Pleasing 'the common sort exceedingly well': an interdisciplinary repositioning of the British Portrait Miniature *c*. 1520-1650

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Lindsey Cox

The Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies

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Chapter 3: Picture Ownership

Introduction

The following chapter builds upon the work of the previous chapters, which demonstrated that both noble and non-noble sitters are represented in miniatures and that there was an interest in the subject outside of London from both professional and amateur painters. Surviving portrait miniatures frequently do not have secure provenances detailing who commissioned and owned these artworks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By using additional sources, it will be possible to address the gaps in knowledge which cannot be answered by examining the surviving miniatures on their own. The first part of this chapter uses probate inventories to survey the ownership of pictures amongst the nobility and the middling sort by. Using this evidence, the second section concentrates on Bristol and considers how the pictures owned by the middling sort might compare with those in noble collections and why individuals were attracted to small-scale objects.

3.1: A Survey of Picture Ownership

The Nobility

A frequently cited example of the display of miniatures is that provided by Sir James Melville, ambassador to Mary Queen of Scots.[1] In his autobiography, Melville recounts the occasion when Queen Elizabeth I invited him to view her miniatures in 1564.[2] These miniatures were kept wrapped in paper within a cabinet in her bedchamber alongside precious jewels.

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[1] For example, Christopher Lloyd and Vanessa Remington, *Masterpieces in Little: Portrait Miniatures from the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (London: Royal Collection, 1996), p. 12; Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, p. 67; and Strong, 'From Manuscript to Miniature', p. 73.

[2] This encounter took place in the 1560s when the queen, apparently, already owned a number of miniatures. Yet Fumerton references this event with very little mention of miniatures produced before the 1570s, when Hilliard first painted Elizabeth I.

She took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapt within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written 'My Lord's picture.' I held the candle, and pressed to see that picture so named. She appeared loath to let me see it; yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my Queen; which she refused, alleging that she had but that one picture of his. I said, your Majesty hath here the original; for I perceived him at the furthest part of the chamber, speaking with Secretary Cecil. Then she took out the Queen's picture, and kissed it; and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love therein evidenced to my mistress. She showed me a fair ruby, as great as a tennis-ball. I desired that she would either send it, or my Lord Leicester's picture, as a token unto the Queen. She said, if the Queen would follow her counsel, that she would in process of time get all she had; that in the meantime she was resolved in a token to send her with me a fair diamond.[3]

It is significant that the miniatures were reported as being kept within the royal bedchamber, a place where only a few visitors could enjoy direct access to the queen. In his account Melville clearly delights in his privileged access to this semi-private royal space, where the miniatures were reserved for exclusive viewing. To see the faces represented on the miniatures, Melville would have come into proximity to the queen's physical body as, presumably, the queen held the miniature whilst Melville held the candle. In comparison, a larger portrait would have allowed multiple viewers standing at some distance to the object and each other. Melville thus conveys to the reader a sense of intimacy between the queen and himself which serves to situate him as one of the elite.[4] In viewing the miniatures Melville presents a notion of exclusivity as only one or two people could look at it at any one

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[3] A. Francis Steuart, ed., *Memoirs of Sir James Melville* (London: Routledge, 1929), p. 94.

[4] An interesting comparison with Melville's account of viewing the queen's miniatures in her company comes from the Scottish historian Fraser Tytler, who recorded that Prince Albert and a servant carried in boxes of miniatures to show him during an invitation to Windsor Castle. Furthermore, he noted that following dinner Queen Victoria 'singled me out after a little time and entered into conversations upon the miniatures' and Tytler was subsequently trusted with the collection of 130 enamel miniatures, to take them back to his own house in order to catalogue them. As with Melville's account, miniatures are here used by Tytler to display the great honour, trust, and intimacy which the royal couple bestowed upon him. Reynolds, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Miniatures in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen*, p. 22.

time, but conversely the sitter within the portrait is exposed to any number of eyes over the course of time. As Patricia Fumerton argues in her influential work, the miniature represents 'private experience as inescapably public'.[5] Despite the reality of multiple sequential viewers, the notion of a restricted audience serves to add to the appeal of the art form. Noting the theatricality of the queen's gestures, 'she took up', 'she was loath', 'she refused', the drama scholar Keir Elam argues that these private pictures seen by candlelight and wrapped in paper were here performed for political and diplomatic affect.[6] Even if this performance is repeated time after time, during the moment this is a highly-restricted audience. The miniature is not the only property upon this stage. Commenting on this same passage, one of the most influential authorities of the miniature, Roy Strong, argues that the large ruby and the diamond which the miniatures were kept with serve to position the miniatures as equally precious items.[7] This chapter extends and builds upon this aspect of Strong's argument by examining miniatures alongside the other objects with which they were once viewed in both noble and non-noble households. It tests what light an investigation of the other decorative items that pictures were listed alongside in inventories can shed on an understanding of these small pictures and the material world in which they were originally viewed. This work informs a new and broader understanding of who owned miniatures and it also explores new ways of reading such objects within the context of the non-noble household.

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[5] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, p. 69.
[6] Keir Elam, '"Most truly limned and living in your face"', p. 79.
[7] Strong, 'From Manuscript to Miniature', p. 73.

Figure 61
George Jamesone
Anne Erskine, Countess of Rothes with her Daughters, Lady Margaret Leslie, and Lady Mary Leslie
1626
Oil on canvas
219 cm x 135 cm
SNPG PG 2456.

Further evidence for miniatures being kept within the seemingly more private areas of

a household can be found in the large portrait by George Jamesone, *Anne Erskine, Countess*

of Rothes with her Daughters (1626; figure 61).[8] Here the artist has represented three figures

wearing and surrounded by finely worked objects and standing in what appears to be a

closet.[9] The choice of objects depicted within this room work together to argue for this being

a space for leisurely activity where quiet pastimes, including the contemplation of pictures,

heraldry, and games, could be pursued undisturbed. The implication is that these were

pursuits and interests shared by both the viewer and the sitters. On the far wall in this room

the artist has painted a collection of cabinet miniatures in rectangular frames. The central and

largest of these cabinet miniatures represents a couple embracing. This, Christopher Rowell

argues, represents Venus and Adonis in the style of Rubens.[10] This miniature is surrounded

by a series of eight small head and shoulder portraits which, presumably, represent members

of the sitters' family and close associates. On a covered table the artist has painted a game of

chess and a small casket with classical columns.[11] A jewelled pendant is shown suspended

over the side of this casket. Such a pendant was typical of the type in which small miniatures

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[8] Jamesone was one of the most esteemed painters in Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century. He specialized in portraiture both large and small, representing in his early career merchants and academics, and later the Scottish nobility, including the Leslies. The year prior to Jamesone's portrait of Anne Erskine, he painted her husband, also in a full-length format. The portrait is in an unknown collection and is reproduced in Duncan Thomson, *The Life and Art of George Jamesone* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pl. 23. Jamesone also produced individual portraits of the Leslies' son and of Erskine's father and sister. In a self-portrait, the artist depicts himself holding a miniature of a female sitter; George Jamesone, *Self-Portrait* (*c.* 1637, oil on canvas, size unknown, Aberdeen Art Gallery). In another self-portrait, Jamesone depicts himself in a room hung with small pictures, including seven portraits, a seascape, a landscape, and a large mythological painting; George Jamesone, *Self-Portrait* (*c.* 1642, oil on canvas, 72 cm x 87 cm, SNPG PG 2361). If these smaller paintings were also by Jamesone, which the artist implies when he depicts himself pointing towards them and revealing them to the viewer, he was clearly an artist who was skilled in turning his hand to a number of genres and sizes of painting. Thomson argues that the cabinet miniatures which appear in the Anne Erskine portrait are painted in a similar style to those in the self-portraits and could also have been intended to represent those previously painted by Jamesone; Thomson, *The Life and Art of George Jamesone*, p. 82.
[9] The private nature of the closet in early modern England is discussed in more depth in Alan Stewart, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered', *Representations*, 50 (1995), 76–100. Stewart's work has been subsequently nuanced in Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Gertrude's Closet', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 134, (1998) 44–67. Orlin convincingly argues for the wider use of this room. She specifically refers to the use of the closet to display pictures alongside other activities, and for its use by women as well as men. The Erskine portrait, therefore, reinforces Orlin's argument.
[10] Christopher Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House: A Charles I Cabinet Room and its Contents', in *Ham House: 400 Years of Collecting and Patronage*, ed. by Rowell (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 14–31.
[11] I am grateful to Sarah Jeffcott, Librarian and Research Assistant, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, who in private correspondence dated 8 July 2016 agreed that the object may be a game of chess. There are two pieces depicted on the board, which adds further to this suggestion.

were set, enabling them to be worn. A further two richly embellished lockets, or picture

boxes as they were sometimes referred to, are shown being worn by the Countess, which

could again contain miniatures.[12] In the Erskine portrait the lockets are closed, but in other

portraits, female sitters are shown wearing an open locket bearing the portrait of their

husbands (figures 62 and 63).[13] In the Erskine portrait, whilst some miniatures are framed and

mounted on the wall for us to see, there is the implication that further miniatures are kept

covered and are only for the eyes of close friends and family. The inclusion of the parted

velvet curtain at the side of this portrait adds to the sense of theatricality and enclosed space

explored within this portrait, echoing Melville's account of entering the queen's chamber.

The miniatures, along with the other objects, all add to this dramatic theme. The scene is

staged for some of the objects to be revealed to the viewer, yet some also remained

concealed.

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[12] One of these lockets could have contained the portrait miniature of Erskine's husband, John Leslie, 6th Earl of Rothes (*c.* 1609–1641). A miniature of Leslie, attributed to Samuel Cooper, *c.* 1635–1640, private collection, is reproduced in Vaughan T. Wells, 'John Leslie, Sixth Earl of Rothes', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 24 June 2016]. For the use of the phrase 'picture box', see Giles Drury, ed., 'A particular account of the presents the Infanta hath received from the French court', *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 26 (11–18 June 1660; London: John Macock), p. 389.

[13] For example, in the miniature sometimes attributed to Levina Teerlinc, *Catherine Grey, Countess of Hertford, and son* (figure 62), the sitter wears a miniature of her husband at the end of a ribbon worn over her bodice. The child may also be holding a locket containing a miniature. In an easel painting by George Gower, *Unknown sitter, previously called Lady Walsingham* (figure 63), the sitter holds open a locket, which is attached to a ribbon worn around her waist, to reveal a miniature of her husband.
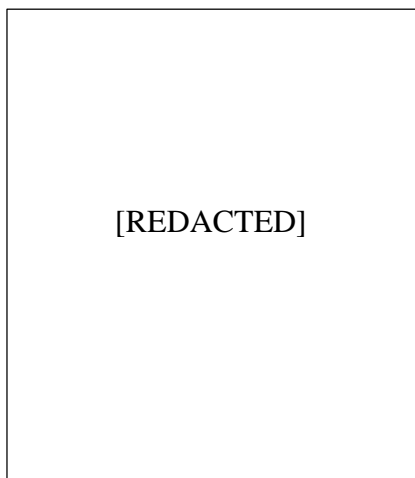
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Figure 62
Sometimes attributed to Levina Teerlinc
Catherine Grey, Countess of Hertford, and Son
1562
Medium unknown
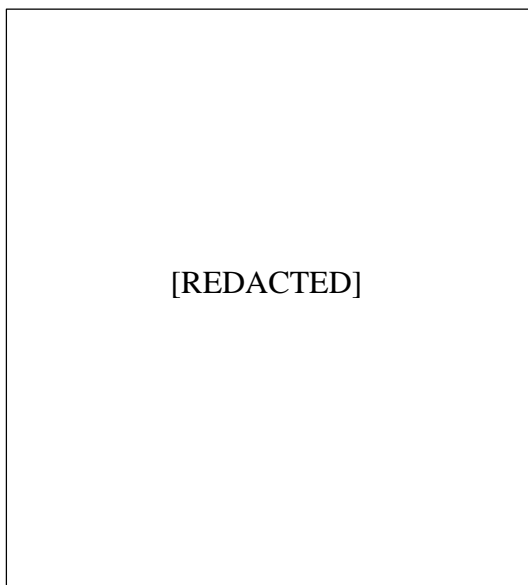51 mm diameter
Private collection.

Figure 63
George Gower
Detail from *Unknown Sitter*
(previously called Lady Walsingham)
1572
Oil on panel
839 mm x 635 mm
Private collection.

Jamesone represents a room which would have been separate from the main day-to-day business of the household, and which is furnished with soft fabrics and decorated with numerous objects. In addition to the portraits, the room is embellished with a panelled ceiling, a velvet curtain, and a carpet which is placed upon the table: all items which would have kept the room insulated and warm.[14] Further fine items here include a leaded glass window. This is decorated with a marital coat of arms representing the marriage between Anne Erskine – daughter of the 18th Earl of Mar, who is also represented in person in the portrait – to John Leslie, 6th Earl of Rothes.[15] Richard Cust argues that the use of armorial

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[14] David A. H. B. Taylor notes that this same full-length portrait type with the sitter standing next to a covered table and appearing from behind a pulled-back curtain is frequently used for painting noble sitters by artists, including William Larkin and Robert Peake in England, and Adam de Colone in Scotland; Taylor, 'Gesture Recognition: Adam de Colone and the Transmission of Portrait Types from the Low Countries and England to Scotland', in *Painting in Britain*, ed. by Cooper et al., pp. 310–323 (p. 315).

[15] Although the painting has suffered a degree of damage and the depiction of the coat of arms is indistinct, it appears to represent a marital coat with Rothes on the dexter and Mar on the sinister. I am grateful to Elizabeth Roads, Snawdoun Herald, Court of the Lord Lyon, for this information in private communication dated 1 July 2016.

windows in intimate places within the home was intended to speak 'very deliberately to the refined and heraldic-educated sensibilities of one's fellow gentlemen'.[16] Within this room, the heraldic device builds upon the theme of exclusivity: that this is a semi-private place where only the suitably educated would be able to interpret the objects on display. Such decorations were, in theory, therefore, intended for the elite rather than those who were only admitted into more public areas. This idea is also echoed in Henry Peacham's *The Gentleman's Exercise* (1612), wherein he notes that upon entering a gentleman's house, 'I might rather busie my selfe in viewing Armes, and matches of Houses in the windowes or walls'.[17] As demonstrated earlier in this thesis, however, Peacham's work had a readership which stretched beyond the nobility and helped to circulate such knowledge to the middling sort. As we have seen, Peacham included portrait miniatures as well as heraldry within this text, thereby linking the two art forms, as Jamesone does in this portrait. The coat of arms included within the Erskine portrait references the union of the Rothes with the Mars. This message is furthered by the inclusion of the small portraits on the back wall and any unseen portraits in the lockets, which may include representations of their ancestors. At the forefront of the portrait, the perpetuation of the dynasty is represented by the inclusion of the two daughters: Lady Margaret Leslie and Lady Mary Leslie. The evidence within this portrait

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[16] Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage in Late-Tudor and Early-Stuart England'. Cust argues that families would, more frequently, display their heraldic stained glass in the more public space of the hall. For example, Sir Thomas Brudenell added such window decorations to the great hall at Deene Park, Northamptonshire, during the 1630s. Comparatively, only two integral portrait miniatures within the database have a coat of arms painted on the miniature surface and not added at a later date or as part of the frame decoration. The first of these miniatures is Peter Oliver, *Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery* (1620, St Michael's Mount, Cornwall, National Trust). Clifford spent much of her adult life fighting for the inheritance of estates in Westmoreland and Yorkshire, which she felt were rightly hers. Her lineage was, therefore, of utmost importance to her. The second miniature to include a coat of arms is, after Isaac Oliver, *William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley* (unknown date, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire). Whilst Cecil's career saw him rise to being one of the peers of the realm, his own ancestors were country gentry. Cecil, therefore, may have intended the miniature to emphasize his own nobility. The difficulty in depicting and seeing the precise detail on a coat of arms on a small miniature may account for the infrequency of its inclusion. Comparatively, Robert Tittler argues that coats of arms continued to be included in easel paintings until the mid-seventeenth century; Tittler, 'The Malleable Moment in English Portraiture, c.1540–1640', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Richardson et al., pp. 275–292.

[17] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, p. 141.

therefore agrees with Tarnya Cooper's argument that 'portraits, in common with other types of painted images, might be displayed in an early modern domestic interior to register socially advantageous connections and herald the status and wealth of the sitter'.[18] The Erskine portrait demonstrates that the sitters, the small pictures, and other objects represented within this room, all highlight the illustrious pedigree of the dynasty, its wealth, its connections, and its future.

In displaying the miniatures next to the picture, which represents a scene from classical mythology, and implying a further miniature within a casket which is decorated with classical columns, the items are visually connected. The artist, hereby, alludes not only to the sitters', and the viewer's, knowledge of the classical world, but also that the virtues of the classical world are inherent qualities within those portrayed. In this portrait, it is not only lineage and learning which are interconnected and which serve to reinforce each other, but also wealth, lifestyle, and apparel. The costume that the Countess is wearing incorporates deep lace cuffs, lace detail around the neckline of the dress, and a falling ruff, also made of lace. This white lace contrasts with the dark dress that the sitter is wearing, which is further embellished with finely detailed gold embroidery. The sitter also wears an ornamented feather in her hair. The two children are also depicted wearing white lace around their necklines, cuffs, and ruffs. These items would not only be costly but also time-consuming to maintain: work which would have been carried out by a servant.[19] They indicate a lifestyle where the sitter is at leisure to view art and not be involved in any manual labour which may stain or spoil these delicate fabrics. Similarly, the display of miniatures by Jamesone, one of the leading portrait painters in Scotland, not only references the wearer's wealth but also the subjects' social and artistic access to such networks of exchange. Audiences would have

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[18] Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face', p. 157. See also Cooper, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2007).
[19] Arnold, *The Cut and Construction of Linen Shirts*, pp. 7–8 and 14.

equated the social status of the sitters with the representation of expensive and elaborate

details within this portrait; the objects which surround and adorn the person thus shape their

identities.

Miniatures form an integral part of the visual display within this room, one which is

concerned with the display of lineage, wealth, education, and fashion. The room is

represented as richly decorated and contains numerous small objects. This adds to the sense

of the space and those who would have had access to it through the parted curtain which the

artist has painted. This concurs with Robert Tittler's argument:

> The most private space of all, of course, would have been found for that small,
> specialised and very intimate genre of the portrait miniature. These would not have
> been publicly displayed at all, but rather kept, often encased in lockets, in private
> chests or drawers, for the owner's own intimate appreciation.[20]

To find out more details about the collections of miniatures owned by the nobility, including

the location of miniatures within the household, inventories have proved to be invaluable.[21]

None of these studies, however, have focused on miniatures within these collections, and this

gap will be addressed now. An examination of the 1547 inventory of Henry VIII reveals the

ownership of ten portrait miniatures which were located in the closet next to the king's privy

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[20] Robert Tittler, 'Faces and Spaces: Displaying the Civic Portrait in Early Modern England' in *Everyday Objects*, ed. by Hamling and Richardson, pp. 179–187 (p. 180).

[21] Maurice Howard notes that the journal *Archaeologia* was particularly innovative in its publication of the transcripts of inventories of courtly individuals. For example, Q. C. L. Kingsford, 'Essex House formerly Leicester House and Exeter Inn', *Archaeologia*, XXIII (1923), 28–41. Also, the histories of great houses have frequently included partial transcripts of inventories. For example, Chaloner W. Chute, *A History of the Vyne in Hampshire* (Winchester: Jacob and Johnson, 1888). Maurice Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys and the History of Great Houses 1480–1640', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), 14–29. These publications, however, include only limited interpretation of the documents. More recently, art historians have used inventories to specifically explore the picture collections of these court figures. Two notable examples of such research based on inventory research include Elizabeth Goldring, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), and Catharine Macleod, Tarnya Cooper, and Margaret Zoller, 'The Portraits' and 'A List of Portraits in the Lumley Inventory', in *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree*, ed. by Mark Evans (n.p.: Roxburghe Club, 2010), pp. 59–70 and 157–164. The work of historian Mark Overton has also proved to be influential across a number of disciplines, both in the use of probate inventories and in the focus on non-courtly individuals. See, for example, Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, and *A Bibliography of British Probate Inventories* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Department of Geography, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, *c*. 1983).

chamber at Greenwich and in the king's secret study called the chair house at Westminster.[22]

The inventory includes the subjects depicted in two of these miniatures: the King of France

and the Queen of France. Henry VIII does not appear to have had a special cabinet for his

miniatures, and his various 'phisionomes' in boxes were scattered amongst various coffers.

Nearly one hundred years later, another royal source, the 1637–1639 inventories of Charles I,

reveal a far more extensive miniature collection. Kept within cupboards in the cabinet room

at Whitehall Palace, a collection of 75 miniatures were inventoried.[23] Not only were there

more miniatures in the royal collection by the mid-seventeenth century, but in this instance

the subject matter, artist, size, and provenance are also recorded in most instances. This

argues for a more connoisseur-based approach to miniatures as works of art than was evident

in the inventory of Henry VIII, where very little information on the miniatures is recorded

apart from the identity of the sitter. The existence of a cabinet room in Whitehall Palace also

highlights the changing taste in noble architecture and the function of art, with the creation of

new specialist spaces in which to admire the skill of the painter. Here the viewer and the

owner of the artwork could share their appreciation of art away from the rest of the

household. The cabinet room was destroyed following a fire in 1698 and many of the

artworks were dispersed during the Interregnum and can now be reconstructed using these

inventories.[24] However, the cabinets of other noble art collectors do survive. These

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[22] David Starkey, ed., *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, vol. 1., The Transcript (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1998), item 9493, 'twoo boxes with the picture of the frenche king and the Frenche Quene' in the closet next to the king's privy chamber at Greenwich, p. 204, and item 10510, 'viij Boxes with phisionomyes' in the king's secret study called the chair house at Westminster, p. 235. Also in the inventory was a miniature of the Madonna and child which was kept in the jewel house at Hampton Court palace, item 12438, 'one lytle boxe wherein is our ladie and her sonne', p. 290.

[23] Oliver Millar, ed., 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', *Walpole Society*, 37 (1958–1960), 1–256, and George Vertue, *A Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First's Capital Collection* (London: W. Bathoe, 1757), pp. 32–54. Further miniatures are recorded in Charles I's inventories as being located throughout the royal residences, for example the Queen's closet at Kensington Palace and the Bear Gallery, where portrait miniatures were displayed alongside prints and drawings. The cabinet room at Whitehall Palace, however, contains the largest collection within the one room.

[24] Many of these works have been re-assembled for the exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 'Charles I: King and Collector', 27 January to 15 April 2018.

inventories also reflect the developing function of the miniature, from being kept in small boxes, as items of jewellery to be worn, and later to be displayed in cabinets.

Charles I's taste in art, decoration, and architecture was reflected by his courtiers in their houses. The King granted the lease of Ham House, near Richmond, London, to William Murray, Gentleman of the Bedchamber and 1st Earl of Dysart (*c.* 1600–1653), in 1625.[25] The original house was built by Thomas Vasasour in 1610, however Murray remodelled much of the house during the period 1637–1639.[26] Murray was one of only a few courtiers who accompanied Charles I on his journey to Spain in 1623 in his failed attempt to woo the Spanish Infanta, Maria Ana. Significantly, whilst in Spain, the party saw the art collection of Philip IV, which contained a number of works by artists renowned in Continental Europe, an encounter which was to influence the future patronage of Charles I and his courtiers.[27] Upon his return to England, Christopher Rowell argues that Murray transformed the Green Closet at Ham into a *kunstkammer* [art cabinet] emulating that of Charles I's at Whitehall, which in turn was inspired by those on the Continent.[28] Murray even used a number of the same craftsmen and designers, including Inigo Jones, in the remodelling of Ham to bring it in line with the new courtly and Continental aesthetic which created the context in which his art collection was viewed.[29] The Great Cabinet at Whitehall was completed in 1639, the same year as the Green Closet. Rowell argues that 'It was a great privilege to enter the King's Cabinet, and to be shown its treasures, including portrait miniatures, cabinet pictures, bronzes, medals, drawings, and engravings'.[30] Likewise, only selected elite visitors to the

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[25] Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 11.
[26] Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 14.
[27] Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 15.
[28] Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p.14. For the history of the *kunstkammer*, see Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
[29] Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p.15.
[30] Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 17.

Rothes in Scotland, who have previously been discussed, and Murray near London, would

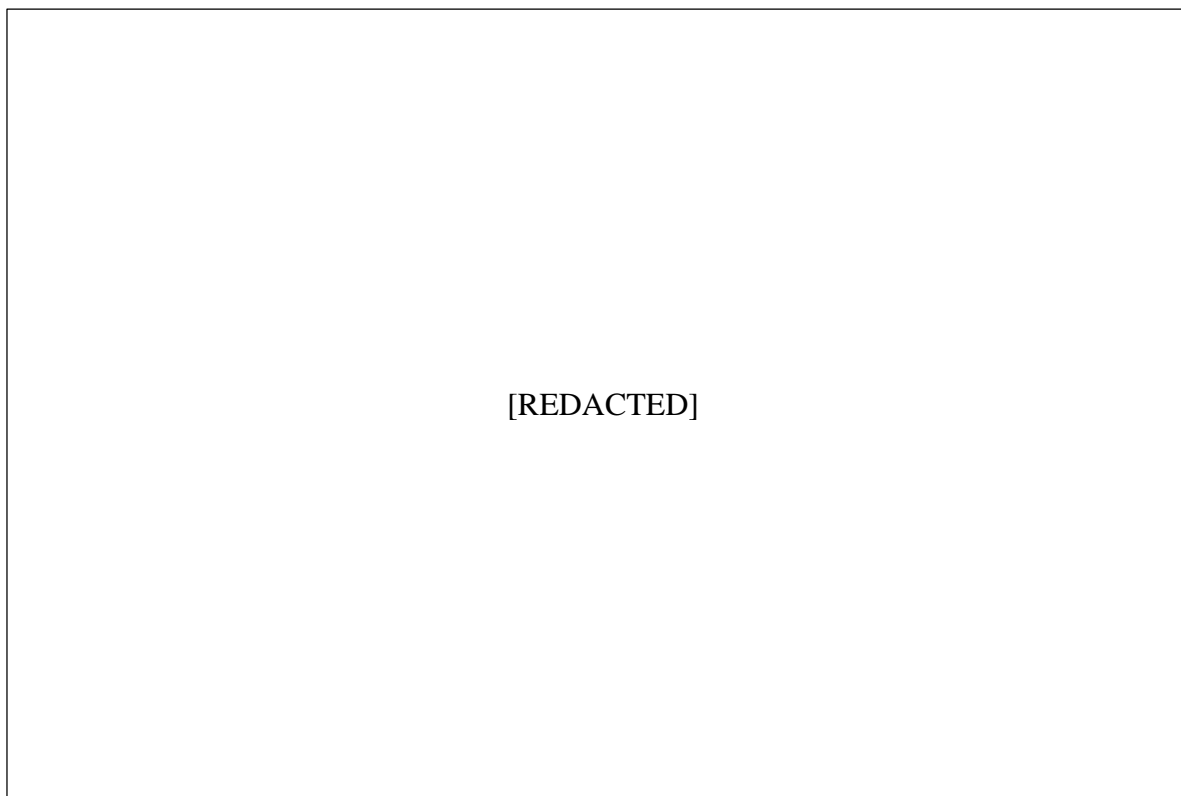have been permitted access to the miniatures.

[REDACTED]

Figure 64
The Green Closet, upper east wall and ceiling.
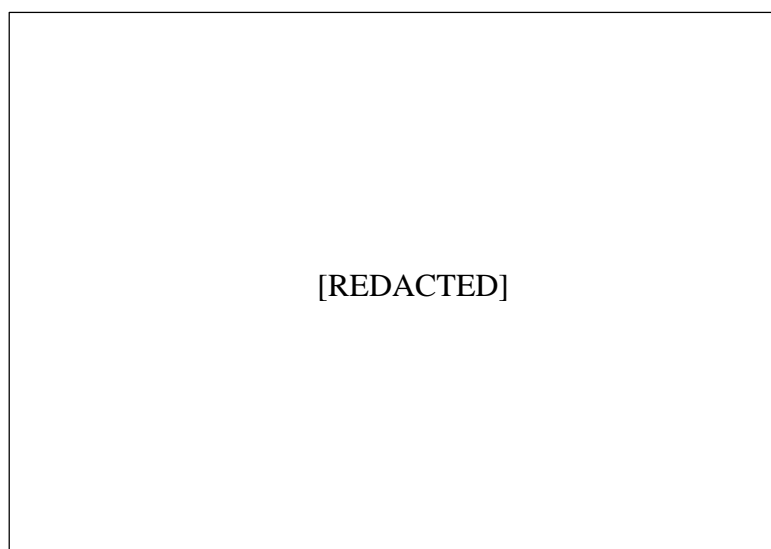Ham House, Richmond, *c*. 1637–1640, National Trust.

[REDACTED]

Figure 65
Wall and ceiling paintings attributed to Francis Clein and studio
The Green Closet, upper east wall and ceiling. Ham House, Richmond.
c. 1637–1640
Tempera on paper pasted onto linen
Ham House, National Trust.

At Ham the Green Closet is situated just off the Long Gallery which, Rowell notes, is reminiscent of Italian palaces, which frequently had a *studiolo* [small room], a quiet part of the household which afforded some privacy, and were therefore similar in this respect to Henry VIII's study, Rothes' closet, and Elizabeth I's bedchamber, where their small pictures could also be found.[31] At Ham larger works of art were displayed in the long gallery, whilst the closet was reserved for those of a smaller size.[32] Likewise, at Whitehall, the Great Cabinet was located near the Privy Gallery, which displayed seventy-three portraits representing royalty.[33] Rowell also argues that the Earl of Rothes, also someone with courtly connections and a great collector of art who had his own closet for his miniatures, may have seen the Green Closet at Ham.[34] The decoration of the Green Closet is known through an inventory made *c*. 1655, presumably just after Murray's death; the picture collection of the Green Closet was not included in this document but can be found in later documents, from which Rowell bases much of his research.[35] Like the Rothes' closet and the cabinet at Whitehall, classicizing figures can be found alongside the portraits. For example, the Green Closet includes a wall painting attributed to Francis Clein depicting Jupiter and Antiope from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (figure 65). The decoration of the Green Closet is also echoed in the subject

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[31] For example, the *studiolo* in Francesco I de' Medici's Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (built 1570–1572), and perhaps most famously, that of Isabella D'Este in Castillo San Giorgio, Mantua (built 1491–1505). Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 17. For the history of the *studiolo* see Stephen John Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella D'Este* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[32] The room was referred to as the 'Closet within the gallerie' in 1655. Until a later remodelling in 1672 when the door into the North Dining Room was opened up, the Green Closet could only be accessed from the long gallery. Christopher Rowell and Alastair Laing, 'Ham House: The Green Closet Miniatures and Cabinet Pictures' (National Trust, 2009), p. 1. <www.nationaltrust.org.uk/.../ham-house---the-green-closet-miniatures/> [accessed 3 January 2018].

[33] Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 17.

[34] Rothes opposed the introduction of the English Prayer Book in Scotland, but was later reconciled with the King and died in Richmond in 1641. Furthermore, David Taylor argues that Rothes's son, John, 7th Earl of Rothes and the 1st Duke, had the largest and most important group of portraits in seventeenth-century Scotland, which were also influenced by the gallery at Ham at that time in the hands of Murray's daughter, Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale and 2nd Countess of Dysart. Many of these works were inherited but both families continued to collect portraiture. Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House'.

[35] Later inventories which do include the picture collections within the Green Closet include the 1683 inventory, the 'Estimate of Pictures', drawn up for the Duchess of Lauderdale after the death of her husband.

matter of the small paintings which Rowell argues were also on display here.[36] For example, the cabinet painting the *D'Avalos Allegory* by David des Granges, after Peter Oliver after Titian (1640). Rowell suggests that this was probably copied from the Oliver version of 1629 in the Royal Collection inventoried by van der Doort (figure 66). Murray was highly likely to have owned a number of miniatures by the same artists as those in the royal collection, including Nicholas Hilliard's miniature *Elizabeth I* (*c*. 1590) and Isaac Oliver's *A Man Consumed by Flames* (*c*. 1610), as well as several miniatures representing figures from the court of Charles I which now form a part of this collection (figures 67 and 68).[37] It is not clear at what date these works entered Ham, as no inventory was made which included the portable pictures until 1683.[38] But given that Murray emulated the royal space for the display and viewing of artworks, and collected works by the same artists, subject matter, and dimensions, it is possible that he may also have acquired these miniatures. Not only would the ability to have copies of works made directly from the royal collection have displayed Murray's position and prestige, his access to leading artists and dealers would have made his green cabinet a highly desirable place to be permitted access to. Such rooms were only accessible after passing through several other outer public rooms, a journey which, in regards to the Elizabethan court, Fumerton compares to the process of opening up a locket to view the enclosed miniature.[39] Here miniatures were viewed as artworks within a context of classical learning and Renaissance connoisseurship which, if we are to believe the contemporary courtesy literature, could only be fully understood and appreciated by the

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[36] For more on the textiles within this room, see Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', pp. 28–29. The name of the Green Closet is derived from the description of its 'Hanginges of greene stuffe' in the *c*. 1655 inventory. Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 19.

[37] The mid-seventeenth century inventory does not include the paintings in the green closet, but probable references to these works can be found in a later document of *c*. 1683.

[38] The inventory of *c*. 1655 lists only 'A picture above the chimney' in the Great Hall. The 1677 and 1679 inventories list twenty-two pictures. Rowell, 'The Green Closet at Ham House', p. 21. The 1683 inventory includes fifty-one pictures and gives further details on artist, subject, and valuation.

[39] Patricia Fumerton, '"Secret" Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets', *Representations*, 15 (1986), 57–97 (p. 62).

educated few. This further underlines the perceived role of the miniature in including the elite few whilst excluding all others. Interestingly, the collection at Ham House also includes a portrait miniature representing the head of a working man, which has received less scholarly attention (figure 69). This miniature shows the face of a man in profile with his mouth open and wearing a brown cap and jacket. His attire and expression mark him out as distinctly different in status to other miniatures of this period. Whilst it might be intended to represent an archetypal character rather than an individual likeness of a person, it is important evidence for the depiction of non-courtly individuals in miniature. Such evidence, however, only reveals the artistry and rhetoric of how courtly collections were displayed. It cannot, therefore, be used to generalize about how individuals of less than noble status looked at and thought about miniatures. The following part of this chapter examines how noble collections of miniatures compare with non-courtly individuals who also owned small pictures. In these instances, it may be possible to surmise alternative models for understanding how the miniatures were viewed.

[REDACTED]
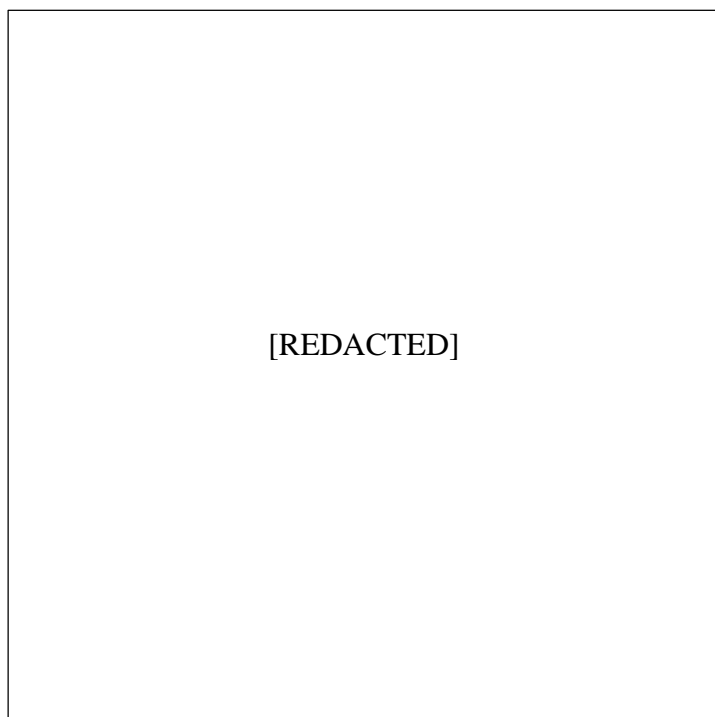
Figure 66
David des Granges, after Peter Oliver after Titian
The D'Avalos Allegory (Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Pascara and del Vasto and his wife, Mary of Aragon)
1640
Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum
203 mm x 203 mm
Ham House, National Trust NT 1140216.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
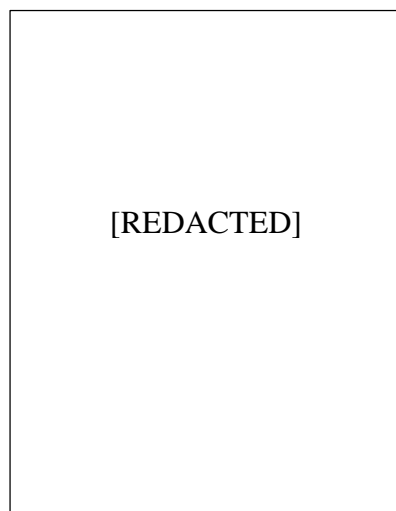
Figure 67
Nicholas Hilliard
Elizabeth I
c. 1590
Watercolour on vellum
Size unknown
Ham House, National Trust, NT 1140182.
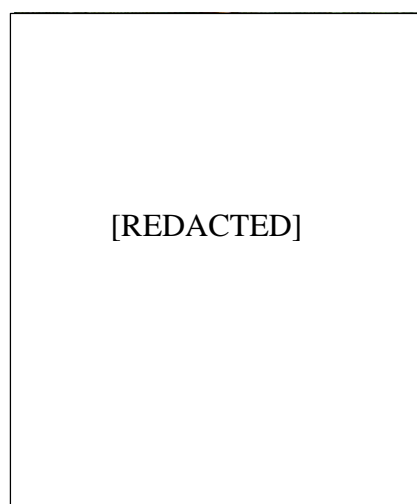
Figure 68
Isaac Oliver
Man Consumed by Flames
c. 1610
Watercolour on vellum
80 mm x 70 mm
Ham House, National Trust, NT 1139627.

[REDACTED]

Figure 69
Unknown painter, in the manner of Adriaen Brouwer
Unknown Man, Head of a Boor
c. 1630–1670
Oil on paper
105 mm diameter
Ham House, National Trust, NT 1140224.

The Middling Sort

This chapter will now focus on the evidence of inventories to examine picture ownership within a series of regional inventories. By investigating over 1000 inventories which reveal the possessions of non-noble households I will be able compare the results from different regions, the different occupations of owners of miniatures, the different rooms in which miniatures were kept, and the different valuations of miniatures with the evidence from noble collections. This will inform my argument that miniatures owned by the non-nobility could not only look different to those of their noble counterparts, but that they could also function differently too.

Scholarship by Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling has highlighted the importance of the things that the middling sort chose to have in their homes, and how this material culture both reflected and shaped their lives.[40] This chapter allows me to build upon their ideas and examine the pictures owned by non-noble individuals, and to consider the unique characteristics of the miniature and their appeal to these patrons. By comparing inventories from different parts of the country I will be able to investigate the reasons behind regional variations and how that can shed a light on access to goods, skills, and a knowledge of pictures. Furthermore, by investigating the different rooms in which householders kept pictures I will also be able to consider issues of display and how the collection of small pictures by a socially diverse range of patrons can be contextualised alongside other forms of domestic visual culture. I will start by examining the existing scholarship on the ownership of pictures amongst the non-nobility. I will then examine the results of my research on regional inventories. The second part of this chapter focuses on Bristol and will include a case study of John Horsham, a ship carpenter, who owned several small pictures in his parlour.

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[40] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

Probate inventories summarize the deceased's moveable goods at the time of their death. Amy Louise Erickson estimates that approximately one million early modern probate inventories survive in English archives: this is too many to cover within one single PhD thesis.[41] For this reason, this chapter primarily relies on those which have been published covering the period *c*. 1540 to 1650: over one thousand inventories, which provide a sample of different locations, occupations, and wealth.

Probate inventories have been used as a valuable source by a number of researchers. It is first useful to consider some of the caveats to the results which they can yield. Results gained from samples of regional inventories are not indicative of the population as a whole. They do not include the very poor, who had few goods to leave when they died. Mark Overton calculates that this could account for 40% of the population.[42] Consideration also needs to be given to the gender bias of the results from probate inventories as, once a woman married, her property, in theory, was considered part of her husband's estate in law.[43] For those who remained unmarried, their property was legally deemed to belong to her father or closest male relative. Only widows and spinsters, therefore, should have had personal estates to be inventoried.[44] Probate inventories usually do not record fixtures and other decorative features within the house or those items which were no longer in the individuals' possession.[45] Furthermore, they do not reveal how and when a householder acquired goods.

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[41] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 15. Erickson's study covered a longer time frame than that adopted here; she examined the period between *c*. 1550 and *c*. 1750. See also Peter Spufford, who, writing in 1993, notes that the exact number of surviving records is still unclear because they had not all been catalogued; Spufford, 'A Printed Catalogue of the Names of Testators', in *The Records of the Nation, The Public Record Office 1838-1988, The British Record Society 1888-1988*, ed. by G. H. Martin and Peter Spufford (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 167–186 (p. 169).

[42] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 170.

[43] Overton, however, argues that in practice women were considered the owners of goods; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 16.

[44] Amy Louise Erickson, 'An Introduction to Probate Accounts', in *The Records of the Nation*, ed. by Martin and Spufford, pp. 273–286 (p. 274); Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics*, pp. 45 and 54–55. For the role of women as patrons of portraiture see James, *The Feminine Dynamic*, pp. 7–78.

[45] Overton refers to this as the 'flow' of goods, *Production and Consumption*, p. 87. For the painted decoration on walls, which would not be covered by the inventories, see Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Protestant Britain, c.1560–c.1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

Importantly, they only reveal a minimum level of pictures which were in circulation at any one time, not least because they do not reveal the number of pictures which were owned by the living.

Whilst acknowledging these and other limitations of using probate inventories, they can reveal interesting information about the relative wealth of the lesser gentry and middling sort individuals which, when compared over a wide time frame and geographical area, can reveal patterns in picture ownership. Probate inventories do, as Erickson argues, provide a record for the possessions of the middling level of society, which is infrequently found in other forms of documentation.[46]

Some appraisers include more details than others in the inventories. For example, some inventories include a description of whether a picture is big or small, a map or a print. This commonly occurs when there are several pictures within a collection, in order to differentiate between them. Most frequently, however, there is just a reference to 'pictures'. Sometimes these pictures are valued individually, other times they are grouped together with furniture, books, or other 'trumperie', and a collective valuation given.[47] Significantly, within the sample of inventories studied for this thesis, there is only one inventory of a non-courtly household which includes both the genre and the subject of the picture listed. The inventory states that it is a picture of the queen owned by the butcher Richard Mascoll.[48] This was evidently a matter of importance to the appraiser and would have carried a higher resale value for the picture than if it was a portrait of an individual of lesser fame. In all other instances of non-noble inventories which were examined for this thesis, the subject of the picture is not recorded. This means that although we have many more probate inventories which list the

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[46] Erickson, 'An Introduction to Probate Accounts', p. 274.
[47] The inventory of William Yemans, a leading puritan cleric, in George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 81.
[48] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories, Part 1*, p. 8.

possessions of the middling sort than we have inventories of noble collections, the detail of

the artworks is more in-depth in the latter category.[49]

The painted picture, as it is understood today could be referred to by a number of

terms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thomas Whythorne uses the phrases 'table',

'counterfeit or picture' and 'fantasy in colours' in the mid-sixteenth century to describe his

portraiture.[50] In addition to referring to a painted two-dimensional work of art, however, a

'picture' could refer to a carved effigy, a 'table' to a piece of furniture with a raised flat top, a

'counterfeit' to something which was false and deceitful and a 'fantasy' to a fictive product

of the imagination.[51] This fluid, shared terminology also reveals the suspicion with which

many commentators regarded pictorial representations, particularly portraiture, as objects

which aroused distrust.

Phrases including 'limning', 'pictures in little', little 'phisnamies', a 'countenance in

small', a 'little modell', and a 'jewel' could all refer to what is today called a portrait

miniature or could refer to other forms of visual representation.[52] As explored in the previous

chapter of this thesis the variety and instability of the terminology used to refer to miniatures

also reflects the lack of pictorial uniformity in style, method, and media. This concurs with

Tittler's argument that the period from *c*. 1540 to *c*. 1640 was 'a particularly malleable

moment in the history of English portraiture'. Both care and an understanding of context,

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[49] Margaret Spufford, 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory', in *English Rural Society, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk*, ed. by John Chartres and David Hey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 139–174 (p. 154, fn. 34).

[50] James M., Osborn, ed., *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[51] *Oxford English Dictionary* online <www.oed.com> [accessed 12 February 2019].

[52] Nicholas Hilliard uses the word 'limning' to refer to small portraits executed in watercolour on vellum in *The Arte of Limning* (*c*. 1600). However, the word limming is used in reference to the decoration of manuscripts and books in the anonymous *The Arte of Limming* (1573) and throughout the subsequent editions of this book in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century probate inventories, which will be examined in depth in chapter three of this thesis, frequently refer to 'small pictures' and 'little pictures' with no further details on the objects. Edward VI received 'a little box with certeign phisnamies of the king and others' as a New Year's gift in 1552, TNA, C47/3/54. The reference to a 'countenance in small' is taken from Henry Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise* (London: I. M[arriott], 1612), p. 7, which will be discussed in the following chapter. The reference to a 'little modell' is taken from Philip Massinger's *The Picture* (1630), and the reference to a 'jewel' is taken from William Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night, or, What you Will* (*c*. 1601); both of these plays will be examined in more depth in chapter four.

therefore, needs to accompany any research which uses written documentation as a means to investigate picture ownership and the exact nature of those pictures.

The reference to 'small glasses, pictures and other trumperie' in William Yemens inventory for his parlour in 1633 highlights the challenges in using inventories for historical research.[53] 'Trumperie' could refer to something which was considered deceitful.[54] 'Trumperie', however, could also be used in reference to something which was considered to be insignificant.[55] In either case, it is a pejorative term. This reveals the low financial valuation or mistrust that was frequently given to pictures at this time as, in the example given above, the appraisers had listed pictures along with 'trumperie'. Cooper convincingly argues that much of the value of painted portraiture lay in its ability to enchant the viewer with a familiar face.[56] Outside of a small circle of friends and family, much portraiture of non-noble individuals would have had a low re-sale value. The reference to pictures follows that for 'small glasses'; the pictures, therefore, might also have been small. In Yemen's hall, the appraisers list '2 litle tables, 3 ioynd stooles, a dore locke and key & other small things'.[57] It is not now known what these 'other small things' may be but it argues that the houses of the middling sort contained a number of small items. As many of these references are opaque, therefore, my research reveals only the minimum level of picture ownership.

Inventories provide a good means by which to identify ownership of pictures which, given their fragile nature, may no longer survive or which have been subsequently dispersed. Crucially, inventories also frequently include the occupation or the status of the deceased as assigned by the appraiser. Whilst recognizing that many individuals had multiple sources of

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[53] The inventory of William Yemans, in George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories,* p. 81.

[54] *Oxford English Dictionary* online <www.oed.com> [accessed 12 February 2019]. See entry 1.'Deceit, fraud, imposture, trickery'.

[55] *Oxford English Dictionary* online <www.oed.com> [accessed 12 February 2019]. See entry 2. 'worthless stuff, trash, rubbish'.

[56] Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face'.

[57] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories,* p. 81.

income and were involved in a variety of production activities throughout their lives, this is helpful for understanding how the appraisers perceived the status of an individual at the time of the individual's death.[58] Inventories, therefore, add to the information which has been investigated in the earlier chapters of this thesis and which argues for an interest in miniatures from the middling sort.

Inventories from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury

Inventories are now frequently used to research the ownership of objects, by scholars working in and across a number of disciplines. Within art history, it was Susan Foister who pioneered the use of these sources.[59] This thesis will now outline Foister's work, before comparing these results with further research which focuses on different status groups, time spans, regions, and objects. Outlining Foister's work will allow a contrast with that of the noble collections examined above and successive studies on the middling sort, including my own. These studies do not differentiate between miniatures and easel paintings but they do give a general sense of access to visual culture amongst particular groups of people and in different regions.

Foister examined 613 probate inventories dating from 1417 to 1588 which were filed with the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC).[60] Foister found that sixty-three of the

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[58] The issues surrounding the given status or occupation of the deceased, and some of the other problems associated with using probate inventories alone as a historical source, are discussed in more depth in Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern Probate Inventory', in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. by Henry S. Turner (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. 56; Spufford, 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory', p. 144; Malcolm Wanklyn, ed., *Inventories of Worcestershire Landed Gentry 1537–1786*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series, vol. 16 (Worcestershire: Worcestershire Historical Society, 1998), introduction, p. xvii; Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans, and Nigel Goose eds., *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford: Leopard's Head press, 2000) and Nesta Evans, 'By-Employment, Women's Work and "Unproductive" Households' in *Production and Consumption*, ed. by Overton et al., pp. 65–86.

[59] Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art', 273–282.

[60] These records are now archived as PROB2 with the National Archives. Tom Arkell explains that most inventories were processed through the network of archdeaconry and consistory courts, although the system was not uniform and varied from area to area. In theory, the higher archbishopric Prerogative Court of Canterbury (hereafter referred to as the PCC) granted probate in cases where a personal estate was valued in excess of £5

inventories, slightly more than 10%, mention works of art, including pictures, hangings, or sculpture.[61] Nineteen of these inventories specifically referred to portraits, which accounts for 3% of the sample. Some allowance needs to be given, however, for those inventories which are incomplete or damaged, which means that this figure could underestimate the ownership of art amongst this group. The pictures were listed within a number of rooms, but whilst the nobility display their art in long galleries, or purpose-built *studiolos* or *wunderkammern* similar to that in Whitehall Palace, more modest households frequently had their pictures in the hall and the parlour, and occasionally the main bedroom.[62] Foister's research also reveals that wall hangings, cushions, and items made from glass are more commonly listed within these same spaces and have relatively higher monetary values attached to them than pictures.[63] Furthermore, artworks are more commonly listed in the later inventories than in the earliest ones, which argues for their increasing popularity throughout the sixteenth century.

Foister's findings have provided a useful comparison for further work on inventories and picture ownership. It is important to note, however, that the PCC sample is not representative of the population as a whole; it is relatively small and is largely confined to relatively prosperous households in London and the south east. As Robert Tittler argues, it disproportionately represents urban households headed by merchants, lawyers, and liverymen.[64] Whilst the results gained from Foister's research cannot be generalized across the whole of Britain, therefore, they do give some indication of the households which owned pictures and were not necessarily connected to the royal court. Unfortunately, as no

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and where land was held in more than one area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Arkell argues that not all the better off gentry and nobility, however, had their inventory filed here, as the local diocesan ecclesiastical courts were sometimes more convenient. Therefore, Foister's results may underestimate the ownership of pictures. Tom Arkell, 'The Probate Process', in *When Death Do Us Part*, ed. by Arkell at al., pp. 3–14 (p. 11).

[61] Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art', p. 279.

[62] Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art', p. 278.

[63] Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art', p. 279.

[64] Tittler, *Portraits, Painters and Publics*, pp. 46–47.

inventories for the period between 1510 and 1520, or between 1540 and 1550, survive for the

PCC, Foister's results are patchy, which means that, again, we do not gain a sense of

development across this period. Despite these reservations concerning the sample, it appears

that artworks, and specifically pictures, do increasingly appear in non-noble households

throughout the sixteenth century, and that they were viewed in a number of different rooms.

This thesis will now summarize subsequent research based on regional inventories in order to

compare them with the results revealed from the PCC.

Regional Probate Inventories Representing Non-Noble Households

In *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the*

Household, Catherine Richardson researched 1,430 probate inventories filed with the

archdeaconry and consistory courts of Canterbury for the forty-year period between 1560 and

1600.[65] Richardson found that the inventories of rural areas within Kent did not contain any

references to pictures.[66] In the town of Canterbury, however, from a sample of 582

inventories, 11% were found to contain pictures.[67] Richardson explains this relatively high

percentage of picture ownership in Canterbury, in part, by the town's geographical location,

which fostered close links with the port towns of Faversham and London. Canterbury,

therefore, had access to trade networks which contributed to the town's prosperity and

attracted wealthy residents, goods, and painters seeking work. Richardson also examined the

rooms in which pictures were listed within the inventories from Canterbury. The results show

that almost half of all pictures were found in the parlour, which account for 49% of all

pictures which have a room associated with them.[68] The hall accounted for 27% of known

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[65] Richardson, *Domestic Life*.
[66] Richardson, *Domestic Life*, p. 207.
[67] Richardson, *Domestic Life*, based on the results in Table 4, p. 213.
[68] Richardson, *Domestic Life*, based on the results in Table 2, p. 211. Some inventories do not include the separate rooms within the household and instead list all the objects together.

picture locations, and the chamber for 23%. This same preference for the location of pictures mirrors that found by Foister in her examination of the PCC inventories.

In *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750*, Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann examine probate inventories representing a later period than Foister and Richardson.[69] Like Richardson, this study looks at Kent, but it also compares the county with the results gained from inventories in Cornwall, a county with far fewer towns. The results obtained by Overton et al. are taken from a sample of 1,160 inventories. They found that 2% of inventories of homes in Kent listed pictures during the period 1600 to 1629.[70] This percentage of picture ownership rises to 6% during the period 1630 to 1659. Comparatively, no inventories taken from a sample in Cornwall listed pictures within the same time frames.[71] This correlates with Richardson's finding of no pictures within the inventories from rural Kent. Overton explains the regional differentiation as reflecting the general wealth of Kent compared to Cornwall and the larger, lighter houses which were built in Kent, which made the viewing of pictures easier.[72] He also argues that the increasing number of pictures was largely because of the growing popularity of prints rather than painted pictures.[73] The absence of pictures in the Cornish inventories is, however, at odds with the high evidence of picture ownership in the ports of Bristol and Ipswich, which will be examined shortly. Unlike these other places with extensive inland and overseas transport and trading networks, Cornwall remained remote from the rest of the country until the eighteenth century. This could partly explain why the PCC inventories show that picture ownership was increasing towards the end of the sixteenth century and in Kent throughout the seventeenth century, but why the Cornish inventories do not follow this pattern.

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[69] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*.
[70] Overton includes the recording of both painted pictures and prints within his results and does not distinguish between them.
[71] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, Table 5.4, p. 111.
[72] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, pp. 113 and 120.
[73] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 113.

The Kentish inventories examined by Overton, like those from the PCC and Richardson's study, reveal that pictures were displayed in several rooms. During the period 1600 to 1629, the chamber was the most popular identified room in Kent to have a picture. The chamber accounted for 42% of sampled inventories which included pictures.[74] During the later period of 1630 to 1659, however, it was the hall and the parlour which were the most popular places to have a picture, together accounting for 72% of all pictures listed within the inventories.

Whilst recognizing that many rooms had multiple purposes, Overton argues that objects, including pictures, were not always in the most public areas of the house.[75] This strongly suggests that the owners of these objects were less concerned with displaying their adoption of new fashionable objects and practices, and instead actively appropriating them in 'renegotiating their cultural meanings to suit their own particular needs'.[76] Therefore, despite the literary bemoaning written for the court and the evidence of the growing popularity of pictures, the new patrons of art were not necessarily seeking to emulate their supposed superiors in choosing to decorate their homes in this fashion, but rather they were adapting pictures to suit their own unique requirements. Furthermore, whilst there are a number of examples of large portraits representing the nobility wearing smaller pictures in lockets about their person (figures 62 and 63), the middling sort do not appear to have adopted this fashion either in their portraits or from the evidence of the probate inventories, which do not mention

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[74] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, Table 6.5, p. 129. From the mid-seventeenth century, it was the chamber that once again was the most likely location for a picture.

[75] For Goffman's argument concerning the frontstage public areas of the house and the backstage private areas, see Ervin Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1956).

[76] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 175. Overton's results, which cover a wider time frame than this thesis, argue against those of Neil McKendrick and Peter Langford, who view the middling sort as emulating both the habits and the purchasing patterns of the gentry; Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, p. 67, and Neil McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). Overton's results are typical of more recent studies which have nuanced the idea of the middling sort emulating their social superiors and argue instead for such individuals fashioning their own identities. For example, Brewer and Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods*. Overton's results also argue for the beginnings of a consumer-led society in the seventeenth century.

small pictures in lockets. This argues for the middling sort as the owners of pictures but not

necessarily showing them to a wider public. The results obtained by Overton et al. are a

useful comparison for further research which combines both a quantitative and a qualitative

analysis and which differentiates between the different sizes of pictures which householders

owned. In doing this work it will be possible to consider further possibilities for

understanding how the middling sort may have viewed miniatures within their homes and

how this might differ from the results of existing research on the nobility. In order to further

compare the results of picture ownership in Kent, Cornwall, the PCC, and noble households,

it is instructive to examine inventories from different geographical areas within England and

which represent individuals who have been broadly labelled as of middling sort status.

Probate Inventories and the Evidence of Small and Large Picture Ownership

As demonstrated in chapter two, the portrait miniature was evolving in its format, style,

content, and use throughout this period, frequently in line with portraiture more generally.[77]

The varied terminology by which miniatures were known contributes towards the difficulty in

ascertaining the exact nature of 'smalle pictures' and 'little pictures' mentioned in

inventories.[78] This thesis argues that these pictures could represent a range of subject matter

and that they could have been produced by using a range of materials. This significantly

expands current art historical definitions of the miniature, which focus on those painted in

watercolour on vellum.[79] Despite the lack of description within the inventories, they do reveal

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[77] Tittler, 'The Malleable Moment in English Portraiture', pp. 275–292.

[78] Whilst small pictures within Henry VIII's inventories (1547) are referred to as physiognomies and within Elizabeth, Duchess of Shrewsbury's inventories (1601) as little tables, those in Charles I's later inventories (1639) are referred to as limnings. Within the inventories of the more modest picture collectors, there are references to small pictures. These may include works representing a range of genres and using a variety of media including watercolour, oil, and tempera, on a number of supports including vellum, paper, wood, canvas, or metal.

[79] For example, the National Portrait Gallery website, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/explore/glossary-of-artterms/miniature.php?searched=portrait+miniature&advsearch=allwords&highlight=ajaxSearch_highlight+aja

interesting results about the ownership of small pictures. The probate inventories examined

for this thesis reveal that professional people, merchants, tradesmen, and skilled artisans had

small pictures listed amongst their other moveable goods.

The samples of inventories selected for this study were chosen based on a sizeable

number having survived, available in print, and covering the period 1530 to 1650 within one

geographical area, in order to investigate any patterns of ownership over time and area.[80] Two

port towns were selected: Ipswich in the east of England and Bristol in the south west. Three

market towns were also selected: Stratford-upon-Avon, Chesterfield, and Banbury.[81] The

following sections will outline the picture ownership found within these inventories and the

patterns of ownership, and then contextualize these findings. Where appropriate, figures for

pictures of no specified size will also be discussed. This is to compare these results with those

of pictures which were specifically identified as being small.

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xSearch_highlight1+ajaxSearch_highlight2>, and the Victoria and Albert Museum website, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/p/portrait-miniatures-on-vellum/> [accessed 15 August 2016].

[80] All inventories for Stratford taken from Jeanne Jones, ed., *Stratford-Upon-Avon Inventories, vol I: 1538–1625* (Warwickshire: The Dugdale Society, 2002), and Jeanne Jones, ed., *Stratford-Upon-Avon Inventories, vol. 2: 1629–1699* (Warwickshire: The Dugdale Society, 2003). All inventories for Banbury taken from E. R. C. Brinkworth and J. S. W. Gibson, *Banbury Wills and Inventories, part two, 1621–1650* (Oxfordshire: The Banbury Historical Society, 1976). All references to inventories for Chesterfield taken from J. M. Bestall and D. V. Foakes, eds, *Chesterfield Wills and Inventories, vol. 2, 1604–1650* (Derbyshire: Derbyshire Record Office, 2001). All inventories for Ipswich taken from Michael Reed, ed., *The Ipswich Probate Inventories, 1583–1631* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1981).

[81] Due to the limitations of time for this PhD thesis, I have not included inventories from the north of England or Wales. Further research in these areas may reveal interesting parallels with the results gained here. Lorna Weatherill argues that Scottish inventories only contain selected items within a household and, therefore, cannot be sampled and compared alongside those for England; Weatherill, 'Probate Inventories and Consumer Behaviour in England, 1660–1740', in *The Records of the Nation*, ed. Martin and Spufford, pp. 251–272 (p. 252).

Picture Ownership

Chart 6. The Numbers of Pictures by Region

The Numbers of Pictures by Region
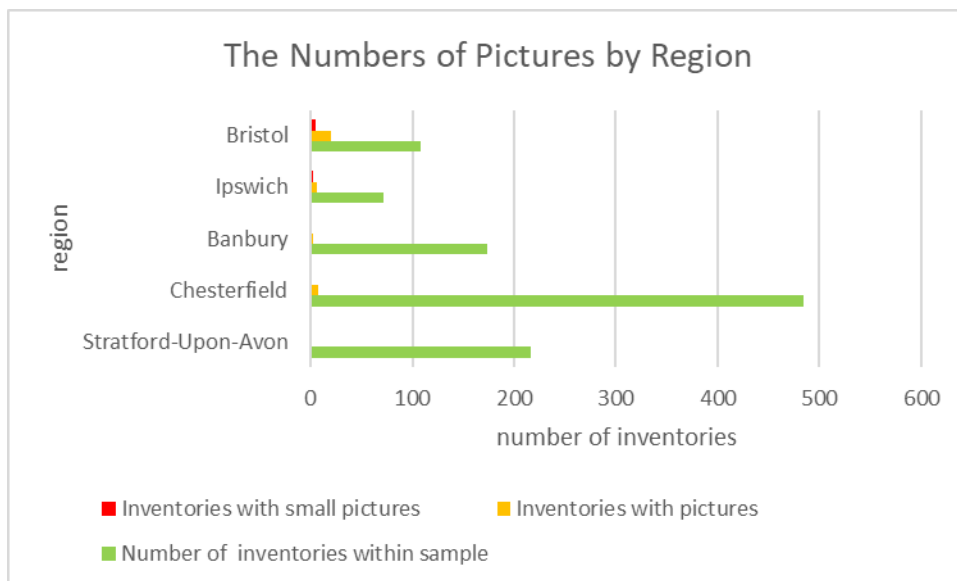
*The figures quoted within this chart are for references to pictures of all sizes, large, small and those with no identified size. None of the charts include either explicit or implicit references for prints, maps, painted cloths, tapestries, and pictures embedded within books. These items, however, will be considered later in the thesis as part of the overall visual world of the householder.

The results reveal that Stratford-Upon-Avon has the lowest recorded incidence of pictures within the sampled inventories. Here less than 1% of the inventories include pictures, and crucially none specifically mention small pictures. Chesterfield and Banbury both show a slightly higher incidence of picture ownership, but both are below 2% and there are no small pictures. Ipswich reveals picture ownership in over 10% of the sampled inventories, and notably an additional 3% of the inventories include a reference to a small picture. Households in Bristol display the highest percentage of picture ownership compared with the other locations looked at within this thesis. Significantly, Bristol has the highest percentage of inventories which specify small pictures too. In Bristol almost 20% of inventories include pictures, and there is an additional 5% which refer specifically to small pictures. These are also the highest percentages within any of the other samples of inventories looked at in the work of other researchers discussed here, including inventories in the PCC, Kent, and Cornwall. This argues for a greater awareness of small pictures being a distinct category to

larger pictures and a greater availability of pictures in general within Bristol. Comparatively, it is in the market towns of Stratford-Upon-Avon, Banbury, and Chesterfield where picture ownership is lowest. In these instances, other forms of decoration were used, including stained cloths, or no decoration was recorded. This strongly suggests that independent framed pictures were less widely available and less fashionable here. Examining the results of all the regions together, under 5% of homes owned a picture and less than 1% owned a small picture. It is when particularly wealthy urban areas with relatively closer access to the Continent are focused on, for example Canterbury, Ipswich, and Bristol, that the figures for picture ownership are much higher.

The Chronological Pattern in Picture Ownership

Chart 7. The Chronological Ownership of Large Pictures
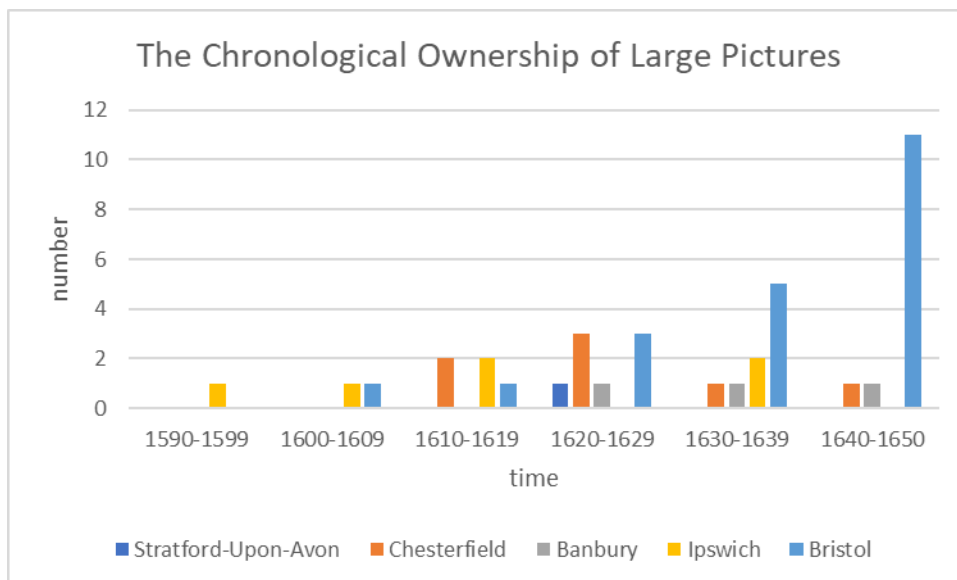
*1590 is the earliest date for picture ownership within the sampled inventories, although inventories dating from the 1540s were also included in these samples.

The earliest picture recorded was within an inventory from Ipswich dated 1590.[82] This picture belonged to John Cumberland, who has no stated profession. An examination of the

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[82] Reed, *The Ipswich Probate Inventories*, pp. 38–40.

possessions within his shop, including pots for syrups, waters and oils, melitot, roses, and scales, indicates, however, that he worked as an apothecary. Cumberland owned only one picture, which he kept in the hall. The picture, along with most of the other items in this room, is described as old. For example, the inventory includes one old cupboard, one old table, three old chairs, eight old cushions, and two old brushes.[83] This suggests that money had not been recently spent on decorating and furnishing this room, and that these items had been in Cumberland's possession for some time.

Cumberland's inventory also includes 'I small ston to gryne on cullers', which argues for his preparing pigments.[84] The anonymous author of *A very proper treatise* refers to apothecaries as a source for pigments suitable for painting, and later Henry Peacham advises purchasing pencils (paintbrushes) from the apothecary.[85] This evidence strongly suggests that Cumberland supplied painters in the area. Robert Tittler's database 'Early Modern British Painters, c. 1500–1640' includes at least eight painters who were active within Ipswich between 1500 and 1590. This provides further evidence that Cumberland may have had professional contacts with painters and could, therefore, have acquired the picture locally.[86]

On the other hand, Ipswich was a prosperous port town with close trading links with the Netherlands, which may also explain the relatively early occurrence of pictures in this area. The fashion amongst the Dutch middling sort to decorate their homes with pictures may have inspired Cumberland to also own a picture.[87] The picture within Cumberland's possession could have been imported from the Netherlands, along with the idea of using

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[83] Reed, *The Ipswich Probate Inventories*, p. 38.

[84] Reed, *The Ipswich Probate Inventories*, p. 40.

[85] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, iiii r and iiii v, and Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, p. 47.

[86] Tittler, 'Early Modern British Painters, c. 1500–1640'. In addition to painters, Ipswich also accommodated travelling players from the 1560s until the 1590s. This argues for the town's location as a cultural hub and an audience who may have seen plays which featured pictures. Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1988), p. 102.

[87] Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), p. 318.

pictures to decorate non-noble households. Ipswich was home to a number of Dutch and Flemish settlers, providing a refuge for Protestants following the religious persecution on the Continent during the mid- to late 1560s.[88] The aliens census of 1576 in Ipswich records 39 alien families resident in the town.[89] A number of these names may have been anglicized and so it is difficult to give a precise number of how many were Dutch. However, Christopher Joby argues that there was a sufficient presence to warrant a Dutch church community between at least 1571 and 1588.[90] These religious refugees were attracted to Ipswich, he argues, because of the wealth of the town, built upon the textile trade and its existing trade links with the Netherlands.

The earliest inventories examined for this study date from the 1540s. It was not, however, until 1590 that any inventories revealed any evidence of picture ownership. This suggests that compared to the non-noble households looked at by other scholars in the PCC and Kent, pictures were acquired later in Bristol, Ipswich, Banbury, Chesterfield, and Stratford. However, when compared to Cornwall, these areas all showed a relatively earlier ownership of pictures. The chronological evidence also demonstrates that pictures steadily increased in popularity throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. These results also nuance research which has focused on the ownership of pictures within non-noble households from the latter half of the seventeenth century. For example, in relation to the period 1660 to 1750, Keith Wrightson argues that 'Goods which had previously appeared in the inventories of only a small number of high-status households – like looking glasses, earthenware, books, pictures and table linen – became more common'.[91] Several historians, including Wrightson, whose work has proved to be influential within this area, employ the ownership of pictures as

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[88] Cooper et al., *Painting in Britain*, introduction, p. 3.
[89] Christopher Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain, 1550–1702: A Social History of the Use of Dutch in Early Modern Britain* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 35.
[90] Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain*, p. 35.
[91] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 298.

being indicative of the middling sort.[92] The evidence from the inventories, however, points towards the origins of this group of people much earlier than the 1660 starting point of these studies. I will now focus on the ownership of small pictures in the period before 1660.

The earliest occurrence of a small picture being included in an inventory dates from the early seventeenth century in Ipswich, where one further reference occurs later in the 1630s. In Bristol the earliest reference to a small picture occurs in the 1630s, with four further references in the 1640s. There are no references within the inventories from Stratford, Chesterfield, and Banbury. From these albeit limited results, it appears that the fashion for small pictures occurred somewhat later than those for other pictures, which are first listed in the sampled inventories in 1590. The earliest recorded small pictures are in the 1610 inventory of Richard Cornellis, who owned 'fowre smale pictures' valued at 3s and who resided in Ipswich.[93] Small pictures are, therefore, first mentioned within the same area that is also the first to mention pictures of any size. This argues once again for Ipswich being a place which not only offered access to pictures but which was also at the forefront of the fashion for owning and recording these items beyond the court and the nobility. Cornellis's inventory states that he was a joiner. As joiners were known to have made frames for pictures, this argues for such tradesmen having contact with painters, dealers, and the owners of pictures. This could explain why Cornellis came to own his own picture. His inventory lacks any details of the quality of the goods that he owned, but Cornellis did possess several items which serve to contextualize the pictures within a household which is concerned with piety, duty, and display. Cornellis also owned a Bible, armour and weaponry, two doublets valued

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[92] See also Maxine Berg and H. Clifford, eds, *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1999), and Maxine Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[93] Reed, *The Ipswich Probate Inventories*, p. 75.

at £1, and a murrey gown valued at £2 10s.[94] The ownership of pictures, therefore, forms an integral part of Cornellis's wealth of goods, which is both traditional and forward thinking.

Picture Ownership and Occupation or Status Group and Wealth

An examination of the stated profession or status group of an individual who owned an easel painting calls into question earlier scholarship which argues that picture ownership was the preserve of the aristocracy. The inventories which include pictures in large include a spinster, churchmen, and gentlemen. The largest group of picture owners, however, was those involved in manufacturing and/or trade. Similarly, an examination of the stated profession or status group of those who owned a small picture shows that there was one churchman, several gentlemen, and several skilled craftsmen. None of these picture owners are members of the nobility and even the wealthiest amongst them, with multiple properties, did not include a coat of arms in their inventories, which indicates that none of them would have been considered by contemporaries as members of the gentry or the nobility. These results nuance previous scholarship, which focuses on the ownership of small pictures within courtly collections. Although these items were not a common possession of the middling sort, as demonstrated here, they do exist and can be found when using regional probate inventories.

Returning to the analysis of different status groups, the results reveal only one picture owner who was a woman. This was Margaret Allaston of Chesterfield, who was listed as a spinster in her inventory dated 1628.[95] This low number might be partly explained by the law which considered non-personal items to be the property of women's husbands or fathers. In theory, then, only unmarried women who had outlived their fathers or widows would have owned any goods which required an inventory. These figures, therefore, do not reveal the

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[94] Reed, *The Ipswich Probate Inventories*, p. 76.
[95] Bestall and Fowkes, *Chesterfield Will and Inventories*, p. 272.

number of women who had access to pictures, who commissioned pictures, and who frequently appeared in portraits. With the caveat of this gender bias, pictures were owned by a variety of householders representing a number of different occupations. Twenty-five different occupations or status titles were found among those who owned pictures. None of these picture owners were members of the nobility.

Rooms

In *Graphice, or, The Use of the Pen and Pensill* (1658), William Sanderson advises readers to arrange their pictures by genre throughout the house.[96] He advises that the hallway should be hung with rural images, the staircase with images of ruins or other buildings, and the dining room with 'the most eminent' paintings.[97] It is in this latter room that Sanderson advises the display of pictures of the monarchy and 'in reverence to their persons, forbear to place any other pictures of life as not worthy their companions'.[98] He concedes, however, that some householders may choose to display 'two or three, of their own blood' and the 'chiefe nobility (favourits) to waite upon their princely persons', as long as they are at some distance from the portraits representing royalty.[99] In the drawing chambers, Sanderson advises readers to 'place others of the life, whether of honour, friendship or of art only'.[100] However, he advises that portraits of 'your own and your wives or children, best become your discretion, and modesty, (if she be faire) to furnish the most private, or bed chamber'.[101] This, he explains, is to prevent people looking upon the image of wives and daughters, which may result in them becoming 'common' and leading to their 'ruin'.[102] It is perhaps in these

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[96] Sanderson, *Graphice*, chapter, 'To place Pictures within Doors'.
[97] Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 26.
[98] Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 27.
[99] Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 27.
[100] Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 27.
[101] Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 27.
[102] Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 27.

smaller, less public rooms, then, that portrait miniatures might be expected to be found, in order to control the audience for such images.

Chart 8a. The Location of Large Pictures by Room
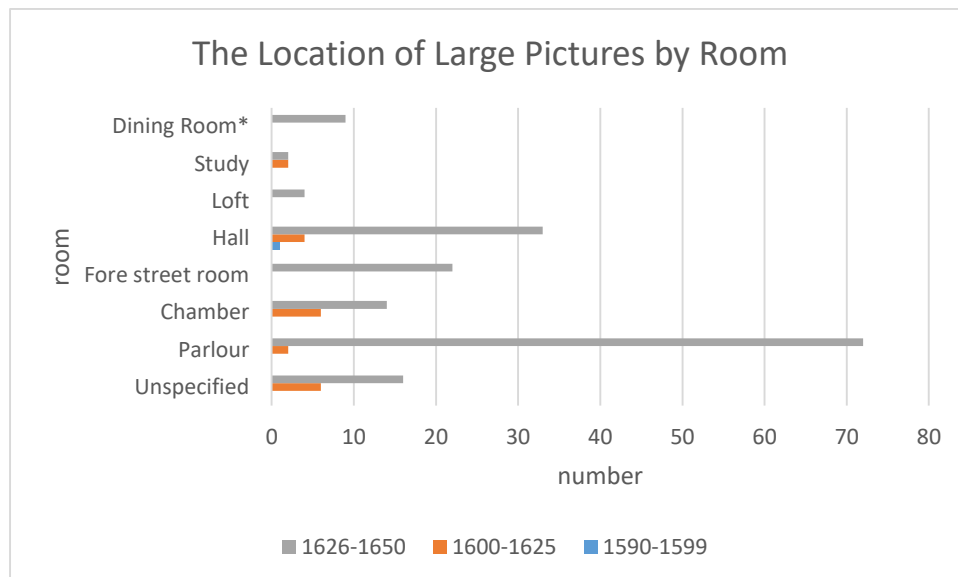
*Although this space was referred to in the inventory as a dining room it also contained a curtained bed, which argues for the room being used for sleeping as well as dining. I have used the names given to rooms by appraisers in order to understand how they considered the spaces within the household.
**Where multiple pictures were recorded in inventories without a precise number, a figure of 2 has been used in this table.
***These figures do not include maps, prints, picture books, hangings, or painted cloths.

The chart shows that householders displayed their large pictures in a number of different rooms, including the loft, the study, the chamber, and the dining room. The first recorded picture was in the hall. This is in line with the houses of the gentry and the nobility and suggests that the owner of this picture, John Cumberland, an apothecary in Ipswich, saw this as the most appropriate place to view pictures, rather than either of the two chambers which were also listed within his inventory. As a novelty, perhaps Cumberland was keen to show his pictures to all visitors upon them entering the household. In the hall, pictures are displayed alongside weaponry and coats of arms. Nathaniel Butcher, a merchant from Bristol whose inventory was drawn up in 1628, records eight pictures in the hall, alongside four

pikes, two halberds, and two costlets.[103] Likewise, Nicholas Meredith, former City Chamberlain of Bristol, had on display eleven pictures and a map in the hall, alongside 'One Corslett, furnished, a Muskett with some small Guns'.[104] Occasionally, this display of weaponry may be symbolic and reflect a time in which the aristocracy acquired and maintained their position through fighting on behalf of the Crown. However, in Bristol citizens would have formed the militia during the civil wars of the 1640s.[105] Furthermore, parliament paid Meredith £390 9s 5d for 300 soldiers' diet and transport in 1625, presumably as part of the war against Spain.[106] Thus, the weaponry in his hall may have had recent use.

It is the parlour, however, which by the period 1626 to 1650 had become the most frequently named room in which to display pictures. This is indicative of the increasing numbers of rooms within the average household and evidence of the growing popularity of smaller rooms. These results also correlate with Overton's research on Kent. Discussing the town house in Bristol, Roger Leech argues that the smaller parlour came to replace the large open hall as the social centre of the house.[107] This is reflected in the inventories, where parlours were frequently heated and were used for the display of pictures, and for dining, sitting, and sleeping. Some of the most valuable objects and the most decorative furnishings are frequently to be found in this space. This reflects William Harrison's observations in the previous century that fine work was increasingly owned by 'the inferior artificers and manie farmers' who 'now garnish their cupboards with plate, the ioined beds with tapistrie and silke

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[103] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 64. Butcher's inventory includes two halberds and three costlets.

[104] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 112.

[105] Bristol was occupied by Parliamentary forces in December 1642 before being taken by the Royalists in July 1643. Following further fighting in September 1645, Prince Rupert, Charles I's nephew, surrendered to Oliver Cromwell and Commander-in-Chief Thomas Fairfax. Andrew Foyle, *Bristol*, Pevsner Architectural Guide (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 246.

[106] HL/PO/JO/10/28, warrant dated 30 June 1625, The National Archives, London.

[107] Roger H. Leech, *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (n.p.: English Heritage, 2014), pp. 90 and 97.

hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie'.[108] Such items are commonly found in

the parlours in the inventories complementing the pictures on display here.

Similarly, within larger households of the nobility, pictures could be found in several

of the rooms. For example, in just one of Charles I's palaces at Whitehall, pictures are listed

within the inventories in at least nineteen different spaces, including the tennis court

chamber, the Bear gallery, the Adam and Eve stairs room, and the cabinet room.[109] Likewise,

Nicholas Meredith's inventory of his large Bristol townhouse lists his pictures within five

different rooms, including the fore street parlour, the hall, the little parlour over the

pavement, and the lower parlour.[110] Unlike their noble counterparts, however, the non-noble

picture owners did not have rooms which were solely dedicated to the display of art, such as

can be found in the long galleries and cabinet rooms at Whitehall and Ham House. Far from

being the preserve of the noble connoisseur, where paintings were confined to rooms with a

delineated use and access, the inventories of non-noble households reveal that small pictures

were placed in rooms which would have been used by many members of the household and

could have been seen by visitors. It is therefore important that pictures are re-positioned back

into the social and cultural lives of the middling sort to re-create their unique viewing

conditions. For example, in Bristol the draper Alexander Kerswell, whose inventory is dated

1644, kept his two pictures in the parlour along with his painted bedstead with feather bed

and needlework chair.[111] Rather than displaying his pictures in the study, Kerswell used this

space for his musical instruments and his collection of books. Also in Bristol, the vicar

Thomas Palmer, whose inventory is dated 1640, also had a study complete with books, a

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[108] Harrison, *The Description of England*; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 27.
[109] Millar, 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collection of Charles I'.
[110] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 112–115.
[111] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 146.

desk, and one chair. His pictures, however, he kept in a room which could have been used for socializing as it contained three chairs and seven stools.[112]

In common with inventories from the PCC and Kent, the inventories examined as part of this thesis also show that pictures could be found within a variety of different rooms within non-noble households. As scholars looking at different regions have not differentiated between prints and paintings, or between large and small pictures, it is not possible for this thesis to compare all its findings with these other studies. Instead, this chapter has focused on comparing the ownership of pictures in general with these previous studies. I will now focus on comparing the location of specifically small paintings in noble and non-noble households. Of particular interest will be correlations with and divergences from the fashion for the nobility to display their small pictures in relatively small rooms and the location of small pictures in non-noble households. For example, as previously detailed, Henry VIII kept his small pictures in a variety of different rooms, including the closet, the jewel house, and his secret study called the chair house at Whitehall in the first half of the sixteenth century.[113] It must be remembered, however, that as the king, Henry had a great number of rooms in his multiple homes. In the following century, in Derbyshire, the 1601 inventories of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, reveal that both small and large pictures were displayed in the gallery at Hardwick Hall.[114] Back in London in the first half of the seventeenth century both Charles I and William Murray, 1st Earl of Dysart, housed the majority of their small pictures in new purpose-built cabinet rooms just off the main gallery. Thus, we can see that the nobility kept their pictures in a number of different rooms, no doubt because they had so many rooms to decorate.

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[112] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 117.

[113] Starkey, *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pp. 204, 290, and 235.

[114] For example, 'Quene Elizabeths picture in a less table' and 'the third King of Fraunce in a little table'. Santina M. Levey and Peter K. Thornton, *Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick* (London: National Trust, 2001), pp. 49–50.

Chart 8b. The Location of Small Pictures by Room

The Location of Small Pictures by Room
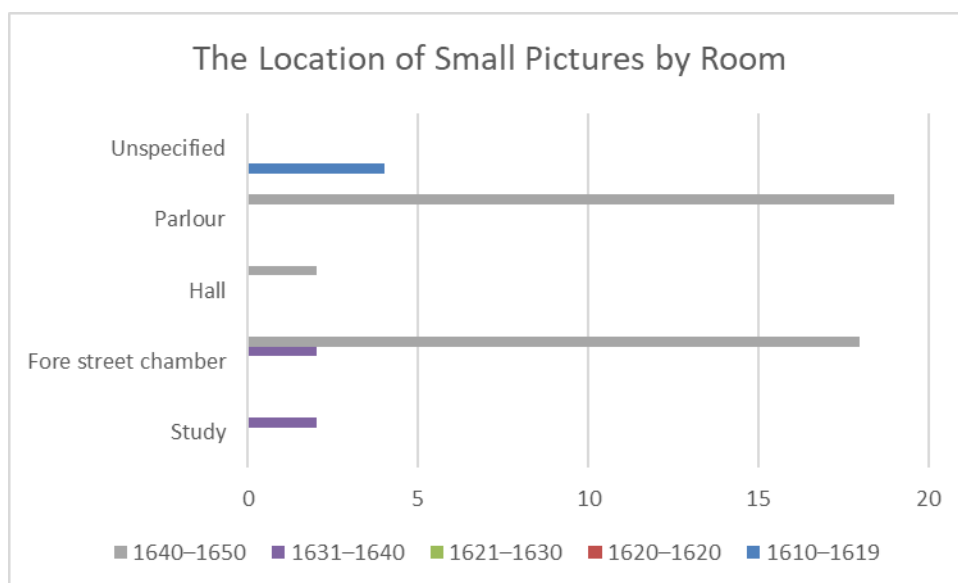
*There were no small paintings listed in the inventories from Stratford-Upon-Avon, Banbury, or Chesterfield, so they do not appear in this table.

Householders in Ipswich and Bristol owned at least forty-nine small pictures between them. The table shows that in the 1630s the study and the chamber were the most popular locations for small pictures. By the 1640s however, more small pictures were present in the parlour and the chamber. The hall and the study were also found to contain small pictures, which argues for these pictures being visible both in the most public areas of the home and conversely what was probably one of the smallest rooms too, which could be shut off from the rest of the household. These results also show that there is some crossover between the spaces in which large and small pictures were kept, as both were frequently found in the parlour. However, small pictures were not commonly viewed in the hall, whilst larger pictures continued to be displayed here. The popularity of the fore street chamber can be partly explained by these rooms presumably being well lit with natural light, which would have made the viewing of pictures easier. Whilst occasionally a picture owner might own just one large picture, with small pictures multiples were always owned. This would suggest that

the small pictures were viewed as part of a set, and this aspect will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

Two picture owners owned both large and small pictures and they both resided in Bristol. The gentleman Francis Johnson kept his small pictures alongside his larger pictures together in the hall, with further large pictures in another chamber upstairs. Meanwhile, the gentleman Israel Pownoll also kept his fifteen large and thirteen small pictures together, but this time in the parlour. This suggests that these owners did not necessarily think that the small pictures would be better suited for viewing apart from the larger pictures; frequently they can be found within the same space rather than being evenly distributed throughout the household.

The Valuation of Pictures

Although the sample is limited in size, the average mean price for large pictures was generally rising throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. At the start of the century the average valuation for a single picture was only 9d; by the mid-seventeenth century this figure had risen to 6s. There was also one particularly expensive picture collection in Bristol owned by the gentleman George Baldwin.[115] This inventory included 'one great folding picture with Two Leaves gilded', which was valued at £2 15s.[116] This shows that different types of pictures were available for different patrons, which could range widely in price. There were only two valuations for small pictures alone. The first is in the inventory of Richard Cornellis, a joiner from Ipswich, dated 1610. Cornellis owned four small pictures, which were valued at 3s.[117] The second instance is in the inventory of John Horsham, a ship carpenter in Bristol, dated 1643. Here six small pictures are valued at a much lower 1s.[118]

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[115] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 18.
[116] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 18.
[117] Reed, *The Ipswich Probate Inventories*, p. 75.
[118] George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 137–139.

From this sample it appears that there was no standard valuation given to pictures which was employed by all of the appraisers. Given this variation in the valuation of small pictures it is probable that they were different in their quality of materials, appearance, and ability to be sold on the open market. Cooper notes that the market for second-hand pictures was in its infancy in the first half of the seventeenth century which may, in part, account for their low valuations within inventories.[119] Painted portraits, in particular those representing sitters of no local or national fame, were unlikely to find many buyers beyond the small circle of family and close friends. Overton addresses the issue of whether items were accurately valued in inventories or if they were ascribed merely notional values by the appraisers.[120] Whilst Overton's work does not focus on the art market, he does conclude that in most cases the items are realistically assessed once consideration has been made for the additional cost of selling on these goods.

The average valuation of inventories which included large pictures in Ipswich was just over £100, whilst in Bristol this was seven times greater at over £700. This argues for Bristol being a particularly prosperous city, with its residents not only accruing great wealth but also spending that wealth on expensive goods. It must also be borne in mind, however, that such averages mask those individual inventories which were valued at significantly less than these amounts. For example, in Ipswich, the apothecary and picture owner John Cumberland had an inventory valued at only £10 6s 10d in 1590.[121] Furthermore, in Bristol, the butcher and picture owner Richard Mascoll had an inventory valued at £22 18s 8d.[122] Wealth alone, therefore, cannot fully account for picture ownership, although the types of pictures that these individuals owned could have reflected their wealth. For example,

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[119] Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar', p. 159.
[120] Mark Overton, 'Prices from Probate Inventories', in *When Death Do Us Part*, ed. by Arkell, pp. 120–141.
[121] Reed, *The Ipswich Probate Inventories*, pp. 38–40.
[122] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, inventory of Richard Mascoll, pp. 8–9. The appraisers, in fact, give an incorrect calculation of Mascoll's goods of £22 19s 8d. This figure has been corrected to £22 18s 8d by Edwin and Stella George.

Baldwin's folding picture with gilded leaves was valued at £2 15s in 1609.[123] His total

inventoried wealth was £480 1s 4 ½d. Comparatively, vicar Richard Knight owned 'ould

paper picktures with paper mapes' which were collectively valued at 2s.[124] Knight's total

wealth was valued at £13 13s 5d. The most expensive items he owned were his apparel and

textiles, including one new black gown lined with black baize valued at £2 10s, which was an

almost equivalent amount to Baldwin's gilded polyptych.[125]

Richardson's sample for Canterbury reveals that pictures here were valued in shillings

and pence rather than pounds.[126] At the highest end of the market one picture was valued at

3s 4d, whilst at the lowest one painting was valued at 3d. The median valuation for pictures

was frequently less than that for painted cloths and books. Furthermore, the Canterbury

inventories do not show a straightforward correlation between the overall valuation of an

inventory and the individual valuation for a picture. Whilst the sum of 3s 4d for one picture

was found in an inventory with an overall valuation of over £500, the median valuation for

pictures within the £100–499 range was 1s 10d, for £50–99, 8d, and for £0–49, 12d. This

points towards the very wealthiest owning significantly more expensive paintings, but those

from more modest households owning pictures with a range of valuations not always

correlating to their overall wealth.

This sample size of picture values is quite small but despite this it does reveal useful

information on how these valuations of pictures compare with other items within the same

inventory and with an individual's contemporaries. Not all the references to pictures have

been included within the calculations for valuation, as sometimes pictures are listed alongside

other items within inventories and an individual value has not been given. This suggests a

[123] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 16–19.
[124] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 110.
[125] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 110.
[126] Richardson, *Domestic Life*, Table 5, pp. 214–215.

low resale value for pictures as individual items within these regional inventories.[127] This fits in with Foister's research. In her analysis of the PCC inventories, she found that other household items, including textiles and furniture, were frequently valued more highly than the pictures. It was not only the re-sale of pictures which carried a low valuation, the purchase cost of new paintings was also comparatively low compared to other household items and expenditure. The actor and theatre entrepreneur Edward Alleyn purchased royal portraits by John Gipkin at 6s 8d each in 1618 and 1620. A set of twelve sibyls cost even less, at 3s 4d each, in 1620, but this particularly low price may be partly explained by a discount which Alleyn received for exchanging an earlier set.[128] Comparatively, Alleyn spent 5s on his share of a meal at the Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street the same year. In 1617 Alleyn's total expenditure was £2093, which included £10 on apparel and £137 on household fees. In 1617 he spent £15 on a 'silver book' as a New Year's gift for the Countess of Suffolk, and in 1619 he spent £8 on tapestries.[129] As revealed by Alleyn's account book and the inventories, the value of pictures was frequently far below that of other goods, including apparel, furniture, and furnishings. What is now understood as a work of art thus formed a financially relatively small, yet when viewed in context, a significant part of the visual culture of the decoration of the middling sort household.

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[127] For the wide range in costs of large portraits purchased by civic institutions see Robert Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), Appendix B 'The Cost of Civic Portraits', p. 187. For the value of large portraits in inventories see Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, pp. 58–62; Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art'; and Strong, *The English Icon*, pp. 49–50. Prices were dependent upon a number of factors, including the status of the artist, the size of the work, the level of detail required, and the materials used.

[128] On 20 October 1620, Alleyn recorded that he paid £1 to change '5 sybills for 40d apeec & lent Hym 40d'. On 3 November 1620 Alleyn paid £2 for changing 'my 12 owld sybles for 12 new & gave 40d a peec to boot to Mr Gibbkin'. Quoted in Town, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters', p. 89. Susan Foister argues that as Alleyn may have exchanged an old set of sibyls for this new set, the price of 3s 4d each may, therefore, include a discount. Susan Foister, 'Edward Alleyn's Collection of Paintings', in *Edward Alleyn: Elizabethan Actor, Jocobean Gentleman*, ed. by Aileen Reid and Robert Maniura (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1994), pp. 33–62 (p. 39).

[129] Foister, 'Edward Alleyn's Collection of Paintings', pp. 36–37.

In late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, courtly picture collections, which include the work of artists of a higher stature than Gipkin, are valued in pounds rather than in shillings and pence. For example, in 1609 the 233 pictures at Lumley Castle were valued at £88, and a picture of the royal family by Van Dyck was sold for £150 during the Interregnum.[130] This indicates a courtly preference for a particular style of work, and, possibly, the use of more expensive materials than the pictures collected by the middling sort. This is also reflected in the portraiture commissioned by civic institutions. Research by Robert Tittler shows that during the period 1500 to 1640, from his sample, the highest price paid was by Cambridge University for a full-length portrait of Prince Charles *c*. 1612, which cost £13 6s 8d.[131] This was commissioned ahead of the visit by the heir to the throne to the University.[132] The high price can, in part, be accounted for by the fame of the artist, Robert Peake. Peake, along with John de Critz the elder, had been appointed serjeant painter to James I in 1607 and is mentioned in Peacham's *The Gentleman's Exercise* (1612) alongside the miniaturists Hilliard and Oliver as one of the most highly regarded artists.[133] Peake, therefore could boast noble patronage, fame, and high acclaim, which would allow him to charge a high price for his work. The lowest price for a new portrait recorded by Tittler was for 3s 6d in 1586 for a picture of Lady Godiva by Coventry City.[134] This low price may partly reflect the status of the now otherwise unknown painter who was commissioned to carry out this work, A. van Noort (?), and partly the early date, when paintings were frequently cheaper than they were in the following century. Tittler's research shows that, in the seventeenth century, the lowest price paid for a painting was 13s, although most other paintings were

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[130] Evans, *The Lumley Inventory*, p. 15, and Horace Walpole, ed., *A Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First's Capital Collection of Pictures, Limnings, Statues, Bronzes, Medals, and Other Curiosities* (London: W. Bathoe, 1758), p. 4.

[131] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, Appendix B 'The Cost of Civic Portraits, 1500–1640', p. 187.

[132] Karen Hearn, 'Robert Peake', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 24 August 2016].

[133] 'mine owne countriemen, who have beene, and are able to equal the best, if occasion served, as old Mr Hilliard, Mr Isaac Oliver inferior to none in Christendome for the countenance in small, my good friend Mr Peake and Mr Marques for oyle colours'; Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, p. 7.

[134] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 187.

priced at several pounds by this date. This indicates the wide variation in the different types of painting available.[135] The evidence for pricing remains patchy and was dependent upon a number of factors, including the size, the cost of materials, the amount of detailed work, the status of the artist, and the cost of frames, and transport.

Returning specifically to the cost of small pictures, the evidence of payments made to Nicholas Hilliard reveals a number of factors which could affect the price. Hilliard was paid £3 by the Earl of Northumberland in 1585 for a miniature and again £3 for 'the drawing of one picture' for Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, in 1590. Whilst prices rose in the seventeenth century, these later payments also included the cost of the glass covering the paintings. Hilliard was paid £15 'for the King's and Princes's pictures given to the Landgrave of Hesse and one other of His Majesty's given to Mr Roper with crystal glasses that covered them' in 1608, and £20 for 'Christall sett upon twoe pictures' by Lord Salisbury in 1612. By 1615 Hilliard could charge £35 for a miniature, but this work also included the cost of the bejewelled frame. He was paid 'for work done […] about a table of his Majesty's picture garnished with diamonds given by his Majesty to John Berkeley'.[136] This shows an overall increase in the price which Hilliard could charge for his work, from £3 in the sixteenth century to more than £10 in the seventeenth century, and even more where this involved precious materials. Hilliard was one of the leading miniaturists of the day, so the prices that he could charge no doubt reflect the very top end of the market. They are higher than those found by Tittler for the payments for civic portraiture but below those for other artists who worked for the royal court, including Robert Peake for his full-length portraits. However, Hilliard's prices are considerably higher than those found within the inventories of the middling sort. This argues for a range of pictures being available to customers according to

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[135] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 187.
[136] Strong, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 17, and Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, p. 41.

their requirements and budgets. The small pictures listed within the inventories from Bristol and Ipswich are likely to represent those similar in style and quality examined in the previous chapter of this thesis. This work, therefore, highlights the difference between the commercial value of paintings and their aesthetic, sentimental, and social value. It also points towards the possibility of interesting further research on this subject using larger samples and comparing the valuation of pictures with that for other goods across time periods and across geographical locations. This will enable the discussion of small paintings within the households of the middling sort to receive more scholarly attention than historically they have done.

Having analysed the evidence for large and small picture ownership in five different regions and compared these results to the evidence of noble collections and the results of previous studies, I will now focus on Bristol. This city shows the highest evidence of both large and small picture ownership. By examining the connections which these householders shared it will be possible to consider how they may have shared similar interests in visual culture. I will then consider why individuals may have been attracted to miniatures and other small-scale objects both in Bristol and elsewhere.

Chapter 3.2: Picture Owners in Bristol

Bristol

Bristol is well suited for an investigation into the relationships between picture owning and those of middling status, as it was a city whose wealth was largely generated by merchants, manufacturers, and retailers. It was considered to be England's second city for much of the medieval and early modern period.[137] Its geographical position, close to the tidal estuary of the River Avon and the Bristol Channel, favoured trade with Ireland, France, the Iberian Peninsula, and, increasingly from 1650 onwards, the Americas. Bristol exported goods including cloth and brass sourced from the West Country and imported high value items including wine and raisins from the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere. When the diarist and naval officer Samuel Pepys visited the city in 1668, he recorded his favourable impressions: 'walked with my wife and people through the city, which is in every respect another London'.[138] Many of the things which he saw and experienced there were in place during the first half of the seventeenth century too. Pepys described the quay as 'a most large and noble place', saw the Tolzey, the covered arcade where merchants traded, and inspected the warship which was being built for the Royal Navy.[139] He also noted his admiration of the household of William Butts, a merchant, which Pepys describes as 'a substantial good house, and well furnished'.[140] Bristol made much of its wealth from ship building and trade; it is therefore not surprising to see individuals associated with these professions owning pictures and living in comfortable homes.

Architectural historians have argued for the link between the building that an individual resides in and their social standing. Roger Leech argues that 'Status in towns, and

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[137] Leech, *The Town House*, p. 3.
[138] Pepys, *Diary*, 13 June 1668.
[139] Pepys, *Diary*, 13 June 1668.
[140] Pepys, *Diary*, 13 June 1668.

more especially the larger ones, was in the medieval period and later based principally on

commercial success and wealth'.[141] Pepys records in his diary that when out walking with the

merchant William Butts in Bristol, 'I find the city pay him great respect'.[142] In common with

his peers, Pepys considered that merchants were responsible for the prosperity of the city.

They invested their wealth back into the area by maintaining the ports and bridges so

essential to their trade. They also invested their money into their households, which can be

seen as a reflection of their status and wealth.[143] Unfortunately, many of Bristol's buildings

from the early seventeenth century and earlier no longer survive unaltered, particularly

following bombing in 1940, but some idea can be gained from contemporary accounts,

inventories, maps, pictures, and the few remaining buildings.

The owners of large pictures in Bristol included merchants, individuals involved in

trade and/or manufacturing, gentlemen, people associated with the shipping industry, and

churchmen. The residents of Bristol represented a range of occupations and trades, many of

whom, at the time of their death, had accrued variable amounts of wealth. The lowest sum

total of an inventory which included pictures was that listing the goods of Richard Mascoll, a

butcher. Mascoll's wealth was valued at £22 18s 8d in 1609.[144] As previously noted, the very

poorest within society rarely had inventories drawn up as they owned so little. Mascoll,

whilst far from being the poor, was relatively less well off in comparison with the other

picture owners. The wealthiest picture owner whose inventory was examined was Nathaniel

Butcher. Butcher was a merchant and the sum total of his wealth was valued at £6957 17s 2d

in 1628. Comparatively, the lowest sum total of an inventory which includes small pictures is

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[141] Leech, *The Town House*, p. 2.

[142] Pepys, *Diary*, 13 June 1668.

[143] Patrick McGrath, ed., *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol*, Bristol Record Society Publications, Vol. XIX (Bristol: Bristol Record Office, 1955).

[144] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 8–9. The vicar, Richard Knight, also owned pictures and had his goods valued at the lower sum of £13 13s 5d in 1639. However, these 'paper picktures' could have been prints, which are not the focus of this thesis and therefore have not been included in this analysis. George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 110.

that belonging to Israel Pownoll, who was ascribed the title of gentleman by the appraisers.

Pownoll's goods were valued at £116 8s 2d in 1645.[145] The wealthiest owner of a small

picture was the shipwright Edward Everard. Everard's goods were valued at almost six times

more than Pownoll's, at £639 5s 10d, in 1641.[146] This suggests that small pictures were

available to well-off individuals irrespective of their status. The results also highlight the

wealth that skilled individuals from the middling sort could accrue throughout their lives.

Whilst Everard worked with his hands and was not considered a gentleman by the appraisers,

he had accrued more wealth than Pownoll and was also able to acquire some of the same

goods. Whilst the ownership of pictures by individuals considered to be gentlemen by

contemporaries has already been well documented, it is this group of professional and skilled

tradespeople that are of interest to this thesis. Such results nuance the scholarship of David

Ormrod, who argues that 'until the 1690s picture collecting remained the province of

gentlemen connoisseurs'.[147] The evidence of the inventories reveals that the collecting of

pictures was not exclusively a gentlemanly pursuit, or at least not confined to that group of

people who the appraisers considered to be gentlemen. The evidence of regional inventories

shows that non-noble households were decorated with pictures from at least 1590 and

probably earlier, as regional inventories only include the possessions of the deceased rather

than the living.

A further factor which these picture-owning individuals in Bristol have in common is

that they are all male. The sample examined for this thesis did include a number of women.

More than 10% of Bristol inventories listed the goods of women. Some of these women were

running businesses and owned a number of decorative items, but none of them owned

pictures. For example, the widow Katherine Bowcher, whose inventory was proved in 1614,

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[145] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 148–151.
[146] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 122–123.
[147] David Ormrod, 'The Origins of the London Art Market 1660–1730' in *Art Markets in Europe 1400-1800*, ed. by Michael North and David Ormrod (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 167–186 (p. 168).

had in her possession goods worth £424 8s 8d.[148] Among these items were her own apparel which was valued at £40, jewellery at £83, plate at £94 4s, and bedding worth £107 6s 8d.[149] This is evidence of an extremely wealthy household and one which could certainly afford to purchase pictures. Furthermore, listed within the inventory is 'one Ritch Coate which was Thomas Groves being the King's Lyverrie embroidered and guarded etc valued att £vj'.[150] Groves was Bowcher's deceased husband and the possession of this coat suggests a link to the royal court, and therefore a link to the courtly artistic culture of picture ownership which Bowcher apparently chose not to follow. There could be a number of reasons to explain the lack of pictures within this well-off and well-connected household. No alternative form of wall decoration is included within the inventory either: there are no tapestries or stained cloths listed, whilst wood panelling and wall paintings were deemed not to be moveable goods, and therefore would not necessarily have to be listed. This absence of decoration is striking but may reflect the wishes and taste of the owner as much as the opaqueness of the source.

Three of the picture owners in Bristol were directly involved in the shipping industry, and two of these individuals owned small pictures. These picture owners, who were ascribed the occupations of shipwright, ship carpenter, and mariner, all lived in the parish of St Stephen, which is situated next to the quay of the River Frome (figure 70). Not only did they have easy access to the river for their work, they also may have known each other socially and viewed each other's collections of pictures. This suggests a spread of influence throughout the individuals' own network rather than an imitation of those networks established by their supposed social superiors. Such decisions may have been shaped by price

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[148] George and George, *Bristol Probate Records*, pp. 19–21.
[149] George and George, *Bristol Probate Records*, pp. 19–21. In common with many households, representing both the wealthy and the poor, there was also debts payable in addition to this valuation.
[150] George and George, *Bristol Probate Records*, p. 21.

and availability, but this does point towards the practice of adaption rather than straightforward adoption of fashions originating within noble and upper gentry households.

[REDACTED]
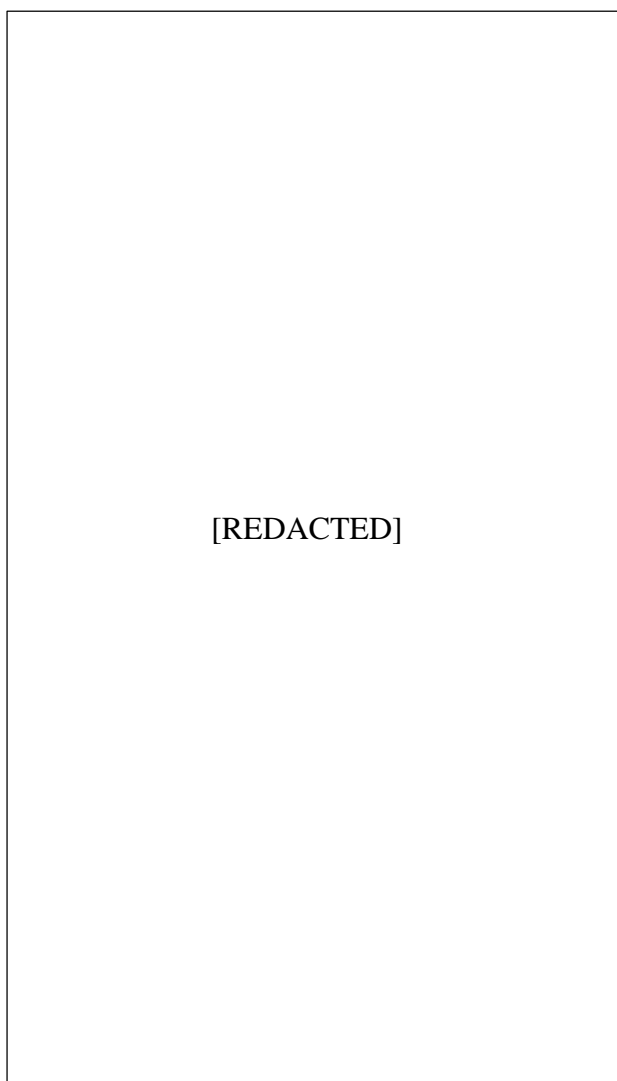
Figure 70
Map of Bristol showing the proximity of St Stephen's Parish to the quay and the River Frome.[151]

Bristol was a city with a particularly rich visual culture. As argued by Robert Tittler, it was here that the earliest panel paintings of civic figures were commissioned and displayed within a civic space.[152] These were the 1530 and 1536 portraits of Nicholas and Robert Thorne the Younger of Bristol, who were both merchants, holders of high civic office, and generous benefactors to the city (figure 71). Significantly, copies of each portrait were

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[151] Map taken from Roger H. Leech, *The Topography of Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1997), map 2, p. xx.
[152] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 49.

commissioned in 1624 and 1625 by the Corporation of Bristol for display in the new council

chamber (figures 72 and 73)[153] This not only reflects the fashion for decorating public

buildings with portraiture, it could also have encouraged further merchants and civic officials

to commission their own portraits for both their homes and these civic spaces.

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[153] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 57.

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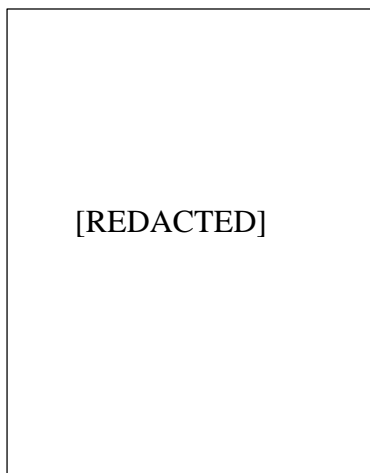
Figure 71
Unknown painter
Nicholas Thorne
1530
Oil on panel
60 cm x 44.5 cm
Bob Jones University in Greenville,
South Carolina.
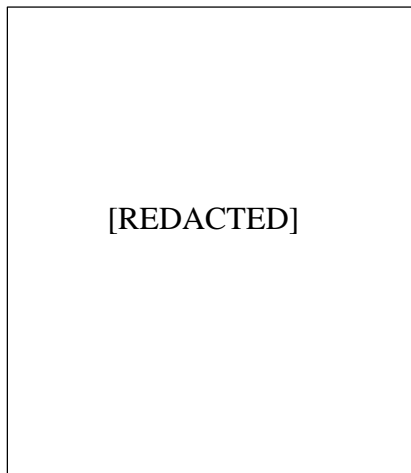
Figure 72
Unknown painter
Nicholas Thorne
1625
Unknown medium on panel
Unknown dimensions
Bristol Grammar School.

[REDACTED]
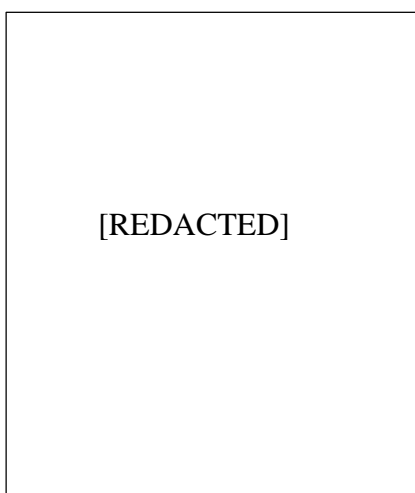
Figure 73
Unknown painter
Robert Thorne
1624
Unknown medium on panel
Unknown dimensions
Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, K4462.

Research by Tittler has shown that at least twenty-six painters were active and

documented as working in Bristol between the period 1500 and 1640.[154] One of these painters

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[154] Robert Tittler, *Early Modern British Painters, c.1500–1640*, database available at
<http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/980096/> [accessed 01.07.2016]. Comparatively, during this period, 19
painters were active in Ipswich, 2 in Chesterfield, 1 in Banbury, 5 in Stratford-upon-Avon, 5 in Cornwall, and a

may have been responsible for one or more of the eighteen small paintings owned by the

shipwright Edward Everard. Everard is of particular interest as he owned the largest number

of pictures which were specified as being small within a non-noble household. His collection

of '18 smalle pictures' formed part of an inventory which was given the high valuation of

£639 5s 10d in total.[155] Everard kept his pictures in a room at the front of the house referred

to as 'a Fore streete Roome'.[156] Within this same room there are window cushions, one

drawing table, two carpets, all of his books, a cedar chest, a livery cupboard, a little

sideboard, and upholstered stools, all also listed within the inventory. This suggests that this

room could be utilized for a number of purposes, including reading and eating. Andirons, a

fire shovel, and tongs are also listed, indicating that this room had its own fireplace, which

would have kept it warm and which possibly provided a place to relax, a use which is also

suggested by the inclusion of the cushions, padded stools, and the pictures.

    Picture owners in Bristol had a number of means by which they might interact both

socially and professionally. For example, the merchants and picture owners Nathaniel

Butcher and Nicholas Meredith were both members of the Society of Merchant Venturers at

the same time.[157] This society was established in order for individuals to collectively work

together in the pursuit of shared economic interests but, as demonstrated, they also shared an

interest in pictures. Such societies are significant as they prove that picture owners in this

area would have known one another through the regular meetings here and their shared

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staggering 87 in Kent. Whilst records show that the majority of these painters concentrated on the decorative arts, including cloth staining, glass painting, and gilding, many would also have been able to turn their hand to painting portraits when asked to do so.

[155] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 122.

[156] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 122.

[157] John Guy was also a member. The most famous John Guy who was native to Bristol was the colonial governor and merchant (1575–1628). It was this John Guy who served as mayor in 1618, alderman in 1619, MP for Bristol in 1621 and 1624, and Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1622. His eldest son was also called John Guy and could be the same person, or related to John Guy the picture owner, who died in 1640. Christopher English, 'John Guy', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 29 July 2016] and Patrick McGrath, *Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, Bristol Record Society, vol. XVII (Bristol: Bristol Record Office, 1952), p. 27.

business interests. McGrath argues that much of the Bristol merchants' business was conducted from their homes.[158] Meredith owns a spruce chest with a little counter in the chamber next to the hall. This would have enabled him to conduct his business and count out his money within this space.[159] Running the business from his home would have provided visitors with the opportunity to admire Meredith's pictures and other objects within the household, depending upon which rooms they were invited into. Visitors would presumably have had to pass through Meredith's hall, which contained eleven old pictures and a map, before they reached his chamber.[160]

Other places where merchants could have met included council meetings and the Tolzey, which housed the borough court and was a venue for trade. Robert Tittler notes that, by 1620, portraits of civic leaders could be found in the Council chamber, the Tolzey, and the local grammar school.[161] The nature of their business would also have meant that some merchants could have travelled quite extensively, and thus not only viewed pictures within other households and civic buildings, but also wished to carry with them a small portrait of a loved one. The inventory of picture owner John Guy was signed by another picture owner, Israel Pownoll, in 1640, which suggests that these two men either knew one another or that they shared a knowledge of the valuation of the same goods.[162] Furthermore, McGrath also argues that merchant families were closely inter-related.[163] This would have provided a social context for social interaction and an opportunity to view and distribute the possessions within merchant households. As members of the gentry and the nobility would have visited each other's houses for both business and pleasure and had access to these picture collections, so

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[158] McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth Century Bristol*, introduction, p. xiii.
[159] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p.112.
[160] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 112.
[161] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 161.
[162] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 119.
[163] McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth Century Bristol*, introduction, p. xiii.

too their non-noble counterparts would have seen each other's pictures. Perhaps they also enquired of the owner how they might also acquire a picture for their own household.

John Horsham

An examination of the parlour in which John Horsham kept his pictures will allow a consideration of the importance of the aesthetics and function of these items within this one space. Horsham lived in the parish of St Stephen's near the quay in Bristol. His inventory is dated 1643.[164]

	£	s	d
In the Parlor			
one drawinge table boord with a frame, five high joined stooles & two low stooles	0	14	0
one sideboord	0	4	6
one presse	0	13	4
three low chaires one of them a twiggen one	0	2	0
a paire of andirons & creepers with brasse knobbs & tongs & slyce to the same	1	0	0
six small pictures	0	1	0
a side boord cloth & cushion	0	2	4
all his bookes	0	5	0
a littell buttresse	0	2	0
one Bible	0	4	0

Using the information in Horsham's inventory I have re-imagined a seventeenth century parlour using extant objects which date to this period. This gives an archetypal impression of how Horsham's pictures may have fitted into the wider domestic aesthetic.

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[164] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 137–139. A 'table' could refer to both a painted picture and an item of furniture with a raised flat top, in this instance it is grouped together with stools which indicates that the reference here is to the latter meaning. A 'presse' was commonly used to refer to a large cupboard. The 'twiggen' chair would be made from twigs or wickerwork. The 'creepers' refer to small iron supports for the andirons. The reference to the 'littell buttresse' is quite unusual. It could refer to a little shelf as in 'buttery bar'. All definitions taken from *Oxford English Dictionary* online <www.oed.com> [accessed 12 February 2019].

A re-imagining of John Horsham's parlour, 1643
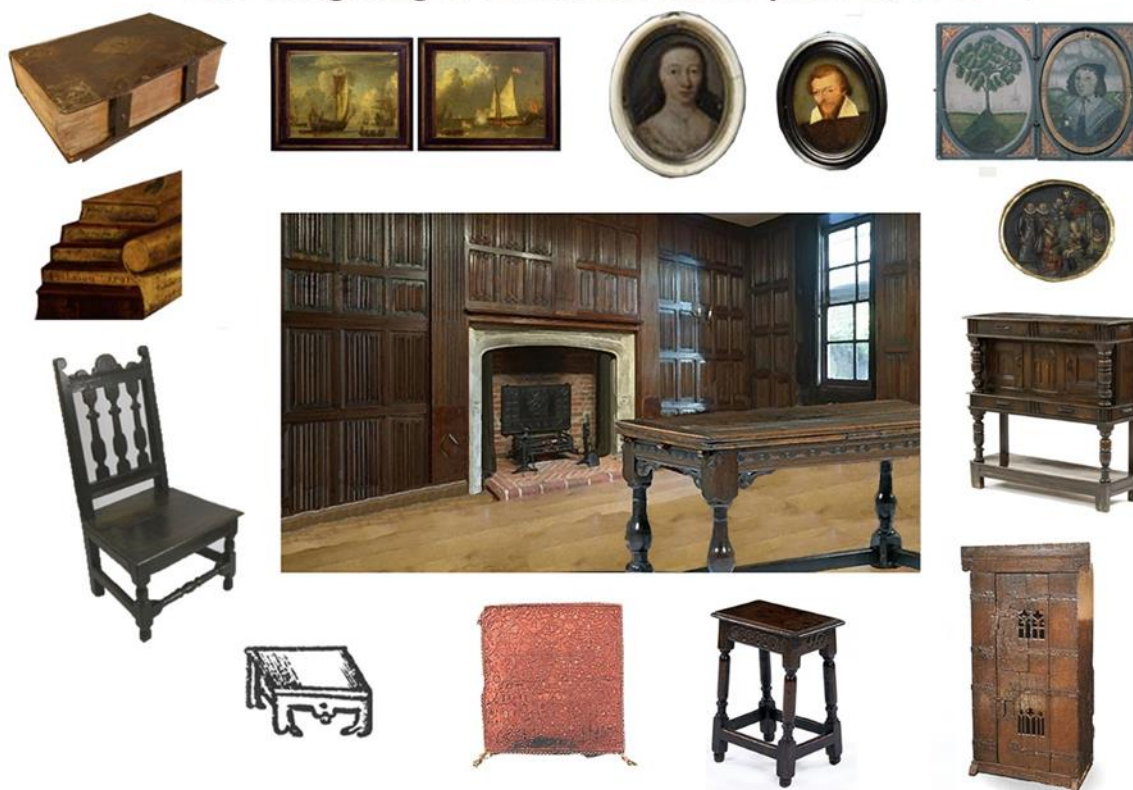
Figure 74
A re-imagining of John Horsham's parlour, 1643.

In the parlour alongside Horsham's six small pictures are hearth furniture, which indicates the presence of a fireplace. The foot stool and the cushion provide further evidence that thought and expense have been taken to ensure that this room was a comfortable space. The small pictures would have contributed towards both the decoration and the leisurely activities which could take place in this room. The inclusion of the Bible also provides evidence that this room may have been used for worship.[165] It is within this multi-purpose context that Horsham would have viewed his pictures. This is markedly different from the purpose-built cabinets in which the nobility viewed their collections in the seventeenth century.

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[165] I am grateful to Tara Hamling for this observation, in personal communication, May 2017.

The inventory reveals that Horsham owned six pictures valued at 1s (12p) in 1643. It does not include the details of the type of pictures which they might be or the genre. These pictures might have been prints or paintings representing a number of different subjects, but fundamentally the appraiser thought that it was important to mention that they were small. Sometimes appraisers note that some pictures are small presumably to differentiate them from larger pictures within the household, but Horsham did not own any further pictures. He, or the appraiser, therefore, seemed to have a particular interest in the size of these pictures. I will now consider what these pictures may have looked like.

In common with many other collectors in Bristol, Horsham did not own one picture, he owned several. The mean average number of large pictures within collections in Bristol had steadily risen from just one at the beginning of the seventeenth century to more than ten in the 1640s. For small pictures the mean average had doubled from two in the 1630s to four in the 1640s. This provides further evidence for the growing popularity of pictures, both large and small, in non-noble households and suggests that the pictures may have formed a set. In the re-imagined parlour I have suggested that these pictures may represent seascapes because of Horsham's profession, possibly religious imagery like the nativity miniature, or portraiture representing friends and family.

Noble inventories dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries frequently list portrait sets featuring images of the monarchy, where they conveyed ideas of legitimacy, authority, and loyalty.[166] Not all pictures displayed within the same space may have been produced as a unified set. Within the household, however, they frequently work together, in collaboration with the furniture and the soft furnishings, to convey overriding themes. For example, the 1601 inventory of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury,

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[166] For example, the royal inventories of 1547 and 1550, the Dukes of Norfolk at Kenninghall, Burghley at Theobalds, and Elizabeth Talbot, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury at Hardwick New Hall in Derbyshire. Catherine Daunt, *Portrait Sets in Tudor and Jacobean England*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex (2015), p. 26.

reveals an eclectic collection of portraits portraying friends, rulers, family, and historical figures, and not a unified set.[167] Viewed together within Hardwick Hall, however, these individual objects speak of the Countess's important networks and serve to signify her own position as a leading noble. Portrait sets were also displayed in universities, livery companies, and civic institutions, where they would have served a different purpose. For example, an early set of benefactors and masters was hung at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, from at least 1565.[168] Tittler argues that these portraits would have commemorated the historical origins of the organisation, illustrated the pride of its members, and also encouraged further benefactors.[169]

Between 1618 and 1620, the actor and theatre owner Edward Alleyn recorded in his diary-cum-account book the purchase of a complete set of twenty-six portraits of English sovereigns from William I to James VI/I at 6s 8d each, for either his home or the college in Dulwich that he founded in 1613.[170] Rather than purchasing these pictures to display his loyalty to the crown, S. P. Cerasano argues that they provided a record of his own professional life as well as providing inspiration for his upcoming roles, because some of the kings in this series would have appeared as characters in the plays owned and acted by Alleyn's company, the Lord Admiral's Men.[171] This interpretation underlines the importance of examining the individual picture collector rather than applying the same explanation as

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[167] Levey and Thornton, *Of Household Stuff*, pp. 42–65.

[168] The earliest portraits are of Edward I, who granted the royal charter for the college, and Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, who founded the college in 1284.

[169] Tittler, *The Face of the City*, p. 43.

[170] These portraits were purchased in four instalments. On 29 September 1618 Alleyn recorded the purchase of portraits of James VI/I, Elizabeth I, Mary I, Edward VI, Henry III, and Henry V. On 8 October 1618 he bought portraits of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII. On 25 September he purchased portraits of Edward II, Edward I, Henry III, King John, and Henry II. On 30 September he acquired portraits of Henry I, King Stephen, William II, William the Conqueror, the Black Prince, and Anne Boleyn. Town, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters', p. 89. Whilst Town argues that Gipkin supplied the royal portraits, he acknowledges that they were not all by the same hand and could be the product of Gipkin's workshop or, perhaps, produced in collaboration with another workshop. Foister, however, argues that it is conjecture that Gipkin was responsible for the portraits. Foister, 'Edward Alleyn's Collection of Paintings', p. 45.

[171] S. P. Cerasano, 'More on Edward Alleyn's "Shakespearean" Portrait of Richard III', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 33, 3 (1982), 342–344 (p. 344).

noble collectors in their reasons for displaying royal portraiture. Unlike his noble peers, Alleyn did not need to legitimate his own position through his set of kings and queens; instead they may have fulfilled a more professional purpose. Furthermore, the diary also mentions the purchase of a set of fourteen pictures representing the twelve apostles, Christ, and the Virgin, by the artist 'Mr. Gibbkin'.[172] As the founder of Dulwich college and Alleyn's school, these set may have been intended to inspire and educate the pupils.[173]

Similar to Talbot's large paintings and Horsham's small pictures, miniatures could subsequently become part of a set through being framed together by the owner or by being given a group valuation by the appraiser when compiling the inventory. For example, the following four miniatures of unknown sitters may not have been originally conceived of as a single group but have been treated as a set by a later owner when set within a brooch (figures 75 and 76). Yvonne Markowitz, Curator of Jewelry at Boston Museum of Arts, argues that whilst the top half of the brooch dates from the seventeenth century and is original to the miniatures, the lower half of the brooch has a decorative border which is typical of the eighteenth century.[174] Furthermore, one of the miniatures now has a pin running across it horizontally, and the face of the sitter would not have been visible when the brooch was worn. The pin is a later addition to the piece and may have replaced an earlier one, but it is apparent that the miniatures were not originally designed to be displayed in this manner. It appears that a subsequent owner of these miniatures saw them as a set even though they may not have originally been made as one.

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[172] Possibly the artist John Gipkin (also referred to as Gibbkin and Gipkyn). Foister, 'Edward Alleyn's Collection of Paintings', p. 33.

[173] Foister notes that during this period Alleyn was engaged in works to his house and the College. Items purchased on one account were sometimes transferred to the other. It is not, therefore, clear where these pictures were intended to be originally displayed. Foister, however, argues that surviving panel pictures representing Piety and Liberality appear to have been taken from Alleyn's old college building. Foister, 'Edward Alleyn's Collection of Paintings', p. 37.

[174] Personal communication with Yvonne Markowitz, dated 30 May 2013.

Figure 75
Unknown painter
Unknown Woman and *Unknown Man*
Early seventeenth century
Oil on metal
35 mm x 50 mm and 48 mm x 35 mm by sight
Upper part of brooch seventeenth century
Lower part of brooch eighteenth century
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.6239.

Figure 76
Unknown painter
Unknown Man and *Unknown Woman*
Early seventeenth century
Oil on metal
35 mm x 50 mm and 48 mm x 35 mm
Upper part of brooch seventeenth century
Lower part of brooch eighteenth century
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 016238.

The miniatures above, representing unknown individuals, may have had a similar dynastic function as the following set of miniatures showing members of the Tudor royal family, but the evidence of large portrait sets in non-noble collections suggests that they may have served a different function for their original owners.

[REDACTED]
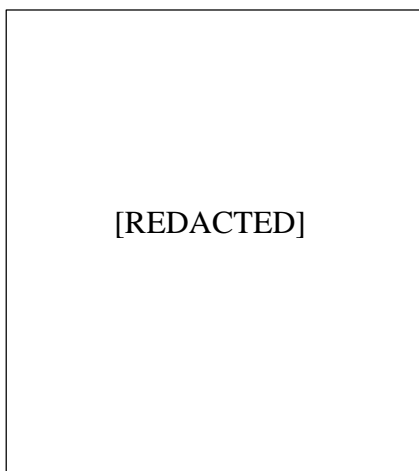
Figure 77
Nicholas Hilliard
Henry VII from the *Bosworth Jewel*
c. 1600
Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum
34 mm diameter
Royal Collection RCIN 420012.

[REDACTED]
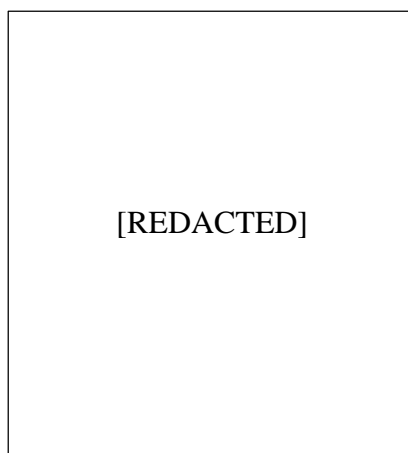
Figure 78
Nicholas Hilliard
Henry VIII from the *Bosworth Jewel*
c. 1600
Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum
32 mm diameter
Royal Collection RCIN 420013.

[REDACTED]
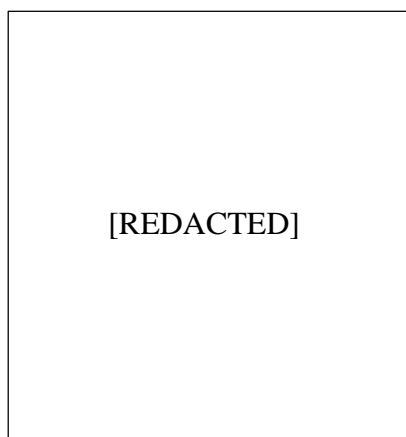
Figure 79
Nicholas Hilliard
Jane Seymour from the *Bosworth Jewel*
c. 1600
Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum
32 mm diameter
Royal Collection RCIN 420014.

[REDACTED]
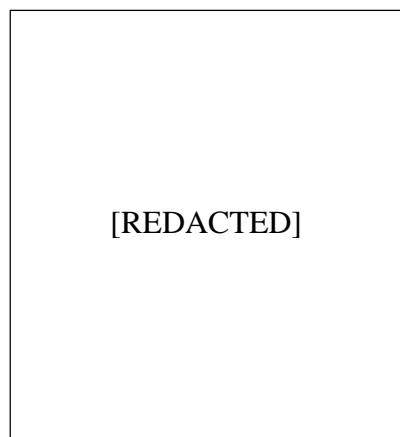
Figure 80
Nicholas Hilliard
Edward VI from the *Bosworth Jewel*
c. 1600
Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum
33 mm diameter
Royal Collection RCIN 420015.

The *Bosworth Jewel* (*c*. 1600) contained painted portraits by Nicholas Hilliard of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Jane Seymour, and Edward VI (figures 77 to 80). Oliver Millar notes that the original gold enamelled box, since lost, portrayed a scene from Bosworth, the decisive battle which saw the start of the Tudor reign.[175] This box would have contextualized

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[175] Millar, 'Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', p.116.

the portraits and also served to commemorate the origins of the Tudor royal line. Millar also observes that the jewel was presented by Laurence Hilliard to Charles I before being sold off during the Commonwealth.[176] Copies of these miniatures were also made by Nicholas Hilliard, indicating that other patrons also collected variations of this set.[177]

With such a low valuation, Horsham's pictures in his parlour were extremely unlikely to have been set within an item of jewellery. Horsham's pictures may have been prints. By the early seventeenth century, prints representing famous men and women were becoming cheaper and more readily available to purchase in England. A number of those individuals whose inventories have been examined within this thesis had economic, social, political, or legal reasons to visit London, where prints were available. The former Chamberlain of Bristol, Nicholas Meredith, owned at least twenty-eight prints, which he could have purchased in London whilst there on business.[178] John Sudbury and his nephew George Humble opened the first shop dedicated to the sale of prints in 1603, near Newgate in London, and several more such specialized stores followed.[179] Furthermore, prints could also be purchased from book stores.[180] Prints fulfilled a demand for pictures for the decoration of households and also as working patterns used by artisans, who were also using them as

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[176] The jewel is listed within Van der Doort's inventory, 'a golden Jewell whereon a pendant pearle hangeth and 4 pictures in severall Cases one over another wch said Jewell as alsoe: ye 4 pictures and at the Topp ye out side being enamuld ye Bataille of – Basan ffeild betweene King Hen: the 7ᵗʰ & king Richard ye: 3: als Crookback Richard, and at the other side ye red and – white roses ioin'd togeither done in enamuled worke.' Millar, 'Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', p. 116.

[177] Versions of the miniatures of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour are in the National Museum, Stockholm, and their provenance has been traced back to the Seymour family, according to Christopher Lloyd; Lloyd and Remington, *Masterpieces in Little*, p. 72. See also the Buccleuch Collection.

[178] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 112–115. In 1619, Meredith accompanied Alderman Guy, the former Mayor of Bristol, to London. The Privy Council had requested £2500 from the merchants and port owners of the city towards an expedition against Turkish pirates. Meredith and Guy offered only £1000 and further requests for the full amount followed. McGrath, *Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 180.

[179] Tttler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England*, p. 76.

[180] For the influence of Netherlandish prints in Britain, see Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 43–123; Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (London: British Museum, 1998), p. 13; and Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 16–46.

prototypes.[181] The inventory of the goldsmith Edward Hassall in Bristol included 'one picktur

booke' listed amongst the other tools of his trade. This book may have contained printed

designs which Hassall incorporated into his work.[182]

The small pictures listed in these middling sort inventories may have been imported

items made by artists working outside of Britain. This is particularly pertinent given that it is

the port towns of Ipswich and Bristol which show the highest evidence of picture ownership.

Ipswich had established trading routes with the Netherlands, which had a high degree of

picture ownership, and annual fairs in Bruges, Antwerp, and elsewhere, where they could be

purchased ready-made.[183] There were also a number of art guilds, and increasingly in the

seventeenth century, art dealers, from whom bespoke items could be obtained.[184] The prices

listed for pictures varied greatly, but in the seventeenth century woodcut engravings could be

purchased from as little as a few stuivers each: the same cost as a pewter bowl or a single

Delft tile.[185] A number of visitors to the Netherlands commented on both the number of

pictures available in Dutch households and the social breadth of picture owners. John Evelyn

wrote in his diary in 1641, 'pictures are very common here [in the Netherlands], there being

scarce an ordinary tradesman whose house is not decorated with them'.[186] Kim Woods argues

that the established trade routes between Bruges and the English Channel can, in part, explain

the popularity of Dutch art in Britain.[187] Merchants were the crucial bridge between

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[181] Books with printed portraits of famous individuals include John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (London: John Rastell, 1539) and Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* [Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects], dedicated to Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, first published in Milan, 1550. The book was enlarged and printed with the inclusion of woodcut portraits of a number of the artists in 1568.

[182] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, p. 79.

[183] Lorne Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine*, 118, 877 (1976), 188–198 (p. 192).

[184] Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', pp. 195–197, and John Michael Montias, 'Art Dealers in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 18, 4 (1988), 244–256.

[185] Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, pp. 317–319.

[186] As quoted in Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, p. 318.

[187] Kim Woods, 'Netherlandish Networks', in *Locating Renaissance Art*, ed. by Carol M. Richardson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 65–102. For the importation of Netherlandish paintings

importing pictures to Britain; this could include commissioning their own picture, purchasing ready-made items to sell on, and acquiring a taste for pictures within a domestic setting. The pictures which decorated the homes of merchants and their peers in England, therefore, could have been imported or made in Britain.

Small Things

Having compared the evidence for the ownership of pictures, both small and large, by noble individuals with that of the middling sort, it is now useful to consider what attracted these collectors to miniatures in particular. Members of the nobility collected and exchanged small portraits of themselves for a number of reasons, including to build alliances, to negotiate marriages, to display their lineage, to bring the absent closer, and to wear as a sign of loyalty or as fashionable jewellery. Small portraits also allowed the painters to display their technical skill and ingenuity in the production of these works; particularly so as miniatures frequently concentrate on the sitter's face which, was considered the most difficult part of an individual to capture. Hilliard writes,

> of all things the perfection is to imitate the face of man kind, or the hardest part of it, and which carieth most prayesse and commendations […] greatest of all is the grace in countenance, by which the affections apeare […] and this princepall part of the beauty a good painter hath skill of and should diligently noet.[188]

By working on a small scale there is less room for any error when painting and more opportunity for the maker to display their skill. So, in choosing to own a small picture, a householder was showing an awareness of the painter's mastering of the materials and their technique. It also suggests that, in the seventeenth century, middling sort collectors were also

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into Scotland, see C. Thompson and L. Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1974).
[188] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, pp. 21–22.

showing evidence of connoisseurship, more frequently discussed in relation to the nobility in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Evidence for the ownership of small things also extends beyond pictures. In Bristol, the merchant and former City Chamberlain Nicholas Meredith owned a number of objects which were described as being small and which could also have included evidence of intricate skill, including a little gold crucifix which he kept with nine rings and a toothpick in a civet box.[189] Meredith also owned larger pieces of furniture, soft furnishings, and apparel, which could have included small finely worked details. Meredith's clothing was valued at £25. This high valuation argues for not only the finest materials but also delicate lacework, fine needlework, and detailed embroidery. The five satin embroidered cushions and other needlework cushions in his upper fore street chamber could have demonstrated a high level of intricate skill in their embellishment.[190] Some surviving cushion covers from the early seventeenth century demonstrate the use of both expensive materials and small-scale details (figure 81). Similar to the viewing of some miniatures, the detailed embroidery on this cushion cover would only have been visible to those who were permitted access to the room and would have required the viewer to come within close proximity to the object and to spend some time examining it in daylight or candlelight in order to appreciate the craftsmanship. Such objects, therefore, were part of a wider narrative within the household, used to signify that the rooms in which they were viewed were used for leisurely contemplation and close access.

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[189] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 112–113.
[190] George and George, *Bristol Probate Inventories*, pp. 112–114.

[REDACTED]
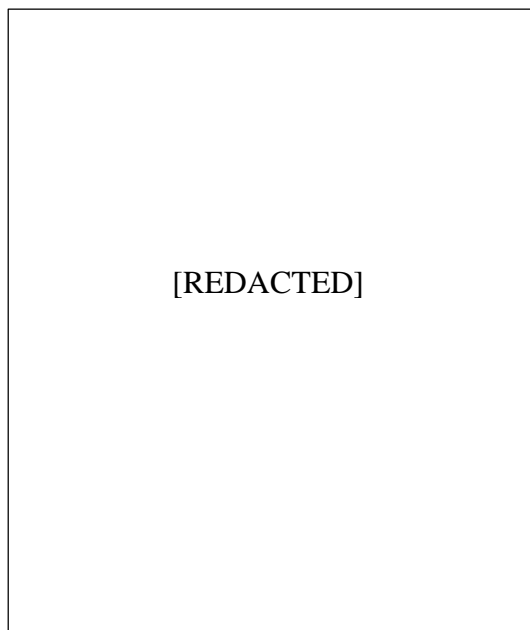
Figure 81
Unknown maker, probably made in London
Cushion cover
c. 1600
Silk satin embroidered with silk, metal thread and metal strip
53.5 cm x 51 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, T.21-1923.

The popularity of small pictures can also be partly explained by their portability.

Small pictures were relatively easy to transport compared to larger easel paintings. They

could be carried in small bags or boxes or worn as items of jewellery. Hat badges, girdle

books, and crucifixes, to name but a few other small objects, were similar in size to miniature

paintings and were also worn as jewellery, but in this context as symbols of the wearer's

faith. Miniatures were frequently oval or round in shape, which meant that they could

comfortably sit in the hand and within lockets. The size and the shape of the miniature,

therefore, made them particularly attractive for people who travelled and who wished to have

an image readily to hand. Such individuals included not only royalty on their summer

progresses and the nobility with their multiple residences but also merchants and public

officials. When they weren't travelling the gentry and the nobility occupied large residences

which they owned with permanent repositories for their art collections. In comparison the

middling sort rented their rooms or houses. The small size of miniatures would allow them to

be viewed more easily within the smaller rooms found within these urban homes. The rooms needed to fulfil a number of functions and contained other possessions including dining furniture and beds which would result in large pictures being obscured or difficult to view from the best vantage point. Additionally, once the lease on the premises had expired small pictures would have been easier than large easel paintings to transport to the next residence.

Small pictures may have appeared particularly attractive to middling sort collectors as, because of their size, they could be viewed as being less ostentatious than their larger counterparts, even though they may have involved more skill on behalf of the painter and were not necessarily any cheaper to produce. Some miniatures and frames were made using relatively cheap materials including wood and oil paint whilst other miniatures were executed in expensive pigments including ultra-marine and shell gold and were framed in jewelled lockets. John Mack draws an interesting parallel between a number of small objects, including English portrait miniatures and Japanese netsuke, which were collected by merchants in seventeenth century Japan.[191] Netsuke, like the miniature, need to be viewed at close proximity and were also worn about the person. Intricately carved, frequently from wood or ivory, and representing items from the natural world, most netsuke are less than an inch in height and were worn on garments as a toggle over the sash of a kimono by which to attach other items.[192] In common with early modern England, Edo Japan had regulations concerning what each degree of person could wear and display. Mack argues:

> Unobtrusive arenas for the display of wealth and taste were sought that would not offend against shogunate edicts, but would nonetheless serve to underline prosperity. Netsuke was the ideal vehicle: luxurious, charming and, above all, modest in scale. It was unlikely to offend through overt ostentation.[193]

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[191] Mack, *The Art of Small Things*, p. 188.
[192] Mack, *The Art of Small Things*, p. 188.
[193] Mack, *The Art of Small Things*, p. 190.

Similarly, I argue, small pictures allowed middling sort householders in England to display their wealth, but the modest scale of the pictures would have helped to have ensure that no social mores were transgressed.

This interest in small scale things was not limited to pictures in the home and decorative objects. Although perhaps in an inverse relationship, in that he was concerned with enlarging the minute, Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665) illustrates the interest that was developing throughout the seventeenth century in natural philosophy and the use of the microscope, which could make small things visible to the human eye (figure 82). In addition to the famous illustration of a flea, Hooke also included magnified images of man-made objects, including a razor and a needle. Hooke had trained as a miniaturist before he pursued his career in science, obtaining a high standard in both of these areas, which required tidiness and accuracy.[194] Likewise, Hooke's contemporary at the Royal Society, Robert Boyle, also reveals this interest in the minute for scientific study in his writings on corpuscles.[195] Both men's work illustrates an interest in studying the small as a way of explaining larger truths about the natural world. They also encouraged the closer examination of small things to reveal their artistry, be that natural or man-made.

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[194] In *Brief Lives*, Aubrey notes that Hooke received instruction from the miniaturist Samuel Cooper before he pursued his interest in science. This could explain why Hooke could produce such detailed illustrations of what his eye could see through the microscope; *Brief Lives chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the Years 1669 & 1696*, ed. by Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon, 1898), vol. 1, p. 410. The identity of the engraver of the thirty-eight plates for the published book is unknown. However, a contemporary of Hooke's at the Royal Society was the miniaturist Thomas Flatman.

[195] Robert Boyle, *Certain Physiological Essays* (London, 1661).

[REDACTED]

Figure 82
Unknown engraver
Illustration of a Flea from Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (London: Royal Society, 1665)
Ink on paper
35 cm x 95 cm
Cambridge University Library, Special Collections, Keynes.S.7.21.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the number of regional inventories which list pictures increases throughout the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although more inventories survive from the later period,

there are also more extant pictures from the later period. This argues for the wider availability

of pictures and a growing interest in them beyond the nobility. It also corroborates the

evidence for rising living standards amongst some sections of the population from the late

sixteenth century onwards.[196] Although the sample size is quite small, it is arguable that the

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[196] Harrison, *Description of England*, ch. 12, 'Of the Manner of Building and Furniture of Our Houses'. For the social, geographic, chronological, and sporadic variations within this period of change and stability, see Wrightson, *English Society*, in particular ch. 5, 'Population and Resources', pp. 129–156.

ownership of small pictures is indicative of the fashion for picture ownership and visual culture in general.

The samples of inventories from Stratford-Upon-Avon, Banbury, Ipswich, Chesterfield, and Bristol reveal that picture ownership was not uniform across the country. Significantly, no inventories were found which listed small pictures in Stratford, Chesterfield, or Banbury. This, perhaps, in part reflects the more rural nature of these market towns and the relative lack of material culture which was available to their residents compared to more urbanized areas. It was not just pictures that these market town dwellers did not own; they also lagged behind city dwellers in their ownership of window curtains, coverlets, and earthenware. In comparison, both of the port cities, Ipswich and Bristol, showed a higher percentage of both small and large picture ownership. This reflects the wealth of these regions and their access to both goods and ideas from abroad.

The owners kept their pictures in different rooms within their homes. Large pictures are most frequently found in the parlour and the chamber, but also in the hall and the loft. Likewise, small pictures are found in a variety of rooms, most commonly the parlour, but also the study and the hall. This evidence is markedly different from that reflecting the viewing of pictures in noble households, who favoured long galleries and purpose-built cabinet rooms. Whilst some middling sort owners of small pictures displayed their collection in more public rooms of the house, others had pictures in more private areas of the house. The different locations for these pictures indicates the many complex reasons why an individual might own a picture. The ownership of pictures can be considered as an opportunity for an individual to enjoy their wealth, to celebrate their occupation, to take advantage of their opportunity to access such goods, to explore their own position within the world, and to indulge their own aesthetic considerations within the context of their daily lives alongside eating, reading, and worship. The houses of the middling sort were smaller than the great halls and palaces which

could display larger pictures. Miniatures, therefore, were a more practical size of picture for these middling-sort patrons to commission. Being represented in a miniature portrait, rather than a large one, may also have helped to avoid accusations of ostentatiousness whilst at the same time allowing the patron to take pleasure in the delight of small-scale objects.

I have demonstrated that the evidence used in constructing the argument for the exclusive and elitist interest in miniatures by the nobility is open to interpretation by considering the agency of the sources. In his reflections upon Queen Elizabeth's miniatures, Melville elevated his own status when informing the reader that he was one of the elite few allowed into the monarch's bedchamber. Likewise, Jamesone's artfully constructed small room filled with small pictures, precious things, and noble individuals reveals the importance of staged properties as much as it does about an actual lived-in space. By utilizing different sources, I have been able to find evidence of small picture collecting within the homes of the middling sort. This furthers the understanding of miniatures and suggests an alternative explanation for the function of these objects within the domestic environment.

Ideally, this research would bring together text and object, identifying the 'small pictures' listed within the inventories with extant examples of the art form, but this has not been possible. Some objects survive only through such written evidence, which needs to be contextualized and re-imagined. Although the details of these 'small pictures' remains opaque, their presence opens up new areas of research. Whilst there is much less evidence about the subject matter of these small pictures found within the houses of the middling sort, the inventories provide a great deal of information on the rooms in which pictures were listed and the other objects which were also listed in those rooms. Together, this information reveals the activities which took place in these rooms and the context in which pictures were viewed. This evidence will be crucial in the following chapter, when considering how these individuals would interpret pictures when they were used within dramatic performances. In

common with the re-imagining of Horsham's parlour, where items listed within an inventory were matched with available examples, playgoers were encouraged to imagine things in a very particular way, that each could make their own, by drawing upon the evidence that was available to them.

Chapter 4: Playing with Pictures: Small Portraits in Early Modern Drama

Introduction

The earlier chapters of this thesis, which have examined writing on painting, a database of small pictures, and probate inventories, have argued that the miniature was far less exclusive an art form than has previously been accounted for. This fourth chapter develops the multi-disciplinary analysis of the earlier chapters and considers the relationships between drama and the miniature. By examining key dramatic works which feature small portraits, and the spaces in which performances of these works took place, I reveal how audiences may have interpreted the miniature. Through this analysis I demonstrate how these meanings shift over time and according to context, something that cannot be revealed by an examination of the literature, objects, and probate documents alone.

By chronologically examining dramatic sources from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries, I arrive at a fuller understanding of the different ways in which thinking about and interpretation of miniatures developed over time. Crucial to this is the exploration of under-used sources which date from the same chronological period as the early development of the art form in the 1530s and thereby widening the focus of study from high-Elizabethan sources which have already received a lot of scholarly attention. Focusing on single sources alone has misrepresented discourse on the miniature as it developed across a longer timeframe, including a number of significant changes such as the growing popularity of portraiture and theatre, the development of different genres, and widening access to material by individuals outside of the royal court. The investigation of the conceptual understanding of small portraiture allows me to re-position miniatures within the broader context in which they originally existed and sheds light on the visual and written documentary sources examined in the first three chapters of this thesis.

What I hope to show is that, in order to move beyond the interpretation of miniatures as being confined to the court, it is important to think beyond monolithic audiences and homogenous responses. My work on socially variegated audiences builds upon the work of both Andrew Gurr and Martin Butler, amongst others, who have highlighted the varied social composition of playgoers.[197] As I have demonstrated in the earlier three chapters of this thesis, many non-courtly individuals are represented in and owned miniatures, and had access to literature on the subject. It therefore follows that these people would have had different material and conceptual understandings of what a miniature was compared to their courtly counterparts. This chapter explores some of these alternative readings of the texts and performances.

Traditionally, scholars dismissed both the materiality and the importance of staged properties. However, more recent work by Catherine Richardson, Andrew Sofer, Douglas Bruster, and Lena Cowen Orlin has demonstrated how and why things mattered in the early modern theatre.[198] Bruster argues: 'The early modern playhouse in England was a theatre of easily held things. Handheld objects figured centrally in plays of all genres there.'[199] My research on *Wit and Science* demonstrates that the origins of small handheld properties in drama pre-dated the Elizabethan playhouse. The anthropologist Arjun Appadurai argues that things, like people, 'have social lives', carrying their history with them via the many

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[197] Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), and Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
[198] Catherine Richardson, *Shakespeare And Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), and *Domestic Life*; Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Douglas Bruster, 'The Dramatic Life of Objects in the Early Modern Theatre', in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 67–98; Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Things with Little Social Life (Henslowe's Theatrical Properties and Elizabethan Household Fittings)', in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Harris and Korda, pp. 99–128, and 'The Performance of Things in The Taming of the Shrew', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 23, Early Shakespeare Special (1993), 167–188.
[199] Bruster, 'The Dramatic Life of Objects in the Early Modern Theatre', p. 67.

exchanges that take place and which can construct new meanings.[200] Crucially, Appadurai's approach allows for staged properties to have multiple meanings throughout their lives, ideas explored by Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, who argue that material objects possess a 'form of material memory', and Marvin Carlson, who has highlighted the significance of plays and theatres which also contain 'ghosts'.[201] I will apply these concepts to miniatures, arguing that both people and things experience drama with a history formed from ideas which they have accumulated throughout their lives and during specific performances. Re-thinking the staging of miniatures also allows for a reflection on how the pictures examined in the previous chapters may have functioned as agents of change, as gifts and potentially take on new meanings as they pass from hand to hand.

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[200] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3–63 (p. 3).

[201] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, p. 22, and Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), p. 1. See also Igor Kopytoff's account of the biography of an object as a 'culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings, and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories'. Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodification as Process', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by Appadurai, pp. 64–94 (p. 68).

Chart 9. Miniatures in Plays
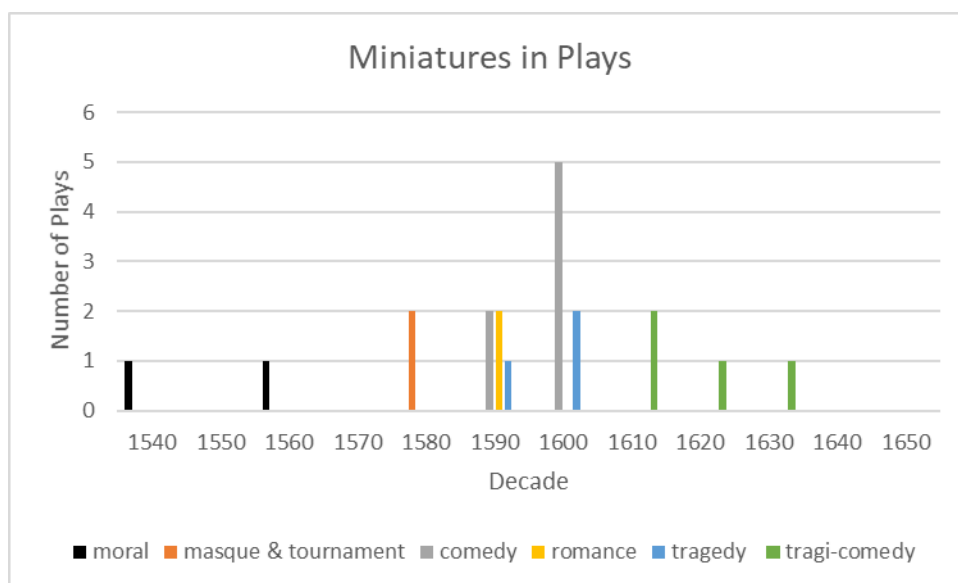
My own work builds upon earlier knowledge but fills the gap in current scholarship by concentrating on the miniature as a staged property. Appendix 2 shows that between 1533 and *c.* 1650, almost one hundred plays included pictures as staged properties, of which twenty were extremely likely to have been miniatures. Bruster has examined the genre of plays during the working life of Shakespeare in which hand-held properties, such as miniatures, were performed. His results reveal that the most popular plays to include small props were tragedies, followed by histories, and finally comedies.[202] My research covers a longer time period than that examined by Bruster, and shows that miniatures are most likely to appear in comedies, followed by tragedies and tragi-comedies (chart 9). This demonstrates that miniatures were a distinct category of object within plays and that they offered unique possibilities to playwrights working within a number of different genres. The genres that miniatures appear in are also indicative of the popularity of particular types of drama in a given historical moment. Possibly as early as the 1530s, miniatures appear in morality plays; they feature within the popular comedies around the turn of the century, and again in the fashionable new genre of tragi-comedy in the early seventeenth century. My research shows

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[202] Bruster, 'The Dramatic Life of Objects in the Early Modern Theatre', p. 79.

that Shakespeare was the playwright most associated with miniatures, featuring them in seven

of his plays.[203] I also found that miniatures appeared in plays which were performed within

both indoor theatres and outdoor theatres. Furthermore, they were particularly popular with

the boy acting companies, and it is within one of these companies that the miniature makes its

first appearance.[204] The selection of plays to be examined reflects the results of these findings

by focussing on these popular themes as they develop throughout the sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries.

In order to understand how the miniature can function within drama, I have selected

plays which were written and performed at key stages in the development of the miniature,

rather than just focusing on one specific time period. This will also allow the exploration of a

breadth of genres and performance spaces. I examine the earliest recorded play to include a

small picture, John Redford's *Wit and Science* (*c*. 1540). This morality play will be

considered in terms of the early development of the miniature and some of the spaces in

which the drama may have been performed, including the royal court and one of the first

theatres which admitted paying members of the public. I then examine William

Shakespeare's Elizabethan comedy *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (*c*. 1601). The scene in

Twelfth Night where Olivia presents Viola with a jewelled portrait is one of the frequently

quoted exerts by scholars arguing for the courtly nature of miniatures. My focus, however,

will be on the miniature as one of a number of small gifts within the play which highlight the

problematic nature of such exchanges, and the references to visual culture throughout the

play, which call upon the audience to use their imaginations. I then focus on the context of

performances at the Globe and Middle Temple hall in order to understand how these different

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[203] There are six plays in which Shakespeare includes miniatures: *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Timon of Athens*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.
[204] This correlation between miniatures and the boy acting companies has also been noted by Jeanne H. McCarthy, 'Elizabeth I's "Pictures in Little": Boy Company Representations of a Queen's Authority', in *Studies in Philology*, 100, 4 (2003), 425–462 (see in particular pp. 439–448).

audiences would have interpreted the miniature. The final play to be examined is the

Carolingian tragi-comedy *The Picture* by Philip Massinger (1629). This play was selected

because of the titular and key role played by the picture. A textual and performative analysis

of *The Picture* can reveal audiences' changing relationships to both visual culture and the

theatre. I focus on the exploration of the anxiety over images in *The Picture*. I also compare

and contrast the uses and interpretations of the miniature in the small indoor Blackfriars

theatre with the outdoor Globe playhouse. My investigation of these three plays will shed

light on how the miniature was interpreted by both courtly and non-courtly audiences.

John Redford, *Wit and Science* (*c*. 1540)

Figure 83a
John Redford, *Wit and Science*
BL Add MS 15233, fol. 11r.

Figure 83b
John Redford, *Wit and Science*, detail showing the playwright's name, 'master John Redford'
BL Add MS 15233, fol. 28r.

Introduction

The earliest surviving drama to include a portrait miniature is John Redford's *Wit and Science* (*c*. 1534–1547).[205] Much scholarship has been concerned with the dating, authorship, and material conditions of the only surviving sixteenth-century manuscript of the play, upon which this thesis will build.[206] The latest possible end date for the play being written is 1547: the year of Redford's death. In the 1530s and 1540s the portrait miniature was confined to a small audience. In the picture database there are 72 objects up to and including 1547. Thirty-five of these objects are traditional miniatures, but a slightly higher number, 37, are small pictures. This argues that not all of the audiences for Redford's play would have interpreted the miniature in light of what we know today as a portrait miniature, either materially or conceptually.

Performance Spaces and Audiences

There is no documentary evidence of where *Wit and Science* was performed, but it is reasonable to assume there was a royal performance, as in the play's closing dedication Reason wishes joy to 'our most noble king and quene in especiall' (l. 1098).[207] This suggests that the king and queen were present and, therefore, that at least one performance was likely

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[205] There is no scholarly consensus on the exact dating of this drama, but most scholars estimate the play's earliest performances to the 1530s or 1540s.

[206] Arthur Brown, ed., *Wit and Science* (Oxford: Malone Society, 1951), p. xi; John S. Farmer, *The Play of Wit and Science* (London: Early English Drama Society, 1908), p. v; Louise Rayment, *A Study in Sixteenth-Century Performance and Artistic Networks: British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton (2011), and 'A New Context for the Manuscript of Wit and Science', *Early Theatre*, 17, 1 (2014), 49–73.

[207] All line references for John Redford's *Wit and Science* taken from David Bevington, ed., *Medieval Drama* (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2012), pp. 1030–1061. A royal performance of the play has been suggested by Victor I Scherb, 'Playing at Maturity in John Redford's *Wit and Science*', *Studies in English Literature*, 45, 2 (2005), 271–297 (p. 272). Further evidence for the courtly context of this drama has been put forward by R. A. Duffy, who highlights the parallel between the scene with Fame, Favour, Riches, Worship, and Science (ll. 646–653) in Redford's drama, and Nicholas Udall's pageant written in celebration of Anne Boleyn's coronation. R. A. Duffy, 'Wit and Science and Early Tudor Pageantry: A Note on Influences', *Modern Philology*, 76 (1979), 184–189. For a counter argument suggesting that the monarch need not necessarily be present during court performances, see Jeanne H. McCarthy, 'The Emergence of Henrician Drama "in the Kynges absens"', *English Literary Renaissance*, 39, 2 (2009), 231–266.

to have taken place at court.[208] Boy companies, including Redford's Children of St. Paul's Choral School, performed at court; the earliest recorded payment was at Whitehall in 1515–1516 for William Cornish's play *Troilus and Pandor*.[209]

A few members of the courtly audience attending a royal performance would have been familiar with portrait miniatures, and those who had received a humanist education would have been equipped with the knowledge of how to interpret the picture in light of the moral message of the play.[210] For example, Foister suggests that Henry VIII may have owned the small portrait *Philip Melanchthon* (*c*. 1535; figure 48).[211] Melanchthon's reforms in education and his humanist programme would have had a particular resonance with the themes in *Wit and Science*, which explores learning and portraiture. The audience may have called to mind an allegorical figure representing learning or knowledge, for example Jorg Breu's woodcut of an impoverished scholar from Andrea Alciato's, *Emblematum Liber* (1531; figure 84). This evidence points towards the availability of both generic representations and unique individual representations when considering portraiture.

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[208] This concurs with Darryll Grantley, 'Morality and Interlude Drama', in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c.1350 – c.1500*, ed. by Peter Brown (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2009), pp. 473–489 (p.479); Edgar T. Schell and J. D. Shuchter, eds, *English Morality Plays and Moral Interludes* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 199; who all agree that the performance probably took place at the Henrician court. Peter J. Houle, however, suggests that the play was performed for Prince Edward; *The English Morality and Related Drama: A Bibliographical Survey* (Connecticut: Archon, 1972), pp. 162–164 & 183.
[209] Harold N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964) pp. 16–17.
[210] See chapters two and three of this thesis for who was depicted in miniatures and who owned them.
[211] Foister, *Holbein in England*, p. 138.

Dextra tenet lapidem, manus altera sustinet alas.
Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus
Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces
Me nisi paupertas invida deprimeret.
[My right hand holds a rock, the other bears wings. As the feathers lift me, so the heavy weight drags me down. By my mental gifts I could have flown through the heights of heaven, if malign poverty did not hold me back.]

Figure 84
Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber, Paupertatem Summis* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531)
Woodcut by Jorg Breu
7 cm x 12 cm
Glasgow University Library: SM18.

As the play closes, it not only wishes joy to the king, queen, and council, but also 'to all the rest' (l. 1099). These secondary audience members were presumably similar in social rank to those who stood crowded in by the screen end to watch the performance of John Heywood's *The Play of the Weather* (1533). In this play, Merry Report has to push past this part of the audience in order to make a proclamation: 'let me go by ye. / Thinke ye I may stand thrusting amonge you there?' (ll. 176–177).[212] As explained by Eleanor Rycroft, the great hall was a 'mixed status courtly space' which was large enough to accommodate 'a mix of persons from the higher and lower echelons'.[213] The audience standing at the back of the

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[212] Line references from *The play of the Weather* taken from, Bevington, ed., *Medieval Drama*, pp. 992-1028.
[213] Rycroft is discussing Greenwich Palace but her argument still holds for Hampton Court Palace, which was acquired by Henry following the fall of Thomas Wolsey in 1529. Eleanor Rycroft, 'Gender and Status in John Heywood's The Play of the Weather', in *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 330–350 (p. 343).

hall may not have a clear sightline to the prop used by the actors, or much familiarity with small painted miniatures. During an evening performance the hall would have been lit by candles, which would have highlighted any reflective materials in people's apparel and in the tapestries, but also cast shadows. Those without a clear sightline to the staged property would, therefore, have relied upon the spoken pictures offered up by the actors. Possibly, the descriptions of the portrait in *Wit and Science* encouraged the audience to imagine a small figurative object with which they were familiar, for example a coin or for others, a medal (figures 85 and 86). However, the database contains two small portraits of sitters with the letters 'H' and 'R' embroidered onto their red coats, arguing that they are wearing the livery of Henry VIII (Henricus Rex) (figures 87 and 88). Maria Hayward argues that red livery coats were given to craftsmen within the royal household.[214] Elsewhere, scholars have tentatively identified the sitter as the painter Lucas Horenbout but with no documentary evidence.[215] These small images executed in oil on parchment and oil on wood provide important evidence for the spread of portraiture to sitters who were connected to the royal court but were not themselves noble. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that sitters from different degrees and with different access to varied types of small portraiture may have interpreted what they saw or heard on stage accordingly. I argue that the evidence of a range of visual material needs to be taken into consideration when thinking about the understanding of the miniature in *Wit and Science*.

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[214] Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 142.
[215] Arthur B. Chamberlain. *Hans Holbein the Younger* (London: George Allen & Company, 1913), vol. 2, pp. 71 & 353, and Paul Ganz. 'Les portraits-miniature de Hans Holbein le jeune a propos du 'Holbein' de la collection Engel-Gros', *Revue de l'art*, 39 (1921), 263–66 (p. 268).

Figure 85
Penny, *Henry VIII*
Undated, 1526–1544
Struck metal, silver
Minted in Durham
15 mm diameter
British Museum, E.165.

Figure 86
Unknown maker
Medal of Henry VIII (reverse is blank)
c. 1545
Lead
38 mm diameter
British Museum: 1882,0501.25.

Figure 87
Hans Holbein
Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap
c. 1532–1535
Oil on parchment, laid down on wood
95 mm diameter
The Metropolitan Museum, New York, 50.145.24.

Figure 88
Hans Holbein
Unidentified Male Sitter
1534
Oil on wood
118 mm diameter
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

[REDACTED]
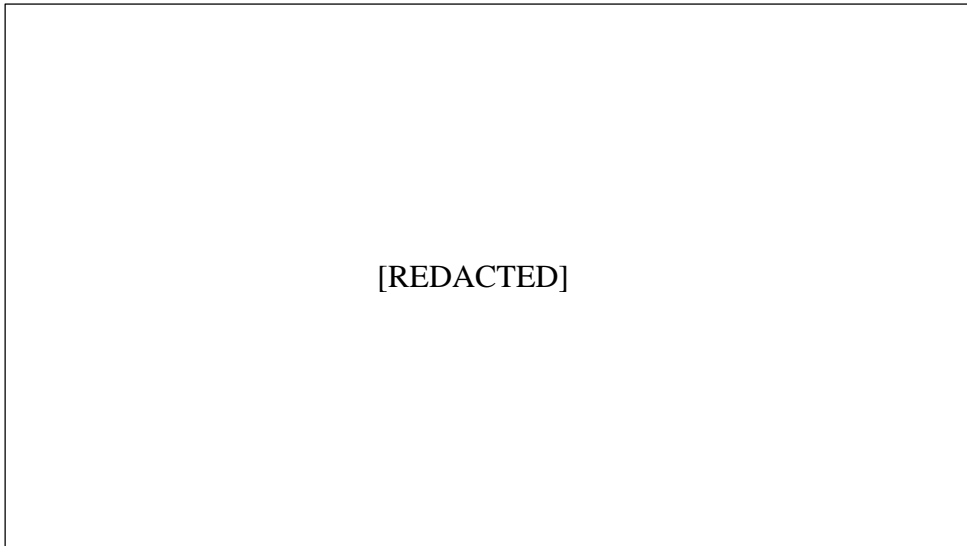
Figure 89
2009 production of Heywood's *The Play of the Weather* in the Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace, Richmond upon Thames, showing the shared performance area between actors and audience, dining tables, and tapestries depicting the biblical story of Abraham. Staging the Henrician Court Project.

[REDACTED]
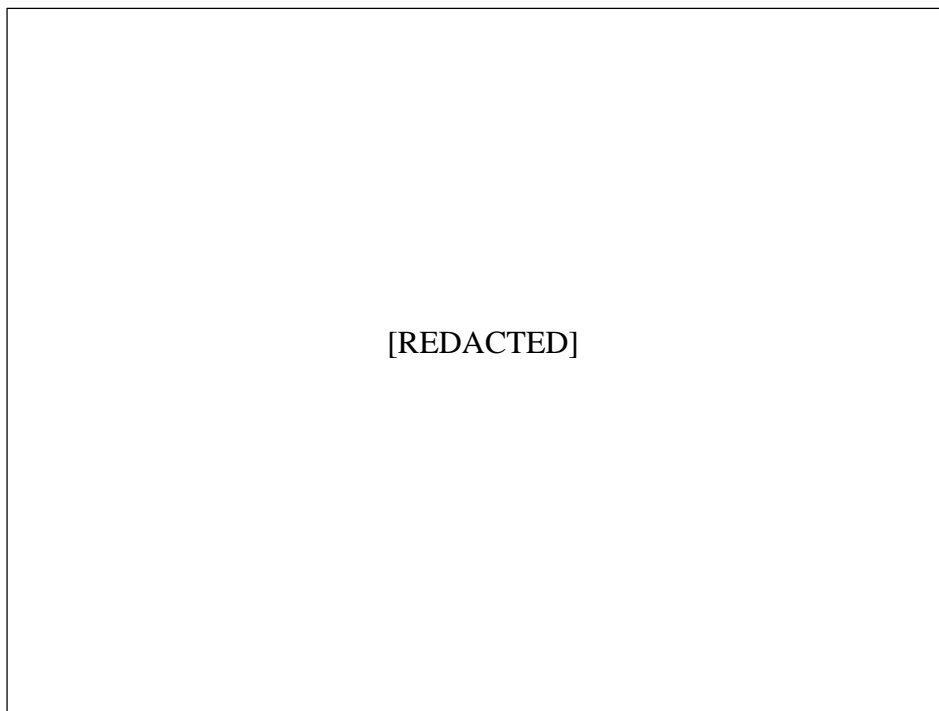
Figure 90
The Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace. Image courtesy of Historic Royal Palaces.

Surviving great halls, like the one in which it can be reasonably expected that *Wit and Science* was staged, have a raised dais for the monarch to sit but no raised platform for the performance. As the 2009 recreation of Heywood's *The Play of the Weather* within the Great

Hall at Hampton Court Palace showed, the performance area is a shared space with fluid

boundaries between the audience and the actors (figure 89). The *Story of Abraham* decorative

series of ten prestigious tapestries could have hung in the hall during the performances (figure

90).[216] The large central images tell the biblical story of Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew

nation. Thomas P. Campbell argues that this story has parallels with Henry VIII as the

founder of the Church of England. Each scene is surrounded by a large border which is

decorated with a series of allegorical and symbolic figures, each identified by a Latin

inscription, which provide a commentary on the events of the particular episode they

border.[217] The figures represented in the tapestry could also provide a parallel with the

themes in the play by personifying the virtues and vices which the characters play out: for

example, Fama Bona [Good Reputation], Con[s]cietia [Remorse] and Consolatio

[Consolation].[218] Furthermore, the figure of Diligen[t]ia [Diligence] appears in the border of

Eliezer and Rebekah at the Well, and also appears in the play.[219] This allegorical, visual, and

social background provides a context in which to understand the play; not only did these

elements contribute meaning to the dramatic events, they also provided a distraction which

Redford would have tried to control.

Plays performed at court were usually part of an evening filled with dining, juggling,

and other forms of entertainment, which situates *Wit and Science* within a programme of

multi-sensory, interactive activities. As Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker note, 'the idea

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[216] Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007). The tapestries were probably commissioned by Henry VIII *c*. 1540 and were delivered *c*. 1543–1544 to Hampton Court Palace. They were woven in the workshop of Willem Pannemaker, in part after designs by Pieter Cocke van Aelst.

[217] Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 417. A further set of tapestries telling the story of Caesar were acquired by Henry VIII at the same time as the *Story of Abraham* series. The story of Caesar provides a case study of the perils of not listening to advisers' counsel and, therefore, would have added a further context in which to understand *Wit and Science*.

[218] Thomas P. Campbell, 'The Story of Abraham Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace', in *Flemish Tapestry in European and American Collections*: *Studies in Honour of Guy Delmarcel*, ed. by Koen Brosens (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2003), pp. 59–85 (appendix 1, pp. 79–80).

[219] Campbell, 'The Story of Abraham Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace', p. 80.

that the lookers on might indeed meddle in the drama was built into a number of the plays.'[220] *Wit and Science* fits into the pattern of contemporary Tudor morality plays which presuppose the audience being drawn into the drama as it unfolds. This audience engagement is achieved in *Wit and Science* through the focus on the miniature and the actor-character's description of the portrait. The miniature is not only used to create a relationship between the characters but also between the audience and the character-actors. The audience's attention would be drawn to the miniature through its verbal description and the actor might hold the prop up or present it to some members of the audience for clearer viewing. Even if the audience could not see the details of the picture, we are invited to share the character-actor's gaze and to see the object as they describe it, as both 'goodly' (Confidence, l. 49) and 'fayer, plesant, and goodlye' (Science, l. 774). Thereby, the miniature could have provided a singularity of focus during an evening with so many sensory distractions.

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[220] Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 10.

[REDACTED]

Figure 91
Copperplate map of London, the *Western City Plate* (*c*. 1553–1559), showing St Paul's Cathedral with its spire before the fire in 1561. The map illustrates the proximity of St Paul's to Cheapside and the Inns of Court off Fleet Street. Dessau Art Gallery.

In addition to performing at court, it has been argued that the boy players may also have opened their rehearsals to the paying public, and that Redford may have produced drama for a wider audience.[221] If so, St Paul's was home to a diverse population including clerics, schools, pilgrims, merchants, and the gentry. It offered a culturally rich environment in which the secular and the religious existed side by side and within which the drama could be interpreted. St Paul's was the centre of the printing industry, with numerous booksellers next to the cathedral and the schools; it was a place of business, of socialising, of preaching at

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[221] This has been suggested by Scherb, 'Playing at Maturity', p. 272, and Reavley Gair, *The Children of St Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553–1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

the cross, of worship and pilgrimage, and of iconoclasm within the cathedral in 1547.[222] Thus

the audience and the boy players would have had a wealth of ideas to draw upon when they

participated in this drama.

Paul's boys entertained the guild of Merchant Taylors in 1549, 1551, and again in

1554, indicating a wider interest in their work.[223] Furthermore, Louise Rayment's work

points towards the possibility of *Wit and Science* being performed in the parish church of St-

Mary-at-Hill in Billingsgate during the period from July 1554 to November 1558.[224] St-

Mary-at-Hill church had a history of performances and evening entertainments, so Rayment's

argument is worth considering.[225] Performances here, as in great halls, would also have taken

place within a shared flat space for both audience and actors, where the miniature could have

been used to engage the audience. Later sources demonstrate that the area was associated

with trade. Billingsgate is described by John Stow in his *Survey of London* (1603) as being

populated by 'many faire houses for Marchants and artificers' and he discusses the thriving

fish trade in the area.[226] The trading associations of Billingsgate can be seen in Hugh Alley's

illustration in 1588 (figure 92). Alley also considers the aldermen of Billingsgate worthy of

inclusion in his record (figure 93). The possibility of a non-courtly audience is also supported

by evidence from within the play. *Wit and Science* contains no classical references except the

location of Mount Parnassus, and even that is not integral to understanding the drama. The

drama is based on the idea of a chivalric quest, which does have its roots in courtly literature,

but which is also related to allegorical morality plays which had both popular and elite

[222] Hannah Crawforth et al., *Shakespeare in London* (London: Bloomsbury, Arden Shakespeare, 2015), pp. 122–136.

[223] Trevor Lennam, 'The Children of Paul's, 1551-1582', in *The Elizabethan Theatre* (Hamden: Archon, 1970), pp. 20–36 (p.21).

[224] Rayment, *A Study in Sixteenth-Century Performance and Artistic Networks*.

[225] Rayment, 'A New Context for the Manuscript of *Wit and Science*'. The church was badly damaged by the Fire of London in 1666 and a series of later fires in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There is no physical evidence for the appearance of the sixteenth-century church.

[226] John Stow, 'Bishopsgate warde', in *A Survey of London*, reprinted from the text of 1603, ed. by C L Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), pp. 163–175.

appeal. Such evidence points towards both courtly and non-courtly audiences for *Wit and Science*. It is therefore important to consider the reception of the portrait miniature within this drama by these diverse individuals within these different settings.
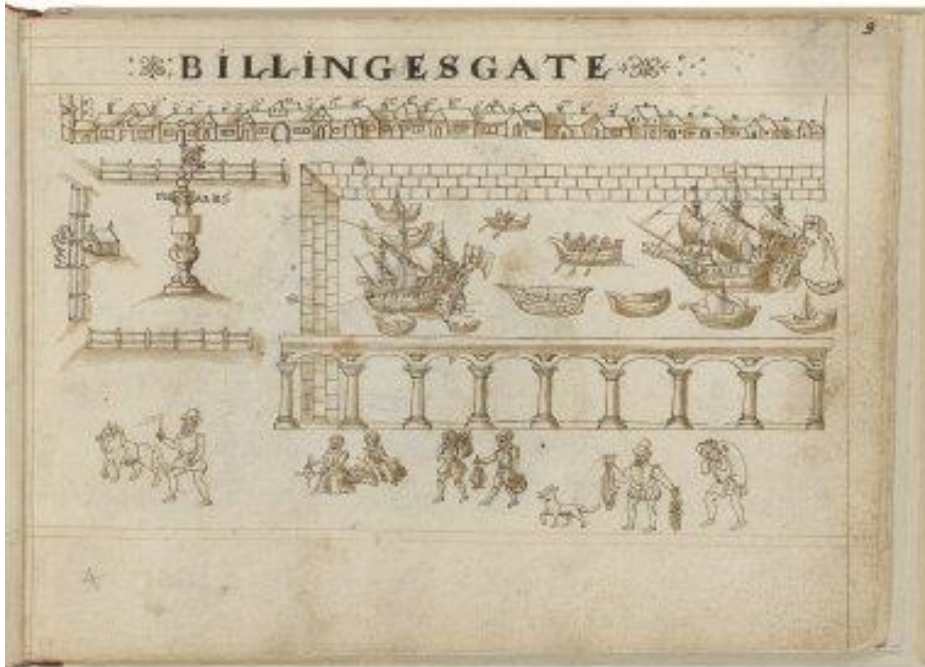
Figure 92
Hugh Alley, *A Caveatt for the Citty of London* (1588). Folger Shakespeare Library, fol. 9r.

Figure 93
Hugh Alley, *A Caveatt for the Citty of London* (1588). Folger Shakespeare Library, fol. 8v.

'mine owne likenes this is': Portraiture and Reflection

The allegorical drama of *Wit and Science* tells the story of Wit, a scholar who the audience follows through a journey of self-improvement through education.[227] Darryll Grantley identifies Wit as from a relatively humble background compared to his future bride.[228] The status of the characters in the drama is important as it helps to shape the ways in which an audience member might see themselves in relation to those on stage, who handle, look at, and discuss the picture. The introduction of the picture allows Wit to reflect upon his outward image in order to fashion himself into an ideal scholar and romantic hero: slaying the monster Tediousness and thereby winning the hand of the wealthier Lady Science with the social advancement which this marriage will entail, personified in the drama by her attendants, Fame, Favor, Riches, and Worship, who are sent 'to avawnce your degree[e]' (l. 653). The miniature not only acts as a courtly love token given by Wit to Science, but also as an allegorical representation of wit, which serves to instruct the character who is meant to embody this virtue in his behaviour. The drama thus firmly places the portrait within the context of aspiration, learning, and love.

Wit and Science shares a comparable plot with Henry Medwall's late fifteenth-century *Fulgens and Lucres*, where a similarly beneficial marriage is set up as a reward for the attainment of an educational goal. Unlike Medwall, however, Redford introduces the small picture and the mirror to act as guides for Wit throughout his journey as he reaches self-knowledge.[229] In positioning the picture within this narrative, Redford situates the miniature as a means by which an individual should not only show their best self but also learn from this act of self-fashioning. Paralleling Redford's argument, in *The Governor* Thomas Elyot

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[227] The term 'wit' had come to denote shrewd intelligence by the early sixteenth century; C. Hindley, ed., *Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, vol. I (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871) pp. 12, 21–26.

[228] Grantley, 'Morality and Interlude Drama', p. 479.

[229] In medieval drama the mirror can frequently symbolise both true knowledge and vanity. In *Wit and Science* it is used as a prop for Wit to learn about and improve himself.

claims that, while the 'public weale' was made up of a carefully delineated hierarchical order, education could elevate a man to become a governor: 'excellent virtue and learning do enable a man of the base estate of the commonality to be thought of all men worthy to be so much advanced'.[230] Grantley argues that 'the humanist connection between self-enhancement through education and social aspiration is clearly paramount' in Redford's drama.[231] Towards the end of the play, Wit acknowledges that he has been 'advansyd' [advanced] by his union with Science (l. 1043).

Although the earliest part of the text of this play is missing from the manuscript, from the evidence of the remaining text of *Wit and Science* and later adaptions of the story, it appears that at the start Wit has fallen in love with Science whose father, Reason, has consented to the match on the condition that Wit defeats the monster Tediousness and thereby successfully completes a journey to Mount Parnassus.[232] The surviving text begins with Reason attempting to aid Wit in his journey by presenting him with a mirror by which he can know himself better.[233] Reason advises Wit on the importance of personal appearance as a reflection of his inner character. Reason counsels Wit as follows:

> Namely when ye
> Cum neere my dowghter Science, then see
> That all thinges be cleane and tricke abowte ye,
> Least of sum sloogishnes she might dowte ye.
> This glas of Reason shall show ye all[.] (ll. 3–7)

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[230] S. Lehmberg, 'Sir Thomas Elyot', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 10 August 2017].

[231] Grantley, 'Morality and Interlude Drama', p. 479.

[232] This understanding of the earlier, missing, part of the text concurs with readings by Bevington, *Medieval Drama*, p. 1030.

[233] The use of the mirror is common in medieval and early modern drama and would have been a familiar trope for regular audiences. See Deborah Shuger, 'The "I" of the Beholder: Renaissance Mirrors and the Reflexive Mind', in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 21–41, and Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), chapter 1. Socrates advised his students to use a mirror to act as an exemplar; Pier Paolo Vergerio, 'The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-born Youth', in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. by Craig W. Kallendorf (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 13.

After handing the mirror to Wit, Reason dismisses concerns that he should 'bestowe my dowghter thus baselye' to Wit. He declares that if the couple love each other, Wit's 'giftes of graces' are more important (ll. 12 and 15). Reason explains that he cares not for the disparity in wealth between his daughter and Wit, because 'S[c]ience hath inowghe / For them both to live' (ll. 25–26). Reason thus establishes the differences in the financial circumstances of these two characters but immediately dismisses this as an unimportant consideration for this match. Wit, we are told, has the attributes of being 'Yoong, painefull, tractable, and capax [capable]' (l. 19), which outweigh his more modest station in life. Reason, then, puts forward the argument that Wit is a worthy suitor for his daughter's hand. Such a statement feeds into long running discourses on virtue and what degree of person could possess it. Andrew Hadfield argues that 'There was indeed a widespread fear that the rise of the nouveau riche would undermine the traditional relationship between those whose task was to lead and maintain society and those who were born to be led'.[234] This debate on nobility was not just a rhetorical exercise but one which had serious political and social manifestations. It is therefore not surprising that this theme was recurrent in a number of early Tudor morality plays, including Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres* in the late fifteenth century and John Rastell's *Gentleness and Nobility* in the early sixteenth century.

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[234] Andrew Hadfield, 'The Summoning of Everyman', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Betteridge and Walker, pp. 93–108 (p. 105).

[REDACTED]
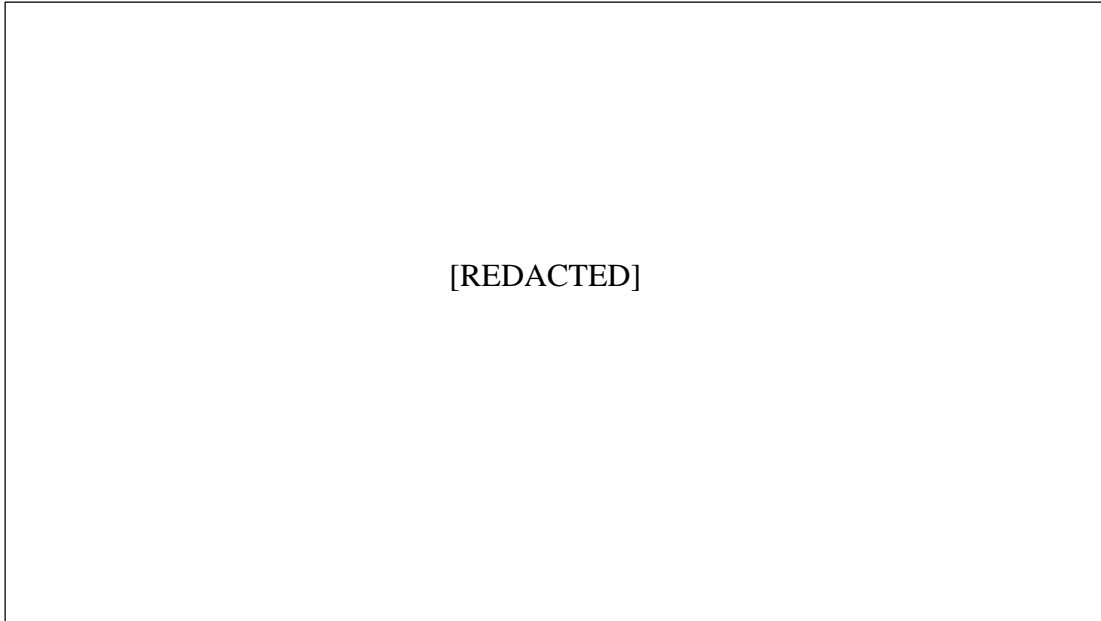
Figure 94
Still showing the actor Scott Irenik playing Confidence about to reveal the portrait of Wit to the audience. Image courtesy of CrossBow productions.

[REDACTED]
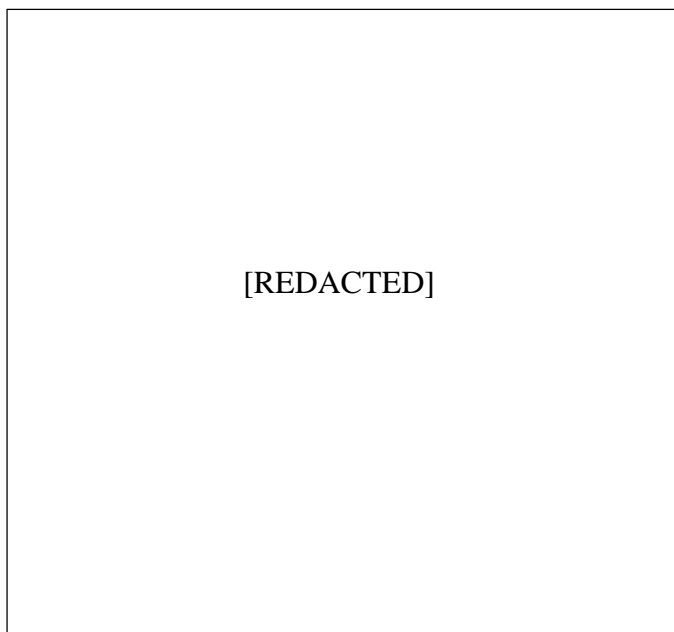
Figure 95
Still showing the actor Scott Irenik playing Confidence revealing the portrait of Wit. Image courtesy of CrossBow productions.

Crucially, the scene which follows Reason's speech on the importance of character and gentility through both outward appearance and inner virtue introduces the portrait miniature. Confidence enters carrying a portrait of Wit to present to Science, which he will

deliver along with 'sweete woordes' in order to woo Science on Wit's behalf (l. 56).[235]

Confidence asks the audience if what he is about to reveal to them represents 'a goodly

picture / Of Wit himsealfe?' before assuring them that the portrait is indeed, 'His own image

sure' (ll. 49–50): that is to say, a true likeness. The portrait is praised for its true likeness of

Wit and the audience are called upon to be complicit in Confidence's assessment of its

mimetic quality. Confidence's words also create an anticipation amongst the audience of the

portrait which he will shortly show to the audience and describe. A recent production of the

play demonstrates how Confidence's words and actions encourage the audience to focus on

the covered and subsequently revealed object, trying to get a better view of it.

The drawing of the audience's attention to the portrait is emphasized at this point as

the audience are the only spectators during Confidence's monologue. This effect would be

heightened using a miniature rather than a picture 'in great'. Whilst Redford does not

stipulate that the portrait in his play is a miniature, it was evidently of a small scale because it

is an object which a boy actor could easily carry, and because it is within a 'plain case' (l.

47), which could be interpreted as a locket or a simple box with a lid of the type in which

miniatures were kept (figure 48). Furthermore, later in the narrative, when Science produces

the item at Wit's request (l. 762), it is clearly an object which could be worn about the person

and an image deemed appropriate for a lady to carry of her sweetheart, which the portrait

miniature was. It would also help to reinforce the moral of the story if the mirror (presumably

small enough to be held in the hand) was of similar dimensions to the portrait, to produce on

occasion two contrasting images of Wit.

During this first appearance of the miniature, Confidence provides a verbal

description of the portrait, which establishes Wit's character and describes the details of the

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[235] For an examination of the role of the intermediary in Tudor history, see Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Restraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), especially chapter 3, '"Movers", "Sutors", "Speakers", and "Brokers" of Marriage: The Role of the Go-Between as a "Means" of Courtship'.

staged property, which may be difficult for all present to see.[236] Confidence describes the

parts of Wit's body as his eye moves around the portrait: 'Face, bodye, armes, legges, both

lim[b] and joint / As like him as can be in every point / It lacketh but life' (ll. 151-153). The

description of Wit's portrait, therefore, helps the audience to conjure up the image of a

portrait in their mind.

[REDACTED]
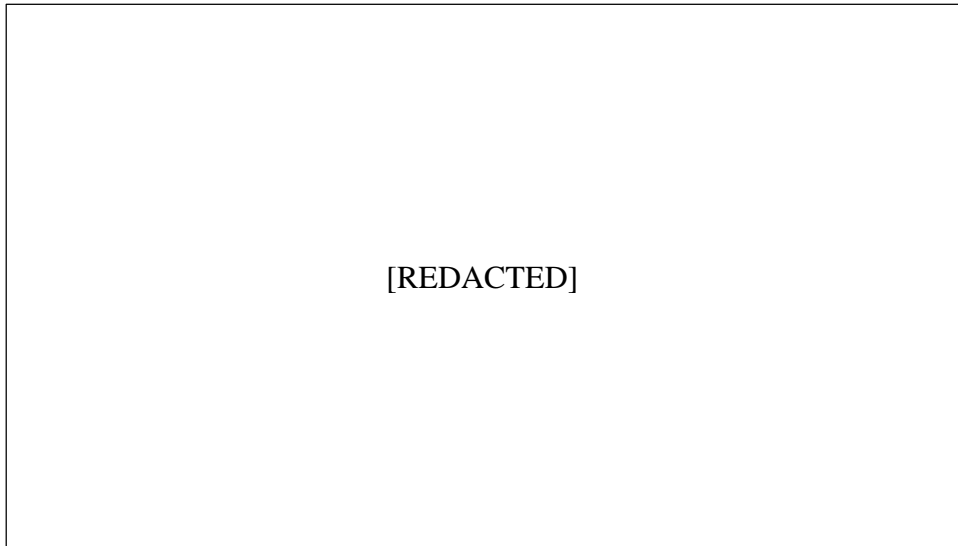
Figure 96
Still showing the actor Katherine Byrne playing Science comparing the portrait of Wit, which she wears
suspended on a ribbon around her neck, with the actor-character Wit played by actor Mark Spriggs. Image
courtesy of CrossBow productions.

The drama continues with Wit befriending Idleness, who blackens Wit's face and

exchanges his scholar's gown for Ignorance's motley. This disguise conceals Wit's true

character and reflects Wit's temporary wayward behaviour. The miniature then reappears in

the narrative to highlight the difference between how Wit should fashion himself and his

present condition. Science enters telling her mother, Experience, that although she has

received the portrait of Wit she has heard no word from him since. When Wit becomes

visible to them, Science pretends not to recognise him, although she does acknowledge that

he has some intelligence even if it is heavily disguised: 'Ah sir, this foole here hath got sum

wit!' (l. 729). Exasperated at this lack of recognition, Wit asks Science to compare the man in

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[236] Redford here uses ekphrasis, a rhetorical device found in classical texts, which gives voice to a work of art or
which replicates the visual qualities of a work of art, so that the audience/reader can conjure the work in their
imagination.

front of her with the portrait, 'Dooth not my picture my parson shoow ye?' (l. 762). But at this point in the narrative, Wit falls short of the ideal to which he must aspire: 'If that be youre picture, then shall we / Soone se how you and your picture agree', says Science (ll. 766–767). The audience are thus encouraged to anticipate a further viewing of the portrait and the character's reaction to it. They are also encouraged to share Science's gaze between Wit and his portrait, to see the scene through her eyes, and to recognise the dichotomy between these differing images as her gaze moves from the picture to the character-actor. The use of the small picture here allows Science to invite the audience to not only share her gaze, but also to share her perceptions of the scene. On comparing the two images of Wit, Science tells him, 'Why, you are nothing like, in mine eye' (l. 770). Experience agrees: 'Mar[r]ye, this is fayer, plesant, and goodlye; / And ye are fowle, displesant, and uglye' (l. 774–775). The description of the man and the portrait serve to emphasize the importance of portraiture as a means to fashion and improve oneself. Wit's present appearance is at odds with the representation of his best self in the portrait. Wit's appearance on stage at this point differs from that of the 'goodly picture' which Confidence earlier described to the audience. The figure of Wit on stage is quite unlike the image which has been anticipated from his portrait. The role of the picture here within the drama has changed from being a vehicle by which Wit can be praised, to one which allows Science to call attention to his shortcomings.

The drama reflects Thomas Whythorne's commentary on portraiture and its ability to allow an individual to fashion their behaviour. Whythorne argues that looking upon the portraiture of the virtuous dead could inspire similar acts in the living. Conversely, the portraiture of those who did not lead good lives could provoke the viewer to 'to take heed that they do not follow their ill deeds, but to pray to God for His grace, whereby they may

deserve better.'[237] Whythorne's observations shed light upon the function of portraiture within the lives of the non-nobility and are a means to understand this key scene within the play. These sources provide an alternative discourse to the concept of the middling-sort using portraiture to 'ape their betters'. Rather they reveal a more personalised relationship with portraiture as a means to become a better person.

The use of a small picture in this scene, rather than a large one, would highlight the relationship between the image of Wit and allegorical representations in books, including Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (1531). Alciato's emblems and mottoes illustrate the popularity of ideas which have been cleverly condensed into a small format.[238] Jorg Breu's illustration, measuring 7 cm by 12 cm, of a scholar wearing his gown, epitomises the notion of an impoverished scholar (figure 84). The figure is shown weighed down by a rock in his left hand signifying his poverty, whilst his other arm is adorned with feathers and reaches for the sky. This illustration thereby encapsulates the attributes which the character of Wit in the play should possess. It has a particular resonance to this play and illustrates the interest in condensing ideas cleverly and wittily to a small scale.

The subsequent scene explores further the discrepancy between Wit's idealised portrait, which he still believes he matches, and how other people see him as a fool. Now alone, Wit looks in the mirror but does not recognise what he sees at first and believes that the mirror must be at fault. Seeking some clarification Wit holds the mirror up to the spectators to check its truthfulness, 'How looke ther facis heere rownd abowte?', he asks (l. 809). Wit's actions and his words serve to further draw the audience into the drama, as the boundaries are blurred between the audience and the players, by showing the audience's faces

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[237] James M., Osborn, ed., *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 116.

[238] The first edition of *Emblematum Liber* was published in Latin in 1531; over one hundred more editions had been printed by the 1620s, including editions in French, Spanish, German, and Italian. Many of the emblems appeared in English in Geffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* (1586).

in small compass within the playing space. The effect of this is to encourage the spectators to reflect upon their own appearance and behaviour, as the mirror not only shows Wit their faces but also reflects the audience's faces back at them.[239] In particular, it invites a consideration of the power of images to reveal an inner truth. When Reason first handed the mirror to Wit he told him that it would 'show ye all' (l. 7), as well as revealing 'Youresealfe to youreselfe' (l. 3). This scene also echoes that in which Confidence asks for the audience to verify the truthfulness of the portrait as a representation of Wit. This is a crucial part of the drama because it signals the start of Wit's understanding of himself prompted by visual imagery. Wit's self-realisation comes about not only by examining himself in the mirror, but also by comparing himself with his picture. He is then able to change both his inner self and his outward appearance, and complete his journey and thereby be rewarded with the hand of Science.

This fashioning of the self would have been a familiar concept for those audience members with their own portraits. Harry Berger argues that early modern portraiture combined the individual physical appearance of the sitters with the characteristics which they wished viewers to associate with them.[240] This argument implies that all portraiture could be viewed as projecting an ideal image of the individual as they would like to be seen. Portraiture therefore not only acts as an exemplar to the sitter but also, perhaps, to the viewer/audience member, in the same way that emblems represented a particular concept or a quality. In the drama, the portrait incites Wit to his forthcoming virtuous behaviour. For the audience, the portrait encourages a reflection upon their own best selves and any gap there

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[239] The use of the mirror by the fool to highlight another's shortcomings can also be seen in Sebastian Brant's *Das Narrenschiff* (1494; translated into English by Alexander Barclay as *The Ship of Fools*, 1509), and Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly* (1509). Brant's *Ship of Fools* features a woodcut print of a fool with a mirror, used in this instance to ridicule new fashions; Brant, *Das Narrenschiff* (Basel: Johann Bergmann de Olpe, 1495), p. 27.

[240] Harry Berger, 'Fictions of the Pose: Facing the Gaze of Early Modern Portraiture', *Representations*, 46 (1994), 87–120.

may be from their present selves. The audience are not only encouraged to empathise with Wit and his downfall but also to apply Wit's lessons to their own lives. As Hillary Nunn argues, 'Only after they [the audience] have recognized their own lives in the play – as well as adopting a pose within it – can the play have any meaning'.[241] The portrait of Wit that Confidence describes 'lack'th but life'; it requires the audience to give it life.[242] In the context of early sixteenth-century allegorical drama, the miniature in *Wit and Science* is used to explore issues of interiority and self-fashioning. It could be used by actor-characters to draw the audience into the drama and encourage them to reflect upon their own lives and the visual imagery with which they were familiar. The following section will examine how these themes develop in drama at the turn of the century.

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[241] Hillary Nunn, '"It lak'th but life": Redford's *Wit and Science*, Anne of Cleves, and the Politics of Interpretation', *Comparative Drama*, 33, 2 (1999), 270–291 (289).

[242] See also Lucy Gent on the role of the portrait inviting the audience's participation; *Picture and Poetry, 1560–1620: Relations Between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981), pp. 54–58.

William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (*c*. 1601)
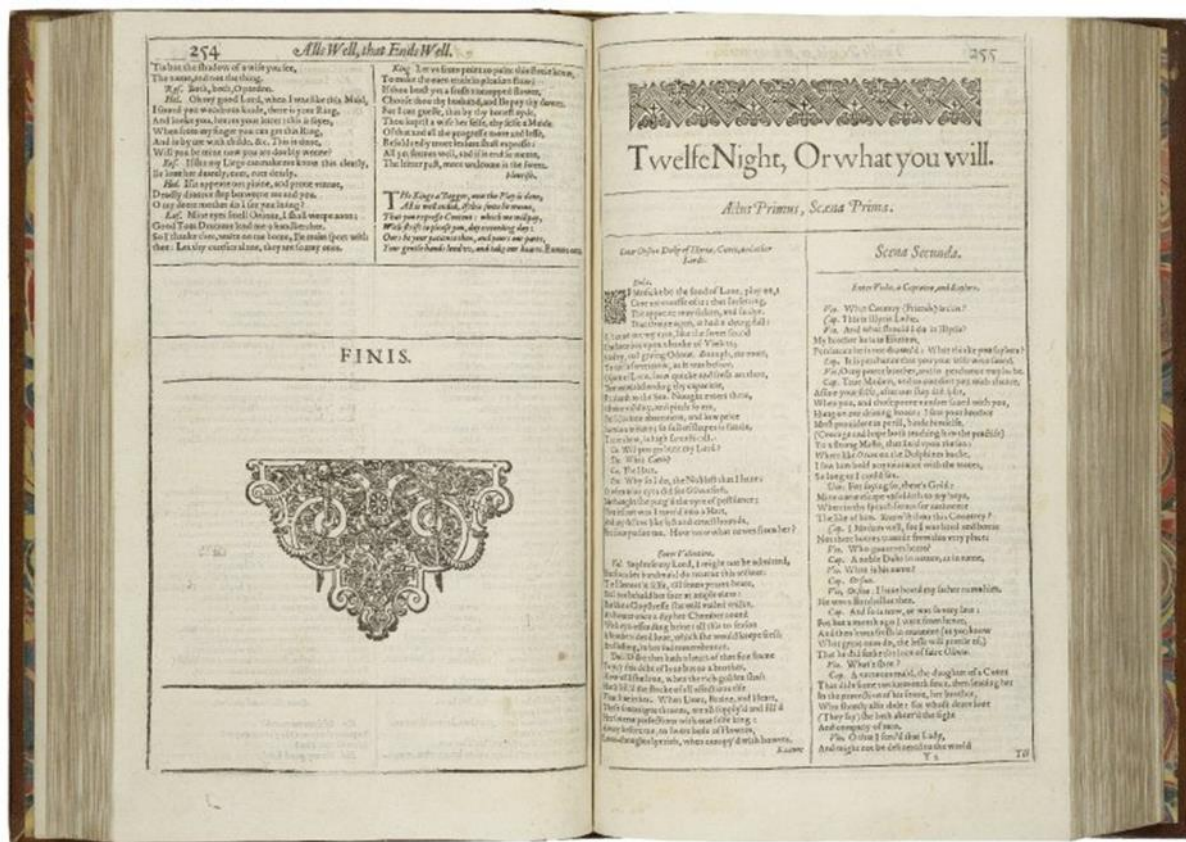
Figure 97
Mr. William Shakespeare's comedies, histories, & tragedies: published according to the true original copies, commonly referred to as the First Folio (London: W. Jaggard, Ed Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623). Height approximately 30.5 cm. Folger Shakespeare Library STC 22273, fol. 1, No. 68.

Introduction

I have selected Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (*c*. 1601) for examination

because it features a small picture given as a gift, but the play is particularly pertinent as it

contains a number of references to pictures throughout. Furthermore, as a comedy, the play

reflects the most fashionable genre of its time, and as Appendix 2 demonstrates, it is within

comedies that pictures most frequently occur at the turn of the sixteenth century.

   Twelfth Night is set in the households of a duke and a countess in Illyria, and it is the

countess who gifts the jewelled miniature to a lady (disguised as a male servant). But,

importantly, the play is set within the specific context of Twelfth Night, which marked the

last day of the Christmas revels before all returned to normal. *Twelfth Night* temporarily

suspends the status quo and allows characters to explore alternative identities. The steward,

Malvolio, dreams of marrying the countess and thereby ruling the household; the lady Viola

adopts male dress and becomes a servant at the duke's court; and Feste dresses as a curate

during his conference with Malvolio. Furthermore, although the play was performed at the

royal court, increasing access to drama by both London and regional audiences resulted in

Twelfth Night reaching a socially broader audience than the court alone.[243] It had a wider

audience than *Wit and Science*, which was probably performed within relatively small venues

in London. By close examination of both text and performance I will show how the miniature

functions within this play and also how this might be interpreted differently by these different

audiences.

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[243] *Twelfth Night* was performed in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, in 1618, and at Whitehall Palace in 1623. Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, vol. iv (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 321. Leslie Hotson has also suggested that the unspecified play performed before Queen Elizabeth I and her guest Don Virginio Orsino on Twelfth Night 1601 was Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, although this idea has largely been overturned. Leslie Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (London: R. Hart-Davis, 1954). For a summary of objections to Hotson's interpretation see Keir Elam, introduction, William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. by Elam (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2008), pp. 93–96.

Performance Spaces and Audiences

Figure 98
John Manningham, diary entry for February 1601/2. British Library MS Harley 5353, fol. 12v.

Law student John Manningham (*c.* 1575–1622) records one of the earliest

performances of *Twelfth Night* on February 2, 1601, at Middle Temple Hall:[244]

> At our feast wee had a play called ~~mid~~ 'Twelve night or what you will'; much like the
> commedy of errores or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian
> called Inganni.[245] A good practise in it to make the steward beleeve his Lady widowe
> was in Love with him, by counterfayting a letter, as from his Lady, in generall termes,
> telling him what shee liked best in him, and prescribing his gestures in smiling, his
> apparraile, &c., and then when he came to practise, making him beleeve they tooke
> him to be mad.[246]

Manningham, like many others in the audience for this performance, was a well-educated

young man with a wealth of literary and theatrical knowledge enabling him to contextualise

this comedy.[247] He compares the play with Shakespeare's *A Comedy of Errors* and initially

seems to have started to write in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which he then crosses out; he

makes comparisons with the Italian play *Gl' Ingannati* [The Deceived] and a Latin play by

Plautus, *Menaechmi*.[248] Law students like Manningham make an interesting case study in

understanding how theatrically literate, well-connected, and affluent individuals may have

interpreted the drama.

Figure 105 shows that the Inns of Court were situated in close proximity to the law

courts, St Paul's Cathedral, the River Thames, and the nearby theatres, including Blackfriars,

Whitefriars, the Cockpit, and Salisbury Court.[249] Law students were thus ideally placed for

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[244] The year 1601 in the old Julian calendar corresponds to 1602 in the reformed Gregorian calendar, which was introduced in 1582 but not adopted in England until 1752.

[245] The Italian play *Gl' Inganni* was adapted into prose as 'Apolonius and Silla', which appears in the second 'historie' in Barnabie Riche's *Farewell to Military Profession*, pub. 1581, 1583, and 1594. This possible source for Shakespeare's plot does not include a picture.

[246] John Manningham, diary entry for February 1602, BL Harley MS 5353.

[247] Manningham had graduated from Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1596. P. J. Finkelpearl, 'John Manningham', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 1 September 2017].

[248] Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, introduction, *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt et al., 2nd ed. (New York and London: Norton, 2008), p. 1787.

[249] As demonstrated by Jessica Winston, a number of the students at Middle Temple wrote plays, some professionally, and also performed in the plays performed in their hall too. Jessica Winston, 'Literary

access to cultural opportunities. Jayne Archer argues that the Inns of Court frequently served as a professional training ground for lawyers and as a finishing school for Oxford and Cambridge alumni, who were admitted for one or two years to become familiar with the law and with London.[250] The Inns attracted students from the gentry and the middling sort, many of whom progressed into careers in the law and some of whom used their knowledge of the law to run their estates or go into trade.[251] Importantly, members of the Inns could also attend the revels which were performed there, including the performance of *Twelfth Night*. Darryl Grantly highlights the emphasis which was placed on courtly accomplishments at the Inns of Court.[252] One of these accomplishments would have been a knowledge of art, as highlighted by the publication of Richard Haydocke's *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Painting, Carving, and Building* (1598). Haydocke calls for a better understanding of art amongst gentlemen and singles out the work of miniaturist Nicholas Hilliard for praise.[253]

Whilst no records exist of other people, in addition to Manningham, who attended the performance at Middle Temple, admission registers show that Charles Blount, 8th Baron Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire, transferred to Middle Temple in 1579; Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, worked at Middle Temple after 1598; and Sir Robert Harley was registered during the period between 1599 and 1603.[254] These three individuals were painted in miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, and Peter Oliver, respectively (figures 99, 100, and 101). This argues that Blount, if present, might have called to mind his own miniature

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Associations of the Middle Temple', in *History of the Middle Temple*, ed. by Richard O' Harvey (Oxford: Hart, 2011), pp. 147–171.

[250] Jayne Archer et al., eds, *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

[251] J. H. Baker, 'The Third University 1450-1550: Law School or Finishing School?', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Archer et al., pp. 8–26 (p. 10); Damian X. Powell, 'The Inns of Court and the Common Law Mind: The Case of James Whitelock', in ibid., pp. 75–89.

[252] Darryll Grantley, *Wit's Pilgrimage: Drama and the Social Impact of Education in Early Modern England* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2000), p. 114.

[253] Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, p. ix.

[254] Middle Temple Register of Admissions (1501–1944) digitised records <http://archive.middletemple.org.uk/Shared%20Documents/MTAR/MTAR%20Index.pdf/> [accessed 21 December 2017].

during the performance, or that the play contributed towards an awareness of miniatures

which inspired Boyle and Harley to have their miniatures painted.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
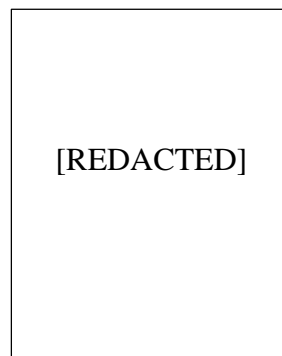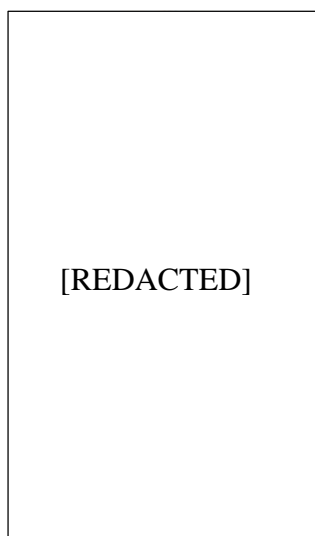
Figure 99
Nicholas Hilliard
Charles Blount
1587
Unknown medium on vellum
51 mm x 38 mm
Antony House, Cornwall, Cl.61.b.

Figure 100
Isaac Oliver
Richard Boyle
c. 1610–1615
Watercolour on vellum
48 mm x 38 mm
National Portrait Gallery, NPG 2494.

Figure 101
Peter Oliver
Sir Robert Harley
Unknown date
Watercolour on vellum
60 mm x 49 mm
Private collection.

[REDACTED]
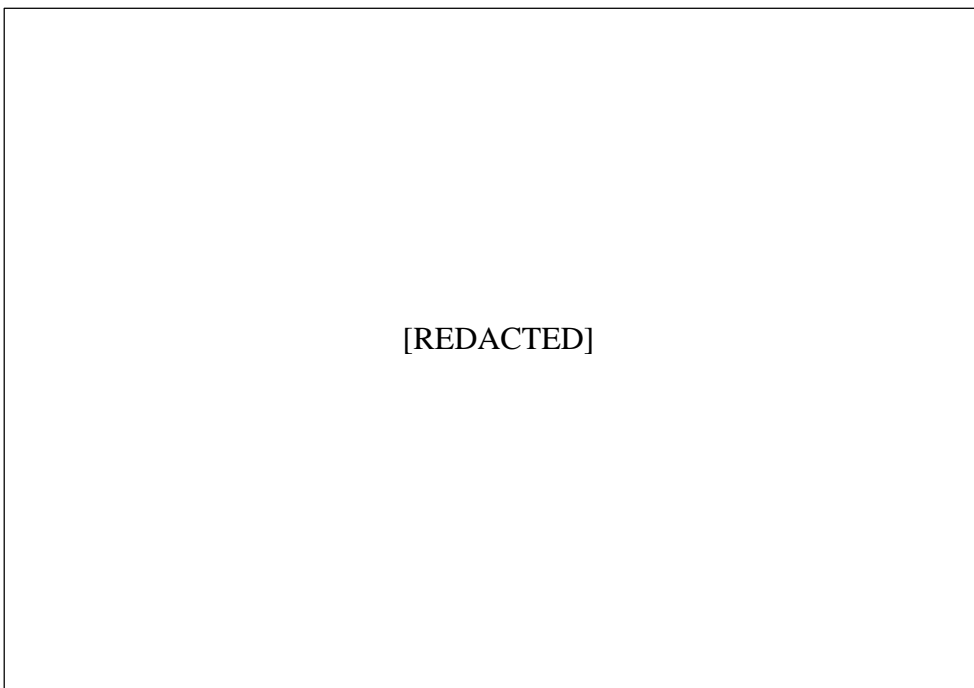
Figure 102
The Globe Company's production of *Twelfth Night* at Middle Temple in 2002. Image courtesy of Martin White, 'The Chamber of Demonstrations, Reconstructing the Jacobean Indoor Playhouse'
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/drama/jacobean/research3.html> [accessed 2 March 2018].

Middle Temple has retained its Elizabethan hall, in which Manningham saw *Twelfth Night* in 1601. It was in the same venue that in 2002 the Globe Theatre Company staged *Twelfth Night*, recreating many of the performance practices of Shakespeare's company (figure 102). Whilst some of the decoration may have changed since 1601, the hall, which was built between 1562 and 1573, would have had its oak panelling, high windows, hammer-beam room, and carved oak screen with minstrel's gallery above at the far end, which can still be seen today.[255] Like the palace halls, Middle Temple would have had a hierarchy of seating, with a top table placed on a raised dais reserved for those of the highest status, and the rest of the audience in risers sitting along each wall.[256] The interior decoration of the hall would have added to the courtly splendour in which *Twelfth Night* is set. Mark Girouard observes that the classical ornaments carved into the roof were influenced by pattern books by Sebastian Serlio and John Shute. Girouard also notes the hall screen, which includes ornamental carving based on Flemish fashions and engravings, including figures of Hercules, imps, and grotesque masks. One of the panelled walls is now completely covered with coats of arms, some of which date from the sixteenth century. Also on display in 1601 were painted hangings and pictures, although the subject matter of these artworks is rarely recorded.[257] Figure 102 highlights the similarities in design between the hall at Middle Temple and those found within noble residences, in particular the close proximity between the actors and the audience, the hall screen, and the other decorative and figurative elements. Farah Karim Cooper claims that the actors would have performed along a 'corridor' stage in the centre of

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[255] Tarnya Cooper notes that the portraits of judges which now decorate the buildings may not have been originally intended for this space; 'Professional Pride and Personal Agendas: Portraits of Judges, Lawyers, and Members of the Inns of Court, 1560-1630', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Archer et al., pp. 157–178 (p. 158).

[256] Mark Girouard, 'The Halls of the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Archer et al., pp. 138–156.

[257] Cooper, 'Professional Pride and Personal Agendas', p. 158

the hall.[258] It is, therefore, particularly appropriate to consider the audience as participants

rather than spectators.

Members of the Middle Temple were surrounded by visual culture and many were

interested in portraiture. As noted by Tarnya Cooper, a further entry in Manningham's

commonplace book refers to a portrait of the historian and antiquarian John Stow (1524/5–

1605) that had once been on display in the study of the judge and member of the Middle

Temple, William Fleetwood (*c.* 1525–1594).[259] Cooper argues that judges increasingly

appear in portraiture from the late sixteenth century onwards.[260] One example from the

database is the cabinet painting which depicts the family of Sir Thomas More, attributed to

Rowland Lockey (1594; figure 103). To the viewer's left is the barrister and judge of

the king's bench, John More, wearing the long, red, fur-lined robes of a judge. As lawyers

wore no official attire at this date it could be that unidentified sitters in portraits wearing

black gowns could be members of the profession. This simple dress may have been thought

most appropriate for a profession which was attracting increasing criticism.[261] A further

example from the database shows an unidentified sitter who, in the accompanying inscription,

identifies himself as a teacher of law (figure104). It may well be these non-noble sitters

wished to represent their pride in their profession and considered the modest size and private

nature of the miniature a useful defence against accusations of emulating their social

superiors in portraiture.

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[258] Farah Karim Cooper, '"The wheel is come full circle": *Twelfth Night* at Middle Temple Hall and Shakespeare's Globe, 2002', in *Shakespeare in Ten Acts*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Zoë Wilcox (London: British Library, 2016), pp. 181–195 (p. 181).
[259] Cooper, 'Professional Pride and Personal Agendas', p. 165.
[260] Cooper, 'Professional Pride and Personal Agendas', p. 165.
[261] Cooper, 'Professional Pride and Personal Agendas', p. 169.

Figure 103
Rowland Lockey (after Hans Holbein)
Sir Thomas More, His Household and Descendants
1594
Watercolour on vellum
241 mm x 292 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum, P.15-1973.
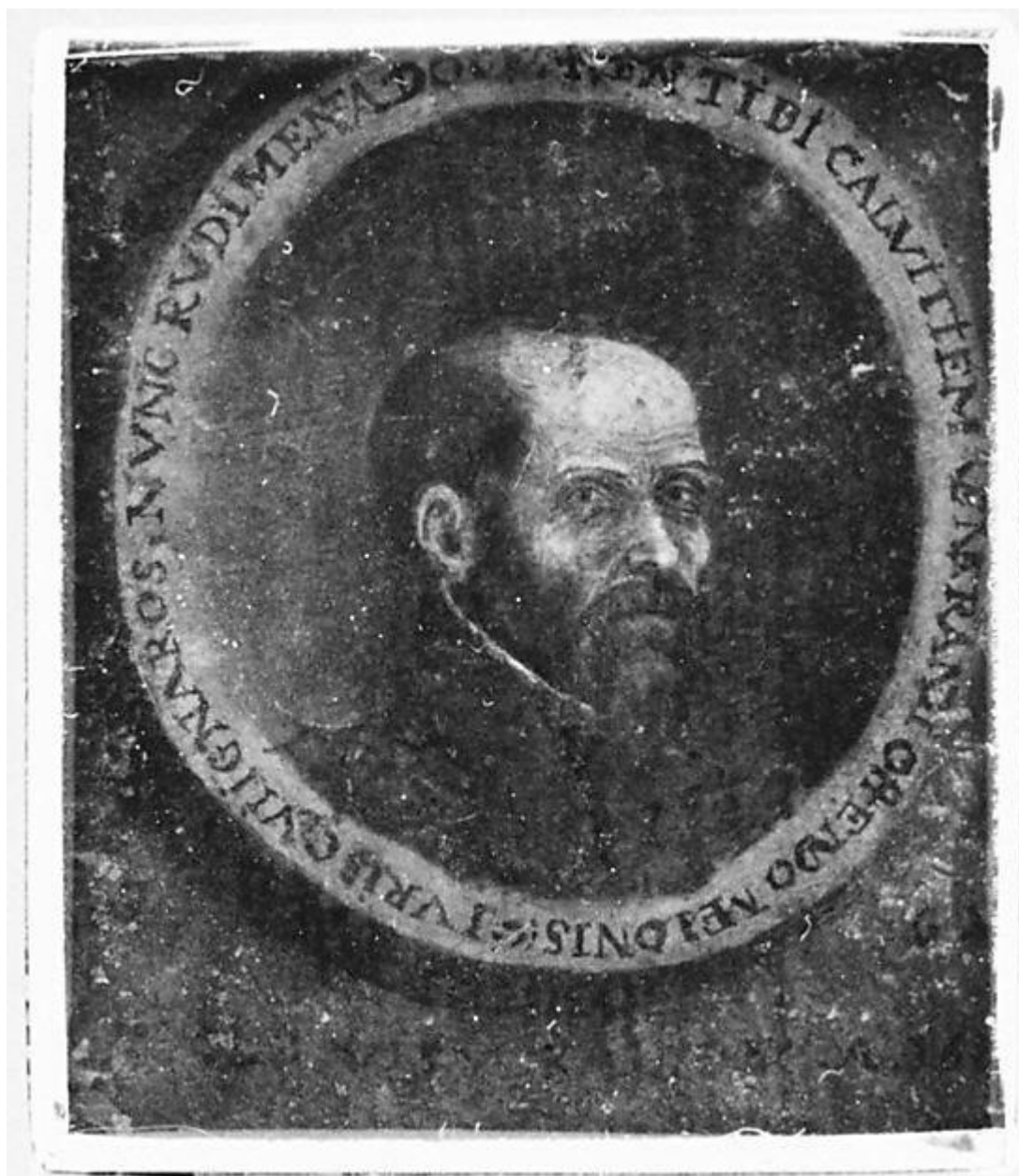
The inscription reads: EN TIBI CALVITIEM VENERANDI OSTENDO MEIONIS IVRIS QVI IGNAROS NVNC RVDIMENTA DOCET. [Behold, I show you the baldness of the venerable Meionis who now teaches the ignorant the rudiments of the law]

Figure 104
Unknown painter
Portrait of a Man
Mid-sixteenth century
Oil on card
43 mm x 38 mm, portrait without feigned oval 32 mm x 28 mm
Metropolitan Museum, New York, 80.3.180.

[REDACTED]
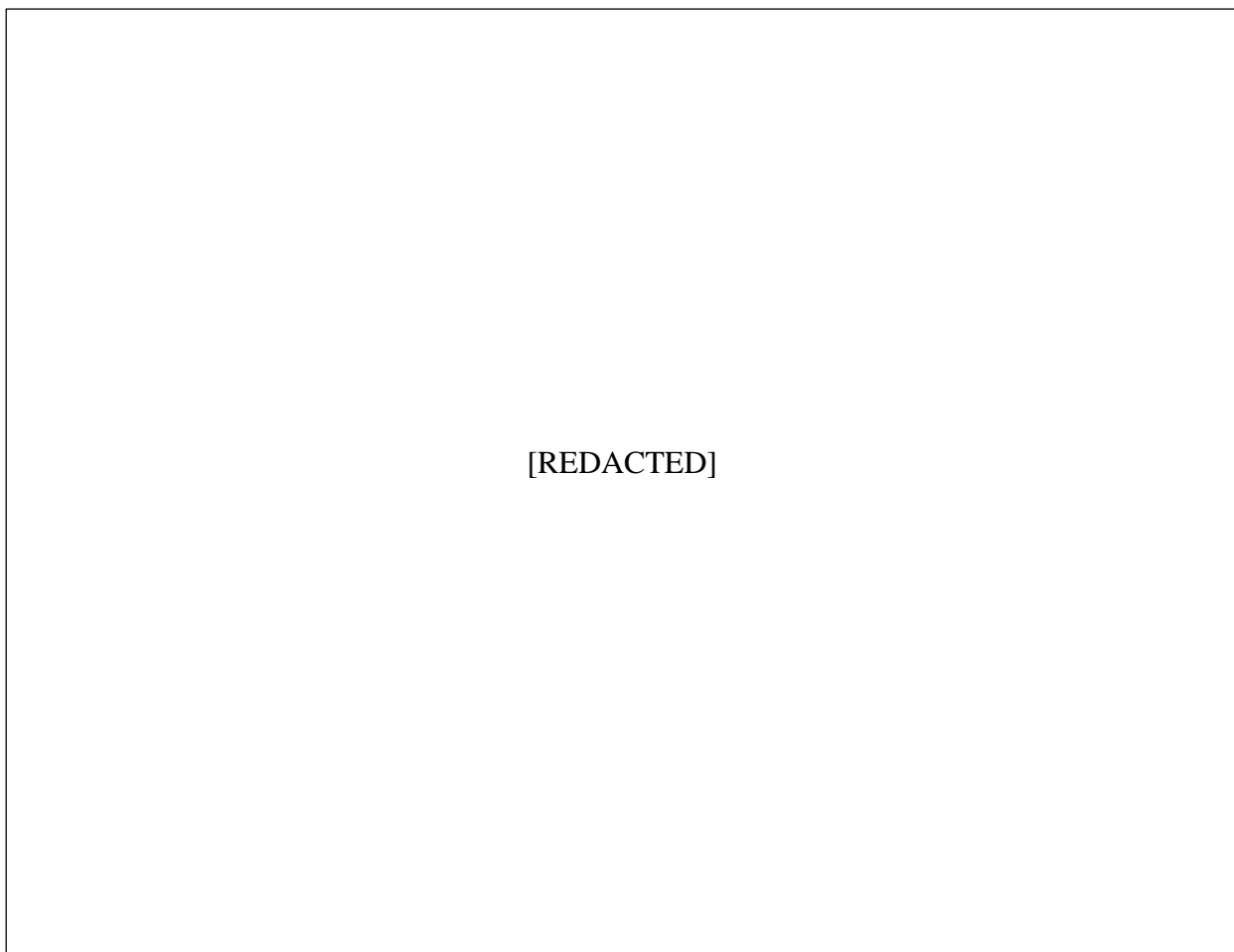
Figure 105
Map showing the location of Middle Temple Hall and its proximity to the royal courts at Westminster, the theatres both north and south of the River Thames, and the residences and studios of painters at Blackfriars, Cheapside, and, later, Covent Garden.[262]

Twelfth Night was performed at Whitehall Palace in 1618 and 1623. A fire in 1698 destroyed most of the palace, but the banqueting house, where entertainments were staged, survived. The 1618 performance would have taken place within a brick, timber, and canvas structure underneath a ceiling painted with vines and fruit. This was replaced in 1622 with Inigo Jones's classical rebuilding (figure 106). The seating would have reflected the social hierarchy, with the king on a raised dais surrounded by his closest nobles with the clearest sightlines to the performance. As both monarch and patron of the King's Men, it was James I

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[262] Map from Archer et al., *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, p. 2 (drawn by Martin Lubikowski, ML Design, London).

who would have been the primary audience during these performances. Any staged properties may have been shown to him first, followed by any other members of the royal family and selected nobles, but not necessarily to the rest of the audience.

Comparatively, when *Twelfth Night* was performed at the open-air Globe theatre, admittance was open to anyone who could afford a penny to stand in the pit. These 'groundlings' may have had to look up at the stage and be open to the elements, but they would have been physically closer to the staged properties than those who sat in the galleries and paid upwards of sixpence (figure 108).[263] Darryll Grantley observes, the actors now had to 'speak up to' members of the audience in the elevated galleries.[264] The actors might also have shown the sitters in the boxes at the sides of the stage the picture. The new Globe Theatre of 1997 has recreated the carved figures, wooden pillars painted to resemble marble, and painted canopy representing celestial bodies which the seventeenth-century audiences could have seen (figure 107). This decoration, which gave the illusion of fine materials and which portrayed heavenly images, could both complement the understanding of ideas and objects within the play set at court, and provide a distraction. With such a large stage, actors performing outdoors would have capitalised on the potential to use theatrical devices, including the miniature, to draw in the audience.

Further venues in which the play was performed provide more contexts in which to understand the drama. The King's Men, for whom Shakespeare wrote *Twelfth Night*, toured the regions and performed in a variety of venues. This suggests that the miniature was flexible enough to work in these different spaces and be understood by the audiences that they played to. The regional tours and performances in paying venues argue for a more

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[263] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 5.
[264] Grantley, *Wit's Pilgrimage*, p. 105.

socially diverse audience for *Twelfth Night* than *Wit and Science*; they also point towards a more varied interpretation of what the miniature within the play may have looked like.

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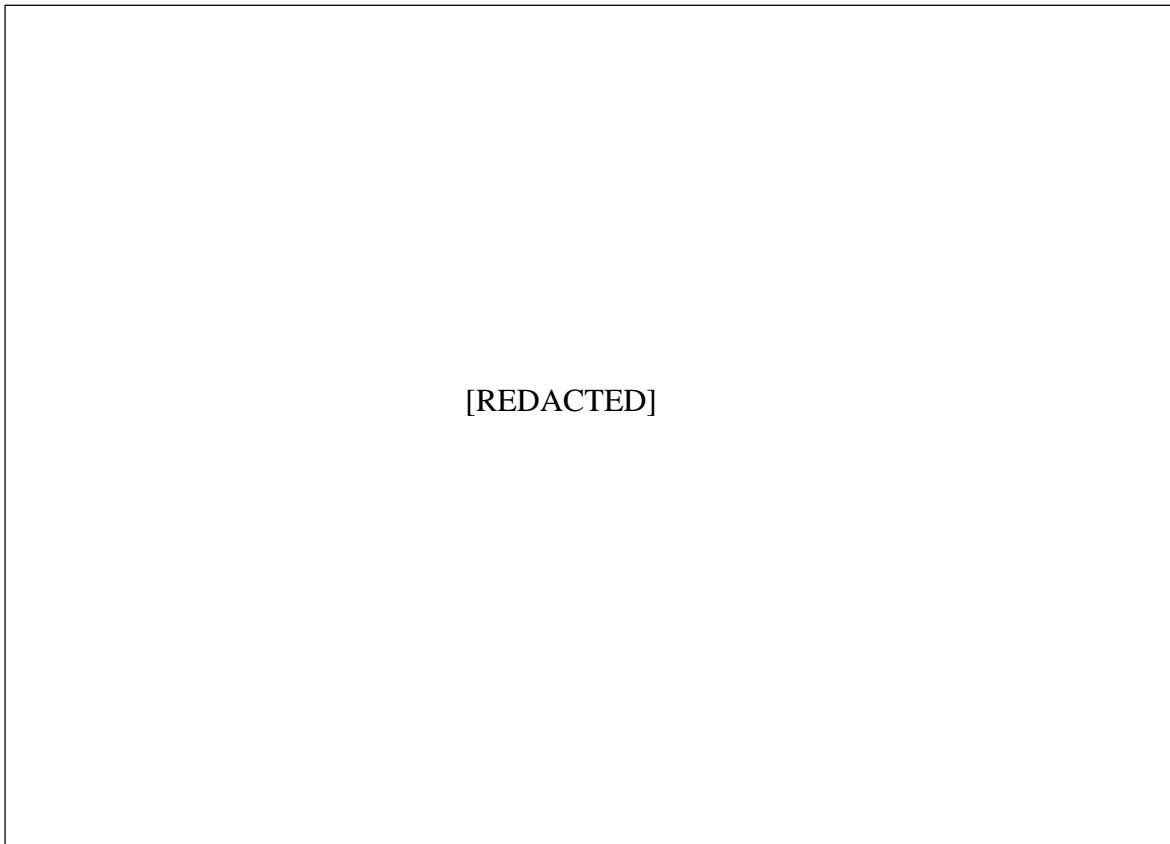
Figure 106
The hall in the Banqueting House, Whitehall. The paintings by Peter Paul Rubens depicting the achievements of James I were not installed in the ceiling until 1636. Image courtesy of Historic Royal Palaces.

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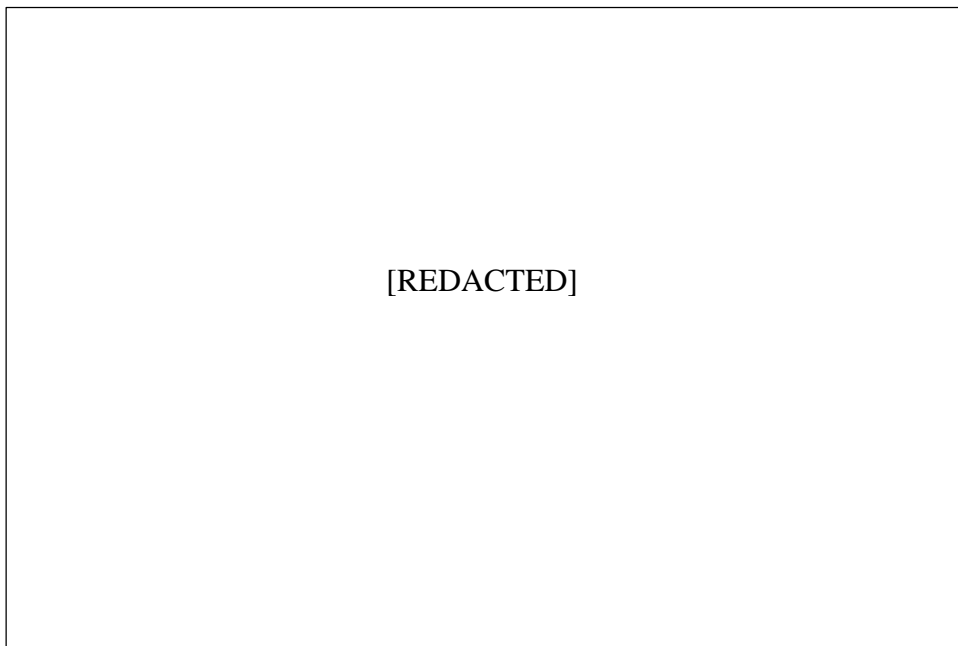
Figure 107
The stage of the Globe Theatre, London. Image courtesy of Shakespeare's Globe.

[REDACTED]
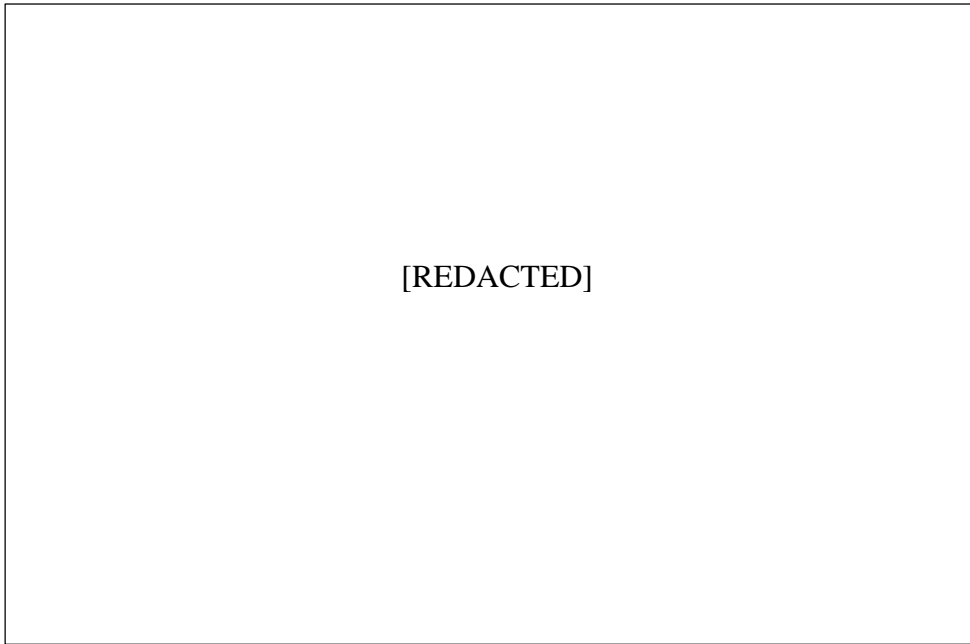
Figure 108
The Globe Theatre, London, showing the proximity of the audience to the stage. Image courtesy of Shakespeare's Globe.

'two lips indifferent red': Staging Ekphrasis

The first time that the Countess Olivia and Viola (disguised as the servant Cesario) meet in

Twelfth Night is a significant moment within the play; it is in the course of this scene that the

Countess falls in love with Viola, believing her to be a male servant. During this initial

meeting the portrait miniature, which appears physically in act 3, is pre-figured by a verbal

description of the sitter's face. Olivia's description of her face serves as a poetic conceit; it

also demonstrates a practical assessment of her value. When Viola suggests that Olivia must

not die without leaving a 'copy' of her beauty, a child, Olivia plays upon the word 'copy' and

describes her face as if she was providing an inventory of it, including the details of aesthetic

value.

> item, two lips, indiffer-
> ent red; item, two grey eyes, with lids to them; item, one neck,

one chin, and so forth. (I.5.216–218)[265]

The effect of Olivia's words is to create a word picture in the audience's mind, the understanding of which would depend upon the familiarity of the audience member with similar descriptions. Olivia's description of her physical excellencies are as if she is describing a painting – her red lips and grey eyes, the description moving around her face verifying that everything is as it should be. The suggestion is that Olivia is used to describing herself and is perhaps familiar with her own portraiture. Importantly, this description also allows Olivia the agency to represent herself and acknowledge her own worth. Alison Findlay and Liz Oakley Brown argue that Olivia's use of ekphrasis makes her both the maker and subject of the portrait miniature which she presents to Viola later in the play.[266]

Olivia provides a more intimate description of her person than the allegorical description of Wit in *Wit and Science*, where Confidence describes Wit's whole body and describes his portrait as being 'goodly'.[267] In comparison, it is only Olivia's face which is described in *Twelfth Night*, a focus perhaps seen as more appropriate for a female sitter.[268] In the preceding scenes, the Captain, Valentine, and Orsino speak of Olivia's decision to mourn for seven years and admit no suitors following the death of her father and brother. When, therefore, she lifts her veil and encourages Viola to admire her, this is all the more surprising, and the more of an honour for Viola. The effect of Olivia's actions and words in this scene is to encourage the audience to think about the details of her face and neck – the areas which

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[265] All quotations from *Twelfth Night* are taken from *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Greenblatt et al.

[266] Alison Findlay and Liz Oakley Brown, eds, *Twelfth Night: A Critical Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), introduction, p. 5.

[267] Redford, *Wit and Science*, l. 774. See Eugenia Paulicelli, 'From the Sacred to the Secular: The Gendered Geography of Veils in Italian Cinquecento Fashion', in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. by Bella Mirabella (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), pp. 40–58. Paulicelli argues for the veil as marking the boundaries between the public and the private. In choosing to lift her veil, Olivia is thus both bearing herself to Viola and inviting her to share this intimacy with her, a scene which foretells the gifting of the portrait miniature. Paulicelli further argues the veil could also be used to perform a character's modesty as well as being used provocatively.

[268] Joanna Woodall, ed., *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 16.

form the most common focus of the portrait miniature which will later make an appearance. Even if the boy actor could not live up to Olivia's supposed beauty on stage, it establishes in the audience's mind the idea of Olivia as beautiful. Here, the audience members are called upon to conjure up the scene in their mind's eye to fill in the gaps which the boy actor cannot replicate, and to be complicit in the illusion in order to invest in the plot which unfurls.

'we will draw the curtain and show you the picture': Performing Visual Culture

The unveiling of Olivia's face, which she describes as 'we will draw / the curtain and show you the picture' (I.5.204–205), serves to remind the audience of paintings which were covered with curtains, a subject to which Sir Toby Belch alludes in the preceding scene when he mentions Mistress Mall's picture.[269] Sir Toby seemingly praises Sir Andrew Aguecheek's talents when he asks him,

> Wherefore are these things hid? wherefore have these
> gifts a curtain before 'em? Are they like to take dust, like Mis-
> tress Mall's picture? (I.3.105–107)

The covering over of an object serves not only to protect it, but also to draw attention to it by ensuring that it is seen but partially hidden at the same time. It allows for a 'reveal', where the object is uncovered, with the viewer placed in the position of privilege and honour but also in the debt of the presenter. Household inventories show that selected pictures were covered with curtains.[270] Such a cover would suggest that the painting was either valuable or that it had a special meaning. In *Twelfth Night* the audience are encouraged to think about the subject matter of Mistress Mall's painting and why it might be covered. The reference also

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[269] Various Malls have been suggested for this allusion, including Mary Fitton, one of Elizabeth I's maids of honour, who was disgraced for bearing the Earl of Pembroke's child in 1601. Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night*, pp. 103–106. It could also refer to the character Maria. Compare this also to Pandarus's words in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, 'Come, draw this curtain, and let's see your picture' (III.2.46–47).

[270] At Kenilworth castle, the Earl of Leicester had curtains for many of his pictures; Elizabeth Goldring*, Robert Dudley*, p. 117.

suggests that the audience would be aware of covered paintings in private homes and/or the

curtained discovery space which could be used to reveal objects on stage.[271]

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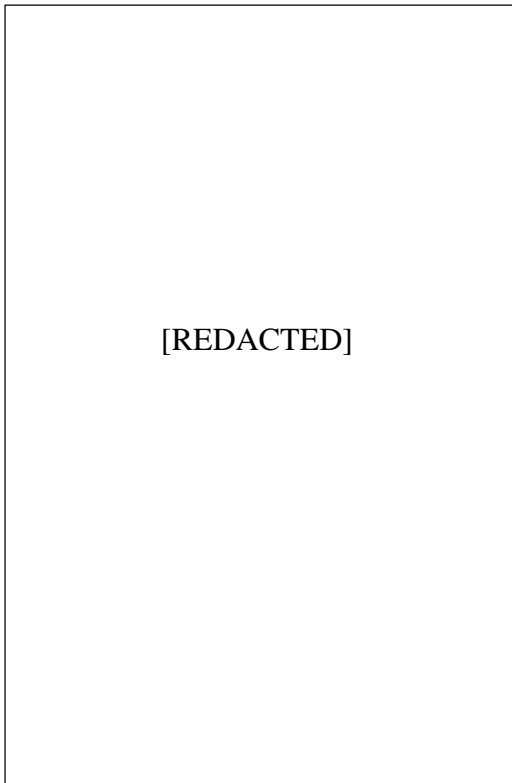
Figure 109
Unknown painter
We Three Logerheads
c. 1600-1625
Oil on wood
610 mm x 406 mm
Shakespeare Birthplace Trust: SBT 1994-38.

Twelfth Night contains a greater variety of types of portraiture than *Wit and Science*.

In Redford's play the miniature is a vehicle for the allegorical message and its description

suggests that there could have been some instability concerning what this image might look

like. Comparatively, Shakespeare's treatment of visual imagery presupposes an audience who

understood particular types of portraiture and that his characters can make reference to these

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[271] For Shakespeare's use of the curtained bed in his tragedies and further plays which make use of bed curtains, see Sasha Roberts, '"Let me the curtains draw": The Dramatic and Symbolic Properties of the Bed in Shakespearean Tragedy' in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Harris and Korda, pp. 153–174, fn. 31. On the discovery space in early modern drama see Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 188.

objects without having to describe them. Visual imagery is invoked throughout the play with the reference to Mistress Mall's pictures, with the unveiling of Olivia, the portrait miniature, Viola's reference to the memorial statue of her 'sister' (II.4.113), and again with a reference to a contemporary trick picture (figure 109). Upon joining the inebriated Sir Toby Belch and his companion Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Feste remarks, 'Did you never see the picture of / "we three"?' To which Sir Toby replies, 'Welcome, ass. Now let's have a catch' (II.3.14–16). These lines, as Stephen Greenblatt observes, are an allusion to popular imagery of two fools or two asses to which, depending upon how this is performed, either Aguecheek or the audience is required to make up the third part.[272] Seeing this picture is certainly less of an honour than a portrait miniature of a countess or a picture behind a curtain, and is more suited to the behaviour of Sir Andrew and Sir Toby. Although these characters both have titles, their festive behaviour is not admirable, and Aguecheek in particular is referred to as witless by the other characters throughout the play. The allusion to both popular imagery and pictures of more financial value mirrors the socially mixed audience for *Twelfth Night*, one which would have had access to different forms of visual culture and thought about the things in the play differently.

 Twelfth Night contains a number of references to visual culture and it also plays with the instability of vision throughout: Viola asks the Captain to 'conceal me' and dress her as a man (I.2.49), Malvolio mistakes Maria's handwriting in the letter for that of Olivia's (II.5), Sebastian is ready to 'distrust mine eyes' when Olivia declares her love for him (IV.3.13), and Orsino refers to the vision of Viola and Sebastian together as 'a natural perspective, that is and is not' (V.1.209). Most of the plot in *Twelfth Night* revolves around hidden events and things slowly becoming visible. Set within a jewelled locket, Olivia's portrait would reveal her love for Viola whilst also keeping it a secret from the other characters.

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[272] Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare*, *Twelfth Night*, p. 188, fn. 3.

'wear this jewel for me, 'tis my picture': The Gifting of Small Objects

Examining how objects come into the possession of characters on stage enables exploration of how this may affect both the characters within the play and the audience's understanding of such objects. It also suggests how the miniatures examined in the previous chapters may have been thought about and collected. I shall focus on an examination of the gifting of small objects within the play, objects which fashioned both the self and one's relationships with others. As examined by the anthropologist Marcel Mauss, although in theory a gift is freely given, in reality it carries expectations, and if accepted, reciprocity is obligatory.[273] Mauss's examination of Maori culture is instructive in highlighting gifting in Tudor society as there too it was a complex phenomenon with associated expectations. Such was the importance of gifting in Tudor society, that those items given and received by Queen Elizabeth I on New Year's Day were carefully noted and preserved within gift rolls. These gifts were usually small, hand-held objects, including portrait miniatures.[274] Poet Thomas Tusser observes the widespread practice in the sixteenth century of people from more modest degrees in society who 'gave many gifts' around the festivities of Christmas in *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* (1573).[275] Diana O'Hara explores the court cases surrounding the disputed significance behind both the offering and the accepting of gifts, which is of particular relevance to *Twelfth Night*, where many gifts are not asked for or wanted by the recipient.[276]

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[273] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), foreword by Mary Douglas, p. 3–4. Later anthropologists have redressed Mauss's positive view of exchange as a basis for social cohesion by emphasizing how exchange may also promote or conceal divisions. Mauss's focus on spiritual sanctions has also been balanced by more recent work on the social and psychological pressures of gifting. This continued interest in the gift highlights its importance as a means of understanding both characters in drama and how different audiences may interpret this action.

[274] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 188; Jane A. Lawson, ed., *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[275] Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, ed. by W. Payne (London: Trubner & Co 1878), p. 68; C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); L. G. Salingar, 'The Design of Twelfth Night', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9 (1958), 117–139; François Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World, Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 227–228.

[276] O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*.

The unwanted miniature in *Twelfth Night* exists within a framework of further small gifts. There is the 'jewel' which Orsino sends to Olivia via Viola (II.4.122), the ring which Olivia claims that Viola has left with her (I.5.271 and II.2.4), a pearl which Olivia gifts to Sebastian (IV.3.2), and the reported exchange of rings between Olivia and Sebastian during their marriage (V.i.155).[277] Because of the importance of gifts in this play it is instructive to consider the importance of this movement of the miniature within the context of these other small things upon the stage passing from one hand to another.

Following their initial meeting in act 1, scene 5 of *Twelfth Night*, Olivia sends a ring after Viola with a message that he has left it behind. This message puzzles Viola, as she has left no such ring at Olivia's household, but the audience know that it is Olivia's own ring, and that she is using it to signal her affections, which she sends along with a message for Viola to meet with her again the next day. Viola is initially baffled by the ring and then with an understanding, 'I am the man' (II.2.23), she recognises that Olivia has fallen in love with her rather that her master, Orsino. Malvolio too, as the 'churlish messenger', is confused by Viola's non-recognition of the ring and, exasperated, throws it down in front of her, mistaking it to be of little worth, and telling Viola to pick it up off the floor (II.2.21). O'Hara argues that 'acceptance of a gift […] might place a constraint on the person receiving it, and create a relationship of indebtedness whether of a moral, emotional, or economic kind'.[278] The acceptance of the ring here would imply that Viola will call again on Olivia. When Olivia asks about Viola's parentage at their first meeting and is told it is that of a 'gentleman', she knows that courtesy would dictate that the ring be returned. Furthermore, as

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[277] For the role of jewellery in romance narratives, see Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For the Elizabethan significance of the pearl as denoting chastity and also self-agency for women, see Karen Raber, 'Chains of Pearls: Gender, Property, Identity', in *Ornamentalism*, ed. by Mirabella, pp. 159–181.

[278] O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*, p. 78.

Catherine Richardson notes, Viola, now alone on stage, almost certainly picks up the ring, as otherwise the prop would be left on stage as the actor exits.[279]

Malvolio's non-conventional presentation of the ring signals that the state of affairs is not as it should be and marks the mismatching of affections symbolised through unwanted gifts. Such an upturning of the normal order is fitting for a play performed as part of a wider period of festivity: a period of licensed misrule and revelry traditionally associated with the Twelve Days of Christmas, of which Twelfth Night was the climax.[280] Furthermore, Peter Rushton argues that it was unusual for a woman to open negotiations with a gift 'because women's tokens did not have the same initiatory force'.[281] Therefore, 'however generous a woman could be, her tokens could not by themselves establish a convincing relationship without material reply'.[282] Diana O'Hara observes that in Tudor England there was no absolute legal ruling on the acceptance of gifts. The context in which they were given was also important. O'Hara notes that, whilst a ring was a sign of matrimony, her examination of consistory court records reveals that the intention behind the gift was crucial, to distinguish it from a goodwill gesture or a token.[283] Rather than constructing a bond between Viola and Olivia in *Twelfth Night*, the gift leads to confusion: somewhat different from Mauss's analysis of the gift as instrumental in harmony and stability.

The use of a go-between in marriage negotiations highlights one of the many uses of the small gift, which could be easily transported across distances and between hands. Orsino sends Viola on his behalf and Olivia sends Malvolio. These messengers were intended to represent the wishes of their masters, which makes Olivia's wooing of Viola even more

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[279] Catherine Richardson, '"As my whole trust is in him": Jewelry and the Quality of Early Modern Relationships', in *Ornamentalism*, ed. by Mirabella, pp. 182–201 (p. 196).
[280] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge: MIT press, 1968). Natalie Zemon Davis observes that New Year was the most popular day to exchange gifts; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 36–37.
[281] Peter Rushton, 'The Testament of Gifts: Marriage Tokens and Disputed Contracts in North-East England, 1560–1630', *Folk Life: A Journal of Ethnological Studies*, 24 (1985–1986), 25–31 (p. 26).
[282] Rushton, 'The Testament of Gifts', p. 26.
[283] O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*, p. 62.

comic. O'Hara argues that 'a messenger who was sufficiently authorised to do so, came not in his own name, but in the name of the sender, and was regarded as the "the voice of the other's mind, and the picture of his person."'[284] Go-betweens then were intended to represent the sender. Malvolio shows a lack of accomplishment when he is given the role of go-between. This may explain, in part, why Olivia chooses to give the miniature of herself to Viola in person rather than relying on Malvolio again. In *Twelfth Night*, go-betweens offer comic potential and misunderstanding.

In act 2, scene 4, recognising the hopelessness of the Duke's suit and her own growing feelings toward him, Viola tries to dissuade Orsino from continuing his pursuit of Olivia. The Duke has none of this and instead tells Viola, 'To her in haste. Give her this jewel' (II.4.23). This gift serves to act as a signifier of yet another unrequited love. Viola knows that Olivia will not welcome such a gift, that she will have to carry the gift to Olivia and will come back with nothing in return for him.

The climax of the action surrounding unwanted gifted occurs during the third meeting of Olivia and Viola. Olivia has so far been unsuccessful in her attempts to secure Viola's affections and now, rather desperately, impresses a jewelled portrait of herself onto Viola. The miniature signifies Olivia's hopes and expectations of securing Viola's heart. The idea that pictures possess the spirit of the person depicted was not uncommon in Elizabethan England. In Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), Lucrece tears at the image of Sinon painted on cloth, who she wishes to harm in person. And William Camden records the case of William Hacket, who in 1591 attacked an image of the Queen, claiming that he was the rightful monarch.[285] Lorne Campbell observes that portraits were commonly considered substitutes for their sitters, a belief which Olivia's accompanying speech confirms.[286] David

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[284] O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*, p. 103.
[285] William Camden, *The History of Princess Elizabeth*, 4th ed. (London: 1688), sig. Nnn1v.
[286] Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 210–212.

Evett aptly argues that miniatures were '"speaking pictures" in that they were intended to carry very particular messages of devotion or longing to very specific recipients'.[287] The acceptance of such a gift carried a strong suggestion that the receiver was accepting the giver along with the painted representation of their face. This suggests a development of the understanding of the function of portraiture within marriage negotiations. In *Wit and Science*, the portrait is conveyed by Confidence along with 'sweete woordes' to 'ap[p]e[a]se the hart' of Science (ll. 56–58). In *Twelfth Night*, however, the portrait needs little in the way of description or accompanying words, in part because it is the materialisation of Olivia's word picture made earlier in the play, and because, presumably, both parties understand its significance; Olivia highlights the lack of words, telling Viola that the portrait 'hath no tongue' (III.4.185).

Frustrated at Viola's constant rebuttals, Olivia takes the initiative when she attempts to not only impress a gift of her portrait onto Viola but implores him to wear it about his person.

> Olivia: Here, wear this jewel for me, 'tis my picture –
> Refuse it not, it hath no tongue to vex you –
> And I beseech you come again tomorrow.
> What shall you ask of me that I'll deny,
> That honour, saved, may upon asking give?
> Viola: Nothing but this: your true love for my master.
> Olivia: How with mine honour may I give him that
> Which I have given to you? (III.4.184–191)

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[287] David Evett, *Literature and the Visual Arts in Tudor England* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), p. 259.

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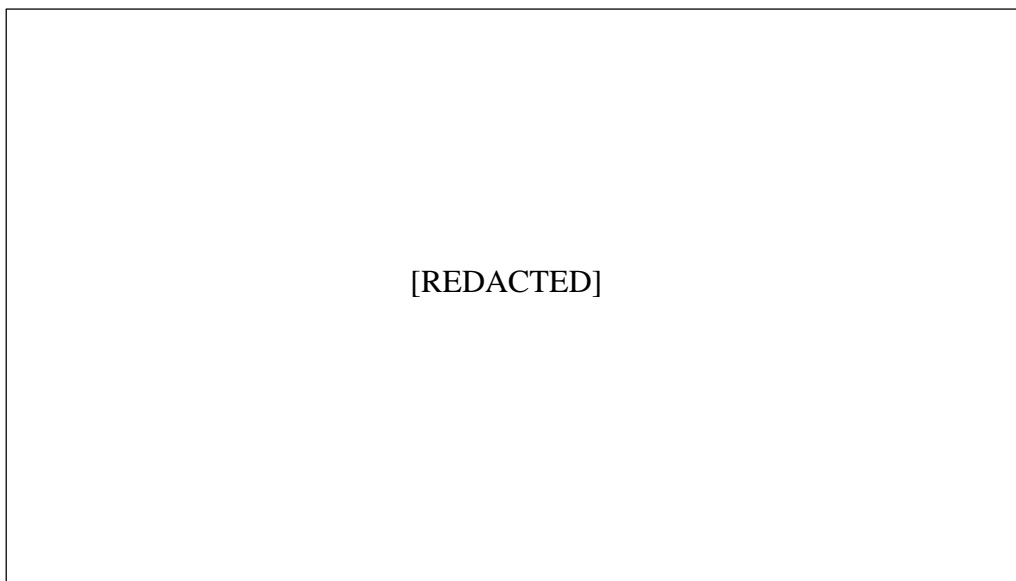
Figure 110
Twelfth Night. Directed by Tim Carroll, Globe 2012/3 Season. Olivia, played by Mark Rylance, handing a portrait miniature of herself to Viola disguised as Cesario, played by Johnny Flynn. Image courtesy of Shakespeare's Globe.

During this speech, in most productions, including the 2012 production at the Globe Theatre pictured above, Olivia hands a portrait miniature of herself to Viola.[288] Without the use of a go-between, the small size of the gift necessitates the close proximity of the two actors on the stage, much closer than Viola would find comfortable in this circumstance. The miniature allows Olivia to press her case more strongly and express the intense emotion she feels for Viola. It allows the two characters, who are alone during this scene, a moment of intimacy and perhaps of physical contact with no chaperone present.

The miniature also highlights the lack of reciprocity in feelings between Olivia and Viola. It cannot elicit emotion where none exists, and Viola's response is to return to Orsino. Compare, for example, Bassanio's description of the portrait of Portia in Shakespeare's earlier play, *The Merchant of Venice*, which he describes as able to 'entrap the hearts of men'.[289] In *Twelfth Night*, however, the portrait is not desired by Viola, who cannot

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[288] The productions which I refer to here include: John Gorrie, Dir., BBC, 1980; Paul Kafno, Dir., ITV, 1988; Tim Carroll, Dir., London's Globe Theatre, 2012/13 season; Jonathan Munby, Dir., Cambridge Arts Theatre, 2014; David Crilly, Dir., Cambridge Shakespeare Festival, 2015; Emma Rice, Dir., London's Globe Theatre, 2017; and Simon Godwin, Dir., National Theatre, 2017.
[289] William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, *c*. 1596–1599 (III.2.22).

reciprocate Olivia's feelings or give her a gift of equal value. By contrast, in *Wit and Science*, the miniature is given and received off stage, but Confidence reports that he has delivered the gift and Science sends a sword to Wit in return, thereby signalling her acceptance of Wit's suit (ll. 598–601). Mauss highlights the importance of recipients making a response of gratitude to any gift. The lack of such a response would reflect badly on the honour and virtue of the receiver. Likewise, the gift in *Twelfth Night* places Viola in a very awkward position. It is only when, as the priest reports, an 'interchangement' of rings between Olivia and Sebastian during a 'mutual joinder' [joining] has taken place that reciprocity is established.

Despite Olivia being a countess and Viola having described herself as a 'gentleman' (I.5.248), Olivia's gift of love will make both herself and Viola equal. In contrast to this courtly ideal of love, Aguecheek's ongoing pursuit of Olivia is based upon the hope of recouping the money he has already spent on wooing her (II.4.163–164), and likewise Malvolio considers the material wealth and social status that such a marriage would bring his way (II.5.39–55). The social effects of hierarchy are neutralized by Olivia's affections towards Viola, which appear devoid of economic interests. She is assured that he is a gentleman and she is in a position whereby she can pursue whoever she chooses rather than accepting her social equal, Orsino. A similar ideal of love can be seen in *Wit and Science*, when Reason declares a 'strawe for the patches' for the social inequalities between his own daughter, Science, and Wit (l. 24). In both plays it is the gift of a miniature which accompanies the idea of love being more important than a person's social status. Importantly, both plays also offer the possibility that love and marriage can lead to social advancement as well as equality.

Whilst *Twelfth Night* is set within a courtly environment of love and the households of a duke and a countess, the specific timing of the play during a time of festivities calls into question the social hierarchy. Rather than the characters behaving as might be expected for

persons of their rank, their actions call into question the concepts of 'gentility' and 'courtliness'. *Twelfth Night* is described by Mark Burnett as 'plagued by servants and knights whose combined actions make a mockery of carefully gradated domestic hierarchies'.[290] The miniature therefore acts as a social signifier, but one based on merit rather than title. The drunken behaviour of Sir Toby Belch, in the company of Feste the clown and Sir Andrew Aguecheek, positions them as more suitable to discuss pub signs than miniatures, if only with license during this period of festivities. Similarly, the middling sort may have viewed the commissioning of portraiture not as a means to emulate the nobility but as a vehicle to represent their unique virtues based on hard work and leading good lives.

In performance, however, *Twelfth Night* could stabilise the social hierarchy. Although the audience included a broad section of society, that audience would have a relationship to the actors on stage based upon the amount of money they had paid for admission. Those paying the least amount of money would be standing in the groundlings, where the actors would physically have to talk down to them if they addressed them directly. Seated in the galleries, the audience would be wealthier and the actors would be forced to look up and speak up to them. This would necessitate the act of physical deference and it is within this context that the performance of *Twelfth Night* can be seen as a gift. Feste ends the performance singing 'we'll strive to please you every day' (V.1.395). In return for their applause and the price of a ticket, the performance of *Twelfth Night* strives to please a variety of audiences, but as noted by Andrew Gurr, that audience could be divided between a primary audience and a secondary 'silent majority'.[291] If such a divide occurred, it follows that these individuals may have a different theatrical experience and a different understanding of the pictures within the play. Douglas Bruster has persuasively argued for understanding the

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[290] Mark Thornton Burnett, *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture: Authority and Obedience* (London and New York: St Martin's, 1997), p. 160. See also Nancy Lindheim, 'Rethinking Sexuality and Class in *Twelfth Night*', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 76, 2 (2007), 679–713 (especially pp. 696–709).
[291] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 77.

theatre as a market, with the audience paying to attend and playwrights selling their plays.[292] Commercial playwrights would have depended upon the vast proportion of the audience enjoying and understanding what was presented to them on stage. These 'silent' audiences may have left fewer accounts of their interpretation of the play but by using sources gathered from a range of disciplines including probate inventories and a wide variety of miniatures it is possible to re-imagine how these individuals understood both the play and pictures.

The following play presents another courtly setting for the portrait miniature, but rather than playing upon the amusement which can be gained from illusions, *The Picture* explores the effects of the deceiving effects of pictures.

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[292] Douglas Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–11.

Philip Massinger, *The Picture* **(1629)**
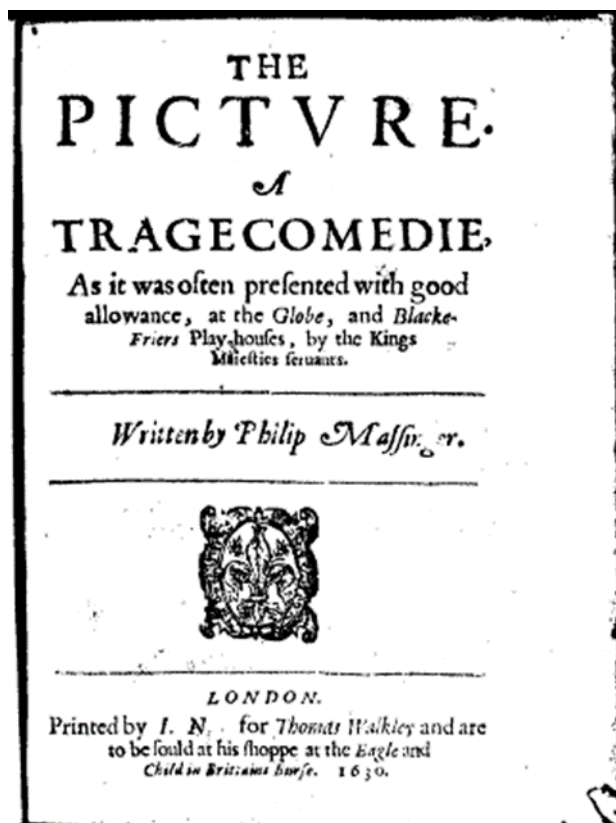
Figure 111
Title page of Philip Massinger's *The Picture* (London: I. N. [John Norton] for Thomas Walkey, 1630), quarto edition, British Library, C142.d.18.

Introduction

Philip Massinger's *The Picture* was licensed for performance on 8 June 1629 and first printed in quarto in 1630.[293] No records survive of it being performed in the seventeenth century, but the printed edition includes a cast list and also the title page claims that the play was performed on several occasions in both the Blackfriars and Globe theatres (figure 111).[294]

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[293] Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Plays and Playwrights*, vol. iv (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 128–129.

[294] This would be the second Globe as the first one burnt down in 1613. Furthermore, the King's Men toured to audiences outside London in the seventeenth century. Although the exact name of the plays which were performed is not always known, the growing interest in visual culture and the developing interest in miniatures across a widening breadth of society would have positioned *The Picture* as a popular choice. The play has enjoyed fluctuating fortunes since. *The Picture* was performed in 2010 as part of the Read Not Dead series of script-in-hand performances by the Globe Theatre Company, London, and, again in 2010, at the Salisbury Playhouse, where the drama was relocated to the nineteenth century – in keeping with this chronology the eponymous picture is a photograph rather than a painted miniature

These relatively cheap quarto editions enabled audiences from outside London who did not attend the theatre to access this latest drama. Furthermore, the titular role of the picture and the performances at both the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres, make this a particularly apt play to explore in this thesis. An examination of the miniature within *The Picture* will highlight the developments taking place in early modern theatre, and how playwrights and performers used small staged properties to promote and reflect these changes.[295]

Figure 112
Portrait of Philip Massinger from Massinger's *Three New Playes: The Bashful Lover, The Guardian, and The Very Woman*, published posthumously in 1655. Engraving by Thomas Cross.

In addition to *The Picture*, Massinger also includes pictures in *The Renegade* (1624) and *The Emperor of the East* (1631), and statues in *The Custom of the Country* (*c*. 1619–1623), *The Virgin Martyr* (1620), *The Parliament of Love* (1624), *The Roman Actor* (1626),

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[295] Although this is the last play that that I will examine in this chronological analysis of drama, this is not to suggest that playwrights and audiences stopped thinking about pictures after this period; rather the closure of public theatre in London in 1642 marks a significant landmark in British theatre and to investigate the period beyond this time frame in much detail would unbalance the chronology of the other sections of the thesis.

and *The City Madam* (1632).[296] This reveals that Massinger's interest in visual art was not confined to *The Picture* alone. It also demonstrates Massinger's ongoing interest in particularly female portraiture. However, *The Picture* is the only play by Massinger which specifically mentions a miniature: it is referred as a 'little modell' (I.1.166) and as being 'limn'd (I.1.167), a word which is associated with the making of miniatures. Furthermore, the miniature is evidently small enough for Mathias to carry with him to battle, produce at court, look upon when he is imprisoned, and carry back home, which would not be possible with a picture 'in great'. *The Picture* is particularly important because, as Joanne Rochester concludes, it is 'Massinger's most complex use of a staged artwork', for which he evidently found the miniature to be most appropriate.[297] In the other plays by Massinger, portraits appear briefly at the beginning of the play and serve to develop the plot; in *The Picture*, however, the miniature appears repeatedly and is the main focus around which the plot revolves. *The Picture* also marks a changed attitude towards visual imagery from the other plays examined in this thesis. In Redford's *Wit and Science*, the miniature is described as 'goodly', and in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* it is described as 'a jewel'. In *The Picture*, however, the miniature is described as 'cursed' (V.3.214) and 'cheating' (V.3.96), and the practice of limning renounced as a 'divelish art' (V.2.3).[298] Rather than being a token of love, the picture in Massinger's play is seen as false and its making as invasive.

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[296] The Venetian pictures in *The Renegado* are anonymous beauties, possibly nudes, and in *The Emperor of the East* they are court portraits of potential brides; *The Custom of the Country*, co-written with John Fletcher, includes a scene in which Sulpitia, a brothel-keeper and sorceress, is given a picture of Zenocia on which to cast a charm, which causes Zenocia to fall ill, and a mother, Guiomar, kissing a picture of her son, Duarte, which reassures him of her love; *The Virgin Martyr* includes a statue of Jupiter in Act 1 which is later destroyed in Act 3; *The Parliament of Love* includes a statue of Cupid in Act 5; a statue of Minerva appears in *The Roman Actor*; and living statues appear in the masque in *The City Madam*. For Massinger's use of statues see Yves Peyré, 'Massinger's Plays Within: Pygmalion or Medusa?', in *The Show Within: Dramatic and Other Insets: English Renaissance drama (1500–1642)*, ed. by François Laroque (Montpellier: Paul Valery University press, 1990), pp. 333–357. Many of Massinger's plays were written in collaboration with other playwrights, including Robert Daborne, Nathan Field, and John Fletcher. It is evident that Massinger's interest in visual art is developed across several plays of which he is the sole-author and those which he co-wrote.

[297] Joanne Rochester, *Staging Spectatorship in the Plays of Philip Massinger* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 95.

[298] All line references taken from *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, ed. by Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011), v vols, vol. iii. The *OED* defines a counterfeit as a likeness or

Performance Spaces and Audiences

Blackfriars, where *The Picture* was performed, was one of several new smaller indoor theatres which opened in the early seventeenth century, offering audiences a different experience from the larger outdoor venues. The new theatres were more expensive to attend because they had less capacity and, being indoors, candles were needed for lighting. The Globe could fit an audience of 3,000 with entrance fees ranging from 1d to stand in the groundlings, a further penny to sit in the galleries, and 6d for the most expensive seats.[299] Comparatively, Blackfriars had no standing area and could seat an audience of between only 600 and 700, with some members of the audience seated on the stage.[300] Andrew Gurr notes that seats at the Blackfriars cost between 30d and 6d.[301] A box at the side of the stage would have cost 30d, a seat on a bench in the pit facing the stage between 6d and 1s, and a seat in the top gallery furthest from the stage 6d.[302] The cheapest seats at Blackfriars, therefore, were the same price as the most expensive seats at the Globe.

Traditional scholarship argues that the repertoires and the audiences of the indoor theatres were diametrically opposed to those of the older amphitheatres, with the indoor theatres offering newer plays specifically aimed at noble audiences.[303] There is considerable evidence, however, that the better-off still continued to patronize Bankside.[304] Attendance at the Globe appears to have attracted as socially mixed an audience as it did before the opening of these indoor theatres. But those who could afford the higher prices also had the option of attending performances at the Globe and Blackfriars theatre. Neither was Blackfriars just frequented by the nobility; Martin Butler demonstrates that the gentry also came there to

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depiction in visual or literary art, an adulteration or thing made of base material, an imitation of the genuine, a false appearance or impersonation, and a form of deceit.

[299] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 22.

[300] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 32.

[301] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 31.

[302] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, pp. 31–32.

[303] Gerald Eades Bentley, 'Shakespeare and the Blackfriars Theatre', *Shakespeare Survey*, 1 (1948), 38–50.

[304] Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, p. 217.

socialize in the winter.[305] Furthermore, Massinger's play *The City Madam* (1632), which was performed at the Blackfriars, references the wives of wealthier London citizens, apprentices, and court ladies in boxes, which suggests that they were known to be regularly in the audience there too.[306] There was also a crossover of plays too, as demonstrated by Massinger's *The Picture*, which was performed at both the Globe and the Blackfriars.[307]

Whilst Ira Clark explores the 'privileged Caroline audience' for *The Picture*, he acknowledges that who constituted the elite and the criteria for their inclusion was much debated in early modern England.[308] However, Clark supposes that the audience had a shared education, based on their attendance at grammar schools, universities, and the Inns of Court, where they were schooled in the arts of rhetoric and drama. But this ignores the fact that such institutions were not open to women, who also formed an audience for drama. The poet and writer John Johnson, in describing the fictional Love's Library, includes Massinger's plays as being studied by 'our courtly dames' in *The Academy of Love* (1641).[309] Furthermore, Butler and Gurr have both demonstrated that women also attended the Caroline theatre at both the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres.[310] This evidence is of particular relevance to my examination of *The Picture* because the drama explores the instability of female portraiture, and it therefore allows women in the audience to see themselves reflected in the narrative.

My analysis of the play will, therefore, concentrate on the different theatrical experiences that the Blackfriars and the Globe offered, whilst bearing in mind that neither

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[305] Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*.

[306] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 7.

[307] See also Sarah Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses: Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe and the Blackfriars, 1599–1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), and Roslyn Knutson, 'What if there wasn't a "Blackfriars Repertory"', in *Inside Shakespeare, Essays on the Blackfriars Stage*, ed. by Paul Menzer (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), pp. 54–60.

[308] Ira Clark, *Professional Playwrights: Massinger, Ford, Shirley, & Brome* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), p. 59. See also Ann Jennalie Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576–1642* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 9.

[309] John Johnson, *The Academy of Love, Describing ye Folly of Younge Men and ye Fallacy of Women* (London: Printed for H. Blunden, 1641), pp. 98–99.

[310] Butler, *Theatre in Crisis*, pp. 104–140, and Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, pp. 7–10 & 66.

audience was necessarily as divided as previously thought. Miniatures were an ideal prop for

a theatre company which had to be flexible enough to perform at both the Globe and

Blackfriars theatre as well as touring the production. The picture could be easily transported,

and perhaps improvised when needed.

The relatively small stage at the Blackfriars was made even smaller by the addition of

audience members seated on stools.[311] Tiffany Stern argues that this encouraged the audience

to judge the performance 'minutely, locally, and critically'.[312] Because the theatre could not

accommodate large scenery, small objects, including pictures, were particularly useful. If

they were set in light-reflective lockets the pictures would have glittered in the candlelight

and caught the attention of the audience. Just as playwrights exploited the intimate effects of

the Blackfriars theatre, so too did the audience. Going to the Blackfriars offered the audience

the opportunity to dress up in their best clothes, compared to those at the Globe who had to

dress for the weather. Just as the clothes of the indoor audience glistened in the candlelight,

so too would their jewellery.[313] Stern argues that the Blackfriars offered a 'collective

theatrical event of which the play was an element'.[314] Performances at the Blackfriars theatre,

therefore, had more in common with drama which took place in great halls and the audience

were thus as much a part of the performance as the play itself, especially as some were seated

on the stage.

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[311] Glynne Wickham estimates that the Blackfriars stage measured 46 feet by 66 feet. Glynne Wickham, *Early Modern Stages 1300 to 1660* (London: Routledge, 1972), vol. 2, p. 138.

[312] Tiffany Stern, '"Taking Part": Actors and Audience on the Blackfriars Stage', in *Inside Shakespeare*, ed. by Menzer, pp. 35–53 (p. 46).

[313] Sarah Dustagheer, 'Acoustic and Visual Practices Indoors', in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors: Performance and Repertoire in the Jacobean Playhouse*, ed. by Andrew Gurr and Farah-Karim Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 137–151 (p. 137).

[314] Stern, '"Taking Part"', p. 47.

[REDACTED]
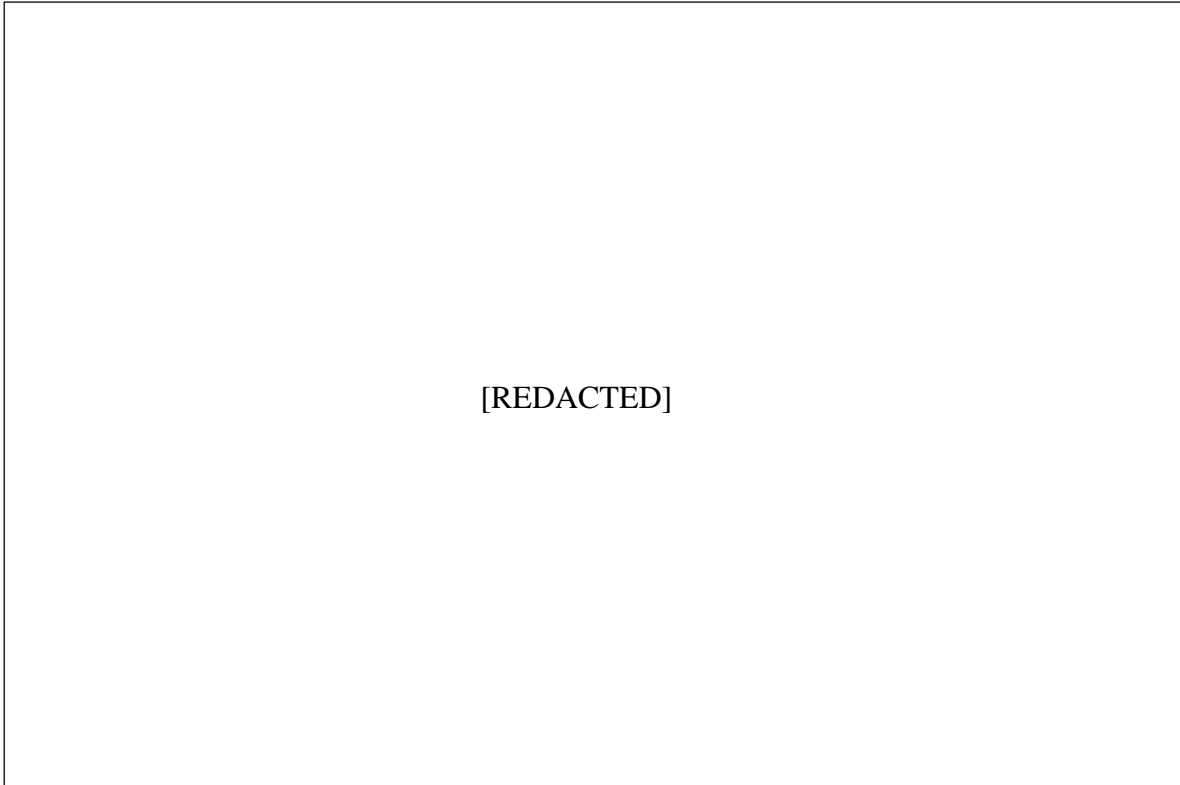
Figure 113
Actor Simon Harrison as Mathias looking at a picture of Sophia in *The Picture* at Salisbury Playhouse, 2010. Director Philip Wilson. Photographer Johan Persson.

[REDACTED]
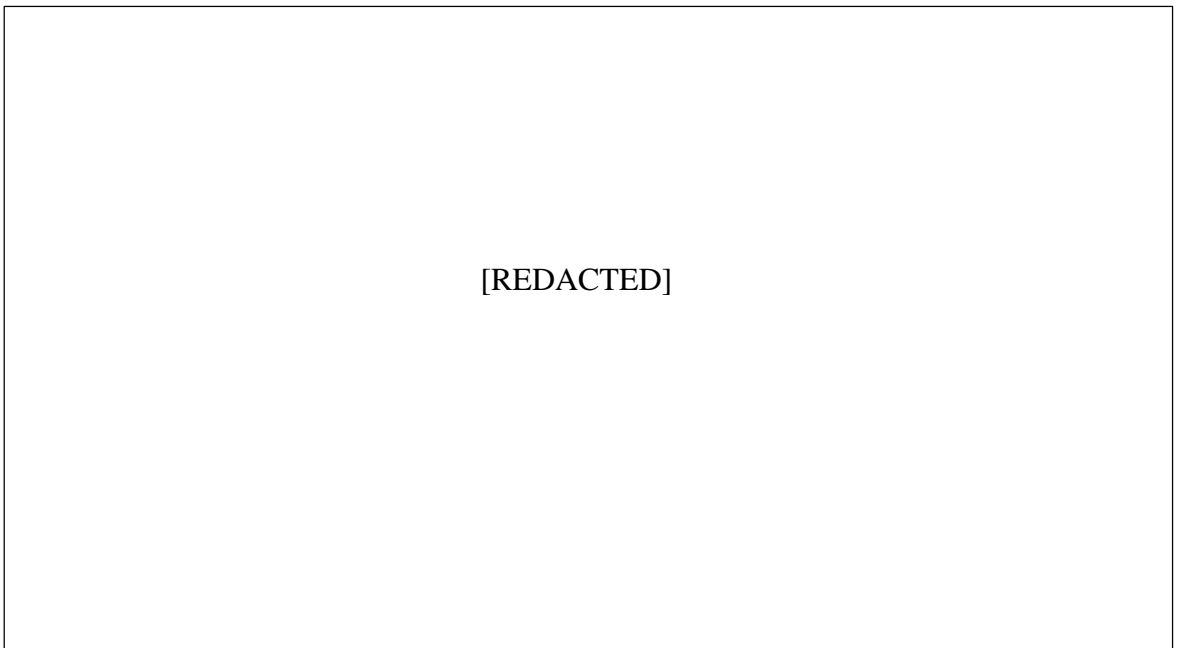
Figure 114
The Sam Wannamaker Playhouse at the Globe, London. The original Blackfriars theatre no longer survives but the Wannamaker Playhouse is modelled on a similar archetypal style of indoor theatre illuminated with candlelight, with a small stage, and close proximity between the stage and the seating areas. Image courtesy of Shakespeare's Globe.

[REDACTED]
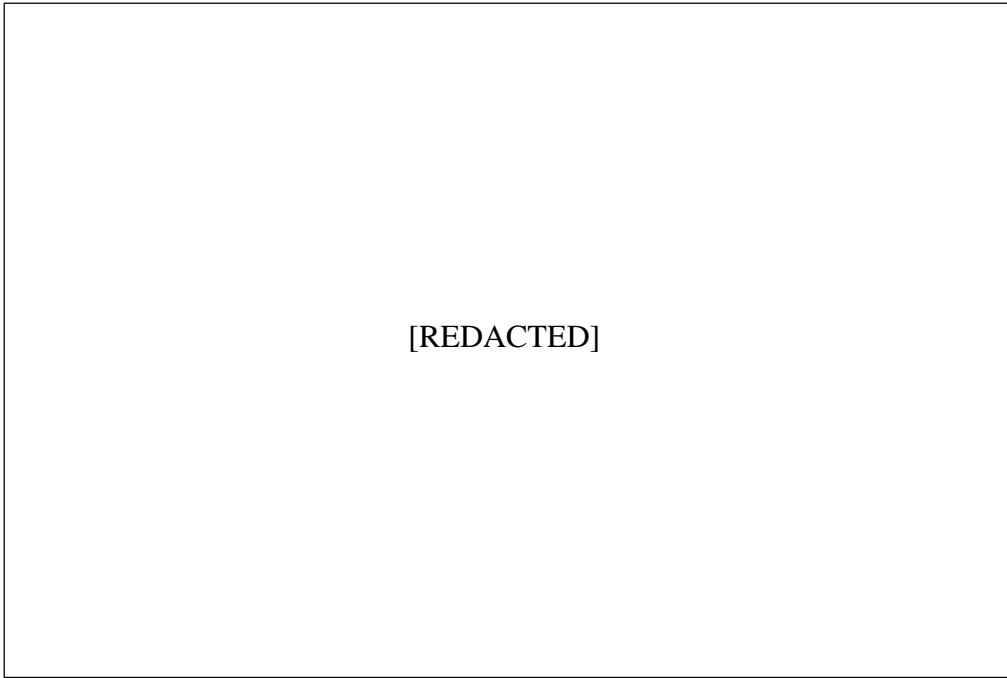
Figure 115
A performance of Luigi Rossi's opera *Orpheus* at the Sam Wannamaker Playhouse at the Globe, London, 2015, demonstrating the close proximity between performers and the audience. Image courtesy of Shakespeare's Globe.

'cheating pictures': Trusting in Counterfeits

The theme of the lovers being born into different stations in life is established from the start of the play, as it is in both *Wit and Science* and *Twelfth Night*. The knight, Mathias, tells his wife Sophia that 'you in birth were farre above mee', but that 'true love hath made us one, and equall' (I.1.14 and 17). He is leaving her in search of 'profit, and preferment' in order to purchase the jewels and fine apparel which he thinks she deserves (I.1.34). He then reveals that he doubts her constancy in his absence and has an idea that will allow him to monitor her virtue. Mathias's plan is revealed to the audience as Baptista presents him with a miniature which he made earlier:

> Take then this little modell of Sophia
> With more than humane skill limde to the life;
> Each line, and linament of it in the drawing
> Soe punctually observed that had it motion
> In so much 'twere her selfe. (I.1.166–170)

As in *Wit and Science*, where the audience are assured that the portrait is such an accurate portrayal of the sitter that it 'lack'th but life', and *Twelfth Night*, where the portrait is presumably so lifelike that Olivia assures Viola that 'it hath no tongue to vex you', the audience for *The Picture* are assured that the miniature so closely resembles the sitter, that if it had 'motion' it would be 'her selfe'. Unlike these earlier plays, the manner in which this miniature was made is described in *The Picture*, and the intended use of the portrait also differs significantly.

Mathias introduces the character of Baptista, as 'a generall scholler, / One deeply read in natures hidden secrets,' (I.1.118–119). The knowledge of limning is thereby positioned as being exclusive and learned and not available for common understanding. The audience is told that the making of the miniature involved 'more than humane skill' and presumably involved magic.[315] Baptista also reveals that the making of the miniature involved close scrutiny of the unknowing subject matter, 'punctually observed', and reveals that the miniature was made without Sophia's knowledge or her consent. There is a sense that her privacy has been invaded. She later describes him as 'Mephostophiles' (V.3.78) and condemns the picture and Baptista's making of it as 'a spie upon / My actions' (V.2.3–4).

Mathias comments that the limning is 'An admirable peece' (I.1.171) but queries 'if it have not / Some hidden vertue that I cannot guesse at / In what can it advantage me?' (I.1.171–173). This contrasts with the more usual ideal positioning of a miniature, where it symbolises love between two characters and should be cherished purely because it acts as a reminder of the other and serves to re-enforce the bonds of affection. In *The Picture*,

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[315] The anonymous *Arden of Faversham* (late 1580s) includes the character Clarke; although described as a painter rather than a limner, his ability to create of a poisoned crucifix and a poisoned picture of Alice in order to kill her husband when he looks upon them reveals an earlier anxiety towards artists with magician-like powers and artworks. See also John Webster's *The White Devil* (performed 1612), where the character of Isabella is murdered with a poisoned portrait, made by a corrupt doctor, of her husband, Bracchiano. A more dignified representation of a painter can be seen in the Painter Additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* (1602) and *The Trial of Chivalry* (1605).

however, the miniature arises from baseless jealousy and, as Katharine Eisaman Maus argues, is the result of disordered vision.[316] Mathias is left questioning what good a miniature of his wife is. It is left to Baptista to explain the qualities of the picture: revealing that the miniature will change colour to yellow if Sophia is tempted by another suitor in Mathias's absence, and to black if she is inconstant. Unlike *Twelfth Night* and *Wit and Science*, the miniature in *The Picture* is not given freely as a gift, but rather reluctantly handed over by Baptista to Mathias, who attempts to use it in an attempt to assert control over the wife he claims to love.

Mathias does not keep the image of his wife private; instead he boasts of his wife's virtue and shows the image to onlookers at the royal court, thus further subjecting the unknowing Sophia to the gaze of others. In contrast, the miniature in *Twelfth Night* is seen only by Viola, and in *Wit and Science* the miniature is seen only by Science and her mother, although in performance the actors may choose to show it to selected members of the audience. In these earlier plays, the miniature is given with the intention of securing affection and an alliance passing from one hand to another. The pictures were not intended to have a larger audience or to be passed around by hands who did not know the sitter. In *The Picture*, however, not only was Sophia's miniature made without her knowledge, it is also seen by people unknown to her. Significantly, it is Mathias's showing of the portrait which prompts the queen to test the constancy of both Mathias and Sophia. Envious that another woman should receive such praise, the Queen, Honoria, offers herself to Mathias. Mathias is tempted but requests she waits for him. Mathias looks at the picture which remains as at first, 'still the same, the same / Pure Christal rocke of chastity!' (III.5.188–189). The miniature acts as an exemplar for Mathias to guide his actions and for him to remain constant, thereby inverting its original function. However, upon his next viewing of the picture it appears to confirm all

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[316] Katharine Eisaman Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma: Jealousy, Gender, and Spectatorship in English Renaissance Drama', *English Literary History*, 54, 3 (1987), 561–583 (p. 564).

of his earlier fears, as it has changed colour. At first, Mathias thinks it is his own melancholy

which is reading things into the picture:

> Mathias: This is a terrible vision! I will cleare
>   My eyesight, perhaps melancholly makes me
>   See that which is not.
> Baptista: It is to apparent.
>   I grieve to looke upon't; besides the yellow,
>   That does assure she's tempted, there are lines
>   Of a darke colour, that disperse themselves
>   Ore every miniature of her face, and those
>   Confirme –
> Mathias: She is turnd whore.   (IV.1.29–36)

The miniature, as described by both Baptista and Mathias, is reported to have changed in

appearance. In addition to the yellowing of her image, signifying her temptation, the dark

lines appear to show that she has proved unfaithful. Mathias's reference to Sophia later in the

play as a 'Gorgon' (V.3.104) also alludes to the threatening power of visual imagery, which

can destroy the spectator with one glance. The changed picture resolves Mathias to seduce

Honoria. Mathias thus gives responsibility for his own actions to the picture rather than to

any trust he has in his wife. The audience are led to believe that the description of the portrait

is truthful, as the preceding scene ends with Sophia declaring she will cuckold Mathias in

revenge for his supposed unfaithfulness. Through Mathias's description of the changing

appearance of the miniature and the dramaturgy, Massinger shapes, to quote Rochester, 'the

audience's perception, interpretation and judgement' of what the miniature reveals.[317] This

reading of the play could be reinforced by the actor playing Mathias showing the audience a

prop which shows a yellowing and blackened miniature. This would be feasible, as

previously he has publicized his wife's portrait at court and does not appear to consider it a

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[317] Rochester, *Staging Spectatorship*, p. 2.

private image. Furthermore, at the Blackfriars at least, where the play was performed, the

audience could be very close and might be able to see these details under the candlelight.[318]

The work of Alan C. Dessen is useful for highlighting the ways in which Mathias's

description of the miniature provides 'narrative tools' which shape the audience's

understanding of it.[319] For the audience and Mathias, the picture appears to accurately show

what Sophia has said she will do. But it becomes apparent in the following scene that the

portrait reflects Mathias's anxieties and loss of constancy, and Sophia's earlier intentions,

rather than her eventual actions.

Producing the miniature at this point allows for a moment of reflection by the

character and for the audience to direct their attention to Mathias and his situation. On one

hand, this focus on the miniature encourages the audience to be drawn into the action as they

would have been in *Wit and Science* and *Twelfth Night*. As described in chapter three, when

Melville looked at the miniatures in Queen Elizabeth's collection he had to get close to the

object in order to make out the details of the portrait. Hilliard also notes that miniatures

should be 'veewed of nesesity in hand neare unto the eye'.[320] This is a different relationship

between the viewer and the object from that of large-scale portraiture, where the viewer can

stand back and not get physically involved with the object; the miniature dictates that actors

interact with it both on a physical level and also, by providing a tight focus, on an emotional

level. Potentially, then, miniatures have the power to be more dangerous than large-scale

pictures because of the close proximity involved in looking at them. On the other hand, the

miniature breaks the flow of the drama and calls attention to the construction of the theatrical

performance, whereby the audience becomes aware that they are watching a player looking at

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[318] The title page of Massinger's *The Picture* notes that the play 'was often presented with good allowance, at the Globe, and Blackfriers play-houses, by the Kings Maiesties Servants'.

[319] Alan C. Dessen, *Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 202.

[320] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, 29.

a picture. Although this is arguably true of all three plays examined in this thesis, it is particularly pertinent within *The Picture* as the play self-consciously explores the effects of on-stage audiences throughout.[321] Mathias's description of the picture allows the audience to see it through his eyes. In fact, the use of a small picture on stage which was not shown to the audience would necessitate a reliance on Mathias's judgement and parallels his reliance on the picture.

The subsequent scene shows that Sophia has in fact changed her mind and imprisoned the courtiers who erroneously reported Mathias's inconstancy, and has remained faithful. This reveals that the miniature reflects Mathias's lack of faith in his wife rather than her unfaithfulness. Mathias's earlier reading of the miniature thereby provides an insight into his mind rather than representing a truthful image of its subject. Mathias describes it as 'a magicall glasse, and does present / Nothing but hornes, and horror' (IV.1.64–65). To Mathias's eyes the miniature acts like a mirror reflecting back at him his own, imaginary, cuckold's horns. Instead of reassuring him, the miniature feeds the fears it was designed to put at rest. That it was Mathias's lack of faith in his wife that altered his vision rather than Sophia's inconstancy is explained later in the play when Mathias describes his own behaviour as being capable of altering the picture: 'Vertue, contrition with unfained teares, / The spots of vice wash'd off, will soone restore it / To the first purenesse' (IV.4.80–82). Once again, the picture appears as an emblem used to illustrate a moral message. It seemingly leads to Honoria's repentance of her proud behaviour – 'I am disenchanted!', she declares (IV.4.82) – and Mathias's correction.

The Picture reveals an ongoing discourse on the function of art. George Hakewill's *The Vanity of the Eye* (1615) includes chapters on the deceptive nature of painting and

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[321] For the effects of the on-stage audience see, Rochester, *Staging Spectatorship.*

specifically limning, as well as the perils of attending the theatre.[322] Although Hakewill is critical of the deceptive nature of painting, he excuses limning as 'the most noble'.[323] That Sophia's picture was made without the sitter's consent reveals anxieties about women being left alone with amorous male artists and women's portraiture being passed around in male circles.[324] Similarly, anxieties are expressed by Hakewill about women attending the theatre, where they were thought to be gazed upon freely and unknowingly.[325] Hakewill's text illustrates not only an anxiety about pictures and performances but painters too. Erin V. Obermueller argues that 'understanding the shared conventions of visual culture between painting and theatre, Massinger uses both arenas to highlight the process through which viewers interpret women'.[326] Unlike *Twelfth Night*, where Olivia gives her miniature to Viola of her own will, in *The Picture*, Sophia's representation is mastered by Baptista, interpreted by Mathias, and looked upon by the king and queen whilst she is unaware. Sophia is denied the possibility of fashioning herself through her portrait, but successfully does so through her actions.

Whilst the extreme iconoclasm of the sixteenth century was receding in the early seventeenth century, the status of visual imagery remained problematic.[327] R. Malcolm Smuts argues that the collection of art by King Charles and his courtiers legitimated a wider interest in the subject and an importation of Continental ideas into England.[328] But in the 1620s, when *The Picture* was first performed, there remained much ambivalence over the nature of

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[322] George Hakewill, *The Vanity of the Eye* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1615), pp. 88–89 and 41. Hakewill's anxieties regarding the potentially corrupting influence of plays continued to be reiterated throughout the early seventeenth century and were expressed even more forcefully in William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix, or, the Scourge of Players* (London, 1633).

[323] Hakewill, *The Vanity of the Eye*, p. 88.

[324] The idea of male portrait artists taking the opportunity to take advantage of sittings with female sitters is alluded to in a number of plays, including *Arden of Faversham* (10.66–68).

[325] Hakewill, *The Vanity of the Eye*, p. 41.

[326] Erin V. Obermueller, '"On cheating Pictures": Gender and portrait Miniatures in Philip Massinger's The Picture', *Early Theatre*, 10, 2 (2007), 87–107 (pp. 88–89).

[327] Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts, vol. 1: Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[328] R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 117–123, 139–162.

images. This was fuelled, in part, by the historic impact of the Reformation and anxieties over a socially broader range of society having access to pictures and writing on visual art, which have been explored throughout this thesis. In the theatre these concerns were staged and highlighted. Anti-theatrical rhetoric, as described by Hakewill, attacked theatre for its false images and potentially corrupting influence, referencing intromission theory, where the eye was considered a gateway to sin. Rochester argues that 'vision was imagined as an open door to infection: images were bewitching, erotic and corrupting, and the theatre was a venue for their transmission'.[329] The following print explicitly draws a parallel between a man looking at a 'Tablett neate' of his mistress, theatrical masks, and the sin of lust.

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[329] Rochester, *Staging Spectatorship*, p. 98.

Figure 116
John Goddard, after Abraham Bosse
Lust, from the series *The Seven Deadly Sins*
c. 1639–*c*. 1650
Engraving
149 mm x 90 mm
British Library, 1854,0812.58.

Similarly, the focus of *The Picture* draws attention not only to the deceiving nature of art but also the dangers inherent in its interpretation. Sophia condemns 'cheating pictures' as counterfeit and blames Mathias's interpretation of the picture as faulty and based on his own jealousy:

> We did not deale like you in speculations
>
> On cheating pictures; we knew shadowes were
>
> No substances and actuall performance

The best assurance. (V.3.95–98)

Sophia thereby reduces pictures to mere 'shadowes' compared with people, who she describes as 'substances'. In confusing the two Mathias has placed too much responsibility in a picture and revealed his faulty vision in misinterpreting it. By the end of the play Mathias has learnt his lesson and instructs his wife to go where she pleases and with whomever she pleases in future. Having learnt to trust his wife, he no longer needs the picture, which he now condemns as false and burns it:

> I will be
> My owne security, go ride where you please,
> Feast, revele, banquet, and make choise with whom,
> I'll set no watch upon you, and for proofe of't,
> This cursed picture I surrender up
> To a consuming fire. (V.3.210–215)

He thereby gives the portrait a lot of power in the very act of destroying it. The picture has fulfilled its function as an exemplar and is no longer needed, or trusted. The function of pictures to model behaviour is reminiscent of Pliny's description of representations of great men from history which the viewer was intended to emulate.[330] In *The Picture*, however, the miniature has a shorter lifespan and models behaviour in a more complex manner. The maker of the miniature, Baptista, renounces his knowledge – 'I abjure / The practise of my art' (V.3.215–216) – thereby promising to not make any further magical miniatures. Whilst the miniature allows the plot to develop, and provides a focal point for the audience, characters, and players, it is denounced as false by the end of the play and is destroyed. In dramatizing Mathias's mental state and providing the impetus for characters' actions, the miniature allows Massinger to stage Mathias's inner conflict. Although miniatures can still teach lessons, as in

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[330] Mark Evans, 'The Lumley Inventory: Contents and Contexts', in *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree*, ed. by Evans, pp. 13–19 (p. 13).

Wit and Science, in *The Picture* they are not the lessons for which this miniature was commissioned. In *The Picture* miniatures are positioned as untrustworthy and the making of such miniatures is viewed with equal disdain: it is both magical and involves the perusal of women against their will. Although it is actually the making and the interpretation of the miniature which is at fault, rather than the picture per se, the characters, however, choose to blame the picture for their own faults. Once Mathias has returned home and the portrait is burned, Sophia can once again represent her 'real' self, not in 'cheating pictures' but in life. Rather than being treated as a special object with its own messenger, as can be seen in *Wit and Science*, or as a gift given in person from one hand to another, as seen in *Twelfth Night*, the portrait in *The Picture* is viewed cynically. This may be because miniatures were becoming more popular and increasingly coming to represent the faces of 'common' people. The miniature, which was once positioned in drama as being special and imbued with scholarly learning and feelings of love, is used by Massinger to highlight the dangers of pictures having the power to deceive and to take advantage of unknowing women.

Conclusion

The chart at the beginning of this chapter illustrated the evolving use of the portrait miniature within plays over the period from 1540 to 1650. Plays with miniatures were quite rare until the 1590s; this reflects the findings of the picture database and the research into regional inventories and literature on miniatures, which also revealed a limited but growing interest in the subject before this date. In these earliest decades of the study, miniatures featured in morality plays, masques, and tournament entertainments. However, as more public theatres were built in the late sixteenth century an increasing number of plays was produced, and more of these plays were featuring miniatures. At the turn of the century plays with miniatures featured in the popular genres of comedy, romance, and tragedy. This reveals

how, in general, tastes were shifting for different kinds of drama, and how the miniature was proving to be a flexible staged property which could be effectively used within these plays. It also reflects a growing awareness of miniatures, and visual culture more generally, by playwrights and audiences.

The longer chronological framework which has been adopted throughout this thesis has allowed me to nuance earlier scholarship which has hitherto focused on the role of the miniature in plays which were first performed in the early seventeenth century. By ignoring plays that were written in the early sixteenth century and in the later seventeenth century, existing scholarship has given a distorted view of how miniatures could be adapted to suit the requirements of changing tastes in genre and to reflect a growing public for theatre and portraiture.

By paying close attention to the different venues in which plays were performed I have demonstrated how the miniature could be adapted to exploit these specific spaces. During performances in halls I have explored how the primary audience may have enjoyed privileged access to the staged property, whilst the part of the audience 'thrusting at the back' may have had to rely on the actor's spoken words in describing the picture for their understanding of what they could not see. This restricted view need not impair the understanding of the miniature within the play; it does, however, suggest a number of alternative readings, not all of which are what today would be considered that of a traditional portrait miniature. Furthermore, I have argued that the decoration of the theatre could serve both as a distraction from the play, which the miniature could help to re-focus, and provide a context in which to interpret the events of the play. The consideration of staging, sightlines, proximity to the actors, decoration, and knowledge of miniatures has also proved instructive in examining *Twelfth Night* and *The Picture* and the venues in which they were performed. By paying close attention to the different performance spaces of *Twelfth Night* I have argued

that the actor may 'present' the miniature to those in the audience that they considered to be the most important, in the same way as they may 'speak up' to them and offer up their performance. The examination of *The Picture*, which was performed at both the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres, has allowed for a comparison of these two very different spaces, one a large outdoor playhouse which was open to the elements and the other an indoor and relatively small space. At Blackfriars I argued that the actors would be able to manipulate the use of candlelight to highlight the glistening nature of a jewelled miniature, which would both capture the audience's attention and, possibly, reflect back at them their own attire. At the Globe, where audiences were further from the stage and reliant on daylight, an understanding of the miniature would have been far more dependent upon Mathias's reported description of what he saw. This would complement the dramaturgy by making the audience implicit in the understanding of the problems associated with trusting in pictures at the expense of exercising judgement. Importantly, the miniature as a staged property proved to be flexible in being able to work in these different venues. A consideration of the different spaces has been crucial in understanding the different effects which actors could create, through exploring the unique characteristics of the miniature and how it developed relationships with the audience.

Traditional scholarship has argued that the audiences in the public playhouse differed from those at the private theatre. However, more recently scholars have shown that this supposed divide was not as great as was once thought. Building upon this evidence of socially mixed audiences and audiences which frequented different venues, I have explored how these different individuals might have understood the miniatures that they saw and heard about within the plays. I have argued that audiences' conceptualization of the miniature was, in part, dependent upon their familiarity with visual culture. I have highlighted some of the different types of images which audience members might have called to mind during a

performance, including small pictures of allegorical representations, coins, jewels, popular trick pictures, and prints.

It was because of the different meanings which were attached to the miniature that playwrights were able to explore a range of different themes, including exemplars, love tokens, and magical idols. Whilst this does show how attitudes towards pictures shifted over time, it also demonstrates how the miniature built upon and incorporated these new ideas. These evolving functions of the miniature and their diverse material expressions would have meant that audiences constantly had to think and re-think what they thought a miniature should be and what it should look like. By exploring how the miniature could embody all of these ideas, I argue against current narrow perceptions of what a miniature looks like, how it functioned, and who had access to it.

The evidence presented in these three plays also offers valuable insights for considering the function of miniatures examined in the earlier chapters of this thesis. In both *Wit and Science* and *Twelfth Night* miniatures are gifted to loved ones. This suggests that the 'small pictures' listed within the inventories of the middling sort might also have been gifts. In *The Picture* Mathias commissions a portrait of his wife so he can look upon her whilst they are apart. Similarly, miniatures functioned to keep the absent present in the lives of the middling sort. The miniature with the unknown lady possibly wearing mourning attire framed opposite a depiction of a church and a mound of earth out of which a tree or shrub grows, appears to have originally served as a commemorative object (figure 47a). In *Wit and Science* the miniature is used to consider the sitter's virtues. Thomas Whythorne also comments on this function of portraiture in his autobiography. He writes that individuals should leave their portraits to friends and children so that when they are deceased the recipients may 'see what manner of favour they had; and also thereby put in mind that, if they left a good report of

their virtues behind them, they may embrace and follow the same'.[331] Portraiture, then, could inspire both the sitter and the viewer towards leading a similarly good life. This interdisciplinary evidence is particularly useful when considering the function of miniatures for non-courtly audiences where there is a scarcity of other documentation. This chapter has built upon the evidence of the preceding chapters and in doing so has offered an alternative discourse on the role of the miniature in plays, and added to scholarship in both art history and drama.

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[331] James M., Osborn, ed., *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, p. 116.

Conclusion

This thesis began by evaluating the concerns expressed by Hilliard regarding the popularization of portrait miniatures at the turn of the seventeenth century:

> hoping to bring up others for Her Majesty's better service, I have taught divers, both strangers and English, that now and of a long time have pleased the common sort exceedingly well, so that I am myself become unable by my art any longer to keep house in London.[332]

Hilliard's reference to the common sort implied an audience for portrait miniatures that stretched beyond the nobility. However, scholarship on miniatures continues to concentrate primarily on examples of the art form produced for the court, while scholarship on prosperous non-noble individuals at the middling social level continues unfocused on miniatures. The thesis contributes significantly towards filling this gap in current knowledge by highlighting the role played by the middling sort, largely defined as those above a yeoman but beneath the upper gentry in the social hierarchy, as the patrons, subjects, and interpreters of small pictures during the period between *c*. 1520 and *c*. 1650.

The thesis posed a series of related questions in order to understand the issues arising from Hilliard's concerns, and to reach a fuller understanding of miniatures and their developing social and cultural position in early modern Britain: how locating the common sort can further the understanding of miniatures; the ways in which miniatures of the common people compare with those of the nobility; and how critically analysing literature and drama which concerns miniatures from the perspective of the common sort can offer an alternative discourse to that already established in scholarship. To achieve a rounded view of the portrait miniature, a multidisciplinary framework was adopted that in turn shaped the organisation of the work.

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[332] Salisbury MS 87.25, letter dated 28 July 1601.

To locate who the middling sort were, and how placing them at the centre of research can further our understanding of miniatures, the writing of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century commentators was identified as a key source. One recurring theme in this literature was the perceived danger posed to a supposedly naturally occurring hierarchy by individuals who were considered to display characteristics that were deemed inappropriate for their degree. One area in which these concerns were seen to manifest themselves was in the acquisition of pictures by the middling sort, an activity that was regarded as the traditional realm of the nobility. To examine whether these claims were applicable to the representation of the middling sort in miniature, this thesis compared the evidence for picture ownership by both noble and non-noble individuals.

The use of probate inventories revealed the ownership of 'small pictures' in urban areas outside of London. This evidence was used to argue for an interest in small-scale decorative objects by regional audiences starting from the late sixteenth century and continuing throughout the early seventeenth century. Furthermore, the social breadth of small picture ownership extended beyond those of the landed elite. The varying degrees of wealth and visual culture to which these individuals had access compared to their noble counterparts offered the opportunity to include under-researched small pictures in the study. The thesis examined familiar miniatures which have received a great deal of scholarly attention alongside those painted by possibly regionally-based and/or amateur painters. These miniatures do not follow the courtly aesthetic of small, finely detailed watercolour portraits that are well known, and thereby call into question what a portrait miniature may have looked like and how it was considered by non-noble audiences.

Focusing on the middling sort has shown that miniatures were not an exclusively noble art form. This research, therefore, adds important nuance to the influential work of Roy

Strong and Patricia Fumerton, who have concentrated on miniatures within elite contexts.[333]

Strong's research was, in some instances, conducted more than forty years ago, and now

much more is known about patrons of art in non-courtly settings. Recently, Tarnya Cooper

has shifted attention to the role of the middling sort in the commissioning of portraiture, and

Robert Tittler has effectively demonstrated that picture ownership in the regions forms an

important part of our understanding of early modern British painting.[334] Furthermore, Tara

Hamling and Catherine Richardson have greatly added to knowledge concerning non-elite

audiences as the consumers and makers of meaning in domestic spaces.[335] By concentrating

on the middling sort, therefore, this research brings scholarship on miniatures up to date with

current academic discourse on portraiture and social and cultural histories of the middling

sort. It also provides a compelling argument for the parameters of the definition of a portrait

miniature to be broadened from the archetypal image that Strong established to include

lesser-known examples of the art form often found in the collections of local museums and

country houses.

A recurring theme in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature was that non-noble

patrons of art were being presumptuous in their acquisition of pictures. To test this assertion,

I compiled and analysed the largest sample of miniatures ever analysed, adopting both

quantitative and qualitative methods. The analysis demonstrated that sitters of non-noble

status were being represented in miniature from at least the 1530s, and continued to be

throughout the sixteenth century and increasingly in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Whilst it is not easy to discover people's motivations in purchasing a picture, it has been

possible to compare miniatures representing the nobility alongside those representing sitters

of more modest backgrounds to see if the latter were adopting the same fashions as their

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[333] Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*; Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*.
[334] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*; Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England*.
[335] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England*.

social superiors. The analysis of the miniatures in the database showed more evidence of the nobility being over-reaching in their dress and transgressing the acts of apparel than the middling sort. This research, therefore, supports the findings of Maria Hayward, who has analysed dress in the first half of the sixteenth century.[336] It has also demonstrated that whilst some non-noble sitters chose to be depicted by the same painters that worked for the court, many chose to be represented by painters who worked in a variety of differing styles, supports, and media. The thesis highlights examples of the art form executed on wood and copper that show the faces of unidentified or non-courtly sitters. This material that I have collected confirms Hilliard's claim regarding the popularization of miniatures, but my analysis of apparel and media has revealed that the middling sort were not emulating the nobility, by highlighting the different ways in which they were represented in this small-scale format. Furthermore, by analysing sources from different disciplines I have been able to discover the many different ways in which portraiture functioned in the lives of the middling sort including to commemorate a significant event in their life, to represent pride in their profession, as an aid to remember the dead and to emulate their good deeds or to learn from their mistakes, to think upon their own ideal portraiture and fashion themselves accordingly, as a reminder of a loved one, to negotiate and forge relationships and as a decorative work of art. The manner in which miniatures were used by the middling sort and the nobility does overlap but I have shown that these more modest collectors fashioned the art form to suit their own unique requirements.

Whilst the analysis was limited to the 50% of miniatures with identified sitters, nevertheless this high number of unfamiliar faces demonstrates the popularity of the art form amongst lesser-known, and possibly non-courtly, individuals. The miniatures in the database were as representative as possible considering the low survival rate of paintings from this

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[336] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 221.

period, and the types of pictures which are most frequently collected and documented. Further work in this area could test whether the statistics arrived at by this research are applicable to further sets of miniatures that were not available at the time of writing.

The valuation of 'small pictures' in regional inventories provides a strong argument for the inclusion of the middling sort as the audience for miniatures. The comparison of noble and non-noble inventories supports the traditional claim that, in the seventeenth century, noble collectors often displayed their miniatures in purpose-built cabinet rooms like those at Whitehall and Ham House, or galleries like Hardwick Hall. In contrast, the middling sort predominantly displayed their small pictures in parlours. The evidence of other items of furniture and decorative items in these rooms suggests that, for these more modest households, the miniatures were integrated into their everyday lives alongside eating, sleeping, and entertaining. This provides strong evidence for the claim that small pictures were reserved for the eyes of the household and invited guests, rather than being used to display the family's status to all visitors in more public areas of the house. If these picture owners were emulating the nobility, therefore, they were doing so discreetly.

The varied terminology by which miniatures were known contributed towards the difficulty in ascertaining the exact nature of the 'small pictures' and 'little pictures' mentioned in inventories. However, whilst the details of the small pictures in the homes of the middling sort remains opaque, the evidence of less familiar pictures representing the middling sort, which were examined in chapter two, strongly suggests a relationship between the documentary and the visual evidence. Further research examining probate inventories from different geographic areas would make a useful comparison with the results here to see how representative they were. Also, a focus on records from the latter half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century would prove instructive in mapping out any changes over a longer time frame.

So far, I have argued that whilst the fashion for small-scale portraits originated from the court, the middling sort adapted the format to suit their own needs rather than replicating the images and the same conditions of display as the nobility. The findings, therefore, question Langford's interpretation of the middling sort as being unified by 'aping the manners and morals of the gentry'.[337] Furthermore, as the ownership of pictures is a frequent determinant for the identification of the middling sort, the evidence has been used to argue for the origins of this group in the century prior to their usual placement by the influential work of Langford, Keith Wrightson, John Smail, Lorna Weatherill, and other historians of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[338]

This thesis has also interrogated how a miniature was understood conceptually by middling sort audiences. To address this subject, it examined manuscripts and printed matter written on the art form, and investigated the contexts in which writers thought about miniatures and the audience for this information. By selecting manuscript and printed sources across an eighty-year period it was possible to trace developments and patterns in this discourse. This research has identified four sometimes overlapping and occasionally conflicting frameworks in which to study the literature on miniatures: artisanal knowledge, scholarly knowledge, amateur knowledge, and the blazoning of arms. The examination of the material conditions of texts and their circulation alongside the critical textual analysis led to the argument that there was an interest in discourse on limning in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries outside of courtly circles. This unique approach to studying writing on miniatures over a significant time period, that has considered a range of audiences for this work, has allowed me to question the work of Strong, who focuses on Hilliard's manuscript

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[337] Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, p. 67.

[338] Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*; J. Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax and Yorkshire, 1160–1780* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (London: Routledge, 1988); and Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 298.

without considering the history and development of writing on art and its developing

readership. Furthermore, it has provided supporting evidence for Adam Fox's argument that

print did not supersede manuscript after the adoption of the printing press and thereby

questioned Elizabeth Eisenstein's concept of the printed book signalling the end of

manuscripts.[339] The findings presented here, therefore, can be considered alongside the work

of H. R. Woudhuysen and Harold Love, who argue for the ongoing relationship between print

and manuscript culture, and that of Sara Pennell, who has broadened the debate on

manuscripts by incorporating non-literary, non-elite sources within her research.[340] There are

limitations to the research findings, primarily based on the scarcity of vernacular writing on

art available to large audiences before the seventeenth century. Further research could

examine the owners of printed material and manuscripts in the latter half of the seventeenth

century to see if the two forms continued to interact with each other and to investigate the

development of their audiences.

To gain a fuller understanding of how miniatures were considered by early audiences,

the thesis examined dramatic sources. The fourth chapter began with a quantitative analysis

of surviving plays that feature miniatures between *c*. 1540 and 1650. The analysis questioned

the concept of the early modern 'bare stage' and thereby has contributed towards the

discourse on staged properties by Harris and Korda.[341] The evidence here was limited by the

low survival rate of early modern plays that all research in this field encounters. However, by

paying close attention to the shifts over time it was possible to challenge less carefully

historicised accounts of the shifting function and reception of miniatures in drama. Crucial to

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[339] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England*; Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*.

[340] H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Sara Pennell and Michelle DiMeo, *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, c.1500–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

[341] For the theory of the 'bare stage' see George F. Reynolds, *On Shakespeare's Stage*, ed. by Richard K. Knaub (Colorado: The University of Colorado Press, 1962). For more recent scholarship on the materiality of the early modern stage, see Gil Harris and Korda, *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*.

this was widening the focus of study from high-Elizabethan sources, which have already received a lot of scholarly attention, to a consideration of plays written in the first half of the sixteenth century and the mid-seventeenth century.

By focusing on three plays I was able to understand how dramatists manipulated the unique characteristics of the miniature for dramatic effect and how this changed over time and genre. To further explore the relationship between audiences and the miniature, the spaces in which the plays were performed were examined. I have also considered how the socially variegated audience might interpret the miniature differently. In doing this, my research has built upon the documentary evidence of Martin Butler and Andrew Gurr, and contributes towards scholarly debate on audiences.[342] In addition to the large outdoor playhouses and the smaller private theatres, the thesis has considered performances in a private hall, an institutional setting, and a church. The use of the miniature in these different spaces highlighted how flexible it needed to be as a staged property, and the research thereby complements Sarah Dustagheer's scholarship on the adaptability of plays that were performed at different venues.[343] The thesis has explored how the different audience members might have interpreted the miniature in the play in light of their own familiarity with visual culture, in particular writing on miniatures and the small pictures in their homes. It argued against a monolithic interpretation of the miniature and explored alternative subjective responses. This approach to the miniature within drama is original in the way that it considers different audiences' perceptions of staged properties and adds to scholarship on both art forms.

By approaching the subject of portrait miniatures from an interdisciplinary perspective it was possible to investigate the complexity of the relationships between object,

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[342] Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*; Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*.
[343] Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses*.

text, and audience in myriad ways, that would not have been possible when working only within one discipline. Whilst each of the sources investigated had specific problems, as I have shown, they have also offered distinct advantages for the study of miniatures. By using sources that complement each other my research has been able to fill in the gaps left by current research, which has relied upon sources which have a disproportionately negative impact in understanding the middling sort. The investigation of visual culture alongside literature supports the interdisciplinary work of Lucy Gent and David Evett, whilst also demonstrating the value of examining non-elite audiences and a greater range of sources.[344] The investigation of pictures within drama contributes to the scholarship of Keir Elam, whilst also demonstrating the benefit of questioning what the staged properties might have looked like materially and conceptually.[345] By examining miniatures within all of these disciplines, this thesis has been able to make an original contribution to scholarship and one that demonstrates the value of an integrated understanding.

The fundamental implication of this research is the way it may change how people think about portrait miniatures. The greater access to sources in the twenty-first century enables the examination of a wider range of material than was available to Strong forty years ago, when he was writing on the subject.[346] And unlike Strong, Reynolds, Murdoch, and Murrell, whose work was based in galleries and museums, the research in this thesis has also incorporated up-to-date scholarly research in the fields of drama, literature, and history.[347] This has allowed the examination of the miniature from a wider perspective than that adopted by other scholars who have worked in the field. Although Fumerton incorporated her study of miniatures within a larger consideration of cultural history, she confined her research to the

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[344] Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560–1620: Relations Between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981); Evett, *Literature and the Visual Arts*.
[345] Elam, '"Most truly limned and living in your face"'.
[346] Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*.
[347] Reynolds, *English Portrait Miniatures*; Murdoch et al., *The English Miniature*.

royal court.[348] I have shown that there is value in looking out from courtly sources alone, by including material that can shed light on the small pictures owned by more modest collectors. My research, therefore, brings the subject of the portrait miniature up to date and in line with modern scholarship. It demonstrates that traditional scholarship on miniatures has overlooked examples that do not fit in with a courtly aesthetic, has marginalized miniatures that represent those of less than noble status, and has presented an overriding interpretation of art as being unsuitable for all audiences. My research points the way towards further interdisciplinary research on miniatures made in different periods and interpreted by different audiences from across the social and cultural spectrum. It will also be of interest to scholars concerned with questioning labels, such as I have done with the 'portrait miniature'.

By answering the questions that were posed at the start, my research findings have opened up new avenues for academic scholarship and curatorial practice. By bringing a fresh eye and an up-to-date scholarly approach to miniatures, I would like my research to encourage audiences to reconsider what they think they know about miniatures. My research has implications for curators and visitors to museums, galleries, and country houses who interpret works of art. I hope that in highlighting sources that have been collated from local, regional, national, and international museums and galleries, this will lead to further research on these collections and less familiar objects, that offer the possibility of so much exciting new knowledge. The exhibition of 'orphan' miniatures that lack an attribution to a painter, provenance, and a known sitter and that cannot simply be assimilated into traditional interpretations of the art form, creates opportunities for new narratives that can provide a fuller understanding of their social and cultural significance. In order to do this new questions need to be asked of familiar sources and more use made of unfamiliar sources including those from different disciplines. Often hidden in store rooms or covered up in a cabinet, I would

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[348] Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*.

like to see more miniatures brought out for people to see. I argue throughout my thesis that meanings are not fixed, that individual interpretation continually makes and re-makes meaning. In a similar way, I hope that this thesis is the start of audiences thinking about and looking at miniatures anew.

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Appendix 1: Miniatures Database *c*. 1520–*c*. 1650

As part of the research on miniatures I viewed as many examples of the art form made between *c*. 1520 and *c*. 1650 as was possible. This includes miniatures found within international, national, local, institutional, commercial and Private collections. Some miniatures I was not able to view in person but it was possible to work from an image or from written documentation. I compiled this information on 1,200 miniatures within a database which informed my overview of the subject and which allowed me to consider the wide variety of the art form. This, in turn, informed my consideration of contemporary writing on the subject, the statistical analysis of the objects in chapter 2, the understanding of what the 'small pictures' might look like which are listed in probate inventories and the visual culture that playwrights and playgoers called to mind when they thought about miniatures. The database includes 'traditional portrait miniatures' which measure no more than 80 mm in length, which are executed in watercolour on vellum and made by painters who work predominantly in Britain. It also includes 'small pictures' which are executed in a range of media including watercolour, oil paint and enamel, made by painters who were not necessarily working in Britain and which range in size from 9 mm to 327 mm – the largest size which can be considered a cabinet painting and comparatively smaller than the 'great pictures' listed within probate inventories . This thesis argues that, when these two groups are examined together, they give a more rounded understanding of the miniature portraiture than has previously been accounted for in scholarship.

Number	Image	Artist	Sitter/Title	Date	Medium	Size	Location	Accession
1	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Lettice Knollys, Countess of Leicester	1592	Watercolour on vellum	43 mm x 36 mm	Folger Shakespeare Library	(call no. FPn9) (accession no: 231301)
2	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke	1610	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Folger Shakespeare Library	call no: FPm10
3	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	1612	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 40 mm	Folger Shakespeare Library	call no. FPm13 (4880)
4	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	1620	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 34 mm	Folger Shakespeare Library	call no. FPm11 (4147)
5	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Queen Anne of Denmark	1620	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 34 mm	Folger Shakespeare Library	call no. FPm12 (4148)
6		Hans Holbein	Margaret More	1535	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm diameter	Metropolitan Museum	50.69.2
7		Hans Holbein	William Roper	1535	Watercolour on vellum	45mm diameter	Metropolitan Museum	50.69.1
8		Hans Holbein	Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap	1533	Oil on parchment, laid down on wood	95 mm diameter	Metropolitan Museum	50.145.24
9		Hans Holbein	Thomas Wriothesley, First Earl of Southampton	1535	Watercolour on vellum	28 mm x 25 mm	Metropolitan Museum	25.205
10		Nicholas Hilliard	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, probably	1588	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 33 mm	Metropolitan Museum	35.89.4

11		Simon Bening	Simon Bening, Self-Portrait	1558	Tempera and gold leaf on parchment	85 mm x 57 mm	Metropolitan Museum	1975.1.2487
12		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Woman	1590	Vellum laid on card	27 mm x 22 mm	Metropolitan Museum	32.100.311
13		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Woman	1597	Vellum laid on card	47 mm x 39 mm	Metropolitan Museum	35.89.2
14		Jean Clouet	Charles de Cossé, Count of Brissac	1535	Watercolour on vellum	37 mm diameter	Metropolitan Museum	35.89.1
15		Samuel Cooper	Henry Carey, Second Earl of Monmouth	1649	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 52 mm	Metropolitan Museum	49.33
16		John Hoskins	Endymion Porter	1630	Watercolour on vellum	80 mm x 66 mm	Metropolitan Museum	24.80.505
17		John Hoskins	Picture of a Man, said to be Philip Wharton, 4th Baron Wharton	1648	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 56 mm	Metropolitan Museum	62.122.22
18		Unknown Artist	John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony	1550	Oil on vellum	168 mm x 136 mm	Metropolitan Museum	29.158.753
19		E. Jean Saillant (aka Saliano in Italy)	Portrait of a Man	1628	Vellum stretched over wood	170 mm x 142 mm	Metropolitan Museum	59.72.2
20		E. Jean Saillant (aka Saliano in Italy)	Portrait of a Churchman	1628	Vellum stretched over copper	157 mm x 122 mm	Metropolitan Museum	59.72.1

21		Pieter Pietersz the Younger	Portrait of a Moravian Woman	Unknown	Vellum	266 mm x 183 mm	Metropolitan Museum	24.80.529
22		Franciszek Smiadecki	Portrait of a Man	1650	Oil on card	67 mm x 56 mm	Metropolitan Museum	62.122.23
23		Monogrammist IS	Portrait of a Man	1621	Oil on copper	105 mm x 91 mm	Metropolitan Museum	15.43.291
24		David Baudringhien	Portrait of a Woman	Unknown	Oil on copper	95 mm x 76 mm	Metropolitan Museum	32.75.15
25		David Baudringhien	Portrait of a Man	1627	Oil on copper	95 mm x 76 mm	Metropolitan Museum	32.75.16
26		Unknown Artist	Portrait of a Man	1550	Oil on card	portrait 32 mm x 28 mm (43 mm x 38 mm)	Metropolitan Museum	80.3.180
27		Unknown Artist	Portrait of a Woman	1630	Oil on metal laid on card	36 mm x 31 mm	Metropolitan Museum	32.75.14
28		Unknown Artist	Portrait of a Woman	1630	Oil on copper	50 mm x 38 mm	Metropolitan Museum	62.122.135
29		Unknown Artist	Portrait of a Woman	1625	Oil on copper	86 mm x 67 mm	Metropolitan Museum	62.122.128
30		Leonard Limosin	Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre	1556	Enamel, painted on copper and partly gilded	191 mm x 143 mm	Metropolitan Museum	49.7.108

31		Corneille de Lyon	Portrait of a Man	1545	Oil on wood	95 mm diameter	Metropolitan Museum	1982.60.41
32		Lucas Cranach	Venus and Cupid	1526	Oil on wood	121 mm diameter	Metropolitan Museum	1982.60.48
33		Lucas Cranach	Friedrich III the Wise, Elector of Saxony	1533	Oil on paper laid on wood	203 mm x 143 mm	Metropolitan Museum	46.179.1
34		Lucas Cranach	Johann I, the Constant	1532	Oil on canvas, transferred from wood	210 mm x 149 mm	Metropolitan Museum	71.128
35		Lucas Cranach	Johann I, the Constant	1532	Oil on paper laid on wood	203 mm x 143 mm	Metropolitan Museum	46.179.2
36		John Hoskins	King Charles I	1650	Gouache on paper	47mm x 39 mm	Morgan Library & Museum	AZ081 accession no. BBID 214015
37		John Hoskins	Henrietta Maria	1650	Gouache on paper	47 mm x 39 mm	Morgan Library & Museum	AZ081 accession no. BBID 214015
38		Unknown Artist, British School	John Milton, possibly	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 45 mm	Morgan Library & Museum	AZ099 Record ID: 214033
39	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein, attributed to	Unknown Man	1540	Gouache and gold on thin card	46 mm diameter	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.58
40	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Portrait of a Lady	c. 1535	Gouache on thin card	48 mm diameter	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.59

41	[REDACTED]	Jean Clouet, attributed to	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Lady	1540	Watercolour and gouache and gold on vellum	41 mm diameter	Yale Center for British Art	B2001.2.1394
42	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman, Elizabeth of Bohemia, possibly	c. 1600 — 1615	Watercolour and gouache on vellum laid onto card	51 mm x 43 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.51
43	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, studio of	Anne, Queen of Denmark	c. 1605	Gouache on vellum laid onto card	60 mm x 48 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.50
44	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Dudley North, Third Baron North	c. 1609	Gouache and gold on vellum laid onto card	51 mm x 41 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.76
45	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Peter Oliver, Self Portrait	c. 1625	Watercolour and gouache on medium, cream, laid paper	83 mm x 73 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B2008.15
46	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c. 1596	Gouache and grey ink on parchment laid onto card	54 mm x 44 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.75
47	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia	1596, after	Gouache on card	51 mm x 41 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.74
48	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	A Lady of the North Family	1620 — 1624	Gouache on vellum laid on card	54 mm x 44 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.63
49	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, attributed to	Portrait of a Gentleman	c. 1630	Gouache on vellum	54 mm x 44 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.60
50	[REDACTED]	Edward Norgate, attributed to	Portrait of a Lady	c. 1610	Gouache on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.73

51	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	King Charles I when Prince of Wales	c. 1618—1621	Gouache on vellum laid onto a playing card	51 mm x 41 mm	Yale Center for British Art	B1974.2.77
52		Unknown Artist	Portrait of an Unknown Man	Early 17th Century	Oil on metal	48 mm x 35 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	01.6238
53		Unknown Artist	Portrait of an Unknown Woman	Early 17th Century	Oil on metal	35 mm x 50 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	01.6239
54		Unknown Artist	Portrait of an Unknown Man	Early 17th Century	Oil on metal	35 mm x 50 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	01.6240
55		Unknown Artist	Portrait of a Young Girl	Early 17th Century	Oil on metal	48 mm x 35 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	01.6241
56		Samuel Bernard (signed) (N.B. 2018 cat. as 'Unknown')	Cardinal Richelieu	1638 inscribed, (but 2018 cat. c. 1890)	Watercolour and gouache on ivory	133 mm x 95 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	03.47
57		François Clouet, school of	Head of a Gentleman	1571	Oil on paper mounted on wood panel	114 mm x 82.5 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	65.2668
58		Nicholas Hilliard	Portrait of a Lady	c. 1590—1595	Watercolour and bodycolor on vellum	50 mm x 43 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	38.1408
59		Sofonisba Anguissola	Sofonisba Anguissola, Self Portrait	c. 1556	Varnished watercolour on parchment	83 mm x 64 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	60.155
60	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Charles Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham	1576	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 44 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1960.39

61	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Hans Holbein	Sir Thomas More	17th Century	Oil on wood	65 mm diameter	Cleveland Museum of Art	1957.356
62	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver, studio of	Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, née Harrington	1612	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 42 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1949.547
63	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, studio of	Portrait of a Woman	c. 1590s	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 51 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1949.545
64	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, manner of	Portrait of a Man	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm x 38 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1942.1150
65	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver, circle of	Portrait of a Man	c. 1615	Watercolour on card	47 mm x 38 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1941.56
66	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, née Harrington	c. 1608 – 1616	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 41 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1941.559
67	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Portrait of a Man	c. 1625	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 39 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1941.558
68	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Portrait of a Man	1590s	Watercolour on vellum	35 mm x 23 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1941.557
69	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Portrait of a Woman	c. 1593	Watercolour on vellum	39 mm x 33 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1940.121
70	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Anthony Mildmay, Knight of Apethorpe, Northants.	c. 1590 – 1593	Watercolour on vellum	234 mm x 173 mm	Cleveland Museum of Art	1926.554

71	[REDACTED]	John Bettes	Sir John Godsalve	1540	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm diameter	Cincinnati Art Museum	L24.2010:57
72	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	A Gentleman	1650	Oil on copper	64 mm x 48 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	Temporary receipt number: 04/05.27:149
73	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Sir Thomas Bendish	1647	Watercolour on vellum	73 mm x 60 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1990.1871
74	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	A Lady	1594	Watercolour on vellum	38 mm x 32 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	Temporary Receipt Number: 91/92.108.12
75	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	A Lady in Masque Costume	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 75 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1996.39 Temporary receipt no: 95/96.60:22
76	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Mary Talbot	c. 1615	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 40 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1990.158
77	[REDACTED]	Laurence Hilliard	A Gentleman	1622	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 38 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1990.1601
78	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, called	1610	Oil on amethyst	33 mm x 25 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	2004.297
79	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist (Wallerant Vaillant, formerly attributed)	A Gentleman with a Dog	1643	Oil on copper	97 mm x 59 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1991.404
80	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	A Gentleman	c. 1650	Transfer print on dendritic agate	70 mm x 55 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	2004.391

81	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	A Child	Unknown	Oil on copper	50 mm x 50 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	L24.2010:32
82	[REDACTED]	Sir James Palmer	A Gentleman of the Carey Family	c. 1615	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1990.1472
83	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	A Gentleman	c. 1630s	Watercolour on vellum	43 mm x 35 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1990.1602
84	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	A Gentleman	c. 1622	Silverpoint on gessoed card	124 mm x 92 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1991.353a
85	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Two Unknown Women, called Two Sisters	c. 1622	Silverpoint on gessoed card	124 mm x 92 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1991.353b
86	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Thomas Howard, Second Earl of Arundel, called	c. 1622	Silverpoint on gessoed card	124 mm x 92 cm	Cincinnati Art Museum	91/92.108.41
87	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	A Lady	c. 1622	Silverpoint on gessoed card	119 mm x 94 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1991.372
88	[REDACTED]	Thomas Flatman	Dr Samuel Parker	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 48 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1996.31
89	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	A Woman	c. 1580 —1600	Oil on copper	48 mm x 38 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	2004.28
90		Gerard Horenbout	Sir Nicholas Carew	Before 1539	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3896

91		Lucas Horenbout	King Henry VIII	1525—1527	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 40 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.19-1949
92		Nicholas Hilliard	Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, formerly called	1572	Watercolour on vellum	46 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3899
93		Nicholas Hilliard	Nicholas Hilliard, Self Portrait, formerly called	1574	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.20-1949
94		Nicholas Hilliard	Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, possibly. (Lady Hunsdon, formerly called)	1576	Watercolour on vellum	46 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP 3851
95		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Lady	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	182 mm x 122 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.209-1961
96		Nicholas Hilliard	Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton	1594	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm x 32.5 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3856
97		Nicholas Hilliard	Formerly called The Countess of Pembroke or The Countess of Dorset	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	73 mm x 53 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3898
98		Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Henry Slingsby	1595	Watercolour on vellum	84 mm x 63 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3850
99		Nicholas Hilliard	Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (formerly called Sir Philip Sidney)	1595	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 64 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.3-1953
100		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c. 1595—1600	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm x 45 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP. 3761
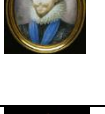
101		Nicholas Hilliard, school of	Lettice Knollys probably	c. 1595 — 1600	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 37 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3854
102		Peter Oliver	Unknown Man, Sir Kenelm Digby, possibly	c. 1620	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm x 33 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3875
103		Isaac Oliver, school of	Elizabeth Manners (née Sidney) Countess of Rutland, possibly	c. 1612	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 42 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3867
104		Isaac Oliver, studio of	Unknown Man	Unknown	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm x 39 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.26-1952
105		Peter Oliver	Frederick, King of Bohemia, Elector Palatine	Unknown	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm x 39 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP 3876
106		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Lady	1595— 1600	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 41 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP 3868
107		Nicholas Hilliard	Princes Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia, perhaps	Unknown	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 40 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP 3852
108		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, previously called Thomas Thirleby,	1552	Oil on vellum	60 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.54-1996
109		Laurence Hilliard	Unknown Man	1640	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm x 43 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3849
110		Isaac Oliver [?]	Unknown Man	1588	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 49 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3882

111		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Lady	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 50 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PPD.3883
112		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	c. 1605 —1610	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 39 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3866
113		Isaac Oliver	Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, née Harrington possibly, Unknown	1610	Bodycolour and watercolour on card	127 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3902
114		Isaac Oliver	Richard Sackville, Third Earl of Dorset	c. 1616	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm x 34 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3865
115		Isaac Oliver	Ludovick Stuart, Second Duke of Lennox and Duke of Richmond	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 40 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3869
116		Isaac Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 40 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3903
117		Sir James Palmer	Sir Peter Young, formerly called Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset	1619	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 38 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3877A
118		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, John Hampden, formerly called	17th Century	Oil on copper	66 mm x 51 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3804
119		Unknown Artist, formerly attributed to Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, formerly called Inigo Jones	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 39 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.13-1955
120		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, Colonel Lilburne, formerly called	c. 1650	Oil on copper	56 mm x 44 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3725

121		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, formerly called Sir Edward Ashmole	c. 1650	Oil on leather on card	60 mm x 47 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3807
122		John Hoskins	Three of the Children of King Charles I (James, Elizabeth and Henry)	c. 1647	Watercolour on vellum	80 mm x 119 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3877
123		Samuel Cooper	Robert Lilburne	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 45 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3830
124		Samuel Cooper	Mrs Elizabeth Leigh, formerly called Lady Margaret Ley or Lady Leigh	1648	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3787
125		Samuel Cooper	Montague Bertie, 2nd Earl of Lindsey	1649	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 50 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3824
126		Samuel Cooper	John, Baron Belasyse	c. 1646	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3786
127		Alexander Cooper	Unknown Man, formerly thought to be William II, Prince of Orange	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 45 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3860
128		Attributed to both Alexander Cooper & John Hoskins	The Duchess of Buckingham, née Lady Catherine Manners,	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm x 39 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.14-1955
129		Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, formerly called John Thurloe	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 42 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.194-1961
130		Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	37 mm x 30 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.957-1963

131		Samuel Cooper	Unknown Lady, formerly called The Countess of Sandwich	1647	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm x 50 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3829
132		Jacob Van der Doort	Unknown Lady	c. 1615	Oil on silver	60 mm X 46 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3717
133		David Des Granges	Unknown Man, formerly called Lucius Cary, 2nd Viscount Falkland	c. 1640	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm x 48 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3844
134		David Des Granges	Unknown Man, formerly called Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 44 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3847
135		David Des Granges	Unknown Man in Armour, formerly called Richard Cromwell	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3845
136		Unknown Artist, Dutch	Sir Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury	c. 1620	Oil on wood	106 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP. 3727
137		Unknown Artist, Dutch	Unknown Lady	c. 1640	Oil on silver	81 mm x 57 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3814
138		Unknown Artist, Dutch	Unknown Man	c. 1650	Oil on copper	47 mm x 37 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.4002
139		Unknown Artist, Dutch	Unknown Man	c. 1650	Oil on copper	54 mm x 44 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3817
140		Unknown Artist, Dutch	Unknown Man	c. 1650	Oil on copper	51 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3726

141		Unknown Artist, Dutch	Unknown Man	c. 1650	Oil on copper	66 mm x 52 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3806
142		Unknown Artist, Flemish	Unknown Lady	16th Century	Oil on copper	61 mm x 47 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3819
143		Unknown Artist, Flemish	Unknown Lady	17th Century	Oil on metal	68 mm x 51 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.519
144		John Hoskins	Queen Henrietta Maria	c. 1640—1643	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3858
145		John Hoskins	Queen Henrietta Maria	c. 1640	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 57 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3862
146		Unknown Artist	A Lady of the Pinfold Family	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 45 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.58-1948
147		Unknown Artist, Italian	Unknown Man	c. 1590	Oil on copper	67 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.521
148		Unknown Artist, Spanish	Unknown Lady, formerly called, Elizabeth of Bohemia	Early 17th Century	Oil on metal	68 mm x 51 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.522
149		Paul Prieur, school of	Unknown Man	17th Century	Enamel	46 mm x 42 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3801
150		Pierre Signac?	Unknown Man, possibly Sir Simon Fanshawe	c. 1650	Enamel	40 mm x 34 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3802

151		John Oliver	Unknown Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	31 mm x 24 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3843
152		Crispin van de Passe	Unknown Man, Count Johann von Nassau-Siegen possibly	1600	Ink on vellum	109 mm x 92 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.555-1963
153		Jan Van de Velde II	Unknown Man, An old man holding a book	1630	Ink on paper	110 mm x 92 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.778-1963
154		Johan Wierix	Unknown Lady	c. 1600	Ink on vellum on paper	51 mm x 42 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.782-1963
155		Hendrick Goltzius	Caesar Affaytadi	1584	Metalpoint on vellum	72 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.13-1952
156		Samuel Cooper	Unknown Lady	c. 1650	Graphite on vellum	82 mm x 70 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.4007
157		Isaac Oliver	Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, née Harrington	c. 1630	Brown ink and traces of black chalk on paper	143 mm x 117 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.2753
158		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Lady, Female Figure Study	Unknown	Brown ink on paper	110 mm x 90 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.49-1947
159		Peter Oliver	Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton	c. 1620	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3873
160		Peter Oliver	Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia	Unknown	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 41 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3871

161	No image	Peter Oliver	Peter Oliver, Self Portrait	c. 1620	chalk and grey wash on paper	274 mm x 189 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.27-1948
162		Peter Oliver	Sir Kenelm Digby possibly	1619	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.12-1955
163		Peter Oliver	Unknown Man	1620	Watercolour on vellum	61 mm x 49 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3874
164		Unknown Artist	Lord Seymour of Sudeley, possibly	16th Century	Oil on wood	52 mm x 39 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.4006
165		Unknown Artist, Italian	Portrait of a Man	Late 16th Century	Oil on copper	79 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.523
166		Unknown Artist, Italian	Unknown Lady	Unknown	Oil on copper	42 mm diameter	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3818
167		Unknown Artist, Italian	Unknown Boy in a Ruff, aged 3 years	1615	Oil on canvas	52 mm x 54 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	M.82-1961
168		Unknown Artist, Italian	Unknown Man	c. 1610—1620	Oil on copper	85 mm x 65 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3908
169		Unknown Artist, Italian	Unknown Man	17th Century	Oil on copper	76 mm x 67 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.518B
170		Unknown Artist, Italian	Unknown Man, Galileo Galilei possibly	17th Century	Oil on metal	40 mm x 36 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PDP.3813

171	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	c. 1600	Oil on copper	75mm x 60 mm	Moyse's Hall Museum	BSEMS: 1978.55
172	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman	c. 1600	Oil on copper	55 mm x 45 mm	Moyse's Hall Museum	BSEMS: 1978.56
173	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Nicholas Kratzer, possibly	16th Century?	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Whipple Museum of the History of Science, Cambridge	Wh.0791
174	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, circle of	Jean de Thou, seigneur de Bonneuil	c. 1575	Oil on card	125 mm x 95 mm	Wallace Collection	M263
175	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, circle of	Renee Baillet, wife of Jean de Thou, seigneur de Bonneuil	c. 1575	Oil on card	125 mm x 95 mm	Wallace Collection	M262
176	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Hans Holbein	Mid-late 16th Century	Gouache on vellum	36 mm diameter	Wallace Collection	M203
177	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	c. 1550 —1560	Painted on vellum	40 mm diameter	Wallace Collection	M30
178	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Sir Richard Leveson	c. 1597 —1600	Gouache on vellum	51 mm x 40 mm	Wallace Collection	M287
179	[REDACTED]	Laurence Hilliard	Thomas, Lord Coventry	after 1625	Painted on vellum	58 mm x 43 mm	Wallace Collection	M202
180	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Edward, First Earl of Conway, called	after 1623	Painted on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Wallace Collection	M204

181	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after William Dobson	James Graham, First Marquess of Montrose	1644	Painted on vellum	70 mm x 54 mm	Wallace Collection	M207
182	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	c. 1650 –1660	Painted on vellum	77 mm x 65 mm	Wallace Collection	M206
183	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German	The Adoration of the Magi	c. 1600	Wax	110 mm diameter (framed)	Wallace Collection	S459
184	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	The Repentant Magdalen	Late 16th Century	Wax, polychromed, inset with tiny jewels and pearls	190 mm x 145 mm (framed)	Wallace Collection	S462
185	[REDACTED]	Antonio Abondio	Archduke Ernst of Austria	c. 1575 - 1591	Wax	82 mm x 64 mm	Wallace Collection	S434
186	[REDACTED]	Antonio Abondio, school of	Maria of Spain, Empress of Austria, possibly	Late 16th Century	Wax	75 mm x 59 mm	Wallace Collection	S435
187	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, workshop of Jacques I Laudin	Portrait of a Woman	Late 1640s	Enamel	106 mm x 88 mm	Wallace Collection	C599
188		Unknown Artist	Richard Deane	1649	Watercolour	64 mm x 48 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0187
189		Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Francis Drake, called	1581	Watercolour	47 mm x 47 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0023
190		Samuel Cooper?	Robert Blake	Early 1650s	Watercolour	55 mm x 45 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0192

191		Unknown Artist	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, called	Early 17th Century	Watercolour	50 mm x 41 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0117
192		John Hoskins	Sir Kenelm Digby	c. 1635	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 48 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0135
193		Simon van de Passe, after Isaac Oliver	Queen Elizabeth I (obverse)	c. 1613	Silver	61 mm x 51 mm	National Maritime Museum	MEC1631
194		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman (formerly called Queen Elizabeth I)	early 17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 43 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0119
195		Nicholas Hilliard	George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland	c. 1590	Watercolour and bodycolour, gold and silver leaf on vellum	258 mm x 176 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0193
196		Rowland Lockey?	Charles Howard, 2nd Baron Howard of Effingham & 1st Earl of Nottingham	1605	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm x 39 mm	National Maritime Museum	MNT0136
197		Unknown Artist	Thomas Seymour, Baron Seymour of Sudeley	1545 – 47	Watercolour on vellum	42 mm diameter	National Maritime Museum	MNT0137
198		Isaac Oliver, probably	Unknown Man	c. 1587–1617	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm x 32 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.41-1941
199		Hans Holbein	Jane Small	c. 1536	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.40&A-1935
200		Levina Teerlinc [?]	Lady Katherine Grey, Countess of Hertford	c. 1555–1560	Watercolour on vellum	35 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.10&A-1979

201		Peter Oliver	Venetia Stanley, Lady Digby	c. 1615–1622	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 50 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.3&A-1950
202		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Lady	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.8-1945
203		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, Man Clasping a Hand from a Cloud	c. 1588	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 49.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.21-1942
204		John Hoskins	King James I	c. 1620–1625	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.27-1954
205		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	1572	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 48 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.1-1942
206		Lucas Horenbout, after Bernaert van Orley	The Emperor Charles V	1525–1530	Watercolour on vellum	42 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.22-1942
207		Simon Bening	Self Portrait	1558	Watercolour on vellum	86 mm x 58 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.159-1910
208		Monogrammist G.I. after William Dobson	King Charles II, when Prince of Wales	1644–1645	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 36 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	E.442-1995
209		Nicholas Hilliard	Self Portrait	1577	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.155-1910
210		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman	1575–1580	Watercolour on vellum	39 mm x 32.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.8-1947

211		Isaac Oliver	Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset, formerly called	1598–1600	Watercolour on vellum	130 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.12-1971
212		John Hoskins	Catherine Howard, Lady d'Aubigny, and later Lady Newburgh	1638–1640	Watercolour on vellum	84 mm x 67 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.105-1910
213		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	1590	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.37-1941
214		John Hoskins	Edward Sackville, Fourth Earl of Dorset	c. 1635	Watercolour on vellum	100 mm x 81 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.104-1910
215		Nicholas Hilliard	Alice Brandon, Mrs Nicholas Hilliard	1578	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 57.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.2-1942
216		Isaac Oliver	Sir Arundel Talbot, called	1596	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 54 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.4-1917
217		Nicholas Hilliard	Richard Hilliard	1576–1577	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.154-1910
218		John Hoskins	Unknown Woman	c. 1615	Watercolour on vellum	49.5 mm x 39.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.6-1942
219		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman	1602	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 44 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.26-1975
220		James Palmer	King James I	1623	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 40 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.12-1958

221		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man, Portrait of a man in black	c. 1590–1600	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.50-1941
223		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, Portrait Miniature of an Unknown	c. 1588	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 44 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.15-1977
224		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	62 mm x 47 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	4404 to B-1857
225		Hans Holbein	Anne of Cleves	1539	Watercolour on vellum	44.5 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.153:1, 2-1910
226		Isaac Oliver	An Unknown Woman in Masque Costume	1609	Watercolour on vellum	62 mm x 51 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.3-1942
226		Isaac Oliver	Jesus Christ	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.15-1931
227		Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	1604–1609	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.3-1937
228		Alexander Cooper	Unknown Man, said to be William 2nd Duke of Hamilton	1635–1640	Watercolour on vellum	46 mm x 37 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.140 & A-1910
229		Isaac Oliver	Queen Elizabeth I	1590–1592	Watercolour on vellum	82 mm x 52 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.8-1940
230		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c. 1586–1587	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 37 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.23-1975

231		Nicholas Hilliard	Princess Elizabeth, later Queen of Bohemia	1606–1609	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.4-1937
232		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman	1576	Watercolour on vellum	37 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.27-1977
233		Nicholas Hilliard	King Charles I when Duke of York	1605–1608	Watercolour on vellum	33 mm x 27 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.10-1947
234		Samuel Cooper	Unknown Woman, formerly called Elizabeth of Bohemia	c. 1648	Watercolour on vellum	42 mm x 35 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	EVANS.11
235		Isaac Oliver	Queen Anne of Denmark	c. 1612	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 48 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	FA.689
236		François Clouet	Queen Catherine de' Medici	c. 1555	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 44 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.26-1954
237		Rowland Lockey	Sir Thomas More, his household and descendants	1593–1594	Watercolour on vellum	241 mm x 292 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.15-1973
238		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, Young Man among Roses	c. 1587	Watercolour on vellum	135 mm x 73 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.163-1910
239		Nicholas Hilliard	King Charles I when Prince of Wales	c. 1613	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.150-1910
240		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 54 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.5-1917

241		Balthazar Gerbier	King Charles I, perhaps when Prince of Wales	c. 1616	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 39 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.47-1935
242		Isaac Oliver	Richard Sackville, Third Earl of Dorset	c. 1616	Watercolour on vellum	235 mm x 153 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	721-1882
243		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	c. 1620–1622	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.133&A-1910
244		Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Christopher Hatton	1588–1591	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm x 44 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.138-1910
245		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman	1590–1593	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 47 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.9-1947
246		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman previously thought to be Mrs Holland	1593	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm x 48 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.134-1910
247		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	1590–1593	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 42 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.3-1974
248		Peter Oliver	Unknown Woman	Early 1620s	Watercolour on vellum	32 mm x 26 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.137&A-1910
249		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman	1585–1590	Watercolour on vellum	46 mm x 39 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.2-1974
250		Peter Oliver	Unknown Man	1619	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 40 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	117&A-1888

251		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Girl, aged four; Girl aged four, holding an apple	1590	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.145-1910
252		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Girl, aged five; Girl aged five, holding a carnation	1590	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.146-1910
253		John Hoskins	Unknown Man, Sir John Wildman perhaps	1647	Watercolour on vellum	76 mm x 62 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.2-1962
254		Samuel Cooper, after Anthony van Dyck	Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland	1636–1640	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm x 47 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.112-1910
255		Alexander Cooper	Charles Louis, Count Palatine	c. 1632	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 36 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.25-1932
256		Peter Oliver	Mrs Edward Norgate	1616–1617	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.71-1935
257		Unknown Artist, probably painted in Spain	Unknown Woman	17th Century	Oil on copper	57 mm x 51 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.57-1929
258		Balthazar Gerbier	King Charles I as Prince of Wales	1616	Watercolour, shaded with graphite on vellum	147 mm x 114 mm (including frame and hanging loop)	Victoria & Albert Museum	621-1882
259		Unknown Artist, probably painted in Flanders	Unknown Man	c. 1600	Oil on copper	102 mm x 76 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.28-1942
260		Peter Oliver	Elizabeth of Bohemia	1623–1626	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 40 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.27-1975
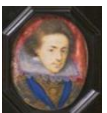
261		Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman	17th Century	Oil on copper with mica overlays	78 mm x 62 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.10 to U-1978
262		Peter Oliver	Ludwig Philipp, Duke of Simmern	1620–1625	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 39.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.28-1975
263		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, Unknown Youth in Yellow	1585–1590	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.4&A-1974
264		Isaac Oliver	The Goddess Diana	1615	Gouache on sized cambric laid down onto a thin panel of limewood	86 mm x 64 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.9-1940
265		Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, formerly called Richard Cromwell	1647	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 39 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.20-1941
266		Nicholas Hilliard	Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford and First Duke of Somerset?	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	34 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.25-1942
267		Samuel Cooper	Lady Leigh, called	1648	Watercolour on vellum	73 mm x 60 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.114-1910
268		Nathaniel Thach	A Woman in Masque Costume, a daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia?	1649	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 48 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.2-1969
269		David des Granges	King Charles II as a Youth	c. 1637–1640	Watercolour on vellum	77 mm x 62 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.115-1910
270		Peter Oliver	Elizabeth of Bohemia	1623–1626	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 40 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	DYCE.88

271		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	1597	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 40 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.5-1944
272		Simon Bening	The Virgin and Child	1550	Watercolour on vellum	315 nm x 221 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	E.635-1998
273		Leonard Limosin	Unknown Woman, Medallion	c. 1530–40	Painted enamels and gilding on copper	83 mm x 77 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	7912-1862
274		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	Mid-17th Century	Oil on card	54 mm x 47.5 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.32-1929
275		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	c.1650	Oil on copper	50 mm x 40 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.90-1937
276		Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman	c. 1610	Oil on copper	51 mm x 38 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.30-1942
277		Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman	c. 1650	Oil on metal	45 cm x 38 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.28-1952
278		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c. 1585	Pen and ink drawing on vellum	142 mm x 120 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.9-1943
279		Unknown Artist	François de France, duc d'Alençon, supposedly	1560's	Oil on copper	175 mm x 114 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	623-1882
280		Nicholas Hilliard	Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester	1571–1574	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	E.1174-1988
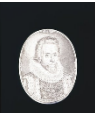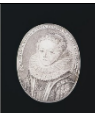
281		Nicholas Hilliard	Mary Queen of Scots	1578–1579	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.24-1975
282		Jean Petitot senior	Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu	c. 1650–1690	Enamel on metal	37 mm x 32 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	704-1882
283		Cornelis van Poelenburg	Unknown Woman	1631	Oil on copper	146 mm x 115 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.104-1931
284		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I, The Heneage Jewel, aka The Armada Jewel	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm, x 51 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	M.81-1935
285		John Hoskins	Unknown Woman	c. 1615	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.32-1941
286		Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, formerly called Francis Newport, 1st Earl of ~~Bradford~~	1650s	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 36 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.21-1941
287		John Hoskins	Unknown Woman	1640–1645	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm x 53 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.117-1910
288		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	1650s	Watercolour on vellum	24 mm x 20 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.141-1910
289		Unknown Artist, after Jean Clouet	Henry III, King of France	Early 17th Century	Unknown	45 mm x 33 mm (framed)	Victoria & Albert Museum	M.66-1952
290		Unknown Artist, French	Henry III, King of France	c. 1575	Oil on copper	44 mm x 37 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.45-1941

291		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man, formerly called Sir Francis Drake	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm x 35 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.11-1947
292		Richard Gibson	Sir William Portman, Bart, KB, FRS	1650s	Watercolour on vellum	75 mm x 61 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	EVANS.35
293		Peter Oliver	Sir Francis Nethersole	1619	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.6-1917
294		Unknown Artist	Unknown Boy	1650–1660	Watercolour on vellum	20 mm x 16 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.142-1910
295		Levina Teerlinc[?]	Unknown Woman	c. 1560	Watercolour on vellum	25 mm x 25 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.48-1984
296		Laurence Hilliard	Unknown Woman	c. 1620–1630	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 46 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.23-1942
297		Unknown Artist	Unknown Boy	1650s	Watercolour on vellum	19 mm x 16 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.143-1910
298		François Clouet	Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	17th Century	Oil on oak panel	317 mm x 235 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	625-1882
299		Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	37 mm x 29 mm (framed)	Victoria & Albert Museum	M.247-1975
300		Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman	1600–1650	Oil on agate	46 mm x 24 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	7003:1, 2-1860

301		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	1600–1650	Oil on agate	46 mm x 24 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	7003:1, 2-1860
302		Unknown Artist	King Charles I	17th Century?	Enamel	21 mm x 21 mm x 19 mm (ring)	Victoria & Albert Museum	M.1-1909
303		Unknown Artist, probably made in France	Unknown Man	c. 1645	Enamel on metal	31 mm x 28 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	39-1866
304		Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	30 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	M.92-1975
305		Unknown Artist	Thomas Gresham, possibly	17th C.entury	Unknown	12.5 mm x 11 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.38-1942
306		Unknown Artist, after Wenceslaus Hollar	King Charles I	1640–1690	Silk embroidery on satin	Unknown	Victoria & Albert Museum	812-1891
307		Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen	Unknown Man	Late 1620s–30s	Oil on oak panel	230 mm x 184 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	496-1882
308		Isaac Oliver	Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby D'Eresby	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	36 mm x 26 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.5-1947
309		Unknown Artist	King Charles I and King Charles II	c. 1650–1660	Gold and enamel	29 mm x 31 mm x.4 mm (framed)	Victoria & Albert Museum	M.253-1975
310		Alonso Sanchez Coello	Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II of Spain	Late 1580s	Oil on panel	85 mm x 52 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.161-1910

311		Crispin van de Passe, the elder	Queen Elizabeth I	1592	Engraving	181 mm x 124 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	E.3000-1960
312		Lucas Horenbout	King Henry VIII, Letters patent of Henry VIII for Thomas Forster	1524	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm diameter (portrait)	Victoria & Albert Museum	MSL.6-1999
313		Unknown Artist, after Mierevelt	Unknown Man	Early 17th Century	Oil on silver	49 mm x 39 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.166-1910
314		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Anne of Denmark	c. 1603	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.148-1910
315		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	c. 1595	Watercolour on paper	38 mm x 31 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	IS.60-1978
316		Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	1612–1614	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.147-1910
317		Nicholas Hilliard	Princess Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia	1612–1614	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.152-1910
318		Nicholas Hilliard	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	c. 1612	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.149-1910
319		Simon van de Passe	Queen Anne of Denmark	1616–1620	Silver, engraved	55 mm x 43 mm x 1 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	259-1906
320		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	1610	Watercolour on vellum	43 mm x 35 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.129-1910

321		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	1640–1650	Watercolour on vellum	62 mm x 51 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	109-1889
322		Unknown Artist, formerly attributed to Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman	c. 1605–1625	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm x 53 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.130-1910
323		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c. 1595–1600	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm x 53 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	622-1882
324		Laurence Hilliard	Sir Arnold Breams, called	1617	Watercolour on vellum	73 mm x 62 mm (framed, without loop)	Victoria & Albert Museum	EVANS.2
325		Unknown Artist, Hans Kels (?)	Catherine of Aragon gamespiece	1530–1540	Boxwood	53 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	A.35-1934
326		Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I, The Wild Jewel	1590s	Turquoise	14 mm x 6 mm cameo	Victoria & Albert Museum	M.26-2002
327		Unknown Artist, Isaac Oliver (?) Richard Scarlett (?)	Sackville Pedigree	1599	Watercolour on parchment	2 metres height	Victoria & Albert Museum	MSL.41-1981
328		Unknown Artist	Writing box featuring Paris, Helen, Mars, Venus, Cupid, Christ and St George	c. 1525	Walnut and oak, lined with painted and gilded leather and silk velvet	50 mm x 410 mm x 270 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	W.29:1 to 9-1932
329		Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman	c. 1615	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 44 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.24-1932
330		Unknown Artist, formerly attributed to Jean Petitot	Frederick V, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia	c. 1627–1691	Enamel on metal	43 mm x 34 mm (aperture)	Victoria & Albert Museum	2025-1855

331		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	c. 1610–1620	Watercolour on paper	327 mm x 190 mm (image)	Victoria & Albert Museum	IM.9-1913
332		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I wax seal impression	c. 1585	Wax	153 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.48-1980
333		Simon de Passe	King James I medallion	1616–1620	Silver	54 mm x 42 mm x 1 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	960-1904
334		Simon de Passe	Charles, Prince of Wales, later King Charles I	1616	Silver	56 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	961-1904
335		Hans Kels	Unknown Man and Unknown Woman	1543	Painted boxwood	49 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	A.33-1934
336		Christoph Weiditz	Joachim Rehle medal	1529	Boxwood	56 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	A.504-1910
337		Simon de Passe	King James I with Anne of Denmark and Charles, Prince of Wales	1616–1620	Silver	62 mm x 50 mm x 1 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	962-1904
338		Simon de Passe	Frederick V, King of Bohemia, Elizabeth of Bohemia & infant	1616–1620	Silver, engraved, and possibly cast	64 mm x 51 mm x 0.5 cm	Victoria & Albert Museum	126-1865
339		Peter Oliver, after Titian	The Rest on the Flight into Egypt	1628	Watercolour on vellum	152 mm x 241 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	740-1882
340		Simon de Passe	The Infanta Maria of Austria	1616–1620	Silver, engraved	55 mm x 43 mm	Victoria & Albert Museum	963-1904

341		Hans Holbein	Unknown Man, previously identified as the goldsmith	c. 1532	Oil on oak	130 mm diameter	Victoria & Albert Museum	P.158-1910
342	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist after Nicholas Hilliard	Mary Queen of Scots, perhaps	c. 1587	Unknown [Watercolour on vellum?]	Unknown	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris	NAL MS 82, fol. 90r
343		Unknown Artist	King Charles I	c. 1650	Enamel	18 mm diameter (hoop) 12 mm length (bezel)	British Museum	AF.1439
344		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c. 1584	Pen and ink and wash with pencil, on vellum, drawing	124 mm diameter	British Museum	1912,0717.1
345		Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I, Phoenix Jewel	1570-1580	Gold and enamel	59 mm x 44 mm x 4 mm (framed, without loop)	British Museum	SLMisc.1778
346		Isaac Oliver	The Adoration of the Magi	1556-1617	Brown wash, touched with pen and brown ink heightened with white	229 mm x 168 mm	British Museum	1855,0714.55
347		David des Granges	Sir Bevil Grenville, said to be, also known as The Grenville	c. 1635-1640	Vellum	35 mm x 42 mm	British Museum	WB.168
348		Hans Schwarz	King Henry VIII, medal	c. 1524 (?)	Lead	59 mm diameter	British Museum	1951,0703.1
349		Steven van Herwijck	Richard (and on the reverse Dorcas) Martin, medal	1562	Silver	57 mm diameter	British Museum	M.6869
350		Nicholas Hilliard	King James I, also known as The Lyte Jewel'	1610-1611	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm x 48 mm	British Museum	WB.167

351		Unknown Artist	Anne Boleyn medal	1534	Lead	38 mm diameter	British Museum	M.9010
352		Godefroy Le Batave	Francis I and Julius Caesar, Les Commentaires de la Guerre Gallique, vol 2	1519	Watercolour (on vellum?)	250 mm x 125 mm (folio)	British Library	Harley MS 6205, fol.3
353		Gerard Horenbout	Emperor Charles V, Sforza Hours	1520	Watercolour (on vellum?)	Unknown	British Library	Additional MS 34294, fol 213
354		Unknown Artist	King Henry VIII, The Croke Girdle Book	1540	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	British Library	Stowe MS 956
355		Isaac Oliver, attributed to	Queen Elizabeth I 'Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses'	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	115 mm x 157 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6947
356		Lucas Horenbout, attributed to	Queen Mary I as a Princess	c. 1525	Watercolour on vellum	35 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6453
357		Lucas Horenbout, attributed to	Katherine of Aragon	c. 1525	Watercolour on vellum	38 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4682
358		Lucas Horenbout, attributed to	Katherine of Aragon	c. 1525-1526	Watercolour on vellum	39 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG L244
359		Hans Holbein, attributed to	Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex	c. 1532-1533	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6310
360		Hans Holbein, studio of	Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex	c. 1537	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6311

361		Gerlach Flicke	Gerlach Flicke Self-Portrait with Henry Strangwish	1554	Oil on paper or vellum	88 mm x 119 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6353
362		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	1572	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 48 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 108
363		Nicholas Hilliard	Robert Dudley, First Earl of Leicester	1576	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4197
364		Nicholas Hilliard	Francis Bacon, First Viscount St Alban	1578	Watercolour & bodycolour on vellum	60 mm x 47 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6761
365		Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Francis Drake	1581	Watercolour on vellum	28 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4851
366		Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Walter Ralegh (Raleigh)	c. 1585	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 41 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4106
367		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, possibly George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 38 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6273
368		Unknown Artist	John Maitland, First Baron Maitland	c. 1588	Tempera on card	38 mm x 28 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 2769
369		Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Christopher Hatton	after 1588	Watercolour & bodycolour on vellum	47 mm x 35 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 5549
370		Isaac Oliver	Henry Stanley, Fourth Earl of Derby	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 42 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6302

371		Isaac Oliver	Isaac Oliver, Self Portrait	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 51 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4852
372		Nicholas Hilliard	Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 5994
373		Nicholas Hilliard, attributed to studio of	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c. 1595	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	248 mm x 203 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6241
374		Isaac Oliver	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	After 1596	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4966
375		Unknown Artist	John Bradshaw, formerly called	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 38 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 2131
376		Jean Petitot, attributed to, possibly after Pierre Mignard	Henrietta Anne, Duchess of Orleans	17th Century	Enamel on gold	19 mm x 16 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 1606
377		Isaac Oliver	Ludovic Stuart, First Duke of Richmond and Second Duke of Lennox	c. 1605	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	57 mm x 44 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 3063
378		Isaac Oliver	Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork	c. 1610-1615	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 38 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 2494
379		Studio of Isaac Oliver	Henry, Prince of Wales	1610	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 1572
380		Nicholas Hilliard	Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset	c. 1611	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 35 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4260

381		Isaac Oliver	Queen Anne of Denmark	c. 1612	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4010
382		Isaac Oliver, studio of	King Charles I as Prince	c. 1616	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 38 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 3064
383		Unknown Artist	Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 51 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6271
384		Peter Oliver	Anne Oliver	1625-1630	Graphite and watercolour on card	86 mm x 67 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4853a
385		Peter Oliver	Peter Oliver	c. 1625-1630	Graphite and watercolour on card	86 mm x 67 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4853
386		Peter Oliver	Sir Kenelm Digby	1627	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6274
387		John Hoskins	Dudley North, Fourth Baron North	c. 1628	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 48 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6303
388		John Hoskins, attributed to	Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland	1630s	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6304
389		Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, George Monck, First Duke of Albemarle, formerly	Mid-17th Century	Oil on copper	51 mm x 44 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 1927
390		Jean Petitot, attributed to	Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne	1640s	Enamel on copper	41 mm x 35 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 3066

391		David Des Granges, after John Hoskins	King Charles I	Based on a work of c. 1645	Watercolour on vellum	83 mm x 64 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 1924
392		Unknown Artist, probably after John Hoskins	Arthur Capel, First Baron Capel	Based on a work of 1647	Watercolour on vellum	76 mm x 64 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6275
393		Samuel Cooper	George Fleetwood	1647	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 44 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 1925
394		David Des Granges, after Adriaen Hanneman	King Charles II	1648	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 38 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 6276
395		Samuel Cooper	Oliver Cromwell	1649	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 48 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 5589
396		Unknown Artist	Ulick de Burgh, First Marquess of Clanricarde	Unknown	Oil on iron	89 mm x 76 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 1841a
397		Unknown Artist	Richard Cromwell	c. 1650-1655	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 44 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4350
398		Unknown Artist, after Titian	Philip II, King of Spain	1555	Oil on panel	86 mm x 64 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4175
399		Unknown Artist, after Anthonis Mor (Antonio Moro)	Queen Mary I	1555	Oil on panel	86 mm x 64 mm	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4174
400		Steven van Herwijck	Queen Elizabeth I medal	1565	Lead	48 mm diameter	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 4294

401	[REDACTED]	François Clouet	Mary, Queen of Scots	c. 1558	Watercolour on vellum	83 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 401229
402	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I	1585	Unknown	26 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420030.b
403	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Henrietta Maria, with set of mica overlays of different costumes	c. 1650?	Oil on copper, mica	Unknown	Royal Collection	RCIN 422348
404	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	King Henry VIII	1526-1527	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420640
405	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Unknown Woman, perhaps Katherine Howard	1540	Watercolour on vellum	63 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 422293
406	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset	c.1533-1534	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420019
407	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Henry Brandon, Second Duke of Suffolk	c. 1541	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 422294
408	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish school	Fernando, Cardinal-Infante of Spain	c. 1630	Oil on copper	61 mm x 59 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420395
409	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1580-1585	Watercolour on vellum	38 mm x 33 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 422026
410	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Swedish school	Gustavus II Adolphus, King of Sweden	c. 1620	Oil on copper	27 mm x 21 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420614

411	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Mary, Queen of Scots	c.1578-1579	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 37 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420641
412	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man, A Young Man Seated Under a Tree	c.1590-1595	Watercolour on vellum	124 mm x 89 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420639
413	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Sir Henry Guildford (traditionally identified as)	c. 1530-5	Watercolour on vellum	79 mm x 67 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420042
414	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Isaac Oliver, Self-Portrait	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 37 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420034
415	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	c. 1612	Watercolour on vellum	77 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420057
416	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Peter Oliver, Self Portrait	c.1620-1625	Watercolour on vellum	76 mm x 61 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420029
417	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper, attributed to	Unknown Man	c.1635-40	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 49 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420098
418	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Queen Henrietta Maria	c. 1635	Watercolour on vellum	62 mm x 49 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420953
419	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	James Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox	c. 1635	Watercolour on vellum	72 mm x 54 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420103
420	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver, school of	Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia	c.1613-50	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420111

421	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Frances Walsingham (possibly)	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 47 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420112
422	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, attributed to	Thomas Howard, Fifth Duke of Norfolk when a boy	c. 1635-1640	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm x 46 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420122
423	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, née Harrington	c.1612-16	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 44 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420892
424	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Henry, Prince of Wales	c. 1607	Watercolour on vellum	34 mm x 28 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420893
425	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Van Dyck	King Charles II when a boy	c. 1632-1640	Watercolour on vellum	38 mm x 33 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420145
426	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, style of Peter Oliver	King Charles I	1630 - 1700	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 47 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420152
427	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Frederick V, King of Bohemia	c. 1621	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm x 39 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 422087
428	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	King Henry VIII as Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba	c. 1534	Wash, bodycolour, pen and ink on vellum	229 mm x 183 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 912188
429	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Elizabeth Grey, Lady Audley?	1538	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 422292
430	[REDACTED]	François Clouet	King Charles IX King of France as a boy	c. 1561	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	43 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420931

431	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c.1596-1598	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420933
432	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, style of	King James I	c. 1615	Watercolour on vellum	43 mm x 36 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420935
433	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, style of	Queen Anne of Denmark	c. 1619	Watercolour on vellum	42 mm x 35 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420937
434	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Robert Carr, Sixth Earl of Somerset	c. 1620	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 36 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420939
435	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	King Charles I when Prince of Wales	c.1622-1623	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420942
436	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	c. 1605	Watercolour on vellum	46 mm x 37 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420945
437	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	c. 1612	Watercolour on vellum	61 mm x 48 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420946
438	[REDACTED]	Henri Toutin	Louis XIV King France, when a boy	c.1645-50	Enamel	55 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 421754
439	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, style of	Mary, Princess of Orange	c.1645-50	Enamel	48 mm x 38 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421757
440	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper, attributed to	Unknown Woman	c.1640-1645	Watercolour on vellum	116 mm x 90 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420951

441	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper, style of	Frances Stuart, Countess of Portland, called	c. 1645	Watercolour on vellum	110 mm x 86 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420952
442	[REDACTED]	Friedrich Brentel	George, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Kalenberg	c. 1630	Watercolour on vellum	116 mm x 75 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420625
443	[REDACTED]	Friedrich Brentel	Anna, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Kalenberg	c. 1630	Watercolour on vellum	118 mm x 77 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420626
444	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Anna Catherina, Queen of Denmark	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420482
445	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	William the Younger, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420439
446	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	George, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Kalenberg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420445
447	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Richard, Pfalzgraf of Simmern	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420670
448	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Emilie, Pfalzgräfin of Simmern	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420671
449	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Philip Ludwig, Duke of Pfalz-Neuberg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	68 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420672
450	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Anna, Duchess of Pfalz-Neuburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420675

451	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Frederick, Pfalzgraf of Zweibrücken	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420676
452	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Catherine Sophia, Pfalzgräfin of Zweibrücken	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420677
453	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Ludwig III, Duke of Württemberg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	68 mm x 53 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420678
454	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Ursula, Duchess of Württemberg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm x 54 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420679
455	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Ernest of Celle, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420435
456	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Sophia, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420436
457	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Otto II, the Magnanimous, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420431
458	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Anna, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420432
459	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Henry, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420433
460	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Margareta, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420434

461	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Francis Otto, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420437
462	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Elizabeth Magdalene, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420438
463	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Ernest II, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	69 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420440
464	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Christian, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420441
465	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 58 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420442
466	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Frederick II, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420443
467	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Magnus, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420444
468	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Frederick William I, Duke of Saxe-Altenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420554
469	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	John, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 58 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420447
470	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Sophia of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420448

471	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Elizabeth of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420449
472	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Frederick, Count of Hohenlohe-Langenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420450
473	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Dorothea, wife of Charles I of Birkenfeld, Count Palatine of the Rhine	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420451
474	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Charles of Birkenfeld, Count Palatine of the Rhine	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420452
475	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Anna Ursula of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420453
476	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Clara of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Countess of Schwartzburg-Blankenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	72 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420454
477	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	William, Count of Schwartzburg-Blankenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420455
478	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Margaret, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420456
479	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	John Casimir, Duke of Saxe-Coburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420457
480	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Anna, wife of Johann Casimir, Duke of Saxe-Coburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420458

481	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Maria, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420459
482	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Sibylla of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Duchess of Brunswick-Danneburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420460
483	[REDACTED]	Brandenburg Court miniaturist	Sabina, Electress of Brandenburg (verso)	c. 1593	Oil on card	82 mm x 66 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420463
484	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Johann Georg, Elector of Brandenburg (recto)	c. 1593	Oil on card	82 mm x 66 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420463
485	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Elizabeth, Electress of Brandenburg	c. 1593	Oil on card	90 mm x 74 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420464
486	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Christian, Margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth	c. 1593	Oil on card	90 mm x 73 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420465
487	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Joachim Ernst of Brandenburg	c. 1593	Oil on card	90 mm x 74 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420466
488	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg	c. 1593	Oil on card	90 mm x 74 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420467
489	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Elizabeth Sophia, Margravine of Brandenburg	c. 1593	Oil on card	84 mm x 67 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420468
490	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Magdalena, Margravine of Brandenburg	c. 1593	Oil on card	86 mm x 67 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420469

491	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Agnes, Margravine of Brandenburg	c. 1593	Oil on card	85 mm x 66 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420470
492	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	John George, Elector of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420471
493	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Elizabeth of Anhalt-Zerbst, Electress of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70mm x 56 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420472
494	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Catherine of Brandenburg-Cüstrin, Electress of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm x 52 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420474
495	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Joachim Friedrich, Elector of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	68 mm x 54 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420473
496	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	68 mm x 52 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420475
497	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	John George, Margrave of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	68 mm x 54 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420476
498	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	George Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	68 mm x 52 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420477
499	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Elizabeth, Margravine of Brandenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	68 mm x 53 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420478
500	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Sophia, Duchess of Saxe-Altenburg	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420551

501	[REDACTED]	Brunswick-Lüneburg Court miniaturist	Anna, Electress of Saxony	c. 1595	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 57 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420552
502	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German school	Anna Eleonora, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg	c.1641-59	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm x 53 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420446
503	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Charles Brandon, Third Duke of Suffolk	1541	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 422295
504	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Frederick V, King of Bohemia	c. 1632	Watercolour on vellum	12 mm x 10 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 422346
505	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Nicholas Hilliard	King Charles I when Duke of York	c. 1611	Watercolour on vellum	34 mm x 27 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420985
506	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German school	Christian I, Elector of Brandenburg, possibly	c. 1630	Oil on copper	35 mm x 28 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421005
507	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Queen Henrietta Maria	c. 1638-45	Watercolour on vellum	94 mm x 73 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421011
508	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental school	Count Johann de Weert	c. 1620	Oil on copper	50 mm x 40 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421512
509	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Flemish school (?)	Unknown Man	c.1615-20	Oil on copper	68 mm x 52 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421513
510	[REDACTED]	Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen	Unknown Woman	c. 1620	Oil	50 mm x 40 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421514

511	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French school?	Unknown Man	c.1640-50	Oil on copper	50 mm x 40 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421516
512	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles I	c. 1650?	Oil on copper	47 mm x 38 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421522
513	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, attributed to Italian school	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Cardinal	c. 1580-1600	Oil on card	59 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 421523
514	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Henrietta, duchesse d' Orléans, called	c. 1650	Oil on copper	93 mm x 76 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421601
515	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, called	c.1640-60	Oil on copper	86 mm x 69 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421602
516	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German school	John George I, Elector of Saxony	c.1640	Oil on copper	40 mm x 32 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421614
517	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	c. 1612	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 40 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420056
518	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British school?	King James I	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 44 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420040
519	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Queen Henrietta Maria	c. 1635	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 44 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420064
520	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Margaret, Lady Tufton	1638-1650	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 44 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420066

521	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Princess Elizabeth, perhaps	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm x 50 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420081
522	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	Unknown Man	1635-1652	Watercolour on vellum	112 mm x 86 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420080
523	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Flemish School?	Unknown Woman	c. 1615-1620	Oil on copper	64 mm x 50 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421524
524	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	King Henry VIII	c.1547-1600	Oil on card	65 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 421600
525	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian School	Unknown Man	c.1570-80	Oil on playing card	51 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 421606
526	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	16th Century	Oil on copper	56 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421607
527	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German School	Unknown Man (John Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Eisenach, formerly	c.1620-30	Oil on copper	37 mm x 30 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421615
528	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German School	Elizabeth Sophia, Duchess of Saxe-Gotha	c. 1640	Oil on copper	33 mm x 25 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421616
529	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German School	John George I, Elector of Saxony	c. 1610	Oil on copper	40 mm x 32 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421617
530	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Austrian School	Albert, Archduke of Austria	c. 1610	Oil on copper	60 mm x 50 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421618

531	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German School	Magdalena Sibylla, Electress of Saxony	c. 1610	Oil on copper	40 mm x 33 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421619
532	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German School	Magdalena Sibylla, Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, formerly called	c. 1630	Oil on copper	32 mm x 27 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421622
533	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King Henry VIII	c. 1600	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	32 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420013
534	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Jane Seymour	c. 1600	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	32 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420014
535	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King Edward VI	c. 1600	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	32 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420015
536	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	Sir Henry Guildford	17th Century	Watercolour on card	45 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420016
537	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, attributed to British School	Unknown Man	17th Century	Watercolour on card laid on ivory	50 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420017
538	[REDACTED]	François Clouet, style of	King Charles IX, King of France	c.1572-1590	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm x 32 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420018
539	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1583-1587	Watercolour on vellum	18 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420021
540	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Edward Herbert, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm x 53 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420022

541	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Queen Anne of Denmark	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420025
542	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	King Henry VIII	1526-1527	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420010
543	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	John Donne	1616	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 35 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420026
544	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	King Henry VIII	c.1540-70	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	36 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420011
545	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	Unknown Man	c. 1590	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 44 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420028
546	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Princess Elizabeth, later Queen of Bohemia	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 41 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420031
547	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King Henry VII	1600	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum	34 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420012
548	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Alexander Seton, First Earl of Dunfermline	c.1632-40	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420035
549	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham	c. 1628-1629	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420036
550	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Frederick V, King of Bohemia	c. 1621	Watercolour on vellum	27 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420037

551	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Henry Cary, First Viscount Falkland, called	c. 1625	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 46 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420038
552	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver, attributed to	Frederick, Count Palatine, later Frederick V, King of Bohemia	1613	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420043
553	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver, attributed to	Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia when Princess Elizabeth	1613	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420044
554	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver, attributed to	Alexander the Great	c.1630-47	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 45 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420045
555	[REDACTED]	François Clouet	Elizabeth of Valois, later Queen of Spain	c. 1549	Watercolour on vellum	34 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420046
556	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	c.1603-8	Watercolour on vellum	42 mm x 43 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420047
557	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	King Charles I when Duke of York	c.1611-16	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 41 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420048
558	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	King Charles I when Prince of Wales	c. 1620	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 39 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420049
559	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	King Charles I	c.1625-32	Watercolour on vellum	39 mm x 32 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420050
560	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	King Charles I when Prince of Wales	1621	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420051

561	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	King James I	1635	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 45 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420052
562	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	1614	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 37 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420053
563	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia	1621	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm x 45 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420054
564	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	King Charles I when Prince of Wales	1621	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 44 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420055
565	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, attributed to	King Charles I	1632-1640	Watercolour on vellum	27 mm x 22 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420059
566	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	King Charles I	c.1640-1646	Watercolour on vellum	75 mm x 62 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420060
567	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Unknown Woman, Sarah Hoskins, the Artist's wife, perhaps	c. 1645	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 41 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420061
568	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Queen Henrietta Maria	c.1638-45	Watercolour on vellum	61 mm x 51 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420062
569	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	78 mm x 59 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420063
570	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Catherine, Countess of Antrim, formerly Duchess of Buckingham	1639	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm x 48 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420065

571	[REDACTED]	Jean Clouet	François, Dauphin of France	c. 1526	Watercolour on vellum	62 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420070
572	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man	c. 1640	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 50 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420079
573	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Venetia Stanley, Lady Digby	c. 1633	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 48 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420083
574	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	George Hay, Second Earl of Kinnoul	1634-1644	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 46 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420084
575	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man	c. 1635	Watercolour on vellum	113 mm x 90 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420089
576	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Charles Louis, Elector Palatine	c.1640-9	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm x 55 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420090
577	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Unknown Woman	c.1612-15	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 40 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420983
578	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	Unknown Man, Portrait of an Unknown Knight of the Garter	17th Century	Oil on tortoiseshell	75 mm x 59 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420896
579	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Henry, Prince of Wales	1607	Watercolour on vellum	61 mm x 51 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420642
580	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	c.1609-15	Watercolour on vellum	46 mm x 38 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420039

581	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1560-5	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420944
582	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Woman, perhaps Penelope, Lady Rich	c. 1589	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 46 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420020
583	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	William Lord Compton, perhaps first Earl of Northampton	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 40 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420895
584	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1595-1600	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 45 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 421029
585	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Queen Anne of Denmark	c. 1611-12	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 42 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420041
586	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	132 mm x 100 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420058
587	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Queen Henrietta Maria	c. 1632	Watercolour on vellum	92 mm x 79 mm	Royal Collection	RCIN 420891
588	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c. 1565	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm diameter	Royal Collection	RCIN 420987
589	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	King Henry VIII	c.1537	Watercolour on vellum	46.5 mm diameter	Royal Collection	**RCIN 420640**
590	[REDACTED]	Jean or François Clouet	King Louis XII of France	1515 [?]	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm diameter	Private Collection	[REDACTED]

591	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I, believed to be	c. 1575	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm diameter	Private collection	[REDACTED]
592	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth, called, but perhaps Anne Lady Hundson	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
593	[REDACTED]	Jean or François Clouet	Marguerite de Valois	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
594	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Mary Queen of Scots, called	1573	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 38 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
595	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Sir Thomas Pope	16th Century	Unknown	89 mm diameter	Private collection	[REDACTED]
596	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Mary Queen of Scots	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 52 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
597	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I when Princess, called	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 48 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
598	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I 'Coronation Portrait'	c. 1600	Gouache on vellum laid on card, diamond at centre of orb	89 mm x 56 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
599	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	After 1590	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 52 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
600	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Nicholas Hilliard, self-portrait age 12	1560 ('1550' later alteration to painting)	Watercolour on vellum	26 mm diameter	Private collection	[REDACTED]

601	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	John Harrington, second Lord Harington of Exton, called	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm x 44 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
602	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Henry Carey, Second Earl of Monmouth, thought to be	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	64 mm x 50 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
603	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	A Gentleman of the Family of St John of Bletsho	1586	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 48 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
604	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Leonard Darr	1591	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 57 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
605	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard [?]	Walter Devereaux, 2nd Earl of Essex, called	1615	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 35 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
606	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Oliver St John, First Baron St John of Bletsho, perhaps	1571	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm diameter	Private collection	[REDACTED]
607	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Anne of Denmark	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 40 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
608	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, school of	Ludovick Stuart, Second Duke of Lennox and Duke of Richmond,K.G.	1603	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 43 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
609	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	Frances Howard, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 44 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
610	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Elizabeth Harding (third wife of Isaac Oliver)	c. 1609	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]

611	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver [?]	Isaac Oliver the Younger (son of Isaac Oliver and Elizabeth Harding)	17th Century	Unknown	54 mmx 43 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
612	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 40 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
613	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
614	[REDACTED]	Unknown [amateur?] Artist, after Isaac Oliver	Sir Philip Sidney, possibly	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	83 mm x 60 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
615	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Sir Richard Leveson, Vice-Admiral of England	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
616	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, called	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
617	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
618	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Elizabeth Bruges, Lady Kennedy, thought to be	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
619	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Henry Prince of Wales	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
620	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]

621	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles I	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 40 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
622	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	'The Prodigal Son', called	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm x 52 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
623	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Mountjoy Blount, Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Newport	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 48 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
624	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	William Drummond of Hawthornden, called	1606	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 35 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
625	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Michael Drayton	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	22 mm x 21 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
626	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Mary Magdalene	17th Century	Unknown	90 mm x 76 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
627	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Edmund Waller	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	59 mm x 48 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
628	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Sir Robert Harley, K.B.	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 49 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
629	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Teresia Lady Shirley, called	1625	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 43 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
630	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham	1620	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]

631	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	William Villiers, second Viscount Grandison	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	41 mm x 35 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
632	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, monogrammist, 'G.I.'	Frances Holles	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
633	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	William Shakespeare, called [?]	16th Century	Oil on copper on card	54 mm x 44 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
634	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Henri Prince de Lorraine, Marquis du Pont and Duc de Lorraine, probably	17th Century	Pen and ink on vellum	67 mm x 54 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
635	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	37 mm x 32 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
636	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman, Lady in a white dress	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 41 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
637	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Bianca Capello, Grand Duchess of Tuscany	Late 16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	86 mm diameter	Private collection	[REDACTED]
638	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Maurice Prince of Orange	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	13 mm x 9.5 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
639	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Henri IV, King of France	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	13 mm x 9.5 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
640	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	73 mm x 57 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]

641	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 40 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
642	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unfinished portrait of Barbara Villiers, Countess of Suffolk	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 52 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
643	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, after Van Dyck	Charles, Prince of Wales	1638	Enamel	51 mm x 40 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
644	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, after Van Dyck	King Charles I	1638	Enamel	51 mm x 40 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
645	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, after Van Dyck	Henrietta Maria	1638	Enamel	51 mm x 40 mm [?]	Private collection	[REDACTED]
646	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, after Gerrit van Honthorst	George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham	1640	Enamel	51 mm x 40 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
647	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Christiana Turner (wife of Samuel Cooper)	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	89 mm x 73 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
648	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot	Jean Petitot, Self Portrait	1640	Enamel	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
649	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, Young gentleman in armour	c. 1650	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
650	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle	c.1645	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]

651	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Henry Cavendish, later Second Duke of Newcastle	c.1645	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
652	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, after Gerrit van Honthorst	Katherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham	c.1640	Enamel	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
653	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Anne Stephens	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
654	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Henry Vane the Younger	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
655	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Mary Villiers	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
656	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Prince Rupert	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
657	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Elizabeth Manners	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
658	No image	Unknown Artist, British School	Sir Richard Graham, First Baronet Graham of Esk, MP	1630 - 1654	Watercolour on ivory?	Unknown	National Trust, Nunnington Hall, North Yorkshire	980347
659	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man	1650	Watercolour on ivory	Unknown	National Trust, Nunnington Hall, North Yorkshire	980353
660	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British School	Mary Bankes, Lady Jenkinson, possibly, Lady in a Brown Dress	1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Kingston Lacy Estate, Dorset	1251261

661	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	King Charles I	c.1650	Oil on copper with mica overlays	Unknown	National Trust, Kingston Lacy Estate, Dorset	1255622
662	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Elizabeth Long, Mrs Goodwin	1630	Watercolour on ivory	Unknown	National Trust, Belton House, Lincolnshire	435991
663	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Brown Dress	c.1600	Paint on wood	90 mm x 75 mm	National Trust, Coughton Court, Warwickshire	135196
664	No image	John Hoskins	Sir Richard Lennard, Thirteenth Baron Dacre	c.1620	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Vyne Estate, Hampshire	719380
665	[REDACTED]	Matthew Snelling	Judith Poley, Lady May	After 1630	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ickworth, Suffolk	851864
666	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, Unknown Man in Armour	c.1650	Watercolour on card	Unknown	National Trust, Dyrham, Gloucestershire	453439
367	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	John Hampden	c.1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Dyrham, Gloucestershire	453459
368	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, A Man in a Ruff and Brown and Red Slashed Doublet	c.1595	Oil on copper	130 mm x 100 mm	National Trust, Calke Abbey, Derbyshire	290341
669	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Charles Gerard, First Earl of Macclesfield	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Calke Abbey, Derbyshire	290253
670	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Isaac Oliver	Mary Queen of Scots, called, Unknown Woman	17thC.	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Calke Abbey, Derbyshire	290306

671	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Sarah Whitgreave as a Child (possibly)	c.1625	Oil on copper	75 mm x 62 mm	National Trust, Moseley Old Hall, Staffordshire	477521
672	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Thomas Whitgreave as a Child	c.1625	Oil on copper	76 mm x 63 mm	National Trust, Moseley Old Hall, Staffordshire	477522
673	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man, A Man consumed by Flames	c.1610	Tempera on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1139627
674	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Adriaen Brouwer, manner of	Unknown Man, Head of a Boor	c.1630-1670	Oil on paper	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140224
675	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French school	Unknown Man, A Knight of the Saint-Esprit	1620s	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140196
676	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Lucas Cranach the elder	Philipp Schwarzerd called Melanchthon	16th Century	Oil on linen	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140223
677	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, after Anthony Van Dyck	Lady Dorothy Percy, Countess of Leicester	17th Century	Enamel	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1139586
678	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray	1638	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1139682
679	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1590	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140182
680	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Child	1620s	Watercolour on vellum?	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140192

681	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Jean Petitot	Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne	17th Century	Tempera on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140181
682	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch school	Unknown Man, An Unknown Man in Armour	1640-1650	Oil on coper	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140191
683	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a White Dress	1645-1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140194
684	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, John Hoskins the elder, studio of	Lady Dorothy Sydney, Countess of Sunderland	c.1650	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140195
685	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, John Hoskins the elder, studio of	Catherine Howard, Lady d'Aubigny	c.1638 - 1640	Oil on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140197
686	[REDACTED]	David des Granges, after Adriaen Hannemann	King Charles II as a Youth	c.1650	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140206
687	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, John Hoskins the elder, studio of	Elizabeth Howard, Countess of Peterborough	c.1638 - 1640	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140208
688	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	Sir Lionel Tollemache, Second Bt., PC, called but impossible	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140211
689	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper, in the studio of John Hoskins the elder	Henry Rich, First Earl of Holland	c. 1632 - 1634	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140213
690	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins the elder	Mrs Anne Henderson	1649	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140212

691	[REDACTED]	David Des Granges, after Peter Oliver, after Titian	The 'D'Avalos Allegory'	1640	Watercolour on vellum	203 mm x 203 mm	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140216
692	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	King James I, called, Man in a Grey Ermine Cape	c.1600-1610	Enamel	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140262
693	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	William Shakespeare, an Unknown Man in a Brown Doublet	17th Century	Oil on wood	Unknown	National Trust, Ham House, Surrey	1140264
694	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady with Towering Red Hair	1600 - 1610	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731921
695	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Black Dress	1600 - 1610	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731909
696	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Black Dress	1600 - 1610	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731911
697	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Young Woman in a Ruff	1600	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731902
698	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Man, An Unknown Young Man wearing the Order of	c.1600	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731906
699	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Man, An Unknown Man with a Large Spade Beard	c.1595	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731907
700	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Gold Dress	c.1600	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731908

701	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Black Dress	c.1600	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731910
702	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Spanish Girl in a Lace Dress	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731904
703	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	King Philip III, King of Spain	c.1575-1580	Oil on card	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731905
704	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Man, An Unknown Spanish Grandee with the Golden Fleece	c.1635	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731916
705	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian School	Unknown Man, An Unknown Rakish Man with a Beard	1590s	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731903
706	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish School	Unknown Boy, An Unknown Boy in a Black Suit	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731919
707	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Pleated Ruff	c.1615	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731920
708	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady with a Widow's Peak	c.1610	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731922
709	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady with a Smile	c.1645	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731923
710	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Unknown Man, Unknown Man with a Pointed Beard	c.1620	Oil on metal	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731912

711	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental school	An Unknown Spanish Lady wearing the Cross of St Andrew	c.1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731913
712	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Man, An Unknown Young man dressed in Black	c.1615	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731914
713	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Black Dress	c.1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731915
714	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady Holding a Letter	c.1645	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731917
715	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Black Floral Dress	1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731918
716	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Young Girl	c.1615-1620	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731926
717	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Young Woman in Black Dress	c. 1610 - 1620	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731927
718	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Girl, Girl with a Diamond Brooch	c.1630	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731929
719	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Woman in a Black Dress	c.1640-1645	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731933
720	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish school	Unknown Woman, Lady in a Scarlet Bow	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731935

721	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	A Cardinal	17th Century	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731937
722	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Spanish Girl in a Black and Silver Dress	1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731942
723	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, A Young Lady in a Wedding Dress	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731943
724	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Lady in a Brown Dress	1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731945
725	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Young Lady in a Lace Collar	c.1640-1645	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731946
726	No image	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Man, A Dutchman in a Gold Chain	c.1635 - 1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731947
727	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Spanish Girl in a Black Dress	c.1630-1670	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731949
728	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Nicholas Hilliard, follower of	Sir Walter Raleigh, possibly	c.1585	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731891
729	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	James Ley, First Earl of Marlborough	c.1625	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731890
730	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a High Ruff	c.1590	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731892

731	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Girl with a Feather in her Hair	1560-1570	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731928
732	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental school	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady in a Blue and brown Dress	1600-1610	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731924
733	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental school	Unknown Woman, Girl in a Lacy Dress	c.1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731925
734	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Girl in a Grey Dress	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731931
735	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Girl in a Blue Dress	c.1645	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731932
736	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Lady in a Black Dress	c.1645	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731940
737	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish school	Unknown Woman, Spanish Lady in a Black Dress	c.1620	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731941
738	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Ottavio Mario Leoni De'Narsari, after	Unknown Man, Priest in Red Surplice	c.1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731952
739	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish school	Unknown Woman, Girl in a Blue-Grey Dress	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731962
740	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Man, Priest in Black Cassock	1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731969

741	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian school	Unknown Woman, Young Lady in a Black Dress	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Stourhead, Wiltshire	731972
742	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch school	Unknown Man, An Unknown Young Man	c.1650	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Gunby Hall Estate, Lincolnshire	636754
743	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Richard Gibson, manner of	Sir Henry Massingberd, First Bt	1615-1690	Oil on paper	Unknown	National Trust, Gunby Hall Estate, Lincolnshire	636744
744	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Sir Isaac Astley	1600 - 1659	Watercolour on vellum?	Unknown	National Trust, Seaton Delaval Hall, Northumberland	1276913
745	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Isaac Oliver, after	Unknown Woman, An Unknown Lady	1600-1610	Watercolour on card	Unknown	National Trust, Dunham Massey	936707
746	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Nicholas Hilliard, style of	Frances Howard, Countess of Essex and Somerset, called	c.1605	Watercolour on card	Unknown	National Trust, Dunham Massey	936705
747	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Isaac Oliver, style of	Unknown Woman, An Unknown lady	1590s	Watercolour on card	Unknown	National Trust, Dunham Massey	936706
748	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English, after Van Dyck	Sir Edmund Verney	c.1640	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Anglesey Abbey, Cambridgeshire	515790
749	[REDACTED]	Distant follower of Alexander Cooper	Unknown Woman, Lady in a Blue Dress	1650	Oil on copper	54 mm x 25 mm	National Trust, A La Ronde Devon	ALA 1 ALAR/P/42
750	[REDACTED]	Possibly, Irene (Begbie) Ellissen after Jean Petitot	Unknown Man, called the Duc de La Rochefoucauld	c. 1650	card	27 mm x 24 mm	National Trust, Killerton Devon	COS 1\ KL/PR/1120

751	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver, attributed to	Lady Anne Clifford as Countess of Dorset	1620	Vellum	Unknown	National Trust, St Michael's Mount, Cornwall	SMM1
752	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British school	Sir Thomas Williamson, First Bt.	c.1635-1640	Vellum	Unknown	National Trust, St Michael's Mount, Cornwall	SMM2
753	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, John Hoskins, style of	Margaret Lemon, possibly, Lady in Blue	c.1640-1650	Unknown	60 mm x 50 mm	National Trust, St Michael's Mount, Cornwall	SMM3
754	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	King Charles I	1648	Oil on metal	53 mm x 45 mm	National Trust, St Michael's Mount, Cornwall	SMM4
755	[REDACTED]	Levina Teerlinc[?] attributed to	Unknown Man in an Armillary Sphere	1569	Watercolour on vellum	39 mm diameter	National Trust, Waddesdon Manor	Unknown
756	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Young Man with a Carnation	1533	Paint on oak wood	125 mm diameter	National Trust, Upton House	446801
757	[REDACTED]	Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen , attributed to	Richard Herbert, Second Baron Herbert of Chirbury	1630s	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Trust, Powis Castle	1180762
758	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lord Herbert of Cherbury	c.1613 - 1614	Watercolour on vellum	230 mm x 189 mm	National Trust, Powis Castle	1183954
759	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Charles Blount Eighth Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire	1587	Vellum	43 mm x 35 mm	Antony, Cornwall	[REDACTED]
760	[REDACTED]	Laurence Hilliard	Thomas, Lord Coventry; Lord Keeper Coventry	c.1625	Unknown, backed with card	Unknown	Antony, Cornwall	[REDACTED]

761	[REDACTED]	Unknown, Dutch school after Michel Van Miereveldt	Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange	c.1625	Oil on copper	Unknown	Antony, Cornwall	[REDACTED]
762	[REDACTED]	Laurence Hilliard	Unknown Woman, Lady in a Black Dress	c.1630-1640	Unknown	Unknown	Antony, Cornwall	[REDACTED]
763	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, John Hoskins, manner of	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Young Lady	c.1650	Vellum	Unknown	Antony, Cornwall	[REDACTED]
764	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins the Younger	Lady in a Blue Dress	c.1650-1655	Card [backing?]	62 mmx 49 mm	Antony, Cornwall	[REDACTED]
765	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Samuel Cooper, style of	Man in a Black Coat	c.1650-1660	Playing card [backing?]	59 mm x 49 mm	Antony, Cornwall	[REDACTED]
766	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Thomas Bodley	1598	Vellum	51 mm x 42 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Unknown
767	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	c.1640-1660	Oil on copper	65 mm x 52 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.26]
768	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian School	St Francis	15th or 16th Century?	Bodycolour on vellum	81 mm x 58 mm	Ashmolean Museum	WA1983.47 MIN0326
769	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	c.1630-1640	Watercolour on vellum	27 mm x 24 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.31]
770	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental School	Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, née Harrington	c.1615-1620	Oil on prepared card	52 mm x 43 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.32]

771	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Thomas Alcock	17th Century	Chalk [on paper?]	177 mm x 113 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.32]
772	[REDACTED]	Unknown, John Hoskins, manner of, or Samuel Cooper	Edmund Waller, called, Portrait of a Man	c.1650	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm x 53 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.39]
773	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles I	c.1650-1675	Watercolour on vellum?	20 mm x 17 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.45]
774	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles II	c.1650-1700	Watercolour on vellum?	24 mm x 19 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.46]
775	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Oliver Cromwell	c.1650	Enamel on gold	35 mm x 28 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.51]
776	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental (Dutch) School	Unknown Man	17th Century	Enamel on gold	39 mm x 33 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.52]
777	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Continental (Dutch) School	King Charles II	17th Century	Enamel on gold	20 mm diameter	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.53]
778	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles II	17th Century	Enamel	22 mm x 19 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.55]
779	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, German school	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	17th Century	Oil on glass	85 mm x 68 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.164]
780	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	20 mm x 17 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.100]

781	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Lady Cecilia Neville	c.1615-1620	Watercolour on vellum	47 mm x 39 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.101]
782	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	61 mm x 48 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.102]
783	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 37 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.110]
784	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	King Charles II as prince	1650	Vellum	70 mm x 58 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.114]
785	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles II as a prince	17th Century	Oil	40 mm x 31 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.115]
786	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Lady	17th Century	Enamel on copper	24 mm x 19 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.116]
787	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, Portrait of a young Man in a Lace Collar	c.1590	Watercolour on vellum	33 mm x 22 mm	Ashmolean Museum	De La Hey Bequest, 1936 [1936.117]
788	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Nicholas Hilliard, school of	Unknown Man, Portrait of an Unknown Man in a Green	1609	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 34 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Tradescant Collection, A 525 [1949.259]
789	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man, Elderly Man in a Black Hat	1588	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 47 mm	Ashmolean Museum	1979.72
790	[REDACTED]	Unknown Italian Artist	Unknown Woman, Bust of a Woman Wearing a Black Lace Cap	17th Century	Oil on copper	99 mm x 80 mm	Ashmolean Museum	WA2007.19 MNO346

791	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Man in a Black and White Doublet	c.1620-1630	Oil on copper	53 mm x 42 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.27]. Min. 3
792	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Unknown Man, Man in a Scalloped Lace Collar	c.1630-1635	Watercolour on vellum	31 mm x 25 mm	Ashmolean Museum	Bentinck Hawkins Collection, 1894 [1897.30]
793	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Richard Cromwell, said to be	c.1650	Unknown	19 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
794	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, A Gentleman Wearing a Gold Coloured	c.1650	Unknown	28 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
795	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	Queen Anne of Denmark	Early 17th Century	Unknown	57 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
796	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	King James I	Early 17th Century	Unknown	57 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
797	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Nicholas Hilliard, follower of	Queen Anne of Denmark, said to be	c.1615	Unknown	57 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
798	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lady Eleanor Davies	c.1610	Unknown	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
799	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, née Harrington	c.1605	Unknown	54 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
800	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lady Arabella Stuart, said to be [or Venetia Digby]	c.1610	Unknown	54 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]

801	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School, after Van Dyck	Algernon Percy, Tenth Earl of Northumberland	17th Century	Unknown	28 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
802	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Grizel Hamilton, First wife of Andrew Fifth Earl Leslie possibly, Unknown Woman	c.1590	Watercolour on card	57 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
803	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Andrew, Fifth Earl of Leslie, possibly, Unknown Man	c.1590	Watercolour on card	57 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
804	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Samuel Cooper, possibly, or copy	John, Sixth Earl of Rothes	Early 17th Century	Watercolour on card	114 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
805	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	1610	Oil	38 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
806	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Margaret Leslie, Lady Balgonie	17th Century	Oil on card	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
807	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Mary Leslie, Countess of Eglington	17th Century	Oil on card	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
808	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper, attributed to	John Duke of Rothes	17th Century	Watercolour on card	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
809	[REDACTED]	Federico Barocci	Francesco II Maria Della Rovere	c.1572	Oil on slate	84 mm diameter	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no.4019
810	[REDACTED]	Lavinia Fontana	Lavinia Fontana Self-Portrait	1579	Oil on copper	157 mm diameter	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no. 4013

811	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Henry II King of France and Catherine de' Medici Queen of France	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	110 mm x 90 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no. 815 (?)
812	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	50 mm x 36 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4431
813	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	François II	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	50 mm x 36 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4432
814	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	François I	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	44 mm x 35 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4433
815	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Claude de Valois	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	44 mm x 35 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4434
816	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Henry III, King of France	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	55 mm x 40 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4435
817	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Louise de Vandemont Lorraine	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	55 mm x 40 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4436
818	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	King Charles IX, King of France	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	55 mm x 40 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4437
819	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Elisabeth of Austria	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	55 mm x 40 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4438
820	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Christine of Denmark	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	44 mm x 32 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4439

821	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Carlos II di Lorena	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	55 mm x 43 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4440
822	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Claude of France	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	35 mm x 25 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4441
823	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	François Duc of Anjou and Alençon	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	55 mm x 40 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4442
824	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, François Clouet, workshop of	Elisabeth of France	c.1570	Tempera on parchment	45 mm x 38 mm	Uffizi Gallery	Inv.1890 no 4443
825	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	The Three Brothers Browne	1598	Watercolour on vellum	240 mm x 260 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
826	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Elizabeth, Countess of Devonshire	1644	Watercolour on vellum	71 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
827	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Unknown Man, A Gentleman	c.1612	Oil on copper	43 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
828	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c.1600	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
829	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Venetia Stanley, called	c.1620	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
830	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, née Egerton	c.1645	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]

831	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, studio of	King Charles II as a young boy	c.1640	Unknown	83 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
832	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Colonel the Hon. Charles Cavendish	c.1640	Unknown	80 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
833	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	John Cecil, Fourth Earl of Exeter	1647	Unknown	54 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
834	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury	c.1600	Unknown	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
835	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Frances, Countess of Exeter, née Manners	c.1646	Unknown	80 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
836	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Anne Kirk[e]	1644	Unknown	67 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
837	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, after Van Dyck	Queen Henrietta Maria	17th Century	Unknown	68 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
838	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	William Cavendish, Fourth Earl and First Duke of Devonshire as a young	1644	Unknown	89 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
839	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot	Louis XIV as a child	1648	Enamel	42 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
840	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Elizabeth, Countess of Devonshire, née Cecil	1642	Unknown	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]

841	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland, née Howard	c.1645	Unknown	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
842	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen, a follower of	Unknown Man	c.1650	Oil on copper	54 mm x 48 mm	Holburne Museum	M198
843	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian School	Unknown Woman, Unknown Lady	c.1640	Oil on copper	54 mm x 40 mm	Holburne Museum	M136
844	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian School	Unknown Woman, Unknown Young Lady with the initial M	Early 17th Century	Oil on copper	51 mm x 40 mm	Holburne Museum	M71
845	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian School	Unknown Man	c.1590	Oil on copper	52 mm x 38 mm	Holburne Museum	M17
846	[REDACTED]	Scipio Pulzoni	Unknown Woman, Unknown Lady	c.1580	Oil on copper	73 mm x 58 mm	Holburne Museum	M5
847	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Louis Beaubrun, formerly ascribed	François, Duke of Alençon and Anjou	c.1580	Oil on copper	58 mm x 44 mm	Holburne Museum	M1
848	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Flemish School 16thC.	Unknown Man	1590	Oil on copper	70 mm x 54 mm	Holburne Museum	M2
849	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Flemish School	Unknown Man, Sir Francis Drake, formerly called	c.1590	Oil on copper	58 mm x 44 mm	Holburne Museum	M6
850	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Unknown Man	c.1650	Oil on copper	57 mm x 45 mm	Holburne Museum	M10

851	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Unknown Man	c.1640	Oil on copper	83 mm x 62 mm	Holburne Museum	M141
852	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Unknown Man	c.1640	Oil on card	52 mm x 41 mm	Holburne Museum	M19
853	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Frederick Henry Prince of Orange, formerly called	c.1630	Oil on copper	70 mm x 58 mm	Holburne Museum	M12
854	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Unknown Man	c.1625	Oil on copper	51 mm x 38 mm	Holburne Museum	M65
855	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch School	Unknown Man	c.1620	Oil on copper	54 mm x 41 mm	Holburne Museum	1991/4
856	[REDACTED]	Richard Gibson	Unknown Lady, Duchess of Newcastle, formerly called	c.1645	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 38 mm	Holburne Museum	M15
857	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland	c.1595	Watercolour on vellum	257 mm x 172 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	Unknown
858	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles II as a young man	1645	Parchment or card	51 mm x 43 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4311
859	[REDACTED]	Louis du Guernier	James II as a child	1645	Card	62 mm x 51 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4317
860	[REDACTED]	Franz Kessler, attributed to	Unknown Man, Portrait of a young man	1600	Copper	118 mm x 91 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4331

861	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, the elder	Maria Stuart, wife of Willem II	1645	Enamel on gold	25 mm diameter	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4333
862	[REDACTED]	Johann Philipp Lembke	Johann Philipp Lembke, self-portrait with wife on reverse	1650	Painted on the inside of a screw-threaded silver 1632 half-crown;	25 mm x 25 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4334
863	[REDACTED]	Gerrit Lundens	Unknown Man, Portrait of a young man	1650	Painted on the inside of a screw-threaded silver 1607 half-crown;	48 mm x 48 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4337
864	[REDACTED]	Gerrit Lundens	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a woman	1650	Painted on the inside of a screw-threaded silver 1607 half-crown;	48 mm x 48 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4338
865	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French School	Louise of Savoy, Duchess of Angouleme	16th or 17th Century	Parchment	81 mm x 65 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4404
866	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French School	Don Juan of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands	c.1560-1570	Copper	48 mm x 35 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4406
867	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French School	Henry I of Lorraine	c.1570-1580	Card	60 mm x 48 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SKA-A-4407
868	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French School	Margaret of Valois, daughter of Henry II of France, thought to be	16th or 17th Century	Ivory	92 mm x 77 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SKA-A-4408
869	[REDACTED]	Peter Boy (der Altere)	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	c.1650-1660	Enamel on copper	30 mm x 24 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4409
870	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Netherlands School	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Woman	c.1575	Copper	44 mm x 33 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4394

871	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Netherlands School	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	c.1575	Copper	46 mm x 34 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4422
872	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Netherlands School	Unknown Man and Woman, Portrait of a Man and a Woman	c.1645	Silver	60 mm x 48 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4426
873	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Netherlands School	Portrait of a Painter (Self-Portrait?)	c.1615	Oil on copper	61 mm x 51 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4424
874	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Holland school, after Gerard van Honthorst	Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange	c.1635-1645	Card	48 mm x 39 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4431
875	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Holland school	Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange	c.1635	Copper	32 mm diameter	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4432
876	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Holland school	Portrait of a Man	1635	Parchment	37 mm x 31 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A 4433
877	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Holland school, after Gerard van Honthorst	Willem II, Prince of Orange	1645	Card	38 mm x 23 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4434
878	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Holland school, after Gerard van Honthorst	Willem II, Prince of Orange	1647	Card	46 mm x 41 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4435
879	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Spanish School	Don Louis de Haro, thought to be	1650	Ivory	44 mm x 37 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4459
880	[REDACTED]	Anna Maria van Schurman, thought to be	Self-Portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman, thought to be	1645	Copper	Unknown	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	SK-A-4425

881	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Northern Netherlands School	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	c.1630 or, c.1663	Oil on silver	47 mm x 37mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam?	SK-A-4204
882	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Northern Netherlands School? [Paulus Moreelse?]	Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate	c.1625, or c. 1632	Copper	45 mm x 38 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam?	SK-A-278
883	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Northern Netherlands School	Portrait of a Lute Player	c.1640	Copper	63 mm x 51 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam?	SK-A-2207
884	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Northern Netherlands School	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	1614	Oil on copper	65 mm x 47 mm	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam?	SK-A-4095
885	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Edward VI as a Child	16th Century	Parchment	48 mm x 36 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4297
886	[REDACTED]	Arnold van Brounckhurst, attributed to	James I as a Child	16th Century	Card	50 mm x 38 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4302
887	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Willem II, Prince of Orange	1640	Unknown	45 mm x 34 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4303
888	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	1557	Parchment	40 mm x 32 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4321
889	[REDACTED]	Lawrence Hilliard	King James I	c.1600	Card	52 mm x 47 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4322
890	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	King Charles I	17th Century	Card	80 mm x 64 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4325

891	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, after van Dyck	Henrietta Maria of France	1632	Parchment	178 mm diameter	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4326
892	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, after van Dyck	Henrietta Maria of France	1632	Parchment	62 mm x 53 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4327
893	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Henrietta Maria of France	1620	Card	62 mm x 51 mm	Rijksmuseum, on loan to the royal picture gallery, the Mauritshuis since 1951	SK-A-4328
894	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Woman as Flora	c.1610	Vellum	53 mm x 41 mm	KKS Mauritshuis (on loan from the Rijksmuseum)	SK-A-4347
895	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Amalia van Solms, widow of Prince Frederick Hendriks	1647	Card	Unknown	Rijksmuseum, Mauritshuis, The Hague	SK-A-4437
896	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Arabella Stuart [or Venetia Digby]	1575	Parchment	70 mm x 56 mm	KKS, The Mauritshuis	SK-A-4344
897	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Ludovic Stuart, First Duke of Richmond, or Thomas Howard,	1580	Parchment	50 mm x 40 mm	KKS, The Mauritshuis	SK-A-4345
898	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Woman	1575	Parchment	52 mm x 45 mm	KKS, The Mauritshuis	SK-A-4346
899	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, the future King Charles I of England	1621	Parchment	55 mm x 44 mm	KKS, The Mauritshuis	SK-A-4348
900	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate	1615	Card	52 mm x 41 mm	KKS, The Mauritshuis	SK-A-4349

901	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, the future King Charles I of England	1615	Card	55 mm x 41 mm	KKS, The Mauritshuis	SK-A-4350
902	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	1604	Card	51 mm x 41 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4351
903	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham	1612	Card	51 mm x 41 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4352
904	[REDACTED]	Louis van der Bruggen, possibly	Francois Duquesnoy?	1625	Card	78 mm x 62 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4353
905	[REDACTED]	Nathaniel Thach	Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, the future King Charles II of England	1650	Card	46 mm x 39 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4369
906	[REDACTED]	Henri Toutin	King Charles I	1636	Enamel on gold	56 mm x 55 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4370
907	[REDACTED]	Henri Toutin	Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange	1647	Enamel on gold	43 mm x 34 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4371
908	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	James Stuart, the future King James I at about the age of ten	c.1600	Parchment	46 mm x 36 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4390
909	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, thought to be, Portrait of a Woman	19th Century copy?	Board	Unknown	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4392
910	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	Mary Stuart, perhaps, Portrait of a woman	16th Century	Parchment	37 mm diameter	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4391

911	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley. Husband of Mary	16th Century	Parchment	52 mm x 41 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4393
912	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School[?]	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Man	c.1625	Copper? Board?	60 mm x 50 mm	KKS, the Mauritshuis	SK-A-4395
913	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	1585	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 32 mm	Mauritshuis, The Hague	SK-A-2837[?]
914	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, formerly	1575	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm diameter	The Maurtshuis, Hague	SK-A-4323
915	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper, after van Dyck	George Gordon, Second Marquess of Huntley	1630	Unknown	56 mm x 46 mm	The Maurtshuis. Rijksmuseum	SK-A-4305
916	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Woman	1643	Parchment	68 mm x 55 mm	The Maurtshuis. Rijksmuseum	SK-A-4306
917	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper, possibly	Elizabeth van de Palz	1640	Card	45 mm x 39 mm	The Maurtshuis	SK-A-4314
918	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Northern Netherlands School	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Young Man	1614	Oil on copper	86 mm x 63 mm	The Hague	SK-A-2104
919	No image	Unknown Artist, Holland School	Jacob Pietersz Bicker	1580	Unknown, copper?	40 mm diameter	City of Amsterdam on loan from 1881-1975. Unknown location now	SK-C-32
920	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Petrus Canisius	1600	Copper	Unknown	Rijksmuseum, Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst	SK-A-4423

921	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Elizabeth Stuart, Widow of Frederick V, Elector of the	1640	Unknown	Unknown	Paleis Het Loo (Apeldoorn), Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst	SK-A-4304
922	[REDACTED]	Pieter Serwouters	Portrait of a Man	1600	Brown pen on parchment	Unknown	Rijksmuseum, Paleis Het Loo (Apeldoorn)	SK-A-4805
923	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	c.1591	Watercolour on vellum	53 mm x 43 mm	H.R.H. Princess Juliana of the Netherlands	Unknown
924	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Unknown Youth	c.1540	Unknown	65 mm x 51 mm	H.R.H. Princess Juliana of the Netherlands	Unknown
925	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Lady	c.1590-1595	Vellum	50 mm x 43 mm	H.R.H. Princess Juliana of the Netherlands	Unknown
926	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man	1614	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 41 mm	The Royal Collection of the Netherlands	Unknown
927		Levina Teerlinc, attributed to [?]	Mary I, formerly called, Unknown Lady	1556	Bodycolour on vellum, laid on card	38 mm diameter	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Dumas Egerton Collection
928		Nathaniel Thach, after Gerard van Honthorst	Princess Sophia of the Palatine, later Electress of Hanover	1650	Bodycolour on vellum	70 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Dumas Egerton Collection
929		Lucas Horenbout	Queen Catherine Parr, possibly, Unknown Lady	c.1543	Bodycolour on vellum	36 mm diameter	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Dumas Egerton Collection
930		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, Unknown Gentleman	1589	Bodycolour on vellum	38 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Dumas Egerton Collection

931		Isaac Oliver	Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales	c.1608-1612	Bodycolour on vellum	51 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Dumas Egerton Collection
932		Nicholas Hilliard, after Hans Holbein	King Henry VIII	c.1600	Bodycolour on vellum mounted on playing card	32 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Clarke Collection
933		Laurence Hilliard	Unknown Man, Unknown Gentleman	1639	Bodycolour on vellum	57 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Clarke Collection
934		Jean Petitot	Elizabeth Killigrew, Viscountess Shannon	c.1638-1643	Enamel on copper	44 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Clarke Collection
935		Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen	Unknown Man, Unknown Gentleman	c.1630	Oil on copper	53 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Clarke Collection
936		Unknown Netherlandish Artist, perhaps one of Pourbus family	James Hepburn, Fourth Earl of Bothwell	1566	Oil on copper	37 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	1917: PG 869
937		Netherlandish Artist, perhaps one of Pourbus family	Lady Jean Gordon, Countess of Bothwell	1566	Oil on copper	35 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	1917: PG 870
938		Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	c.1609-1614	Bodycolour on vellum	52 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	Unknown
939		Leonard Limosin, attributed to	King Francois II	c.1560	Enamel on copper	75 mm height	Scottish National Portrait Gallery	1990 PG 2814
940	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British	King Charles I	c.1650	Bodycolour on vellum	9 mm height	SNPG, on long term loan from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland	PGL 193

941		Unknown Artist	Mary Stuart Queen of Scots	16th Century	Unknown	Unknown	National Museums of Scotland	Unknown
942		Unknown Artist	James V, King of Scotland	16th Century	Unknown	Unknown	National Museums of Scotland	Unknown
943		Unknown Artist, after van Dyck	King Charles I	17th Century	Unknown, enamel?	Unknown	National Museums of Scotland	Unknown
944		Unknown Artist	King Charles I	c.1650	Unknown, enamel?	Unknown	National Museums of Scotland	Unknown
945	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Flemish	Catherine de Medici	17th Century	Oil on copper	95 mm height	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	38.198
946	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man [Henry Frederick?]	17th Century	Unknown	44 mm height	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	38.163
947	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lady Anne Bacon	c.1600	Watercolour and gilding on vellum	62 mm x 59 mm	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	38.161
948	[REDACTED]	Henri Toutin, after Peter Oliver	Venetia Stanley, Lady Digby	1637	Enamel on gold	Unknown	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	44.177
949	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Philip III	1606	Parchment	Unknown	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	W.504
950	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver or John Hoskins, possibly	Lady Lucy Percy, later Lady Stanley	c.1620	Watercolour on vellum	73 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]

951	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver, after Anthony van Dyck	Sir Kenelm and Lady Venetia Digby	1632	Watercolour on vellum	88 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
952	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Lady Venetia Digby on her death bed	1633	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm x 67 mm	Private collection	[REDACTED]
953	[REDACTED]	Attributed to The Monogrammist D.M.	Lady Digby of Geashill, thought to be	Mid-17th Century.	Vellum	71 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
954	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Lady Anne Russell, possibly	Mid-17th Century	Vellum	70 mm height (approx.)	Private collection	Unknown
955	[REDACTED]	Attrributed to The Monogrammist D.M.	Anne de Rohan, Princess de Guemene, called	Mid-17th Century	Vellum	70 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
956	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lady Arabella Stuart possibly, or Venetia Stanley as a young girl	17th Century?	Vellum	70 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
957	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Lady Arabella Stuart possibly, or Venetia Stanley as a young girl	17th Century?	Vellum	60 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
958	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot	Rachel, Countess of Southampton	1641	Enamel on gold	75 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
959	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, attributed to	A Young Man identified as a son of Sir Kenelm Digby	1632	Vellum	38 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
960	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, School of Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Lady	17th Century?	Vellum	44 mm height	Private collection	Unknown

961	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Lady Katherine Howard, first wife of Sir John, son of Sir Kenelm	17th Century	Unknown	51 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
962	[REDACTED]	Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen	Unknown Lady	17th Century	Oil on copper	49 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
963	[REDACTED]	Attributed to the artist D.M.	Unknown Gentleman	17th Century	Unknown	70 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
964	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Isaac Oliver possibly, later copy	William Cecil, First Baron Burghley	17th Century?	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 51 mm	Private collection	Unknown
965	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	An Unknown Lady	1605	Watercolour on vellum	44 mm x 38 mm	Private collection	Unknown
966	[REDACTED]	Laurence Hilliard	Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper	1625	Watercolour on vellum	38 mm x 31 mm	Private collection	Unknown
967	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles I	17th Century?	Oil on metal	51 mm x 32 mm	Private collection	Unknown
968	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Charles Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, called	1646	Card	48 mm x 32 mm	Private collection	Unknown
969	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles I, in the last year of his life	After 1648	Oil on metal	53 mm x 46 mm	Private collection	Unknown
970	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c.1600	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]

971	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Isaac Oliver, circle of	William Seymour, 2nd Earl of Hertford and 2nd Duke of Somerset	c.1600	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
972	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British school	Christian Bruce, wife of William 2nd Earl of Devonshire	c. 1625	Watercolour on ivory(?) or vellum(?)	43 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
973	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Isaac Oliver, circle of	Portrait of a Gentleman	c. 1620	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
974	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British school	Portrait of a lady called Lady Elizabeth Cecil, Countess of Devonshire	c. 1645	Watercolour on vellum	66 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
975	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, the Elder	Queen Henrietta Maria	c. 1635	Watercolour on vellum	43 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
976	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, British school	Portrait of a Gentleman	c.1650	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
977	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, circle of Alexander Cooper	Portrait of nobleman	c.1650	Watercolour on vellum	26 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
978	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, the Elder	Henrietta Maria, Queen of England	c. 1636	Watercolour on vellum	215 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
979	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Portrait of a Scholar	Before 1670	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
980	[REDACTED]	Jean Petitot, after Gerrit van Honthorst	George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham	1640	Enamel	51 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]

981	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c. 1600	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
982	[REDACTED]	Cornelius Johnson van Ceulen the Elder	Portrait of a Gentleman	c. 1633	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
983	[REDACTED]	Unknown: Artist, Nicholas Hilliard, school of	Portrait of a Gentleman	c.1620	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
984	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver, after Hans Holbein	Edward Prince of Wales, later King Edward VI	c. 1630	Watercolour on vellum	90 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
985	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c.1600	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
986	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Nicholas Hilliard, school of	Portrait of a Gentleman	1615	Watercolour on vellum	52 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
987	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch school	Portrait of a Man	1626	Oil on copper	65 mm x 49 mm	Philadelphia Museum of Art	1927-52-37
988	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch school	Portrait of a Woman	1626	Oil on copper	65 mm x 49 mm	Philadelphia Museum of Art	1927-52-38
989	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, attributed to	Portrait of a Man	c. 1625	Watercolour on card	41 mm x 33 mm	Philadelphia Museum of Art	1954-21-8
990	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Isaac Oliver, copy after his self portrait	Isaac Oliver	17th Century?	Watercolour and gouache on cardboard	63 mm x 51 mm	Philadelphia Museum of Art	1954-21-22

991	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver, attributed to	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, said to be	c.1590	Watercolour and gouache on vellum	51 mm x 41 mm	Philadelphia Museum of Art	1954-21-23
992	[REDACTED]	Isaac Luttichuys	Portrait of a Young Woman Holding an	c. 1646-1650	Oil on copper	114 mm x 83 mm	Philadelphia Museum of Art	1968-97-1
993	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School	Portrait of a Man	c.1600	Oil on copper	97 mm x 75 mm	Philadelphia Museum of Art	Cat. 449
994	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, possibly artist close to Bronzino	Unknown Lady	16th Century?	Oil on copper	Unknown	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia	1954.0630.183
995	[REDACTED]	Unknown artist, possibly Lockey, Rowland [?]	A Man in a Lace Ruff	1590	Gouache on vellum on card	49 mm x 24 mm	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia	1954.0630.447
996	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, previously attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts	Unknown Man	1605	Oil on silver(?) or card(?)	52.5 mm x 40 mm	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia	1954.0630.452
997	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	1608	Watercolour, gouache, gold & silver on vellum	46 mm x 38 mm	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia	1954.1611
998		Unknown Artist	King Charles I	c. 1649	Enamel	20 mm x 21 mm	Museum of London	A7507
999	No image	Unknown Artist	King Charles I	Mid-17th Century	Ivory or paper	Unknown	Museum of London	A708
1000	No image	Unknown Artist	Oliver Cromwell	Mid-17th Century	Watercolour	Unknown	Museum of London	46.78/55b

1001	No image	Unknown Artist	Oliver Cromwell	Mid-17th Century	Enamel	Unknown	Museum of London	46.78/557
1002	No image	Unknown Artist, French artist	Oliver Cromwell	Mid-17th Century	Unknown	Unknown	Museum of London	46.78/558a
1003	No image	Unknown Artist	Oliver Cromwell	Mid-17th Century	Copper alloy	Unknown	Museum of London	46.78/698
1004	No image	Unknown Artist	Oliver Cromwell	Mid-17th Century	Unknown	Unknown	Museum of London	46.78/702
1005		Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I cameo	Late 16th - early 17th Century	Agate	15 mm x 10 mm	Museum of London	A14063
1006	No image	Jean Petitot	Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden	Mid-17th Century	Enamel	Unknown	Museum of London	46.78/703
1007		Unknown Artist	King Charles I, Gold enamelled bracelet slide	Mid-17th Century	Enamel	23 mm x 20 mm	Museum of London	62.120/1
1008		Unknown Artist	King Charles I	1649	Enamel	22 mm x 17 mm	Museum of London	62.120/2
1009		Unknown Artist	King Charles I memento mori finger ring	1649	Enamel	22 mm diameter	Museum of London	62.120/88
1010		Unknown Artist	King Charles I memento mori locket pendant	1649	Enamel	18 mm x 13 mm	Museum of London	80.271/57

1011	[REDACTED]	Rowland Lockey, attributed to	Countess of Pembroke, said to be	c.1610	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 37 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1012	[REDACTED]	Laurence Hilliard	King Charles I	c.1635	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 42 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1013	No image	John Hoskins	Frances Cranfield, Countess of Dorset	c.1638	Unknown	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1014	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Hans Holbein	Katherine Howard, possibly	17th Century?	Unknown	53 mm diameter	Private collection	Unknown
1015	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Anne Boleyn, possibly	c.1532	Watercolour on vellum	42 mm diameter	Private collection	Unknown
1016	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, follower of Holbein	King Henry VIII, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth Tudor and Fool Will	c. 1650-1680	Oil on wooden panel	152 mm x 273 mm estimate	Private collection	Unknown
1017	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Nicholas Hilliard, Self-Portrait	1560	Parchment	25 mm diameter	Private collection	Unknown
1018	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1585-1590	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 43 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1019	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	31 mm x 28 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1020	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Katherine of Aragon with a marmoset	c.1525	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 48 mm	Private collection	Unknown

1021	[REDACTED]	Hans Eworth	Queen Mary I	c.1555	Oil on gold	56 mm diameter	Private collection	Unknown
1022	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Woman aged 20 in 1587	1587	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 44 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1023	[REDACTED]	Rowland Lockey	Sir Francis Walsingham	c.1580	Watercolour on vellum	43 mm x 73 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1024	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	King Henry VIII	1525	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm diameter	Private collection	Unknown
1025	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Katharine of Aragon	1525	Watercolour on vellum	38 mm diameter	The Duke of Buccleuch	Unknown
1026	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Edward VI as a child	c.1541	Watercolour on vellum	34 mm diameter	The Duke of Buccleuch	Unknown
1027	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Lord Abergavenny	c.1535	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm diameter	The Duke of Buccleuch	Unknown
1028	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, attributed to	Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset	1560	Watercolour on vellum	33.5 mm diameter	The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry KT	Unknown
1029	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian, from the circle of Jacopo da Trezzo	Philip II, King of Spain	c.1559	Onyx	Unknown	Museo degli Argenti, Florence	Unknown
1030	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian, from the circle of Jacopo da Trezzo	Don Carlos (son of King Philip II)	c.1559	Onyx	Unknown	Museo degli Argenti, Florence	Unknown
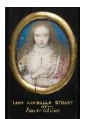
1031	[REDACTED]	Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, attributed to	Cosimo I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany	after 1546	Onyx	Unknown	Museo degli Argenti, Florence	Unknown
1032	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Philip II, King of Spain	c.1550-1575	Sardonyx	Unknown	Museo degli Argenti, Florence	Unknown
1033	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French	Catherine de Medici, Queen of France	c.1540	Onyx	Unknown	Museo degli Argenti, Florence	Unknown
1034	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	c.1560-1570	Unknown	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1035	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French	Henri IV, King of France	c.1560	Sardonyx	Unknown	Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Unknown
1036	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, French	Louis XIII of France	c.1610	Opal	Unknown	Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Unknown
1037		Unknown Artist, English or French	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1575	Sardonyx	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1038		François Clouet the Younger	King Charles IX, King of France	c.1572	Unknown	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1039		François Clouet	Catherine de Medici, Queen Dowager of France	c.1572	Unknown	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1040		Henri Toutin	Anne of Austria, Queen of France	c.1640	Unknown	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown

1041		Henri Toutin	Louis XIV as a child, the Dauphin	c.1640	Unknown	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1042		Giulio Clovio	Giulio Clovio, Self-Portrait	1528	Unknown	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1043		Unknown artist, Meister der Dosenkopfe	Frederick the Wise of Saxony, Portrait box of wood with portrait	1525	Wood	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1044		Hans Holbein	Unknown Man, Unidentified Man	1534	Oil on wood, possibly limewood	120 mm diameter	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1045		Hans Holbein	Unknown Woman, Unidentified Woman	1534	Oil on wood	120 mm diameter	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1046		Nicholas Hilliard	Duc d'Alençon	c.1567	Watercolour on vellum	45 mm x 37 mm	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1047		Unknown Artist, Northern Italian	Emperor Charles V	1557	Onyx	Unknown	Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna	Unknown
1048	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland	1589	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, Buenos Aires, Argentina	Unknown
1049	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Thomas Gresley and **wife** Katherine Walsingham, The Gresley Jewel	c.1574	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1050	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	Late 16th or early 17th Century ?	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Christie's	Unknown

1051	[REDACTED]	Hoskins the younger	Jane Stanhope, later Lady Mountnorris, said to be	1648	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm diameter	Christie's sale,16 December 1975, lot 45	Unknown
1052	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, John Hoskins, studio of	George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham	c.1628	Watercolour on vellum	58 mm height	Christie's sale, 3 October 1972, lot 116	Unknown
1053	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton	Late 16th-early 17th Century?	Unknown	Unknown	Christie's	Unknown
1054	[REDACTED]	Unknown artist, German school	Unknown Man, Portrait of a Bearded Man	16th Century	Gouache on vellum	66 mm diameter	Sotheby's	Unknown
1055	[REDACTED]	Unknown artist, German school	Unknown Man, A Gentleman in a fur hat	16th Century	Gouache on vellum	73 mm diameter	Sotheby's	Unknown
1056	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Dutch school	Two Unknown Boys, Two Portraits of Boys	16th Century	Pen and brown ink over black chalk on oval paper, mounted together	98 mm x 70 mm (each portrait)	Sotheby's	Unknown
1057	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King James I	Early 17th Century?	Watercolour on vellum, with gold and silver	42 mm x 34 mm	Sotheby's	Unknown
1058	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Unknown Man	c.1645	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 33 mm	Sotheby's sale ,5 July 1976, lot 13	Unknown
1059	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Unknown Woman	c.1645	Watercolour on vellum	40 mm x 33 mm	Sotheby's sale ,5 July 1976, lot 13	Unknown
1060	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Flemish School	Emperor Charles V	c.1550	Oil on paper, laid down on circular wooden board	92 mm diameter	Philip Mould	Unknown

1061	[REDACTED]	Franciszek Smiadecki	Unknown Man, A Gentleman	Mid-17th Century	Oil on copper	45 mm height	Philip Mould	Unknown
1062	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	A Nobleman wearing black doublet embroidered with gold thread	c.1610-1615	Watercolour on vellum stuck to pasteboard	48 mm height	Philip Mould	Unknown
1063	[REDACTED]	Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen	Unknown Man, A Gentleman	c.1625	Oil on copper	52 mm height	Philip Mould	Unknown
1064	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Queen Henrietta Maria	c.1642	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm diameter	Philip Mould	Unknown
1065	[REDACTED]	Laurence Hilliard	Unknown Man, Unknown Man aged 31	1638	Watercolour on vellum	38 mm x 32 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1066	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	King Charles I	c.1627	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 42 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1067	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins the younger	Princess Elizabeth, future Queen of Bohemia, said to be	1645	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1068	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Henrietta Maria	c.1630-1635	Watercolour on vellum on card	51 mm x 42 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1069	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Unknown Man, Soldier, age 27	1646	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1070	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Catherine Howard, Countess of Salisbury, possibly	c.1620	Watercolour on vellum	54 mm x 48 mm	Private collection	Unknown

1071	[REDACTED]	Levina Teerlinc, attributed to [?]	Unknown Man	1569	Watercolour on vellum	39 mm x 32 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1072	[REDACTED]	Levina Teerlinc, attributed to [?]	Queen Elizabeth I Performing the Royal Maundy	c.1565	Watercolour on vellum	65 mm x 55 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1073	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	1582	Unknown	57 mm x 44 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1074	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Margaret Lemon	c.1637	Watercolour on vellum	120 mm x 101 mm	Institut Neerlandais, Paris	Unknown
1075	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Frederick V	c.1632	Watercolour on vellum	24 mm x 20 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1076	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	Elizabeth of Bohemia	c.1632	Watercolour on vellum	24 mm x 20 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1077	[REDACTED]	Alexander Cooper	William Craven, Earl of Craven	c.1632	Watercolour on vellum	37 mm x 33 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1078	[REDACTED]	David des Granges	Lady Dacre	c.1650	Unknown	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1079	[REDACTED]	Matthew Snelling	King Charles I	1647	Unknown	95 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
1080		Unknown Artist, after François Clouet	King Francis I, The Treaty of Amiens	1527	Watercolour [on vellum?]	Unknown	The National Archives, Kew	TNA E30/1109

1081		Levina Teerlinc, possibly [?]	Queen Elizabeth I	1559	Watercolour [on vellum?]	100 mm x 80 mm	The National Archives, Kew	E 36/277
1082		Unknown Artist	Henry VIII Great Seal	16th Century	Unknown	Unknown	The National Archives, Kew	E 329/475
1083		Unknown Artist	Henry VIII, Plea Roll Easter 1541	1541	Watercolour [on vellum?]	Unknown	The National Archives, Kew	KB 27/119
1084	[REDACTED]	Edward Norgate, attributed to	John Harrison Senior	After 1628	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
1085		Jean Petitot	King Charles I	c.1638	Enamel on copper	40 mm x 35 mm	National Museum Sweden	NNB 989, Cat. 181
1086		Peter Oliver, after van Dyck	Sir Kenelm and Lady Venetia Digby and their sons Kenelm and	1635	Watercolour on vellum	155 mm x 246 mm [unframed?]	National Museum Sweden	NM69. Cat. 216
1087		Unknown Artist, Peter or Isaac Oliver [?]	Lady Arabella Stuart [or Venetia Digby]	1635	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Museum Sweden	NM69 Cat. 216
1088		Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	1586	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Museum Sweden	NMB 2594
1089		Peter Oliver	Lady Venetia Digby	1635	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Museum Sweden	NM69 Cat. 216
1090		Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	1583	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Museum Sweden	NM69 Cat. 216

1091		Edward Norgate, possibly, attributed to [?]	Judith Norgate, née Lanier	After 1617	Unknown	51 mm height	Huntington Library, San Marino	Unknown
1092	[REDACTED]	Edward Norgate, possibly, attributed to [?]	John Harrison Junior	c.1622	Unknown	57 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
1093	[REDACTED]	Edward Norgate, possibly, attributed to [?]	Mary Harrison	c.1630	Unknown	55 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
1094	[REDACTED]	Levina Teerlinc, possibly, attributed to [?]	The Adoration of the Shepherds	16th Century	Gouache on vellum	21 mm diameter	Cincinnati Art Museum	Temporary receipt number: 04/05.27:187
1095	[REDACTED]	Matthew Snelling	Eliza Thoresby Jones	Mid-17th Century	Watercolour on Vellum	68 mm x 57 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	2003.169. Temporary receipt no: 02/03.171:4
1096	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, Young Man	Mid-17th Century	Watercolour on Vellum	51 mm x 40 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	2004.228
1097	[REDACTED]	Robert Peake, attributed to	Unknown Man, A Cavalier	Mid-17th Century	Watercolour on Vellum	76 mm x 57 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	1991.349
1098	[REDACTED]	Samuel Cooper	Unknown Man, Young Man in Armour	1651	Watercolour on Vellum	54 mm x 40 mm	Cincinnati Art Museum	2004.355
1099	No image	Isaac Oliver	The Crucifixion	1601	Watercolour	117 mm x 82 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.19-1954
1100	No image	Isaac Oliver	The Lamentation over the dead Christ	1580s	Pen and ink, wash, watercolour, oil and graphite on paper	209 mm x 281 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.5-1957

1101	No image	Peter Oliver, attributed to	The Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John and two angels	17th Century	Black chalk; slight traces of white heightening; on buff paper	154 mm x 134 mm	Fitzwilliam Museum	PD.126-1961
1102		Georg Holdermann	Half-length portrait of a bearded man holding gloves	c. 1600-1625	Wax	110 mm x 100 mm x 47 mm (incl. frame)	Fitzwilliam Museum	M.4-1996
1103	[REDACTED]	Johannes Ambrosius Nucetus	Francis I with Virtues	c.1515	Parchment [?]	Unknown	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana	Cod. Triv. 2159, fol.2r
1104	[REDACTED]	Johannes Ambrosius Nucetus	Hippolita de Scaldasole as Caritas	c.1515	Parchment [?]	Unknown	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana	Cod. Triv. 2159, fol.6r
1105	[REDACTED]	Johannes Ambrosius Nucetus	Hippolita Bentevolia	c.1515	Parchment [?]	Unknown	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana	Cod. Triv. 2159, fol.11r
1106	[REDACTED]	Johannes Ambrosius Nucetus	Iulia del Maino	c.1515	Parchment [?]	Unknown	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana	Cod. Triv. 2159, fol.17r
1107	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	King Charles I as Prince of Wales	1614	Watercolour on vellum	82 mm x 69 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1108	[REDACTED]	Levina Teerlinc, possibly, attributed to [?]	Katherine Grey, Countess of Hertford with son Edward Seymour	c.1562	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm diameter	Private collection	Unknown
1109	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Elizabeth Stanley, Countess of Huntingdon	c. 1605-1610	Watercolour on vellum	63 mm x 50 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1110	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	King Charles I	c.1650	Watercolour on vellum	29 mm x 25 mm	Joseph Wright Study Centre, Derby	1960-456/4

1111	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Nell Gwynn, said to be	c.1670-1680	Oil on copper and mica (19 overlays)	76 mm x 60 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1112	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	James Stanley, Seventh Earl of Derby, KG	1650	Unknown	Unknown	Manx National Heritage Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man	2002-0099
1113		Cornelius Jonson van Ceulen	Double portrait of Theoderick Hoste and his Wife (Jane Hoste)	17th Century	Unknown	105 mm x 89 mm	Museum Briner and Kern, Switzerland	Unknown
1114	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Charles Prince of Wales	1615	Watercolour on vellum	67 mm height	Berger Collection, Denver Art Museum	Unknown
1115	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Portrait of a Young Gentleman, Sir Philip Sidney, possibly [?]	1605	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm height	Berger Collection, Denver Art Museum	Unknown
1116	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Portrait of a Gentleman	c. 1620-c.1630	Watercolour on vellum	35 mm height	Berger Collection, Denver Art Museum	Unknown
1117	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Portrait of a Man (Portrait d'homme)	1595	Watercolour on vellum	75 mm x 52 mm	Musée Condé, Chantilly	Inv. OA 1618
1118	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	George Monck, duc d'Albermarle?	17th Century	Copper	72 mm x 57 mm	Musée Condé, Chantilly	Inv. OA 1637
1119	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Girl aged 16 years (Jeune fille agée de 16 ans)	1605	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm x 44 mm	Paris, musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques	RF 54647
1120	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, after Nicholas Hilliard	James I of England (Jacques Ier d'Angleterre)	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 36 mm (framed?)	Paris, musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques	RF 12212

1121	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Portrait of a Woman aged 26 (Portrait d'une femme agée	16th Century	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 44 mm	Paris, musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques	RF 51006-R
1122	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Henry VIII (Henry VIII, roi d'Angleterre)	c. 1525-1544	Watercolour on vellum	56 mm x 56 mm	Paris, musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques	RF 44315-R
1123	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Portrait of man with a long wig, bust, with a wide white band	17th Century	Unknown	56 mm x 46 mm	Paris, musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques	RF 28950-R
1124	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Queen Henrietta Maria (Henriette-Marie de France)	Mid-17th Century	Unknown	Unknown	Paris, musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques	RF 30987-R
1125	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, monogrammist, C.P.	Portrait of a Youth	c. 1640-1650	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 40 mm	Dulwich Picture Gallery	DPG659-M4
1126		Unknown Artist, English	Colonel Thomas Gell	c.1640	Oil on copper	75 mm x 57 mm	National Army Museum	NAM.1994-07-193, image 80990
1127		Unknown Artist, English	Sir John Gell	c.1640	Oil on copper	72 mm x 58 mm	National Army Museum	NAM.1994-07-194, image 80991
1128	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Sir Thomas Griffin of Dingley	1599	Gouache on vellum; card	Unknown	Audley End, English Heritage	81030001
1129	No image	Isaac Oliver	Lady Elizabeth Touchet	c.1610	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Audley End, English Heritage	cabinet of miniatures9.B
1130	No image	Samuel Cooper	Sir Edward Griffin	1645	Gouache on vellum	70 mm x 60 mm	Audley End, English Heritage	81030004; 9.C

1131	No image	John Hoskins	Miss Frances Uvedale	17th Century	Gouache on vellum; card	75 mm x 64 mm	Audley End, English Heritage	81030003; cabinet of miniatures 9.D
1132	No image	Cornelius Johnson van Ceulen the Elder	Edward, First Lord Griffin, called	1630	Oil on copper	78 mm x 65 mm	Audley End, English Heritage	cabinet of miniatures 9. E
1133	No image	Samuel Cooper	Lady Susannah Rich, Countess of Suffolk	17th Century	Gouache on vellum	66 mm x 57 mm	Audley End, English Heritage	81030005; cabinet of miniatures 9. F
1134	[REDACTED]	Edward Norgate, possibly	King Charles I	1634	Watercolour on vellum?	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1135	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Philip Fourth Earl of Pembroke	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
1136	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	Sir Philip Sidney, called	c.1610	Oil on card	50 mm height	Private collection	Unknown
1137	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	The Henry Graves miniature of Shakespeare, called	c.1600	Oil on copper	40 mm diameter	Royal Shakespeare Company	STRPG:A: 1993.6
1138	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English school	The Kite miniature of Shakespeare, called	c.1650	Oil on copper	90 mm x 50 mm	Royal Shakespeare Company	STRPG:A: 1993.7
1139	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, English School after Soest,	The Sutherland Gower portrait of Shakespeare, called	c.1630	Oil on copper	Unknown	Royal Shakespeare Company	STRPG:A: 1993.12
1140		Samuel Cooper	Speaker Lenthall	c.1650	Watercolour on vellum	70 mm x 60 mm	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth	Unknown

1141		Isaac Oliver	Henry, Prince of Wales	Early 17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Museum of Wales	NMW A 718
1142	No image	Nicholas Hilliard	Penelope, Lady Rich, possibly, Unknown Lady	1589	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Museum of Wales	NMW A 717
1143		John Hoskins	Edward, Ist Baron Herbert of Cherbury	17th Century	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	National Museum of Wales	NMW A 715
1144		Unknown Artist	Portrait of a Man	Late 16th Century	Oil on card	84 mm x 54 mm	Glasgow Museums	PC.29
1145		Unknown Artist	Francois de France, Duc d'Alencon	1575	Unknown	Unknown	Glasgow Museums: Pollok House Loan	PL.113a
1146		Unknown Artist	Marguerite de France Salon Du Roy	1552	Unknown	Unknown	Glasgow Museums: Pollok House Loan	Unknown
1147		Isaac Oliver [?]	Lady Arabella Stuart [or Venetia Digby]	17th Century	Oil on panel	Unknown	Glasgow Museums: Pollok House loan	Unknown
1148		Unknown Artist, Flemish	Portrait of unknown gentleman wearing a ruff	c.1600	Oil on copper	70 mm x 50 mm	Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow	GLAHA 54335
1149	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Portrait of a man	c. 1610-1615	Watercolour on vellum	61 mm x 51 mm	Barber Institute, University of Birmingham	BIRBI-55.16
1150	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Henry Prince of Wales	c. 1610	Watercolour on vellum	55 mm x 46 mm	Barber Institute, University of Birmingham	BIRBI-49.4

1151	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Jacobean Gentleman	c.1600	Oil on copper	102 mm x 76 mm	Lakeland Arts	AH01403/75
1152	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Gentleman	17th Century	Tempera on copper	40 mm x 50 mm	Lakeland Arts	U0043/95
1153		Unknown Artist, after Arnold Bronckorst	James Hamilton, Second Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault	c.1575-1580	Oil on vellum	Unknown	National Portrait Gallery Scotland	PG 3412
1154		Nicholas Hilliard	Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex	c. 1588-1590	Watercolour and bodycolour on vellum stuck on card	Unknown	National Portrait Gallery Scotland	PG 3423
1155	No image	Unknown Artist	Frederick, King of Bohemia with Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia,	c.1620	Watercolour	Unknown	National Portrait Gallery Scotland	PG 1781
1156		Unknown Artist	Unidentified Woman	16th Century	Watercolour on ivory	Unknown	National Portrait Gallery Scotland	PG 2315
1157		Unknown Artist	Unidentified Man	16th Century	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Portrait Gallery Scotland	PG 2332
1158		Unknown Artist	Portraits of two unidentified young men	Late 16th Century	Oil on copper	Unknown	National Portrait Gallery Scotland	UPG 007
1159		Attributed to the workshop of Leonard Limosin	Francis II	Before 1560	Enamel	Unknown	National Portrait Gallery Scotland	PG 2814
1160	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Unknown Man	16th Century?	On wood [?]	35 mm x 45 mm	Royal Cornwall Museum	TRURI : 1000.383

1161	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Portrait of a Woman	c.1640	Paint on wood	90 mm x 60 mm	Sir John Soane's Museum	S53
1162	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Elizabeth of Bohemia (Winter Queen)	Early 1620s	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
1163	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	Elector Palatine (Winter King)	Early 1620s	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
1164	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian	Unknown Gentleman	c.1620	Oil on amethyst	64 mm height	Private collection	[REDACTED]
1165	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Anglo-Netherlandish (form. attrib. Alexander Cooper)	Unknown Gentleman	1647	Oil on copper	Unknown	Private collection	[REDACTED]
1166	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Unknown Man	c.1637-1647	Unknown	86 mm x 58 mm	The Higgins Art Gallery and Museum, Bedford	P.17
1167	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Elizabeth, Baroness Norreys	Early 17th Century	Unknown	55 mm x 47 mm	The Higgins Art Gallery and Museum, Bedford	P.21
1168	[REDACTED]	Peter Oliver	King Charles I as prince	Early 17th Century	Unknown	68 mm x 46 mm	The Higgins Art Gallery and Museum, Bedford	P.22
1169	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, attributed to both Lucas Hornebolte & L. Teerlinc	Katherine Parr	16th Century	Unknown	Unknown	Sudeley Castle	Unknown
1170	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbolt	Jane Seymour	1537	Unknown	Unknown	Sudeley Castle	Unknown

1171	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man, Pierre de Ronsard?	1577	Unknown	51 mm x 44 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1172	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, attributed to	Unknown Woman, Portrait of a Lady	c.1590	Watercolour on card	48 mm X 38 mm	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery	Unknown
1173	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Unknown Man	c.1590	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 48 mm	The Earl of Radnor	Unknown
1174	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Thomas Hearne	c.1609	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 40 mm	Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery	NWHCM: 1962.21
1175	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein [after?]	Desiderius Erasmus	16th Century	Oil and tempera on limewood	100 mm diameter	Brunswick	Unknown
1176	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, workshop of	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1595-1600	Watercolour on vellum	60 mm x 48 mm	Beaverbrook Foundation, Beaverbrook Art Gallery, New Brunswick	Unknown
1177	[REDACTED]	Hans Holbein	Philip Melanchthon	c.1530-1535	Oil and tempera on oak	90 mm diameter	Landesgalerie, Hanover	Unknown
1178		Esther Kello, née Inglis	Esther Kello, née Inglis, Self-Portrait	1606	Watercolour	Unknown	Houghton Library, Harvard University	MS Typ.212, fol. 9v
1179	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	1584	Watercolour and ink on vellum	187 mm x 165 mm	Emmanuel College Cambridge	Unknown
1180	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I playing a Lute	c.1580	Watercolour on vellum	48 mm x 39 mm	Private collection	Unknown

1181	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1592	Watercolour on vellum	49 mm x 39 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1182	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1595	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm x 38 mm	Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal	Unknown
1183	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, workshop of	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1595	Watercolour on vellum	61 mm x 51 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1184	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard, workshop of	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1595	Watercolour on vellum	30 mm x 25 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1185	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins, after van Dyck	King Charles I and Henrietta Maria	1636	Unknown	70 mm x 115 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1186	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Allegory of Love	c.1610	Watercolour on vellum	111 mm x 171 mm	The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen	Unknown
1187	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Unknown Man, A Young Man aged 19 in 1588	1588	Watercolour on vellum	51 mm x 42 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1188	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Jane Boughton	1574	Gouache and watercolour on vellum	44 mm diameter	The Thomson Collection Art Gallery of Ontario	Unknown
1189	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Queen Elizabeth I	c.1575	Watercolour on vellum	18 mm x 15 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1190	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Robert Dudley, Earl of Essex	c.1575	Watercolour on vellum	18.5 mm x 15 mm	Private collection	Unknown

1191	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	King Henry VIII	c.1530	Watercolour on vellum	30 mm diameter	Collection V de S	Unknown
1192	[REDACTED]	Lucas Horenbout	Lady Margaret Beaufort	c.1530	Watercolour on vellum	30 mm diameter	Collection V de S	Unknown
1193	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Marguerite de Valois, Queen of Navarre, possibly	1577	Watercolour on vellum	57 mm x 44 mm	Private collection	Unknown
1194	[REDACTED]	Nicholas Hilliard	Charles Blount, later Earl of Devonshire	1587	Watercolour on vellum	43 mm x 35 mm	The Carew Pole Family Trusts	Unknown
1195	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian, from the circle of Jacopo da Trezzo	Philip II, King of Spain	c.1560	Onyx	Unknown	Private collection	Unknown
1196	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist, Italian	Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	1566	Onyx	Unknown	Albion Art Collection, Japan	Unknown
1197	[REDACTED]	John Hoskins	Henrietta Maria	1632	Watercolour on vellum	Unknown	Duke of Devonshire	Unknown
1198	[REDACTED]	Isaac Oliver	Thomas Fones	c.1612-1615	Watercolour on vellum	50 mm height	Formerly in colln. of Sir Richard Parsons	Unknown
1199	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Sir Francis Drake, said to be [?]	c.1550-1600	Oil on oak	Unknown	Cuming Museum, Southwark	C04146
1200	[REDACTED]	Unknown Artist	Queen Elizabeth I and Anne Boleyn portraits set in a ring	c. 1575	Enamel	Unknown	Trustees of Chequers	Unknown

Appendix 2: Plays with Pictures *c*. 1540–*c*. 1650[349]

Unless otherwise stated, this table does not include references to unspecified love tokens, jewels unless implicitly containing a picture, statues, painted scenery, painted masks, painted faces, unspecified gifts, and visual imagery of the stage/theatre building.

Title	Playwright	Date first performance	Date first printed	Picture	Genre	Miniature
Wit and Science	**John Redford**	Best guess: 1544, St Paul's School (?)	1848	A portrait of Wit	Moral	Yes
The Marriage of Wit and Science	**Anon.**	Limits: 1567–1579, best guess: 1568. Children of St Paul's?	*c*. 1570 STC 17466	A portrait of Wit (2.2)	Moral	Yes
Lady Barbara	**Anon.**	1571, Whitehall palace by Sir Robert Lane's Men, Thursday 27 December (St John's Day)	n/a	A portrait of Barbara (turns yellow at one point)	Romance	?
Chariclea, a.k.a. Theagenes, & later assigned Theagenes and Chariclea	**Anon.**	1572–1573	n/a	A picture of Andromeda	Romance	?
The Queen's Majesty's	**Edward Dyer may**	September 1575, Sir Henry Lee's	s. 1579 STC 23603, q.	Portrait described in act 1	Comedy	?

[349] The information in this table is drawn from a number of sources. I am particularly indebted to Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012–2017), vols 1–7. Wiggins's study includes 2700 plays covering the period between 1533 and 1642, and also includes masques. Only volumes 1 to 7, covering the period 1533 to 1623, were available during my research. I have also used information from Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), which is based on over 22,000 stage directions from 500 plays covering the period from 1580 until 1642. Masques, university productions, and moral interludes are not included in his data. It relies upon evidence from the performances in permanent professional theatres. Dessen and Thomson found thirty-five examples of pictures within plays. Joanne Rochester, using the Chadwick-Healey database, found 114 uses of a painting as a prop and argues that there are doubtless more; *Staging Spectatorship in the Plays of Philip Massinger* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 102–105 For additional data on the plays I have cross-referenced this information with the entries in Alfred Harbage and S. Schoenbaum, *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1989). The number of plays for which no documentary evidence survives and the limits of the PhD project have resulted in this table offering a selective rather than a comprehensive study of all plays which include pictures. With these limitations in mind, it does give a clear indication of the types of plays which include pictures, the playwrights who engaged with the performativity of the picture within their plays, the positioning of the portrait within the plays, and how these develop over more than one hundred years. The abbreviation s.d. denotes a stage direction.

Entertainment at Woodstock	**have been a contributor**	household at Woodstock	1585 (incomplete)			
The Foster Children of Desire	**John Lyly (?), Sir Henry Lee (?), Sir Philip Sidney (?)**	16 April and 15–16 May 1581	Selected speeches printed in 1581, Henry Goldwel, *A briefe declaration of the shews…* STC 11990	A portrait of a lady described in act 2	Dramatic Tilt	?
English Court Masque	**Anon.**	Christmas week, 1581–1582, Whitehall palace	n/a	An agate portrait of the queen	Masque	Yes
Campaspe	**John Lyly**	Oxford's Boy's 1583–1584, Blackfriars, & Children of the Chapel Royal and Paul's (i.e. Oxford's Boy's) Whitehall Palace 1 January 1584	1584 STC 17048	6 portraits of women (3.3), a pencil and a painter's board (3.4), painter falls in love with image	Comedy	?
A Loyal Shepherd	**Sir Henry Lee (?)**	7 September 1586, Woodstock (?)	n/a	Small unspecified tokens representing the queen worn on helmets	Tournament entertainment	Yes
The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London	**Robert Wilson, attributed to**	Best guess: 1588, Queen's Men (?)	1590 STC 25783	Portrait of Robert Tarlton (sc. 1) 'Show Tarlton's picture' (C2r s.d.)	Comedy	?

James IV	**Robert Greene**	Limits: 1588–1592, best guess: 1590	1598 STC 12308	Portrait of Ida (1.3)	Romance	?
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	**Robert Greene**	1589, Strange's	1594	Magical brazen head image (sc. 10, s.d.)	Comedy	?
The Two Gentlemen of Verona	**William Shakespeare**	1588, King's Men	1623	Picture of Silvia sent in courtship (4.4)	Romance	Yes
Fair Em, the Miller's Daughter of Manchester	**Anon., sometimes attributed to Robert Wilson**	1590, Lord Strange's Men	*c.* 1592–1593	William the Conqueror is overthrown during a tilt by the portrait of Blanche, Princess of Denmark, painted on his opponent's shield (2)	Romantic comedy	No
Edward II	**Christopher Marlowe**	Limits: 1591–1593, best guess: 1592, Pembroke's Men in London (probably at The Theatre)	1594	Portrait miniatures exchanged between king and Gaveston (sc. 4)	Historical tragedy	Yes
Arden of Faversham	**Anon., sometimes attributed to William Shakespeare**	1587–1592, may have been associated with members of Pembroke's Men	1592	Poisoned portrait of Arden, and Clarke immoral painter	Domestic tragedy	?
Tasso's Melancholy	**Thomas Dekker, later revised**	August 1594, Admiral's Men at the Rose	n/a	A picture (10 March 1594 Henslowe's inventory)	Romance	?
The Blind Beggar of Alexandria	**George Chapman**	February 1596, Admiral's Men, The Rose	Abbreviated version, 1598 STC 4965	A portrait of Cleanthes (sc. 3); it is also referred	Romantic comedy	No

				to as a 'statue'		
The Merchant of Venice	**William Shakespeare**	Limits: 1596–1598, best guess: 1596, Lord Hunsdon's Men (formerly and subsequently the Lord Chamberlain's Men) at The Theatre; 1605 King's Men at Whitehall Palace	1600 STC 22296 & 1623	Pictures of a skull (2.7), a fool (2.9), and a portrait of Portia (3.2) in caskets	Comedy	Yes
Hispanus [*The Spaniard*]	**Roger Morrell (?)**	March 1597, St John's College, Cambridge	1991	A portrait of Silvia (1.7)	Comedy in Latin	?
The Comedy of Humours, An Humorous Day's Mirth	**George Chapman**	May 1597, Admiral's Men at The Rose	1599 STC 4987	A portrait of a woman (2.2.49, s.d. & sc. 7)	Comedy	?
Antonio and Mellida	**John Marston**	1599, Paul's Boys	1602 STC 17473	Painter, Balurdo, carries two portraits on stage as evidence of his talent (5.1, s.d.)	Comedy	Yes
A Warning for Fair Women	**Thomas Heywood**	*c.* 1589, The Curtain by Lord Chamberlain's Men	1599	'brings her to her husband's picture hanging on the wall' (E3v s.d.)	Romantic comedy	?
Eunuch	**Richard Barnard translating Terence**	1598	1598 STC 23890, Cambridge	Pamphila carries tokens with her which confirm her identity (4.6)	Comedy	?
Royal Entertainment at Mitcham	**John Lyly?**	1598, Dr Julius Caesar's household at	n/a	Board painted with the	Entertainme nt	No

		Mitcham, Surrey		monarchs of England (2, dialogue)		
The Spanish Tragedy, later 'painter's scene' addition	**Thomas Kyd 1587 and anon. additions** *c.* **1600**	Post-additions, Admiral's Men 1601 and King's Men prior 1604	1602	Artist, Bazardo, visits mad Hieronimo; memorial picture of Horatio	Revenge tragedy	?
The Wisdom of Doctor Doddy-Poll	**Anon.**	1600 Paul's Boys	1600 STC 6991	Jewel containing a miniature painting (1.1 s.d., 2.1, 4.3, 5.1, dialogue) Painter falls in love with image	Comedy	Yes
The Trial of Chivalry	**Anon.**	*c.* 1599, Derby's Men	1605 STC 13527	Unrequited lover, Katharine, sleeps with picture of Pembroke, painted on stage,(sc.3) & picture of Ferdinand (sc. 10)	Romance	Yes
Twelfth Night, or What You Will	**William Shakespeare**	1601, Lord Chamberlain's Men at Inns of Court; the Globe; 1618 & 1623 Whitehall	1623 STC 22273	Olivia gives miniature of self to Cesario in attempted courtship (3.4)	Comedy	Yes
Pontius Pilate	**Thomas Dekker (epilogue & prologue)**	1601–1602, Admiral's Men, Fortune	n/a	Cloth with a picture of Jesus	Pseudo-history	No
Blurt, Master Constable	**Anon., sometimes attributed to Thomas Dekker**	1601, Children of Paul's	1602 STC 17876	Miniature of prisoner French lord Fontinelle delivered to courtesan Imperia who	Comedy	Yes

				then falls in love with him (2.2.81, s.d.)		
Satiromastix or The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet	**Thomas Dekker**	1601, Lord Chamberlain's Men at the Globe, and the Children of St Paul's	1602	Two pictures, one showing classical poet Horace, the other the Horace of the play (sc. 11, s.d.)	Comedy	?
The Tragedy of Hamlet	**William Shakespeare**	*c.* 1600–1602, Lord Chamberlain's Men; Oxford and Cambridge by 1603	1603	Miniatures of Kings Claudius and Hamlet used to provoke Gertrude's conscience (sc. 11)	Tragedy	Yes
Royal Entry of King James I into London	**Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, Simon Ruytinck, Jacob Cool, Raphael Thorius, et al.**	1604, city of London	1604 STC 6510	Illustrated table on arch no. 3 (Dutch arch) employed painters include Rowland Bucket, Martin Droeshout, and Daniel de Vos	Pageant	No
The Honest Whore	**Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton**	1604, Prince Henry's Men, Fortune Theatre?	1604 STC 6501	Worship of image; 'enter a servant setting out a table, on which he places a skull, a picture, a book and a taper' (s.d., 4.1); a picture of	Comedy	?

				Infelice (sc. 10, s.d.)		
2 If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody	**Thomas Heywood**	1603–1605, Queen Anne's men at the Curtain or Boar's Head (?)	1606 STC 13336	Portraits of famous Londoners responsible for important civic buildings and institutions inspire Thomas Gresham to build the Royal Exchange (sc. 6)	History	No
1 The Fair Maid of the West or A Girl Worth Gold	**Thomas Heywood**	1604–1611, Queen Anne's/Worcester's at the Red Bull?	1631 STC 13320	Portrait of beloved (302); Spencer's picture (3.4, s.d.)	Comedy	?
The Wit of a Woman	**Anon.**	?	1604 STC 25868	Rinaldo poses as a painter and is hired to paint a portrait of Isabella (389); pictures hung up in sc. 4, s.d. and taken down sc. 10	Comedy	?
Parasitaster, or The Fawn	**John Marston**	1603–1606, Queen's Revels at the Blackfriars	1606 STC 17483	Hercules sends portrait of self to Princess Dulcimel of Urbino to woo her (1.2.108, s.d.)	Comedy	?

Zelotypus the Jelous Man	**Anon.**	*c.* 1605–1607, St John's College, Cambridge	n/a	Picture of Lavinia procured without sitter's knowledge and shown to pimp Cereberinus (3.5, 3.7)	Comedy	Yes
The Life of Timon of Athens	**William Shakespeare (and Thomas Middleton?)**	*c.* 1605?–1608, King's Men at the Globe	1623 STC 22273	A picture of a man (ac. 1), a painter	Tragedy	Yes
The Puritan	**Anon., sometimes attributed to Thomas Middleton**	1606–1607, Children of Paul's	1607 STC 21531	Lady Plus mourns her dead husband, his portrait (1.1, s.d.)	Comedy	Yes
The Whore of Babylon	**Thomas Dekker**	1606, Prince's Men (at the Fortune ?)	1607 STC 6532	Witches 'mammets' used to murder via magic (2.2.185, s.d.); wax effigy (sc. 4, s.d. refer to it as a 'picture')	Allegorical history	?
The Knight of the Burning Pestle	**Francis Beaumont**	1607, Children of the Queen's Revels at the Blackfriars	1613 STC 1674	Painted cloth (int. 2, dialogue)	Comedy	No
The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron	**George Chapman**	1607–1608, Children of the Queen's Revels at the Blackfriars	1608 STC 4968	A picture of Byron supposedly painted on stage (3.2.138, s.d.)	History	?
Periander	**John Sansbury?**	1608, St John's College, Oxford	n/a	A picture of dead queen, Melissa (4.7, s.d.)	Tragedy	?
Royal Entertainment	**Ben Jonson**	1609, The New Exchange,	n/a	A silver plaque with	Entertainment	No

at Britain's Burse		London, cast drawn from Children of the Revels for Robert Cecil		a picture of the annunciation given to the Queen (sc. 2, dialogue/V)		
A Woman is a Weathercock	**Nathan Field**	1609–1610	1612 STC 10854	A picture of Lady Bellafront (3.2)	Comedy	?
Tragedy of a Tyrant and a Lady	**Thomas Middleton?**	1611, King's Men (at the Blackfriars ?)	n/a	Painter, Giovianus in disguise, hired to paint dead ladies face, he uses poison, when tyrant kisses her he dies (5.2)	Tragedy	No
The White Devil	**John Webster**	1612, Queen Anne's (Red Bull?)	1612 STC 25178	Poisoned picture designed to kill viewer; 'burn perfumes afore the picture, and wash the lips of the picture' (2.2.23, s.d.)	Tragedy	?
The Two Noble Kinsmen	**John Fletcher and William Shakespeare**	1613, King's Men at the Blackfriars	1634 STC 11075	Pictures of Palamon & Lord Arcite (both the titular nobles; 4.2, s.d.)	Tragicomedy	Yes
The Nightwalkers	**John Fletcher**	1613–1616, Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Hope?	1640 STC 11072	A picture of Maria (4.6)	Comedy	?
Euribates	**[Aquila?] Cruso**	1610–1616, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge	n/a	Wax figure (1.4)	Comedy	No

The Devil is an Ass	**Ben Jonson**	1616, King's Men at the Blackfriars	1631 STC 147.53.5	Picture(s) of the devil (1.2)	Comedy	?
Love's Cure	**John Fletcher (with Philip Massinger?)**	1611–1617, King's Men at Globe/Blackfriars	1647 Wing B1581	Picture of Malroda, a wanton mistress (3.3)	Comedy	?
Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue	**Ben Jonson**	1618, Banqueting House, Whitehall	1640 STC 14754a	Scenery painted with figure of a grizzled old man with moveable eyes (sc. 1–4)	Masque	No
Stoicus vapulans [**The Stoic Beaten**]	**Anon.**	1618–1619, Christmas, St John's College, Cambridge	1648 Wing H170	Five pictures (5.9)	Comedy	?
The Humorous Lieutenant, or Demetrius and Enanthe	**John Fletcher**	1619, King's Men at Globe/Blackfriars	1647 Wing B1581	Usher tries to seduce serving-maid by showing her his master's picture (Enanthe; 5.7)	Tragicomedy	?
The Devil's Law Case	**John Webster**	1619, Queen Anne's Men (Cockpit?)	1623 STC 25173	A picture of the young Crispiano, a Spanish judge, as a young man (3.3.374, 4.2.473)	Tragicomedy	?
The Fatal Dowry	**Philip Massinger and Nathan Field**	1619, King's Men at Blackfriars (& Globe?)	1632 STC 17646	To provoke sorrow: 'the lively picture of my [dead] father' (2.2.238)	Tragedy	?
The Faithful Friends	**Anon.**	1618-1630	n/a	Image of Mars on an altar (4.5, s.d.)	Tragicomedy	?

The Two Merry Milkmaids	**J. C. or I. C.**	1619, Revel's company at the Red Bull	1620 STC 4281	Frederick, ennobled in the play, engages his former servant, Smirk, to paint his portrait. Smirk later resumes his former occupation as a painter stainer; said to be little. Pots of paint (4.2, s.d) and a paintbrush (4.2, implicit)	Comedy	?
Women Pleased	**John Fletcher**	1619–1623, King's Men (Blackfriars and/or Globe?)	1647 (Wing B1581)	A miniature picture (4.4, 5.1)	Tragicomedy	Yes
The Virgin Martyr	**Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger**	1620, Revels Company at the Red Bull	1622 STC 17644	Idol of Jupiter which characters spit upon (1.1, 3.2, s.d.)	Tragedy	?
The Custom of the Country	**John Fletcher and Philip Massinger**	1619–1621, King's Men (Blackfriars &/or Globe?)	1647 Wing B1581	Witchcraft used on portrait to cause harm (4.4); a picture of Lord Duarte (5.3)	Comedy	?
Women Beware Women	**Thomas Middleton**	1621 (King's?)	1657 Wing M1989	Bianca is shown naked pictures (2.2.403)	Tragedy	?
The Dutch Painter and the French Branke	**Philip Massinger**	1622, King's	n/a	?	?	?

The Nice Valour	**Thomas Middleton (& John Fletcher?)**	1622–1627, (Prince Charles's Men at the Curtain?)	1647 Wing B1581	A printed picture (4.1, 5.1)	Tragicomedy	No
The Spanish Gypsy	**Thomas Dekker, John Ford, Thomas Middleton, & William Rowley**	1623, Lady Elizabeth's Men, Cockpit	1653 Wing M1986	Portrait of Clara unveiled (4.3, s.d.)	Tragicomedy	?
The Noble Spanish Soldier	**Thomas Dekker**	1623, Admiral's Men	1634 STC 21416	Worship of image. 'A table set out covered with black: two waxen tapers: the king's picture at one end, a crucifix at the other', defaced in some way, probably by sticking a dagger into it (1.2, s.d.)	Tragedy	?
Ducus [**Deceit**]	**Robert Ward**	1623, Queen's College, Cambridge	n/a	Wax figure and needle (4.7)	Comedy	No
Vitus	**Joseph Simons (real name Emmanuel Lobb)**	1623, Syntax class at St Omers	1656	A statue of Venus beheaded, and pagan gods (4.4)	Tragedy	No
The Renegade	**Philip Massinger**	1624, Cockpit Theatre (?) the Lady Elizabeth's Men	1630 STC S112427	Venetian pictures, possibly nudes	Tragi-comedy	?
The Wise Woman of Hoxton	**Thomas Heywood**	1613–1638	1638 STC 13370	Pictures of women (3.1)	Comedy	?
The Maid's Revenge	**James Shirley**	1626, Queen Henrietta's	1639	E3v	Tragedy	?
The Lover's Melancholy	**John Ford**	1628, King's	1629	Portrait of beloved	Tragi-comedy	?

The Picture	**Philip Massinger**	1629, King's, Blackfriars & Globe	1630	Magical miniature of Sophia; 'kiss the picture' (2.2.327, also 3.5.187, 4.1.27, s.d.)	Tragi-comedy	Yes
The Siege, possibly also referred to as The Colonel	**William Davenant**	1629, King's Men at the Globe	1673	(400, s.d.)	Tragi-comedy	?
The Deserving Favourite	**Lodowick Carlell**	King's Men performed at court and Blackfriars *c.* 1629	1629	Portraits used in royal marriage negotiations	Tragi-comedy	?
The Queene's Exchange	**Richard Brome**	1631, King's ?	1657	Queen Bertha and Osric fall in love via portraits	Tragi-comedy	?
The Emperor of the East	**Philip Massinger**	1631	1632	Emperor shown portraits of potential brides (2.1.243, s.d.)	Tragi-comedy	?
The Traitor	**James Shirley**	1631, Queen Henrietta's	1635	'discovers the duke's picture, a poniard sticking in it' (5.3.22, s.d.)	Tragedy	?
Love's Sacrifice	**John Ford**	1632, Queen Henrietta's	1633	Fool plans to send mistress portrait of self with mirror over his heart (876, s.d.)	Tragedy	?
The Novella	**Richard Brome**	1632, King's	1653	(147, s.d.)	Comedy	?

The Vow-Breaker or The Fair Maid of Clifton	**William Sampson**	1625–1636	1636	Father mourns over portrait of son (3.4, 77 & 84, 4.2.247, s.d.)	Historical tragedy	?
Arviragus and Philicia	**Lodowick Carlell**	1636, King's	1639	'Takes a picture out of her bosom' (F3r, s.d.)	Tragi-comedy	Yes
The City Match	**Jasper Mayne**	1637, King's	1639	Two gallants attempt to be smuggled into woman's bedchamber disguised as portraits; 'hanging out the picture of a strange fish' (24d, s.d.)	Comedy	No
Aglaura	**John Suckling**	1637, unacted	1659	(1.3.34, s.d.)	Tragedy	?
The Passionate Lovers	**Lodowick Carlell**	1638, King's	1655	Portrait given as a sign of affection (C2r, C3r, s.d.)	Tragi-comedy	?
The Fatal Contract	**William Hemming**	1639, Queen Henrietta's	1653	Woman stabs portrait of her husband's murderer in effort to kill him; 'Draw the curtain and show the picture' and 'Stabs the picture' (B3v, B4r, s.d.)	Tragedy	No

The Phoenix in Her Flames	**William Lower**	1622–1639, unacted?	1639	Portrait given as a sign of affection	Tragedy	?
The Gentlemen of Venice	**James Shirley**	1638–1640, Queen's (& Ogilby's Men, Dublin)	1655	'Gallery adorned with pictures' (3.3)	Tragi-comedy	?
The Court Beggar	**Richard Brome**	1639–1640, Beeston's Boys	1653	Portrait artist Mr Dainty is eventually revealed as a pickpocket	Comedy	?