

**Birkbeck BA History of Art,
Art and Architecture at the Early Stuart Courts, Year 3
Laurence Shafe**

**What was distinctive about the Earl of Arundel as a collector of
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There is no name more familiar in the history of art than that of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who is usually looked upon as the pioneer of art collectors, certainly in England, and as equally distinguished for his connoisseurship and the value of the collections which he made.¹

Although this view was expressed nearly one hundred years ago similar sentiments are still held by leading historians today.² I will examine why he has been held in such high regard since Rubens described him, with typical diplomacy, as one of the “four evangelists of our art”³ and a hundred years later Horace Walpole described him as “the father of virtù in England”.⁴

I will suggest that although Arundel’s approach to collecting was distinctive it came at a turning point in the development of collecting in England. He was a man whose natural proclivities combined with his wife’s interests and resources enabled him to introduce Renaissance ideas of the value of painting, the importance of antiquity and Italian virtù into a receptive England. However, there were many other influences and people who were working towards the same ends and who had even introduced these ideas before Arundel. Arundel has, however, become the representative for all these changes and I will examine why his distinctive approach helped bring this about.

What Made Arundel Distinctive?

I will consider the distinctive aspects of the Earl of Arundel as a collector under four headings—his intellectual approach to collecting, strong family support, a personal commitment and a network of well managed and competent scholars and agents. These

¹ L. Cust and M. Cox, Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K. G., *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 19, No. 101 (Aug., 1911), pp. 278-286

² The facts of Arundel’s life are largely taken from R. Strong, *The Arts in Britain: A History* (London: Pimlico, 2004), pp. 217-229; G. Parry, *The Golden Age restor’d: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp.108-136; and G. Brown *Kings & Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 17-23

³ D. Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985), p. 149

⁴ R. Strong (2004), p. 229

reasons will be expanded on below after first describing Arundel's family background and personality.

Arundel's family history singles him out for distinction. He was the son of Saint Philip Howard,⁵ who died in the Tower without seeing his son yet he was the most senior Earl in Protestant England and a respected member of court.⁶ His grandfather, also Thomas Howard, was executed by Elizabeth I for allegedly supporting the accession of Mary Queen of Scots. This resulted in his grandfather's title of Duke of Norfolk being attained and his estates sequestrated by the Crown. Arundel spent his life trying to regain the title of Duke of Norfolk and like many established powerful English families he had an acute sense of history and pride that led to him refusing the title when it was granted by James I in 1623 because James created a new title rather than reinstate his family's historic title.

The Earl of Clarendon describes him as supercilious and proud and as someone who lived within himself. Arundel nevertheless had a good working relationship with James I, Henry, Prince of Wales and Charles I and was respected by Anne of Denmark, herself a collector. Clarendon adds that he was interested in the "mysteries of antiquity" and was wealthy enough through his wife's inheritance to build a princely collection. He adds "No one who worked for him got rich" and he was without any "strong religious conviction". He had large black piercing eyes, thin hair and beard, clothes that were dark and plain but expensive and the bearing of the "most venerable nobility".

All in all he sounds like Machiavelli's description of the perfect prince, although without the military skills.⁷ It is perhaps relevant that "one of the marks of a Renaissance Prince was connoisseurship in painting"⁸ and it is interesting to conjecture how far his collecting and his demeanour was a result of his experiences in Italy. He was 27 when he first went to Italy, some 10 years older than most young men going there for the first time and we know he took it very seriously as he spent six weeks virtually locked away learning Italian with his

⁵ Canonized 1970, http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=5433 (27th Nov 2005)

⁶ Two contemporary descriptions are Extract from the Earl of Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion of Civil Wars in England' in D. Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp.219-220 and Extract from 'A Short View of the Life of the Most Noble and Excellent Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey' written by Sir Edward Walker and included in his 'Historical Discourses upon Several Occasions' (London 1705) in D. Howarth (1985), pp. 221-222

⁷ N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, translated by G. Bull (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984)

⁸ G. Parry (1981), p. 70

wife. This was an unprecedented action for any English gentleman but almost unbelievable when taken by the most senior English lord.

Although he was the leading Earl in England he did not engage in the political intrigue of court life. From the time of his first visit to Italy in 1613, apart from a number of Royal missions, he spent a great deal of his time studying, building and displaying his collections. He was an austere and imposing figure at court and his collections were large, erudite and respected across Europe.⁹ Interestingly he was also described as “touchingly gentle with the young” and had “patience and dexterity” in negotiating.¹⁰

His design [drawing] collection was the greatest in Europe, his collection of statues equal to that of a Prince, and his collection of paintings numerous, particularly his collection of Holbein, which was the greatest in Europe.¹¹ He was also unusual among the leading English collectors of the 1620s, namely Charles I, the Duke of Buckingham and Earl Hamilton, in that he collected works of antiquity that were intellectually interesting such as parts of broken sculpture, inscriptions and coins.¹²

An important cultural development of the early Stuart courts was the symbolic representation of abstract concepts used as part of the machinery of good government and used, for example, in the masque. The theme was ultimately the king’s power to impose order and peace and surmount chaos and fury.¹³ Masques were therefore not regarded as an evasion of kingship but of its essence¹⁴ as it was believed that they were part of understanding ancient mysteries and cosmic harmony and was this was essential to the good government of the commonwealth and regulating oneself with calm authority. It was believed “Do not look for yourself outside yourself” and stoicism and melancholy were fashionable aristocratic poses of the age.¹⁵

I would therefore suggest that many of Arundel’s distinctive characteristics were widely regarded as sound attributes for a nobleman. However, Arundel was distinctive as he

⁹ This was at a time when court life was synonymous with “lust, lechery, treachery and pride,” see G. Parry (1981), p. 60

¹⁰ D. Howarth (1985), p. 201-202

¹¹ The view of Sir Edward Walker, Arundel’s one time secretary in D. Howarth (1985), pp. 221-222

¹² G. Parry (1981), p. 117 and D. Howarth (1985), pp. 77-80

¹³ K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992), p. 230

¹⁴ K. Sharpe (1992), p. 233

¹⁵ K. Sharpe (1992), p. 244 and p. 234

“distained to mingle in the intrigues of court life” and found his chief occupation in the formation of his collection.¹⁶

Arundel’s Intellectual Approach

Arundel’s collection was not a form of entertainment or a way of furthering his place at court but a serious study of antiquity and above all moral virtue. Virtue (or virtú) was used to describe the attributes of a typical Italian Renaissance prince since the time of Machiavelli. For Machiavelli it had a military edge but it gradually softened and gathered “connotations of civility, grace and manners as the attributes of learning lightly carried.”¹⁷

*Arundel was somewhat isolated from the more pleasure-loving courtier-collectors because it [Peacham’s book] gives the impression that the interior of Arundel House was hardly to everyone’s taste; although it was full of beautiful pictures there was something of the schoolroom about the whole place, with learning thrusting itself upon you from every wall and passage.*¹⁸

Arundel did not carry learning as lightly as he might but he would have known from his Italian travels that collecting classical antiquities was a highly prestigious activity in the early seventeenth century in Europe.¹⁹

Unlike his fellow collectors Arundel befriended many scholars including John Selden, Sir Robert Cotton, who had created the finest private library in England and was one of the finest minds of the age²⁰, William Camden, a great Elizabethan historian who had taught Cotton and Arundel as Headmaster of Westminster School²¹ and Francis Junius, from Heidelberg, who became Librarian for Arundel House.

John Selden was a master of ancient tongues and his decipherment of a large consignment of marbles at Arundel House resulted in a book, *Marmora Arundelliana* that spread the fame of Arundel’s collection across Europe.²² This is a further indication of the distinctive nature of Arundel’s collection as it was the first work of English classical scholarship and was only possible because of Arundel’s collection of inscriptions.

¹⁶ D. Sutton, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, as a Collector of Drawings-I, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 89, No. 526 (Jan., 1947), p. 4

¹⁷ D. Howarth (1985), p. 52

¹⁸ D. Howarth’s analysis of Henry Peacham’s description of Arundel House in the Compleat Gentleman taken from L. Herrman, review of David Howarth, “Lord Arundel and His Circle” (London: Yale University Press, 1985), *Renaissance Studies*, 1:2 (1987: Oct), p. 304

¹⁹ Hearn, K. (ed.) *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630* (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), p. 208

²⁰ D. Howarth (1985), p. 23

²¹ G. Parry (1981), p. 121

²² G. Parry (1981), p. 120

Arundel also supported the production of another book by Francis Junius published in 1637 and called *De Pictura Veterum* (The Painting of the Ancients). Junius was a close friend of Arundel for 40 years, a tutor to his children, and even went into exile with him.²³

Arundel was friends with Henry Peacham who wrote *Compleat Gentleman*, a guide to the way a gentleman should behave and the book that introduced the idea of the "Grand Tour".²⁴ He also knew Sir Henry Spelman, who with Selden was the greatest antiquarian of the period and William Oughtred the mathematician. Arundel's personal physician was William Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood and his best known friend was the artist and architect Inigo Jones.²⁵

There had been many collectors before Arundel, right back to Henry of Blois, who collected classical antiquities 500 years previously. Contemporary collectors included William of Wykeham, Thomas Wolsey, and during Elizabeth's reign, the Earl of Essex, Sir Francis Walsingham and even Arundel's own father.²⁶ However, none of these collectors understood Italy as well as Arundel. Arundel spent nineteen months in Italy between 1613 and 1614 including six weeks secluded in a monastery learning Italian. In Italy he visited Rome against the express instruction of his travel licence and was the first Englishman to engage in an archaeological dig in the Roman Forum.²⁷ In the opinion of Rubens he had the broadest culture of any man alive.²⁸

As well as being a collector Arundel was also a patron although he failed to entice many well known European artists to England.²⁹ In 1618 he did bring over Mytens who painted Arundel and his wife sitting at the end of their new Inigo Jones designed gallery.³⁰ In 1620 the Countess Arundel was in Antwerp, where she became the first English subject to be painted by Rubens. Although there is some dispute over the matter it is likely that while there she invited Van Dyck to England.³¹ In 1636, he found and brought back Wenceslaus Hollar who

²³ D. Howarth (1985), pp. 79-81

²⁴ D. Howarth (1985), p. 32

²⁵ G. Parry (1981), p. 121-122

²⁶ D. Howarth (1985), p. 1-3

²⁷ G. Parry (1981), p. 113. Parry points out that the statues he found had been planted there by his host but this does not alter the nature of the intellectual endeavour.

²⁸ D. Howarth (1985), p. 2

²⁹ C. White (1995), p. 27

³⁰ G. Parry (1981), p. 115

³¹ D. Howarth (1985), p. 152 and plate Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Aletheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel, with attendants and Sir Dudley Carleton*, 1620 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich). The alternative explanation is that he was invited by Buckingham's agent who was also in Antwerp at the time.

started to publicise the collection through engravings and he was also patron to Francois Dieussart the French sculptor.³²

Arundel's Family Support

When Elizabeth died in 1603 Arundel presented himself at Court, no doubt with great expectations as his grandfather, and allegedly his father, had supported James's mother claim to the throne. Although he did not receive his dukedom he did receive his lesser titles of Earl of Arundel, Earl of Surrey and Lord Maltravers. However, the income from his grandfather's former estates was not reinstated and so he remained a poor man. In 1606 he married Aletheia Talbot, daughter of the wealthy 7th Earl of Shrewsbury who, with her two sisters, was the inheritor of her father's substantial fortune.³³ Her father was a powerful and lavish patron of the arts and he had even visited Italy in his youth.³⁴

Countess Arundel's father died 1616 and left a fortune and it is estimated that Arundel's income was now £25,000 a year.³⁵ A Titian would range in price from £150-£600 but a Dürer was only £75³⁶ yet by the 1640s Arundel's debt is estimated to be over £100,000. This means his total expenditure between 1616 and 1640 was approximately £700,000. Although his lifestyle would have been costly he does not seem to have been profligate or engaged in any massive land acquisition or building projects.³⁷ This means his only major expenditure during this period would have been his collection. It is no wonder that he had the distinction of being described as "chief favourer of the arts in England."³⁸

His collection also grew through inheritance and gifts. His great-uncle John Lord Lumley owned Nonsuch House which had the only Elizabethan art gallery. This contained mostly portraits but also sculptures and a large library.³⁹ Although Arundel was his nearest relative Lumley left the collection to his second wife who distributed it. The library went to Prince Henry but the Holbein prints of *Erasmus* and *Sir Thomas Wyatt* went to Arundel. John Lumley

³² D. Howarth (1985), p. 163

³³ G. Parry (1981), p. 109

³⁴ D. Howarth (1985), p. 15

³⁵ R. Strong (2004), p. 219

³⁶ J. Brown (1995), p. 8

³⁷ He did use Jones to alter Greenwich House which burned down in 1617 and he extended Arundel House with a long two storey gallery in 1618 but these were not massive building projects, G. Parry (1981), p. 114. To put it in perspective he had bought Arundel House for £4,000 (although this was a token amount), D. Howarth (1985), p. 22. He also had a sumptuous lifestyle, "full of State and Magnificence in his Entertainments", D. Howarth (1985), p. 222, but this would have been normal for any aristocrat.

³⁸ D. Howarth (1985), p. 2

³⁹ G. Parry (1981), p. 109

was the only notable collector of painting during Elizabeth's reign but the works consisted mostly of family portraits and portraits of famous personalities.⁴⁰

Arundel received a gift from James I in 1616 and others from Sir Dudley Carleton from the collection of the disgraced Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.⁴¹ The collection included Tintoretto, Veronese, Titian and Leonardo drawings.⁴² It is interesting that by this date even an uncultivated parvenu like Somerset had paintings showing that collecting had become fashionable.

Lord Roos also gave Arundel statues he had just bought in Italy when he was assigned to go to Spain.⁴³

Arundel's Personal Commitment

Arundel was totally committed to his collection and it became a central part of his life. For other collectors, such as the Duke of Buckingham, collecting seems to have been a way to increase his prestige in court as collecting became fashionable. Lord Arundel was distinctive in both small ways, such as learning Italian, spending time with scholars, going to Rome without permission, digging for statues in Rome and setting up the first archaeological digs in Greece, as well as in major ways, principally nearly bankrupting himself by his excessive spending on collecting.

The earliest surviving reference to Prince Henry acquiring a picture dates from 30 January 1610 when a picture arrived from the Earl of Arundel.⁴⁴ Roy Strong suggests the earl was "a strong influence on the decision of the Prince in the spring of 1610 to emulate the courts of Europe, regarding the collection of works of art as an essential attribute of princely magnificence". "Friendship with the Prince had been an education for both, and pictures had drawn each to the other."

In 1612, a year after he had been made Knight of the Garter, he went abroad for the first time to Antwerp and then on to meet Thomas Coke in Italy.⁴⁵ On 6th November they heard of

⁴⁰ G. Parry (1981), p. 81

⁴¹ J. Brown (1995), p. 19

⁴² G. Parry (1981), p. 114

⁴³ D. Howarth (1985), pp. 61-62. Perhaps he felt guilty about the rumours it is thought he spread about Arundel's Catholic associations in Rome.

⁴⁴ Herrman, L., David Howarth, "Lord Arundel and His Circle" (London: Yale University Press, 1985) (Book Review), *Renaissance Studies*, 1:2 (1987: Oct), p. 303

⁴⁵ D. Howarth (1985), pp. 34-35

Prince Henry's death and had to rush back for the funeral. Henry and Arundel had established a close relationship through their joint interest in collecting and Henry was heard to ask after Arundel on his death bed.⁴⁶

Three months after the funeral Princess Elizabeth married Frederik V Elector Palatine and Arundel escorted them to Heidelberg from where he went on to Italy with Inigo Jones, not returning for nineteen months. In Italy he "become known as a comprehensive collector of art," especially Titian and Giorgione.

His journey to Italy in 1613-14 is a key event in British cultural development and established what was to become known as the Grand Tour.⁴⁷ He was the first English nobleman who went to Italy to study the arts. He may also have started his collection of drawings by Parmigianino and drawings by Scamozzi and Palladio during this visit. Arundel House in the Strand had been returned to him in 1607⁴⁸ and he used Inigo Jones to extend it in 1614 with a sculpture and picture gallery to house his Italian purchases.

However, "By 1616 collecting was looked on as a gauge of greatness in England."⁴⁹ So although Arundel was a key part of this general cultural change he was not a lone collector who started a trend.

Between 1620 and 1623 Countess Arundel took her sons to Antwerp and then to Italy to be educated and this is when she met Rubens and probably Van Dyck. In 1621 Arundel had been made Earl Marshal⁵⁰ and had commissioned Sir Thomas Roe to find antiquities for him in Greece and Turkey. He was the first to begin collecting antiquities in this way, possibly advised by Inigo Jones. In 1623 he demonstrated his pride and sense of history when he, maybe foolishly, rejected the offer of a new dukedom from James I, as he wanted his old title restored.

By 1629-30 the English court was a leading power in the international art market and Rubens was astonished by what he found during his visit.⁵¹

⁴⁶ R. Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Pimlico, 2000), p. 26

⁴⁷ C. White, *Anthony van Dyck: Thomas Howard The Earl of Arundel* (California: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995), p. 16

⁴⁸ For what must have been a galling payment of £4,000, described in C. White (1995), p. 18 as a bribe

⁴⁹ G. Parry (1981), p.136

⁵⁰ D. Howarth (1985), p. 191

⁵¹ G. Parry (1981), p. 143

It was not until 1632 that Arundel left England again, this time to bring Elizabeth of Bohemia back to England and in 1636 he was sent on a mission to Vienna to ask the Emperor to hand back lands to Elizabeth. Although the mission was doomed to failure it increased his prestige at court as he handled himself so well and he took the opportunity to acquire the Pirckheimer library and paintings. Willibald Pirckheimer was a wealthy Renaissance humanist and friend of Dürer and had one of the most prestigious libraries in Europe. Arundel managed to negotiate the price down to just 330 thalers.⁵² It was at this time that he met Hollar and invited him back to England.

In 1641 he had the unenviable task of escorting the difficult Queen of France, Marie de' Medici to Cologne. Arundel then went on to Utrecht where his grandsons were being educated. In 1642 he escorted Princess and Prince William of Orange to Holland and decided not to return. He made a will leaving all his goods to his wife, left her in Antwerp, and went through France to Italy where he settled in Padua until his death in 1646.⁵³

Arundel's Agents

The key to building a good collection was having knowledgeable agents around Europe, with first-class contacts, who were ready, if necessary, to engage in underhand practices to acquire works. One of the experts at this was Arundel's agent the Rev. William Petty who would, for example, agree with the seller that he would bid the price up to force another buyer to pay more in exchange for obtaining some choice works at a discount.

Arundel employed ambassadors who were no doubt pleased to establish a relationship with such an influential and important figure. For example, he used Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador in Constantinople in 1621 but in 1624 Roe started to represent Buckingham so Arundel sent out Petty to make sure he obtained the best works. Petty, enthusiastic as ever, started to prise the statues from the city gates for Arundel until Roe intervened. Arundel combed Greece long before the late eighteenth century English collectors⁵⁴ and found Hellenistic art including the frieze from the Great Altar of Pergamon and the head of a bronze statue known as the "Arundel Homer", now in the British Museum.⁵⁵

⁵² G. Parry (1981), p. 123

⁵³ See M. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 459-461 for a copy of the will

⁵⁴ G. Parry (1981), p. 120

⁵⁵ G. Parry (1981), p. 120

Arundel used Sir Dudley Carleton, the Venetian ambassador, who he met when he first went there in 1614.⁵⁶ In Rome he met Toby Mathew and George Gage who were known Catholics and therefore dangerous for Arundel to meet. However, it is likely Arundel met them to discuss art and possibly act as his agents. Once again Arundel showed a distinctive disregard for the rules when art was involved.

Arundel's Collection

Until the early seventeenth century collections were judged on their rarity and financial value. Collections often contained jewellery and gold and silver plate and of the pictorial arts the most expensive items were tapestries. During the early seventeenth century collections started to be valued for their erudition, taste and classical associations and painting became much more important as the sign of a discerning collector.⁵⁷

The four major English art collectors of the period were the Whitehall Group—Charles I, Arundel, Buckingham and the Earl of Hamilton.⁵⁸ Arundel's collection was distinctive in that the other collectors sought colourful and prestigious paintings and unbroken statuary.⁵⁹

Although Arundel had a large collection of paintings and sculpture his collection of drawings is more distinctive. Drawings tend to be collected by connoisseurs as they require close personal study and, as mentioned earlier, Arundel had the greatest collection of drawings in Europe.

We do not know exactly what Arundel's collection contained but by the late 1630s Arundel House contained thirty seven statues, 128 busts and 250 inscriptions.⁶⁰ There was a full inventory of his collection in 1655⁶¹ but although by this stage his collection had been

⁵⁶ G. Parry (1981), p. 111

⁵⁷ J. Brown (1995), p. 8

⁵⁸ J. Brown (1995), pp. 10-58

⁵⁹ G. Parry (1981), p. 139. The Duke of Buckingham said he "was not so fond of antiquity to court it in deformed or misshapen stone"

⁶⁰ C. White (1995), p. 26

⁶¹ The inventory was made in Amsterdam after the Countess's death. It was written in Italian and translated into English in M. Hervey's *The Life, Correspondence and Collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 473-500. Different sources give different numbers but based on my analysis of Hervey's list there are 799 entries in total of which there are 417 entries for paintings, watercolours and sketches by named artists and 181 entries for the same with no name appended. However, some entries are for multiple items, for example, entry 121 Van Dyck "thirty-two portraits in chiaroscuro". It includes Dürer (sixteen paintings and watercolours including *Madonna*, a present from the Archbishop of Würzburg), Hans Holbein the Younger (in total forty four works including *Christina of Denmark*, *Sir Henry Guildford*, *Sir Thomas More and Erasmus*). In addition, there were many works by Italian painters including twelve works by Correggio, thirteen entries for Raphael, twenty six for Parmigianino, thirty seven for Titian (including *Flaying of Marsyas*, and possibly the *Three Ages of Man*), seventeen paintings by Giorgione, ten by Tintoretto, eighteen

depleted by the exigencies of exile and the need to sell works to pay his debts, it still amounted to some "600 Italian, German, Flemish and Dutch paintings."⁶² Some of the works were probably copies as connoisseurship was in its infancy but he still had a very large collection for a private individual.

In 1620 it is likely that Arundel commissioned Van Dyck to paint *Continence of Scipio* as a wedding gift for Buckingham.⁶³ The painting has many messages at many levels; at face value the Roman general Scipio is handing the beautiful girl his troops have found to her betrothed Allucius with the gift her parents brought to free her as a dowry, thus demonstrating his kindness and generosity. This suggests that Buckingham was the defeated Allucius and perhaps James the generous Scipio. However, Machiavelli points out that Scipio's armies mutinied and he was a corruptor of Roman legions.⁶⁴ The foreground also contains a frieze fragment that was found buried beneath the site of Arundel House in 1972.⁶⁵ If it was a gift from Arundel this would have been known by everyone at the time and the frieze fragment would have brought to their attention that it was a gift from the erudite Arundel.⁶⁶

In 1621 Arundel sent his Holbein portrait of *Sir Richard Southwell* to Cosimo d'Medici. This was recognised as a significant gift and was a high point in Arundel's European reputation.

Arundel marbles were the most celebrated part of his collection and the introduction of classical nudes into an English garden was highly distinctive. Francis Bacon is recorded as saying "Coming into the Earl of Arundel's Garden, where there were a great number of

entries for Veronese and five entries for Leonardo da Vinci. Other artists included Bassano, Bellini, Bronzino, Cranach, van Dyck, van Eyck, Mantegna, Michelangelo, Mytens, Oliver, Palma Vecchio and Rubens.

⁶² G. Parry (1981), p. 116. Note that other sources vary in describing the number, for example, another source says "799 works, half of them paintings". Also the number of works by each artist varies slightly from source to source. My analysis is given in the previous footnote and points out that as some entries are for multiple items, for example, van Dyck has eight entries that mention 57 works and van Cleve has one entry "twelve circular paintings" all the sources I have found are wrong.

⁶³ G. Parry (1981), p. 138

⁶⁴ N. Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 98

⁶⁵ D. Howarth (1985), p. 156

⁶⁶ An alternative explanation by John Harris (see D. Howarth (1985), p. 156) based on Buckingham owning the fragment which was then purchased by Arundel after his assassination in 1628 seems less likely as Buckingham did not collect fragments. Another theory in C. White (1995), p. 61-62, is that the fragment was "sufficiently complete" to appeal to Buckingham, that he owned the painting and Arundel purchased the relief after his death.

Ancient Statues of naked Men and Women, made a stand, and as astonish'd, cried out: 'The Resurrection'.⁶⁷

Arundel tried to preserve his collection in his will for posterity by stating, "all gentleman of virtue or Artists wch are honest" could see it.⁶⁸ However, it was bequeathed to his wife and was dispersed after her death. Some of the sculptures were given to Oxford University by his grandson and are now in the Ashmolean Museum.

Arundel's Legacy

It is always difficult to unravel cause and effect and some say that the long Stuart peace encouraged free relations with the continental countries and this enabled arts to be cultivated in England on an unprecedented scale. This certainly helped but,

Somewhere in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, a remarkable change in taste occurred in England...men began collecting paintings as works of art...⁶⁹

The Earl of Arundel played a key role in bringing about this change through his deep and distinctive love of Italy, Italian culture and antiquity and he became an exemplary English art collector who established a pattern of collecting that became the model for the next two hundred years.

Arundel was part of the cultural change that took place in England in the early Stuart period. His personality, his dedication to collecting and the fortune he spent helped bring about a fundamental change. Arundel made the love of art respectable, particularly morally virtuous art with a classical reference.

Lord Clarendon said Arundel collected inscriptions he did not understand to puff up his insufferable pride.⁷⁰ There may have been an element of vanity but his personal commitment suggests that he should retain his revered place in English cultural history.

(Word count excluding footnotes and quotes: 3,490)

⁶⁷ R. Strong (2004), p. 226

⁶⁸ K. Hearn, (1995), p. 208

⁶⁹ Levy, F. J., Henry Peacham and the Art of Drawing, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 37 (1974), p. 174

⁷⁰ D. Howarth (1985), p. 79

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