

## **‘Different Forms of Gowns for All Sorts of Scholars in their Several Ranks’: Academic Undress at Oxford in 1635**

**By Alex Kerr**

This is a study of a one-page manuscript in the Oxford University Archives with the title ‘Different Forms of Gowns for All Sorts of Scholars in their Several Ranks’. It is dated ‘June 1635’. No previous writers, with one exception, seem to have known this remarkable document, but it is of unquestionable significance for the history of academic dress. It was clearly written in connection with the Laudian Code of statutes, which was drafted in 1634 and finally adopted in 1636. The Code included regulations on university dress and its use at Oxford that would remain in force for 134 years, despite disruptions in actual practice during the Civil War and Commonwealth. ‘Different Forms’ gives a concise specification for Oxford gowns at a time when other written records providing such detail are lacking and pictorial evidence is sparse. It would be over thirty years before anything comparable would be produced in text or image, by which time, in the Restoration, some particulars of the dress had changed. Vice-Chancellor John Fell would issue his *Orders to Tailors* in 1666; George Edwards and David Loggan would publish their superb engravings of Oxford dress in 1674 and 1675 respectively.

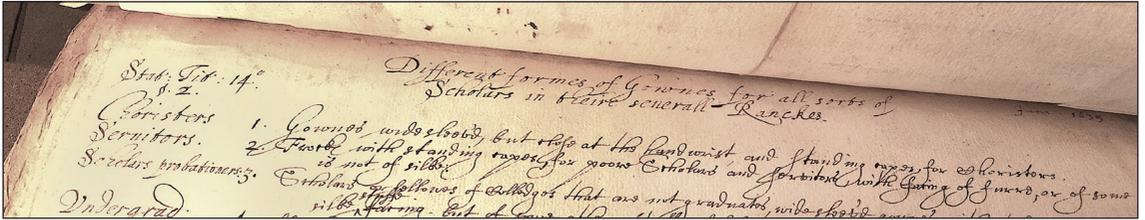
This article places ‘Different Forms’ in the context of the Laudian Code and provides a transcription. It then explains the various ranks and the requirements for the gowns and their facings and ornament. A section is devoted to four problematic terms for articles of dress. A commentary discusses significant points in the document, comparing the dress with Oxford gowns in the period leading up to 1635 and in the later seventeenth century. A table summarizing the provisions in ‘Different Forms’, the text of a second manuscript (at Magdalen College) and a glossary of materials to be used for trimming the gowns are given in appendices. Because details of black gowns in paintings of the time are difficult to make out, photographs of monuments and engravings are used to illustrate features of the dress. Unless otherwise stated, images are from the author’s collection.

### **The Laudian Code and ‘Different Forms’**

William Laud was elected chancellor of the University in 1630. He was well acquainted with the workings of Oxford: he had studied at St John’s College, where subsequently he was a fellow, a University proctor in 1603 and the College’s president from 1611 to 1621. He left Oxford to take up a succession of senior church appointments, rising to be bishop of London and then archbishop of Canterbury. For over a century there had been moves to review and codify the University’s mass of statutes, but a thoroughgoing overhaul had not been achieved. As chancellor Laud saw it as a priority to bring the project to fruition and he set to work at once. He appointed like-minded men in the University as special dele-

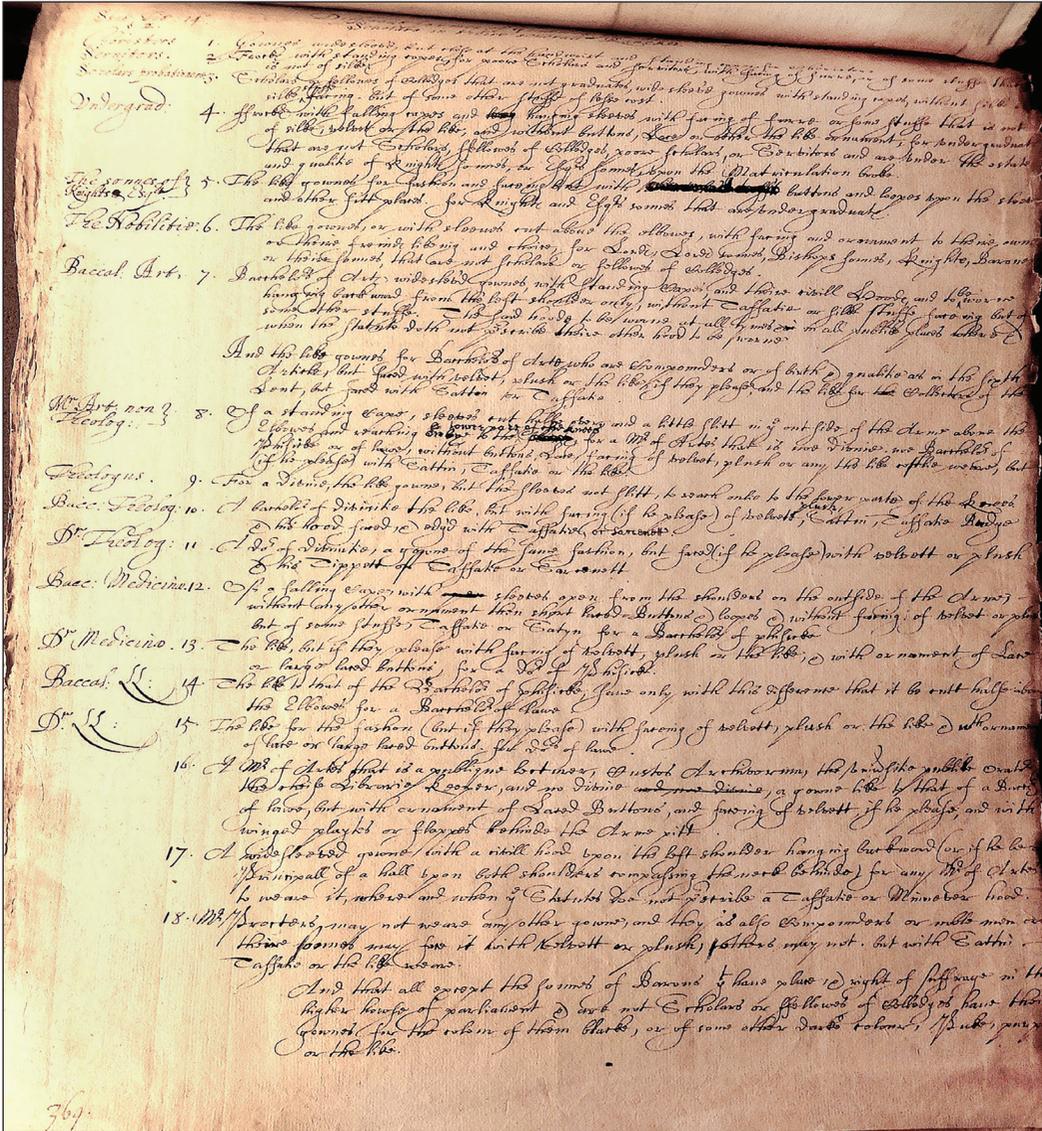
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I am very grateful to Professor Bruce Christianson for his many valuable comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this article and to Dr Susan North for her advice on various seventeenth-century garments and materials.



Photos reproduced courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

Figs 1 (above) and 1A. 'Different Forms of Gowns for All Sorts of Scholars in their Several Ranks'. Manuscript in the Archives of the University of Oxford. Above, a detail of the title and date.



gates to work on a new Code with the intention of imposing order on chaos. They were to compile and consolidate the existing statutory materials rather than create new ones. The aim, however, was to realize Laud's conservative and high-church vision of a rigorously disciplined academic institution. Under his chancellorship more power was given to senior officers than in the past and less to the body of resident MAs. In the end Laud took over the task of reviewing and establishing the text of the Code personally. By 1634 a draft was ready and circulated to the Hebdomadal Board, set up in 1631 and comprising the heads of houses with the vice-chancellor, who met every Monday to transact University business.<sup>1</sup>

One of the statutes in the Code, Title XIV, was concerned specifically with university dress and its use. It laid down certain regulations and the sanctions that were to be imposed for non-compliance. It did not go into much detail about the dress itself. Undergraduates who were on the foundation of a college were to go out in gowns with wide or loose sleeves (*laxe manicatis*) and square caps; those who were non-foundations were to go in gowns reaching the ankles (*talaribus*) and round caps.<sup>2</sup> Laud required the Hebdomadal Board to make inquiry concerning the academic dress suitable to each degree and faculty. It was to have a pattern of each article made up, and deposited in a press (cupboard) or chest provided for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> 'Different Forms' is proof, however, that a University functionary had already made a start on a record of one aspect of correct dress, the undress gowns, twelve months before Laud's Code was finally promulgated by the University's Convocation in June 1636.

Some paragraphs from 'Different Forms' were printed in *Notes and Queries* in 1879 in a contribution by W. H. Turner of Oxford. This appeared at the end of a discussion over several months about whether MAs would have worn the old full-dress gown with wide sleeves, now used by the proctors, when the allied sovereigns visited Oxford in 1814. Turner believed that the paragraphs he quoted supported the conclusion that they would not. He did not comment further on them but noted that the document was preserved among the papers of Gerard Langbaine.<sup>4</sup>

'Different Forms' is bound with miscellaneous manuscript and printed documents in one of twenty-one large-format volumes donated to the University Archives by Lang-

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1 See Anthony Milton, 'Laud, William (1573–1645)', in *ODNB*; Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols (London: Methuen, 1924–27), Vol. II (1924), pp. 303–19; Kenneth Fincham, 'Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity', in *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. IV, *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, edited by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 179–210 (pp. 199–204); L. W. B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 144–50.

2 Latin text in John Griffiths (ed.), *Statutes of the University of Oxford Codified in the Year 1636* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1888), p. 144; English translation by G. R. M. Ward, *Oxford University Statutes*, 2 vols (London: Pickering, 1845–51), Vol. I, pp. 152–53.

3 Griffiths, p. 145; Ward, Vol. I, p. 154. Mallet's statement (Vol. II, p. 333 n. 3) that these were drawings or engravings is not borne out by the Laudian text, which speaks of patterns in some cheap material, each one with a label attached (*titulo affixo*).

4 *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., 12 (1879), 27 Sept. 1879, pp. 250–51. Turner was an Oxfordshire antiquary engaged on work for the Bodleian Library from 1870 until his death in 1880 <archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/732> [all online material cited in this article retrieved 9 May 2021]. Langbaine the elder was keeper of the Archives of the University from 1644 and provost of Queen's College from 1646 (A. J. Hegarty, 'Langbaine, Gerard (1608/9–1658)', in *ODNB*). Thanks are due to Dr Paul Coxon, who came across the item in *N&Q* and drew it to my and others' attention.

baine, to which more were added by the antiquary Anthony Wood and by purchase after Langbaine's death. The contents are papers and publications collected by Langbaine while keeper of the Archives. The volume that includes our document, MS Langb. 3, comprises 530 folios, of which this item is fol. 369. 'Different Forms' is identified in the Archives' shelf list as WPy/26/1/369. To judge by the handwriting it might tentatively be attributed to John French, University registrar from 1629 to 1651.<sup>5</sup>

The document itself does not identify who the intended readers were or why it had been written. A clue is obviously in the heading '*Stat: Tit: 14<sup>o</sup>. §. 2.*' just below the title. This refers to the section in the draft Laudian Code entitled '*De reprimendis et puniendis novos et insolitos habitus invehentibus*', issued in 1634 for the consultation with the Hebdomadal Board.<sup>6</sup> As it happens, §2 was retained unchanged in the finished statute of 1636; its heading has been translated as 'Concerning the repression and punishment of persons who introduce new and unwonted dresses'.<sup>7</sup> This section requires the vice-chancellor and heads of houses to prevent or punish any scholars or other persons, including cutters and tailors, who introduce new and unusual fashions of dress. Perhaps 'Different Forms', written in English rather than Latin, was intended to provide a schedule of correct gowns for the robe-makers in the city, as well as those responsible within the University for seeing it implemented. If so, it serves a similar purpose to Fell's *Orders* of 1666, although that document deals only with dress for junior members (undergraduates and BAs).<sup>8</sup> This manuscript of 'Different Forms' looks like a working draft: there are several words and phrases crossed out and others inserted, corrections or amendments, one by another hand. It is a set of notes, awkward in expression and not written up in fluent prose. Of course, we can only assume that it gives accurate descriptions of gowns current in 1635 and that the patterns in Laud's press or chest would match them.

At a late stage in the research for this article another copy of 'Different Forms' came to my notice, preserved in the Archives of Magdalen College. It is now bound as item 81 in a volume of 104 documents, mostly letters, MS 367. The format is the same as the University Archives copy and the text differs from it in only a few details. It looks as though the text could have been copied either from the University Archives manuscript before the alterations were made or from a common source. It is undated. Its position in MS 367, which has documents generally in date order, would put it between 1639 and 1648. However,

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5 I am indebted to Simon Bailey, keeper of the Archives of Oxford University (now retired), for comparing the manuscript with other contemporary documents and giving his opinion as to the possible writer.

6 *Corpus statutorum universitatis Oxon., siue; Pandectes constitutionum academicarum: e libris publicis et regestis universitatis consarcinatus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1634), annotated copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Caps. 10.9 (1), unnumbered pages.

7 Griffiths, pp. 143–44; Ward, Vol. I, p. 152. Two changes were made elsewhere in the text of the draft Title XIV before the Code was approved in 1636 (indicated by handwritten marginal notes in the Bodleian copy of the 1634 *Corpus statutorum*). In §3, to the regulation that required graduates to wear square caps was added that the lawyers and medical men were to wear round ones. Christ Church was added to the places where graduates must wear their habits and hoods when attending solemn sermons (Griffiths, p. 144; Ward, Vol. I, p. 153). Of course, these amendments are immaterial for 'Different Forms' as they do not concern gowns.

8 Reprinted in L. H. Dudley Buxton and Strickland Gibson, *Oxford University Ceremonies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), pp. 30–31.

since the other documents in the volume are mainly to do with College business, it may not have been filed with them originally, in which case it could be earlier than 1639.<sup>9</sup>

'Different Forms' gives specifications for undress gowns worn by undergraduates and graduates. However, it does include the wide-sleeved gowns for MAs that later commentators have generally taken to be 'full dress'. It does not include the coloured robes or the convocation habits worn by doctors: perhaps these robes and habits were not seen as the same class of dress as gowns. The black wide-sleeved MA gown, while a more formal alternative to the gown with hanging sleeves, appears not to have been regarded, here at any rate, as a festal garment as the DD, DCL and DM scarlet or the DMus white damask full-dress robes were.<sup>10</sup>

## The text

Figures 1 and 1A are photographs of the manuscript, Oxford, University Archives, WPY/26/1/369. Below is a semi-diplomatic transcription of the text. ^ ^ = text inserted above the line; <-> = text crossed out; [ ] = letters supplied by editor to resolve abbreviations or numerals to signal notes. For a summary table of the provisions in 'Different Forms' see Appendix A. For a transcription of the Magdalen College copy see Appendix B.

*Different formes of Gownes for all sorts of  
Scholars in their severall Ranckes.*

*June 1635*

*Stat: Tit: 14<sup>o</sup>. §. 2.*

*Choristers*

1. Gownes wide sleev'd, but close at the hand wrist, and standing capes, for choristers.

*Servitors.*

2. Frocks with standing capes, for poore Scholars and servitors, with facing of furre, or of some stuffe that is not of silke.

*Scholars probationers:*

3. Scholars or fellowes of Colledges that are not graduates, wide-sleev'd gownes with standing capes, without silke or silke ^stuffe^ facing, but of some other stuffe of lesse cost.

*Vndergrad[uates]:*

4. ffrocks with falling capes and <long><sup>[1]</sup> hanging sleeves with facing of furre or some stuffe that is not of silke, velvet or the like, and without buttons, Lace or other the like ornament, for undergraduates that are not Scholars, ffellowes of Colledges,

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9 I am grateful to Dr Charlotte Berry, archivist of Magdalen College, for kindly sending me photographs of the manuscript and for her comments about its possible date.

10 Writers on academic dress adopt a variety of terms for the different styles of sleeve. Here the terms *wide sleeves* and *hanging sleeves* are used as they are the most common in seventeenth-century usage and in modern reference works on dress history such as Valerie Cumming, C. W. Cunnington and P. E. Cunnington, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

poore scholars, or Servitors and are vnder the estate and qualitie of Knights sonnes, or Esq[ui]res sonnes, vpon the Matriculation booke.

*The sonnes of Knights & Esq[ui]res.*

5. The like gownes for fashion and facing but with <several words inked over and indecipherable> buttons and loopes vpon the sleev[es] and other fitt places. for Knights and Esq[ui]res sonnes that are vndergraduates.

*The Nobilitie:*

6. The like gownes, or with sleeves cut above the elbowes, with facing and ornament to their owne or their freinds likeing and choice, for Lords, Lords sonnes, Bishops sonnes, Knights, Baronets or their sonnes, that are not scholars or fellows of Colledges.

*Baccal: Art,*

7. Bachelors of Arts, wideslev'd gownes, with standing Capes, and their civill Hoode, and to be worne hanging backward from the left shoulder only, without Taffatie or silke stuffe facing but of some other stuffe. The said hoode to be worne at all tymes and in all publike places where & when the statute doth not prescribe their other hood to be worne<sup>[2]</sup>

And the like gownes for Bachelors of Arte who are Compounders or of birth & qualitie as in the sixth Article, but faced with velvet, plush or the like, if they please, and the like for <the> Collectors of the Lent, but faced with Sattin or Taffatie.

*Mr Art. non Theolog:*

8. Of a standing Cape, sleeves cut halfe over, and a little slitt in [th]e out side of the Arme<sup>[3]</sup> above the Elbowes and reaching onely to the lower part of the knees <skirts>,<sup>[4]</sup> for a M[aste]r of Artes that is noe divine, noe Bachelor of Phisicke or of lawe, without buttons, Lace, facing of velvet, plush or any the like costlie weare, but (if he please) with Sattin, Taffatie or the like.

*Theologus.*

9. For a divine, the like gowne, but the sleeves not slitt, to reach onlie to the lower parte of the knees.<sup>[5]</sup>

*Bacc: Theolog:*

10. A bachelor of divinitie the like, but with facing (if he please) of velvett, plush, Sattin, Taffatie Budge & his hood faced & edg'd with Taffatie, or Sarcenett.<sup>[6]</sup>

*Dr. Theolog:*

11. A d[oct]or of divinitie, a gowne of the same fashion, but faced (if he please) with velvett or plush & his Tippet of Taffatie or Sarcenett

*Bacc: Medicinæ.*

12. Of a falling Cape, with <open> sleeves open from the shoulders on the outside of the Armes without any other ornament than short laced Buttons & loopes & without facing of velvet or plush but of some stuffe, Taffatie or Satyn for a Bacchelor of phisicke

*Dr Medicinæ.*

13. The like, but if they please with facing of velvett, plush or the like, & with ornament of Lace or large laced buttons, for a d[oct]or of Phisick.

*Baccal: LL:*

14. The like to that of the Bachelor of phisicke, save only with this difference that it be cut halfe above the Elbowes for a Bacchelor of Lawe.

*Dr. LL:*

15. The like for the fashon (but if they please) with faceing of velvett, plush or the like & w[i]th ornament of lace or large laced buttons, for d[oct]ors of lawe.
16. A M[aste]r of Artes that is a publike lecturer, Custos Archivorum, the Universitie publike Orator, the cheife Librarie Keeper, and no divine <and noe divine>, a gown like to that of a Bacch[elor] of lawe, but with ornament of Laced Buttons, and faceing of velvett, if he please, and with winged playtes or flappes behinde the Arme pitt.
17. A wide sleeved gowne with a civill hood upon the left shoulder hanging backward (or if he be a Principall of a hall upon both shoulders compassing the neck behinde) for any M[aste]r of Artes to weare it, where and when [th]e Statutes doe not prescribe a Taffatie or Minnever hood.
18. M[aste]r Procters may not weare any other gowne, and they as also Compounders or noble men or their sonnes may face it with Velvett or plush, others may not, but with Sattin, Taffatie or the like weare.<sup>[7]</sup>

And that all except the sonnes of Barons [tha]t have place & right of suffrage in the higher house of parliament & are not Scholars or ffellowes of Colledges have their gownes for the color of them blacke, or of some other darke colour, Puke, purple or the like.

Notes

[1] long *crossed out*, but stands in the *Magdalen College copy (M)*.

[2] *Entire sentence lacking in M.*

[3] and a little slitt in [th]e out side of the Arme *lacking in M.*

[4] down *has been overwritten* as onlye; lower part of the knees *inserted above the line*; skirts

*crossed out*; the original reading (down to the skirts) *stands in M.*

[5] *M reads* but the sleeves to reach only to the knees.

[6] or Sarcenett *written by a different hand*; *lacking in M.*

[7] *Articles 17 and 18 lacking in M.*

## Scholars in their several ranks

Most of the ranks in the list are those we are accustomed to in later periods, if not always down to the present day.<sup>11</sup>

1. Choristers formed a lowly class of non-graduate foundationers who sang in their college chapel choir.

2. Servitors, some also called poor scholars, worked their way through university by waiting on fellows in hall and acting as servants for wealthier students.<sup>12</sup> Laud also includes *batellarii* in his list, a rank a little above servitors, who paid some fees and made up the rest by undertaking tasks in college like servitors.

3. Scholars were undergraduate students on the foundation of a college. At some colleges no undergraduates were fellows; at some all scholars were fellows; at some undergraduate fellows were drawn from among the scholars—during the period before they became fellows, with a voice in college business, these were sometimes called probationers or scholar probationers. Scholar status survives today and attracts a token sum in recognition of academic achievement and a right to wear a distinctive gown.<sup>13</sup>

4. Those here called undergraduates were generally known as commoners. They were fee-paying students usually of modest or medium social status. The term commoner is still in use for any undergraduate not entitled to wear the scholar's gown.

5. Those here identified as sons of knights and esquires would later generally be termed gentlemen-commoners. They paid higher fees and enjoyed enhanced privileges.

6. Those here identified as the nobility include two classes that are differentiated from one another in Laud's Code. Sons of lords in the upper house of Parliament might wear brightly coloured gowns, while those without that status, as well as bishops' sons and baronets and their sons, were restricted to black or at any rate subdued colours—see the final, unnumbered, indented paragraph of 'Different Forms'.<sup>14</sup> Noblemen paid higher fees than gentlemen-commoners and enjoyed considerable privileges.<sup>15</sup>

The ranks above except those in 3 and 4 became obsolete during the nineteenth century and their distinctive dress fell out of use.

7. The BA was the first degree for all students, with one exception.<sup>16</sup> Although undergraduate courses in a widening range of disciplines were developed, this remained the case

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11 For a fuller explanation and discussion of the different ranks of junior members see Brockliss, pp. 225–34. Although chiefly about a later period, see also William Gibson, 'The Regulation of Undergraduate Academic Dress at Oxford and Cambridge, 1660–1832', *Burton Society Annual 2004*, pp. 26–41 (pp. 27–34), at <newprairiepress.org> <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1027>.

12 At most colleges poor scholars were non-foundationers. Queen's College had a class of foundationers called 'poor boys' or 'poor children'.

13 Some colleges also have choral and organ scholars. At some the holder of the lesser award of an exhibition is counted as a foundationer and may wear the scholar's gown.

14 W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 93. The privileges of Scottish and Irish peers' sons were augmented by an addendum to Title VI in 1738/9 (Griffiths, p. 308; Ward, Vol. 1, p. 313). Thereafter, Title XIV explicitly exempted them from the rule on black or dark gowns.

15 Knights, already included in article 5, are repeated here between bishops' sons and baronets and their sons, out of their proper place in the order of precedence, which is puzzling. If, however, we disregard the comma between the words 'Knights' and 'Baronets' as an error, we can take 'Knights Baronets' as a phrase meaning simply 'baronets', an emendation supported by the Magdalen College copy, which reads 'Knight Baronets' (see *OED*, s.v. 'Knight').

16 Brockliss, pp. 234–35, 276.

until the BEd was introduced in 1969.<sup>17</sup> The only exception in the 1630s was the Student of Civil Law (a status abolished in 1873), who bypassed the BA and MA and studied for the BCL.<sup>18</sup> Compounders (petty or grand) were graduands who on a scale according to their social rank and wealth were required to pay graduation fees several times higher than the regular fees. Grand compounders wore a scarlet habit over their gown and walked in procession next to the vice-chancellor. Although this status ceased in 1855, it had in reality been in abeyance for four decades.<sup>19</sup> Collectors were representatives of the BAs, at this time appointed by the proctors rather than elected, who made the arrangements and collected the fees for Lenten disputations, the final exercises for new BAs (determination). Determination was phased out in the early nineteenth century, the last collectors being appointed in 1822.<sup>20</sup>

8 and 9. To complete the Arts course BAs continued as student-teachers until they were admitted to the degree of MA (inception). At this period the BA usually took four years and the MA a further three.<sup>21</sup> Requirements for the MA were reduced little by little until from 1859 BAs could apply for admission to the degree some seven years after matriculation without further academic study or residence and this remains the case today.<sup>22</sup> The distinction made here between MAs who were clergymen ('divines') and those who were not hardly figures in the Laudian Code and not at all so far as academic dress is concerned.

10–15. The bachelors' degrees that were awarded in the superior faculties of Theology, Medicine and Civil Law were all higher degrees requiring advanced study. The BD and BCL remained so, while the BM came to be awarded with the BCh as the medical joint degree; medical students are now awarded the BA (in Medical Sciences) after their three years of study on the pre-clinical course before proceeding to the second half of their degree programme. The corresponding doctorates were what we would now call higher doctorates, awarded after a considerable period of further study. The DD and DCL still are, but the DM is now normally awarded on the basis of a thesis as for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

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17 Andrew James Peter North, 'The Development of the Academic Dress of the University of Oxford, 1920–2012', *TBS*, 13 (2013), pp. 101–41 (pp. 126–27), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1111>. The BFA, BTh and a number of first-degree masters' awards followed (*ibid.*, pp. 129–30, 131–32). For the range of courses currently provided and degrees awarded visit <[www.ox.ac.uk](http://www.ox.ac.uk)>.

18 Provision in the Code's Title IX sect. 6 §2 (Griffiths, p. 115; Ward, Vol. 1, p. 115). See also Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 91–92; W. Gibson, 'Regulation', p. 27 n. 8; Alan J. Ross, '*Togas gradui et facultati competentes*: The Creation of New Doctoral Robes at Oxford, 1895–1920', *TBS*, 10 (2010), pp. 47–70 (p. 59), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1084>.

19 See Mallet, Vol. II, p. 130; Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 102–03; W. Gibson, 'Regulation', p. 39; G. V. Cox, *Recollections of Oxford* (London: Macmillan, 1870), p. 251.

20 Mallet, Vol. II, pp. 128–29, 324; Cox, pp. 51, 102, 152 n. 1, 241–42, 257.

21 The Code's Title VI sect. 1 §1 made an exception of the sons of peers and eldest sons of baronets and knights, who could take their BA degree after three years (Griffiths, p. 45; Ward, Vol. 1, pp. 31–32). Later in the seventeenth century, and until the nineteenth, these ranks of undergraduates were routinely created honorary MA after only two years from matriculation (Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632–1695, Described by Himself*, edited by Andrew Clark, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891–1900), Vol. 1, p. 414; L. S. Sutherland, 'The Curriculum', in *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. v, *The Eighteenth Century*, edited by L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 469–91 (p. 478); Buxton and Gibson, pp. 87–88).

22 Brockliss, pp. 235, 237; Cox, p. 443; Buxton and Gibson, p. 6 n. 2.

16. A public lecturer was at this time a teacher engaged to give lectures in the University, as opposed to a holder of only a college post. Some held endowed lectureships, the number of which had increased steadily since the mid-sixteenth century and included readerships and professorial chairs. Others were appointed every second year by the four colleges supplying the proctors for the current and the following year.<sup>23</sup> The keeper of the Archives, the public orator and the chief library keeper (with the title Bodley's Librarian) are all posts that still exist.

17. The academic halls were residential communities for non-collegiate members of the University. Mostly small and unendowed, they were licensed by the vice-chancellor and presided over by a principal. From about a hundred in the late Middle Ages the number dwindled and by the 1630s only seven remained.<sup>24</sup> The last, St Edmund Hall, became a full college in 1957.

18. The two proctors, regarded as representatives of the MAs, were (and are) senior officers responsible for enforcing discipline and sanctions, supervising examinations and performing a range of other administrative functions. From 1628 they were elected by pairs of colleges in rotation rather than by the whole body of resident MAs, as they had been previously.<sup>25</sup>

## Different forms of gowns

The range of basic gown patterns laid down in the 1635 document is essentially what had become commonplace in the late sixteenth century and has remained down to the present day, although there have been far-reaching changes in the detail. The gowns can be characterized primarily by the sleeves (or lack of them) and the collar.

So far as sleeves are concerned there are two basic styles:

*Wide sleeves.* The chorister, scholar, BA and MA are to have this wide-sleeved style—in the MA's case as an alternative to the gown with hanging sleeves, although the proctors are required always to wear the wide-sleeved gown.<sup>26</sup> The chorister's gown has the sleeves drawn in at the cuff ('close at the hand wrist') to form what would later be called pudding sleeves.

*Hanging sleeves.* These have various types of opening:

At the elbow

- with a horizontal slit ('sleeves cut above the elbowes', 'sleeves cut halfe over', 'cut halfe above the Elbowes'). The MA, BD and DD are to have this style. It is also one of two styles assigned to the nobleman undergraduate. The description refers to the fact that the tube forming the sleeve has a slit on the front of the upper arm with the back of the sleeve left intact (see Fig. 2).<sup>27</sup> The sleeves are to reach no further than just below the knee.

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<sup>23</sup> Mallett, Vol. II, pp. 321–23.

<sup>24</sup> See Brockliss, pp. 56–57, 144, 754 (Map 4).

<sup>25</sup> Brockliss, pp. 146–47.

<sup>26</sup> A fine example of the wide-sleeved MA gown is in a 1636 portrait possibly of Richard Lovelace at Worcester College <artuk.org/discover/artworks/portrait-of-a-young-gentleman-224077>.

<sup>27</sup> For an example in an oil painting, see the portrait of Christopher Potter, DD, in Queen's College, painted in about 1636 <commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christopher\_Potter.jpg>. The status and degrees of members of the University have been verified in Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500–1714*, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker, 1891–92).



Photograph by Nicholas Groves

**Fig. 2. Henry Caesar, DD, d. 1636, monument in Ely Cathedral, with a horizontal opening at the elbow and the sleeve reaching to the knee, ending with an open cuff.**



**Fig. 3. Sir William Paddy, DM, d. 1634, monument in St John's College, with large buttons for ornament and sleeves open up to the shoulder.**



**Fig. 4. Jerome Keyt, BCL, d. 1631, monumental brass in St Mary Magdalene Church, Woodstock, Oxon., with small buttons linked by lace, an inverted T with the vertical slit buttoned up and possibly also an opening (hand-slit) half-way down the lower part of the sleeve.**



Fig. 5. Hugh Barker, DCL, d. 1632, monument in New College, with large buttons and lace for ornament and inverted-T sleeves, the vertical slits open only half-way up the upper arm. Two loops at the end of strips of lace on each arm show that the buttons just above the elbow could be done up if the wearer wished.



Fig. 6. John Pendarves, commoner of Exeter College, d. 1617, aged seventeen, brass in St Michael's Church. There are no known images of undergraduates closer to 1635. Notice the shoulder-level openings with wings, the sleeves hanging behind the arms, the fur-covered facings and flap collar.



Fig. 7. John Walrond, gentleman-commoner of Christ Church, d. 1602, aged eighteen, on his brass in the Cathedral, in a gown with a prominent wing round the shoulder-level armhole and a sleeve behind the arm, open at the foot, decorated with seven strips of lace. Walrond's gown matches the prescription for a gentleman-commoner's gown to appear in 'Different Forms' except that the trimming on the hanging sleeve seems to be simple lace rather than 'buttons and loops'.

- with an inverted-T slit. MAs who are not clergymen are to have in addition a small, presumably vertical cut ('a little slitt in the out side of the Arme'), so making the opening an inverted T.<sup>28</sup>
- with a horizontal slit and a vertical slit up to the shoulder. The BM and DM are to have this style ('open from the shoulders on the outside of the Armes'). It seems that the BCL and DCL in contrast are to have a horizontal or perhaps an inverted-T opening; pictorial evidence shows that in practice their vertical slit reaches halfway to the shoulder (see Figs 3, 4 and 5). The distinction between the medical and legal faculties could be achieved by using similar gowns but unbuttoning or buttoning the upper sleeve.<sup>29</sup> The MA holding one of certain posts, if not a clergyman, wears an enhanced version of the BCL gown.

At the shoulder, with an armhole behind which the entire sleeve hangs free. The servitor, commoner and gentleman-commoner (to use familiar later terminology) are to have this style, the gowns referred to as 'frocks'. The 'frock' is evidently a subtype of the gown as gentlemen-commoners are to have 'like gownes for fashion and facing' which follows immediately after the commoners' 'ffrocks' (see discussion below). Commoners and gentlemen-commoners have this style of opening to their 'hanging sleeves' (see Figs 6 and 7) and so do noblemen unless they opt for the style with a horizontal slit at the elbow. There is no mention of sleeves for the servitor; perhaps his gown did not have them at this time.

There are two styles of collar:

*A stiffened yoke, probably now always without the original upstanding collar.* The chorister, servitor, scholar, BA, MA, BD and DD have this style ('standing capes').

*A flap collar.* The commoner, gentleman-commoner, nobleman, BM, DM, BCL, DCL and certain post-holder MAs who wear a version of the BCL gown have this style ('falling capes').<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The Magdalen College copy does not mention 'a little slitt in the out side of the Arme'. However, it requires the divine to have sleeves that 'reach only to the knees' while the non-divine's are to reach 'down to the skirts' (an echo of Psalms 133. 2?); that could be anywhere between the waist and the hem (Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington, p. 244), but here possibly a little below the knees. The wording for the non-divine in the University Archives copy before it was emended was 'down to the skirts'.

<sup>29</sup> The question of upper sleeves being held shut or left open is explored by Bruce Christianson and Joan Kendall, 'A Portrait of an Oxford Nobleman, circa 1705', *TBS*, 15 (2015), pp. 30–40 (pp. 36–39), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1132>. They note (with illustrations) that Peter Turner, Doctor of Medicine of both Cambridge and Oxford, d. 1614, on his monument in St Olave's Church, Hart Street, London, has his sleeve open almost to the shoulder, unlike Thomas Bodley, d. 1615, in Merton College, MA and office holder, who has his upper sleeve almost closed, the opening in the form of a modest inverted T.

<sup>30</sup> In his *Orders of Apparell* of 1585 the chancellor of Cambridge University, Lord Burghley, required graduates' gowns there 'to be made with a standing coller [...] and not falling' (quoted in Charles Henry Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Warwick, 1842–53), Vol. II (1843), p. 410). No doubt 'standing capes' in 'Different Forms' is what in Canon 74 of 1604 is termed 'standing collars' (John Henry Blunt, *The Book of Church Law*, revised by Walter G. F. Phillimore and G. Edwardes Jones (London: Longmans, 1913), p. 405). In our document foundationer undergraduates and graduates in the clerical faculties of Arts and Theology are to have a 'standing cape' (a stiffened yoke). Non-foundationer undergraduates, graduates in the lay faculties of Medicine and Civil Law,

The last, unnumbered paragraph of ‘Different Forms’ indicates a certain leeway in the question of colour, permitting ‘blacke, or some other darke colour, Puke [blackish brown or blue], purple or the like’.<sup>31</sup> Sons of peers in the House of Lords, however, could choose any colour they pleased. The fabric from which the body of the gowns should be made is not specified. At this period, it would most likely be prunello, a strong silk or woollen fabric commonly used for academic, clerical and legal gowns. Presumably, robemakers were free to make them up in material to suit the customer’s status and budget.

## Facings and ornament

Quite elaborate directions are set out for what trimming was required or allowed on the gowns. (For a glossary of materials prescribed in ‘Different Forms’ for facings and ornament see Appendix C.)

### *Facings*

No particular facings are specified for choristers: presumably they would be of the same material as the body of the gown. Servitors, commoners and gentlemen-commoners could have fur facings. This would no doubt be inexpensive fur such as budge. An alternative for servitors is some stuff other than silk and for commoners and gentlemen-commoners some stuff other than silk or velvet. Was it assumed that servitors would not aspire to velvet? Similarly, scholars are to have facings of a fabric cheaper than one containing silk. Undergraduate noblemen may have facings of any material they choose—or, as the text puts it, ‘to their owne or their freinds likeing and choice’. Perhaps friends here means family or sponsors, a usage at this time.

BAs have to face their gowns in a material not containing silk, while the collectors are required to have their gowns faced with satin or taffeta. BAs who are compounders or noblemen can use velvet or plush. The MA, BD, BM and BCL can, if they choose, face their gowns with satin or taffeta. The BD has the additional options of velvet, plush or budge. Doctors can, if they choose, face their gowns with velvet or plush or the like.

Certain post-holder MAs can have velvet facings on their BCL-style gowns. The proctors and MAs who are compounders or noblemen can have velvet or plush. Other MAs, as already mentioned, are restricted to satin or taffeta.

### *Ornament*

Gentlemen-commoners are to have buttons linked by lace (of the kind later called braid) between them with loops or buttonholes. This ornament is to be laid on the sleeves, that is sleeves hanging behind the arms, and ‘other fitt places’. This probably means the sides and possibly the lower back of the skirt, but that is not stated. Noblemen undergraduates can have ornament of their choice.

Laced ornament is prescribed for graduates in lay faculties, but it is not explicitly stated whether this is required or optional. The BM and BCL have what is called ‘short

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and certain post-holder MAs are to have ‘a falling cape’ (a flap collar). Servitors appear to be an anomaly in this regard, being non-foundationers but having a yoke—if ‘Different Forms’ is correct.

<sup>31</sup> Puke was an imported woollen fabric used for gowns, etc., in the sixteenth century. The word is used here for the very dark colour in which it was dyed (Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington, pp. 337, 357; *OED*, s.v. ‘Puke’). At Cambridge in 1585 Burghley similarly prescribed that gowns must be ‘blacke, puke, London Browne, or other sad color’ (Cooper, Vol. II, p. 410).



**Fig. 8. Sir Eubule Thelwall, MA, d. 1630, monument in Jesus College, with small buttons linked with lace and a horizontal sleeve opening. Thelwall was Principal of Jesus and may have been depicted in this BCL-style gown because of his office.**



**Fig. 9. Sir Henry Savile, MA, d. 1622, monument in Merton College, with two wings round the armholes at the shoulder and sleeves hanging behind the arms. Savile was Warden of Merton, among other appointments and offices.**

laced Buttons & loops'. The DM and DCL have what is called 'Lace or large laced buttons', no doubt a more sumptuous lace and/or buttons larger in size.<sup>32</sup> Certain post-holder MAs have the BCL-style gown, with the same ornament. Charles Rupert Tsua has provided a concise description of the ornament on seventeenth-century academic gowns:

Typically, a strip of braid around 8" long has a button installed at the middle with tufts installed at both ends and sometimes above and below the buttons. Where there is an opening in the form of a vertical slit on the sleeve, the braid is divided in two: the button is installed at the opening side of one braid strip, and the other braid strip on the side facing the button is formed into a buttonhole or loop so it could be functionally buttoned to close the opening slit.<sup>33</sup>

We are fortunate in having contemporary pictorial evidence of what the ornament on the graduate gowns looked like in the 1630s (Figs 3, 4, 5 and 8). At that time the buttons were conspicuous, with tufts, if present, very modest in size.

<sup>32</sup> The Magdalen College copy has the lay bachelors' sleeves 'with buttons & loops without lace or tuffes' and the lay doctors' 'with ornament of lace and laced buttons'.

<sup>33</sup> 'A Study of the History and Use of Lace on Academic Gowns in the United Kingdom and Ireland', *TBS*, 12 (2012), pp. 103-27 (p. 116), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1103>.

## Difficult terms

### *Frock*

The term *frock* is here restricted to a gown with an opening at the shoulder to release the arm. In the early modern period the word *frock* generally meant a loose outer garment with sleeves.<sup>34</sup> Joseph Strutt, however, comments on frocks in the wardrobe of Henry VIII: 'It does not appear that this garment had any sleeves'.<sup>35</sup>

In his will of 1544 John Holden, rector of Gamlingay, Cambs., bequeathed his 'clothe frock lined with sattin of cypress' to Jone Grene.<sup>36</sup> The word is used in 1570 for one of the styles of gown worn by Puritan ministers, those who are said to eschew 'Popish ragges', and it is referred to as a 'lay fashion'.<sup>37</sup> An inventory of the property of John English, fellow of St John's College, Oxford, compiled in 1613, includes this article: 'A frocke gowne'.<sup>38</sup> These references do not help with defining what the frock was like, but are an indication that clergymen and academics owned garments in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which they called by that name.

The term *frock* is found in university documents in the sixteenth century, although the distinction between that and other kinds of gown is not explained. For example, Oxford Decrees and Orders issued in 1576 impose fines for graduates who attend St Mary's Church, Convocation or Congregation 'without having on [...] a Gowne or frock' or various academic exercises without 'theyr Gowne or frock'.<sup>39</sup> By 1635 it seems the frock as a gown without sleeves or with sleeves open at the shoulder and hanging behind the arms was confined to undergraduates, although only twelve years before that Sir Henry Savile, who was an MA and office holder, is shown in one on his monument in Merton College (Fig. 9).

### *Civil hood*

'Different Forms' prescribes the wide-sleeved gown for the BA with in addition a civil hood:

to be worne hanging backward from the left shoulder only, without Taffatie or silke stuffe facing but of some other stuffe. The said hooode to be worne at all tymes and in all publike places where & when the statute doth not prescribe their other hood to be worne.

When wearing the wide-sleeved gown rather than one with hanging sleeves the MA similarly is to wear:

a civill hood upon the left shoulder hanging backward (or if he be a Principall of a hall upon both shoulders compassing the neck behinde) for any Master of Artes to weare it, where and when the Statutes doe not prescribe a Taffatie or Minnever hood.

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34 Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington, p. 116.

35 *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, revised by J. R. Planché, 2 vols (London: Bohn, 1842), Vol. II, p. 246.

36 Quoted in J. R. Planché, *History of British Costume*, new edn (London: Cox, 1847), p. 313.

37 Thomas Harding, *Confutation of a Booke Intituled An Apologie of the Church of England* (Antwerp: Laet, 1570; repr. Ilkley: Scolar Press, 1976), p. 397; quoted by Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London: Batsford, 1984), p. 73.

38 W. C. Costin, 'The Inventory of John English, B.C.L., Fellow of St John's College', *Oxonien-sia*, 11–12 (1946–47), pp. 102–31 (p. 105).

39 Strickland Gibson (ed.), *Statuta antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 403.

The BA's 'other hood' would be black, lined or part-lined with cheap fur, usually budge, while the MA's would be black, lined with silk or more expensive fur such as miniver, according to the occasion and the season, and possibly turned out, or even inside out, to display the lining.<sup>40</sup>

Although *civil hood* appears in passages from earlier texts quoted by some modern writers on dress history, none of them has identified exactly what this article is and I have not discovered any pictorial evidence to help.<sup>41</sup> Some do discuss the Latin term *epomis*, which, as we shall see, is most probably the same thing at this period. The phrase *civil hood* is found in a variety of late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century written material, in most cases referring explicitly to an item of academic dress. Consequently, we may assume that the writer of 'Different Forms' was using an established term that readers would know.

An eyewitness account by a Cambridge man of the visit of James I and his consort, Queen Anne, to Oxford in 1605 includes the following observation:

The young Masters of Arts & the Batchelors of arts wore gowns & hoods so much alike as not to be distinguished, viz., black wide sleeved gowns, faced to the foot with taffeta and about the arm to turn up to the elbow, and black civil hoods on the left shoulder.<sup>42</sup>

Regulations drawn up when the king visited Cambridge in 1615, recorded by the Registrar, James Tabor, ordered that

Regents and Non Regents come to S' Marie's Church in the tyme of Disputacions with hoods and capps; viz., Regents with white hoods, and Non Regents with civill [*but quite possibly sable—the handwriting is unclear*] hoods.<sup>43</sup>

Two inventories include a civil hood: one, of Paul Kisby or Gisby, bursar of All Souls College, compiled in 1594, has an item 'a schollers gowne & civill hoode';<sup>44</sup> the other, of John English from 1613, whose frock gown was mentioned in the previous subsection of this article, also included 'An old suite and an hatte, an old cloake an old paire of drawers & a civill hoode' and also 'A batchelors hoode'.<sup>45</sup>

Letters written in 1611 by a college tutor to the father of two brothers who were students at Brasenose College, Oxford, and whose finances he managed (as was then the custom) ask for money to buy cloth for gown and civil hood. Evidently the brothers required

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40 Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 89, 81.

41 Hargreaves-Mawdsley must be mistaken when he writes (p. 83) that the civil hood mentioned in the inventory of Edward Cooper, BD, of 1640 'was an ordinary lay cape to put round the shoulders in cold weather and had nothing to do with an academical hood'.

42 From 'The Preparation at Oxford, in August 1605 against the Coming of King James', London, British Library, MS Harl. 7044, fols 201–16; transcription in John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James I*, 4 vols (London: Nichols, 1828), Vol. 1, p. 557; also quoted in F. W. Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 4th edn, edited by H. A. Dillon, 2 vols (London: George Bell, 1909), Vol. 1, pp. 288–89. The account is probably by Philip Stringer, who is known to have written the account of Elizabeth I's progresses, from which this, in the same hand, follows on.

43 Transcribed by William Cole, preserved in the Cole MSS, Vol. XLII, London, British Library, MSS Adds 5843, p. 286; printed in Nichols, Vol. III, p. 43; Cooper, Vol. III (1845), p. 68; also quoted in Fairholt, *loc. cit.*

44 Transcription by Ronald Caseby, Bodleian Library, Oxford <kisby.one-name.net/old-site/note/gisby-inventory.html>. 'Schollers' here no doubt means belonging to an academic or just an educated man and not a founder undergraduate.

45 Costin, p. 105.

the civil hood once they had graduated and more especially when the older one was applying for a fellowship at All Souls.<sup>46</sup> An earlier letter, written in December 1610, contains a similar request when the younger brother needed a hood—not a civil hood in this case.<sup>47</sup>

Records at Wells Cathedral include a note that at hearings about vicars choral the attorneys wore a civil hood to award seisin.<sup>48</sup> Also at Wells it is recorded that in February 1633/4:

Mr. Martin Simon appeared to answer certain articles. [...] To the eighth article he answered 'that he did not weare a civill hood untill he was a Mr. of artes of fower yeares standing, and since that he hath worne one, which he beleeveth he may doe by the priviledges of the university of Cambridge, wheare he tooke his degree.' He was willing to discontinue it if the dean and canons 'doe dislike therewith,' etc.<sup>49</sup>

Presumably Simon had been accused of wearing something he was not entitled to or which was inappropriate in the context in which he wore it. His assertion does confirm, however, that the civil hood at this period was worn at Cambridge (as well as at Oxford). The significance of his waiting four years before donning it is unclear: if the criterion had been moving from regent to non-regent status that would have occurred two years after his inception. Simon, a vicar choral and priest, 'appears not to have been amenable to any kind of discipline, if one may judge from the frequent references to him in the Chapter Acts.'<sup>50</sup>

A work in the style of Edmund Spenser entitled *Thule; or Vertue's Historie* published in 1598 by Francis Rous the Elder includes lines on Philedonus, a seducer, donning respectable, professional, possibly scholarly garb in order to deceive his victim:

Yet faire he seemeth at the sudden sight,  
Yet foule he is at last when men him weete;  
Under a pleasing hew and civill hood,  
He carries poyson'd baytes and venom'd food.<sup>51</sup>

A dramatic allegorical interlude, *Time's Complaint*, performed at St John's College, Oxford, on 1 January 1607/8 as part of the Christmas revels, mentions the civil hood: 'After these six of the privie Counsell in Schollars gownes and civill hoods, everie one attended on by a Footman [...] ' and 'After these the [Christmas] Prince himselfe in a scholler's gowne and civill hood, with a coronett of laurell about his hat, attended by fower footmen [...].'<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in Lady Newton, *The House of Lyme: From its Foundation to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Heinemann, 1917), pp. 93, 94.

<sup>47</sup> Newton, p. 92.

<sup>48</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Acts and accounts: 1630–41', in *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, Vol. II (London, 1914), pp. 392–425. See British History Online <[www.british-history.ac.uk/wells-mss/vol2/pp392-425](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/wells-mss/vol2/pp392-425)>.

<sup>49</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Wells Cathedral: A Calendar of Abstracts*, ed. by James Arthur Bennett (London, 1885), p. 255 <[archive.org/details/reportonmanuscr00cathgoog/page/n270/mode/2up?q=civill+hood](http://archive.org/details/reportonmanuscr00cathgoog/page/n270/mode/2up?q=civill+hood)>.

<sup>50</sup> Wyn K. Ford, 'The Life and Works of John Okeover (or Oker)', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 84 (1957–58), pp. 71–80 (p. 74).

<sup>51</sup> Spenser Society Publications, 23 (Manchester: Spenser Society, 1878), p. 15.

<sup>52</sup> *The Christmas Prince*, edited by F. S. Boas and W. W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 105–06.



Wikimedia

**Fig. 10. Physician and surgeon (left) and members of the Grocers' Company (right) in two styles of mourning hoods in Sir Philip Sidney's funeral procession, 1586/7. The former have their liripipe wrapped round the neck with an open fold at the back; the latter's liripipe goes straight over the shoulder and ends in a little bag. Details from the Lant Roll, engravings by Derick Theodore De Brij after drawings by Thomas Lant.**

The identifiable item of dress from the period that seems to come closest to the civil hood is the mourning hood worn at great funerals by various officials and civil dignitaries, as in Philip Sidney's funeral procession in 1587. Some figures wear a full hood with a cape and the cowl pulled up over the head, a sign of mourning, and some wear a mourning hood on the left shoulder (see Fig. 10).<sup>53</sup> The black mourning hood was invariably worn on the left shoulder. It was adopted by barristers on the death of Charles II in 1685 and they have retained it ever since.<sup>54</sup> This is in contrast to the judges and serjeants, who wore their casting-hood on the right shoulder. The Judges' Rules of 1635 suggest that the scarlet casting-hood worn on the right was a sign of temporal dignity and the black mourning hood on the left a sign of spiritual status.<sup>55</sup> A similar article formed part of the dress of certain livery companies in the early seventeenth century and was not especially for mourning. The Leathersellers' officers wore it in livery colours on the right shoulder—no doubt following convention.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps Oxford BAs and MAs were to wear their civil hood on the left shoulder because they were graduates in the Arts faculty, which was deemed to be clerical, like

<sup>53</sup> Articles of dress in this form are variously named elsewhere as a *capuchon*, *chaperon*, *chausse*, and latterly *epitoge*. For a brief description and the origins see Nicholas Groves (ed.), *Shaw's Academical Dress of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3rd edn (London: Burgon Society, 2011), pp. 16–17.

<sup>54</sup> J. H. Baker, 'History of Gowns Worn at the English Bar', *Costume*, 9 (1975), pp. 15–21 (pp. 18–20).

<sup>55</sup> Baker, 'Gowns at the Bar', pp. 19, 21 n. 44.

<sup>56</sup> See image of officers of the Company in the 1604 Charter given by James I <leathersellers.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Leathersellers-Book.pdf>, p. 6.

Theology and unlike Civil Law and Medicine, which were lay faculties.

In the 1635 document an MA who is the principal of a hall is required to wear a civil hood in the way certain clergymen on several sixteenth-century brasses wear their hood, i.e. with it fixed on the left shoulder, the hanging part brought round the back of the neck and draped over the right shoulder. Note that with this item unlike the mourning hood the liripipe part seems to be short and pinned on the shoulder rather than hanging at length at the front (Fig. 11).<sup>57</sup> The civil hood described in 'Different Forms' is explicitly said to hang backwards from the shoulder; there is no reference to anything hanging at the front.

Part of Title XIV §3 in the draft of the Laudian Code of 1634 and the finished version of 1636 reads:

Lectores etiam et Professores publici, in Lectionibus suis ordinariis, Togis Gradui vel Facultati suæ competentibus, Epomide et Pileo induti, ad Scholas accedant, et eodem Habitu induti legant, ac iterum a Scholis recedant. In solennibus autem Lectionibus in Vespertiis, Pileis, Capis, et Caputiis, Gradui et Facultati suæ competentibus induti ad Scholas accedant, legant, ac iterum recedant.<sup>58</sup>

The public readers and professors, too, at their ordinary lectures shall go to the schools dressed in gowns suitable to their degree or faculty, and in the scarf and cap, and lecture, and return again from the schools in the same habit. But during the solemn lectures at Vesperties, they shall go to the schools, and lecture, and withdraw in caps, capes, and hoods, conformable to their degree and faculty.<sup>59</sup>

Ward translates *epomide* here as 'in the scarf', but it must be what Laud's contemporaries were calling the civil hood in English. However, Laud requires the *epomis* to be worn for giving 'ordinary' lectures whatever the wearer's degree or faculty. 'Different Forms' pre-



Fig. 11. Richard Bethell, d. 1518, from his brass in St Peter's Church, Shorwell, Isle of Wight, shown in a gown with a scarf or hood worn in the style of a Cambridge squared hood. Engraving by Charles Tomkins, published by George Kearsley, c. 1794.

<sup>57</sup> N. F. Robinson took the 'scarf' on the brass of John Yslyngton, priest at Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, to be some kind of veil for the chalice and paten that the figure is holding ('The Pileus Quadratus', *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 5.1 (1901), pp. 1-16 (pp. 4-5)). This seems unlikely as the figures on the brasses of Richard Bethell, vicar at Shorwell, Isle of Wight, and at least seven others listed by Herbert Druitt wear it in the same way without holding a chalice (*A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London: Alexander Moring, 1906), pp. 106-07). J. H. Baker has shown it to be a hood worn squared in the manner of the Cambridge proctors and describes and illustrates examples of lawyers wearing it in this way but fixed on the right and brought round to lie on the left shoulder ('A Comparison of Academical and Legal Costume on Memorial Brasses', in *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge*, ed. by John S. Lee and Christian Steer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), pp. 90-105 (pp. 102-05)).

<sup>58</sup> Printed in *Corpus statutorum*. This passage from the 1636 finished text is printed in Griffiths, p. 144.

<sup>59</sup> Ward, Vol. 1, p. 153.

scribes the civil hood only for Arts graduates when in the gown with wide sleeves; there is no mention of it for graduates in Theology, Civil Law or Medicine, who wear a gown with hanging sleeves.

The same section in the Laudian Code also has:

Statutum est, quod Præfecti Collegiorum et Aularum in Conventu suo Hebdomadali, diligenti inquisitione habita, de Toga, Capa (seu clausa, seu aperta), Caputio, Epomide, Pileo, cuique Gradui et Facultati (præsertim Medicis ac Iuristis) competentibus, determinabunt.<sup>60</sup>

[I]t is enacted that the heads of colleges and halls shall determine at their weekly meeting, after making diligent inquiry concerning the gown, cape (whether close or open), hood, scarf, and cap suitable to each degree and faculty, particularly to those of the physicians and jurists.<sup>61</sup>

As this list includes both *Caputio* and *Epomide* they are clearly different articles. Again Ward, in 1845, translates *epomide* as ‘scarf’.<sup>62</sup>

The next reform of the statute on academic dress after Laud was conducted in 1770. The new statute Title XIV refers to what in modern Oxford usage is called a *tippet*, as shown in plates of the nobleman and the baronet in the engravings commissioned from Charles Grignion to illustrate it.<sup>63</sup> By this date it is a pyramidal fold of cloth fixed behind the shoulder to the lower left-hand corner of the yoke. This tippet figures in the engravings of the proctor, the pro-proctor and the collector as well, but their dress is not described in Title XIV—they are to wear what was already in use.<sup>64</sup> The tippet in this sense of *epomis* has now been dropped from the dress worn by other graduates.

Baronum filii in superiore Parlamenti Domo suffragii Jus habentium, nec non Baronum ex gente Scoticâ et Hibernicâ, Togâ talari deauratâ, sive Togâ nigrâ laxè manicatâ sericâ cum Epomide, et Pileo quadrato cum Apice deaurato, induti incedant. Baronetti autem Togâ talari nigrâ, deauratâ, sive Togâ laxè manicatâ sericâ cum Epomide, et Pileo quadrato cum Apice deaurato.<sup>65</sup>

60 Griffiths, p. 145.

61 Ward, Vol. I, p. 154.

62 E. C. Clark took the *epomis* to be the same as the *exomis* and read John Caius’ statutes of 1557/8 to require undergraduates in his college to wear it when graduates wear the *caputium* (hood) (‘English Academical Costume (Mediæval)’, *Archæological Journal*, 50 (1893), pp. 73–104, 137–49, 183–209 (p. 90)). Hargreaves-Mawdsley (p. 132) read Caius’ statute to require all members of the college to wear an *exomis*, but is vague as to what it was. Caius’ statute 27, *De vestitu*, is printed in *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 3 vols (1852), Vol. II, pp. 258–60.

63 See Alex Kerr, ‘Layer upon Layer: The Evolution of Cassock, Gown, Habit and Hood as Academic Dress’, *TBS*, 5 (2005), pp. 42–58 (p. 55), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1038>. A set of Grignion’s engravings is held in the Bodleian, MS Top. Oxon. c. 16 (20–45).

64 *Parecbolæ; Sive excerpta e corpore statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1771), p. 165; Ward, Vol. II, p. 9. See Hargreaves-Mawdsley, Plate IIA.

65 *Parecbolæ*, p. 167. The Latin text of the academic dress statutes of 1636 and 1770 is given in Christopher Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1874), pp. 481–85.

When the statute on academic dress was being revised in 1770, a draft dated 1 July still had BAs (but not MAs) in an *epomis*, retained from the Laudian Code, even though they had not worn such a thing for at least a hundred years. Perhaps it was intended to insist on the statutory *epomis* to distinguish them from undergraduate scholars, whose gown was otherwise rather similar. This was omitted in a later draft, dated 10 July, despite a suggestion in the interim that both BAs and MAs should be able to wear one if they chose (proposed *Amendments* issued 1 July). In the final draft, with text ex-

Here Ward, in 1851, translates *epomide* as ‘tippet’, different from his translation of the word in the 1636 statute.<sup>66</sup>

The sons of barons who have the right of voting in the upper house of parliament, and also of barons of the Scotch and Irish peerage, are to go dressed in the gown of gold brocade reaching the ankles, or in the black loose-sleeved silk gown with the tippet, and the square cap with gold tuft. Baronets in the black gown of gold brocade reaching to the ankles, or in the loose-sleeved silk gown with the tippet, and the square cap with gold tuft.<sup>67</sup>

This usage must be distinguished from the DD’s ‘Tippet’ in ‘Different Forms’: it is highly implausible that the two are the same thing.

It appears likely that the civil hood was a kind of chausse or epitoge something like the mourning hood worn at great funerals such as Philip Sidney’s in 1587. Or perhaps more like the article with a back part that could be drawn round the back of the neck by principals of halls and fixed on the other shoulder rather as the full hood at Cambridge can be worn ‘squared’<sup>68</sup> and as Richard Bethell has on his brass of 1518 (Fig. 11). It seems that the civil hood as such had disappeared by the 1670s. In their Oxford academic dress engravings George Edwards has the proctor in the tippet (in the modern sense)<sup>69</sup> and David Loggan has the collector (Fig. 12) and the proctor in one—and the proctor has a tippet even when wearing the ermine hood.<sup>70</sup> Did this tippet evolve from the civil hood and shift from hanging backwards to hanging sideways over the shoulder by 1674?<sup>71</sup> Or is it a completely different item from the civil hood? Is it the remnant of the cape of a hood like the back of an

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tensively rearranged, promulgated and approved on 13 July, the distinction between scholars and BAs was marked by the latter being allowed a gown, probably reflecting actual contemporary practice, with significantly longer sleeves than the former. At the same time the requirement for noblemen and baronets in undress to have an *epomis* was inserted: no prior discussion of this has been found or evidence that they had worn it in the past—or indeed that they had not; none of the known pamphlets published in the debate about the new statute touches on the topic. For a brief account see V. H. H. Green, ‘The University and Social Life’, in *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. v, *The Eighteenth Century*, pp. 309–58 (pp. 324–27). Copies of the printed drafts are collected in Bodl., Don. b.12.

66 The term *tippet* does not appear in the drafts or discussions in 1770, but is used in the modern sense in William Combe’s text for *History of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols (London: Ackermann, 1814), Vol. II, p. 17 (reprinted in Nicholas Jackson (ed.), *Ackermann’s Costumes of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge* (London: Burgon Society, 2016), p. 15).

67 Ward, Vol. II, p. 10.

68 J. H. Baker, ‘The Dress of the Cambridge Proctors’, *Costume*, 18 (1984), pp. 86–97 (pp. 92–95). Hargreaves-Mawdsley states (p. 81) that the Laudian Code had new MAs wearing the old ‘shoulder piece’ as a kind of cape (*mantellum*) when incepting and he cites Ward’s translation of Title VII §4. In fact, the word *mantellum* does not appear anywhere in the Code and what Ward translates here as ‘in their capes’ is, as elsewhere, for the Latin ‘*in capis*’, that is chimeres or convocation-style habits and not some tippet or civil hood or anything of the kind. I missed this point in my ‘Hargreaves-Mawdsley’s *History of Academical Dress* and the Pictorial Evidence for Great Britain and Ireland: Notes and Corrections’, *TBS*, 8 (2008), pp. 106–50 (p. 124), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1066>.

69 *Omnium ordinum habituumque academicorum exemplaria* (Oxford: the engraver, 1674).

70 *Oxonia illustrata* (Oxford: the engraver, 1675), Plate X, nos 10, 17, 18. See also Edmund Eggleston, ‘*Egregii Procuratores*: The Master of Arts’ Full-Dress Gown and its Use by the Proctors and Assessor of the University of Oxford’, *TBS*, 17 (2017), pp. 84–100 (p. 91), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1147>.

71 This point is argued by Bruce Christianson in ‘A Purple Passion? Queen’s College Oxford and the Blood of the Lord’, *TBS*, 12 (2012), pp. 63–71 (pp. 66–68), <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1100>.



**Fig. 12. BA as collector, from Loggan's *Oxonia illustrata* (1675), Plate X, no. 10, with velvet on his facings and lower sleeve and with a tippet covering his left shoulder.**

epitoge or is it a reduced cape or mantle perhaps, like the Cambridge proctor's ruff?<sup>72</sup> Are the Laudian statutes and the 1770 statutes using the term *epomis* for two distinct articles of dress, either because the drafters in 1770 failed to realize that their tippet was not the same as the early-seventeenth-century civil hood or because their tippet had, in a way, replaced it? The civil hood of 1635 and the tippet of 1674 and 1675 had been something worn over or round the shoulder, which is what *epomis* means. I am not convinced that the civil hood (if it is what I think it is) morphed into the tippet of Edwards and Loggan. Was it given up and the cape-like tippet used in its place but, like the full-dress MA and BA gowns, more or less restricted to the proctors and collectors till the noblemen and baronets were given it?

### *Tippet*

What does our writer in 1635 mean by the word *tippet*? It has been used at different periods for different articles of academic dress and indeed Oxford has differed from Cambridge in its usage.<sup>73</sup>

The prescription in 'Different Forms' for the BD has the gown with facing (if he please) of velvett, plush, Sattin, Taffatie Budge & his hood faced & edg'd with Taffatie, or Sarcenett.

The DD is to have his gown faced (if he please) with velvett or plush & his Tippet of Taffatie or Sarcenett.

Our document states that a civil hood is worn by BAs when not wearing their other hood and by MAs when not wearing their hood lined with taffeta or miniver. It does not deal with hoods, in the ordinary sense, except here for the BD: it restricts itself to gowns and what might be thought of as their accessories. Could the writer of 'Different Forms' have inadvertently omitted the word 'civil' here and really meant a civil hood 'faced & edg'd with Taffatie, or Sarcenett', that is in contrast to the BA's 'without Taffatie or silke stufte facing but of some other stufte'?

Are we being told that where a BD wears a hood (or civil hood), the DD wears a tippet, whatever that may be in 1635 Oxford? The 1604 Church of England Canon 58 required graduate clergy at certain services to wear their university degree hood and non-graduates to wear 'a decent tippet of black, so it be not silk'.<sup>74</sup> The tippet is there clearly of lower status than the hood, but in 'Different Forms' the higher degree

<sup>72</sup> Baker, 'Dress of the Cambridge Proctors', pp. 86–91.

<sup>73</sup> For the uncertainty about what a tippet is in medieval and early modern texts see E. C. Clark, pp. 95–99; Kerr, 'Layer upon Layer', pp. 54–56.

<sup>74</sup> Blunt, p. 398. The distinction actually goes back at least to 1549, when the almuce was discarded and it is recorded that the canons at St Paul's Cathedral put on their university degree hoods instead while the 'petie canons' put on tippets (see Mayo, p. 89).

has the tippet and the lower degree the hood. The reason is unclear. Is the word being used for a different thing? Incidentally, it should be noted that the word *tippet* does not appear at all elsewhere in the 1604 Canons.

It is quite implausible that it could mean the little cape seen on the left shoulder of proctors and collectors from Loggan's Oxford engravings in the 1670s onwards. That article is not in fact named *tippet* until the eighteenth century. In his diaries Anthony Wood, often a source of information on such matters, uses the word on only one occasion, in an entry in 1663, where it clearly refers to a liripipe on a hood, and not an academic one at that.<sup>75</sup>

The only item of academic dress that has been reserved at Oxford exclusively for DDs from the seventeenth century on is the scarf, worn by custom if not regulation.<sup>76</sup> I suspect that *tippet* as used in our document means that scarf. The words *scarf* and *stole* do not appear anywhere in the 1604 Canons: it would complicate matters if they did. Pictorial representations of DDs in the early seventeenth century have them with the scarf when wearing the undress gown (see Fig. 13). Hargreaves-Mawdsley establishes that the DD's scarf should be regarded as an academic garment and suggests its superficial similarity to the ecclesiastical stole is coincidental (p. 70). He believes it derives from 'the long piece of stuff to which the roundlet was attached and which was later detached and hung round the neck, being held in place by means of a loop on the back of the collar of the gown.'<sup>77</sup> He writes that 'the stole was a vestment, the scarf simply a symbol of dignity and learning.' He adds (significantly for us) that in the 1522 statutes of Brasenose College 'it is called a "tippet", which implies that it is not regarded as anything particularly ecclesiastical.' The word *tippet* in the 1604 Canon is taken by some to refer to such a scarf, academic like the hood rather than ecclesiastical.<sup>78</sup> If it did, the reversal of status of the BD and the DD in 'Different Forms' against the graduate and the non-graduate in the Canon mentioned above would still remain problematic—unless perhaps we think our writer meant a civil hood for the BD as against a scarf for the DD.

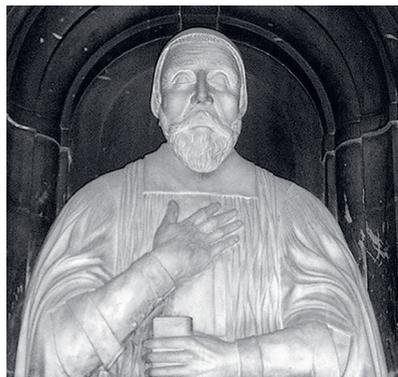
As we have seen, Ward in 1845 translated Laud's *epomis* as 'scarf', but in the previous subsection of this article we established that *epomis* in the 1630s actually refers to a civil

<sup>75</sup> Wood, Vol. I, pp. 481–82.

<sup>76</sup> See Edwards' and Loggan's engravings; Buxton and Gibson, pp. 33 n. 2, 38; John Venables, *Academic Dress of the University of Oxford*, 9th edn (Oxford: Shepherd & Woodward, 2009), p. 14.

<sup>77</sup> Could the antecedent of this scarf be the article, a kind of chaperon, worn over the head by a priest illustrated in a fifteenth-century French manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose* in the British Library? It hangs down to the shoulder on the wearer's left and forms a long, thin pendant on his right. Illustrated in Robinson, Plate I, facing p. 4 <[archive.org/details/transactionsofst05stpa/page/4/mode/2up](http://archive.org/details/transactionsofst05stpa/page/4/mode/2up)>.

<sup>78</sup> See Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*, 6th edn (London: Henry Frowde, 1907), pp. 148–55, and *The Ornaments of the Minister*, new edn (London: Mowbray, 1920), pp. 105–08; Mayo, p. 89.



**Fig. 13. Robert Pink, DD, d. 1647, monument in New College, with horizontal openings at the elbows and a scarf gathered and draped over his gown.**

hood. What ‘Different Forms’ calls a tippet is most probably the scarf, a completely different thing, which has been part of the DD’s academic dress down to modern times.

Perhaps it is worth noting that Nathan Bailey defines *tippet* in his *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* in the 1730s as: ‘a kind of Kerchief for Womens Necks (commonly of Furs) also a long Scarf which Doctors of Divinity wear over their Gowns.’<sup>79</sup>

### *Winged plaits/pleats or flaps*

In ‘Different Forms’ a post-holder MA who is not a clergyman may wear a BCL-type gown, that is a lay gown with a flap collar, embellished with

winged playtes or flappes behinde the Arme pitt.

The term *wings* (or *shoulder wings*) for ‘stiffened and generally decorative bands, often crescent-shaped, projecting over the shoulder seam’ has been used by historians of dress construction for these features in fashionable dress from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>80</sup> At this period it seems wings were routinely included on academic gowns with sleeves hanging behind the arm (see Figs 6, 7, 9 and 14) but not necessarily on other lay gowns (see Figs 4 and 5), so that adding them to a BCL-style gown may have been a distinguishing mark. By the 1670s, as seen in Edwards and Loggan, lay gowns were invariably provided with wings. The term *wings* is still used in describing such features on academic gowns: at Oxford all graduate lay gowns, as well as the commoners’, graduate students’ and bedels’ gowns, have modest wings.<sup>81</sup>

The spelling *playtes* could be for *plates* or for *plaits* in a now obsolete sense of ‘pleats’; the latter seems the more likely in the context.<sup>82</sup> Winged plaits/pleats or flaps will be shoulder wings that are made of narrow strips of fabric sewn together giving the appearance of pleats, as are also present on doublets of the period.<sup>83</sup>

A parallel can be seen in dress at the Bar. In 1557 the Inns of Court legislated ‘that none of the Company except knightes or Benchers [...] weare [...] wynges on ther gownes’ sleeves.’<sup>84</sup> Wings were evidently deemed a sign of superior status and an embellishment not to be adopted by the ordinary barrister.

## Commentary

This commentary does not discuss the frock, the civil hood, the tippet and winged plaits/pleats or flaps, which have already been considered in the previous section.

### *Before 1635*

The academic gown that evolved from the medieval *supertunica* in England had wide sleeves. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century gowns with hanging sleeves began to be mentioned in university regulations and to appear in portraits and on monuments. These must have been borrowed from civilian and professional dress outside the universities. They were typically

<sup>79</sup> 5th edn (London: Knapton etc., 1731), unnumbered pages.

<sup>80</sup> Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington, p. 294.

<sup>81</sup> See Groves, pp. 21, 320; Venables, pp. 20–29, 35–37, 41, 43, 47.

<sup>82</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘Plait’, ‘Pleat’.

<sup>83</sup> Illustrated in, for example, Valerie Cumming, *A Visual History of Costume: The Seventeenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1984), pp. 18, 21, 23, 24.

<sup>84</sup> *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln’s Inn: The Black Books*, 6 vols (London: Lincoln’s Inn, 1897–1968), Vol. 1, p. 320. Also cited by Baker, ‘Gowns at the Bar’, p. 16.

worn by non-founder undergraduate and by graduates in the lay faculties of Medicine and Civil Law and a little later in the faculties of Theology and Arts, except by BAs.<sup>85</sup>

There seems to have been little control over undergraduate dress except where colleges prescribed a livery or laid down their own rules, as they generally did for those on the foundation.<sup>86</sup> A variety of styles for students' gowns is found on the few existing monuments for them in the period leading up to 1635. Some are much as would be prescribed in 'Different Forms', for example, commoner John Pendarves and gentleman-commoner John Walrond (Figs 6 and 7). This is also true of John Bisshop, junior student (scholar and undergraduate fellow) of Christ Church, who died in 1588: he is shown on his brass in the Cathedral in a wide-sleeved gown, still with an upstanding collar.<sup>87</sup> Some, however, would not fit the 1635 specification. Edward Chernock seems to have matriculated at Trinity College as a gentleman-commoner but migrated to Brasenose, where he died at the age of sixteen in 1581. On his brass in St Mary the Virgin Church he is depicted in a gown with hanging sleeves, inverted-T armholes, fur-covered facings and a flap collar—in 1635 he would have needed armholes at the shoulder and sleeves hanging behind the arms.<sup>88</sup> Walter Dotyn, who was a scholar and undergraduate fellow of Exeter College and died in 1603/4, is shown on his alabaster incised-slab monument in St Michael's Church in a gown with hanging sleeves, a horizontal slit at the elbow for the armhole and a tube below, open at the foot (Fig. 15). No doubt this is the kind of gown Laud referred to in 1630 when he complained of freshmen wearing MA-style gowns 'soe as ther is noe distinction by the habit betweene Mrs of Art and undergraduates'.<sup>89</sup>

At least one BA is portrayed in a gown with hanging sleeves. Nicholas Roope, graduate of Broadgates Hall, died in 1613 and is commemorated by a brass in St Aldate's Church, which shows him wearing one with a horizontal slit for the armhole. He is also wearing a simple-shape hood and so we may be sure the gown is academic.<sup>90</sup> Some MAs after 1580 are shown on their monumental brasses either in coat-style sleeves (so-called trunk sleeves) or their gown is sleeveless—it is sometimes difficult to tell which. Some have gowns with hanging sleeves,



**Fig. 14. Richard Radcliff, DM, d. 1599, brass in St Peter in the East Church (now the library of St Edmund Hall).**

<sup>85</sup> Alex Kerr, 'Gowns Worn by MAs in Early-Seventeenth-Century England and the Curious Case of Thomas Thornton's Sleeves', *TBS*, 12 (2012), pp. 72–85 (pp. 75–82) <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1101>.

<sup>86</sup> See Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 92–93, 98–99, although his interpretation of details may be questioned.

<sup>87</sup> See Church Monuments Society, Oxfordshire <[www.churchmonumentsgazetteer.co.uk/Oxfordshire.html](http://www.churchmonumentsgazetteer.co.uk/Oxfordshire.html)>, scroll down to 'City of Oxford—Christ Church Cathedral'.

<sup>88</sup> See Edward T. Beaumont, *Academical Habit Illustrated by Ancient Memorial Brasses* (Oxford: privately printed, 1928), figure facing p. 87; Alex Kerr, 'The Turbulent History of Undergraduate Academical Dress', *Burgon Notes*, No. 17 (Summer 2011), pp. 2–3 (p. 2, top right).

<sup>89</sup> Quoted in Buxton and Gibson, p. 30.

<sup>90</sup> Beaumont, figure facing p. 30; the caption incorrectly gives the date 1603.

horizontal-slit or inverted-T armholes, with or without fur-covered facings, and with either a yoke or a flap collar, in any of the eight combinations of these that are possible. The distinction in the University Archives manuscript of ‘Different Forms’ between a horizontal sleeve opening for divines and an inverted T for non-divines does not seem to apply: clergymen are depicted in both styles.<sup>91</sup>

DDs may be shown with hanging sleeves or, like Philip Bisse in his 1612 portrait in Wadham College, with coat-style sleeves. Where the lower part of his gown appears below his convocation habit it can be seen that it has velvet facings.<sup>92</sup> Coat-style sleeves do not figure in our document, but velvet facings as an option for DDs do. At the turn of the seventeenth century lay doctors have a variety of gowns with hanging sleeves, usually with inverted-T armholes. Brasses in New College commemorate Walter Bailey, DM, d. 1592/3, in a gown elaborately trimmed with lace,<sup>93</sup> and Hugh Lloyd, DCL, d. 1601, in a gown that has a small flap collar, a narrow edging round the armholes and the lower part of the sleeve, which is a hollow bag, open at the foot. A brass for Richard Radcliff, DM, d. 1599, in St Peter in the East Church has him in a plain gown with a flap collar, wings and sleeves hanging behind the arms, a style not specified in ‘Different Forms’ for any graduates (see Fig. 14).

Some gowns with hanging sleeves in the pre-Laudian period have an unexplained feature not mentioned in ‘Different Forms’. This is an additional opening halfway down the lower part of the sleeve. It can be seen on several legal and academic gowns in the early seventeenth century.<sup>94</sup> A good example is on the gown of Henry Airay, DD, d. 1616, on his brass at Queen’s College.<sup>95</sup> Jerome Keyt’s BCL gown on his monument of 1631 (Fig. 4) may have an opening of this kind, but we cannot be sure whether the oval of lace actually surrounds a ‘hand-slit’ or is, by this time, just ornament.

### ‘Different Forms’ and what came later

One aim of the Laudian Code and therefore of ‘Different Forms’ was to curb any *laissez-faire* practice in academic dress and provide tighter regulation than existed before. After all, Laud had censured the University in the past for a slackness in these matters.<sup>96</sup> With that in mind, several features of the gowns described in our document may surprise the student of academic dress acquainted with Fell’s *Orders* and the engravings of Edwards and Loggan, which we take to present a clearly defined scheme of dress with almost no room for deviation. Of course, Fell in 1666, like an earlier vice-chancellor, Paul Hood, in 1660, was concerned to reimpose Laud’s requirements after the survival of academic dress had

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91 Kerr, ‘Gowns Worn by MAs’, pp. 77–82.

92 Kerr, ‘Gowns Worn by MAs’, p. 76 n. 22; <[weblearn.ox.ac.uk/access/content/group/1803d649-431f-46cd-9428-f1dc63ef43a3/Rare%20Books/bissepoole.html](http://weblearn.ox.ac.uk/access/content/group/1803d649-431f-46cd-9428-f1dc63ef43a3/Rare%20Books/bissepoole.html)>.

93 Kerr, ‘Gowns Worn by MAs’, p. 80 n. 32. Also see <[www.bridgemanimages.co.uk/en/asset/434809](http://www.bridgemanimages.co.uk/en/asset/434809)>.

94 J. H. Baker writes in connection with a Bar gown on a 1600 monument of an ‘arm-slit’ and a ‘hand-slit’: one at the elbow, the other lower down to allow just the hand to emerge (‘Gowns at the Bar’, p. 18). He illustrates another Bar gown with the same feature on a monument for Thomas Palmer, d. 1621, in Epping, Essex (*ibid.*, p. 16).

95 See <[www.rct.uk/collection/650115/henry-airay-provost-of-queens-college-oxford-1559-1616](http://www.rct.uk/collection/650115/henry-airay-provost-of-queens-college-oxford-1559-1616)>.

96 Buxton and Gibson, p. 30.

been under threat during the Commonwealth.<sup>97</sup> It is striking that ‘Different Forms’ in 1635 allows the nobleman to choose between a gown with hanging sleeves that have a slit at the elbow and one with hanging sleeves that have armholes at the shoulder (a ‘frock’).<sup>98</sup> Later regulations at Oxford do not permit wearers to decide which style of gown they prefer. ‘Different Forms’ allows considerable latitude in the trimmings that may be added to the gowns. The phrase ‘if they please’ or ‘if he please’ occurs seven times in this short document of under 850 words.<sup>99</sup> In 1635 material for facings or ornament is often an optional extra or one of two or more from which the wearer may choose (see Appendix A). Our document permits gowns to be made of a very dark brown or blue or of a purple fabric instead of black and the Code specifies they should be of black or a dark colour (*coloris nigri aut subfusci*), alternatives not offered in subsequent regulations.<sup>100</sup>

Choristers are included in Laud’s list of foundationers. The pudding-sleeved style of gown specified is unique to this rank and seems not to be found anywhere but in our document. Choristers do not figure in Fell’s *Orders* or on Edwards’ or Loggan’s plates. In the revised statute of 1770 choristers are required, with undergraduate fellows, probationers, scholars, chaplains and clerks, to wear gowns with wide sleeves (not pudding sleeves).<sup>101</sup> Thus, we might expect the same for all of these and indeed only the scholar is included in Grignon’s engravings. Like his counterparts in Edwards and Loggan, his sleeves are no more than half the length of the gown. Although this had long been the norm, it is made explicit in the statute in 1770 to distinguish the undergraduate foundationer from the BA, who, no doubt following what had become cus-



**Fig. 15. Walter Dotyn, d. 1603/4, undergraduate fellow of Exeter College, monument in St Michael’s Church.**

<sup>97</sup> See William Gibson, “The Remembrance Whereof is Pleasant”: A Note on Walter Pope’s Role in the Attempt to Abolish Academic Dress during the Commonwealth, *TBS*, 10 (2010), pp. 43–46, <https://doi.org/10.4148/2475-7799.1083>. Hood issued a decree in October 1660 in which he alleged that the use of academic dress had fallen into ‘almost a total neglect’ and his intention was to reinstate it ‘with all severity’ <[quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo2/B09630.0001.001/1:1?rgn=div1;view=fulltext](http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo2/B09630.0001.001/1:1?rgn=div1;view=fulltext)>.

Fell’s *Orders* may be consulted at <[archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.157936/page/n49/mode/2up](http://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.157936/page/n49/mode/2up)>; Edwards’ engravings at <[www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=george&keyword=edwards&keyword=reverendis](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=george&keyword=edwards&keyword=reverendis)>; and Loggan’s plate of Oxford dress at <[archive.org/details/gri\\_33125008536811/page/n51/mode/2up](http://archive.org/details/gri_33125008536811/page/n51/mode/2up)>.

<sup>98</sup> A later parallel is found at Cambridge, where DDs may choose between an MA-style gown and a pudding-sleeved gown for their undress.

<sup>99</sup> In fact, Fell in 1666 also allows an element of choice: gentlemen-commoners, knights and baronets may opt whether to add ornament to their gowns and noblemen may choose whether to have coloured gowns.

<sup>100</sup> Griffiths, p. 143; Ward, Vol. I, p. 151. In the statute this applies, with sons of peers in the House of Lords exempted, to dress in general, not only gowns.

<sup>101</sup> *Parebolae*, p. 167; Ward, Vol. II, p. 10.

tomary by 1770, has longer sleeves reaching the hem of the gown.<sup>102</sup> James Roberts, however, in his 1792 set of watercolours based on Grignion adds a chorister. He gives him the BA-style gown with wide sleeves down to the ankles and tucked up at the elbow, whereas his scholar has the shorter wide sleeves.<sup>103</sup>

Our document's servitors have yokes ('standing capes'), perhaps surprisingly for non-foundationers; Fell gives them 'round capes' and the battelars 'square'. Hargreaves-Mawdsley (p. 100) takes this to mean a yoke for the servitor and a flap collar for the battelar and he may be right. A decade later Loggan has both with flap collars, the servitor with round corners to the flap, the battelar square corners (see Fig. 16). Perhaps that is what Fell intended or perhaps the move from yoke to flap collar had progressed only so far by 1666.

Although scholars' gowns seem to have remained essentially unchanged, Fell requires them to have the sleeves 'turn'd up to the Wrist', unlike the BAs, whose sleeves are 'to hang at length'. Non-founder undergraduate gowns shifted to give each rank a style that had previously belonged to the rank above. In 1635 servitors appear to lack any sleeves; in 1666 they (with battelars, not mentioned in 1635) have plain sleeves hanging behind the arm. In 1635 commoners have plain sleeves hanging behind the arm; in 1666 they have ornamented sleeves hanging behind the arm. In 1635 gentlemen-commoners have ornamented sleeves hanging behind the arm; in 1666 they have ornamented hanging sleeves with an opening at the elbow, one of the options previously open only to noblemen. With Fell, baronets and knights and their sons may now have gold or silver buttons, a distinction absent in 1635. Fell's specifications are corroborated by Edwards' and Loggan's engravings.<sup>104</sup>

The BA gown appears to have remained much the same although Fell specifies that the sleeves must not reach 'beyond the Fingers ends, nor above an ell in Compasse'. Sleeves the size of those on a surplice had been brought by Cambridge men migrating to Oxford in 1649 and Fell evidently intended to curb this excess.<sup>105</sup> Edwards gives his BA wide sleeves reaching the hip, the shape of those on an Oxford doctor's full-dress robe; Loggan's BA has more pendulous ones, which almost reach the knees.

'Different Forms' requires that MAs are to have sleeves on their hanging-sleeved gown reaching 'onlye to the lower part of the knees'. This is stated twice, in relation to divines and to non-divines.<sup>106</sup> It suggests that the authorities disapproved of sleeves that were extravagantly long. The pictorial evidence from around 1635 shows hanging sleeves ending just below the knees, but later in the century they lengthen to be more or less down to the hem of the gown. Hollow sleeves that ended in an opening or a cuff give way in Edwards and Loggan to a sewn-up 'boot' that would increasingly take on a crescent shape. Panel sleeves on lay gowns are also sewn shut but remain square-ended. In Edwards and Loggan, as in later texts and pictorial sources, no distinction is made between the sleeves of

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102 See Grignion's engravings of 1770 (Hargreaves-Mawdsley, Plate 11C).

103 Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. d. 58, fols 82, 73.

104 Fell distinguishes three styles of gown as 'Wide sleeu'd', 'half sleeued' and with 'Sleeues hanging behind the Shoulder'. Perhaps the shifts illustrate a general principle found also elsewhere in the history of academic dress: each rank apes the rank above, and eventually the regulations bow to the inevitable and retrospectively legalize it.

105 Wood, Vol. I, pp. 149, 300.

106 The Magdalen College copy has sleeves to the knees for a divine and to the skirts for a non-divine.

MAs who are divines and those who are not. The same is true in the Laudian Code itself, although it naturally requires clergymen to wear clerical dress.<sup>107</sup>

It looks as though the requirement for the BM and DM to have their sleeves open up to the shoulder was dropped. Although Loggan illustrates gowns for both the medical and legal graduates, there is no discernible difference between them in this regard.

The prescription in 'Different Forms' of a BCL-style gown for MAs holding certain posts if not clergymen is not explicitly stated elsewhere, but it seems this is viewed as a kind of gown of office. This stipulation is not found in later records.<sup>108</sup> However, the Laudian Code has the bedels, not mentioned in our document, in a 'suitable gown of the usual fashion'.<sup>109</sup> Edwards and Loggan have them in BCL-style gowns: the esquire bedels, who since the late fifteenth century had been graduates, have more elaborate ornament (large tassels) than the usually non-graduate yeoman bedels and verger (small tufts).<sup>110</sup> The distinction between the two classes of bedels was abolished in 1856 but the lay gown for bedels and verger, now without ornament, is still in use today.<sup>111</sup>

Our document makes no mention of the Student of Civil Law or degrees in music. Perhaps the SCL had no distinctive dress at this date. In Fell, Edwards and Loggan he has a plain hanging-sleeved gown with inverted-T armholes and a flap collar. The BMus was



**Fig. 16. Servitor (left) and battellar (right), from Loggan, Plate X, nos 1 and 2. Both have gowns with sleeves hanging behind the arms. The servitor's flap collar appears to have rounded corners and the battellar's square corners. Edwards shows only the servitor, but gives him square corners to his flap collar.**

<sup>107</sup> Title XIV §1 (Griffiths, p. 143; Ward, Vol. 1, p. 151).

<sup>108</sup> John Rouse, MA, Bodley's Librarian 1620–52, was painted in a hanging-sleeved gown with inverted-T armholes, the vertical slit reaching the shoulder, prominent wings and what look like velvet facings, but no ornament (Bodl., LP 116 <digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/?q=john+rouse>). Wood (Vol. 1, p. 414) records a public orator appearing at a ceremony in 1661 in 'a proctor's habit'. Buxton and Gibson (p. 40) comment: 'it is said that it is traditional for the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, if not a doctor, to wear a silk [MA] gown on formal occasions.'

At Cambridge in 1585 Burghley allowed facings in various silk fabrics for a doctor, a head of a college, hall or hostel, a current or former University orator or proctor, a taxor, and a Regius or Lady Margaret reader (Cooper, Vol. 11, p. 411).

<sup>109</sup> Title XVIII sect. 2 §2: '*habitu decenti et consueto togatos*' (Griffiths, p. 182; Ward, Vol. 1, p. 199).

<sup>110</sup> On the status of the bedels see Carl I. Hammer, Jr, 'Oxford Town and Oxford University', in *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 111, *The Collegiate University*, edited by James McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 69–116 (pp. 75–76).

<sup>111</sup> Cox, pp. 419–24; Venables, pp. 46–47. In 1814 Uwins shows the esquire bedel with gimp and the yeoman bedel without (Combe, Plate XVII; Jackson, pp. 32, xii–xiii (unpublished Uwins drawings)).



**Fig. 17. DM,**  
from Loggan,  
Plate X, no.  
20, with velvet  
facings and  
lace with large  
tassels as orna-  
ment.

established by 1502 and the DMus by 1511. These degrees have had an almost ‘external’ or diploma status through much of their existence and did not qualify their holders for membership of Convocation.<sup>112</sup> Loggan illustrates the BMus in a lay gown with small buttons and tufts for ornament like gentlemen-commoners (see below). The DMus is shown in full dress only; he was not expected to be a resident member of the University.

Facings in materials different from the body of the gown, a feature of many of the 1635 gowns, had apparently been phased out in most cases by the 1670s. Loggan’s DM and DCL still do have velvet facings (see Fig. 17), but his DD does not, and that includes the vice-chancellor in procession in a DD undress gown. Of course, this could mean that velvet was still optional or that lay doctors kept it but DDs gave it up. The proctor has velvet facings and his sleeves are now part-covered in velvet, perhaps an extension of a lining turned back and fixed in place as we know happened with the DD’s full-dress robe. The collector has the same, whereas in 1635 he had satin or taffeta facings. Only the proctor and the collector (with the later addition of the pro-proctor) kept the velvet on their black gowns right through the eighteenth century.<sup>113</sup>

As for ornament, in ‘Different Forms’ gentlemen-commoners are to have buttons and loops, the size unspecified, BMs and BCLs what seem to be small buttons, DMs and DCLs large buttons, with post-holder MAs having the same as BCLs. Fell uses the word ‘button’ to include the accompanying strip of lace and tufts as well as the button itself. He requires commoners (who did not have any ornament in 1635) to have six on each (hanging) sleeve. He gives gentlemen-commoners the option of forty-eight on their hanging-sleeved gown, which now opens at the elbow instead of the shoulder. Noblemen (who in 1635 could choose what ornament they liked) now may have the same number as gentlemen-commoners in gold or silver. These details are followed to the letter in Edwards’ and Loggan’s plates. However, Edwards’ gentleman-commoner has a sizeable tuft with each button; Loggan’s has smaller tufts (Fig. 18). Loggan’s plate shows a more complex hierarchy for lay bachelors and doctors than set out in 1635. It has the BMus (not acknowledged at all in ‘Different Forms’) with small tufts, the BCL with similar ornament on the lower sleeve but larger tassels on the upper sleeve, and the BM with the larger tassels on both the upper and lower sleeve. The DM and DCL have the larger tassels, with five or six rows on the lower sleeve (see Fig. 17) while the bachelors have four. If we compare Ed-

112 C. F. Abdy Williams, *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge* (London and New York: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1894), pp. 11–19, 40–44, 65–66; Hargreaves-Mawdsley, pp. 77–78, 87–88.

113 See Grignon’s engravings of 1770 (Hargreaves-Mawdsley, Plate 11A); Uwins’ drawings engraved by Agar in Combe, Plates XIV, XVI (and XV for the pro-proctor with velvet facings on an MA gown); Jackson, pp. 16–32; Eggleston, pp. 85–88, 98.

wards' DM/DCL plate with Loggan's BMus and BCL (nos 7 and 11), it seems that lay doctors have a panel of tassels on the back of the gown but bachelors do not. In the mid-eighteenth century the lace and tuft/tassel ornament was replaced by gimp for graduates in lay faculties and for noblemen and baronets in full dress and by box-pleating for commoners. Gentlemen-commoners kept lace and tufts for a dress gown until the mid-nineteenth century while using box-pleating on an undress version.<sup>114</sup>

In 1666 Fell referred to 'Modells or Patterns [...] allready provided'. Even if Laud's press or chest still existed then, new contents would have been required to accompany the issue of the *Orders* for junior members' dress in what Wood called 'the reformation of gowns and caps (drawne up by the new vice-chancellor)'. A payment of £10 14s. 'to the Tayler for publique Patternes for Gownes' appears in the vice-chancellor's accounts for 1666/7. In 1690 it was reported that the patterns were still kept 'in a Press by the Vestry of the Convocation House, for Recourse to be had unto them upon all Occasions'.<sup>115</sup> In 1770 the new Title XIV referred to patterns engraved on copper (that is Grignion's plates) to be lodged in the chest of the Convocation House; the old sample garments may then have been thought redundant.<sup>116</sup>

Laud's press or chest may be lost but we have brought to light a significant preliminary draft inventory of some of its intended contents. In writing about the changes in academic dress between the Reformation and the publishing of Edwards' plates, Charles Franklyn rightly commented that 'We still do not know all the steps between 1540 and 1674 [...]'.<sup>117</sup> Although this is still true, I hope that this study of 'Different Forms of Gowns for All Sorts of Scholars in their Several Ranks' from 1635 has added to our knowledge of one of those steps.



Fig. 18. Gentleman-commoner, from Loggan, Plate X, no. 5, with lace and small tuft ornament.

114 Tsua, pp. 104–06, 115–16. See also Grignion's engravings of 1770 (Hargreaves-Mawdsley, Plates 11B, 11C, 11D); Uwins' drawings engraved by Agar in Combe, Plates V, IX, X, XI, XV; Jackson, pp. 16–32.

115 Buxton and Gibson, pp. 30–32 and especially p. 31 n. 3; Wood, Vol. II (1891), p. 84, and Vol. IV (1895), p. 69; Oxford, University Archives, Reg. Conv. B b 29, at end. In the 1660s £10 14s. was worth about £1,170 in 2021's money <[www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#)>. The vestry or Apodyterium (robing room) of the Convocation House also served as the Chancellor's Court, the name by which it is now known.

116 *Parecbolae*, p. 166; Ward, Vol. II, p. 9. Douglas Veale, writing in 1957, admitted: 'diligent, though intermittent, search during my twenty-eight years as Registrar has failed to locate the chest, though I naturally hesitate to impute negligence to the august persons whose duty it was, under the Laudian Code, to provide it' (Venables, p. 2). It seems clear that one was provided either by Laud's Hebdomadal Board or later by Fell. On the 1957 'Register of Colours and Materials of Gowns and Hoods for Degrees of the University of Oxford' see A. J. P. North, pp. 111–14.

117 *Academical Dress from the Middle Ages to the Present Day, Including Lambeth Degrees* (Lewes: Baxter, 1970), p. 110.

## Appendix A

Summary table of the provisions in 'Different Forms' in Oxford, University Archives, WPy/26/1/369

*To fit on a single page, the chart appears opposite.*

Key:

alt = one of alternatives between which to choose

opt = an option ('if he please')

req = a requirement

(1) pudding sleeve

(2) possibly with sleeve hanging behind the arm but more likely sleeveless

(3) with sleeve hanging behind the arm

(4) with horizontal slit

(5) with inverted T

(6) with inverted T up to shoulder

(7) unless wearing 'other' hood

(8) with the wide-sleeved gown unless wearing the taffeta- or miniver-lined hood

Rank	Sleeves		Collar		Facings			Ornament			Civil hood	Tippet
	wide	hanging	yoke	flap	fur or budge	non-silk material	satin or taffeta	velvet or plush	short laced buttons	long laced buttons		
chorister	req (1)		req									
servitor		req (2)	req		alt	alt						
scholar	req		req			req						
commoner		req (3)		req	alt	alt						
gentleman-commoner		req (3)		req	alt	alt			req			
nobleman undergraduate		alt (3)/alt (4)		req	opt	opt			opt	opt		
BA	req		req			req					req (7)	
BA: nobleman or compounder	req		req								req (7)	
BA: collector	req		req									req (8)
MA: non-divine	alt	alt (5)	req				req					req (8)
MA: divine	alt	alt (4)	req				opt					req (8)
MA: post-holder		req (5)		req					opt	req		
MA: proctor	req		req				opt					
MA: nobleman or compounder	alt	alt (5)	req									req (8)
BD		req (4)	req				opt					
DD		req (4)	req				opt					req
BM		req (6)		req		alt						
DM		req (6)		req			opt			opt		
BCL		req (5)		req		alt					req	
DCL		req (5)		req			opt			opt		

## Appendix B

### Transcription of Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 367 (81).

[ ] = letters supplied by editor to resolve abbreviations.

*Different formes of gownes for all sortes of  
schollers in there severall rankes.*

*Stat: tit: 14 §: 2*

#### *Choristers*

- 1 Gownes widesleeved but close at the handwrist & standing capes for Choristers.

#### *Servitors*

- 2 frockes with standing capes for poore schollers & servitors with facing of furre or some stuffe [tha]t is not of silke.

#### *Schollers & Probationers:*

- 3 Schollers of Colledges and not Graduates wide-sleeved gownes w[i]th standing capes w[i]thout silke or silke stuffe facing but of some other stuffe of lesse cost

#### *Undergrad[uates]*

- 4 frockes w[i]th falling capes & long hanging sleeves w[i]th facing of furre or some stuffe [tha]t is not of silke, velvet, or [th]e like & without buttons upon the sleeves, lace or other [th]e like ornament for undergraduates [tha]t are not poore schollers or Servitors vnd[er] the estate & quality of knights or esquires sonnes, in the Matriculation booke.

#### *The sonns of Knights & Esquires*

- 5 The like gownes for fashion & facing but w[i]th lace or buttons on the sleeves or other fitt places for knights & esquires sonnes [tha]t are undergraduates.

#### *The Nobility*

- 6 The like gownes or w[i]th sleeves cutt above [th]e elbowes w[i]th facing and ornament to their owne or their freinds likeing & choice, for Lords, Lords sonns, Bishops sonnes, Knight Baronetts, or their sonnes [th]at are not Schollers & fellowes of Colledges.

#### *Bacc: Art:*

- 7 Batchellors of Arts wide sleeved gownes w[i]th standing capes & Civill Hoods sowed fast to their gownes & to bee worne hanging backwards from [th]e left shoulder only without Taffata or silke stuffe facing but of some other stuffe. And the like gownes for Batchellors of Artes who are compounders or of birth and quality as in the sixth Article but faced w[i]th velvet, plush or [th]e like if they please, likewise Collectors of [th]e Lent but faced w[i]th Sattin or Taffata or [th]e like

#### *Mri Artis non Theologi*

- 8 Of a standing cape, sleeves cut halfe over above the elbowes and reaching down to the skirts for a M[aste]r of Arts [tha]t is no divine no Batchellor of Physick or Law w[i]thout buttons lace facing of velvet, plush, or [th]e like costly weare but (if hee please) w[i]th Sattin or Taffata or the like.

*Theologius*

9 ffor a divine [th]e like gowne but the sleeves to reach only to the knees.

*Bacc: Theol:*

10 ffor a Batchellor of divinity [th]e like but w[i]th facing (if hee please) of Velvet Sattin Taffata Budge and his hood faced & edged w[i]th Taffata.

*Doct: Theol:*

11 A doctor of divinity a gowne of [th]e same fashion but faced (if hee please) w[i]th velvet or plush & his tippet of Taffata or Sarcenett.

*Bacc: Med:*

12 Of a falling cape w[i]th sleeves open from [th]e shoulders on the outside of his arme with buttons & loopes w[i]thout lace or tuffes or facing of velvet & plush but of some Stuffe Taffata or Sattin for a Batchellor of Physick.

*Doct: Medic:*

13 The like but (if they please) w[i]th facing of velvet plush or [th]e like and w[i]th ornaments of lace and laced buttons for a D[octo]r of Physick.

*Bacc: LL*

14 The like to [tha]t of [th]e Batchellors of Physick save only w[i]th this difference [tha]t it bee cutt halfe above the Elbowes for a Batchellor of Law.

*Doct: LL*

15 The like for fashion but (if they please) w[i]th facing of velvet, plush, or [th]e like and w[i]th ornament of lace or laced buttons for D[octo]rs of Law.

*Publick lecturer orator &c.*

16 A M[aste]r of Arts [tha]t is a publike Lecturer Custos Archivorum the University publick Orator [th]e cheife Library Keeper and no divine a gowne like to that of a Batchellor of Law but w[i]th ornament of laced buttons & facing of velvet (if hee please) & w[i]th winged plaites or flapps behind [th]e arme-pit.

And [tha]t all (except [th]e sonnns of Barons [tha]t have place & right of suffrage in [th]e higher house of Parliament & are not schollers or fellowes of Colledges) have their gownes for [th]e color of them black or of some other darke color puke purple or the like

## Appendix C

### Glossary of terms used in 'Different Forms' to denote the materials employed for facings and ornaments

Based on entries in Cumming, Cunnington and Cunnington and suggestions from Dr Susan North

- budge** lambskin with the wool dressed outwards.
- buttons** ball, flat disc or toggle shape, either functional with buttonholes or loops, or simply decorative.
- fur** animal skin with the hair or wool dressed outwards; here probably a synonym for budge.
- lace** narrow woven decoration; what is now called braid.
- loops** functional or decorative buttonholes or openings at the end of braid strips.
- miniver** a high-status white fur, at this time made from the belly of the European grey squirrel (referred to here only in connection with an MA hood).
- plush** a long-pile weave of cotton or wool or silk; here silk is probably intended.
- sarcenet** a thin, soft plain-weave silk textile having a slight sheen on the surface, mainly used for linings.
- satin** a very smooth glossy weave with either the warp or weft threads predominantly on the surface of the fabric. It uses more thread than a plain weave and is therefore more expensive. Here probably silk satin, although it is possible to have a satin weave in worsted, linen, cotton, etc.
- silk** the product of the cocoon of the silk moth, woven into an expensive fabric.
- silk stuff** a mixture of silk and other fibres such as wool.
- taffeta** a plain-weave silk, heavier than sarcenet.
- velvet** a weaving technique creating a dense pile, either plain or with decorative effects; in this context used with silk. Until the late seventeenth century, silk velvets were woven only in Italy and had to be imported into England, making them one of the most expensive silk fabrics.