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Pleasing 'the common sort exceedingly well': An interdisciplinary

repositioning of the British Portrait Miniature *c*. 1520–1650

Two Volumes

(Volume One)

Lindsey Cox

The Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Kent

(74,234 words)

March 2018

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree.

Lindsey Cox

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Many curators, conservators, and study room assistants have generously made arrangements for me to view collections and files in public, institutional, and private collections, for which I am grateful. Special thanks go to everybody at the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Yale Center for British Art, Cleveland Museum of Art, and Welbeck Abbey. I should also like to thank all of the librarians and archivists who have allowed me to view manuscripts and documents, in particular those at the National Archives, the British Library, and Cambridge University Library.

For offering the space to deliver conference papers where I rehearsed a number of the arguments both within and without this final thesis I am grateful to Cambridge University, the University of Reading, the University of Birmingham, the Medieval English Theatre Society, and the National Trust. Thank you to the students who I taught on the Early Modern Drama and History of Art undergraduate courses at Kent, from whom I learned much.

Thank you also to Tarnya Cooper, Rory Loughnane, Robert Tittler, Maria Hayward, Birgit Oehle, Jo Collins, Matthew Copping, Simon Davies, and Julia Perlman. Last, but by no means least, my Mom, Dad, Gran, Dot, Steve, Martha, and all my friends.

Abstract

This thesis re-positions the portrait miniature within its original social and cultural milieu. To-date scholarship has focussed on the miniature within the homes of the nobility and has explored the role of the art form as a means whereby the owner and the viewer could create and maintain their own mutually dependant elite positions. This thesis, however, explores the position of the miniature within the lives of the middling sort. In order to do this, it examines a wider range of miniatures than has previously been explored and brings together a new set of visual objects referred to as 'small pictures' alongside the now better-known portrait miniatures. By considering the art form across a number of disciplines, including English literature, art history, history, and drama this thesis seeks to understand the miniature as both a material object and as a complex and shifting concept throughout the period from *c*. 1520 to 1650.

To find out how miniatures were considered by their contemporary audiences I examine in chapter one what was written about them and the contexts in which writers positioned the art form. Building upon this, the thesis investigates who might have been interested in this written knowledge and will explore how the information could be used differently by artisans, scholars, heralds and leisured readers. This chapter, thereby, establishes the range of different audiences who had access to and defined how a miniature could be understood.

The second chapter examines what a miniature looked like for contemporary audiences. It analyses the results of a study of over one thousand miniatures to determine the material characteristics and physical appearance of these objects. This miniature database is included as appendix 1 at the end of the thesis. The chapter includes well-known examples of the art form, now commonly referred to as 'portrait miniatures', which form approximately half of the database, alongside the new category of 'small pictures', which form the other half of the database. These small pictures share many of the same similarities as the portrait miniatures, but they are not all executed in watercolour on vellum as the portrait miniatures are, some are larger than 80 mm in

length and could be considered cabinet paintings and some were not made by painters working predominantly in Britain.[1] This re-establishes the wider range of miniature art which early audiences had access to but which has been absent from recent scholarship. This latter group of hitherto under-explored small pictures include those which represent the faces of now unknown sitters, those made by amateur painters, and those painters who were working in a different aesthetic from the now better-known courtly style. The chapter ends with an analysis of the similarities and differences between miniatures representing individuals of different degrees.

The third chapter investigates who owned the miniatures. It analyses the results of over one thousand probate inventory records which detail the possessions of both nobles and non-nobles residing in Bristol, Ipswich, Chesterfield, Stratford-upon-Avon and Banbury. This informs a consideration of the reasons behind the growing fashionability of miniatures, the significance of the rooms in which small pictures were placed, and how individuals could have acquired these pictures. The second part of this chapter is a case study of Bristol, situated over one hundred miles from London, which highlights the access to visual culture in regional centres. By using the information in chapters one and two of the thesis it explores what the 'small pictures' may have looked like in the homes of the middling sort and how their owners and viewers may have considered them.

The fourth chapter examines drama which features miniatures in order to understand how the art form was positioned conceptually. It focusses on three plays, John Redford's *Wit and Science* (*c.* 1540), William Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (*c.* 1601) and Philip Massinger's *The Picture* (1629) to explore the different discourses to which miniatures contributed. This final chapter also investigates how the ideas surrounding miniatures may have been interpreted differently by audiences, depending upon their individual familiarity with visual culture and how these ideas shifted over time and place.

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[1] The distinction and overlap between these two groups of objects will be explored in greater depth in the Introduction and in Chapter Two of the thesis.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
CSP	Calendar of State Papers
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
MATB	Making Art in Tudor Britain project, National Portrait Gallery, 2007–2014
NAL	National Art Library, London
NAS	National Archives Scotland
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
NTIN	National Trust inventory number
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PG	Scottish National Portrait Gallery, National Museums Scotland
RCIN	Royal Collection inventory number
TNA	The National Archives, London
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Note on style. Direct quotations from manuscripts and early printed books follow original capitalisation and punctuation. The spelling is original apart from those occasions where I have printed 'u', 'v', 'i', 'j' and 'y' in their present-day form, where appropriate. These decisions were made to present the texts in the clearest and most readable form.

Introduction

The title for my thesis derives from a quotation by Nicholas Hilliard, one of the leading miniature painters of his day. In a letter addressed to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, Nicholas Hilliard requests permission to work abroad to clear his debts. His financial state, he claims, is a result of his service to the crown. Hilliard writes,

hoping to bring up others for Her Majesty's better service, I have taught divers, both strangers and English, which 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.[2]

Whilst Hilliard may have been exaggerating his struggle for work in the developing market for miniatures, his writing prompts three important questions that this thesis will explore. Firstly, how locating the 'common sort' can further the understanding of miniatures.[3] Secondly, the ways in which miniatures of the common people compare with those of the nobility. Finally, how critically analysing literature and drama that concerns miniatures from the perspective of the 'common sort' can offer an alternative discourse to that already established in scholarship. It is important to re-position miniatures back into the context of the lives of the non-nobility. Not only did they make up a far greater percentage of the population than the nobility, they also can offer access to a wider range of small pictures and to a different narrative concerning these objects. I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating English, art history, history, and drama to the subject matter throughout this thesis in order to answer these questions.

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[2] Salisbury MS 87.25, letter dated 28 July 1601.
[3] By 'locating' the 'common sort' I refer to defining who they are and forefronting their social and cultural lives.

This broad perspective will allow me to explore the relationships between different kinds of sources by investigating both their unique and familiar themes, and to explore the complexity of the relationships between object, text, and audience that would not have been possible when working only within one discipline. Evidence from the different disciplines will mutually enrich each other and allow for insights which would not have been possible by working with source materials restricted to just one discipline. This examination of sources from different disciplines will also allow me to fill in the gaps left by art history alone which has been dominated by source material which sheds light on art works representing courtly sitters and executed in a particular style. This source material disproportionately impacts our understanding of the middling sort as the sitters, patrons, makers and interpreters of portrait miniatures. Instead, by investigating under-used sources and asking new questions about already-familiar source material I will be able to re-address the balance of current scholarship. Continuing this wider approach to miniatures I will also be using sources which I have identified in over 150 museums and private collections frequently overlooked by curators who have concentrated on examples of the art form within far fewer collections. This will give the thesis a more rounded view of the art form than has been previously been considered. I have also adopted a longer timeframe than is usually considered in academic studies of portrait miniatures and will be using sources from *c*. 1520 to *c*. 1650. This approach, was, I will argue, necessary in order to move beyond existing narratives of the miniature that focus on using a limited range of sources that disproportionately serve to privilege perceptions of the miniature as being exclusively courtly. Furthermore, it will enable me to question the current definition of what a portrait miniature is.

Understanding of miniatures has not kept up with modern scholarship and the art form

continues to be discussed in terms established by the influential work of Roy Strong,

whose research was undertaken, in some cases, more than forty years ago.[4] The purpose

of this thesis is to bring scholarship on miniatures up to date by discussing my findings

alongside recent research in the fields of history, art history, literature, and drama. Each

chapter of the thesis focuses on a different discipline that allows me to explore a range

of different source materials and methodologies throughout this work, and which will

then be discussed together in the conclusion. It is particularly pertinent to be researching

this subject now with the forthcoming exhibition 'Elizabethan Treasures: Miniatures by

Hilliard & Oliver' at the National Portrait Gallery 20 February–19 May 2019 (curated

by Catharine MacLeod), Elizabeth Goldring's forthcoming biography *Nicholas Hilliard:*

Life of an Artist and the current technical analysis of Isaac Oliver's miniatures by The

Hamilton Kerr Institute and The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.[5]

This introduction will define the term 'portrait miniature' as I have used it throughout

the thesis. This will establish the parameters for the research, which seeks to understand

for the first time what a portrait miniature might have looked like both materially and

conceptually for a contemporary audience. I shall also define the term 'middling sort' as

it applies to my research. This group of individuals often overlapped with those Hilliard

referred to as 'common' in the quotation at the start of this introduction. I will examine

discourse that claims these people were adopting the habits previously associated with

the nobility, including the ownership of pictures. I will then argue why positioning the

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[4] Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, 2 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969) and *Artists of the Tudor Court* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983).
[5] Elizabeth Goldring, *Nicholas Hilliard: Life of an Artist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019).

middling sort at the centre of research is key to understanding the miniature in early

modern Britain. Finally, I will outline the framework of the PhD chapter by chapter.

For the purposes of the PhD I identified over 1000 small figurative pictures made

between *c*. 1520 and *c*. 1650 which I then compiled into a database. Approximately half

of the objects in the database are now referred to as a British 'portrait miniature', in that

they are pictures executed in watercolour on vellum, and are by painters who worked

predominantly in Britain.[6] Throughout the thesis where I am specifically referring to

these objects I shall use the phrase 'traditional portrait miniatures'. The other half of the

database includes small likenesses of a person which currently marginalised in current

scholarship concerning miniatures. I shall refer to these objects as 'small pictures'. This

category includes miniatures which are executed in a range of supports and media, and

examples of the art form which may not have necessarily been made in Britain. Where I

am not differentiating between the two categories of object I shall use the phrase

'miniatures'. Including both categories of objects has allowed me to explore a wider

range of visual culture than scholars usually consider and to highlight some under-

explored examples of miniatures.

References to 'miniatures', 'little pictures' and 'small pictures' in sixteenth and

seventeenth century accounts frequently do not include any definition of their size. For

the purposes of the database, over 75% of the portraits included could easily be held in

my hand and measure 80 mm or less in length. I have also included some larger works

when they include a small portrait as part of a wider decorative scheme (for example,

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[6] For modern scholarly definitions of a portrait miniature, see Katherine Coombs and Alan Derbyshire, 'Nicholas Hilliard's Workshop Practice Reconsidered', in *Painting in Britain 1500–1630, Production, Influences and Patronage*, ed. by Tarnya Cooper et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 240–251 (p. 240).

the miniatures embedded within *The Sackville Pedigree*, no. 327 in the appendix) or which could be reasonably considered to be comparatively smaller than the 'great pictures' listed within probate inventories (for example the cabinet miniature *Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland* by Nicholas Hilliard, no. 857 in the appendix) up to a maximum of 327 mm in length. The portraits within these latter two examples, I have categorised as 'small pictures'.

In the following example, I refer to the miniatures of Jane Hoste and Theoderick Hoste as 'small pictures' because they are executed in oil on copper and are larger than 80 mm in length. I refer to the miniatures of Henrietta Maria and Charles I as 'traditional portrait miniatures' because they are executed in watercolour on vellum.

Miniatures

Examples of 'small pictures'

Examples of 'traditional portrait miniatures'

Figure 1
Cornelius Jonson
Jane Hoste and Theoderick Hoste
1628
Oil on copper
105 mm x 89 mm
Museum Briner and Kern, Switzerland.

Figure 2
John Hoskins
Henrietta Maria and Charles I
c. 1625
Watercolour on vellum
75 mm x 45 mm
Morgan Library and Museum, New York, AZ081.

The term 'portrait miniature' became associated, for some, with small watercolour portraits executed on vellum in the late 1620s and other terms continued to be used alongside this.[7] This thesis concentrates on the period between *c*. 1520 and 1650 when miniatures were referred to by a number of terms, many of which made no distinction in terms of the media, the artistic quality, or the dimensions of the artwork. Such phrases include 'limning', 'pictures in little', little 'phisnamies', a 'countenance in small', a 'little modell', and a 'jewel', all of which could refer to what is today called a portrait

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[7] For example, Edward Norgate, *Miniatura, or the Art of Limning*, which was first composed between *c*. 1627 and 1628. *Miniatura* initially circulated only in manuscript form, therefore the terminology that it used had a limited audience.

miniature or could refer to other forms of visual representation.[8] This thesis will address the issue of what these different references and objects might have meant to their contemporary audiences.

Much of my argument in this thesis concerns identifying the 'common sort' as the sitters, owners, and interpreters of miniatures in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain. It is, therefore, instructive to explore how different accounts of the social hierarchy defined this social and economic group in comparison with the other degrees and ranks. I will also examine the anxieties that were expressed concerning social mobility, the idea that some individuals were transgressing social norms, and how this has been interpreted by historians. Crucially, I will explore discourse concerning the non-nobility and how their access to pictures and other goods was interpreted by their contemporaries and also how it has been interpreted by historians in recent scholarship. Over the period of one hundred and thirty years between 1520 and 1650 attitudes towards the ordering of society developed and competing ideas frequently circulated alongside each other. This survey of social hierarchy will begin with accounts that proved to be influential in the early sixteenth century and then move onto those of the

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[8] 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.

early seventeenth century. This analysis will provide a framework for my analysis of developments in prose, painting, and drama in the following chapters.

An examination of Edmund Dudley's *The Tree of Commonwealth* (1509) will reveal how idealised accounts of society sought to ensure that everybody knew their place and highlight the perceived dangers of transgressing these apparently natural conditions. The Speaker of the House of Commons, Edmund Dudley (*c*. 1462–1510) discusses the notion of three estates: uppermost was the clergy, beneath whom were the nobility, and at the lowest rung were 'the commynaltie', which consisted of the remaining mass of the population and includes yeomen, peasants, merchants, and craftsmen.[9] For Dudley all hierarchical relationships are inextricably linked; the rule of the nobility over the commons and the rule of God over the people were both alike and each type of rule was a model for, and helped to justify, the others. To challenge one of these relationships was therefore presented as a challenge to the whole social order. According to Dudley, noblemen are born to govern, and the commonality should not unbalance this supposedly natural order by aspiring to positions beyond their God-given estate. Dudley expresses concern that the commonality may consider presumptuous behaviour, and advises the nobility to set a good example and manage their conduct:

Lett not them presume above ther owne degree, nor any of them pretend or counterfete the state of his Better, nor lett any of them in anywise excede in ther apparel or diet, But use them as there expensis will suerly serve them […] Let them not cloth them selfes in Liverie of lordes.[10]

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[9] D. M. Brodie, ed., *The Tree of Commonwealth, a Treatise Written by Edmund Dudley* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), p. 45.
[10] Brodie, ed., *The Tree of Commonwealth*, pp. 45–46.

Here Dudley is warning against the commonality being allowed to consume goods and fashion themselves in a manner that, he claims, they are not entitled to do. He expresses concern that, in their dress and diet in particular, the lower orders are presenting themselves in ways more appropriate to their social superiors and that could, if left unchecked, unbalance the existing social order.[11] Historian Keith Wrightson precisely summarises Dudley's vision as being 'characteristic of medieval social morality' and 'utterly traditional' but also oversimplified.[12] Dudley's account of common people acting in a manner which he finds inappropriate highlights the anxieties of his envisaged noble reader and is used here to justify the supposed natural state of society.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, commentators continued to discuss social hierarchy and increasing attention was focussed on defining the sub-divisions, or ranks, within the three main orders. Historians often use the comments made by political theorist Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) as an insight into social stratification.[13] Smith distinguishes between the 'nobilitas minor' and the 'nobilitas major' in *De Republica Anglorum* [The Commonwealth of England] (1583).[14] The 'nobilitas major', in declining seniority, consisted of dukes, archbishops, marquesses, earls, viscounts, barons, and bishops. They traditionally held land and power and governed the country through court, council, and the House of Lords. Their titles and privileges were

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[11] The word 'counterfete' was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to mean both a portrait and a false impression, *Oxford English Dictionary* online <www.oed.com> [accessed 12 October 2015]. See entries 1.1, 'Made in imitation of that which is genuine; imitated, forged', and 1.4, 'Represented by a picture or image'.

[12] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470–1750* (London: Penguin, 2002), pp. 27–28.

[13] See, for example, Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp. 154-156, and Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 209–210.

[14] Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, written 1562–1565, first published in 1583 (London: William Stansby for John Smethwicke, 1635), p. 39.

hereditary. According to Smith, immediately below this group in the social hierarchy were the 'nobilitas minor'.[15] This group consisted of knights, esquires, and gentlemen: a group collectively referred to by historians as the gentry.[16] Significantly, they owned land upon which their wealth, prestige, and power were based. Below the nobility, Smith grouped people by their occupation rather than by their title. For Smith, being considered a gentleman was the critical divide between belonging to the privileged leisured elite and the commonality who worked for a living. In an often-quoted excerpt Smith defines what he considers a gentleman to be:

as for Gentlemen, they bee made good cheape in England. For whosoever studieth in the Lawes of the Realme, who studieth in the Universities, who professeth liberall sciences & to be short, who can live idly, and without manuall labour, and will beare the port, charge and countenance of a Gentleman, he shall be called Master, for that is the Title which men give to Esquires, and other Gentlemen, and shall bee taken for a Gentleman.[17]

According to Smith, a knowledge of the liberal sciences, money, leisure, avoiding manual labour, and maintaining a certain appearance were all crucial factors in being considered a gentleman. But appearances could be deceptive, as commented on by Sir Thomas Wilson in *The State of England* (1600). Wilson expresses concern that some sons are no longer content to be considered yeomen as their fathers were and 'must skip into his velvet breches and silken doublet and, getting to be admitted into some Inn of Court or Chancery, must ever after think skorne to be called other than gentlemen'.[18]

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[15] Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 55.
[16] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500–1700* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 1994).
[17] Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 55.
[18] Thomas Wilson, *The State of England ANNO Dom. 1600*, ed. by F. J. Fisher (London: Camden Miscellany, vol. xvi, 1936), pp. 18–19.

This concept of 'dressing up' beyond your assigned degree is linked to the purchase of pictures in the following speech delivered by a fictional painter from the anonymous royal entertainments at Mitcham, 1598. He argues that his provincial patrons seem less concerned about the quality of their portraiture than the fact that they own a likeness of themselves with which to decorate their parlour:

And I [will keep] this board for a country mistress, who cares not how she is painted, so she be painted. Our art grows stale; for where in elder ages, none were coloured but memorable for their vertues to paint out imitation to posterity, now every Citizen's wife that wears a taffeta kirtle and a velvet hat […] must have her picture in the parlour. And if one hereafter ask, 'who was this?' 'It was one of the companies of such a trade, or a Justice of the peace his wife, of such a shire.' (II.231–242)[19]

Although these new patrons of art, citizens, tradespeople, and Justices of the Peace, now have the purchasing power to acquire goods including rich apparel and portraiture, the painter complains that they lack the artistic discernment and virtuous qualities that previous clients apparently had. He sees no similar integrity in the new female middling sort patron. His words echo those of the real painter Nicholas Hilliard quoted at the start of the introduction, who also noted how the common people were increasingly buying their own pictures.

For the lower gentry, what separated them from the 'middling sort' was their lineage and their claim to land. Richard Cust views the gentry's acquisition of visual material as exemplifying their 'status anxiety', which meant they were consciously looking to

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[19] Leslie Hotson, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainments at Mitcham: Poet, Painter and Musician, Attributed to John Lyly* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 27.

differentiate themselves from the middling sort.[20] At the same time as the 'middling sort' were considered to be adopting the habits of their social superiors, the gentry were, in turn, seen to be increasingly encroaching upon the hereditary duties of the upper nobility. Historian Steve Hindle argues that whilst in the early sixteenth century the upper nobility governed both the centre and the regions, from the mid-sixteenth century both the complexity and the amount of local government administration increasingly relied upon the gentry.[21] Hindle's argument is supported by historians Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, who demonstrate that the roles of Justices of the Peace, local magistrates, and Members of Parliament, that were once taken on by the upper nobility, were increasingly being taken on by the gentry.[22] It was in the regions that the gentry were seen to exert their power.

Despite the didactic discourse of Smith and others there had always been some mobility within society. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, discourse reveals increased anxiety over the perceived extent of this fluidity. In particular, commentators observed the critical divide between those who were seen to work for a living and those who did not. The historian William Harrison argued that merchants 'often change estate with gentlemen as gentlemen do with them, by mutual conversion of one into the other'.[23] Some merchants were born into minor gentry families, frequently as younger sons who were unlikely to inherit the estate and its wealth. Wilson

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[20] Richard Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage in Late Tudor and early Stuart England', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson et al. (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2017), pp. 247–274 (p. 271).

[21] Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c. 1550–1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

[22] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, preface.

[23] William Harrison, *Description of England*, ed. by Georges Edelen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 115. Harrison's Description first appeared in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1577.

commented that his own elder brother 'must have all, and all the rest that that the cat left on the maltheap, perhaps some small annuity during his life'.[24] Wilson's statement is revealing in highlighting the problematic position that younger sons of the gentry found themselves in: unlikely to inherit the family estate but facing the social stigma of creating their own wealth from trade. For others, commerce provided an opportunity for social advancement. Whilst the category of the nobility is relatively simple to recognise and define, Jonathan Barry argues, 'there is no simple way to define the middling sort'.[25] This section of the population Barry estimates to have accounted for 30% to 50% of families who were largely based in the towns and cities.[26] Within the social hierarchy these individuals are usually positioned below the upper gentry and above the labourer, and thereby include some of the lower gentry and some prosperous yeomen. Although Smith does not use the term 'middling sort', he refers to a 'fourth sort of men which doe not rule' because they do not own land.[27] It is a broad and shifting category but nevertheless one that is important to explore because it was their acquisition of pictures that caused the most anxiety amongst commentators.

Any definition is further complicated by the fluidity of social status that was not a fixed condition; it frequently depended upon gender, age, position in the family, and there were both chronological and geographical variations. H. R. French argues, 'while the

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[24] Wilson, *The State of England*, p. 24.

[25] Jonathan Barry, introduction, in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and politics, 1550-1800*, ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 1-27 (p. 2). I am consciously not using the word 'class' in the context of early modern Britain because the terminology was not widely used at the time and it has a number of different contextual meanings. I will therefore use 'orders', 'estates', 'degrees', and 'sorts' to refer to hierarchical ordering as part of social stratification. Such groupings refer to those loosely bound by economic position, status, power, lifestyle, opportunities, culture, and interaction. However, as argued by this chapter, the criteria for inclusion within these groups were variously defined at the time and were subject to social mobility, age, time, and place.

[26] Barry, *The Middling Sort of People*, p. 3.

[27] Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 66.

term "middle sort of people" is an appropriate contemporary collective term for use by historians, it is much more problematic as a description of an active, cohesive social group in the early modern period'.[28] Barry proposes the following definition for these people, which will be used throughout this thesis, with the above qualifications:

those groups occupying the social space between the landed elite, on the one hand, and the poor, on the other […] The middling sort had to work for their income, trading with the products of their hands (for example, yeomen and husbandmen farmers and artisans) or with the skills in business or the professions for that they had trained (for example merchants, attorneys and apothecaries). [29]

Crucial to Barry's definition is that the middling sort worked for their living and did not have a hereditary claim to power or land. However, when land formerly owned by the Church was re-distributed following the Reformation, those with sufficient wealth could own estates. This caused anxiety on the part of the nobility, who viewed land-holding as their natural prerogative. This investment in land by the non-nobility has been interpreted as not only a conscious claim for status but, by J. H. Hexter and other historians, as an acceptance and maintenance of the inherent ideas and values of the traditional landowning groups.[30] A. L. Beier and Roger A. Finlay have interpreted the purchasing of other items, including pictures, by this group as part of the conscious search for social elevation.[31] However, more recently Michael Mascuch has examined

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[28] H. R. French, 'The Search for the "Middle Sort of People" in England, 1600-1800', *The Historical Journal*, 43, 1 (2000), 277–293 (p. 277).

[29] Jonathan Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in *The Middling Sort of People*, ed. by Barry and Brooks, pp. 84-112 (pp. 91–92).

[30] J. H. Hexter, 'The Myth of the Middle Classes in Tudor England', 1948, reprinted in *Reappraisals in History: New Views on History and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London: Longman, 1963). See also Keith Wrightson, *English Society*, *1580–1680* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 30.

[31] A. L. Beier and Roger A. Finlay, eds, *Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500–1700* (London: Longman, 1986), and John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993). In contrast to these ideas see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of*

the autobiographies of these new landowners and found that whilst they were purchasing land, this was for the purposes of a good investment and security that could be passed on to their children, rather than necessarily an attempt to claim any social status for themselves.[32] If these non-noble landowners were not purchasing land as a means of social advancement it is feasible that their understanding of other items traditionally associated with their social superiors could also differ. Whilst Peter Langford argues that 'nothing unified the middling orders so much as their passion for aping the manners and morals of the gentry',[33] more recent work by Mark Overton, John Brewer, and Roy Porter questions this traditional scholarship and argues instead for these groups and individuals fashioning their own identities.[34] Influential within this area of research is the work of Pierre Bourdieu: 'It is now increasingly recognised that social groups can be seen as distinguishing themselves through consumption and material goods, appropriating the cultural traits of others and re-fashioning or appropriating them for their own ends.'[35] Bourdieu's statement highlights the agency of these middling sort patrons who were choosing to spend their wealth in ways that had particular meaning to them.

Everyday Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). Whilst not writing about the early modern period, Certeau's argument that consumers actively construct the meaning of objects has proved to be influential in the study of early modern things.

[32] Michael Mascuch, 'Social Mobility and Middling Self-Identity: The Ethos of British Autobiographers, 1600-1750', *Social History*, 20, 1 (1995), 45–61 (p. 54). Jonathan Barry argues the same point in Barry and Brooks, eds, *The Middling Sort of People*, introduction, p. 7.

[33] A number of historians have discussed the importance of the middling sort in the eighteenth century, however their emergence can be traced back much further than this, as this thesis proves. See for example Peter Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 67.

[34] Mark Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1660-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[35] Pierre Bourdieu, as quoted by Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 8. Bourdieu's approach can also be seen in the influential work of Brewer and Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods*. This again focuses on a later period than the one that my own work highlights.

By the mid-seventeenth century the Interregnum signalled a belief, at least by some, in the end of the divine right of the monarch to rule. Keith Wrightson argues that by the late sixteenth century 'the conception of a society of estates […] truly decomposed in England, crumbling in a tide of economic expansion and commercial intensification'.[36] However, as Lawrence Stone and many other historians have argued, even the leaders of the civil wars retained the established hierarchies.[37] Whilst there might be a lack of consensus in modern academic discourse on social hierarchy, in the period under investigation Britain continued to be a stratified society, though with greater mobility within the ranks than in the previous century. The didactic literature of Smith, Wilson, Harrison, and Dudley proved to be more flexible in practice.

In conclusion, traditionally, historical research pointed towards the middling sort as constantly striving to emulate the appearances and habits of their social superiors and, as demonstrated, there is contemporary evidence by commentators to support this. But these contemporary reports were frequently written by or for the nobility, who had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo and deterring any newcomers who might be seen to encroach upon their perceived ancient privileges. The actions of the middling sort have been interpreted as not only sharing the appearance and lifestyle of their social superiors but also as seeking to adopt the same homogeneous and previously unique values.[38] No historian or art historian has explored how these individuals represented themselves in miniature and it is this gap which this thesis addresses. Furthermore, as I

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[36] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 333.

[37] Lawrence Stone, *Causes of the English Revolution* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 48–51.

[38] See for example F. J. Fisher, 'The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30 (1948), 37–50 (p. 40).

have demonstrated, status is both a relative and a subjective position; I will, therefore, examine both noble and non-noble miniatures alongside each other to see to what extent the middling sort were emulating or adapting the fashions of the nobility. Additionally, I will use sources identified from different disciplines which will be explored separately in each chapter.

In order to gain a rounded understanding of miniatures this thesis will not confine itself to one discipline. The earliest audiences for miniatures would have encountered them as part of their rich social and cultural life without thinking about them in terms of modern-day disciplinary boundaries. I argue that an individual who saw a miniature on stage would call to mind the miniatures that they had viewed, read and heard about elsewhere in their homes and in books. It is for this reason that I have approached miniatures using an interdisciplinary framework to re-position miniatures in both the physical and conceptual location that they once occupied. This approach also allows for the best use of surviving sources and to think through how information which is now missing could be extrapolated from other evidence. For example, in chapter two I argue that miniatures representing the middling sort have a lower survival rate than those representing courtly individuals. The gaps which are left by the lack of pictorial evidence can be partly filled by looking for evidence and asking new questions about surviving sources found in different disciplines. The examination of instructional literature in chapter one reveals an interest in painting, and specifically miniatures, by audiences outside of exclusively courtly circles. Furthermore, surviving probate inventories reveal the ownership of 'small pictures' and 'little pictures' buy the middling sort. Finally, an examination of drama reveals the significant use of pictures within plays which performed to socially

variegated audiences. Whilst building upon the evidence of the previous chapter, each

chapter will explore sources from different disciplines. It will adopt different

methodologies best-suited to investigating each one of these sources and will re-position

the middling sort in the evaluation of these sources. This will allow me to understand

miniatures from a new holistic perspective which would not be possible by

concentrating on sources from one discipline alone because of the nature of surviving

evidence and scholarship which has marginalised certain types of evidence.

Chapter one will explore the different contexts in which artistic discourse was situated

in early modern England. I will examine how miniatures were positioned conceptually,

and the audiences who had access to this information. Textual analysis, material

analysis, and an examination of the circulation of knowledge will reveal who would

have been interested in this information and how they could access it. This methodology

was adopted in order to gain a fuller understanding than previous accounts by Roy

Strong and Patricia Fumerton which have concentrated on the textual analysis of

manuscripts without considering printed sources and how audiences beyond the court

may have accessed and interpreted this knowledge.[39] Significantly, this will allow me to

re-position the middling sort as the makers and the interpreters of artistic knowledge

alongside that of these better-known audiences and to understand to what extent their

interest in this information was distinct and/or overlapped with other readers. It will also

allow me to consider how information was copied and circulated beyond the court and

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[39] For a summary of the authorship and the content of selected manuscripts pertaining to miniature painting see Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, pp. 30–32. For an examination of Hilliard's treatise as a means of understanding life at the royal court see Fumerton, 'Secret Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets', in *Cultural Aesthetics, Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 67–110.

within printed books. I shall consider the texts under four broad headings: artisanal knowledge, scholarly knowledge, arms and heraldry, and amateur practice. This will allow me to consider a range of audiences, some perhaps not anticipated at the time of composition. The sources selected for this study include relatively well-known examples, including the manuscript of Hilliard's *The Arte of Limning* (*c*. 1598–1603), alongside lesser-known but equally important sources, including the anonymous book *A very proper treatise* (1573) and Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). By including these under-studied sources, I will be able to critically examine how different writers and audiences understood the miniature across a longer time frame than is normally considered.

Previous research by Strong and Patricia Fumerton has focussed on Hilliard's treatise in isolation without considering the development of artistic discourse over a longer period of time.[40] This thesis rectifies this gap in scholarship by critically examining writing both before and after Hilliard and thereby provides a more rounded understanding of discourse as it relates to the art form. Furthermore, it is Hilliard's accounts of his conversations about art with Queen Elizabeth I and Sir Philip Sidney and his work for noble patrons that are the most frequently quoted in current scholarship. This can give the erroneous impression that miniatures were an exclusively courtly art form. Crucially, the examination of the now lesser-known sources allows for a wider breadth of readers to be considered. The examination of vernacular literature will enable me to re-position artistic debate away from purely Italian-centric approaches to one which includes a

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[40] Roy Strong, *Nicholas Hilliard* (London: Michael Joseph, 1975); Patricia Fumerton, 'Secret Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets', in *Cultural Aesthetics*.

consideration of how pan-European debates on art were interpreted for the unique requirements of British readers who may not all have been literate in foreign languages. I will demonstrate that some individuals who were reading about miniatures also painted and commissioned examples of the art form. Having established these different audiences in chapter one the following chapter will explore what miniatures looked like in terms of both who they represented and also how sitters are represented. This will aid the understanding of what was called to mind by the writers and readers examined in the previous chapter. In order to understand the full breadth of the art form I identified and examined over one thousand objects representing a small likeness of a person, created between *c.* 1520 and 1650. This is the largest database of its kind, significantly it includes miniatures by unidentified painters, miniatures representing the faces of the middling sort, miniatures from private collections, national, international and local collections and miniatures made from a variety of media. By analysing the information within the database and evaluating it statistically I have been able to nuance previous scholarship on the subject which has previously had a narrower focus on particular sitters, painters and collections. This earlier scholarship has marginalised the range of miniatures available to early modern viewers and the socially broader degree of sitter. The wider range of miniatures examined during my research has allowed me to re-position the art form from connoisseurship and the court to current debates concerning visual culture.

Scholarship on miniatures has been dominated by monographs on one or two named painters. Mary Edmond's *Hilliard and Oliver*, and Erna Auerbach's *Nicholas Hilliard*

both use archival evidence to explore the life and work of these well-known painters.[41] But there were many other painters making miniatures whose names are no longer attached to their work. Approaching miniatures through the biography of a named individual is therefore problematic in terms of these other overlooked miniatures. Furthermore, discussion of miniatures has also been approached collection by collection in catalogues rather than via a consideration of the whole art form. John Murdoch's *Seventeenth-Century English Miniatures in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum* is a thorough examination of the material qualities of the miniatures in this one collection, along with high quality photographic reproductions of the artwork.[42] However, the miniatures collected by the Victoria and Albert Museum are of a particularly high quality and do not, therefore, reveal the full range of small pictures that were made in Britain. Not all miniatures have been the subject of such focus and expertise. By creating the database, I overcame many of the problems associated with these earlier studies which focussed on well-known painters and individual collections. The database allowed me to consider miniatures by any number of criteria, not just the painter or the collection. It also allowed me to compare images of miniatures within a number of national, international, local, and private collections side by side.

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[41] Mary Edmond, *Hilliard & Oliver: The Lives and Works of Two Great Miniaturists* (London: Robert Hale, 1983) and Erna Auerbach, *Nicholas Hilliard* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).
[42] John Murdoch, *Seventeenth-Century English Miniatures in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: The Stationery Office, 1997).

Figure 3
Nicholas Hilliard
A Young Man amongst Roses
c. 1587
Watercolour on vellum
135 mm x 73 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum, P.163-1910.

Miniatures that will be discussed in more depth later in this thesis include what is

arguably one of the most famous examples of the art form, *A Young Man amongst Roses*

by Hilliard (figure 3). Roy Strong writes of this 'hypnotic image seemingly bearing

within itself the quintessence of an age'.[43] However, as chapter two will show, this miniature is far from typical of the art form of early modern Britain, with the majority of other miniatures not displaying a full-length figure, being half the size, and not executed in such minute detail. Despite the unusual nature of Hilliard's miniature, it is, paradoxically, positioned as the epitome of the art form and Hilliard's style is used to judge other miniatures. For example, Ellis Waterhouse refers to the 'absolute pre-eminence which miniature painting achieved in the time of Hilliard' and argues that Hilliard and Samuel Cooper represent 'the two greatest British painters in miniature'.[44] This implies that work by other painters is inferior to these well-known painters and, therefore, of less value.

In addition to my investigation of the material qualities of portrait miniatures, I will also examine the full range of sitters that they represent. Scholarly research continues to focus on a limited sample of well-known miniatures that represent courtly sitters, implying that the whole art form is similar. Patricia Fumerton's influential article starts, 'Since the miniature was a peculiarly aristocratic fashion, I look specifically to the houses of the upper class'.[45] By looking in different places for my sources, however, I have been able to find many non-aristocratic sitters both represented in and owning miniatures. Influential in my approach has been the scholarship of Tarnya Cooper who has, in recent years, significantly shifted the focus in early modern portraiture from the nobility and the landed gentry to the urban middling sort. Cooper has highlighted

[43] Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 9. See also, Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 56.
[44] Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain, 1530 to 1790* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), p. 121.
[45] Patricia Fumerton, '"Secret" Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets', *Representations*, 15 (1986), 57–97 (p. 60).

examples of, predominantly, easel paintings that represent those of non-noble status by looking in local under-studied collections. This thesis extends Cooper's focus to include miniatures, and thereby explores what can be gained by expanding the range of objects within scholarly discourse.

Hilliard's comments at the start of this introduction imply that other painters were supplying miniatures to the common sort, however an examination of his visual oeuvre reveals a number of his miniatures representing non-courtly individuals. The high-crowned hat that is represented in the portrait of Leonard Darr has been argued to be indicative of the wealthy professional by costume historian Jane Ashelford[46] (figure 4). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the sitter may be the Tavistock merchant Leonard Dare, who made his money from trade rather than through his inheritance of land and noble birth.[47] Hilliard's miniatures and those that may have been executed by the painters he claims to have trained, however, do not account for the style in which many surviving miniatures were painted. For example, figure 5 shows a miniature executed by an unidentified painter of an unknown man. The portrait is not finished to the high level of a Hilliard miniature and neither is it particularly detailed. It could have been made by an amateur painter or a regional painter who did not specialise in working on such a small scale. It may have been executed by, commissioned by, or called to mind by one of the readers of painterly discourse examined in the previous chapter.

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[46] Jane Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth* (London: Batsford, 1988), p. 116. The portrait is also discussed in Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2012), p. 3.

[47] R. W. Goulding, 'The Welbeck Abbey Miniatures', *The Walpole Society Journal*, 4, 16 (1916), 1–224 (p. 64).

Focussing on miniatures within national collections in this thesis would have the advantage of being able to discuss and reproduce predominantly high-resolution coloured images. By including miniatures of which only poor-quality images are available, however, I can include a wider discussion of the art form with less restrictions. For example, the miniature representing an unknown man, who wears a high-crowned black hat (figure 6).[48] This is a similar style of hat to that represented in Darr's miniature, so this sitter might also be a professional individual involved in trade.[49] The black and white image highlights the challenges encountered when working with miniatures, especially those in smaller collections. Although the latter two examples of portrait miniatures are rarely discussed in scholarship or publicly exhibited, from a social and cultural perspective these pictures provide important evidence of the individuals who were sitting for their portrait. It is therefore crucial to include these sources in the thesis despite their condition and the lack of availability of a higher resolution image. This evidence has been decisive in my argument that Hilliard, and *A Young Man amongst Roses*, do not represent what the majority of the population of early modern Britain would have seen or would have thought about when they read the expanding literature on the subject or attended a play that featured a miniature.

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[48] In between the viva for this PhD thesis and the corrected submission, a high-resolution colour image has become available of this miniature. Furthermore, it has been subsequently argued that the sitter is the poet Pierre de Ronsard. William Aslet et al., 'An English Artist at the Valois Court: A Portrait of Henri III by Nicholas Hilliard', *The Burlington Magazine*, 1391, 161, (February 2019), 103–113. I have retained the black and white image here to illustrate what I was working with at the time of my research.

[49] See for example the portrait of the merchant wearing a black tall-crowned hat by Lucas de Heere, *Corte Beschryuinghe van Engheland, Schotland ende Irland* (A Short Descriprion of England, Scotland and Ireland) *c*. 1574, BL Additional MS 28330, f. 33.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
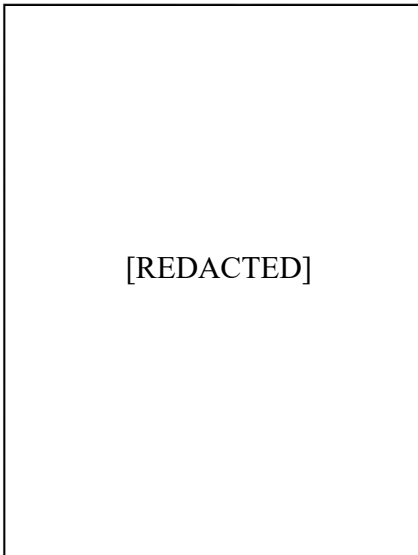
Figure 4
Nicholas Hilliard
Leonard Darr
1591
Watercolour on vellum
70 mm x 57 mm
Private collection.
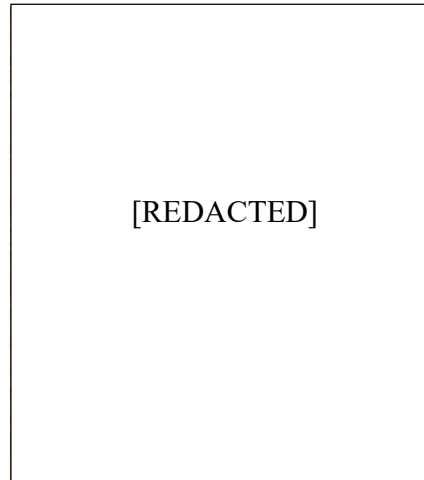
Figure 5
Unknown painter
Unknown Man
c. 1590
Watercolour on card
57 mm height
Private collection.

[REDACTED]
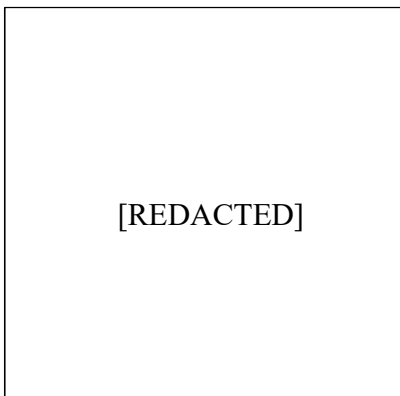
Figure 6
Unknown painter, possibly Nicholas Hilliard
Unknown Man, possibly Pierre de Ronsard
c. 1577
Watercolour on vellum
51 mm x 44 mm
Private collection

Building upon the work of the second chapter, which examines a range of different styles and forms of portrait miniatures, chapter three investigates who may have owned these and similar small pictures. In order to find this out I have looked at both noble inventories and over one thousand regional probate inventories that represent the lives of the non-nobility. The areas examined were Bristol, Ipswich, Chesterfield, Stratford-upon-Avon, and Banbury. This allowed me to identify patterns in ownership and display, and to examine the spread of picture ownership outside of London and beyond the court. By focussing on the different rooms where pictures can be found and the other contents of these rooms I can begin to contextualise the opaque references to 'small pictures' listed in their inventories and consider how these household settings helped to give meaning to the objects. The comparatively low valuation given to these pictures in regional inventories suggests that they did not resemble the portrait miniatures made famous by Hilliard but were executed by now unknown painters working in a range of media.

I will compare my research findings with those of Mark Overton et al. and Catherine Richardson, who have similarly used probate inventories to identify a number of items, including pictures, in order to discuss social and cultural changes in the household.[50] None of these previous studies, however, has differentiated between the different sizes of picture that can be found in these inventories or considered what they might look like. Susan Foister has produced the most detailed account of the different forms of artworks

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[50] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* and Catherine Richardson*, Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: The Material Life of the Household* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

within inventories filed with the Prerogative Court of Canterbury but her research only covers the period from 1417 to 1588, and as my database analysis will show, it was in the 1590s that miniatures were produced in greater numbers than ever before.[51] My research aims to fill the gaps left in current scholarship by comparing the results of five different towns and cities and also by including inventories produced up to 1650. Furthermore, it will build upon the scholarship of Robert Tittler, who has demonstrated the importance of vernacular easel painting within towns and cities outside of the London often found in civic institutions.[52] My research is intended to extend Tittler's scholarship to include small picture ownership within private households. It re-positions miniatures from the London court-centred approach of Strong and Fumerton to the homes of the regional middling sort.

The final chapter of the thesis examines the different dramatic discourses in which miniatures participate. The sources selected for this study include William Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night, or what you Will* (1601), alongside John Redford's *Wit and Science* (*c*. 1545) and Philip Massinger's *The Picture* (1629). By including these latter two lesser-known sources, I will be able to consider how different writers and audiences understood the miniature across a longer timeframe than is considered in current scholarship. I will explore how the miniature helped to shape the relationships between actors and the audience. Furthermore, by including a range of different performance spaces, with different and overlapping audiences, I will be able to offer a reading of the plays based on these individuals' relationship with the actors and the

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[51] Susan Foister, 'Paintings and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories', *The Burlington Magazine*, 123, 938 (1981), 273–282.
[52] Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

stage, their sightlines, and their familiarity with and understanding of visual culture. This analysis offers a more subjective understanding of the miniature as a staged property than current scholarship allows for.

Existing scholarship on Shakespeare's plays by Keir Elam, Ann Thompson, and Neil Taylor interprets the staged property as a traditional miniature painted in the style of Hilliard.[53] Elam alludes to Hilliard's description of his miniatures as capturing 'thosse lovely graces, wittye smilings, and thosse stolne glances' in his reading of the pictures within Shakespeare's plays.[54] Elam argues,

many of the references to pictures in Shakespeare and his contemporaries allude, in reality, more specifically to the art of limning. The kind of attention to intimate features and expressions that emerges in the 'spoken' versions of these pictures […] recaptures precisely the limnist's endeavour to catch the lovely graces and stolen glances of his sitters.[55]

According to Elam, Shakespeare is aware of the finely detailed miniature portraits that were produced by Hilliard and his peers, which agrees with my own research. However, it is Elam's suggestion that it was a Hilliardesque style of painting that was 'probably best known to Shakespeare's audience' which my thesis questions.[56] By not taking into account the breadth of small objects that could be considered miniatures, and the regional access to different styles of miniatures, Elam's account of the miniatures within Shakespeare's plays is misleading. There is no evidence that it was a traditional

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[53] Keir Elam, '"Most truly limned and living in your face": Looking at Pictures in Shakespeare', in *Speaking Pictures: The Visual/Verbal Nexus of Dramatic Performance*, ed. by Virginia Mason (Madison, Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), pp. 63–89, and William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 2006), p. 260, fn.
[54] *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney et al. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983), p. 23.
[55] Elam, 'Most truly limned and living in your face', pp. 81–82.
[56] Elam, 'Most truly limned and living in your face', p. 82.

miniature with detailed attention to a sitter's features, as Hilliard and Elam describe, that these audiences would call to mind; many would never have seen this style of miniature. I will address this misunderstanding of miniatures within current scholarship by exploring how audiences could interpret the miniature within drama. I will argue against a monolithic interpretation of the miniature by Elam and other scholars and explore alternative responses to miniatures as staged properties. I will, thereby, build upon the scholarship of Martin Butler and Andrew Gurr, who have both documented the variegated audiences at London theatres, and extend their work by exploring how the diversity of the audience can offer new opportunities to explore drama. Furthermore, by including plays written both before and after Shakespeare I can see how different playwrights have utilised the unique characteristics of the miniature to different effect and how this develops over a longer time period than that examined by Elam. Furthermore, the focus on stage practice concerning the miniature will shed light on the social practices of how miniatures were viewed, collected and functioned at this time. The gifting of miniatures which occurs in the first two of these plays suggests the manner that the miniatures with no secure provenance examined in the previous chapters were collected. This final chapter, therefore, builds upon the evidence of the previous chapters and sheds further light on the social and cultural significance of miniatures.

Chapter 1: Early Modern Discourse on Miniatures

Introduction

In order to understand how miniatures were considered conceptually by different audiences this thesis will combine a textual and a material analysis of artistic discourse. One of the most quoted writings on miniatures is Nicholas Hilliard's *The Arte of Limning*, written sometime between 1597 and 1603. Passages from this treatise which have received a lot of scholarly attention include Hilliard's discussion of his art form in the service of the royal court, and the writer's account of his conversations on painting with noble patrons.[57] The prominence given to this important treatise gives the erroneous impression that discourse on miniatures was the exclusive concern of the court. This chapter addresses under-explored alternative contexts in which to understand Hilliard's treatise alongside other important sources. It will attempt to think through some of the outstanding questions concerning who had access to both practical and theoretical writing on art in early modern England. By focusing on writing in the vernacular, I will be able to explore a wide range of audiences, not just those who were literate in foreign languages.[58] The chapter will argue that the readership for these texts expands beyond the narrow band of courtly patrons and includes individuals who were interested in this information for a variety of reasons.

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[57] See, for example, the extracts selected for inclusion in Strong, *Nicholas Hilliard*, pp. 21–26.

[58] Access to Latin literacy was gender-biased. Maureen Bell argues that 'apart from educated women of the higher gentry and aristocracy, most women were literate only in English'; Bell, 'Women Writing and Women Written', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, *vol. iv, 1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 431–452 (p. 444).

To find out about what was written on miniatures and the audience for this work, I will examine the following manuscripts: Nicholas Hilliard, *The Arte of Limning* (Edinburgh University Library MS Laing 173) and Edward Norgate, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, based on the revised edition of *c.* 1648 (Royal Society of London MS 136).[59] The printed books that I will be looking at include the anonymous *A very proper treatise, wherein is briefly sett forthe the arte of Limming* (1573), Richard Haydocke, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Carvinge & Buildinge* (1598), and Henry Peacham's *The Art of Drawing with the Pen, and limning in Water Colours* (1606), *The Gentleman's Exercise* (1612), and *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634).[60] By examining manuscripts and printed books alongside each other I will be able to explore a range of publics for artistic discourse and investigate to what extent the form and the content of such writing shaped the individual's perception of miniatures.

Recipes for colours circulated in medieval and early modern manuscripts.[61] Access to this information was restricted to individuals within one of the 'scribal

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[59] The title 'The Arte of Limning' was written on the manuscript in the eighteenth century by George Vertue, who at that time was its owner. All references to the manuscript are from the published version, Kinney et al., ed., *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*. All references to Norgate's manuscript, unless otherwise stated, are taken from *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, ed. Jeffrey M. Muller and Jim Murrell (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

[60] All references, unless otherwise stated, are taken from Anonymous, *The Arte of Limming*, a reproduction of the 1573 edition, ed. by Michael Gullick (London: The Society of Scribes and Illuminators, 1979). This book is sometimes referred to by scholars as *The Arte of Limming*; I have chosen to refer to it as *A very proper treatise* to make a clear distinction between this book and the manuscript by Nicholas Hilliard, which has the similar title, *The Arte of Limning*. All other references are from Richard Haydocke, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Carvinge & Building* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1598); Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing with the Pen, and Limning in Water Colours* (London: Richard Braddock for William Jones, 1606); Henry Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise, or, An Exquisite Practise*, 2nd ed. (London: I. M., 1634); and Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London: for Francis Constable, 1634).

[61] For example, on the Continent there were many works containing recipes for the preparation of paints, including *Segreti per Colori* (early fifteenth century) and *Tractatus de Coloribus Illuminatorum seu Pictorum* (fourteenth century), which both include recipes also found in *A very proper treatise*. Mary Merrifield, ed., *Original Treatises from the XIIth to XVIIIth centuries on the Arts of Painting*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1849), p. 326. *The Tractatus de Coloribus Illuminatorum* is contained within BM MS Sloane 1754.

communities' outlined by Harold Love, where texts were passed from hand to hand and were copied and amended before being recirculated.[62] This form for the transmission of knowledge continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and frequently copied information which was also available in printed books, and provided the source material for print. No printed information on painting was available until 1573 but by the mid-seventeenth century readers could select from a number of titles which contained information on limning, usually alongside drawing and painting in other media. In order to account for this expanding market for literature on painting it is first necessary to examine who could have read this material and how they could access it.

More people could read in the seventeenth century compared to the sixteenth century. The growth in literacy rates and its relationship with the wider adoption of the printing press and the growth in educational opportunities has been well covered in scholarship.[63] Of particular relevance to this thesis are the types of people who were benefitting from these changes. Keith Wrightson argues that in the seventeenth century, universities were admitting more students than they had done in the sixteenth century, many of whom were from gentry and mercantile backgrounds.[64] Furthermore, David Cressy's statistics on rising literacy rates demonstrate that urban professional people were more likely to be literate than rural farm workers.[65] This suggests that urban professionals may have formed an audience for artistic discourse on miniatures.

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[62] Harold Love, 'Oral and Scribal Texts in Early Modern England', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, *vol. iv, 1557-1695*, ed. by Barnard et al., pp. 97–112 (p. 105).

[63] Peter Isaac, ed., *Six Centuries of the British Book Trade* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990). See also the chapter on inventories in this thesis. For country schools, see Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 193.

[64] For the social make-up of the colleges, see Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 197.

[65] David Cressy argues that in addition to the nobility and the gentry, professional people including the clergy, merchants, and tradesmen would have required literacy to carry out their work. Furthermore, higher literacy rates were also found in urban areas compared to rural areas. Figures quoted by John

Books were becoming increasingly available throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. St Paul's churchyard in London was a popular place for booksellers and, as demonstrated by F. J. Levy, titles were regularly sent to those unable or unwilling to travel to London.[66] John Barnard and Maureen Bell note that 'bookbinders, booksellers and stationers in several towns and cities were already well established by 1600', which could have supplied the local urban population.[67] And, as demonstrated by Margaret Spufford and Tessa Watt, books were also sold at fairs and by pedlars and chapmen who travelled around the country.[68] Books could range in price from one penny for a small, mass-produced octavo to several pounds for a large, limited-edition folio, thereby providing reading material for audiences with different amounts of money to spend and with different requirements. This chapter will now explore how writing on miniatures was considered conceptually by audiences by focussing on artisanal knowledge, scholarly knowledge, arms and heraldry, and amateur practice.

Barnard, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of the Book, vol. iv, 1557-1695*, ed. by Barnard et al., 1–25 (p. 14).

[66] F. J. Levy, 'How Information Spread amongst the Gentry, 1550-1640', *Journal of British Studies*, 21(1982), 11–34 (p. 20); John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The English Provinces', in *The Cambridge History of the Book, vol. iv*, ed. by Barnard et al., pp. 665–686; Peter Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London:Bibliographical Society, 1990).

[67] Barnard and Bell, 'The English Provinces', p. 665.

[68] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 116; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, *1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 267.

Artisanal Knowledge

[REDACTED]
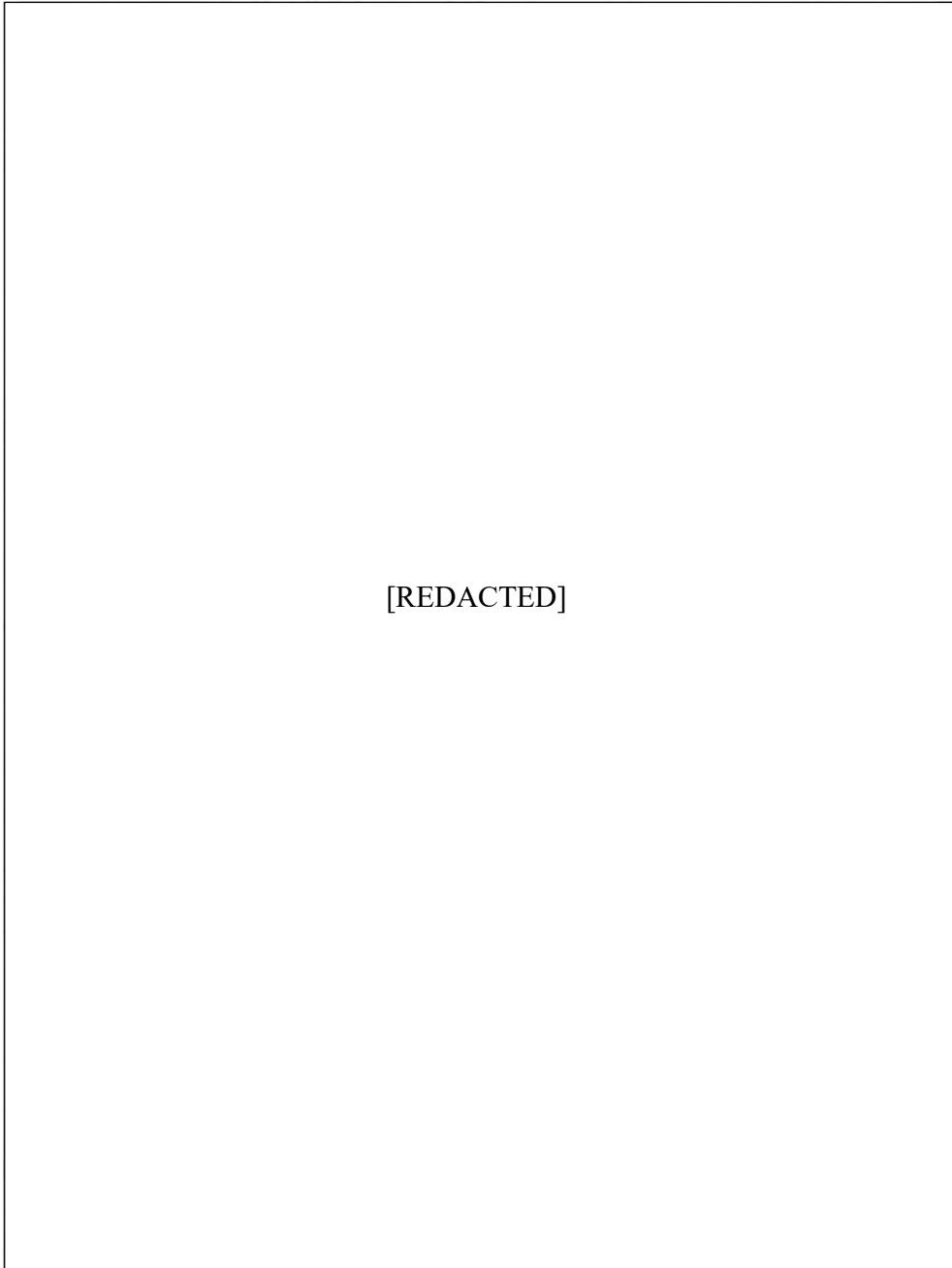
Figure 7
Anonymous, *A very proper treatise, wherein is briefly sett forthe the arte of Limming*, title page
(London: Thomas Purfoot, 1596)
Image courtesy of Birmingham University Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections Classmark:
15.V481.
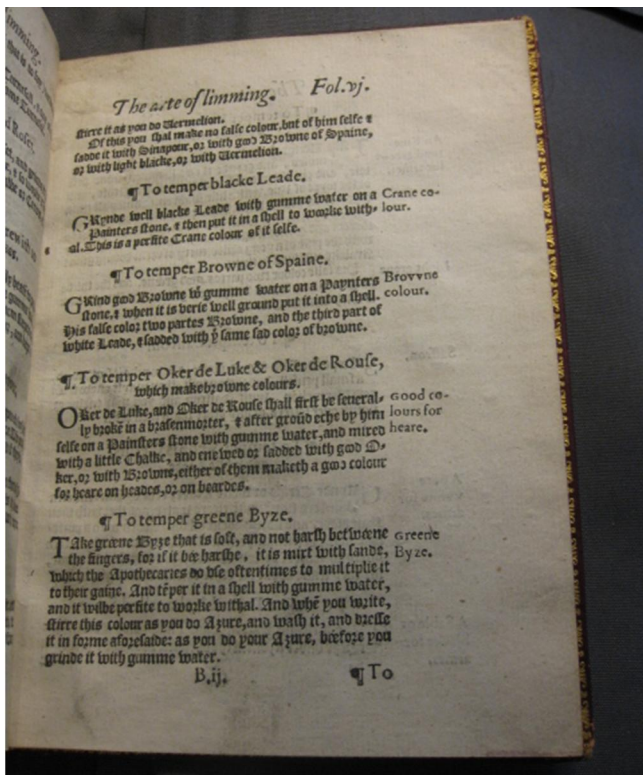
Figure 8
Anonymous, *A very proper treatise, wherein is briefly sett forthe the arte of Limming*, fol. vi r
(London: Thomas Purfoot, 1581)
Image courtesy of The British Library: Special Collections Classmark: 1044H36.

The first printed book which includes information on limning is the anonymous

A very proper treatise, wherein is briefly sett forthe the arte of Limming (1573; hereafter

referred to as *A very proper treatise*). This quarto-size publication measuring

approximately 190 mm x 130 mm is made up of a title page, twenty pages of guidelines

for preparing colours, varnishes, and inks, along with a list of colours and a table of

contents. Amongst other subjects, it describes the preparation of materials for limning

(painting with watercolours), mostly in connection with the production of manuscripts,

advice on colours to represent hair and faces, recipes for varnish, and sealing wax. The

small size and lack of illustrations point towards this book being low in price and

therefore affordable to a wider market than larger illustrated volumes which will be

explored later in this thesis. The format and the contents of *A very proper treatise* suggests an artisanal-based context in which to understand writing on miniatures.[69]

A very proper treatise contains recipes and techniques which could be specifically used to create portraiture. For example, the writer includes recipes for brown paint using ochre which are said to 'maketh a good colour for heare on heads, or on beards'.[70] Likewise, there is a recipe for depicting the carnation-coloured flesh used by early miniature artists, 'If you wil make incarnations for visages, or a fleshly colour for Images'.[71] These recipes suggest a readership who were specifically interested in portraiture. However, the inclusion of recipes for varnishes, wax, and the tricking of arms (the delineation of armorial bearings in black and white) suggests further audiences.

Discussing the recipes and techniques for varnish, the writer notes that the recipe for varnishing a painting can also be used on other decorative items in the home – 'it maketh tables & coffers of walnuttree & hebeny to glister' – and can also be used for tin, stone, lead, copper, and glass.[72] The writer also explains how varnished furniture should be dusted and points towards the wider range of household management skills which the reader might be expected to be aware of. The writer also includes recipes and techniques for cleaning old letters, removing grease from parchment, and how to make sealing wax, all of which would be of interest to those people who wrote documents and

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[69] The artisanal context for understanding the knowledge within *A very proper treatise* is also extended by an examination of copies of the book which have been bound with copies of L[eonard] M[ascall], *A profitable booke, declaring diuers approoued remedies, to take out spots and staines* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1605), Huntington Library, Rare Books, 59270.

[70] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, fol. 6r.

[71] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, fol. 8v.

[72] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, fol. 9r.

needed to send them.[73] Concluding the text, the writer states 'Here have I taught you

[…] dyvers thinges, very meete and necessarie to be knowne to paynters & scriveners';

these professional groups would have benefitted from the knowledge of how to

manipulate these materials for their work as indeed would many others.[74] Discussing

similar books of recipes, William Eamon argues that they were read by the nobility, the

gentry, the middling sort, and possibly those of a more modest degree.[75] The

information in this book, therefore, would be of interest to a wide readership.

One reader of the book appears to have been following the recipe for making

colours and has used the title page to blot their brush (figure 7).[76] This argues that the

book was useful for its practical information. Many of the recipes in the book can be

found within manuscripts but in collecting them together and printing them, new

audiences could access this information.[77] It was evidently a popular publication as it

was reprinted five times before 1605, which argues for a sustained interest in artistic

discourse.[78] The artisanal context and material form of the book suggest an audience not

confined to the court and, Michael Gullick argues, the book 'seems likely to have been

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[73] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, fol. xv. This and other references throughout the book are a useful reminder of one of the origins of the art form of the independent portrait miniature: the decoration of documents.

[74] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, fol. vi v.

[75] William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 234.

[76] I am grateful to Annemie Leemans for allowing me to read an unpublished draft of her PhD thesis, which brought my attention to this copy of the book. Leemans, *Contextualizing Practical Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Universities of Kent and Porto, 2016).

[77] For example, in *A very proper treatise* the following recipe for tin white paint appears: 'Take an once of tynne, two onces of quick silver [mercury] and melt them together, then grynde them well on a paynters stone with gumme water, and wryte with it'. A similar recipe can be found in BL MS Sloane 288, which dates from the early sixteenth century.

[78] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, title page. *A very proper treatise* ran into several editions, 1573, 1581, 1583, 1588, 1596, and 1603. All quotations are taken from the first edition, STC 24252, unless otherwise stated.

bought by the increasingly leisured and educated middle classes'.[79] Its inclusion in my thesis opens up a wider context in which to think about limning and who might be interested in accessing information based around practice.[80] It could have acted as an aide memoire for professional painters and scribes. It might also have been of interest to individuals who might purchase small pictures and/or practice limning for pleasure.

A reference to 'the Arte concerning Limming' in the 1588 will of the Dutch limner Pieter Mattheus who had been living in Bishopsgate, London, indicates that written information on limning was valued by practising painters.[81] Mattheus bequeathed the book and three portraits of unknown sitters to his cousin Adrian Vanson, court painter to King James of Scotland, which indicates how the information contained within the book spread further afield. The remaining 'books of arts', and that which 'concerneth' his art, Mattheus left to the limners Isaac Oliver and Rowland Lockey.

Art remained a suitable subject for reading about throughout the seventeenth century and the information in *A very proper treatise*, continued to be considered useful. Large extracts from the book appear in the first two pages of an anonymous book, *A book of dravving, limning, vvashing or colouring of maps and prints, and the art of painting, with the names and mixtures of colours used by the picture-drawers. Or, The young-mans time well spent* (1660).[82] Strong argues that *A very proper treatise* 'is a

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[79] Gullick, ed., *The Arte of Limming*, introduction, p. 5.
[80] *A very proper treatise* is confined to a footnote on the basis that it covers book illustration rather than exclusively independent, framed paintings, in both Jim Murrell, *The Way Howe to Lymne: Tudor Miniatures Observed* (London: V&A, 1983), p. 14, fn. 36, and Eric Mercer, *English Art, 1553–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 72, fn. 3. *A very proper treatise* is discussed in this thesis because it deals with many of the same recipes and techniques which were used in the making of independent portrait miniatures and is therefore appropriate for inclusion.
[81] Edmond, *Hilliard and Oliver*, p. 72; Pieter Mattheus, will, PCC, 15 Leicester, Prob. 11/73/15, PRO.
[82] Anonymous, *A book of dravving, limning, vvashing or colouring of maps and prints, and the art of painting, with the names and mixtures of colours used by the picture-drawers Or, The young-man's time well spent* (London: M. Simmons, 1660).

useful guide to the transitional technical period which saw the emergence of the portrait miniature for which there is no other documentation'.[83] However, the republication and copying of the contents from this book throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries argue that this interest in artisanal knowledge pertaining to miniatures remained in circulation and was not just a precursor to other types of knowledge.
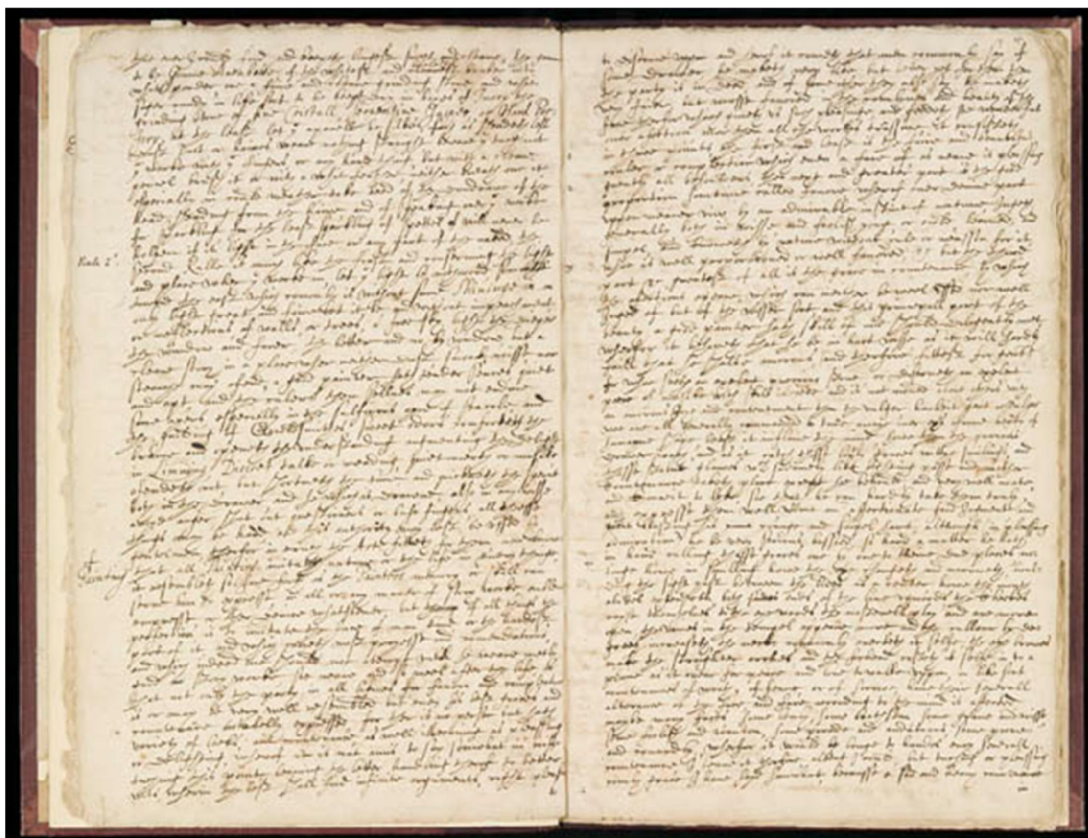
Figure 9
Nicholas Hilliard, *The Arte of Limning*
c. 1598–*c*. 1603
32 cm x 20 cm
Edinburgh University Library, Laing III 174.

The professional limner Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619) wrote about his own practice in a manuscript devoted to portrait miniatures, *The Arte of Limning*. The

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[83] Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 19.

manuscript is in a seventeenth-century hand and consists of sixteen pages.[84] In his treatise, Hilliard discusses the materials and techniques which he uses to make miniatures. Whereas the anonymous 1573 book includes some of the same information, Hilliard also includes personal anecdotes, artistic theory, and a guide to conduct.[85] It is less easy to locate specific information on each particular point within Hilliard's narrative compared to consulting the index and sub-headings included within *A very proper treatise*. A comparison of figures 8 and 9, which show the different page layouts in which these two books present information, highlights this point. *A very proper treatise* is laid out as a series of lists for recipes and techniques which have been grouped together under sub-headings. Comparatively, the reader of Hilliard's text is presented with lengthy paragraphs which occasionally digress. This suggests a leisurely reader for Hilliard's treatise who was interested in his autobiography, theory and conduct as well as using the information for their own practice.

The breadth of subjects covered in *The Arte of Limning* reveals Hilliard's interests and his anticipated audiences. *The Arte of Limning* is concerned with both the practical and the theoretical concerns of portraiture as well as the qualities of precious stones and some biographical material. Hilliard discusses the eminence of his chosen art form, references learned sources, and details the conditions required to capture the

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[84] Edinburgh University Library (Laing III. 174). The manuscript is bound together with *A More Compendious Discourse Concerning the Art of Limning the Nature and Properties of the Colours*, which also pertains to limning but which is not by Hilliard. For a discussion on the origin of the information in the second part of the manuscript see Nicholas Hilliard, *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, together with *A More Compendious Discourse Concerning Ye Art of Liming* by Edward Norgate, ed. by R. K. R. Thornton, and T. G. S. Cain (Manchester: The Mid Northumberland Arts Group and Carcanet Press, 1992), pp. 28–31. Hilliard's treatise was written by an unidentified scribe; it ends with the date '1624', five years after the limner's death, p. 45. See Thornton and Cain for a discussion of the dating of the manuscript.

[85] For example, both books include the same recipe for carnation and white paint.

beauty of the face. He discusses studio equipment, materials, pigments, and practice. Advice on how to organise the various sittings are also given. Hilliard then compares the different colours of precious and semi-precious stones, which he compares to the jewel-like colours which he uses in his own miniatures, and concludes with his comments on the importance of drawing from life. It is this inclusion of theory, professional practice, biography, and conduct which sets Hilliard's treatise apart from medieval treatises which concentrate on the production and use of different colours.

Hilliard begins his treatise with a reference to 'Paolo Lomatzo' and states that the latter's tract on painting 'is well known to the learned and better sort'.[86] Hilliard states that he will only discuss limning as a supplement to this previous knowledge with which he assumes his ideal reader will be conversant. From the start, Hilliard thus positions his own treatise in parallel with that of learned European treatises and suggests a reader who is familiar with such discourse. He continues his argument for limning as an elite knowledge by stating that that he will teach his art to those 'fittest to be practisers'. Hilliard then uses historical and classical references for his construction of the ideal limner. Hilliard writes that the ancient Romans stipulated that only gentlemen should be allowed to be taught how to paint because only those without the 'common cares of the world for food and garment' would have the required resources to concentrate on producing really good work. This argument can also be found in Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* [*The Courtier*] (Venice, 1528).[87] For Castiglione

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[86] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 15. Hilliard is referring to Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, painter and author of *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1584).

[87] Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, p. 14; Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* (orig. pub. 1528 Italy), translated into English by Thomas Hoby, *The Book of the Courtier* (London: William Sere, 1561), Book 1, pp. 91–97. Peacham copies this section in Castiglione word-for-word in *The Compleat Gentleman*, pp. 125–126.

the usefulness of painting lay in its ability to fit a gentleman for life at court. As Anna

Bryson argues, whilst *The Courtier* is set within the context of an Italian court, it was

read outside of exclusive court circles, including by middling sort readers.[88] This

popular and influential Italian courtesy book encouraged a knowledge of art as a subject

not only worthy to be studied by gentlemen, but also a necessary part of their education

if they were to develop the skills required to offer service to the ruler. Continuing his

awareness of European sources, Hilliard also references the work of Hendrik Goltzius,

Hans Holbein, Albrecht Dürer, and Raphael, which lends his own work the authority of

these acclaimed painters and engravers. In using these literary and visual references,

Hilliard demonstrates his own knowledge and situates his own treatise within the same

artistic and learned discourses. He also refers to a number of courtly figures, most

significantly Queen Elizabeth I, whose opinions on art he discusses in relation to the

conversation that they reportedly had on the use of shadowing in painting.[89]

Furthermore, Hilliard's discussion of the proportions of the human face and figure

includes references to Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Philip Sidney.[90] It is the effect of

this combination of courtly, learned, and artistic references that can shed light on who

the intended audiences for the treatise were and what Hilliard's motivations might have

been in writing it.

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[88] Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 206, quoting Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley, 1948), p. 37n and p. 122; Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*. For the pan-European influence of *The Courtier* and how it came to exemplify courtly behaviour, see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), and Sydney Anglo, 'The Courtier: The Renaissance and Changing Ideals', in *The Courts of Europe, Politics, Patronage, and Royalty*, ed. by A. G. Dickens (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), pp. 33–54.
[89] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 28.
[90] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, pp. 26–27.

In his treatise Hilliard defends his own practice against accusations of bad workmanship by seeking to place it within a courtly context of patronage, where his art form is of service to the crown rather than piecemeal work for the market. He promotes the use of watercolour paint as being fittest for a gentleman and is critical of other forms of painting. Hilliard states that the portrait miniature 'is a thing apart from all other Painting or drawing, and tendeth not to comon mens vsse, either for furnishing of Howsses, or any patternes for tapistries, or Building, or any other worke what soeuer, and yet it excelleth all other Painting what so euer'.[91] Furthermore, in not publishing his work in print Hilliard maintains a position apart from, to use J. W. Saunders's phrase, the 'stigma of print', and any accusation that commercial printing would allow anybody to read his treatise.[92] Hilliard's argument that gentlemen painters would not 'permit any unworthy worke to be pubblished under their name to comon view' can, thereby, be extended to include his written discourse.[93] Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol argue that manuscript was more socially prestigious than printing.[94] This, they propose, is because manuscripts were aimed at the influential 'opinion leaders', compared to print, which was directed at a much larger and diffuse 'mass market'.[95] This, of course, depends upon which manuscripts are being considered and, in common with the painted miniatures, are subject to survival and collecting preferences.

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[91] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 42.

[92] J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, I, 2 (1951), 139–116.

[93] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 42.

[94] Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol, eds, *Print, Manuscript and Performance*: *The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (Ohio: Ohio State University, 2000), p. 9.

[95] Marotti and Bristol, *Print, Manuscript and Performance*, p. 24. Hilliard's treatise was not published in full until the twentieth century. The first complete transcription was edited by Philip Norman and published in 1912 in the *Walpole Society Journal*; in 1981 in book format edited by R. K. R. Thornton and T. G. S. Cain; and in a further book in 1983 edited by Arthur F. Kinney. Passages from the treatise also appear in Erna Auerbach's *Nicholas Hilliard* (1961), and Roy Strong's *Nicholas Hilliard* (1975).

An examination of European writing also suggests who Hilliard's anticipated audience may have been. Pamela H. Smith's argument is instructive in understanding Hilliard's motivations for writing his treatise. Smith examines European artisans' writing as a strategy to gain patronage.[96] She proposes that although these artisans were basing their writing on their own practical knowledge, their written accounts could never be used as step-by-step guides, but rather provide an overview of their expertise. Hilliard writes *The Arte of Limning* during a point in his career when he believes he has been eclipsed by those who he himself has trained, who, along with the 'bocher' who debases the art form by supplying miniatures for 'comon view', have put him out of work.[97] He thereby raises a similar argument to the one he wrote in his letter to Cecil about the same time.[98] This, and the larger format of the manuscript compared to *A very proper treatise*, further argues for the treatise to be viewed as a request for patronage and aimed at a specific audience. The treatise thus allows Hilliard to show the body of his knowledge and how he uses that knowledge to present a self-fashioned image of himself to audiences as a learned artist-writer in an elite position. Hilliard gives the example of the otherwise unknown painter John Bossam who, we are told, was very highly skilled but who had to give up painting and enter the church because he earned so little from his work.[99] Hilliard notes that Bossam's talents would have been better rewarded abroad; he was 'unfortunat becasse he was english borne, for even the

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[96] Pamela H. Smith, 'Why Write a Book? From Lived Experience to the Written Word in Early Modern Europe', *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 47 (2010), 25–50, and *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
[97] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, 'bocher', p. 16, 'comon', p. 16.
[98] The relevant part of this letter is quoted at the start of this thesis in the introduction.
[99] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 18.

strangers [i.e. foreigners] would otherwisse have set him upp'.[100] If such a painter had been valued for his talent rather than his time and thereby received appropriate reward from the court, he argues, he could have pursued his profession for the betterment of noble patrons. This suggests that Hilliard is hoping that his treatise will encourage a noble patron to reward his talents. He was successful, in part, in gaining noble patronage. Appendix One includes a number of miniatures by Hilliard representing the faces of the nobility including Queen Elizabeth I and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for which presumably he received financial reward. In 1601, Hilliard was awarded an annuity of £40 by the Crown but received only one payment. James I/VI renewed the annuity and retained him as the king's limner during whose reign the annuity was paid regularly.[101]

Hilliard's own professional experience is apparent throughout the treatise. He makes a number of references to the judgement of the eye and relying upon intuition. For example, when recounting his discussion with Sir Philip Sidney about proportion, Hilliard concludes, 'for ower eye is cuninge, and is learned without rulle by long usse'.[102] These skills could only be learned through hands-on experience. This information argues for the authority of the author as an experienced limner himself with the experience to judge by the eye. It also serves to highlight the use of the mind over the hands and therefore elevates the status of the art form from a mechanical process and in doing so positions his art form as a noble pursuit. Hilliard dismisses Dürer's rules as being too laborious and rigid.[103] The inclusion of such rules may have served to

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[100] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 18.
[101] Thornton and Cain, *Nicholas Hilliard's The Arte of Limning*, pp. 24–25.
[102] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 27.
[103] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 19.

emphasize the technical aspects of Hilliard's work, which he does not focus on, preferring instead to rely on personal judgement and the positioning of limning as a liberal art. The treatise thus anticipates a reader who had already acquired these practical skills; who was in a position to acquire them elsewhere, or who would be content to follow Hilliard's engaging narrative rather than studying lengthy rules. With reference to the materials that he uses, or does not use, and his lack of rules and reliance upon the trained eye, it is apparent that the treatise is not intended to be a working manual. Some of these techniques could only be learned through tuition and hands-on experience. It is useful for providing an overview of Hilliard's approaches and broader intentions, and suggests that he had other reasons for writing the treatise and intended audiences beyond practising limners.

An anonymous publication of the latter half of the seventeenth century includes a ten-page chapter titled *The Art of Limning, wherein the Colours, and their uses, are really described by Mr. Garrat* [Marcus Gheeraerts]*, Master in that Art, and painter to Her Sacred Majesty Queen Elizabeth, of Famous Memory, being taken from his own Manuscripts, and now Published for the good of all Gentlemen, and other Lovers of that excellent Practice* (1664).[104] The artist referred to in this title, Marcus Gheeraerts (1561–1636), is associated with the making of large oil paintings, perhaps most famously *The Ditchley Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I* of *c*. 1592, rather than portrait miniatures. Gheeraerts's association with Queen Elizabeth in the title, however, appears to give the

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[104] Anonymous, *A drawing book: or, The pencil improved, with the groundwork of the Art of drawing, limning, painting, graving, and etching* [...] *In the limning part, you have from a manuscript* [… *from*] *the collection of Mr. Garrat* [...] *the perfect discourse how to prepare, mix, and work all those colours, with directions what lights to use in drawing by the life* (London: Printed by Tho. Johnson for John Ruddiard, 1664), Bodleian Library: L 3.12(2) Jur.

information in this book some authority.[105] Auerbach notes that this book includes many of the identical techniques and recipes for limning as *The Arte of Limning* but with the absence of the personal recollection, modernized spelling, re-ordering, and some omissions.[106] The rest of the book covers further art forms including oil painting and drawing; the chapter based on Hilliard's recipes and techniques, however, is devoted to limning as a separate category, thereby both distinguishing it and setting it apart from these other forms of knowledge. The repetition of information also seen within *The Arte of Limning* suggests that Hilliard's treatise was known by at least one professional painter. Whilst this may not have been Hilliard's primary intended audience, this points towards the circulation of his knowledge amongst artisanal circles. This argument is supported by the findings from recent experiments by Alan Derbyshire et al. at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[107] Using Hilliard's recipes, the team attempted to reconstruct some of the effects mentioned in the treatise and found that additional knowledge was required in order to successfully achieve results. This suggests that some readers would already have this knowledge from their own professional training, and other readers did not need this information as they were looking for an overview of the subject rather than a practical guide.

Hilliard's treatise has been instrumental in defining what limning is in terms of its materials, technique, and who it is for. In his treatise Hilliard associates a knowledge

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[105] Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Queen Elizabeth I, the Ditchley Portrait*, *c*. 1592. Oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery.

[106] Auerbach, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 222.

[107] Alan Derbyshire et al., 'Sixteenth-Century Portrait Miniatures: Key Methodologies for a Holistic Approach', in *Art of the Past: Sources and Reconstructions*, ed. by Mark Clarke et al. (London: Archetype Publications, 2005); Alan Derbyshire and Robert Withnall, 'Non-Destructive Pigment Analysis Using Raman Microscopy', *Conservation Journal*, 30 (January 1999) 9–13; Timea Tallian and Alan Derbyshire, 'The Reconstruction of the Materials and Techniques of Nicholas Hilliard's Portrait Miniatures', *V&A Conservation Journal*, 56 (2008), 20–22.

of small watercolour paints and his own style of limning using jewel-like colours, with that of the gentleman. This was to prove extremely influential not only in seventeenth-century writing, which will be examined in the following section, but also in more recent art historical writing. Hilliard argues that the practice of limning should, ideally, be a means by which an individual could be considered a gentleman. He also argues that the appreciation of limning was an essential attribute for one claiming the title of gentleman, arguments which he adapted to fit his own chosen art form from European and English conduct books pertaining more generally to the visual arts. Hilliard equates his own style of painting with the nobility, and portrays himself as a suitable and fitting servant to the court. Leatrice Mendelsohn argues that 'Since the status of artists was dependant on the status of their respective arts, their arguments were naturally self-serving'.[108] It would have been in Hilliard's best interests, therefore, to position his own art form and himself as being gentlemanly despite the realities of working in the market place in order to attract noble patronage.

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[108] Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's due Lezzioni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. xxiii.

Scholarly Knowledge
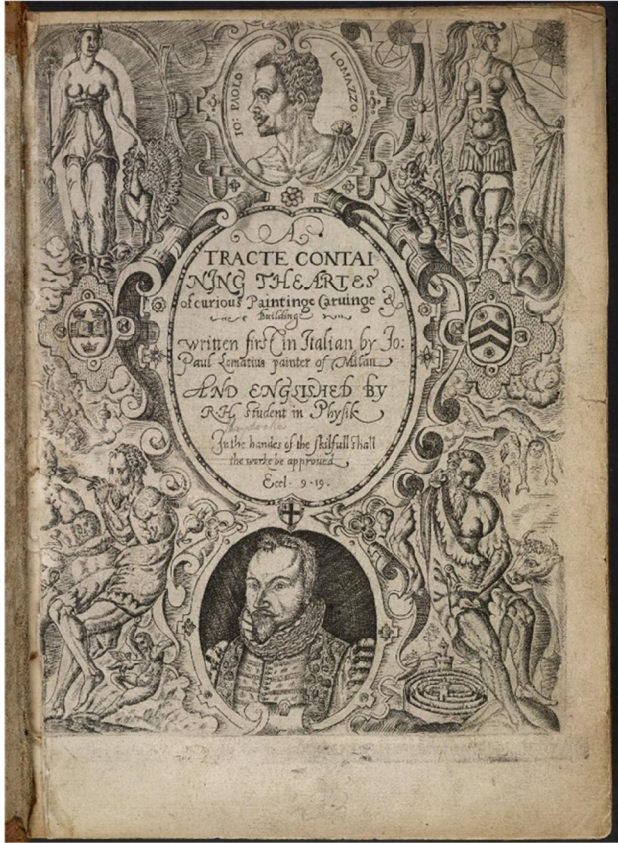
Figure 10
Richard Haydocke
A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Caruinge & Buildinge
(Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1598)
Engraved title page sometimes attributed to Richard Haydocke
250 mm x 167 mm
Image courtesy of the British Museum, museum number 1852,0424.272.

Richard Haydocke's tract reveals an interest in painting by an amateur practitioner from

a scholarly country gentry background.[109] Haydocke (1570–*c*. 1642) was a student of

'physik' at New College, Oxford, when he adapted the Italian painter Giovanni Paolo

Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura, Scoltura ed Architettura* (Milan, 1584;

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[109] See also Sarah Bakewell, 'Richard Haydocke', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 11 May 2017].

hereafter referred to as *Trattato dell'Arte*).[110] Haydocke translated the original text on the history and theory of art into English, edited out several of the sections, and included information which he considered pertinent to English audiences, under the title *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Caruinge & Buildinge* (1598; hereafter referred to as *The Artes of curious Paintinge*). Whilst Haydocke's knowledge was derived from an artisanal source, he also includes additional content derived from his knowledge of medicine, which was also based on the use of materials and recipes.[111] The book is divided into five sections covering proportion, actions and gestures, colour, light, and perspectives, with illustrations taken from Albrecht Dürer's *Four books on human proportion* (1534).[112] Compared to the other treatises examined so far in this thesis, it is a more comprehensive book on art. The inclusion of illustrations allows Haydocke to convey information in a readily accessible fashion, as if addressing an audience with very little prior understanding of art. The reproduction of these figures and its larger size (275 mm x 185 mm, 357 pages) compared to *A very proper treatise*, would have made it costlier to produce. This suggests a reader with the leisure to read, access to expensive books, and no adequate artistic training.

Haydocke states that his intended readers are art patrons and that his book was devised to 'increase of the knowledge of the Arte' and support good artists

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[110] Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittvra, scoltvra, et architettvra* (Milan: Per Paolo Gottardo Pontio, a instantia di Pietro Tini, 1584). For the reception of Lomazzo's book in Europe, see Gerald M. Ackerman, 'Lomazzo's Treatise on Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, 49 (1967), 317–326. Haydocke's biography is covered in Frederick Hard, 'Richard Haydocke and Alexander Browne: Two Half-Forgotten Writers on the Art of Painting', *Modern Language Association*, 55, 3 (1940), 727–741.
[111] For example, the effect of certain materials on the skin; Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, Book 3, pp. 132–133.
[112] For example, the figure of a man and woman detailing their proportions; Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, Book 1, p. 36.

financially.[113] He argues that the state of native painting is currently so bad that the painters make no clear differentiation between 'the renowned sceptre of K: Henry the 8. and Tartletons pipe'.[114] The problem, Haydocke sees, is twofold:

> First the buyer refuseth to bestowe anie greate price on a peece of worke, because hee thinks it is not well done: And the workmans answer is, that he therefore neither useth all his skill, nor taketh all the paines that he could, because hee knoweth before hand the slenderness of his reward.[115]

Haydocke therefore positions his book as instructive to both painters and patrons by teaching not only how to make paintings worthy of a higher price, but also by teaching patrons how to recognize a good painting which is worthy of spending more money on. This poor training of painters and lack of skilled judgement by patrons suggests a gap in the market for artistic discourse in England in the late sixteenth century. Arguably, however, it is the middling sort who were buying pictures for the first time that needed this guidance as much as the nobles who Haydocke concerns himself with. [116]

For his readers, Haydocke creates a context for the connoisseurial appreciation of art in which portrait miniatures of a particular type are prioritised. Whilst he is critical of much vernacular painting, he singles out the work of 'the most ingenious, painefull and skilfull Master Nicholas Hilliard, and his well profiting scholler Isaacke Oliver', and encourages the reader to view their work.[117] This suggests that the book would appeal to

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[113] Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, 'To the Reader', p. vii.
[114] Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, 'To the Reader', p. viii.
[115] Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, 'To the Reader, pp. vii–viii.
[116] See for example the quotation from *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainments at Mitcham*, 1598 in the introduction to this thesis which includes the complaint that the new non-noble patrons of art lack any discernment.
[117] Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, Book 3, p. 126.

readers who had money to spend on art, and sought guidance on what was considered good art and the terms in which they might discuss the subject.

Furthermore, Haydocke's discussion of portraiture focuses upon those examples which both represent and are owned by the nobility. The effect of this is that the genre is positioned as being courtly. Haydocke argues that only those people who are worthy of recording for prosperity should be portrayed and, although he does not state his criteria for worthiness, he continues that they should be shown in suitable apparel, rank, and splendour.[118] This implies that it is the monarchy and aristocratic knights who deserve to be represented and evidently extended to Haydocke himself, as his portrait features prominently on the title page of the book (figure 10).

An examination of the circulation of this book will shed light on who was interested in Haydocke's wide-ranging survey of art. *The Artes of curious Paintinge* was published by Joseph Barnes in Oxford. Barnes's catalogue consists of mainly scholarly titles and he was the unofficial printer to the University.[119] Writing in the seventeenth century John Aubrey reports that college fellows used to go 'every satterday night […] to Joseph Barnes shop the bookseller (opposite the west end of St Marys) where the Newes was brought from London'.[120] The inclusion of coats of arms representing Oxford University and New College, Oxford, and four classical figures on the title page, helps to create a learned tone in which to interpret the contents of the book (figure 10). Whilst art theory was not taught as a degree subject in its own right at Oxford until the

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[118] Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Painting*, 'To the Reader', p. viii.
[119] Ian Gadd, 'Joseph Barnes', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 26 May 2017].
[120] K. Bennett, 'John Aubrey, Joseph Barnes's Print Shop and a Sham Newsletter', *The Library*, 6th series, 21 (1999), 50–58, p. 51. Joseph Barnes's shop was licensed to sell food and drink too, which would have made it a congenial place for meeting in town. 'Joseph Barnes', British Book Trade Index <bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 1 February 2018].

twentieth century, the publication of this book by Barnes points to its contents being considered desirable for university students.[121] For those without the money to buy their own copy access was available in the library, bound together with a copy of the original text by Lomazzo, which demonstrates how important the book was considered to be.[122] A further copy of the book was gifted to St John's Library, Oxford, in 1655 by Thomas Handidey.[123] This was very likely to have been the same Thomas Handidey who attended the Merchant Taylor's School in London and from then entered on a scholarship to St John's.[124] The social composition of students attending Oxford has been examined by Lawrence Stone, who concludes that from the late sixteenth century it was the middling sort and those above who made up the majority of the student body with a smaller, but still significant, number of those of lesser status.[125] This suggests a much broader range of potential readers for artistic discourse than is often considered.

All of the evidence examined in relation to Haydocke's *The Artes of curious Paintinge* suggests an ideal scholarly reader with the time to read such a comprehensive

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[121] The beginnings of a Department of the History of Art at Oxford University can be traced back to 1955, when the first Professor of the History of Art, Professor Edgar Wind, was appointed by the History Faculty. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century academics could have taken advantage of the university collections, which included a number of portraits of benefactors and masters. Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England*.

[122] A copy of *The Artes of curious Paintinge* was one of the first books to enter the Bodleian library when it opened in 1602. On 4 June 1601 Thomas Bodley wrote to Thomas James, the first Keeper of the library, wishing to see the work of 'Mr Haidocke' in the collection. K. J. Holtgen, 'Richard Haydocke: Translator, Engraver, Physician', *The Library*, 5th series, 32, 1 (1978), 15–32 (p. 15). Bodley writes, 'If I could get Lomazius in Ital. to be joined with Mr Haidockes English it would deserve a good place in the Librarie'. *The Artes of curious Paintinge* is dedicated to Bodley, 'in all hartie loue and affection'. Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, dedication.

[123] St John's College Library, Phi.3.16.

[124] Harry Bristow Wilson, *The History of Merchant Taylor's School: Of its Founders, Patrons, Benefactors, and Masters* (London: Marchant and Galabin, 1814), p. 288.

[125] On the general expansion in the number of individuals at both Cambridge and Oxford universities, Stone concludes that all classes benefitted, apart from the very poor: 'Landed nobility and gentry, professional classes, urban bourgeoisie, urban artisans, all poured into the Universities, along with substantial numbers from tenant and copyhold families in the villages', Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560–1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 41–80 (p. 68).

volume. The examination of the social composition of this academic community of potential readers includes individuals from mercantile and professional backgrounds. This, in turn, suggests that it was these individuals who were buying art, perhaps for the first time, and required information on how to decide what to buy. Furthermore, the inclusion of Haydocke's scholarly knowledge alongside Lomazzo's knowledge derived from his own artisanal practice and European theoretical information derived from Dürer, argues for a more complex relationship between these forms of knowledge than that which has often been observed within modern disciplinary boundaries. The conclusions reached in this thesis, that artistic discourse had a place within scholarly knowledge, agrees with the findings of Pamela O'Long, who argues that in the sixteenth century artisanal writing began to be perceived as a contribution towards intellectual debate.[126] It also extends the approach of O'Long by including a consideration of the reader as well as the writer, which has provided further evidence for my argument regarding scholarly readers and writers on artistic discourse.

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[126] Pamela O'Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
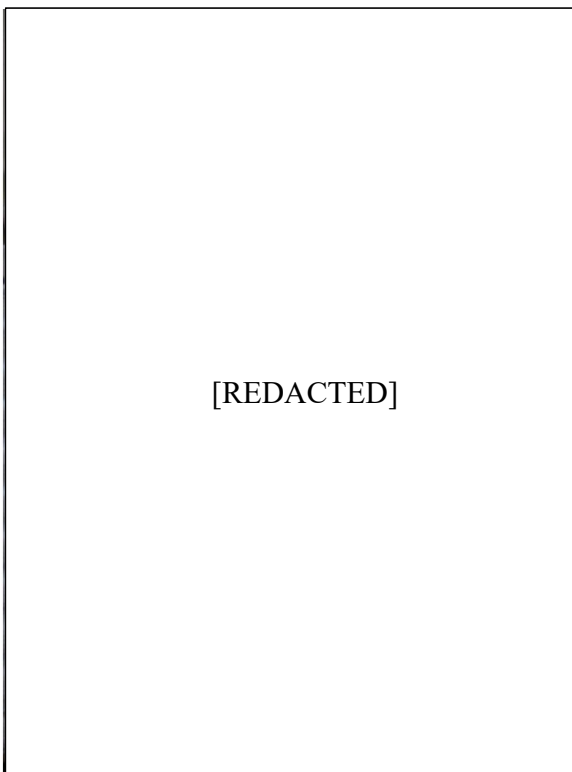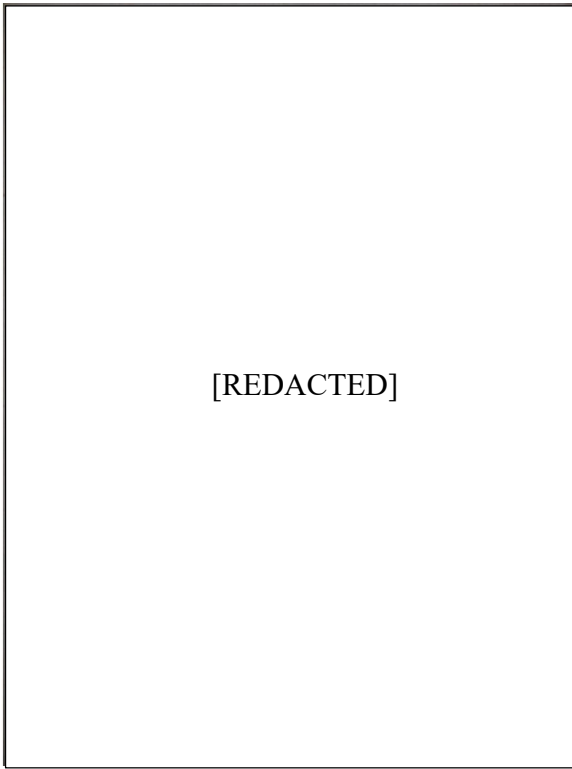
Figures 11 and 12
Edward Norgate, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, title page and fol. 1r
Royal Society, Manuscript, RS 136.

Amateur Knowledge

A further context in which discourse on limning can be understood is that of amateur

knowledge; that is, writing which purports to address the reader who wishes to cultivate

an interest in miniatures as a pastime rather than as a professional pursuit. It overlaps

with the previous categories because the writing reports artisanal knowledge, albeit

second or third hand, and can include references to art history and theory as can be

found in Haydocke's scholarly tract. Crucially, however, amateur knowledge is

addressed to a growing readership of leisurely readers who require this information for

different reasons. The writing of Edward Norgate and Henry Peacham will be discussed

in this section, both of whom address different readers in their writing. Their work

highlights the growing publics for artistic discourse and the manner in which

information on miniatures continued to circulate in the seventeenth century.

The first writer to be discussed within this context of amateur knowledge is

Edward Norgate (1581–1650), whose first manuscript on miniatures dates to *c*. 1626.[127]

Norgate amended and updated his work between 1648 and 1650, during which time he

'revised that dead-coloured Description and added to it both in weight and fashion'.[128]

Norgate's revisions to his discourse twenty years after it was first written indicate that

there was a need to update his earlier information and, as he states, 'at the request of a

deserving friend I wrote this discourse many years agoe, since which time it hath broke

forth and bene a wanderer and some imperfect copies have appeared under anothers

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[127] A copy of Norgate's earliest draft of *Miniatura* is in the British Library (MS Harleian 6000).
[128] For the dating of Tanner 326 see Edward Norgate, *Miniatura or the Arte of Limning*, ed. by Martin Hardie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919), introduction, pp. vi–vii.

name without my knowledge or consent'.[129] The first edition contains more details about materials, whereas the latter version elaborates more on the aesthetic side of painting. This suggests a growing appreciation of art in Britain.

This thesis will concentrate on a copy of the revised manuscript (MS 136) in the collection of the Royal Society of London, which consists of 53 pages measuring 195 mm x 140 mm and is bound independently (figures 10 and 11). It is significantly longer than both Hilliard's treatise and the anonymous *A very proper treatise* but shorter in length than Haydocke's *The Artes of curious Paintinge*. Norgate's Miniatura *or the Art of Limning* (hereafter referred to as *Miniatura*) contains recipes and techniques concerning the contemporary production, and appreciation, of miniatures which Norgate has gathered from painters. There is no index or table of contents as can be found in *A very proper treatise* and *The Artes of curious Painting*, which means that the reader has to search through the whole manuscript until they locate any specific information they may be looking for. It does, however, provide the reader with up-to-date information on the making of miniatures by painters who are associated with the court, including Peter Oliver and John Hoskins, which they might not be able to access otherwise.[130]

Norgate was well placed to discuss courtly taste in miniatures. He had an interest in limning through his own related professions as Windsor Herald, in which capacity he decorated letters. He was involved in trying to negotiate drawings by Rubens for the Earl of Arundel, successfully purchased pictures for Queen Henrietta's cabinet, and was responsible for the negotiations between Charles I and the Dukes of Mantua for the

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[129] Norgate, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 57. Unless otherwise stated, all references to *Miniatura* are taken from this edition.
[130] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, pp. 64 and 70.

purchase of the prestigious Gonzaga art collection.[131] During the imprisonment of

Charles I, Norgate revised *Miniatura* whilst he was residing in the Netherlands, and as a

result he was able to include additional detail on artistic practice outside of Britain.[132]

Like Haydocke, Norgate singles out Hilliard[133] and Oliver[134] for praise, and argues that

'the English […] are incomparably the best Limners in Europe'.[135] Norgate also

mentions recipes from contemporary limners including John Hoskins and Samuel

Cooper,[136] and European painters including Paul Brill, Rubens, Titian, Raphael, and van

Dyck.[137] He also includes recipes for colours from painters including 'my late Dear

Friend Sir Nathaniell Bacon Knight of the Bath', who he notes is 'a Gentleman',[138] a

reference which alludes to the changed status of painters and the changing status of

painting in the mid-seventeenth century.

In Norgate's *Miniatura* there are a number of references to 'Old Mr Hilliard'.[139]

For example, Hilliard's treatise includes directions on how to prepare and use different

types of ceruse [white] paint. Hilliard directs that after grinding and washing the

practitioner will have three grades of ceruse, 'the first and finest, which will glisten, I

call satin white; the next in fineness is good for limning etc., the last and coarsest, being

once again grinded, is best to be used for the flesh colour'.[140] This information was

available to Norgate, as can be seen in *Miniatura* where he includes a recipe headed 'To

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[131] David Howarth, 'Edward Norgate', *ODNB* online version [accessed 2 February 2016].
[132] Howarth, 'Edward Norgate'.
[133] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 62.
[134] Norgate, Ibid., p. 68.
[135] Norgate, Ibid., p. 68.
[136] Norgate, Ibid., pp. 70 and 102.
[137] Norgate, Ibid., pp. 82, 89, 102, 108.
[138] Norgate, Ibid., p. 63.
[139] Norgate, Ibid., p. 80.
[140] Hilliard, *The Arte of Limning*, p.71.

prepare Ceruse, Mr. Hillyards way'. He continues, 'The first parte of this water Mr. Hillyard calls his satine white, the second his lynnen white, the last shines not at all but is reserved for carnations and complexions for pictures by the life.'[141] This argues that either Norgate had access to Hilliard's manuscript or to, at least, a partial copy of it.

Norgate, like Hilliard before him, did not publish his writing on painting in print, and his accrued knowledge initially circulated through numerous manuscript copies and variants.[142] Norgate specifically addresses the gentry as his intended readers of his treatise:

> For my part I can but hope and wish that what I have written in this short discourse of excellent men, and excellent things may have that influence upon some of the Gentry of this Kingdome (for whose sake and service it was principally intended) that they may become the one, and make the other.[143]

In this passage, Norgate argues not only that the knowledge of limning, which he will impart to readers, will help to fashion them into 'excellent men', but also that limning is amongst those 'excellent things' which could benefit the gentry. In contrast, Hilliard addresses gentlemen at court in his treatise. This reference by Norgate thereby demonstrates how important this group of individuals had become as readers for artistic discourse by the mid-seventeenth century.

Norgate recommends the pursuit of amateur limning to the gentry, noting that it is a harmless way to spend time if it is part of a wider pursuit of knowledge. Miniature painting is positioned as an appropriate pastime for a gentleman providing it was not

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[141] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 90.
[142] For a list of these variants and copies see Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, appendices 1 and 2, pp. 217–258.
[143] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 95.

allowed to interfere with duties which were considered more important. Writing at the turn of the century, Hilliard also notes the appropriateness of limning for gentlemen because of its small unobtrusive qualities and the clean odourless water-based paints which he uses.[144] He compares this with oil painting which he considers less suited to a gentleman because of its less social qualities; oil paint could stain a gentleman's clothing and the smell was less pleasant.[145] Continuing this discourse surrounding painting Norgate situates the making of miniatures as an agreeable recreation for those with time for leisure:

> In the Practize whereof [...] there is gotten an honest harmles, and innocent expence of time in a sweet and contended retirement [...] a happie privation and escape from that *Diavolo Meridiano*, or noone day devill, ill Company[.][146]

Here Norgate situates the making of miniatures as an activity which would be ideally suited to people with time on their hands; this could include the leisured elite and those who found themselves marginalized at court or who chose to retire from a court which did not match their political or social ideals.[147] He compares limning with delicate accessories, arguing that he looks upon it 'but as Lace and Ornament, and without which a Kingdome may subsist'.[148] This suggests that limning, or at least a knowledge of it, was viewed as a fashionable accomplishment for the refined gentlemen by the mid-seventeenth century. Such a rhetorical stance is conventional for writing about limning in England; it is by such means that the art form came to be seen as suitable for

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[144] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, pp. 21–22 & 30.
[145] Ibid., p. 16.
[146] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 95.
[147] D. M. Loades, *Politics and the Nation 1450-1660: Obedience, Resistance and Public Order*, (London: Fontana / Collins, 1977), ch. 13.
[148] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 96.

gentlemen with more important matters to hand. Norgate's additions to his first draft, however, highlight that public life has changed since he was first writing; now he writes that 'his better imployments' were 'past and gone' finding himself 'at leasure more than enough'.[149] No longer was Norgate employed by Charles I at court but was himself also in exile from public life. He positions limning as suitable for the gentleman not at court, as Hilliard does, but in the country. He writes of it as 'a sweet and contented retirement from […] this drunken, perishing, and ending world […] this sink of cities'.[150] Whereas limning had previously been positioned as a service for public life, it was now seen by Norgate as a harmless leisure activity for those individuals who had been marginalized in the changed country.

Norgate also associates his discourse on limning with the wealthy in a more implicit manner. He advocates the use of expensive materials including silver and gold in order to represent armour and jewellery within a miniature, apparel with particular associations with honour and wealth.[151] Norgate comments that he purposely omits cheap, gross, and coarse pigments as they are not appropriate for 'this cleanly, neat and requisite Art, being indeed fitter for those that wash prints or colour Mapps then to be admitted into our Company'. As Muller and Murrell note, Norgate's rejection of certain pigments was based on both practical and ideal considerations.[152] Norgate was specifically trying to associate watercolour painting on a small-scale with the elite, but also his writing was based on practical experience as a Herald so he presumably knew which pigments worked and which did not. Norgate's argument echoes that of Hilliard

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[149] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 8.
[150] Ibid., pp. 95–96.
[151] Ibid., pp. 80-81.
[152] Ibid., ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 59.

c. 1600. Just as Hilliard sought to elevate limning above other forms of painting and

drawing, Norgate seeks to elevate limning above the decoration and colouring of prints

and maps, both items which feature in the middling sort households explored in the third

chapter. The net result of Norgate's discourse is that limning is once again positioned as

both a distinct art form and one of which it was suitable for a gentleman to have a

practical knowledge. Norgate, like Hilliard before him, positions limning as a separate

art form. He writes that limning exceeds other forms of art 'as a curious watch doth a

town clock'.[153] Not only would a watch have personalised time for the wearer, it also

embodied the skill of the craftsman who made it. This novelty and fashionability of tiny

skill can be seen not only in painting but also in other man-made objects which again

can be held in the hand and worn about the person.

Miniatura was so highly regarded that. R. D. Harley argues 'it stands out as one

[of] the most copied pieces of writing of its day'.[154] And Jim Murrell and Jeffrey Muller

note eighty-six manuscripts and books which include information which can also be

found in *Miniatura*.[155] Owners of the manuscript include Henry Frederick Howard, 3rd

Earl of Arundel, whose copy was transferred to the Royal Society in 1678 (MS 136).[156]

Muller and Murrell suggest that John Evelyn had access to a copy which he may have

intended to use for his projected history of the arts.[157] This argues for the materials and

techniques used for making miniatures being of interest to natural philosophers.

Miniatura also contained information which was of interest to professional painters. It

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[153] Norgate, *Miniatura*, p. 96.
[154] R. D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600–1835* (London: Butterworths, 1970), p. 12.
[155] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, appendices 1 and 2, pp. 217–258.
[156] Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, p. 11, and Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 15.
[157] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 19.

was copied by the miniaturist John Hoskins *c.* 1640 (BL MS Harl. 6376), and the

portrait painter Anthony Russell claimed to have acquired his copy from the family of

miniaturists Isaac and Peter Oliver (BL MS Add. 23080).[158] Furthermore, in the 1650s,

the painter and engraver Daniel King presented Mary Fairfax, the future Countess of

Buckingham, with a copy claiming it as his own work (BL Add. 12461).[159] This

suggests that artistic discourse was seen to be appropriate knowledge for women by the

mid-seventeenth century and continued to be valued by professional painters and

limners. Kim Sloan observes that 'both Hilliard and Norgate circulated their treatises in

manuscript; they did not want their art demeaned by becoming the practice of mere

craftsmen or artisans'.[160] However, once this information is printed, it reaches a far

greater audience beyond the nobility, the virtuoso, and the professional painter.

The second part of William Sanderson's *Graphice* (1658), 'the art of limning in

water colours', is almost entirely based on Norgate's text.[161] Whilst Sanderson's

publication widened the potential audience for those interested in limning, it does

contain a number of errors.[162] This argues for an interest in the knowledge within

Miniatura from individuals who did not have access to one of its manuscript copies and

who did not need the information to be accurate, perhaps purchasing their colours ready-

made or reading for pleasure rather than for any practical information. Frederick Hard

demonstrates that Alexander Browne copied most of his material verbatim from

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[158] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 15.
[159] Harley, *Artist's Pigments*, p. 12.
[160] Kim Sloan, 'Knowing John White: The Courtier's "Curious and Gentle Art of Limning"', in *A New World: England's First View of America*, ed. by Kim Sloan (London: British Museum, 2007), pp. 23–37, (p. 29).
[161] William Sanderson, *Graphice, the use of the Pen and Pensil* (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, 1658), pp. 53–87.
[162] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, p. 155.

Haydocke and Norgate in his *Ars Pictoria* (1669);[163] Browne also worked as a private art tutor. His most famous pupil was Elizabeth Pepys, wife of the diarist Samuel Pepys, who took lessons in 1665. On 7 May Pepys records, 'Yesterday begun my wife to learn to limn of one Browne'.[164] This argues that the knowledge, practice, and access to materials which Elizabeth Pepys enjoyed was now available not only to the professional painter and gentlemen but was actively promoted to women of leisure. The later publication, *Arts Master-Piece; or a Companion for the Ingenious of either sex* by the monogrammist C. K. (1697), promotes itself to both male and female readers. In the epistle to the reader, the writer claims that the book is 'for the accommodation of young gentlemen, gentlewomen, and others'.[165] This argues for the ongoing interest in the information within *Miniatura* from new and developing audiences. There is a significant shift by the late seventeenth century, whereby books which discuss limning are increasingly aimed at the gentlewoman of leisure rather than the gentleman; the very neatness and smallness of the art form which Hilliard promoted was now seen as more suitable as a particularly feminine pursuit which could be practiced in the home.

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[163] Hard, 'Richard Haydocke and Alexander Browne'.
[164] Pepys, *Diary*, 7 May 1665.
[165] C. K., *Arts Master-Piece; or, A Companion for the Ingenious of either Sex* (London: G. Conyers and J. Sprint, 1697), sig. A3r.
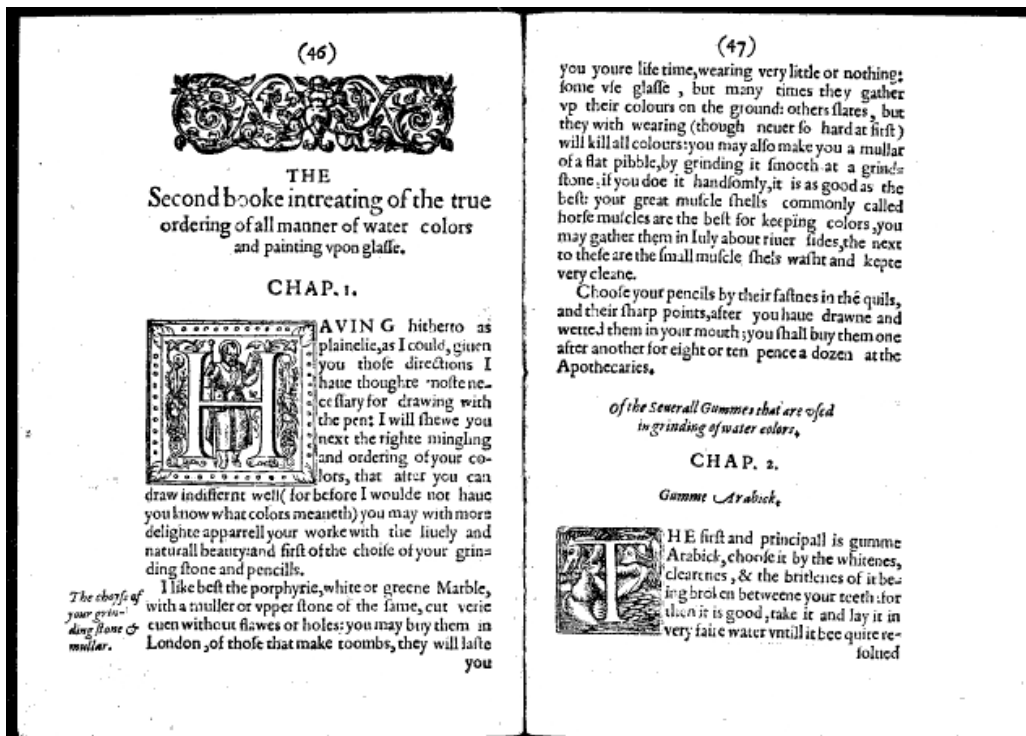
Figure 13
Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, pp. 46–47
(London: Richard Braddock for William Jones, 1606)
Image courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Figures 14 & 15.
Illustrations of two faces taken from Henry Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*
Chapter VII, 'Of Drawing the Face or Countenance of a Man', detail, pp. 21–22.
(London: I. M., 1634)
Images courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
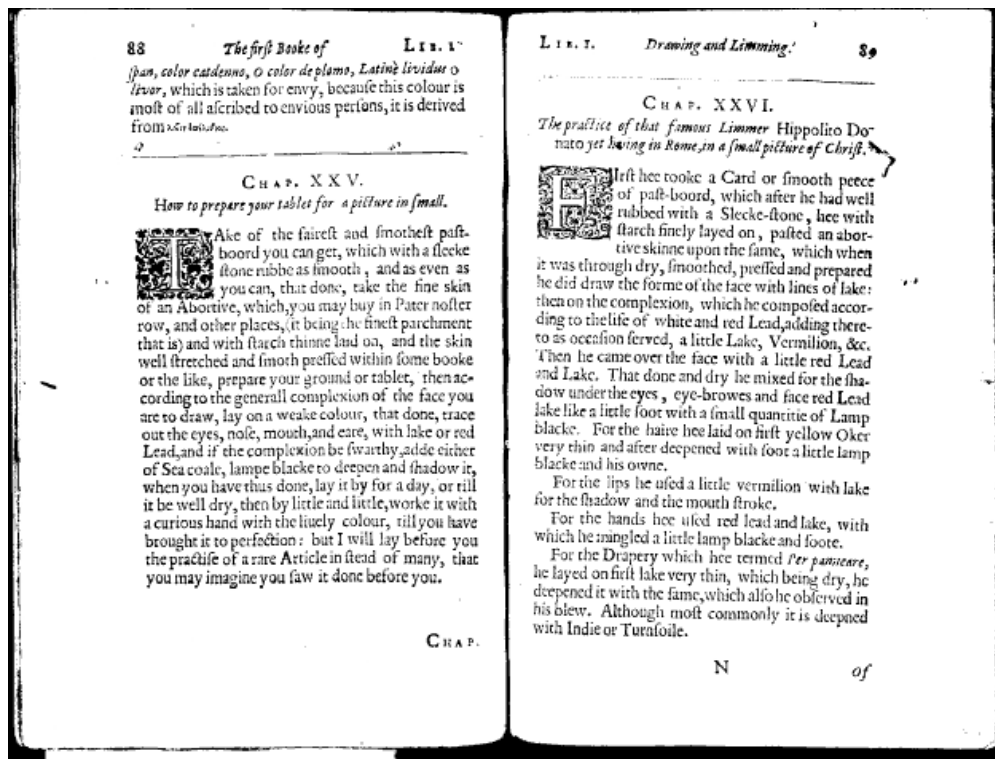
Figure 16
Henry Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, pp. 89–90, in which Peacham discusses how to make 'a picture in small'.
Image courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Henry Peacham

Henry Peacham (b. 1578, d. in or after 1644) covered many topics in his publications, including emblems, elegies, art, and, of particular interest to this thesis, limning. Like Haydocke, Peacham attended university. The title page of *The Compleat Gentleman* is inscribed 'Henry Peacham Master of Arts: Sometime of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge', which establishes a scholarly context for this work. Unlike Haydocke, however, Peacham's gentility was a result of his degree rather than an ancestral claim to land. From about 1600 until 1607 Peacham was teaching at Kimbolton School, Huntingdonshire. It was here that he wrote *The Art of Drawing with the Pen* (1606), a 76-page book which includes a short defence of art with instructions on limning and

other decorative art forms.[166] His next publication was *Graphice or the Most Ancient and Excellent Art of Drawing and Limning*, (London, 1612), which was reprinted the same year under a different title, *The Gentleman's Exercise*.[167] *The Gentleman's Exercise* has 169 pages and repeats the information on limning, drawing, and painting found in *The Art of Drawing with the Pen*, and also includes additional information on the tricking and blazoning of arms. Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) is an even longer book at 273 pages, and incorporates the information found in *The Gentleman's Exercise* alongside information on history, cosmography, music, and physical exercise.[168] It thereby places limning within a broader educational framework of knowledge which differs from his other publications, and it proved to be one of his most popular books.[169] All three titles have illustrations, a dedication, an address to the reader, and information divided into chapters. The publications also repeat information from title to title and are effectively repackaged editions for different readers which both reflect and encourage the developing position of painting and painters in society. (The woodcuts represented in figures 14 and 15 appear to re-use the woodcuts used on pages 17 and 21 of *The Art of Drawing with the Pen*).

The differences between Peacham's publications reflect his own changed experiences. In 1606 he was a teacher in a provincial school. But following a position in Prince Henry's household, whose death in 1612 prompted him to travel throughout Europe, he had a much wider access to visual culture and also the type of Continental painting which was particularly favoured at court at that time. Peacham's greater access

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[166] A second edition of *The Art of Drawing* was published in1607.
[167] *The Gentleman's Exercise* (London, 1612); subsequent editions in 1634 and 1661.
[168] *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622); subsequent editions in 1627, 1634, and 1661.
[169] Bakewell, 'Richard Haydock'.

to Italian paintings and painters is reflected in his later publications and reflects changing courtly tastes. For example, *The Compleat Gentleman* includes information on renowned painters including Raphael and Giotto, which is missing from his earlier publications.[170] Peacham was thereby reflecting the changing aesthetic of art which was patronized by the court. Prince Henry had been a generous patron of the arts and Prince Charles was also starting to amass his own collection, and as king knighted painters. The prestige that the royal family afforded painting helped to make the career of the painter more respectable and their work more valued than it had been in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Compared to when Peacham had written his first book and Hilliard and Haydocke were writing, a knowledge of painting and the collection of paintings was not only more acceptable but was increasingly considered a requirement to display an individual's gentility.

Upon his return from Europe, Peacham taught at the free grammar school in Wymondham, Norfolk, in Boston, and at Heighington Free School, Lincolnshire. His previous contact with the court and Continental art enabled him to circulate this information about art to his middling-status students and readers. Although he might argue for a courtly readership in his dedications and throughout the texts, it is likely that his knowledge would also have been of interest to readers outside of the court who did not have access to the information through manuscripts or familiarity with the work of leading painters.[171] The final edition of *A very proper treatise* was published in 1605, one year before the date of the publication of Peacham's *The Art of Drawing*. Peacham's

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[170] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, pp. 137–153.
[171] For example, *The Art of Drawing* is dedicated to Sir Robert Cotton, and *The Compleat Gentleman* is dedicated to William Howard, second son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.

publications, therefore, can be seen as filling a gap in the market for readers who required information on the materials and techniques of painting which would otherwise be difficult to obtain unless they were a professional painter like Hilliard, or belonged to a 'scribal community', or had professional contacts as Norgate did.

Peacham's different publications appear to be aimed at the socially diverse range of his pupils. In *The Art of Drawing* (1606) he addresses 'all young Gentlemen, or any els that are desirous for to become practicioners in this excellent, and most ingenious Art', and he claims that the conciseness of his instructions are 'fit for the capacity of the young learner, for whom they were first and principally intended'.[172] In the 70 pages of this book, measuring 17 cm x 12 cm, Peacham's instructions are brief as he covers drawing, limning, glass painting, enamelling, and instructions for how to build a furnace to fire the enamelled glass work. Limning is thereby positioned as one of a number of craft-based skills which Peacham offers instruction on. In comparison, the title page of *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) promises that the book will fashion the reader 'in the most necessary & commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie that may be required in a Noble Gentlema[n]'.[173] It is a longer book than *The Art of Drawing*, at 273 pages, measuring 18.5 cm x 14.5 cm. The book is dedicated to William Howard, the son of the great art patrons Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and Alethea Howard, Countess of Arundel. Peacham writes that there are 'seeds of virtue innate in Princes, and the Children of Noble Personages' that require appropriate nurturing if they are to flower, and intends his book as a prop towards Howard's attainment.[174] Peacham

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[172] Peacham, *The Art of Drawing*, title page and 'To the Reader'.
[173] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, title page.
[174] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'.

elaborates on his intended audience. Recounting a visit to a nobleman's house abroad, he claims that his host lamented that the gentry of England were brought with no 'qualities to preferre them' to a noble household.[175] This suggests that Peacham anticipated his book as equipping the gentry to be of service to the nobility. Mansfield Kirby Talley argues that unlike earlier books on painting aimed at the middling sort, Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* was firmly intended to be read by the nobility.[176] Nonetheless, Talley concedes, 'This is not to say, however, that aspiring members of the middle class may not have used the book in order to better themselves'.[177] Indeed, the popularity of Peacham's work argues for a much wider and more socially diverse audience than the nobility alone. Frank Whigham argues that the audience for instructional literature included those individuals who were socially mobile so they could display their gentility through their actions if not their birth.[178] This suggests that despite the claims of the author, the actual audience for Peacham's work could have included the middling sort.

Whilst *The Art of Drawing* and *The Compleat Gentleman* claim to be written for a young audience of gentry and noble readers, *The Gentleman's Exercise* (1612) purports that it will be of interest to 'all yong Gentlemen and others. As also Serving for the necessarie use and general benefite of divers Trades-men and Artificers, as namely Painters, Ioyners, Free-masons, Cutters and Carvers, &c.'[179] The inclusion of manual

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[175] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 'To my Reader'.
[176] Mansfield Kirby Talley, *Portrait Painting in England: Studies in the Technical Literature before 1700* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1981), p. 64.
[177] Talley, *Portrait Painting*, p. 64.
[178] Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege*: *the Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. x-xi.
[179] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, title page.

artisans and tradesmen is a much less socially prestigious audience than was addressed

by Peacham in his other publications, and by Hilliard, who argued for limning as 'a

thing apart' from these other forms of decorative art and not for common men's use.[180]

In his discourse of art history, which includes both Italian and Northern European

artists, Peacham mentions the native artists Hilliard and Oliver as being amongst the

best artists for their 'countenance in small'.[181] Peacham also commends oil painters,

including Robert Peake and Marcus Gheeraerts. He also admires a painter called Butler

for his decoration of houses – an activity which Hilliard expressly distinguished both

himself and his art form from.[182] Peacham does, however, consider portraiture to be the

highest art because every face is unique: 'Since a man is the worthiest of all creatures,

and such pleasing varietie in countenances so disposed of by the divine providence, that

among tenne thousand you shall not see one like another.'[183]

Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* consists of 169 pages, measuring 18 cm x

13 cm. It includes information on poetry, music, arms, fishing, and travel alongside

limning. Peacham's intended audience, therefore, points towards the widening appeal of

painting, and in particular limning, to a non-specialised audience where a knowledge of

art is discussed within the context of a diverse range of other subjects. Both the arts and

active pursuits are discussed aiming to fashion the kind of gentleman which was

discussed in *The Courtier*, which mixes the attributes of an active soldier with that of the

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[180] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 16.
[181] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, p. 7.
[182] This Butler could be the same Thomas Butler who worked as a painter in St Giles Cripplegate. Edward Town, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters, 1547–1625', *The Walpole Society*, 76 (2014), p. 48. Or, given the context of interior decoration, it could be the glass-painter, Richard Butler, of Holborn. Robert Tittler, *Early Modern British Painters, c. 1500–1640*, database available online <http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/980096/> [accessed 23 March 2017].
[183] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, Book 1, ch. vii.

humanistic cultivated man with an appreciation of the arts.[184] In *The Gentleman's Exercise*, Peacham at first appears to elevate oil painting over watercolour painting: 'Painting in Oyle is done I confess with greater iudgment, and is general of more esteeme than working in water colours.' He then counters this by referring to oil painting as a mechanical art which is too disruptive to the life of a gentleman on account of the time which it will take up and the mess that it will create.[185] Peacham thereby repeats the argument which was first put forward by Hilliard.

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[184] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book 1.
[185] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, chapter 12, 'Of Drawing, Limning, and Painting: with the lives of the most famous Italian painters'.
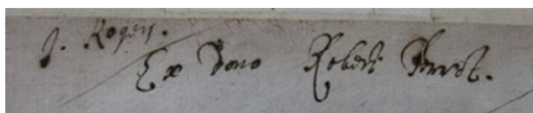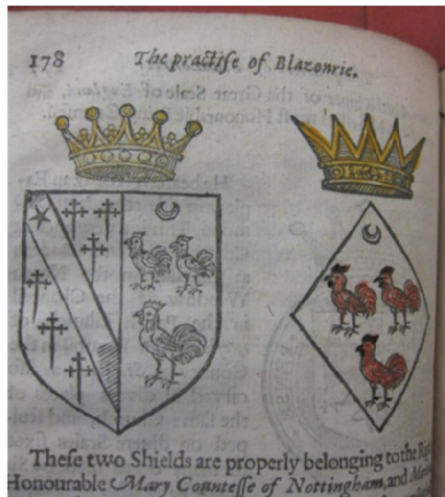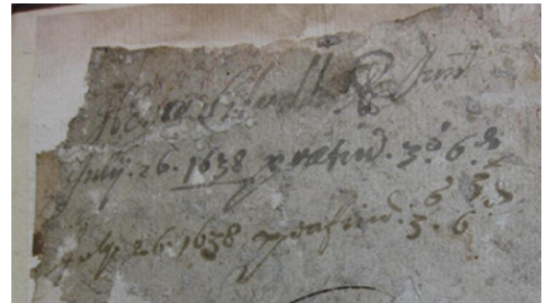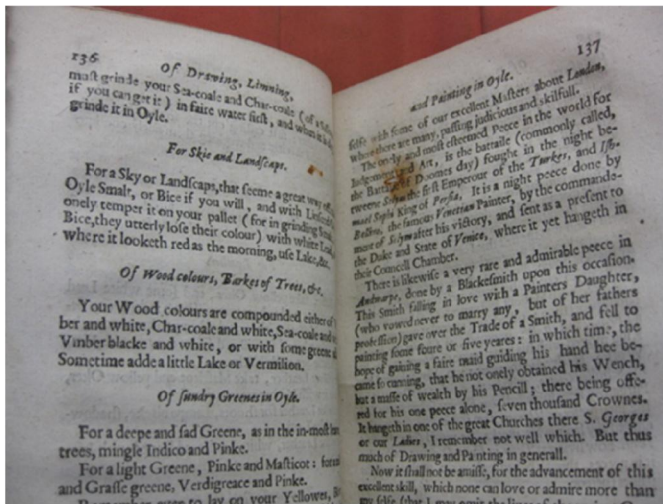
Figures 17, 18, 19, & 20
Details from a marked copy of Henry Peacham's, *The Compleat Gentleman*
(London: Francis Constable, 1634)
Cambridge University Library, Rare Books. Syn. 7.63.168.

A marked copy of Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* which has been bound with *The Gentleman's Exercise* in Cambridge University Library suggests that one reader was using the book to make colours.[186] Opposite the page which offers recipes 'of wood colours, Barkes of Trees &c.' there is a brown paint mark (figure 17). Possibly the book was left open whilst the reader was following Peacham's instructions. Furthermore, in the chapter 'the practice of blazonry' some of the illustrations representing coats of arms have been coloured in by an amateur hand (figure 18). This suggests that the book was used for its practical advice and that one reader decorated the book themselves rather than employing a professional to do this work. An inscription at the front of the book in seventeenth-century handwriting reads 'J. Rogers. Ex dono Robert Perrot' [J. Rogers from the gift of Robert Perrot] (figure 20). At the back of the book there is the inscription 'July 26 1658' (figure 21). These inscriptions may refer to the R. Perrott (1630–1670), son of a minister from Hull, who matriculated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1645 and was awarded a Bachelor of Divinity in 1659.[187] Rogers was later admitted to the Royal College of Physicians and practiced in Yorkshire. The book may have been of interest to Rogers because of its information on materials, thereby linking Peacham's book with the physician Haydocke's more scholarly text and the artisanal-based knowledge in *A very proper treatise*, *The Arte of Limning*, and *Miniatura*. The inscription of the date 1658 in this copy of the book and

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[186] The books were bound together at the time of their entering CUL in 1896 and rebound by the library in 1975.

[187] I am grateful to William Hale, Curator of Rare Books, CUL for his advice on this. subject. For information on R. Perrot, see the Cambridge Database, available online <http://venn.lib.cam.uk/> [accessed 29 August 2017]. There are too many J. Rogers of this period to speculate which one the inscription may refer to.

the posthumous further editions of Peacham's titles indicates the ongoing interest in his writing.

Throughout his work, Peacham claims to address a diverse range of audiences, including the sons of the nobility, gentlemen, tradesmen, and craft workers. Furthermore, excerpts from Peacham appear in a number of later manuscripts and books.[188] Most notably, John Bate, the author of *The Mysteries of Nature and Art*, copied much of his information on painting from both Peacham and Hilliard without acknowledging either source. Bate does, however, note on the title page of the third book that he has added instructions from 'other collections that I have gathered from time to time out of such as have written on this subject'.[189] Furthermore, William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (1672) uses Peacham's instructions on drawing and his expanded instructions on how to paint a pearl which, in turn, Peacham derived from Hilliard. This highlights the circulation of information in seventeenth-century Britain on limning and how new audiences continued to develop for this knowledge.

My research suggests a much more diversified pattern for artistic discourse than traditional views which frequently focus on Hilliard and the court allow. Significantly the inclusion of Peacham shows that writing on art existed outside of the metropolis and thereby adds to the work of Tittler, who has highlighted the geographically diversified presence of portrait painting. Peacham was located in the east of England when he wrote a number of his books; it is here that he had access to writing on art which he then compiled, edited, and amended in order to make that information suitable for new

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[188] Harley, *Artists' Pigments*, p. 7.
[189] John Bate, *The Mysteries of Nature, and Art Conteined in foure severall Tretises*, 2nd ed. (London: Ralph Mabb, 1635), p. 139.

audiences. Crucially, in publishing his work Peacham made it possible for those readers beyond 'scribal communities' to access information and to understand it within the context of a wider body of knowledge. This broader context for understanding limning includes both practical artisanal practice and theoretical learned information, which ranges from instructions for building a furnace to history and cosmography. Peacham effectively positions art as one of a number of subjects which the middling sort in London and the regions can access for the price of a book, which would have been more accessible than knowing somebody with access to a manuscript on the subject.

Arms and Heraldry

Discourse on limning frequently overlaps with that on arms and heraldry, which suggests a shared audience for this information. It was not just the nobility and the gentry who already bore arms that were interested in heraldry. Richard Cust argues that the visual representation of armigerous status was also produced for those 'on the cusp of gentility' who were 'engaged in ceaseless competition to sustain their ranking within their own order', which in turn provoked 'status anxiety' amongst the gentry.[190] This points towards a readership for books on heraldry not only from those who held arms, but from those who wished to. Elizabeth Goldring describes how pursuivants (apprentice heralds) compiled records of arms.[191] These visual documents could attract the attention of a patron, and thereby admission or promotion within the College of Arms. Furthermore, Robert Tittler notes that 'painter-stainers such as Peter Henson of

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[190] Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage', p. 247.
[191] Elizabeth Goldring, 'Heraldic Drawing and Painting in Early Modern England', in *Painting in Britain*, ed. by Cooper et al., pp. 262–277 (p. 266).

Oundle, the Segeant-Painter John Browne, Jacob Chaloner of Chester […] kept

extensive notes on heraldic devices of families in particular areas just like the heralds

whom they assisted'.[192] This suggests an interest in both the practical and the theoretical

knowledge contained within books on limning and arms.

It has been argued that by invoking an armigerous readership books make claims

for the status of the knowledge within. Steven Shapin argues that natural philosophy is

linked to gentle status because readers gave their writing credence: 'gentility was a

massively powerful instrument in the recognition, constitution and protection of

truth.'[193] Similarly, Wendy Wall argues that poetry books were also marketed at the

gentlemanly reader in an attempt to give the work social and literary legitimacy.[194]

However, this can make the subject appear more exclusive than it was in practice.

Extending such scholarship to *A very proper treatise*, the references to heraldry and

gentlemen readers can be seen as a strategy by which the writer upholds the work: all

the more important in this book which was published with no named author.

Furthermore, the discussion of the depicting of arms, an art form practiced by heralds,

who were considered to be learned, alongside the mixing of colours, an art form which

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[192] Robert Tittler, 'Regional Portraiture and the Heraldic Connection in Tudor and Early Stuart England', *British Art Journal*, 10, 1 (2009), 3–10. Tittler gives the examples of BL MS 47185, a book of heraldic tricks by Jacob Chaloner (1624), and BL Harley MS 1091, a book of tricks and sketches by William Harvey, Clarenceus King of Arms (1564).

[193] Steven Shapin, *The Social History of Truth*: *Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press 1994), p. 42. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, who argues that a book's dedication and its patronage were intended to guarantee the reliability of its content through its association with an illustrious individual; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 192.

[194] Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 56.

was considered to be practised by artisans, highlights the shifting perceptions of the amateur study of painting.[195]

However, the connection between heraldry and limning is more than just a marketing ploy. The title page of *A very proper treatise* claims that the information therein is 'very mete & necessary to be knowne to all suche Gentlemenne, and other persones as doe delite in limming, painting or in tricking of armes'.[196] Eric Mercer argues that the *Art of Limming* was specifically intended as a technical guide for amateur heralds rather than to fill the more general interest in art.[197] For example, the writer includes several recipes for coloured paint which are specified as being suitable 'for armes'.[198] It thereby links a knowledge of limning with arms, a subject which inspired several popular books, including John Ferne's *The Blazon of the Gentrie* (1586) and Gerard Legh's *The Accedence of Armorie* (1562).[199] Edward Norgate was himself a herald, although he writes very little about heraldry as a subject. It was through his practical experience decorating letters and the connections gained through his work that he had access to the knowledge on painting which makes him of interest in this thesis. In comparison, Peacham wrote a great deal about heraldry both on its own and in publications in which limning also appears. In *The Compleat Gentleman*, limning, again, appears alongside the tricking of arms and also other forms of art, which once again

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[195] Goldring, 'Heraldic Drawing', p. 272.
[196] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, title page.
[197] Mercer, *English Art*, p. 72, fn. 3.
[198] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, fols 4r, 6v, and 8r.
[199] John Ferne, *The Blazon of the Gentrie* (London: John Windet, 1586), and Gerard Legh, *The Accedence of Armorie* (London: Richard Tottill, 1562). This connection between heraldry and *A very proper treatise* is emphasized by one owner binding it together with further works also published by Tottill, John Bossewell's *Works of Armorie* (1572) and Gerard Legh's *The Accedens of Armory* (1576 ed.), Trinity College Dublin, EE.K.19, nos 1–3. Two known owners of the book were heralds, William Le Neve (British Library 1044.h.37) and Elias Ashmole (Bodleian, EEBO 1611:24).

places the making of art and knowledge of art within not only a context of learning but also of elite understanding.[200] The implication is that individuals who had an interest in learning more about heraldry would also be interested in limning, and vice versa. In *The Compleat Gentleman*, Peacham argues that a knowledge of heraldry served to 'disern and know an intruding upstart, shot up with the last night's mushroom from an ancient descended & deserved Gentleman'.[201] The usefulness of limning for heraldry is significant as it links Peacham's writings back to the anonymous 1573 treatise. Status and limning are clearly linked here.

A knowledge of heraldry and portraiture also shared a similar discourse in being situated as inspiring the viewer. Pliny had argued that portraits of ancestors could encourage the viewer to emulate the noble deeds of their predecessors.[202] Similarly, the Antiquarian Sir Thomas Shirley compared pedigree rolls to 'little mappes' and wrote that following the viewing of blazons of arms acquired by their ancestors 'it is impossible but that they must needs be spurred on to the same actes which had beene honored with soe noble a remuneration'.[203]

It was not only knowledge about heraldry and limning that existed side-by-side; works of art could also combine the two art forms. *The Sackville Pedigree* (figure 29) demonstrates how both the portrait miniature and heraldry could be combined, with some individuals represented in portraiture and others by their armorial shield. The two

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[200] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, Book 3, on heraldry.

[201] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, reprint of the 1634 edition, ed. by G. S. Gordon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), pp. 160–161.

[202] On the exemplary portrait in the Renaissance, see Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, 'The Early Beginnings of the Notion of "Uomini Famosi" and the "De Viris Illustribus" in Greco-Roman Literary Tradition', *Artibus et Historiae*, 3, 6 (1982), 97–115.

[203] Shirley quotation taken from Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage', p. 252.

associated art forms both required a knowledge of outline, pattern, colour, and the ability to display information about a person within a condensed format. Richard Cust argues that 'Coats of arms were regarded, in effect, as miniature repositories of the family's honour'.[204] The study of lineage, or 'genealogical science', was considered to be an appropriate pursuit for a gentleman in a period characterised by Lawrence Stone as typifying 'frenzied status-seeking and ancestor-worship'.[205] The further back an individual could claim noble descent, the higher their precedence and status. The blazoning of arms in books and pedigree rolls frequently used the same materials and techniques as limning. The association between heraldry and portrait miniatures places the art form within a particular context of the conversations around armigerous status.

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[204] Cust, 'The Material Culture of Lineage', p. 252.
[205] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, p. 141; Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 712.
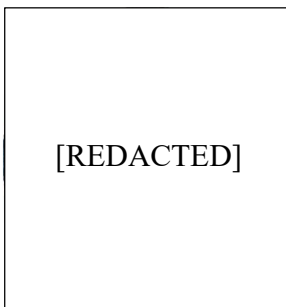
Figure 21
Nicholas Hilliard
Oliver St John, 1st Baron St John of Bletso, possibly[206]
1571
Watercolour on vellum
41 mm diameter
Private Collection.

Figure 22
Arnold Bronckorst
Oliver St John, 1st Baron St John of Bletso
1578
Oil on panel
478 mm x 395 mm
National Portrait Gallery, NPG 6919.

John Guillim (1551–1621), the Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms (junior officer of arms) and author of *A Display of Heraldrie* (1610), owned a manuscript copy of *A very proper treatise* which he records as being copied from the edition in the possession of Oliver St John, 1st Baron St John of Bletso.[207] Bletso had a keen interest in portraiture; he was painted in miniature by Hilliard in 1571 and in oil on panel by

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[206] This miniature is catalogued as 'perhaps' representing Oliver St John. Goulding, 'The Welbeck Abbey Miniatures', catalogue no. 18, p. 65.

[207] Jim Murrell, 'John Guillim's Book: A Heraldic Painter's Vade Mecum', *Walpole Society* (1993/4), 1–51; John Guillim, *A display of heraldrie* (London: Printed by William Hall, to be sold by Raphe Mab, 1610); 'The way how to lyme & howe to lay thy colours & make syse for lyminge or to cowche thy gold upo[n] velome or parchement taken out of a booke of the righte honourable Oliver Lorde St. John of Bletsho in comitat Bedforde', *c*. 1582–1600, NAL 86/EE.69 (former classmark NAL MS L.1774-1935). The notebook also contains information copied from Haydocke's *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge*.

Arnold Bronckorst in 1578 (figures 21 and 22). The book also contains recipes for

colour copied from Haydocke's *Curious Artes*, whilst omitting its theoretical

information.[208] This ties in with Goldring's argument that trainee heralds would collect

information relating to heraldry in the hope of preferment (although Guillim never

attained the position of herald). It also points to *A very proper treatise* being of interest

to patrons of portraiture. Guillim's manuscript copy was later owned by George Nayler

(1764–1831), limner and Garter King of Arms (senior officer of arms).[209] Guillim and

Nayler presumably valued the recipes which would have been applicable to both

heraldry and miniatures, a linking of the two subjects which was demonstrated on the

title page of the anonymous 1573 book which promises to instruct the reader on the

'tricking of armes' and 'limming'.[210]

A further association between limning and heraldry can be seen on a copy of *A very proper treatise* in the Huntington Library, which has a coat of arms on its title page

that includes three crescent moons (figure 23).[211] The coat of arms is drawn in the same

red ink as the dated signature 'Robertus Thorn's 1626 December 27' and further

embellishments and other markings on the title page.[212] The evidence argues that this

reader used the book for its knowledge on the tricking of arms and emblazoning

(colouring) and that they wished to mark their ownership in this manner. A copy of the

book now in the Bodleian collection was owned by Elias Ashmole (1617–1692),

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[208] NAL 86/EE.69, fols 32, *passim*. Recipes found in Haydocke's *Curious Artes*, Book 3.
[209] Thomas Woodcock, 'George Nayler', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 3 January 2018].
[210] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, title page.
[211] *EEBO*, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
[212] Personal communication dated 21 June 2017 from Stephen Tabor, Curator of Rare Books, the Huntington Library.

Windsor Herald from 1660 to 1675;[213] this argues for *A very proper treatise* being of interest to those of armigerous status and those with an interest in arms and heraldry. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Robert Tittler, the nature of the herald's work involved visitations and maintaining close relations with civic institutions.[214] Therefore, heralds were not confined to working in London and frequently took on commissions for portraiture from their regional contacts in order to supplement their income from heraldry. Books on limning would have appealed to this profession, which worked throughout the country.

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[213] Anonymous, *A very proper treatise* (1583), Bodleian Library: Ashm. 1672 (5); Michael Hunter, 'Elias Ashmole', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 25 May 2006].
[214] Tittler, 'Regional Portraiture'.
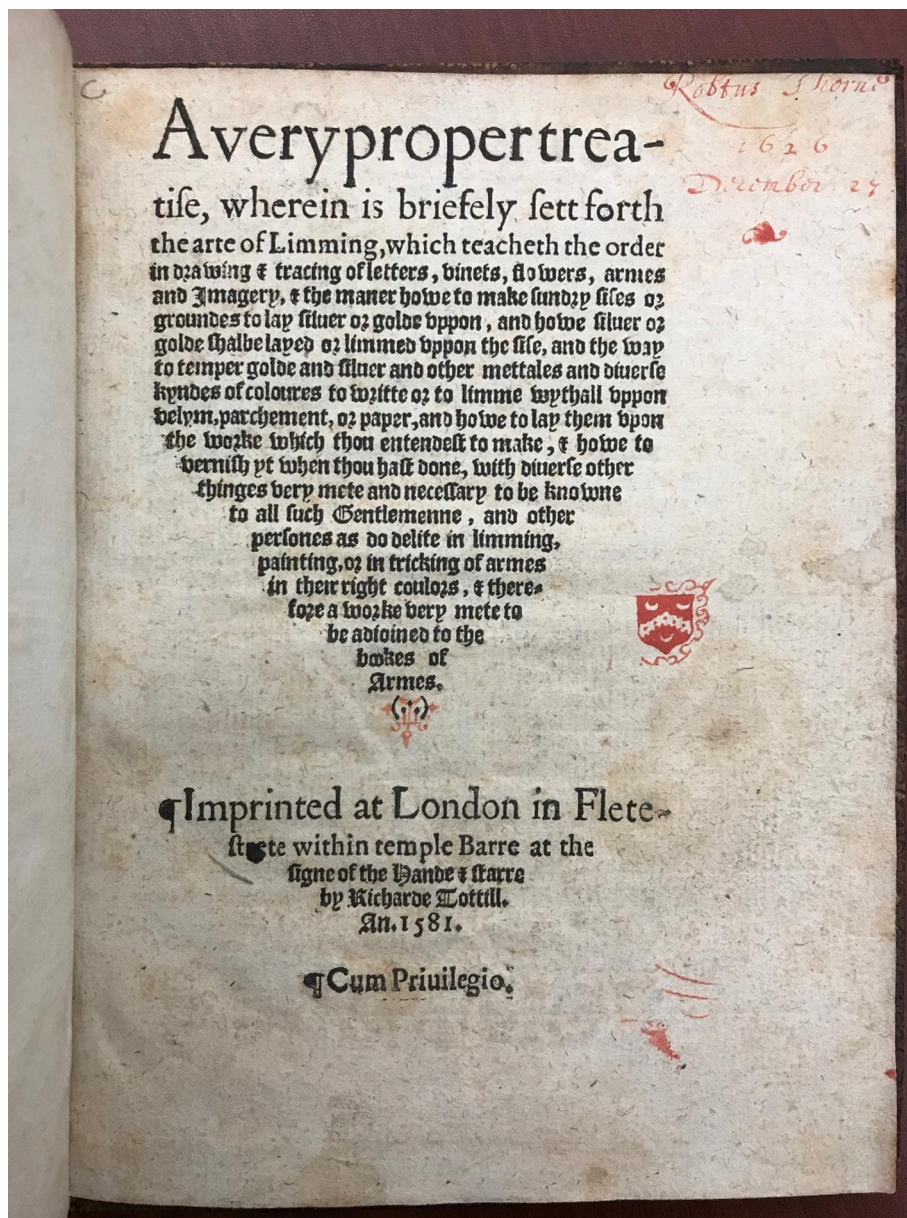
Figure 23
Anonymous, *A very proper treatise*, title page
(London: Richard Tottill, 1581)
Image courtesy of the Huntington Library, 60087.

Conclusion

By critically analysing literature on miniatures, I have demonstrated that diverse audiences existed for this information. In order to do this, I have included source material which is frequently marginalised in current scholarship on the subject, either because it is considered technical or because it pertains only to oil paintings 'in large'. However, the next chapter will demonstrate that miniatures were executed in oil paint and, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, the modern disciplinary boundaries between practical and theoretical knowledge were blurred in early modern writing. Furthermore, these under-studied sources help to contextualise the writing of better-known sources. Examining Hilliard's treatise in isolation would be to ignore a longer history of artistic discourse which neither originated from the court nor can be proven to have any courtly readers. In examining writing over a longer time frame, I have been able to demonstrate how Hilliard's treatise fits into a wider narrative and how different audiences develop over a longer period of time. This evidence, therefore, nuances the scholarship of Strong and Fumerton, who both focus on Hilliard's treatise and its references to courtly patrons.

In approaching sources from the perspectives of artisanal knowledge, scholarly knowledge, amateur practice, and arms and heraldry, I have been able to consider audiences who would have been interested in the information within books on limning for these different reasons, not just because they wanted to demonstrate their service to the court. Frequently these audiences overlap with each other, which further suggests the artificiality of modern disciplinary boundaries between theory and practice when considering writing on miniatures.

By physically examining marked copies of the books I have been able to demonstrate how readers used the information and how they thought about the subject. This has revealed the marks left behind by paintbrushes, inscriptions of ownership, and the size and length of publications. In investigating individual owners of the books, I have shed light on the circulation of information. This has included an examination of both manuscripts and printed matter which has highlighted the ongoing relationship between the two forms of communication. It thereby provides supporting evidence for Adam Fox's argument that print did not supersede manuscript after the adoption of the printing press, and questions Elizabeth Eisenstein's concept of the printed book signalling the end of manuscripts.[215] I have also investigated how readers copied and disseminated this knowledge and thereby made it accessible to new audiences. This research has informed my analysis, which offers an alternative discourse to writing on miniatures than is currently available in scholarship. It also establishes the framework which will be used to further investigate the miniature throughout the rest of this thesis.

Having considered a number of manuscripts and printed material on literature pertaining to limning, it appears that the 1620s was a decade which showed a marked interest in the subject. This is instructive when considered in parallel with the graph in the following chapter, which shows that this decade corresponds with that in which a high percentage of miniatures in the database were made. Writings on miniatures, arguably, reflected and encouraged the popularity of the art form amongst patrons and among artists, who had access to at least some of the knowledge on how they were

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[215] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

made, allowing them to meet this demand. This highlights the relationship between

readers and patrons of miniatures as both a subject to read about and as an art form

which they could commission.

Chapter 2: A Quantitative and Visual Framework for Understanding the British Portrait Miniature

Introduction

In order to explore the wide range of miniatures which circulated in early modern Britain, this chapter will examine a large sample of small portraits. By statistically analysing the portraits, I will be able to discover what the typical miniature looked like, which will, in turn, inform my assessments of how materiality created the meanings and functions of the art form. This will provide a new perspective on the subject of the miniature and allow me to re-appraise the examples of the art form which have already received much scholarly attention, as well as bringing to light some under-explored miniatures. Furthermore, I will be able to reconsider the 'courtliness' of the art form by looking at who is represented in miniature and the manner in which they are represented. By comparing miniatures which represent non-noble sitters alongside those representing the nobility I will also address the notion of common people 'aping' their supposed betters.[216]

The Database

For the purposes of this thesis I created a database of 1,200 miniatures including 'traditional portrait miniatures' and 'small pictures' to enable a comprehensive quantitative analysis. I have defined 'traditional portrait miniatures' as portraits executed in watercolour on vellum, made by painters working predominantly in Britain

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[216] Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, p. 67.

and measuring no more than 80 mm in length. 'Small pictures' include portraits made from other media, paintings made abroad, miniatures embedded within larger decorative art works and pictures the same size as cabinet painting: larger than 80 mm but less than 327 mm. This systematic collection and analysis of information proved to be a valuable resource for my subject matter for a number of reasons. First, it allowed me to approach my subject from as objective a viewpoint as possible to understand the objects on their own terms free from modern definitions of a 'portrait miniature'. Second, it allowed me to manage a lot of data and to manage the quality and the consistency of that data. Third, it allowed me to analyse data in numerous ways rather than, as previous studies have done, just focussing on the painter. And finally, it allowed me to compare paintings and to discern patterns which may not otherwise have been apparent. The statistical results which the database gives allow me to provide quantitative evidence for my arguments. Sometimes this quantitative data may confirm what has already been written on the subject, but the statistics will provide greater weight to these conclusions. Other times, these facts will serve to add nuance to what other scholars have written and provide a new perspective on the subject.

Former Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Graham Reynolds described the early British portrait miniature as typically 'painted in watercolour on vellum'.[217] Six hundred and forty objects within my database fit this definition and, as outlined in the introduction to this thesis, for the purposes of this thesis, I shall refer to these portraits as 'traditional miniatures'.[218] However, because the

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[217] Graham Reynolds, *British Portrait Miniatures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 4.
[218] Some of these miniatures could be referred to as 'limnings', but as this word was also used to refer to paintings 'in large' and designs as well as paintings executed in watercolour on vellum in the sixteenth century, I have adopted an alternative terminology for the purposes of this study.

word 'miniature' did not become associated with this type of object until the mid-seventeenth century, I have also included a further set of 560 small figurative representations which do not fit the modern curatorial definitions of a miniature. These small portraits are not all executed in watercolour on vellum and some may have been made outside of Britain, but they do share many similarities with the other group of objects. This group of miniatures I shall refer to as 'small pictures'. Where I am making no differentiation between the two groups of objects I shall refer to them as 'miniatures'. By only paying attention to 'traditional miniatures' it is not possible to understand the breadth of visual culture available to early modern audiences, who frequently made no lexical distinction between portraits executed in different media. I have, therefore, included as wide a range of small painted portraits in this database as possible.[219]

This work will allow me to shift the focus away from those portrait miniatures within a particular social category and which have already received much scholarly attention, in order to understand how representative they are of the art form as a whole. I also anticipate adding to scholarly knowledge by highlighting examples of the art form which have to date received little attention and which will, in turn, allow me to reconsider the better-known examples.

Chronology

Chronological boundaries are necessary to provide a framework for this study and in order to look at as wide a sample of this art form as possible within the parameters of a

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[219] For a summary of the etymology concerning the word 'miniature', which derives from the Latin *miniare* (to colour with red lead) and *luminare* (to give light) and its relationship to small paintings, see Katherine Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England* (London: The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1998), p. 1.

PhD. The thesis primarily covers portrait miniatures produced in Britain in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: a time span in British art which, Tarnya Cooper argues, is insufficiently studied.[220] It is a period which witnessed changes in the patronage and the aesthetics of art, and which covers the earliest examples of the independent art form of the portrait miniature and examines its subsequent development. This focus will also allow me to extend the parameters usually adopted by scholarly research on the subject. For example, Strong comments on miniatures produced after 1620, 'On the whole thereafter it occupied a minor role in the history of painting and portraiture'.[221] But as my analysis of miniatures will demonstrate, the art form was increasing in popularity amongst the middling sort just at the time when Strong asserts it was of less importance. For these reasons I will focus on the period between *c*. 1520 and *c*. 1650.

Many miniatures can be dated with some precision, but for others this is not possible. Even when the miniatures have the date painted on them, these are sometimes hard to read, have been altered, or can be deliberately misleading.[222] In some instances, therefore, the database entry represents a best educated guess for the decade in which a miniature was made based on more securely dated cumulative evidence gathered from both internal and documentary evidence.[223] The dates are intended as a guideline rather

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[220] Cooper et al., eds, *Painting in Britain*, Introduction, p. 2. Cooper refers to the period 1500 to 1630.

[221] Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 9.

[222] For example, variants of Hilliard's earliest surviving *Self-Portrait* in private collections have had their dates altered to bring the date into accord with the painter's erroneous birth date. Graham Reynolds, *Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971), p. 32.

[223] Dates attributed to paintings are also subject to change. See for example a miniature of Mary Tudor in the NPG which was once thought to date to the eighteenth century, but which has, more recently, been dated to the sixteenth century. National Portrait Gallery, Making Art in Tudor Britain, Tudor and Jacobean Portraits Database, 'Queen Mary I' <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw04976/Philip-II-King-of-Spain?> NPG4174 [accessed 5 February 2016].

than as strict parameters. The time frame will, however, enable me to examine how the art form of the miniature develops across a significant period of time.

Methodology

The information within the database was collected by viewing in person as many miniatures as possible, accessing unpublished curatorial and conservation files on each work, and reviewing published secondary literature. I have been able to take advantage of increased access to collections through the Internet, which was not available to many scholars who have written on this subject in the twentieth century. This has enabled me to include miniatures from almost 150 collections, representing local museums, auction houses, private owners, national museums, and collections abroad, in order to make the database as representative as possible.[224] This led to the collation of a body of information from these sources on each individual miniature, as well as providing an overview of the art form as a whole. However, the database represents only a sample of portrait miniatures and, whilst I have rigorously worked to make it as representative as possible, I have not been able to view and collect data on every surviving miniature, particularly those in some private collections.

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[224] For the purposes of this study I contacted every institution in the *Museums and Galleries Yearbook*, and all the houses in the *National Trust Handbook* and in the Historic England, formerly known as English Heritage, list. Additionally, I contacted dealers, auction houses, private collectors, and non-listed collections. I also contacted overseas collections and collectors. In total I sent over 400 enquiries and visited over 50 collections, which enabled me to view over 1000 miniatures both in the United Kingdom and in the United States. I have also included details of miniatures available only through online viewing and publication in the database in order to look at as wide a sample as possible. Katie Dawson, ed., *Museum and Galleries Yearbook 2012* (London: Museums Association, 2012); Lucy Peel, ed., *National Trust Handbook* (Swindon: National Trust, 2012).

Survival

Alongside the statistics that this quantitative study will provide, it should be remembered that these results refer only to surviving examples of the art form. Discussing painted portraiture in general, Tarnya Cooper estimates that there is a less than 30% survival rate.[225] Although there is a lack of evidence, it is possible that miniatures may have a similarly low percentage of survival, which results in a large body of missing evidence from the database. This material loss can, in part, be redressed through the detailed examination of further sources throughout this thesis.

In addition to this material loss, surviving examples of the art form can be damaged. Some miniatures are particularly delicate, and the original colour relationships of the painted surface can become distorted over time. For example, the watercolour paint sometimes used in the making of miniatures is prone to fading; condensation can form in between the glass cover and the painted surface, sometimes leading to permanent damage; and silver paint can oxidise leading to areas of the paint looking black. Also, many miniatures have undergone restoration which has altered the original appearance of the artwork. Thus, what we see today is not always what was originally painted. Furthermore, many miniatures have been re-framed by subsequent collectors, which, in turn, changes the viewing experience of the pictures from that of the earliest owners.

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[225] Tarnya Cooper and Maurice Howard, 'Artists, Patrons and the Context for Painted Images in Tudor and Jacobean England', in *Painting in Britain*, ed. by Cooper et al., pp. 5–28 (p. 6).

Images

Many of the larger institutions which collect miniatures have digitised their collections, with the result that scholars, including myself, have been able to use high-resolution images in the discussion of the art form. However, some of the smaller regional and private collections do not have images of an equally high standard available. This disadvantages my discussion of these lesser-known miniatures but, as much of my argument surrounds these miniatures, they have been included throughout my thesis. Sometimes it has been necessary to use a black and white reproduction. Unless otherwise stated, however, the original object is full-colour.

Collection

In common with pictures 'in great', certain types of miniatures are more likely to have survived than others. Aesthetic changes in the seventeenth century resulted in earlier portraiture being seen as outdated, less collectible, and therefore more prone to loss. The low resale value of portraits in the sixteenth century has led to those examples of the genre that were not kept within families for their personal and sentimental value having a particularly low survival rate.[226] In addition to pictures of their ancestors, private collectors were particularly attracted to examples of famous faces from history who were, in effect, frequently the nobility and the upper gentry. The collecting of these

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[226] Tarnya Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face', in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 157–178 (p. 159).

miniatures may have been encouraged by the growing interest in antiquarianism in early modern Britain.[227]

Private individuals and families with a particular interest in miniatures included the Dukes of Portland, the Dukes of Buccleuch, the Dukes of Devonshire, Lord Hervey the Duke of Bristol (1696–1743), Dr Richard Mead (1673–1754), and Sir Horatio (Horace) Walpole, 4th Earl of Oxford (1717–1797). Predominant within such collections were portraits of royalty, members of the court, and aristocratic family members. Walpole had a keen interest in collecting miniatures of the royal family which had previously formed a part of the royal collection.[228] Painters and their families were also collectors of miniatures. For example, Elizabeth Harding, the miniaturist Isaac Oliver's third wife, inherited a collection of miniatures from her husband which she sold to Charles II.[229] Such private and royal collections need to be viewed not necessarily as representative of the art form as a whole but as reflecting the interests of individuals and dynasties.

From the mid-nineteenth century, national museums and galleries started to collect miniatures through bequests and sales. Accession policies guided the types of artwork which were selected to be included in their collections, with the result that well-known sitters continued to be favoured. For example, the miniatures within the National Portrait Gallery, London, reflect Lord Palmerston's founding government Grant-in-Aid of 1856, justifying the utilitarian purpose of the Gallery:

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[227] For example, Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (London: John Harrison, 1577) details the history of England through its kings and queens, which may have encouraged the collection of their portraits.
[228] Katherine Coombs, 'Horace Walpole and the Collecting of Miniatures', in *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, ed. by Michael Snodin, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, exhibition catalogue (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 183–199.
[229] George Vertue, 'Vertue Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, 18, (1929/30), p. 66.

> There could be no greater incentive to mental exertion, to noble actions, to good
> conduct on the part of the living than for them to see before them the features of
> those who have done things which are worthy of our admiration, and whose
> example we are more inclined to imitate when they are brought before us in the
> visible and tangible shape of portraits.[230]

At the National Portrait Gallery, therefore, the selection of portraits tended to favour

sitters who were considered inspirational. In terms of miniatures this translated into

collecting portraits of the monarchy and the court. The first miniature purchased by the

Gallery was Hilliard's *Queen Elizabeth I* (1572).[231] Together, private and national

institutional collecting of miniature portraits provided a narrative context for how they

were displayed and discussed. Therefore, it is important that miniatures found in local

museums and galleries acquired from less prominent benefactors were included in the

database to provide a comparison with larger and more prominent collections.

Furthermore, works linked to canonical painters including Hans Holbein,

Nicholas Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, and Samuel Cooper are more likely to have been

preserved than those attributed to unknown or unidentified painters. Yet the majority of

British portraits are unsigned and do not have a definitive attribution. Roy Strong lists

358 portraits, both large and small, in *The English Icon*, but only seventy of these are

signed or securely attributed to a painter.[232] Also, attributions are continually revised.

For example, Walpole was a keen collector of works by Isaac Oliver, believing him to

be the first great painter to work in England. Walpole writes: 'Hitherto we have been

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[230] John Cooper, *National Portrait Gallery: A Visitor's Guide* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2000), p. 7.
[231] Richard Walker, *Miniatures: 300 Years of the English Miniature* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1998), p. 12.
[232] Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture* (London: Routledge, 1969).

obliged to owe to other countries the best performances exhibited here in painting; but in the branch in which Oliver excelled, we may challenge any nation to show a greater master.'[233] Katherine Coombs, Curator of Paintings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which houses the national collection of portrait miniatures, however, observes that some of Walpole's attributions to Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver have since been overturned.[234] Likewise, until the mid-twentieth century a number of early sixteenth-century works were mis-catalogued as being by Hans Holbein; this was partly rectified by Torben Holck Colding's *Aspects of Miniature Painting: Its Origins and Development* (1953), which established an *oeuvre* for Lucas Horenbout, who had hitherto been largely overlooked.[235] These previous attributions can help us to understand how later audiences viewed the work, why a collector may have wanted a particular piece, and why some miniatures are more likely to have survived than others.

Conclusion

In summation, the objects in the database can only represent those miniatures that have been preserved and collected and, therefore, are only a sample of those which were once made. Throughout the database analysis it is important to remember this limitation and its possible consequences for understanding the art form in its time. While taking these factors into consideration, it should also be noted that a number of extremely well-conserved examples of portrait miniatures still remain. Some are in their original

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[233] Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol I (first published 1762; this ed. New York: Arno press, 1969), p. 26.
[234] Coombs, 'Horace Walpole and the Collecting of Miniatures', p. 197.
[235] Torben Holck Colding, *Aspects of Miniature Painting: Its Origins and Development* (Ejnar Munksgaard: Thomas Nelson, 1953).

settings and are largely unaltered through time and human agency, representing both unknown sitters and unknown painters. When considered as a whole, this group provides an invaluable record of the art form.

I will start by examining the numbers of surviving miniatures in order to understand the popularity of the art form, and then turn to the key material characteristics of these miniatures. The second half of this chapter will build upon this work by examining who is represented in miniature, looking for the key similarities and differences between the ways in which sitters from different degrees of society could be represented.

The Results and Analysis from the Database

The Number of Miniatures

In order to determine how many miniatures survive and when they were in circulation I have plotted them decade-by-decade according to their dates of production. The first chart shows the number of miniatures in the database for each decade from 1510 until 1650. The blue line indicates the numbers of traditional miniatures: small British portraits less than 80 mm in height and executed in watercolour on vellum. The red line indicates the number of small pictures: small portraits executed in a range of media, up to 327 mm in height and including examples which may not necessarily have been made in Britain. The results of the chart are explored below alongside analysis for the reasons behind miniature production and illustrations of the different types of miniature available in these decades.

Chart 1. The Number of Miniatures in the Database
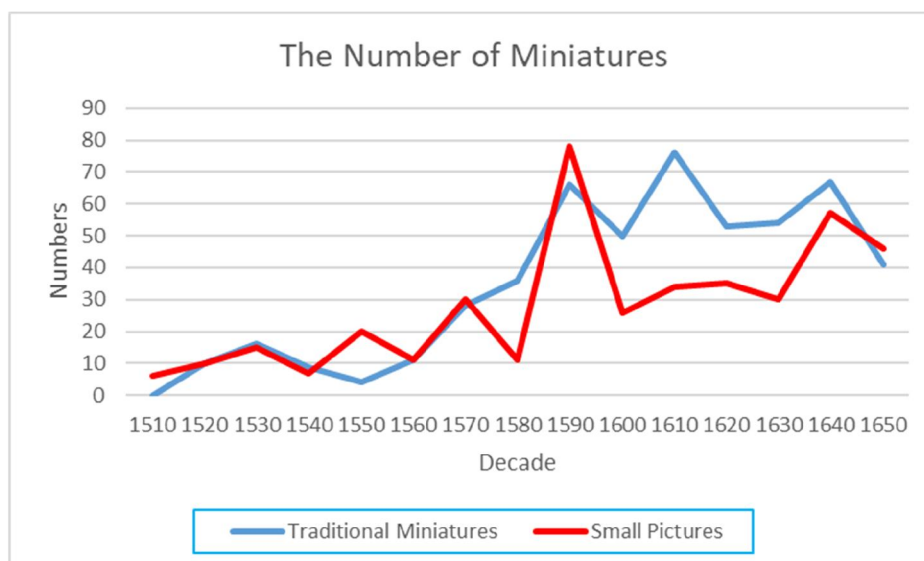
These results do not include the 263 miniatures which do not have an assigned date.

By categorizing the miniatures by the decade in which they were made it can be seen that relatively few examples of the art form survive for the period between 1510 and 1570. This can be partly explained by the deaths of Hans Holbein the Younger in 1543 and Lucas Horenbout in 1544; during these first four decades they painted almost 80% of the traditional miniatures in the database. The remaining miniatures up to 1570 have been catalogued as being painted by unknown painters or by painters whose attributions have not been widely accepted, specifically John Bettes[236] and Levina Teerlinc.[237] These painters produced artworks in other formats too, including easel

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[236] The evidence which attributes the miniature of Sir John Godsalve in the Cincinnati Art Museum to John Bettes is firstly an inscription identifying the painter on the reverse, secondly a note by George Vertue stating that he had seen a miniature of Godsalve by Bettes, and thirdly Richard Haydocke, *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, stating that John Bettes was a limner, Book 3, p. 126.

[237] There is a body of art historical literature on Levina Teerlinc. One of the most recent works is Susan E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485–1603* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). It is known that Teerlinc painted a number of small paintings from the lists of the New Year gifts to the royal court. As yet, however, there remains no one securely attributed extant miniature by the painter's hand.

paintings and manuscript illuminations, which suggests that miniatures were still a minor art form which formed only a part of their work.

Across the period from 1510 to 1650 the fashion for small pictures largely mirrors that for traditional miniatures. Importantly, almost half of the objects in the database are small pictures. This reflects the wide range of small objects which could convey a likeness of a person in addition to the traditional miniatures. The results reveal a general popularity in the production of miniatures beyond works exclusively executed in watercolour on vellum. Some named painters, including Holbein, produced miniatures in a range of media, including those executed in watercolour on vellum and oil on wood. This demonstrates the adaptability of both the painter as well as the art form of the miniature. Records from the royal New Year's gift rolls and household expenses reveal the names of a number of painters who made miniatures alongside undertaking a range of further decorative work.[238] Unfortunately, it has rarely been possible to match up these written records with extant miniatures in the database. Erna Auerbach argues that sixteenth-century painters in Britain were viewed more as craftsmen than as individual artists.[239] This could explain why many of these works are unsigned. Even Holbein, a painter with a Europe-wide renown, was expected to take on a range of duties in his position at the royal court. Evidently this also included the making of miniatures, which he produced for both courtiers and merchant families.

Miniatures were used in political negotiations. In 1526 the Duchess of Alençon sent Henry VIII miniatures of her brother, François I of France, and her two nephews;

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[238] Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London: Athlone Press, 1954).
[239] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 1.

the latter were at that time being kept hostage in Italy by Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (the miniatures are now lost).[240] It appears that the gift was designed to provoke the conscience of Henry VIII to help the young boys by serving as a permanent keepsake. This documentary evidence of early miniatures is important in rounding out the evidence from the database because of the loss of visual evidence. It also provides a context for understanding the different functions of the miniature and hence the growth in demand for the art form.

The chart reveals that whilst all miniatures appear to have been produced in only relatively small numbers for the first half of the sixteenth century, there are an increasing number of surviving examples dated from the 1570s onwards. One reason for this growth in demand is the trend amongst nobles for wearing jewelled miniatures of loved ones or of someone to whom they wished to show allegiance. Figure 25 shows Sir Francis Drake wearing the *Drake Jewel*, a gift which the queen allegedly presented to him, suspended from his sword belt.[241] The jewel contains a small painted miniature of Elizabeth I by Hilliard (figure 26). Strong argues that there was a fashion for wearing miniatures representing Elizabeth I as an expression of loyalty to queen and country.[242] He proposes that medallions showing the face of the queen and struck from base metals with suspension rings attached were intended to be worn by a more socially widespread populace than painted miniatures and cameos designed for a more elite audience.[243]

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[240] Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England*, p. 18.

[241] Diana Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels: Opulence and Intimacy from the Medici to the Romanovs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2011), p. 60.

[242] Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 121.

[243] Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 121. The illustrations used to accompany Strong's argument show only medals struck in silver and gold. However, medals of Queen Elizabeth struck in lead and copper, which have been pierced for suspension, can be found in the British Museum collection.

Strong dates this fashion to the aftermath of the Duke of Orange's assassination in 1584 and the Bond of Association drawn up later that year by the Queen's Council, in which citizens could be made to swear to protect the queen and to avenge any attempt on her life.[244] This argues for the wearing of miniatures by non-noble sections of the population. Figure 27 shows a pierced medal, of the type which Strong discusses, which shares a similar design to the portrait of the queen in the miniature by Hilliard.

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[244] Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 122.

 Figure 24
Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger
Sir Francis Drake
1591
Oil on canvas
1168 mm x 914 mm
National Maritime Museum, London, BHC2662.
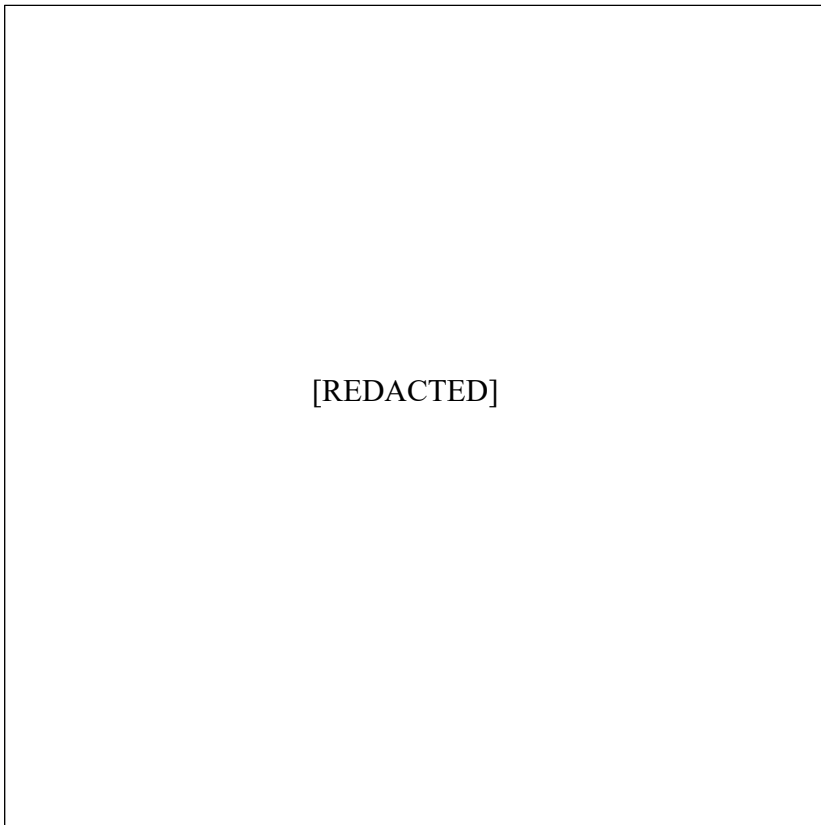
Figure 25
Nicholas Hilliard
The Drake Jewel
Watercolour on vellum miniature, sardonyx cameo, gold frame embellished with rubies and diamonds, hung with pearls
1588
Height, including setting, 117 mm
On loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 26
Unknown maker
Pierced bronze medal showing Queen Elizabeth I (obverse) and a crowned phoenix (reverse)
1558
Bronze
28 mm diameter
British Museum, M.6857

In addition to their political function, miniatures were also popular as tokens between lovers. One of the earliest recorded examples of this type of exchange occurs in 1527 when Henry VIII wrote to Anne Boleyn referring to his gift of 'my picture set in a bracelet'.[245] This particular miniature is no longer traceable. Lorne Campbell suggests that the miniature of Jane Small, the wife of a cloth merchant, may have been painted to celebrate the betrothal which took place at around the same time as the miniature was made (figure 27).[246] The sitter wears a red carnation tucked into her bodice, a flower which was frequently used in portraiture to symbolize love, so this argument seems plausible. The artistic quality of this miniature is as fine as any depicting a courtier and provides important evidence of more modest sitters being depicted in the traditional miniature format within the earliest decades of the art form's origins.

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[245] Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels*, p. 61.
[246] Lorne Campbell, 'Holbein's Miniature of "Mrs Pemberton": The Identity of the Sitter', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXIX (1987), 366–371.

Figure 27
Hans Holbein
Mrs Jane Small
1536
Watercolour on vellum
52 mm diameter
Victoria and Albert Museum, P.40&A-1935.

  The growing popularity of the miniature reflects the growing popularity of easel

portraits, which is particularly marked from the 1590s onwards. Cooper argues, 'By the

1590s portraits of private individuals were becoming reasonably familiar objects in

England for a widening range of the urban elite'.[247] This suggests that the growing

numbers of portrait miniatures might, in part, be accounted for by this relatively new

group of art patrons, who lived in towns and cities and who had purchasing power and

access to painters, which enabled them in turn to commission their own pictures. The

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[247] Cooper, 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face', p. 173.

examination of probate inventories in chapter three of this thesis will investigate in more detail this urban elite by highlighting the ways in which regional householders sought to decorate their homes through an increasing variety of things, including pictures.

Returning to the results of the database, small pictures reveal a less consistent and more sporadic rise in numbers, compared to traditional miniatures, from the 1560s to the 1590s. The large number of miniatures in the 1590s can be partly explained by the inclusion of a series of almost 50 small pictures all painted in this decade. The series represents German sitters and other forebears of the Hanoverian dynasty now in the Royal Collection. The series can be dated fairly narrowly by internal evidence to the years between 1593 and 1597 and appears to be the work of a single as yet unidentified miniature painter who worked mainly at the Brunswick-Lüneburg court. Figure 28 shows the portrait of Ernest I, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, from this series.

[REDACTED]
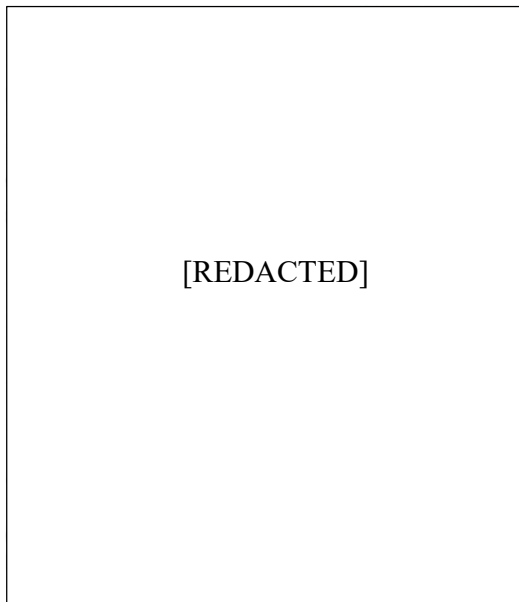
Figure 28
Unknown painter
Ernest of Celle, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg
c. 1595
Watercolour on vellum
69 mm x 56 mm
Royal Collection, RCIN 420435.

There is no similar large series of dynastic portraits depicting British sitters, although miniatures were frequently grouped together to show family trees and appear within genealogical rolls. One example of an illustrated family tree is the Sackville pedigree roll (figure 29).

Figure 29
Miniature of Robert Sackville associated with Isaac Oliver[248]
Sackville Pedigree
1599
Watercolour on parchment
Height 200 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, MSL.41-1981.

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[248] Merryl Huxtable, 'Tethering the Cow: Treatment and Display of the Sackville Pedigree – A Large 16th Century Heraldic Parchment Manuscript', *Conservation Journal*, 42 (2002), 14–17 (p. 14).

This large manuscript contains four embedded portrait miniatures which illustrate the Sackville family's connection with the monarch. The family had only recently been raised to the aristocracy, which may explain why they wanted to visually display their dynastic credentials. It could be used to justify their position to themselves as much as to anyone else. At the top of the pedigree is a portrait of Queen Elizabeth I; below this are portraits of John Sackville (grandfather of the 1st Earl) and Margaret Boleyn. Illustrated coats of arms also show the Sackville's connections to the Howards (Dukes of Norfolk) and the Fitzalans (Earls of Arundel). Pictured at the lower edge of the manuscript is a full-length portrait of Robert Sackville dressed in the full ceremonial robes of the Order of the Garter. These combined decorative elements within the roll demonstrate a portrait painter working in collaboration with one familiar with the painting of arms or a painter who was capable of working across both of these genres. It thereby provides further evidence for the discussion of arms and limning in the first chapter of this thesis.

Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes argue that the production of elaborate pedigree rolls on vellum with painted coats of arms and small portraits became particularly popular in the late-sixteenth century amongst the gentry.[249] These rolls, which illustrated a family's pedigree in diagrammatical form, visually demonstrate the antiquity and the perceived right to power and gentle status of families. William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, however, expressed concerns that painters could fabricate these details

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[249] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 35. Genealogies were also written as lists and represented diagrammatically without portraiture. See, for example, *Genealogies of Earls of England and Ireland* (1581–*c*. 1625), Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a. 266.

without official sanction from the Office of Heralds.[250] Smith argued that 'For every

Painters Shopp, is now become an office of Armes. They take mony for searching for

Armes, do forge and devise both Cotes, Creasts, and make Pedegrees.'[251] Smith

criticizes the painters and other untrained artificers who produce incorrect coats of arms

for their customers in this quotation. Other commentators attacked the customers who

they saw as over-stepping their degree within society by purchasing arms to which they

were not entitled. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the further back a

family could trace its ancestral line, the greater their claim to an elevated status. By

tracing his ancestry back several generations and linking it to the royal family, Sackville

is thereby distinguishing himself from the 'intruding upstart, shot up with the last

night's mushroom' noted by Peacham who was only recently granted, or who claimed

without the proper authority, the right to armigerous status.[252]

Returning to the results of the database, the seventeenth century witnesses

fluctuating numbers of traditional miniatures, despite the popularity of literature on the

subject by Peacham and others. It could well be that the miniatures made by the amateur

painters, which much of this literature was aimed at, were less likely to have been saved

by collectors. It may also provide evidence for Sara Pennell's claim that whilst the

middling sorts constituted an important audience for writing on areas of life traditionally

associated with the nobility, there is no evidence that they actually used recipes as step-

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[250] William Smith, 'treatise on the causes of discord among the officers of arms and the abuses committed by arms-painters' (1606), Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.199, reproduced in Nigel Ramsay, ed., *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 48–67 (p. 56).
[251] Smith, 'treatise on the causes of discord among the officers of arms', in Ramsay, ed., *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 56.
[252] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, ed. by Gordon, pp. 160–161.

by-step guides.[253] Furthermore, it points to the increased availability of miniatures made using different media. It should also be borne in mind that, in addition to the precarious survival rates of the art form, over 20% of miniatures in the database do not have an assigned date and do not, therefore, appear in these results.

Small pictures made in the seventeenth century also show fluctuating numbers in the database, starting with a sharp fall from the 1590s followed by a plateau until the 1640s. This rise in the number of surviving miniatures dated between 1640 and 1650 can partly be explained by memorial images of Charles I, who was executed in 1649. In the final ten years covered by the database there are over 100 miniatures, of which 15 represent Charles I: the most popular identified sitter in the seventeenth century.

The graph reveals that over the longer time span of 1520 to 1650 the number of extant miniatures does increase, although as discussed this is not a steady increase. Importantly, it also shows that small pictures executed in media other than watercolour on vellum not only circulated alongside but were almost as popular as those more famous examples. The patterns for both of these different types of miniature are also very similar, with frequently concurring peaks and troughs. This suggests that the demand for miniatures did follow fashions and that the two different types of objects should be considered alongside one another. Having examined when the miniatures in the database were made, I will now look at the average height of miniatures. This is important because it reveals how the object could have been displayed and, therefore, the viewer's relationship with it.

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[253] Pennell is discussing culinary recipes, but her argument is also applicable to recipes for making colours. Sara Pennell, 'Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century "Britain": The Matter of Domestic Consumption', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 64–84.

The Heights of Miniatures

The following graph shows the average heights of miniatures decade by decade. The

measurements are for the painted surface of the miniature and do not include the frames.

Chart 2. The Heights of Miniatures in the Database
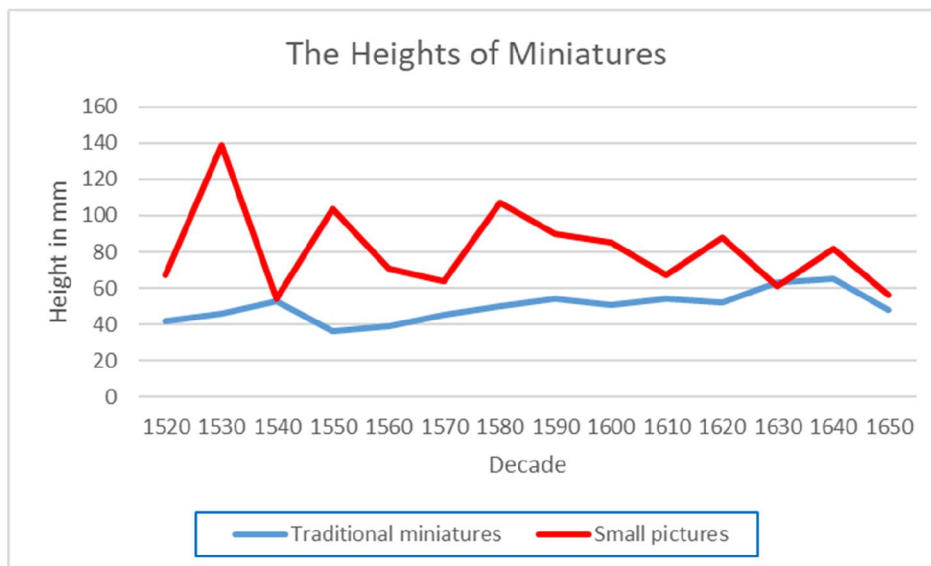
At the start of the study traditional miniatures are an average 42 mm in height,

and by the 1650s they average a slightly larger 48 mm in height. Looking at these

objects over this long time span, therefore, shows only a little change in their size. By

comparing the results of traditional miniatures with small pictures, the database shows

that, on average, these objects have much pronounced peaks and troughs in their heights,

which do not always correspond to the changing fashions in the other sub-group. The

size of small pictures starts at 67 mm in the 1520s and is one centimetre smaller at 57

mm in the 1650s. This suggests an interest from audiences in smaller-scale objects and,

perhaps, a growing appreciation for the aesthetics and technical ability to produce

objects on an ever-increasingly small scale. This fashion can also be seen in the objects

listed in the inventories of the middling sort, for example maps, watches, soft

furnishings with small embroidered details and small books, which will be examined in chapter three of this thesis.

The smallest dated object in the database is a traditional miniature of Charles I which is 9 mm in height. It is reproduced below to its original scale (figure 30). The small size of the miniature demonstrates the painter's virtuosity in working in such a reduced scale. In *Miniatura*, Norgate advises his readers that miniatures should be '*en petit volume*' and 'of an indifferent size, not too large nor yet soe little as I have seene in France, (about the bignes of a penny) wherein the Lines and likenes must be a worke of faith rather than Sence'.[254] Very small miniatures, such as the examples showing Charles I, would also have allowed for the object to be set within jewellery, for example a ring (Appendix 1. no.s. 302, 343 & 1009). Furthermore, the original settings of these particularly small miniatures of Charles I, indicate that they were designed to be worn (figure 31a). They could be revealed to fellow supporters of the king whilst others were fitted with a cover which would allow the image of the king to be concealed (Appendix no.1010). Many were produced to commemorate the king's death, with inscriptions such as 'Remember' or 'Prepared be to follow me'. Figure 31b shows the reverse of a miniature of Charles I, which has a skull at the centre and the Latin inscription around the edge 'Sic Transit Gloria Mondy' [*sic*] [thus passes the glory of the world]. These inscriptions argue for an under-explored function of the miniature as a memento mori.[255] Both miniatures (figures 30 and 31) of the king are based on a similar design, and their

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[254] Norgate, *Miniatura*, p. 67.
[255] See Tarnya Cooper, *Memento Mori Portraiture: Painting, Protestant Culture and the Patronage of Middle Elites in England and Wales 1540–1630*, unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Sussex (2001), and Cooper, *Refashioning Death: Vanitas and Memento Mori Prints from Northern Europe 1514–c.1640: The College Art Collections* (London: University College London, 1997).

small size suggests that both miniatures could have a shared function despite their use of

different media.

[REDACTED] Figure 30
Unknown painter
King Charles I
c. 1649
Watercolour on vellum
9 mm x 8 mm
Scottish National Portrait Gallery, on long-term loan from the Society of Antiquaries, PGL 193.[256]

Figure 31a obverse
Unknown painter
King Charles I
c. 1649
Enamel picture set in a gold bracelet slide
23 mm x 20 mm
Museum of London, 62.120/1.

Figure 31b reverse
Unknown painter
Illustration of a skull
c. 1649
Enamel set in gold bracelet slide
23 mm x 20 mm
Museum of London, 62.120/1.

As well as very small miniatures measuring less than one centimetre in height,

larger miniatures also feature in the database. Works of art which are larger than a

miniature which can be comfortably held in the hands but which are smaller than

pictures 'in great' are referred to today as 'cabinet paintings'. As their name suggests,

cabinet paintings could have been displayed within a cabinet of treasures; they could

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[256] Helen Smailes, Senior Curator of British Art at National Galleries of Scotland, catalogues this miniature as executed in watercolour on ivory in Smailes, *The Concise Catalogue of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990), p. 65. This concurs with the entry for the portrait on the SNPG collections' website at the time of writing <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/8784/charles-i-1600-1649-reigned-1625-1649> [accessed 1 November 2017]. However, Stephen Lloyd, former Senior Curator at the SNPG, catalogues the work as being executed in bodycolour on vellum, in Lloyd, *Portrait Miniatures from the National Galleries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2004), p. 74.

also form a part of a series of paintings of a similar-scale and inserted into wooden panelling. One of these larger-scale miniatures is the *Young Man among Roses*, which has received a lot of scholarly attention (figure 3).[257] Strong argues that the sitter may be Robert Deveraux, 2nd Earl of Essex, and that the miniature 'is perhaps the single most famous portrait of the Elizabethan age'.[258]

Young Man among Roses is by Hilliard, the leading portrait miniaturist of his day. It is painted in the style which is associated with courtly miniatures: finely executed with a minute attention to the detail of the sitter's attire and embellishments. However, in terms of its larger size of 135 mm in height, and depiction of a full-length figure, it is not typical of the art form. This work has apparently been included within scholarly discourse because of its technique, materials, painter, style, and the depiction of the costume and pose associated with a courtier. Whilst it is not a typical example of the art form it has been positioned as representing the pinnacle of the portrait miniature and, by Strong, as the apex of Elizabethan painting.[259] A discussion of this miniature does allow for the consideration of the varying sizes of small portraits which were available for early modern audiences.

Hilliard executed a number of cabinet paintings in watercolour on vellum within ten years of *Young Man among Roses*, but in a rectangular format rather than the long oval. This again points to the unrepresentative nature of *Young Man among Roses*.

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[257] Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, pp. 56–83; Reynolds, *Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver*, p. 29; David Piper, 'The 1590 Lumley Inventory II', *Burlington Magazine*, XCIX (1957), 300–301. The portrait is also frequently used on the front cover of books covering aspects of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century British culture. One such example is Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics, Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). See also Gill Saunders, *100 Great Paintings in The Victoria & Albert Museum* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1985), p. 220.
[258] Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, p. 56.
[259] Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 9. See also Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, p. 56.

These larger miniatures all depict noble sitters, including Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (*c.* 1586); Sir Anthony Mildmay, Knight of Apethorpe, Northants (*c.* 1590–1593); Sir Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (*c.* 1591–1593); George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland (*c.* 1590); Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland; and Robert Deveraux, 2nd Earl of Essex (*c.* 1595). Significantly, all of these seven cabinet paintings represent full-length figures rather than the usual head and shoulders format found in smaller-sized miniatures. Perhaps the depiction of the sitter's full body was chosen to display their ability to produce an heir and to maintain the dynasty. In easel painting at this time, it is still rare to find full-length portraits of non-noble sitters. It is, therefore, the format in which a sitter is represented which is associated with their noble status. Furthermore, the full-length format allows for more attention to be given to the sitter's apparel and accoutrements and for the landscape to be executed in greater detail than the smaller-size miniatures. This attention to detail would have required more time, effort, and experience on behalf of the painter, which would have made these cabinet paintings costlier. This would suggest that these patrons were particularly wealthy.[260] However, if we move away from full-length portraiture and expand the selection of similar-sized larger cabinet miniatures to those painted in different media, a socially wider range of sitters becomes visible.

Small paintings executed in a range of media on a similar scale to Hilliard's cabinet pictures have received less attention. Curatorially, because of their media they

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[260] Similarly, those sitters who appear in easel paintings attributed to Hilliard are also particularly courtly individuals. Examples of these large-scale works include: the 'Pheonix' portrait of Queen Elizabeth I (*c.* 1576), National Portrait Gallery, London; the 'Pelican' portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, *c.* 1573–1577, Walker Art Gallery, London; and, most recently, portraits of Queen Elizabeth I and Sir Amias Paulet, *c.* 1576–1578, Rothschild Collection.

are not categorised as portrait miniatures, but because of their size, neither are they

large-scale paintings. They therefore fall in between the categories of museum

classification. However, they are of great importance to this thesis as not only do they

show the range of different small portraits which were available to early modern

audiences, they also show the faces of sitters who are not associated with the court.

Figure 32 shows a portrait by Holbein which Susan Foister has noted as probably

representing a Hanseatic merchant.[261] Figure 33 represents a sitter in a similar black flat

cap, simple white shirt, and fur lined collar; this suggests that he may be of a similar

status to the sitter represented in figure 32.

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[261] Susan Foister, *Holbein in England*, exhibition catalogue to accompany exhibition at Tate Britain, London, 28 September 2006–7 January 2007 (London: Tate Publishing, 2006), p. 116. Foister attributes this portrait to the workshop of Holbein. The V&A Museum, however, attribute it to Holbein. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78675/hans-of-antwerp-oil-painting-holbein-hans-ii/> [accessed 1 February 2019].

Figure 32
Hans Holbein
Unknown Man, previously identified as the goldsmith Hans of Antwerp
c. 1532
Oil on panel
130 mm diameter
Victoria and Albert Museum, P.158-1910.
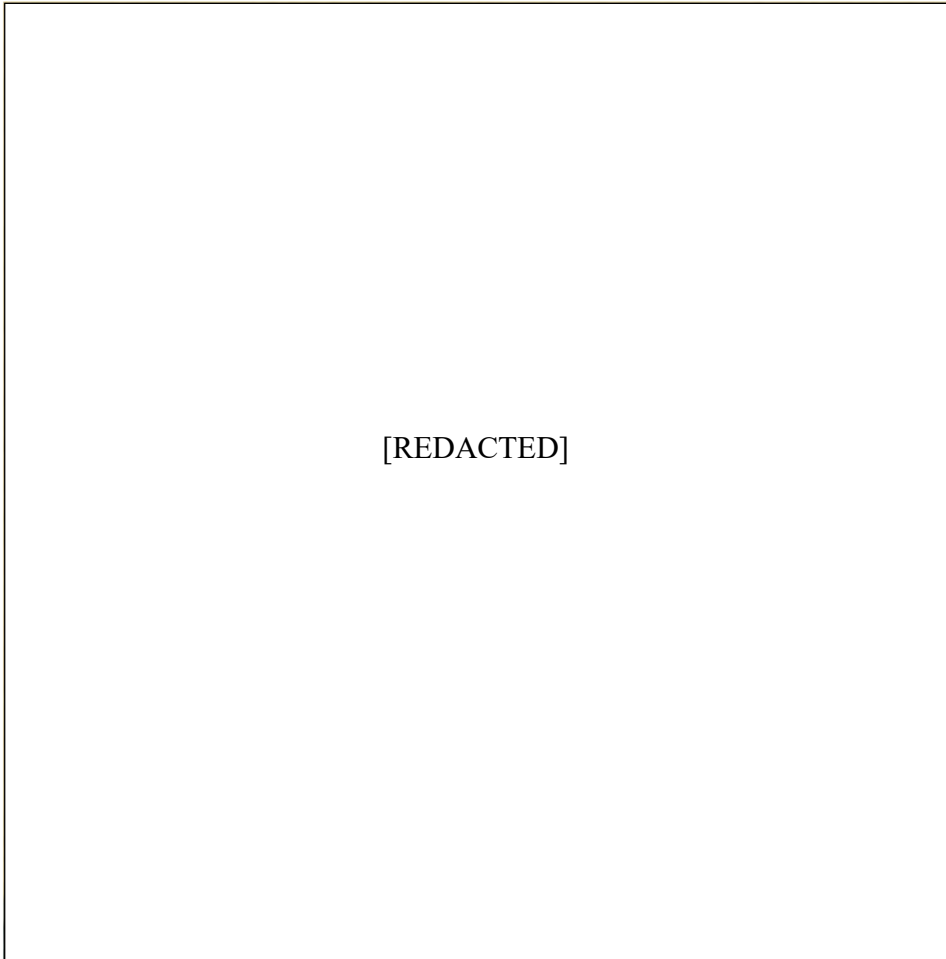
Figure 33
Hans Holbein
Portrait of a Young Man with a Carnation
1533
Oil on panel
125 mm diameter
National Trust, Upton House, the Bearsted Collection. 446801.

The Shapes of Miniatures

Chart numbers 3 and 4 show the different shapes of miniatures in the database. Chart 3 shows the results for traditional miniatures and chart 4 shows the results for small pictures. I have plotted the results decade by decade in order to identify any chronological patterns and developments. The results of these two charts will be considered on the following pages.

Chart 3. The Shapes of Traditional Miniatures in the Database

The Shapes of Traditional Miniatures
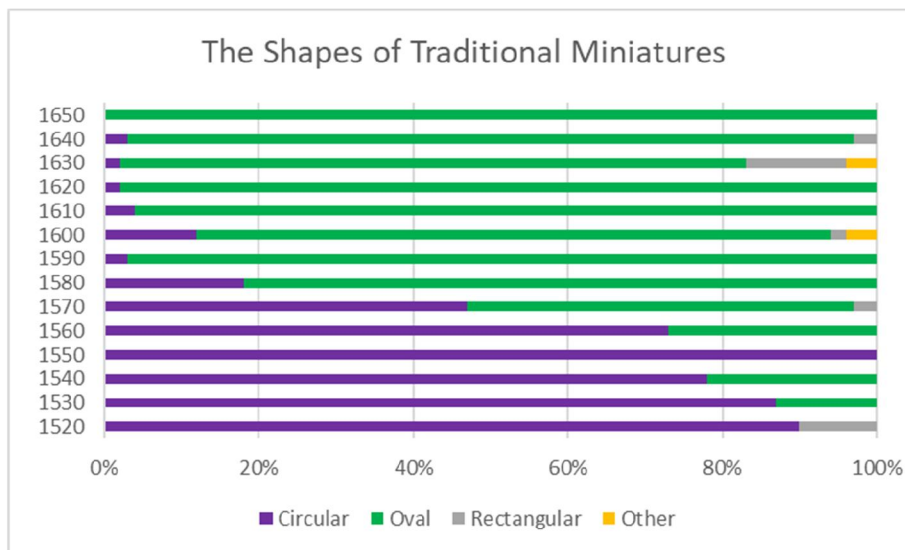
Chart 4. The Shapes of Small Pictures in the Database

The Shapes of Small Pictures
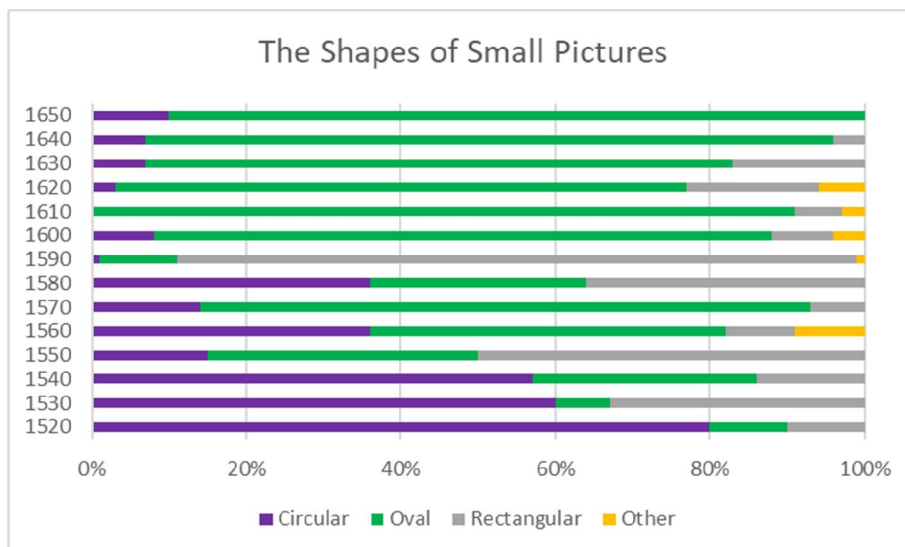
The two charts reveal that the most popular shapes for all portrait miniatures are the circle and the oval, which together account for almost three-quarters of all the objects. For miniatures which were framed and designed to be worn, carried, and passed from hand to hand, such shapes lent themselves to being comfortably handled and possibly set into existing lockets. For all miniatures, the growing popularity of the oval shape is in inverse proportion to the declining popularity of the circular shape. The early popularity of the circular form, which dominated the shape of traditional miniatures up to the 1570s, can in part be explained by the origins of the art in coins and medals, with which they share the same shape. From the 1570s the oval form dominates. This shape allowed the painter to include more of the sitter's apparel and also lent itself to depicting the increased height of women's hairstyles towards the end of the sixteenth and the start of the seventeenth centuries. Once established, the oval form continues to be the most popular shape for traditional miniatures. Indeed, in *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, written in the mid-sixteenth century, Norgate advises his readers that portraits 'are commonly made en petit volume in an Ovall'.[262] The spike in rectangular small pictures in the 1590s is explained by the series of 49 miniatures which focus on the Brunswick-Lüneburg court, which are all rectangular. From the seventeenth century onwards, the oval form dominates the shape of small pictures, which is later than in traditional miniatures. Some of the more unusual shapes in which miniatures appear include a rectangle with an arched top, and a heart.

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[262] Norgate, *Miniatura*, p. 67.

Figure 34
Isaac Oliver
Ludovic Stuart, First Duke of Richmond and Second Duke of Lennox
c. 1605
Watercolour on vellum
57 mm x 44 mm
National Portrait Gallery, NPG 3063.

It is possible that some of the miniatures could have been cut down after they were made to fit pre-existing frames. However, Strong argues that the unusual shape of Ludovic Stuart's miniature refers to the badge of the Lennox family, a heart (figure 34).[263] It appears, therefore, that this miniature was originally intended to be this shape.

In conclusion, miniatures appear in a variety of shapes in the database. The dominance of the circular and the oval form, however, reflect the miniature adapting to the changing fashions in hairstyles and apparel of the sitters. Furthermore, the smallness of the objects, which would have required them to be held in the hand and viewed up close, would have favoured a smooth shape, making the objects more tactile. The early circular form of the miniature may have arisen from medals and coins, but as the art

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[263] Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, 2 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969), vol. 1, p. 264.

form developed independently from these influences, it adopted the oval form, which suited the requirements of its patrons. Deviations from these patterns can be partly explained by mostly rectangular-shaped cabinet paintings, which could have been hung on a wall rather than held in the hand to be viewed.

The Supports and Media of Miniatures

Whilst portrait miniatures executed in watercolour on vellum have dominated scholarly attention, it is instructive to consider miniatures created from a range of other media in order to fully understand the art form. When conducting this analysis there were 58 different categories of media, including oil on leather, oil on wood, oil on tortoiseshell, oil on slate, ivory, silver, and enamel. The most popular medium for small pictures, however, was oil on copper, which accounts for 28% of these miniatures. Copper is a material associated with Spanish miniatures, but frequently British sitters were also represented in this medium.[264] A number of examples of miniatures executed in oil on copper have accompanying mica overlays (also referred to as a 'talc'). When placed on top of the portrait, these semi-transparent overlays transformed the apparel and the setting, creating a new image. The following miniature has an associated set of 19 mica overlays which allow the sitter to be presented in most male and female guises and to adopt different roles within society (figures 35a and 35b). The Royal Collection have identified 45 of these oil on copper miniatures made in the mid-seventeenth century with mica overlays in collections worldwide.[265] The number of overlays in each set varies

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[264] For Spanish miniatures on copper see, for example, those in the collection at Stourhead, Wiltshire, National Trust.
[265] No author, Royal Collection Trust Collection website, catalogue entry, 'RCIN 422348'. <www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search>. [accessed 20 March 2018].

and each represents different costumes, although there are broad similarities between them, including masks, foreign attire, and fashionable dress. This dressing up of a sitter by placing the transparent overlays on top of the master image is not a fashion which would have lent itself so easily to pictures 'in great', and shows the possibilities available to painters and viewers with this small-scale format. It also shows the ability of miniature painters and viewers to experiment with media and format. The copper, with its reflective surface, would have been more visible underneath the mica overlays and, therefore, more appropriate for this type of miniature.

[REDACTED]
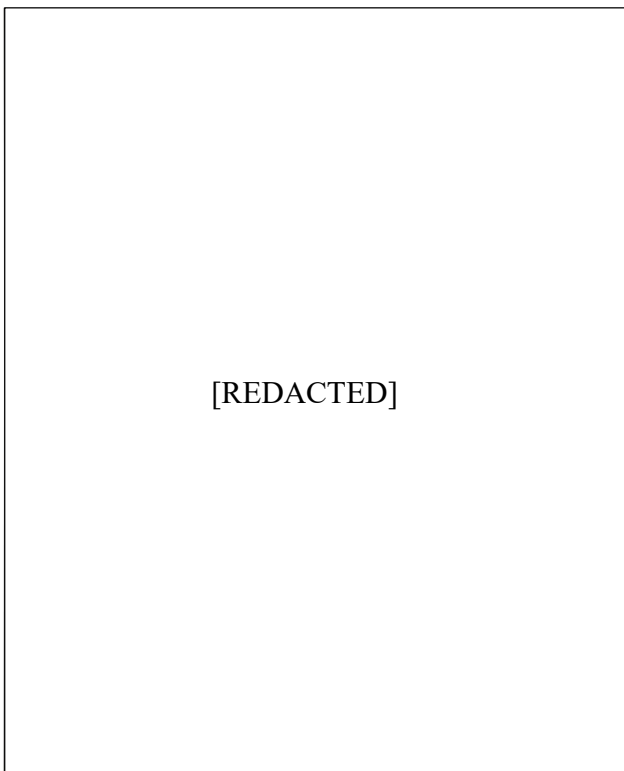
Figure 35a
Unknown painter
Unknown Sitter, traditionally described as Eleanor (Nell) Gwynn
Mid-seventeenth century
Oil on copper
76 mm x 60 mm
Private collection.

The miniature illustrated in figure 35a shows a young, fashionably-dressed sitter pictured in front of a landscape. The mica overlays allow the viewer to dress the sitter up as a crowned monarch in full coronation dress and as a nun. Similar sets of miniatures and overlays represent unknown sitters and King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria.[266]

[REDACTED]
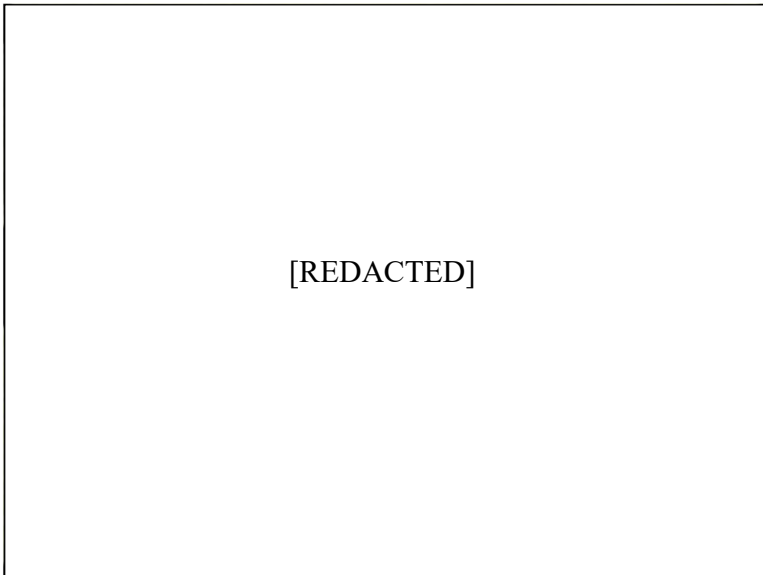
Figure 35b
Unknown painter
Eight mica overlays from a series of 19 associated with the miniature *Unknown Sitter* traditionally described as representing Eleanor (Nell) Gwynn
Mid-seventeenth century
Mica
76 mm x 60 mm
Private collection.

The following miniature is the only one of its type within the database. It shows an unidentified man painted on agate. It necessitates that the viewer positions the

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[266] See, for example, those of unknown sitters in the Victoria and Albert Museum (P.144 to Q-1931, P.10 to U-1978, and P.43-S-1921), King Charles I in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 6375), and Queen Henrietta Maria in the Royal Collection (RCIN 422348).

miniature in a particular way in order to make the image visible. Agate, an expensive

material, may have been selected for its novelty value in this instance.

[REDACTED]
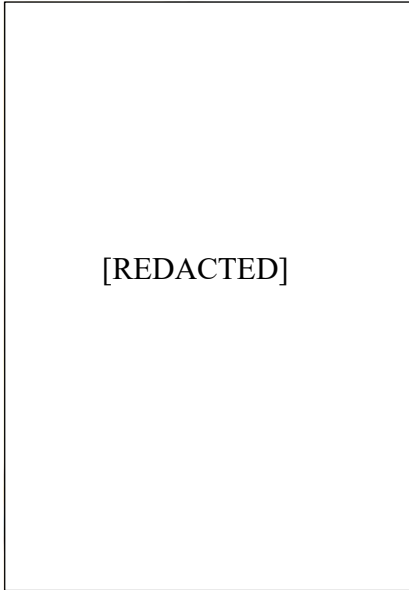
Figure 36
Unknown Painter
Unidentified Man
c. 1650
70 mm x 55 mm
Unknown media on dendritic agate
Cincinnati Art Museum, 2004.391.

There is not a straightforward equation between nobles choosing to be

represented in watercolour and vellum, and non-nobles choosing an alternative medium.

The traditional miniatures of Leonard Darr, who made his wealth from trade, and that of

Jane Small, the wife of a merchant, both of which were made by renowned painters,

illustrate this point (figures 4 and 27). Furthermore, noble miniatures were represented

using a range of media, including silver, oil on wood, and amethyst, and one miniature

of Queen Elizabeth also includes a diamond (figures 37 and 38).

[REDACTED]
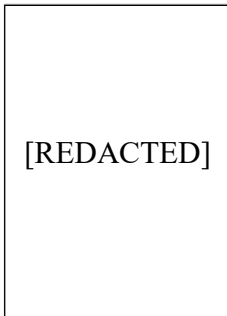
Figure 37
Unknown painter
Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (called)
Early seventeenth century
Oil on amethyst
33 mm x 25 mm
Cincinnati Art Museum, 2004.297.

Miniatures painted on stone supports are relatively rare compared to vellum, wood, and copper. Examples do exist, however, of tortoiseshell, alabaster, and slate miniatures made abroad.[267] The use of a semi-precious stone not only displays the owner's wealth but in figure 37 it also alludes to the high status of the sitter. The use of amethyst also calls to mind the function of the miniature as an item of jewellery and cameo portraits, which were frequently carved in stone. The painter of this miniature has left the background unpainted in order for its decorative quality to remain visible.

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[267] These miniatures are summarised in Julie Aronson and Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Perfect Likeness: European and American Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 188–189. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to view these miniatures at the time of writing this thesis.

[REDACTED]
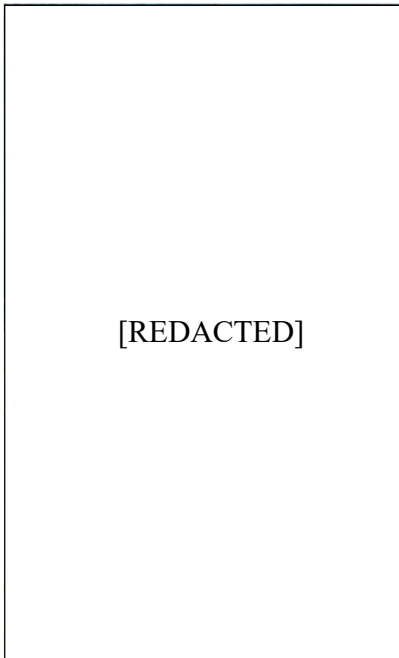
Figure 38
Unknown painter, sometimes attributed to Nicholas Hilliard[268]
Queen Elizabeth I 'Coronation Portrait'
Late sixteenth century
Gouache on vellum, with a diamond in the cross of the orb
89 mm x 56 mm
Private collection.

Figure 38 depicts Elizabeth I at her coronation of 1559, wearing the cloth-of-gold robes of state. She is crowned and carries the orb and sceptre, symbols of her authority. A real diamond has been set in the centre of the cross surmounting the orb. This is the only example in the database of a real diamond being used to decorate the surface of a miniature painted on vellum, although some are set within frames embellished with diamonds and also have simulated diamonds.[269] The real diamond adds to the aesthetic interest of this miniature which, as previously discussed, would

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[268] But see also Susan E. James, who attributes the miniature to Levina Teerlinc. James, *The Feminine Dynamic*, p. 301. Dudley Heath accepts the miniature as being by Hilliard, but in the index to the relevant plate notes, 'attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, but possibly by Levina Teerlinc'. Heath, *Miniatures*, (London: Methuen, 1905), p.104.
[269] Hilliard discusses his technique for simulating diamonds in Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 36.

have been held in the hand and viewed up close, possibly by candlelight, which would have caused the stone to glitter and shine. It is not just the diamond which makes this miniature significant. The background is painted with expensive ultramarine pigment.[270] This piece was therefore designed to stand out and to display its own inherent material value. These materials could also convey information about the wealth and status of the sitter. Whilst the painter cannot display their skill at representing a diamond in this instance, this is shown elsewhere in the miniature in the depiction of different fabrics, including gold cloth embroidered with silver designs, ermine, and other painted jewels.

Miniatures of the nobility were also executed in less expensive materials. In common with the coronation miniature of Elizabeth I, the following miniatures of Mary Tudor and Philip II of Spain are variants of paintings 'in-large' (figures 39 and 40).[271] These pendant portraits of King Philip and Queen Mary are executed in oil on wood. Rather than expensive ultramarine, smalt (made from crushed cobalt glass) has been used to paint the blue backgrounds.[272] Libby Sheldon notes that 'Ultramarine was at least one hundred times more costly than any other pigment'.[273]

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[270] Hilliard notes that the best ultramarine was from Venice, by which he refers to that originating from Afghanistan and purchased in Venice, which cost him three shillings and eight pence a carat, 'which is but fower graines'. Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 33. For the identification of the blue background as ultramarine, see Tarnya Cooper, catalogue entry, in *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*, ed. by Susan Doran (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), no. 28, pp. 42–43 (p. 43).

[271] Unknown painter, *Coronation Portrait of Queen Elizabeth* I (*c*. 1600), oil on canvas, 1273 mm x 997 mm, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5175.

[272] For the identification of smalt see ibid.

[273] Libby Sheldon, 'Palette, Practice and Purpose: Pigments and their Employment by Native and Anglo-Netherlandish Artists in Tudor and Jacobean Paintings', in *Painting in Britain*, ed. by Cooper et al., pp. 128–137 (p. 133). Acknowledging the high cost of ultramarine, Hilliard recommends 'instead whereof we use smalt, of the best', Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 33. However, writing fifty years later, Norgate advises that smalt is too coarse to use for miniatures, *Miniatura*, p. 86. Peacham does not discuss ultramarine in *The Art of Drawing*, which further argues for a different, less wealthy, audience for his publication compared to Norgate and Hilliard.

Figure 39
Unknown painter, after Titian[274]
King Philip II Spain
1555
Oil on panel
86 mm x 64 mm
National Portrait Gallery, NPG 4175.

Figure 40
Unknown painter, after Anthonis Mor (Antonio Moro)
Queen Mary I
1555
Oil on panel
86 mm x 64 mm
National Portrait Gallery, NPG 4174.

Despite the use of cheaper materials, the painter has demonstrated a high level of detail in the depiction of fur, embroidery, and the gold chains. Notwithstanding the variance in materials, it has been suggested that all three portraits were made for a similar purpose; the miniature of Elizabeth I as a New Year's Day gift to the queen, and the portraits of Queen Mary and King Philip to be given to courtiers or to be sent abroad, to commemorate their marriage in 1554.[275] Some patrons may have chosen to distinguish their collection by commissioning patrons to use specific materials, which

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[274] There is a later inscription on the reverse attributing the painting to the miniaturist Louis de Vargas: 'Louis de Vargas pinxit', 'King Philip II Spain', entry, *Tudor and Jacobean Database* <www.npg.org.uk> [accessed 21 December 2017].
[275] Cooper, 'Miniature of Elizabeth I in her Coronation Robes', p. 43; 'King Philip II Spain', National Portrait Gallery, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits Database*.

can add to the symbolic, aesthetic, and financial worth of a painting. But miniatures made in different media, including oil on panel and oil on copper, shared the same function in depicting a likeness of a person within a small scale, which allowed the object to be gifted, easily transported, and viewed at leisure. Furthermore, they allowed for larger-scale paintings to be copied and distributed to new audiences.

The Backgrounds and Inscriptions on Miniatures

Considering the backgrounds and inscriptions on the portraits will help to establish what it was that viewers were looking at when they examined a miniature, as well as providing a context for thinking about the sitter. Within the database there are fifteen categories of dominant colours in which the backgrounds were painted, including white, gold, purple, and green. The two most popular colours for traditional miniatures were blue (54%) and red (15%), both of which colours are particularly found in sixteenth-century miniatures and reflect the jewel-like colours which Hilliard discusses in his treatise.[276] The use of blue also reflects the origins of the art form within manuscript decoration, where sitters including saints and kings were frequently depicted in front of blue backgrounds. Holbein frequently painted his sitters in front of a plain blue background with horizontal gold lettering running across the plane. This can be seen in the miniature portrait representing the wife of a prosperous London merchant, Mrs Jane Small (figure 27). As the oval form of the miniature became more widely adopted from the 1570s onwards, the lettering was either abandoned, or it followed the inside edge of the oval, as can be seen in the Drake miniature of Elizabeth I (figure 25). However,

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[276] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 37.

throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there remained diversity in practice, which is particularly pronounced within the category of small pictures. In this group of miniatures, brown was the most popular colour for the background (20%), with blue and grey only slightly less popular choices (19% each). These results are particularly interesting as sixteenth-century miniatures are often considered to have predominantly red or blue jewel-coloured backgrounds, but by considering miniatures executed from a wider range of media it is clear that painters had a greater degree of choice in the colours that they used.[277] One early miniature which has a brown background shows an unknown sitter wearing a fur gown and a black cap (figure 41). Whilst most inscriptions document the year that the miniature was painted and the sitter's age at that time, this miniature bears the additional information within its inscription, 'REGEM. COLO. DEUM. ADORO. Ao. DNI 1552: AETATIS. S. 46' [I worship the king. I pray to God. In the year of our Lord 1552: Age 46].

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[277] Jim Murrell, 'The Craft of the Miniaturist', in *The English Miniature*, ed. by John Murdoch et al. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 1–24 (p. 8). Small pictures which now show a predominantly red background account for less than 2% of the database.

Figure 41
Unknown painter
Unknown Man, previously identified as Thomas Thirleby, Bishop of Ely
1552
Oil on vellum
60 mm diameter
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, PD.54-1996.

The background of this miniature may once have been intended to imitate marble or to appear lighter and warmer in tone. No technical analysis has been done on this painting, but if the painter had used smalt this could have caused the oil in the paint to change from bright blue to brown.[278] However, its current appearance gives a sense of sobriety to the sitter. Whilst brown backgrounds can be seen in sixteenth-century miniatures, this colour was more commonly used in the seventeenth century. In the following example, the sitter's cap and gown suggest that this may be a portrait of a scholar; if so the brown background appears particularly apt in conveying the character of the sitter (figure 42).

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[278] Charlotte Bolland and Tarnya Cooper, *The Real Tudors: Kings and Queens Rediscovered* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2014), p. 75.

Figure 42
Unknown painter
Unknown Man
c. 1640–1650
Watercolour on vellum
62 mm x 51 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum, 109-1889.

Discussing the backgrounds of miniatures, Norgate advises his readers as follows: 'they are made of all Colours as please Mr. Painter most comonly of blew, sometimes of Crimson like sattin or velvet Curtaines (much in request with Mr Hilliard), but most it is laid with darke and sad colour, to sett off the Picture.'[279] Writing in the seventeenth century Norgate commends the use of sadder (darker) backgrounds because they draw attention to the sitter. In figure 42, the brown background draws attention to the colour of the sitter's hair and his face. Hilliard, however, preferred to use jewel colours, in particular bright blue and crimson red, throughout his palette, so that the whole picture had a more decorative effect (figure 25).

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[279] Norgate, *Miniatura*, p. 76.

Seventeenth-century miniatures also show an increased tendency for sitters to be painted in front of a landscape, which was emerging as a genre in its own right in painting at this time,[280] a fashion which was pre-figured in Hilliard's *Young Man amongst Roses* (figure 3). The inclusion of a landscape could situate the sitter in a specific place in front of a location which had a particular association with the sitter, or it could be more generic. The following example by Isaac Oliver shows a young man leaning against a tree (figure 43). A later variant of this miniature shows the interest in painting amongst amateurs, or perhaps a provincial painter who did not specialise in producing works on this scale (figure 44). Walpole suggested that the sitter may be Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), the background illustrating his country seat, Wilton House in Wiltshire. However, current scholarship has identified the source of the design as taken from the architectural pattern book *Artis Perspectivae* by Hans Vredeman de Vries (1568).[281]

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[280] Landscape backgrounds become popular in the 1630s and can be seen in Samuel Cooper's miniatures.
[281] Graham Reynolds, *The Sixteenth & Seventeenth Century Miniatures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Royal Collection, 1999), p. 50.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
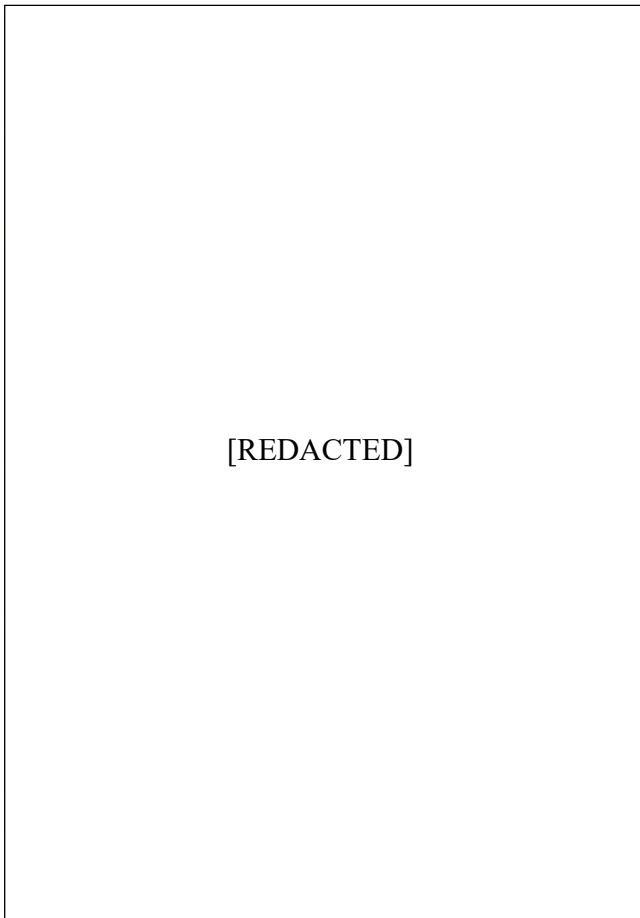
Figure 43
Isaac Oliver
A Young Man Seated Under a Tree
c. 1595
Watercolour on vellum
124 mm x 89 mm
Royal Collection, RCIN 420639.
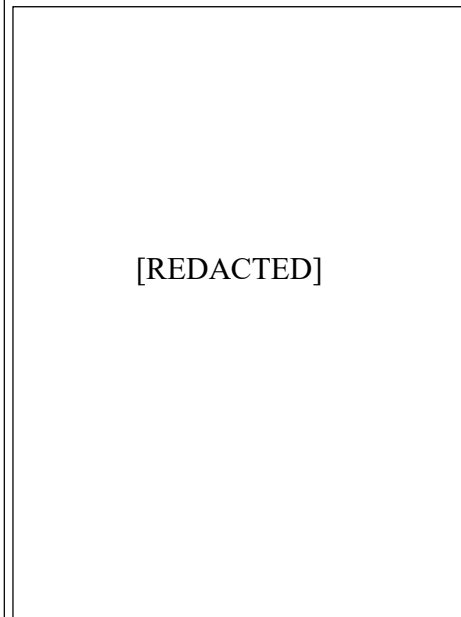
Figure 44
Unknown painter, after Isaac Oliver
Sir Philip Sidney (called)
Unknown date
Watercolour on vellum
83 mm x 60 mm
Private collection.

The inclusion of landscape as a background for the sitters was increasingly used in portraiture more widely. This shows that the art form of the miniature was both developing and keeping up to date with developments within the genre. Norgate discusses landscape in his second edition of *Miniatura* (*c*. 1650), but it is not included in

his earlier edition (*c.* 1626), which was written earlier in the seventeenth century.[282]

Similarly, Peacham's discussion of landscape in *The Art of Drawing with the Pen*

(1606) is in reference to it as an ornament for another subject.[283] In the later *The*

Gentleman's Exercise (1612), however, his discussion of landscape painting is more

extensive.[284] This reflects the increasing use of landscape backgrounds in the first few

decades of the seventeenth century in miniatures and how the art form has changed to

take account of the growing interest in this genre.

The Frames for Miniatures

Frames contribute towards the viewer's understanding of an object and offer a way of

approaching the portrait. They provide both a conceptual and a material setting for the

miniature. The theoretical importance of the frame in relation to the portrait and

understanding how the two work together is highlighted by John Pope-Henessy, who

argues that 'there is little doubt that the Elizabethan would have regarded both portrait

and frame as a single unit'.[285] Hilliard's training as a goldsmith has led Auerbach,

amongst others, to suggest that he may have designed and made jewelled frames for his

miniatures.[286] Although the majority of miniatures are no longer set in their original

frames, a number of examples do survive intact which can shed light on the range of

different materials used, their appearance, and how different forms of setting were

available at both the top and lower ranges of prices. One example of a particularly

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[282] Norgate, *Miniatura*, pp. 81–85.
[283] Peacham, *The Art of Drawing with the Pen*, p.28.
[284] Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise*, p. 38.
[285] John Pope-Hennessy, 'Nicholas Hilliard and Mannerist Art Theory', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 89–100 (p. 99).
[286] Auerbach, *Nicholas Hilliard*, chapter VI, pp. 169–197.

ornate and expensive frame for a miniature is the *Drake Jewel* (figure 25). This setting

includes a miniature of Queen Elizabeth, surrounded by a ruby-studded border, and a

further miniature representing a phoenix. The cover of the locket is set with a carved

sardonyx cameo representing a white lady and a black man. The gold frame is

enamelled and embellished with table-cut diamonds and rubies. Suspended from the

locket is a cluster of small pearls and a single large pearl. The jewels incorporated

within this setting are complemented by the painted depiction of the same precious

stones within the miniature. This jewelled and emblematic setting suggest a context by

which the sitter inside can be viewed as equally precious and rare. The allusion to the

phoenix in connection to Elizabeth I is one commonly found in her iconography and

alludes to the ongoing mysticism of hereditary monarchy, whereby the bird rises from

the fire renewed.[287] The precious stones were also frequently found in reference to the

queen, and held specific meanings in addition to their high cost and decorative effects.

The pearl alludes to purity, the ruby to renewed youth, and the diamond was valued for

its hardness, purity, and ability to reflect light.

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[287] Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 82.

[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
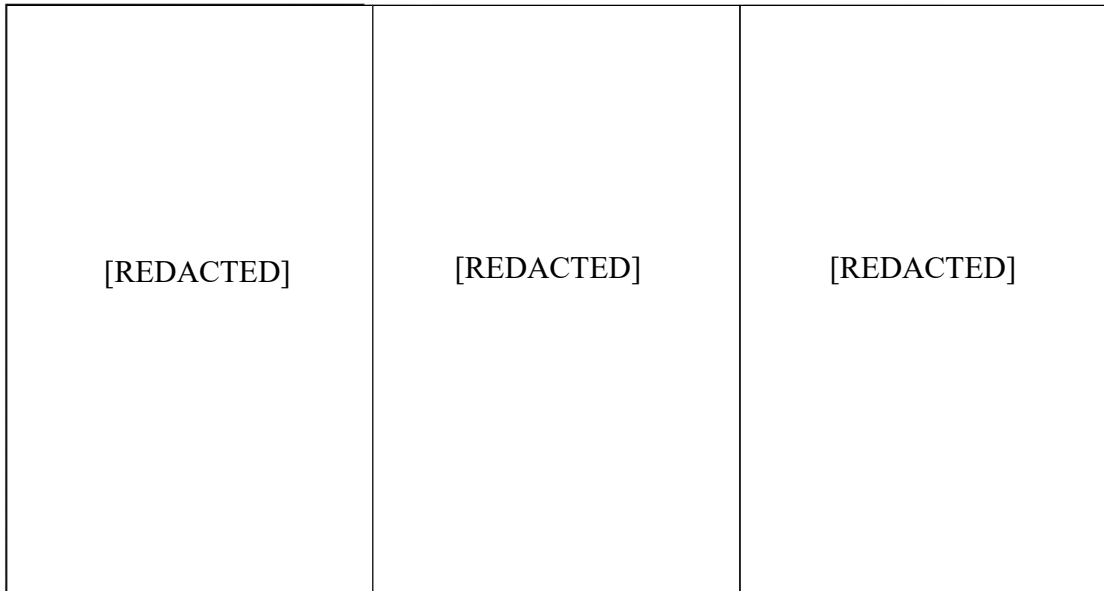
Figures 45a, 45b & 45c
Miniatures painted by Nicholas Hilliard
The Gresley Jewel, containing miniatures of Sir Thomas Gresley and his wife, Katherine Walsingham
c. 1574
Miniatures: watercolour on vellum; Jewel: gold locket with pearls, rubies and emeralds
Height: 69 mm
Private collection.

A further example of a miniature which retains its existing frame is the lavishly decorated *Gresley Jewel*, made from gold and adorned with pearls, rubies, and emeralds. The cover is set with a sardonyx cameo of a black woman and the back is set with a symmetrical design in enamel. Figures of Cupid drawing his bow at the side of the frame alludes to the sitters depicted within, miniatures of Sir Thomas Gresley and Katherine Walsingham, whose marriage the jewel commemorates.[288] The richness of the jewel alludes both to their love and also to the wealth of the two families which this their marriage unites. The suspension ring at the top of the *Gresley Jewel* suggests that these miniatures were intended to be worn by one of the sitters.

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[288] Queen Elizabeth is said to have given the jewel to Katherine Walsingham and Sir Thomas Gresley as a wedding gift. Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels*, p. 73.

Perhaps less lavish but indicating a great degree of skill on behalf of its maker is the setting for the miniature of Anne of Cleves by Holbein (figure 46).[289] The box by an unknown maker has a top which has been turned into the shape of a flower, possibly intended as a reference to the Tudor rose, the family which Cleves married into in 1540, and also to the sitter's position as a potential love interest. The frame would have had a practical function in protecting the miniature from being damaged as it was sent from Cleves to the sitter's prospective husband Henry VIII in England. It also provides a context in which to understand the sitter represented within.

Figure 46
Miniature by Hans Holbein, box by an unidentified maker
Anne of Cleves
c. 1539
Watercolour on vellum miniature in ivory box
Box: 61 mm diameter
Victoria and Albert Museum, P.153:1, 2-1910.

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[289] It is difficult to provide an exact date for the ivory box but academics agree that it was probably made in the sixteenth century. For example, Strong in *Artists of the Tudor Court*, notes that the painting is in its original box, p.48. Foister, however, describes the box as being 'of the Tudor period', *Dynasties*, p. 119 and 'possibly' original to the painting in *Holbein in England*, p. 102. At the time of writing, the V&A website entry for the box describes it as 'likely to post-date the miniature' on account of the skilled turning of ivory which can be seen on the object's lid being unknown in England in the 1530s but being common in Germany at that date. Furthermore, the lack of a gold edge line and paint losses at the edge of the miniature, imply that it was trimmed to fit into the box at a later date.
<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O18966/portrait-miniature-of-anne-of-portrait-miniature-holbein-hans/> [accessed 1 February 2019].

Frames for miniatures which represent non-noble sitters are less ornate than those for courtly sitters. Whilst courtly miniatures occasionally survive within their original settings embellished with jewels and carved ivory, the use of wood would have made the purchase of a miniature more affordable, in addition to presenting the sitter within a more modest setting. Figure 47a shows a diptych painted on wood which retains its original frame. The frame can be closed like a book and the outside of the frame has been decorated in a manner similar to that for books (figure 47b). When opened this wooden frame reveals an independent miniature of a woman set into an oval aperture.[290] In the opposite painted oval, occupying the space where a pendant portrait of the woman's husband is usually depicted, is a painting of a tree with an unidentified landscape representing a church tower and several buildings behind. Surrounding both ovals are spandrels painted reddish-brown and decorated with stylised, golden fleur-de-lys. The outside frame has a painted double border, and a stylised design in the centre and in the four corners, all in gold-coloured paint. Some thought has gone into the design of this setting, although the decoration could have been executed by an amateur painter, possibly the same person who painted the portrait. The book-like frame suggests that the sitter may be well read and its simple, yet stylish decoration suggests that the sitter is of more modest origins than the courtly sitters examined in the bejewelled frames, whilst the diptych format of the object suggests that it could be left open on view or closed and stored alongside books. Comparatively, the loops at the top of the

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[290] The miniature has at some point been secured into the frame with a piece of wire, not visible in the reproduction of the artwork here, and can, therefore, no longer be lifted out without potential damage to the piece. No documentation was available which detailed the appearance of the reverse side of the miniature.

bejewelled miniatures suggest that they were intended to be worn. These different types of frames, therefore, indicate the different functions of these miniatures. The mound of earth underneath the tree, the sitter's black apparel and the absent partner suggest that this portrait and frame were created to call to mind and commemorate a deceased partner. This evidence suggests that further miniatures could have functioned in a similar way for their original audiences.

[REDACTED]
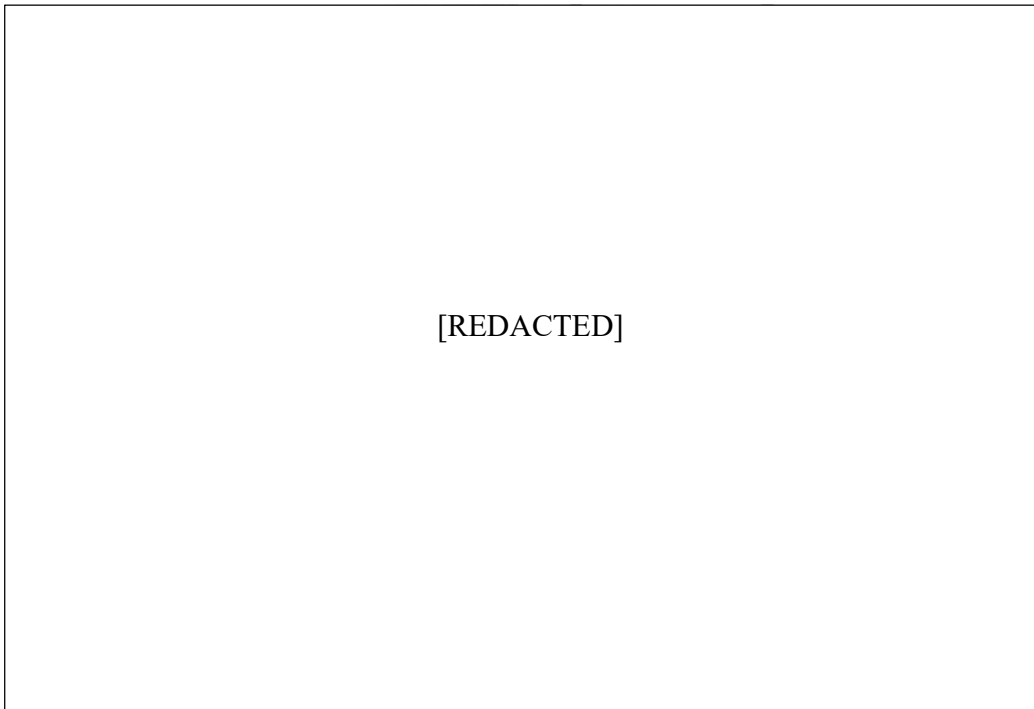
Figure 47a
Unknown painter
Unknown Woman
c. 1640
Paint on wood
Portrait: 90 mm x 60 mm; Frame (closed): 100 mm x 67 mm x 10 mm
Sir John Soane's Museum, London: S53.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
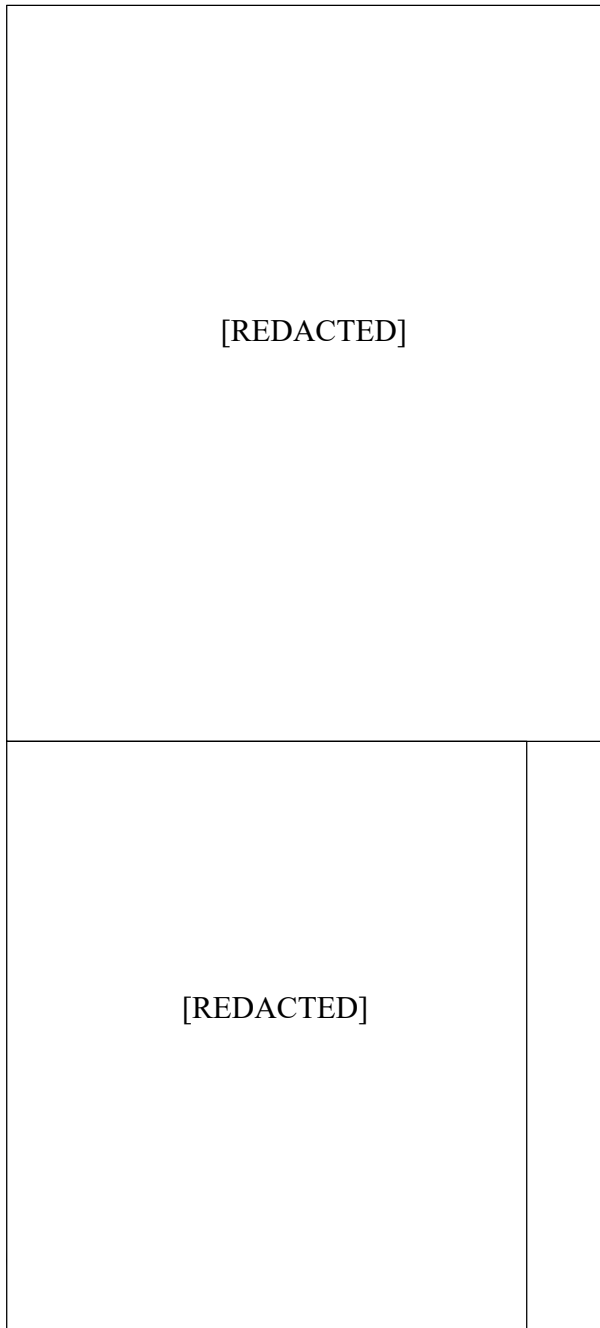
Figures 47b & 47c
Unknown maker
Decorated box frame, front and back
c. 1640
Paint on wood
100 mm x 67 mm x 10 mm
Sir John Soane's Museum, London: S53.

A further example of a miniature which still retains its original wooden frame is a portrait of the humanist reformer Philip Melanchthon (Figure 48).

Figure 48
Hans Holbein
Philip Melanchthon
c. 1535
90 mm diameter
Oil and tempera on wood
Landesgalerie, Hanover.
Inscription: QUI CERNIS TANTUM NON, VIVA MELANTHONIS ORA./ HOLBINUS RARA DEXTERITATE DEDIT [You see the living image of Melanchthon. Holbein fashioned it with rare dexterity]

This frame bears a detailed grisaille image of fauns playing pipes amongst foliage, and a Latin inscription which alludes to the learning of both the sitter and the intended viewer. Foister argues that the decoration shares a number of features with the title page, also by Holbein, for Melanchthon's revised edition of *Loci Communes* [Commonplaces] (1536).[291] She suggests that both book and miniature may have been

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[291] Philip Melanchthon, *Loci Communes*, first published 1521. Foister, *Holbein in England*, pp. 138–139.

intended for the same patron, possibly Henry VIII, who owned a copy of the book. The painted rim and inscription in gold provide a contrast to the largely monochrome depiction of the sitter. The relatively modest wooden medium is in keeping with the portrait, which represents the sitter in a simple white shirt and black jacket. Although a relatively cheap material for a frame, wood had the advantage over jewels of being able to bear written inscriptions in addition to decorative elements. It is a fitting media for Melanchthon, who was famed for his humility and modesty.

Identifying the Painters of Miniatures

Traditionally, art historical scholarship has focused on the single painter as the sole creator of a work.[292] A number of books written on miniatures focus on one or a select few painters, largely viewing their corpus in isolation to the rest of the art form and serving, therefore, to marginalise the work of other painters.[293] But few British painters signed their work. In the database only 16% of the sample include a signature on the painted surface.[294]

One painter, however, who did sign her own work is Esther Inglis (sometimes referred to by her married name Kello; 1570/1–1624), who worked in both England and Scotland. Inglis's work as a portrait miniaturist has received little attention, although more than twenty of her miniatures survive.[295] This may be explained in part by her

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[292] Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[293] Auerbach, *Nicholas Hilliard*; Edmond, *Hilliard & Oliver*; Reynolds; *Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver*. See also the forthcoming book by Elizabeth Goldring, provisionally titled *Nicholas Hilliard: The Life of an Elizabethan Artist*.

[294] This figure does not include miniatures with names written on the back of the work or whose name is inscribed on the frame, as these may have been later additions and possibly erroneous.

[295] A. H. Scott-Elliot and Elspeth Yeo, 'Calligraphic Manuscripts of Esther Inglis (1571–1624): A Catalogue', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 84, 1 (1990), 10–86.

miniatures forming the decoration of larger works of art and her more famous role as a

calligrapher. The following miniature is found within a book of psalms by Inglis,

Argumenta in librum Psalmorum (figure 49). In the portrait the painter represents

herself in the act of writing, holding a pen in her hand, a book open before her and an

ink pot on the table. Statistically this is quite an unusual miniature as it shows not only a

half-length figure, but one who is in the act of doing something. This would suggest that

Inglis took pride in her profession, an argument furthered by the inclusion of her name

in gold letters on the viewer's left-hand side of the portrait and the date 'ANNO 1607' to

the right. Cooper suggests that painters' self-portraits may have been produced to define

their social status and provide exemplars of their work for prospective patrons.[296]

Similarly, A. H. Scott-Elliot and Elspeth Yeo argue that 'It seems clear that her

[Inglis's] manuscripts were not commissioned, but were offered in the hope of reward to

personages of rank and influence'.[297] This miniature is embedded within a book

dedicated to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, which bears his crest on the first

folio, suggesting that the miniature was given to Egerton in the anticipation of such

favour. The inclusion of a miniature of a female painter was highly unusual in the early

seventeenth century. Cooper suggests that rather than being seen as socially

presumptuous or immodest it may have been viewed as novel.[298] The miniature signals

the painter's sense of her personal agency and her ability to adapt her skills to produce

the increasingly fashionable portrait miniature.

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[296] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 193. See also Jennifer Fletcher, 'The Renaissance Portrait: Functions, Uses and Display', in *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, ed. by Lorne Campbell et al. (London: National Gallery, 2008), pp. 46–65 (p. 57).
[297] Scott-Elliot and Yeo, 'Calligraphic Manuscripts of Esther Inglis', p. 14.
[298] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 195.

Figure 49
Esther Inglis
Self Portrait taken from Esther Inglis, *Argumenta in librum Psalmorum*
1607
Watercolour on unknown support
Whole design 75 mm x 85 mm
Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Typ. 212, fol. 9v.

Inglis's work is important as it illustrates the continued use of the portrait

miniature within manuscripts and books alongside its development as an independent art

form. This example also highlights the role of professional female miniature painters.

The database also contains nine miniatures considered to be by the female painter

Levina Teerlinc, but these attributions are not secure (figure 50). Nevertheless, as over

half of the database is comprised of works by unknown painters, many more might have

been painted by women. Vasari mentions the painters Susanna Horenbout and Levina

Teerlinc in England, Clara Skeysers in Ghent, Anna Seghers in the Netherlands,

Catharina van Hemessen in Spain, and 'many other women in those parts have been

excellent miniaturists'.[299] This evidence is important in supplementing the analysis of

the database, given that many miniatures have been lost or remain unattributed.

Figure 50
Levina Teerlinc, attributed to
Unknown Woman, sometimes identified as Mary Tudor
1556
Watercolour on vellum
38 mm diameter
Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Dumas Egerton Collection.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the status of limning was enhanced when it

was increasingly adopted as a gentleman's accomplishment in the seventeenth century.

Some of these amateur painters had access to books, materials, tutors, and pictures to

copy. One such example of a gentleman limner is Sir Balthazar Gerbier (1592–

1663/1667). Gerbier would not have had to sell his work and may have practised

limning for his own recreation. Gerbier, amongst other roles, acted as an ambassador, an

architect, a designer and producer of masques and other entertainments, an art agent,

and, evidently, a miniature painter.[300] In his position as keeper of the picture collection

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[299] Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. by Gaston de Vere (New York & London: Alfred A. Knopf), 2 vols, vol. 2, p. 865.
[300] Jeremy Wood, 'Balthazar Gerbier', *ODNB*, online entry [accessed 27 November 2017], and Murdoch, *Seventeenth-Century English Miniatures*, p. 5.

to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Gerbier had access to portraits to copy, and in his role as an ambassador he also met many artists both in England and abroad, including Rubens and Van Dyck. Gerbier worked with the herald and writer Edward Norgate in obtaining pictures for the cabinet in the Queen's House, Greenwich. The making of miniatures, therefore, fitted with the many accomplishments which Gerbier practised. Whilst he was not a professional painter, his miniature of Charles I shows that he had some skill and was familiar with the art form of the miniature (figure 51). Sanderson, however, describes Gerbier as having 'little of Art, or merit; a common Penman'.[301] Norgate had a more favourable judgement, praising Gerbier's drawing as 'The best Crayons that I ever saw after those soe celebrated Histories done by Raphaell of the banquets of the Gods, to be seen [in the Farnesina] in Rome'.[302] Through his many contacts, Gerbier was in a privileged position to view and copy work by leading artists whose work was in courtly collections as well as meeting those artists in person. It is unlikely that Charles I would have sat for Gerbier. His miniature resembles the standard format of pictures of Charles as a prince. John Murdoch notes that Gerbier's miniature was probably copied from an engraving by Simon van de Passe dated 1613.[303]

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[301] Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 15.
[302] Norgate, *Miniatura*, p. 74.
[303] Murdoch, *Seventeenth-Century English Miniatures*, p. 9.

Figure 51
Charles I, perhaps as the Prince of Wales
Sir Balthazar Gerbier
c. 1616
Watercolour on vellum
50 mm x 39 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum, P.47-1935.

In his treatise, Hilliard advises students to begin their practice by copying other artist's works, guidance which Gerbier appears to have followed.[304] In the seventeenth century Peter Oliver copied paintings in miniature for Charles I's collection. Gerbier perhaps, made copies as part of his own practice. The making of miniatures as part of a gentleman's duties or private pastime can also be seen in the work of James Palmer, Matthew Snelling, and Nathaniel Thach. Snelling and Thach, whilst both connected to the court, did accept money for their miniatures. John Murdoch notes that Snelling (*c*. 1621–1678) took a fee for instructing students in limning in London and in Suffolk.[305] This argues for the interest in making miniatures in London and in the regions.

In order to understand the full range of miniatures it is instructive to consider those painters who may not have signed their work but whose names have been

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[304] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 37.
[305] John Murdoch, 'Matthew Snelling', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 27 November 2017]

attributed to miniatures. These names may not be as familiar as others, but they do argue for a number of different hands involved in this work and whose lives and other work little is known. This evidence suggests that there were many more painters of portrait miniatures than have hitherto been examined. The limited data that is available linking painters to artworks suggests that the making of miniatures was frequently only a small part of their work and that painter's names are frequently associated with work in other media too. An examination of the miniatures also suggests that they could have been made by amateur painters, perhaps those readers whom the literature on painting was aimed at, and regional painters who did not follow the courtly aesthetic of small finely detailed watercolour portraits, but rather painted larger, cruder oil and tempera portraits. This questions Strong's framework for the exclusive and secretive nature of miniature production, where the techniques are passed on from master to pupil.[306]

When You See Me, you know me: Identifying Sitters

The frontispiece of Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You know me* (1613) includes a copy of Holbein's full-length portrait of Henry VIII (figure 52). Holbein depicted the king with broad shoulders, standing with his legs wide apart, and small eyes looking out to the viewer. This portrait demonstrates the use of small portraiture within books as both decoration and as a marketing tool by the publishers. Charlotte Bolland and Cooper discuss the image of Henry VIII in easel paintings and in print as being instantly familiar to both contemporaries and viewers today.[307] This argument can be extended to

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[306] Roy Strong, 'From Manuscript to Miniature', in *The English Miniature*, ed. by Murdoch et al., pp. 25–84.

[307] Bolland and Cooper, *The Real Tudors*, p. 55

include portrait miniatures of the king too. The database contains 28 miniatures of
Henry VIII. The likeness of Henry VIII and subsequent monarchs appeared in images
within a range of media and which had a wide audience. Portraits of these well-known
and well documented figures from history were evidently collectible and enjoyed an
afterlife. The result of this is that miniatures of courtly figures are relatively easy to
identify within the database. Comparatively, miniatures showing the faces of unknown
non-courtly figures would have enjoyed a much smaller audience and once they left the
ownership of friends and family, less likely to be collected.
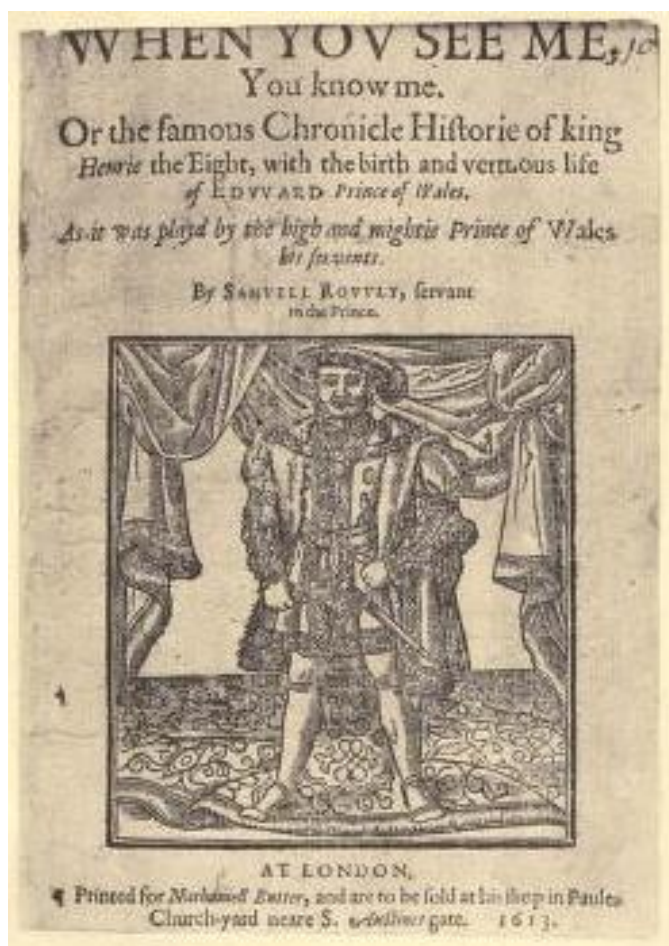
Figure 52
After Holbein, unidentified engraver
Frontispiece of Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You know me*, including the portrait of Henry VIII
(London: Nathaniel Butter, 2nd edition of 1613).

The following chart shows the most commonly identified sitters within the miniature database, including both traditional miniatures and small pictures. The results presented in the chart will be explored below.

Chart 5. The Most Commonly Identified Sitters in the Database

The Most Commonly Identified Sitters in the Database

Number of Miniatures
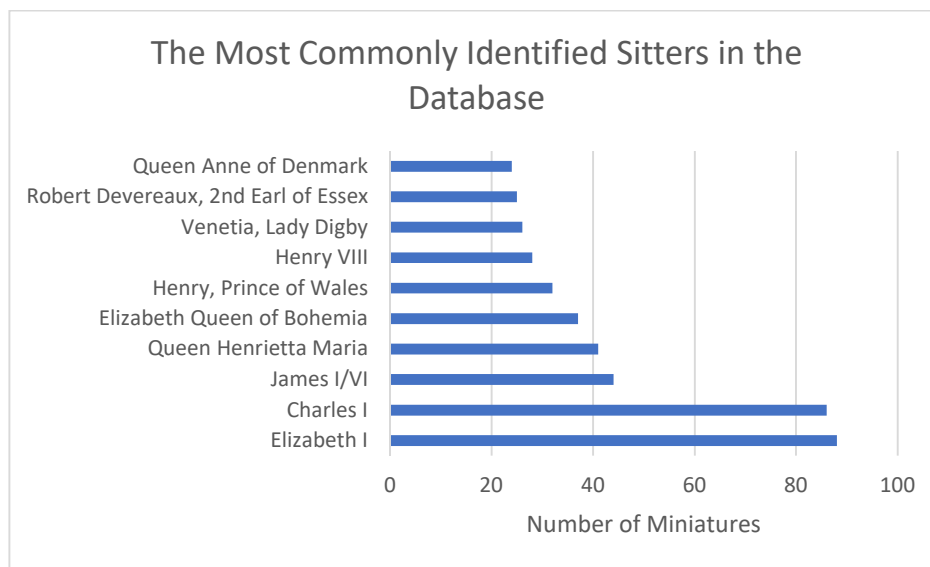
Chart 5 illustrates that the most frequently identified sitters within miniatures are all connected to the royal court. This evidence concurs with scholarship which positions the art form as representing the faces of the royal court. However, these numbers need to be considered alongside the caveats detailed earlier in this thesis: that the database only includes examples of surviving miniatures which have been considered valuable by collectors. Furthermore, just under half of the miniatures in the database represent unidentified sitters or sitters who are not noble (i.e. the gentry and those below them in degree). These miniatures are the examples of the art form which receive much less scholarly attention. The work of Cooper, which focuses on easel paintings, demonstrates that non-noble individuals were increasingly represented in portraiture in the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries.[308] This thesis argues that a similar pattern can be seen in portrait miniatures too.

In his treatise, Hilliard reveals how he painted the 'basser sort', who, he notes, lack the courtesy and gentility of their social superiors. Hilliard writes that whilst the

> better and wiser sort will have a great patience, and marke the proceedinges of the Workman, and never find fault till albe finished […] the Ignoranter and basser sort, will not only be bould precisly to say, but vemently sweare that it is thus or soe, and sweare soe contrarely, that this volume would not containe the rediculious absurd speeches which I have hard uppon such occasions.[309]

Whilst in his treatise Hilliard positions his ideal patron as 'princes' for whom he depicts 'noble sitters', he also acknowledges that he must work for the market. The database contains a number of examples of unidentified or non-noble sitters painted by Hilliard, including the portrait of Leonard Darr discussed in the introduction (figure 4). This suggests that for those with the money, it was possible to be painted by a leading miniaturist who also painted portraits of courtiers. Hilliard's comments given in the introduction to this thesis also reveal how he trained painters who supplied the 'common sort' with their portraits. Hilliard, and his pupil, Isaac Oliver, painted both courtiers and those of more modest status.[310] The faces represented in the following three miniatures, all by Oliver, show people who are not recognisable from other media. They all wear a similar style hat to that worn by women of professional families in easel paintings and by Leonard Darr, which Ashelford has identified as being indicative of professional

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[308] Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*.
[309] Kinney, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning*, p. 35.
[310] Haydocke notes that Isaac Oliver was the 'scholar' of Hilliard 'for Limming', *The Artes of curious Paintinge*, p. ix.

people.[311] This suggests that the following unknown sitters may, therefore, be of a similar non-courtly status.
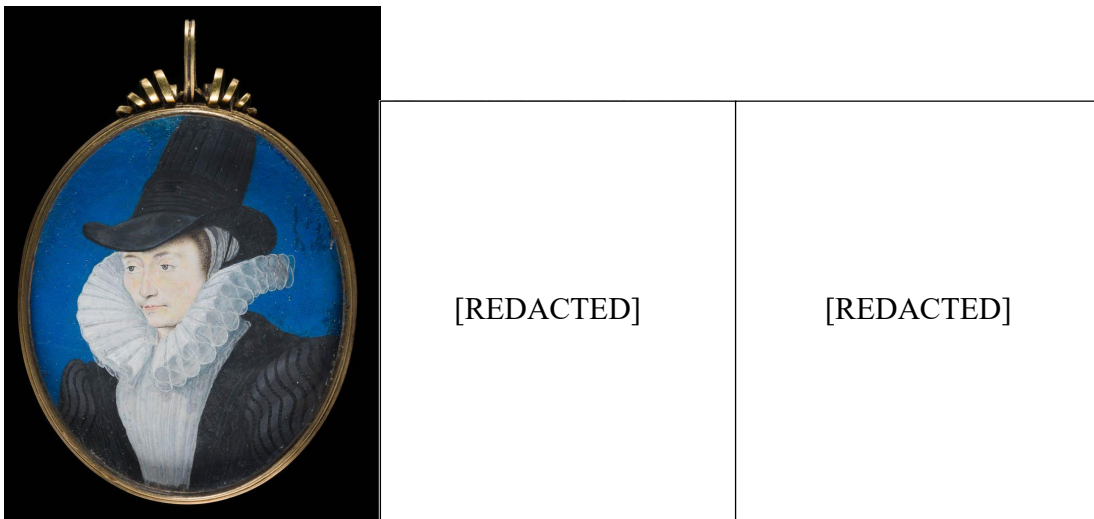
Figure 53
Isaac Oliver
Unknown Woman
c. 1590
Watercolour on vellum
60 mm x 50 mm
Fitzwilliam Museum, PPD.3883.

Figure 54
Isaac Oliver
Unknown Woman
1587
Watercolour on vellum
55 mm x 44 mm
Private collection.

Figure 55
Isaac Oliver
Unknown Woman
c. 1590–*c*. 1595
Watercolour on vellum
50 mm x 43 mm
H.R.H. Princess Juliana of the Netherlands.

It was not the courtliness of the individual which guaranteed being portrayed within a traditional miniature in a finely detailed style; the wealth of the patron and the increasing access to painters and interest in pictures by individuals in the towns and cities were also important factors. These traditional miniatures of non-courtly individuals are important evidence, alongside those painted by amateur and regional painters, for positioning the art form within its original social and cultural framework.

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[311] Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth*, p. 116. For a similar style high-crowned black felt hat, see Esther Inglis, *Self-Portrait* (1595), oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery Scotland, PG 3556; unknown painter, *Joan Alleyn*, (1596), oil on panel, Dulwich Picture Gallery, DPG444; and unknown painter, *A Child and His Nurse* (possibly Elizabeth Field; *c*. 1580s–early 1590s), oil on panel, private collection.

'Aping' the Nobility

As demonstrated, the middling sort are depicted in miniature throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Holbein, Hilliard, and Oliver were all employed by the court, yet they also portrayed sitters of more modest degrees. Regional or amateur painters also depicted the middling sort and the nobility, often in a different style and using different media. I have also argued that the middling sort may have enjoyed reading about painting and practiced it for their own enjoyment, again a fashion which was also evident amongst courtiers. As much anxiety surrounded the middling sort dressing beyond their degree, I will now turn to focus on the sitter's wardrobe as depicted within the miniatures. The costume that a sitter wears can inform as to how they see themselves and how they wish to be portrayed. By comparing miniatures with others from the database, it can be revealed whether an individual is abiding by the sumptuary laws and social mores, identifying with a group or asserting their own individuality, and we can consider why such decisions are taken. This will establish if certain degrees of people can be identified with particular choices in materials and embellishments, and how this develops over the timespan being studied, 1520 to 1650. Looking at the miniature in isolation, we can admire the artist's skill in being able to depict specific fabrics and detailed embellishments, but when viewed as part of a statistical breakdown of over one thousand miniatures, we can understand what the miniature would have revealed to contemporaries and how such factors developed.

Certain items of clothing represented a significant financial outlay and it is perhaps not surprising that a sitter would want to look their best and 'dress up' in their finest clothes for their portrait. As a contemporary put it, 'When your posterity shall see our pictures they shall think we were foolishly proud of apparel'.[312] Jane Ashelford argues that an elevation in status was often celebrated by the commissioning of a portrait and the acquisition of new items of apparel, again linking the wardrobe and the portrait.[313] The former ironworker, alderman, property owner, and three-times Mayor of Norwich Thomas Herne sat for Hilliard for his portrait around 1610 (figure 56). Herne may have commissioned the portrait to celebrate his knighthood in 1610. The black doublet which Herne is pictured in appears to be silk, which was a particularly expensive fabric. His outfit and his portrait, therefore, work together to commemorate Herne's achievements.

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[312] R. Verstegen, *Antiquities Concerning the English Nation* (1605), quoted in Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I*, p. 7.
[313] Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society 1500-1914* (London: National Trust, 1996), p. 31.

Figure 56
Nicholas Hilliard
Thomas Herne
Watercolour on vellum
c. 1610
51 mm x 41 mm
Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery, NWHCM: 1962.21.

In 1599 Astrologer Simon Forman used both portraiture and apparel to fashion and commemorate his new stage in life. Forman was recently married, had purchased the leases on multiple houses, a 'purple gowne', a 'cap', 'cote', 'taffety cloke' and velvet breeches in addition to having his 'own picture drawen' [commonly used to refer to the execution of painted portraits] and other 'pictures'.[314] Writing in the seventeenth century, the diarist and naval administrator Samuel Pepys reveals how he hired a silk

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[314] Forman, quoted in Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, p. 56.

gown for his painting in large by John Hayls.[315] Selecting and being painted in the best

clothes was clearly important for Pepys even if the apparel did not belong to him. The

easel painter Peter Lely has a selection of fabrics in his studio which could have been

used for both drapery and adorning his sitters. This evidence argues for the importance

that both sitter and artist placed upon apparel in the creation of portraiture and how they

worked together to fashion an individual. The examples of Herne and Forman highlight

their use of portraiture and apparel to commemorate an important new stage in their

lives.

Sitters would not need to be present during the execution of the whole portrait;

details including clothes and jewellery could be modelled by an assistant or a manikin

which would allow the painter more leisure in depicting these items without the sitter

being there.[316] Norgate's account of miniature painting reports that ideally three sittings

were required. The first of two hours to outline the face, the second of between three and

four hours to execute the details of the face, and the final sitting of between two to three

hours to fill in the shadows.[317] Norgate is referring to a particular type of miniature and

the ideal of painting from life. Other times painters could work from designs within

other media, face patterns or could copy existing art works.

The cost of clothing could go some way to explain why much attention is given

to capturing the details of apparel within some miniatures. Apparel could be expensive

to purchase and costly to maintain. Seven doublets and two cloaks belonging to the Earl

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[315] John Hayls, *Samuel Pepys*, oil on canvas, 1666, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 211. Pepys, *Diary*, 17, 20, 23, 28 and 30 March 1666.
[316] Whilst living in London the painter Gerard ter Borch received a manikin from his father, also a painter, in 1635. Letter from Gerard ter Borch the Elder to his son dated 3 July 1635. Quoted in Anna Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2015) p. 181.
[317] Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. by Muller and Murrell, pp. 71–76.

of Leicester were valued at £543.[318] Janet Arnold calculates that Queen Elizabeth's

wardrobe expenses were £9,535 each year for the period 1599 to 1603, while those for

James I were a much higher £36,377 each year for the period 1603 to 1608.[319] In

regional probate inventories, which list the possessions of the non-nobility, items of

clothing are often listed together with a collection valuation. However, even a small

amount of silk, five ounces, is valued at 4s 7d in a haberdasher's inventory of 1589.[320]

This evidence of the significant cost of clothing argues that it is instructive to pay

attention to the items of apparel which sitters are depicted wearing in their miniatures.

Even with social mobility, society remained highly stratified, and the clothes that

a person could wear were circumscribed. Within these limits, an individual's wardrobe

allowed them to construct, maintain, and reinforce their own agency, as in portraiture.

Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass argue:

> Portrait painters composed identities for their sitters not only by concentrating on
> the nuances of faces but also by combining an international range of substances
> for artwork, material objects, and garments to represent the sitters' positions in a
> world of complex economic and political circulation.[321]

Jones and Stallybrass' comments are important in highlighting the significant role

played by painters in constructing individual identities within portraiture. The clothes

that a sitter is painted in may have been borrowed or relied upon the imagination of the

painter. However, the sitter, as the patron, would have made decisions regarding the

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[318] Anna Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (London: Royal Collections Trust, 2013), p. 28.

[319] Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), p. 1.

[320] Edwin and Stella George, eds, *Bristol Probate Records, Part One: 1542–1650* (Bristol Record Society, 2002), inventory of Robert Clement, p. 6.

[321] Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 49).

apparel which they wished to be painted in. This can reveal how sitters wanted to see themselves represented and how they used clothing to fashion their identities.

The Acts of Apparel: Fur

The acts of apparel sought to legislate what types of materials a person could wear according to their wealth and degree. These acts are part of what is frequently referred to as 'sumptuary legislation' by historians, covering further aspects of the individual's private life including what they could eat, drink, and what they could play.[322] An Elizabethan proclamation of 1597 stated that the acts of apparel were needed because there was, at that time, considered to be a 'confusion of degrees, where the meanest are as richly dressed as their better'.[323] Fur and embroidery were both included within sumptuary legislation and were arguably, therefore, considered to be being mis-used to signal erroneous wealth and status. This thesis will focus first on fur and then embroidery. By examining who was wearing these items in miniatures I shall be able to investigate any evidence of individuals breaking the law or being presumptuous in their dress. Again, I shall compare miniatures representing the nobility and the non-nobility in order to understand how people were represented in comparison to their peers and sitters of different degrees.

The 1533 act of apparel stipulated that only earls and those above them in rank could wear sable, that no one below the rank of a baron could wear leopard fur, that only

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[322] Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, unpublished PhD thesis, Johns Hopkins University (1923), p. 9; Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I*, chapter 5, 'Each Degree has his Fashion: Dress and Social Status'; and Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (London: Macmillan, 1996).
[323] Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, p. 278.

knights and those above them could wear imported furs except foins, grey genettes, and budge, and finally that no one below the rank of a husbandman could wear any type of fur unless they were wearing livery or clerical attire. There was some flexibility within these laws, especially concerning the wearing of clothing that had been gifted from master to servant. The decision to be painted in fur, therefore, can reveal what degree the sitter identified themselves as belonging to and offers the possibility to consider what their motives may have been in being represented in this manner.

In the following miniature dated to *c*. 1535, Thomas Wriothesley is wearing both an unidentifiable brown fur and either a brown ermine or a leopard fur collar (figure 57). Wriothesley was knighted in 1540, made a knight of the garter in 1545 and created Earl of Southampton in 1547.[324] Therefore if the brown fur is sable he would be flouting the 1533 act of apparel, which ruled that only earls and those above them could wear this. As an earl, Wriothesley would have been permitted to wear leopard fur, but he was not granted his earldom until 1547, a date at least ten years after this miniature is catalogued as being made. However, the fur depicted may have been intended to be brown ermine. Whilst there is no act in place restricting the wearing of ermine at this time, it is associated with coronation robes (figure 38) and in wearing this Wriothesley may be seen as presumptuous even if he was not transgressing the law. Wriothesley worked closely with King Henry VIII as a member of the privy council, and as such the king may have granted him the liberty to wear these furs. In being pictured wearing these furs Wriothesley is, therefore, displaying his wealth, his close relationship with the king, and

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[324] Michael A. R. Graves, 'Thomas Wriothesley, first earl of Southampton', *ODNB* online entry [accessed 11 July 2015].

his access to apparel which would be considered luxurious, and possibly ostentatious, by his contemporaries. This provides further evidence for Maria Hayward's argument that 'most of the evidence of breaking or avoiding the [sumptuary] law related to the nobility and the gentry'.[325]

Figure 57
Hans Holbein
Thomas Wriothesley, later First Earl of Southampton
c. 1535
Watercolour on vellum
28 mm x 25 mm (cut down from original size)
Metropolitan Museum, New York, 25.205.

[REDACTED]
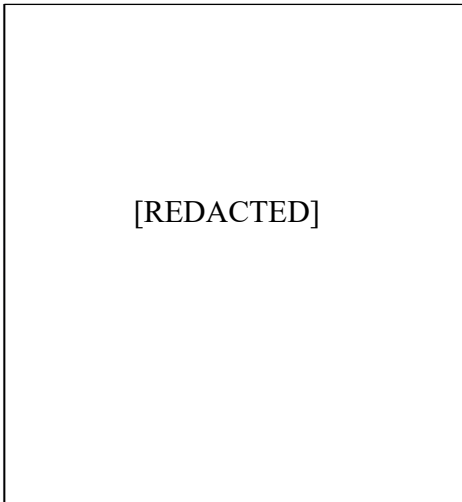
Figure 58
Unknown painter
Unknown Man, traditionally identified as Sir Henry Guildford
c. 1530–1535
Watercolour on vellum

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[325] Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), p. 17.

79 mm x 67 mm
Royal Collection, RCIN 420042.

The sitter represented in figure 58 is unknown, so it is not possible to see if he is transgressing the sumptuary laws. The right to carry a sword was only granted to individuals of the degree of gentleman and above; in this miniature the painter has included the sword belt and the hilt of a sword. Strikingly, the sitter is represented wearing a white fur-lined gown, which emphasises the sitter's broad shoulders and provides a dramatic visual contrast between the solid blue background, the black of his bonnet, and his blue embroidered doublet. The inclusion of fur therefore adds to the aesthetics of the miniature as well as our knowledge of the sitter. It suggests that the sitter identified with people who could afford to purchase, and keep clean, a white fur.

Unlike the nobility, who are depicted wearing expensive and exclusive types of furs, more modest sitters are usually represented wearing brown fur. The precise type of fur is less easy to identify in the miniature *Unknown Man* (figure 41). The fact that he is wearing fur, could afford to purchase fur, and chose to be painted wearing this rather than anything else is important. It argues that the sitter chose to identify himself with the degree of person who could wear this item of clothing. Some merchants traded in goods which according to the sumptuary laws they had no right to wear themselves. However, Hanseatic merchants were granted special privileges which exempted them from these laws. The unknown sitter, possibly a merchant, in figure 32 is wearing two different types of fur in his portrait. Not only does this suggest that the sitter was very wealthy but also that he was fashionable and had access to these goods.

In the database, less than 10% of sitters are depicted wearing fur. Female sitters were most commonly painted with fur lined sleeves, a stole, or a tippet. Male sitters, however, were more commonly represented wearing a jacket with a fur lining or collar. The apparel which sitters are chosen to be depicted wearing in their miniatures follows fashions. In the 1530s just over half of the sitters are shown wearing fur; by the 1550s it has fallen to one-quarter and thereafter it remains at under 5%. The exception to this downward trend is in the Brunswick series of miniatures, where over half of the 49 sitters are wearing fur (figure 28). However, by focussing on British miniatures only, this evidence of the declining fashionability of fur supports Hayward's argument that 'wearing fur was in decline by the middle of the sixteenth century'.[326] Sitters could display their access to fashionable and expensive apparel in other areas of their wardrobe.

The Acts of Apparel: Embroidery

I will now turn to consider embroidered shirts and smocks. As most miniatures concentrate on the head and shoulders of the sitter, I will focus on neckbands, as these are usually visible in the portraits. The database reveals that the most popular decades to be painted wearing an embroidered neckband were the 1520s and the 1530s. Once clear starch was introduced into England from the Netherlands, the integral gathered neckline was replaced with a separate ruff or a collar, which accounts for the lower frequency of decorated neckbands in the late sixteenth century.[327] As with the wearing of fur,

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[326] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 162.
[327] Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, p. 259.

different types of embroidery were restricted to different degrees of people. The 1532–
1533 act 'The Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparalye' states that gold and silver
embroidery was restricted to the royal family, earls, barons, and those individuals
wearing livery. The wearing of a neckband embroidered in gold and silver thread was,
therefore, an opportunity to display the sitter's status. Offenders risked a fine or having
the item of clothing confiscated. Being painted wearing gold embroidery, then, would be
a risky strategy for somebody without the authority to do so; they may be considered
presumptuous even if the embellishment was based on the painter's imagination rather
than their wardrobe.

Henry VIII is not depicted wearing the royal crown in any of the traditional
miniatures; instead his status is conveyed through the gold chain, fur gown, slashed
black and white embroidered doublet, and his neckband, which is embroidered in gold
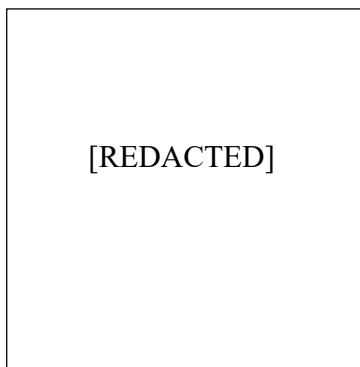and black thread (figures 59a and 59b).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Figure 59a
Lucas Horenbout
Henry VIII
c. 1537
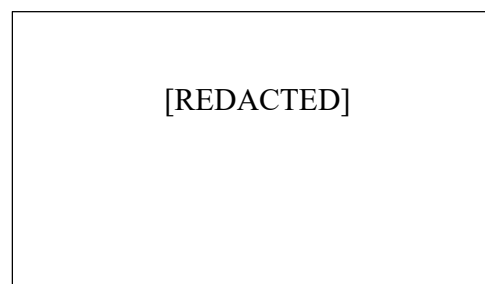Watercolour on vellum
47 mm diameter
Private collection.

Figure 59b
Magnified detail of the neckband
with gold and black embroidery.

In the database, gold embroidery is reserved for representations of the nobility, as in the miniature of Henry VIII. There are no examples of sitters transgressing the sumptuary laws in this regard. In the miniature of Mrs Jane Small (Figure 27), the band of the sitter's smock and cuffs show very elaborately designed embroidery. Holbein has painted the reverse side of the embroidery too, where the work is just as finely detailed. Its monotone colour ensures that Small is in keeping with the law, but she is not afraid of pushing at the social mores of what is acceptable (figures 60a and 60b). The only other sitters with such elaborately designed embroidery are nobles.

Figures 60a & 60b
Magnified details of the sitter's embroidered neckband and wrist cuffs.
Hans Holbein
Mrs Jane Small
1536
Watercolour on vellum
52 mm diameter
Victoria and Albert Museum, P.40&A-1935.

Janet Arnold argues that in the sixteenth century, embroidery was an activity that noble women would have been expected to carry out in the home, however more elaborately designed and multi-coloured work can reasonably be expected to have been

done by a professional embroiderer.[328] This would appear to be the case with Jane

Small, who was married to a cloth merchant, Nicholas Small. Hayward argues that Mrs

Small 'could have had her choice of her husband's stock and undoubtedly he would

have had a network of friends who were engaged in similar lines of business'.[329] Small's

miniature can therefore be viewed as her showing pride in her husband's profession and

displaying her access to finely detailed goods. Any accusation of immodesty could be

countered with the sitter's downward gaze, her hair almost entirely covered with a white

hood, a plain white shawl over her shoulders, and her wearing very simple and minimal

jewellery. The small size of the miniature and its essentially private nature might also

neutralize any anxiety over the wife of a merchant being represented by the king's

painter.

Conclusion

By examining a number of the physical characteristics of miniatures I have been able to

provide an overview of the range of small portraits which were available to early

modern audiences. Through the use of quantitative data I have been able to back up

existing narratives concerning the growing popularity of the art form and account for

some of the reasons for this. I have also been able to examine a range of different shapes

in which miniatures were made and show that whilst by the 1570s the oval form came to

dominate the art form, alongside this miniatures continued to be made in a variety of

shapes. My research into the evolution of the size of miniatures has shown that within

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[328] Janet Arnold, *The Cut and Construction of Linen Shirts, Smocks, Neckwear, Headwear and Accessories for Men and Women c. 1540–1660*, Patterns of Fashion 4 (London: Macmillan, 2008), pp. 8–9.
[329] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 242.

the parameters of an object which could be held in the hand, the height of miniatures generally increased throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This can partly be accounted for by the adoption of the oval form over the circular form. Nevertheless, many miniatures did not fit this general pattern and by including small pictures within the analysis we can see that even more variation exists. Many of the smallest miniatures within the database can be dated to the mid-seventeenth century. I have suggested a number of reasons for these small-scale portraits, including the ongoing function of miniatures as jewellery and a desire to hide certain politically sensitive images. Cabinet paintings executed in watercolour on vellum represent individuals who are connected to the court. These artworks would have been time consuming to paint and required skill within this area. However, by broadening the range of objects which can be considered portrait miniatures, i.e. to include small pictures, it is possible to reveal the faces of individuals who are now unknown and may not have been connected to the court. These sitters did not adopt the full-length format of the nobility; instead they continued to be painted in head-and-shoulders, and bust-length formats.

The art form of the miniature evolved throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and provides a parallel for fashions within larger portraiture, as the examination of the predominant background colour of miniatures demonstrates. Most strikingly, traditional miniatures show a prevalent plain blue background until the late sixteenth century, when red becomes more popular. This red background is often in the form of a folded or hanging fabric which resembles a curtain. In the seventeenth century, backgrounds become darker and brown dominates; also landscapes increasingly become included, which serve to situate the sitter within a particular place. Again, there

was variation within this general trend, but by including small pictures in the study, an even greater diversity of backgrounds is revealed.

Where miniatures include an inscription they most commonly document the sitter's name, their age, the year, the painter's initials, and occasionally a motto. This is reminiscent of inscriptions within coins, medals, and portraiture in-large, and demonstrates the larger visual world in which miniatures exist. In the earliest miniatures these inscriptions run horizontally across the surface of the miniature either side of the sitter's head (figure 27). By the later sixteenth century it is more common for inscriptions to be positioned at the edges of the portrait, which disrupts the painted portrait less (figure 25). The content of these inscriptions also highlights one of the functions of portraiture in documenting a sitter at a particular stage in their life. The composer, musician and dancing master, Thomas Whythorne documents commissioning his portrait in 1549, 1550, 1562, 1569 and 1596 in his autobiography.[330] When he changes his estate from student and servant and, in his words, 'came to be mine own man', Whythorne 'caused in a pair of virginals to be painted mine own counterfeit or picture'.[331] Whythorne reports that he is painted playing the lute and, fittingly, the portrait was executed upon the musical instrument which he now offers instruction on as a master.[332] This suggests that Whythorne used portraiture as a means to illustrate the pride in his new profession and to document his changing life circumstances. Furthermore, Whythorne composes verses which he has inscribed on the portraits which underline his stage in life at that time. Throughout the later stages of his life

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[330] James M., Osborn, ed., *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
[331] Ibid., pp. 10 and 12.
[332] Ibid., p. 12.

Whythorne's portraiture provides the stimulus for him to muse upon how time has

changed both his physical appearance and also his character. On his final portrait he has

inscribed the lines 'As time doth alter every wight,/ So every age hath his delight.'[333]

This evidence suggests that miniatures may have functioned in a similar way for

patrons; as a means to document and look back upon their lives.

By widening out the category of what a portrait miniature could be and including

additional media alongside watercolour and vellum it has been possible to see the faces

of more non-courtly individuals being represented. However, there was not a clear

equation between the status of the sitter and the cost of media. But very expensive

materials, including ultramarine and a diamond, were reserved for the depiction of

royalty. The examination of the different kinds of frames for miniatures has provided a

way of thinking about both the physical and the conceptual context of the miniature. By

exploring the bejewelled lockets and finely carved ivory cases of court miniatures

alongside the simply decorated wooden cases representing individuals of a more modest

status, I have been able to show the different ways in which these objects would have

been viewed by contemporaries, and which enabled miniatures to be available to both

the upper and the more modest sections of society. I have argued that the use of more

modestly priced and humbler materials may have been a deliberate decision to create a

socially and culturally appropriate context through which to interpret the sitter,

complementing the portrait.

By looking at these different aspects of the materiality of miniatures I have been

able to show how the art form developed and adjusted to changes in fashion for

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[333] Ibid., p. 116.

portraiture and its function. This examination of the physicality of miniatures provides a context in which to consider the painters of miniatures. This has revealed the hands of amateur and/or regional makers who did not follow the courtly aesthetic for finely detailed works. However, some non-courtly sitters were represented by the same painters who painted the nobility. This non-noble patronage might be considered presumptuous, but by exploring the apparel in which sitters are represented it is evident that they were not flouting the sumptuary laws. The only evidence for this was in the miniature of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, who may be wearing a fur which was seen as only suitable for people of a higher degree than himself. There is evidence of wealthy middling sort sitters wearing very high quality apparel, including furs and embroidery, but as these sitters were associated with trade they may be demonstrating pride in this profession and displaying the source of their wealth rather than trying to deceive the viewer into thinking that they were of a higher degree.