Exemplary Women

Portraits of Female Patrons in Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, 1500–*c.*1640



Anna Clark

St John's College

University of Oxford

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Contents

Acknowledgements **iii**

Contents **vi**

Short Abstract **xi**

Extended Abstract **xiii**

List of Abbreviations **xxi**

Conventions **xxiii**

Introduction **1**

1 Studying Portraits: Methodologies for Dating and Provenance **37**

1.1 Visual Analysis 42

1.2 Documentary Evidence 58

1.3 Technical Analysis: Dendrochronology 68

2 Commemoration in the Early Modern University **83**

2.1 Portraits as Commemorative Tools 83

2.2 The Secular College, Memory, and Commemoration . . . 93
2.3 Mapping the *Milieu de Mémoire* in the Sixteenth-Century College . . . 107
2.4 Memory and Commemoration in Practice . . . 116
2.4.1 Merton College, Oxford . . . 117
2.4.2 St John's College, Oxford . . . 124
2.4.3 Wadham College, Oxford . . . 133

3 Commissioning Portraits 141

3.1 Joyce Frankland . . . 148
3.2 Lady Elizabeth Pope . . . 162
3.3 Lady Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex . . . 174
3.4 Dorothy Wadham . . . 186

4 Acquiring Portraits 201

4.1 Gifts of Portraits 'as a continewall Remembraunce' . . . 214
4.2 The Complexities of Gift Giving as a Female Patron . . . 220
4.3 The Management of Joyce Frankland's Legacy . . . 227
4.4 'Full power and authoritie in my selfe': The 1611 Portrait of Dorothy Wadham . . . 241

5 Displaying Portraits 249

5.1 Collegiate Records . . . 254
5.2 Civic Portraits? . . . 255
5.3 Hierarchies and the Dynamics of Display . . . 263
5.4 Developments in Art and Architecture . . . 271

5.5 Reformations 284

6 Copying Portraits **303**

6.1 Changes Related to Building and Finances 312

6.2 Networks 318

6.3 Confessional Identity 326

6.4 Corporate Identity 338

Conclusion **351**

Appendix **363**

1.1 Portraits of Female Patrons 365

1.2 Male Patrons 404

1.3 Queens and Royal Portrait Sets 431

List of Figures **435**

Bibliography **444**

Short Abstract

This thesis investigates the significance of portraits of female patrons in the colleges of England's two early modern universities, Oxford and Cambridge, during a crucial period of change for these institutions between 1500 and *c.*1640.

The outcome of a collaborative project between the University of Oxford and the National Portrait Gallery, London, this thesis builds on recent art historical scholarship on British portraiture, presenting focused research on a group of early university portraits that have not yet received systematic attention. New discoveries allow us to reassess some better-known examples of university patrons' portraits and expand our knowledge of previously unexplored images. This research informs a new kind of social history of England's two early modern universities, with a particular focus on women's involvement in patronage.

The accumulation of portraits of women in male-dominated colleges was, the author proposes, initially an unplanned reflection of their involvement in patronage, with donations influenced by the popularity of portraiture elsewhere. Images of these female patrons, seldom commissioned with the university in mind, demonstrate their wider values and aims. They provide an opportunity to reflect on how particular identi-

ties shaped women's relationships with colleges and how they affected their depiction through portraiture.

The author argues that, towards the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, these female portraits formed part of the development of a new kind of institutional commemoration specific to collegiate universities. An examination of the dynamics of colleges' relationships with their patrons and institutional practices related to the commission, acquisition, and display of portraiture also allows us to better understand the construction of corporate identity, and the impact of the religious, social, and architectural transformations of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries on academic spaces and communities.

Extended Abstract

This thesis investigates the significance of portraits of female patrons in the colleges of England's two early modern universities, Oxford and Cambridge, during a crucial period of change for these institutions between 1500 and *c.*1640.

This doctoral project, funded by the AHRC, is a collaboration between the University of Oxford and the National Portrait Gallery, London. It builds on recent art historical scholarship on British portraiture, presenting focused research on a group of early university portraits that have not yet received systematic attention. New discoveries allow us to reassess some better-known examples of university patrons' portraits and expand our knowledge of previously unexplored images. This research informs a new kind of social history of England's two early modern universities, with a particular focus on women's involvement in patronage.

The project's research questions are shaped by the rise of a significant number of new secular college foundations in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Oxford and Cambridge. This expansion brought with it a considerable number of female founders and benefactors. Before the sixteenth century, royal and aristocratic women had already been instrumental in the foundation of five colleges across Oxford and Cambridge:

Balliol College, Oxford (1263); Clare Hall, Cambridge (1326); The Queen's College, Oxford (1341); Pembroke College, Cambridge (1347); and Queens' College, Cambridge (1448). However, the increase in the number of female founders over the next century suggests that their influence within the university was growing.

This thesis makes a link between these changes and the striking numbers of portraits of sixteenth-century female sitters in the early modern colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Within the colleges and, most particularly, within sixteenth-century foundations, there is a visual record of the involvement with the university of not just royal women, but women of increasingly varied social status. As the number of new foundations increased, alongside opportunities for substantial acts of patronage, the portable nature of independent portraiture allowed active female patrons to commemorate their involvement. Portraits enabled them to ensure their conspicuous visibility as part of the visual landscape of spaces in which the tradition of female representation was meagre.

The accumulation of portraits of women in male-dominated colleges was, the author proposes, initially an unplanned reflection of their involvement in patronage, with donations influenced by the popularity of portraiture elsewhere. Images of these female patrons, seldom commissioned with the university in mind, demonstrate their wider values and aims. They provide an opportunity to reflect on how particular identities shaped women's relationships with colleges and how they affected their depiction through portraiture.

The author argues that the portraits of these women, which were often initially conceived as private, domestic portraiture, were the result of negotiations between the competing motivations of a wider network, including family relations, male associates,

and the colleges themselves. Display as part of college collections resulted in modifications in meaning to suit the needs of their new environments. Investigating these changes raises the question of whether the gender of the sitter affected the value of the portrait within male-dominated university institutions. The outcomes of these enquiries allow us to compare women's depiction in university commemoration with current understandings of their position in wider society in the sixteenth century.

Towards the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the author argues, these female portraits formed part of the development of a new kind of institutional commemoration specific to collegiate universities. These institutions were central to sixteenth-century political and religious life. By examining their engagement with artistic developments, this thesis not only contributes to our knowledge of early modern portraiture but also reveals in new ways how educational institutions responded to different kinds of change. An examination of the dynamics of colleges' relationships with their patrons and institutional practices related to the commission, acquisition, and display of portraiture allows us to better understand the construction of corporate identity, and the impact of the religious, social, and architectural transformations of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Centring the portraits themselves, the subsequent chapters are arranged according to the stages in the life or career of a portrait, from the circumstances of its commission, the process of its acquisition by university institutions, and its subsequent display. Also considered are the pictorial and physical afterlives of these portraits, including alterations and the production of copies and prints. Informed by the methods of recent innovative portrait research, the first chapter outlines the cross-disciplinary basis of the

project, explaining the author's use of visual interpretation, documentary sources, and scientific analysis, and indicating where distinctive contributions can be made to the fields of both history and art history.

The second chapter grounds this study in an understanding of the secular college's commemorative landscape in the pre-Reformation period, before the rise of easel portraiture as a medium. The author considers the comprehensive nature of modern collegiate portrait collections, moving on to demonstrate that what was on the walls mattered then as it matters now. By reconstructing the visual landscape of Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the early sixteenth century, and considering the other forms of commemorative imagery that pre-dated portraiture, the author shows that portraits have not always enjoyed such a dominant position within collegiate institutions. Case studies trace commemorative priorities in different kinds of college. Examining their interest in maintaining spiritual practices, civic hierarchies, and kinship ties helps us to understand how portraits gained traction and adapted to the changes of the sixteenth century.

Chapter three investigates what female college patrons were trying to achieve through their portraits, whether they were initially intended for university display or not. In the context of most early modern portraits of women, these images had unusual afterlives, and an understanding of the specificity of their initial conception is essential to further analysis of their changing meanings over time, once they entered college spaces. Through an encounter with each sitter, built on visual analysis and supported by archival and technical evidence, the author evaluates the priorities and concerns of the kinds of women who went on to become patrons of colleges, and identifies how they

were expressed through portraiture.

The relationships of these sitters with colleges form part of this analysis but, as far as possible, the portraits themselves are considered as they were before they were subsumed into college collections. This is because the majority of these portraits were not conceived as institutional objects. It is in the fourth chapter that the portraits studied in chapter three begin to arrive in the commemorative landscapes investigated in chapter two. Here the focus is on the varied processes of acquisition, who facilitated the relocation of these portraits and why. The author explores how gender affected who had ownership of and responsibility for these portraits and whether, in a new setting, these portraits developed new meanings different from those intended at the moment of their commission.

The fifth chapter extends the focus of this thesis beyond the processes of acquisition to consider display. Tracking portraits' location through their movement from one place to another, the author analyses how significant certain spaces were. Examining how portraits were treated also allows us to ask whether the gender of the sitter continued to affect the status of particular portraits in early college collections. This chapter identifies the local and national catalysts for changes in engagement with portraiture over the period before the widespread proliferation of copies.

The repetition of particular images and portrait forms within college collections forms the basis of the last chapter, arguing against the value judgements that have excluded lower-quality copies from art historical evaluation. Understanding the distinct moments at which colleges decide to commission copies of portraits already in their college collections is important. By evaluating the college's circumstances at a specific

moment in time, we can build a picture of the varied practical, cultural, economic, and spiritual motivations for the reproduction and repurposing of images of female patrons. The print afterlives of these images are also considered.

With portraits as its focus, this thesis constructs a new history of university institutions and women's involvement in them. Female donors, the colleges themselves, and sometimes interested third parties began to engage with portraiture in this period as a tool that sustained traditional systems of commemorative meaning, but also allowed them to adapt to the many far-reaching changes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In art historical terms, this was unquestionably a period of transition, involving the shift from pre-Reformation commemorative forms to the development of a very different conception of art and its purposes by the seventeenth century. However, this thesis shows that traditionally art historical sources such as portraits are also an essential part of our understanding of historical change within these institutions. Portraits provide a glimpse of the preoccupations and changing values of this period. Additionally, the position occupied by patrons' portraits, representing individuals who were both part of collegiate life but also external figures, extends further the possibilities of this work, allowing us to look beyond these institutions to understand how the changes they experienced relate to wider societal developments.

Early university portraits have long been disregarded from an art historical perspective due to the prevalence of copies and of works deemed to be of secondary quality. This neglect is particularly applicable to portraits of women, who fit less comfortably into the early institutional histories of these male-dominated foundations. This thesis demonstrates the value of studying these portraits, and produces the first

dedicated history of university portraits that focuses on the reception and repurposing of early portraits in the longue durée. The commemorative function of portraits of female patrons has been subject to a process of continual change. By investigating the development of these portraits, this project contributes to our understanding of the changing influence of gender and social class on patronage and access to scholarly communities. It also traces how portraits shaped the formation of institutional memory practices, many of which we still encounter, alongside these portraits, in the same spaces today.

List of Abbreviations

BNCO	Oxford, Brasenose College Archives
Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows'	T. Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', in K. A. Coles and E. Keller (eds), *Routledge Companion to Women, Sex, and Gender in the Early British Colonial World* (London, 2019), pp. 104-119
Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*	R. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits in the Possession of the University, College, City and County of Oxford* (3 vols, Oxford, 1912–1925)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com (Accessed: 14 July 2023)
SJCC	Cambridge, St John's College Archives
SJCO	Oxford, St John's College Archives
Tittler, *The Face of the City*	R. Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2013)
TNA	The National Archives, London

Conventions

This thesis uses New Style dates, with the year beginning on 1 January. Quotations from archival sources are verbatim, but contractions have been expanded using square brackets to highlight where additions have been made. Figure captions reflect my own understanding of each portrait's artist and date based on my research. The appendix notes where this differs from previous publications and presents my reasoning for the change.

Word Count: 113,429 (approx.). I would like to reiterate my thanks to the History Faculty for an exemption to the word limit up to 30,000 words to incorporate my image appendix.

Introduction

Approaching the high table in the Hall of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, today, the eye is drawn to five sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraits that hang behind it, forming the centrepiece of the space's commemorative scheme. These five portraits are framed by heraldry linked to College members and benefactors, displayed in stained glass and carved wood above, and by the seated figures of the College's current senior members dining below. As a result, visual continuity is established between the institution's present and its past. The similar size of these half-length portraits, and their uniform display in five equal bays of panelling, suggest to the viewer an ordered representation of the College's early history.

The particular selection of sitters, of two masters and three patrons, emphasises the College's sixteenth-century development.[1] This is unsurprising given the reversal of Gonville and Caius' fortunes in this period, as it was re-founded, re-endowed, and re-named to acknowledge the substantial patronage of its master, Dr John Caius. More unexpected, perhaps, is the inclusion of portraits of two women in this small group. While, in the twenty-first century, there has been a developing interest in wider

[1] The portraits depict: John Caius, founder and master of the College 1559–1573; Thomas Legge, master 1573–1607; Robert and Joan Trappes, patrons; and Joyce Frankland, patron and daughter of the Trappeses.

representation in college spaces, the presence of sixteenth-century women runs counter to perceptions of a male-dominated era of the College's history. We might ask how reflective this was of the early modern university.

The acquisition of portraits was just one of a series of changes over the course of this period. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, a growing student population in both Oxford and Cambridge generated demand for new accommodation.[2] At the same time, the balance between an informal system of halls and hostels and endowed collegiate foundations began to shift towards the latter, creating new opportunities for patronage.[3] For both universities, the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were marked by building projects, at old and new colleges, with many plots of land, buildings, and construction materials becoming available after the dissolution of the monasteries and the closure of the old monastic colleges.

Women's contribution to university patronage in this period is clear, and their involvement cannot be considered to have been a new phenomenon.[4] In the three centuries before 1500, royal and aristocratic women had already been instrumental in the foundation of five colleges across Oxford and Cambridge: Balliol College, Oxford (1263); Clare Hall, Cambridge (1326); The Queen's College, Oxford (1341); Pembroke College, Cambridge (1347); and Queens' College, Cambridge (1448). Additionally, there was a consistent level of smaller benefactions from local women. For example,

[2] A. B. Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380–1500', in J. I. Catto and T. A. R. Evans (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume II: Late Medieval Oxford*, History of the University of Oxford (Oxford, 1992), p. 628; D. R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge: Volume 1, The University to 1546* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 225.

[3] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls', p. 633.

[4] Cliff Davies emphasises that, by 1610, Dorothy Wadham's foundation at Wadham College, Oxford, was 'by no means unprecedented'. C. S. L. Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere; Dorothy Wadham and the Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford', *The English Historical Review*, 118/478 (2003), p. 883.

landowners like Emmelina Carr, a resident of All Saints parish and wife of a university Bedel living in proximity to Lincoln College, Oxford, acted as benefactors to nearby institutions. In 1436, Carr bequeathed to the College a number of family properties owned independently of her husband.[5]

Nevertheless, while women's participation in university patronage was no innovation, the sixteenth-century increase in the number of female founders suggests that their influence within the Universities was growing in significance and visibility. Between 1505 and 1610, three of the five new foundations (there were also two refoundations) at Cambridge were established by women. In Oxford, it was two in seven. In both cities, these numbers matched the combined number of female foundations from the preceding three centuries. By the seventeenth century, the expansion of the collegiate system slowed and, after 1610, no colleges were founded by women at either university until the first women's colleges opened in the 1860s and 1870s. The impact of the sixteenth-century female founder can be felt in the choice of the name 'Lady Margaret Hall' for the first female-founded Oxford college for 268 years, invoking the memory of the founder of multiple Cambridge colleges, Margaret Beaufort.

This period of opportunity for both male and female patrons of education is recorded through portraiture, which first arrived in England's universities at this date. Figurative depictions in window glass, wall paintings, and decorative schemes could be seen in the medieval university but, for the first time, colleges also displayed independent painted images, initially on panel and then on canvas, representing specific individuals. The number of portraits of female patrons is striking because most representations

[5] V. H. H. Green, *The Commonwealth of Lincoln College, 1427–1977* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 15-16.

of women in the university before the sixteenth century depicted saints, allegorical figures, or monarchs (who were sometimes also patrons). These new portraits were a distinctly collegiate phenomenon. The collection of the University of Cambridge, housed in the Old Schools, a central building for university business, includes just two sixteenth-century portraits of female sitters, both royal.[6] The University of Oxford does not appear to have possessed any portraits of women at an early date.[7] However, within the colleges of the sixteenth century, and most particularly within new colleges, there is a visual record of the involvement with the university of not just royal women, but women of increasingly varied social status. As the number of new foundations increased, alongside opportunities for substantial acts of patronage, the portable nature of independent portraiture allowed active female patrons to commemorate their involvement. Portraits enabled them to ensure their conspicuous visibility as part of the visual landscape of spaces in which the tradition of female representation was meagre.

This doctoral project, funded by the AHRC, is a collaboration between the University of Oxford and the National Portrait Gallery, London. It expands the reach of recent art historical scholarship on British portraiture, presenting focused research on a group of early university portraits that have not yet received systematic attention. New discoveries allow us to reassess some better-known examples of university patrons' portraits and expand our knowledge of previously unexplored images, with a particular focus on women's patronage.

I use the interactions between university colleges and their patrons through por-

[6] J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of Cambridge Portraits* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. xvii-xx, 2-3, 11-12.
[7] R. Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 169-72; Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, i, pp. 1-130.

traiture as a way of looking at how these institutions functioned as part of sixteenth-century society. I examine why it was important for colleges to maintain relationships with their patrons, particularly through commemorative media. With this in mind, my research asks who were the female patrons depicted in college portraiture, what were their values and aims, and why were they able to take advantage of new opportunities for educational patronage. Not all female supporters of Oxford and Cambridge's early modern colleges are commemorated there in portraits. Identifying the commonalities between the women that were depicted, such as widowhood or childlessness, brings us closer to understanding the function of their portraits as part of these institutions. Nevertheless, an exploration of the differences between these women, in terms of status, religious beliefs, and personal circumstances, is also important. This work provides an opportunity to reflect on how the women's identities shaped their relationships with colleges and whether it affected the way that they were depicted through portraiture.

The central question that shapes this project is the extent to which the accumulation of portraits of women in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge was a coincidental reflection of their involvement in the Universities, with donations influenced by the rise of portraiture elsewhere, or whether these women were actively participating in the development of a new kind of institutional commemoration of patronage. My work demonstrates that at the beginning of this period the acquisition of portraiture was broadly opportunistic, before becoming more intentional towards the end of the sixteenth century. As the popularity of commemorative portraiture grew, the independence of some female patrons afforded them the opportunity for self-commemoration through portraiture. However, more common was the development of a relationship between female donors and networks of men associated with the colleges themselves, who

were able to act as agents directing available legacies and commemorative portraiture towards the foundations to which they were loyal.

I argue that the portraits of these women, which were often initially conceived as private, domestic portraiture, were the result of negotiations between the competing motivations of a wider network, including family relations, male associates, and the colleges themselves. Display as part of college collections resulted in modifications in meaning to suit the needs of their new environments. Investigating these changes raises the question of whether the gender of the sitter affected the value of the portrait within male-dominated university institutions. Such enquiries also allow us to compare women's depiction in university commemoration with current understandings of their position in wider society in the sixteenth century.

Another important objective of this work is to consider questions of use for understanding sixteenth-century portraiture more broadly, looking at the reception of this new artistic form in university colleges, including their display and reproduction. The Hall portraits at Gonville and Caius are good examples of the adoption of portraiture. Although presented in the Hall as a group today, these five portraits were neither acquired at the same time nor initially intended for this space—a fact both typical and revealing.[8] Investigating when and where portraits were set up, taken down, or otherwise altered tells us about how they were understood. Nevertheless, the sectional nature of the Oxford and Cambridge collegiate systems has to date discouraged an integrated study of portraiture's role in these early modern pedagogical institutions.

[8] Three of the portraits now displayed in the Hall, those of Joyce Frankland and her parents, were donated as a group in 1587 and were intended for display in the Chapel or Oratory.

As well as its value to art historians, this approach has undoubted significance for the work of social and cultural historians because it constructs a new kind of history of England's academic communities and their networks of support, conceptualising change over time in these environments using visual and material culture and spatial practices. Observing the transformation in commemoration through portraits in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge offers us a new perspective on the impact of the Reformation, artistic developments, and changing social structures on these academic institutions and their social and political hinterlands.

In total, the examination of seventy portraits forms the basis of this thesis. This number is made up of three different groups of sitters.

My research is centred on the analysis of extant portraits of eight female sitters about whom we can develop a detailed picture of their patronage. The variety in their social standing builds on preliminary work already undertaken on portraits in university institutions, widening the range of portraits studied. I investigate college-owned portraits of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and Queen Elizabeth I as royal patrons; Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, and Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, represent two examples of aristocratic sitters; Elizabeth Pope and Dorothy Wadham are included as members of the gentry classes; and portraits of Joan Trappes and Joyce Frankland depict women from the middling classes or urban elite.

The analysis of these eight patrons is supported by research into the portraits of eight other identified female sitters in Oxford and Cambridge colleges. These women are either sitters, usually of lower status, for whom we have fewer records, medieval

patrons depicted retrospectively in the sixteenth century, or members of the Tudor and Jacobean royal families who were represented in colleges as a result of their status but were not active patrons to university colleges. Each of these examples contributes differently to our picture of the developing function of portraits in the relationship between colleges, their institutional history, and the world outside their walls.

A project that seeks to determine the significance of gender in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century university portraiture would not be complete without a comparative sample of male sitters. Therefore, in the following chapters, I have also chosen to discuss portraits of fifteen male subjects who were connected to female patrons, or whose portraits featured in the same collections.

Essential to interpreting these paintings is evidence of their acquisition, commission, and display in written records. I use wills and the personal papers of the sitters alongside institutional records such as accounts and inventories from thirteen Oxford and Cambridge colleges. In addition, existing records of technical analysis are considered, and I have commissioned new dendrochronological analysis (tree-ring dating of oak panels) for a number of panels.

Often college collections will have multiple images of the same sitter, and are usually a composite assortment of early portraits and later reproductions. For clarity, and in line with other portrait research, the term 'version' is used throughout this thesis to describe similar, and sometimes near duplicate, portraits made contemporaneously and often from a live sitting. 'Copy' is used to describe the later production of a portrait that reproduces an earlier work.

Appended to this thesis is a catalogue summary of the portraits that form a key

part of this study. It details both the existing visual and documentary information made available through earlier work and new findings from this project. The appendix also lists portraits' location, related literature, and relevant technical analysis and conservation work. It is organised by sitter, to allow for visual comparison of versions and copies, and may be navigated alphabetically by the surname of the sitter.

The development of and changing use of portraiture over time informs the scope of this thesis. Many recent major studies of early modern painting locate their analysis of the development of English portraiture approximately between the dates 1500–*c.*1640.[9] A starting date of 1500 also recognises the peak of the personal involvement in universities of Margaret Beaufort, not just an early sixteenth-century female patron, but the first woman to be depicted in portrait form in England's universities. The colleges she founded, and which later housed her portraits, are key examples of pre-Reformation colleges, an essential starting point for charting the development of commemorative forms.

When defining the later end of the range, *c.*1640, it is significant that Robert Tittler's study of institutional portraiture through the Reformation until shortly before the Civil Wars recognises the years following 1640 as a period representing a different set of challenges for corporate communities.[10] University colleges, which were communities of scholars incorporated by royal charter, fit into this group. The disruption to the Universities in 1640s and 1650s and its effect on both patronage and the cohesion of

[9] K. Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530–1630* (London, 1995); Tittler, *The Face of the City*; Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elites of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales 1540–1620* (New Haven, 2012); R. Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England 1540–1640* (Oxford, 2012); T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard and E. Town (eds), *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford, 2015), p. 2; R. Tittler, *Painting for a Living in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge, 2022).
[10] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 2-3.

college life is an important subject, but is largely beyond the scope of the current project and is only considered here in brief. Additionally, the last female college founder in this period, Dorothy Wadham, who established Wadham College, Oxford, died in 1618. Concluding this investigation in *c.*1640 allows for the analysis of early copies of portraits of each of the sitters studied. Some discussion of the afterlives and print culture that developed from these images necessarily looks beyond this date, but a focus on 1500–*c.*1640 is an opportunity to understand the place of women and portraiture in academic environments during a distinctive period in the history of England's universities, after the rise of the secular college, rather than their monastic counterparts or more informal hostels and halls, and before the tumult of the mid-seventeenth century.

Women and the Early Modern University College

One of the key contributions of this thesis is the reevaluation of how and why women exercised agency through artistic and educational patronage. Before exploring the value of using portraits to address this research question, it is worth first considering what written records tell us about women's engagement with the early modern university.

By the sixteenth century, women already participated in the industry and activity of collegiate life in a variety of ways.[11] Bursars' accounts at a wide range of colleges demonstrate that many of the workers providing them with commodities and services were women. At St John's College, Oxford, for example, women were employed to

[11] See John Fletcher and Christopher Upton's early work expanding our idea of these institutions beyond strongholds of masculinity: J. M. Fletcher and C. A. Upton, "Monastic Enclave' or 'Open Society'? A Consideration of the Role of Women in the Life of an Oxford College Community in the Early Tudor Period', *History of Education*, 16/1 (1987), p. 8.

assist with laundry, weeding, sweeping, and other menial labour.[12] Female merchants and tradespeople, often widowed, provided the college with food, drink, and other items.[13] Additionally, female landholders and tenants paid rent to the college and, like Emmelina Carr, a small proportion of benefactors were women.

It is important not to minimise the level of patronage performed by medieval women, but this thesis argues that the sixteenth century offered distinctive opportunities for involvement with academic institutions.[14] These can, in part, be attributed to the gaps created by the dissolution of the monastic colleges and changing levels of wealth across England's social strata as result of the Reformation. The evolving scope of sixteenth-century patronage expanded women's role in the intellectual and spiritual purposes of the college beyond a day-to-day involvement with the financial and practical side of college life.

There were numerous reasons for women to enter collegiate spaces beyond their usual admittance as part of court retinues or for employment. Margaret Beaufort had lodgings for herself built over the Master's Lodgings at Christ's College, Cambridge.[15] Additionally, sometimes, women with patronage connections were entertained at the

[12] See SJCO, ACC I.A 10, '*Computus Annuus*, 1598–1604', fo. 143r for laundry; ACC I.A 12, '*Computus Annuus*, 1617–28', fo. 21r for weeding, and fos. 20v-21v for sweeping.

[13] Oxford, SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus*, 1578-9, 1580-1', p. 69: 'It[e]m 1° Decembris geven widdow sawiers man for bringinge halfe a boare'.

[14] Women's involvement in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge can be seen interspersed throughout medieval histories of these institutions and their colleges, but scholarship that explores the gendered nature of their patronage is uncommon. Alan Cobban provides an overview of medieval benefaction, integrating women's patronage in A. B. Cobban, 'English University Benefactors in the Middle Ages', *History*, 86/283 (2001), pp. 288-312. Some further examples can be seen in Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge: Volume 1*, p. 261-2, discussing Margaret of Anjou and Dame Alice Whyche and in T. H. Aston and R. Faith, 'The Endowments of the University and Colleges to *circa* 1348' in J. I. Catto and R. Evans (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume I: The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 282-4 on Ela Longespee, Dervorguilla Balliol and others. My thanks to Elena Rossi for discussing the medieval university with me.

[15] L. Durning, 'Woman on Top: Lady Margaret Beaufort's Buildings at Christ's College, Cambridge', in L. Durning and R. Wrigley (eds), *Gender and Architecture* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 45-66.

college: for example, Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke and daughter of Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, a patron of St John's College in Cambridge, was given wine, sugar cakes, and a pair of gloves on her visit there during the 1612-13 academic year.[16] Dorothy Wadham, founder of Wadham College, Oxford, did not visit her foundation or cross over its threshold, but she maintained a regular epistolary involvement in its governance until her death.[17] Women from a variety of backgrounds began to take a more substantial and often more official role in shaping college life through repeated interactions with college members and through altering or entering the college's physical space.

As we continue to think about the active involvement of patrons with colleges, the question of what we mean by female agency is important. Women's position in sixteenth-century English society was generally one of limited access to political and economic influence.[18] Nevertheless, historical scholarship on female patronage uncovers its role in women's exercise of financial and ideological autonomy.[19] Charity was commonplace in many women's lives in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As inheritors of their parents' estates, as married women, and as parents, women were expected to bring credit to their family through charity. This often took the form of generous giving over the course of their lives, and in the management of familial estates after a death, including acting as executors to the estates of their husbands. Ian Archer's study of the specific charity of widows living in London between *c.*1550 and

[16] SJCC, SJAR.3/2/4/3, 'Rental 1600–1619', fo. 310v: 'It[em] for ye Countesse of Pembrooke & hir followers 3 pottles of brued Claret j pottle of white brued & j dozen of sugar Cakes'; 'It[em] for a payer of gloves bestowed upon her'.
[17] D. Wadham, *The Letters of Dorothy Wadham, 1609–1618*, ed. R. B. Gardiner (London, 1904).
[18] A. Laurence, 'Women in the British Isles in the Sixteenth Century', in R. Tittler and N. L. Jones (eds), *A Companion to Tudor Britain* (Malden, MA, 2004), pp. 381, 386.
[19] Ibid., p. 384.

1620 reveals that women frequently gave to the poor, hospitals, prisons, and the clergy.[20] They also arranged funerary doles and gave mourning gowns to their supporters. While educational bequests were pursued by some, much charity was conducted within the civic unit of the parish, with interpersonal charitable giving, such as 'bequests to kin...and servants', taking precedence over grander educational schemes.[21]

The involvement of women in different kinds of localised patronage encourages us to consider whether there was something different about large-scale educational patronage compared to parish-level benefactions. Were these opportunities only open to women with access to a particular set of financial and cultural resources? Claire Gobbi Daunton and Elizabeth A. New's work on medieval Cambridge articulates the possible difference between acts of patronage and acts of beneficence in the period between the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries. 'Personal and public patronage... were put on display in order to cement a system in which figures dispensing the patronage were in charge' whereas beneficence '... created a benefit for the individual; generosity and a concern for spiritual welfare in life and beyond death went hand in hand'.[22] They imply that the role of the patron is gendered, conferring 'fatherly protection'.[23] Women's patronage could be both charitable benefaction and assertive intervention. It is broadly this type of patronage linked to the exercise of power within the university that forms the focus of this thesis, although references to smaller benefactions are used to supplement wider

[20] I. Archer, 'The Charity of London Widows in the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in N. L. Jones D. R. Woolf (eds), *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 178–206.
[21] Ibid., pp. 183–4.
[22] C. G. Daunton and E. A. New, 'Patrons and Benefactors: The Masters of Trinity Hall in the Later Middle Ages', in J. S. Lee and C. Steer (eds), *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 63.
[23] Ibid., p. 63.

arguments.

At issue is the extent to which we can understand women's choices as patrons as being shaped by gendered roles, or as presenting a challenge to them. Here, Tarnya Cooper's work combining research into female portraiture and sitter biography is useful as a model for how we might use portraiture to investigate the dynamics of women's patronage. In the case of Joyce Frankland, whose portrait at Gonville and Caius we have already noted, Cooper's study uncovering her 'personal agency' and motivations for depiction is an excellent example of how we can interpret these images visually to explain the appearance of female portraits in such homosocial spaces.[24]

For Cooper, widowed patrons stand out. Their single, and sometimes childless, status contributed to their pursuit of patronage as a way of exercising a kind of pseudo-male independence, in addition to their concern for their piety in the context of their familial lineage.[25] This thesis expands the scope of the kind of work begun by Cooper by looking at a range of female sitters in England's universities over the course of one hundred and forty years. Focusing on the commission and acquisition of portraits, I examine women's patronage as an activity positioned within their particular familial, professional, regional, and spiritual networks in order to interrogate the idea that female involvement in universities disrupted existing gender hierarchies. This focus on gender has wider implications too, with the display of women's images in these homosocial spaces revealing women's participation in a range of institutional change at this important moment in the development of England's two early modern universities.

[24] T. Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', in K. A. Coles and E. Keller (eds), *Routledge Companion to Women, Sex, and Gender in the Early British Colonial World* (London, 2019), pp. 107–11.
[25] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 104.

Collecting and Display in the Early Modern College

This brings us to the second substantial contribution made by this thesis: that collegiate attitudes to the collecting and display of the female portraits studied here can give us a better understanding of how colleges functioned as institutions. I argue that interpreting colleges' interactions with patrons' portraits gives new insight into how they responded to the political, religious, and social transformations of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Much of the existing work on portraits outside of the court and elite domestic spaces has focused on 'civic' institutions and display in the homes of individual citizens. This work interprets the meaning of these portraits in relation to the sitters' membership of civic communities, often with reference to local administration or the social organisation of Britain's towns and cities.[26] Portraits of patrons, scholars, and officials within universities have frequently been included in this group. For example, Tittler's work on a variety of early modern institutions begins the important work of mapping early modern portraits known to have been in university collections in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is part of a wider study of what Tittler defines as 'civic' portraiture. For Tittler, civic portraits were distinct from those made for courtly or domestic use. He asserts that the 'emblematic and iconographic programmes' that celebrated the prestige and reputation of individuals and their families were particular to 'personal' portraits.[27] Apart from heraldry, 'it is extremely unusual to find any

[26] Tittler, *The Face of the City*; Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*.
[27] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 6.

of these devices in their civic counterparts'.[28] The purpose of civic portraiture, in contrast, was to legitimize institutions by creating a visual culture that celebrated the achievements of the community and its members over those of the individual.[29] Tittler's definition allows for portraits that have been commissioned by the sitters themselves as well as those created for the institution of which they were a member. Nevertheless, he proposes that the crucial attribute of 'civic' portraits is that they were 'displayed in civic spaces'.[30]

There is substantial overlap between the kind of civic institution Tittler describes and university colleges. As new kinds of patron from the commercial elite became interested in the Universities, the commemorative media of institutions like the London guilds began to influence academic spaces. Nevertheless, the permeable, but distinct, boundary between 'town' and 'gown' in Oxford and Cambridge suggests that we should approach a definition of their colleges as straightforwardly civic with caution. While both universities held significant influence over the cities in which they resided and while colleges were, like town halls and livery companies, corporate institutions, they also had a variety of distinctive functions. These communities of scholars were places for education and religious worship (including arrangements for local preaching), and also served as a domicile for those who worked within their walls.[31] This thesis argues that the colleges developed a more particular form of portraiture specific to their own

[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., pp. 5, 167.
[30] Ibid., p. 5.
[31] It is worth remembering that secular colleges were not developed from secular civic society, but owe their development to, as Clive Burgess outlines, 'medieval spiritual corporations'. See C. Burgess, 'An Institution for All Seasons: The Late Medieval English College', in C. Burgess and M. Heale (eds), *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (York, 2008), pp. 4, 12-16. Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge and beyond were more integrated with civic society than monastic institutions and encompassed a range of functions, but their early relationship to religious practice and the Church makes them distinct.

communities to suit their individual commemorative needs. The chapters that follow argue that college spaces cannot be understood as either entirely or consistently civic and that portraits in these institutions performed roles that can be more comfortably understood as what I term 'collegiate' rather than civic.

In order to decide how we might begin to understand collegiate portraiture as a specific genre, it is helpful to observe which colleges collected portraits in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and what the motivations for those acquisitions might have been. What was the purpose and significance of portraiture within these particular institutions? Patterns of portrait ownership at Oxford are often traceable in Rachel Lane Poole's wide-ranging catalogue, completed in 1925, which lists the portraits owned by the Bodleian Library and the colleges themselves.[32] While Kenneth Garlick's updated catalogue of the Bodleian has highlighted and corrected misidentifications and other errors in Poole's first volume only, her preliminary survey remains a valuable resource for the colleges.[33] At Cambridge, J. W. Goodison's catalogues of university-held portraits and several college collections, produced in 1955 and 1985 respectively, give a worthwhile representative sample.[34] Additionally, college archivists and keepers of pictures have sometimes produced small print runs of catalogues based on college picture records.

Evidence that not all colleges participated in the collection of portraits in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is important for determining the function

[32] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, i-iii.
[33] R. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits of the Bodleian Library*, ed. K. Garlick (Oxford, 2004), p. viii
[34] Goodison, *Catalogue of Cambridge Portraits*; J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of the Portraits in Christ's, Clare and Sidney Sussex Colleges* (Cambridge, 1985).

and legacy of these objects. Tittler has identified a correlation between the acquisition of portraits by university colleges and the patronage of wealthy benefactors, often associated with the court.[35] The substantial sums of money entering some foundations led to a flurry of building work in Cambridge and subsequently in Oxford. This, according to Tittler, accounts for the more extensive collecting in Cambridge, with which Oxford caught up not long after the turn of the seventeenth century. It is difficult to establish accurately the parameters of early collections, but for the colleges for which that kind of work is possible, the numbers of portraits appear to bear out Tittler's conclusions.

In Oxford, the leading confirmable concentrations of pre-seventeenth-century portraits mostly appear in societies that were either new foundations in the sixteenth century, such as Corpus Christi and St John's, or those that undertook large building projects—in some cases amounting to refoundation—such as Exeter College. At Cambridge, sixteenth-century foundations such as Christ's, St John's, and Trinity boasted numerous pre-seventeenth-century portraits of patrons, as did Gonville and Caius (founded 1348, refounded 1557). New colleges, or those experiencing periods of renewal, accumulated collections of portraiture, perhaps because they did not already possess more established forms of commemoration, or because they were attempting to demonstrate their innovation. There were of course some exceptions, like Peterhouse, Cambridge (founded 1284), which commissioned a portrait set of benefactors and members known to have been displayed in the Combination Room, but which are now mostly in the Hall.[36] Additionally, older Oxford colleges, such as Balliol College and New

[35] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 42-3.
[36] C. Daunt, 'Portrait Sets in Tudor and Jacobean England' (PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 2015), i, p. 31.

College, did acquire portraits in this period, but often later than more contemporary foundations, possibly as a result of an attachment to more conservative commemorative forms. These older forms of representation, such as heraldic achievements and figurative glass, had a sustained importance for all colleges and, as will be seen in chapter two, recur in the conventions of early independent portraiture on panel and canvas.

Although portrait collections were predominantly concentrated in more recent foundations, not every college established in the sixteenth and seventeenth century can be associated with the rise in the adoption of this new medium driven by young collegiate institutions. It cannot be confirmed whether Christ Church, Oxford (founded 1546), acquired any meaningful number of early portraits before its enthusiastic adoption of the medium during its more widespread popularity in the early seventeenth century. Similarly, Pembroke College, Oxford (founded 1623), does not appear to have made portraiture a priority in the early years of its establishment.

There was a division, therefore, between these new colleges, set up as portraiture began to flourish in other settings. Some became involved in this new form of commemoration and others were slow to adopt it. This suggests that patrons themselves were an important catalyst for acquisition. Not all portraits in colleges during the period studied depicted founders and benefactors. Collections also included images of monarchs, and later, masters, college officers, students, and sometimes even college servants. However, founders and patrons continued to be the group most significantly represented, following the earlier models of visual representation within colleges.

Where foundations had more complex relationships with their most substantial patrons, these circumstances could result in the delayed adoption of portraiture. The

foundation of Pembroke College, Oxford, was a result of a 1610 bequest by Thomas Tesdale, intended for Balliol College, to create both scholarships and fellowships for the students of Abingdon School and Christ's Hospital, Abingdon, where he had been master.[37] Thirteen years after his death, the decision was made to combine these funds with a donation by Richard Wightwick, a clergyman, to develop a college from Broadgates Hall. Named Pembroke in honour of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford who had assisted the foundation, the college was a patchwork collection of benefactions. There are contemporary portraits of Tesdale's wife Maud, and later Thomas himself, at Christ's Hospital school, where they had active roles as benefactors, rather than at Pembroke.[38] Similarly, at Christ Church, originally established as Cardinal College, there was no more than one portrait of the founder, Cardinal Wolsey, until 1610-11 and the earliest image of him is of uncertain provenance.[39] Christ Church may have sought to distance itself from its initial founder in the early years after its refoundation by King Henry VIII in 1546.

At colleges with larger early collections, administrative records show that founders and benefactors were sometimes actively involved in the college's acquisition of their own or an associate's likeness. Rather than a tradition established by colleges seeking to commemorate all of their supporters, as becomes more commonplace towards the end of this period, early college portraits were often an extension of the donor's involvement, commemorating their connection to the establishment.

The significance of the involvement of patrons in the establishment of college

[37] J. Platt, 'Tesdale, Thomas', *ODNB* (Oxford, September 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27150 (14 July 2023).
[38] Tittler, *The Face of The City*, pp. 68, 152.
[39] Ibid., p. 172.

portrait collections reaffirms that studying these images from the moment of their commission is important to make sense of both the portraits themselves and the collections they sit in. However, if we are going to use collegiate portraits as a lens through which to understand academic communities as well as their supporters, we also need to consider two further questions; how were portraits used within existing college spaces and what were their expected functions? To answer these questions, this thesis draws upon a number of theories developed by scholars of early British portraiture. This provides a conceptual framework for studying these portraits from the meanings intended by the sitter to their subsequent lives as part of an institutional collection.

Theoretical Approaches

One of the fundamental commemorative functions of portraiture is the role of the images as text, projecting a certain narrative about the subject represented. Roy Strong's early interventions in the study of the portraiture of early modern Britain, *The English Icon* and its companion project *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, understood the details of portraits, such as dress, props, iconography, heraldry, and inscriptions, as a kind of document that communicated specific attributes and characteristics to represent the sitter.[40] Peter Burke's 1987 work on early modern Italian portraiture presented a similar concept to describe how portraits both held and communicated meaning, suggesting that a system of codes and symbols allowed sitters to fashion identities as

[40] R. Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture* (London, 1969); R. Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (2 vols, London, 1969).

'social types' and as individuals.[41] For Burke, the key to the accurate interpretation of these messages was an audience conversant in the appropriate language of signs.[42] In this model, images are governed by linguistic conventions, describing a kind of visual rhetoric that enabled sitters to participate in self-representation analogous to that of Greenblatt's 'self-fashioning'.[43]

Portraiture could also communicate ideological messages. In Susan Doran's reading of the portraiture of Elizabeth I, symbols of fecundity and purity, frequently attributed to her unique status as the Virgin Queen, refer instead to the sovereign's role in stabilising the newly Protestant nation.[44] While Tittler highlights that civic and institutional portraits, unlike courtly or domestic portraits, had 'no particular need to illuminate characteristics of birth, marriage, personal wealth, residence, family, feudal or chivalric service, or military prowess', the inclusion of specific and detailed articles of dress, props, and inscriptions represented a 'symbolic vocabulary' intended to be decipherable to its first audiences.[45] Conceptualising these images as text has remained an important way of understanding the complex detail of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century portraits, and scholars have drawn on this iconographic approach to demonstrate a variety of commemorative purposes in which sitters had varying degrees of control over their depiction.

Building on this approach, this thesis finds the rich iconographical information

[41] P. Burke, 'The Presentation of the Self in the Renaissance Portrait', in P. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 150.
[42] Burke, 'The Presentation of the Self', pp. 152–53.
[43] S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 2005), p. 5.
[44] S. Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in T. S. Freeman and S. Doran (eds) *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 192.
[45] Tittler, *The Face of The City*, p. 115.

typical of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century portraits in Oxford and Cambridge colleges expressive of the nature of female patronage. The subjects of the thesis do not only differ in terms of their place in the social hierarchy, but also in their marital status and confessional identity. It is through this broad survey that I seek to modify Cooper's understanding of 'agency' as the product of a set of circumstances that required women to fulfil masculine roles. I suggest that early modern women were expected to undertake a level of self-directed activity on behalf of their family as part of gendered familial roles. Both their portraiture and their patronage were an extension of this. How much these women were able to exercise independence could be a result of particular circumstances, such as widowhood, but was not exclusive to such experiences. These women exercised a gendered form of power from within familial and social networks that either empowered or, at times, circumscribed their actions.

The importance of locating individual depictions and acts of female patronage within their wider context becomes even clearer when we look at how few of these portraits were directly donated by women. This project builds on existing studies of female commissioners, but also recognises that a number of portraits of female patrons were acquired by third parties on behalf of the patrons or the college themselves. We will see that colleges increasingly began to commission their own portraits. Sometimes these commissions were versions of originals from outside academic circles and sometimes they were copies of portraits already in their own collections. Scholarship that incorporates these kinds of portrait is strikingly limited. Portraits commissioned by major patrons themselves, often with access to London's courtly artistic circles, have received greater art historical attention than those commissioned by the colleges, frequently from local artists. Nevertheless, in the colleges that owned such early portraits, these representa-

tions of women were conserved, copied, and repeatedly displayed over time.

The changing ways in which colleges displayed portraiture are revealing of these institutions' response to a number of transformations within sixteenth-century society. Using the portraits themselves, alongside written documents, to undertake this kind of research cannot rely on iconographical elements alone. As a result, I have drawn from scholarship that recognises visual symbolism as just one part of a multi-layered commemorative process.

A useful way of conceptualising the role of iconography and visual symbolism as part of a wider system of meaning is developed in W. J. T. Mitchell's theory of the 'picture'. Mitchell claims that, while the term 'image' relates primarily to visual qualities, a 'picture' unites a work's 'virtual, material and symbolic elements'.[46] The iconographic features of portraiture discussed above in terms of quasi-textual visual languages can be understood as the symbolic content of a picture. Consequently, 'reading' the image can be recognised as just one of the tools available to scholars of portraiture. The remaining two elements of the 'picture', the material and the virtual, have significantly informed recent developments in the study of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century portraits as forms of commemorative media. These works have shaped my approach to the changing value of portraits to colleges, as they responded to social and architectural developments and the impact of the Reformation on commemorative media.

The 'material' qualities of portraiture can be understood through two linked approaches. Cooper considers the portrait as part of the process of collecting, where the

[46] W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago, 2005), p. xiii.

portrait acted as a pictorial document, but one 'that situated the sitter in the context of dynastic, familial or institutional continuities' in a similar way to the collecting of other self-fashioning objects such as jewellery and tableware.[47] The display of multiple portraits in long galleries, which experienced growing popularity in this period, allowed the discrete visual messages of portraits to be reinforced or modified through interaction with one another. Cooper suggests that aristocratic portrait collections were often curated to project familial and 'national identity through association with Tudor kingship'.[48] This idea complements Neil Cuddy's essay on the rise of aristocratic domestic portraiture, which he argues was driven by a correlation between growing prosperity and building and a belief in the importance of dynastic achievement. He links this to societal changes such as the post-Reformation advertisement of allegiance to a particular religious faction.[49] The use of portrait collections to create visual narratives highlights the importance of the portrait's portable material qualities, through which meaning can be derived not only from the painting as a discrete image, but also in collaboration with other portraits in its vicinity.

Additionally, the physical space in which portraits were displayed was a determinant of meaning. Tittler's work has investigated portraiture outside what he describes as the established canon of the court and noble patronage and has demonstrated the presence of a dynamic culture of portraiture in London's professional communities and in provincial cities. His work on civic institutions, such as livery companies and town halls, demonstrates that the space in which a portrait was hung governed its meaning

[47] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 200.
[48] Ibid., p. 14.
[49] N. Cuddy, 'Dynasty and Display: Politics and Painting in England', in K. Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630* (London, 1995), p. 15.

by controlling the audiences, or 'publics', to whom it was accessible. Civic portraits in halls and semi-public spaces were an opportunity to project a corporate identity, whereas those placed in smaller and more private areas were directed towards higher-ranking members of the organisation, often representing a communal ideology but also privilege and exclusivity of access.[50] As a result, in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of a portrait's function in a particular context or at a specific point in time, our interpretative work must balance the portrait's visual symbolism with its material existence in a specific context.

Another way in which I consider the material characteristics of portraiture involves the physical fabric of portraits. The materials used for the support, and framing of the portrait, are indicative of its function, as is the scale of the image. As portraits developed, the choice between canvas and the more traditional wooden panel has implications for its purpose. Additionally, while Karen Hearn's work on *Dynasties* for her 1995 Tate exhibition acknowledges the nature of portraits as 'documents to proclaim the sitter's station', she recognises the importance of the role of portraits as material objects.[51] For example, *Dynasties* highlights the process of the production of portrait images. The practice of copying, the existence of multiple versions of a portrait, and the act of giving portraits to loved ones and connections were important in cultivating networks of high status. In combination with their symbolic messages, portraits were physical 'demonstrations of political or familial affiliation' and 'reinforced the bonds of duty and affection'.[52] This consideration is particularly important in a college context given the numbers of copies produced in the sixteenth and early

[50] Tittler, *The Face of The City*, pp. 150–55.
[51] Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 10.
[52] Ibid., p. 10.

seventeenth centuries. Material changes could also involve the addition of or alteration of inscriptions, changing a portrait's meaning, or the incorporation of painted leaves or a curtain that closed over the portrait, literally but also symbolically closing off the image from certain audiences.[53]

In the same way that this thesis adopts Mitchell's approach to the 'symbolic' features of portraits to inform iconographical research into patrons' motivations, his model's definition of the 'material' qualities of the picture encourages the inclusion of this kind of scholarship as part of my approach. The above studies all develop our knowledge of the meaning of early modern portraits by evaluating their physicality and assessing the significance of their movement from one space to another. In light of this work, I use financial accounts and inventories to map the movement of portraits between different college spaces, often for the first time, developing a sense of the fluctuating priorities of individual institutions.

It becomes clear that decisions made relating to portraiture were not always deliberate choices with a specific meaning in mind. Indeed, some institutions were unsure of the purpose of their burgeoning collections. This is another reason why this thesis moderates Tittler's use of the term 'civic' to describe college portraits. For college communities with a more developed sense of the function of their portrait ownership, civic messages were often important. However, the patrons these portraits depicted represented a variety of societal groups, and approaches to display incorporated the traditions of a wide range of settings, including the domesticity of private homes and the stateliness of the country house. The use of portraits to serve the changing needs of

[53] SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus*, 1578-9, 1580-1', p. 73; Cambridge, Christ's College, Accounts 1557–1580, fo. 119r: 'It[em] for ye hooks and curtane rodde hanginge over o[u]r fowndres image'.

collegiate spiritual communities was perhaps the most significant development in this period.

This brings us to Mitchell's third and final category for understanding a picture: the 'virtual'. Put simply, this refers to the affective capacity of portraiture and the way in which these paintings use memory, acting as a reminder to influence 'emotion and behavior', or to represent 'the imagination or memory of an embodied consciousness'.[54] This third element explains the fast-growing and sustained popularity of portraiture in England's universities. One of the central arguments of this thesis is that, once established as an accessible form, the portrait was one of the most flexible resources available with which colleges were able to navigate the changing nature of commemoration as a result of the Reformation.

A variety of scholars have conceptualised this link between the affective capacity of portraits and their post-Reformation use. For Cooper, portraits of the urban elites emphasised mortality, referring to the sitter's piety and showing their understanding of their own impermanence. Lacking the social rank to claim status using the typical imagery of the aristocratic elites, evidence such as noble titles, membership of important dynasties or, office holding, these sitters expressed their virtue using *memento mori* imagery, shaping 'an alternative and largely unacknowledged dialog of social leverage' in the portraiture of the urban elites.[55]

Cooper's use of 'dialogue', rather than, for example, Burke's suggestion of portraits as a fixed text to be read and understood, is important in articulating the role of

[54] Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, pp. xiii–xiv, 28.
[55] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 116.

reciprocal engagement in the production of meaning. The audience of these *memento mori* portraits are confronted with the contrast between a likeness of the subject's living features and images of skeletal remains, or portentous hourglasses and timepieces. As well as documenting the sitter's piety and virtue in life, as they age and eventually face death, the viewer sees the living body 'held in stasis', forming an 'immortal virtuous presence'.[56] Where Strong argues that in elite portraits 'in some cases it seems almost incidental that a particular portrait depicts a human being, so overwhelming is the concern of the trappings of office', in these portraits the depiction of the body interacts with the audience's memory to create a kind of fixed exemplar, reminding the viewer of their own mortality and exhorting them to follow the virtuous example with which they are presented.[57]

Cooper explains this phenomenon further with reference to Alfred Gell's idea of 'technologies of enchantment', where paintings act to produce meaning in collaboration with the minds of their audiences.[58] In addition to Hearn's suggestion that gifts of portraits 'demonstrate' relationships and 'reinforce' bonds, this concept claims that portraits are themselves the bonds, producing affection and connection.[59] Cuddy's recommendation that, to understand early modern portraiture, 'it will help to understand the world in which they were produced' is an important contribution to the contextual

[56] Cooper, "Frail Flesh, as in a Glass': The Portrait as an Immortal Presence in Early Modern and Wales', in M. Rogers (ed), *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 203.
[57] Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, i, p. ix.
[58] T. Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in T. Hamling and C. Richardson (eds) *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (London, 2016), pp. 166–67. Christina Faraday's recent work on 'lively' images further explores the different visual elements used in sixteenth century portraiture as 'rhetorical' devices intended to stimulate their audience in a variety of ways. C. J. Faraday, *Tudor Liveliness: Vivid Art in Post-Reformation England* (London, 2023), pp. 74-5.
[59] Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 10.

study of the visual and material elements of these portraits.[60] However, considered as objects invested with 'technologies of enchantment', portraits are more than simply a finished product of their environment. They are dynamic within their surroundings, and should be considered as actively involved in the production of communities as well as reflective of them.

One reason that portraits can be considered to possess this life of their own is because they are not always successful at translating directly the meanings for which they were created. Mitchell asserts that while pictures are 'active players in the game of establishing changing values', discussions of their 'power' fail to acknowledge the haphazard way in which they can acquire meaning.[61] Consequently, change over time and the temporal and physical distance of a portrait from its conditions of production are important factors in understanding portrait functions throughout the early modern period and their continued legacies as commemorative media.

In the context of the early modern university, the potential for portraits to act as affective tools is particularly important due to the historic role of the university college as chantries, facilitating commemoration and communal prayer for the souls of pious patrons. The nature of commemoration fundamentally changed during the Reformation, not least with the dissolution of chantries. This thesis evaluates how portraiture absorbed, sustained, and developed the commemorative functions of pre-Reformation commemorative media. The development of independent portraiture and its adoption by the collegiate university provided a level of continuity with earlier forms at the same time as adapting to meet the needs of changing spiritual communities in a

[60] Cuddy, 'Dynasty and Display', p. 11.
[61] Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, pp. 105, 46.

time of religious instability.

To summarize, portraits derive commemorative meaning as visual and iconographic texts, as constituent parts of a wider collection, as modifiable material objects, and as affective agents that mediate initial intentions with ongoing reception. The use of these different lenses to investigate sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraiture provides a valuable blueprint for further study, particularly when taken together as part of a range of processes that can operate simultaneously, at times in parallel, and occasionally in opposition. This doctoral project considers portraiture as a commemorative form in which meaning is represented by an interaction of these factors, taking into account shifting meanings and functions across different contexts and over time.

Chapter Outline

Portraiture within the early modern university offers a compelling opportunity to investigate these changes. The high level of continuity in the portrait collections of colleges established by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in combination with regular administrative record-keeping make these images particularly suitable for certain lines of enquiry not always possible in studies of other areas of early modern society's engagement with portraiture. For example, while unidentified sitters remain a considerable challenge, most especially in the case of female sitters, portraits of female patrons to universities have generally retained their identifications, providing a visible record of female involvement in a part of society in which their participation is often thought to be particularly circumscribed. Additionally, routine accounts of college

spending, in addition to more infrequent inventories, offer a deeper understanding of the redisplay of portraits, giving insight into the reception of portraits for audiences in the generations after their acquisition.

This documentation also presents an opportunity to match commissions with the specific historical circumstances of the college, allowing us to understand why copies were made at particular moments. Above all, the long-term development of commemorative media in parallel with collegiate development allows us to consider portraits within the framework of institutionalised time, particular to the university context.[62] Colleges' emphasis on the importance of commemoration and the organisation of time and ritual means that it is possible to observe the changing functions of these portraits across this period and how specific conditions shape their interactions with the society around them. As such we can build an understanding of how portraiture has been used historically as a flexible commemorative form suitable for a variety of agendas and purposes.

Centring the portraits themselves, the subsequent chapters are arranged according to the stages in the life or career of a portrait, from the circumstances of its commission, the process of its acquisition by university institutions, and its subsequent display. Also considered are the pictorial and physical afterlives of these portraits, including alterations and the production of copies and prints. Informed by the methods of recent innovative portrait research, the first chapter outlines the cross-disciplinary basis of my project, explaining my use of visual interpretation, documentary sources, and scientific

[62] Chapter two engages particularly with this concept, drawing on Caroline Levine's theory of institutional forms. See C. Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton, 2017), pp. 57–62.

analysis, and indicating where distinctive contributions can be made to the fields of both history and art history.

The second chapter grounds this study in an understanding of the secular college's commemorative landscape in the pre-Reformation period, before the rise of easel portraiture as a medium. I consider the comprehensive nature of modern collegiate portrait collections, moving on to demonstrate that what was on the walls mattered then as it matters now. By reconstructing the visual landscape of Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the early sixteenth century, and considering the other forms of commemorative imagery that pre-dated portraiture, I show that portraits have not always enjoyed such a dominant position within collegiate institutions. Case studies trace commemorative priorities in different kinds of college. Examining their interest in maintaining spiritual practices, civic hierarchies, and kinship ties helps us to understand how portraits gained traction and adapted to the changes of the sixteenth century.

Chapter three investigates what female college patrons were trying to achieve through their portraits, whether they were initially intended for university display or not. In the context of most early modern portraits of women, these images had unusual afterlives, and an understanding of the specificity of their initial conception is essential to further analysis of their changing meanings over time, once they entered college spaces. Through an encounter with each sitter, built on visual analysis and supported by archival and technical evidence, I evaluate the priorities and concerns of the kinds of women who went on to become patrons of colleges, and identify how they were expressed through portraiture.

The relationships of these sitters with colleges form part of this analysis but, as

far as possible, the portraits themselves are considered as they were before they were subsumed into college collections. This is because the majority of these portraits were not conceived as institutional objects. It is in the fourth chapter that the portraits studied in chapter three begin to arrive in the commemorative landscapes investigated in chapter two. Here I focus on the varied processes of acquisition, who facilitated the relocation of these portraits and why. I explore how gender affected who had ownership of and responsibility for these portraits and whether, in a new setting, these portraits developed new meanings different from those intended at the moment of their commission.

In the fifth chapter, I extend my focus beyond the processes of acquisition to consider display. Tracking portraits' location through their movement from one place to another, I analyse how significant certain spaces were. Examining how portraits were treated also allows us to ask whether the gender of the sitter continued to affect the status of particular portraits in early college collections. This chapter identifies the local and national catalysts for changes in engagement with portraiture over the period before the widespread proliferation of copies.

The repetition of particular images and portrait forms within college collections forms the basis of my last chapter, arguing against the value judgements that have excluded lower-quality copies from art historical evaluation. Understanding the distinct moments at which colleges decide to commission copies of portraits already in their college collections is important. By evaluating the college's circumstances at a specific moment in time, we can build a picture of the varied practical, cultural, economic, and spiritual motivations for the reproduction and repurposing of images of female patrons.

The print afterlives of these images are also considered.

With portraits as its focus, this thesis constructs a new history of university institutions and women's involvement in them. Female donors, the colleges themselves, and sometimes interested third parties began to engage with portraiture in this period as a tool that sustained traditional systems of commemorative meaning, but also allowed them to adapt to the many far-reaching changes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In art historical terms, this was unquestionably a period of transition, involving the shift from pre-Reformation commemorative forms to the development of a very different conception of art and its purposes by the seventeenth century. However, this thesis shows that traditionally art historical sources such as portraits are also an essential part of our understanding of historical change within these institutions. Portraits provide a glimpse of the preoccupations and changing values of this period. Additionally, the position occupied by patrons' portraits, representing individuals who were both part of collegiate life but also external figures, extends further the possibilities of this work, allowing us to look beyond these institutions to understand how the changes they experienced relate to wider societal developments.

Chapter 1

Studying Portraits: Methodologies for Dating and Provenance

Tudor and Jacobean portraits are some of the most recognisable historical images in Britain, and are renowned for their precise design and use of rich imagery and iconography. Beyond their popular visual impact, much of the scholarly familiarity with these paintings can be attributed to the early work of Roy Strong in assembling, analysing, and providing artistic attributions for hundreds of portraits in the late 1960s. Both his *Tudor and Jacobean Portraiture* and *The English Icon* focus especially on the iconography of identifiable sitters and the grouping of portraits in artistic schools in an attempt to trace stylistic development.[1] Nevertheless, new studies of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century portraiture frequently introduce their subject with an abundance of caution. The images at the centre of this scholarship are still 'little

[1] R. Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture* (London, 1969); R. Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (2 vols, London, 1969).

studied', 'unfamiliar', and 'intriguing', and their intricacies and mysteries often provoke more careful questions than tentative answers.[2]

The reason that scholars highlight ambiguity in the study of early portraits is because the careful work of unpicking the complex meanings of these paintings is crucial to understanding them, as a developing artistic genre and as an increasingly significant part of sixteenth-century political and social life. In this period, portraits were seldom signed by artists, and distinctive approaches to painting that might suggest the work of a particular individual were often imitations, reproductions, or the result of a collaborative workshop production.[3] Equally, inscriptions that might indicate the subject of a portrait were not always part of the painting's original composition, and do not necessarily reflect the reality of its production.[4] Furthermore, these early portraits, often painted on a wooden panel support, are physical objects, and were frequently altered at a later date through attempts at restoration or to reflect changing circumstances. Of those that were not modified, their colours may have degraded, or they may have suffered damage in the centuries since.[5]

Pursuit of the alluring research possibilities indicated by Strong's early interventions, such as revealing the work of a particular artist or identifying unknown sitters, has been tempered by increasing recognition of the difficulties of conclusively justifying

[2] T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard, and E. Town (eds), *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford, 2015), p. 2; K. Hearn, 'Introduction', in K. Hearn (ed), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630* (London, 1995), p. 9; A. Orrock, 'Introduction: A Tudor Mystery', in A. Orrock (ed), *Tudor Mystery: The Master of the Countess of Warwick* (Compton Verney, 2023), p. 6.

[3] See, for example, recent conversations exploring the work of Holbein's followers in S. Plender and P. Saltmarsh, 'Copies and Versions: Discussing Holbein's Legacy in England. Technical Examination of Copies of Holbein Portraits at the National Portrait Gallery', in E. Hermens (ed), *European Paintings 15th–18th Century: Copying, Replicating and Emulating* (London, 2014), pp. 50-7.

[4] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 134.

[5] Cooper, Burnstock, Howard and Town, *Painting in Britain*, p. 3.

dating, attribution, identification, and provenance. And yet, at the same time, we have a wider base of knowledge about these portraits than ever before, due to the increasing integration of art history, history, conservation science and technical analysis.[6] This collaborative work has prompted creative approaches to the value of portraiture as a source for understanding sixteenth-century art and culture. More recent scholarship has moved towards a recognition of the complexity of the interactions between, artist, sitter, and audience, a focus which allows us to interpret the meaning of portraits without decisive attribution or a secure date of production.[7] The National Portrait Gallery's *Making Art in Tudor Britain* project, 2007–2014 was a groundbreaking example of this kind of research, revealing a colourful world of artistic production and consumption by interrogating 'the relationship between fabrication and function'.[8] Another of the project's objectives was to reconsider the anachronistic tendency to value artists' technique without acknowledging the popularity of copies. While portraiture is still recognised as facilitating the sitter's 'personal fashioning', new cross-disciplinary approaches investigate how meaning changes in the hands of subsequent owners, in new contexts, and when viewed by different audiences.[9]

A recent exhibition at Compton Verney, Warwickshire, for example, presented a focused examination of the painter identified by Strong as 'the Master of the Countess of Warwick'. Here, the techniques and approach of the artist remain key to understanding his works and the connections between them. Nevertheless, the exhibition's

[6] Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[7] T. Cooper and M. Howard, 'Artists, Patrons and the Context for the Production of Painted Images in Tudor and Jacobean England', in T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard, and E. Town (eds), *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 5-6.
[8] T. Cooper, 'Making Art in Tudor Britain: New Research on Paintings in the National Portrait Gallery', *The British Art Journal*, 9/3 (2009), p. 3.
[9] Cooper and Howard, 'Artists, Patrons and the Context for the Production of Painted Images', p. 15.

interpretation stops short of claiming proof of its 'tantalising hypothesis', that the artist was a man named Arnold Derickson, and acknowledges that 'there is much still left to uncover about the painters of 1560s London'.[10] The potential connection between Derickson and the paintings exhibited is, instead, embedded in a broader understanding of the function and meaning of these portraits within sixteenth-century society. This exploration of patronage and collecting provides insight into the kinds of people commissioning the artist, whether Derickson or the Master of the Countess of Warwick. Artistic techniques, dating, and later alterations to the portraits become one part of an approach that seeks to develop an understanding of the consumers and audiences of these works, as well as their makers, to better understand 'the rapidly changing world of Elizabethan London'.[11]

New methodological approaches provide additional layers of analysis alongside the connoisseurship of early art historical work. With this comes an opportunity to demonstrate the value of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth century portraiture across a variety of disciplines. Fresh understandings of sixteenth-century life developed by recent interdisciplinary work shows that images should not be considered a separate subject, or indeed as supplementary to the more traditional documentary sources of social and cultural histories of the period. A good example of this is the National Portrait Gallery's use of image, object, and documentary evidence to consider structural questions about Elizabethan culture and society in *Elizabeth I & Her People*.[12] New approaches have often been developed as part of the work of galleries and associated research institutions, which naturally ground their their research in their own collections and those of

[10] Orrock, 'Introduction', p. 9.
[11] Ibid., p. 9.
[12] T. Cooper, I. Archer, L. C. Orlin, S. North and J. Eade, *Elizabeth I & Her People* (London, 2013).

other lending institutions or well-known private collections. The composition of such collections can sometimes emphasise London-centric, court painters, often with links to European artistic networks. Nevertheless, where research has incorporated the widely dispersed material outside of national collections, it has shown great potential. The number of portraits in the collections of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, important political and cultural institutions outside of the court and the capital, represents a promising group of sources for expanding further the kind of evidence we use to understand the religious and social changes of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Where the introduction outlined the changing theoretical approaches to the study of early modern portraiture, this chapter describes how the material study of portraits has developed and explains how this has informed my own methodology. Visual and iconographical analysis, integrated with work on contextual documentary evidence, is key to this project. Additionally, new commissions of dendrochronological analysis indicate the value of technical research into portraits and their copies outside of leading arts institutions. Each of these methods is helpful in understanding the portraits in question, but no single technique will exhaust the range of meanings these portraits can have. A layered approach allows us to return to several key portraits in multiple chapters, looking at their functions in different lights.

1.1 Visual Analysis

Early attempts to understand Renaissance portraiture sought to measure the development of independent, 'individual' portraits from their medieval origins. John Pope-Hennessy's conceptual treatment of European portraiture, concentrating on the impact of ideas such as humanism, is characteristic of this approach.[13] Nevertheless, the work that followed quickly began to identify and analyse the development of visual conventions in portraiture, ranging from fifteenth-century Italian examples to the work of specific artists such as Cranach or Dürer.[14]

In an English context, Roy Strong's early interest in the subject generated a number of surveys focusing on iconography and the pictorial characteristics of Tudor and Jacobean portraits that would form the foundation of subsequent art historical scholarship. Recent scholarly work questions some of his attributions, dates, and categorizations, and Tarnya Cooper and Maurice Howard suggest that condition issues and successive material interventions make the search for certainties problematic without the support of alternative approaches.[15] Nevertheless, Strong's visual index remains an essential point of reference for the scholar of early modern English portraits due to his emphasis on the development of a comprehensive study of the personal iconography, including the heraldry, of each sitter. Similarly, Strong's series of articles on 'Elizabethan Painting: An Approach through Inscriptions' develops the technique

[13] J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (New York, 1966), p. xii.
[14] See K. Christiansen and S. Weppelmann (eds), *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini* (New York, 2011), p. viii.
[15] Cooper and Howard, 'Artists, Patrons and the Context for the Production of Painted Images', p. 26.

of comparing inscriptions in order to aid identification of the work's painter.[16] Strong's scholarship developed a valuable set of practices aimed at decoding images and understanding representational techniques and their change over time. The role of visual analysis as part of an integrated methodology is recognised today beyond its former use for attribution or dating. As Strong himself notes, this approach helps with the identification of different versions of the same portrait and later copies.[17]

Much of the existing scholarship on the portraiture of Oxford and Cambridge attempts to catalogue college and university collections. Where the documentary evidence of acquisition is thin, beliefs about a portrait's provenance have sometimes become subject to institutional mythologising. In such cases, an iconographical approach can be useful because tracing changing use of symbolism and props applied to portraits of the same sitter makes it possible to identify how college versions and copies and those of the same sitters in other collections relate to one another.

Where the circumstances of production or acquisition are known for some of these portraits, it becomes possible to fill in the gaps, creating a timeline of visual developments of portrait versions and their copies within a collection. Sometimes, through this work, the accepted provenance of a portrait can be challenged, a process which allows us to develop better understandings of the intended function of the portrait and the mechanics of college collecting practices. An example of the benefits of this approach is an intriguing discovery about a portrait of the founder, Dorothy Wadham, at Wadham

[16] R. Strong, 'Elizabethan Painting: An Approach through Inscriptions - 1: Robert Peake the Elder', *Burlington Magazine*, 105/719 (1963), pp. 53-7; R. Strong, 'Elizabethan Painting: An Approach through Inscriptions - II: Hieronimo Custodis', *Burlington Magazine*, 105/720 (1963), pp. 103-8; R. Strong, 'Elizabethan Painting: An Approach through Inscriptions - III: Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger', *Burlington Magazine*, 105/721 (1963), pp. 149-59.

[17] Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, i, p. ix.

College, Oxford. Previously thought to have been acquired by the College in the late eighteenth century, I am able to show that it was in fact present in Wadham College's early collection.

When Wadham College opened its doors on 20 April 1613, it was the first new college since the foundation of Jesus in 1571. It was established by Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), the affluent widow of Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609) and a Somerset landowner, who was acting on plans for a college foundation developed with her late husband. The College's collection of portraits of their founders grew in line with an upsurge in the collection of portraits throughout the University to include painted portraits, statues, seals, likenesses on window glass, and portrait medals, demonstrating a substantial amount of activity directed towards the commemoration of its benefactors. Built and established as an entirely new foundation, Wadham's engagement with visual media in this period is invaluable to our understanding of how visual culture was interconnected with the changing nature of patronage. Furthermore, an understanding of Wadham's collection highlights the role of portraiture as both a reflection of and a shaping force on the continuities and changes taking place at the heart of the early seventeenth-century university.

If Wadham College offers opportunities to the scholar of early modern portraiture, its written records also reveal challenges. The initial building accounts and later institutional accounts, beginning in 1648, are exceptionally detailed, documenting the minutiae of College business on a variety of subjects.[18] On the subject of portraiture,

[18] Jackson, author of the College history, also notes the comprehensive detail of the early building accounts and includes a thorough study of them: T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford: Its Foundation, Architecture and History, with an Account of the Family of Wadham and their Seats in Somerset and Devon* (Oxford, 1893), p. 33.

however, the College records remain silent. There is a reference to the carving of the statues of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham in the front quadrangle of the new college by John Blackshaw in 1612/3, but no record of the purchase, commission, or hanging of any painting is mentioned in these early records.[19] Nevertheless, there are five pairs of portraits depicting Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham now in the College collection. Alongside prints and other portraits of the couple from private collections, the Wadham portraits represent a considerable body of evidence. A combination of techniques, including the analysis of iconography and the comparative study of these images, can be used to establish patterns of commission, acquisition, and display within the College.

An initial understanding of the Wadham collection provides an important grounding for this inquiry. Of the five pairs of portraits of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham now in the College collection, inscriptions claim to date one pair to 1595 and another to 1611. The '1595' portraits show a gentry couple in late middle age, framed by heraldry and props indicating their position. The '1611' portrait depicts Dorothy as an older woman than that of the '1595' pattern, and the corresponding portrait of Nicholas is clearly posthumous, using the same pattern as the '1595' portrait and painted following his death in 1609. The remaining three pairs of paintings at Wadham appear to be later copies which follow the same pattern as the '1611' portraits, one pair on panel and two pairs on canvas. One pair of canvas copies are inscribed with the name of Dutch artist William Sonmans *c.*1680, and include additional details and an imagined backdrop of the College. There are also a number of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century prints included in the College's collection of images of their founders.

[19] Ibid., p. 48.



Figure 1:
Nicholas Wadham
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 86.4 x 66 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 51



Figure 2:
Dorothy Wadham
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 86.4 x 66 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 25



Figure 3:
Nicholas Wadham
Unknown artist
1611
Oil on panel
Approx. 104.1 x 82.6 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 52



Figure 4:
Dorothy Wadham
Unknown artist
1611
Oil on panel
Approx. 102.9 x 82.6 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 26

This chapter presents my argument that there is a strong case to be made that Dorothy Wadham arranged for the pair of portraits of herself and her husband painted in 1611 to be displayed at Wadham College (Figs. 3 and 4). Other scholars have agreed that it is likely that a pair of portraits of the Wadhams was made with the College in mind during Dorothy Wadham's lifetime, but, contrary to my understanding, they have all proposed the portraits inscribed '1595' as the earliest portraits in the College's collection (Figs. 1 and 2).

The histories of two of these portraits are of particular interest to our understanding of the Wadhams' patronage and the College's portrait collection: the inscribed '1595' and '1611' portraits of Dorothy Wadham. The '1595' panel portrait (Fig. 2) is the companion to a painting of Nicholas Wadham described by Thomas Graham Jackson, author of a comprehensive history of Wadham published in 1893, as 'the original from which the other portraits of the Founder have been copied'.[20] It is correct that the portraits of Nicholas all derive from the same model, but, despite Jackson's claim, it is unclear when the '1595' portraits entered the possession of the College. Due to this uncertainty, it would be a mistake to assume that the College's acquisition process followed a linear timelime in which each of the portraits that depict Nicholas posthumously were copied directly from this '1595' version.

A pair of paintings similar to Wadham College's two '1595' portraits forms part of the collection of the Earls of Egremont, housed at Petworth House. The higher quality of work and the more spacious composition of the Petworth paintings indicate that the collegiate examples of this '1595' type are subsequent versions or later copies of the

[20] Jackson, *Wadham College*, p. 186.

Petworth originals. This idea was first proposed by Tarnya Cooper, who suggests that 'it would seem probable that the two portraits of the founders [at Wadham] were copied (apparently by a different artist from the Petworth pictures) before Dorothy's death'.[21] The Earls of Egremont at Petworth were descendants of Sir John Wyndham, one of three co-heirs of Nicholas Wadham's estate. On Dorothy's death in 1618, Wyndham inherited the Wadhams' estate at Merifield in Somersetshire, indicating a possible provenance for the Petworth paintings reaching back to the Wadhams themselves. There is a further pair of the '1595' type in the Melbury Collection, owned by the descendants of Sir John Strangeways, another co-heir. These inherited acquisitions of multiple versions of the same picture may be what has led Cooper to suggest that Wadham's '1595' portraits 'may have been passed to the college at her death'.[22]

However, a closer look at the '1611' portrait of Dorothy Wadham (Fig. 4) suggests that the '1595' portrait considered above is not the most important acquisition for understanding early portraiture at Wadham College. Also on panel, this portrait includes an inscription which reads: 'Ætatis Suæ. 77./ Año Dñi. 1611.' and was described by Jackson as 'representing her much aged and altered from her former portrait'. It was paired with a portrait of Nicholas Wadham (Fig. 3) thought to be 'a copy from the ['1595'] picture made after his death, in order to make a pair with the following portrait of the Foundress'.[23] Jackson further comments:

> These two pictures [the '1611' pair], which now hang on the first floor landing, are probably those alluded to in the following resolution recorded in the Convention Book, May 11, 1778, 'agreed also for the College to purchase of Mr. Mayson' (a Fellow) 'two original pictures or portraits of the Founder and Foundress which he

[21] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 115.
[22] Ibid., p. 115.
[23] Jackson, *Wadham College*, p. 186.

> lately bought in London, allowing him his prime cost together with all expences of frames, package, and carriage of the same, and that these pictures shall remain under the Warden's custody in the Lodgings till a proper place shall be agreed on for hanging them up in.[24]

Based on this record, Jackson concludes that the '1611' portrait of Dorothy Wadham, along with its companion, was brought to the College in the late eighteenth century. Rachel Lane Poole's influential *Catalogue of Portraits in the Possession of the University, Colleges, City and County of Oxford* follows Jackson, claiming that the '1611' portrait of Dorothy Wadham was 'engraved by Faber, 1719. Purchased with No. 2 [the '1611' portrait of Nicholas] in 1778'.[25] However, it is difficult to ascertain whether any supplementary evidence supports Jackson's claim that the '1611' portraits were brought to the College in the late eighteenth century. Jackson's evaluation that these are 'probably' those referred to in 1778 may be based solely on the portraits' nineteenth-century location in the Warden's Lodgings, or possibly an assumption that the pair that are 'oldest' in terms of the date claimed in their inscription were more likely to be the first pair owned by the College. Perhaps Jackson was further influenced by the description of the paintings bought by Mayson as 'original', given that the '1611' pair are on panel, and appear to be the oldest of the '1611' type at the College.

A comparative approach to the inscriptions and iconography of the '1611' portraits, later copies following the same pattern, prints, and other College acquisitions demonstrates the possible presence in Wadham College of the '1611' portraits from a much earlier date than 1778, indicating that a different pair of portraits was that procured by Mayson. Firstly, the '1611' portraits were created at a similar time to the donation

[24] Ibid., p. 186.
[25] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 212.



Figure 5:
Philip Bisse
(*c.*1540–1613)
Unknown artist
1612
Oil on panel
Approx. 190.5 x 104.1 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 36

by Dorothy Wadham of a portrait of Library donor Philip Bisse in 1612 (Fig. 5) and the creation of seals for the College in 1613. The inscription on Bisse's portrait reads:

> Dorothea Wadham fundatrix huius Collegij, hanc Philippi Bisse, S. theologiæ doctoris effigiem, quia hanc Bibliothecam suis libris ornauit, in grati animi testimoniu[m] fieri voluit atq[ue] hic appendi mandauit./ Ætatis Suae. 72. Añº Dñi. 1612.

Research undertaken by Jessica David and Edward Town of the Yale Centre for British Art, explored further in chapter three, has identified the significance of this inscription in terms of the possible identification of the artist.[26] Their forthcoming work also considers a potential link between Bisse's image, donated by Dorothy Wadham, and the 1611 portrait of Wadham herself.[27] Certainly, a comparison with the age and date inscriptions on both the Bisse portrait and Dorothy Wadham's '1611' portrait shows them to be painted in a very similar style (Figs. 6 and 7).

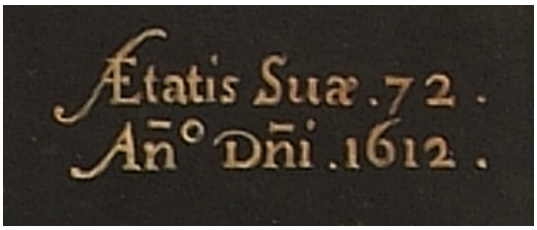


Figure 6:
Detail of Fig. 5

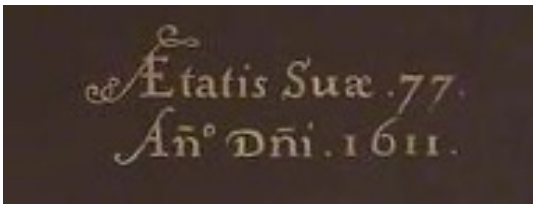


Figure 7:
Detail of Fig. 4

Dorothy Wadham's decision to commission a portrait of a major benefactor to the college in 1612, with a view to its display in the Library, one of the College's key communal areas, lends weight to the possibility that she may have commissioned for the College a new portrait of herself and her late husband as founders. Cooper suggests that the Bisse commission and the carving of the front quadrangle statues of Dorothy Wadham and her late husband demonstrate that 'she valued portraiture and individual representation as a key tool with which to celebrate personal achievement and mark in perpetuity the virtues and actions of generous benefactors'.[28] Consequently, the similarity between the inscriptions in figures 6 and 7 prompts us to consider the

[26] See chapter 3, pp. 193-4 for further discussion of David and Town's work.
[27] J. David and E. Town, 'Painting in the West Country in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century: the 'Unknown Follower of Hieronymus Custodis", (unpublished paper, forthcoming).
[28] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 116.

possibility that, as part of this wider endeavour, Dorothy arranged for her personal commemoration within the walls of the College she founded.

The similarities between the portrait of Bisse and the '1611' portraits of the Wadhams are insufficient on their own to determine the location of the Wadhams' portraits since inscriptions can be copied or added retrospectively. It should be kept in mind, however, that later inscriptions are usually stylistically different to the rest of the portrait, which is not the case here. Wadham could have commissioned her own portrait in 1611 from the artist who painted Bisse for personal or familial rather than institutional use but, given her interest in portraiture and her provision of images for the College, it is more likely that Wadham College was the intended recipient. As will be seen through comparison with subsequent acquisitions, my proposal that the '1611' portraits were created for the College is credible.

Painted copies of Dorothy Wadham's image, located in Oxford and known to have been created before 1778, lend authority to the suggestion that the '1611' portraits were in situ before this date. There are two large later seventeenth-century portraits of Dorothy Wadham on canvas, one now in the Bodleian (Fig. 8) and one in Wadham College (Fig. 9). Both are based on the '1611' portrait. Additionally, the relationship between the '1611' portrait, the Bodleian portrait, and later portrait prints further suggests that the '1611' portrait was used as the source of later copies in the seventeenth century. Dorothy Wadham is portrayed in a *c.*1710–20 engraving by John Faber Sr (Fig. 11) from either his series of portraits in the Bodleian Library or his later 'Portraits of the Founders of Different Colleges in the University of Oxford and Cambridge, engraved in mezzotinto by John Faber'. Faber produced the series of images from the Bodleian



Figure 8:
Dorothy Wadham
John Taylor
1669-70
Oil on canvas
Approx. 116 x 89 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
Appendix no.: 28



Figure 9:
Dorothy Wadham
William Sonmans
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 29

in 1712, after travelling to Oxford and visiting the library.[29] Therefore, Faber must have seen, in situ, the painting on which his engraving was based.[30]

At first sight, the *c.*1710–20 print appears most like the composition of Wadham's portrait on canvas of unknown date that follows the '1611' pattern (Fig. 10).[31] This portrait, like the engraving, excludes the arms in the top left-hand corner. However, further investigation reveals that details of the composition of the *c.*1710–20 print are

[29] R. Sharp, 'Faber, John (*c.*1660–1721)', *ODNB* (Oxford, September 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9052 (14 July 2023).

[30] Faber was clearly copying only from portraits in the Bodleian, rather than using references from outside Oxford. An example of this is the portrait of Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity with a mermaid pendant. Faber's portrait of Henry Chichele, founder of All Souls College, Oxford, contains details that only exist in the Bodleian Library portrait of him. A portrait of Thomas White only follows the details of the Bodleian version rather than other versions in Reading, Coventry or Winchester.

[31] The similarity between the print and this undated portrait on canvas in the College may be a result of this composition being later, and influenced by, the engraving.



Figure 10:
Dorothy Wadham
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 100 x 77 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 31



Figure 11:
Dorothy Wadham
John Faber S^{r}
1710–1720
Mezzotint
Approx. 24.5 x 19.2 cm
National Portrait Gallery, London
© National Portrait Gallery, London
Appendix no.: 32

only visible in the '1611' portrait on panel and the Bodleian panel, which Faber likely saw during his work there. The diamond pattern on the cover of the book in Wadham's right hand in the '1611' portrait is repeated in the engraving but not in the other two copies of the same pattern (Figs. 12-15). Additional details such as the length of the lines of pleat on the collar and cuffs have more in common with the '1611' and Bodleian portraits than the other later copies. The arms used in the panel below the engraving are the same as those found only in the College's 1611 portrait and the Bodleian portrait.

Consequently, it is clear that Faber had seen the Bodleian portrait, probably on his trip to Oxford in 1712, which predates the accepted acquisition date of the



Figure 12:
Detail of Fig. 11



Figure 13:
Detail of Fig. 4



Figure 14:
Detail of a copy on panel at Wadham (appendix no. 30)



Figure 15:
Detail of Fig. 10

'1611' portrait by 66 years. According to the College accounts, the Bodleian portrait was commissioned as a copy from a portrait at Wadham even earlier, in 1669/70.[32] Given the consensus that a portrait of Dorothy Wadham entered the Wadham College collection either during her lifetime or on her death, the Bodleian commission and the large College copy by Sonmans were very likely modelled on a portrait already in Oxford, in this case, the '1611' portrait. Therefore, there is an error in first Jackson and then Lane Poole's conclusion that the 1611 portrait was 'engraved by Faber, 1719. Purchased with No. 2 in 1778'.[33] A similar case can be made for the engraving by Faber of Nicolas Wadham, including details of composition, clothing and props.

The lack of any reference in Oxford to the collar style of the '1595' portrait suggests that the key point of reference in Oxford for subsequent commemorations of Wadham's founder derive from the '1611' portrait pattern. Figure 16 shows a detail of the Oxford Almanack of 1738 depicting Wadham's founders, and figure 17 shows an engraving of 1674 by an unknown artist. Each of these images takes the '1611' style of collar as its reference. In fact, the only other visual reference to a collar of the type of the '1595' portrait apart from in the three aforementioned portrait pairs, is a funerary brass in Ilminster Church, placed there by John Wyndham after Dorothy Wadham's death.

[32] Oxford, Wadham College, 16/2, p. 127: 'To Mr Taylor for Pictures in y^{e} School Gallery'.
[33] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 212.

Likewise, there appears to be no reference to portraits of the '1611' collar type in the West Country.



Figure 16:
Detail of the Oxford Almanack for 1738
George Vertue
1737
Line engraving on paper
Approx. 34.7 x 43.2 cm
The British Museum, London
Appendix no.: 34



Figure 17:
Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham
Unknown artist
1674
Line engraving on paper
Approx. 7.5 x 18.2 cm
National Portrait Gallery, London
Appendix no.: 33

There is, therefore, no explicit reference to a 1595 Petworth-style portrait in Oxford before at least the mid-eighteenth century, while the '1611' portrait pattern is referenced repeatedly in later copies and in the Faber engraving. The '1611' panel also has similarities to Dorothy's commission of the portrait of Philip Bisse. As a result, the evidence strongly suggests that the '1611' portrait was already in situ in 1778. This leaves the question of which pair of paintings now owned by Wadham College was purchased in 1778. Their description as 'original' may indicate that the record-keeper did not believe them to be copies, which suggests that the paintings appeared to be an early version of the '1611' portraits or that they depicted a different portrait pattern to those already in the College collection. Later acquisitions aside, there is clear evidence

to support a conclusion that the '1611' portraits formed part of the seventeenth-century visual culture of Wadham College.[34]

Research into the Wadham College collection demonstrates that, in the absence of conclusive documentary evidence, an interrogative process of looking at iconography and the visual characteristics of portraits has the potential to reshape our understanding of how early collections were assembled. As a result, we can uncover previously unknown patterns of patronage and acquisition, allowing us to ask new questions about the function and meaning of these portraits. The significance of Dorothy Wadham's personal commission and provision of a portrait to her newly established college is just one example of this.

Chapter three explores further the implications of the commission of Wadham's '1611' portrait for the College as part of a wider pattern of female patronage embedded within familial networks. The connections between the '1611' portrait and Wadham College's portrait of Philip Bisse also situate Dorothy Wadham's commissions within the activity of a group of patrons, of both art and education, linked by regional ties. The importance of reassessing the date of acquisition of this portrait is restated in chapter five, which explores the spiritual implications of a portrait of a noted female recusant at the centre of an early seventeenth-century college community. The detailed work of establishing the circumstances of creation and acquisition of such portraits allows us to draw wider conclusions about their role in gendered hierarchies, social networks, and religious culture and, in turn, how particular communities and groups used portraits

[34] In addition to the likeness between the 1611 pattern and the College's early portrait copies, prints and the statues in the College's front quad, the seventeenth-century window glass in the library and a medal cast after Dorothy's death follow the same pattern.

to respond to societal change.

1.2 Documentary Evidence

Beyond the visual analysis of surviving portraits, documentary evidence plays a critical role in reconstructing the production, function, and meaning of sixteenth-century English portraiture. Unfortunately, written material that addresses the growing popularity of portraiture is limited. Tittler has used literary sources to demonstrate the existence of portrait collections in middling domestic households through an analysis of the plays of Thomas Heywood.[35] Such kinds of occasional reference give a good indication of contemporary attitudes, but there is little self-conscious reflection by artists, sitters, or patrons of the value of portraiture as a form.

Another approach is to search for records of portraits in their physical context. Susan Foister demonstrated the early potential of inventories in 1981 in her article 'Paintings and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth Century English Inventories'.[36] Both Tittler's work on provincial urban portraiture and Catherine Daunt's study of early portrait sets has continued to develop this branch of scholarship, demonstrating the profitability of sources such as audit books, institutional accounts, and household inventories.[37]

References to portraits in these kinds of documents can provide a window into the

[35] R. Tittler, 'Thomas Heywood and the Portrayal of Female Benefactors in Post-Reformation England', *Early Theatre*, 11/1 (2008), pp. 33-52.
[36] S. Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories', *The Burlington Magazine,* 123/938 (1981), pp. 273-82.
[37] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 12; C. Daunt, 'Portrait Sets in Tudor and Jacobean England' (PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 2015), i, p. 3.

life of a portrait in a specific place and at a particular moment in time. They are not, however, a straightforward source of evidence. Fragmentary mentions of portraits are often only peripheral to the intended purpose of these records. The priorities of those writing inventories do not necessarily extend further than recording valuable assets or moveable goods. This limits their use for our understanding of less valuable items, such as those not made of metalwork or textile, and less accessible objects, often including those hung on walls because they are described in sparser detail.[38] Additionally, the compilers of accounts and inventories often employed practices that complicate the reading of these documents, such as abbreviations, omitting identifying details of portraits, and leaving out whole items or rooms when making copies for alternative purposes. Nevertheless, while this makes meticulous attention to detail essential in the handling of these documents, their value is clear.[39] This thesis is concerned with identifying patterns in terms of the production and commission of portraits of women, their acquisition by colleges, and their later display and use in institutional settings.

The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, with intact sequences of records and regular bookkeeping, often since the early years of a college's foundation, are very good candidates for this kind of work. Inventories are relatively uncommon in a college context, were produced erratically, and are often incomplete. Additionally, while

[38] Susan Foister mentions the emphasis on the cost of materials in both wills and inventories in S. Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories', *The Burlington Magazine*, 123/938 (1981), pp. 273, 279.

[39] As Maurice Howard suggests in his work on inventories and sixteenth-century architecture, their significance lies in the historian's ability to look across a range of individual inventories that present an incomplete picture to recognise general patterns in the way objects and spaces were used. See M. Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses 1480–1640', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), p. 17.

these documents give us a glimpse into part of college life in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and demonstrate the proliferation of commemorative forms, they do little to explain their meaning or importance within the college during this period. Moreover, the impersonal format of these lists does not tell us very much about the interaction between those active in College life and its built environment—this includes the portraits owned by colleges.

More useful as a source for reconstructing an impression of commemorative media within the early modern college is the survival of many college accounts. Detailed records of college expenditure have been used to great effect in institutional histories of the Universities and their potential use as evidence of engagement with portraiture has been explored in a few wider studies of early modern English portraiture.[40] These accounts can enrich our understanding of what the visual landscape of the college might have looked like beyond inventories and surviving architectural features. They consolidate the impression that the inhabitants of these institutions maintained a meaningful and changing relationship with college buildings, suggesting that their physical fabric, and the visual media introduced to it, was used to articulate and develop stories about collegiate identity.[41]

The systematic analysis in this thesis of a sample of written evidence spanning over a

[40] Many college histories draw extensively from bursars' accounts and institutional records. See, for example, C. Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community* (Oxford, 2007); Fletcher, J. M. and Upton, C. A., 'Destruction, Repair and Removal: An Oxford College Chapel during the Reformation', *Oxoniensa*, 48 (1983), pp. 119-130. Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 38, 154 is a good example of the use of college accounts to look at portraiture in particular.

[41] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson's volume on everyday objects presents a number of essays, such as Kate Giles' work on St. Mary's guild in Boston, Lincolnshire, that use this approach documentary and material evidence to 'explore how objects could be used to construct particular kinds of meaning and experience in the very flexible and mutable spaces of pre-modern buildings'. See T. Hamling and C. Richardson, 'Introduction', in T. Hamling and C. Richardson (eds), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (London, 2016), p. 21.

century in a number of colleges owning female portraits enables us to ask new questions about the changing function of commemoration in the university. By reconsidering the provenance of key portraits within their collections, we can better understand how colleges engaged with portraiture in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A key example is the reassessment of the origin of a portrait of Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex and founder of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in the collection of that college, presented here for the first time.

A full-length portrait of Frances Sidney (Fig. 18) has been thought to have been part of the Sidney Sussex College collection since at least 1639. Goodison's 1985 catalogue writes that it was 'first recorded in the Master's inventory (Samuel Ward) of 1639. [It] probably came through her executors on the foundation of Sidney Sussex College in 1596 under the terms of her will'.[42] There are various factors that appear to support his theory. After a number of personal legacies, Frances Sidney had bequeathed the remainder of her possessions to the College in 1588.[43] Additionally, Lane Poole claims that 'the fashion for possessing a painted portrait of the Founder...became general in the last decade of the sixteenth century'.[44] It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption that the appearance of a portrait in the earliest record of the College's goods in 1639 might indicate its direct acquisition from the sitter, the Founder herself. Quoting the inventory of 5 July 1639, Hearn's 1995 *Dynasties* accepts that the portrait was 'at the college by 1639 in the Master's Lodge' without making further comment on its possible origin.[45]

[42] J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of the Portraits in Christ's, Clare and Sidney Sussex Colleges* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 86.
[43] London, TNA, PROB 11/74/331, 'Will of Frances Sidney', fo. 247v.
[44] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. xi.
[45] Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 95; Only Maurice Howard's book of the same year considers the possibility



Figure 18:
Frances Sidney (1531–1589)
George Gower (*c.*1540–1596)
*c.*1570–1575
Oil on panel
Approx. 193 x 111.1 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 16

Close reading of the numerous and unusually detailed college inventories in Sidney Sussex's MR 31D, in combination with the College financial accounts, however, indicate that this interpretation requires reassessment or, at least, an open mind about the portrait's provenance. There is no evidence to suggest that the full-length portrait of

that the portrait came to the College shortly after Sidney's death through family ownership. M. Howard, *The Tudor Image* (London, 1995), p. 46.

Frances Sidney was in the College *before* the date of the first inventory. A reference to 'The foundresse's picture at large', on the page relating to the great chamber of the Master's Lodging in the 5 July 1639 inventory is a later addition.[46] That mention of the portrait appears to be in a slightly different hand to the earlier entries and it is written below the signature of Dr Samuel Ward, master of the College in July 1639, who likely signed as witness to the completion of the initial inventory. Two further additions (both portraits) beneath his signature are written in a different ink and the reference to the full-length portrait of Sidney is made even further below using different ink again. This indicates that the inventory from the 5 July had been signed off without reference to a full-length portrait of Frances Sidney. Some other rooms were inventoried on 10 July 1639 but, given that three large portraits not mentioned elsewhere in the inventory are added to the page documenting the great chamber, it is not likely that they were missed in the first assessment of the goods there.[47]

Another factor that casts doubt on the presence of the full-length portrait of Frances Sidney in the College by 5 July 1639 is evidence of later editing and additions throughout the inventory. The original list of July 1639 does include a portrait of Frances Sidney in the great chamber: a half-length 'picture of y^{e} Foundresse unto y^{e} midst'.[48] This entry, however, is crossed out with an annotation reading 'now in y^{e} Library'. Similar notes and comments can be seen throughout the 1639 inventory, in various hands, demonstrating that this was a working document that was updated on several occasions before the next full inventory was made in 1688. The witness signature of Richard Minshull, master of the College from 1643, confirms that the 1639

[46] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 6r.
[47] Ibid. fo. 8v.
[48] Ibid., fo. 6r.

inventory was revised after that date, as does an annotation noting that an object was 'lost in Dr Ward's time'.[49] Given the level of detail provided about the relocation of College property, it could be expected that a redisplay of the College's largest and most glittering portrait would be documented. Yet there is no other reference to the full-length picture anywhere else in the 1639 inventory. This indicates that, rather than being relocated from another part of the College to replace the half-length moved to the library, the full-length portrait was acquired *after* 5 July 1639 and was substituted for the smaller image some time before the next inventory was made in 1688.[50]



Figure 19:
Frances Sidney (1531–1589)
Unknown artist
Unknown date, early 1580s
Oil on panel
Approx. 66 x 53.6 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 17

[49] Ibid., fo. 8r.
[50] The original draft of the 1688 inventory, before editing, includes the full-length portrait of Frances Sidney: Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 13r.

The financial accounts of Sidney Sussex College do not provide as much detail as the inventories, but are an important source of corroborative evidence. The first reference to a portrait of Frances Sidney in the College is in 1615: 'for a curteyne & Curteyne Rod for o[u]r ffoundres picture'.[51] This is the only allusion to a portrait of the Founder in the first several decades after the College's foundation. The confirmation of the presence of a half-length portrait of Frances Sidney in the *first* draft of the 1639 inventory suggests that this may have been the portrait referred to in 1615. Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, had bequeathed a portrait of Frances Sidney to the College on his death in 1601.[52] It may be that the half-length is this donation, perhaps figure 19, an early half-length from which two later copies on canvas now in the College were made.

Two later references in the accounts to a portrait of Frances Sidney further complicate our understanding of the College's early collection. One entry, 'for a curtaine for o[u]r ffoundresses picture', can be dated to 1639.[53] The other record, made in 1641, details 'renewing our Foundress picture, & for y^{e} frame & courtaine rod'.[54] These two entries appear to relate to a single portrait. However, the lack of specificity means that it is not possible to ascertain whether these records refer to the same portrait mentioned in 1615 or to a different picture. The possibility that these payments do refer to the full-length invite us to question whether it is possible that the full-length could have been acquired between 1639 and 1641. If the purchase of a curtain in 1639

[51] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 61, p. 126.
[52] R. Newcome, *A Memoir of Gabriel Goodman...with Some Account of Ruthin School, and the Names of Its Most Eminent Scholars, Etc.: Also of Godfrey Goodman, D. D., Bishop of Gloucester from the Year 1624 to 1655...* (Ruthin, 1825), Appendix A: 'I do give to the Lady Frances Sydney Sussex College lately built, her Picture which I have in my Gallery'.
[53] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 61, p. 318.
[54] Ibid., p. 335.

relates to the full-length portrait, we must ask whether it could have been absent at the time that the inventory was made. This is ultimately unconvincing because the full-length is part of a list of four large additional items added to the great chamber inventory sometime after 5 July 1639 and would have been one of the largest items in that space. Its removal would surely have been noted or even delayed the taking of the inventory. Similarly, it had not been sent away for cleaning at the time of the 1639 inventory, because it was not 'renewed' until 1641 and there is no indication that the 1641 entry is a back payment from several years prior.

If the payments do refer to a portrait other than the early half-length known to be in the College from an early date, a second possibility to consider is whether these references indicate the preparation of a new portrait to enter the college collection. The decision to reframe and provide a new curtain for the portrait supports this suggestion. It may be that the full-length was acquired by the College not long after the 1639 inventory was made, requiring the rehanging of the half-length in the Library. Updates to the inventory could then have been made at a later date. However, as the half-length portrait was moved from the great chamber of the Master's Lodging to the Library sometime after the 1639 inventory, the reframing and cleaning recorded might also have been deemed appropriate for the smaller portrait on that occasion.

Despite the difficulties of reading fragmentary and amended written records, close reading of documents in the Sidney Sussex archives prompts a re-evaluation the process of acquisition of the full-length portrait of Frances Sidney. Its provenance was previously considered to be straightforward, its continual display since the College's foundation established by its appearance in the 1639 inventory. However, the key

outcome of my close reading of the inventory is an awareness that the full-length is, in fact, absent from the initial list made on 5 July 1639. This problematises the belief that the portrait came to the College directly from Sidney, and allows us to ask questions about how the College came to possess the portrait with greater specificity. Based on what we know of Frances Sidney's legacies, if the portrait was not bequeathed by Sidney herself, it was probably not part of her household goods at the time of her death. Additionally, if we understand the portrait to have arrived in the College after the 1639 inventory was made, we must consider its life before that moment, from its creation in the 1570s until its acquisition by Sidney Sussex College. The function and meaning of the portrait in the intervening years and its method of transfer to Sidney Sussex College have an important role in shaping the relationship the College had with the portrait, as will be discussed further in chapter three. Significantly for our understanding of the College's collecting practices, the arrival of the half-length, probably on the death of Dr Gabriel Goodman in 1601, meant that the College's first engagement with the enthusiasm for founders' portraits was with a very different portrait to the dramatic full-length.

Documentary evidence relating to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraiture can provide invaluable context for a portrait's acquisition, location, or modification. However, the often vague and disconnected nature of these sources, created for a specific purpose in which references to paintings are usually incidental, mean that they often raise as many questions as they answer. Nevertheless, by integrating documentary analysis with the other methods outlined in this chapter it is possible to build a better understanding of institution's relationship with certain portraits and the function and meaning of their portrait collections.

1.3 Technical Analysis: Dendrochronology

Portraits are physical objects. At their creation, they are the result of both artists' individual techniques and of a number of common methods of portrait production in the sixteenth century, both of which leave a material trace. In the centuries after their production, these portraits have often experienced deterioration and damage, or modification and restoration. Technical examination can, alongside the context of visual and documentary analysis, reveal more about the process of making and subsequent life of these paintings.

The value of technical analysis to uncover the approach of particular artists is demonstrated in scholarship such as Rica Jones's study of the work of John Bettes, Nicholas Hilliard, and Cornelis Ketel.[55] Additionally, Susan Foister's work on the reproduction of portraits by Hans Holbein used infrared imaging to uncover evidence of both underdrawing and pouncing, a technique for making repeat versions or later copies using charcoal or chalk to transfer a design from a pattern or cartoon through holes made around its outline.[56] Recent major studies of British portraiture in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, such as *Making Art in Tudor Britain*, have also included technical analysis at the core of their approach.[57] Light microscopy generates sharp, magnified images of portraits, enabling close analysis of paint handling. Meanwhile, infrared reflectology and X-ray allow researchers to look through the paint layer to

[55] R. Jones, 'The Methods and Materials of Three Tudor Artists: Bettes, Hilliard and Ketel', in K. Hearn (ed), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630* (London, 1995), pp. 231-240.
[56] S. Foister, 'The Production and Reproduction of Holbein's Portraits', in ibid., pp. 21-26.
[57] Cooper, Burnstock, Howard, and Town, *Painting in Britain 1500–1630*, p. 2.

see preparatory drawings and other marks indicative of the process of design. Paint samples can be tested and dendrochronology (tree-ring dating of the panel support) can be carried out to reveal more about the date and physical construction of both the panel and the painted image.[58]

The 'Reformation to Restoration' project at the Yale Center for British Art has used a combination of archival work and technical analysis to develop new research tools for the study of portraits.[59] Using macro X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (MA-XRF), the team identifies the levels and positions of particular elements in the paint layer of portraits. This allows them to estimate which pigments were being used, how, and where, developing a sense of how particular artists worked. This method is also valuable for analysing portraits of which there are a high number of versions and copies, or associated works that have been split up following their production. Rather than prioritising individual works and their relationship to an artist's known oeuvre, this project investigates how portraits may be connected in time and space.[60]

Technical analysis is also important for what it can tell us about the materiality of portraits as objects. Aviva Burnstock, Christine Sitwell, Catherine Daunt, and Sarah Freedman combine documentary and contextual analysis with technical evidence to build a picture of the display and significance of a particular portrait set found in the King's Room at Westwood Manor in Wiltshire.[61] Analysis of the 20 panel

[58] Cooper, 'Making Art in Tudor Britain', p. 4.
[59] J. David, R. Hark and E. Town, "A Real Master Among Hundreds': The Secrets and Techniques of Seventeenth Century Portraiture in Britain', *Materia: Journal of Technical Art History*, 1/1 (2021), https://volume-1-issue-1.materiajournal.com/article-jd-rh-et/, pp. 6-27.
[60] J. David, R. Hark and E. Town, "Likeness, Roundness, Posture and Colouring': Revealing the techniques of British Portraitists from the Reformation to the Restoration.' (unpublished paper, delivered 13 November 2019, Understanding British Portraits Annual Seminar, National Portrait Gallery, London).
[61] A. Burnstock, C. Sitwell, C. Daunt and S. Freeman, 'A Room Transposed: A Technical and

portraits allowed them to establish how the collection had been assembled and how each portrait related to the wider display. The seventeenth-century portraits were produced by different artists or workshops and were presented together as part of a twentieth-century antiquarian refurbishment.

The use of technical analysis to ascertain how one portrait relates to another, and particularly in large collections with multiple copies, is an important method for research that investigates the early collections of Oxford and Cambridge colleges. Extensive technical examination was not possible within the scope of the current project. In chapter three, I indicate the possible artists of some colleges' portraits using the available evidence, but questions of attribution, which require detailed comparison of the artists' materials and techniques, remain uncertain. In future, there is an opportunity to establish more confident attributions for some of the portraits identified here using further technical imaging. Meanwhile, I have commissioned dendrochronological analysis for a number of panels that form the focus of this thesis.[62] The value of this kind of work is that it can assist in identifying the dates in which the tree that made the panel support may have grown and establish the earliest viable date of production of the panel. Sometimes results are expressed as a '*felling date range*' where not all of the sapwood, the tree's living outer layer, has been removed.[63] Dendrochronology can also determine the likely region of origin of the oak panels used. As a result, a more secure dating can be established for four panels at Trinity College, Oxford, one panel at

Historical Study of the King's Room, Westwood Manor, Wiltshire, UK', *Studies in Conservation*, 57/1 (2012), pp. S43-S51.

[62] Dendrochronological analysis was carried out by Dr Ian Tyers, Dendrochronological Consultancy Ltd. with conservation and practical support from Polly Saltmarsh.

[63] I. Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Analysis of 4 Panel Paintings from Trinity College, Oxford' (unpublished report, January 2023), p. 10.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and a corresponding panel at the Goldsmiths' Company, London.

The collection of Trinity College, Oxford, established in 1555 by Sir Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559) and his wife, Lady Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593), includes a number of portraits of its co-founders. The present-day collection contains four portraits on panel of Thomas Pope and one portrait of Elizabeth on panel, alongside a number of later copies of both sitters on canvas. As part of this project, three of the portraits of Thomas Pope on panel and the portrait of Elizabeth Pope have been subject to dendrochronological analysis. As a result, misconceptions, built up over time, about the acquisition of these portraits by Trinity College can be resolved. Additionally, new understandings of the production of these portraits based on the construction of their panels reveals more about how the College engaged with portraiture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

I investigated the possibility of technical analysis in response to a number of question marks about the age and acquisition of the portraits now in the Trinity College collection. Dendrochronology provides information about the panel support of a portrait, and therefore cannot directly tell us about acquisition. However, the use of technical analysis in combination with the available documentary evidence allows us to build a fuller picture of the College's early collection.

An early portrait of Thomas Pope at Trinity (Fig. 20), bought in 1930 from the Wroxton estate and formerly owned by members of the Pope family, has been considered to be the oldest known surviving portrait of the College's founder, and the most likely candidate for a portrait made during Pope's lifetime. This consensus can



Figure 20:
Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
'Wroxton Portrait'
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
113.6 x 90.5 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 44



Figure 21:
Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
T347
Unknown artist
Mid 16th Century
Oil on panel
120.2 x 82.6 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 43

now be challenged. Dendrochronological analysis reveals that the Wroxton portrait was made 'after *c.*1584 and probably before *c.*1618'.[64] Pope died in 1559 meaning that the Wroxton portrait is certainly posthumous. In contrast, it was determined that a different panel, accession number T347, a portrait of Sir Thomas Pope similar to the Wroxton portrait but with the addition of a mermaid pendant and chain (Fig. 21), 'was constructed after *c.*1534 and probably before *c.*1568'.[65] This indicates that T347 may well have been a portrait commissioned during Sir Thomas Pope's lifetime or shortly after his death in 1559. Infrared photography of the Wroxton portrait revealed some

[64] Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Analysis of 4 Panel Paintings from Trinity College, Oxford, p. 10.
[65] Ibid., p. 13.

underdrawing, an outline of the face and hands made in the preparation of the copy's production (Figs. 22 and 23). The boards of both the Wroxton portrait and T347 were identified as from the eastern Baltic, products associated with high-quality panel construction centred in London.

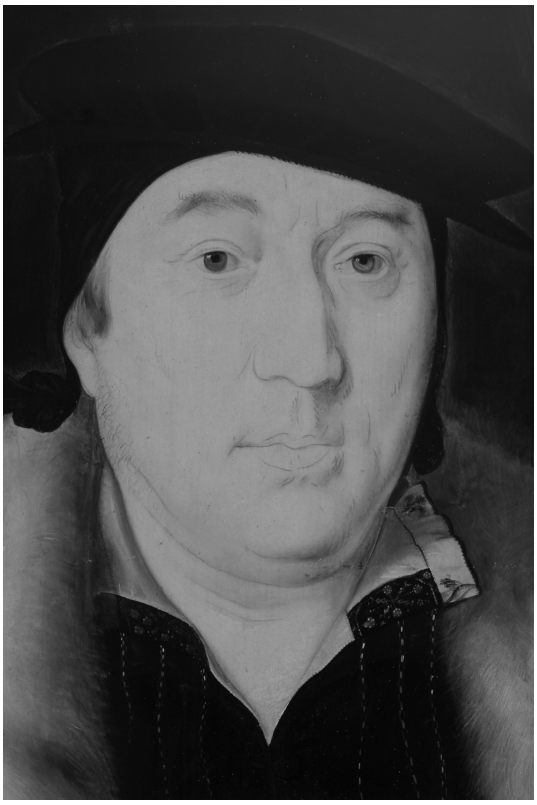


Figure 22:
Infrared detail of Fig. 20



Figure 23:
Infrared detail of Fig. 20

The other two panels analysed at Trinity College are representative of a different process of portrait production. A panel depicting Elizabeth Pope (Fig. 25) was identified as originating from a 'south-east English timber source'.[66] A third portrait of Thomas Pope now in the Hall at Trinity College (Fig. 24, accession number T395) is painted on a panel support of a similar origin.[67] Both are quite coarsely constructed in comparison to the two Baltic panels. Ian Tyers suggests that this 'may indicate this is

[66] Ibid., p. 6.
[67] Ibid., p. 17.

a panel that was made by a College carpenter, or other local joiner, rather than bought in from a cosmopolitan panel maker'.[68]



Figure 24:
Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
T395
Francis Potter (attributed to)
After *c.*1573
Oil on panel
120.9 x 81.8 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 46



Figure 25:
Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593)
Unknown artist
After *c.*1592
Oil on panel
92.7 x 69 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 14

The suggestion that both of these portraits were produced as college commissions rather than acquired as gifts from college patrons is supported by the date of both the panels and the corresponding written evidence. A portrait of Elizabeth Pope was bought in 1612-13 alongside an unidentified portrait of Thomas Pope to hang in the Hall.[69] This correlates to the dating of Trinity's current panel of Elizabeth Pope to

[68] Ibid., p. 6.
[69] Oxford, Trinity College, IA/2, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1600–1631', fos. 141r-143r: 'for the Foundress Picture - xl$^{s.}$'.

after *c.*1592, especially with the understanding that the panel was likely made even later, in the early seventeenth century, because English oak trees form more sapwood than those from Baltic regions, so we must bear in mind that, in this case, its removal may have resulted in many missing growth rings.[70] The T395 Hall portrait has been associated with Francis Potter (1594–1678), a member of the College. John Aubrey, who knew Potter, describes him as having painted a copy of a portrait of Thomas Pope for the Hall in the seventeenth century.[71] This is plausible given its dating to after *c.*1573. Again, the high amount of sapwood found on English oak boards means that this date should be viewed with caution and that the panel was likely constructed considerably later.

However, the acquisition of the T395 portrait of Thomas Pope, although a seventeenth-century portrait produced locally, was probably unrelated to the 1612-13 payment for a portrait of the Founder and his wife.[72] A fourth portrait of Thomas Pope on panel (Figs. 26 and 27, accession no. T293), that was unfortunately not a suitable candidate for dendrochronology, is more faithful to early portraits of Pope and is early seventeenth-century in style, suggesting that it is the earlier image. Initial inspection of this panel's construction suggested that it may also be English oak, giving it further similarities to the portrait of Elizabeth Pope acquired in 1612-13.[73] The technical

[70] Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Analysis of 4 Panel Paintings from Trinity', pp. 1, 6. Two of the panel's three boards were analysed, and the latest visible ring dating to 1582. Tyers states that we can expect at least ten years of sapwood growth on English oak, making the earliest possible date for the use of the panel *c.*1592.

[71] J. Aubrey, *'Brief Lives', Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696*, ed. A. Clark (2 vols, Oxford, 1898), ii, p. 162.

[72] Lane Poole gives 1637 as the date of T395 based on Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, but I have been unable to trace that date in the Trinity College accounts. See Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 119.

[73] My thanks to Ian Tyers for his thoughts and comments on the construction and possible materials of T395.



Figure 26:
Thomas Pope
T293
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx 116.8 x 88.9 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 45



Figure 27:
Reverse of Figure 26

analysis undertaken at Trinity establishes the production dates of several portraits and reveals the possible origin of their raw materials. Combined with documentary evidence, these results demonstrate that the College was actively commissioning copies of portraits of its founders by the early seventeenth century.

The new identification of T347 as either an original, an early version, or early copy, and the confirmation that the Wroxton portrait is a posthumous copy has important implications for our understanding of the early accumulation of Trinity College's portrait collection, before the seventeenth-century production of copies. The College accounts make numerous references to portraits, and early cataloguing efforts by Her-

bert Blakiston and Rachel Lane Poole endeavour to untangle the separate histories of each picture.[74] Panels with a more recent provenance, such the Wroxton portrait, acquired in 1930, are relatively simple to identify. Nevertheless, a lack of specificity in the older written records of the College and the changing display of these portraits over time adds a level of complication to the analysis of their production, date of possible arrival, and their role in the collection.

For example, there is an inconsistent paper trail relating to the T347 portrait of Thomas Pope. Lane Poole refers to a portrait of the same dimensions as being in the President's House at the time of her cataloguing in 1925. She claims it was 'the oldest portrait in the College, a copy from the portrait at Tyttenhanger, and probably the picture mentioned in the College accounts for the summer of 1596'.[75] In the context of this portrait's established early date of production, ascertaining whether it is a potential candidate for one of the College's early acquisitions would allow us to ask questions about its relationship to the rest of the collection, in terms of production and display. It would also help to build an understanding of how Trinity College might have been engaging with portraits of its founder in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

However, if Lane Poole was referring to T347, it has since been reframed as it is not in the black frame with painted inscription which she mentions, causing uncertainty about its provenance, particularly given the variability of dimension measurements, the other criteria for identification. As Blakiston's earlier 1898 work had also referred to

[74] H. E. D. Blakiston, *Trinity College* (London, 1898), pp. 242-4; Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, pp. 117-123.
[75] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 118.

three portraits of Thomas Pope on panel in Trinity College, with one in the Hall and 'two good old copies on panel' in the President's Lodgings, it is likely that both saw T347 in the same place.[76] Nevertheless, Trinity College does not currently recognise this portrait as an early acquisition but instead attributes the painting to William Sonmans, formerly thought to be the creator of the series of portraits of college founders in the Bodleian Library.[77] The College had exchanged a painting from their collection with the picture commissioned for the Bodleian in the eighteenth-century.[78] For at least part of the last century T347 has been thought to be a later, institutionally commissioned copy. Dendrochronology disproves this, and a portrait on panel would have been extremely unusual in the context of the Bodleian commissions of the 1670s. A misidentification of T347 as a later copy may be understood in the context of its removal, after Lane Poole and Blakiston were writing, from the President's Lodging to the SCR common room in the 'Tower'. More recent attempts to collate information about the portraits have used Blakiston's brief inventory of this location 'Sir Thos. Pope, copy by Sonman, formerly in the Bodleian Gallery'.[79]

Restoring the identification of T347 as an early portrait opens the possibility of its earlier acquisition by Trinity College, Oxford. The earliest written record of a portrait in the College is a payment for the carriage of a picture of the Founder in a protective chest or crate in 1596.[80] Given the identification of the portraits of Thomas and Elizabeth Pope on English oak with later written records, it seems likely that the

[76] Blakiston, *Trinity*, p. 244.
[77] Oxford, Trinity College Archives Collection, TrinOx2021.1.6, p. 1.
[78] 'Bodleian Library, LP 35', https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/85df679c-4f9f-4e29-ac1b-94d7a1e59005/ (14 July 2023).
[79] Blakiston, *Trinity*, p. 243.
[80] Oxford, Trinity College, *Computi Bursariorum* IA/1, fo. 389r: 'p[ro] cista in qua portabatur pictura[...]Tho: Pope fundatoris nostris et p[ro] vectione euisde[m]'.

portrait referred to in 1596 is T347. As dendrochronological analysis identifies T347 as an early, high-quality portrait on a Baltic panel, it is possible that the portrait was commissioned by Pope himself. Or, if it is a posthumous portrait, his widow, Elizabeth Pope may have commissioned it. As Elizabeth Pope died in 1593, a link between her estate and the College's 1596 acquisition of a portrait should not be ruled out. In contrast, the Wroxton portrait, certainly commissioned after Thomas Pope's death, remained in the family collection of John Pope, his brother. The parallel ownership of these portraits creates an image of early portraits of Sir Thomas Pope distributed to families and institutions to which he was connected.



Figure 28:
Robert Trappes (1479–1560)
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
60.8 x 50.4 cm
The Goldsmiths' Company, London
Appendix no.: 49



Figure 29:
Robert Trappes (1479–1560)
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
61.2 x 48.8 cm
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 48

In addition to the technical work at Trinity, parallel analysis of portraits of Robert Trappes (1479–1560) at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and the Goldsmiths'

Company, London demonstrate the value of dendrochronology for evaluating the accuracy of inscriptions. Trappes was a London goldsmith and patriarch of a family of female benefactors to several Oxford and Cambridge colleges, including Gonville and Caius, to which his portrait was bequeathed by his daughter, Joyce Frankland (1531–1587). While the dates inscribed on the Goldsmiths' Company portrait and the Cambridge portrait of Robert Trappes are the same, his age is given differently. This raises questions about how the production dates of each of these portraits relate to one another. Tree-ring analysis revealed that the Cambridge portrait was 'constructed after *c.*1556 and probably before *c.*1590'.[81] The Goldsmiths' Company portrait 'was constructed after *c.*1561 and probably before *c.*1595'.[82] Trappes' death in 1560 means that it is probable that these portraits were both copies produced posthumously. The inscriptions likely refer to an original painted in 1554. The portrait now in the Goldsmiths' Company was acquired in 2005 and before that date had remained in the Trappes family, passed down via Robert Trappes's eldest son. The Gonville and Caius portrait was bequeathed by Joyce Frankland in 1587. Much like the Trinity portraits, this reveals a pattern of portrait commission in which the family retain commemorative portraits of their relatives, while using copies as gifts to the institutions to which they are linked.

In summary, technical analysis is a valuable companion to documentary evidence. Dendrochronology provides information about the date, origin, and construction of the panel supports of portraits. This allows us to ask more specific questions about

[81] I. Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Analysis of a Panel Painting: Portrait of Robert Trappes' (unpublished report, January 2023), p. 3.
[82] I. Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Analysis of a Panel Painting: Portrait of Robert Trappes (unpublished report, December 2022), p. 3.

commissioning and the portraits' origins. In combination with the written records of colleges, this approach can help untangle complex questions of provenance and acquisition.

Conclusions

In her recent study of the role of images of women from the middling sorts in institutional contexts, Cooper addresses the long gestation of early modern British portrait studies, explaining that: '... historians are less comfortable with interpreting visual evidence and... art historians have not seen these images as art objects, as their authorship is often obscure and their execution technically unremarkable'.[83] Cooper's acknowledgement echoes an increasingly firm consensus that attachment to traditional approaches or rigid disciplinary boundaries undermines the potential for rigorous critical engagement with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraiture.

Drawing on the approaches outlined above, this project enriches current scholarship, developing a comprehensive and cross-disciplinary understanding of the function and legacy of portraits of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century women in an institutional context. Ultimately, I ask how we can understand developing college collections and their treatment of portraits of women in the context of a period of great change for these institutions. At issue is whether the most significant shift in the commemoration of women's patronage was the result of demographic and social change, artistic developments, or religious turbulence in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

[83] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', pp. 104-5.

Chapter 2

Commemoration in the Early Modern University

2.1 Portraits as Commemorative Tools

According to Art UK, St John's College, Cambridge, has a collection in excess of two hundred portraits.[1] This extensive collection is the result of centuries of acquisition, and the sitters represented stretch back to the College's foundation. The scale of the collection implies that its composition was the result of a purposeful attempt to compile a kind of directory of important figures in the College's history. By this interpretation, the expansive size of the St John's picture collection appears inevitable with the passing of time. However, reconstructing the visual landscape of the College in the sixteenth century reveals that portraiture has not always enjoyed such prominence

[1] 'Venues: St John's College, University of Cambridge', https://artuk.org/visit/venues/st-johns-college-university-of-cambridge-5934 (24 May 2023).

within collegiate commemorative forms. This chapter investigates the process by which these collections developed from unplanned accumulations into an essential tool for college communities, the beginnings of which are representative of several major structural changes within these institutions.

With the assistance of archival materials, a visit to the Chapel of St John's College, Cambridge, can take us, not to Sir George Gilbert Scott's 1862 gothic revival design, but to its predecessor, the Tudor Chapel as it was on 14 May 1543. Stepping inside, using an inventory taken that day and Alec C. Crook's modern architectural history of the College, it is possible to encounter a space with a complex visual and material decorative scheme. Gilt plate and copper paxes glitter in candlelight against a backdrop of coloured hangings and windows 'glazed with "Imagery werke and tabernaclis"'.[2] Cloth is an important feature, covering the altars and made into silk banners.[3] Moving into the wooden stalls of the Chapel, a Mass is in progress. The priest of the day's service, one of the fellows, stands before a canopy suspended above the host, allowing a glimpse of just some of the College's elaborate vestments.[4] Many other highly embellished items are stored away, including a suit with 'oystresse fethers', 'one suete of golde w^{t} crymsyn velvet', and 'another of whyte damaske of flowres'.[5] In addition to the sound of the liturgy, the experience of sitting in the Chapel is realised through interaction with the visual and haptic forms of its contents.

Visualising the old Chapel of St John's in this way prompts us to consider the

[2] SJCC, SJAR/6/2/1, 'Register of Inventories', fos. 56v-57r; A. C. Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott: A History of the Buildings of St John's College, Cambridge 1511 to 1885* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 13, quoting R. Willis and J. W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (4 vols, Cambridge, 1886), ii, p. 242.
[3] SJCC, SJAR/6/2/1, fo. 57r.
[4] Ibid., fo. 57r: 'iij staves for the canopie'.
[5] Ibid., fo. 57v.

importance of a variety of commemorative forms that fit into this setting. When the College was established, eight 'Rector Staves', half gilt and half silver and capped with the arms of Lady Margaret Beaufort, the founder, were recorded in a list of Chapel goods.[6] These may well be the staves mentioned in 1543, albeit with several pairs missing.[7] Many vestments incorporated the Founder's heraldic imagery, including 'portecullyces of venys golde'.[8] No less than four chantry chapels to the College's associates sprang off the central space of the Chapel.[9] Each had a gilt chalice designated for use for the commemoration of the chantry's benefactor.[10] Looking to the end of the pews, there is damage to the carved symbols of ears of wheat and fish, the badges of John Fisher, which were removed after his execution in 1535.[11] Their mutilation demonstrates the deliberate destruction of some commemorative forms and indicates the College's strategic attempts to represent advantageous connections and to respond to a changing situation. The memory of individuals is repeatedly either emphasised or excised throughout the Chapel's interior. For anyone who entered the Chapel on that day in early May 1543, as is clear from this inventory, the commemoration of benefactors and those with connections to the College was expected to play a significant role in defining their experience. In this space abounding in commemorative media, portraiture, so established at St John's today, is notable by its absence from the inventories.

Looking at the accounts of colleges across Oxford and Cambridge, it becomes

[6] Ibid., fo. 30r.
[7] Ibid. fo. 56v.
[8] Ibid., fo. 33v.
[9] Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, pp. 17-20.
[10] SJCC, SJAR/6/2/1, fo. 56v.
[11] Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, p. 20.

clear that the basic ingredients of early modern college spaces included wainscotting, wall hangings, and stained-glass windows.[12] The decoration of collegiate spaces was evidently an important activity for their communities. Seasonal celebrations were marked by bringing the outside in and adorning the walls with boughs and flowers, and hanging ivy for Christmas dinners or New Year's plays.[13] On other important occasions, such as the death of a college member, associate, or benefactor, the Chapel, already occupied by funeral monuments and brasses, and the Hall were swathed in black material, with eulogistic verses pinned to it.[14] Adulatory verses and epitaphs were sometimes more permanently framed on walls and there is, for example, a record of framed maps at Christ's and Sidney Sussex Colleges in Cambridge.[15] Nevertheless, despite the attention paid to the decorative landscape of college spaces, college accounts suggest that there were very few portraits hanging on their walls in the first half of the sixteenth century. At St John's, Cambridge, one portrait of their founder, Margaret Beaufort, is recorded as arriving in 1534, but if there were other pictures in the college collection, their presence is undetectable through the accounts. Their apparent absence leads us to conclude that, while the new medium of panel portraiture could form part of collegiate commemorative schemes in this period, they were introduced into an already rich world of visual signification as just one of many possible tools for commemoration.

[12] See Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, Bursar's Book 1609-1634, March to September 1622 for 'mending the wainscott in hall & parlour'; Cambridge, Christ's College, B1 Accounts 1545-57, fo. 64v for 'y^{e} hangings'; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 6r for stained glass.

[13] SJCO, ACC I.A 20, '*Computus Annuus*, 1635-6', fo. 21v: 'It: for Boughs & Flowers in y^{e} hall upon St Johns day'; Oxford, Wadham College, 16/4, 'Particular Expences' Michaelmas 1715: 'Dressing the Hall with Ivy'.

[14] T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford: Its Foundation, Architecture and History, with an Account of the Family of Wadham and their Seats in Somerset and Devon* (Oxford, 1893), pp. 86, 89.

[15] SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus*, (1578-9, 1580-1)', p. 76; SJCO, ACC I.A 7, '*Computus Annuus*, 1585-6', fo. 24r: 'for making a frame for y^{e} founders verses & for gyldinge wth pegme[n]t and two shells of gould'; Cambridge, Christ's College, B1 Accounts 1545-1557, fo. 123r: 'paid for ye greate mappe of ye whole worlde'; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 6r: 'a map of the world per Ger. Mercatorem. Duysburgi. 1569'.

The wealth of portraits at St John's today is evidence of a significant shift in the College's institutional commemorative customs.

The transformation of college commemoration leading to the current prevalence of portraits over other kinds of media is not limited to St John's College, Cambridge; it can be seen across modern day Oxford and Cambridge. The display of substantial portrait collections is now a characteristic feature of collegiate visual culture. A visit, or a glance at modern catalogues by those such as Rachel Lane Poole and her Cambridge counterparts, reveals an environment in which historic acquisitions and new commissions appear to jostle for position in virtually every communal and semi-public space in the modern college.[16] Halls, Libraries, Common Rooms, Lodgings, and even Chapels play host to portrait paintings, and, more recently, photographic portraits. Where space is at a premium, stairwells and corridors double as picture galleries, with portraits vastly outnumbering other subjects. This peculiar rise to ubiquity has been so complete that, in addition to a more typical portrait collection, the Archive at Trinity College, Oxford, boasts a beloved, if roughly executed, portrait preserving the memory of 'Cholmondesbury' ('Cheesby') the Cat by former Fellow Sir Cyril Hinshelwood. Of course, it is important to remember that the purpose of portrait collections is sometimes straightforwardly decorative. In July 1735, William Holmes, President of St John's College, wrote to antiquary and benefactor Richard Rawlinson to discuss the latter's gifts of portraits to the Bodleian, 'as I am furnishing a staircase, anything you refus'd will be acceptable...'[17] Feline depictions and staircase-fillers aside, the comprehensive

[16] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, i-iii; J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of Cambridge Portraits* (Cambridge, 1955).
[17] Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MSS Rawlinson Letters 114*, fo. 141, quoted in Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 148.

and long-term success of portraiture over other forms in a collegiate context prompts investigation into the particular resilience of this commemorative form.

A productive approach to identifying how portraits became an integral part of the commemorative landscape of college life may be drawn from parts of Judith Pollmann's study of memory in early modern Europe. Pollmann suggests approaching the 'memory career' of an object in reverse, in other words, investigating who and what might be represented and how far an object has evolved from its original function. Through this difference it is possible to 'reconstruct and explain how public memories have morphed and changed in meaning over time'.[18] While they reflect present-day concerns, attitudes within the modern university regarding the purpose of institutional portraiture highlight a number of themes that are critical to the examination of portraiture as a commemorative form and its reception in the early modern university.

The number of recent commissions across Oxford and Cambridge indicates a high level of awareness about the value of portraiture to institutions. In 2015, Hertford College, Oxford, launched a project to commission portraits depicting beneficiaries of the College's Tanner Scheme, which supported the admission of state school pupils between the late 1960s and early 1980s. The portrait series commemorated the College's pledge to champion equal opportunity and social mobility.[19] Twenty-first-century commissions often prioritize endeavours to expand the visible diversity of the scholarly community.[20]

[18] J. Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 14-15.

[19] 'The Tanner Scheme Portrait Display', https://www.hertford.ox.ac.uk/the-tanner-revolution-in-oxford-admissions-2015-16/portraits (14 July 2023).

[20] See the 2017 Oxford University commission, titled 'More than 20 new portraits commissioned to reflect Oxford University's diversity', https://www.ox.ac.uk/news/2017-03-30-more-20-new-portraits-commissioned-reflect-oxford-universitys-diversity (14 July 2023); Members of staff are also represented. See the 2016 'New exhibition celebrates Cambridge porters', https://www.newn.cam.ac.uk/newnham-news/college/ (14 July 2023).

The portraiture that accompanied commemorations of the fortieth anniversary of the acceptance of female students at many Oxford colleges are also significant examples of this emphasis on inclusion.[21] As the traditionally masculine identities of the colleges have shifted, new acquisitions redress historic imbalances of representation. In this way, the colleges indicate that their modern portrait collections represent more than mere ornamentation, or an incidental accretion of images that reflect different phases of their past and present. Instead, portraiture is used by the college as an intentional tool to shape understandings of their corporate identity, and thus portraits themselves become a means of producing and organising an experience specific to that community.

The belief in portraiture's capacity to actualise experience in this way is made explicit in the statement of purpose given by 'Diversifying Oxford', a cataloguing and commissioning project led by Oxford's Equality and Diversity Unit:

> These pictures celebrate stories from our past, make visible our values and ambitions for the future, and help to shape the present living and working environment for staff, students, and visitors.[22]

The principle that portraiture makes 'visible' not just past realities, but also immaterial values and aspirations is also made clear in Imogen Tedbury's exploration of the commissioning practices of the early women's colleges.[23] Their acquisitions of portraits of women involved with the colleges represented a kind of history-writing through pictures, where 'presenting a quasi 'gallery of ancestors' constructed from a uniquely

[21] See the 2019 project at Balliol College, Oxford: 'New portraits of Balliol women in Hall', https://www.balliol.ox.ac.uk/news/2019/september/new-portraits-of-balliol-women-in-hall (14 July 2023). See also the 2019 exhibition at Cambridge University Library commemorating the 150th anniversary of women at Cambridge: 'Women at Cambridge portraits exhibition', https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=20211 (14 July 2023).

[22] 'Diversifying Portraiture', https://edu.admin.ox.ac.uk/diversifying-portraiture (14 July 2023).

[23] I. Tedbury, 'New Collections for New Women: Collecting and Commissioning Portraits at the Early Women's University Colleges', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 31 (2020), https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3353.

female lineage' afforded these new colleges a sense of legitimacy and dignity.[24] Through this messaging an affective environment was produced that conditioned the practices and self-perception of its members.

Recent critical attention to the particular capacity of commemorative portraiture in various media to shape college identity has included the 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaign and the 2021 publication of the 'Report of a Commission of Inquiry Established by Oriel College, Oxford into Issues Associated with Memorials to Cecil Rhodes'.[25] While debates about the possible removal of the statue of Rhodes himself remain unresolved, the report emphasises that other commemorative materials in its immediate vicinity are not at issue: 'there is no suggestion in the Governing Body's decision that either the inscription or the coat of arms should be removed' as they have not been 'the specific subject of a protest and could be left as a more discrete [*sic*] acknowledgement'.[26]

Such conclusions introduce the possibility that there is something particular about portraiture that imbues it with a singular kind of commemorative function, perhaps more potent than other forms. Despite examples of contested portrait images, the form has retained its popularity in both Oxford and Cambridge. Modern efforts to diversify and decolonise portrait collections represent an explicit acknowledgement of portraiture's role in constructing narratives that propose certain accounts of a college's past, while gesturing towards its possible future. Through this contemporary process of

[24] 'Painting the Pioneers: Portraits of Women at Oxford', https://www.firstwomenatoxford.ox.ac.uk/article/painting-the-pioneers-portraits-of-women-at-oxford (14 July 2023).

[25] See the 2021 Rhodes report: 'Decisions Made by the College Following the Completion of the Independent Commission into Cecil Rhodes and Related Issues' https://wayback.archive-it.org/org-467/20210713112203/https://www.oriel.ox.ac.uk/about-college/news-events/news/decisions-made-college-following-completion-independent-commission (14 July 2023).

[26] 'Report of a Commission of Inquiry Established by Oriel College, Oxford into Issues Associated with Memorials to Cecil Rhodes' https://wayback.archive-it.org/org-467/20210714010254/https://www.oriel.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/oriel_rhodes_commission_full_report.pdf (14 July 2023), pp. 45, 124.

reassessment, and the reframing of these institutional forms, it is possible to recognise that institutional portraits do more than act as a reflection or expression of a pre-existing corporate identity. Heated debates about the impact of portrait media show that colleges are not always in control of the meaning or impact of commemorative portraits, which are not static visual records with stable associations. The conditions and decisions that govern what portraits mean in a college context will be key in our exploration of the function of portraiture in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Early modern college picture collections, this chapter argues, were similarly formative. As we have seen, a sixteenth-century visitor to one of Oxford or Cambridge's secular colleges would have encountered emerging portrait collections as just one part of a more complex visual world. While some early modern colleges show evidence of early collections of painted portraits, the long histories of both universities meant that, in addition to this new medium, they had a variety of other commemorative mechanisms available to them. Pierre Nora's theory of '*lieux de mémoire*' is an effective way of framing our understanding of the difference between the period before portraits became an institutional convention, and when they were later recognised as a form which acted as a customary framework for corporate identity.[27]

Nora distinguishes between memory and the modern conceptualization of history. For Nora, earlier societies lived immersed in the 'affective' power of memory. In contrast, modern societies are divorced from this traditional memory and history is merely a

[27] P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations,* 26 (1989), pp. 7-24.

representation of memory rather than a frame of reference integral to daily life.[28] While Nora's thesis is incomplete in its discussion of what constitutes an 'archaic' or 'primitive' society and provides no indication of the exact moment of separation between societies determined by 'real' memory and those represented by a greater 'historiographical consciousness', his understanding of history as a self-conscious reconstruction is helpful to the study of the longue durée of portraiture in the university.[29] Today's portraits, where historic omissions are corrected and colleges attempt to articulate multiple, sometimes competing, strands of their history, exemplify Nora's observations that 'memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things'.[30] In modern portrait collections, figures who may be commemorated through another means are not considered to be appropriately represented until they are included in the canon of portraiture.

Leaving aside the teleological visual narratives outlined by some modern college collections, the idea that 'memory takes root in the concrete' is also pertinent to our understanding of the conditions that shaped the commemorative function of early modern portraits. Nora's '*milieux de mémoire*' are spaces in which memory has become embedded in practices and behaviours through repetition, a process of reiteration that produces an mental world centred on tradition.[31] Pollmann highlights the importance of the interaction of multiple media in the production of these kinds of 'local memory landscape[s]', where 'one object, text, ritual, or work of art refers to another'.[32] By

[28] Ibid., p. 8.
[29] Ibid., p. 8.
[30] Ibid., p. 9.
[31] Ibid., p. 8.
[32] Pollmann, *Memory*, pp. 7, 14.

considering the commemorative field of the early modern college as a *milieu de mémoire,* we can move towards a more thorough understanding of how portraits functioned within this context and why they were able to rise to dominance, becoming the favoured commemorative form of later generations.

2.2 The Secular College, Memory, and Commemoration

The growing prevalence of portraiture in Oxford and Cambridge's early modern colleges can be attributed to a number of developments in visual and material commemorative media. These shifts are themselves connected to a changing relationship with memory, so it is worth first considering the place of memory in the sixteenth-century university. Writing about the structural changes to the University of Oxford in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, A. B. Cobban describes the character of the emerging network of secular colleges as 'islands of stability and continuity'.[33] Imagining collegiate development as the surfacing of a scattered archipelago captures the related but idiosyncratic nature of these institutions. Nevertheless, it also prompts us to question what was specific about these foundations in comparison to the implied instability that lay beyond their boundaries. Were these colleges truly stable and how did they operate within the university to consolidate and maintain their new-found territories, over time and into the sixteenth century? The memory practices developed by these communities are an important starting point.

[33] A. B. Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380–1500', in J. Catto and R. Evans (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume II* (Oxford, 1992), p. 633.

The secular college, which had been part of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge since the thirteenth century, was, in essence, a non-monastic corporation of scholars, established by a royal charter and governed by statutes. While distinct, it shared some aspects of the structure and functions of monastic colleges, which were satellite communities that provided places for the members of specific religious foundations—and sometimes outsiders—to study at the university. The secular colleges shared further similarities with the system of academic halls at Oxford and hostels at Cambridge, in which younger students were accommodated and tutored in less formal, and often smaller, communities across the city under the supervision of a principal.[34] Cobban's account of Oxford, which ends before the monastic colleges were dismantled as part of the dissolution of the monasteries, focuses its conclusions on the eventual dominance of the secular colleges over the halls, citing their 'increasingly imposing buildings and air of opulent permanence' as the source of their strength and longevity.[35] Jeremy Catto is less convinced by this narrative of aularian decline, suggesting that, in many ways, the secular college mirrored many of the functions of the halls, sometimes literally incorporating halls into their communities.[36] Both interpretations are useful for determining whether there was something specific about the way colleges in particular were shaping corporate identity.

It is certainly true that the secular college community was housed in more impressive structures than the smaller rented town houses that accommodated the halls

[34] Ibid., pp. 627-8; D. R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge, Vol. 1: The University to 1546* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 254.
[35] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380–1500', p. 628.
[36] J. Catto, 'The Triumph of the Hall in Fifteenth-Century Oxford', in T. H. Aston and R. Evans (eds), *Lordship and Learning: Studies in Memory of Trevor Aston* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 214.

and hostels.[37] Like their monastic equivalents, their enclosed setting mirrored the conventions of life in the religious orders, organising scholarly life into a series of connected spaces with dedicated purposes, such as a Hall, a Chapel and a Library. Initially, not all college students were lodged in the colleges' buildings, and some colleges shared spaces of worship with the city, for example Peterhouse's use of the Church of St Mary the Less in Cambridge.[38] However, by the sixteenth century, college sites became more extensive, partly due to new places allocated for undergraduate students taking degrees in the arts, where space had been previously restricted to students studying towards higher degrees in the arts, theology, canon and civil law, and medicine.[39] William of Wykeham's building project at the prototypical New College, built by 1386, is an example of the ample resources of the secular college, arranged around a quadrangle 'to embrace all the buildings necessary for the life of the society'.[40] At New College, and those built after it across Oxford and Cambridge, these buildings provided a dedicated space in which members of the society could fulfil their financial, administrative, and pastoral roles in addition to their scholarly responsibilities and spiritual practices.[41]

The 'air of opulent permanence', Cobban's second factor in the appeal of the secular college over the hall, is more indefinite. Leader writes that the offer of 'a stable community', as well as a whole host of practical concerns, contributed to the

[37] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380–1500', p. 627.
[38] J. C. P. Roach (ed), 'The Colleges and Halls: Peterhouse', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 3, the City and University of Cambridge* (London, 1959), http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol3/pp334-340 (14 July 2023), pp. 334–40.
[39] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380-1500', pp. 589–90; J. McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', in J. McConica (ed), *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume III* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 2-3.
[40] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380-1500', p. 585.
[41] This included the 'supervision of the younger scholars'. See Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 255.

growing popularity of colleges over hostels.[42] While better buildings, food, and teaching certainly contributed to an atmosphere of stability, how colleges functioned conceptually and structurally offers a more comprehensive explanation for their durability. College statutes frequently anatomised the corporate body, using body politic metaphors. At Christ's College, Cambridge, founded in 1505, members' individual roles worked together beneath the Master as the head, extending downwards to the role of hired servants as the feet.[43] The hierarchical order outlined by this conceptual underpinning was reflected in the actual living conditions of the entire society, and was supported by spatial and temporal structures that shaped behaviour. For example, the Christ's statutes read:

> since we wish them all to be combined into a united whole, so that they may be as it were one body under the Master as head of the whole College, to this end we will that they shall all dine and sup together in one place.[44]

Miri Rubin's work on the early modern college of Corpus Christi, Oxford, founded in 1517, encourages us to consider such structured behaviours as the basis of an 'emotional community'.[45] Rubin's understanding of the body as 'the site of emotional life', which can be 'mobilised, aroused to emotion, which is in turn communicated to others, or even disciplined into disappearance' develops our understanding that the organisation and regulation of the bodies of college members was the foundation of a stable corporate identity.[46] Colleges were conceived as contained communities in which the activities and behaviours of each member served a common academic and spiritual goal. Richard

[42] Ibid., p. 256.
[43] H. Rackham (ed), *Early Statutes of Christ's College* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 44.
[44] Ibid., p. 95.
[45] M. Rubin, 'Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as an Emotional Community', in M. Feingold and J. Watts (eds) *History of Universities: Volume XXXII/ 1-2: Renaissance College: Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450–1600* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 81-102.
[46] Ibid., p. 82.

Foxe, founder of Corpus Christi, had employed an equivalent organic metaphor for the organisation of his members, likening them to bees in a hive.[47] Rubin creates an image of a corporate culture based on 'embodied experiences' acquired throughout the day, as college members passed between spaces used for dedicated purposes.[48] This creates the impression of an interconnected web of visual, haptic, and ritual memory that defined collegiate cultures that were distinct yet connected across the secular foundations of Oxford and Cambridge.

Our critical understanding of how practices, such as eating, sleeping, praying, and studying together, could shape college identity can be extended through Caroline Levine's framework to describe a 'new formalist method'.[49] Levine's exploration of 'social arrangements' as a type of 'form' allows us to unpick the complexities of community-building using analytic terminology equivalent to those available to scholars of aesthetic and literary form. Unlike Cobban's view of 'imposing buildings', Levine challenges the idea that institutions gain stability from their buildings, proposing the formation and reiteration of patterns in any number of conceptual or material forms as the foundation of institutional power and its perceived permanence.[50] These 'rhythms' give institutions their distinctive characteristics by creating 'order on bodies, discourses, and objects'.[51] In the case of the secular college, routine and traditions formed part of a cultural memory handed on from one generation of scholars to the next. Written statutes could be recited to the community every year.[52] James McConica's work

[47] McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', p. 19; Rubin, 'Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as an Emotional Community', p. 87.
[48] Ibid., p. 82.
[49] C. Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton, 2017), p. 3.
[50] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls', p. 628; Levine, *Forms*, pp. 57–58.
[51] Ibid., pp. 59–60.
[52] McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', p. 19.

highlights the shaping potential of the discipline outlined in such statutes and in increasing standardisation across the University. He argues that, during Elizabethan visitations, the remaining halls began to conform to the same systems and routines as the colleges, from participation in morning prayers to nightly curfews.[53] Experience could be shaped through repetitive behaviours as well as the physical fabric of the buildings.

However, while colleges shared this form of institutional culture, in which corporate identity was formalised through routine, the unique characteristics of each collegiate community were crucial in developing memory practices. While the statutes adopted by secular colleges were often heavily emulative of earlier foundations, there was often a significant difference between statute and actual practice. The affluence of some well-endowed colleges contrasted with the paucity of others' provision. Colleges with different sized plots and numbers of students were different in character. Similarly, the balance of graduates and undergraduates, fellows and scholars could differ across colleges and fluctuate over time. College foundations also occasionally favoured certain disciplines, their specialism often dictated by the ideals and intentions of their founding members.[54] This could influence the future careers and trajectories of graduates. Not only this but colleges drew their students from particular regions, and even particular families, often chosen by founders and patrons. While certain halls and hostels had a distinctive sense of institutional identity, they did not have the advantage of permanent buildings, or longstanding officials, meaning that they were unable to establish communal identity in the long term.[55] They were liable to be absorbed by and assimilated

[53] Ibid., p. 54.
[54] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380-1500', p. 589.
[55] Ibid., p. 628.

into larger halls or colleges, giving them an interchangeable quality. The fact that halls and hostels could not rely on financial endowment, Cobban claims, prevented them from establishing 'a sustained corporate spirit and loyalty comparable to that of the colleges'.[56] Colleges' resources allowed them to adopt and repeat formalised practices that celebrated the specificity of their particular circumstances. This was fundamental to their institutional longevity.

This is particularly apparent when early modern colleges are viewed in the context of their relationships with their external supporters. While colleges were 'self-contained', they were not self-sufficient.[57] Rubin's thesis allows for some outside influence, such as visiting scholars and the entertainment of members of the court, but chiefly conceives of the collegiate emotional community as an introspective experience, in which the subsequent careers of Corpus members were coloured by a closed culture of intimacy and shared practice.[58] However, across the early modern colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, it is clear that, while colleges were defined by an inward-looking sense of shared identity, the boundaries of these communities were in fact conspicuously and necessarily porous. These institutions were reliant on a variety of outside assistance, and the repetition of these interactions between college members and the outside world defined the emotional community and their behaviours and practices quite as much as their intra-college relationships.[59]

The role of the founder in endowing the college was essential for the maintenance

[56] Ibid., pp. 630-32.
[57] Ibid., p. 617.
[58] Rubin, 'Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as an Emotional Community', pp. 94, 101.
[59] See Barbara H Rosenwein's work on emotional communities. Rather than considering particular environments as sites for emotional communities, she understands space as a way of understanding the emotional life of the communities that used them. B. H. Rosenwein and R. Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 40.

of fellowships and scholarships, and often provided clerical livings to which students could graduate.[60] Colleges further relied on a cyclical system where past graduates would become patrons to the college, opening opportunities for current members.[61] The reciprocal exchange of benefit between colleges and other individuals and institutions is also evident in the establishment of founder's kin. Family members of the founder often had an automatic right to scholarships and fellowships without probation.[62] A similar system was sometimes also agreed with schools who would be given places for their brightest students, giving the college a relatively steady intake of students. Patrons, founders, and subsequent benefactors offered money or land, sponsored building projects, and gave objects, such as books for the Library, silver plate for the Hall or Chapel, and other liturgical objects. Consequently, their presence was felt in the systems that allowed the college to function, and in a physical sense through their contributions to the college's material possessions. Colleges' regular interactions with their supporters fed into the ritualized operation of college life. As a result, the commemoration of these individuals became a significant part of the rhythms that measured time in college life. At Trinity College Oxford, established in 1555 by Sir Thomas Pope, obit masses, held for the souls of the dead, were celebrated for the Founder, his first and second wives, his parents, and Queen Mary I. These were dispersed over a number of holy days throughout the Christian calendar.[63] At Christ's, there were to be daily prayers for the souls of Lady Margaret Beaufort and a long list of other relations and important figures.[64]

[60] Cobban, 'Colleges and Halls 1380-1500', p. 587.
[61] Ibid., p. 588.
[62] Ibid., p. 584.
[63] C. Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community* (Oxford, 2007), p. 30.
[64] Rackham, *Early Statutes of Christ's College*, p. 89.

Although resources were important, the formalised cultural rhythms that shaped daily life were essential to the secular college maintaining and sustaining a cohesive shared experience. For Levine, this is a balance that requires the repetition and reiteration of tradition and earlier practices alongside gradual change 'in patterns spaced closely enough to enact continuity'.[65]

Here we can begin to see why Nora's concept of *milieux de mémoire* might be an effective analogy for the commemorative practices of these institutions before the introduction of portraiture. But what was the place of image within these memory communities? In Mary Carruthers' examination of the medieval art of 'memory craft', defined as the mechanisms used in monastic communities to recall and formulate knowledge, she characterises her period of study as 'fundamentally memorial'.[66] Her work begins with, but is not limited to, the written word and interrogates the ability of medieval monks to use mnemonic techniques to memorise and, crucially, to shape remembered texts and information into effective knowledge. This practice of memory craft in relation to the written word is useful to the present study because it would have been familiar to many medieval and pre-Reformation university colleges, many of whom were either monastic or based on monastic models of living and working.

Words were at the very centre of university life. Indeed, in Berthold Kress's studies of the iconography of early universities in the Holy Roman Empire, he stresses that early modern universities were *primarily* 'spaces dedicated to the word'.[67] In addition

[65] Levine, *Forms*, pp. 61-2.
[66] M. J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 9.
[67] B. Kress, 'Studies on the Iconography of Universities in the Holy Roman Empire: Images on Seals and Maces', *History of Universities*, XXXI/1 (2018), p. 75.

to the reading aloud, lectures, and disputations that were central to the medieval university, the sixteenth-century renewal of emphasis on rhetorical skill, including verse composition and oratory to accompany significant events, mirrors the verbal techniques that Carruthers attributes to the arts of memory.[68] The structure of academic life and the subject matter pursued within the pre-Reformation college were supported and sustained by such arts of memory.

And yet, in addition to the significance of the written and the spoken word within the university, beginning in the sixteenth century, the popularity of institutional portraiture grew, and portraits developed into the medium we now see as a fundamental component of collegiate identity. The importance of visual and material culture in the university, shown by the status of this commemorative form, was not born alongside the acquisition of the first university portrait. Instead, the link between memory practices and visual and physical media had a long history from the earliest years of English universities. Kress' work on seals and maces effectively demonstrates how often administrative documentation in the university was accompanied by objects, images, and physical ritual.

A study of the foundational documentation of medieval and early modern colleges supports his findings. The 1347 letters patent from Edward III to The Queen's College, Oxford, include an historiated image of a royal figure as part of Edward's name (Fig. 30).[69] In a fifteenth-century example at King's College, Cambridge, a charter granted

[68] See, for example, J. G. Martin, 'A 1585 Oxford Ceremonial Student Oration: Text and Translation', in M. Feingold (ed), *History of Universities*, XXXI/2 (2018), p.49. See also, G. Kilroy, 'The Queen's Visit to Oxford in 1566: A Fresh Look at Neglected Manuscript Sources', *Recusant History*, 31/3 (2013), p. 333.

[69] Oxford, The Queen's College, Letters Patent of Edward III.



Figure 30:
Detail of the Letters Patent of Edward III
Unknown artist
1347
The Queen's College, Oxford



Figure 31:
Detail of the Letters Patent of Elizabeth I
Nicholas Hilliard and others
1584
Emmanuel College, Cambridge

to the College in Parliament in 1445-6 incorporates an elaborate illumination depicting King Henry VI, Parliament, and holy figures.[70] These conventions continued into the sixteenth century and the statutes of St John's College by John Bereblock in 1562 include an image of St John the Baptist and Elizabeth I as well as graphic initial letters.[71] After the early illumination work of Netherlandish migrants such as the Horenbouts during the reign of Henry VIII, figurative images on documents often became more individualised. At Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the highly illustrated charter is begun with an historiated portrait of Elizabeth I (Fig. 31).[72]

[70] Cambridge, King's College, KC/18, Charter upon Act of Parliament, illustrated in 'Illuminating the Foundation of King's College', https://kcctreasures.com/2015/03/06/illuminating-the-foundation-of-kings-college/ (1 September 2023)

[71] W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *The Early History of St. John's College, Oxford*(Oxford, 1939), p. 143.

[72] R. MacGibbon, 'Founding Charter of Emmanuel College Cambridge: 'The Mildmay Charter", in C. MacLeod, *Elizabethan Treasures: Miniatures by Hilliard and Oliver* (London, 2019), pp. 106-7.

These important documents defined a college's corporate status, providing an official record of legitimacy, setting out the legal parameters of the society, and affirming the purpose of the foundation. However, beyond the written meanings of these manuscripts, they were also documents of display, and, in the case of St John's, multiple copies were produced to be placed in important communal areas of the college such as the Library.[73] The incorporation of (increasingly individualised) imagery suggests that the university was a site for the "mixed' use of verbal and visual media' that Carruthers claims stimulated the creative art of *memoria*, or medieval memory craft.[74]

Physical space was a further tool for use as part of memory practices within the medieval and early modern university. Like images, the architectural features of collegiate spaces were sometimes used in combination with written commemorative documents. An early example is Chaundler's life of William Wykeham, which incorporates images of New College, Oxford's buildings alongside the achievements of its founder (Fig. 32). While initially presented to Chaundler's patron, Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443–1464, it may have already been at New College by the late sixteenth century.[75] Later, a presentation manuscript produced by Thomas Neale and John Bereblock for Elizabeth I on her visit to Oxford in 1566 pairs verse sketches of each college, their characters, and their notable patrons and alumni with an illustration of their buildings.[76] The material fabric of the college, or here a depiction of it, offered a repository for the stories and achievements of each foundation and their connections.

[73] Stevenson and Salter, *The Early History of St. John's*, pp. 143–44.
[74] M. J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Mediation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 3.
[75] D. Rundle, 'Of Republics and Tyrants: Aspects of Quattrocento Humanist Writings and their Reception in England, *c.* 1400–*c.* 1460' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1997), pp. 455-6.
[76] M. L. Durning, S. Knight and H. Spurling, *Queen Elizabeth's Book of Oxford* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 9-10.



Figure 32:
'The Chaundler Manuscript'
1462-4
MS 288, f. 3v
Pen and ink and tempera on vellum
New College Library, Oxford
© Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford



Figure 33:
The Gate of Honour
*c.*1575
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

Physical space was important because, where written forms of memory needed to be 'placed' mentally for use in memory craft, architecture was a way of organising non- or less verbal forms of memory in space literally.[77] Gervase Jackson-Stops' work on the fifteenth-century Warden's Lodgings of New College highlights the Warden's role as a regulator of College business and traditions, ensuring that 'the masses or disputations being held there were conducted in a seemly manner'.[78] Architecture was essential to this, says Jackson-Stops, comparing the comprehensive view of the street, the quadrangle, and the chapel to a 'Panoptikon'. The use of space to control the

[77] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 10.
[78] G. Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', in J. Buxton and P. Williams (eds), *New College, Oxford, 1379–1979* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 186-7.

rituals of collegiate life continued into the sixteenth century. At Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, gates symbolising 'humility', 'virtue' and 'honour', built in 1565, shaped the movement of students over the course of their academic careers.[79] As they advanced in their studies, they would literally progress through the arch dedicated to each attribute, entering the College through the Gate of Humility, and passing daily through the Gate of Virtue, until finally they were ready to graduate through the Gate of Honour (Fig. 33). Lucy Gent's concept of the rhetoric of early modern architecture, in which language transforms our relationship with buildings is significant here.[80] The names and details of the arches, as well as their positioning within the college, ensure that interaction with them stimulates reflection on what it means to possess each gate's attribute.[81] This physicalized form of memory craft is as much about ritual movement as it is about contemplation. Passing through such spaces produced an organised narrative that was physically embodied by each generation that stepped over Gonville and Caius' thresholds.

Both older colleges and sixteenth-century foundations used this toolkit of commemorative practices. However, while continuity was key for early modern colleges, their flexibility and adaptation to change took precedence over producing the same conditions without modification. Levine notes that the shaping force of such forms is vulnerable to confrontations with other kinds of 'organizing form': 'Forms will often fail to impose their order when they run up against other forms that disrupt their logic

[79] P. Binski, 'Humfrey Lovell and the Gates of Gonville and Caius College: A Note on the Sources', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 166 (2013), p. 179.

[80] L. Gent, 'Elizabethan Architecture: A View from Rhetoric', *Architectural History*, 57 (2014), p. 73. Gent writes about the crossover of 'mental habits' from rhetorical exercises to the design of buildings.

[81] See T. Nickson, 'Moral Edification at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, *Architectural History*, 48 (2005), p. 64.

and frustrate their organizing ends, producing aleatory and sometimes contradictory effects'.[82] Colleges' uses of commemorative media were subject to a number of far-reaching changes over the sixteenth century and did not remain static. It is through investigating these shifting commemorative priorities and possibilities for colleges in the sixteenth century that we can reach a deeper understanding of the conditions in which college portraiture was able to thrive.

2.3 Mapping the *Milieu de Mémoire* in the Sixteenth-Century College

Each collegiate *milieu de mémoire* was particular to their circumstances, but the purposes of visual and material memory practices were linked broadly by three key factors, each related in a different way to the colleges' functioning: piety and worship, corporate membership, and kinship. Using the key spaces of the early modern college as our guide, we can explore how these memory landscapes functioned and how they changed over the course of the sixteenth century.

The Chapel of Christ's College, Cambridge, contains a number of windows from *c.*1510. All portray a figure kneeling in prayer within a small interior with glazed windows and ornate canopies or cloths of honour (see Fig. 34). These figures, at prayer, are an important indication of the function of the college in its early history. The statutes of Christ's College, from its foundation in 1505, are typical of a pre-Reformation

[82] Levine, *Forms*, p. 7.



Figure 34:
King Henry VI
*c.*1510
Stained glass
Christ's College, Cambridge

foundation in their statement of purpose: 'There are three things which we desire all the Fellows of this College to care for above all things, namely, the worship of God, the increase of the faith, and probity of morals.'[83] While not attached to any religious order, secular colleges had been initially created to train new members of the secular clergy, and their commemorative schemes were intended to sustain their spiritual goals. Chapel goods were often some of the first objects amassed by colleges, and founders often made special personal provision of such items. The bequests of Lady Margaret Beaufort to Christ's College are examples of this. Beaufort bequeathed a large quantity of chapel goods to Christ's, including crucifixes, chalices, gilt images (perhaps sculptures) of figures such as the Virgin and Child and Mary Magdalen, basins, candlesticks, censers,

[83] Rackham, *Early Statutes of Christ's College*, p. 87.

altar cloths, and vestments.[84] In addition to daily worship, colleges used these objects in commemorative ceremonies, such as the celebration of obit masses, annual services celebrated for the souls of founders and benefactors.

Christian Steer has highlighted that spiritual commemoration was of parallel importance to academic pursuits in the medieval college. The 'commemorative resources' they offered to their founders, members, and benefactors included prayers for the dead in specially built chantries and the use of commemorative brasses and burials.[85] As well as liturgical objects and practices, images of the beneficiaries of these prayers for salvation were often included in stained glass windows. Christ's received the greatest proportion of Beaufort's liturgical bequests, with a request to pray for her soul and those of her deceased husbands and parents. She additionally set up chantry chapels at Wimborne Minster and at Westminster, giving them each a similar set of items.[86] Not only was Christ's College's property acquired specifically for the commemoration and salvation of its founder, but it was also intended to operate as her largest chantry. Memory in the pre-Reformation college emphasised spiritual community, and was geared towards ensuring the salvation of the founder, benefactors, and virtuous members. Robert Tittler emphasises that the later display of college portraits, with some alteration, maintained a direct connection with pre-Reformation imagery, like the windows at Christ's here.[87]

The alterations to which Tittler refers came as a result of the spiritual turmoil of

[84] SJCC, SJLM/3/2/3, fos. 1-3; see Foister, 'Paintings in Sixteenth-Century Inventories', p. 276 for the suggestion that gilded images in private chapels were 'probably sculptures'.
[85] C. Steer, 'Introduction: In Fellowship with the Dead', in J. S. Lee and C. Steer (eds), *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* (Woodbridge, 2018), p. 5.
[86] SJCC, SJLM/3/2/3, fos. 4-5.
[87] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 38.

the Reformation and profoundly affected the relationship between colleges' religious functions and commemorative media. After the decimation of the monastic colleges from 1536, the existing secular colleges and their chantry functions remained. However, the act of King Edward VI dissolving the chantries in 1547/8 severed this connection. Obits and the saying of mass for the dead was made illegal and a variety of chapel goods were deemed inappropriate to new forms of worship. As a result of these changes, many chantry chapels were torn down along with commemorative brasses, and many *orate pro anima* inscriptions.[88] Additionally, figures that did not conform to the official religious policies had their commemorative symbols destroyed. As we have already noted, when John Fisher faced disgrace and arrest in 1534, his chantry chapel at St John's College, Cambridge, was conscientiously removed and his emblematic and heraldic carvings were excised from the material fabric of the College.[89]

Colleges needed to discard the memory practices that put them under threat during the Reformation and which led to the dissolution of the monastic colleges. In some cases, commemorative objects were hidden. At St John's College, Oxford, the use of a number of early 'sup[er]stesiouse' chapel goods and vestments was disrupted by the Elizabethan settlement.[90] The founder Sir Thomas White's sister, Mary Bridgman, or his niece, Amy Leech, held onto the goods and returned them to the college in 1602.[91] Networks forged by the spiritual communities of the college sustained commemorative culture. However, in other colleges, commemorative media simply adapted to the

[88] '*Orate pro anima*' is translated as 'pray for the soul of': see P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), p. 23.
[89] S. Powell, 'Cambridge Commemorations of Lady Margaret Beaufort's Household', in J. S. Lee and C. Steer (eds), *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* (Woodbridge, 2018), p. 144.
[90] See SJCO, Munim/XC/23. The goods included a brass crucifix, vestments, copes, altar cloths, and banners depicting the Virgin and John the Baptist.
[91] SJCO, ACC I.A 10, *Computus Annuus* 1598-1604, fo. 113v.

changing circumstances. Some figurative glass was allowed to remain, as at Christ's College, Cambridge, but it was separated from its former function. The associations of images of founders and benefactors were no longer purgatorial and they reflected the relationship between the founder and college rather than an appeal for intercessory prayer for their soul.[92] As a result, institutional forms, as conceived by Levine, can be understood to be portable.[93] The memory landscape had a flexibility that allowed one form to be substituted for another for the achievement of the same goal. That is, the fostering of a sustainable spiritual community dedicated to study and worship, with the commemoration of founders adapting to its transferral from the monastic to the secular college, and from the pre-Reformation period to an England stripped of its chantries.

Alongside the Chapel, the Hall, at many medieval and early modern colleges, was a focal point for a second factor that drove commemorative priorities and the training of memory within collegiate institutions. While the recitation of the Bible by students at dinner reiterates the spiritual emphasis of these colleges, the act of communal eating demonstrates a sense of corporate membership. Breaking bread together signified your access to the society, and the layout of tables, with the master, college officers, senior fellows at the top outlined the group hierarchy. References in the college accounts for dinners for friends and benefactors demonstrates that they were also symbolically admitted into the group. Commemorative media worked in parallel with these practices and the ritual organisation of the space to underpin membership and

[92] As Alexandra Walsham notes, this process could sometimes, though not always, involve physical alterations. A. Walsham, 'Recycling the Sacred: Material Culture and Cultural Memory after the English Reformation', *Church History*, 86/4 (2017), p. 1154.
[93] Levine, *Forms,* p. 61.

hierarchy. The heraldry of those important within the college adorned the face of key buildings and was placed in windows. For other wealthy members of the college, there was a tradition of donating to the college silver, both secular and sacred, displaying the arms or some identification of the donor. New College's 1508 inventory of plate lists several such examples.[94] These donations of objects for daily use also created a haptic connection between the communities that used them and the individuals and ideas they commemorated. The use of dinners and silverware is very similar to the memory practices of the livery halls in London, in which dinners were an important commemorative occasion. In these London livery halls, portraiture would also enjoy later success. The similar emphasis on corporate membership in colleges suggests why portraits had potential to become successful at universities too.

The Reformation played a role in disrupting traditional university hierarchies. Masters and senior members were deprived of their positions, and some forced to flee the city and sometimes go into exile abroad. Royal commissioners became involved in the formerly self-governing colleges. Additionally, the dissolution of monasteries, and therefore the monastic colleges, led first to a redistribution of wealth to the gentry and commercial classes who legislated and enacted it, and further to the availability of numerous plots of land, or potential college sites across Oxford and Cambridge. For example, to build Wadham College, its gentry founder took over the site of a former Augustinian friary. At Cambridge, Thomas Audley was able to acquire the former Benedictine Buckingham College for his foundation of Magdalene College. Merchant Taylor Sir Thomas White bought the Cistercian order's St Bernard's College, converting

[94] C. Oman, 'The College Plate', in J. Buxton and P. Williams (eds), *New College, Oxford, 1379–1979* (Oxford, 1979), p. 295.

its buildings into St John's College, Oxford. The introduction of new commercial classes to the university, as will be seen further later, cross-pollinated the university with the commemorative media of London guilds.

A third stimulus for collegiate commemorative media can be seen by looking at the Lodgings of the college. The foundation of New College in 1379 had provided a prototype in which the Warden, fellows and scholars lived together under one roof. This new collegiate composition can be paralleled with the early modern household, in which kinship bonds were shared within a hierarchy of familial connections and wider associates. In addition to the literal familial connections facilitated by provision for founder's kin, a fictive sense of kinship was shaped by the commemorative schemes within early modern colleges, which echoed those in sixteenth-century great houses. The founder acted as the head of the collegiate household, symbolically but often practically. The use of a founder's personal belongings to furnish the colleges in their early years built a sense of distinctive shared identity, demonstrating the connection between the founder as a cultural leader and the college as a social space. Magdalen College, Oxford, had possession of William Waynflete's buskins, and New College, Oxford, were left William of Wykeham's crozier, mitre, vestments, and sandals.[95] St John's, Cambridge, founded after the death of Margaret Beaufort, took great care in maintaining an altar cloth referred to as 'the foundresse clothe'.[96] These contact relics extended further the relationship between college members and their network. Like an early modern household, clothing was also prescribed by the founders, and the college

[95] T. H. Warren, *Magdalen College, Oxford* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 21; Oman, 'The College Plate', pp. 294-5.
[96] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/2, fo. 478r.

purchased liveries for those in their employ.[97]

The key difference between a Tudor household and a secular college was the lack of women in the latter. However, it was possible for non-members to use commemorative resources to establish themselves as part of shared corporate identity. If we look to the college library, benefactors' books recorded details of donations of money and books, and the donated books often had personal inscriptions and elaborate bindings highlighting the identity of the donor. For example, Philip Bisse's donations to Wadham College, Oxford, are inscribed with his name.[98] In this way, women were able to establish a presence as part of these communities. Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, and her mother Anne, Lady Harington, were significant patrons of the library at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and are recorded in the Library Benefactors' Book as the donors of a great number of volumes.[99]

These commemorative priorities, including spiritual, corporate, and kinship networks, remained constant throughout this period. There were many ways in which the memories associated with individual objects could be disrupted, but the system of memory practices that sustained the college remained stable. The changes of the sixteenth century prompted colleges to find new commemorative forms as more traditional ones were displaced. Some objects fell out of use due to their associations with pre-Reformation commemoration. Additionally, opportunities for new social groups to access patronage introduced new commemorative possibilities. Some media, however, were particularly vulnerable to loss. Plate, for example, was a fundamental component

[97] Ibid., fo. 478r: 'for .5. livery cloakes bought at Londo[n] v[i]z: for Waller, Gwen, Ogde[n], Medcalf, & Andrew'.
[98] Jackson, *Wadham College,* pp. 192-3.
[99] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, MS 91, p. 21.

of early collegiate memory practices that was largely destroyed in the seventeenth century. Like countless other Oxford foundations, Wadham College's plate was requisitioned for Charles I in 1642. But the importance of these objects and their function as bearers of memory was expressed in the decision made by the society to record the names of donors in a book, reverting to textual commemoration and removing the objects from daily circulation as they were melted down and forgotten.[100] Commemorative objects with a high material value were vulnerable to removal, particularly as colleges were often in precarious financial situations in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The lack of continuity was not confined to silver. As discussed, college libraries acted as a repository for commemorative volumes donated by benefactors and associates. However, limited space, or the diminishing value of a particular association with a college meant that, when multiple copies of the same book were acquired, some would be sold off, interrupting the commemorative link between object and user. Desirability was also an issue. Even New College's treasured 'unicorn horn', a gift in the 1450s and desired on account of its magical properties, was supposedly put in peril when it was requested by the Earl of Leicester for its medicinal value.[101] Allegedly parting with some of it, the College was left with a severely truncated remnant.

From far-reaching national events to the mundanities of college finances, commemorative forms were vulnerable to change in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, they functioned as part of a *milieu de mémoire* in which they operated together towards the same commemorative purposes, creating an adaptable but sustainable commemorative

[100] Jackson, *Wadham College*, p. 202.
[101] S. Page, 'Love in a Time of Demons: Magic and the Medieval Cosmos', in S. Page, M. Wallace, O. Davies, M. Gaskill and C. Houlbrook, *Spellbound: Magic, Ritual & Witchcraft* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 51-2.

landscape that could endure within the ever-changing environment of the university.

2.4 Memory and Commemoration in Practice

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Oxford and Cambridge colleges had formed highly developed *milieux de mémoire.* The interaction of images, objects, interiors, and behaviour produced an embodied memory sustained through repeated practices. Meanwhile, portraiture began to gain popularity at court, where it was initially used for the arrangement of royal marriages, for diplomacy, and, later, as an elite form of personal fashioning.[102] Before the middle of the sixteenth century, individualised and independent portraiture, in other words, not incorporated into written documents, was not used as a form of corporate commemorative media in England's universities.

This section will examine three case studies to measure the varying degrees of acceptance and acquisition of portraits across the collegiate system: Merton College, Oxford, an early, medieval foundation; St John's College, Oxford, established in the mid-sixteenth century; and Wadham College, Oxford, an early seventeenth-century female-founded college. Nevertheless, as many scholars of this subject have highlighted, establishing the exact acquisition dates of early portrait collections is fraught with difficulties, including a widespread absence of written records confirming the existence both of pictures that remain and those that have moved out of early collections.[103]

[102] N. Cuddy, 'Dynasty and Display: Politics and Painting in England', in K. Hearn (ed), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1540–1630* (London, 1995), p. 14; T. Sowerby, '"A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith": Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture', *English Historical Review*, 129/537 (2014), pp. 296-7.

[103] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 42: 'The number of portraits in either university whose completion and acquisition can confidently be dated seems far smaller than the number of those which cannot, making comprehensive or definitive listing virtually impossible'.

As such, it is important to acknowledge that this study does not try to reproduce a complete picture of the portrait collections of the time, but addresses the positive evidence for the engagement of colleges in the collection and display of portraiture in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

2.4.1 Merton College, Oxford

The portrait collection at Merton College today features a number of sitters from the College's early history, from Walter de Merton (*c.*1205–1277), its thirteenth-century founder, to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century members of the College, John Chamber, Warden 1525–44, and Thomas Bickley, Warden 1569–85.[104] Many of these portraits, including those of Chamber and Bickley, however, represent retrospective attempts in the nineteenth century to develop the collection at a moment when the College was looking to the past, during the commemorations around its 600th anniversary in 1864.[105] In addition to the numerous donations of this kind, many portraits of early sitters are later copies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraits elsewhere.[106] The portrait of the Founder now in the Hall, for example, is a copy of an imagined portrait of Walter de Merton produced in *c.*1670 for the Bodleian Library. Merton's copy was given to the College in 1796.[107]

[104] 'Venues: Merton College, University of Oxford', https://artuk.org/visit/venues/merton-college-university-of-oxford-7523 (14 July 2023).
[105] My thanks to Julian Reid, Archivist at Merton and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford, for his suggestion of the 1864 anniversary as a motivation for Merton to collect in earnest in the nineteenth century.
[106] For example, the portraits of John Chamber, Sir Thomas Bodley, and Sir Henry Savile. See, Lane Poole, *Catalogue*, ii, pp. 45-9.
[107] Ibid., p. 44.



Figure 35:
Sir William Cecil
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 64 x 36 cm
Merton College, Oxford



Figure 36:
Katherine of Aragon
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas (transferred from panel)
Approx. 59.1 x 44.5 cm
Merton College, Oxford

The College possesses just two portraits of sixteenth-century subjects with unknown, and therefore possibly sixteenth-century, dates of acquisition; one portrait depicts Sir William Cecil (Fig. 35) and the other Katherine of Aragon (Fig. 36). An inventory of the Warden's Lodgings from 1652 documents a picture of 'Lord Burleigh', likely referring to the portrait of Cecil in the collection today, 'In ye Dining room' of the Lodgings.[108] Most early examples of portraits in Oxford and Cambridge can be found in college Lodgings. However, no portraits are listed at Merton in earlier inventories of these buildings made in 1645 and 1622.[109] Without positive evidence,

[108] J. R. L. Highfield (ed), *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1603–1660* (Oxford, 2006), p. 336: 'Lord Burleigh's Picture'.
[109] Ibid., pp. 134-9, 288-92.

it appears that Merton either had no portraits in the sixteenth century, or owned one or two that were not considered significant enough to document.[110] At this time in Merton's history, there does not appear to have been any substantial motivation for members and benefactors to give their own portraits, and the college did not try to acquire any portraits themselves. Examining Merton as an institution can help us better understand why this was the case.[111]

When Merton was founded in 1264, it was an institution unique amongst the halls and informal arrangements that first accommodated Oxford's student community. The extent of the endowment given by Walter de Merton, the founder and later Bishop of Rochester, meant that the College was able to develop into a financially and administratively autonomous community.[112] By the sixteenth century, the College had been developing mechanisms for corporate commemoration for nearly three centuries. Furthermore, its Statutes, which regulated collegiate life, were the model for those at Oriel College and The Queen's College and influenced the 1340 revisions of those at Balliol College.[113] Merton College had an influence on Cambridge too, with Peterhouse, the oldest college in that city, adopting similar governing principles. In the same way that Merton influenced the legal basis of these colleges, it seems that it also set an example for their commemorative practices, as many of these older colleges also deferred the direct acquisition of a portrait collection until the popularity of

[110] Lane Poole cites an apocryphal story about the link between a portrait of Katherine of Aragon and her April 1518 visit to the College, although this would be excessively early for a college portrait, particularly of a subject other than the founder. See, Lane Poole, *Catalogue*, ii, p. 45. The Merton portrait appears more like late sixteenth-century depictions of Katherine as part of portrait sets.

[111] I am indebted to Julian Reid for the following discussion and am grateful for his invaluable discussions and direction to material related to commemoration at Merton College.

[112] A. Bott, *Merton College: A Longer History of the Buildings & Furnishings* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 1-2.

[113] Ibid., p. 2.

institutional portraiture surged in later centuries.

Merton before the sixteenth century represents an archetypical pre-Reformation college because its educative function existed in parallel with its spiritual role commemorating its founder.[114] There were no commemorative portraits of de Merton from his lifetime, but a generic depiction of the Bishop can be seen in the College seal on the statues of 1264.[115] The intercessory role of prayer was nevertheless facilitated by visual media, as his original monument at Rochester Cathedral and others like it make clear. The College created several later images of de Merton across different media, as a recurring mental and behavioural prompt. These included a late thirteenth-century corbel in the Chapel and an image in a 1471 commemorative brass to Henry Sever, Warden 1455–71.[116] Nevertheless, this was not portraiture as it would come to be understood in the sixteenth century. Each depiction of Walter de Merton represents an emblematic image of a bishop founder rather than de Merton as an individual. As well as being employed to contribute to his own salvation, his image encouraged members of the college to consider the institution's wider religious purpose, de Merton's role as the model of a virtuous cleric, and it was intended to exhort moral behaviour and diligent study.[117]

Nevertheless, images depicting individuals, however generically, were not the only commemorative form used at Merton to these ends, which may be why these early,

[114] Christian Steer highlights the widespread nature of these contiguous functions in pre-Reformation colleges in C. Steer, 'Introduction: In Fellowship with the Dead', in J. S. Lee and C. Steer (eds), *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 4.
[115] Bott, *Merton College*, pp. xv, 152.
[116] Ibid.
[117] The argument that the visual character of Merton's buildings shaped scholarly thinking and behaviour is also explored in Tim Ayers' study of the medieval stained glass as 'memory images'. T. Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Merton College, Oxford* (2 vols, Oxford, 2013), i, pp. xcix-cii.



Figure 37:
Gatehouse carving
1464-5
Merton College, Oxford

unindividuated depictions of Walter de Merton did not evolve into portraiture at Merton until a much later date. The College gatehouse demonstrates that the development of the College's commemorative priorities in the fifteenth century set the tone for their engagement with commemorative forms in the next. A large amount of work was done on this building in the 1460s, before any great advance in English portraiture. The decoration of the gatehouse provided the College with a unique visual identity by emphasising the specific religious figures alluded to in Walter de Merton's original statutes.[118] As members and visitors walked under the entrance to the College, they would be reminded of the College's devotional priorities through representations of St John the Baptist and the Holy Trinity, carved in 1464-5. Walter de Merton is also depicted in the carving of the life of St John, kneeling devoutly before a book and surrounded by further elaborate religious symbolism (Fig. 37).[119] However, de Merton is not the main subject of the image, and it is not sufficiently individuated to be considered a portrait. The gatehouse carving was moved in the nineteenth century to its current position directly above the gate.[120] Its fifteenth-century location below the highest windows of the gatehouse, and the nature of its relief carving originally

[118] Bott, *Merton College*, p. 4.
[119] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[120] A. J. Bott and J. R. L. Highfield, 'The Sculpture over the Gatehouse at Merton College, Oxford, 1464–5', *Oxoniensia*, 58 (1993), p. 240.

gave this sculpture the character of a banner or armorial bearing rather than that of a figurative statue. The emphasis is on religious imagery in which the figure of the founder, and by extension the College as a whole, is subservient to their community's spiritual purpose.

The commemoration of individual benefactors to Merton through figurative representation is also shown through donations of books. Merton MS 25, a manuscript of Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah* given to the College by Richard Fitzjames, Warden 1482–1507, includes a small depiction of Fitzjames at prayer in the border.[121] Both this image and de Merton's depiction on the gatehouse could be understood as precursors to the independent panel portrait, similar to the stained-glass windows depicting devout individuals that formed an important part of many colleges and churches. However, once again this did not convert into an interest in large-scale independent portraiture in the sixteenth century.

One possible reason for this was the paramount importance of heraldry in the commemoration of individuals at Merton. Although Walter de Merton was non-armigerous, the College created a coat of arms for him and for the College.[122] On the gatehouse, religious imagery is accompanied by a vault with ornate roof bosses exhibiting the arms of members of and patrons to the College, as well as multiple royal and political allegiances.[123] This heraldry was used throughout the College and, significantly, it was used across sacred and non-sacred spaces. The invention of arms for Walter de Merton in the fifteenth century demonstrates the creation of a new kind of academic heraldry,

[121] 'Merton College MS. 25', https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_10124 (14 July 2023).
[122] Bott, *Merton College*, p. 158.
[123] Ibid., p. 8.

motivated by the prestige of both personal aristocratic heraldry and clerical heraldry.[124]

On the basis of pre-existing images of Walter de Merton and Richard Fitzjames at Merton College, we might expect to see an increase in the use of the increasingly popular medium of portraiture in the sixteenth century to replace the College's material and ritual possessions destroyed as a result of the religious policies of the period. Fletcher and Upton's study of Merton's Chapel indicates that, during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I images were taken down and pictures destroyed, along with plate and books, and finally vestments.[125] Nevertheless, while altars and images dedicated to intercessory prayer were removed from the Chapel, and Walter de Merton's original effigy in Rochester Cathedral was destroyed *c.*1550, heraldry continued to flourish within the Universities.[126] As some college traditions ceased, the survival of heraldry in a variety of visual media allowed Merton to emphasise their antiquity and prestige.

Where institutions had access to fewer examples of this kind of commemoration, portraiture, which was growing in popularity in courtly and domestic settings, sustained the memory of patrons. However, in the Hall of Merton College, heraldry was already one of the most significant forms of commemoration. There was already a thirteenth-century shield and heraldic glass. In 1540, a set of painted heraldic panels were installed in the wainscot of the Hall. Such interest in the display of heraldry was common across Oxford, with New College constructing a similar set in *c.*1535, and Magdalen following suit in 1541.[127] Merton's Hall was not remodelled until the 1790s, when a copy of

[124] I would like to thank Julian Reid, Archivist at Merton and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford, for this suggestion.
[125] J. M. Fletcher and C. A. Upton, 'Destruction, Repair and Removal: An Oxford College Chapel during the Reformation', *Oxoniensia*, 48 (1983), pp. 123-4, 126-7.
[126] Bott, *Merton College*, p. 152.
[127] Ibid., pp. 19-21.

Walter de Merton's invented portrait was given by Scrope Berdmore, then Warden, demonstrating the ability of its heraldic panelling to withstand the changes of the Reformation.

At a time when government religious policy dictated the changes to the routines and rituals of their community, Merton College already had access to a medium that represented their benefactors and, because of their links to clerical figures like de Merton, could express the College's spiritual aims without falling foul of the latest changes in the law. Their walls, windows, and ceilings were already replete with heraldic imagery that commemorated secular and spiritual connections. Portraits, to which Merton began to be exposed through sculpted images on tomb monuments in the College Chapel of Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613) in 1615 and Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622) after 1622, might have offered similar commemorative opportunities. Nevertheless, the College would not adopt painted portraits as a commemorative tool until they were already widespread across Oxford and Cambridge. Unlike this new medium, heraldry represented continuity for Merton College, recalling the original creation of arms for the College and therefore the autonomy on which it was founded. In the sixteenth century, Merton's visual commemoration looked to its past in the face of change to maintain its sense of distinctiveness.

2.4.2 St John's College, Oxford

Merton's apparent prioritisation of other forms of commemorative media over portraiture can be better understood in contrast to a sixteenth-century collegiate foundation that had a markedly different approach to the acquisition of portraits in that century. St

John's College, Oxford, was founded in 1555 by Sir Thomas White (1495?–1567), a cloth merchant and member of the Merchant Taylors' Company who had been Lord Mayor of London in 1553.[128] While St John's College's collection of early portraits today, like Merton, includes many later acquisitions, there is clear evidence of commissioning at the College in the sixteenth century not seen at Merton.

On 8 February 1580/1, St John's paid the artist 'Bettes', most likely John Bettes the Younger, five pounds, three shillings, and eleven pence 'for Drawinge two counterfaytes of our founders and for courtaines case roddes of Iron & other thinges to the same' (Perhaps Fig. 38 or Fig. 39).[129] The request for two portraits, in addition to accoutrements for their display, demonstrates the College's intention to exhibit them within college spaces. We can deduce which two spaces were used due to a flurry of further payments over the next three years. In July of 1581, St John's paid four pence 'for 'ij claspes for the founders picture in the hall'.[130] Three years later, in the second term of the 1583-4 academic year, one of the pictures was taken to London 'for renewinge and refreshinge' and then returned.[131] Two terms later, a payment 'for our founders picture bestowed in the librarie' suggests that it may have been set up there.[132] The regularity with which these portraits appear in the accounts prompts us to question why St John's so intentionally adopted this commemorative media whereas the few, if any, portraits at Merton before *c.*1600 do not appear central to the College's

[128] A. Shepard, 'White, Sir Thomas', *ODNB* (Oxford, September 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29272 (14 July 2023).
[129] SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus* 1578-9, 1580-1', p. 73.
[130] Ibid., p. 77.
[131] SJCO, ACC I.A 5, '*Computus Annuus* 1583-4', fo. 21v: 'to the Painter for renewinge & refreshinge our ffounders Picture and to the Carryer for carrying it, to & from London'. It is not known whether the painting was returned to Bettes or whether anything was added during the process.
[132] Ibid., fo. 25v.

commemorative scheme. While an absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of an absence, it would seem that portraits were a more important tool for St John's than at Merton up to the end of the sixteenth century.



Figure 38:
Sir Thomas White
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 45.1 x 37.5 cm
St John's College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 57



Figure 39:
Sir Thomas White
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 45.7 x 38.1 cm
St John's College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 58

These variations in attitudes to portraiture owe something to the colleges' distinct characters. When St John's College received its letters patent from Philip and Mary in 1555, Oxford was a significantly different city to the one it had been at the time of Walter de Merton's foundation three hundred years earlier. As previously discussed, the development of secular colleges had overtaken, if not entirely replaced, the system of academic halls and hostels. The size of these institutions provided opportunities for patronage. Additionally, under Henry VIII, the monastic colleges had been dismantled. As a result, colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were now more often founded by secular

patrons rather than members of the clergy. As well as drawing influence from a different set of social connections, colleges established after the outset of the Reformation had a different relationship with visual and material commemoration as a result of the illegality of intercession.[133]

These two key differences are essential for understanding St John's College's interest in painted portraiture. Firstly, St John's College was established during Mary I's Catholic restoration. The spiritual basis of its foundation, in the vacated buildings of the former Cistercian college of St Bernard's initially appears comparable to the pre-Reformation colleges. Chapel goods including vestments, plate, ornate cloths, and a set of organs were provided by Sir Thomas White. Further continuity can also be seen through early benefactions by Gabriel Dunne, former abbot of Buckfast and canon of St Paul's, who had studied at St Bernard's College.[134] St John's was, like its neighbour Trinity College, Oxford, also founded in 1555, a kind of Marian refoundation of the monastic colleges. However, White's religious beliefs, although conservative, allowed him to favour tentative reform under Henry VIII and recognize the Royal Supremacy.[135] Therefore, St John's was, from its foundation, a different sort of college from those established before the Reformation. Shortly before his death in 1567, White exhorted the students and members of his college to 'praye to God for mee that I maye ende my life with patience, and that he may take mee into his mercye'.[136] While

[133] St John's also repurposed the existing fabric of earlier buildings, marking the break with Oxford's monastic colleges. St Bernard's College, a dissolved Cistercian foundation that had formerly occupied the site of St John's, had displayed a statue of the saint after which the College was named. St John's College converted this statue into a depiction of John the Baptist by adding a carved stone beard. The change was uncovered during building work in 1915. See MUN LXXXII.130. St John the Baptist was the patron saint of the Merchant Taylors' Company.
[134] Stevenson and Salter, *The Early History of St. John's*, p. 122.
[135] Ibid., p. 136.
[136] Ibid., pp. 427-8: Letter of 27 January 1567.

not explicitly the intercessory prayer of previous decades, White's continued desire for personal commemoration at St John's through the kind of prayers for the dead permitted under Elizabeth is significant.

Soon after its foundation, the Elizabethan settlement swept away much of the sacred commemoration at St John's College. The Chapel goods given by Sir Thomas White, now out of use, were eventually spirited away into the hands of his family before their eventual return in 1602 after his niece, Amy Leech, was widowed.[137] Thus a number of the physical and visual prompts to the memory of the Founder had been removed. Ascertaining whether there is a correlation between collegiate communities with Catholic founders and the commission of portraiture in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and how this compares to identifiably Protestant institutions, forms an important part of subsequent chapters.

A second factor that encouraged the commission of portraiture at St John's College was the impact of new social connections influenced by a different kind of patron to that at Merton. Like Merton, St John's was able to draw on heraldic material to ensure the continuity of their commemorative programme centred on its founder after the upheaval of the Elizabethan settlement. In one of the earliest extant volumes of accounts, in 1578-9, payments were made for the installation of a large window with '14. quarrells of glasse wth the Queens, o[u]r Founders, o[u]r Visitors, & the M[e]rchant taylores Armes'.[138] The College had retained its spiritual function to train the secular clergy, but rather than commemoration through prayer, St John's used heraldry to

[137] SJCO, ACC I.A 10, '*Computus Annuus* 1598-1604', fo. 113v.
[138] Probably for the window in the Old Library. SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus* 1578-9, 1580-1', p. 46.

celebrate and remember the network of people that sustained it and to whom it owed thanks and allegiance. The display of heraldry at the centre of college life continues to be evident in the college accounts into the seventeenth century and in 1602, the Queen's arms were painted in the window of the Hall.[139]

Heraldry was not the only way in which St John's commemorated and advertised their social connections. At Merton, by the mid-sixteenth century, there were nearly three hundred years of association between the College and heraldic decoration and one hundred years since the adoption of Walter de Merton's invented arms. In contrast, the relatively recent foundation of St John's meant that, while personal and institutional heraldry remained an important tool, the College was also more open to other contemporary forms of commemorative media. Portraiture was a particularly appropriate choice due to Sir Thomas White's background. Edmund Campion, fellow of St John's and later Catholic martyr, claimed in his funeral sermon for White that it was unusual for an uneducated man who had made his fortune in trade to choose to establish and finance a university college.[140] However, the suppression of the monastic colleges and the vacation of their buildings, alongside the evident success of the secular colleges, motivated new patronage. The growing wealth and status of urban mercantile elites in the same period opened opportunities for new kinds of donors or founders. Sir Thomas White, a prominent member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, was affluent and respected, serving as Lord Mayor of London in 1553. He was typical of this new breed of college patron, connecting Oxford with London's urban elite circles.

Tarnya Cooper has highlighted the importance of portraiture for the non-hereditary

[139] SJCO, ACC I.A 10, '*Computus Annuus* 1598-1604', fo. 114r.
[140] Stevenson and Salter, *The Early History of St. John's,* p. 116.

elite as an assertion of legitimacy and status, but also as a commemorative vehicle for spiritual contemplation.[141] Additionally, Karen Hearn's discussion of a substantial commission of family portraits, made for Thomas Smith (1522–1591), a customs merchant in the Port of London, presents an example of the use of portraiture at a similar date to St John's College's founder's portrait, and commissioned by men in similar professions to White.[142] A portrait ordered from a London artist such as John Bettes the Younger, incorporating Sir Thomas White's arms, while also emphasising his civic achievements allowed the College to use the heraldry already traditional in academic settings and also participate in London's new and growing interest in portraiture.

The impact of these social and professional connections on the dissemination of portraiture is clear in the other kinds of institutions with which Sir Thomas White was involved, from Livery Companies to Town Halls. The Merchant-Taylor's guild possessed a contemporary portrait of him, at least from 1606-7, but also possibly the original from 1566 on which the St John's portraits may have been based.[143] Additionally, the towns to which Thomas White had been patron also began commissioning their own portraits of him.[144] The parallel expansion of portraiture in these kinds of institution and in sixteenth-century college foundations with social links to the professional elites is no coincidence. While heraldry was also used liberally in London's Livery Halls, portraiture began to be displayed in tandem with this more traditional form because it

[141] T. Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven; London, 2012), p. 202.
[142] K. Hearn, 'Merchant-Class Portraiture in Tudor London: 'Customer' Smith's Commissions, 1579/80', in O. Dmitrieva and T. V. Murdoch (eds), *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuart & the Russian Tsars* (London, 2013), pp. 36-43. One of the Smiths married into the family of Sir Andrew Judde (*c.*1492–1558), Lord Mayor of London shortly before White. Judde also had an interest in educational benefaction.
[143] R. Tittler, 'Three Portraits by John De Critz for the Merchant Taylors' Company', *The Burlington Magazine*, 147/1228 (2005), p. 493.
[144] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 173–4.

offered different commemorative opportunities.[145] Props and symbolism could portray specific messages and personal qualities. This was useful to St John's College because Sir Thomas White was not the traditional model for a founder of a university college, who, before the mid sixteenth century, were more usually clerics, royalty or, at the least, high ranking nobility. He wears the robes of a London alderman, signifying his responsibility and integrity, and justifying his appropriateness as the founder of a college meant for the instruction of future members of society, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

If portraiture experienced an accelerated process of adoption in institutions with links to new kinds of patrons, such as St John's College, Oxford, and Sir Thomas White, we must question why Merton College and other older collegiate communities sought to catch up in the early seventeenth century. A range of reasons for the expansion of college collections across Oxford and Cambridge at the end of this period is considered in chapter six, but one explanation for this change is useful here in clarifying the distinction between St John's and Merton Colleges. Cooper's work on *memento mori* portraiture has highlighted portraits' spiritual role in the place of prayers for the dead and other methods for facilitating salvation.[146] In the same way that statues of the penitent Walter de Merton, commemorative brasses, and a marginal representation of Richard Fitzjames at prayer might prompt the viewer to spiritual contemplation, portraits afforded 'self-reflection and personal humility, and finally a good death'.[147] After a tumultuous century of Reformation and social change, heraldry often provided a good alternative to the kinds of commemorative forms that had been lost, but

[145] R. Tittler, *Painting for a Living in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge, 2022), p. 119.
[146] T. Cooper, "Frail Flesh, as in a Glass': The Portrait as an Immortal Presence in Early Modern England and Wales', in M. Rogers (ed), *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 199-200.
[147] Ibid., p. 200.

did not represent a continued recognition of the spiritual importance of the human body. For Cooper, this phenomenon was driven by the Protestant middling classes and urban elites, but the use of portraiture's 'technology of enchantment' by conservative institutions should also be considered after the connection between commemorative media and intercessory practices was severed.[148] St John's commission of a portrait of Thomas White after his death provided the College with an opportunity to display his high status, but also created a point of connection with his spiritual beliefs, supporting the community as it attempted to retain its conservative character.

Funerary effigies in academic spaces also revived the use of the body to mediate between the deceased sitter and the viewer. While Merton was not able to match the swift acceptance of painted portraiture by St John's, a number of early seventeenth-century funerary monuments, commissioned by the relatives and executors of college fellows exposed Merton College to the spiritual value of portraiture. Monuments to Sir Thomas Bodley and Sir Henry Savile at Merton included a mixture of portrait or effigy, heraldry and inscription.

Merton and St John's Colleges in Oxford were undergoing similar processes of change in the sixteenth century. Transformations in the relationship between the living and the dead as a result of the Reformation prompted these institutions to look for new ways of linking themselves to influential patrons after death. However, new kinds of patronage prompted by increased social mobility and opportunity for the professional classes provided new foundations like St John's with different links and alternative

[148] Tarnya Cooper discusses Alfred Gell's concept of 'technologies of enchantment' in terms of early modern portraiture in T. Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in T. Hamling and C. Richardson (eds), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (London, 2016), pp. 166-7.

commemorative conventions. Despite many similarities, their dissimilar origins, and the differing circumstances of their supporters led Merton and St John's to prioritize different commemorative forms.

2.4.3 Wadham College, Oxford

Wadham College, Oxford, established fifty-five years after St John's College, Oxford, in 1610, is an example of a female-founded institution with similarly tangible evidence of early commissioning activity, showing the development of the use of portraiture after more than a generation. Wadham was founded by Dorothy Wadham, following plans developed with her late husband Nicholas, a gentry landowner from Somerset and Devon rather than a civic dignitary such as Sir Thomas White. Identifying the differences between each college's interest in portraits further develops our understanding of why some colleges made use of this commemorative form earlier than others. Chapter one argued that a pair of portraits of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham painted in 1611 were commissioned by Dorothy Wadham herself for the College rather than acquired in the eighteenth century, as had long been assumed. The iconography of these portraits is important for understanding why portraiture was a particularly important commemorative form for Dorothy to place in her foundation.

Wadham's early engagement with portraiture shows that the beginnings of the use of portraits in the university cannot be solely attributed to a crossover from London circles and civic institutions. Some colleges' portraits can be associated with courtly connections, an environment where portraiture had begun to flourish early in the sixteenth century. A good example of this can be seen at St John's College, Cambridge,

where portraits of James I and Anna of Denmark were acquired to complement a visit by Prince Charles and Prince Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine.[149] Additionally, New College, Oxford's portrait of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester has been associated with his relationship to the College when he was Chancellor of the University of Oxford.[150] However, neither St John's nor Wadham Colleges in Oxford had links to the court. Instead, Wadham's very active founder was a member of the regional gentry, and her provision of her own commemoration emphasised status and family lineage. The 1611 portraits were later, reworked versions of a pair of portraits from 1595 that remained in the family and, while created for a college context, were typical of the kind of domestic portraiture with which Dorothy Wadham was familiar.

Wadham College's use of other forms of commemorative media, such as heraldry, emphasised Dorothy Wadham's status as the relict of Nicholas but portraiture may have allowed her to make clear her particular role in the foundation of the College. In Nicholas Wadham's 1611 portrait, he is shown with his hand on a skull, a symbol of his recent death as well as a potential *memento mori* emblem. In his earlier portrait, painted in 1595, he had held gloves, a symbol of gentlemanly status and management of his affairs. However, in the 1611 versions, these gloves are transferred to Dorothy's hands, suggesting that the business of running the Wadham estates and responsibility for founding their college had been conferred on her in her widowhood. The Wadham College 1611 portraits use the iconography familiar in their domestic portraiture and reshape it to have institutional significance. Portraits allowed some women to control

[149] T. Baker, *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, ed. J. E. B. Mayor (2 vols, Cambridge, 2009), i, p. 201.

[150] G. Jackson-Stops, 'Gains and Losses: The College Buildings, 1404–1750', in J. Buxton and P. Williams (eds), *New College, Oxford, 1379–1979* (Oxford, 1979), p. 198.

interpretations of their patronage more precisely than other forms of commemorative media. This is significant because all of the women who independently founded colleges in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were widows, excepting Elizabeth I, who can be considered unusual due to her unmarried and regal status. Similarly, all but Margaret Beaufort were childless at the time they founded colleges.

We might ask why, then, there is no portrait of Lady Joan White, wife of Sir Thomas White and styled as the 'foundress' of St John's College, Oxford. The foundation of St John's was deeply connected to Thomas White's civic work and charity. As a result Joan White was not significantly involved until after the Founder's death, twelve years after the College's foundation, when she became legally and financially entangled as a result of complications with her husband's will.[151] This may be why she was not included in the College's 1580/1 portrait commission. Additionally, although Thomas White had no children, Joan White had a son and a daughter from a previous marriage. For men and women without direct heirs, the colleges they founded often became a kind of extension of their households, intended to carry on their legacy into future generations. While their coats of arms came to symbolise institutions rather than dynasties, the additional use of portraiture to commemorate their personal role indicates the potential limitations of heraldry outside of a familial context. As heraldic bearings no longer represented an active family line, their connection to the individual rather than the institution might no longer be as recognisable, particularly in an age where significantly more people bore arms, legitimately or illegitimately.

The choice of portraiture was particularly compelling for women because it al-

[151] Stevenson and Salter, *The Early History of St. John's*, pp. 153-4.

lowed them to metaphorically enter spaces from which they were often technically prohibited.[152] Dorothy Wadham was instrumental in the building and endowment of Wadham, and was responsible for much of the decision-making herself, organised via written correspondence. However, she never visited the College. Nevertheless, she was able to maintain her real and symbolic leadership of the college by using portraiture to reproduce her physical presence at Wadham College.

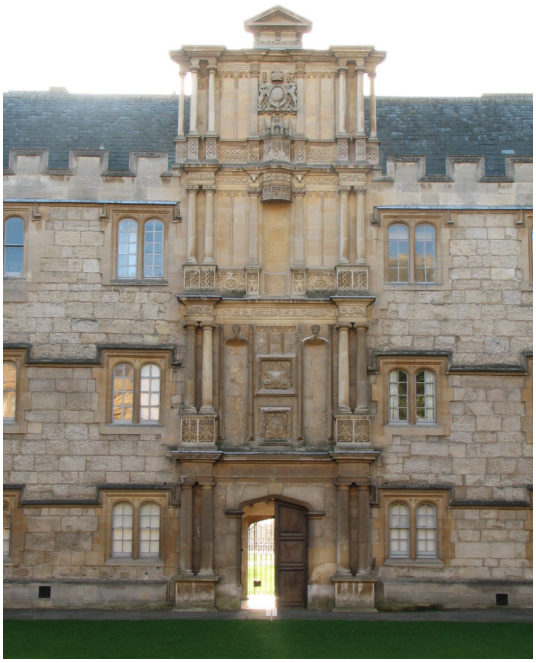


Figure 40:
Fellows' Quadrangle
1608-10
Merton College, Oxford



Figure 41:
Front Quadrangle
1610-13
Wadham College, Oxford

Both Merton and Wadham College use a Tower of the Orders as a frontispiece (a façade characterised by the inclusion of ascending classical orders and other classical decorative features). In both colleges heraldic carving on these architectural features

[152] In practice, high-status female patrons and associates were entertained in Oxford and Cambridge's colleges, but they were not permitted to enter certain college spaces, such as the Chapel or the Library.

makes physical collegiate hierarchies (see Figs. 40 and 41).[153] Both position the royal arms at the top of the sculptural façade, advertising the allegiance of their institutions incorporated with royal charters. However, Howard Hotson notes that, while a statue of the King may have been part of Merton's plans, the tower includes only heraldry and classical decoration in its design. Wadham, on the other hand, includes individuated portrait sculptures. Between the Corinthian order, James I is depicted. Dorothy and Nicholas Wadham fill the void between the ionic order and immediately above the threshold to the College's most important spaces, the Hall and the Chapel.[154] These were produced, likely at Dorothy Wadham's direction, shortly after the 1611 portraits. The statue of Dorothy Wadham follows the 1611 portrait's design. By incorporating portraiture alongside heraldry, organised using hierarchical architectural features, Dorothy Wadham was able to literally insert herself into college spaces. She situated herself in a central location that would be passed daily by every member of her College, a kind of regulatory position reminiscent of the Warden's 'Panoptikon' at New College, Oxford or Margaret Beaufort's accommodation at Christ's College, Cambridge. While female founders existed outside of the colleges' corporate male-dominated membership, portraiture allowed them to maintain a bodily presence that could not be achieved through other forms of commemorative media, giving them access to these patriarchal institutions.

As we will see, Dorothy Wadham's Catholicism was an important part of how

[153] See Maurice Howard's discussion of the relationship between use of the orders in university architecture and the hierarchical nature of college life. M. Howard, 'From Gatehouse to Frontispiece in Sixteenth-Century England', in M. Chatenet and C. Mignot (eds), *Le Génie du Lieu: La Réception du Langage Classique en Europe (1540–1650): Sélection, Interprétation, Invention* (Paris, 2013), p. 181.

[154] See 'Wadham College, 1610–13', https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/wadham-college-1610-13 (1 September 2023); Bott, *Merton College*, p. 112.

she understood her leadership of the College. Shortly after the foundation of Wadham College, her property was searched as a result of suspicions of recusant activity, perhaps failing to attend established Church services, an action which was associated with Catholic practices.[155] The correlation between the religious identities of the founders of St John's College and Wadham College, Oxford, invites us to question the extent to which there was a link between the use of portraiture and the spiritual character of the colleges. Protestant leaning colleges founded or re-founded in the sixteenth century with connections to the court, to London's professional elites, or to the gentry were also quick to adopt portraiture. Examples such as Sidney Sussex and Gonville and Caius Colleges in Cambridge are discussed in later chapters.

Conclusions

Since their establishment, Oxford and Cambridge's secular colleges have used visual media and material objects for a number of purposes central to their function, such as religious practices and beliefs, corporate membership, and the idea of a community based on kinship. These ideas developed a permanence through repetition in different media and being built into daily practices. Over the sixteenth century, a number of changes in the university and in wider society altered the usefulness of some forms. As new media became accessible, the secular college's former broad commemorative purposes did not disappear, but were reconfigured in new ways. Portraiture was a large part of this at some colleges, but not others.

[155] C. S. L. Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere; Dorothy Wadham and the Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford', *The English Historical Review*, 118/478 (2003), p. 888.

The variation in patterns of acquisition in the sixteenth century university was broadly related to the distinctive nature of the myriad different colleges and their founders, each established in differing circumstances. These idiosyncratic environments were determined by their antiquity, their networks of associations, and the character and position of their founders. Case studies investigating the collecting practices of Merton, St John's, and Wadham Colleges demonstrate a number of trends which allowed portraiture to thrive in particular conditions. Due to the religious upheaval of the Reformation, the connection between colleges and older rituals and their associated commemorative forms was disrupted and alternatives were sought. The great number of collegiate foundations in the sixteenth century brought new social and economic groups into contact with the university. This included the commercial classes and wealthy widows of various levels of social status. The involvement of patrons changed the nature of the commemorative tools to which colleges had access, particularly when academic communities made contact with institutions and environments in which portraiture was already popular. In colleges that were more exposed to these changes, often newer colleges with fewer traditional commemorative resources, portraiture quickly emerged as a powerful resource to be used in parallel with (and eventually dominating) the existing *milieux de mémoire.*

As we will see, women's role in the dissemination of portraiture across university colleges is particularly interesting because a large number of the colleges established in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were female-founded. Portraiture gave these women greater visibility within the university than the female patrons of previous centuries. As new kinds of records of women's relationships with these male dominated institutions, portraits represent a valuable source for understanding how

and why women pursued academic patronage and how their involvement was received.

The prevalence of portraits at Oxford and Cambridge today, considered at the start of this chapter, is a result of their commemorative possibilities, which were first explored by sixteenth-century patrons and colleges. To further understand the significance of portraiture, we must first look at how the early commissioners of these images sought to utilise the commemorative opportunities provided by their portraits. Chapter three asks who commissioned the portraits of female patrons that found their way into the colleges. Their goals, revealed through the choice of artist, props, clothing, and inscriptions, indicate the purpose of such portraits at their moment of creation.

Chapter 3

Commissioning Portraits

Nicholas Hilliard's *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning* (*c.*1600) offers a window into the production of early modern portraiture, a subject about which there is very little written record.[1] While his discussion focuses predominantly on the materials and techniques of his craft, his occasional comments about those who sat for him touch on the experience of those at the centre of early modern portraiture. Hilliard's mention of sitters' 'busi fingers', attempts at 'affected grace', and eager questions communicate the excitement and anxieties involved in becoming the subject of a portrait, something which, for most, would be a once in a lifetime, or at least a very infrequent, occasion.[2] Furthermore, his complaints about the 'rediculious absurd speeches' of some of his

[1] Howard, *The Tudor Image*, pp. 28-31. Insights into the world of portrait production can be gleaned from Hilliard's work and several other documents, including Richard Haydocke's translation of Lomazzo's *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge and Buildinge* (1598) and Henry Peacham's *Art of Drawing* (1606). However, as Howard comments, these are not necessarily representative experiences of the process of producing portraits, as these artists and illustrators benefitted from significant privilege. It is interesting to note that both Haydocke and Peacham were students at Oxford in the 1590s.

[2] N. Hilliard, *A New Edition of A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning, Writ by N Hilliard*, ed. A. F. Kinney and L. B. Salamon (Boston, 1983), pp. 22, 45.

sitters indicate the level of their involvement and investment in the details of their portraits.[3]

Despite this kind of general account of the process, the paucity of written sources means that the identification of individual motives and specific intentions can be problematic. Recent art historical work has addressed this difficulty by combining the use of iconographical details and analysis of the materiality of paintings with analysis of surviving written contextual evidence. By exploring the processes of commissioning and production in this way we can begin to draw conclusions about how far certain messages were the result of individual choices made by sitters and how the portraits they had made were intended to be interpreted by their initial audiences.[4]

The portraits of women in the collections of Oxford and Cambridge colleges have not been prioritized as subjects of in-depth analysis of their visual, technical, and archival histories. College portraits have been habitually considered to be of little aesthetic merit and insignificant to wider developments in art and taste.[5] This is perhaps due to the fact that they are often thought of as merely second- or third-hand copies. However, as this chapter shows, early college portraits were often high-quality commissions created for alternative contexts, which later entered institutional ownership. Those portraits that *were* copies are interesting in their own right because they represent an image

[3] Ibid., p. 35.

[4] See Howard, *The Tudor Image*, pp. 8-9 for a discussion of the importance of both visual content and physical context in shaping the interpretation of portraits. See also Cooper's work characterising portraits as 'agents of the patrons' personal intention' in T. Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven; London, 2012), p. 5.

[5] Roy Strong is unimpressed by the quality of many college portraits. For example, portraits of John Jewel at Corpus Christi and Merton Colleges in Oxford are 'depressing' in R. Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (2 vols, London, 1969), i, p. 181 and portraits of college founders by Sampson Strong are 'deplorable images' in R. Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture* (London, 1969), p. 48.

thought to be worth reproducing in a new context.

In his work on institutional portraits of benefactors, Robert Tittler writes that apart from 'obvious differences in dress and adornment, there seems no difference in how men and women would be portrayed'.[6] This chapter challenges this view in the context of Oxford and Cambridge's colleges. Because most portraits of women that entered these collections were initially commissioned for use outside of university institutions, their composition follows the conventions for female sitters in other contexts. Investigating their gendered depictions helps us to uncover how the sitters' involvement with patronage may also have been shaped by their womanhood. An encounter with each sitter, built on visual analysis and supported by archival and technical evidence, investigates the priorities and concerns of the kinds of women who went on to become patrons of colleges, and identifies how they were expressed through portraiture.

Despite this chapter's focus on the initial production of these women's portraits, it is important to keep in mind their institutional afterlives, displayed as part of male-dominated collegiate communities. Their eventual relocation highlights the importance of the university as an example of women's involvement beyond courtly and domestic spheres. Although Tittler's work has also documented the dissemination of portraits of female subjects in the collections of town halls, livery companies, and schools, the highest proportions of institutional female sitters can be found in England's early modern universities.[7] One reason for this is the involvement of women in university

[6] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 40.

[7] Ibid., pp. 169-86, Appendix A. In Tittler's appendix, approximately 10% of the portraits in provincial towns and cities were women, 8.5% of livery company portraits, and 15.7% of portraits in schools and charitable institutions, compared with 20% of portraits in college collections before 1600 depicting women.

patronage from a particularly wide range of social groups in comparison with other institutions. Of course, not all female patrons, or smaller-scale benefactors, were depicted through portraiture in the early modern university, but the diversity of those who were represented allows us to investigate the motivations of women from a variety of backgrounds and with different spiritual identities and life experiences. This research into the possible aims of a small sample of female patrons sheds new light on women's roles in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century society. Through their portraits we can identify how women navigated both the possibilities open to them and the boundaries defined by their gender.

As several major works on sixteenth-century portraiture to date have shown, family networks were key in driving the production of artwork at this time.[8] For women, whose lives did not revolve around public office or professional achievements, marriage, pregnancy or births, and death often prompted the commission of portraits, and all relate to the women's role within the family.[9] The design and composition of portraits, therefore, hinged upon demonstrating association with a particular family or dynasty. The use of heraldic arms, dress, props, and backgrounds were all opportunities to strengthen this identification. A closer look at the group of portraits investigated in this chapter confirms the extent to which decisions about portraiture were embedded in family dynamics. Often, family is referenced through conventional iconography. However, this chapter also highlights the diverse ways in which women engaged with their familial responsibilities through portraiture, with some sitters choosing to imitate the style or

[8] K. Hearn, 'Introduction', in K. Hearn (ed), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630* (London, 1995), p. 9; K. Hearn, *Portraying Pregnancy: from Holbein to Social Media* (London, 2020), pp. 39-41; Howard, *The Tudor Image* (London, 1995), pp. 37, 42.
[9] See ibid, p. 37.

composition of earlier images of different family members. Additionally, while Karen Hearn's *Dynasties* demonstrates the importance of family workshops and connections between artists, the portraits considered here also show that familial and social networks of sitters shared information about their commissioning practices and often reinforced the connections between their portraits by contracting the same artists.[10]

The late sixteenth-century popularity of pregnancy in portraiture emphasises the importance of depicting women's practical role in continuing dynastic lines.[11] However, experiences of death and loss were common across the social spectrum and many women did not fit neatly into the model of wife and mother idealised in many domestic portrait collections. It is notable how well represented widowed and childless women are in early modern university portraiture. This prevalence prompts examination of how such experiences affected women's choices about their depiction. Here, Tarnya Cooper's work on the portraits of widows from the urban elite is particularly valuable. Cooper extends our understanding of women's familial role in portraiture beyond their responsibility to sustain an ancestral line.[12] She develops a parallel model in which familial death and loss activates female agency, allowing women to shape their own and their family's identities, rather than acting solely according to the priorities of male relatives. Cooper includes portraits of two female college patrons as part of her argument: a portrait of Joyce Frankland (1531–1587) at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and a portrait of Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618) at Wadham College, Oxford.

[10] Hearn, 'Introduction', p. 9.
[11] Hearn, *Portraying Pregnancy*, p. 41; see also J. Eade, 'Portraiture', in A. French (ed), *Early Modern Childhood* (London, 2019), p. 283 on the dynastic function of portraits of children through a portrait of Lady Anne Pope. See pp. 297-8 for the idea that portraits of women were intended to preserve their image and maternal spiritual influence in case they should die.
[12] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 105.

This chapter extends Cooper's research into these two women but places them alongside portraits of other female college patrons to reconsider her suggestion that the choices made by these women (in both their patronage and their portraiture) represent 'a subversion of female identity' made possible through widowhood.[13] Certainly, wealthy widowed women experienced an increased level of independence, and it is important to note that each of the female sitters studied here were widows at the height of their involvement with the colleges they supported. However, many female patrons were married with children, and even widowed and childless women remained at the center of complex family networks. Representations of widowhood are likely exaggerated within the university because of a lack of direct heirs to inherit the portraits of such women. However, to understand the wider family dynamics shaping women's charitable and commemorative priorities, we need to look at the lives of these portraits before they entered college collections. On closer observation, it becomes clear that not all of these women were depicted as widows, and that the narratives of loss and bereavement investigated by Cooper were just one aspect of a broader engagement with family through portraiture, shaped by class, religion, and individual circumstances.

A portrait of Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex (1531–1589) at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, portrays her as a married woman. Other sitters, such as Lady Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593) at Trinity College, Oxford, were not only married, but had living children at the time of their portraits' commission. For all four sitters investigated in this chapter, their commemorative choices are representative of a world in which women acted as points of connection between multiple families and kinship

[13] Ibid., p. 116.

networks. They first adopted these new families through marriage and were sometimes required to add to their networks of association through remarriage, often while they were still of childbearing age. As a result, early modern women's self-presentation always involved the negotiation of affiliations to several families. Their portraits represent a series of choices made to mobilize particular family networks. Women and their relatives shaped their commemoration according to familial priorities specific to the moment of commission.

Although these women were all childless widows at the time of their deaths, their portraits represent a wide range of influences shaping their engagement with collegiate institutions, which themselves operated as pseudo-families. Some had multiple husbands, others were second wives. They were all childless for different reasons and two of the women investigated in this chapter had had children who predeceased them. In some cases, family bonds were supplemented by other networks of support, and women defined their place in society through their social connections and regional communities. Their position within these networks was further shaped by differences of religion and class. Such diversity invites us to consider to what extent the familial and social networks that shaped women's images continued to be important in a college setting, and how the associations articulated by their portraits may have changed when viewed by different audiences.

The records available for Joyce Frankland's life, and existing scholarship relating to her portraits, provide a suitable template for these investigations. Subsequent sitters are considered chronologically by date of birth, allowing us to observe change over time as well as charting how different levels of status and distinct circumstances led to

women engaging with family and social networks differently through their portraiture.

3.1 Joyce Frankland



Figure 42:
Joyce Frankland (1531–1587)
Unknown artist
16th Century
Oil on panel
Approx. 62 x 52 cm
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 10

Joyce Frankland (1531–1587), a rich widow and daughter of a London goldsmith, sat for her portrait (Fig. 42), now at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, sometime in the mid-1580s, thirty years after her parents, Robert and Joan Trappes, had sat for theirs.[14] In the course of her preparations, she chose an appropriate gown, perhaps

[14] The portrait of Joyce Frankland at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, is likely the earliest of several similar portraits that survive across Oxford and Cambridge. The painter's style is of a higher quality than what Tarnya Cooper has described as a 'more formulaic' panel at Brasenose College, Oxford. See Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 107. Additionally, the donation of the Gonville and Caius panel alongside the early portraits of Frankland's parents appears to confirm its relationship to her original bequest to the College.

from the 'great oken cheste wherein her apparell lyeth' in the tapestry-lined gallery next to her chamber at her London house.[15] While the details of the black gown she wears in her portrait have been obscured through the degradation of the black pigments over time and by later retouchings, the distinctive choice of black in comparison with the other clothes listed in her inventory—vibrant garments in violets, reds, purples, greens, and 'tawnye' colours—is an indicator of the impression she wanted her portrait to make.[16]

Additionally, from her numerous jewels, Joyce Frankland selected her father's ring, which she wears on her index finger, and a jewel attached by a gold chain to her dress which was similarly worn by her mother in her own portrait. Significantly for our understanding of the personal nature of these choices, her mother's jewel, 'one flower wth a saphier iiij rubies and iij pearles pendant', was by no means her most expensive, largest, or most elaborate jewel.[17] As Frankland stepped out from her house in Philip Lane, near Cripplegate in London's northern city wall, and turned her steps towards her artist's studio, she had likely already made some decisions about the details of her commission. A discussion with the artist may have followed concerning the use of props and heraldic details, concluding in the selection of a watch, and the use of her Trappes family's arms in the upper-left corner of the panel.

Before such discussions could take place, one of the most important early decisions in the process of commissioning was the choice of artist to approach. There is reason to believe that Frankland may have chosen to emulate her parents in this regard. As

[15] BNCO, Benefactors 108a, 'An Inventorie', p. 13.
[16] S. Bobak, '2013 conservation report' (unpublished report, July 2013): 'Much of the sitter's jacket has also been 'strengthened' with retouchings'; BNCO, Benefactors 108a, p. 20.
[17] Ibid., p. 23.



Figure 43:
Robert Trappes (1479–1560)
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
60.8 x 50.4 cm
Goldsmiths' Company, London
Appendix no.: 49
Identical to Fig. 28, repeated for reference



Figure 44:
Robert Trappes (1479–1560)
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
61.2 x 48.8 cm
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 48
Identical to Fig. 29, repeated for reference

mentioned in chapter one, there are two extant portraits of Robert Trappes (1479–1560), one at the Goldsmiths' Company, London (Fig. 43) and the other at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (Fig. 44). The Gonville and Caius portrait was bequeathed to the College by Joyce Frankland alongside portraits of herself and Joan Trappes, an action which confirms her ownership of the panel before her death. The Goldsmiths' panel was in the possession of the family of Robert and Joan Trappes's eldest son.[18] Dendrochronology on both panels has narrowed down the possible dates

[18] The Goldsmiths' portrait was inherited by the eldest son of Robert Trappes and his second wife Joan, also called Robert, and then passed by descent to Thomas Trappes, his great-great-grandson. It then left the ownership of the Trappes family, passing to Thomas's niece Elizabeth Holford. Then, by marriage, it was transferred to the family of Philip Broke, whose relative married into the Saumarez family, from whom the Goldsmiths' company acquired the portrait in 2005.

of the London panel to *c.*1561–*c.*1595 and the Cambridge panel to *c.*1556–*c.*1590.[19] Similar in composition, both are inscribed with the date 1554, and so appear to be later copies of an unidentified original.[20] While it is not possible to determine how these copies might compare to the original, their similarities allow us to draw some broad conclusions about Robert Trappes's initial commission. Furthermore, the production of multiple copies for family ownership after Trappes's death builds a sense of the family's connected commissioning practices.

Robert Trappes experienced royal favour as one of the goldsmiths working for the crown at the same time that John Bettes the Elder (active *c.*1531–1563 or 1565) was involved in decorative painting at Whitehall Palace and was being paid for court portraits.[21] It is reasonable to suggest that they could then have come into contact, and it is possible that Bettes was the kind of artist from whom Trappes commissioned his portrait in the 1550s. While there is no suggestion that the two extant portraits of Trappes at Cambridge and the Goldsmiths' Company were the work of Bettes (they would have had to have been made towards the very end of his career), they use a number of techniques that could be interpreted as imitative of Bettes' work.

The treatment of the fur on Trappes's gown in the Goldsmiths' portrait, with a feather-like quality, mimics Bettes's signed portrait of 'A Man in a Black Cap' at Tate Britain. Additionally, Bettes's oeuvre is linked by the use of blue backgrounds, built up through the layering of 'white chalk ground', a 'pinkish red underlayer', grey, and

[19] I. Tyers, 'Tree-ring analysis of a panel painting: Portrait of Robert Trappes' (unpublished report, December 2022), p. 3; I. Tyers, 'Tree-ring analysis of a panel painting: Portrait of Robert Trappes' (unpublished report, January 2023), p. 3.

[20] The Goldsmiths' Company portrait records Trappes's age correctly as 75 in 1554, but the Gonville and Caius portrait mistakenly describes the sitter as 77 years old.

[21] T. Schroder, *'A Marvel to Behold': Gold and Silver at the Court of Henry VIII* (Woodbridge, 2020), pp. 236, 242-3; Hearn, *Dynasties*, pp. 46-7.

the use of smalt.[22] Although no in-depth paint analysis has yet been completed on the Goldsmiths' Company portrait, a condition report confirms that it would originally have had a blue green smalt background, now covered by a black overpaint layer.[23] Furthermore, the use of powdered gold overlayed with paint to create a shimmering lustre, described in Rica Jones' analysis of Bettes' portrait of 'A Man in a Black Cap' is echoed in the application of gilding using silver leaf topped with a translucent red paint in elements of Robert Trappes' clothing in the Goldsmiths' Company portrait.[24] Both the Goldsmiths' and the Gonville and Caius portraits, despite later retouchings, show a quality of draughtsmanship in the hands that echoes what Edward Town describes as Bettes's Holbeinesque grasp of 'sturdy corporeal volume and nuanced linear detail'.[25] The features of these portraits described here may well indicate that the artists commissioned by the Trappes family to make copies were working from an original by Bettes the Elder or an artist working in a similar style.

However, there are several differences between these later portraits and the work of Bettes the Elder that give further insight into the choices made by Frankland and her family when these copies were commissioned. Unlike the portraits of Trappes, there are no coats of arms in portraits with a secure attribution to John Bettes the Elder.[26] This

[22] R. Jones, 'The Methods and Materials of Three Tudor Artists: Bettes, Hilliard and Ketel' in K. Hearn (ed), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530–1630* (London, 1995), p. 235.

[23] 'Treatment report for the Goldsmiths' Company "Portrait of Alderman Trappes"' (unpublished report, January 2006), p. 1.

[24] Jones, 'The Methods and Materials', p. 233; Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, pp. 92-4.

[25] E. Town, 'A Portrait of the Miniaturist as a Young Man: Nicholas Hilliard and the Painters of 1560s London', *British Art Studies*, 17 (2020), https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-17/etown/p12 (14 July 2023). Susan Foister says, however, that Bettes is unlikely to have worked directly with Holbein: S. Foister and T. Batchelor, *Holbein in England* (London, 2006), p. 116.

[26] K. Hearn, 'Bettes, John, the elder', *ODNB* (Oxford, September 2010), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2312. See, for example, portraits of Sir William Cavendish (*c.*1545) and Sir William Butts the younger (*c.*154[3?]).

absence in many portraits produced in the 1540s and 1550s may reflect the somewhat later peak in popularity for the inclusion of heraldic arms in the sixteenth century.[27] The backgrounds of both the Goldsmiths' portrait and the Cambridge portrait of Trappes have been overpainted and sit proud of the painted area of Trappes's face and body. The coats of arms appear to be painted on top of this layer. They may have been retouched along with alterations to the background, but it is also worth considering whether they may have been later additions rather than part of the copying of the original 1554 composition. It is possible that the inclusion of arms on these two copies represents a retrospective attempt by the younger generation of the Trappes family to emphasise the prestige of their familial identity through portraiture.[28]

Joyce Frankland's choices for her own portrait make it clear that she wanted her image to echo those of her parents. While she could not have sat for John Bettes the Elder, who had died by 1565, Frankland's portrait imitates the size and composition of their portraits. She may have also gone one step further by selecting an artist in keeping with her parent's potential choice. John Bettes the Younger, (*fl.* 1570–1615/16), son of the elder Bettes, has been linked to a portrait of another London Goldsmith, John Lonyson, painted in 1565. The connection relates to the similar style of inscription on Lonyson's portrait and a signed portrait of an unknown woman.[29] Bettes the Younger's possible work for members of similar social and professional networks to the Trappes family suggests him as a potential choice for Frankland. Furthermore, the

[27] R. Tittler, *Painting for a Living in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge, 2022), p. 137.
[28] It is not clear when Robert Trappes was granted his arms, but they were confirmed in the visitation of London of 1568. See, R. Cooke, *The Visitation of London in the Year 1568. Taken by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux king of arms, and since augmented both with descents and arms*, ed. J. J. Howard and G. J. Armytage (London, 1869), p. 21.
[29] E. Town, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters, 1547–1625', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 76 (2014), p. 35.

lettering of the inscription on Lonyson's portrait (Fig. 45) is not dissimilar to that on the Goldsmiths' portrait of Trappes (Fig. 46).[30] Cooper explains that Lonyson's inscription was edited at a later date.[31] His arms were also granted after his portrait was initially produced and may have been a subsequent addition.[32] If we consider similarities between Lonyson's inscription and the Goldsmiths' Robert Trappes, it is possible that Bettes the Younger was responsible for the arms and inscription on the Trappes' family's commission, or perhaps painted the whole copy itself.

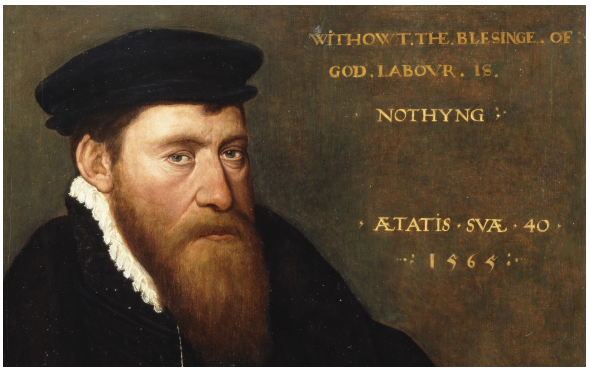


Figure 45:
Detail of a portrait of John Lonyson
Goldsmiths' Company, London



Figure 46:
Detail of Figure 43

Further features in Robert Trappes' portraits urge us to consider the possibility of a connection to a Bettes, whether the Elder as the source of the 1554 original or the Younger as an influence on the copies. Banderoles, or banners, carry the family motto in both portraits of Trappes. Edward Town has noted that banderoles were characteristic of Bettes the Elder, who had himself used one in his woodcut of the title

[30] However, the inscription on the Cambridge portrait with Trappes's incorrect age, owned by Joyce Frankland, is in a clearly different style.
[31] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 94.
[32] Ibid., p. 72.

page of William Cunningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1559).[33] Their inclusion in the Trappes family portraits may indicate a connection between the work of father and son.[34] The repetition of the use of a banderole in the Gonville and Caius portrait of Joyce Frankland suggests a further connection between the images of two generations of the Trappes family.

Frankland's possible connection with Bettes the Younger is also strengthened by their proximity. Bettes moved to Grub Street in St Giles Cripplegate at some date between 1582 and 1593, several streets away from Frankland.[35] Additionally, although the attribution is uncertain, he may have also painted a portrait of Sir Walter Mildmay, now at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, with whom Frankland was acquainted through her connection to the University. Whether she engaged the services of Bettes the Younger or an artist using a similar approach, Frankland's choice of artist and the subsequent decisions she took in the creation of her likeness reflect her estimate of the value of each element within her portrait to communicate a particular version of herself to the world. At the heart of these decisions was a commitment to family.

Cooper's work on widows such as Joyce Frankland, despite making no remark on her possible choice of artist, also characterises such portraits as 'visually situating the sitters as daughters, wives, and mothers within family networks'.[36] However, one of the central arguments of Cooper's work is that widowhood was a critical factor shaping Frankland's depiction. She proposes that the circumstances of widows, who experienced

[33] Town, 'A Portrait of the Miniaturist as a Young Man', https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-17/etown/p16 (14 July 2023).
[34] See Tittler, *Painting for a Living*, p. 79 for the strength of family ties between painters like the Betteses.
[35] See 'The Agas Map of Early Modern London', https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm?locIds=GRUB1|PHIL1 (14 July 2023).
[36] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 105.

shifting familial structures, were complex, but afforded them a unique kind of agency in late sixteenth-century English society. Wealthy widows could 'exceed' or 'subvert' gender roles by directing their own affairs and controlling their own representation through portraiture.[37] Some of Cooper's conclusions are informed by an inscription on a second portrait of Frankland at Brasenose College. The circumstances that shaped the different composition of this panel will be discussed in the next chapter. Here, further examination of Frankland's earliest portrait, a panel now at Gonville and Caius College and her household accounts disentangle Frankland's initial decision-making process from other sources of influence and later claims.[38] This allows us to reframe this suggestion of widows' exceptionalism.

Acknowledging the impact of widowhood, as Cooper advocates, is important because it raises questions related to women's mutable wealth and status. Both spousal and child loss are also significant within the religious context of these women's lives. However, when each of these factors are addressed in terms of the choices we can attribute to Frankland individually, it does not appear that she intended to be understood as an 'honorary gentleman'.[39] Frankland may have been making decisions about her portrait without the direction of specific male relatives, but she was navigating a series of gendered choices appropriate to a woman of her status and religion, shaped by the occupation of male family members. By comparing Frankland's depiction with the portrait of her mother, Joan Trappes, a married woman at the time her portrait was made, we can see that widowhood was just one facet of women's broader engagement with the complexities of early modern families.

[37] Ibid., pp. 106-7.
[38] See p. 148 *n.*14 of this chapter.
[39] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 111.

Frankland was a substantial patron of a number of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, such as Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Brasenose College, Oxford. Her decision to bequeath property, goods and money to educational institutions can be directly related to her widowed and childless status. Surviving two husbands and without children after the accidental death of her son in 1581, Frankland chose to support a number of scholars at Brasenose College 'in lewe of her most loving sonne the said Will[ia]m Saxi to rayse and beget unto her self in vertue & learninge many children'.[40] Cooper links this statement to the production of Frankland's portrait because her will requests that:

> I will if I shall haue at the time of my decease three formes or pictures of my selfe That then the one of them be deliered unto the saide Gunvyle and Keyes Colledge and the other to Emmanuell Colledge, and the third to Lyncoln Colledge to be severally sett upp and placed in the severall chappells of the saide Colledges.[41]

Grief and a reminder of humanity's fleeting time on earth may well have motivated the commissioning of a portrait as well as benefactions to educational institutions. Perhaps Frankland's choice of a black gown from a wardrobe abundant in colour can be attributed to her bereavement. Her inventory mentions a 'mourninge gowne lyned with blacke bays'.[42] Sitting for the portrait offered a moment in which she could reshape her dynastic legacy, as she was writing and rewriting her will, carefully deciding how best to honour her son with her wealth.[43]

For Cooper this loss is epitomised by the depiction of a timepiece in Joyce Frankland's portrait, referring to Christian devotion in addition to impermanence, departed

[40] BNCO, Benefactors 11, 'Composition about scholars'.
[41] TNA, PROB/11/70/179, fo. 137r.
[42] BNCO, Benefactors 108a, p. 19.
[43] There are four distinct versions of Frankland's will: the first drafted in March 1584, a second on 8 June 1584, another on 26 August 1585, and the final probate will written on 20 February 1586.

family members, and childlessness. The watch, Cooper explains, is a *memento mori* symbol and an opportunity to 'stabilize' her image as 'a constant worthy exemplar of charity and piety'.[44] This adds weight to our understanding of post-Reformation use of portraiture to express spirituality. Nevertheless, we need to be careful about the extent to which we read these *memento mori* elements as specific to the 'tragic' circumstances experienced by Frankland.[45] While it is clear that widowhood and the death of a child had profound personal impact on Frankland, her portrait shares features with others in different situations. Frankland's use of *memento mori* may be directly related to her bereavement, but in combination with the portraits of her parents is suggestive of a wider family commitment to religious devotion. Her father had held open a prayer book in his portrait, a common device for capturing transient spiritual meditation.[46] In her portrait, intended to complement that of her husband, Frankland's mother holds a pink carnation, often understood to symbolise love or marriage. Captured by their artists, Robert Trappes's prayer book remains open, his wife's symbol of the sacrament of marriage forever in bloom. Like Frankland, whose watch has stopped, both contributed to a continuum of familial Protestant piety, gesturing towards the passing of time and mortality. In this context, Frankland's widowhood is undeniably relevant, but the influence of her parents' portraits, predating her son's death, must also be considered.

Cooper also observes an independence in Frankland's decision making, identifying her clothing and pose as evidence of the emulation of male sitters.[47] Widowhood gave many wealthy early modern women a level of financial freedom.[48] Nevertheless,

[44] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 111.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 92.
[47] Ibid., p. 107.
[48] I. Archer, 'The Charity of London Widows in the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries',

an alternative interpretation of Frankland's self-presentation suggests that Frankland was conforming to conventions for images of women of her social status rather than pushing the boundaries of gender roles. Black was certainly popular amongst widows, but they were not expected to wear it.[49] The fact that Frankland had kept her more colourful clothing after her widowhood suggests that she was not confined to a darker palette. Her character is revealed by an account given by one of the overseers of her will: 'duringe her widowhoode she lived in everye respecte (excepte apparell) most sparinglie'.[50] Black was considered highly elegant, and was expensive, having to be double dyed to get the rich, dark tone.[51] Black, therefore, may relate to her social position as part of a family of prosperous London craftsmen. Her father was a member of the Goldsmiths' Company and both she and her mother left money in their wills to finance commemorative dinners there.[52] The sober dress of her mother, neither widowed nor bereaved at the time of her portrait sitting, demonstrates that this was the kind of fine clothing worn by a certain class of wealthy London businessmen and their wives.

This links to Frankland's choice to wear gold jewels related to her family, reflecting the occupation of her father and the mercantile network that was the source of much of her wealth. Where Cooper suggests that the timepiece she holds may have been 'perhaps once her husband's or son's', linking the *memento mori* to her widowed state, it is also possible to understand it as a reference to her father, his occupation, and

in N. L Jones and D. R. Woolf (eds), *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 182.

[49] M. Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham, 2009), p. 246.

[50] BNCO, Benefactors 114, p. 2.

[51] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, pp. 97-8.

[52] London, TNA, PROB 11/47/58, 'Will of Joan Trappes', fo. 28v.

craftmanship.[53] Frankland's surviving Trappes relatives would also continue to be involved in the Goldsmiths' trade. In this portrait, she is a daughter more than she is a widow. Rather than attempting to 'transcend standard gender definitions', her depiction situates her within the role she was intended to play within her family, and, in turn, the role her family expected to play in wider society.[54]

The heraldic arms that appear in the upper-left corner of Frankland's portrait at Gonville and Caius confirm that she chose not merely to commemorate family in general, but to emphasise specific aspects of her personal heritage. There is no reference to either of her two marriages, to Henry Saxey and subsequently to William Frankland, in her portrait. Instead, she uses the female lozenge form of her father's Trappes arms, as well as his motto 'Suffer and Serve'. There are several possible explanations for this decision. It comes as no surprise that Joyce Frankland would not wish to immortalise her connection to William Frankland with whom she had had a fractured, contentious, and subsequently litigious marriage, 'fallinge out and growinge to some extremitye'.[55] Similarly, while deeply attached to the memory of her son, his death had severed the family's association with the Saxey name in future generations, whereas her Trappes family lived on as custodians of her family legacy through her several siblings and their children. Her awareness of this fact is demonstrated by her request for their preferment at the Oxford and Cambridge colleges she patronised: 'that the name of the Trapses be for ever preferred to the same places before any other'.[56] The resemblance of the lozenge to a funerary hatchment may allude to the portrait's memorial role.

[53] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 107.
[54] Ibid., p. 107.
[55] BNCO, Benefactors 114.
[56] TNA, PROB 11/70/179, fo. 137r.

Frankland's choice to use the Trappes arms also allowed her to claim a higher status as daughter of an armigerous citizen than as the relict of either Saxey or Frankland, who do not appear to have borne arms.[57] In the 1580s, Joyce Frankland similarly used the Trappes arms on her seal, demonstrating that the authority it lent her was as significant in life as it was in shaping her posthumous identity. Undoubtedly, it was Frankland's widowhood that afforded her the opportunity to choose which familial connection offered the most prestige. However, as will be seen, women with living husbands who had been married several times, for example, Elizabeth Pope, were able to shape their depiction in a similar way. Additionally, the roughly simultaneous family commissions of copies of Robert Trappes's portrait and the inclusion of the family's arms indicate that Frankland's choice also contributed to a wider familial commemorative scheme. Family commissions, integrated further by Frankland's request that they be displayed in the same space, represented a united statement of familial achievement.

Cooper's work on Joyce Frankland represents her as a female patron who was able to use her misfortunes to strengthen her commitment to both charity and family. Her status as a widow at the time that her portrait was created certainly allows us to identify with greater specificity her own personal choices. However, while Cooper's suggestion that widowed women were not acting as mere 'proxies' for male relatives is convincing, we still need to understand their choices within a framework of strong familial influence and gendered conventions, particularly in the context of female patrons.[58] If we de-emphasise widowhood as a state in which women were able to step outside of gendered

[57] There is no pedigree for either Saxey or Frankland in Cooke, *The Visitation of London in the Year 1568*. There is also no pedigree for Frankland in the 1572 visitation of Hertfordshire.
[58] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 116.

roles, we can begin to better understand how women's agency within family networks worked across a spectrum of different life stages and experiences. Frankland's loss may have prompted her college donations, but charity was also important for her mother, who established scholarships at multiple colleges. Changing familial circumstances were an inevitability for Tudor women, and recognising this in their portraits allows us to understand a broader range of motivations for patronage.

By exploring the choices made in the commissioning of Joyce Frankland's portrait it is already possible to draw some conclusions about the ways in which women sought to depict themselves as part of family networks. Using artists working with similar techniques and imitating the style and composition of other family portraits were opportunities for women to announce their association with a particular family. Heraldry and iconography allowed them to fully define this connection, giving sitters an opportunity to engage with certain family lines and identify themselves with the particular social and religious identities held by those relatives.

3.2 Lady Elizabeth Pope

The second sitter considered here demonstrates that the portraits of female patrons in Oxford and Cambridge Colleges do not represent a homogeneous group. Whereas Joyce Frankland was a widowed member of the urban elite, a portrait of Lady Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593) (Fig. 48) at Trinity College, Oxford, depicts her as a married gentlewoman, emphasising her wealth and status. She wears a black gown with funnel sleeves that fall away to reveal undersleeves. These are scarlet to match the forepart



Figure 47:
Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
Unknown artist
Mid 16th Century
Oil on panel
120.2 x 82.6 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 43
Identical to Fig. 21, repeated for reference



Figure 48:
Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593)
Unknown artist
After *c.*1592
Oil on panel
92.7 x 69 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 14
Identical to Fig. 25, repeated for reference

of her kirtle. Her chemise, embroidered with rich blackwork is visible as part of a standing collar and peeking through the undersleeves fastened with pearl brooches. She also wears pearls about her waist, around her neck and on her hood, alongside gold bracelets, rings, and a pendant jewel. However, beyond her clothing, elegant posture, and direct gaze, there is little iconographical indication of the motivations or decision-making processes behind her portrait. Nevertheless, its purchase alongside and display in relation to a portrait of her husband, Sir Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559), family ownership of portrait copies, and her commemorative decisions documented in

written records give us a sense of the messages Elizabeth Pope sought to communicate and the context for her patronage.

As chapter one establishes, this portrait on panel was an early seventeenth-century copy of a mid-sixteenth-century family portrait. Its posthumous commission, with no extant source portrait available for comparison makes this a difficult image. The lack of identifying details typical of portraits of mid-sixteenth-century women add to its ambiguity, and prompt us to consider carefully the possibility that the College copied a plausible portrait of an unidentified female sitter and named it Elizabeth Pope.[59] Nevertheless, Trinity's female co-founder was involved with the College until her death in 1593 and Ralph Kettell, President at the time of the portrait's purchase, had been close to the family and had known Elizabeth Pope personally, increasing the likelihood that the College would have been able to locate an authentic original to copy.[60]

Elizabeth Pope's portrait is displayed at Trinity College with a larger copy of her husband's portrait. The earliest extant version of Thomas Pope's portrait, discussed in chapter one as T347, is also at Trinity and dates to between *c.*1534 and probably *c.*1568 (Fig. 47). If there was a version of Elizabeth Pope's portrait made at a similar time it is now lost. Due to our reliance on a later copy, it is not possible to determine with certainty the relationship between the portraits of husband and wife using comparison of artistic techniques. We can compare the composition of the two, but it is important to bear in mind that original details may have been lost or misunderstood. Despite

[59] Difficulties with lost identification, both today and in the early seventeenth century, are common for portraits of mid-sixteenth-century women. Susan James demonstrates that even queens weren't immune to this problem. See S. E. James, 'Lady Jane Grey or Queen Kateryn Parr?', *The Burlington Magazine*, 138/1114 (1996), p. 21.

[60] C. Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community* (Oxford, 2005), p. 69.

their difference in size, the Pope portraits appear to be complementary images.[61] While they do not form a pair in the same way as the portraits of Robert and Joan Trappes, they were likely intended to convey corresponding messages.

Thomas Pope's portrait displays similarly rich clothing and, like many early portraits of men, includes more specific iconographical detail than that of his wife. In the top left-hand corner of his portrait is an inscription which reads: 'QVOD TACITVM VELIS NEMINI DIXERIS', or 'what you wish kept secret, tell no one', the motto he had adopted.[62] By building an understanding of the career and family life of Thomas Pope it becomes clear that he was a man who lived by his motto. The choices he made in his portrait advertise certain aspects of his character and situation, while perhaps deemphasising those things he would have rathered remained ambiguous, his wife's portrait following suit.

Characterised by his biographer as a *novus homo*, Thomas Pope had been granted a coat of arms in 1535.[63] He was ennobled by 1536/7, after a number of senior administrative roles at court, culminating in the position of treasurer of the court of augmentations in which he controlled the sale of property acquired by the Crown at the Dissolution of the Monasteries.[64] Pope married Elizabeth Blount in 1541 shortly

[61] Portraits of married couples were not always the same size. See the 1573 portraits of Sir Francis Willoughby and Elizabeth Littleton, the latter of which is slightly larger. The payment to the artist George Gower shows the difference in cost, see E. Town and J. David, 'George Gower: Portraitist, Mercer, Serjeant Painter', *Burlington Magazine*, 162/1410 (2020), p. 731 *n.* 2. Inventories suggest that complementary portraits could hang together or sometimes separately. See London, TNA, PROB 11/111/213, 'Will of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury', fo. 199v where portraits of Bess of Hardwick and her husband are listed side by side. P. Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley: The Matriarch', in P. Croft (ed), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (New Haven, 2002), p. 297 describes an unaccompanied portrait of Mildred Cecil in one chamber and her husband's in another.

[62] Translation from Hopkins, *Trinity*, p. 5.

[63] C. Hopkins, 'Pope, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22533 (14 July 2023).

[64] Ibid.

after the death of his first wife. His favour with the Crown faltered somewhat under Edward VI, perhaps due to his religious conservatism, but an appointment in 1556 as guardian to Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield demonstrates his trusted position at Mary I's court.[65] In 1555, Thomas Pope founded Trinity College, Oxford.

The lack of visible date inscriptions on either the portrait of Thomas Pope or his wife, Elizabeth, make it hard to place any life event that may have occasioned the commissions. It is not certain that the originals were even part of the same commission. However, the clothing in both portraits are indicative of the late 1540s and early 1550s. Thomas Pope's portrait has features in common with the National Portrait Gallery's portrait of Thomas Wentworth, 1st Baron Wentworth (1501–1551), *c.*1547–1550, by an unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, such as its use of a hinted architectural backdrop. A similar technique may have been used to create the effect of a downy fur collar.[66] Meanwhile, the high—rather than square—neckline of Elizabeth Pope's gown and her flat-topped French hood are suggestive of the 1550s, and Rachel Lane Poole compares her portrait to the 1554 portrait of Mary I by Hans Eworth at the Society of Antiquaries.[67] Elizabeth Pope's pose, the shape of the sleeves, the blackwork chemise, and standing collar are also comparable to a portrait at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, of an unknown woman, possibly Mary I, produced *c.*1550–1555, and again attributed to Hans Eworth.[68]

[65] Ibid.

[66] See, 'Thomas Wentworth, 1st Baron Wentworth', https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw06692/Thomas-Wentworth-1st-Baron-Wentworth? (14 July 2023).

[67] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, pp. 122-3.

[68] 'Unknown woman, possibly Queen Mary I', https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/871 (1 September 2023). The sleeves and the use of pearls are also similar in character to the portrait of Katherine Parr from the collection of the Earl of Jersey, auctioned by Sotheby's in London in July 2023. This portrait was possibly made before Parr's death in 1548. Unfortunately, the fact that the earliest surviving copy of Elizabeth Pope is from the early seventeenth century means that it is not possible to compare artistic techniques or paint handling.

The proposal that the Popes' portraits were devised around the late 1540s and early 1550s indicates that the couple were attempting to consolidate their reputations, emphasising their status at a time of political change and personal uncertainty. Meanwhile, if the justification for their depiction was ever in doubt, the gloves held by Thomas Pope, his confident posture, and the jewels he and his wife wear demonstrate the veracity of their gentry status.

Thomas Pope's portrait does not include his recently awarded heraldic arms and, together with Elizabeth Pope's portrait, it represents a less obvious statement of dynastic success than the Trappes and Frankland group.[69] Thomas Pope had no surviving children, but Elizabeth Pope was mother to a son, John Basford, from an earlier marriage. Additionally, while Thomas Pope had no direct heir, Elizabeth was still of childbearing age at the time her portrait was produced. As discussed regarding the portraits of Robert Trappes, the incorporation of heraldic arms or achievements was not as widespread in the 1540s and 1550s as it would become later in the sixteenth century.

Nevertheless, Pope's family was large, and portraiture was used to solidify familial relationships and contribute to a dynasty that extended beyond Thomas Pope's direct issue or current lack thereof. An early copy of Thomas Pope's portrait was sold in 1930 from the collection at Wroxton (see appendix no. 44), an estate he had given to his brother John. It is therefore probable that this portrait, and perhaps a portrait of his wife, were given to John Pope and his family. Additionally, although Thomas Pope's only child, a daughter named Alice from his first marriage, had died before her second

[69] Thomas Warton writes that 'the family after him constantly used this new coat' in T. Warton, *The Life of Sir Thomas Pope, Founder of Trinity College Oxford* (London, 1780), p. 271.

birthday, he had accumulated a number of young new relatives through his marriages, including his stepson John Basford and a younger brother-in-law, Walter Blount. These family members were given preferment at Trinity College. Clare Hopkins highlights a number of characterful letters from Thomas Pope to President Slythurst that indicate the Popes' determination that Elizabeth Pope's son John Basford be educated at Trinity.[70] After Basford's attempts to leave due to his dislike of the strictures of college life, Thomas Pope wrote of his and Elizabeth's future aspirations for the son who had 'wonderfully offended' them:[71]

> ye m[a]ye tell Mr Basford that when ye shall adv[er]tise me he und[e]rstandeth the latten tonge, I will se[n]d for hym home & p[re]fer hym furder [in] such place wher he shall I dowte nott well lik his beinge.[72]

For Thomas and Elizabeth Pope, the education of their son in classical languages was incredibly valuable, intended to train him for a future position in governmental administrative circles where Thomas Pope had influence. These letters, like the earlier commissions of the portraits of the Popes, build a picture of their self-presentation as members of the new gentry elite. The Pope family, carrying his name, were provided for through gifts of estates while Thomas Pope's other dependents were equipped with the highest quality education. As Hopkins has argued of Pope, '... he was a rich and self-made man with no living child of his own'.[73] His portrait reflects these concerns. He intended to be thought of as a man who had made something of himself and as a man to whom family—of all kinds—was important, and that he had provided for his own.

[70] Hopkins, *Trinity*, pp. 39-40.
[71] Ibid., p. 39.
[72] Oxford, Trinity College Archives, Founder's Letters, 8/19.
[73] Hopkins, *Trinity*, p. 18.

It is important to note that, although Thomas and Elizabeth Pope's portraits advertise their wealth and status, and were linked to family networks by ownership, little can be visually interpreted about the Pope family's confessional identities. Thomas Pope's fortunes had fluctuated with the uncertain religious landscape of the mid-Tudor period. His foundation at Trinity was clearly religiously conservative, evidenced by the chapel goods and obits enshrined in the statutes.[74] However, while women's portraits often included some indication of piety, such as holding a prayer book, Elizabeth Pope's does not. Her posture echoes the Society of Antiquaries Mary I, by Hans Eworth, but unlike the Tudor queen, Elizabeth Pope's jewellery does not reference her piety either. These portraits are bare of any religious affiliation, perhaps showing how ambiguity on this subject had allowed Thomas Pope to retain his status despite changing circumstances.

A more persuasive explanation is that religious expression was not one of the principal functions of portraiture in the first half of the sixteenth century. Apart from generalised references to piety and devotion, early English portraits give little indication of the religious beliefs of their sitters. It was only in the later sixteenth century, as Tarnya Cooper has outlined, that 'secular portraits were perceived in a possibly unacknowledged sense as potentially able to 'act' in lieu of traditional practices performed prior to the Reformation quest for salvation, such as prayers for the dead'.[75] Unlike Joyce Frankland, when Thomas and Elizabeth Pope commissioned their portraits, the obits and services observed at Trinity College, Oxford, provided for the commemoration of the souls of the Pope family. Their portraits represented their

[74] Oxford, Trinity College Archives, Founder's Letters, 2/6; Ibid., 3/8.
[75] T. Cooper, "Frail Flesh, as in a Glass': The Portrait as an Immortal Presence in Early Modern England and Wales', in M. Rogers (ed), *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 199.

domestic priorities and the lives that would shape their educational patronage but, as discussed in chapter two, collegiate routines and ceremony, and increasingly heraldry, acted as direct visual representations of their involvement in the College.

However, after Thomas Pope's death in 1559, the commissioning practices of Elizabeth Pope are evidence of the increasing importance of, if not exactly portraiture, likenesses in familial confessional identity. Elizabeth Pope commissioned a painted, gilded alabaster tomb monument (Fig. 49) in Trinity College's Chapel that was completed by at least 1567, when first recorded in the College accounts.[76] She organised for the remains of Sir Thomas and his first wife, Margaret Pope, to be removed from their burial place at St Stephen's Walbrook in London and reinterred beneath the monument. She was also buried there on her death in 1593.[77] For Lane Poole the female effigy's 'face is young and rounded, and not particularly individualized. Possibly a wifely type rather than a portrait.'[78] Additionally, an 1830 print engraving of the effigies describes Thomas Pope's companion as 'Margaret his wife'.[79] Hopkins suggests that some elements of the tomb may have been copied from Pope's original monument.[80]

Nevertheless, the costume of the female recumbent figure is unmistakably similar to the fashions of the late 1540s and 1550s, and to the clothing displayed in Lady Pope's portrait. Thomas Pope's first wife Margaret died in 1539. Whether the face can be understood to be a portrait is uncertain, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that Elizabeth Pope intended her own depiction. This depiction is particularly important

[76] Oxford, Trinity College, IA/1, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1556–1600', fo. 95r: 'Item solutu[s] p[ro] qui[n]q[ue] modijs calcis circa sepulchru[m] fundatoris'.
[77] Hopkins, 'Pope, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*.
[78] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 120.
[79] London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D40354.
[80] Hopkins, *Trinity*, pp. 47-9.



Figure 49:
Founder's Tomb
*c.*1567
Alabaster
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 15

for our understanding of Elizabeth Pope's patronage, particularly because of the uncertainties concerning her portrait, which we can only investigate through the lens of a later copy. Why Elizabeth Pope decided to contradict the burial requests made by her late husband is uncertain, but it is clear that she intended to take control of the commemoration of the Pope family, despite her remarriage to Sir Hugh Paulet in late 1560. Tomb monuments were, by nature, intimately connected with spiritual beliefs about the afterlife, making it probable that the commission was pursued for religious reasons.

It is difficult to determine the exact nature of the religious beliefs of the Popes. Thomas Pope's will reinforces the sense that this was a man interested in forming advantageous alliances within his professional and social circles. He bequeathed a dragon whistle to the Protestant Sir Nicholas Bacon, who later wore the whistle in his own portrait.[81] However, Thomas Pope's will also links him to Robert Southwell

[81] See London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 164.

(*c.*1506–1559), a Catholic lawyer and Francis Englefield (*c.*1522–1596), who were to oversee the will's execution.[82] The Catholic Englefield went into exile on religious grounds just months after Pope's death.

Elizabeth Pope survived Thomas Pope by over thirty years and lived through tightening restrictions on Catholic practices. Despite her third marriage to the Protestant Sir Hugh Paulet, Elizabeth Pope's proactive commemorative choices emphasised her union with Thomas Pope and their shared spiritual beliefs. Warton writes that in 1560, the year she married Paulet, she donated stained glass images of herself and Thomas Pope, at prayer and illustrated with heraldic arms, to the parish church in Broadwell, Oxfordshire, the advowson of which Trinity College owned.[83] Written records of Elizabeth Pope's continuing Catholicism are equally clear. In October 1578, 'The lady Paulet widow, wyfe o Sr Hughe at Clerken well' appears on a list of London 'Papists', which claims that she 'keepeth a chaplaine called parkinson a notorious papist & sayth masse commonly in hir howse'.[84]

Interestingly, those mentioned in her 1593 will were largely Protestant magnates, and often those aligned with calls for more radical reform. Some of these associates, for example Lady Dorothy Stafford, who had been exiled during the reign of Mary I, may be included due to their influence at court.[85] An additional example is the ewer Pope gave Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick, from a Puritan family, to match a basin given at New Year, perhaps a political gift.[86] Lady Pope's associations during

[82] London, TNA, PROB 11/42B/158, fo. 80r.
[83] Warton, *The Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, pp. 198-9. These are alleged to have been removed in 1561 as 'superstitious', but the source Warton gives for this is 'some family papers or memoirs'.
[84] London, TNA, SP 15/25, fo. 204. See Hopkins, *Trinity*, p. 47.
[85] London, TNA, PROB 11/83/130, 'Will of Elizabeth Pope', fo. 114v.
[86] Ibid., fo. 114v.

her later life may reflect the need to seek favour with Protestant elites in a time that was increasingly hostile for those seeking to practise their Catholic faith. Her difficult position is illustrated by a 1585 fine levied against her as a 'principall recusant' to contribute a horse for service in the Low Countries, which she paid while simultaneously lodging a plea that she was 'nether Recusant nor Papiste'.[87] In this context, Lady Pope's tomb commission, undertaken during the period of her marriage to Sir Hugh Paulet, through which she became integrated with a Protestant family, may have been an attempt to align herself with the religious proclivities of her Pope family. As Pope's widow, she could no longer fulfil her dynastic role for that family, but she was able to provide a place, within the conservative chapel of Trinity College, in which the family could be commemorated in the institution that would be Thomas Pope's most lasting legacy.

Unpicking the meaning of Elizabeth Pope's possible portrait allows us to identify why she was involved in college patronage. Her later use of tomb effigies and stained glass demonstrate that even married women were able to exercise choice about how they represented themselves as part of familial networks. For Elizabeth Pope, spiritual belief was a significant factor influencing her decision to commemorate a former, childless marriage. Her portrait was painted before the foundation of Trinity College, but creates an impression of a women that the College would appropriate for their own use in the early seventeenth century.

[87] London, TNA, SP 12/184, fo. 105. 22 November 1585.

3.3 Lady Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex

Strikingly different from the portrait of Elizabeth Pope is a full-length portrait of Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex (1531–1589), at her foundation of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (Fig. 50). While there are clear distinctions between these women, such as Sidney's aristocratic rank and Protestant beliefs, both future college founders were married at the time that their portraits were produced. There are also no heraldic references to Sidney's family or marital status. However, unlike that of Pope, Sidney's portrait does not appear as complementary to any image of her husband, Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex (1526?–83). Instead, this portrait is particularly interesting for what it tells us about the involvement of wider family networks, beyond marriage and children, in the commission of portraiture and the performance of patronage.

The portrait's unusually large size indicates its cost and each carefully chosen element hints at the priorities that drove its commission. The portrait shows Frances Sidney as a woman of some style, in a black velvet ermine-lined gown, with jewels, pomander and sable zibellino, or tippet. Its composition is unlike the only surviving likeness of Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, a *c.*1565 half-length. Recent work by Edward Town and Jessica David, attributing the portrait of Frances Sidney to the painter George Gower (*c.*1538–96) and linking it to the *c.*1567 Hampden portrait of Elizabeth I (Fig. 51) and a *c.*1573 full-length portrait of her brother Henry Sidney provides an important framework for understanding this portrait in its initial context.[88] Town and David share infra-red photography of the Frances Sidney full-length that

[88] Town and David, 'George Gower', p. 743.



Figure 50:
Frances Sidney (1531–1589)
George Gower
*c.*1570–1575
Oil on panel
Approx. 193 x 111.1 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 16
Identical to Fig. 18, repeated for reference



Figure 51:
Elizabeth I, 'The Hampden Portrait'
George Gower (attributed to)
*c.*1567
Oil on panel
Approx. 196 x 140 cm
Private collection

reveals the beginnings of a portrait of Elizabeth beneath that of Frances Sidney. Their suggestion is that Gower was the maker of both these images and several further portraits of Elizabeth following the same pattern. This is especially interesting in the context of Roy Strong's proposal that a portrait of the Hampden type was taken with Sussex on his journey to Vienna in 1567 to discuss the Queen's potential marriage to the Archduke Charles of Austria.[89] A portrait from a private collection in that region

[89] Strong's theory is discussed in Town and David, 'George Gower', pp. 744-5. See also Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 96.

sold in *c.*1890 follows the same pattern, suggesting that it might have been the portrait Sussex took with him.[90]

The Sidney Sussex panel, while associated with this group of portraits of the Queen, had an altogether different afterlife as a portrait of Frances Sidney. The Sidney Sussex portrait was likely produced in the 1570s, so there appears to have been some delay in the reuse of the panel, casting doubt on any connection between the commission and Sussex's continental visit. Karen Hearn and Tabitha Barber suggest that Lady Frances' portrait can be linked to her role as one of the Queen's Ladies of the Bedchamber due to her dazzling, fashionable dress, perhaps a gift from Elizabeth herself.[91] However, an absence of documents recording her presence at court suggest that Lady Sidney was probably not appointed to any position in the Queen's household until 1578, which is likely to have been too late to have had any influence on the creation of the portrait.[92]

Nevertheless, the link between the commission, from a painter beginning to be popular in Westminster, and the rising reputation of Lady Frances Sidney at court deserves examination. A number of challenges had beset the Earl and Countess of Sussex in the late 1560s. However, after a series of close brushes with scandal, including suspected knowledge of the Norfolk marriage affair and proximity to the Northern Rising of 1569, Thomas Radcliffe's fortunes at court took a turn for the better as a result of his successful involvement in the Scottish campaigns of 1570.[93] Appointed privy counsellor in the same year and granted New Hall shortly afterward, the early 1570s

[90] This is now known as the Fonthill portrait. Town and David, 'George Gower', p. 745.
[91] Hearn, *Dynasties,* p. 95.
[92] M. Prior, 'Radcliffe [née Sidney], Frances, countess of Sussex', *ODNB* (Oxford, January 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66355 (14 July 2023).
[93] W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Radcliffe, Thomas, third earl of Sussex', *ODNB* (Oxford, January 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22993 (14 July 2023).

were a suitable moment for the Sussexes to celebrate their good fortune and consolidate their current position through portraiture. The clothing worn by Frances Sidney in her portrait has previously been dated to *c.*1575, while Town and David suggest that the portrait was 'probably made around the time of her husband's appointment as Lord Chamberlain in 1572'.[94] Zibbelini, such as the one held by Lady Frances, have sometimes been understood to be related to pregnancy. In her forties by the early 1570s, this ambiguous symbol could refer to the pressures of fertility for this childless couple at the peak of their courtly careers. The repeated circumstantial connections between the portrait and Sussex's career may provide a simple explanation about who was the catalyst for this commission. Indeed, Sussex was interested in Gower's work and would later request a version of Gower's portrait of Edward Manners, 3rd Earl of Rutland.[95]

However, Town and David also highlight the similarities between the portrait of Frances Sidney and that of her brother, Sir Henry Sidney, from *c.*1573 (Fig. 52), originally displayed at Penshurst, the childhood home of Frances Sidney, and now at Petworth House: 'In a period when nearly all portraits were either bust or three-quarter-length, it is remarkable to find two full-length portraits on panel of members of the same family'.[96] The panel of Frances Sidney's portrait has been slightly cut down on both sides, but it has been suggested that its dimensions were once extremely similar to those of her brother's portrait.[97] The absence of a similarly designed portrait of the Earl of Sussex, or any copies in the manner of Gower, indicates that this portrait

[94] Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 95; Town and David, 'George Gower', p. 743.
[95] Town and David, 'George Gower', p. 731.
[96] Ibid., p. 743.
[97] Ibid., p. 743; Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 95.



Figure 52:
Sir Henry Sidney (1529–1586)
George Gower (attributed to)
*c.*1573
Oil on panel
Approx. 202 x 122 cm
Petworth House and Park, West Sussex



Figure 53:
Mary Dudley, Lady Sidney (*c.*1530–1586)
Circle of Hans Eworth (attributed to)
*c.*1550-55
Oil on panel
Approx. 195.6 x 115.6 cm
Petworth House and Park, West Sussex

might be more comfortably understood as related to the Countess of Sussex's Sidney heritage rather than an expression of spousal identity. This prompts us to consider whether the panel had remained in Gower's workshop and was a suitable support for a composition designed in parallel with the portrait of her brother and modelled on other, earlier Sidney portraits such as that of her sister-in-law Mary Dudley Sidney, currently dated to *c.*1550–1555 (Fig. 53).

The inventory at New Hall, the home of the Earl and Countess of Sussex, makes no mention of paintings or portraits, so it is not possible to establish whether the

Sidney portrait was displayed there.[98] Nevertheless, there is a case to be made for the joint display of both siblings' portraits at some point in their history, perhaps at Penshurst, where the portrait of Sir Henry Sidney was originally located.[99] Comparison between the Sidney Sussex College Lady Frances and the Sir Henry Sidney panel now at Petworth reveals similarities that encourage a combined reading of the paintings. The background of both paintings depicts a real or imagined interior space. Frances, whose pose has, logically, been compared to the Hampden portrait, is given a dynamic stance and direct gaze that also echoes that of her brother.[100] Nevertheless, where Henry's portrait references activity and office-holding, in Frances Sidney's image, the boundary between public status and private devotion is blurred. Behind her is what may be a canopy of state, or perhaps a traverse, a canopy related to private, domestic prayer.[101] This and the dog at her feet may symbolise family heritage, or piety, and fidelity. If the fabric was intended to be a canopy of state, it does not, unlike Margaret Beaufort's portrait, include heraldic arms. If it was Henry Sidney that commissioned both portraits from George Gower, the similarities between the portraits' composition and style would have acted as identifying features. Frances Sidney's personal heraldry, furthermore, is unnecessary here because she is intended to represent Sidney rather than Sussex.

The new evidence of links between the two siblings' portraits prompts questions

[98] Essex Record Office, D/DP F240/1, 'Will of Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, etc.' (1591), fos. 10-43. See this thesis p. 177 *n.*95 for evidence of Sussex's interest in portraiture.

[99] An inventory of Penshurst 1603–18 does not list a full-length portrait of Frances Sidney. However, unlike New Hall, a large portrait gallery containing at least 10 other full-lengths is recorded: Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, De L'Isle MSS U1500 E120, fos. 13r-13v. Further analysis of the extensive Sidney papers may be required to support this theory with any certainty.

[100] For Maurice Howard, the image 'testifies to her activity'. See Howard, *The Tudor Image*, p. 46.

[101] My thanks to Alden Gregory and Olivia Fryman for their several suggestions about this material.

about why Frances Sidney or her brother might have been more likely to commission a portrait of her *c.*1572-5 than her husband, and why a panel with the beginnings of a portrait of the Queen was reused. Both the Sussexes and the Sidneys frequented court in the early 1570s. At the time that these portraits were commissioned, Frances Sidney was enjoying new found favour with the Queen. Meanwhile, Henry Sidney's first term as lord deputy of Ireland between 1566–1571 had been full of problems. Plagued by revolt and an uncooperative parliament, the embattled Henry Sidney's government, seen as expensive and ineffective, lost the support of the Queen.[102] Additionally, his long-term loyalty to the Earl of Leicester, his brother-in-law through marriage to Mary Dudley Sidney, had incurred the ire of the Earl of Sussex, former deputy of Ireland and Leicester's opponent. This rivalry ensured the waxing and waning of the reputations of each party at court when the other was engaged elsewhere. Consequently, when Sir Henry Sidney returned to court in 1571, he found himself the subject of much criticism.[103]

As a result, the period 1572-3 would appear to be an unusual time for both Sussex and Henry Sidney to commission corresponding portraits from Gower, particularly a portrait of Frances Sidney that frames her in so similar a way to Mary Sidney, Leicester's sister. At this time Sussex may have been actively working against Mary Sidney's interests at court, denying her access to the chambers close to the Queen's lodgings to which she had been accustomed.[104] It is therefore possible that both the

[102] W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Sidney, Sir Henry', *ODNB* (Oxford, January 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25520 (14 July 2023).
[103] Ibid.
[104] C. H. Stearn, 'Critique or Compliment?: Lady Mary Sidney's 1573 New Year's Gift to Queen Elizabeth I', *Sidney Journal*, 30/2 (2012), p. 118. Simon Adams argues that rather than 'political harassment', Sussex's actions were a response to the Sidneys' presumptuousness: S. Adams, 'Sidney [née Dudley], Mary, Lady Sidney', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69749 (14 July 2023).

portraits of Henry Sidney and Frances Sidney were commissioned by Henry himself as an attempt to connect himself to his sister and her improved fortunes, emphasising her Sidney allegiances. If commissioned by Sussex to rival Henry Sidney's commission by Gower, one might expect her Radcliffe identity to be given more precedence.[105] It is also possible that Frances Sidney herself was responsible for the composition of the portrait. She may have intended to remind her husband of her dual allegiances to both Sidney and Sussex, or perhaps to manage the tensions between her adversarial relatives.

The depiction of Frances Sidney, a married woman in *c.*1572-5, in such large scale, without reference to her husband, apart from a wedding ring, and with no evidence of any paired portrait of Lord Sussex is unusual. As previously mentioned, Sidney's active posture reflects her independent reputation and the importance of her Sidney family affiliation, even during her husband's lifetime. Further portraits of Frances Sidney highlight her personal role in organising the memorialisation of her position in the Sidney family. There is a half-length portrait of Sidney, probably from the 1580s, also part of the collection at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.[106] This portrait, like the full-length discussed above, does not appear to match the known half-length of her husband, though it may be a companion to a lost depiction of him. The portrait's inscription, now partially truncated reads 'La Contesse de S', presumably referring to 'Sussex' and identifying her marital title. However, the heraldry relates only to her

[105] It is also possible that, if Sussex had ownership of the portrait, it was not a commission but rather an opportunistic move on behalf of Gower to reuse a large panel with a now outdated portrait pattern of Queen Elizabeth. If this was the case, Henry Sidney's commission acting as a potential prompt may explain the Sidney character of the resulting portrait of Frances.

[106] Goodison dates it to *c.*1575 in J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of the Portraits in Christ's, Clare and Sidney Sussex College* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 87. However, Sidney's gown is much closer in terms of its silhouette to other 1580s portraits such as that of Joyce Frankland and the women in 'Customer Smith's' commission.

Sidney heritage. The heraldic pheon, or arrowhead, is within a lozenge shape with dark border, giving it the look of a funerary hatchment. Goodison suggests that the lozenge may represent Sidney's widowhood. The style of ruff and broader profile of her gown indicating a date of production in the 1580s bears out this interpretation. After the death of her husband in 1583, Frances Sidney's legacy would be dominated by the influence of the Sidney family rather than the Sussex title, which had passed to Sussex's brother Henry due to the couple's lack of issue.



Figure 54:
Lady Frances Sidney (1531–1589)
Unknown artist
Unknown date, early 1580s
Oil on panel
Approx. 66 x 53.6 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 17
Identical to Fig. 19, repeated for reference

Lady Sidney's funerary monument also highlights her prioritization of the memorialization of Sidney family. Her will gives details of her specifications for the monument:

> my pitture in Allabaster stone, and other garnishinge as shall be meete for my degree and callinge to be placed and sett upp in the sayd mynster so soone as coueniently maye be after my decease withe asuperscription theruppon to be engraven dettaringe my name and pettigree and that I was the wife of the sayd late Earle.[107]

Although her monument would state that she had been Lady Frances Radcliffe, wife to the Earl of Sussex, they were not buried together. Sussex had been buried at Boreham in Essex after his death in 1583, commemorated by a large tomb depicting the first three earls of Sussex. Lady Frances, instead, was buried in Westminster, where she established a perpetual lectureship. This kind of provision had risen in popularity in the place of obsolete obits or chantries. Sidney's further request to found a college in her name after her death is characteristic of the shift from concern over prayers for the soul to a preoccupation with pious charitable donation for preaching and clerical training. Karen Hearn suggests that rather than demonstrating 'any particular scholarship on her part', the foundation of Sidney Sussex was intended as a resource to sustain the Puritan zeal championed by the Sidneys.[108]

As in the case of Thomas and Elizabeth Pope, the exact nature of Frances Sidney's beliefs is difficult to determine, but a number of indications point towards a particular understanding of her faith. Frances Sidney was the dedicatee of at least three books in the 1580s, mainly pietistic in subject.[109] While Thomas Rogers, the translator of *The faith of the church militant* (1581) was later theologically aligned with the deeply anti-Puritan Richard Bancroft, it is clear that he had an appetite for puritanism at the

[107] TNA, PROB/11/74/331, p. 1.
[108] Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 95.
[109] N. Hemmingsen, *The faith of the church militant* (London, 1581); G. Gifford, *Foure sermons vpon the seuen chiefe vertues or principall effectes of faith and the doctrine of election* (London, 1582); W. Hunnis, *Seuen sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne* (London, 1583).

time he dedicated his work to Sidney. William Hunnis, the writer of *Seuen sobs of a sorrowful soule for sinne* (1583) was also a "'hot", or zealous, Protestant' according to Clare Costley King'oo, but his dedication was speculative, pursuing patronage, and so does not tell us what Sidney believed.[110] However, the 1582 translation of George Gifford, often in trouble for non-conformity, is more revealing of Frances Sidney's possible beliefs. Richard Joshua Senior wrote the dedication to the volume, stating that the sermons were noted down from Gifford's preaching in Maldon, Essex, very close to New Hall and where the Earl of Sussex was steward at the time of his death in 1583.[111] Gifford was curate of All Saints-with-St Peter there and had dedicated *A Dialogue betweene a Papist and a Protestant* (1582) to Sussex. Joshua's dedication to Frances Sidney claims to offer 'a taste of those fruites wherewith the Lorde doth feede vs in the Countrie. Beeing a great deale the more bold to doe it, because I know they bee such as ye haue long time shewed a loue to taste of'.[112] This suggests that Frances Sidney had some familiarity with this kind of subject matter.

Further evidence of Sidney's interest in the more Puritan elements of Protestantism, and the link between these beliefs and her Sidney heritage can be found in her actions after she was widowed in 1583. Whereas Elizabeth Pope and Dorothy Wadham reference their husband's wishes after their deaths, Frances Sidney's will states that she had made a decision to found an educational establishment herself: 'And allso wheare sythence the decease of my sayde late Lorde the Earle of Sussex I have in devotion

[110] C. Costley King'oo, 'William Hunnis and the Success of the Seven Sobs', *Renaissance Studies*, 29/4 (2015), pp. 616, 621.

[111] R. Virgoe, 'Radcliffe, Sir Thomas (1525/26-83), of Woodham Walter, Essex', in S. T. Bindoff (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509–1558* (3 vols, London, 1982), iii, pp. 170-1.

[112] G. Gifford, *Foure sermons vpon the seuen chiefe vertues or principall effectes of faith and the doctrine of election* (London, 1582), Early English Books Online (14 July 2023).

and charitie purposed to make and erect some good and godlye monument for the maynteynaunce of good learninge...'[113] The Statutes of Sidney Sussex were modelled on the famously Evangelical Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and articulate that 'the single purpose that we have in view is the glory of God and the edification of the Church by a sound training of young men so that the College may be made a *seminarium* of the Church'.[114]

Frances Sidney's religious outlook appears to have been independent of that of her husband. Susan Doran characterises Sussex's approach to religion as cautious conformity to Elizabeth I's Protestant settlement, while Peter Marshall highlights his lack of 'very fixed theological views'.[115] The Sidney influence on her actions is further reflected in her use of her maiden name for 'Ladye Fraunces Sydney Sussex Colledge', rather than her married name. Nevertheless, in her funerary monument, Sidney shows balance. The panels beneath her effigy display a number of Latin inscriptions, two of which read: 'Pietate et Prudentia' and 'Fide Conjugali'. Frances Sidney wanted to be seen as both a dutiful wife and a godly Protestant. Her portraits, which reflected the powerful influence of her Sidney family, demonstrate the importance of these religious concerns. Despite the lack of issue from her marriage, she was part of a long-standing godly dynasty.

Despite their differences, both Elizabeth Pope and Frances Sidney navigated competing familial identities through their portraits and tombs. The full-length portrait,

[113] TNA, PROB 11/74/331, fo. 247r.

[114] J. P. C. Roach (ed),'The Colleges and Halls: Sidney Sussex', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 3, the City and University of Cambridge* (London, 1959), pp. 481-487, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol3/pp481-487 (14 July 2023).

[115] S. Doran, 'The Political Career of Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex (1526?–1583)' (PhD thesis, University College London, 1977), pp. 99, 104; P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, 2018), p. 478.

whether commissioned by Henry Sidney or Frances Sidney herself, represents a woman with stronger ties to one family than the other. Personal reasons, such as religious affinity with her Sidney family and her continued childlessness may have motivated this kind of depiction. However, Henry Sidney's political opportunism and the contentious relationship of the Sidneys with Frances' husband, eventually contributing to the couple's estrangement, played an important role. Frances Sidney's later portraits and her funerary monument demonstrate that, even after her widowhood, familial factions shaped her decisions about her own representation.

3.4 Dorothy Wadham

The portraits of women who would become significant patrons to Oxford and Cambridge colleges examined in this chapter represent a variety of complex relationships with family, highlighting women's gendered role at the intersection of different groups and lineages. In some ways, the portrait of Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), the wife of a Somerset landowner and gentlemen, and founder of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1610, is similar to the female sitters above. However, her portrait and that of her husband Nicholas (1531/2–1609) extend our understanding by illustrating how choices made at the moment of commission could be shaped as a result of concerns driven by a particular kind of late sixteenth-century social anxiety and childlessness.

Scholars have emphasised Dorothy Wadham's bereavement and her subsequent tenacity and determination to shape her late husband's, but also her own, legacy

through educational patronage and portraiture.[116] Her widowhood is also seen as her point of entry into the male world of estate management. When Nicholas died in 1609, Dorothy began working towards acquiring a licence for the new foundation, securing a site, and arranging for buildings, all against a backdrop of a dispute with an associate of her late husband, Sir John Davis, over the College. In her letters, she maintains that she is acting according to the particular instructions and intentions of her husband: 'It is the performance of his will who is gonne I most desire'.[117] In her portraits too, Dorothy Wadham appears as wife and then widow of Nicholas. As chapter one explained, there are two portrait patterns of Dorothy Wadham and her husband Nicholas made during her lifetime. The first pair (Figs. 55 and 56) dates from 1595, and the second two (Figs. 57 and 58) were produced in 1611. The 1611 portrait depicts Dorothy Wadham as an older woman than that of the 1595 pattern, and the corresponding portrait of Nicholas is clearly posthumous, using the same pattern as the 1595 portrait and painted following his death in 1609. Tarnya Cooper focuses only on the 1595 portraits, but her interpretation of Wadham as a widow pursuing her own course of action with courage and perseverance is also further reinforced by the subtle changes made in the portraits commissioned sixteen years later.

Changes in the heraldic arms included in Wadham's portrait represent her adoption of responsibility for her family's business affairs. The 1595 portrait includes arms similar to those on a seal used by Dorothy in her letters to Wadham College. These are the arms of Dorothy's family, Petre, 'but neither as they appear in the College arms nor as

[116] C. S. L. Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere: Dorothy Wadham and the Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford', *The English Historical Review*, 118/479 (2003), p. 910; Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', pp. 112-16.
[117] N. Briggs, 'The Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 21 (1956), p. 62.



Figure 55:
Nicholas Wadham
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 88.5 x 71.5 cm
Petworth House and Park, West Sussex
Appendix no.: 50



Figure 56:
Dorothy Wadham
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 88.5 x 71.5 cm
Petworth House and Park, West Sussex
Appendix no.: 24

used by Lord Petre: not only on the bend between two escallops does Dorothy bear a chough between two cinquefoils, but also on a chief she has a rose between two demi-fleur-de-lis'.[118] Their use in the 1595 portraits suggests that the arms represent the heraldry used by her as a married woman. Conversely, the 1611 portrait pair shows Dorothy as the relict of Nicholas Wadham, bearing the Wadham arms impaling Petre.

As his widow, Dorothy Wadham also became executor to Nicholas Wadham's estate, undertaking the fulfillment of his desire to found a new Oxford college. She adopts his arms at the same time that she adopted this new responsibility. The arms shown in her 1611 portrait would also become the arms of Wadham College, suggesting a joint

[118] D. Wadham, *The Letters of Dorothy Wadham, 1609–1618*, ed. R. B. Gardiner (London, 1904), p. 12.



Figure 57:
Nicholas Wadham
Unknown artist
1611
Oil on panel
Approx. 104.1 x 82.6 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 52
Identical to Fig. 3, repeated for reference



Figure 58:
Dorothy Wadham
Unknown artist
1611
Oil on panel
Approx. 102.9 x 82.6 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 26
Identical to Fig. 4, repeated for reference

foundation, and the painting's inscribed date places the portrait pattern at a time shortly after the building work had begun on the college in April 1610.[119] The college seals, made in December 1613, use the same arms. Nevertheless, for personal use, Wadham continued to seal her letters with her old arms, suggesting a link between the impaled arms and College business. The use of arms that were to belong to the College, in a painting commissioned just as the building work in Oxford hit its stride, indicates that Wadham intended to specifically commemorate her late husband as founder and herself as his executor and co-founder through portraiture and visual media.

[119] T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford: Its Foundation, Architecture and History, with an Account of the Family of Wadham and their Seats in Somerset and Devon* (Oxford, 1893), p. 29.

This interpretation, that Wadham used portraiture to signal her inheritance of authority as a landed widow, correlates with the impression left by some of her letters and documentation from the Wadham archives. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, Wadham's Visitor encouraged Dorothy Wadham to move beyond the wishes expressed by her husband: 'I have Considered for the good of my Colledge to swarve a little from the Will of your founder so powerfull is the counsell of my Reverent frinde the Lo: Bishopp of Bath and Wells with me'.[120] While acting in sympathy with her husband's dying wishes and maintaining her image as a dutiful wife, Dorothy Wadham's 1611 portrait can be understood as a statement of legitimacy, depicting a woman with the background and skills appropriate for heading a new foundation. Whether commissioned for the College, or merely a form of personal or private commemoration later transplanted into the visual lexicon of a civic space, this portrait shows Dorothy as capable of living up to the leadership that Nicholas 'soe solelye, and absolutelie trusted me with...'[121]

However, explorations of widows' control of their legal and financial affairs can obscure a significant undertow of familial priorities that remained unaffected by changing circumstances. For example, a letter from Dorothy's brother, John, Lord Petre, may be interpreted as his concern for her ability to build a personal legacy. He writes that she should consider separating her own financial contributions to the college from those of her late husband's estate 'so as the workes of your husbandes and your owne maye be distinguished, and so may leave to posterity a commendable remembrance of your name'.[122] Here, however, Petre was likely interested in preserving a greater role for the Petre name in the foundation, possibly opening up opportunities for preferment

[120] Wadham, *The Letters of Dorothy Wadham*, p. 27.
[121] Briggs, 'The Foundation of Wadham College', p. 62.
[122] Ibid., p. 65.

for founder's kin. When we reintroduce the wider familial context in which Dorothy Wadham was operating, it becomes clear that we need to look beyond Wadham's widowhood and changing circumstances to understand the significance of the choices made in her portraits, particularly those commissioned while she was still a married woman.

Rather than understanding Wadham's portraiture through her widowhood, a consideration of the concerns that motivated the Wadhams during their marriage and shaped their 1595 portraits provides an alternative perspective on the purpose of their patronage. The importance of family lineage to the Wadhams is established in the 1595 portrait pair. Heraldry makes clear the identity of the sitters, but also particularly emphasises the Wadhams' long line of armigerous forebears. The Wadhams are the only non-aristocratic sitters considered in this chapter whose arms were not the result of a particular title, given for office holding, or for public service. Their portraits, however, boast the most elaborate armorial bearings.

We can understand this choice in the context of the growing use of arms in portraits in the late sixteenth century. Nevertheless, it is also worth considering the anxiety among the gentry, who prided themselves on proof of gentlemanly origin, caused by growing numbers of men claiming arms and even the unlawful use of arms.[123] Cooper writes that that composer Thomas Wythorne, from Somerset like the Wadhams, used multiple heraldic quarterings in his portrait, which he then further expanded in a woodcut print. A member of a low-ranking gentry family, his use of heraldry was meant to impress upon the viewer his long-standing status and worth.[124] The fourteen

[123] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 71; Tittler, *Painting for a Living*, p. 127.
[124] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 56.

quarterings used by Nicholas Wadham took this principle even further, outlining his impeccable family connections. Dorothy Wadham used a version of the arms of her father, Sir William Petre, who had been ennobled during his lifetime, which may explain why Nicholas Wadham's arms appear more elaborate than hers. Nevertheless, as a couple, they mobilised all of the resources they had at their disposal to represent themselves to their best advantage.

Childlessness was also a factor shaping the process of commission for the Wadhams. Robert B. Gardiner emphasises the importance of ancestry to the couple, adopting a greater significance due to Nicholas's status as 'the last male of an ancient and wealthy stock'.[125] Unlike several female sitters discussed in this chapter, Dorothy was already beyond childbearing age when her 1595 portrait was painted. As a result, although their portraits were passed down through family, none of their subsequent owners carried the Wadham name. As chapter one established, the 1595-type portraits at Petworth House, West Sussex were inherited by Sir John Wyndam, co-heir to Nicholas Wadham's estate. The pair now at Melbury House, Dorset were passed down via Sir John Strangeways, another co-heir. This suggests that portraits were copied and distributed throughout the family, and inherited by different branches after the deaths of both sitters. The Wadhams were aware that their commemorative images would not be passed down through their direct lineage. Where the family name could not be relied on to maintain memory, the Wadhams turned to wider familial, social, and regional networks to establish a lasting reputation.

The production of the 1595 portraits highlights that, while family ties were im-

[125] *The Registers of Wadham College, Oxford*, ed. R. B. Gardiner (2 vols, London, 1889-95), i, p. xi.

portant in the production and circulation of portraiture, where these were insufficient, networks could also be based on connections that extended beyond the boundaries of the hereditary family. Both the Petworth paintings and those in the Melbury Collection were attributed by Roy Strong to an Unknown Follower of Hieronymus Custodis.[126] However, forthcoming work by Jessica David and Edward Town has sought to disentangle the oeuvre of this painter and that of Hieronymus Custodis. They agree that commissions from this painter were driven by the minor provincial gentry, but further argue that his work centred on the South West of England, such as Somerset and Devon.[127] Unlike Custodis' technique using quickly-worked paint to create a blended finish, this painter allowed each paint layer to dry, creating a structured and distincly flat image.[128] The technique of the 'Unknown Follower' has more in common with other 'provincial' painters than those who worked in London and at the court.

The Wadhams' use of this artist for portraits during their lifetime is indicative of the patronage networks in which they were involved. Several other patrons linked to this artist by David and Town are 'the Paulets of Hinton St George, Somerset...the Phelips of Montacute, Somerset...the Lutterells of Dunster Castle, Devon' and, significantly, 'the Wyndham family of Strangways of Melbury in Dorset'.[129] This network of patrons demonstrates the localised, if not strictly familial, nature of artistic patronage.

Based on their study of the Unknown Follower's techniques and their comparison of inscriptions mentioned in chapter one, David and Town have further suggested that the

[126] Strong, *The English Icon*, pp. 209-10.
[127] J. David and E. Town, 'Painting in the West Country in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century: the 'Unknown Follower of Hieronymus Custodis", (unpublished paper, forthcoming), p. 3.
[128] Ibid., p. 2. My thanks to Edward Town for his explanations of the difference between these two artists' work.
[129] Ibid., p. 4.

portrait of Philip Bisse at Wadham, and perhaps the 1611 portraits of the Wadhams may be his work, or from the same studio, which would give them a shared origin with the paintings at Petworth and in the Melbury Collection.[130] The defining feature of the painter's inscription style is the formation of the 'D' of 'Dñi', painted with a space at the top left side. If Dorothy Wadham selected the same artist for her commission of a benefactor portrait as she had previously chosen for her personal depiction sixteen years earlier, this would further demonstrate David and Town's belief in the importance of familiarity and long-standing relationships of patronage among the West County regional elite. This is an approach to patronage that can be seen throughout her foundation of Wadham College.

The patronage of the Wadhams did not emphasise local links purely due to their access to West Country craftsmen, but because their Somerset and Devon roots were an essential part of the familial legacy their College was intended to project. It has been established that it was important to the Wadhams to commemorate their name for posterity. However, their name held most influence in the West Country, where they had held land and local offices for generations. The foundation of Wadham College gave the Wadhams an opportunity to consolidate their regional fame. Davies highlights that 'of the fellows...four were from Devon, three from Somerset. One, Thomas Harris, was the city nominee. Two of the scholars were from Devon, five from Somerset, three from Dorset'.[131] Even the college cook was employed out of Wadham's own household.[132] Founder's kin were to have preference for positions up to the number of three scholars and regarding a request to link the College to St Paul's School, Dorothy stated: 'theire

[130] My thanks to Edward Town for a number of profitable discussions about the Wadham portraits.
[131] Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere', p. 899.
[132] Wadham, *The Letters of Dorothy Wadham*, p. 22.

is greater reason to cull oute some schollers of scholles in this countrie wheare Mr. Wadham was borne, and ever lyved, then to be chosen out of a place so farr remote, who hathe lefte manye of his kyndredd, and children of his nere frindes, that will desire to be preferred before strangers.'[133] Even when land was acquired for the endowment of the College, a geographical link to the founders was emphasised. Land was bought in Essex, the county with links to Dorothy's Petre roots, and where she had family and contacts that she felt she could trust to help in its management.[134]

Local collaborations represent more than the importance of establishing regional fame in the University. As Davies suggests, it consolidated friendships that formed essential networks of allies in the difficult process of setting up a new collegiate institution.[135] Phelips and the Wyndhams did more than share a portrait artist. Alongside Lord Salisbury, a resident of Dorset, they were instrumental in facilitating Dorothy's foundation, petitioning the King and the City and dealing with difficult legatees. James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and first master of Sidney Sussex in Cambridge is also a recurring name in the early documentation at Wadham. Although this network shared goals, craftsmen, and maintained substantial correspondence, the individuals involved were often of starkly different confessional creeds. Both Lord Salisbury and Montagu were committed to the established Church whereas, in 1608, the Wadhams fell under suspicion of recusancy, which was noted by the Privy Council.[136] By 1613, her relatives were complaining of the removal of weapons from Wadham's house, a tactic used against recusants.[137] Regional, in addition to familial, networks became

[133] Briggs, 'The Foundation of Wadham College', p. 75.
[134] Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere', p. 890.
[135] Ibid., p. 904.
[136] Ibid., p. 888.
[137] Jackson, *Wadham College*, p. 88.

particularly important under these circumstances. Davies writes that it may have been Lord Salisbury himself who 'was also presumably responsible for quashing the recusancy charge against the Wadhams in 1608'.[138]

Consequently, portraiture can be understood as part of a set of collaborative tools for families such as the Wadhams. The pursuit of common goals by individuals with different private priorities was consolidated by shared commissioning practices. By joining a group of West Country people of influence in commissioning from the 'Unknown Follower of Hieronymus Custodis', the Wadhams were able confirm their families regional dynastic legacy, something that Dorothy Wadham would continue to commemorate after her husband's death.

Many interpretations of Dorothy Wadham's patronage, developed using both her letters and her portraiture, emphasise the exceptional role she was forced to adopt after the death of her husband. However, the analysis of Wadham's portraits commissioned both before and after Nicholas Wadham's death demonstrate that there was a great deal of continuity between women's priorities in marriage and as relicts. Davies argues that women were 'thrust into tasks which social convention assigned to men', but this chapter takes the view that married women and women at all stages of life were in the process of preparing for or participating in these roles, defining their position via familial and local social networks as well as their marital status.[139]

[138] Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere', p. 904.
[139] Ibid., p. 883.

Conclusions

When Cooper writes about the 'agency' of widows, she suggests that their changed status, as a result of bereavement, gave them greater capacity for exercising independent choice, while still honouring the legacies of male family members. The cases of Joyce Frankland and Dorothy Wadham demonstrate their competent and authoritative management of family affairs in their widowhood, and how this impacted their college patronage. However, the other female patrons investigated in this chapter show that women's portraits were not only a means to 'address shifts in personal or family narrative caused by rupture of the social order or death'.[140] The management of familial relationships was demanded of all women by the social order in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This chapter argues that women did not need to be widowed, or to be 'exceptional' or 'honorary male counterparts' to participate in the composition of their portrait's commission.[141] By the nature of their role in sixteenth-century society, women lived as members of multiple families at once, and their loyalties were often complicated by remarriage after bereavement. The portraits investigated here show that the women themselves, or, in some cases, those who commissioned their portraits, exercised choice, determining in what way they would invoke their familial heritages and actively deciding what this might say about them in posterity.

However, family was not the only way in which women could assert agency. Wider local and professional networks could be cultivated in lieu of family links. The priorities of these groups were reflected in female patrons' portraits, and later shaped these

[140] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 116.
[141] Ibid., p. 116.

women's engagement with academic institutions. Therefore, while most of the women studied in this chapter were widowed or childless when they were most active as college patrons, their portraits often represented them in different circumstances, as daughters and sisters as much as wives or widows. As a result, we can develop a fuller understanding of the varied range of women who supported universities and how they negotiated their complex familial identities.

Nevertheless, the emphasis on family in these portraits generates questions about how this would change after their introduction into institutional spaces. After their initial production, these portraits of women continued to memorialise the sitters and their families, but adopted new meanings and associations other than those intended during their original design. Most of the portraits discussed in this chapter, except the 1611 Wadham portraits, were originally intended for primarily domestic spaces. However, the portraits of each of these sitters became associated with their decisions to either establish or donate significantly to university colleges and were present within college collections by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As previously stated, Frankland, Pope, Sidney, and Wadham all lived for some years as widows, and all died without living children to continue their family lines. While not all of their portraits reflect their widowed, childless status, their lack of issue explains how some of these portraits left family ownership after their deaths and came to be displayed in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.

The question that will be addressed in the following chapter is whether the process of acquisition of portraits by the colleges should moderate our understanding of the agency of female sitters as embedded in family networks. Some women arranged for the

display of their own portraits within these spaces, but the relocation of female portraits to these all-male communities often required the assistance of male associates with connections to the college. The next chapter investigates the varied routes portraits took into college collections, asking whether both the barriers to female representation and the help women sought to facilitate the acquisition of their portraits were shaped by their gender. This enquiry also analyses whether their social standing, their marital status, or their position as outsiders had a measurable affect on their likelihood to be commemorated in the Universities through portraiture. I ask how the influence of third parties on the acquisition of women's portraits might change our conception of their display as a straightforward commemoration of those who had given their wealth to institutions that often also bore their family names.

Chapter 4

Acquiring Portraits

In the spring of 1534, a delicate delivery arrived at St John's College, Cambridge, from London: a remarkably large and sophisticated portrait of the late Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Countess of Richmond and Derby and founder of the College (Fig. 59).[1] The painting's journey was likely made challenging by its large size and it arrived from the capital with a thick oak panel from a sugar chest nailed to its front, protecting its painted surface.[2] Soon after its arrival, the College paid to have the portrait mended, which suggests that it had sustained damage during its removal from its previous location through the process of packaging, or in transit.[3] The panel was over a metre wide and nearly two metres tall, and was liberally ornamented with the

[1] The date of its arrival can be narrowed down to after the beginning of 26th regnal year of Henry VIII on 22nd April 1534 but before the beginning of Trinity Term that year. Trinity Sunday fell on 31st May 1534. This portrait, long overlooked by scholars, is the subject of recent work by Charlotte Bolland and Andrew Chen: A. Chen and C. Bolland, 'Meynnart Wewyck and the Portrait of Lady Margaret Beaufort in the Master's Lodge at St John's College, Cambridge', *The Burlington Magazine*, 161/1393 (2019), pp. 314-19.

[2] Ibid., p.318; SJCC, SJAR/1/1/Metcalfe/1/8, fo. 157r: 'Ite[m] for a sugar cheiste to naile before the Image of our foundres when it was brought frome London'.

[3] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/3/1, 'Bursar's Accounts, 1534-5', p. 84.



Figure 59:
Lady Margaret Beaufort
(1443–1509)
Meynnart Wewyck
*c.*1510
Oil on panel
Approx. 189.4 x 119.4 cm
St John's College,
Cambridge
© The Hamilton Kerr Institute
Appendix no.: 2

emblems of Beaufort and the royal house of Tudor. As such, it was well suited to its new surroundings. When crossing the threshold of the College gatehouse into the well-kept court within, this newly acquired portrait passed beneath an equally elaborate and even larger display of Beaufort's heraldry and personal motifs.[4] Mythical creatures flanked Beaufort's royal coat of arms above the College gate alongside a red rose symbolising the house of Lancaster and a Beaufort portcullis. These were surrounded by a vivid

[4] Similar architectural ornament can be found at Beaufort's other foundation, Christ's College, Cambridge. See J. Backhouse, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort', in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds), *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547* (London, 2003), p. 247; L. Durning, 'Woman on Top: Lady Margaret Beaufort's Buildings at Christ's College, Cambridge' in L. Durning and R. Wrigley (eds), *Gender and Architecture* (Chichester, 2000), p. 53.

meadow of *marguerite* daisies and forget-me-nots, common symbols used by Beaufort as ciphers for 'Margaret' and her motto '*souvent me souvient*' respectively.[5]

While the portrait had elements in common with the College's existing visual character, its arrival was unprecedented. The colourful decorative work on the gatehouse had been completed before the College's opening in 1516. Most of the deliveries to the College recorded in the period around the arrival of the Beaufort portrait reflect the more practical priorities of the expanding, and somewhat overcrowded, academic community, including the provision of gravel, timber and nails.[6] The 1534 payment in the College rentals for 'setty[n]g up o[u]r founders imag[e]' is the first explicit record of the display of a panel portrait at St John's College, Cambridge.[7] The novelty of such an image in the College underlines the importance of addressing how and why Beaufort's portrait was acquired by St John's. As discussed in the previous chapter, early modern portraits of women were predominantly commissioned by the sitters or their relations and, while their motivations and intended meanings were varied, they largely reflected familial concerns. In spite of this, Beaufort's portrait was the first of a group of portraits of women which would be displayed in university colleges.[8]

Beaufort appears to be a forerunner to later acquisitions but, unlike many of the sitters included in this project, she became a vowess *before* her widowhood and at her death she had a living child. In these respects, Beaufort can be considered an

[5] Durning, 'Woman on Top', p. 53.
[6] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/3/1, p. 85.
[7] Ibid., p. 86.
[8] It is important to note that Beaufort's executors' accounts record a 1511-12 payment to Wewyck for a picture 'in Cristys college' (see Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits*, i, p. 20), but there is no record of this early picture at Christ's today and I have been unable to find any reference in the College's own accounts to the acquisition, display, or maintenance of a portrait of Beaufort until a donation from Gabriel Goodman in 1563-4.

exception. Nevertheless, Beaufort's status as mother of the king and *femme sole* allowed her personal control over her own estate and, as a result, she had much in common with the other female patrons examined here. The story of her portrait is a useful one because it contextualises this chapter's discussion of portrait acquisition in the later sixteenth century, giving us a sense of how portraits were received when they first arrived in university colleges. These institutions had rich visual and material cultures of memory, as considered in chapter two, but portraits had not yet gained traction as a commemorative medium in the early sixteenth century. Even a portrait of Richard Foxe (1448–1528), Bishop of Winchester, at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, that has been regarded as being in College hands at a very early date can so far only be conclusively traced as having been in the College's possession some time before 1560-1.[9] There is no written record documenting from where St John's College, Cambridge, acquired their portrait of Beaufort, but close analysis of the portrait, the circumstances surrounding its commission, and the events related to its arrival develop our understanding of its purpose there. As a case study, Beaufort's portrait at St John's develops several lines of enquiry that will help to determine who was responsible for the appearance of patrons' portraits in the sixteenth century and how studying the process of acquisition of female portraits can improve our understanding of the performance of female patronage.

At the heart of this chapter is a continued interrogation of how we can understand women's agency in the sixteenth century through portraits of patrons, but looking now beyond familial priorities at the moment of commission to the mediation of women's patronage by third parties. The involvement of male associates in the donation of female

[9] Oxford, Corpus Christi College Archives, C/1/1/4, fo. 64v, quoted in personal correspondence with Julian Reid, Archivist. See also Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. 263.

portraits has important implications for our perception of women's autonomy in their interactions with all-male institutions. Building on the discussion in chapter three, which concluded that female patrons' portraits were more likely to be commissioned for settings outside of the university, this chapter considers the extent to which women were involved in the acquisition of their own portraits by college communities as part of their patronage, and whether their gender made a difference to this process. A focus on the moment at which each of these images arrived in institutional spaces allows us to examine who facilitated their relocation and why.

The timing of the arrival of Beaufort's damaged portrait at the College was quite as delicate as the panel itself. It coincided with the disgrace of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Beaufort's executor, who had completed the task of establishing St John's after her death.[10] Fisher's involvement with Elizabeth Barton, the 'Holy Maid of Kent', had led to his conviction on 'misprision of treason'. His belongings were seized by the Crown in April 1534, and he was imprisoned in the Tower later that month. However, while the first attainder against Fisher was announced on 15 January 1534, it is clear that for some time afterwards he still had oversight of the affairs of St John's College.[11] Fisher's involvement with the College at this moment is significant and, when paired with the details of the Beaufort portrait's commission, his association is a crucial piece of evidence that brings us closer to identifying the portrait's provenance before reaching the College.

[10] The possible link between these events and the arrival of the portrait at St John's College is explored in Chen and Bolland, 'Meynnart Wewyck', p. 318.

[11] 'Henry VIII: January 1534, 11-15', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 7, 1534*, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1883), pp. 23, 28. A letter of 14 February 1534 from Archbishop Cranmer to Fisher asked for preferment for a relative for a fellowship there: 'Henry VIII: February 1534, 11-20', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 7, 1534*, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1883), p. 76.

The portrait that arrived in 1534 depicts Margaret Beaufort kneeling at a prie-dieu, clothed in a dark gown with a veil, a white barbe, and a wimple. The simplicity of her clothing is contrasted with her splendid surroundings, replete with the iconography of the families of Beaufort and Tudor. Many of Beaufort's personal possessions were styled in this way. Her bequests and the inventories of her household taken shortly after her death record plate, fabrics, and books, for both religious and household use, that were embellished with these markers of identity and status.[12] Additionally, one of Lady Margaret's prayer books, *c.*1500, at Westminster Abbey, and the Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours, completed in Paris *c.*1500 (Fig. 60), reveal equivalent iconography.[13]



Figure 60:
The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours
DNP: MS 498, fo. 13r
Paris
*c.*1500
Vellum
Approx. 23 x 16 cm
The Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle
Collection of the Duke of Northumberland

Beaufort's public self-presentation was similar. The use of emblems such as the portcullis and Tudor rose in the portrait at St John's is also consistent with the printed frontispieces of the translation of *The mirroure of golde for the synfull soule* (1506) (Fig.

[12] Cambridge, St John's College, SJLM/3/2/3, 'Bequests of the Lady Margaret', pp. 1-19.
[13] Backhouse, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort', p.252.

61) and of the fourth book of the *Imitation of Christ* (1503/4).[14] These symbols were an important way of signposting Margaret Beaufort's role as the mother of King Henry VII. Descended from the illegitimate line of John of Gaunt, but as the architect of a new ruling dynasty, Beaufort's representation emphasised her lately legitimized genealogy and status. In this way, Beaufort's representation in the portrait appears to emphasise familial reputation and prestige in a similar way to the portraits of Joyce Frankland and Dorothy Wadham discussed in the previous chapter, albeit with the more extensive symbolism involved in commemorating a royal house. The heraldic content of the St John's portrait also reflects other images of the family of Henry VII produced in the early years of the Tudor dynasty such as images in prayer books, stained glass and depictions produced as part of marriage negotiations.[15] Meynnart Wewyck is known to have produced work for the royal family in this period.[16]

Beaufort died in June 1509 and the St John's portrait, referred to hereafter as the Wewyck portrait, has been dated to *c.*1510.[17] The portrait was commissioned by the executors of Beaufort's estate after her death, whose accounts, signed by John Fisher, record amongst the payments to one James Morice: 'It[e]m paid to mayner the paynter in party of payment of vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} for the making of ij tables of the pictur

[14] J. de Gruytrode, *The mirroure of golde for the synfull soule* (London, 1506), unpaginated frontispiece; Backhouse, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort', pp. 252-3.

[15] For example, a portrait of Henry VII *c.*1501–1509 at the Society of Antiquaries, London, or the window in the eastern apse of Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey. Further examples of similar stained glass are at the V & A, such as '335-1908' and 'CIRC.747-1920'. See also Frederick Hepburn's work on Henry VII's early use of portraits to advertise the success of his new regime in F. Hepburn, "Pintor Ynglés': The Earliest Evidence for Portraiture at the Court of Henry VII', in T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard and E. Town (eds), *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 344-51.

[16] F. Hepburn, 'The Portraiture of Lady Margaret Beaufort', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 72 (1992), p. 120.

[17] See Chen and Bolland, 'Meynnart Wewyck', pp. 314-19.

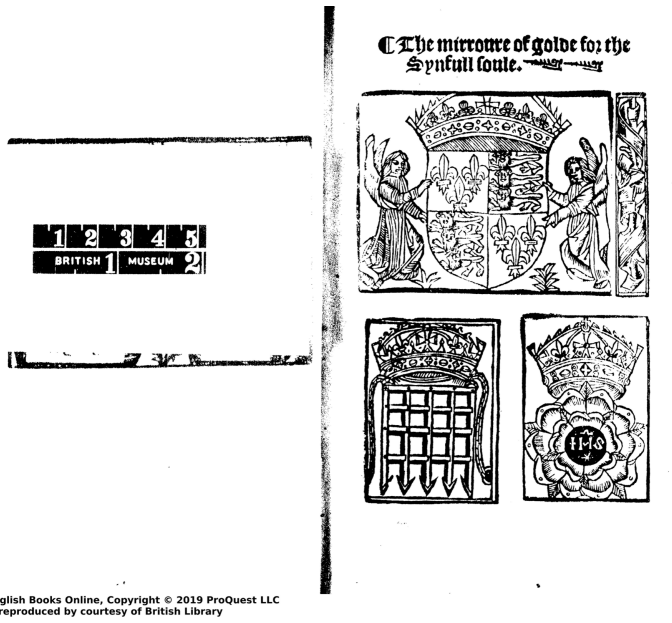


Figure 61:
Title page of *The mirroure of golde for the synfull soule*
Jacobus de Gruytrode
1522 (first published 1506)
From the British Library Collection: STC (2nd ed.) / 6895.
Image produced by ProQuest LLC as part of ProQuest® Early English Books Online (EEBO).
www.proquest.com

of my lades g[ra]ce - iij^{s} iiij^{d}'.[18] Therefore, it is highly unlikely that this full-length painting was based on a sitting from life, making it one step removed from Beaufort's self-representation and personal commemoration of her dynastic achievements. The painting was a memorial portrait and, as such, the decisions made in its production, while building on the kind of representation Beaufort had shaped during her lifetime, reflected the influence of others.

John Fisher, Beaufort's principal executor, had been her confessor, and his eulogy at her month's mind demonstrates how intimately he was involved in shaping her legacy. It followed the conventions of encomiastic funerary speeches, claiming Beaufort to be 'a myrroure and exampler of honoure' on account of her nobility, piety and good works.[19] Fisher's relationship with Beaufort was also intertwined with his roles at the University of Cambridge and at St John's College, and his speech touched on her relationship with the University. Bolland and Chen have suggested that, given the location of the

[18] SJCC, SJLM/7/5/25, 'Account: James Morice', fo. 1.
[19] J. Fisher, *The English works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (born, 1459; Died, June 22, 1535) Now First Collected by John E. B. Mayor...Part I.* (London, 1876), p. 301.

Wewyck portrait in London in 1534, it is conceivable that Fisher had kept one of the portraits commissioned from the artist in *c.*1510. This is possible both as a result of their personal relationship and as a means to commemorate their mutual educational endeavour.

In these circumstances, the portrait retained the dynastic emphasis of previous representations of Beaufort, but its ownership endowed it with new meaning, reflecting Beaufort's association with Fisher that extended beyond family. This does not preclude the fact that Beaufort's involvement with universities was part of her attempts to secure her family's political reputation and eventual salvation, but it suggests that, for Fisher, this was only part of his motivation for keeping the portrait.

If Fisher had indeed kept the Wewyck portrait, its arrival at the College in 1534 would have taken place around the time that his possessions were confiscated.[20] Biographers of Fisher have highlighted his eagerness to foreground Beaufort's role in the foundation of St John's over his own from its very beginnings but it seems more likely that the change in ownership of the portrait was instigated by St John's College itself.[21]

The prevailing mood in Cambridge was one of wariness regarding the Crown's recent scrutiny of the University. John Watson, a religious conservative, an associate of Fisher, and master of Beaufort's first foundation, Christ's College, Cambridge, had recently retired, or was perhaps ejected.[22] Damian Riehl Leader writes that Fisher 'had become

[20] There is no clear indication of any portrait of Margaret Beaufort in the inventory of Fisher's confiscated goods drawn up on 27 April 1534. However, Bolland and Chen suggest that the portrait was at Lambeth Marsh not Rochester, where his goods were seized. See Chen and Bolland, 'Meynnart Wewyck', p. 318.

[21] Richard Rex, 'Fisher, John [St John Fisher]', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9498 (18 June 2023).

[22] D. Reynolds (ed), *Christ's: A Cambridge College Over Five Centuries* (London, 2005), p. 26.

an embarrassment', a reputation that would give St John's College ample reason to pivot towards the commemoration of Beaufort.[23] Henry VIII's increasing involvement in the affairs of the University prompts us to consider whether the King himself may have arranged the relocation of the portrait after its seizure, emphasising his grandmother's influence and their dynastic control over the University.[24] Frustratingly, the absence of the Wewyck portrait in the records of Fisher's goods and the sparse details given during its arrival at the College are not sufficient to provide a definitive answer. Nevertheless, on its arrival, the associations of the portrait changed as its connection with Fisher was excised from the College's institutional memory.

Whether the arrival of Beaufort's portrait can be attributed to the College or the King, it is important to question why this large-scale portrait on panel was considered a suitable acquisition given that it would become the first image of Beaufort in the College, and its first panel portrait. One possible answer is that, while it was not particularly appropriate in the context of the kind of commemoration customary in early modern university colleges, it was a relevant and available image. It perhaps also compensated the College for the gifts that Fisher had intended to go to the College in the event of his death. The Bishop had offered to donate his library to St John's but, after his possessions were attainted, the transfer did not occur.[25]

Alternatively, while the medium of the panel portrait was without precedent at St John's, the image of Margaret Beaufort was closely associated with different forms

[23] D. R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge Volume 1: The University to 1546* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 331.
[24] Henry's replacement for Fisher as Chancellor of the University, Thomas Cromwell, oversaw the destruction of references to Fisher. See ibid., p. 331.
[25] Rex, 'Fisher, John', *ODNB* (14 July 2023); Chen and Bolland, 'Meynnart Wewyck', p. 318.

of commemorative media developed at both her foundations, Christ's and St John's. The composition of the *c.*1510 windows of Christ's College chapel resemble Wewyck's portrait.[26] All portray a figure kneeling in prayer within a small interior with glazed windows and elaborate cloths of estate. According to Bernard Rackham, the depiction of figures 'not against a formal decorative background, but as if kneeling or standing in an actual building' became typical of donor portraits in glass from around the mid-fifteenth century.[27] There is no surviving pane depicting Beaufort herself; however, in 1751, Francis Blomefield described seeing 'the Effigies of Henry VII and his Mother' in the north vestry windows, matched by a partial inscription.[28] The similarity between the Christ's windows and the Wewyck portrait has led Chen and Bolland to question 'whether Maynard [Wewyck] was influenced by the glass, or perhaps he himself provided the patterns for those images'.[29] After all, the payments from the executors to James Morice that included the commission to Wewyck were made in the context of Morice going about the College's business in London.[30] The establishment of St John's College and its building work were therefore interwoven with the commissioning of portraits of Lady Margaret Beaufort, intended as reference for her funerary effigy at Westminster.

In situ at St John's College, Beaufort's portrait can be readily interpreted as part of a deliberate iconographic scheme to commemorate her patronage, including architectural elements such as the gatehouse. The correlation with personal representations of Beaufort created during her lifetime also creates a false sense of her knowledge or

[26] Ibid.
[27] B. Rackham, 'The Ancient Windows of Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge', *Archaeological Journal*, 109/1 (1952), p. 141.
[28] Ibid., p.134.
[29] Chen and Bolland, 'Meynnart Wewyck', p. 318.
[30] SJCC, SJLM/7/5/25, fo.1.

support for the display of her portrait in a university college. In fact, the circumstances of the arrival of the portrait of Beaufort at St John's College indicate that its acquisition was not part of any deliberate commemoration by either Beaufort or the College, but an opportunistic response to its availability. As was traditional, the College's role as chantry and its display of heraldry perpetuated Beaufort's memory in the scholarly community before 1534. It was the shared roots of these forms of commemorative media with the production of the Wewyck portrait of Beaufort that prompted its relocation after John Fisher's downfall, rather than a conscious effort to use portraiture as part of a coherent programme of commemoration.

The unplanned nature of the earliest example of a female portrait entering a university college helps to explain the slow trickle of sixteenth-century portrait acquisitions that followed. As seen in chapter two, the development of university portrait collections does not present a straightforward narrative, overlapping with competing forms of commemoration. Some women who were patrons of a university college did not appear in the colleges' early portrait collections. This may reflect the fact that their portraits remained within their families and they donated more traditionally in money, lands, books, or silver. A document at St John's College, Cambridge, titled 'The giftes of all the benyfactors to the College of Saynt Johns in the Uniu[er]sitie of Cambrige' highlights the level of female benefaction to the College in the sixteenth century.[31] Given the number of women that appear in the list but who aren't represented through portraits, it is clear that, until the comprehensive collecting of later centuries, there was no preordained connection between patronage and commemoration through portraiture.

[31] SJCC, SJAR/6/2/1, 'Register of Inventories', fo. 43r-44v.

As the last chapter concluded, what marked out the group of women who were represented through portraiture was that, broadly, at the time of their patronage to colleges, they were widowed and childless. Chapter three clarified that the commission of these women's images sometimes pre-dated their later circumstances and were also reflective of wider familial concerns. However, the widowed and childless status of these women had implications for their control over their commemoration through portraiture in the university itself. Beaufort's independence as a result of her status allowed her to found two colleges. Yet it was Fisher's ownership of her portrait that provided a link between the image commissioned to memorialise Beaufort and her dynastic connections and its new role commemorating an institutional relationship.

The female patrons considered below forged connections with educational institutions, or often with men connected to the colleges who would mediate their relationship. In some cases, particularly for those who died without issue with no obvious heirs to inherit portraits, their images became representative of their charitable relationships in addition to their filial relationships. Through this transformation, they became suitable subjects for institutional display.

The manner of the acquisition of Beaufort's portrait by St John's as a result of John Fisher's downfall is significant in drawing out why gifts of portraits were accepted by college communities and the function they had there. Just as the portrait of Beaufort, acquired by chance circumstances by St John's College, Cambridge, adapted to fit its new surroundings, portraits of women in universities do not simply reflect the intentions of their sitters. In the university college, their meaning could be connected to, but was not contingent on, the function expected at the point of commission. Here the question

of who held agency over the meaning of the portrait becomes particularly important. In some cases, this was the sitters and donors, but equally it could be the colleges. Arjun Appadurai's proposition that 'it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context' is useful here.[32] While people invest objects with meaning, it is their movement from one context to another that explains their function. Investigating the processes by which even this small number of portraits of women moved beyond their familial roles and entered university colleges is the first step to addressing why portraits of patrons were valuable to these institutions and what their acquisition tells us about the significance of gender in early modern university patronage.

4.1 Gifts of Portraits 'as a continewall Remembraunce'

Half a century after the unplanned and unprecedented arrival of Lady Margaret Beaufort's portrait at St John's College, Cambridge, one woman's bequests demonstrate a deliberate use of portraiture as part of college patronage. Joyce Frankland, whose portrait was discussed in the previous chapter alongside those of her parents, left portraits to three of the collegiate institutions with which she was involved. Frankland's connection with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge was centred on her endowment of scholarships through revenues from her lands. She commemorated her involvement with more conventional donations such as plate. Her bequests of portraits, however, are particularly interesting because they are specific about the desired location and purpose of the gifts. A number of wills drafted in the last years of her life contain a

[32] A. Appadurai (ed), *The Social Life of Things: Commoditioes in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 5.

great deal of information about how and why her familial allegiances and confessional identity influenced her decision to engage with college communities through portraiture.

Each of the four distinct wills of Joyce Frankland, drawn up between 1584 and 1587, includes a legacy donating up to three portraits of herself and two portraits of her each of her parents, Robert and Joan Trappes. The first draft, begun 10 March 1584 reads:

> I will and bequethe one Picture of Rob[er]t Trappes Citizen and goldsmythe of london my father deceased And one Picture of Johan Trappes wief of the said Rob[er]t Trappes my mother likewise Deceased unto the said Gunvile and Keis Colledge And unto the said Lincoln Colledge one other Picture of my said father, and one other Picture of my said mother to be placed and sett upp in the Oratories or Chappells of the said seu[er]all Colledges ~~as co~~ as a continewall Remembraunce or Monument of them who in there lives favored Litterature and learninge[33]

In every revised copy of Frankland's will, portraits of both of her parents were earmarked for Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Lincoln College, Oxford.[34] Joan Trappes's will had established four scholarships in her and Robert's names at Gonville and Caius and four at Lincoln College.[35] Frankland's decision to donate portraits, to be particularly placed in the college chapels, reflects her desire to memorialise her family there. At Gonville and Caius, Frankland enlarged her mother's scholarships, founded twelve of her own and a further six fellowships. She additionally bequeathed funds for a chaplain and a Hebrew lecturer. At Lincoln, she supplemented the scholarships created by Joan Trappes. While the Gonville and Caius portraits investigated in the last chapter remain in the College's collection, it seems that no portraits were conveyed to Lincoln College in Oxford. Nevertheless, Frankland's consistent interest in

[33] BNCO, Benefactors 105, p. 35.
[34] BNCO, Benefactors 101 and Benefactors 104; London, TNA, PROB 11/70/179.
[35] J. Trappes-Lomax, 'Trappes of Nidd: A Family History by Richard Trappes-Lomax', *Recusant history,* 27/2 (2004), p. 157.

her wills in Gonville and Caius and Lincoln as the recipients of her portrait collection reflect the familial priorities examined in chapter three. There was some level of acquaintance between Joan Trappes and John Caius, who had refounded Gonville and Caius in 1557.[36] By bequeathing the family portraits as a group, Frankland was able to consolidate the relationships formed by her parents with these institutions, forging her legacy with that of her family, much in the same manner that she had by emulating the style and composition of her parents' portraits.

Joyce Frankland's bequests relating to her own portrait complicate our picture of the familial priorities that governed her patronage of these colleges, showing how she navigated each institution's responses to the Reformations of the sixteenth century. Each of her four wills contains a further conditional statement, articulated in the first 1584 version as: '*yf* I shall haue att the tyme of my decease thre formes or pictures of my selfe'.[37] As well as picture bequests to Gonville and Caius and Lincoln, a possible third portrait of Frankland was promised to different institutions in each of the versions of her will. On 10th March 1584, Peterhouse, Cambridge, was marked out as the intended legatee, but was later crossed out in favour of Brasenose College, Oxford.[38] By the time this will was edited and produced in fair copy on 8 June 1584, Peterhouse was again the chosen location.[39] The following year, on 26 August 1585, Brasenose was selected as the proposed destination once more. However, this was then struck out and replaced with the ambiguous direction that the portrait should be given to 'any

[36] C. Brooke, *A History of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 95; J. Caius and J. Venn, *The Annals of Gonville and Caius College*(Cambridge, 1904), p. 89.
[37] BNCO, Benefactors 105, p. 36.
[38] Ibid., p. 36.
[39] BNCO, Benefactors 101, p. 36.

well colege'.[40] By the time Frankland's final will was produced on 20 February 1587, her chosen beneficiary was Emmanuel College, Cambridge, an institution that had not appeared in this section of any will over the preceding three years.[41]

Given the spiritual emphasis of Frankland's picture bequests, shaped by her portrait's overtly Protestant iconography and its intended location in college chapels, we might speculate whether her oscillation between colleges can be attributed to her confessional affinities with particular academic communities. Two drafts of her will had been completed before she resolved to assure lands to Brasenose College in February 1585.[42] The draft of her will that followed this date shows a pivot in emphasis from Lincoln College to Brasenose.[43] Property originally bequeathed to Lincoln was later directed to Brasenose College.[44] Certainly, Lincoln College, Oxford, had a chequered history of conformity to the established Church, with successive rectors suspected of Catholic beliefs and the flight of several college members abroad.[45] Additionally, Peterhouse, which Frankland also ruled out of her later wills, was under the influence of Andrew Perne until 1589 and was not particularly aligned with Frankland's spiritual beliefs.[46] However, there does not appear to be a specific event or circumstance at either college that could have occasioned Frankland's loss of support. In fact, by the time of Frankland's involvement in the 1580s, Lincoln's community was broadly amenable to reform.[47]

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[40] BNCO, Benefactors 104, p. 40.
[41] TNA, PROB/11/70/179, fo. 137r.
[42] BNCO, Benefactors 103.
[43] BNCO, Benefactors 104.
[44] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 117 n.15.
[45] V. H. H. Green, *The Commonwealth of Lincoln College 1427–1977* (Oxford, 1979), p.126-9.
[46] P. Collinson, 'Perne, Andrew', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21975 (14 July 2023).
[47] Green, *The Commonwealth of Lincoln College*, p. 142.

The religious factors governing Frankland's choices become clearer if we consider what the appeal of the colleges introduced in her later wills might have been, rather than a focusing on why she may have reduced her support to Lincoln and Peterhouse. After all, two of her portraits were consistently settled on Gonville and Caius College, and Lincoln College. The quiet tolerance of a variety of confessional attitudes at both these institutions suggest that Frankland placed the greatest significance on maintaining the networks of patronage already established by her family rather than being guided by the confessional proclivities of the college fellows. The introduction of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in later wills as possible locations for Frankland's third portrait, however, represent an extension of her legacy outside of pre-existing family links, prioritising Protestant connections.

Joyce Frankland had developed relationships with resolutely Protestant men associated with both of these colleges. She had established a connection with Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, benefactor to Brasenose, and later its Principal. After her death, in a letter to Archbishop Whitgift, Nowell claimed responsibility for recommending that Frankland should give to educational institutions, including Brasenose, his alma mater.[48] Nowell was overseer to Frankland's will together with Sir Walter Mildmay, to whom she gave her 'best bason and ewer of silver'.[49] It is perhaps not unexpected then that Frankland chose to give one of her portraits to Emmanuel College, the institution which Mildmay had recently endowed. Ceri Law writes that one of the goals of Emmanuel was to embody the 'interconnection of scholarship, civic duty

[48] J. Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*(3 vols, Cambridge, 1897), iii, pp. 229-30: 'You are a widdowe, rich and now childlesse, and there be in both universities so many pore towarde youthes that lack exhibition'.
[49] TNA, PROB/11/70/179, fo. 137^{A}v.

and godly living at the heart of the political and religious philosophy that shaped the Tudor universities'.[50] Portraiture would be a part of this example: Sir Walter Mildmay's Emmanuel had a portrait of him made in 1588-9.[51] Although Frankland's death preceded this acquisition, it shows that Mildmay's foundation was interested in portraiture as a commemorative medium and may well indicate Mildmay's involvement in encouraging Frankland to leave such a gift. These connections expanded the reach of those portraits intended as 'a continewall Remembraunce' of her parents, building on their legacy and establishing Frankland as a godly patron in her own right.[52]

Frankland's use of the phrase 'any well colege' in her will of 26 August 1585 helps us to understand the gendered nature of her decisions. She had committed to the donation of a third portrait of herself to one of the educational institutions she intended to support, but, as an outsider, was not attached to a particular location. Her indecision indicates that the choice would be left to the executors or overseers of her will, mostly men who were part of the Universities and whom she trusted to give her spiritual advice. There are many differences between the arrival of Margaret Beaufort's portrait in Cambridge and Frankland's direct donation of hers to Gonville and Caius. One was politically motivated whereas, by the late sixteenth century, commemoration through portraiture was increasingly spiritually significant as chantries and obits were removed as a commemorative tool. However, neither case involves a straightforward

[50] C. Law, 'A Continuing Connection: The Cambridge Group and the University of Cambridge, *c.*1547–1598', in S. Wabuda and J. F. McDiarmid (eds), *The Cambridge Connection in Tudor England: Humanism, Reform, Rhetoric, Politics* (Leiden, 2022), p. 297.

[51] Cambridge, Emmanuel College, E.C.A. BUR.11.1, p.29: 'To the mar wch made or Founders picture £6.13$^{s.}$8^{d}', quoted in 'College Paintings', https://www.emma.cam.ac.uk/about/history/paintings/index.cfm (14 July 2023).

[52] Peterhouse, Cambridge, appears in Frankland's bequests as somewhat of an outlier, with no evidence of a clear relationship between Frankland and any members of the College. However, it is worth noting that Peterhouse had commissioned its own set of benefactor portraits *c.*1565 and it is not impossible that Frankland had knowledge of their interest in portraiture.

representation of women's agency. Male college members or patrons were instrumental in facilitating both portraits' relocation.

4.2 The Complexities of Gift Giving as a Female Patron

Joyce Frankland's remarkably detailed and personal instructions for her portrait donations were, however, extremely rare in the context of the early modern university, even towards the end of the sixteenth century. There is no evidence of any linear growth in interest in acquiring women's portraits in these spaces between 1534 and 1587. Nor does Frankland's case reveal any democratising process where portraits of merchants' wives had the same status as the grandmother of the King. Many factors prevented the more widespread adoption of donor portraits in this period, particularly for women. It was not always as important to the women themselves to be represented through portraiture within university colleges, and for those who did want their portraits on display, there were often significant barriers.

Mildred Cooke, Lady Burghley (1526–1589) was a considerable patron of education, including at Oxford and more particularly Cambridge, where her husband William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley was Chancellor of the University between 1559 and 1598. As a result of this role, there are several portraits of Burghley in the University collection and St John's College, Cambridge, his alma mater.[53] Like Joyce Frankland, Mildred Cooke's

[53] There are three portraits of Burghley in Cambridge: One is in the collection of The Old Schools, acquired between 1583 and 1588 and probably connected to his role as Chancellor. See J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of Cambridge Portraits* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 8-9; There are also two portraits at St John's College, perhaps copies of the Old Schools portrait, which entered the College collection

patronage of Cambridge and particularly St John's College was facilitated by Alexander Nowell, who spoke at her funeral, and, additionally, Gabriel Goodman, the Dean of Westminster.[54] Goodman described Cooke in his will as 'my lady and mistress', hinting at the closeness of their relationship.[55] As will be seen, both Nowell and Goodman participated in the donation of portraits of female patrons, so one might expect to find an image of Mildred Cooke in the St John's College collection.[56] Nevertheless, Cooke's gifts did not include her portrait. She gave multiple benefactions to St John's, including a polyglot Bible donated in 1580, a Greek epistle, and funding for fuel for fires.[57]

As discussed in chapter three, most portraits of female patrons in the sixteenth century were produced for a domestic setting and commemorated women's role in family and succession. There are two known portraits of Mildred Cooke (Figs. 62 and 63). Familial heraldry is a central feature of both of these portraits, and her first portrait, from the early 1560s, depicts her during pregnancy. There is an obvious emphasis in both portraits on family, and Pauline Croft has suggested that the jewel she wears carries political and religious messages pertinent to the Cecil family's position and policies at court at the time.[58] Mildred Cooke's portraits were created with familial priorities in mind, and all existing examples remained in family ownership.

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before 1790. See A. Freeman, 'Our Portrait Pictures', *The Eagle*, XI/LXI (1880), pp. 119-20.

[54] R. Churton, *The Life of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's: Chiefly Compiled from Registers, Letters, and Other Authentic Evidences* (Oxford, 1809), p. 301.

[55] P. Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley: The Matriarch', in P. Croft (ed), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (New Haven, 2002), p. 290.

[56] Goodman possessed portraits of both William Cecil and Mildred Cooke, but bequeathed them to their son, Thomas. See, Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 153. On the other hand, Goodman's portaits of widowed and childless female sitters were presented to the colleges they supported on his death.

[57] C. M. K. Bowden, 'Cecil [née Cooke], Mildred, Lady Burghley', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/46675 (01 Nov 2022). See SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/3, 'Rental 1600–1619' for mention of 'Lady Burghley's fires'.

[58] Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley', p. 288.



Figure 62:
Mildred Cooke, Lady Burghley
Hans Eworth
Approx. *c.*1563
Oil on panel
102.9 x 78.7 cm
Hatfield House, Hertfordshire

A 1611 inventory of Hatfield House located one of the portraits in her son, Robert Cecil's bedchamber.[59] While family inheritance would not have precluded copies of the portraits entering college collections, there is no reason to believe that she would have encouraged such an action.

Mildred Cooke was a prominent collector of books and, as the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was an exceptional scholar with a great facility for Greek.[60] She wrote to the College in Greek, thanking them for receiving her and her husband during

[59] Ibid., p. 297.
[60] Ibid., p. 289.



Figure 63:
Mildred Cooke, Lady Burghley
Unknown artist, possibly the Master of the Countess of Warwick
Approx. *c.*1565
Oil on panel
83 x 72 cm
Hatfield House, Hertfordshire

previous visits.[61] Her donations to the College reflect these interests. The Bible she gave was 'bound with bosses and a central medallion inscribed with her name, and containing parallel texts in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Chaldean'.[62] Its inscription reads: '*in perpetuam charitatum memoriam quae in se suosque ab eodem charissimo coniuge suo nuper in dicto collegio liberalibus artibus instituto redundarunt*'.[63] This, and an indenture dating to 1581 in which the College undertakes to ensure the Bible's security, stating that it is 'not to be removed to any private mans use', demonstrates a

[61] Ibid., p. 289; Bowden, 'Cecil [née Cooke], Mildred, Lady Burghley', *ODNB*.
[62] Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley', p. 289.
[63] Approximately translated, it reads: 'In perpetual memory of the charity which, according to themselves and their own, was abundantly given, recently established in the said liberal arts college by her same beloved spouse. See full Latin inscription quoted in 'Mildred Cecil, Lady Burghley (1526–1589)', https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/early_books/mildred.htm (14 July 2023).

similar desire for the 'continewall Remembraunce' required by Frankland, but achieved without the gift of a portrait.[64]

Another significant factor that may have reduced the likelihood of portrait donations by Mildred Cooke herself or by her agents Nowell and Goodman is that her patronage was often conducted without the active knowledge of her husband.[65] Gemma Allen demonstrates that Cooke and her sisters often acted as 'intermediaries' for William Cecil over questions of patronage, but she emphasises that the widowhood of Anne and Elizabeth Cooke extended their capacity to direct their own support of religious education.[66] While Cecil's comments on his wife's death suggest that her patronage of godly education was in parallel with his own interests, her concealment of the details may have been an attempt to ensure that she was recognised independently as an advocate for the support and improvement of Protestant learning.[67] A portrait advertising her beneficence may not, therefore, have been considered the most appropriate format to commemorate her involvement with the University.

Records relating to Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1556–1632) and her portrait at St John's College, Cambridge, highlight further the complications that faced female donors. The Countess substantially financed the building works for the Second Court at St John's, begun in 1598.[68] Her personal involvement, rather than that of her husband Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, is demonstrated by a letter of

[64] Ibid.
[65] G. Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2013), p. 188.
[66] Ibid., p. 192.
[67] J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion And Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England, during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (4 vols, Cambridge, 2010), III, ii, pp. 125-8.
[68] Cambridge, St John's College, SJAR/3/2/4/2, 'Rental 1575–1600', fo. 505v.



Figure 64:
Mary Talbot (1556–1632)
Countess of Shrewsbury
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 54.5 x 42 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 20

February 1599 from Robert Booth, lawyer and former fellow of St John's, to Richard Clayton, the master.[69] Booth asks Clayton not to mention the Second Court in his communications with the Earl, because he is unaware of it.[70] Despite this discretion, another letter from Booth mentions a portrait of the Countess to be on display in the Master's Lodge of the College before 1612.[71] It was therefore probably acquired at a similar time to the building of the Second Court and the commissioning of a second portrait of Margaret Beaufort, by Rowland Lockey.

[69] M. Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', in P. Linehan (ed), *St John's College, Cambridge: A History* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 99-100.
[70] Cambridge, St John's College, SJAR/1/1/Clayton/2/3.
[71] Cambridge, St John's College, D105.9, 'Letter from Robert Booth to Master Owen Gwyn', fo. 1.



Figure 65:
Mary Talbot (1556–1632)
Countess of Shrewsbury
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 109.2 x 89 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 21

The gift of the portrait was not proposed by Mary Talbot herself. In his letter, Robert Booth, who was also chaplain to Talbot, claims that he was responsible for the acquisition of the portrait for the college. The portrait he refers to may have been either Figure 64 or 65. Booth's association with Shrewsbury and the connections of both portraits with works in the collection at Hardwick House demonstrate the involvement of the Countess or, at least, her approval of the acquisition. Given that the portrait of Margaret Beaufort was already at St John's, this may indicate Shrewsbury's wish to be considered a kind of second Foundress.[72] Nevertheless, the fact that she did not give her portrait herself, perhaps because she was initially acting independently of her

[72] Both Mark Nicholls and Collette Wheeler connect this to Talbot's Catholicism. See Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', pp. 100, 102; C. Wheeler, 'Re-reading Women's Patronage: The Cavendish/Talbot/Ogle Circle' (PhD thesis, Brunel University London, 2018), p. 137.

husband, highlights the ambivalence of women's place in early modern colleges. Wishing to promote their patronage but limited in their involvement by the requirements of decorum, many women were pushed to the edge of their own representation. Booth's claim of credit for the donation, and his further bequest to add a conduit to the Second Court demonstrates that both women's patronage and the commemoration of their involvement were subject to the competing ambitions of the men who facilitated their relationship with the college.[73]

4.3 The Management of Joyce Frankland's Legacy

With this in mind, if we return to Joyce Frankland, who so meticulously managed her relationships with individuals and institutions to ensure the commemoration of her patronage, we can see how men associated with the colleges adapted her donations. Frankland's picture bequests were directed towards institutions with connections to her family or to individuals with whom she was acquainted. After her death in February 1587, however, the handling of her legacies and deviations from her instructions shows that even women who were able to secure their own representation directly were unable to prevent the involvement of others and modifications to their wishes. The portraits of Frankland and her parents discussed in chapter three were transferred, as she had directed, to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. However, no portraits of Joyce Frankland or Robert and Joan Trappes can be traced to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, or Lincoln College, Oxford, in the late sixteenth century. A much later copy of the version at Gonville and Caius appeared in Emmanuel's 'Gallery Inventory' for the first

[73] Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', p. 100.

time in 1719.[74] One reason for these absences may be that the three portraits of Frankland that she had projected in her will did not exist at the time of her death. It is significant that the College that successfully acquired the pictures promised to it was Gonville and Caius, where Thomas Legge, one of Frankland's executors, was master. The role of figures such as Legge are vital to our understanding of the process of acquisition and determining who, beyond the sitter, benefited from the donation of portraits of female benefactors.



Figure 66:
Joyce Frankland
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 63.5 x 52.1 cm
Brasenose College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 11

Three portraits of Frankland at Brasenose College, Oxford, demonstrate that the function of portraits of female patrons extended beyond their role as a tool for the

[74] F.Stubbings, *A Catalogue of the Portraits at Emmanuel College* (Cambridge, 1988), no page numbers.

sitter's personal and familial commemoration. These three late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century portraits of Joyce Frankland are displayed there, despite Brasenose being struck out of Frankland's picture bequests in her final will.[75] There is one on panel (Fig. 66), which is thought to have been based on the Gonville and Caius version. Though different in style and execution, the Brasenose figure is similar in most details except the cuffs, and the proportions and dimensions are comparable. There is an extra inscription reading 'ANN^{O} DÑI. 1586/ Æ^{T}. SVÆ. 55.', and most significantly there is a long prose inscription in Latin. Brasenose also has a *c.*1638 canvas copy of this version attributed to Gilbert Jackson based on his work in Oxford colleges around that time. This larger copy, which replicates the long inscription, now hangs in the College Hall. A third Brasenose-owned portrait of Frankland is a smaller copy with different proportions to the panel. It may be that this canvas version is a copy of the 'Jackson' due to the way that some of the details have been copied.

In the absence of definitive written evidence, there has been a difference of opinion over whether the earliest of these panels was intended for the College by Joyce Frankland herself and transferred after her death, or whether it was, in fact, a posthumous copy.[76] Cooper's work on this portrait connects its 'lengthy inscription' to Frankland's personal choices, suggesting that the composition of the inscription pre-dates her death.[77] The inscription, not included in the Gonville and Caius version of the portrait, refers to the death of Frankland's son as the last of a series of bereavements that left Fran-

[75] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 170.
[76] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 107; Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. 249. Dendrochronology was not possible on the probable original at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, because the panel's edges are inaccessible due to nineteenth-century interventions. Future analysis of the Brasenose panels may reveal interesting results.
[77] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', pp. 109-10.

kland to take on the students of Brasenose, referred to as 'Domus Aenea', as her progeny. Although the sentiment of the inscription and the events it describes align with Frankland's own words in her gift to the college on 6 February 1586, it contains additional sentiments that are not found in any document that we can attribute directly to Frankland.[78] One example is the line from the perspective of the College: 'For the house...a house worthy of its rewards and happy and grateful to its patroness, acknowledges me as a mother to its studies'.[79]

Additionally, the unclear provenance of this portrait and its supposedly personal testimony creates uncertainty about whose intentions can be read in the inscription. This is significant because, while written records relating to Joyce Frankland demonstrate that her widowhood afforded her some control over her own affairs, the agency of sixteenth-century women, as we have seen, was always positioned within the context of a web of familial, professional, or spiritual networks. Cooper reads Joyce Frankland's portrait as an 'image of personified female agency', but I contend that we can learn more about the gendered position of women such as Frankland in sixteenth-century society if we acknowledge that portraits, particularly copies with compositional changes, did not necessarily reflect the perspective of the sitter.[80]

The inscription only appears on the Brasenose 1586/7 panel and *c.*1638 copy. If Cooper is correct that both the panels at Gonville and Caius and at Brasenose were commissioned to be presented to the Colleges, the great difference in inscriptions indicates

[78] BNCO, Benefactors 11.
[79] Translation from T. Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven; London, 2012), p. 107.
[80] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 116.

that different choices were made and prioritised.[81] The Caius panel emphasises heraldry and *memento mori* props, prioritising family and spiritual identity. The Brasenose panel, on the other hand, presents these features as part of a wider interpretive scheme in which the inscription firmly links Frankland to the College. Lane Poole believes that Alexander Nowell produced the text for the inscription, whereas Cooper acknowledges that 'Joyce was probably not acting solely on her own initiative' and that Nowell 'may have taken a hand in helping her to draft and translate the text'.[82] Lane Poole's interpretation, that the Brasenose copy was commissioned or altered by the College itself, is ultimately more convincing for a number of reasons.

As mentioned above, Nowell, the Dean of St Paul's, was appointed overseer of Joyce Frankland's will and she asked that he give her funeral sermon. Where Nowell had already asserted that he had personally induced Frankland's benefactions, contributing the text for the portrait at Brasenose foregrounds his own college as the object of her charity.[83] While it is possible that Nowell and Frankland cooperated on the Brasenose inscription before her death, the inscribed date of the panel, 1586, leaves only a small window for Joyce to have expressed approval of the inscription.

It seems more likely that the inscription was created after her death by either Nowell or the College on hearing Nowell's account. Cooper contends that 'it is hard to believe that this text which is written in the first person could have been created after Joyce's death'.[84] However, the composition of inscriptions and memorial epitaphs using a 'female first-person voice' after the outset of the Reformation has been

[81] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 107.
[82] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. 249'; Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 110.
[83] Venn, *Biographical History*, p. 229.
[84] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 110.

highlighted by Peter Sherlock, particularly in reference to tragic subjects such as the death of children.[85] These often exaggerated gendered virtues more than monuments commissioned by women themselves. The influence and involvement of Dean Nowell generates uncertainty over who had control over the choices about how Joyce Frankland would be remembered. Rather than the direct 'interaction between sitter and viewer' described by Cooper, the Brasenose portrait of Joyce Frankland is filtered through Nowell's interpretation and represents not an 'honorary gentleman' but a gendered understanding of female patrons as godly exemplars.[86]

The events that followed the proving of Joyce Frankland's will in 1587 make clear why Brasenose and Nowell may have sought to use portraiture to emphasise so particularly the link between the college and their new benefactor. The executors of Frankland's will were Thomas Smallman of the Inner Temple, Henry Burr of London, and Thomas Legge, master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The overseers were Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Alexander Nowell, connected with Brasenose College, Oxford. After receiving the Grant of Probate, Thomas Legge and her executors commissioned inventories of Frankland's property in Philip Lane, London, and at Rye House near Stanstead Abbot.[87] It is clear that Legge worked with Burr and Smallman until their deaths in 1590 and 1591 respectively.[88] Legge's account shows that his work executing Frankland's legacies also brought him into contact with at least one of the overseers of the will: 'Item they praye

[85] P. Sherlock, 'Monuments and Memory', in Patricia Phillippy (ed), *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 295-7. Lane Poole writes that 'lines conceived in much the same spirit were places on the monument erected on her tomb in St Leonard's, Foster Lane, London, by Brasenose College' in Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. 249.
[86] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 111.
[87] BNCO, Benefactors 108a, 'An Inventorie'.
[88] TNA, PROB/11/75/464, 'Will of Henry Burr' and PROB/11/77/222, 'Will of Thomas Smalman'.

to be allowed [...] bote hyers [...] to speake with S[ir] Walter Myldmay abowt busines of the Testatrix'.[89]

In 1590, however, Dean Nowell intervened, officially in his role as overseer, but also on behalf of Brasenose as one of the beneficiaries of Frankland's will. Nowell wrote a petition and an independent estimate of her property, alleging that Legge's version contained omissions and concealed money and goods.[90] Nowell argued that the executors had spent too large a proportion of Frankland's assets, much of the residue of which was bequeathed to Brasenose. He further claimed that the executors were asking for extraordinary allowances for their work and that 'thestate of the said Colledge is not able to indure any longe course in lawe'.[91] This highlights the intense competition for control of patrons' estates, particularly when related to benefactions and scholarships.

Joyce Frankland's final will makes clear that she was cautious of misplaced trust and aware of the vulnerability of her estate to the acquisitive priorities of those around her. She expressed frustration at the unseemly conduct of her mother's executor, Sir Roger Manwood, whose insistence on appointing his own choices to the scholarships founded by her mother at Lincoln College, Oxford, had greatly angered her.[92] She wrote:

> my will and minde is that if S[ir] Roger Manwood Knighte nowe Lorde cheife barron of the Exchequer be hereafter permitted to haue the nominac[i]on or appointment or placing of schollers in and to the saide fowre schollershippes or in and to any of them the whiche as I understand he goeth abowte to gett and challengeth to haue althoughe by no reason he shoulde so doe for that they weare not of his gifte. Then my will and minde is that the said schollers shall haue nothing of my gifte.[93]

[89] BNCO, Benefactors 108b, 'Executors' Accounts', p. 5.
[90] BNCO, Benefactors 109 and Benefactors 114.
[91] Benefactors 109, fo. 1.
[92] Manwood sought places for students of the school he had founded in Sandwich, Kent.
[93] TNA, PROB/11/70/179, fo. 135v.

Significantly for our understanding of the later dispute between Thomas Legge and Brasenose College, Frankland connects her distaste for Sir Roger Manwood to her picture bequests. In her will of 26 August 1585, Frankland bequeaths the two pictures of her father and her mother to Lincoln College 'uppon condysyon [that] my lord chefe barne haue no namyng of any skollars of my parents gefte there as I thenke he very unworthye'.[94]

Frankland's entire gift to Lincoln was contingent on its independence from Manwood's influence. Nevertheless, her making the connection between the integrity of those managing her assets after her death and the display of her image demonstrates the important role executors had in conserving the deceased's reputation through commemoration. Portraiture was part of a bond between the deceased and their executors, a sign of the former's investment in the latter's trustworthiness. There is no record explaining why Frankland removed Brasenose from her portrait bequests in the same 1585 will that included the conditions she placed on her Lincoln bequest. Nevertheless, clearly Brasenose considered it important to use visual commemoration to connect themselves to the patron that had left them money, land, and goods. The long narrative inscription particular to the Brasenose portraits can be interpreted as an attempt to exhibit the bond of trust between Frankland and the College. Brasenose College was further responsible for the construction of Frankland's funerary monument in the church of St Leonard, Foster Lane in Aldermanbury, London.[95]

[94] BNCO, Benefactors 104, p. 39.

[95] Churton, *The Life of Alexander Nowell*, p. 345; Lane Poole, *Catalogue*, ii, p. 249. Here, Lane Poole notes a similarity in tone between Frankland's portrait inscription and her epitaph. The text of the monument can be found in Strype's survey of London: J. Stow, J. Strype, and J. F. Merritt, *An Electronic Edition of John Strype's A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* Version 1.0 (Sheffield, 2007), Book iii, p. 101.

By taking such a prominent role in the representation of Frankland, emphasising her gift to Brasenose through the portrait inscription and taking responsibility for her memorialisation, it may be understood that members of the College were co-opting Joyce's personal forms of commemoration to further their claims to the prestige of her legacies. This commemoration was important to the College and its officers for several reasons. The first was that Frankland, perhaps with the unworthiness of Sir Roger Manwood in mind, had stipulated that funds would be withheld if her commemoration day on 5 September was not 'well and truelie' observed.[96]

While Alexander Nowell's petition makes clear that financial concerns were a driving force in his negotiations on behalf of Brasenose College, spiritual motivations also inspired his particular interest in representing Frankland as she is depicted in the Brasenose portrait and inscription. The inscription on the Brasenose portrait reads: 'My only praise is to have pleased God alone.'[97] Nowell was a well-known preacher who gave funeral orations for a number of influential figures, such as Roger Ascham and Archbishop Edmund Grindal. He was strongly linked with a number of other resolutely Protestant female patrons of education and would give the sermon at the 1589 funerals of both Mildred Cooke, Lady Burghley, and Frances Sidney.[98] This association between members of the clergy and female benefactors went beyond their clerical duties and it was not unusual for them to mediate women's educational benefactions, for example, as we have seen, John Fisher's role as confessor to Lady Margaret Beaufort was integrated with his assistance with her college foundations. While the educational patronage

[96] BNCO, Scholarships 34.
[97] Translated in Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 107.
[98] S. Wright, 'Frankland [née Trappes; *other married name* Saxey], Joyce (1531–1587), *ODNB* (Oxford, January 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10084 (14 July 2023).

of Beaufort and Fisher was linked to their construction of intercessory chantries, an explanation for why such collaborations continued to take place in Protestant circles in the later sixteenth century can be explained by Nowell's own expression of beliefs in the catechism he wrote for the Convocation of 1563. Despite his subscription to the belief in justification by faith alone, Nowell 'also argues that good works are among the most important ways in which true faith makes itself known'.[99] These associations were mutually beneficial, allowing the Protestant clergy to nurture charity and female donors to demonstrate virtuous piety.

This was not inconsistent with Frankland's own choices and commemoration of family. The developments of these godly networks, connected through religious and educational patronage as well as through portraiture, were, in fact, an extension of the familial priorities of many of the sitters examined here.[100] As in chapter three, female patrons acted as a point of intersection between different kinship and household groups, while also navigating their family's spiritual associations. This responsibility to manage these relationships continued into widowhood.

Women then, contrary to what Cooper suggests, did not need to step outside of the 'defined roles' of their gender in order to rationalise the display of their portrait in a college context.[101] If anything, these roles continued to be shaped by the men around them. For example, Nowell's account of Frankland's decision to support multiple colleges at Oxford and Cambridge does correlate with the motivations expressed in

[99] S. Lehmberg, 'Nowell, Alexander (*c.*1516/17–1602), Dean of St Paul's', *ODNB* (Oxford, January 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20378 (14 July 2023).
[100] Gabriel Goodman worked in the Cecil household and Robert Booth was chaplain to Mary Talbot. Frankland was clearly close to Nowell but it does not appear that he ever held any role in her household.
[101] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 107.

her own 1586 Deed of Benefaction to Brasenose. However, he dates her intention to become 'a mother to its studies' to a conversation he alleges took place between them in 1581.[102] Frankland first drafted her will on 10 March 1584, only including substantial benefactions to Brasenose in later drafts and without mention of Nowell's apparent intervention.[103] In 1586, a year before Frankland's death, we finally see her own use of similar wording to Nowell, describing her intention to 'beget unto her self in vertue & learninge many children'.[104] This kind of language is not used in her legacies to Lincoln, Gonville and Caius, or Emmanuel. Nowell's persuasive influence in shaping a godly, matriarchal role for Frankland through a benefaction to *his* college should not be understated.

Frankland's trust in him as overseer of her will does suggest that she believed that he understood her wishes and intentions. Furthermore, Frankland asked Nowell to be in charge of directing the profits of the land which she had endowed to Brasenose, turning them to the use of the College.[105] The involvement of Dean Nowell in the development of Brasenose College's first portrait of Joyce Frankland is consistent with the religious messaging indicated by her own decision making, such as the aforementioned use of *memento mori* to express her Protestant faith. Cooper has argued that the Brasenose inscription 'allowed the viewers to become witnesses, admirers, or even emulators of her generosity and Christian charity'.[106] However, where previous interpretations have understood Dean Nowell's influence on Frankland's portrait as in keeping with her

[102] Translation from Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 107; Venn, *Biographical History*, iii, p. 229.
[103] See BNCO, Benefactors 105, pp. 2, 45. This is a draft document edited on 10 March, 24 March, 8 June, and 5 October 1584.
[104] BNCO, Benefactors 11.
[105] TNA, PROB/11/70/179, fo. 136r.
[106] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 111.

personal intentions and interest in being remembered as a pious and godly woman, his involvement seems to have been driven by his personal motivations. In the same way that the portrait of Margaret Beaufort at St John's initially appears to be an articulation of the agency of a female benefactor, but is revealed to reflect the intentions of a clergyman associated with her benefaction, the Brasenose portrait of Frankland functions in much the same way. Nowell's composition of the inscription on the Brasenose portrait reduces the emphasis on Frankland's personal choices and links the portrait to his anecdote, his role in the acquisition of substantial benefaction, and his association with a generous donor.

The men that facilitated female charity sought to commemorate their role in these relationships through portraiture. This is illustrated in Thomas Heywood's 1606 play *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody Part II*, which Cooper, Tittler, and Ian Archer have each analysed.[107] In this work, none other than a fictional version of Alexander Nowell urges his house guests, Sir Thomas Gresham and Sir Thomas and Lady Ramsey, to view his imagined picture gallery, with portraits of female civic worthies including Dame Avice Gibson. Archer describes the possibility of Nowell actually owning such a collection 'not at all implausible'.[108] Similarly, the will of Dr Gabriel Goodman, the Dean of Westminster, shows evidence of his own comparable, but very real, gallery including several images of female patrons.[109] For these men, a curated visual record of

[107] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 14; R. Tittler, 'Thomas Heywood and the Portrayal of Female Benefactors in Post-Reformation England,' *Early Theatre*, 11/1 (2008), pp. 33-52; I. Archer, 'The Charity of London Widows in the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' in N. L. Jones and D. R. Woolf (eds) *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 178-9.
[108] Archer, 'The Charity of London Widows', pp. 178-80.
[109] R. Newcome, *A Memoir of Gabriel Goodman...with Some Account of Ruthin School, and the Names of Its Most Eminent Scholars, Etc.* (Ruthin, 1825), Appendix A: The Will of Gabriel Goodman.

their charitable associations could be an important part of their pious works. Women were often the focus of these relationships, perhaps due to ideas about their nurturing role in the Protestant godly household.



Figure 67:
Frances Sidney (1531–1589)
Unknown artist
Unknown date, early 1580s
Oil on panel
Approx. 66 x 53.6 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 17
Identical to Fig. 19, repeated for reference

An example of this can be seen in the association between Goodman and Frances Sidney, at whose funeral Nowell had spoken. His will gives 'to the Lady Frances Sydney Sussex College lately built, her Picture which I have in my Gallery' (it is possible that this gift was Fig. 67, now at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge).[110] However, images of women were also symbolic of men's relationships with institutions. Goodman donated two portraits of Lady Margaret Beaufort to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he had been a fellow. He was too young to have met his College's female founder, but the gift

[110] Ibid.

of her portrait was a gesture that reaffirmed his connection to the institution.

The timing of these donations offers insight into how gifts of portraits may have benefitted the donor. Goodman's first gift was in 1563-4: 'It[em] to hym yt brought ye Image of our fundres fro[m] Doctor goodman - xij$^{d.}$'.[111] This coincided with a period of particular enthusiasm for educational benefaction for Gabriel Goodman. The next year, he took part in the preparations for Elizabeth I's visit to Cambridge and from 1565 he began to visit the Merchant Taylors' school.[112] As he had several portraits of Beaufort in his collection, the gift of one to the college she founded would be a useful way of advertising his interest in educational patronage and solidifying his reputation amongst that scholarly community. Goodman left another portrait of Beaufort to the College in his will of 1601.[113] While there is no further reference to Goodman in the Christ's accounts, a record of payment for the 'cariage of o[ur] foundresse picture from London and from the cariers - iiij$^{s.}$' is likely to be Goodman's picture.[114] His bequest indicates an intention to broadcast his charitable legacy at his former college. Therefore, portraiture not only represented a relationship of trust and mutual benefit between the female sitters and the university colleges they patronised, but images of women were also a central part of a practice that promoted the status of any donor of a portrait to a college community.

[111] Cambridge, Christ's College, Accounts 1557–1580, fo. 118v.
[112] C. S. Knighton, 'Goodman, Gabriel (1528–1601)', *ODNB* (Oxford, May 2005), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10976 (14 July 2023).
[113] Newcome, *A Memoir of Gabriel Goodman*, Appendix A.
[114] Cambridge, Christ's College, 'A' Accounts 1580–1609, under '*Expensa forinseca*' for Elizabeth 43.

4.4 'Full power and authoritie in my selfe': The 1611 Portrait of Dorothy Wadham

Two decades on from Frankland's picture bequests, two portraits at Dorothy Wadham's newly founded Oxford College demonstrate the changing opportunities for women to co-ordinate their own representation at the colleges they endowed.[115] Protestant networks were responsible for many of the acquisitions examined in this chapter. In this context, Wadham's portrait is doubly significant as an example of the concurrent use of patrons' portraits by recusants and other non-conforming groups. Increasing our awareness of the use of portraits on both sides of the confessional divide develops our understanding of women's role in simultaneous familial and spiritual communities. As the head of her foundation, Dorothy Wadham was able to design her own commemoration, but she was still influenced by her relationships with men who shared her spiritual beliefs and already had strong links to male-dominated collegiate institutions. A key difference between Wadham and the other sitters considered in this chapter is that, rather than following the advice of agents or acquaintances, she used the patronage of her own father, who had died nearly forty years earlier, as a guide to her use of portraits.

Chapter one presented a new interpretation of the portraiture of Wadham College, making the case that Wadham herself arranged for a pair of portraits of herself (Fig. 68) and her husband, painted in 1611, to be displayed at the College. This new interpretation, identifying the presence of these two 1611 portraits of Dorothy and

[115] The section title makes reference to one of Wadham's letters as founder: D. Wadham, *The Letters of Dorothy Wadham, 1609-1618*, ed. R. B. Gardiner (London, 1904), p. 42.



Figure 68:
Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
Unknown artist
1611
Oil on panel
Approx. 102.9 x 82.6 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 26
Identical to Fig. 4, repeated for reference

Nicholas Wadham at the College *before* her death raises questions about why she may have presented them to her foundation. Two factors drove the decision to supply these portraits to the College: Dorothy Wadham's religious beliefs and her gender.

As chapter three found, although Dorothy Wadham's 1611 portrait is not specific in its religious symbolism, it emphasises her ancestry and, as a result, its presence in the College she founded links her endeavour with the extensive patronage of her father, Sir William Petre. Petre is considered to have refounded Exeter College, Oxford, described by Maddicott as developing 'strong and public Catholic loyalties'.[116] He endowed eight fellowships between 1566 and 1568. While Petre had studied at Exeter, its confessional

[116] J. R. Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship: The Early History of Exeter College, Oxford, 1314–1592* (Oxford, 2014), p. 296.

character played a clear role in his later support. The Petre family continued to support their chaplain, John Woodward, the former Rector of Ingateston, who had given up his post in 1565 rather than conforming to the established Church.[117] A year previously, it had been Woodward who had first made contact with Exeter about the prospect of a second foundation.[118] In 1568-9, after Woodward's resignation, the College made gifts of gloves to William Petre, his wife, and Woodward.[119] F. G. Emmison compares the spiritual goals of Petre's endowment with Sir Thomas White and Sir Thomas Pope's respective foundations of St John's College and Trinity College in Oxford, but in 1566 the religious climate under Elizabeth was very different from ten years previously.[120]

Unlike Dorothy Wadham, William Petre does not appear to have used portraiture as a commemoration of his university patronage.[121] Nevertheless, his portrait was purchased by Exeter College in 1567 for £3. $6^{s.}$ $8^{d.}$ (Fig. 69).[122] As a result, there was a precedent in Wadham's own family for the display of their portraits in the educational institutions they supported. There is no portrait of William Petre at Wadham. It is possible that this was due to the fact that almost forty years had passed between his death and the foundation of Wadham, or perhaps because Dorothy Wadham wanted to foreground her own achievement as well as linking it to a family tradition of educational patronage and spiritual conservatism.

[117] F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (Chichester, 1970), p. 278.
[118] Ibid., p. 279.
[119] Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship*, p. 293.
[120] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, p. 282.
[121] In 1600, Petre's portrait appears to have been the only portrait of a family member on display at the Petre seat at Ingatestone Hall in Essex: Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 71. His limited use of portraiture might indicate why the College had to buy an image of their patron at their own expense.
[122] Oxford, Exeter College, A.11.9, fo. 9v: 'Item de iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} solutis pro imagine D. G. Petrei'. See also in Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship*, p. 293.



Figure 69:
Sir William Petre
(1505/6–1572)
Unknown artist
1567
Oil on panel
Approx. 86.3 x 73.5 cm
Exeter College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 42

Wadham's provision of her own image went beyond the precedent set by her father's role as patron. This may have been due to the increasing popularity of portraiture in the university between the 1560s and 1610s. More importantly, the need for Wadham to secure her own representation may also have been due to her status and position. Her father's long service to the Crown and to parliament kept him close to the centre of power and made him a prestigious figure for a college to count as an associate. Conversely, Wadham had married Nicholas Wadham and withdrawn from London and court life to the West Country.[123] Wadham's husband was a significant landowner, and their families may have known each other due to their Somerset and Devon origins.

[123] The Wadham family had a long history of gentility and landownership in Somerset and Devon, making this a broadly equal match. Despite Sir William Petre's knighthood, he was the first member of his Devonshire family to bear arms. See Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, p. 1.

Nevertheless, Wadham could not rely on her reputation and standing for the kind of deferred patronage enjoyed by her father and other figures of high rank and status, such as the Countess of Shrewsbury. Here, Dorothy Wadham's circumstances appear familiar. Despite her substantial wealth, Joyce Frankland was in a similar position, perhaps explaining why she and Wadham are the only early examples of direct donation of a portrait to the university by a female sitter.

Gender is another significant factor shaping the representation of these two women in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century university, in spite of their confessional differences. As we have seen, Frankland struggled to retain control over her family legacy in conflict with individuals such as Roger Manwood. Specifying that her image should be associated with her benefaction was an attempt to maintain ownership of her charitable works. Wadham faced similar difficulties. Her early work towards the foundation of the college was fraught with issues over the control of the scheme. Sir John Davis, an associate of Nicholas Wadham, unsuccessfully attempted to take charge of the project, marshalling influential figures and legal mechanisms to challenge Dorothy Wadham's authority.[124] Rather than bequeathing her familial portrait from 1595, Wadham ensured her commemoration through portraiture through a second sitting, allowing her to shape the 1611 image for a specific institutional purpose that foregrounded her involvement in the foundation of Wadham College.

Thinking about commission, Cooper argues that women like Wadham and Frankland were 'confident in their right to present themselves as agents of change', subverting

[124] See C. S. L. Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere: Dorothy Wadham and the Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford', *The English Historical Review*, 118/479 (2003), pp. 883-911; Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', pp. 113-15.

gendered roles and exercising independence.[125] This chapter, focusing on the transfer of women's portraits into male institutions beyond their control, proposes an alternative interpretation. The anxiety with which Wadham sought the completion of her college at the end of her life, 'bending my whole endevors to see the same finished wthout delaie in my owne tyme, w^{ch} Cannot be Longe' suggests her belief that her legacy, including her visual commemoration in the College, would be subject to the agendas of others after her death.[126] This anxiety was common amongst widows, not because their legacies were more likely to be interfered with posthumously than other patrons, but because they faced so many challenges to their authority during their widowhood. Despite wealth and legal independence, widows faced the same gendered expectations as women in different circumstances. Their direct provision of portraiture to the colleges they supported does not represent a statement of assured independence, but an assertion of their continued struggle to fulfil their familial responsibilities and secure their spiritual legacies.

Conclusion

Almost one century after the impromptu arrival of Margaret Beaufort's portrait at St John's College, Cambridge, Dorothy Wadham personally made provision for her image to be displayed in multiple locations in her new foundation. Where before, even the mother of the king would not have expected that her painted image would hang in the colleges she founded, Wadham was able to use portraiture to represent her

[125] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 116.
[126] Wadham, *The Letters*, p. 9.

own significance in the College through her portrait. Undoubtedly, the commemorative landscape of the college had changed by the opening decades of the seventeenth century and it was now assumed that a college would have access to a founder's portrait.

Nevertheless, this was not a straightforward process in which portraits first arrived unintentionally and were subsequently popularised. As the medium began to proliferate in educational institutions, the acquisition of portraits of patrons by the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge remained dependent on access. This was a particularly complex process for portraits of women, who themselves held an uncertain position in the male-dominated university. Images of women in the late sixteenth century were often given by members of Protestant communities, in which women fulfilled an important spiritual role as 'counsellors and mentors' as part of the godly household, and could therefore act as exemplars in other educational spaces too.[127] Donations were, however, not limited to these communities, as shown by the examples of Mary Talbot and Dorothy Wadham.

The images surveyed in this chapter indicate the identities and agendas constructed by these female patrons, but are also key to understanding the limits of their control over their identities in collegiate spaces. Social status affected access to representation in colleges for a wide range of different women. Aristocratic women may have had multiple portraits made, but may have been required by expectations around decorum to use agents and donate indirectly. Women of lower status who did have portraits of themselves would not find themselves represented in the foundations they supported unless they provided the portraits themselves. Marriage also shaped who was depicted and how colleges acquired portraits. While there is often assumed to have been greater

[127] J. Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 144.

freedom for some wealthy, childless widows compared to married women, these women often faced challenges due their lack of direct heirs and the acquisitive behaviour of those around them. Judging the reliability of those in whom women placed their trust is a frequent theme in documents pertaining to their legacies. The next chapter will show that, no matter how carefully women arranged for the display of their portraits, their position outside of college communities meant that control over how colleges managed their gifts was not possible.

Meanwhile, a number of men, often clergymen, associated with the colleges emerge as playing a crucial role in the acquisition of portraits of female patrons across the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. From John Fisher's ownership of a portrait of Margaret Beaufort to the role of networks of men like Sir Walter Mildmay and Thomas Legge, men were involved in encouraging or facilitating women's donations. The collecting practices of Gabriel Goodman and Alexander Nowell, adding to their own prestige and forming connections, also demonstrate these men's personal motivations for acting as agents of female patronage. While this does not preclude women from exercising agency in whether, where, and how they were commemorated through portraiture, their images and legacies were vulnerable after their deaths to the, often complementary, but sometimes competing, agendas of other individuals and groups. Additionally, the entry of portraits into college collections often resulted in modifications in meaning to suit the needs of their new environments. As mentioned in the case of Frankland, these could include an assortment of financial, spiritual, or status-based needs. By examining the subsequent display of these portraits in college spaces, chapter five explains the requirements of these communities and associated individuals and how they changed over time.

Chapter 5

Displaying Portraits

At Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, an inventory of the great chamber in the Master's Lodging prepared in 1639 records 'A picture of y^{e} Foundresse unto y^{e} midst'.[1] For some years, and perhaps since the donation of a picture of the Founder in 1601, this was the only portrait on display here, amid heraldic glass and wainscot panelling.[2] In this central space, reserved for the head of the College, its senior members, and honoured guests, a 'curtain of greene silke' could be drawn back to reveal the direct gaze of the founder, Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex, her dark garments providing a luxurious backdrop for hundreds of pearls, and the painting positioned so that these gems seem to glint in the light from the chamber's bow window.

At the same time that this entry in the inventory helps us to envision the portrait's seventeenth-century display, it dismantles the mental picture we may have built of its place in the College. The entry referring to Sidney's portrait is struck out and

[1] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR.31D, fo. 6.
[2] Ibid., fo. 6. This portrait was likely the one bequeathed to the College by Gabriel Goodman, discussed further in chapter four, p. 239.

accompanied by a simple note, 'now in ye Library'. Another inventory taken in the College Library, also made in 1639 but with later additions, corroborates the portrait's move from one space to another, with a later addition of 'a halfe picture of ye Foundresse' visible at the foot of the list.[3] Before the next College inventory was produced in 1688, the Founder's portrait was taken down and relocated to this space filled with books, furniture, curiosities, commemorative panels, and other, larger portraits. In the context of the diverse contents of the Library, Sidney's portrait was no longer as prominent as it had been in its previous setting. While it would have been seen by senior college members with access to the Library, its audience was now primarily internal, rarely seen by external visitors to the College.

The glimpse of a portrait in a precise location and at a specific moment invites us to develop another way of looking at college portraits, raising new questions about their purpose. The last chapter considered how the function and meaning of portraits were shaped as a result of the routes by which they arrived in early modern colleges, as well as by the people involved in those processes of acquisition. Shifting our focus to portraits' location and display generates questions about how the purpose of these portraits were understood *after* their arrival in a collegiate environment.

Where there is documentary evidence of display practices, in inventories and financial accounts, it is possible, through conscientious work, to piece together these fragments and investigate how significant certain locations were and what that might say about the status of different kinds of portrait in early college collections. A focus on display also extends the last chapter's exploration of the importance of gender in

[3] Ibid., fo. 4.

the processes of acquisition, tracing how far this may have continued to affect portraits after the moment of their acquisition.

The case of the half-length at Sidney Sussex College is particularly striking because it is a clear example of one college's changing display practices. We often first encounter portraits in the archives in the process of movement or alteration. Sometimes portraits are not visible within college spaces until a decision is made relating to their display. This may be setting up the portrait in a particular location, its movement to a different position or setting, or some kind of alteration to the portrait or its immediate surroundings. The record of this decision does not always indicate how long the portrait had been part of a collegiate collection.

This complicates the reputation for stability developed by early modern university colleges' collections. Tarnya Cooper and Maurice Howard write that 'portraits of founders in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and those of local worthies in town halls, have often remained at or very close to the spot where they were originally hung'.[4] Their remarks reflect the continuous display of some university portraits from the late sixteenth century to today. Whist it is true that there is a greater degree of long-term consistency in comparison to other settings and institutions, this chapter argues that the contents and display of early college portrait collections were constantly shifting in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This instability is significant because it reveals how communities and institutions began to understand and then use portraiture as an emerging commemorative and artistic form over time.

[4] T. Cooper and M. Howard, 'Artists, Patrons and the Context for the Production of Painted Images in Tudor and Jacobean England', in T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard, and E. Town (eds), *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford, 2015), p. 26.

Emphasising movement and alteration highlights changes in contemporary attitudes to portraits in the university, including a shift, from loose collections of portraits without a defined purpose to the development of a number of aesthetic and cultural conventions. Previous scholarship has included evidence of display in particular locations as part of the criteria determining portraits' categorization as part of a specific genre, such as 'civic' or 'personal'.[5] The first part of this chapter shows that, although these groupings can be a useful guide to patterns in the meanings and purposes of portraits across similar early modern environments, they are not stable categories in the context of specific collections in early modern university colleges. When we understand 'civic' portraits as just one of several different types of portrait accommodated by Oxford and Cambridge colleges, we can identify a range of social relationships and networks at work, some institutional and some personal, which governed the commemorative traditions of these communities. The gender of the portraits' sitters often had implications for the process of acquisition by university colleges, but, contrary to what we might expect, it did not define a portrait's significance after its arrival. Instead, differences in the treatment of portraits in college collections had more to do with social status and hierarchy than whether they depicted a male or female patron.

These hierarchies were shaped or disrupted in different ways over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Therefore, the second part of this chapter traces how local developments, such as the arrival of duplicate versions or copies, changed display; also considered are the impact of wider trends such as the cultural and architectural developments of the late sixteenth century and Reformation changes

[5] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 5-6.

in religion. These alterations in the way portraits were displayed can suggest how and why their commemorative function changed over this period.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that major changes in display were the result of a number of broader local and national developments that changed the commemorative landscape of England's universities. Patron's portraits were moved to accommodate new copies as the popularity of the medium grew and access became more widespread. Architectural developments provided new spaces for collecting and display, driving the acquisition of portraits alongside older commemorative forms. Growing collections, in turn, encouraged these physical modifications to institutional spaces. However, the religious transformations of the sixteenth century produced the most significant changes to university institutions' use of portraits. I explore how several Protestant leaning colleges used portraiture to create a visual record of a symbolic godly household made up of exemplary figures related to the college. Meanwhile, portraits of female patrons who had faced allegations of recusancy became a focal point for colleges with links to crypto-Catholic practices. This work develops our understanding of how university institutions responded to moments of change and instability. Colleges' growing recourse to portraiture as a tool to support their communities sheds new light on their specific needs and concerns throughout the transformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

5.1 Collegiate Records

The archival records of Oxford and Cambridge colleges are full of dynamic engagements with portraiture. References in college financial accounts often record the initial 'settinge upp' of a portrait in a specific space, but also register the 'mending' or 'renewing' of the painting, 'makeing curtains' and reframing.[6] Inventories also document decisions to move portraits into different collegiate spaces. This kind of material is important because it allows us to construct a detailed map of the physical change over time of these objects and the spaces in which they are displayed. One of the particular advantages of college accounts is their close relationship to those making commemorative decisions. Richard Williams argues that country house inventories cannot tell us what owners believed, probably because they were brief practical documents, often made and used by servants.[7] College accounts, conversely, were made by fellows elected as bursars, giving us an insight into the decisions of senior members of these academic communities. The accounts often cover long uninterrupted periods of time, and detail ongoing maintenance which can be dated relatively precisely. This is due to the regular rotation of college officials and an auditing system in which each bursar was required to report back to the next in regular termly instalments. Where these educational institutions had access to portraits, their written accounts enable us to identify patterns in their commemorative choices and priorities.

[6] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/2, 'Rental 1575–1600', fo. 505v; SJCO, ACC I.A 12, '*Computus Annuus* 1617–28', fo. 102r; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 61, 'Accounts 1598–1719', p. 335; Oxford, Wadham College, 16/2, 1680, '6th Head Particular Expences'; Cambridge, Christ's College, Accounts 1557–1580, fo. 119r: 'Ite[m] for ye hookes & curtane rodde hanginge over o[u]r fowndres image'.

[7] R. L. Williams, 'Collecting and Religion in Late Sixteenth-Century England', in E. Chaney (ed), *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 164.

This is not to suggest that all decisions relating to portraits are recoverable. In some cases, the sparsity of references makes it difficult to draw reliable conclusions. For example, a very small number of college records show evidence of the display of portraits in the Chapel.[8] The uncommon choice of this location makes it difficult to ascertain whether colleges had made a specific commemorative decision to display portraits in their places of worship, or whether their choice was shaped by the size and contents of the colleges' other appropriate spaces for display. Nevertheless, despite these issues, there are many cases in which we can get a sense of emerging patterns of display. Although Oxford and Cambridge colleges' adoption of portraiture varied by institution throughout the sixteenth century and idiosyncratic display practices were shaped by each foundations' material fabric and situation, we can develop a picture of how these institutions began to understand and make use of the portraits that arrived in their communities.

5.2 Civic Portraits?

Robert Tittler's work on university portraits has also underlined the importance of display for understanding their function and meaning. College portraits are, he proposes, part of the developing sixteenth-century genre of 'civic' portraiture. While personal and courtly portraits were made as 'statements of self-affirmation', civic portraits were 'a means of legitimation' for a certain kind of corporate community.[9] His thesis resists

[8] Oxford, Trinity College, IA/2, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1600–1631', fo. 141v: 'for makinge Cleane the Found[e]rs old Picture in the Chappell'. As mentioned in the last chapter, Joyce Frankland's picture bequests were intended to be 'placed in the severall chappells of the saide Colledges': London, TNA, PROB 11/70/179. George Hakewill's portrait at Exeter College, Oxford, may have been hung in the chapel. See, Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. ix.

[9] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 6, 167.

the temptation to categorise civic portraits by the process of their commission, because, as he acknowledges, the portraits that accumulated in 'civic' collections were sometimes first produced privately for the sitters or for third parties, rather than for the institutions themselves. Instead, Tittler focuses on display to create boundaries for this 'civic' group. Their genre is defined by their integration into 'the ceremonial landscape of the civic building and the mnemonic record of the institutional identity'.[10] In other words, personal portraits could take on civic roles when displayed in 'civic' institutions. Through their display, these portraits played a recurring functional role in corporate commemorative culture and were therefore civic.

The display of some portraits in Oxford and Cambridge colleges does seem to fit straightforwardly into this model. An example of a conventionally civic portrait discussed earlier in this thesis is that of Sir Thomas White at St John's College, Oxford. As chapter two showed, a number of the features of this portrait can be linked to the growing display of portraiture in other civic institutions associated with White.[11] Additionally, the College's record of the choice of artist, John Bettes the Younger, discussed in both chapters two and three, links this commission with the London civic networks in which White moved.[12] Our knowledge that White was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and that his portrait hung in their Hall by, at the latest, 1606-07, makes clear that there was a correlation between college display and the popularity of portraiture to commemorate civic worthies in town halls

[10] Ibid., p. 5. See also ibid., p. 138 for the suggestion that 'the decision to display such images in civic spaces...cannot be construed as anything but the effort to exemplify the critical importance of continuing benefaction to the civic institution'.
[11] See Tittler, *The Face of the City*, Appendix A, pp. 173-4. There are portraits of White in many towns and cities to which he was a patron, including Bristol, Exeter, and Reading.
[12] SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus* 1578-9, 1580-1), p. 73.

and livery companies.[13]

Archival research into the manner of the display of this founder's portrait at St John's indicates its key role in the College's institutional commemorative landscape. Commissioned by the College in 1581, White's portrait was hung using a chain and had hinged wooden leaves, which were subsequently painted.[14] As Tittler explains, leaves or doors offered the College the opportunity theatrically to reveal the image to senior members or their more exclusive guests.[15] Their use indicates that St John's had repeated close interactions with its founder's portrait. Records of its subsequent treatment also show how this portrait was integrated into the commemorative civic traditions of the college. Tittler himself mentions the earliest 'renewing' of White's portrait in 1583-4.[16] However, the records of the maintenance of White's image in the College are even more extensive. In the early years of the seventeenth century, the doors required repair.[17] Additionally, in the space of two years, College portraits of White were 'mended' by both a painter and a joiner, suggesting a thorough overhaul.[18] Later, one of the College's pictures of their founder needed 'mending' again and then 'new flourishing over', suggesting quite an early repainting scheme.[19] Those in charge of the care of College goods ensured the regular upkeep of White's portraits, indicating an awareness of their functional role within the institutional memory of St John's College.

[13] Tittler, *Face of the City*, p. 175; R. Tittler, 'Three Portraits by John de Critz for the Merchant Taylors' Company', *The Burlington Magazine*, 147/1228 (2005), pp. 491-3.
[14] SJCO, ACC I.A 2 '*Computus Annuus* 1578-9, 1580-1', pp. 73-4: 'It[e]m for paintinge the leaves of o[u]r founders picture', 'to the Smythe for a chaine for the founders picture', 'to the Smyth for 2 paire of hinges for o[u]r founders picture'.
[15] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 153-4.
[16] Ibid., p. 154.
[17] SJCO, ACC I.A 12, '*Computus Annuus* 1617–28', fo. 180v: 'It[e]m for mending the leaves of the ffounders picture'.
[18] Ibid., fo. 102r: 'To diamond for mending the paintinge of the founders picture'; ACC I.A 12, fo. 157v: 'To the Joyner for mending the founders picture'.
[19] Ibid., fo. 248r.

Tittler's clarification that he is including university portraits as part of a 'broad view of the notion of 'civic' bodies' is an important one.[20] His categories provide a useful structure through which we can identify similar approaches to portraits in comparable institutions. However, if we maintain a specific focus on the *movement* of portraits within the archival material, we can see that early modern colleges were quite distinct communities with various overlapping identities, only some of which were civic. As a result there was no stable distinction between 'civic' and other genres of portraiture within their collections.

Portraits in motion often convey a disconnect between the ownership of pictures and the colleges' understanding of their relevance to institutional identity. In fact, there was even uncertainty in some colleges about who owned donated portraits, as a case involving the accidental removal of a portrait of Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, from St John's College, Cambridge, in 1612 illustrates. Robert Booth, introduced in the previous chapter as Talbot's chaplain and a former College member, wrote to the Master to protest that the sister of Richard Clayton, the previous master, had taken away Talbot's portrait 'as p[ar]te of the goodes of her broth[e]r deceased'.[21] Booth makes clear that 'her ho[nour] at my humble sute bestowed [the portrait] uppon the Colledg, & desyred y^{t} D^{r} Clayton would cause it to be hanged upp in the gallerye there'.[22] He emphasises that 'D^{r} Clayton only made sute for it, for y^{t} purpose'.[23]

There are several conclusions that we can draw from this communication. Firstly, the confusion in this case suggests a failure to differentiate between the personal rela-

[20] Tittler, *The Face of the City,* p. 3.
[21] SJCC, D105.9, 'Letter from Robert Booth to Master Owen Gwyn', fo. 1.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

tionships that patrons may have had with college heads and their broader institutional relationship. The last chapter assembled evidence that indicated the prevalence of close personal relationships between patrons and the members or alumni of the college who facilitated their donations. The implication in this case, that college officials were unaware that the portrait was intended to represent Mary Talbot's role as a major patron to St John's, despite seemingly specific instructions, demonstrates that display in the college did not guarantee incorporation into the 'mnemonic record of the institutional identity'.[24] Her picture may have been intended to be displayed as a civic portrait, but it had not been understood as such by at least some members of the College.

So Talbot's portrait is not 'civic' according to Tittler's criteria, for which the institutional body must have 'accepted the painting and displayed it as a civic portrait'.[25] Indeed, Mary Talbot's image does not feature in his list of portraits that can be defined as civic and were acquired by institutions before 1640. However, portraits such as Talbot's existed within university colleges, even if they were not fully integrated into the civic functions of their institutions. Then what was their purpose there, and how does this change our understanding of the function of college collections?

A closer look at Talbot's portrait indicates how we can understand its function. Its display can be seen as an interaction between two elements: the portrait itself and the space in which it was chosen to hang. In the case of Talbot, there are multiple overlapping functions relating to both picture and setting, doubling the potential confusion. The portrait itself was, unlike the portrait of Sir Thomas White mentioned

[24] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 5.
[25] Ibid., p. 155.



Figure 70:
Mary Talbot (1556–1632)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 109.2 x 89 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 21
Identical to Fig. 65, repeated for reference



Figure 71:
Mary Talbot (1556–1632)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 54.5 x 42 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 20
Identical to Fig. 64, repeated for reference

above, likely commissioned as a personal portrait.

There are two portraits of Talbot now at St John's College, Cambridge. It is unclear whether either of these are the same portrait as that accidentally taken from the Master's Lodge, but there are two subsequent seventeenth-century references in the College Rentals to payments for maintaining portraits of Talbot.[26] The bust-length

[26] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/4, 'Rental 1619–1634', fo. 313v: 'pd for a Curtayne & ringes for my Ladye of Shrowsbrey picture - iij^{s} xj^{d}'; SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/8, 'Rental 1666–1683', fo. 122v: 'To John Ivory for making a new Table of y^{e} Benefactors & Masters of the Coll: & y^{e} fframing of y^{e} Countess of Shrewsbury Picture: Both for y^{e} Lodge - 03.20.00'.

portrait on panel (Fig. 71) is inscribed in the top left corner 'Countess of Shrewsbury'. This inscription is a very close match to a number of eighteenth-century inscriptions on portraits at Hardwick Hall, Talbot's family seat, indicating that this work may have been a later gift to St John's.[27] If the missing portrait of Mary Talbot was returned to the lodging after 1612, the most likely candidate is the half-length on canvas now in the College (Fig. 70). This painting is a copy, without alterations, of a family portrait in the Hardwick collection. Therefore, apart from its display in an institutional setting, Talbot's image aligns more closely with the 'self-affirmation' Tittler identifies with personal portraits.[28]

The choice of the Master's Lodging as the location for Talbot's portrait was also layered with multiple functions and meanings. The error in allowing it to be removed indicates a tension between the use of the lodging as a central space for institutional events and its function as a private—rather than civic—space. Tittler suggests that colleges' master's lodgings 'resembled country houses' in the same way as other civic buildings such as livery company halls and mayor's parlours because they contained private, exclusive spaces for certain members.[29] Lodgings, often built as an interconnected suite of increasingly private rooms for college business, for ceremonial purposes, and for the reception of guests, certainly did have a lot in common with livery company halls. However, more weight needs to be given to the idea of colleges as domestic spaces,

[27] See, for example, Hardwick Hall portraits of William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Devonshire; Lady Dorothy Boyle, Countess of Euston and her Sister Lady Charlotte Boyle, later Marchioness of Hartington; Lady Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington and Countess of Cork; Heneage Montagu. See also C. Wheeler, 'Re-Reading Women's Patronage: The Cavendish/Talbot/Ogle Circle' (PhD thesis, Brunel University London, 2018), p. 138 for the theory that a portrait of Talbot was given to the College by William Cavendish (*c.*1593–1676), 1st Duke of Newcastle and her nephew. He had paid for a statue of Talbot at the College in 1671.

[28] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 6.

[29] Ibid., p. 155.

particularly the Lodgings in this case, the contents of which the master and his family treated as his possessions. They constituted a household in a way that livery companies and town halls did not. The domestic nature of these spaces was intertwined with their institutional functions. Therefore, colleges cannot be described as solely civic, and neither can the objects within them.

As a result, when we look at the wider role of college buildings as spaces of display, they are more closely linked to the amalgamated political and domestic spaces of the country house or royal court than to some civic institutions. University colleges were full of personal belongings and personal portrait ownership can be found throughout these institutions. The will of a fellow of St John's College, Oxford, from 1601 bequeathed a portrait of former fellow John Case described as being 'in my chamber in College'.[30] In the case of the Master and the Master's Lodging, their personal collection may have been displayed as the college's during their tenure. The continuation of this practice is corroborated by the inventories of the President's Lodging at St John's College, Oxford.[31] At St John's College in Cambridge, too, a former master, Dr William Beale claimed that 'the two pictures of the king and queen (king Charles and queen Mary) were his proper goods, and were demanded of his successor, but not being restored...they yet hang in the gallery and ought to be looked upon as his gift'.[32] At Peterhouse, the *c.*1565 portrait set was listed in the inventory of the belongings of Master Andrew Perne

[30] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii , p. 161.
[31] SJCO, Munim/XC/42, p. 2: 'Though Dr Holmes has here signified his intention of giving all the Paintings & Prints here specified to the College for the use of his successors...the Pictures on the great staircase the Prints in the Gallery, together with the Pictures of Sr Tho: White ABp Laud, ABp Juxon, & Bp New the 3 last of which...belonged to the College before'.
[32] T. Baker, *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, ed. J. E. B. Mayor (2 vols, Cambrige, 1869), i, pp. 221-2.

as being found in his 'Bedd Room'.[33] In combination with the personal character of Talbot's portrait, the ambiguities of the space in which it was displayed contributed to the lack of awareness about its intended 'civic' function.

The nature of the university college as a complex meeting point for different kinds of space for the display of portraits means that there is further work to be done to define the functions of their collections. Tittler's work on 'civic' portraits develops a comprehensive framework for paintings that represent well-defined civic relationships between their sitters and the institutions in which they are displayed. College portraits, however, were on the whole more varied, and personal, family, or courtly portraits were often displayed, without undergoing modifications that could be described as adding 'civic' character. The value in this complexity is that it can tell us about networks of relationships between patrons and colleges within, but also extending beyond, the walls of university institutions. The movement of portraits, through different ownership or different forms of display, often follows the contours of these social and financial links.

5.3 Hierarchies and the Dynamics of Display

Within the early modern college, the contributions of particular patrons and benefactors were valued differently according to each institution's priorities. Through a focus on the movement and alteration of portraits in these spaces, we can see these hierarchies reflected in the commemoration of college supporters. The care and reverence with which Sir Thomas White's portrait was treated at St John's was indicative of his

[33] London, Heinz Archive and Library, 'Notes on Collections', Peterhouse, Cambridge.

status within the community and, after his death, his family's continued role as important benefactors. However, not all commemorative images that were gifted to and subsequently displayed at St John's were held in such high regard. As their collections began to develop, the officers of early modern colleges started to show an awareness of differences in the value and purpose of their pictures. Portraiture as a form was neither rarefied nor considered essential in this period and many colleges were not actively collecting. Some gifts were unsought and may have been seen as an ephemeral means to an end rather than a permanent commemoration of a civic relationship.

When, on a visit to St John's College, Oxford, in August 1616, Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State to King James I, was captivated by a picture hanging in the President's Lodgings, he requested that it be given to him.[34] Deemed 'old worke' that served no purpose 'but onely to adorne Mr Presidents Lodginge', St John's concluded that the image could be taken from the wall and presented to Lake. The College's reasoning was that it was 'in ye mydst of ye reparaciones & thenlardginge of ye hall *etc.* and his honor was pleased to p[ro]mise Mr President to giue Twenty pounds to ye Colledge towards ye Buildinge for ye picture'. The picture in question, of St Katherine, had been a 1602 gift from one William Nutbrowne, a former fellow commoner at the College.[35] In place of the picture, St John's registered his name as their 'worthy ffrend'

[34] SJCO, ADM I A.2, 'Register II', p. 604.

[35] Two items are thought to have been given to the College by William Nutbrowne. W.C. Costin, *The History of St. John's College, Oxford, 1598–1860* (Oxford, 1958), p. 7 documents that Nutbrowne donated 'a copy of Bearblock's views of the colleges and halls in Oxford, with verses by Thomas Neale'. The second gift, recorded in the accounts in 1602, is the donation of a painting of St Katherine, to which the college added the arms of the University and their founder Thomas White. See SJCO, ACC I. A 10, *Computus Annuus* 1598–1604, fo. 110v: 'It[e]m for the Carriage of the table of St Katherin geven by Mr Nutbrowne'. Costin thought that the Bereblock views were the picture taken by Lake. However, SJCO, Munim/XC/10, a May 1615 inventory of the President's Lodgings, confirms that the painting removed by Lake was that of St Katherine: 'A large picture of St Katherine' is crossed through with the marginal note 'Sr Thomas Lake'.

and one of the benefactors of the new building work. While the painting was not a portrait, this incident demonstrates that colleges were not simply a passive recipient of commemorative images. While an 'old worke' given by a loyal alumnus might adorn a bare corner of the Lodgings, the College reserved the right to determine what should be considered 'a sufficient memory' of their benefactors, where there were conflicting commemorative and practical priorities.[36] It is worth speculating that the College may have displayed more reticence if the picture had been a portrait of William Nutbrowne. Nevertheless, St John's College's conclusion that Nutbrowne's picture served no purpose and so could be given away for cash indicates that the status of some patrons within the college was not sufficiently prestigious to demand a physical commemorative footprint. Their contributions and gifts to these institutions were more valuable in a format determined by the evolving needs of the college community.

The reputation of patrons outside of college walls and their civic benefaction also affected the display of their portraits. The 'sute' that Richard Clayton, master of St John's College, Cambridge, 1593–1612, had apparently made for a portrait of Mary Talbot came at a moment when his college was expanding and beset by financial difficulties.[37] Someone of Talbot's and her husband's status, with their connections to the court and the Queen, was, as Mark Nicholls puts it, 'just the sort of wealthy patron the College hoped to attract'.[38] Talbot's role in funding the College's Second Court was not made public until 1616, but the display of her portrait was important in creating a public link between the College and a valuable patron, an action that had

[36] SJCO, ADM IA/2, 'Register II', p. 604.
[37] A. C. Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott: A History of the Buildings of St John's College, Cambridge, 1511–1885* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 29.
[38] M. Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', in P Linehan (ed), *St John's College, Cambridge: A History* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 100.

mutual benefit for both parties.[39] The sitter became part of a gallery of elite college associates, which would be advertised to all who were entertained there. We do not know exactly when Talbot's portrait was given to the College, but members of her own extended family were frequent visitors in the early years of the seventeenth century.[40] Two of her daughters were given gloves at the College on 29 July 1605 and her son-in-law William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was received twice in 1607-8.[41] It is likely that Talbot would have known that a request to display her portrait in the gallery of the Master's Lodge would make it visible on such visits. On the College's part, its display may have been a hopeful attempt to elicit further support from other family members and connections.

It was convenient for the College that the disappearance of Talbot's portrait from the Master's Lodge at St John's coincided with her imprisonment in the Tower for complicity in the elopement of her niece Arbella Stuart.[42] Although released in 1615, her fortunes suffered due to the resulting fines. Here there are echoes of the imprisonment of John Fisher, forcing the College's hand to reassess their relationship with a significant benefactor. A deferential letter from the College to the Countess in July 1617 sought her 'approval' for further building works.[43] However, St John's began looking elsewhere for patronage, and their new Library was eventually financed primarily by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and former member of the College. His portrait was hung in the new building on its completion, expanding the College picture collection

[39] Crook, *From the Foundation*, p. 40.
[40] Ibid., p. 40.
[41] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/3, 'Rental 1600–1619', fos. 122r, 175r.
[42] M. Hicks, 'Talbot, Gilbert, seventh earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616)', *ODNB* (Oxford, May 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26930 (14 July 2023).
[43] Crook, *From the Foundation*, p. 43.

with images of benefactors whose prominence now rivalled Shrewsbury's depiction, despite its apparent restoration to the Master's Lodge.[44]

Colleges' relationships with portraits were responsive to fluctuations in the status and reputation of the sitters depicted. Developing a better understanding of how these institutions engaged with the portraits in their possession, we can build a picture of how social hierarchies operated within university communities. This prompts us to consider what the display of portraits might be able to tell us about attitudes to gender within colleges with female patrons. Were women's portraits received differently from those of men within these communities?

One example from St John's College, Oxford, gives an indication of how male college members responded to images of women in university spaces. In a Christmas play, *Narcissus*, staged by students in 1602 and explored in Elisabeth Dutton's work, one of the actors asks, 'have you ere a gentlewomans picture in the house, or noe?'. He continues, 'if you have, doe but hange it yonder, & twill make mee act in conye', which Dutton suggests means that exposure to a female portrait might equip him to better embody womanhood through his interpretation of the role.[45] While this is a dramatized scenario, it is an important example of student engagement with the idea that the display of portraits in a particular space is important. Access to a portrait here matters to the performance, and the gender of the sitter is significant, shaping how it might influence behaviour.

Outside student theatrics, the introduction of images of women in the late sixteenth

[44] Ibid., p. 54.
[45] E. Dutton, 'The Christmas Drama of St John's College', in G. D. Burger and R. G. Critten (eds), *Household Knowledges in Late-Medieval England and France* (Manchester, 2020), p. 115.

century may have blurred boundaries within the male-dominated colleges, ambiguously gendering their spaces. A portrait now in the collection of St John's College, Oxford, has been retrospectively identified as an image of Sir Thomas White's sister, Mary Matthew (d. *c.*1585), due to its proportions and composition.[46] There is no written record of the College's acquisition of a portrait of Matthew. However, in July 1580, Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls and the Visitor to the College, wrote to the President on the subject of 'old Mrs. Mathewe'. Cordell advised him to 'often resort to her and put in remembrance of the good will she hath shewed to the College, & trust that she will leave some monument thereof, if God take her away'.[47] On her death, she bequeathed twenty pounds worth of plate and her 'greatest brassen potte' to the College, but she left no other monument.[48] Nevertheless, Matthew is commemorated there and her portrait may have been introduced into the College picture collection as early as her daughter Amy Leech's involvement with St John's.[49] We can only imagine whether the increased visibility of women through this kind of patron portrait influenced the academic community beyond the humour of festive entertainments.

It seems more likely that the difference between the reception and display of portraits of male and female patrons was largely insignificant once the image had arrived in a college. At Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, the centrality of Frances Sidney's portrait in the great chamber of the Master's Lodging appears in contrast

[46] SJCO, Munim/XC/42. The first definitive reference in a College inventory to the portrait as the founder's sister is in 1872. However, Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, pp. 147, 158-9 highlights that early inventories that mention 'a lady's head, small, upon board' do not identify many of the early sitters in the College portrait collection beyond general descriptions. Mary Matthew is also known by the name of her first husband as Mary Bridgman, as in Lane Poole's catalogue.
[47] W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *The Early History of St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1939), p. 495.
[48] London, TNA, PROB 11/68/427, 'The Will of Mary Matthew', fo. 259r.
[49] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 158.



Figure 72:
Mary Bridgman (also Mary Matthew)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 40 x 29.2 cm
St John's College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 7

with the lesser prominence of men connected with the College's foundation such as Bishop James Montagu, whose portrait was only added at a later date. In spite of the homosocial nature of Oxford and Cambridge colleges and the restrictions on female access, priority was given to representations of those of higher status rather than those of a particular gender. One reason for this may be the accession of successive women to the English throne.[50] Royal imagery had long been important for colleges incorporated by royal charter. The rising popularity of panel portraiture within the university during

[50] Tarnya Cooper makes a similar point about precedents in 'Picturing the Agency of Widows: Female Patronage Among the Gentry and the Middling Sort of Elizabethan England', in K. A. Coles and E. Keller (eds), *Routledge Companion to Women, Sex, and Gender in the Early British Colonial World* (London, 2019), pp. 111, 116: 'The royal and noble precedents both in terms of patronage and portraiture (with images of Elizabeth I, common to many domestic and institutional spaces) must also have helped to normalize the act of viewing these images of personified female agency.'

the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I ensured a degree of visibility for women in these spaces due to the display of gifts of portraits of the reigning monarch. At the same time, the sixteenth-century rise in large-scale female patronage of universities should not be ruled out as a factor in making the presence of images of women increasingly unremarkable. These patrons were mostly members of the aristocracy or gentry, or else possessed prodigious wealth that elevated their social status. Despite the influence of gender on the processes of acquisition considered in the previous chapter, where women were courted or competed over for control of their charitable endeavours, once their portraits had arrived in the college their images had more or less equivalent status to their male counterparts of comparable social standing.

In the individual cases considered here, a portrait's display was determined by the sitter's place in the social hierarchy, internally in terms of the level of their contribution to the college itself and also through their position in society at large. The legitimizing function of the portraits displayed in college was not only civic, but incorporated personal and domestic portraiture, reflecting the active and varied networks, friendships, and financial relationships that supported these foundations. This encourages us to recognise the early modern college as a more complex entity than a straightforwardly civic institution. These communities were shaped and sustained by overlapping spheres of influence, creating ambiguity about who had jurisdiction over certain spaces and what their primary functions were. For example, the Master's Lodgings represented the institutional epicentre of these male societies, and yet they also acted as small domestic households that entertained female visitors. As a less strictly gendered space, it is not surprising that this is often, although not exclusively, where we find portraits of high-status female patrons. As the role of the head of house changed in the seventeenth

century, including permission for the men in these roles at some colleges to marry, this domestic element would expand. Women would also eventually become more visible in other areas of the college, such as the chapel.[51]

This prompts us to consider how change over time, in terms of gendered access to space and also in terms of the major developments of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, may have transformed or disrupted the hierarchies outlined above. The second part of this chapter uses alterations made to college portraits and their movement from space to space to analyse how colleges reacted to developments in artistic media and changing architectural practices. The increasing availability of copies or additional versions of college patron portraits occured at the same time as both the expansion and hierarchisation of space within these institutions. Additionally, transformations in what was considered the appropriate commemoration of the dead as a result of the Reformation prompted colleges to explore new commemorative possibilities, and to navigate new boundaries.

5.4 Developments in Art and Architecture

By the early seventeenth century, a burst of enthusiasm for portraiture across large sections of English society meant that university colleges had greater access to images of their patrons, through donation or, increasingly, their own commissions. As a result, some colleges acquired multiple portraits of the same patron. The decisions made on

[51] At St John's College, Oxford, a separate Chapel pew for the President's wife and family with access to the Lodgings was in use in the eighteenth century. See 'St John's College', in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 3, the University of Oxford*, ed. H. E. Salter and M. D. Lobel (London, 1954), pp. 251-264, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol3/pp251-264 (14 July 2023).

the arrival of a second portrait of Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, after 1639, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, highlight the consequences of this change. College members chose to exchange the half-length of Sidney, which had probably been displayed in the great chamber of the Master's Lodging for decades, for the extremely large full-length panel. Their decision shows that consideration was given to how the attributes of each painting corresponded to the purpose of the space in which it was hung. One possible reason for the full-length's greater suitability for display in the Master's Lodgings was its superior connection to the College's founder, as a result of its likely provenance from the Sidney family.



Figure 73:
James Montagu (1568–1618)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 72.4 x 60.7 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 40



Figure 74:
Edward Montagu (1562/3–1644)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 73.1 x 59.7 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 39

The desire to use new portrait acquisitions to emphasise a continued relationship with the founder's kin echoes the request by St John's College, Cambridge, for a portrait

of Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, and the parallel entertainment during her family's visits. The precedence given to such family links as a basis for the organisation of the picture hang is evident elsewhere in Sidney Sussex's 1639 inventory. Portraits of James and Edward Montagu are the only other portraits listed in the great chamber of the Master's Lodgings (Figs. 73 and 74), in the same space on the page as Richard Minshull's post-1643 additions.[52] James Montagu (1568–1618), was the first master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, but also the great-nephew of Frances Sidney. The prominence of his portrait might be attributed to his role as a college officer. However, his brother Edward Montagu, first Baron Montagu of Boughton (1562/3–1644), had no role at Sidney Sussex but nonetheless contributed substantial endowments to the College, likely due to his familial connection to the Founder.[53] His son, the second Baron attended Sidney Sussex from 1631, in the tradition of founder's kin. The grouping of their portraits with a family portrait of Frances Sidney, rather than the display of any other prestigious connection, maintained the familial networks on which so many sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century foundations were based.

However, beyond connections to the Founder's family, another potential motive for the replacement of the half-length Frances Sidney with the full-length is the possibility that a larger and more elaborate portrait was considered a better fit to hang in one of the College's principal and more public spaces. A similar case at Jesus College, Oxford, suggests that, for some college officials, bigger was better when it came to the college's outward commemorative display. A portrait of Elizabeth I, the College's official founder, hung in Jesus' Hall as early as 1648/9.[54] It was replaced, possibly

[52] See chapter one for a discussion of Minshull's annotations.
[53] R. Humphreys, *Sidney Sussex: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 26, 39.
[54] Oxford, Jesus College, PI/M.2, p. 1; Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, pp. 191-2.

in 1687, by a newly acquired full-length portrait of the Tudor queen (Fig. 75) given by a former Fellow, Dr James Jeffreys, which was fitted into a new gilt frame and underwent a process described as 'beautifying'.[55] Work in the 1990s by Roy Strong and Alec Cobb revealed a great deal of seventeenth-century over-painting including 'grey angels', a 'crude coat of arms', 'billowing blue robes' and inscriptions.[56] The latter addition is interesting because, although an earlier inscription can now be seen through the uppermost paint layers, the portrait's long encomiastic inscription was then altered to mention Elizabeth's role as founder of the College.[57] This modification from a more typical royal portrait to a collegiate founder's portrait demonstrates the college's attempts to tailor their commemoration of patrons to the institution itself. Perhaps the college preferred a large, glamorous portrait with an existing inscription that could easily be altered to reflect a new institutional purpose.

The replacement of a smaller portrait of Elizabeth with this full-length also reveals, like the example at Sidney Sussex, that, as colleges had increasing exposure to portraiture, they developed an awareness of a hierarchy of different versions and copies of paintings. We can link this to growing interest in picture collecting in the seventeenth century. While Timothy Wilks' study of Prince Henry and Charles I's collection of

[55] Oxford, Jesus College, PI.M.1, p. 1.

[56] J. D. Walsh, 'The Elizabeth Portrait: A College Discovery', *Jesus College Record* (1993/4), pp. 19-21.

[57] 'DIVA ELIZABETHA, VIRGO INVICTISSIMA, SEMPER AVGVSTA, PLVS QVAM CÆSAREA, ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ POTENTISIMA IMPERATRIX, FIDEI CHRISTIANÆ FORTISSIMA PROPVGNATRIX, LITERARVM OMNIVM SCIENTISSIMA FAVTRIX, IMMENSI OCEANI FÆLICISSIMA TRIVMPHATRIX, COLLEGII JESV OXON FVNDATRIX'. Translation in Walsh, 'The Elizabeth Portrait', p. 21: 'THE GOD-LIKE ELIZABETH, VIRGIN UNCONQUERED, ALWAYS MAJESTIC, WITH GREATER DIGNITY THAN CAESAR, OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND MOST POWERFUL EMPRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH MOST BRAVE DEFENDER, OF ALL LETTERS MOST LEARNED PATRON, OF THE IMMENSE OCEAN MOST PROVIDENTIALLY BLESSED CONQUEROR, OF JESUS COLLEGE THE FOUNDRESS'.



Figure 75:
Elizabeth I (1533–1603)
School of Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619)
16th Century
Oil on canvas, transferred from panel
Approx. 200 x 100 cm
Jesus College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 9

paintings at St James's palace does not focus predominantly on portraiture, he identifies a growing sense of the importance of taste.[58] He adds that, in Charles I's collection, changes of a picture's location 'did not go unnoticed' and management of the collection was an extension of the King's 'order and control'.[59] In a similar way, Jesus and Sidney Sussex College's preference for large-scale, glittering images of their founders indicates a desire to use high-status commissions, whether civic or family portraits, to elevate

[58] T. Wilks, "Paying Special Attention to the Adorning of a Most Beautiful Gallery': The Pictures in St James's Palace, 1609–49', *The Court Historian*, 10/2 (2005), pp. 152, 168.
[59] Ibid., p. 171.

the position of the society.

The decision to replace smaller portraits with the display of large, stylish portraits attributed to the likes of George Gower and the workshop of Nicholas Hilliard suggests the hierarchisation of college spaces as well as particular portraits. The half-length portrait of Elizabeth I at Jesus College, Oxford, is thought to have been moved to the Fellows' Library, where it was seen in 1790.[60] While evidence of its location before that date is not conclusive, such a move would correlate with the use of the library at Sidney Sussex as a secondary space for patrons' portraits. The early records of St John's College, Oxford, also list a founder's picture 'in the hall' and one 'bestowed in the librarie'.[61] Similarly, Gabriel Goodman donated two portraits of Lady Margaret Beaufort to Christ's College, Cambridge, and his will specifies that the later gift was 'to continue in that Library'.[62] The Sidney Sussex *Acta Collegii* states in 1637 that only the master, fellows, and the library keeper were permitted a key to the Library, so a portrait displayed there would have had a more restricted audience than in the Master's Lodging or in the Hall.[63] The prioritisation of the more public entertaining areas of the College suggest that portraits were important for establishing and maintaining outward links with benefactors and external visitors. However, as colleges gained access to a wider range of portraits, they were able to focus on commemoration directed at members of the college itself. The boundary between internal and external engagement was not

[60] Oxford, Jesus College, PI/M.2, p. 1; A. Wood, *Appendix to the history and antiquities of the colleges and halls of the University of Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1790), p. 316.
[61] SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus* 1578-9, 1580-1', p. 77; SJCO, ACC I.A 5 '*Computus Annuus* 1583-4', fo. 25v.
[62] R. Newcome, *A Memoir of Gabriel Goodman...with Some Account of Ruthin School, and the Names of Its Most Eminent Scholars, Etc.: Also of Godfrey Goodman, D. D., Bishop of Gloucester from the Year 1634 to 1655...* (Ruthin, 1825), Appendix A.
[63] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 1, '*Acta Collegii*', p. 25.

fixed, but portraits in more accessible spaces made more emphatic statements about a college's status and identity as part of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century society.

The prioritization of spaces like the Master's Lodging, the Hall, and the Library prompts us to consider how else the changing physical footprint of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century colleges may have shaped their engagement with portraiture. When St John's College, Cambridge, acquired, as their first recorded portrait, a picture of Lady Margaret Beaufort in 1534, the accounts made no mention of where in the college might have been deemed appropriate for its display. However, by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the design and use of new and specific spaces for the display of portraits make clear that a more intentional commemorative scheme was beginning to be established. As the colleges expanded, so did the lodgings that housed their elected heads.[64] These extensions were consistent with the colleges' increasing requirements for space in general, and with growing student numbers, but were also comparable developments to the changing architectural standards of the homes of the Elizabethan nobility and gentry and even royal palaces.[65] Elizabethan enthusiasm for portraiture and the resultant interest in the collection and display of portraits can be seen to have gained popularity in the university as well as courtly and domestic spaces. At St John's College, Cambridge, the new Master's Lodgings, constructed in the Second Court between 1598 and around 1602, included a long gallery. This new space allowed the College to display the pictures that they already possessed in a new and specific

[64] 'The University of Cambridge: The Sixteenth Century' in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 3, the City and University of Cambridge,* ed. J. P. C. Roach (London, 1959), pp. 166-191, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol3/pp166-191 (14 July 2023).

[65] N. Cuddy writes of the growth of the long gallery in Elizabethan new builds in N. Cuddy, 'Dynasty and Display: Politics and Painting in England', in K. Hearn (ed), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630* (London, 1995), pp. 14-15; See also T. Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 174-180.

setting and made possible the development of a coherent collection of pictures, perhaps prompting further acquisitions.

These new spaces provided an opportunity to establish the status and prestige of the college through the display of portraits. The Master's long gallery at St John's is recorded as being used for the entertainment of visitors to the College, in keeping with the purpose of these spaces in private Elizabethan and Jacobean houses. The acquisition and display of new portraits also commemorated significant visitors and occasions at St John's. In 1612-13, Prince Charles and Prince Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, visited the College 'furnished out with great magnificence in the Master's Gallery; the trumpet sounding upon the Tower, and verses being composed and presented upon the occasion'.[66] In honour of this visit, portraits of King James I and Queen Anna of Denmark (Figs. 76 and 77) were acquired for the gallery, associating the College and the University with the kind of reception that royalty would receive in courtly spaces.[67] Roy Strong has argued that elite Elizabethan portrait collections that populated the galleries of the gentry and aristocracy were 'intensely preoccupied with rank'.[68] The early collection at St John's College, Cambridge, was no exception, except that portraits immortalised relationships that were different from the dynastic examples in England's country houses. Whereas noble and gentry families advertised and strengthened their position with displays of succession and intermarriage with other elite families, the university college relied on its own network of associations to demonstrate their community's significance and links to the centre of power.

[66] C. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge. Volume 3* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 57.
[67] Baker, *History of the College of St John*, i, p. 201.
[68] R. Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (2 vols, London, 1969), i, p. ix.



Figure 76:
James I (1566–1625)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 108 x 85 cm
St John's College, Cambridge



Figure 77:
Anna of Denmark (1574–1619)
Unknown artist
*c.*1605
Oil on panel
Approx. 57 x 44.5 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 59

Long galleries were also spaces intended for exercise.[69] Moving through this space and encountering portraits in series parallels the physical routines established by other architectural features of Oxford and Cambridge's colleges, both old and new, discussed in chapter two. Wilks writes that galleries were not simply used to advertise prestige and connections, but also acted as 'a place of diversion and contemplation from which a person might emerge more contented and perhaps more virtuous'.[70] As with the

[69] R. Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History*, 29 (1986), pp. 59-60.
[70] Wilks, 'Paying Special Attention', p. 149.

'Gate of Virtue' at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, through the development of long galleries, portraits were integrated into a material manifestation of collegiate moral instruction.

The display of portraits in Oxford and Cambridge's colleges demonstrates the adoption of new fashions in decorative media and collecting in the early modern university. Older commemorative forms began to be replaced by portraiture. At Sidney Sussex, the college removed 'the painted clothes about y^{e} chimney & window [w^{ch} being full of holes were given y^{e} painter in exchange for his cost & worke about y^{e} wall]'.[71] Meanwhile, the choice of the extravagant full-length portrait of Frances Sidney in place of the smaller and more modest half-length in the great chamber of the Lodgings shows an expanding emphasis on grandeur wherever possible. These pictures formed part of the kinds of collections of 'natural objects and rarities' being put together in other Elizabethan settings such as the royal palaces of Greenwich and Whitehall and elite London town houses.[72] Alongside portraiture, Sidney Sussex's Master's Lodging displayed a world map and, in the library, too, portraits were displayed alongside a terrestrial globe, brass mathematical instruments and a small brass sphere, and a petrified skull 'brought from Crete'.[73] These collections contributed to an outward-looking image of the impressiveness and power of the college, with the connections and influence to collect and display such objects.

Despite indications of the growing importance of portraiture at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, such as the establishment of a 'picture chamber' between the great

[71] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, MR 31D, fo. 7.
[72] Williams, 'Collecting and Religion', pp. 164-5; Cuddy, 'Dynasty and Display', p. 16.
[73] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fos. 4-6.



Figure 78:
Ralph Simons
Unknown artist
*c.*1595
Oil on panel, transferred from original panel
Approx. 56.7 x 43 cm
National Portrait Gallery, London
Appendix no.: 47

chamber and the great study in the Lodgings, its commemorative choices blended the use of old and new commemorative forms.[74] The so-called picture chamber housed two portraits, including one of the 'architect' of Sidney Sussex College, Ralph Simons (Fig. 78 illustrates a different version of his portrait, now at the National Portrait Gallery).[75] It also included the heraldic arms of Henry Grey, 6th Earl of Kent, chief executor to Frances Sidney's will. Additionally, the room later contained a table of Chancellors and Vice-chancellors to the University made in 1633 by John Scott, who had produced a

[74] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 7.

[75] This version was sold by Philip Mould & Co to the NPG in 2016. Philip Mould & Co's new acquisition catalogue for 2016 suggest that this portrait may be that recorded in the Sidney Sussex Master's inventory. See 'Ralph Simons (fl.1580–1610), *late 1590s*', in *Philip Mould & Company Catalogue* (London, 2016), pp. 24-9.

portrait of Elizabeth I and an illustrated initial in the Register Book at Sidney Sussex in 1638.[76] The mixture of media throughout these rooms demonstrates that, while portraiture was gaining traction as a mode of commemoration, it was part of a wider scheme of memorialisation that already included heraldry and textual records. James Montagu's arms were also on display in the Master's Lodgings in glass alongside a window with the College arms.[77]

Of course, it was simpler to replace certain older forms. A reference to 'a ledge...wher-eunto ye hangings use to be fastned' suggests the simple process of unhooking in comparison to the complete replacement of a window.[78] However, it is clear that portraits did not replace wholesale older forms but instead worked alongside them. At St John's College, Oxford, Brian Diamond, a Painter-Stainer active in London and Oxford, known predominantly for decorative and heraldic work, was paid for 'mending the paintinge of the founders picture'.[79] It was likely Brian's father, Henry Diamond, who had earlier painted the arms of the Founder and the University on the picture of St Katherine given to St John's by William Nutbrowne.[80] The work on Thomas White's portrait may have been heraldic additions or general repairs, but it is clear that the College viewed these two painted forms of commemoration in parallel, rather than as separate commemorative forms. Where the use of long galleries integrated college communities into the innovative attitudes to artistic forms developing

[76] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 7; MR 61, Accounts 1598–1719, p. 306. This John Scott, or perhaps his father, worked for Gonville and Caius College too. See Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, Bursar's Accounts, 1614-15.
[77] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 6.
[78] Ibid., fo. 6.
[79] SJCO, ACC I.A 12, '*Computus Annuus* 1617–28', fo. 102r: 'To diamond for mending the paintinge of the founders picture'; R. Tittler, *Early Modern British Painters, c. 1500–1640.* (unpublished dataset, 2015), 'Diamond, Brian'.
[80] SJCO, ACC I.A 10, '*Computus Annuus* 1598–1604', fo. 110v: 'It[e]m to Diamond for the painting on St Katherins picture the ffounders armes and uniuersyties'.

in courtly society, the use of painters who had worked as craftsmen in urban settings, and in Henry Diamond's case, for London livery companies including the Merchant Taylors', also marked colleges out as institutions that favoured certain familiar forms of commemoration.[81]

In summary, much of the activity related to portraits in college archives in this period records their responses to changing trends in art, architecture, and collecting. Prioritizing founder's kin and high-status connections remained important. But, as colleges gained access to increasing numbers of portraits, they experimented with their display, developing an understanding of how this new form of media in a university context could support the traditions and hierarchies upon which their societies were based. Nevertheless, we can also see that colleges were split between courtly innovation and conventional forms of institutional commemoration. This balance of old and new forms was common across sixteenth-century society.[82] Given the commemorative significance of obits and chantries within Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the early sixteenth century, we might ask how colleges responded to portraits when older forms of spiritual commemoration were no longer available. In the context of the above discussion, we might assume that the increasing popularity of portraits in university colleges was a secular phenomenon. However, examining how the religious transformations of the next century also affected the movement and display of college portraits gives us valuable insight into the changing ways in which these institutions saw their spiritual purpose. The disruption of social habits and rituals in colleges at the outset of the Reformation

[81] E. Town, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 76 (2014), pp. 73-4.
[82] Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery", p. 65. 'Hangings, tapestries or "painted cloths"' were still part of the decorative schemes of country houses.

signified a change in the way the portraiture shaped social memory as spiritual objects.

5.5 Reformations

A rich body of scholarly work has examined the mnemonic importance of memorial portraits after the outset of the English Reformation.[83] However, there is more to uncover about the spiritual functions of portraits in a particularly collegiate setting. The consequences of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Reformations transformed how colleges conceived of the purpose of the portraits accumulating in their collections. In order to understand how colleges' interpretation of portraits of the dead changed over the sixteenth century, it is essential to begin by looking at memorial portraits already in the colleges at an early date and how they were used.

One of the more distinctive memorial functions of the display of pre-Reformation portraiture in the college was the commemoration of physical presence. The importance of this concept in university colleges is well illustrated in the early sixteenth century by the Lodgings of Lady Margaret Beaufort at Christ's College, Cambridge, built between 1505 and 1510. Beaufort's apartments, located on the first floor and above the Master's Lodgings, stretch between the Hall and the Chapel, forming one full side of the quadrangle. These rooms still contain their original sixteenth-century openings for windows that looked down over both the hall and the chapel. The spaces in the College

[83] See, for example, R. Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory in English Provincial Towns', *Urban History*, 24/3 (1997), pp. 289-292; T. Cooper, "Frail Flesh, as in a Glass': The Portrait as an Immortal Presence in Early Modern England and Wales', in M. Rogers (ed), *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 197-212; R. Tittler, 'Portraiture and Memory Amongst the Middling Elites in Post-Reformation England', in A. Gordon and T. Rist (eds), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation* (London, 2016), pp. 37-57.

that held the most prestige, the chambers of the Founder, above those of the Master, connected the society's most important spaces, an indication that their spiritual and corporate functions were intertwined.

Where this becomes significant for identifying college uses for portraiture is the idea that these windows create an impression of attendance to the rituals of college life, without physical presence. This reminds us of Jackson-Stops's comments on the capacity of collegiate architecture, at the Warden's Lodgings in New College, Oxford, to facilitate this kind of supervision, discussed in chapter two. Residing in rooms above the gate tower, the warden was housed in a location suitable for observation of the activities taking place within the College.[84] Louise Durning suggests that the way in which space was allocated in Christ's College 'maintained the presence of the foundress in her absence' in addition to acting as a literal lodging.[85] The role of the founder in giving statutes to the college defined the institution's purpose. Their presence, or their implied presence, was a unifying tool, reminding the community of its responsibilities, whether secular or sacred.

This idea of the continual presence of a supervisory figure over the college can also be seen in Beaufort's portrait by Meynnart Wewyck, now in the Master's Lodge at St John's College, Cambridge (Fig. 79). It can be considered a similar stand-in for physical presence, demonstrating the link between the foundation's secular governance and its sacred purpose. One of the most characteristic features of Wewyck's full-length

[84] G. Jackson-Stops, 'The Building of the Medieval College', in J. Buxton and P. Williams (eds), *New College, Oxford, 1379–1979* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 186-7. Jones and Underwood also talk about Beaufort's lodgings at Christ's 'enabling surveillance' in M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's Morther: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 225.

[85] L. Durning, 'Woman on Top: Lady Margaret Beaufort's Buildings at Christ's College, Cambridge', in L. Durning and R. Wrigley (eds), *Gender and Architecture* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 50, 59.



Figure 79:
Lady Margaret Beaufort
(1443–1509)
Meynnart Wewyck
*c.*1510
Oil on panel
Approx. 189.4 x 119.4 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
© The Hamilton Kerr Institute
Appendix no.: 2
Identical to Fig. 59, repeated for reference

is the gold cloth of estate hung above the kneeling Beaufort and secured by a red cord. The composition allows for an unimpeded view of the full length of the cloth, indicating its significance to the portrait's meaning. The cloth of estate could have religious connotations in the period before the Reformation, and was sometimes used in depictions of the Virgin Mary.[86]

Beaufort's own bequests to Christ's College included 'a canapy of rede bowdkyn clothe golde lynede with rede sarcenett to be over the sacryment'.[87] However, the

[86] M. Hayward, 'Symbols of Majesty: Cloths of Estate at the Court of Henry VIII', *Furniture History*, 41 (2005), p. 1.
[87] SJCC, SJLM/8/2/3/1, fo. 11v.

prominent, embossed, embroidery of Beaufort's badges and symbols in the portrait have more in common with those owned by other members of the royal family than the cloths she gave to her first college foundation. Maria Hayward explains that, while the cloth of estate was a symbol of the presence of the monarch or a member of the royal family, it also embodied their authority in abstract. In royal households it was expected that men would 'doff their cap to the cloth and chair of estate whenever they passed them, as a sign of respect'.[88] Despite our knowledge that Beaufort's portrait only arrived in St John's College in 1534, its subsequent display opens the possibility that it could have performed the same kind of supervisory role as Beaufort's lodgings at Christ's. Margaret Beaufort's portrait, like her cloth of estate depicted, may have acted as a substitute for physical presence, continuing the overseeing and regulating of the function of college life as she had done at Christ's during her life.[89] Both Christ's and St John's were set up as Beaufort's chantries and, in the religious context of these institutions in the 1530s, a portrait of Beaufort, acting as a locus for her presence, may have become a focus for intercessory prayer.

Gordon and Rist's understanding of remembrance as a 'habit' and continued 'social performances' rather than stand-alone 'cognitive acts' is a useful way of looking at how the Reformation affected the display of portraits like the Wewyck Beaufort at St John's.[90] When we talk about display, movement and physical alteration are not the

[88] Hayward, 'Symbols of Majesty', p. 5. See also Durning, 'Woman on Top', p. 55, linking architecture, textiles, and portraits to the idea of symbolic presence.

[89] Hepburn considers the idea of a different image of Beaufort acting as a 'substitute', albeit in the very different, personal context of a private chapel. Hepburn, 'The Portraiture of Lady Margaret', p. 123.

[90] A. Gordon and T. Rist, 'Introduction: The Arts of Remembrance', in A. Gordon and T. Rist (eds), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation* (London, 2016), pp. 1-2.

only indicators of changing attitudes to a portrait's purpose. Continued display in a changing spiritual environment can signal that the college was making an active choice to maintain a reciprocal relationship with the patron.

The continuation in use of Margaret Beaufort's image at Christ's and St John's during and after the Reformation demonstrates the painted portrait's ability to adapt to the post-Reformation development of new forms of commemoration. The shifting function of colleges throughout the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century is reflected in the Christ's College Statutes after the Edwardian Reformation. In a copy of the statutes kept in the Treasury, the earlier provision for prayer for the souls of Beaufort, the founder, and other benefactors are removed.[91] However, the Wewyck portrait remained in situ at St John's and, by 1598, long after the 1547/8 Chantries Act, a further portrait of Lady Margaret Beaufort by Rowland Lockey was given to St John's College (Fig. 80). It is an almost exact copy of the 1510–1513 Wewyck, demonstrating the flexibility of meaning of the portrait image. Peter Murray Jones acknowledges this potential continuity of association in college contexts:

> Necessarily the abolition of Purgatory and of intercession meant a break with the elaborate liturgical practices (both communal and private) of seeking salvation characteristic of the pre-Reformation Church. But the evidence of the college's records strongly suggests that commemoration of the founder and his family... were not interrupted as might have been expected.[92]

The enduring legacy of Margaret Beaufort's portrait image at St John's exemplifies this changing nature of memory as a result of the Edwardian Reformation, which Duffy has defined as an interruption of the relationship between the living and the dead.[93] The

[91] H. Rackham (ed), *Early Statutes of Christ's College* (Cambridge, 1927), p. ix.
[92] P. M. Jones, 'Commemoration at a Royal College', in J. S. Lee and C. Steer (eds), *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 122.
[93] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven,

uncoupling of intercessory practices from the commemoration of benefactors allowed the College to continue its commemoration of Margaret Beaufort as a patron and figurehead, without complicating the association by acknowledging her Catholic beliefs.



Figure 80:
Lady Margaret Beaufort
(1443–1509)
Rowland Lockey (*c.*1565–1616)
*c.*1598
Oil on panel
Approx. 177.8 x 114.3 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 3

However, rather than Nigel Llewellyn's suggestion, based on his work on post-Reformation funerary monuments, that this was a secularising process, St John's College's continuing engagement with the portraiture of Margaret Beaufort must be understood as the development of a new kind of sacralisation of the exemplary female

2022), p. 475.

benefactor.[94] This is demonstrated by the College's display of the portrait of Beaufort, painted and signed by Rowland Lockey, a copy faithful to the Wewyck portrait now in the Master's Lodge.[95] Within the rentals or financial accounts of the College of 1597-8, there is a record of a payment 'to two carpenters for settinge upp the foundresse pictures'.[96] This indicates that both portraits needed to be rehung, suggesting that the Wewyck portrait may have been taken down in order to facilitate the process of copying, or rehung to make space for the new portrait. Further accounts from this same year indicate the significance of this new display of near duplicate images of Beaufort for the visual identity of the college. The next entry in the Rentals records a payment for 'Thirtie Eyghte yardes of Greene Saye at xvj^{d} a ya[r]de for the borderinge of the Chappell'.[97] There are payments indicating a general refurbishment of the decorative scheme in the Chapel, including one to a tailor for edging the green 'cloke' and for 'payntinge of the borderinge of the Chappell.'[98] An additional item links 'the creste of the Chappells border' with 'makinge a newe creste for the newe picture of the foundresse', subsequently painted and gilded.[99] There is no record of where the Lockey portrait was hung, but this connection suggests that it may have been the Chapel.

The emphasis on hangings, and painted and gilded crests in the Chapel at this time resembles the interior in which Lady Margaret kneels in both portraits owned by the College, and further echoes the altar cloths given to Christ's College from

[94] N. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 363.
[95] My discussion of the spiritual significance of the arrival of the Lockey portrait of Margaret Beaufort forms part of a forthcoming chapter: A. Clark, 'Richard Crashaw's Lady Margaret Beaufort in the *Liber Memorialis* at St John's College, Cambridge', in Y. Arshad and C. Laoutaris (eds), *Women and Cultures of Portraiture in the British Literary Renaissance* (forthcoming, 2024).
[96] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/2, 'Rental 1575–1600', fo. 505v.
[97] Ibid. fo. 505v.
[98] Ibid., fo. 505v.
[99] Ibid., fo. 505v.

Lady Margaret's own household chapel, such as 'It[e]m a payre of Au[l]t[er] Cloths of grene velvet paled w[i]t[h] Crymsyn velvet and enbrawdred w[i]t[h] portcolions'.[100] However, the use of portraiture for this post-Reformation act of commemoration is divorced from the associations with the intercessory prayer that characterised collegiate commemoration at the time of Beaufort's personal involvement at Cambridge. In 1598, the act of copying the 1510–1513 portrait, and the display of both versions, allowed the College to emphasise the continuity of association with the virtuous and charitable Founder while representing a break with the Catholic associations of former memorialisation.

Intercessory practices had been disrupted, but the commemoration through portraiture of a college benefactor's physical presence remained a possibility beyond the outset of the Reformation. A noteworthy example is the portrait of Sir Thomas White at St John's College, Oxford. Jane Eade has described the wooden leaves of post-Reformation secular portraits and images like that of White as reminiscent of altarpieces and sacred triptychs and carrying a kind of spiritual function. For Eade, doors on portraits like that of White are almost like seventeenth-century Italian tombs whose doors symbolised 'the threshold between life and death'.[101] She suggests that one such triptych portrait of Lady Anne Clifford was 'used to stand proxy for her actual presence'.[102] Tittler considers doors and curtains similarly, speculating whether they 'reminded some viewers of the occasional pre-Reformation practice of temporarily veiling part of the sanctuary'.[103] At St John's, Thomas White's portrait became

[100] SJCC, SJLM/3/2/3, 'Bequests of the Lady Margaret', fo. 3.
[101] J. Eade, 'The Triptych Portrait in England 1585–1646', *The British Art Journal*, 6/2 (2005), p. 9.
[102] Ibid., p. 6.
[103] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 154.

indicative of a continuing spiritual connection with a virtuous donor in the afterlife.



Figure 81:
Saint Katherine and the Philosophers
Goswijn van der Weyden (*c.*1465–after 1538)
*c.*1510
Oil on panel
Approx. 108.6 x 157.2 cm
Southampton City Art Gallery

Meanwhile, archival references to William Nutbrowne's donation of a picture of St Katherine to St John's College, Oxford, with the arms of White and the University added, allow us to identify the image as a triptych of Saint Katherine and the Philosophers now at Southampton City Art Gallery. Previous work on this painting by Rachel Billinge and Lorne Campbell reveals that the arms were painted on the outside of the wings.[104] Billinge and Campbell, however, supposed the triptych to be a gift of the Founder to the College.[105] This thesis makes the link between this particular painting and Sir Thomas Lake's removal of Nutbrowne's gift. This gives important context to the College's eagerness to emphasise that the picture is an 'old worke' of 'noe use' but decorative, perhaps trying to allay any suspicion raised by their ownership of an image with difficult religious associations. In the religious climate of the early seventeenth century, the College's portrait of Thomas White and the triptych

[104] R. Billinge and L. Campbell, 'The Triptych of Saint Catherine and the Philosophers attributed to Goossen van der Weyden in Southampton City Art Gallery', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 24 (2003), pp. 64-74.

[105] Ibid., pp. 71-2. At the time Billinge and Campbell were writing, no 'reference to the triptych in the early inventories in the College archives, in the Bursars' Accounts or in the College Registers' had yet been discovered.

of Saint Katherine had essentially exchanged functions. In an institution bereft of its traditional religious imagery, portraits had become an opportunity to shape colleges' spiritual identity through the collective memories of patrons.

Colleges spiritually aligned with evangelical Protestantism also used the display of portraiture to shape the spiritual character of the College's key spaces. At Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, the growing portrait collection created a visual network of individuals linked to more radical Protestant beliefs. Frances Sidney herself, whose spiritual beliefs were explored in chapter three, formed the centre of this network. Additionally the 1639 inventory of the College includes a portrait of her great-nephew James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the great chamber of the Master's Lodgings, showing the interconnected nature of social, spiritual, and institutional ties.[106]

Within the College's displays of portraiture, however, religion could be more significant than other kinds of connection. For example, the inventory of Sidney Sussex's 'picture room' lists a portrait of William Perkins, a Cambridge Calvinist theologian closely associated with the spiritual character of early Sidney Sussex but unconnected to the College itself except through his relationship and affinity with several of Sidney Sussex's early masters, including James Montagu. Perkins' own views on the sacred purposes of images go some way to explaining the use of portraiture at the College. For Perkins, images for display in public or private houses were permissible in spaces 'that serve onely for civil meetings' and could be used for 'political or symbolic' purposes.[107] The display of images of those connected by spiritual kinship at Sidney Sussex, ex-

[106] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 6.
[107] Richard Williams highlights Protestant discomfort over the display of images and discussions as to their permitted use in Williams, 'Collecting and Religion', pp. 163-4.

panding outwards from the main chamber of the Master's Lodgings shows that, while images were prohibited in the context of the Chapel and religious practice, they were central in defining the spiritual character of the College in other spaces.

The creation of Protestant networks through portraiture is equally visible at Brasenose College, Oxford, where a portrait of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, was displayed. A long inscription comments on his great age, highlighting the continued sharpness of his senses and mind. Here, this professed vitality accentuates the idea of presence through portraiture. Of course, Brasenose also displayed portraits of his spiritual advisee, Joyce Frankland. However, Frankland's specific request that her portrait and those of her parents were displayed in the chapels and oratories of several colleges across Oxford and Cambridge appears in conflict with Perkins' philosophy on appropriate use of images. On closer investigation, however, it seems that the purpose of Frankland's portraits would have been considered acceptable in accordance with Protestant views. We know that the *memento mori* features of Frankland's portrait called attention to the boundaries between the living and the dead but, in the case of the Brasenose portrait, the inscription was equally important in emphasising her continued effect on and presence as part of the community.[108] Referring to Frankland as a mother to the students of Brasenose, this focus on moral edification by a motherly figure rather than spiritual practice can be associated with contemporary views on the godly household.[109] While Frankland certainly intended for the portraits she bequeathed to be hung in the Chapel, there is no evidence that this actually occurred. Nevertheless, viewed as

[108] Cooper's work highlights the Protestant nature of the iconography. T. Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven; London, 2012), p. 107.

[109] See Cooper's comments on Frankland's fictive motherhood in Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 107.

memorialisation of a godly and exemplary maternal figure rather than as a prompt for intercessory prayer allowed Brasenose (and the other colleges given her portraits) the freedom to display these images, emphasising both spiritual kinship and domestic hierarchy. The spiritual purposes of such portraits reaffirmed the stability of these communities at a time of religious turmoil.

At colleges with conservative or recusant founders the spiritual purpose of the display of portraits developed along an alternative axis during the Reformation. We have seen that Dorothy Wadham organised for the display of portraits of herself and her husband at Wadham College, Oxford but, where overtly Protestant portraits of this time display the sitter's spiritual 'credentials' through inscription and props, such as the imagery in Joyce Frankand's portrait, the Wadham's portraits were, in iconographical terms, much more ambiguous.[110] The last chapter explored Dorothy Wadham's religious identity alongside that of her Catholic father William Petre. In terms of her husband, Jackson questioned Nicholas Wadham's dedication to the 'old faith', suggesting that he had no problem conforming after 1605.[111] Cliff Davies detects more significant Catholic inclinations, but uses a 1577-8 letter from Sir Amias Paulet, an acquaintance with conspicuously reformed beliefs, as evidence of 'Nicholas's ability to maintain good relations across the religious spectrum.'[112] However, Paulet's widowed step-mother, who had also been a close neighbour of the Wadhams, was Lady Elizabeth Pope, co-founder of Trinity College, Oxford, who had married Sir Hugh Paulet in 1560

[110] See T. Cooper, 'Visual Memory, Portraiture and the Protestant Credentials of Tudor and Stuart Families', in A. Walsham, B. Wallace, C. Law and B. Cummings (eds), *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 318-33.

[111] T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford: Its Foundation, Architecture and History, with an Account of the Family of Wadham and their seats in Somerset and Devon* (Oxford, 1893), pp. 10-11.

[112] C. S. L. Davies, 'A Woman in the Public Sphere; Dorothy Wadham and the Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford', *The English Historical Review*, 118/479 (2003), pp. 886-887.

after the death of Sir Thomas Pope. Her recusancy was discussed in chapter three, and is comparable to the suspicions levelled against Dorothy Wadham in her widowhood.[113]

Wadham College trod a careful line between conservatism and conformity. The figurative glass in the Chapel, which ran the risk of being considered 'a daring innovation in terms of English Protestantism' according to Davies, shows only carefully chosen Biblical stories, rather than saints.[114] During Dorothy Wadham's funeral, Jackson writes that 'both chapel and hall were hung with black serge and baize, on which were pinned appropriate texts, and that the pews, pulpit, and communion table and seats were draped with black broadcloth'.[115] This interesting emphasis on the word is perhaps indicative of post-Reformation shift from the religious commemoration of benefactors in the College's most sacred space. In terms of portraiture, there is no record of the Wadhams appearing in the Chapel at all. Despite several funerary monuments depicting fellows, figurative representation had also moved elsewhere.

A pair of statues of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham installed in the College's front quad in 1612-13, included in chapter two's mention of the College's tower of the orders, make a significant statement. The details of the statue of Dorothy are based closely on her 1611 portrait made for the College, discussed in chapters one and four. The tight cut of the sleeves and densely placed buttoning reveals Dorothy's statue to be a closer fit to her later depiction than to the 1595 version of her portrait.[116] This stone portrait, however, is modelled like a funerary effigy, with the hands placed across the stomach

[113] Ibid., p. 888.
[114] Ibid., p. 909.
[115] Jackson, *Wadham College,* p. 86.
[116] Visual comparison between the portraits and photographs of the statue before its restoration in the 1960s. See Swindon, Historic England, Archive, Photograph (Negative) CC49/00300: https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/CC49/00300 (14 July 2023).

in prayer and a veil covering the head. Nicholas Wadham's statue is clad in armour, as on their tomb in the Church of St Mary, Ilminster. The statues formed part of the classical frontispiece in the centre of the College's quadrangle over the doorway to the College's key spaces dedicated to sacred practices and communal domestic routines. Their function as a kind of funerary monument memorialised both the sacred and secular aspects of the Wadhams' achievements.

The Wadhams' lineage, impeded by their childlessness, is celebrated here by an inscription indicating that the College and its students are their legacy. However, due to their status, and particularly Dorothy Wadham's reputation, as religious conservatives, these statues also function in a similar way to the portraits of recusants in the domestic settings studied by Tittler. They were 'providing a defiant and narrative history of the recusant community'.[117] A similar process is examined by Clark Hulse in his work on the cult of Sir Thomas More and his portrait's function as a kind of 'icon' cloaked under 'the mantle of secular portraiture'.[118] As such, while Dorothy Wadham's portrait was not displayed in the chapel, the entire College became a sacred space united in a spiritual purpose in keeping with the memory of its founders. This reinforces the link between portraits and funerary effigies and brasses and gives strength to the idea that spiritual community was invested in the presence of key individuals, even after the beginning of the Reformation.

Here, the Wadhams' connection to Elizabeth Pope becomes significant. Chapter three considered the conservative spiritual beliefs of Sir Thomas Pope and his wife

[117] Tittler, 'Portraiture and Memory', p. 50.
[118] C. Hulse, 'Dead Man's Treasure: The Cult of Thomas More', in D. L. Miller, S. O'Dair and H. Weber (eds), *The Production of English Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca, 2019), pp. 209, 213.

Elizabeth. Additionally, Clare Hopkins comments on the possibility that Catholic rites were involved in Thomas Pope's reburial at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1567.[119] Elizabeth Pope and Dorothy Wadham were very similar in terms of their role as a female founder, ensuring that their respective colleges functioned according to their husbands' expectations in their widowhoods. It is not necessarily a coincidence then that Trinity bought and displayed a portrait of Elizabeth Pope in 1612-13, just a year after Wadham's portrait was commissioned for Wadham College.[120] Here, it is worth remembering that there is no record of the source image for Trinity's seventeenth-century copy of Pope. Keen to follow the example of Wadham, the College may have copied any suitable image and identified it as Elizabeth Pope, although the short time since her death and her acquaintance with the College's senior membership lends weight to it being a copy of an original family portrait.

What is important here is Trinity College's decision to hang the portraits of the Popes together in a prominent location, emphasising these particular figures from the College's past. They were placed in the Hall.[121] It was not the first time a panel portrait of Thomas Pope had been displayed, but it was the first portrait of Elizabeth and the first outside the chapel. Of course, Pope's tomb represents the literal presence of the Founder, but centring spiritual commemorative practices around his burial may have come too close to now prohibited pre-Reformation practices, such as saying prayers for the souls of the dead. Additionally, a wall painting in the Trinity College bursary with an 'IHS' motif, which Hopkins links to 'Jesus Day' or Sir Thomas Pope's obit,

[119] C. Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community* (Oxford, 2005), p. 47.
[120] Oxford, Trinity College, IA/2, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1600–1631', fo. 141v: 'for the Foundress Picture - xl^{s}'.
[121] Ibid., fo. 141r: 'for two rodds & hookes for the Curtaynes w^{ch} Couer the Founders, & Foundress Pictures in the Hall'.

was covered up, although it is not known on exactly which date this occurred.[122] Nevertheless, the display of a portrait, representing a figurative rather than literal presence may have been a more acceptable way to shape the spiritual community of the College around the figure of the Founder.

The inclusion of Elizabeth Pope's portrait in the 1612-13 purchase is significant given the extended period of time the College's female founder spent involved with Trinity after her husband's death and as the College conformed to the changes to public religion. Her continuing visits and the secretive reburial of her husband as she navigated her subsequent marriage to a strict Protestant made her an exemplary crypto-Catholic college figurehead. As married women's relative protection from recusancy charges led to matriarchal continuation of Catholic culture and practices, a portrait of a female founder became an opportunity to unite silently behind a sympathetic figure.[123] McConica argues that 'the recusant rolls reveal an invisible network of support in the vicinity of Oxford itself'.[124] Memorial portraits of recusant women, without overt statements of spiritual belief, were a physical means of commemorating those networks of support and the decision to display these images on the walls of central collegiate spaces allowed college communities to engage with their spiritual identities in new ways.

[122] Hopkins, *Trinity*, pp. 51-2.
[123] M. B. Rowlands, 'Recusant Women 1560–1640', in M. Prior (ed) *Women in English Society, 1500–1800* (London, 1991), p. 116.
[124] J. McConica 'The Catholic Experience in Tudor Oxford', in T. McCoog (ed), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896-1996)* (Rome, 2007), p. 60.

Conclusions

The first part of this chapter used documents relating to the movement and display of portraits to develop an understanding of the early conventions of collegiate portraiture. Arriving from a variety of different origins, these portraits did not become coherent collections for neatly identified 'civic' or institutional purposes from the moment they arrived. Portraits continued to fulfil the wide range of roles they had outside the college, reflecting the range of relationships they represented. This chapter has found that, while gender played an important role in how portraits were acquired, it then became less important in determining how a portrait was displayed or valued than other factors, such as social status and internal institutional notions of hierarchy. The commemoration of the living and the memorialisation of the dead were both important, and were part of ongoing patronage relationships in which both the sitter and the institution that displayed the portrait benefited.

Sixteenth-century developments in art, architecture, and religion shaped the function and display of portraits in England's universities. As copies and new versions of portraits became more widely available, colleges were able to prioritize certain types of portrait and particular spaces. The objects and spaces that were most highly valued were determined by new approaches to collecting and the development of new spaces that could house those collections.

However, the most significant element in the developing display of portrait collections in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge was the impact of the Reformation. Sometimes portraits were neither moved nor altered, but the mere fact of their continued

display in a changing college community has significance for how we understand their purpose. Pre-Reformation portraits were displayed in ways that sought to break their association with obsolete liturgical practices and awkward religious associations. Meanwhile, changing beliefs offered an opportunity to more radically reformed institutions, who used galleries of images to invoke didactic groupings of individuals, including women, whose position was reminiscent of their role within the godly household. Here, emphasis on the key collegiate principles of piety, kinship, and order bolstered these institutions through a time of change. At the same time, the role of women was equally important in more conservative colleges with Catholic founders, but for different reasons. Their portraits became a focal point for these communities in the absence of other demonstrative displays of spiritual identity.

The argument of this chapter is that, after early indecision about the function of portraits within collegiate societies, these institutions began to alter their portraits and experiment with their display as a way of shaping their commemorative traditions in response to immediate changes to their circumstances and wider societal transformations. Building on this, the next chapter examines how this process evolved when colleges began to make copies of portraits already in their collections, including portraits of female sitters, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Investigating the potential motives behind copying allows us to define how a collegiate portrait was expected to function within the early modern college.

Chapter 6

Copying Portraits

As the accessibility and popularity of university portraiture started to increase in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, first in Cambridge and then in Oxford, two parallel approaches to collecting emerged.[1] Many colleges expanded the range of their collections. They gradually began to assemble the visual compendia of college members, benefactors, and associates that would populate their walls by the late seventeenth century, leading to the extensive collections of the present day considered in chapter two. At the same time as this emphasis on breadth, some of these institutions also began to commission numerous copies of portraits of the *same* sitter. Of course, it was not unusual to find that several portraits of a particularly prominent patron had already made their way into college collections. Even before any coherent collecting practices had been established, colleges could acquire several *versions* of portraits, often given to them as gifts. Donations also frequently included

[1] As Robert Tittler has suggested, Cambridge colleges were quicker to adopt portraiture than those in Oxford, tending to accumulate a greater number of portraits before 1600. Oxford's collections began to expand in the early seventeenth century. Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 42-3.

later copies from the donor's own collection, for example the portraits of Margaret Beaufort given by Gabriel Goodman to Christ's College, Cambridge.[2] However, the emerging interest in the reproduction of portraits within the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, considered here alongside expanding collections, was different from earlier accumulations of versions and copies. The specific commission of later, and often posthumous, copies of portraits already in college ownership indicates that deliberate repetition had become an important part of collegiate commemoration.

Despite the simultaneous nature of these developments in collecting, most scholarly work focuses on the broadening scope of representation in early modern colleges, often attributing it to the growing antiquarianism of elite sixteenth-century society. Portraits had become a central part of demonstrating claims to antiquity and advertising connections or associations with nationally important figures.[3] Catherine Daunt's work on portrait sets of worthies in the 2015 essay volume *Painting in Britain 1500–1630* demonstrates that this kind of early modern engagement with portraits first flourished at court and in domestic contexts, later spreading to civic spaces and scholarly communities.[4] Sets are first seen in the Universities in a series of portraits at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1565 which depicted a direct line from the founder, Hugo de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, to the benefactors leaving legacies in the mid-sixteenth century.[5] This desire to explain the ancient roots of an institution had spread by the

[2] Whilst written records are not detailed enough to match Goodman's donations to extant portraits, a late-sixteenth century copy (appendix no. 5) is possibly one of his gifts.
[3] C. Daunt, 'Heroes and Worthies: Emerging Antiquarianism and the Taste for Portrait Sets in England', in T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard and E. Town (eds), *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 368, 374; R. Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540–1640* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 33-4, 37.
[4] Daunt, 'Heroes and Worthies', p. 362.
[5] Ibid., p. 367.

early seventeenth century. Older colleges, whose only images of their founders may have been generalised representations in manuscripts or medieval stonework, began to commission fictitious portraits of key figures involved in their society's development. A portrait of Dervorguilla de Balliol, founder of Balliol first appears in the College accounts in 1604/5.[6]

Rachel Lane Poole and Robert Tittler demonstrate the profitability of this trend for a number of local artists who found work at Oxford and Cambridge colleges.[7] At Oxford, many of these commissions were fulfilled by Sampson Strong, a Dutch painter working in the Oxfordshire area. In 1596 he was commissioned to produce a portrait of New College's founder, William of Wykeham (*c.*1324–1404). He also painted Henry Chichele (*c.*1362–1443), founder of All Souls College, Oxford.[8] His work emphasised the established nature and longevity of the older colleges in an up-to-date and fashionable medium.

In contrast, the practice of making copies, which began to proliferate across England's two universities at the same time, has received comparatively little scholarly attention. Painted portrait copies were often produced by local or regional artists, and are frequently of a reduced quality in comparison to originals or versions already in college collections. Recent projects such as 'Making Art in Tudor Britain' have begun to explore the value of copies for understanding both artistic practices and patrons' motivation in this period. However, scholarship that focuses particularly on the process of copying has so far been chiefly concerned with either sets or the spread

[6] Oxford, Balliol College, Bursar's Accounts 1592–1614, fo. 70v: 'It[em] to a painter for the diall & for armes one the foregates & for Deruorguilla her picture - 10^{s}'. See appendix no. 1.
[7] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, pp. xi-xiv; Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 80-2.
[8] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, pp. xii-xiii.

of elite portraiture centred around the royal court and copies of the work of court artists, such as Hans Holbein.[9] Additionally, due to technical interest in artistic craft, studies of copies are often shaped by research questions more suitable for the concerns of conservation studies and traditional art history rather than those of social and cultural history.[10]

University-owned sets and fictitious early seventeenth-century college commissions were often also produced by local artists and craftsmen, yet have been acknowledged as useful sources for social and cultural historians. It is therefore unclear why there has not been more historical interest in investigating what the creation and acquisition of copies by colleges can reveal about sixteenth-century society. Perhaps sets and invented portraits have been understood to have a place in scholarship on collecting.[11] Copies of individual older portraits, on the other hand, might be seen as a development that does not quite fit with our understanding of the evolution late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century fashions.

This chapter argues that there is a great deal of historical value to be found in the production of copies of college patrons' portraits. The extent of this trend is demonstrated by the existence of several copies, from the seventeenth century onwards, of portraits of most of the sitters discussed as part of this thesis. Colleges either

[9] T. Cooper and M. Howard, 'Artists, Patrons and the Context for the Production of Painted Images in Tudor and Jacobean England', in T. Cooper, A. Burnstock, M. Howard and E. Town (eds), *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford, 2015), p. 22; S. Plender and P. Saltmarsh, 'Copies and Versions: Discussing Holbein's Legacy in England. Technical Examination of Copies of Holbein Portraits at the National Portrait Gallery', in E. Hermens (ed), *European Paintings 15th–18th Century: Copying, Replicating and Emulating* (London, 2014), pp. 50-7.

[10] C. Rae and A. Burnstock, 'A Technical Study of Portraits of King James VI and I Attributed to John de Critz the Elder (d.1642): Artist, Workshop and Copies', in E. Hermens (ed), *European Paintings 15th–18th Century: Copying, Replicating and Emulating* (London, 2014), pp. 58-66.

[11] See, for example, Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics*, pp. 34-9.

commissioned copies themselves or facilitated their commission by friends and associates. Comparative analysis of these copies reveals the ways in which colleges were beginning to explore the commemorative potential of portraiture, experimenting with composition, materials, and media. Copies could be either direct reproductions of earlier portraits or imaginative reconstructions, closer in style to the aesthetics of the time in which they were made. However, unlike distinct *versions* of the same portrait, painted at a similar time but with variations in detail, copies were always produced at a later date to the images they imitated. Most were painted, on panel or on canvas, but copies also spread across a variety of media: painted images in books, window glass, medals, statues and, towards the late seventeenth century, prints.[12]

Copies were a parallel tool to the construction of more comprehensive collections depicting college patrons and members. In both cases, new commissions were essential for the creation of a sense of historic continuity. Both approaches addressed the colleges' present interests and future hopes as much as they commemorated the past. As explored in the previous chapter, colleges' display of portraits engaged with contemporary concerns within the university. Portraits of Reformed scholars at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, were grouped to emphasise the community's current confessional identity. The creation of near duplicate copies of specific figures, or updating founder's portraits to reflect the college's present, had a similar function. Investigating how colleges and those associated with them used copies allows us to develop a picture of the changing purpose of portraits in these institutions over time. By exploring the timing of the acquisition of copies, their relationship to the original version, and, where possible,

[12] See Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, pp. xxi-xxiii, 244 on glass portraits at Wadham and elsewhere.

their location within the college, we can identify how the reiteration of portrait images met particular commemorative needs.

At first sight, the two different kinds of expansion of college collections outlined above appear to fulfil the same purpose. Architectural developments within the college, such as new buildings to accommodate growing student numbers, and the inclusion of galleries echoing England's elite domestic spaces, increased the availability of unfilled wall space.[13] At several colleges, large-scale commissions filled these new spaces, as did Robert Beaumont's set of royal sitters given to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1567.[14] Copies also filled the gaps created by expansion, and section one of this chapter discusses the link between several such commissions and college building work.

However, the particular value of portrait copies is that they help us to access a different perspective on colleges' relationship with the past than that offered by the acquisition of sets and invented historical portraits discussed above. Firstly, college collecting practices in this period began to reconstruct their past. For example, a portrait of William of Wykeham by Sampson Strong used illustrations from a fifteenth-century manuscript as the basis for his image.[15] Secondly, colleges often used portraits in dialogue with one another, to present a specific interpretation of their institution's history. Their portraits contributed to an early modern historical culture which Daniel Woolf has described as 'more consciously allusive to and repetitive of the past'.[16]

The production of copies of older college portraits was also self-consciously iterative.

[13] See Daunt, 'Heroes and Worthies', pp.371-2 for a summary of scholarly work on the relationship between portraits and elite architectural design.
[14] See Appendix, nos. 61 and 62.
[15] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. xii.
[16] D. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford, 2003), p. 12.

However, while copies referred to the past and some can be understood from an antiquarian perspective, they did more than reconstruct interpretations of the college's history. The colleges that made these copies already had other versions of their patrons' portraits for that purpose. Copies referred back to an original or previous version, but rarely sought to recreate exactly the conditions and function of the original. Neither form nor medium were fixed. Even duplicates occupied different spaces in colleges, changing the portrait's interaction with the interior spaces and commemorative media that surrounded it. Consequently, the relationship between a college's original acquisition and its subsequent copies forms a visual record of historical change. As copies modified, deliberately or not, the original intentions of the sitter or initial commissioner, these portraits became embodiments of institutional change. These were living images, actively responding to developments within the college at the same time as presenting the appearance of continuity. We can map these accretions in meaning over time, with the repetition of the portrait's subject acting as a useful control for our analysis. Given the complexities and omissions in the records of early collecting, including copies within the scope of historians' investigations provides an important new perspective. By looking at the specific context of each commission, which portraits were copied, and which were not, and by exploring whether there are moments in which the commission of copies overtakes other kinds of collecting, we can build a sense of a college's priorities.

The expansion of collections in this period also means that this was a unique moment in the history of the university for portraits of female patrons. Although, as we have seen, the visibility of non-royal women operating as patrons had increased in the sixteenth century, this change is not particularly evident in the use of portrait sets

by colleges. The Peterhouse, Cambridge, set includes just one female patron: Elizabeth Wolfe, a widow and local property-owner, who had bequeathed the lands of her late husband to the College on her death in 1540.[17] Additionally, a large number of the portraits of women in university sets in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were still depicted as a result of their royal status rather than through any specific connection to the institutions in which they are displayed. Robert Beaumont's set at Trinity College, Cambridge, depicts both Elizabeth of York and Mary I, respectively mother and daughter of the College's founder.[18] Furthermore, as college collections grew in the early seventeenth century, there was an increase in the representation of male college members. The display of familial portraits of masters and fellows, including wives, mothers, and sisters, would not emerge until the latter half of the century.[19] Temporarily, therefore, the visibility of female patrons' portraits on college walls was actually reduced, diluted by new acquisitions. Nevertheless, repeated copies of portraits of female sitters maintained a level of female presence.

In those colleges with portraits of important female patrons already on display, what significance, if any, did gender have on the commemorative possibilities of copies? As previous chapters have argued, the gender of the sitter governed a portrait's composition and initial purpose, and frequently shaped the routes through which it could enter a college. Chapter five proposed that, in terms of display within college communities, the impact of gender was secondary to a number of other characteristics of the sitter,

[17] T. A. Walker, *Peterhouse* (London, 1906), pp. 225-6.
[18] Beaumont's gift is described in Trinity College, Cambridge's *Memoriale Collegii Trinitatis* (1614): Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17.8, p. 78.
[19] See for example, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1699–1742, Richard Bentley (1662–1742), who gave the College a portrait of his wife, Joanna, who lived in the Lodgings but is not remembered as a significant patron or benefactor.

such as social status and religious identity. Many of the copies investigated in this chapter demonstrate that gender retained its conceptual importance. However, as in the previous chapter, other factors were more influential than gender in driving male-dominated colleges to invest their institutional identity in the image of a woman.

The connection between expansion and building work and the commission of copies provides a useful starting point for my analysis, prompting reflection on why colleges might choose to repeat portraits of early patrons rather than depicting their current supporters. The continuing importance of a number of commemorative priorities that shaped the late medieval college, first outlined in chapter two, are also reconsidered. Social and kinship networks remained a vital link between colleges' internal structures and external systems of support. As opportunities for patronage expanded to new groups of potential supporters, copies become important tools for patrons to reinforce their claims to association. Also key was the role of copies in the expression of Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline confessional identity, rather than the more general piety valued by earlier generations. The development and organisation of increasingly intricate corporate identities was also facilitated by this new commemorative resource. Returning to the issues that affected the early sixteenth-century college through the lens of portrait copies allows us to understand how new artistic forms overlapped with the functions of pre-existing commemoration to sustain early modern collegiate identity in a new century.

6.1 Changes Related to Building and Finances

The correlation between building work and the commission of portraiture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is well established.[20] Tittler emphasises that the acquisition of portraits at the University of Cambridge initially outpaced Oxford due to the higher number of new foundations, significant benefactions, and large building projects in the second half of the sixteenth century.[21] He compares this with the rapid adoption of portraiture in Oxford after 1600 that similarly coincided with large-scale patronage from leading courtiers and a growing number of construction projects. As the physical footprint of these institutions expanded, portraits were unquestionably used to commemorate new donors and to fill new spaces created by the works.

Nevertheless, Tittler's examination generates further questions about why building projects might have prompted a parallel enthusiasm for replicating existing depictions of early college patrons, as well as the commemoration of those directly involved in new developments. Our understanding is incomplete without asking whether copies simply fulfilled the existing functions of college-owned portraits of the same sitter but transposed into a new space, or whether were there other reasons why older figures from the college's history were considered an appropriate choice for repetition at these particular moments. Close analysis of the acquisition of copies, combined with the particular financial circumstances of the colleges making these changes, reveals that the repetition of patrons' images fulfilled a number of different purposes beyond filling

[20] Catherine Daunt writes that 'major building work was certainly a direct impetus for the acquisition of portraits'. Daunt, 'Heroes and Worthies', p. 371.
[21] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 42-43.

wall space. Copies of particular individuals could be representative of a shared collegiate identity. They could also indicate familial or dynastic allegiances within an institution, or even reflect financial anxieties.

Trinity College, Oxford, is a noteworthy example of the commission of copies by an expanding college because its members chose a period of great change to reinforce their association with their deceased founder. In 1612-13, almost sixty years after its foundation, the College paid for, and likely commissioned, a copy of the only portrait of their founder in their collection, Sir Thomas Pope.[22] The earlier portrait, which, as we have seen, had been acquired in 1596, remained in the Chapel and the new portrait was hung in the Hall with an additional portrait of his wife, Lady Elizabeth Pope, which was itself probably copied from an original elsewhere. The decision to commemorate Trinity's founder in a second College space coincided with a substantial building project driven by Ralph Kettell, President of Trinity between 1599–1643. A closer look at how these expansions and refurbishments were financed indicates why Thomas Pope was a suitable choice in comparison to the possibility of commemorating another, more current patron.

Kettell had secured the financial health of the College through his 1602 *Decretum de Gratiis Collegio Rependendis*. According to Clare Hopkins, this rule required fellows to give '20 per cent of the annual value of any property they might inherit, and 12.5 percent of the annual value of any benefice they might accept, and they would bequeath

[22] The first college-owned portrait is documented in Oxford, Trinity College, *Computi Bursariorum* IA/1, fo. 396v: 'Solutus Eelburye p[ro] operculo Picturæ Fundatoris - xvij s.'. The purchase of the new copy is recorded in Oxford, Trinity College, IA/2, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1600–1631', fos. 141r-143r.

to Trinity 5 per cent of any capital which they might acquire'.[23] Shortly after this huge increase in college revenues, sourced communally from fellows, Kettell also established a Plate Fund to generate income from undergraduate students.[24] In the early years of Kettell's tenure, Trinity was able to further profit from lucrative corn rents by way of the renewal of several of their leases.[25] The use of the money raised by these new sources of income to fund College building projects meant that there was no single major benefactor associated with Trinity's expansion. We might expect, therefore, that the acquisition a further portrait of Thomas Pope stood in for the depiction of a new benefactor, becoming a familiar substitute for college members' mutual responsibility for charitable benefaction.

The physical characteristics of the pair of copies of Thomas and Elizabeth Pope lend support to this interpretation. As chapter one's investigation into the Pope portraits at Trinity College concluded, the 1612-13 panels were acquired together and were likely produced at the same time. The portrait of Elizabeth Pope (Fig. 83) is painted on an English oak panel support, leading Ian Tyers to suggest that it may have been 'made by a College carpenter, or other local joiner, rather than bought in from a cosmopolitan panel maker'.[26] There are two possible candidates for the copy of Thomas Pope bought at the same time as that of his wife. Both copies of Thomas Pope are now in the College collection but the 1612-13 purchase is the only clue in the College accounts to either's date of acquisition. The first potential match is a portrait often attributed

[23] C. Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community* (Oxford, 2005), p. 72.
[24] Ibid., p. 73.
[25] Ibid., pp. 75-6.
[26] I. Tyers, 'Tree-Ring Analysis of 4 Panel Paintings from Trinity College, Oxford' (unpublished report, January 2023), p. 6.



Figure 82:
Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 116.8 x 88.9 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 45
Identical to Fig. 26, repeated for reference



Figure 83:
Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593)
Unknown artist
After *c.*1592
Oil on panel
92.7 x 69 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 14
Identical to Fig. 25, repeated for reference

to a college fellow, Francis Potter, assumed to have been painted in 1637.[27] It was revealed, through dendrochronology commissioned for this project, to date at some time after *c.*1573, and probably 'significantly later'.[28] The more likely possibility is a panel portrait that was found to be unsuitable for dendrochronology but is similar in construction to other early seventeenth-century panels and is most likely made from English oak (Fig. 82). In addition to their materials, comparison of both portraits' approach to copying reveals that the face in the Potter portrait is characteristic of the

[27] See Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 119. Although a 1637 date of production is plausible based on Potter's career, I can find no corroborating record for this date.
[28] Ibid., p. 17.

mid-seventeenth century, while figure 82 is more conventionally sixteenth-century in style, suggesting that it is the earlier image.

For both copies of Thomas Pope's portrait, it seems probable that local craftsmen in the Thames Valley area were the source of the wood, the carpentry, and the final painted image. Using this reading of the surviving portraits, we can understand Trinity College's acquisition as a decision by the college members themselves to commission a portrait of their founder. Tittler's claim that 'those patrons who had no access to the elite painters of the day, or who couldn't afford their services, could sometimes commission copies from competent painters instead' could be applied to the College here.[29] Without the means or connections to acquire new artworks of the quality of their original portrait of Pope, and with no particular major benefactor to depict or who might donate portraiture themselves, Ralph Kettell and the governing body of Trinity College, Oxford, returned to the image of their founder.

The repetition of the image of the Founder in a central college space also echoed developments in nearby foundations. On the same street, just outside Oxford's city walls, building work had begun in 1610 on Wadham College. The works included commissions for statues of the King and the College's two founders. Additionally, portraits of Wadham's founders and benefactors to the Library were donated by Dorothy Wadham. The senior members of Trinity, developing College spaces to secure income from new students, possibly felt a sense of rivalry with this establishment which had an active and wealthy living donor.[30] There was also some attendant anxiety that came with Trinity's large building expenditure. In 1608, Kettell documented the extent of

[29] Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics*, p. 161.
[30] Hopkins, *Trinity*, p. 76.

the changes made, hoping to justify the cost. He wrote that 'this reporte we hope, y^{e} age succeedinge will receive as a true apologie for those great expenses whereof y^{e} accountes make mention'.[31] Aware of the precarious position the College could face as a result of such expenditure, in spite of their recent financial success, the commemoration of the Founder in the fashionable medium of the day sought to interest new scholars and remind members of the financial duty they owed their alma mater.

If the copied portrait of Thomas Pope was to signify a shared intellectual and financial endeavour under one College head, using the same media seen in other prospering colleges, the meaning of their choice of sitter is further explained by Ralph Kettell's personal allegiance to the Pope family. Hopkins writes that 'he was Lady Elizabeth's protégé', was local to the Pope family seat at Tyttenhanger, and had been elected to a scholarship by Elizabeth Pope in 1579.[32] This relationship may explain why Kettell and the College chose to emphasise her involvement at the same time that Dorothy Wadham, another widow, was using portraiture at her newly built foundation next door. For Kettell, the Popes were the authors of his good fortune, and the sense of kinship they had built into the establishment of the College at its foundation remained at the core of Trinity's identity after their deaths. Ensuring their commemoration through portrait copies allowed Kettell to honour them and to stake a claim to association with the most important patrons the College had known.

[31] Oxford, Trinity College, IA/2, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1600–1631', fo. 93v.
[32] Hopkins, *Trinity*, p. 69.

6.2 Networks

Kettell's advertisement of his relationship with the Pope family, expressed through his dedicated management of their foundation and his commemoration of Sir Thomas and Lady Elizabeth through portraiture, prompts us to examine more closely the significance of networks in motivating the production of copies. As chapter two explored, colleges were partly designed to parallel early modern households, creating a hierarchy shaped by domestic relationships and incorporating a wider network of external associations. Some early founders, such as Margaret Beaufort, were heads of large households in their own right and maintained this dynamic when shaping their educational foundations.[33] They were symbolic members of the institutions they created, and their commemoration reflected this status. In the period in which copies of college portraits became more commonly used as a commemorative tool, the boundaries of fictive kinship that had established and stabilised the colleges in previous generations were expanding. As benefactions became more widely accessible to a larger circle of aristocratic patrons, the gentry, and the middling sort in the later sixteenth century, commemorative images of earlier founders provided a model for their successors. Copies could be used as a means of claiming membership to an institution. This was particularly useful where there were barriers, perhaps through a lack of status or resources, to demanding extensive personal commemoration. The use of copies of others in combination with personal depictions could also strengthen more influential new patrons' statements of belonging.

[33] See S. Powell, 'Cambridge Commemorations of Lady Margaret Beaufort's Household', in J. S. Lee and C. Steer (eds), *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2018), pp.123-151.



Figure 84:
Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509)
Rowland Lockey
*c.*1598
Oil on panel
Approx. 177.8 x 114.3 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 3
Identical to Fig. 80, repeated for reference

In 1598, sixty-four years after the arrival of Meynnart Wewyck's portrait of Lady Margaret Beaufort at St John's College, Cambridge, the copy of the picture by Rowland Lockey, first discussed in chapter five, was produced and set up (Fig. 84). This portrait exemplifies the use of early patrons as a model for later patronage. The finished product was the result of meticulous observation, representing a deliberate attempt to create an essentially faithful reproduction.

As the circumstances surrounding its commission in 1598 reveal, this copy is particularly relevant for our understanding of changing networks of support within late sixteenth-century colleges. An inscription on the reverse of the portrait reads '*Rolandus*

Lockey, pinxit Londini' and '*IMPENDS IVLIANAE CLIPPESBIE GENEROSAE VIRGINIS NOFOLCIENSIS*'.[34] Very little is known about the donor, Juliana Clippesby, the heiress of John Clippesby Esq., a minor member of the Norfolk gentry. On 20 July 1598, the same year that the portrait is recorded as being hung up in the College, Clippesby married the lawyer, Randolph Crewe.[35] Crewe was the son of a tanner, but was educated at another of Beaufort's foundations, Christ's College, Cambridge, and would go on to receive a knighthood in 1614.[36] As a donor to St John's, Clippesby's status was by no means equivalent to the Founder, whose portrait she presented. Nevertheless, it is possible to understand Clippesby's contribution as representative of the interventions of a new class of patrons that sought entry into colleges' commemorative hinterlands from the gentry classes, such as Elizabeth Pope and Dorothy Wadham. Much like the fellows of Trinity, the instrument of her involvement was an image of another, more important benefactor.

It is important to address why the gift of a portrait of Margaret Beaufort, rather than an image Juliana Clippesby, was thought to be an appropriate gesture. Clippesby may have sought to associate herself with the legacy of Margaret Beaufort, but, in recognition of the differences in status and reputation, settled on a portrait of the Tudor matriarch rather than her own image. Based on printed material, it does not appear that Margaret Beaufort's charitable reputation produced much of a following

[34] R. Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture* (London, 1969), p. 256. I have quoted Strong's transcription because, on inspection, the reverse inscription was visible but very faint. However, I think it likely that '*NOFOLCIENSIS*' should read '*NORFOLCIENSIS*'. The inscriptions can be translated as 'Rowland Lockey, painted in London' and 'At the expense of Juliana Clippesby, well-born maiden of Norfolk'.

[35] W. J. Jones, 'Crewe, Ranulf (1558–1646)', in P. W. Hasler (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603* (3 vols, London, 1981), i, p. 669.

[36] W. Prest, 'Crewe [Crew], Sir Randolph, *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6685 (14 July 2023).

in the last years of the sixteenth century.[37] Nevertheless, her painted image was in circulation amongst groups interested in educational patronage. Portraits of Beaufort were given to the colleges she founded and to the University itself to be displayed the Old Schools, a central building used for university business.[38] Moreover, on closer inspection, these gifts were connected to a particular social circle. Donors Gabriel Goodman and Edward Grant were the Dean of Westminster and the Headmaster of Westminster respectively and were close associates. Both were alumni of Beaufort's colleges in Cambridge. Goodman also bequeathed to Dorothy Neville, the first wife of Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter, 'a Picture of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, which is in my Gallery'.[39] Goodman had been schoolmaster to Thomas Cecil in his youth and part of the Cecil household. In his bequest to Thomas Cecil, Goodman gave portraits of his parents, Lord and Lady Burghley, whose patronage of St John's College, Cambridge, was explored in chapter four. The gift of a portrait of Margaret Beaufort to Thomas Cecil's wife may have been a result of Goodman connecting Beaufort's image with female patronage in general. He may have considered it an exemplar for the female members of the household with which he was associated, and which had itself been associated with St John's.

[37] Apart from the publications Margaret Beaufort was involved in herself, there are few distinctive sixteenth-century mentions of her in print save from references to her role as mother to Henry VII in the chronicles of John Hardyng (reprinted by Richard Grafton, 1543), Edward Hall (1548), Richard Grafton (1569), and John Stow (1580). Holinshed's Chronicle (1577) refers briefly to Beaufort's college foundations. See R. Holinshed, *The Firste [Laste] Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande Conteyning the Description and Chronicles of England, from the First Inhabiting Vnto the Conquest* (London, 1577), https://www.proquest.com/books/firste-laste-volume-chronicles-england-scotlande/docview/2254612484/se-2 (14 July 2023).

[38] Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, gave portraits of Beaufort to Christ's in 1563-4 and 1601. Edward Grant, Headmaster of Westminster, gave a portrait to the Old Schools in 1580.

[39] R. Newcome, *A Memoir of Gabriel Goodman...with Some Account of Ruthin School, and the Names of Its Most Eminent Scholars, Etc.: Also of Godfrey Goodman, D. D., Bishop of Gloucester from the Year 1634 to 1655...* (Ruthin, 1825), Appendix A: The Will of Gabriel Goodman.

Understanding that Beaufort's image was utilized by particular networks with connections to St John's College, Cambridge, prompts us to investigate whether Clippesby's choice of sitter was motivated by her association with other people who had some relationship with St John's College. Here, the choice of Rowland Lockey to produce the portrait is significant. Unlike the copies commissioned for Trinity College, Oxford, this portrait of Margaret Beaufort was not the work of a local Cambridge artist. Lockey is most commonly associated with the family of Bess of Hardwick, dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, and she and her son, William Cavendish, are known to have commissioned portraits from him from 1592 until at least 1613.[40] Clippesby's husband, Randolph Crewe, was engaged by another member of the same family, Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, to work for him on legal matters. In biographies of Crewe, Clippesby is described as 'maid' to Shrewsbury's wife, Mary Talbot, and a 1602 inventory of the Crewes' possessions shows that Clippesby's jewellery was lent to Talbot.[41] As outlined in previous chapters, Gilbert Talbot was an alumnus of St John's and Mary Talbot had substantially financed the building works for the Second Court, begun, significantly, in 1598.[42] Therefore, it seems likely that Mary Talbot was also involved in or at least aware of the donation of the painting.

It is not clear whether Juliana Clippesby's first contact with the Talbots first occurred before or after her marriage, but the wording of her donor's inscription appears

[40] D. A. H. B. Taylor, 'A Derbyshire Portrait Gallery: Bess of Hardwick's Picture Collection' in D. Adshead and D. A. H. B. Taylor (eds), *Hardwick Hall: A Great Old Castle of Romance* (New Haven, 2016), p. 75.

[41] Prest, 'Crewe [Crew], Sir Randolph'; Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, DAR/I/18, 'Inventory of Sir Ranulph Crewe's furniture etc.', 'My m[ist]res her Jewells': 'It[e]m one necke lace of perle and gold with small diamonds and rubies in it', 'It[e]m ~~one paire~~ of border for her head wth gold inamelled, set with perles', 'both these be lent to my Ladie Shrewsburye'.

[42] Cambridge, St John's College, SJAR/3/2/4/2, fo. 505v.

to suggest that her contact with Lockey preceded her marriage. Therefore, rather than commemorating a family connection to Beaufort's foundations through her husband, Clippesby's donation can be seen to link three female donors, one royal, one aristocratic, and one gentry. Clippesby may have intended to flatter her noble mistress by associating her involvement in the College's building works with another prestigious patron.

Alternatively, and more convincingly given the artistic patronage of the Talbot and Cavendish families, the idea for the portrait may have come from Mary Talbot herself. Her connection to the Lockey portrait may have been a veiled attempt to rival the patronage of Bess of Hardwick, as Gilbert Talbot had a long-running dispute with his wife's mother and his own step-mother beginning with his father's will in 1590.[43] David Taylor explains that Bess of Hardwick's collection 'fits into the larger architectural and decorative scheme at Hardwick' suggesting that '... her portrait collection served to support and further her dynastic ambitions'.[44] The use of the same media, and even the same artist at St John's may indicate a similar ambition.

Unlike much of Lockey's work at Hardwick, however, the St John's portrait of Beaufort is on panel, a self-consciously old-fashioned choice in 1598. By supporting the presentation of a portrait of Margaret Beaufort, Mary Talbot would have been able to look to the past to frame her involvement with the College as that of an exemplary second founder.[45] Additionally, as the previous two chapters discussed, Talbot's own portrait was procured for the College by Robert Booth, her chaplain and

[43] M. Hicks, 'Talbot, Gilbert, seventh earl of Shrewsbury', *ODNB* (Oxford, May 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26930 (14 July 2023).
[44] Taylor, 'A Derbyshire Portrait Gallery', p.84.
[45] Nicholls' discussion of Talbot's involvement clarifies that we should think of her patronage as a bid for 'joint foundation', in which she was considered a kind of 'foundress'. Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', pp. 100-101.

therefore another member of her extended household. The dual commemoration of Margaret Beaufort and Mary Talbot, facilitated by two members of Talbot's household network, established Talbot's place as part of the fictive kinship ties present in the social hierarchy at St John's College. They also raised the status of both Booth and Juliana Clippesby as facilitators of her patronage. It is clear that Booth was the initiator of Talbot's involvement in the building work, seeking personal commemoration in association with the project.[46] The association of Clippesby's name with the Lockey portrait suggests that a female attendant could also achieve prominence in association with superior patronage.

The potential collaboration between Clippesby and Talbot over the donation of the Lockey portrait of Margaret Beaufort reflects changing boundaries within the sixteenth-century university college. In part this was due to the changing function of colleges considered in the last chapter. The Wewyck portrait's resemblance to sacred images and its use for intercessory prayer had reflected the role of colleges in the late medieval period as small tight-knit communities of religious trainees or canon and civil lawyers. Lady Margaret's foundation of Christ's and provisions for St John's as places of learning which prioritised 'the worship of God, the increase of the faith, and probity of morals' provided a context which shaped the early function and meaning of the Wewyck portrait.[47] However, over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and by the time of the donation of Rowland Lockey's work, universities had begun to provide a broader cultural education, which increasingly valued elite 'sociability' as well as piety and professional training.[48] With this new focus came a greater integration of the

[46] Ibid., p. 100.
[47] H. Rackham (ed), *Early Statutes of Christ's College* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 87.
[48] J. Catto, 'The Triumph of the Hall in Fifteenth-Century Oxford', in T. H. Aston and R. Evans

college's social network, including women. Clippesby's sons later attended St John's, suggesting that her donation did ultimately facilitate family links with the college. A statue of Mary Talbot was added to the fabric of the College buildings in 1671 by her nephew William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle, further solidifying the family's integration into the cultural memory of St John's.[49]

Rowland Lockey's copy of Wewyck's Margaret Beaufort reveals the continued, and renewed, importance of kinship in networks of college patronage. Margaret Beaufort's position as head of the collegiate household, literally in life and symbolically after her death, was commemorated by later supporters hoping for recognition as part of an extended kinship. This practice was not intrinsically gendered, because Goodman and Grant's use of Beaufort's image referred primarily to her status as founder and member of the ruling dynasty. Additionally, Booth's involvement with Talbot's patronage reveals his own ambition. Nevertheless, these supportive networks reflected more than the male-dominated membership of the early modern college. The involvement of female patrons such as Clippesby and Talbot reflected the gender dynamics of domestic households outside the university. Their decision to emulate and redisplay an image of a female founder with their own patronage allowed them to navigate increasing female access to male spaces. As patrons were from increasingly diverse social classes, their association with Beaufort's legacy may also have had more to do with her high status and her gender may be coincidental. Additionally, as mentioned in chapter four, for Mary Talbot, the appeal of Beaufort as a focus for her involvement and her self-identification as a second founder could have been her Catholic faith.[50] Therefore,

(eds), *Lordship and Learning: Studies in Memory of Trevor Aston* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 222.

[49] Cambridge, St John's College, SJAR/3/2/4/8, fo. 121r.

[50] See Mark Nicholls and Collette Wheeler for this suggestion of a religious affinity between the two

Clippesby's organisation of the Lockey copy and Talbot's potential involvement in the project reveals a subsequent patron's attempt not only to project a strengthened position in the social hierarchy but also to represent a continuum in pious female benefactors.

6.3 Confessional Identity

In the early decades of the sixteenth century the university's commemorative priorities were substantially shaped by notions of piety and the practicalities of religious worship. By the end of this century, as Oxford and Cambridge colleges began to expand their portrait collections and commission copies, the theological and liturgical landscape of England's two academic centres had been completely transformed. As we have seen, from the outset of the Reformation, these communities had navigated divisions between Catholicism and Protestantism, as well as conflict between splintering viewpoints on doctrinal reform. As the religion of the state oscillated, and university visitors monitored compliance, the expression of institutional confessional identity was more important, and for some societies more perilous, than ever before.

Inevitably, the confessional character of a college had altered since the commemoration of its earliest benefactors. Nevertheless, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century copies were created of portraits of pre-Reformation figures that particularly celebrated their piety. The timing of these commissions often suggests a connection to

women: Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', pp. 100, 102; C. Wheeler, 'Re-reading Women's Patronage: The Cavendish/Talbot/Ogle Circle' (PhD thesis, Brunel University London, 2018), p. 137.

the college's evolving confessional identity. Reusing figures from the past could either be a sign of confessional ambiguity or a spirited assertion of belief. This section looks at examples of portraits of two early college patrons, one male and one female, and the circumstances surrounding the commission of their copies. In spite of their outdated spiritual associations, their images were mobilised to express specific confessional attitudes.

A copy of a portrait of Richard Foxe, founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, commissioned there in 1604 (Fig. 86) was produced to coincide with that society's contemporary confessional agenda.[51] Foxe had established the College in 1517 as a humanist institution to train members of the clergy.[52] He had initially intended to establish a monastic community, before settling on a secular foundation. Reference to a version of his portrait appears in the Corpus Christi accounts in 1560-1, but the College may have had access to one at an earlier date (see Fig. 85).

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the confessional landscape of Oxford was very different than it was in Foxe's own time, and Corpus Christi had an established, and radical, Protestant character. From 1601 the College began substantial renovation works, replacing its original Gothic interiors with neo-classical Jacobean furnishings.[53] Thomas Charles-Edwards and Julian Reid suggest in their history of the College that these large-scale changes may have been partly related to the College officials' 'desire to distance themselves from the College's Catholic roots'.[54] As with the works at

[51] My thanks to Julian Reid for his thoughts and suggestions regarding Corpus Christi during these years that have helped to develop this argument.
[52] C. S. L. Davies, 'Fox [Foxe], Richard', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10051 (14 July 2023).
[53] T. Charles-Edwards and J. Reid, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford: A History* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 123-6.
[54] Ibid., p. 123.



Figure 85:
Richard Foxe (*c.*1448–1528)
Attributed to Johannes Corvus
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 75 x 48 cm
Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 37



Figure 86:
Richard Foxe (*c.*1448–1528)
Sampson Strong (*c.*1550–1611)
1604
Oil on panel
Approx. 150 x 100 cm
Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 38

Trinity College, Oxford, discussed above, this time of renewal seems to be a strange moment for the College to commission a copy of the portrait of their founder. It appears particularly anomalous in the context of Foxe's depiction 'with fresh accessories'.[55] The portrait image is clearly based on earlier depictions of Foxe, but with the addition of a mitre and crosier alongside heraldry emphasising his ecclesiastical appointments. This reference back to the College's pre-Reformation history appears to be at odds with an institution whose current President, John Rainolds, had for many years resisted church appointments, favouring university posts that allowed him both theological stimulation

[55] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, ii, p. xiii.

and liturgical freedom from the ceremonies of the established church.[56] The display of Foxe's portrait is also interesting given its intended location: the Library, which was in the process of being refitted and stocked with Protestant theological texts.

Nevertheless, this heavily clerical depiction, chosen instead of commemorating Foxe's role as a builder, patron, or humanist, can be understood in the context of Corpus Christi's confessional self-presentation. The attitudes of John Rainolds clarify how the members of Corpus Christi understood Foxe's spiritual legacy. In a speech Rainolds had given in 1573 he argues that Foxe, 'whose Image is every day before our eys', emphasised learning for the sake of 'Religion, Piety, and godly Exercises' only.[57] Despite 'the error of the times', he was to be admired and emulated. 'Protestantism replacing Catholicism', Mordechai Feingold writes, was 'the animating spirit of scholarship' at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at this time.[58] For Rainolds, there was no contradiction in seeing this embodied in the figure of Richard Foxe, to the extent that his oration goes on to adopt the persona of Foxe to make a rousing imaginary address. The creation of a copy of his portrait to hang in a Library that displayed the new Protestant 'confidence' of Corpus Christi demonstrates the continuing relevance of Foxe, who Rainolds suggests 'seemes to speake to us all continually'.[59]

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[56] M. Feingold, 'Rainolds [Reynolds], John', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23029 (14 July 2023).

[57] J. Rainolds, *An excellent oration of that late famously learned iohn rainolds, D.D. and lecturer of the greek tongue in oxford very usefull for all such as affect the studies of logick and philosophie, and admire profane learning. translated out of latine into english by I.L. schoolmaster* (London, 1638), pp.126-7, https://www.proquest.com/books/excellent-oration-that-late-famously-learned-iohn/docview/2240904744/se-2 (14 July 2023).

[58] M. Feingold, 'Closing Remarks III: Life of the Mind', in M. Feingold and J. Watts (eds), *History of Universities: Volume XXXII / 1-2: Renaissance College: Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450–1600* (Oxford, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198848523.003.0019 (14 July 2023).

[59] Rainolds, *An excellent oration*, p. 127. I credit this idea of the building works indicating new 'confidence' to my discussions with Julian Reid, Archivist at Corpus Christi.

The specific timing of the commission of this copy is suggestive. Earlier in 1604, Rainolds had been the voice of Puritan views at the Hampton Court conference. After the King had refused to concede to many of the Puritan's proposed reforms, Rainolds had agreed to tolerate, with caveats, the Church's episcopal structure.[60] The display of a portrait of Bishop Foxe at Corpus Christi just before James I's visit to Oxford in 1605 may have formed part of Rainolds' attempts to mollify the King, distancing himself from more radical Presbytarian views. In a newly refurbished space, removed from its associations with the Catholic past, Foxe's modified portrait copy could emphasise his ecclesiastical achievements as a clarification of the President and fellows' current views as well as representing a timeless exemplar of Christian humanism to a new generation of theological scholars working below.

In Cambridge, almost thirty years later, the addition of three small paintings of patrons to the St John's College library benefactors' book, copied in minute detail from portraits already in their collection, shows how women's images could be employed in similar ways and further demonstrates the importance of the commemoration of early patrons in navigating religious change. Commemorative volumes like the *Liber Memorialis* documenting benefactors and their gifts were popular in England's universities. Nevertheless, the inclusion of portraiture was more unusual. Following the title page is a full-page depiction of the College's founder, Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby (1443–1509) (Fig. 87). The subsequent folio portrays King Charles I (1600–1649) and the next shows a portrait of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (1582–1650).[61] The decision to include an image of Bishop Williams can be

[60] J. Loach, 'Reformation Controversies', in J. McConica (ed), *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume III: The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), p. 393.
[61] SJCC, K.18, '*Liber Memorialis*', fos. 3-5.



Figure 87:
Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509)
Richard Crashaw (1612/13–1648)
1635
Body colour on vellum
Approx. 36 x 28 cm (manuscript)
St John's College, Cambridge
Appendix no.: 4

explained by his direct involvement in funding the library building. His portrait by Gilbert Jackson had been commissioned and hung in the library *c.*1627.[62] Meanwhile, Charles I was the reigning monarch at the time of the new library's opening and had been involved in the appointment of a new master at St John's in 1634. The College must have acquired their portrait of the King shortly before the portraits were added to the *Liber Memorialis*. Of course, as founder of the College, Margaret Beaufort was also a major benefactor and St John's already possessed at least two portraits of her. Nevertheless, the *Liber Memorialis* related particularly to benefactors of the Library

[62] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/4, 'Rental 1619–34', fo. 222r.

and neither Beaufort nor the College's portraits of her had any specific connection to this new space. The meticulous repetition of an image over one hundred years after its first appearance at St John's raises questions about what Margaret Beaufort's portrait might have meant to the College at this time.[63]

The involvement of the poet Richard Crashaw (1612/13–1648) in painting these small portrait copies is key to understanding why representing the Founder as she had been depicted in the College's earliest history remained so attractive to the society's governing officials. A payment in the accounts for 11 July 1635 details that 'xiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}' was 'Given by the M^{r} & Seniors appointment to S^{r} Crashaw of Pembroke Hall for drawing three pictures in the booke of Benefactors to the Library'.[64] Crashaw had matriculated as an undergraduate at Pembroke College at the age of eighteen in 1631. His biographer, Thomas Healy, writes that he was given a Watt scholarship, which tasked him with the composition of 'Latin epigrams on scriptural subjects'.[65] In his twenty-second year, soon after his work at St John's, Crashaw would become college catechist at Peterhouse and then curate of the church of St Mary-the-Less. After converting to Catholicism, he continued to write poetry, 'secular as well as sacred', but mostly 'devotional' for the rest of his life.[66]

His selection by St John's has been suggested to be part of a network of patronage and favour directed towards alumni and their relations.[67] The construction of the new

[63] This section's discussion of this small copy of Beaufort's image forms part of a wider exploration of the portraits in the *Liber Memorialis* at St John's College, Cambridge, and their literary connections in the forthcoming chapter: A. Clark, 'Richard Crashaw's Lady Margaret Beaufort in the Liber Memorialis at St John's College, Cambridge', in Y. Arshad and C. Laoutaris (eds), *Women and Cultures of Portraiture in the British Literary Renaissance* (forthcoming, 2024).
[64] SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/5, 'Rental 1634–50', fo. 27r.
[65] T. Healy, 'Crashaw, Richard', *ODNB* (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6622 (14 July 2023).
[66] Ibid.
[67] A. Warren, 'Crashaw's Paintings at Cambridge', *Modern Language Notes*, 48 (1933), p. 366.

Library at St John's was, in part, prompted by the acquisition of a large proportion of the 4,000 printed books and 200 manuscripts owned by William Crashaw, Richard's father.[68] St John's undoubtedly strove to maintain connections to former members and their families, but their interest in the younger Crashaw went beyond his familial connection and a facility for painting. Their choice can be attributed to Crashaw's own reputation in Cambridge at this time, even more than the memory of his father. Much of the contents of William Crashaw's library was marked with his motto '*Servire deo regnare est*' ('To serve God is to reign'), and many of the volumes donated to the College were religious in nature.[69] When he had matriculated in 1591 as a sizar, a poor student who funded their studies by waiting on fellows in Hall, St John's had been under the strictly Puritan headship of William Whitaker, and the elder Crashaw had become a 'disciple' of the Calvinist William Perkins.[70] However, by the time that his son was chosen to work on the *Liber Memorialis*, the confessional character of St John's was very different and Richard Crashaw's name was instead associated with the kind of faith the College was now seeking to promote.

A change in governance at St John's College in 1634 provides a basis for our understanding of the inclusion of Beaufort in the 1635 *Liber Memorialis* portraits, eight years after the College's first mention of the manuscript. The cultural power of the Cambridge heads of house at this time and their potential to influence the society's confessional direction has been demonstrated by Mark Nicholls's study of seventeenth-

[68] M. Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', in P. Linehan (ed), *St John's College, Cambridge: A History* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 102. The recorded number of volumes in Crashaw's library varies. See both W. H. Kelliher, 'Crashawe [Crashaw], William', *ODNB* (2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6623 (14 July 2023) and T. Healy, 'Crashaw, Richard', *ODNB* (14 July 2023).
[69] Kelliher, 'Crashawe [Crashaw], William', *ODNB* (14 July 2023).
[70] A. Warren, *Richard Crashaw: a Study in Baroque Sensibility* (Louisiana State University Press, 1939), p. 18.

century St John's.[71] Following the death of the Master Owen Gwyn, after some contention, the Crown appointed William Beale, who, as Nicholls suggests, would be open to the Laudian reforms which Charles I desired to facilitate in Cambridge.[72] Under his mastership, College spaces received a number of Laudian alterations, including the installation of a new ceiling painting, a communion table with rails, and an organ.[73] Perhaps most significantly, the chantry of Hugh Ashton, a benefactor and one of Beaufort's executors, was refitted to be used as a chapel.[74]

It is worth remembering that both Beaufort's foundation of Christ's College in 1505 and St John's, established posthumously, were primarily intended to function as chantry chapels.[75] The 1547 Chantries Act dissolved the connection between the Universities and the intercessory prayer that had defined early sixteenth-century benefactors' engagement with them. Nevertheless, as the College sought to recover the beauty of holiness, and the spaces Beaufort and her followers had created within the College were refurbished, invoking the memory of Lady Margaret at this moment may have been a natural extension of these changes. Additionally, the acceptance of Laudianism at St John's at this time gave the College good reason to commemorate the new Library with the broader memorialisation of past and present benefactors rather than emphasising Bishop John Williams' role in funding it. Bishop Williams had lost the approval of Charles I and was an opponent of Archbishop Laud. As the Wewyck portrait had

[71] Nicholls, 'The Seventeenth Century', p. 113.
[72] Ibid., p. 119.
[73] N. W. S. Cranfield, 'Beale, William', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1806 (14 July 2023). Beale also donated a copy of Henry Isaacson's *Saturni emphemerides* (1633) to the new Library, on the frontispiece of which is a poem by Richard Crashaw. The chapel renovations can be seen in SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/5, 'Rental 1634–50', fos. 49v, 76v-77r.
[74] Ibid., fo. 54v; see also Crook, *From the Foundation to Gilbert Scott*, pp. 18, 20-21.
[75] See SJCC, SJLM/1/3/6, 'Account of Henry Hornby', for explicit references to Beaufort's Cambridge projects as chantries.

provided an alternative focus at the time of John Fisher's disgrace, highlighting the pious charity of Lady Margaret Beaufort in the *Liber Memorialis* may have been an attempt by the College to manage the associations of the library project, relating it to their changing approaches elsewhere.

In this context, the College's interest in Richard Crashaw was probably related to his poetic reputation. In 1634, his *Epigrammata sacrorum liber* was published. In the same year, shortly before he was commissioned to paint Beaufort and the two additional portraits, Crashaw became involved in a university squabble over the principle of *sola fide*, 'whether faith alone justified belief in attaining salvation'.[76] Healy notes that an early poem, entitled '*Fides quae sola justificat, not est sine spe & dilectione*', which can be translated as 'The faith alone which justifies is not without hope and love', was potentially a defence of his tutor at Pembroke, the Laudian John Tourney. He also highlights Crashaw's contribution of a poem to Robert Shelford's Laudian work *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (1635), which argued for 'charity's primacy over faith in achieving salvation'.[77] Whether Crashaw's skill in painting was widely known in Cambridge by 1635 remains undetermined, but there is consensus that he had made a name for himself with his epigrams. Crashaw had publicly aligned himself with the theological principles associated with Laudianism largely supported by Beale's St John's, and had restated the importance of charity, a subject certain to interest a College in the process of commemorating the pious charity of their most valuable benefactors. Rather than commemorating the reputation and Calvinist theology of William Crashaw, the choice of Richard Crashaw as artist and the inclusion of Margaret

[76] Healy, 'Crashaw, Richard', *ODNB* (26 Jun 2023).
[77] Ibid.

Beaufort as subject was an opportunity for St John's to bridge their current theological position and elements of the College's spiritual and material past.



Figure 88:
Marie de St Pol (1304–1377)
Unknown artist
*c.*1629
Watercolour on paper
Approx. 26.5 x 19.2 cm
Bibliothèque National de France
Appendix no.: 19

Crashaw's interest in female subjects further explains his treatment of Margaret Beaufort, reflecting the confessional affinities he shared with St John's College.[78] His focus on women in his devotional poetry can be linked to the Cambridge colleges in which he was trained.[79] In that respect, it may even be significant that an imagined

[78] See J. R. Roberts, 'Recent Studies in Richard Crashaw (1977–89)', *English Literary Renaissance*, 21/3 (1991), p. 430, for a summary of the earlier scholarship concerning Crashaw's preoccupation with female religious figures such as the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Teresa of Avila.

[79] Works such as G. Parry, 'The Devotional Adventures of Richard Crashaw', in G. Parry, *Seventeenth-Century Poetry: The Social Context* (London, 1989), pp. 124-153 suggest that, as well as the baroque conventions of European counter-Reformation, Crashaw was influenced by Laudianism and the confessionalism of 1630s Cambridge.

image of Marie de St Pol, Countess of Pembroke (Fig. 88), adorns the statutes of her foundation, Pembroke, where Crashaw had been an undergraduate.[80] The role of gender in faith is present from Crashaw's earliest poetry.[81] Maureen Sabine highlights his Latin epigram, 'Mulier Canaanitis', produced on 2 March 1634, while Crashaw was still at Pembroke, which reads: 'a woman and of such strong faith? now I believe that faith is more than grammatically of the feminine gender'.[82] Sabine relates this to the idea of women's involvement in charity and as nurturers of the Church rather than the destructive forces of the male leadership of the seventeenth-century Church.[83] Crashaw's early poetic involvement in the religious debate of 1630s Cambridge does not necessarily suggest such criticism of Church leadership. However, the acknowledgement of women's important spiritual and charitable role in academic communities accorded with the views of many of Crashaw's contemporaries across the male-dominated university.

Crashaw's depiction of Margaret Beaufort reflects the significance of this link between gender and faith in seventeenth-century Cambridge. In his 'On a treatise of

[80] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 4223 B, fo. 52v.

[81] Although his focus on female divines continues to be explored, more recent studies have concentrated on the relationship between the female and faith, charity and religion: P. A. Parrish, "'O Sweet Contest": Gender and Value in "The Weeper"', in J. R. Roberts (ed), *New Perspectives on the Life and Art of Richard Crashaw* (Columbia; London, 1990), pp. 127-140; P. A. Parrish, 'The Feminizing of Power: Crashaw's Life and Art', in C. J. Summers and T. Pebworth (eds), *'The Muses Common-Weale': Poetry and Politics in the Seventeenth Century* (Columbia, 1988), pp. 148-62; M. Sabine, 'Crashaw and the Feminine Animus: Patterns of Self-Sacrifice in Two of His Devotional Poems', *John Donne Journal*, 4/1 (1985), pp. 69-94. In 2006, Nandra Perry related female devotion to the 'politics of ceremony' in N. Perry, "'Tis Heav'n She Speakes": Lady Religion, Saint Teresa, and the Politics of Ceremony in the Poetry of Richard Crashaw', *Religion & Literature*, 38/2 (2006), pp. 1-23.

[82] M. Sabine, *Feminine Engendered Faith: The Poetry of John Donne and Richard Crashaw* (Basingstoke and London, 1992), p. xiii. Sabine uses George Walton Williams' translation from *The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw* (New York, 1970), pp. 334-5. For the original Latin see R. Crashaw, *The Poems of Richard Crashaw: English, Latin, and Greek*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford, 2012) Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, p. 55.

[83] Sabine, *Feminine Engendered Faith*, pp. xiii-xiv, 123-4.

charity', from 1635, Crashaw identifies charity as an essential component for salvation, suggesting that his portrait of Beaufort made in the same year provided him with a similar format to explore such anti-Calvinist ideals. His charity is typical in that it is gendered female: 'Rise then, immortall maid! Religion rise!/ Put on thy selfe in thine own looks: t' our eyes'.[84] Additionally, the poem highlights that virtue comes from action: 'This shall from hence-forth be the masculine theme/ Pulpits and pennes shall sweat in; to redeem/ Vertue to action, that life-feeding flame/ That keeps Religion warme'.[85] It is a critique of '*pure religion*', or the Puritan principles of *sola fide* and *sola scriptura*. Nandra Perry's work on Crashaw's feminization of religion also highlights this poem but places importance on both charity and ceremony as part of her wider analysis of Crashaw and his associates' emphasis on 'observable' piety. 'Embodied piety', and not the intellect, is the chief mechanism driving man's relationship with God and potential for salvation.[86] Once again, this can be identified as a sentiment drawn from Crashaw's experiences in Cambridge. In the homosocial environment of this early modern university college, devotion and piety are embodied, and particularly in women. The image of Lady Margaret Beaufort became an exemplar for the kind of faithful female charity espoused by Crashaw and others.

6.4 Corporate Identity

Corporate identity in the early sixteenth-century college, investigated in chapter two, was shaped by the ritualised use of space and material objects that defined how the

[84] Crashaw, *The Poems of Richard Crashaw*, p. 137.
[85] Ibid., p. 139.
[86] Perry, "'Tis Heav'n She Speakes"', pp. 2-8.

academic community lived and worked together. Habitual interactions with commemorative media were important to the development of a cohesive identity, but one that also celebrated hierarchical order. College members repeatedly encountered their patrons—through the use of certain spaces decorated with heraldic devices, through eating or worshipping using inscribed silverware, or through reading volumes adorned with illustrations and bookplates—and each action was subject to restrictions depending on one's place in the college hierarchy. Tittler has demonstrated that early engagements with portraiture in various early modern institutions contributed to developing the corporate structures of these communities. Different audiences had access to different spaces, meaning that some portraits inhabited 'exclusive and symbolically authoritative space', developing a certain influential value that came with the intimacy of the viewer's interaction with them.[87]

As copies proliferated throughout the university colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, we can measure how they might have had a role in the formal arrangement of space and therefore the development of this kind of corporate culture. At Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, a copy of the half-length portrait of the founder, Frances Sidney, displayed in the Library had been acquired by 1688. It does not appear to have affected the function of the two existing portraits of Sidney in the College, which remained where they had been displayed previously. It is uncertain exactly when before 1688 the new copy was acquired, but its display 'In ye Coll Parlour' increased the number of opportunities for members to encounter the Founder's image.[88] However, the Parlour, like the Library, was restricted to fellows. The new copy did not expand the audience

[87] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 151.
[88] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MR 31D, fo. 17; J. W. Goodison, *Catalogue of Portraits in Christ's, Clare and Sidney Sussex Colleges* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 87.

of the Founder's image and, therefore, appears to reinforce its existing function rather than representing a new use. Its placement in the Parlour may have been an attempt to ensure that there was a portrait of the Founder in every room to which fellows or honoured guests had access.

Unfortunately, beyond the records of Sidney Sussex, evidence of the placement of copies in colleges is extremely limited, restricting our ability to assess how the increasing acquisition of such images may have contributed to the hierarchisation of space in these expanding institutions. Nevertheless, other evidence of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century engagement with portraits and copies can support our analysis of their use in the articulation and development of a sense of corporate identity. As we have seen, Oxford and Cambridge's colleges where a site of convergence for different groups within early modern society and, as a result, copies served multiple purposes. As colleges began to experiment with different forms of portrait media, a distinction was made at the moment of composition between the value of authenticity versus novelty depending on function.

This opposition can be seen in an example from Wadham College, Oxford. Chapter one discussed a 1778 payment to a Fellow, Mr. Mayson at Wadham for the purchase of 'two original pictures—portraits of the Founder & Foundress which he lately bought in London'.[89] What is particularly interesting here is the description of the portraits as 'original'. The College's use of this qualifying adjective has been taken to mean that Mr. Mayson bought two early seventeenth-century portraits of the couple, argued by Jackson and Lane Poole—in my opinion, erroneously, as I argued in chapter one—to

[89] Oxford, Wadham College, Jackson's Notes on the Archives, p. 305.

be the College's 1611 portraits.

This prompts us to question what the eighteenth-century college officers might have understood by the term 'original'. Their use of the term may relate to our contemporary understanding of the word, and refer to a kind of perceived authenticity in terms of the paintings' materials, composition, or provenance. However, the word may alternatively carry far less weight than later scholars have attributed to it, and may simply remark on the fact that the portraits were new to the College, or different in some way from the portraits the College already possessed, whether through materials, composition, or provenance.[90] Investigating how both of these alternative meanings might have been understood at Wadham College is useful for developing a sense of how different kinds of copies were valued and placed in different locations, allowing the college control over how its members and outsiders encountered images of their patrons. As a result, an alternative approach to analysing the development of a collegiate sense of corporate identity becomes possible.

In 1670, Wadham College paid for a painter called 'Taylor' to paint two relatively faithful copies of their 1611 portraits for display as part of a series of founders' portraits in the Schools' Gallery in the Bodleian Library (Figs. 89 and 90).[91] The decision to replicate closely the College's early portraits suggests that Wadham sought to emphasise a version of its history rooted in its early seventeenth-century foundation. The other portraits in this series of nineteen all relate to portraits already in college collections,

[90] The OED documents the use of original as 'novel or fresh in character and style' in 1756. Original is also used to mean 'art that is not a copy or imitation' in 1683, 1742 and 1763. 'original, adj. and n.', *OED Online* (Oxford, 2023), https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/132564?redirectedFrom=original (14 July 2023).

[91] Oxford, Wadham College, 16/2, Bursar's Accounts 1660–86, p. 127: 'To Mr Taylor for Pictures in y^{e} School Gallery - 10-0-0'.

but represent a variety of approaches to reproduction.[92] Wadham's choice of accurate recreation of the Founders' portraits emphasised the portraits' link to the College's founding moment and the Founders themselves.

In contrast, ten years later, in 1680, the College commissioned two, more loosely copied, portraits of the founding couple by William Sonmans, (d. 1708) (Figs 91 and 92).[93] At this time, the College chose very different representations of their founders, albeit for a very different context. They updated the portraits, using features and aesthetics closer to prevailing decorative trends.[94] The resulting copies transform the relationship between the couple. In 1611, the Wadhams are presented as a balanced partnership and mirror each other's active stance. A skull refers to Nicholas' death in 1609, while the gloves he carried in earlier portraits are transferred to Dorothy as custodian of their joint legacy. By 1680, there is greater passivity in the depiction of Dorothy's involvement. Nicholas stands and gestures towards a paper, presumably the plans for the college that he would not live to enact. There is no skull, but its inscribed date of 1595 (now barely visible) suggests that he was dead before Dorothy Wadham's second sitting. He faces left, towards Dorothy's pendant portrait and the future. Dorothy sits stiffly in an imagined 1611, facing back towards her husband. In place of her gloves is a voluminous white handkerchief. Her crucial role in the establishment of Wadham College is, however, illustrated by her arms as a married woman, which would become the arms of the College, and by a landscape including the

[92] The sources for other portraits in the series are varied. Trinity College, Oxford, provided a direct reproduction of their early portrait of Thomas Pope. Others, such as New College, Oxford, used invented portraits by Sampson Strong as their model.

[93] Oxford, Wadham College, 16/2, 'Bursar's Accounts, 1660–1686', '6th Head Particular Expences': 'West for makeing curtains before the Founders pictures'. I agree with Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, iii, p. 210 that this payment is likely a reference to these two portraits.

[94] Unfortunately, we do not know anything about where these copies were displayed.



Figure 89:
Nicholas Wadham
John Taylor
1669-70
Oil on canvas
Approx. 116 x 89 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
Appendix no.: 53



Figure 90:
Dorothy Wadham
John Taylor
1669-70
Oil on canvas
Approx. 116 x 89 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
Appendix no.: 28
Identical to Fig. 8, repeated for reference



Figure 91:
Nicholas Wadham
William Sonmans
Unknown date, *c.*1680
Oil on canvas
Approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 54



Figure 92:
Dorothy Wadham
William Sonmans
Unknown date, *c.*1680
Oil on canvas
Approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Appendix no.: 29
Identical to Fig. 9, repeated for reference

finished College buildings in the rear of the composition. The background of Nicholas Wadham's portrait appears to show the rubble of the former Augustinian priory that occupied the site of Wadham, before the construction of its new buildings. An awareness of the College's history is mixed with the forward-looking attitude of an active, changing institution.

What we can interpret from these portrait copies is shaped by the choice of artist. Unlike John Taylor, the local artist who completed the Bodleian copies, William Sonmans split his time between painting commissions in Oxford and work in London.[95] This may explain why the composition of these portraits is more reflective of seventeenth-century artistic conventions developed by court artists such as Anthony van Dyck and Peter Lely.[96] Whereas the 1669-70 copies are suitable for the formal, institutional nature of the university buildings, similar to the other commissions Taylor had completed for the Bodleian, the Sonmans copies are representative of later, more fashionable portraits of elite domesticity.

However, these new portraits, with their depiction of the imagined Oxfordshire countryside and their inclusion of the College buildings, can also be linked to new interests in topographical drawing and landscape painting emerging in late seventeenth-century Oxford. Antiquarian projects, such as the works of Anthony Wood and David Loggan's 1675 *Oxonia Illustrata* and *Cantabrigia illustrata* (1690) show the exposure

[95] Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits*, i, p. xxvii; F. M. O'Donoghue, revised by A. Burnette, 'Sonmans [Sunman], William [Willem]', *ODNB* (Oxford, September 2010), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26787 (14 July 2023).

[96] The influence of London-based artists using classical or pastoral backgrounds in Oxford may also be linked the presence of William Dobson, who relocated there with the court in 1643. See K. Gibson, 'Dobson, William', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7719 (14 July 2023). Dobson's work in Oxford is recorded in SJCO, ACC. I.A 30, '*Computus Annuus* 1644–5', fo. 26v: 'It[em] given to Mr Dobsons man, who scoured the Founder's Picture'.

of England's two early modern universities to these new ideas. As interest in depicting university spaces was combined with portraiture, historical authenticity became less important than recognition. As Helen Petter states in her discussion of the topographical and architectural drawings that illustrated the Oxford Almanack after 1723, 'the purpose of the almanacks was to glorify the colleges, and their glory resided as much in the people who had built them as in the buildings themselves'.[97] Figures from the College's past were amalgamated into ahistorical depictions of the college's present, with benefactors from all eras included to create a representation of the corporate identity of the College as a whole.



Figure 93:
The Oxford Almanack for 1734
George Vertue
1733
Engraving on paper
Approx. 34.7 x 44.3 cm
The British Museum, London



Figure 94:
The Oxford Almanack for 1738
George Vertue
1737
Engraving on paper
Approx. 34.7 x 43.2 cm
The British Museum, London
Appendix no.: 34

Under these circumstances, portraits became part of an illustration of a wider conceptual understanding of the college and, as such, their details became less important

[97] H. Petter, *The Oxford Almanack 1674–1946* (Oxford, 1946), p. 12.

to represent accurately. Founders took on a mythic quality, as can be seen in the 1734 almanack depicting a portrait of Sir Thomas White being brought down by putti to join the ranks of patrons of St John's College, Oxford (Fig. 93).[98] The fact that a portrait, rather than White himself, is shown is particularly interesting, suggesting less immediacy than the figures from the College's more recent history, yet retaining a supervisory presence. The display of a portrait of Frances Sidney at Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, in the same room as a 'Perpetual Almanack' and 'The Coll. 1st Court in perspective' demonstrates that this trend was not restricted to print.[99] There was a developing understanding of the portrait's place alongside other forms of visual media which situated patrons in the physical space of the university, regulated by the passage of academic time.

The changing value of the accuracy of some copies as opposed to their recognisability continued into independent print series created for distribution outside of the university. This can be seen from several of the prints made of the portrait of Joyce Frankland at Brasenose College, Oxford. Although Cooper rightly argues that, for the sitter, Frankland's portraits were an opportunity to 'stabilize' her image as 'a constant worthy exemplar of charity and piety', Brasenose's subsequent use of her image destabilised the meaning she intended to leave for posterity.[100] The only prints of Joyce Frankland have used the Brasenose portraits as their models: an engraving by James Fittler of the early *c.*1586 panel now in the Senior Common Room and an 1809 engraving of the Hall portrait by Rivington for Churton's *Life of Dean Nowell* (Fig. 95). The

[98] Interestingly, the University is personified as a female figure here, and a feminized depiction of Learning appears alongside Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham in the almanack for 1738 (Fig. 94).
[99] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, College, MR 31D, p. 17.
[100] Cooper, 'Picturing the Agency of Widows', p. 111.



Figure 95:
Joyce Frankland
Unknown artist
Published by Rivington
1809
Stipple etching on paper
Approx. 21.5 x 14 cm
The British Museum, London

Fittler engraving misrepresents the Trappes arms, making the heraldry unidentifiable. The issue is the 'three cattraps' referring to the Trappes family, which 'the engraver appears to have turned into arrow-heads'.[101] This mistake depersonalises Frankland's representation, which in its engraving form is already a copy of what is presumed to be a copy. Her assertion of membership of the Trappes family, so key to her hopes for her legacy, is diminished. This level of abstraction also means that Frankland is primarily

[101] London, National Portrait Gallery Heinz Archive, Sitter Box, 'Joyce Frankland'.

identifiable to viewers of the engraving through her association with Brasenose, referred to in the Latin inscription, rather than in her own right or through connection with the other colleges to which she and her family donated. Clearly, the priorities that guided her initial choices made way for subsequent alternative concerns. The afterlives of these images highlight that the personal control of meaning was secondary to the development of image-making that served the colleges as wider communities.

Copies could be used in a variety of ways to establish or reinforce corporate identity in Oxford and Cambridge colleges depending on the institution's prevailing commemorative priorities. Close copies might cause the viewer's minds to travel to the college's founding moment or to the life of a particular patron, to make claims about the college's founding purpose or long history. Conversely, copies could be modified to produce wider commemorative messages about a college's past, present, and future as a unified whole.

Conclusions

When comparing the prices of university portraits in the early seventeenth century, Tittler writes that the cheaper end of the spectrum 'were probably mere copies'.[102] In terms of their cost, the proficiency of the artists, and their originality, the reproductions that began to multiply across Oxford and Cambridge in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can appear to be historically insignificant. However, their general reception has obscured their particular strengths for measuring the changing purpose and meaning of patrons' portraits in these institutions over time. It is sometimes

[102] Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics*, p. 74.

possible to recover how colleges developed certain patterns of acquisition and displayed portraits to reconstruct interpretations of their own history. Copies are a considerable resource because, where there are absences in records of collection and display, reproductions are themselves, through the decisions made in their production, a kind of document of change over time. By understanding the circumstances of a particular college at the moment of a copy's commission, it is possible to interpret how the collegiate community was responding to developments through their copies based on their approach to the materials used, the composition, and, where known, its subsequent display within the college.

The sitter's gender was important in a copy, but it was significant in terms of the nuances of meaning within the image itself, rather than impacting upon the portrait's function in the college. In copies depicting women, an association with another female benefactor might be emphasised. Nevertheless, the factors determining which colleges engaged with copies, and when, do not appear to have been affected by the gender of their principal patrons. Instead, moments of change, such as building work and expansion, provided the incentive for colleges to reconnect with former patrons and early supporters. Additionally, as colleges and their networks responded to the increasing social diversity of patrons, replicating images of early patrons as a stable model through which to navigate both sudden and more gradual change was commonplace.

Copies were also an important tool in the expression of institutional confessional identity because they enabled colleges to reconcile their historic links with pre-Reformation figures with acceptable contemporary expressions of faith. The flexibility of copies as a commemorative form, building on the images of established and respected figures,

also allowed colleges to subtly respond to contentious religious debate. The example of St John's College, Cambridge, demonstrates that gender could play a role in the articulation of a particular spiritual position. Where colleges had an association with a female patron, specifically female forms of piety or religious expression were sometimes emphasised, without becoming central to the portrait's function.

The development of corporate identity prompted the most extreme abstractions of portrait copies, as pictures of patrons became exemplars of college values, stretching the meaning of their image beyond that intended at the commissioning of the original.

Conclusion

In 2018, over five hundred years after the foundation of Christ's College, Cambridge, its members observed the passing of a new milestone: that of forty years since the admission of the College's first female students. To commemorate this occasion, Christ's looked not just to their archive of materials spanning from 1978 to today, but also to its sixteenth-century portrait collection. 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort Portrait Prize' was launched, seeking to highlight the early female influence on the College. Entrants were asked to submit inventive recreations of the several portraits of Beaufort now in the Christ's collection (including appendix no. 5). The aim was to create images that could celebrate the College's past and, simultaneously, resonate with the experience of current students and staff.[103] This competition exemplifies contemporary expressions of the kinds of institutional commemorative practices that this thesis has sought to explain.

One of the winning entries was a photo series representing twenty-first-century students in a similar attitude to that of Beaufort in her own portrait. The artist, Yasmina El Chami, reveals that each sitter was asked to hold 'a book they consider valuable

[103] 'The Lady Margaret Beaufort Portrait Prize', https://www.christs.cam.ac.uk/news/lady-margaret-beaufort-portrait-prize (1 September 2023).

to their knowledge and growth', emphasizing the expansion of female education and opportunities since the creation of Beaufort's portrait.[104] The considered symbolism of El Chami's compositions is not unlike the early modern examples discussed in earlier chapters and reflects the continuous development of iconography in these spaces. The choices made in both the sixteenth-century portraits and those that reimagine them give insight into the priorities of the sitters and the wider values of the society in which each image was produced.

Even more significant in terms of the questions posed in this thesis about the development of collegiate portraiture is the choice by Christ's College to focus specifically on the image of Margaret Beaufort. Her individual identity is important, and entries were asked to explore her 'myriad roles; as a woman, mother, patron, promoter of education'.[105] However, the institutional setting of Beaufort's portrait determines its function, and therefore hers, as a means of uniting the disparate elements of collegiate life to create a coherent corporate identity. She is an exemplar, expected to embody the history of women at the college, celebrate its current members, and hold space for the hopes of future generations. The iconography of her original portrait remains rooted in the sixteenth century, but the image of Beaufort, as a patron and as a woman, is repurposed conceptually to align with the changing requirements of the College's contemporary members.

The commemorative possibilities afforded by portraiture that remain so potent today were first explored in these institutions in the sixteenth century, a period recognised as a time of great change within England's two oldest universities. This thesis

[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

has presented the first systematic study dedicated to early university portraits, arguing that they not only offer an opportunity to extend recent work on artistic practice and consumption in other early modern settings, but also provide a new perspective on the changing values and priorities of academic communities.

This project began with a number of interdisciplinary questions. What was the relationship between women's artistic and educational patronage and what does the acquisition of their portraits by university colleges tell us about these institutions? Through visual interpretation of the portraits themselves, the identification of related written records, and targeted technical analysis, I have drawn on the methods of recent art historical research to build a detailed picture of the eight principal sitters that form the core of this study.

Through this research into dating, provenance, and commissioning practices, I have demonstrated the range of different kinds of women who were able to engage in artistic and educational patronage. Where further analysis, such as more in-depth imaging, has not been possible, there is an opportunity for future work to make more definite attributions. Importantly, this thesis has combined these art historical questions about the portraits under discussion with an historical investigation into the sitters' changing motivations. We have seen that, by investigating the opportunities and constraints attached to the particular circumstances in which they found themselves, we can build a nuanced portrait of womanhood in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Equally, I have argued that portraits and institutional collecting practices are a valuable interpretive lens for understanding both collegiate development and responses to social and religious change in this period more broadly.

In the early chapters of this thesis, I established an understanding of the needs of Oxford and Cambridge's secular colleges at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Several long-term factors shaped collegiate life, stabilising and sustaining these academic communities: the repeated observance of religious practices, the hierarchical nature of corporate institutions, and kinship connections. Each of these three elements was integral to the colleges' routines and rituals, from their daily activities to their spatial organisation and use of image. Repeated interactions with commemorative media provided these communities with constancy in a changing world. The Reformations of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries initiated several major transformations that would render unusable some of the commemorative forms that had stabilised the medieval university. As a result, existing commemorative traditions were modified, and new media were introduced.

The Reformation also set in motion a number of broader societal changes, which fed back into the Universities. Those who had administered the confiscation of Church resources experienced new access to wealth. A wider range of potential patrons seeking relationships with collegiate communities was combined with the availability of empty buildings or sites relinquished by dissolved monastic institutions. At the same time, the growing prosperity of the middling elites in the sixteenth century introduced new groups of potential supporters to educational patronage, alongside the continued tradition of royal and aristocratic involvement.

Due to the significant scale of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century university patronage, including thirteen new college foundations and two refoundations, both Oxford and Cambridge became home to a profusion of young institutions as well as

new kinds of patron. In establishing their commemorative traditions, sixteenth-century foundations were more likely to adopt new forms of commemorative media than older colleges. Portraiture, already becoming popular in other areas of sixteenth-century society, afforded many of the advantages of earlier commemorative forms but without associations with pre-Reformation religious practice.

New foundations also created opportunities for female patrons from an increasingly diverse range of social classes and the colleges that they established were often among the first to adopt portraiture. As a result of this connection, this thesis has seen their portraits as a useful resource for understanding the sixteenth century as a period of change in England's two early modern universities.

Subsequent chapters have demonstrated that a focus on portraiture allows us to build on current understandings of how and why women pursued patronage in Oxford and Cambridge colleges. The biographies of female patrons of these institutions tell us that those depicted in portraiture were more likely to have experienced widowhood or childlessness. Their circumstances have sometimes been seen to allow them to exercise a greater degree of independent choice than other women, creating an impression of the women in these portraits as exceptional. However, close analysis of their college portraits has revealed that female patrons were represented in a variety of different ways, sometimes depicting an earlier, married identity, or a period before the death of their child. This thesis has argued that, while there is a correlation between representation within college portrait collections and widowhood or childlessness, this is often due to the higher levels of portraits of such women leaving family ownership rather than an active attempt by all such women to be represented as such in academic

spaces. Certainly, in commissioning these portraits, female patrons, or their agents, exercised choice about how they negotiated complex family networks. Nevertheless, their portraits tell us that these women were not, as has sometimes been suggested, stepping outside of feminine roles. Instead, their images articulate the multifaceted nature of women's position in sixteenth-century society, revealing their responsibility for the commemoration of multiple families and social networks simultaneously, and the difficulties of fulfilling such obligations.

I have argued for an understanding of female agency in which women's capacity to control their own depiction and its display in certain spaces is recognised, but is consistently situated within a framework of social expectation and familial influence. The value of this approach is further demonstrated by analysis of the processes of acquisition by early modern university colleges. Rather than a steady pace of change in which sitters began to donate their portraits as a direct commemoration of their patronage, the process through which portraits became an accepted form of university commemoration was haphazard. There were a variety of different paths into the institutions and this was particularly true for female sitters, whose images fit less comfortably into the early histories of these male-dominated foundations.

Almost every aspect of female patrons' identities shaped the routes through which their portraits were acquired by colleges. Whereas portraits of royal and aristocratic sitters like Mary Talbot were acquired on their behalf, women of middling status, such as Joyce Frankland, had to personally donate images of themselves if they wished to be represented through portraiture. Married women were sometimes depicted, but often pursued patronage in tandem with their husbands, complicating their individual

commemoration. Retaining control over one's own image was even more difficult for widowed women, who were subject to a high level of interference from male associates and family seeking to influence how they used their assets.

Clergymen, often themselves members of the colleges, were frequently responsible for the acquisition of portraiture. Figures like Alexander Nowell and Gabriel Goodman appear to have been motivated by personal acquaintance, spiritual belief, and an acknowledgement of women's charitable roles in educational institutions. However, men's roles as agents for female patrons, facilitating their commemoration through portraiture, were also driven by financial incentives or attempts to bolster their own reputations. Although women were able to influence the acquisition of their portraits by universities, their images mainly entered college collections as a result of the intervention of others who had an interest in attaching themselves to their patronage. This reshaped the purpose of the portrait beyond its intended role as a stable, curated personal image. My reassessment of the 1611 portrait of Dorothy Wadham and my argument for its donation by Wadham herself demonstrates that, by the seventeenth century, as founders' portraits became more commonplace, women's direct provision of personal commemoration was increasingly possible. Nevertheless, after the moment of acquisition, individual depictions and their original purposes were modified as they were pressed into the service of the college.

This was not always an immediate process. The later chapters of this thesis emphasise that many colleges did not have a coherent strategy for collecting portraits in the sixteenth century. While their commemorative possibilities were acknowledged by some college members, the purpose of portraits was not necessarily widely or consis-

tently understood, and commemorative pictures were moved, misplaced, or even sold. In previous studies of portraiture outside of the court, university colleges have been categorised as 'civic' institutions, which suggests that we might expect their portraits to perform equivalent functions to those in other institutions found in urban municipalities. Robert Tittler understands civic institutions' response to the Reformation as a process of establishing collective memory in which portraits 'appear not to have been meant to celebrate the individual sitter so much as the civic heritage of the borough corporation which he or she represented'.[106] Like Tittler's civic portraits, those in university colleges could be used to represent the college as a whole. However, this thesis shows that they were also being used in different ways. The personal circumstances and status of the sitter outside the university remained important and became a focus for communal identity. University colleges were a meeting point between civic, domestic, and sacred spaces and centres of political power. Part of colleges' stability during this period was achieved by relationships with members from different areas of English society and these academic communities consisted of and served a wide variety of social, spiritual, and professional groups. As such, I have argued that 'collegiate', the term I have used throughout this thesis, is a more appropriate analytical category than 'civic' for the group of portraits considered here.

As a result of the significance of the personal attributes of the sitter to college communities, we might have expected that their gender would affect the portrait's function in the college. However, while gender meaningfully influenced the process of acquisition, we have seen that the importance of its role diminished once it had entered

[106] R. Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory in English Provincial Towns', *Urban History*, 24/3 (1997), p. 292.

the college. Instead, value was based on the sitter's perceived position in the social hierarchy and their proximity to power or influence. As portraiture spread in other settings, colleges gained greater access to these images and began to prioritize larger, more glamourous portraits, marking out particular spaces as appropriate due to their size or the seniority of those who had access to it.

The most significant change to Oxford and Cambridge colleges' use of portraits came as a result of the religious transformations of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Early portraits already in college ownership in the first half of the sixteenth century were later displayed in ways that severed their connection to a previous age and their previous functions. At the same time, galleries of portraits emerged that reflected spiritual identity, particularly in Protestant-leaning colleges. On the other side of the confessional spectrum, patrons' portraits, and often particularly portraits of Catholic female patrons, provided a focus for conservative religious views. This thesis has claimed that, over the course of this period, the status of portraiture shifted from that of a novel commemorative form, acquired opportunistically, to an important tool for navigating institutional change.

One way in which colleges began to explore the potential of portraiture was by commissioning copies of patrons' portraits already in their collections. These reproductions have not received as much attention as the portrait sets and gap-filling commissions popular in the university in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, I have shown that their visual and material development represents an opportunity to measure historical change over time in these institutions. As each college responded to their particular circumstances and wider societal change, they chose to recreate earlier

portraits in specific ways that communicate to us the strategies and sensitivities of their communities. My work demonstrates that paying attention to decisions made relating to the materials, composition, and display of the copy help to pinpoint its purpose. For example, the requirement to finance building work drove colleges to re-advertise their early patrons as exemplars of benefaction.

In the same way that the donation of a portrait to an institution transferred some control over the images from the donor to the college, the process of copying portraits removed control of meaning still further from the sitter's original intentions and towards the college's developing corporate identity. This is particularly clear in print culture where, although the image broadly replicates the original and recognisably identifies the sitter, details may be mistaken and anachronistic features included to serve a wider collegiate purpose.

Growing collections of patrons' portraits within university colleges reflected institutional responses to artistic developments, but also more fundamental shifts in beliefs about the nature and purpose of commemoration. Through a study of portraits' commission, acquisition, display, and reproduction within these communities, this thesis presents a cultural history of the early modern colleges of Oxford and Cambridge between 1500 and *c.*1640. The reception and repurposing of early portraits and later additions was a continual process, an insight that contributes to our understanding of both academic institutions' use of space and memory practices and the changing role of portraiture and art in society at large. It further indicates the potential of this kind of research for the long-term history of collecting in other institutional settings.

We can understand the portraits investigated in this thesis as exemplary in two

different ways. Firstly, the specifically sixteenth-century understanding of portraiture as representing a model worthy of emulation. Secondly, their manner of use delineates a pattern through which changing institutional identity can be understood. The 'Lady Margaret Beaufort Portrait Prize' at Christ's College, Cambridge reveals how institutions continue to use images of their female patrons as archetypes. In continuing to encounter new manifestations of these images, alongside early portraits, in the same spaces today, we can reach back along a continuous timeline of institutional change and growth.

Appendix

This appendix provides details of the key portraits analysed as part of this thesis, including the artist (where a firm attribution can be made), date, materials, size, and location. Reference is made to provenance information and pre-existing literature. New archival and technical discoveries outlined in the body of this thesis are also detailed.

Where I have had technical and conservation support, I have taken unframed measurements of the portraits I have examined. However, practicalities of access have meant that this has not been possible in every case. The dimensions of the portraits I investigate are not central to the arguments of this thesis, but I have included measurements from college records and Art UK for the reader's reference. In each instance, I have labelled such dimensions as approximate, to account for inconsistencies in how portraits have been measured by different institutions. For example, if portraits have not been conserved recently, colleges and, therefore, Art UK often list measurements from early catalogues, converted from inches to centimetres. Lane Poole's measurements were taken from the part of the portrait visible whilst framed.

The appendix is split into three sections, listed alphabetically by the surname of

the sitter. The first section catalogues portraits of the female patrons who form the main focus of this thesis, including a number of medieval patrons depicted in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century college portraits. Secondly, college portraits of these women's male family members are included alongside the other male patrons in early college collections mentioned in this thesis. Lastly, portraits of queens and royal images in situ by the early seventeenth century are listed.

I am primarily interested in mapping the interactions between patrons and colleges through portraiture in the period 1500–*c.*1640 and have therefore only included portraits where there is evidence to suggest that they entered institutional ownership during that date range. This means that I have not included early portraits, such as a panel and several copies depicting Elizabeth Woodville at Queens' College, Cambridge, of unknown provenance. Additionally, some recognizable sixteenth-century portraits of women now in college collections are much later acquisitions, for example, a very early half-length portrait of Margaret Beaufort at Christ's College, Cambridge, decorated with gilded spandrels, which was a twentieth-century donation. These do not form part of my investigation. Not all portraits included in the thesis are detailed in this appendix, only those that form the foundation of my arguments based on visual analysis, archival research, or technical analysis. A number of portraits illustrated in the text or referred to in brief to support wider arguments are not reproduced here.

As a result, this appendix is not a comprehensive catalogue of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century female sitters or of the early portrait collections of the colleges, but a focused body of sources for understanding the position of female patrons and their images in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English university.

1.1 Portraits of Female Patrons

Dervorguilla de Balliol (d. 1290), Lady of Galloway

1



Dervorguilla de Balliol (d.1290)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 53.3 x 43.2 cm
Balliol College, Oxford
Accession no.: 13

Dervorguilla de Balliol, Lady of Galloway is considered to be one of the founders of Balliol College, Oxford. An endowment for a community of Oxford scholars was initiated by her husband, John de Balliol. This was expanded in his will and later completed by Dervorguilla de Balliol. As part of a range of religious and educational patronage, de Balliol used her wealth to strengthen the financial resources of Balliol College and provided the society with statutes in 1282.

Provenance: The Bursars' accounts for the year 1604–5 record: 'It[em] to a painter for the diall & for armes one the foregates & for Deruorguilla her picture - 10$^{s.}$' (Balliol College, *Computi*, 1592–1614, fo. 70v).
This record follows payments for works completed at the College for James I's visit to Oxford in 1605. Henry Savage, master of the College 1651–72, refers to its display 'in the Master's Hall' in his *Balliofergus* (1668), p. 4, a history of the College since its foundation. Savage indicates that the posthumous image was based on de Balliol's seal, a suggestion that appears very likely on comparison with an extant impression.

Current Location: Master's Lodgings

Literature: Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, pp. 17-18; Jones (1990), p. 4

Conservation: Restored 1967

Image Permissions: Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford

Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Countess of Richmond and Derby

2



Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509)
Meynnart Wewyck
*c.*1510
Oil on panel
Approx. 189.4 x 119.4 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 37

Provenance: Identified by Chen and Bolland as the painting connected to a 1509–11 payment from Beaufort's executors' accounts at St John's College, Cambridge: 'It[e]m paid to mayner the paynter in party of payment of vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} for the making of ij tables of the pictur of my lades g[ra]ce - iij^{s} iiij^{d}' (SJLM/7/5/25, fo. 1). Chen and Bolland date this portrait's arrival at St John's College to 1534 as a result of an entry in College accounts for that year 'for a sugar cheiste to naile before the Image of our foundres when it was brought frome London' (SJAR/1/1/Metcalfe/1/8, fo. 157r). Later that year there is a record for 'mending the image of owr fundaris' and 'setty[n]g up o[u]r founders imag[e]' (SJAR/3/2/3/1, pp.84-6). Later found 'in a bad state' in 'a store-room in the Third Court' *c.*1874 (Freeman (1881), p. 424).

Current Location: Master's Lodge, currently on display at the National Portrait Gallery, London, Room 1, Floor 3

Literature: Freeman (1881), p. 424; Chen and Bolland (2019), pp. 314–19

Conservation: The Rowley Gallery, 1934; Hamilton Kerr Institute, 2023

Technical Analysis: Dendrochronology by Ian Tyers in 2016 gave the boards a felling date after *c.*1487 and *c.*1489

Image Permissions: © The Hamilton Kerr Institute

3



Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509)
Rowland Lockey (1566–1616)
*c.*1598
Oil on panel
Approx. 177.8 x 114.3 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 170

Provenance: Probably commissioned from Lockey around 1598 by Juliana Clippesby, daughter of a member of the Norfolk gentry and associated with the household of Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury. An inscription on the panel's reverse details the artist and the donor: '*Rolandus Lockey, pinxit Londini*' and '*IMPENDS IVLIANAE CLIPPESBIE GENEROSAE VIRGINIS NOFOLCIENSIS*' (I have used Strong's transcription here because, on inspection, the inscription was very faint. The last word should perhaps read *NORFOLCIENSIS*, as given by Goodison in 1957). An entry into the St John's College rentals in 1598 records a payment 'to two carpenters for settinge upp the foundresse pictures - xvi$^{d.}$' and for 'makinge a newe creste for the newe picture of the foundresse' (SJAR/3/2/4/2, fo. 505v).

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Goodison (1957), p. 215; Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (1969), i, pp. 20-1; Strong, *The English Icon* (1969), pp. 255-6; Hepburn (1992), pp. 122-3, 126; Chen and Bolland (2019), pp. 315-16, 317*n.*7.

Image Permissions: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

4



Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509)
Richard Crashaw (1612/13–1648)
1635
Body colour on vellum
Approx. 36 x 28 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Accession no.: K.18, fo. 3

This small portrait can be found within the *Liber Memorialis*, a benefactors' book produced to record contributions to a new Library at St John's College, Cambridge. The book was first put together in during the 1627-8 academic year and the title page was illuminated by John Scott (SJAR/3/2/4/4, fo. 222v). In 1635, the College commissioned the poet Richard Crashaw, a student at Pembroke College, Cambridge, to paint copies of St John's College portraits in three blank folios between the title page and the first heraldic entries: the College's founder, Lady Margaret Beaufort, King Charles I, the reigning monarch, and Bishop John Williams, benefactor to the Library. Crashaw's portrait of Beaufort most closely follows the details of the original by Meynnart Wewyck, completed *c.*1510, and known to have been in College hands by 1534 (see appendix no. 2).

Provenance: A payment in the College rentals for 11 July 1635 details that 'xiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}' was 'Given by the M^{r} & Seniors appointment to S^{r} Crashaw of Pembroke Hall for drawing three pictures in the booke of Benefactors to the Library' (SJAR/3/2/4/5, fo. 27r).

Current Location: St John's College Library

Literature: Warren (1933), pp. 365-6; Farmer Jr. (1984), pp. 43-5.

Image Permissions: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

5



Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509)
Unknown artist
*c.*1580–90
Oil on panel
Approx. 195.6 x 104.7 cm
Christ's College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 1

Inscription on frame:
MARGARETA RICHMONDIAE COMITISSA REGIS HENRICI SEPTIMI MATER. OCTAVI AVIA. D. ELIZABETHAE R. PROAVIA QUAE GRAMATICES DOCTOREM APVD WINBORNE, DIVINI VERBI PRAECONEM PER TOTAM ANGLIAM DVOS ITEM SACRARVM LITERARVM INTERPRETES; ALTERVM OXONIAE ALTERVM CANTABRIGIAE CONSTUTVIT; VBI ET COLLEGIA DVO CHRISTO, ET IOANNI EIVS DISCIPVLO FVNDAVIT. OBIIT M.D.IX.III.KAL.IVLII.SEPVLTA IN ECCLESIA WESTMONASTERIENSI CVI ET BONA NON PAVCA CONTVLIT. (Quoted in Goodison (1985), pp. 34-5).

Provenance: Strong linked this full-length portrait of Beaufort to a payment by her executors 'to Maynerde payntor, ffor payntynge the pyketour off my lady the kynges grauntmother in Cristys college' (Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (1969), p. 20).

However, dendrochronology by John Fletcher confirmed that this could not be the case, as the portrait was dated instead to *c.*1580–90. The discovery of its later sixteenth-century date led Goodison

to suggest that we might understand this portrait as one of two images of Beaufort given to Christ's College in the early 1600s: the first a bequest by Gabriel Goodman in his 1601 will and the second a portrait mentioned in the College accounts for 1602. Goodison relates this second acquisition to the entry that follows the payment for Beaufort's portrait in the accounts, which is directed to 'Risley Dr Mountagues man for his paynes' ('A' Accounts, 1580–1609, unpaginated, Elizabeth 43). I argue that we should not assume that this payment to 'Dr Montagues man' relates to the previous entry. Instead, it may be that only one portrait of Beaufort was given (by Goodman) to Christ's in this period because written evidence only documents the entry of one portrait into the College collection: 'Item for the ~~brin~~ cariage of o[u]r foundresse picture from London and from the cariers - iiij$^{s.}$' and 'Item for a Case for o[u]r foundresse picture and other thinges att London - viij$^{s.}$ vj $^{d.}$' ('A' Accounts, 1580–1609, unpaginated, Elizabeth 43). Nevertheless, as Goodison notes, the first specific record of this portrait in the College occurs in the eighteenth century and, therefore, it is not possible to be more precise about its origin.

Another image of Beaufort was given to Christ's College by Gabriel Goodman in 1563, which is too early to be this portrait: 'It[em] to hym y^{t} brought y^{e} Image of ou[r] fundres fro[m] Doctor goodman' (Accounts 1557–1580, fo. 118v).

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Masters (1790) p. 28; Goodison (1957), p. 215; Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (1969), i, p. 20; Goodison (1985), pp. 34-6; Hepburn (1992), pp. 129-30; Chen and Bolland (2019), p. 317n16.

Conservation: Cleaning, 1884; John Hargrave, 1977

Technical Analysis:

Dendrochronology by John Fletcher in 1973 and 1977 dated the panel support to *c.*1580-90

Image Permissions: By kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Christ's College Cambridge

6



Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509)
Unknown artist
*c.*1580
Oil on panel
Approx. 49.5 x 39 cm
The Old Schools, Cambridge
Accession no.: 7

Inscription on frame: *MARGARETA MATER HENRICI VII COMITISSA RICHMONDIÆ ET DERBIÆ FVNDATRIX COLLEGIORVM D IONNIS ET CHRI CANTABRIGIÆ OBIIT ANNO DN̄I 1509. 3. KAL IVLII*
(Quoted in Goodison (1955), p. 2)

Provenance: One of the earliest known portraits given to the University of Cambridge. The University's Grace Book for the years 1542–89 records this as a gift from Edward Grant (*c.*1546–1601), Headmaster of Westminster School, in 1580. This coincides with his appointment as a preacher at the University. Grant had been a sizar at St John's College, Cambridge, which may explain his choice of subject rather than a contemporary patron of the University. At the same time, Grant also donated to the University a portrait of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who was High Steward of the University of Cambridge at that time (1563–1588).

Current Location: The Syndicate Room

Literature: Strong, *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (1969), ii, pp. 20-1; Goodison (1955), pp. xvii, 2-3; Hepburn (1992), p. 136*n*10

Conservation: Goodison comments that the portrait is 'over-cleaned, and is almost completely repainted'

Image Permissions: The Old Schools, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, © The Old Schools, Cambridge

Mary Bridgman (also Mary Matthew) (d. *c.*1585)

7



Mary Bridgman (also Mary Matthew)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 40 x 29.2 cm
St John's College, Oxford
Accession no.: PP03

A widow from the parish of All Saints in the City of Oxford, Mary Matthew was also the sister of Sir Thomas White, founder of St John's College, Oxford. Her interactions with the St John's can be traced through the College register and account books. She left bequests to the College in her will, proved in 1585.

Provenance: Due to Matthew's connection to the College, the number of portraits of Thomas White at St John's, and this portrait's clear relationship to her brother's likenesses, Lane Poole suggests that the portrait 'belonged to the College at least from the time of the subject's children, Edward Bridgman and Mrs. Amy Leech' (Lane Poole (1912–25), p. 158). Both children were also involved with the College. It's identity was lost by the eighteenth century. Lane Poole recalls the apocryphal College 'tradition' that Mary Matthew acted as a model for White's portraits. The similarities in composition of the portraits of Mary Matthew and Thomas White (appendix nos. 57 and 58) are extensive and further examination might reveal if one was copied from another. However, I think it more likely that Matthew's portrait is based on that of Sir Thomas White.

Current Location: President's Lodgings

Literature: Lane Poole (1912–25), iii, pp. 158-9

Image Permission: The President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford

Elizabeth I (1533–1603)

8



Elizabeth I (1533–1603)
Unknown artist
*c.*1590
Oil on panel
Approx. 74 x 60 cm
Jesus College, Oxford
Accession no.: PI/M.2 or PCF39 (Art UK)

Inscription: AÑO 1590:

Provenance: Recorded by Gutch in 1790 in the Library: 'half-length—on board; with a fan in one hand, and a sprig in the other: "An. 1590."'. (Wood, ed. Gutch (1790), p. 316). Due to its early date, Lane Poole suggested that this might be 'Queen Elizabeth's Picture' listed in the Hall in a 1648 College inventory (Lane Poole (1912–25), iii, p. 191-2). By the time of Gutch's appendix in 1790, the full-length portrait of Elizabeth I (see below) had taken its place in the Hall.

Current Location: The Old Bursary

Literature: Wood, ed. Gutch (1790), p. 316; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, pp. 191-2; Hayward (2010), pp. 20-7; see also Oxford, Jesus College, PI/M.2, p. 1.

Image Permissions: Reproduced by permission of Jesus College, Oxford, via Art UK

9



Elizabeth I (1533–1603)
School of Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619)
16th Century
Oil on canvas, transferred from panel
Approx. 200 x 100 cm
Jesus College, Oxford
Accession no.: PI/M.1 or PCF5 (Art UK)

Inscription: DIVA ELIZABETHA, VIRGO INVICTISSIMA, SEMPER AVGVSTA, PLVS QVAM CÆSAREA ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ POTENTISIMA IMPERATRIX, FIDEI CHRISTIANÆ FORTISSIMA PROPVGNATRIX, LITERARVM OMNIVM SCIENTISSIMA FAVTRIX, IMMENSI OCEANI FÆLICISSIMA TRIVMPHATRIX, COLLEGI IESV OXON FVNDATRIX.

Provenance: Donation from Dr James Jeffreys, Fellow 1671–85. The College Accounts, 1661–87, specifically the *Expensæ Variæ* for 1687 detail a sum paid 'To Dr Jeffreys Man for bringing Q Elizabeths Picture' and also an entry giving payment to 'Mr Taylor for a guilt frame & beautifying our Foundress picture' (Oxford, Jesus College, PI/M.1, p. 1). Mr Taylor was probably the same John Taylor who was commissioned to paint copies of the portraits of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham in 1669-70 (appendix nos. 28 and 53). In 1786, Gutch saw this full-length portrait of Elizabeth 'at the east end' of the Hall (Wood ed. Gutch (1786), p. 582).

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Wood ed. Gutch (1786),

p. 582; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 193; Walsh (1993/4), pp. 17-21; Hayward (2010), pp. 20-7; see also Oxford, Jesus College, PI/M.1, p. 1.

Conservation: A 1989 report held in the College archives verifies that the portrait was originally on panel and later transferred onto canvas (Oxford, Jesus College, PI/M.1, p.1); Restoration work was carried out by Alec Cobb after the portrait was found in a bad state in the Fellows' Library in 1989. Walsh's article mentions that Cobb removed several aspects of the seventeenth-century overpainting, including a 'crude coat of arms' and 'billowing blue robes' (Walsh (1993/4), p. 19).

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Joyce Frankland (1531–1587)

10



Joyce Frankland (1531–1587)
Unknown artist
16th Century
Oil on panel
Approx. 62 x 52 cm
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
Accession no.: GC0047

Joyce Frankland was a benefactor to Gonville and Caius College, as well as a number of other institutions across Oxford and Cambridge.

Inscription: SUFFER AND SERVE

Provenance: Bequeathed to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge and likely conveyed there shortly after Frankland's death in 1587. See London, TNA, PROB/11/70/179, fo. 137r: 'I will if I shall haue at the time of my decease three formes or pictures of my selfe That then the one of them be deliuered unto the saide Gunvyle and Keyes Colledge and the other to Emanuell Colledge, And the third to Lyncoln Colledge to be severally sett upp and placed in the severall chappells of the saide Colledges'. A much later copy of Frankland's portrait can be found in the collection of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but there is no clear record of an early portrait either there or at Lincoln College.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Stubbings (1988) (no page numbers); Cooper (2012), p. 107; Cooper et al. (eds) (2013), pp.150-1; Tittler (2013), p. 42; Cooper (2019), pp. 107-11

Conservation: Hamilton Kerr Institute, 1990 and 2016/17

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11



Joyce Frankland
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 63.5 x 52.1 cm
Brasenose College, Oxford
Accession no.: O.24

Inscription: ANN^{O} DÑI. 1586. SUFFER AND SERVE. Æ^{T}, SVÆ, 55. *Trapsi nata fui, Saxy sponsata marito, Guilelmo Mater Visa beata meo. Mors matura patrem, Sors abstulit atra maritum, Filius heù rapida morte peremptus obit. Larca quid insultas? quasi nunc effeceris orbam? En ego multiplici prole beata magis. Me namq[ue] agn^{o}scit studijs Domus Aenea matrem, Prole sua semper nobilitata domus. Digna domus meritis, et læta et grata patr^{o}næ, Sola mea est soli laus placuisse deo.*

Provenance: It has been suggested that Frankland participated in the composition of the verses for this portrait. However, while Brasenose was listed as an intended recipient of a portrait in Frankland's earlier wills, her final of 15867 will leaves her picture to Gonville and Caius, Emmanuel, and Lincoln Colleges instead. See London, TNA, PROB/11/70/179, fo. 137r. See chapter three, pp. 214-220 for a discussion of Frankland's various wills and my argument that this portrait was commissioned by Brasenose College shortly after Frankland's death. Lane Poole suggests that this is the oldest portrait of Frankland at Brasenose.

Current Location: Senior Common Room

Literature: Butler (1909), i, VII, pp. 14-15; Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, pp. 247-9; Cooper (2012), pp. 106-7, 213*n* 131; Tittler (2013), p. 170; Cooper (2019), pp. 107-11

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12



Joyce Frankland
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 83.2 x 73.7 cm
Brasenose College, Oxford
Accession no.: O.11

Inscription: ANN^{O}. DÑI. 1586. SVFFER AND SERVE, Æ^{T}. Suæ. 55. *Trapsi nata fui, Saxy sponsata marito, Guilelmo Mater Visa beata meo. Mors matura patrem, Sors abstulit atra maritum, Filius, heu rapida morte peremptus obit. Parca quid insultas? quasi nunc effeceris orbam, En ego multiplici prole beata magis. Me namq[ue] agnoscit studijs Domus Aenea matrem, Prole Sua semper nobilitata domus. Digna domus meritis, et læta et grata patronæ, Sola mea est soli laus placuisse deo.*

Provenance: A seventeenth-century copy of appendix no. 11. Lane Poole suggests that this portrait was painted by Gilbert Jackson because of a payment to him for a copy of a portrait of John Mordaunt, 2nd Baron Mordaunt (1508–1571) for the College in 1638. The two are very similar in size, but there is no evidence to confirm the the link.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Butler (1909), i, VII, pp. 14-15, Plate IX; Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, pp. 247-9; Tittler (2008), pp. 45-6; Tittler (2013), p. 170; Cooper (2012), pp. 105-7, 213*n* 132; Cooper (2019), pp. 107-11

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13



Joyce Frankland
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 52.7 x 38.7 cm
Brasenose College, Oxford
Accession no.: O.42

Inscription: JOCOSA FRANKLAND/ COLL: ÆN: NAS: OXON PATRON: MUNIFIC:/ A.D 1586. Æ. 55./ SUFFER & SERVE

Provenance: Unknown. Tittler (2008), indicates that this is probably a later copy than appendix nos. 11 and 12.

Current Location: Senior Tutor's Office

Literature: Butler (1909), i, VII, pp. 14-15; Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, pp. 247-8; Tittler (2008), p. 46; Tittler (2013), p. 170

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Lady Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593)

14



Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593)
Unknown artist
After *c.*1592
Oil on panel
92.7 x 69 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Accession no.: T396 or 2021.1.2

Provenance: Identified as the portrait of Lady Elizabeth Pope bought by Trinity College, Oxford, in 1612-13 with a portrait of her husband Sir Thomas Pope. See Oxford, Trinity College, IA/2, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1600–1631', fo.141v: 'for the Foundress Picture - xl^{s}'; fo. 141r: 'for two rodds & hookes for the Curtaynes w^{ch} Couer the Founders & Foundress Pictures in the Hall - ij^{s} viij^{d}'. The portrait of Thomas Pope that was bought at the same time cost £3. Dendrochronology reveals this to be a posthumous portrait and not, as Lane Poole suggests, 'painted in Lady Pope's lifetime'.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Blakiston (1898), pp. 40; 104, 242; Lane Poole (1912-1925) iii, pp. 122-3; Tyers, 'Trinity College, Oxford' (2023), pp. 1, 6-9

Technical Analysis: Dendrochronology commissioned for this project in 2022 established a *terminus post quem* date of *c.*1592 for the panel. Tyers suggests that the panel, possibly made from local timber, was likely constructed later than 1592, which correlates with the payment to the College.

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15



Tomb of Sir Thomas and Lady Elizabeth Pope
Unknown artist
*c.*1567
Alabaster
Trinity College, Oxford

Inscription: *Hic jacent corpora Thome Pope militis fundatoris hujus collegii Trinitatis et domine Elizabethe et Margarite uxoris ejus. Qui quidem Thomas obiit xxxix. die Januarii, M. D. LVIII*
(The inscription is now mostly inaccessible, but it is published in Warton (1780), p. 177)

Provenance: This monument was commissioned by Elizabeth Pope and construction or repair works relating to it are recorded in the College Bursars' book in 1567: Oxford, Trinity College, IA/1, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1556–1600', fo. 95r: 'Item solutu[s] p[ro] qui[n]q[ue] modijs calcis circa sepulchru[m] fundatoris'. Pope arranged for the remains of her husband and his first wife, Margaret, to be moved from an earlier monument in the church of St Stephen Walbrook, London. She was buried alongside them in the College Chapel in 1593. Lane Poole claims that the face of the figure of Elizabeth Pope 'is young and rounded, and not particularly individualized. Possibly a wifely type rather than a portrait'. See chapter three (p. 170) for my argument that the effigy should be considered a personal depiction of Elizabeth Pope.

Current Location: Trinity College Chapel

Literature: Warton (1780), pp. 176-9; Blakiston (1898), p. 39; Lane Poole (1912–25), iii, pp. 120-1; Hopkins, *ODNB* (2004); Hopkins (2005), pp. 47-9

Image Permissions: Anna Clark

Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex (1531–1589)

16



Lady Frances Sidney (1531–1589), Countess of Sussex
George Gower
*c.*1570–1575
Oil on panel
Approx. 193 x 111.1 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 1

Previously attributed to Steven van der Meulen (1493–1563) (Strong (1969), p. 133). Town and David have recently attributed this portrait to George Gower (*c.*1538–1596) (Town and David (2020), pp. 740, 743-4).

Provenance: Listed in the inventory of the Master's Lodging taken in 1639: 'The foundresse's picture at large' (MR 31D, fo. 6). Goodison interpreted this record to mean that the portrait likely arrived at the College as a result of Sidney's will in which she bequeathed her remaining goods to the College. See chapter one for my argument that this portrait's entry into the 1639 inventory was made at a later date, between the completion of the original inventory and the acquisition of 'S^{r} John Breretons Armes' sometime during the mastership of Richard Minsull (1643–1686). Chapter three discusses the possible family ownership of the portrait before its acquisition by Sidney Sussex College. Here, the archives provide no

positive evidence. The inventory of New Hall, Essex, home to the Earl and Countess of Sussex, does not list paintings or portraits (see Essex Record Office, D/DP F240/1, 'Will of Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, etc.' (1591), fos. 10-43). Equally, an inventory of Penshurst Place, Kent, the Sidney family seat and home to Frances Sidney's brother, Sir Henry Sidney, makes no mention of a full-length portrait of Frances. However, at least ten other full-length portraits are recorded there, suggesting that the portrait corresponded with Henry Sidney's habitual commissioning practices (see Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, De L'Isle MSS U1500 E120, fos. 13r-13v).

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Goodison (1957), p. 216; Strong, *The English Icon* (1969), p.133; Goodison (1985), pp. 86-7; Hearn (1995), pp. 95-6; Howard (1995), p. 46; Town and David (2020), pp. 740, 743-4.

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17



Lady Frances Sidney (1531–1589), Countess of Sussex
Unknown artist
Unknown date, early 1580s
Oil on panel
Approx. 66 x 53.6 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 26

Inscription: Sidney family arms, with the inscription 'LA CONTESSE DE S'

Provenance: This portrait is likely to be the 'picture of y^{e} Foundresse unto y^{e} midst' listed in the 1639 inventory of the Master's Lodgings at Sidney Sussex (MR 31D, fo. 6r). This item is crossed through and a later note added (possibly during the tenure of Richard Minshull, Master 1643–1686) recording that the portrait was 'now in y^{e} Library'. A portrait of Frances Sidney was bequeathed to the College in 1601 by Gabriel Goodman's will. Goodman's gift is more likely to have been this half-length than the full-length portrait, which chapter three argues is connected to the Sidney family. Goodison suggests a date of *c.*1575, but the broader silhouette of Sidney's gown and her possible depiction as a widow indicate a date in the early to mid-1580s.

Current Location: Senior Combination Room

Literature: Goodison (1985), p. 87; Hearn (1995), p. 96.

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18



Lady Frances Sidney (1531–1589), Countess of Sussex
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 72.4 x 60.3 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 55

Inscription: 'LE. CONTESS. DE. SVSSEX' with the arms of the Sidney family impaled by the arms of the Radcliffe family (left) and Sidney arms repeated in a lozenge (right).

Provenance: A copy of appendix no. 17. The inventory of the Master's Lodgings made in 1688 lists a third portrait of Frances Sidney, in addition to appendix nos. 16 and 17. Based on the portrait copies of Frances Sidney that remain in the Sidney Sussex collection today, this portrait is most likely to be the one referred to in that inventory. It is recorded 'In ye Coll Parlour' (MR 31D, fo. 17).

Current location: The Master's Lodge

Literature: Goodison (1985), p. 87; Hearn (1995), p. 96.

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Marie de St Pol (1304–1377), Countess of Pembroke

19



Marie de St Pol (1304–1377)
Unknown artist
*c.*1629
Watercolour on paper
Approx. 26.5 x 19.2 cm
Bibliothèque National de France
Accession no.: Latin 4223B (fo. 52v)

Marie de St Pol founded Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1347. A contemporary, generic image of St Pol can be found in her breviary (*c.*1320) in which she prays to St Cecilia (Ward, ODNB (2008)). Despite the similar posture shown in the statute book, the image from St Pol's lifetime does not appear to be the primary inspiration for the seventeenth-century version. The veil, the *prie-dieu*-like stall, and the cloth of estate in the *c.*1629 image all appear to imitate the Meynnart Wewyck portrait of Margaret Beaufort (see appendix no. 2).

See also appendix no. 4, Richard Crashaw's Margaret Beaufort, for another example of the use of small copies of portraits in manuscript illustrations in the early seventeenth century.

Provenance: An illumination from *Statuta et ordinationes collegii, sive aulae Mariae Valentiae, communiter nuncupatae Pembrocke Hall, in Universitate Cantabrigiae*, which was bound into a volume of statutes including those of the University of Cambridge. This version of the statutes of Pembroke College was written in around 1629 and purchased in 1685 for the French Royal Library.

Literature: Avril and Stirnmann (1987), p. 198; Grimstone (2013), p. 8

Image Permissions: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1556–1632)

20



Mary Talbot (1556–1632)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 54.5 x 42 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 27

Inscription: Countess of Shrewsbury. (On reverse) Countess of Shrew/ Foundr of the 2^{d} Court./ No. 6

Provenance: A portrait of Talbot is mentioned to be on display in the college before 1612 in a letter from Robert Booth, Talbot's chaplain, to Dr Owen Gwyn, the Master of St John's: 'a picture of my La[dy] the Cowntess of Shrewsbury, w^{c} her ho[nour] at my humble sute bestowed uppon the Colledg, & desyred y^{t} D^{r} Clayton would cause it to be hanged upp in the gallerye there' (see SJCC, D105.9, fo. 1). However it is unclear whether this portrait or appendix no. 21 was the picture to which he refers.

There are two further references to portraits of Mary Talbot in the St John's College Rentals. One payment for a curtain to cover a portrait in 1631-2, coincides with Talbot's death. See SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/4, 'Rental 1619–1634', fo. 313v: 'pd for a Curtayne & ringes for my Ladye of Shrowsbrey picture - iij^{s} xj^{d}'. A later payment for framing in 1670-71 was made shortly after her nephew, William Cavendish (*c.*1593–1676), 1st Duke of Newcastle, paid for her statue to be erected above the gate to the buildings she funded in the Second Court. See SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/8, 'Rental 1666–1683', fo. 122v: 'To John Ivory for making a new Table of y^{e} Benefactors & Masters of the Coll: & y^{e} fframing of y^{e}

Countess of Shrewsbury Picture: Both for y^{e} Lodge - 03.20.00'.

This portrait likely came from the Cavendish/Talbot family collection. The inscription is not contemporary with the portrait and echoes those of a number of portraits that remain at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire. See chapter five for further discussion of its origins.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Freeman (1880), no. LXI, pp. 116, 119

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21



Mary Talbot (1556–1632)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 109.2 x 89 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 25

Inscription: (On reverse) Countess of Shrewsbury

Provenance: See appendix no. 20 for Robert Booth's mention of a portrait of Talbot in the Master's Lodging before 1612 (SJCC, D105.9, fo. 1)

Additionally, see the entry for appendix no. 20, which details two other mentions of Mary Talbot's portrait at St John's College in the seventeenth century.

This portrait is a copy of an earlier portrait of Mary Talbot on panel, passed down through her family and now in the collection of the National Trust at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (**NT**1129098). The National Trust records observe that this 16th Century family portrait is listed in the 1601 inventory of Hardwick Hall. The canvas portrait at St John's may have been a copy made from this original at Robert Booth's request.

Current Location: The Combination Room

Literature: Freeman (1880), no. LXII, p. 178

Conservation: Hamilton Kerr Institute, 1996

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22



Mary Talbot (1556–1632)
Thomas Burman
*c.*1671
Stone
St John's College, Cambridge

Provenance: Statue given by William Cavendish (*c.*1593–1676), 1st Duke of Newcastle and nephew of Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury. See Cambridge, St John's College, SJAR/3/2/4/8, 'Rental 1666–1683', fo. 121r: 'Payd for y^{e} Countess of Shrewsbury's Statue, (erected in y^{e} Gate of y^{e} middle Court) together w[i]th her Armes, a Rose & a Portcullis, 40 ^{li} ffor putting them up into Boxes, & carriage from London 6.6.0. ffor y^{e} Masons work about y^{e} niches 7.5.6. To y^{e} Labourers, (w[i]th other appendent charges) 4.9.6. In toto - 58.02.00'.

Current Location: The Second Court, St John's College, Cambridge

Literature: Esdaile (1934), p. 154; Esdaile (1935), pp. 17-19; Crook (1980), p. 40; Linehan (2011), p. 153

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Joan Trappes (d.1564)

23



Joan Trappes
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 60 x 48 cm
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
Accession no.: GC0048

Inscription: Goodison (1957) gives a biographical inscription including the date 1554, whereas Cooper (2012) reads 1555. On examination, the inscription was too faded to confirm either way.

Provenance: Bequeathed to Gonville and Caius College by the last will and testament of Joyce Frankland: 'Item I giue and bequeathe one picture of Robert Trappes Citizen and goldsmith of London my ffather deceased and one picture of Joane Trappes wyfe of the saide Robert Trappes my mother lykewise deceased unto the saide Gunvile and Keyes colledge' (London, TNA, PROB 11/70/179, fo. 137r). According to the terms of Frankland's will, another portrait of Joan Trappes was to be given to Lincoln College, Oxford. Each was to be 'sett upp in the Oratoryes or Chappells' of the Colleges. There does not appear to have been a portrait of Joan Trappes at Lincoln.

Current location: The College Hall

Literature: Goodison (1957), p. 215; Cooper (2012), pp. 94, 105, 213 *n.*98.

Conservation: Reframed in 1793

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Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)

24



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 88.5 x 71.5 cm
Petworth House and Park, West Sussex
Accession no.: **NT** 485123

Inscription: Lady Wadham/ Ætatis: Suae: 60: Añº Dñi: 1595:

Provenance: This portrait forms part of the Egremont Private Collection. As chapter one established, the Earls of Egremont were descended from Sir John Wyndham, one of the three co-heirs of Nicholas Wadham's estate at Merifield, Somerset. This portrait may have been included in Wyndham's inheritance after Dorothy Wadham's death in 1618. Another, similar version of this portrait can be found at Melbury House, Ilchester, an estate passed down from Sir John Strangeways, another of the Wadhams' co-heirs.

Current Location: The Belzamine Bedroom

Literature: Strong, *The English Icon* (1969), p. 210; Cooper (2019), p. 115

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25



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 86.4 x 66 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 17

Inscription: Ætatis Suæ 60. / Añº Dñi. 1595 :
On frame: DOROTHEA WADHAM NICOLAI CONJVX/ FVNDATRIX OBIIT 16º DIE MAII AÑO DÑI 1618.
Provenance: This portrait forms part of a pair alongside appendix no. 51 (Nicholas Wadham). Jackson, author of the history of Wadham College, Oxford described this portrait of Nicholas as the original that was copied to produce the rest of the College's founders' portraits (see Jackson (1893), p. 186). This portrait of Dorothy Wadham and its pair are themselves likely to be copies of either the Petworth portraits (appendix nos. 24 and 50) or those at Melbury House, Ilchester. Cooper suggests that these copies were made before Dorothy Wadham died in 1618 and that they may have entered the College collection after her death (see Cooper (2019), p. 115). See chapter one for my argument that there is no conclusive evidence linking these two portraits to Wadham College in the early seventeenth century. If the College were in possession of portraits of their founders then, they were likely the 1611 versions (see appendix nos. 26 and 52).
Current Location: Warden's Lodgings
Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 186; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 211; Cooper (2019), pp. 114-15
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26



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
Unknown artist
1611
Oil on panel
Approx. 102.9 x 82.6 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 25

Inscription: Ætatis Suæ. 77./ Añº Dñi. 1611.
Inscription on frame: DOROTHEA WADHAM NICOLAI CONJVX FVNDATRIX OBIIT 16º DIE MAII AÑO DÑI 1618.

Provenance: Jackson and Lane Poole surmise that this version can be linked to a 1778 purchase of two portraits of the founders (Jackson cites the College Convention Book for 11 May, but there is also a payment in Wadham College, 16/5, 'Bursar's Accounts, 1753–90' between Christmas 1777 and Midsummer 1778 (no page numbers)). See chapter 1, pp. 48-9 for Jackson's argument. His notes on the Wadham archive further reveal his reasoning: 'I imagine these to be the two pictures hanging on the first floor landing in the Warden's lodgings' (Wadham College, 'Jackson's Notes on the Archive', p. 304). There does not appear to be any further corroborating evidence linking the 1611 portraits to this payment. Through comparative analysis of Wadham's portraits of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham in chapter one, I argue that this portrait and its pair were in situ in the College from the early seventeenth century and were likely commissioned by Dorothy herself with the College in mind.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 186; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii pp. 211-12.

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27



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
After John Blackshaw
Restored copy, original *c.*1613
Burford Stone
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: SC010

Inscription: ANNO DOM. 1613. APR 20./ SUB AUSPICIIS. R. JACOBI/ HOSPES/ QUAM VIDES DOMUM MUSIS NUNCUPATAM, PONENDAM MANDABAT NICHOLAUS WADHAM, SOMERSETENSIS, ARMIGER. VERUM ILLE FATO PRÆREPTUS DOROTHEÆ CONJUGI PERFICIENDAM LEGABAT. ILLA INCUNCTANTER PERFECIT, MAGNIFICEQUE SUMTIBUS SUIS AUXIT. TU SUMME PATER ADSIS PROPITIUS, TUOQUE MUNERI ADDAS, QUÆSUMUS, PERPETUITATEM.

Provenance: A copy of an original seventeenth-century statue of Dorothy Wadham, erected in 1613 by John Blackshaw during the initial construction of Wadham College. Blackshaw was paid £11 (see Jackson (1893), pp. 126-7). Jackson describes it as a copy in 1893, and it is unclear when the first restoration took place. For a photograph of the statues before their twentieth-century restoration see Swindon, Historic England Archive, HWT01/01, CC49/00300, https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/CC49/00300 (1 September 2023).

Current Location: Front Quad

Literature: Jackson (1893), pp. 35, 48, 126-7; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii pp. 212; Cooper (2019), p. 15

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28



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
John Taylor
1669-70
Oil on canvas
Approx. 116 x 89 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
Accession no.: LP 78

Inscription: DOROTHEA WADHAM NICOLAI CONIUX, DÑI GVL. PETRÆI (QVI HENR. VIII^{VO}, EDV. VI^{TO}, ET/ MARIÆ AC ELIZABETHÆ REGINIS QVONDAM À SECRETIS FVIT,) FILIA, DEMANDATAM/ SIBI À MARITO COLLEGII WADHAMENSIS FVNDATIONEM INCVNCTANTER PERFECIT/ MVNIFICÉQVE SVMPTIBVS SVIS AVXIT ANNO DÑI MDCXIII. OBIITQVE MDCXVIII.

Provenance: Commissioned by the College for the series of founders' portraits in the Bodleian Library. See Oxford, Wadham College, 16/2, 'Bursar's Accounts, 1660-86', p. 127: 'To Mr Taylor for Pictures in y^{e} School Gallery - 10-0-0'.

Current Location: Duke Humfrey's Library

Literature: Lane Poole (1912-25), i, p. 31 (see also iii, p. 210); Lane Poole, ed. Garlick (2004), p. 313

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29



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
William Sonmans (d. 1708)
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 56

Inscription (very indistinct): Ætatis Suæ 77/ Año Dñi 1611./ Dorothy, sister to the first/ L^{d} Petre & Wife to Nich^{s}/ Wadham, Esq., Found^{r} of/ Wadham Coll. in Oxford

Provenance: There is payment in the Wadham College accounts in 1680 to 'West for makeing curtains before the Founders pictures' (Wadham College, 16/2, 'Bursar's Accounts, 1660–86', no page numbers, '6th Head Particular Expences'). I agree with Lane Poole's assertion that this portrait and its pair were probably those purchased in 1680. Both Jackson and Lane Poole mention that the painting is inscribed 'W. Sonmans' to the lower left, but it is no longer possible to make out this signature. Formerly in the College Hall.

Current Location: The Old Library

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 183; Lane Poole (1912-25), pp. 210, 212-13

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30



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 92.7 x 83.8 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 113

Provenance: Unknown. A copy of appendix no. 26. This portrait's wooden support may indicate a production date in the first half of the seventeenth century or it may be a old-fashioned later copy. Further technical analysis would clarify its relationship to the rest of the collection at Wadham College.

Current Location: The Trapp Room

Literature: Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 213

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31



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 100 x 77 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 136

Provenance: Unknown. This copy may have been made after the John Faber Senior print (see appendix no. 32), which would explain why the usual heraldry has not been included. Seen by both Jackson and Lane Poole in the Hall, hung on the back wall of the balcony.

Current Location: In store

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 183; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 213

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32



Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618)
John Faber Sr
1710–1720
Mezzotint
Approx. 24.5 x 19.2 cm
National Portrait Gallery, London
Accession no.: NPG D28120

Inscription: Dorothea Wadham Nicol^{i}: Conj^{x}: Coll: Wadham^{s}. / Fundat: A^{o} D^{i} 1609 / Hanc Effigiem Rev^{do}: Viro D^{no} Gul: Baker S.T.P. ejusdem/ Coll: Gardiano A^{o} 1719. Summa cum Humil: & Observantia/ D. D. D. J Faber

Provenance: A copy of the portrait of Dorothy Wadham in the Bodleian picture gallery made by John Faber Sr. The National Portrait Gallery print is from William Fleming's Granger, a collection of print engravings begun in 1814 (see appendix no. 33).

Literature: Lane Poole (1912–25), i, pp. 1*n*1, 31; Lane Poole (1912–25), iii, p. 212

Image Permissions © National Portrait Gallery, London

33



Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham
Unknown artist
1674
Line engraving on paper
Approx. 7.5 x 18.2 cm
National Portrait Gallery, London
Accession no.: NPG D26153

Inscription: NICH. WADHAM DOR$^{Y.}$ WAD.

Provenance: This print engraving formed part of the collection of Dr William Fleming (*c.*1790–1880), whose keen interest extra-illustration led him to amass thousands of historical portrait prints. There is no record of the original source of this image of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham but, based on comparison with two of Fleming's other prints which also depict founders of Oxford colleges, it is likely that these engravings were made for a work related to the Wadhams' activities and portraits in Oxford rather than those in the West Country. See portraits of Richard Foxe (NPG D24275) and Sir Thomas Pope (NPG D24968).

Literature: See National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive and Library, 'Sitter Box, Dorothy Wadham'

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34



The Oxford Almanack for 1738
George Vertue
1737
Engraving on paper
Approx. 34.7 x 43.2 cm
The British Museum, London
Accession no.: 1854,0614.12

Inscription: The OXFORD ALMANACK For the Year of our Lord God MDCCXXXVIII.

Provenance: Produced by George Vertue for the Clarendon Press in 1737 as part of his series of illustrations for the Oxford Almanack, a calendar of the university year. His illustration is titled 'FOUNDERS, VISITOR AND WARDENS OF WADHAM COLLEGE. *Founders*, Nicholas Wadham *Esq*^{r}. & Dorothy *his Wife. Visitor*, Bp. *of* Bath & Wells.'

Literature: Petter (1946), p. 32; Petter (1974), p. 61

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Elizabeth Wolfe (d. 1540)

35



Elizabeth Wolfe (d. 1540?)
Unknown artist
*c.*1565
Oil on panel
Approx. 42 x 53 cm
Peterhouse, Cambridge
Accession no.: 29

Elizabeth Wolfe was the widow of Richard Wolfe, a resident of Cambridge. Walker's *Peterhouse Biographical Register* lists his occupation as 'Burgess and Ale Brewer', and dates her will to 4 December 1540. Her legacy to the College included twenty acres in Cambridge and Barnwell.

Inscription: VIDVA M^{RI} WOLFE. A^{O} DNĪ. 1540. A longer inscription on a panel, now lost, that hung below the portrait is recorded in Willis' *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*: '*Mortalem Tabithæ Pietas bis vivere Vitam, Cœlestem Viduæ perpetuamque dedit.*' (Willis (1886), i, p. 67.)

Provenance: This picture of Wolfe is one portrait in a larger set of paintings of masters and benefactors commissioned by Peterhouse. Most of the portraits in the series, including that of Wolfe, have been dated to *c.*1565. Andrew Perne was master of the College at this time (1554–1589).

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Willis (1886), i, p. 67; Walker (1906), pp.62, 206, 225-6; Walker (1927-30), i, p. 133; Tittler (2013), pp. 43-4, 172; Daunt (PhD thesis, 2015), ii, p.137; National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive and Library, 'Notes on Collections, Peterhouse, Cambridge'

Technical Analysis: Ian Tyers carried out dendrochronology in 2003, dating the early portraits in the set to *c.*1565. See Daunt (PhD thesis), ii, p. 137 for details of the panel of Wolfe: 'The wood is likely to have been felled between 1557 and 1569'.

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1.2 Male Patrons

Philip Bisse (*c.*1540–1613)

36



Philip Bisse (*c.*1540–1613)
Unknown artist
1612
Oil on panel
Approx. 190.5 x 104.1 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 22

Inscription: Dorothea Wadham fundatrix huius Collegij, hanc Philippi Bisse, S. theologiæ doctoris effigiem, quia hanc Bibliothecam suis libris ornauit, in grati animi testimoniu[m] fieri voluit atq[ue] hic appendi mandauit./ Ætatis Suae. 72. Añº Dñi. 1612.

Provenance: As detailed in its inscription, this portrait was commissioned by Dorothy Wadham to hang in the Wadham College Library to commemorate Philip Bisse's gifts of books to the College. Bisse was the Archdeacon of Taunton in Somerset and had given to the College his personal Library. It was a major donation consisting of in excess of 2000 books (See Davies (2003), p. 906). Taunton was in the diocese of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was designated Visitor of the College, solidifying the community's West Country links. As David and Town suggest, this may have influenced

Wadham's choice of painter, possibly the 'Unknown Follower of Hieronymous Custodis'.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 195; Lane Poole (1912–25), iii, p. 211; Pointer (2009), p. 105; David and Town (forthcoming)

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Richard Foxe (*c.*1448–1528)

37



Richard Foxe (*c.*1448–1528)
Attributed to Johannes Corvus
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 75 x 48 cm
Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Accession no.: 2

Inscription: CLARVS WYTONIÆ PRÆSVL COGNO[M]I[N]E FOXVS QVI PIVS HOC OLIM NOBILE STRVXIT OPVS TALIS ERAT FORMA TALIS DVM VIXIT AMICTV QVALEM SPECTANTI PICTA TABELLA REFERT.

Provenance: Lane Poole links this picture to the early history of the College, but no written evidence can yet confirm the presence of a portrait in the College until later in the sixteenth century. Julian Reid's work on the College accounts reveals payments for portraits of the founder, the earliest he has noted being C/1/1/4, '*Libri Magni*, 1560-1', fo. 64v: 'To Doylye for vernyshing our Founders picture'. I have not consulted the *Libri Magni* myself, so I am grateful to Julian Reid for his assistance.

Lane Poole notes that the attribution to Johannes Corvus comes from an eighteenth-century account by George Vertue, who had seen what he assumed to be the original frame, with the inscription 'JOANNES CORVUS FLANDRUS FACIEBAT'. Vertue's description also suggests that the portrait showed evidence of hinged wooden doors, much like Sir Thomas White's early portrait at St John's College, Oxford (see Lane

Poole, ii, p. 262).

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, pp. x, 261-3; Tiitler (2013), pp. 40-1, 170

Image Permissions: Portrait of Richard Foxe or Fox (c.1448-1528) Bishop of Winchester, Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII and Henry VIII and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford 1530s (oil on panel), Corvus, Hans (Jan Rave) (fl.1512-44) / Corpus Christi College, Oxford, UK / Bridgeman Images

38



Richard Foxe (*c.*1448–1528)
Sampson Strong (*c.*1550–1611)
1604
Oil on panel
Approx. 150 x 100 cm
Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Accession no.: 4

Inscription: AN^{O} 1604/ S F

Provenance: In the distinctive style of Sampson Strong. The inscription 'S F' is likely an abbreviation for 'Sampson Fecit'. Julian Reid has noted a payment for this picture in the College accounts: C/1/1/7, '*Libri Magni*, 1603-4', fo. 63r: 'To Sampson for the Founder's and Oldham's pictures'. Major building works took place at Corpus Christi between 1603-4, including in the Library, where this portrait was probably hung. See chapter six, pp. 326-30, for my discussion of the possible purpose of this copy of the Founder's portrait in a new space in the College.

Current Location: The Library

Literature: Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, pp. xiii, 263-4; Tittler (2013), pp.80, 170; Charles-Edwards and Reid (2017), pp. 124-5

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Edward Montagu (1562/3–1644)

39



Edward Montagu (1562/3–1644), 1st Baron Montagu of Boughton
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 73.1 x 59.7 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 15

Frances Sidney's great nephew and benefactor to Sidney Sussex College.

Inscription: *ÆQVITAS ACTIONVM REGVULA*

Provenance: Included in the 1639 inventory of the Master's Lodgings at Sidney Sussex as 'The L. Edward Mountague's picture of Boughton' (MR 31D, fo. 6). However, as chapter one highlights, this entry was added later than the original list, at an unknown date after the first draft on 5 July 1639. The addendum is signed in a different hand by Richard Minshull, master 1643–1687.

Goodison writes that his dress and arms indicate his status as a baron, which is suggestive of a date of 1621 or later, after his peerage.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Goodison (1985), p. 81; Humphreys (2009), p. 24

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James Montagu (*c.*1568–1618)

40



James Montagu (*c.*1568–1618)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 72.4 x 60.7 cm
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 13

Frances Sidney's great nephew. Master of Sidney Sussex College, 1596–1608. Later Bishop of Bath and Wells and subsequently Bishop of Winchester.

Provenance: Listed in the 1639 inventory of the Master's Lodgings at Sidney Sussex as 'B^{p} Mountagues picture' (MR 31D, fo. 6). However, as chapter one highlights, this entry was added later than the original list, at an unknown date after the first draft on 5 July 1639. The addendum is signed in a different hand by Richard Minshull, master 1643–1687.

Goodison notes that his arms represent the Prelate of the Order of the Garter, which suggests that this portrait was made, or the arms added, when Montagu whilst Bishop of Winchester, a role he filled from 1616.

Current location: The College Hall

Literature: Goodison (1985), pp.81-2

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Alexander Nowell (*c.*1516/17–1602)

41



Alexander Nowell (*c.*1516/17–1602)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 88.3 x 69.2 cm
Brasenose College, Oxford
Accession no.: O.3

Inscription: ALEXANDER NOWELLVS SACRÆ THEOL:/ PROFESSOR S^TI PAVLI DECAN^9 OBIIT 13^o FEB:/ ANN^O DOM[IN]I 1601 RR ELIZAB: 44^TO ANN^O:/ DECANAT^9 42. ET ÆTATIS SVA 95 CVM NEQ[UE]/ OCVLI CALIGARENT NEQ AVRES OBTVTIO=/ RES NEQ[UE] MEMORIA INFIRMIOR NEQ ANIMI/ VLLÆ FACVLTATES VIETÆ ESSENT.

Provenance: Anthony à Wood records a portrait of Nowell at Brasenose College in the mid-seventeenth century. It hung in the Library. In Gutch's 1786 additions to Wood, he notes that another portrait of Nowell is now on display in the Hall. Both hung alongside portraits of Joyce Frankland (the inscriptions described identify these as appendix nos. 11 and 12). The copy of Nowell's portrait on canvas now in the Bodleian Library is likely the picture described by Gutch. Butler describes this second copy's move from Brasenose to the Bodleian in 1817.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Wood, ed. Gutch (1786), pp. 369-72; Butler (1909), i, VII, pp. 10-12; Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, pp. 249-50; Tittler (2013), pp. 125-6, 171

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Sir William Petre (1505/6–1572)

42



William Petre (1505/6–1572)
Unknown artist
1567
Oil on panel
Approx. 86.3 x 73.5 cm
Exeter College, Oxford
Accession no.: 42

Inscription: ANNO. DOMINI. 1567./ .ET. AN°. ETATIS. SVÆ . / .61.

Attributed by Strong to Steven van der Meulen. The Exeter College portrait is of a different type to that at Ingatestone Hall, Essex, and is also different from the version at the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 3816). The Oxford portrait was later copied by Petre scholar William Holwell Carr in 1785.

Provenance: Purchased by Exeter College in 1567: A.11.9, fo. 9v: 'Item de iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} solutis pro imagine D. G. Petrei'. See ibid, fo. 32r for the purchase of a green silk cover: 'It[em] de solut[is] pro viridi serico ad contegé: dam picturam dñi Willi[a]m Petrei - vj^{s} ij^{d}'.

Current location: The College Hall

Literature: Lane Poole (1912–25), ii, p. 65; Strong, *The English Icon* (1969), p. 128; Madicott (2014), p. 293

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Sir Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)

43



Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
Unknown artist
Mid 16th Century
Oil on panel
120.2 x 82.6 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Accession no.: T347 or 2021.1.6

Inscription: QVOD TACITVM VELIS NEMINI DIXERIS

Provenance: Lane Poole suggested that this was 'the oldest portrait in the College, a copy from the portrait at Tyttenhanger, and probably the picture mentioned in the College accounts for the summer of 1596' (see Oxford, Trinity College, IA/1, 'Computi Bursariorum 1556–1600', fo. 389r: 'p[ro] cista in qua portabatur pictura [...] Tho: Pope fundatoris nostris et p[ro] vectione euisde[m]'). When the College bought appendix no. 44 in 1930, that portrait was widely agreed to be older than this version of the portrait. The reasoning for this was some confusion caused by Blakiston's observation of a portrait in the Common Room (where this portrait now hangs) that he deemed to be a later copy by William Sonmans, commissioned for the Bodleian Picture Gallery and exchanged with the College at a later date. Given that this portrait (appendix no. 43) was in the President's Lodgings when seen by Lane Poole, it is more likely that Blakiston regarded it as one of 'two good old copies on panel' there. Dendrochronological analysis supports Lane Poole's conclusions and reveals that this is probably the earliest extant portrait of Thomas Pope, possibly painted during his life. Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 164 suggests

that there was another portrait of Pope at Tyttenhanger. If this portrait survived, its location is now unknown. As a result, the 1612-13 payment in the College accounts 'for makinge Cleane the Found[e]rs old Picture in the Chappell - v^{s}' (Oxford, Trinity College, IA/2, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1600–1631', fo.141v) may refer to this portrait. In 1634-5 there is another payment 'p[ro] rep[ar]anda fundatoris pictura in sacello' (IA/3, '*Computi Bursariorum* 1631–1695', fo. 39v).

Current Location: Senior Common Room

Literature: Blakison (1898), pp. 104, 243-4; Lane Poole (1912–25), iii, p. 118; Tyers, 'Trinity College, Oxford' (2023), pp. 13-16

Technical Analysis: Dendrochronological analysis commissioned for this project in 2022 established that 'this panel was constructed after *c.*1534 and probably before *c.*1568'.

Image Permissions: Polly Saltmarsh

44



Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
113.6 x 90.5 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Accession no.: T370

This portrait is without the distinctive mermaid pendant seen in all other versions and copies of Pope's portrait.

Inscription: QVOD TACITVM VELIS NEMINI DIXERIS

Provenance: Bought in 1930 by Trinity College, Oxford from the estate of Lord North, Wroxton Abbey, Oxfordshire. Commissioned after the sitter's death, perhaps by his brother, John Pope, the owner of the lease of Wroxton Abbey.

Current Location: President's Lodgings

Literature: Blakiston (1898), pp. 39-40; Tyers, 'Trinity College, Oxford' (2023), pp. 10-12

Technical Analysis: Dendrochronological analysis commissioned for this project in 2022 established that 'this panel was constructed after *c.*1584 and probably before *c.*1618'.

Image Permissions: Polly Saltmarsh

45



Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 116.8 x 88.9 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Accession no.: T293

Inscription: QVOD TACITVM VELIS NEMINI DIXERIS

Provenance: Provenance information for this portrait is sparse. On the reverse there is an early nineteenth-century inscription referring to its restoration and indicating its temporary removal to one of the College livings. While technical analysis of this portrait was not possible as part of this project, the panel is similar in construction to early seventeenth-century panels and may, like the portrait of Elizabeth Pope bought in 1612-13, be made from English timber. In comparison with appendix no. 46, this portrait is a more likely candidate for the picture of Thomas Pope bought for the Hall in 1612-13.

Current Location: Development Office

Literature: Lane Poole (1912–25), iii, p. 118

Technical Analysis: Unsuitable for dendrochronology due to the small number of visible rings on each board

Image Permissions: Polly Saltmarsh

46



Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559)
Francis Potter (attributed to)
After *c.*1573
Oil on panel
120.9 x 81.8 cm
Trinity College, Oxford
Accession no.: T395 or 2021.1.1

Inscription: QVOD TACITVM VELIS NEMINI DIXERIS

Provenance: Little is known about the provenance of this portrait. John Aubrey writes in his *Brief Lives* that it was painted by Francis Potter, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. See Aubrey (1898), ii, p. 162: 'the founder's (Sir Thomas Pope's) picture in Trinity Colledge hall is of his copying'. Anecdotally, Warton's biography gives 1637 as the date of its production. The style of Pope's features in the portrait suggest a later seventeenth-century date than appendix no. 46.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Blakiston (1898), pp. 39, 242; Lane Poole (1912–25), pp. 117, 119; Tyers (2023), pp. 17-20

Technical Analysis: Dendrochronology in 2022 established a *terminus post quem* date of *c.*1573. Ian Tyers suggests that the panel, made from timber from a 'south-east English' source, was likely constructed at a later date.

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47



Ralph Simons
Unknown artist
*c.*1595
Oil on panel, transferred from original panel
Approx. 56.7 x 43 cm
National Portrait Gallery, London
Accession no.: NPG 7021

Ralph Simons was an architect and builder active in Cambridge in the late sixteenth century. He was involved in the design of both Sidney Sussex College and the Second Court at St John's College, discussed in this thesis in relation to its patron, Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury. A portrait of Simons on canvas is in the collection of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was also engaged in building work. Measurements as recorded by the National Portrait Gallery.

Provenance: Purchased by the National Portrait Gallery in 2016 from Philip Mould & Co. Before 2015, the portrait had a series of different owners from the middle of the eighteenth century. Philip Mould & Co suggest that this portrait may have been that located at Sidney Sussex College until that date, meaning that it may be 'the picture of m^{r} Raph Simons y^{e} Architect, when y^{e} Coll. was builded.' (Sidney Sussex, MR31 D, fo. 7).

Current Location: Currently on display at the National Portrait Gallery, London, Room 1, Floor 3

Literature: Cooper (2012), p. 196; Philip Mould & Company (2016), pp. 24-9

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Robert Trappes (1479–1560)

48



Robert Trappes
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
61.2 x 48.8 cm
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
Accession no.: GC0045

Inscription: SVFFER AND SERVE/ ANN: DÑI 1554 / ÆTAT: 77 ***Provenance:*** Bequeathed to the College by the last will and testament of Joyce Frankland: 'Item I giue and bequeathe one picture of Robert Trappes Citizen and goldsmith of London my ffather deceased and one picture of Joane Trappes wyfe of the saide Robert Trappes my mother lykewise deceased unto the saide Gunvile and Keyes colledge' (London, TNA, PROB 11/70/179, fo. 137r).

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Goodison (1957), p. 215; Cooper (2012), pp. 93–4, p. 213 *n.*97 and *n.*98

Technical Analysis: Dendrochronological analysis commissioned for this project in 2023 established that 'this panel was constructed after *c.*1556 and probably before *c.*1590'.

Image Permissions: Polly Saltmarsh

49



Robert Trappes (1479–1560)
Unknown artist
Late 16th Century
Oil on panel
60.8 x 50.4 cm
The Goldsmiths' Company

Inscription: SVFFER AND SERVE/ ANNO DÑI 1554. / ÆTATIS SVÆ.75

Provenance: The earliest date of the panel confirms that this must have been a posthumous portrait of Trappes. Inherited by the eldest son of Robert Trappes and his second wife Joan, also called Robert, and then passed by descent to Thomas Trappes, his great-great-grandson. It then left the ownership of the Trappes family, passing to Thomas's niece Elizabeth Holford. Then, by marriage, it was transferred to the family of Philip Broke, whose relative married into the Saumarez family. Sold at Sotheby's in 2005, when it was acquired by the Goldsmiths' Company.

Current Location: The Luncheon Room

Literature: Goldsmiths' Review (2005/6), pp. 22-3; Cooper (2012), pp. 93–4

Technical Analysis: Dendrochronological analysis commissioned for this project in 2022 established that 'this panel was constructed after *c.*1561 and probably before *c.*1595'.

Image Permissions: The Goldsmiths' Company

Nicholas Wadham

50



Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609)
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 88.5 x 71.5 cm
Petworth House and Park, West Sussex
Accession no.: **NT** 485124

Inscription: Sir Nicholas Wadham/ Ætatis Suæ. 62:/ Añº Dñi. 1595:

Provenance: Part of the Egremont Private Collection. The Earls of Egremont were descended from Sir John Wyndham, one of the three co-heirs of Nicholas Wadham's estate at Merifield, Somerset. This portrait may have been included in Wyndham's inheritance after Dorothy Wadham's death in 1618. A similar version, in which Wadham holds a sword and gloves rather than a staff and gloves, is in the collection of Melbury House, Ilchester, an estate passed down from Sir John Strangeways, another of the Wadhams' co-heirs through Nicholas Wadham's sister, Joan.

Current Location: The Belzamine Bedroom

Literature: Strong, *The English Icon* (1969), p. 210; Cooper (2019), p. 115

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51



Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609)
Unknown artist
1595
Oil on panel
Approx. 86.4 x 66 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 18

Inscription: Ætatis Suæ. 62: / Añº Dñi. 1595:
Inscription on frame: NICOLAVS WADHAM ARMIGER/ FVNDATOR OBIIT 20º DIE OCTOBR: AÑO DÑI 1609.

Provenance: This portrait is one half of a pair with appendix no. 25 (Dorothy Wadham). The author of the history of Wadham College, T. G. Jackson, contends that this portrait was 'the original' that was copied to produce the rest of the College's founders' portraits (see Jackson (1893), p. 186). The pair are probably copies of either the Petworth portraits (appendix nos. 24 and 50) or those at Melbury House, Ilchester. Cooper suggests that these copies were made before Dorothy Wadham died in 1618 and that they may have entered the College collection after her death (see Cooper (2019), p. 115). See chapter one for my argument that there is no conclusive evidence linking these two portraits to Wadham College in the early seventeenth century. If the College were in possession of portraits of their founders then, they were likely the 1611 versions (see appendix nos. 26 and 52).

Current Location: Warden's Lodgings

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 186; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 209; Cooper (2019), pp. 114-15

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52



Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609)
Unknown artist
1611
Oil on panel
Approx. 104.1 x 82.6 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 33

Inscription: Ætatis Suæ. 63./ Añº Dñi. 1595.
Inscription on frame: NICOLAVS WADHAM ARMIGER OBIIT 20º DIE OCTOBR: AÑO DÑI 1609.

Provenance: Jackson and Lane Poole assert that this portrait was purchased by the College in 1778 with a portrait of Dorothy Wadham (appendix no. 26). Reading Jackson's notes on the Wadham archive, compiled as he was writing the College history, it becomes clear that he believes that the 1611 portraits were the most likely candidates for a payment that year for the acquisition of two portraits of the Founders, but there is no conclusive archival evidence confirming their entry into the College collection at this date (Wadham College, Jackson's Note on the Archive', p. 304). Through comparative visual analysis of Wadham's portraits of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham in chapter one, I argue that this portrait and its pair were in situ in the College from the early seventeenth century and were likely commissioned by Dorothy herself with the College in mind.

Current Location: The College Hall

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 186; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, pp. 209, 211-12

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53



Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609)
John Taylor
1669-70
Oil on canvas
Approx. 116 x 89 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
Accession no.: LP 64

Inscription: NICOLAVS WADHAM SOMERSETENSIS ARMIGER, COLLEGII WADHAMENSIS/ FVNDATIONEM À SE DESIGNATAM DOROTHEÆ CONIVGI PERFECIENDAM RELINQVENS,/ OBIIT ANNO DÑI MDCIX.

Provenance: Commissioned by the College for the series of founders' portraits in the Bodleian Library. See Oxford, Wadham College, 16/2, 'Bursar's Accounts, 1660-86', p. 127: 'To Mr Taylor for Pictures in y^{e} School Gallery - 10-0-0'.

Current Location: Duke Humfrey's Library

Literature: Lane Poole (1912-25), i, p. 26 (see also iii, p. 210); Lane Poole, ed. Garlick (2004), p. 314

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54



Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609)
William Sonmans
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 57

Inscription: Ætatis Suæ: 63./ Añº Dñi. 1595.
(Continued on the stone plinth on which Wadham rests his hand, but very indistinct): Nich$^{s:}$ Wadham Esq./ Founder of Wadham/ College in Oxford.

Provenance: See appendix no. 29, the corresponding portrait of Dorothy Wadham. A payment in the Wadham College accounts in 1680 is made to 'West for makeing curtains before the Founders pictures' (Wadham College, 16/2, 'Bursar's Accounts, 1660-86', no page numbers, '6th Head Particular Expences'). Lane Poole's suggestion that this record relates to these large portrait copies is convincing. Both Jackson and Lane Poole mention that this painting is inscribed 'W. Sonmans' to the lower left, but it is no longer possible to make out this signature. Formerly in the College Hall.

Current Location: The Old Library

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 183; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 210

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55



Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 92.7 x 83.8 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 115

Provenance: Unknown. Part of a pair with appendix no. 30. It is possible that the use of a wooden panel support indicates that this is one of the earlier copies of the founders' portraits made for the College. However, panels were still used for portraits in the seventeenth century for a variety of reasons, and its date cannot be confirmed without technical analysis.

Current Location: In store

Literature: Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 210

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56



Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on canvas
Approx. 98.5 x 76 cm
Wadham College, Oxford
Accession no.: 168

Provenance: Unknown. Part of a pair with appendix no. 31. Seen by both Jackson and Lane Poole in the Hall, hung on the back wall of the balcony. Lane Poole notes that this copy was 'in very bad condition', *c.* 1919.

Current Location: In store

Literature: Jackson (1893), p. 183; Lane Poole (1912-25), iii, p. 209

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Sir Thomas White (1492–1567)

57



Sir Thomas White (1492–1567)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 45.1 x 37.5 cm
St John's College, Oxford
Accession no.: PH05

Inscription: AVXILIVM MEVM./ A DOMINO.

Provenance: Sometimes identified as a likely candidate for one of the two portraits purchased from 'Bettes'. See SJCO, ACC I.A 2, '*Computus Annuus* 1578-9, 1580-1', p. 73: 'It[e]m p[ai]d Bettes 8º febr. for Drawinge two counterfaytes of our founders and for courtaines case roddes of Iron & other thinges to the same - v^{l} iij^{s} xj^{d}'. Although curtains are mentioned here, a payment the next month details 12 pence spent 'for paintinge the leaves of o[u]r founders picture' (Ibid.). The connection between this portrait and the Bettes payment is far from certain and another candidate is the three-quarter length (accession no. PG25) which now hangs in the President's Gallery. Further technical analysis might begin to distinguish between the several late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century copies now in the College collection. This portrait appears somewhat similar in style to works by Sampson Strong, for example, the portrait of White in the Oxford Town Hall. Further research into this portrait or alterations made to it may provide further clarity.

Current Location: The President's Lodgings

Literature: Lane-Poole (1912–25), iii, pp. 156-7; Stevenson and Salter (1939), p. 386; Tittler (2013), pp. 153-4, 172

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58



Sir Thomas White (1492–1567)
Unknown artist
Unknown date
Oil on panel
Approx. 45.7 x 38.1 cm
St John's College, Oxford
Accession no.: LE01

Inscription: AVXILIVM MEV[M]/ A DOMINO (Also a faded, long biographical inscription in Latin detailing White's civic achievements)

Provenance: See appendix no. 57 for the 1580-1 payment to 'Bettes' in the College accounts for what may have been these two similarly-sized portraits. Poole doesn't appear to mention this portrait in her catalogue, and Stevenson and Salter suggest that one of the two portraits provided by Bettes was another early portrait of Thomas White on panel owned by the College (accession no. PG25). This third portrait is a three-quarter length comparable to the Oxford Town Hall version and probably similar in composition to the original once owned by the Merchant Taylors' Company. The archival references to 'our ffounders Picture' are not specific, making it difficult to ascertain which portrait was acquired when and how frequently they were moved or altered (see SJCO, ACC I.A 5, '*Computus Annuus* 1583-4', fo. 21v for a payment 'to the Painter for renewinge & refreshinge our ffounders Picture and to the Carryer for carrying it, to & from London'). I agree with Tittler, who lists both the half-length and the two smaller bust-length portraits as present in the College before 1600. However, he also lists a fourth 'lost' portrait, which I believe to be a misreading of Poole's notes in volume iii, p. 159, which refer to a missing portrait of White's sister, Mary Bridgman (see appendix no. 7).

Current Location: The Library

Literature: Stevenson and Salter (1939), p. 386; Tittler (2013), pp. 153, 172, 179n94

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1.3 Queens and Royal Portrait Sets

Anna of Denmark (1574–1619)

59



Anna of Denmark (1574–1619)
Unknown artist
*c.*1605
Oil on panel
Approx. 57 x 44.5 cm
St John's College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 112

Provenance: It is thought that this portrait of the James I's Queen was acquired with a portrait of the King to coincide with a visit to the College by Prince Charles and Prince Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. A reference in the College Rental for the year 1612-13 may well refer to the acquisition of these two portraits: 'It[em] for the Carreage of Picturs sent fro[m] London - v$^{s.}$ vj^{d}' (SJCC, SJAR/3/2/4/3, 'Rental 1600–1619', fo. 311r). It follows shortly after a payment of £35 and 6 shillings 'in p[ar]te of the Charges for the Princes enterteynment' (Ibid., fo. 310v). Freeman mentions that 'Queen Anne Consort to James the 1st., No 33' is inscribed on the reverse of the panel (Freeman (1880), no. LXII, p. 174). For the portrait of James I that was probably acquired at the same time, see Figure 76 (p. 279).

Current Location: The Master's Lodge

Literature: Freeman (1880), no. LXI, pp. 116-17; Freeman (1880), no. LXII, p. 174; Goodison (1957), p. 217; Baker (2009), i, p. 201; Cooper (2010), p. 57

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Elizabeth I (1533–1603)

60



Elizabeth I (1533–1603)
Unknown artist
*c.*1575–1580
Oil on canvas
Approx. 61.5 x 49 cm
The Old Schools, University of Cambridge
Accession no.: 9

Provenance: Goodison records a 1588/9 payment in the University of Cambridge's Vice-Chancellor's accounts, which he transcribes as 'Item for bringinge of the Queenes picture which M^{r} Sckinner gave Vnto the Universitye ij^{s}' (Goodison (1955), p. 12). In terms of the picture's dating, Tarnya Cooper and Amy Orrock suggest that this portrait of the Tudor queen has similarities to 'a type common in the late 1570s and early 1580s' (*Elizabeth I & Her People*, p. 71).

Current Location: The Syndicate Room

Literature: Goodison (1955), pp. 11-12; Goodison (1957), p. 216; Cooper et al. (2013), p. 71

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Elizabeth of York (1466–1503)

61



Elizabeth of York (1466–1503)
Unknown artist
*c.*1556–1567
Oil on panel
Approx. 56 x 43 cm
Trinity College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 60 (no. 61 on Art UK)

Inscription: ELIZABETH REGINA. MATER HENRICI VIII

Provenance: Part of a 1567 bequest by Robert Beaumont, master of Trinity 1561–1567, of a set of six portraits depicting Henry VIII, the College's founder, and his family. They were intended for display in the College Library (see also appendix no. 62). The earliest record of Beaumont's benefaction at Trinity College appears to be in the 1614 *Memoriale Collegii Trinitatis* (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17.8, p. 78).

Literature: Cooper and Cooper (1858), i, pp. 245-6

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Mary I (1516–1558)

62



Mary I (1516–1558)
Unknown artist
*c.*1558–*c.*1574
Oil on panel
Approx. 56.5 x 42.5 cm
Trinity College, Cambridge
Accession no.: 114

Inscription: MARIA REGINA HVIVS COLLEGII BENEFACTRIX.

Provenance: See provenance information for appendix no. 61. Part of the same portrait set. There are now two sixteenth-century panel portraits of Mary I at Trinity College, but recent dendrochronology suggested that the wood for the boards in the other panel, accession no. 115, was felled after 1577, which would rule it out as part of Beaumont's gift.

Current Location: The Lodge, Entrance Hall

Literature: Cooper and Cooper (1858), i, pp. 245-6

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List of Figures

All dimensions approximate, except those for Figures 20-25, 28-29, 43-44, 46, 83 where measurements were taken of the unframed panels by the author and Ian Tyers during dendrochronological analysis.

Figure 1. Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609), unknown artist, 1595, oil on panel, approx. 86.4 x 66 cm, accession number: 18, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 2. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), unknown artist, 1595, oil on panel, approx. 86.4 x 66 cm, accession number: 17, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 3. Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609), unknown artist, 1611, oil on panel, approx. 104.1 x 82.6 cm, accession number: 33, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 4. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), unknown artist, 1611, oil on panel, approx. 102.9 x 82.6 cm, accession number: 25, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 5. Philip Bisse (*c.*1540–1613), unknown artist, 1612, oil on panel, approx. 190.5 x 104.1 cm, accession number: 22, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 6. Detail of Figure 5

Figure 7. Detail of Figure 4

Figure 8. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), John Taylor, 1669-70, oil on canvas, approx. 116 x 89 cm, accession number: LP 78, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, photo credit: Digital Bodleian, © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 9. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), William Sonmans, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm, accession number: 56, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 10. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 100 x 77 cm, accession number: 136, Wadham College, Oxford, Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 11. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), John Faber S^{r}, 1710–1720, mezzotint, approx. 24.5 x 19.2 cm, accession number: NPG D28120, National Portrait Gallery, London, photo credit: © National Portrait Gallery, London

Figure 12. Detail of Figure 11

Figure 13. Detail of Figure 4

Figure 14. Detail of Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 92.7 x 83.8 cm, accession number: 113, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 15. Detail of Figure 10

Figure 16. Detail of the Oxford Almanack for 1738, George Vertue, 1737, line engraving on paper, approx. 34.7 x 43.2 cm, accession number: 1854,0614.12, The British Museum, London, photo credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Figure 17. Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, unknown artist, 1674, line engraving on paper, approx. 7.5 x 18.2 cm, accession number: NPG D26153, National Portrait Gallery, London, photo credit: © National Portrait Gallery, London

Figure 18. Frances Sidney (1531–1589), George Gower, *c.*1570–1575, oil on panel, approx. 193 x 111.1 cm, accession number: 1, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, photo credit: Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 19. Frances Sidney (1531–1589), unknown artist, unknown date, early 1580s, oil on panel, approx. 66 x 53.6 cm, accession number 26, Sidney Sussex College Cambridge, photo credit: Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 20. Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559), 'Wroxton Portrait', unknown artist, late 16th Century, oil on panel, 113.6 x 90.5 cm, accession number: T370, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 21. Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559), unknown artist, mid 16th Century, oil on panel, 120.2 x 82.6 cm, accession number: T347, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 22. Infrared detail of Figure 20, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 23. Infrared detail of Figure 20, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 24. Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559), Francis Potter (attributed to), after *c.*1573, oil on panel, 120.9 x 81.8 cm, accession number: T395, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Trinity College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, © Trinity College, Oxford. With permission of the President and Governors of Trinity College, Oxford

Figure 25. Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593), unknown artist, after *c.*1592, oil on panel, 92.7 x 69 cm, accession number: T396, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Trinity College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, © Trinity College, Oxford. With permission of the President and Governors of Trinity College, Oxford

Figure 26. Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 116.8 x 88.9 cm, accession number: T293, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 27. Reverse of Figure 26, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 28. Robert Trappes (1479–1560), unknown artist, late 16$^{\text{th}}$ Century, oil on panel, 60.8 x 50.4 cm, The Goldsmiths' Company, London, photo credit: The Goldsmiths' Company

Figure 29. Robert Trappes (1479–1560), unknown artist, late 16$^{\text{th}}$ Century, oil on panel, 61.2 x 48.8 cm, accession number: GC0045, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 30. Detail of the Letters Patent of Edward III, unknown artist, 1347, classmark: DY 318, The Queen's College, Oxford, photo credit: Anna Clark. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of The Queen's College, Oxford

Figure 31. Detail of the Letters Patent of Ellizabeth I, Nicholas Hilliard and others, 1584, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College, Cambridge

Figure 32. 'The Chaundler Manuscript', 1462-4, pen and ink and tempera on vellum, MS 288, f. 3v, New College Library, Oxford, © Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford

Figure 33. The Gate of Honour, *c.*1575, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, photo credit: Gerhard Bissell, CC BY-SA 3.0

Figure 34. King Henry VI, *c.*1510, stained glass, Christ's College, Cambridge, photo credit: Anna Clark

Figure 35. Sir William Cecil, unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 64 x 36 cm, accession number: MCPo/56, Merton College, Oxford, photo credit: Merton College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 36. Katherine of Aragon, unknown artist, unknown date, oil on canvas (lifted from panel), approx. 59.1 x 44.5 cm, accession number: MCPo/65, Merton College, Oxford, photo credit: Merton College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 37. Gatehouse carving, 1464-5, Merton College, Oxford, photo credit: Anna Clark

Figure 38. Sir Thomas White, unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 45.1 x 37.5 cm, accession number: PH05, St John's College, Oxford, photo credit: St John's College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Figure 39. Sir Thomas White, unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 45.7 x 38.1 cm, accession number: LE01, St John's College, Oxford, photo credit: St John's College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Figure 40. Fellows' Quadrangle, 1608-10, Merton College, Oxford, photo credit: Fr Lawrence Lew OP

Figure 41. Front Quadrangle, 1610-13, Wadham College, Oxford, photo credit: David Nicholls, CC BY-NC 2.0

Figure 42. Joyce Frankland (1531–1587), unknown artist, 16$^{\text{th}}$ Century, oil on panel, approx. 62 x 52 cm, accession number: GC0047, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, photo credit: © Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge

Figure 43. Robert Trappes (1479–1560), unknown artist, late 16$^{\text{th}}$ Century, oil on panel, 60.8 x 50.4 cm, The Goldsmiths' Company, London, photo credit: The Goldsmiths' Company

Figure 44. Robert Trappes (1479–1560), unknown artist, late 16$^{\text{th}}$ Century, oil on panel, 61.2 x 48.8 cm, accession number: GC0045, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 45. Detail of a portrait of John Lonyson, unknown artist, *c.*1565, oil on panel, Goldsmiths' Company, London, photo credit: The Goldsmiths' Company

Figure 46. Detail of Figure 43

Figure 47. Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559), unknown artist, mid 16$^{\text{th}}$ Century, oil on panel, 120.2 x 82.6 cm, accession number: T347, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 48. Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593), unknown artist, after *c.*1592, oil on panel, 92.7 x 69 cm, accession number: T396, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Trinity College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, © Trinity College, Oxford. With permission of the President and Governors of Trinity College, Oxford

Figure 49. Founder's Tomb, *c.*1567, alabaster, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Anna Clark

Figure 50. Frances Sidney (1531–1589), George Gower, *c.*1570–1575, oil on panel, approx. 193 x 111.1 cm, accession number: 1, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, photo credit: Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 51. Portrait of Elizabeth I, 'The Hampden Portrait', George Gower (attributed to), *c.*1567, oil on panel, approx. 196 x 140 cm, private collection, photo credit: © Philip Mould Ltd, London / Bridgeman Images

Figure 52. Sir Henry Sidney (1529–1586), George Gower (attributed to), *c.*1573, oil on panel, approx. 202 x 122 cm, accession number: NT 486274, Petworth House and Park, West Sussex, photo credit: © National Trust Images, full credit line: Petworth House, The Egremont Collection (acquired in lieu of tax by HM Treasury in 1956 and subsequently transferred to the National Trust)

Figure 53. Mary Dudley, Lady Sidney (*c.*1530–1586), Circle of Hans Eworth (attributed to), *c.*1550-55, oil on panel, approx. 195.6 x 115.6 cm, accession number: NT 486275, Petworth House and Park, West Sussex, photo credit: © National Trust Images, full credit line: Petworth House, The Egremont Collection (acquired in lieu of tax by HM Treasury in 1956 and subsequently transferred to the National Trust)

Figure 54. Frances Sidney (1531–1589), unknown artist, early 1580s, oil on panel, approx. 66 x 53.6 cm, accession number 26, Sidney Sussex College Cambridge, photo credit: Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 55. Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609), unknown artist, 1595, oil on panel, approx. 88.5 x 71.5 cm, accession number: NT 485124, Petworth House and Park West Sussex. Photo redacted for copyright reasons. Viewable online via https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/485124 and https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/sir-nicholas-wadham-15321609-219601

Figure 56. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), unknown artist, 1595, oil on panel, approx. 88.5 x 71.5 cm, accession number: NT 485123, Petworth House and Park West Sussex. Photo redacted for copyright reasons. Viewable online via https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/485123 and https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/dorothy-petre-15341618-lady-wadham-219600

Figure 57. Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609), unknown artist, 1611, oil on panel, approx. 104.1 x 82.6 cm, accession number: 33, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 58. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), unknown artist, 1611, oil on panel, approx. 102.9 x 82.6 cm, accession number: 25, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 59. Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Meynnart Wewyck, *c.*1510, oil on panel, approx. 189.4 x 119.4 cm, accession number: 37, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: © The Hamilton Kerr Institute

Figure 60. The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours, Paris, *c.*1500, vellum, approx. 23 x 16 cm, DNP: MS 498, fo. 13r, The Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, photo credit: Collection of the Duke of Northumberland

Figure 61. Title page of *The mirroure of golde for the synfull soule*, Jacobus de Gruytrode, 1522 (first published 1506), from the British Library Collection: STC (2nd ed.) / 6895. Image produced by ProQuest LLC as part of ProQuest® Early English Books Online (EEBO). https://www.proquest.com/books/mirroure-golde-synfull-soule/docview/22641923 68/se-2 (1 September 2023)

Figure 62. Mildred Cooke, Lady Burghley, Hans Eworth, *c.*1563, oil on panel, approx. 102.9 x 78.7 cm, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, photo credit: Bridgeman Images

Figure 63. Mildred Cooke, Lady Burghley, unknown artist, possibly the Master of the Countess of Warwick, *c.*1565, oil on panel, approx. 83 x 72 cm, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, photo credit: Bridgeman Images

Figure 64. Mary Talbot (1556–1632), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 54.5 x 42 cm, accession number: 27, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 65. Mary Talbot (1556–1632), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 109.2 x 89 cm, accession number: 25, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 66. Joyce Frankland (1531–1587), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 63.5 x 52.1 cm, accession number: O.24, Brasenose College, Oxford, photo credit: Reproduced by kind permission of the King's Hall and College of Brasenose, Oxford, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 67. Frances Sidney (1531–1589), unknown artist, early 1580s, oil on panel, approx. 66 x 53.6 cm, accession number 26, Sidney Sussex College Cambridge, photo credit: Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 68. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), unknown artist, 1611, oil on panel, approx. 102.9 x 82.6 cm, accession number: 25, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 69. Sir William Petre (1505/6–1572), unknown artist, 1567, oil on panel, approx. 86.3 x 73.5 cm, accession number: 42, Exeter College, Oxford, photo credit: Exeter College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Figure 70. Mary Talbot (1556–1632), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 109.2 x 89 cm, accession number: 25, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 71. Mary Talbot (1556–1632), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 54.5 x 42 cm, accession number: 27, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 72. Mary Bridgman (also Mary Matthew), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 40 x 29.2 cm, accession number: PP03, St John's College, Oxford, photo credit: By permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford

Figure 73. James Montagu (1568–1618), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 72.4 x 60.7 cm, accession number 13, Sidney Sussex College Cambridge, photo credit: Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 74. Edward Montagu (1562/3–1644), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 73.1 x 59.7 cm, accession number 15, Sidney Sussex College Cambridge, photo credit: Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, via Art UK, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 75. Elizabeth I (1533–1603), School of Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619), 16th Century, oil on canvas, transferred from panel, approx. 200 x 100 cm, accession number: PCF5, Jesus College, Oxford, photo credit: Reproduced by permission of Jesus College, Oxford, via Art UK

Figure 76. James I (1566–1625), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 108 x 85 cm, accession number: 111, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 77. Anna of Denmark (1574–1619), unknown artist, *c.*1605, oil on panel, approx. 57 x 44.5 cm, accession number: 112, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 78. Ralph Simons, unknown artist, *c.*1595, oil on panel, transferred from original panel, approx. 56.7 x 43 cm, accession number: NPG 7021, National Portrait Gallery, London, © National Portrait Gallery, London

Figure 79. Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Meynnart Wewyck, *c.*1510, oil on panel, approx. 189.4 x 119.4 cm, accession number: 37, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: © The Hamilton Kerr Institute

Figure 80. Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Rowland Lockey (*c.*1565–1616), *c.*1598, oil on panel, approx. 177.8 x 114.3 cm, accession number: 170, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 81. Saint Katherine and the Philosophers, Goswijn van der Weyden (*c.*1465–after 1538), *c.*1510, oil on panel, approx 108.6 x 157.2 cm, accession number: 1/1958, Southampton City Art Gallery, photo credit: St. Catherine and the Philosophers (panel), Weyden, Goossen (Goswyn) van der (1465-c.1538) / Southampton City Art Gallery, Hampshire, UK / Southampton City Art Gallery / Bridgeman Images

Figure 82. Thomas Pope (*c.*1507–1559), unknown artist, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 116.8 x 88.9 cm, accession number: T293, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Polly Saltmarsh

Figure 83. Elizabeth Pope (*c.*1515–1593), unknown artist, after *c.*1592, oil on panel, 92.7 x 69 cm, accession number: T396, Trinity College, Oxford, photo credit: Trinity College, University of Oxford, via Art UK, © Trinity College, Oxford. With permission of the President and Governors of Trinity College, Oxford

Figure 84. Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Rowland Lockey (*c.*1565–1616), *c.*1598, oil on panel, approx. 177.8 x 114.3 cm, accession number: 170, St John's College, Cambridge, photo credit: By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 85. Richard Foxe (*c.*1448–1528), attributed to Johannes Corvus, unknown date, oil on panel, approx. 75 x 48 cm, accession number: 2, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, photo credit: Portrait of Richard Foxe or Fox (c.1448-1528) Bishop of Winchester, Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII and Henry VIII and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford 1530s (oil on panel), Corvus, Hans (Jan Rave) (fl.1512-44) / Corpus Christi College, Oxford, UK / Bridgeman Images

Figure 86. Richard Foxe (*c.*1448–1528), Sampson Strong (*c.*1550–1611), 1604, oil on panel, approx. 150 x 100 cm, accession number: 4, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, photo credit: By permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Figure 87. Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Richard Crashaw (1612/13–1648), 1635, body colour on vellum, approx. 36 x 28 cm (manuscript), shelfmark: K18, '*Liber Memorialis*', fo. 3, St John's College, Cambridge. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge

Figure 88. Marie de St Pol (1304–1377), unknown artist, *c.*1629, watercolour on paper, approx. 26.5 x 19.2cm, shelfmark: Latin 4223 B, fo. 52v, Bibliothèque National de France, photo credit: BnF

Figure 89. Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609), John Taylor, 1669-70, oil on canvas, approx. 116 x 89 cm, accession number: LP 64, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Digital Bodleian, © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 90. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), John Taylor, 1669-70, oil on canvas, approx. 116 x 89 cm, accession number: LP 78, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Digital Bodleian, © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC BY-NC 4.0

Figure 91. Nicholas Wadham (1531/2–1609), William Sonmans, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm, accession number: 57, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 92. Dorothy Wadham (1534/5–1618), William Sonmans, unknown date, oil on canvas, approx. 125.7 x 100.3 cm, accession number: 56, Wadham College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford

Figure 93. Detail of the Oxford Almanack for 1734, George Vertue, 1733, line engraving on paper, approx. 34.7 x 43.3 cm, accession number: 1854,0614.9, The British Museum, London, © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Figure 94. The Oxford Almanack for 1738, George Vertue, 1737, line engraving on paper, approx. 34.7 x 43.2 cm, accession number: 1854,0614.12, The British Museum, London, © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Figure 95. Joyce Frankland, unknown artist, published by Rivington, 1809, stipple etching on paper, approx. 21.5 x 14 cm, accession number: 1923,0514.99, The British Museum London, © The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

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