14, f. 111
11 May 1682	Aubrey to Wood	Pray after D^r^ Plott if I did not lend (or give) him a Draught of the prospect from the Bastion of St Giles ch: towards Godstow, Longhanberowe etc: which I was very pleased with	Wood F.39, f. 362
2 Sep 1694	Aubrey to Wood	I desired you to give to the [Ashmolean] Museum, my draught of Osney, w^ch^ cost me XX*s* when I was of Trin: coll: 'twas donne by one Hesketh, a Hedge-Priest, who painted under M^r^ Dobson.	Ballard 14, f. 135

Appendix 10: Accuracy of the scenographic maps

Hurst's essay on Oxford's topography includes an analysis of the accuracy of the Agas map of Oxford, comparing it specifically with the ichnographic map of 1850, surveyed by Robert Syer Hoggar and engraved by Thomas Jones.[1] It was commissioned for the sanitary inquiry of 1851, after the Oxford cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1849. Hurst's methodology involved estimating four distances from north to south, four from east to west, six diagonally and eight for the lengths of large buildings. It is known that the Loggan, Whittlesey and Williams 'old' maps were based on Agas/Ryther, but the same methodology can be applied to other ostensibly new maps, in order to assess the degree of similarity of their underlying surveys. In the table below this is done for the Hollar map of 1643, the Williams 'new' map of 1733 and the Taylor map of 1751, alongside Hurst's results for Agas.

Table: Relative accuracy of Agas, Hollar, Williams and Taylor maps

Direction	*Agas 1:1,650*	*Hollar 1:6,000*	*Williams 1:3,000*	*Taylor 1:2,376*
North to south	–11%	–7%	-11%	+2%
East to west	–1%	–1%	-2%	+1%
Diagonal	–8%	1%	-5%	+1%
Buildings	–11%	–6%	-9%	-2%

The averages shown for Agas, Hollar and Williams conceal wide variations between the samples in each category. Nevertheless, the overall underestimation of distances by all three can be clearly seen, supporting the conclusion that both Hollar and Williams based their maps on that of Agas. The similarity with Hollar would be even closer were it not for one outlier in the diagonal samples. The Taylor map is very clearly based on a different survey and the errors shown of +/-2% or less are probably within the limits of scale measurement error. It should be noted that in engraved maps the ability of the engraver to render the length of the scale line accurately is critical.

A question unaddressed by Hurst was completeness. The deficiencies of Hollar in this respect have been mentioned, but, for all of their other criticisms, the Agas/Ryther and Loggan maps demonstrate that those involved in their preparation had a comprehensive knowledge of the city.

[1] Hurst, pp. 7–8.

ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table A21: Drawings of Oxford windows, etc. by John Aubrey in Bodley MSS. Gen. Top. c.24–5 (*Monumenta Britannica*)

Folio	*Transcription*
155	A Windowe at the Chequer-Inne in Oxford, heretofore Kempe-hall. ???? over against the church at Cricklade in Wiltshire is a very old house that hath windows like this: and some few other houses: and the Windowes of the Colleges [or Halls] at ???? are also of this very fashion: and severall such in ???? are still remaining in Oxford. The windows of the Tower of St Giles's church at Oxford built tempus Regis Stephorm.
158	The windows of St Maries Tower, Oxford are as in ???? ???? & were built tpe Hen: 7. ???? at Gloucester-hall in Oxford are some scutcheons and in the Cathedral church in Wells over the Arches as also at the house [anciently a Prebendary's] where my rel. Capt. W^{m} Morgan lived.
159	The east windowe of the Chapelle of the south side of St Aldate's church, above which is the library of Pembroke-college. It was built Anno 1335 tpe Edw: iii. Of this fashion are the windows at Gillingham-church in Dorsetshire: and some of the windows at the Church of Sutton Benger in Wilts. Windowes of Trinity College in S Quadrangle in oxford, built tpe Hen: iii. ???? at the chapelle in Farleigh-castle is a window of this very shape. Lord Hungerford was a minister of Estates, and of y^{e} ???? council to Hen: 4th. These windows, as also at other colleges are 1686 now made windows ???? move.
162	The Tower of Merton-college was built Ann^{o} 1421, ultimi Henrici 5^{ti}. The windowe of the Chapelle of Priory S^{t} Maries juxta Kingston St Michael. Part of the windowe of the north cross aisle of Merton-college: which is a very stately [?] one. This part here hath a resemblance with that of Priory St Mairies windows. I guesse them to have been built about Hen: 6.
163	At All-Souls Colledge in Oxford built tpe Hen: 6 1437 intra [?] there are two windows of double-lights, as here.
163a	St Maries church at Oxford was built tpe Hen: 7. Of this kind are the windows at Windsore chapelle, and of Hen: 7 at Westminster.
164	The windowes of the west end of the Kings Mannor [?]-house at Woodstock are like those of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, which was built in Henry the seventh's time; as appears the scutcheons, as in the margin [?] with the figure of 7, as they then ??? also the Cognizances of the Portcullis with chains: and Rose within Rose Dragon or: which is ???? that the gratis part of the House was re-edified by him. Windowes of the Quadrangle of Christ's-Church in Oxford, built by Cardinal Wolsey, tpe Hen: viii. The rich water-table tpe Henry 8. In Hen: 6 twas only plaine as in the ????. This was the Water-table, and Basis of the magnificent chapelle or Cathedral intended [?] by Cardinal Wolsey, which did runne from the College to the Blew-bore-Inne; and was pulled down by Bishop Fell about 1671. Magdalen-parish Tower at ???? is also ???? at y^{e} bottome; as also the parish-church wall at S^{t} Edmund's Bury in Suffolk.
167	The Windowes of the Quire [or Choire] of Merton-college-Chapel were built tpe Henrici quinti
177b	S^{t} Giles Tower Oxon, a church built a hundred years post conquest. Y^{e} windows of y^{e} Tower, like those at Stamford, Cricklade & Kingston S^{t} Michael.
177c	The windowes of Clifford-Inne-Hall

Table A22: Comparative coverage of *Oxonia Illustrata*, *Oxonia Depicta* and other individual works

	Loggan	*Williams*	*Burghers*	*Vertue*	*Others*	*Total*
Prospects of the city	1	1	6		9	17
Plans of the city	1	2			5	8
Academic Dress	1					1
Ashmolean			1			1
Bodleian Library, etc.	5	2	4			11
Botanical Gardens	1	1	1			3
Radcliffe Library			1	5	21	27
Sheldonian Theatre/Clarendon	2		7		6	15
All Saints/Hallows Church		1	2			3
St. Mary's Church	1					1
St. Peter's-in-the-East Church			3			3
All Souls College	1	3	1	1		6
Balliol College	1	2	1	1		5
Brasenose College	1	3	2			6
Christ Church College/Cathedral	1	4	10		7	22
Corpus Christi College	1	3	2			6
Exeter College	1	2	3	1		7
Gloucester Hall/Worcester College	1	2	1	1		5
Jesus College	1	2		1		4
Lincoln College	1	2	1	1		5
Magdalen College	1	3	3		3	10
Merton College	1	3	1			5
New College	2	3	4	1		10
Oriel College	1	3	2	1		7
Pembroke College	1	1	2	1	1	6
Queen's College	1	3	16	1	1	22
St. John's College	2	3	1	1	1	8
Trinity College	1	3	2		1	7
University College	1	2	1	1		5
Wadham College	1	3	1	1		6
Hart Hall/Hertford College	1	1		1		3
New Inn Hall	1	1		1		3
St. Alban Hall	1	1		1		3
St. Edmund Hall	1	1		1		3
St. Mary Hall	1	1		1		3
Magdalen Hall	1	1		1		3
Winchester School	1					1
Castle			1		2	3
Total	**40**	**63**	**80**	**24**	**57**	**264**

Table A23: Some English illustrated books and series, 1604–1759

Year	*Title*	*Author*	*Illustrators*
1604	*Archs of Triumph*	Stephen Harrison	William Kip
1640	*The antiquities of Canterbury*	William Somner	
1655	*Stone-Heng*	Inigo Jones	
1655–73	*Monasticon Anglicanum*	William Dugdale	Wenceslaus Hollar, Daniel King, etc.
1656	*Antiquities of Warwickshire*	William Dugdale	Wenceslaus Hollar
1656	*The vale-royall of England*	Daniel King	Wenceslaus Hollar, Daniel King
1658	*The cathedrall and conventuall churches*	Daniel King	Wenceslaus Hollar, Daniel King
1658	*The history of St Paul's*	William Dugdale	Wenceslaus Hollar, Daniel King
1658	*On St Paul's Cathedral*		Wenceslaus Hollar, Daniel King
1662	*Entertainment of Charles II*	John Ogilby	David Loggan
1674–	Oxford University Almanack	[Aldrich/Clarke]	White, Burghers, Vertue, Green, etc.
1674	*Habituum academicorum*	George Edwards	George Edwards
1675	*Oxonia Illustrata*		Loggan, White, Burghers, etc.
1677	*Natural history of Oxfordshire*	Robert Plot	Michael Burghers
1680	*Plantarum historiae universalis*	Robert Morison	Loggan, Burghers, Sonman, etc.
1681	*London and Westminster*	Richard Burton	
1688	*Paradise Lost*	John Milton	Michael Burghers
1690	*Cantabrigia Illustrata*		Loggan, etc.
1695	*Parochial antiquities*	White Kennet	Burghers
1707	*Grande Bretagne*	James Beeverell	Van der aa
1709–12	*Britannia Illustrata*		Leonard Knyff, Johannes Kip, etc.
1712	*Glocestershire*	Robert Atkyns	Kip, etc.
1712	*Kent*	John Harris	Baddeslade, Kip, etc.
1715–25	*Vitruvius Britannicus*	Colen Campbell	
1719–53	*Prospects (series)*		Samuel and Nathaniel Buck
1720	*Survey of London*	John Stow/John Strype	Kip, etc.
1720–42	*Antiquities (series)*		Samuel and Nathaniel Buck
1723	*Westmonasterium*	John Dart	James Cole
1724	*Itinerarium Curiosum*	William Stukely	Stukely, Kirkall, Harris, etc.
1724	*Life of Cardinal Wolsey*	Richard Fiddes	Burghers, Fourdrinier, etc.
1731	*London described*	John Bowles	Sutton Nicholls, Thomas Bowles
1732/3	*Oxonia Depicta*		Williams, Sturt, Parr, Thornton, etc.
1736–9	*Antient Churches (series)*	Robert West	William Henry Toms
1738/9	*History of London*	William Maitland	William Henry Toms, Robert West
1740	*Stonehenge*	William Stukely	
1742	*Survey of the Cathedrals*	Browne Willis	Michael Burghers, John Harris, etc.
1743	*Abury*	William Stukely	Stukely, Kirkall, Toms, Harris, etc.
1750–5	*Views (series)*		John Boydell
1759	*Perspective views of Oxford*		Donowell, Woollett

Table A24: Plans of *Forum Universitatis*, etc. by Hawksmoor *et al*

Date	*Ref*	*Title/Subject (Author)*	*Ill.*
c.1692	Trinity	Design for Trinity College chapel (Hawksmoor)	5.28
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2 f.15	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.29
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2 f.16	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.30
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2 f.17	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.31
c.1700	Guildhall GR2.1.2 f.18	Designs for All Saints Church tower and steeple (Hawksmoor?)	5.32
c.1700	RIBA SC111/16	Designs for All Saints Church (Aldrich)	5.33
c.1708/9	Worcester C90	All Souls (Clarke)	5.13
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24 f. 43	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.2
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24 f. 44	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.1
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24 f. 45	Clarendon Building (Hawksmoor)	5.6
c.1710/12	MS. Top. Oxon. a.24 f. 46	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.3
c.1710/12	Brasenose MS. B15.1	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.4
c.1712/3	Brasenose MS. B15.1 (s)	Forum (Hawksmoor)	5.5
c.1713	Ashmolean GI 7	'Environs of the Schooles and Publick buildings of y^{e} University next the new Forum' (Hawksmoor)	5.7
c.1713	MS. Top. Oxon. a.26 (R)	'*Regio Prima, Academiae Oxoniensis Amplificatae et Exornatae*' (Hawksmoor)	5.8
1714	Worcester C3	All Souls (Hawksmoor)	5.15
c.1715	MS. Top. Oxon. a. 48 f. 74	Design for All Saints Church steeple (Hawksmoor)	5.34
1719	MS. Radcliffe Records B.3 (R)	By an unknown hand (Benjamin Cole?), these plans show the properties in Catte Street and south of Brasenose prior to their demolition. The later was engraved by Skelton; there is an enlarged manuscript version of at MS. Top. Oxon. a.24 f. 42.	5.23
c.1720	MS. DD Radcliffe c.48		5.24
c.1720	Worcester C65	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.9
1734	Worcester C68	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.10
1734	Worcester C67	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.11
1734	Brasenose B15	Brasenose (Hawksmoor)	5.12

Table A25: The architectural drawings of Queen's College

Ref.	*Scheme*	*Architect/Description*	*Ill.*
QC1	A	NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.52
QC2	A	NH. Design for the High Street façade. *c*.1708/09	5.42
QC3	A	NH. East-west section of a design for rebuilding, showing the south façade of the chapel and flanking towers. *c*.1708/09	5.45
QC4	A	NH. North-south section of a design for rebuilding, showing the west side of the front quadrangle. *c*.1708/09	5.46
QC5	I	NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.53
QC6	II	NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.54
QC7	III	NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.55
QC8	IV	NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.56
QC9	IV	NH. Detail of a plan for rebuilding, showing the hall-chapel range. *c*.1708/09	5.48
QC10	IV	NH. Design for the High Street façade. *c*.1708/09	5.44
QC11	IV	NH. East-west section of a design for rebuilding, showing the south façade of the hall-chapel range. *c*.1708/09	5.43
QC12	IV	NH. North-south section of a design for rebuilding, showing the west elevation of the front quadrangle and the façade of the existing library. *c*.1708/09	5.47
QC13	V	NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.58
QC14		NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.59
QC15		NH. Sketch plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.60
QC16	VI	NH. Plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.61
QC17		NH. Sketch plan for rebuilding. *c*.1708/09	5.62
QC18		NH. Design for the High Street frontage. *c*.1708/09	5.51
QC19		NH. Sketch elevation of an oval chapel. *c*.1708/09	5.49
QC20		NH. Design for the High Street frontage. *c*.1708/09	5.50
QC21		WT. Design for the High Street frontage. *c*.1709/10	5.63
QC22		WT. Elevation of a design for the west side of the front quadrangle. *c*.1709/10	5.64
QC23		WT. Elevation of a design for the south facade of the hall-chapel range. *c*.1712/13	5.65
QC24		WT. Ground and first-floor plans of a design for the east range of the front quadrangle. *c*.1734/35	5.67
QC25		WT. Elevation to Queen's Lane of a design for the east range of the front quadrangle. *c*.1734/35	5.66
QC26		WT. Ground and first-floor plans of a house. Probably early 18th century.	5.68
WC76		GC. Elevation of a design for the Hall and Chapel. 1708	5.78
WC123		NH. Elevation of a design for the screen-wall, nearly as built. *c*.1709	5.69
WC124		NH. Elevation of a design for the Hall and Chapel. *c*.1710.	5.79
WC125		NH. Plan and elevation of a design for the Hall and Chapel. *c*.1710	5.80
WC150		N.H. Outline plan for a new quadrangle. *c*.1708	5.81
WC151			5.70
WC152		G.C. Three plans of a design for a new quadrangle. *c*.1708	5.71
WC153			5.72
WC154		G.C. Another plan of part of a new quadrangle. *c*.1708	5.73
WC155			5.82
WC156		G.C. Three elevations of a design for a Hall and Chapel forming the High Street front. *c*.1708	5.83
WC157			5.77
WC158		G.C. Sketch plan of new quadrangle with screen-wall to High Street	5.74
WC159		G.C. Plan of part of college, showing the west range of the main quadrangle	5.75

WC160	G.C. Sketch plan of Colvin 159	5.84
WC161		5.85
WC162	G.C. Four elevations of a design for a screen in the chapel	5.86
WC163		5.87
WC164		5.76
WC165	G.C. Sketch, probably for a screen in the chapel	5.88
BL Maps K.Top.35.10.r.	A drawing and plan of the southern façade; a cupola containing a sculpture of Queen Caroline over a doorway; five niches on either side.	5.89
BL Maps K.Top.35.10.s.	A drawing of the southern quadrangle elevation of the college; a cupola containing a sculpture of Queen Caroline over an archway; five arches on either side.	5.90
Bodley MS. Top. Gen. a.4. f.61	Plan of Queen's College. 1709 (Proposition IV)	5.57

Note: QC = Queen's College (White); WC = Worcester College (Colvin); BL = British Library; Bodley = Bodleian Library.

Table A26: Oxford views in *Britannia Illustrata*, or the *Nouveau Théâtre*

Title	*Comment*	*Ill.*
The North Prospect of the Cathedral Church of OXFORD.	'Printed and sold by I. Smith in Exeter Change in y^{e} Strand'. Unsigned, but based on King/Rallinson original from *Monasticon Anglicanum*.	4.37
OXONIENSIS UNIVERSITAS. *THE SOUTH PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF OXFORD.*	Includes a detailed key and the signature of Sutton Nicholls. It is unclear whether the Johannes Kip version of this engraving (*Oxoniae prospectus*) was included in one of the earlier editions of the work	3.37
The *North Prospect* of the *NEW QUADRANGLE* of *Christs Church* in *Oxford*.	Unsigned, but based on the engraving sometimes attributed to Michael Burghers.	4.124
The South Prospect of the New Quadrangle of CHRISTS CHURCH i*n Oxford*.	Unsigned, but based on the engraving sometimes attributed to Michael Burghers.	4.125
COLL. REG. OXON. CONSPECTVS CAPELLÆ ET REFECTORIL AD IVSTRVN [Queen's College Oxford View of the Chapel and Hall, from the South]	'Sold by Joseph Smith at ye Picture Shop in Exeter Change in the Strand'. Unsigned, but based on the Michael Burghers engraving.	4.128
The ORTHOGRAPHY and ICHNOGRAPHY of QUEENS COLLEGE LIBRARY *in OXFORD.*	'Sold by Joseph Smith at ye Picture Shop in Exeter Change in y^{e} Strand'. Unsigned, but based on the Michael Burghers engraving.	4.127

Table A27: Engravings in *Bibliotheca Radcliffiana and Bibliotheca Radcliviana*

Bibliotheca Radcliffiana

Plate	*Description*	*Ill.*
1	'Ichnographia Delineatio Sitûs Bibliotheca Radcliffiana.' [Ichnographic drawing of the site of the Radcliffe Library.] 'Jacobo Gibbs Architecto 1737. Vertue Sculp.'	5.91
2	'Ichnographia Basis Rustica Testudinata subter Bibliothecam Radcliffianam.' [Ichnographic plan of the rustic cloister under the Radcliffe Library.] 'Jacobo Gibbs Architecto 1737. Vertue Sculp.'	5.92
3	'Ichnographia Bibliothecae Radcliffianae. No. III.' [Ichnographic plan of the Bodleian Library. No. III.] 'Jacobo Gibbs Architecto 1737. Vertue Sculp.	5.93
4	'Elevatio sive Orthographia exterior Bibliothecae Radcliffianiae.' [Elevation or orthography of the outside of the Radcliffe Library.] 'Jacobo Gibbs Architecto 1737. Geo: Vertue Sculpsit.'	5.94
5	'Sectio sive Orthographia interior Bibliothecae Radcliffianiae.' [Section or orthography of the inside of the Radliffe Library.] 'Jacobo Gibbs Architecto 1737. Geo: Vertue Sculp.'	5.95
	'Ratcliffe Library' (MS. Don a.7 f. 12)	5.96

Bibliotheca Radcliviana

Plate	*Description*	*Ill.*
1	A perspective view of the south side of the buildings of the Radcliffe Library, taken from a north window of St. Mary's Church; shewing the fabric, with the area it stands on, and some part of the old buildings on each side of it, as Brasen-Nose College on the left hand, and all Souls College on the right.	5.97
2	This shews the geometrical situation of the library, or a general plan of the area on which it stands, with the buildings round it, being one hundred and eighty four feet, by three hundred and fourteen feet six inches. The new building AA, is placed in the middle, between St. Mary's Church-yard wall BB, and the Schools CC, Brasen-Nose College DD, and All Souls College EE.	5.98
3	This plate contains two plans of this building. The lowest A, is that of the arched stone-porch, or rustic basement, under the Library, the ceiling of which is arched with stone, divided in pannels, and circular concave dishes, as is here expressed by pointed lines. The dishes are adorned with mosaic work, the figure of which shall be shewn in its proper place. Here are three stair cases on this plan. The great geometrical stair case at a, being an oval of eighteen feet by twenty one feet, goes up by two windings to the floor of the library; the small stair cases bb, being six feet in diameter, go up to the library, gallery and leads to the top of it. The pavement of this porch is all laid regularly in courses drawn from the center of the building, the form of which shall be shewn hereafter.	5.99
4	This plate contains two plans, the lowest at C, is that of the gallery, or upper library, with its balustrade in front, to which you ascend by the two small round stairs b b. The book cases at P, are placed as below. The desks placed at each window, marked o, are all handsomely framed of mahogany wood polished. The ceiling is coved, as is here expressed by pointed lines, and embellished with fret work, and the whole lighted by seven large windows.	5.100
5	This shows the geometrical upright of the outside of the building, being of the Corinthian order, with its balustrade and vases a-top. This order has all the members of its entablature properly enriched, and the capitals, and festoons betwixt them neatly carved, all the windows and niches are regularly dressed; and it middle part adorned with a handsome cupola and lanthorn covered with lead, the whole erected on a rustic basement; the plan of which is a regular polygon of sixteen sides. But this being too small, I have shewn it larger on the next plate.	5.101
6	You have here a part of the upright of the outside of the building drawn larger, to show more distinctly the ornaments of the Corinthian order, the disposition of the windows and niches with their dressings, the entablature, with the number of its modilions answerable to	5.102

their intercolumnations, and the range of pedestals, and balustrade a-top of it, with their vases.

7 Here are the outside windows of this building, with their ornaments and profiles drawn to a large scale. 5.103

8 This is one of the iron gates, which are placed in each of the rustic arches of the stone porch under the library, to enclose and preserve that place from being a lurking place for rogues in the night-time, or any other ill use. Three of the seven gates may be opened occasionally as wanted, viz. that towards St. Mary's Church, that towards All Souls, and that towards Brasen-Nose Colleges; but are to be locked up always before night comes on, both summer and winter. 5.104

9 This is a geometrical section of the building, through the middle of the plan, from the bottom to the top, to shew the disposition of its inside, the arches which support the cupola, the cupola with its ornaments, the framing of the wood work, the thickness of the floors and walls. But as this is too small to shew the particular parts, I have drawn some of them on a larger scale, to express them better. 5.105

10 A section, on a larger scale, through the middle of the rustic basement, across the great stair case, shewing the rising and winding of the great stairs; as likewise the arches, galleries, part of the drum of the cupola, cove over the great stair case, and timber framing, the profile of the windows, and the thickness of the walls, &c. 5.106

11 A geometrical profile through one bay of the building, shewing a part of the rustic basement; as likewise of the circular rooms where the presses for the books are placed, and the entry to them from the doors of the round stair cases, on each side of the great stair case, the framing of the roof of the galleries, and the upright bearings and abutments of the cupola. 5.107

12 This is the niche, with its ornaments, over the Ionick door case within the library as you enter it, where the doctor's figure stands in his academical habit, curiously done in marble by Mr. Michael Rysebrack, a noted sculptor. This niche is contained within one of the great arches which supports the cupola, over which there is a marble table with this inscription, 5.108

IOHANNES RADCLIFFE M.D.
HUIUS BIBLIOTHECÆ
Fundator.

13 This is a geometrical upright of one of the great arches within the library, to shew the fronts of the gallery or upper library, its cornish [cornice] and balustrade, the scrolls abutting against the great pilasters, for the support of the floor of the gallery; as likewise the windows of the library below, and the gallery above. 5.109

14 A perspective view through three of the arches which support the dome, to show more distinctly the book presses, and the reading desks, in the library below and gallery over it. The point of sight is taken at a man's heighth, from the opposite side of the gallery. 5.115

15 This shows the form of the iron rail of the great stairs, with a plan of it on a larger scale, the diameter of it being eighteen feet by twenty one feet. This fence is very neatly performed, all its ornaments, as roses, foliage, and the bases of the upright bars, are of copper embossed, and the whole is capped with a handsome handrail of mahogany wood neatly polished. 5.116

16 Here is shewn one quarter part of each pavement in the building; the lowest belongs to the stone porch under the library, which is of a hard sort of stone, all laid in courses, drawn from the center of the room, as here expressed. That above, on the same plate, is the pavement of the middle part of the library, which is of Portland Stone, intermixed with red Swedish or Bremen Stone, drawn from several centers. This floor was first propose to be of black and white marble polished, but was rejected, being thought improper for the place, because the air condensing upon it, occasioned by its hardness (which commonly, though improperly is called sweating) makes the place damp, especially where no fire is kept, and is fitter for churches, porticoes, common halls, and passages, than a library 5.117

17 Here are the ornaments of the circular concave dishes in the ceiling of the rustic basement, or stone porch, below the library, being all arched with stone, and the circular concave dishes adorned, in this manner, alternately with mosaic work, the one with octagons, and the other with crosses and octagons, having the doctor's cipher in the center within a circle; 5.118

	the ceiling of the great arch in the middle of the porch, is grinded over, and has the doctor's coat of arms, enclosed within a large circular moulding, going round it, handsomely carved.	
18	This shows the great modilion cornish, with its frieze fully enriched, which goes round the inside of the building, over the great arches that support the cupola; I have likewise draw here a part of three of the arches, to shew the ornaments which are put in the spandrels, between the architraves of the arches.	5.119
19	This is one eighth part of the ornaments of the dome in the inside of it, with their profiles, letter'd and figured, the whole curiously done in fret work, by Signor Artari. A, one eighth part of the ornament extended on a straight line; B, the profile or section of the panels; c c, the geometrical profile from the middle of the rose to the outside border.	5.110
20	A plan of the frame, or half of the outline, or circumference of the cupola, shewing the thickness of the walls, and how the dome is framed; a a, the bearing pieces of the truss, on which the lanthorn is framed; b b. the beam or girder of the truss; c c, the upright posts which form the lanthorn. The four divisions in the plan shew the timbers which fill up the spaces within the trussed frame 1 1, two half trusses; 2 2, the purloins or cross timbers; 3 3, the furring for the outline of the dome; 4 4, the bridging in which the boards are fixed for the lead covering.	5.111
	B, shews the upright of the principal wooden truss, which forms the inside of the dome and outline of the cupola and lanthorn and its framing, all of heart of oak, being an excellent piece of carpentry well considered, and executed in best manner, the ends of the timbers being fixed in shoes of metal, to preserve them from any damp that might affect them from the stone; the timbers here lettered refer you to the plan below it.	
21	Here are the ornaments of the several orders, made use of in this building. A, is the bases, architrave, frieze, and Cornish of the Corinthian order on the outside of the building. B, the Ionick pedestal, base, architrave, frieze, and cornish, of the inside of the building. D, the profile of the Cornish, on the outside of the drum of the cupola. E, the profile of the cornish of the inside of the drum. F, the architrave moulding of the arches.	5.112
	N.B. All the mouldings, both without and within the building, are carved proper to their order.	
	Portrait of 'Johannes Radcliffe MD. Obijt 1.^{o} Nov. MDCCXIV. Aetat 65.' [John Radcliffe MD. Died 1 Nov. 1714. Aged 65 years.] Paul Fourdrinier (?–1758) after Sir Godfrey Kneller.	5.113
	Portrait of 'Jacobus Gibbs Architects 1747.' Will^{m}. Hogarth delin. B. Baron Sculp.' Bernard Baron (1696–*c*.1766) after William Hogarth.	5.114

Table A28: Oxford related copperplates in the Richard Rawlinson collections Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. d.276 and MSS. Rawlinson Prints a.1 – a.8

MS. Top. Oxon. d.276

Title / Plate No. / Examples	*Description*
Godstow Plate e.17 MS. Rawl. B.408 Gough Oxf. Prints J f.47b	Godstow Nunnery. Printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, No. 1791, opp. p. 985. The article appended states that the plate is 'copied from an impression in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Price, Keeper of the Bodleian Library at Oxford … but when first engraved it is difficult to say'. The plate is evidently taken from a sketch by Anthony Wood of the Nunnery in 1666, now in the Cartulary of Godstow.
Osney Plate e.18 Gough Prints vol. 26 f.82	Remains of South Osney, from the west. (The plate differs from Burghers' plate printed in Hearne's *Textus Roffensis* only in the absence of some figures in the foreground.)
Oxon: Oxford, St. George's Plate: d.20 Rawl. Prints a.7 f.9^{v}	Confirmation by Robert de Olleyo to the church of St. George in Oxon of a grant made to them by Thomas le Den of a croft called Denescroft in the suburbs of Oxon (of a grant made to them by Brummann de Waltona of land in Waltona and in the suburbs of Oxon. Temp Will T.
Oxon: Oxford, St. Giles's Plate: c.23	St. Giles's church, Oxon. 'Engraved for Ric. Rawlinson 1754.' (In left hand corner '11' reversed.)
Oxon: Oxford, St. Giles's Plate: e.20 [Rawl. Prints a.3 f.40]	The crypt on the north side of St. Giles's church, Oxon. 'Engraved for Ric. Rawlinson 1754' See Gough's *British Topography*, vol. II, p. 96: Douce G.559. [Rawlinson Prints a.3, f.40 has an engraving titled: 'Cryptae in ala Boreali, occidentem versus, Ecclesiae D. Aegidii. In suburbiis Civ. Oxon Prospectus Interior, aedificatae A.D. MLCCLIV' – JWH]
Oxon: Oxford, St. Giles's Plate: e.21 Rawl. Prints a.3 f.50 [Rawl. Prints a.3 f.39]	Inscription on a sepulchral stone in the north aisle of St Giles's church, Oxon. Begins:– [Greek] … Hoc dormitarium concess. Facult. Epis. … JL … A.D. 1754 … [Rawlinson Prints a.3, f.39 has an engraving titled: 'Inscriptio Lapidis Sepulcralis in Ala Boreali Eccelsiae Antiquae D. Aegidii Oxon versus Occidentem' – JWH]
Oxon: Oxford, St. Giles's Plate: d.19	St. Giles's church, Oxon., the south side. 'Engraved for Ric. Rawlinson 1754' Printed in Sir J. Peshall's *City of Oxford* (ed. 1773), opp. p. 214 [where it is titled 'Hanc Eccelsiae D. Aegidii in Suburbiis Civ. Oxon. [ut creditor Normannorum tempore] certe ante 1189 ult. R. Hen. aedificatae, faciem Australem in aere excudi jussit *RIC. RAWLINSON LL.D.* Oxon *R.&.H. S.S.* suis sumptibis A.D. MDCCLIV. – JWH].
Oxon: Oxford, St. Giles's Plate: g.37 Rawl. Prints a.5 f.7^{v}	Seal found in a backside of a House near St. Giles's church, Oxon., in the possession of Richard Rawlinson. 'Mater Dei memento mei.'
Oxon: Christ Church College Plate a.8	The South Prospect of the New [Peckwater] Quadrangle of Christ's Church in Oxford [Printed in *Britannia Illustrata*, vol. II, f.45, 1716 (Douce Prints a.25): also in edition of 1717 (Arch. Antiq. a.III.21)]
Oxon: Christ Church College Plate a.7	The North Prospect of the New [Peckwater] Quadrangle of Christ's Church in Oxford [Printed in *Britannia Illustrata*, vol. II, f.46, 1716 (Douce Prints a.25): also in edition of 1717 (Arch. Antiq. a.III.21)]
Oxon: print of g.35 Rawl. Prints a.5 f.2^{v}	Sigillum 'Pridis Oxonie ordines Carmeli' In the possession of Richard Rawlinson.
Oxon: Queen's College Plate d.22	Ichnography of the old chapel of Queen's, Oxon., dedicated to St Mary and All Saints, 18 December 1420. M. Burghers delin et sculpt.
Oxon: Queen's College Plate a.9 [Rawl. Prints a.3 f.28]	The Orthography and Ichnography of Queen's College Library in Oxford. 'Sold by Joseph Smith at y^{e} Picture Shop in Exeter Exchange in y^{e} Strand' [printed in *Britannia Illustrata*, vol. II, f.44 1716 (Douce Prints a.25), also in edition of 1717 (Arch. Antiq. A.III 21)] [Rawlinson Prints a.3 f.28 has a copy with the imprint 'Printed and Sold by Tho^{s} Millward at the Dial and 3 Crowns next the Globe Tavern in Fleet street' – JWH]

Oxon: Queen's College Plate d.21 Rawl. Prints a.3 f.28	Remains of Scholars' Hall, Queen's College, Oxon., view from the east. J Green delin et sculp, Oxon. 1751 [Engraved for E.R. Mores from drawings in the possession of the Provost of Queen's Coll. c.f. Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua*, plate 146]
Oxon: Queen's College Plate e.19 Rawl. Prints a.3 f.30	Interior of the chamber of the Black Prince in [Scholars'] Hall, Queen's College, Oxon. J Green delin et sculp, Oxon. 1751 [Engraved for E.R. Mores from drawings in the possession of the Provost of Queen's Coll. c.f. Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua*, plate 146]
Oxon: University Plate b.8 Rawlinson prints a.5 f.88^{v} Gough Maps 27 f.30	The Muses banner, or a compleat ensign of the arms of the university of Oxford and of all the colleges therein, to which are added those of Winchester, Sion and westminter, also of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' Schools. Dedicated to … James, Duke of Ormond, chancellor of the university of Oxford by … Wm. Jackson [c.1710]
Plot Plate f.76 Rawl. Prints a.4 f.17	A design used with some additions and slight alterations (the Sheldonian & other buildings in the background, a Gorgon's head on the shield, etc.) on the title page of R. Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1705), Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, (1704), etc. The latter has the addition: Delin. MBurghers sculp. Univ. Oxon. 1704.
Rewley Plate g.8	Inscription from a stone found at Rewley in Oxford in the year MDCCV and now preserved in the Physick School there.
Rewley Plate g.7	Rewley monastery
Rewley Plate g.36 Rawl. Prints a.5 f.6	Sigillum commune abbatus et convent de Regal Loco (Rewley, Oxon.). From a charter of the Company of Leathersellers dated 21 September 1431.
Ruins Plate e.40	Ruins, apparently of an abbey (? where).

MSS. Rawlinson Prints a.1 – a.8

Plate No.	*Subject*	*Date*	*Examples, etc.*	*In Guest*
d.22	Queen's College	*c.*1710		Yes
g.8	Rewley Abbey	1711	Rawl. 564 p.39	Yes
e.17	Godstow	1718	MS Rawl. B.408	Yes
d.50	Hearne's Tomb	1736	a.8, f.126	
	Trinity Chapel	1742		
g.57	Oxford Marbles	1747-*c.*1750		
f.63	Hearne's Tomb			
e.20	St Giles's Crypt			Yes
e.21	Inscription			Yes
d.19	St Giles's			Yes
c.23	St Giles's			Yes

Note: Bodley MS. Top. Oxon. d.476 was compiled by E.M. Guest in 1900 and comprises a series of brief descriptions of the copperplates on individual slips pasted into the book in alphabetical order. In addition to the plate descriptions (which generally include cross-references to where examples printed from the plates may be found), there are also some descriptions of engravings (not necessarily from Rawlinson plates) that appear in the Rawlinson 'a' series print volumes, which contain the following material (with some exceptions): a.1 Topography (Berks. – Lincs.); a.2 Topography (Middx. – Norf.); a.3 Topography (Northants. – Wales); a.4 Antiques. Misc.; a.5 Seals, Arms & Genealogy; a.6 Coins and Inscriptions; a.7 Deeds and Charters; and a.8 Portraits. Relatively few of the entries in the Index relate to Oxford, but in addition to Oxford headings there are also a few for Godstow, Osney and Rewley. These have been extracted in the table.