> The binding vp of yo[r] Library bookes is spetially to be respected for the well preseruing of them and reddier vse of them. first wheather in wad or in paste bord I prefer[r] the past bords, if they be such dooble past bords as we receaue from Paris binding. next wheather clasped or stringed. many make election of stringing then of clasping, in regard of avoyding the anoy of Rushing [*sic*] as in respect of reddylyer repayring them. Then in what leather, and whether all in one colored lether or diuers. Likewise for coloring the Leaues etc. The more diuersitye of coloures and differences, be it in the couerings, false couerings, leaffes or stringes, the better will the same serue for distinguishing between booke and booke, and w[th] all fitt all other vses so well, as if they had alonely ben of one coloure. Lastly to be resolued whether to haue them w[th] false couerings or not, such small couerings are of small chardge, will last longe, and redely by any taylor may be renewed. Those will keepe the costely Leather binding from rasing, tearing wearinge and defacing w[ch] cannot be but by that meanes auoyded vnlesse the deskes wheron they are to be placed, were couered over w[th] cloth. Such couering w[th] cloth is like or little lesse chardgable, not so longe lasting, and greately subiect to dust and mothes. Therin I rather expounde then advice, leauing it to yo[r] discretions, to geue those directions w[ch] ye shall censure to be therin most conuenient and behouefull.[23]

Neil Ker notes of this passage that 'Tresham's words suggest that he was thinking of a library of lectern-desks', but the same concerns would be relevant in a stall library. It is interesting that Tresham makes no mention here of chaining. Perhaps he just assumed it. Certainly the books *were* chained at St John's.[24]

By bringing together the books, and by implication the readers, into one location, the college changed the role of the library from a repository of undistributed books, a reference collection, or collection of the most desirable and learned books, into a way of providing the greatest number of books for the greatest number of scholars; for the individual colleges, by purchase and by donation, could soon exceed any collection put together by any but the richest or most bibliophile scholars, although many serious scholars might still have in their private collections a greater concentration of specialist texts than was likely to be found in a college library. The library room now became increasingly a replacement for, or an alternative to, the individual studies.

The ideal personal study in gentry households of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contained books, workspace, family portraits

23 N. R. Ker, 'Oxford college libraries in the sixteenth century', *BLR* 6 (1959), 515, repr. in *Books, collectors and libraries*, 435.

24 I am indebted to Nicolas Barker for confirmation of this.

and cabinets.[25] Now such items began to appear in college libraries: globes; astrolabes; coin collections; portraits of the founder or principal benefactor of the refurbished library, usually behind a curtain; bits of skeleton; 'strange things in glass cases'.[26] The 'portraits' in Duke Humfrey's library at the Bodleian are, perhaps, the best-known British examples of the depiction of worthies. Such things had become essential to the ambience of a scholar, and by extension, to the place of corporate scholarship. It is possible to see this shift in the increasing role played by non-book items placed within the college libraries, which eventually turned them into the equivalent of the college's corporate cabinet of curiosities. A fine example, dating from the early eighteenth century, is Vigani's cabinet, at Queens' College, Cambridge.[27]

However, the first set of curiosities to consider is, in fact, books: the increasingly rare and collectible collections of manuscripts. These had mostly been superseded as tools for learning by the 1600s, although they were beginning to come back into their own with the advent of antiquarian studies. But, for the colleges, they were a problem. Some colleges consigned their manuscripts to the museum, locked away in chests or cupboards, part of the cabinet of curiosities. Others employed the time-honoured librarian's ploy of failing to list them in the public catalogue, so that, just as the distributed collections of the sixteenth century are invisible in the records, so, in the seventeenth century, materials which had previously taken pride of place now disappeared, if not for ever.[28] Either way, they were not visible to the commonality of the fellowship. Those colleges with high-profile manuscript collections, such as

25 For a discussion of the development of gentry library rooms see M. Girouard, *Life in the English country house: a social and architectural history*, 2nd printing, with corrections (New Haven, CT, 1978); for both rooms and furnishings, and fine illustrations, see P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration in England, Holland and France* (New Haven, CT, 1978), 303–15.

26 Andrew Perne (d. 1581), for example, left to Peterhouse, in addition to a choice of his folio and quarto books, 'all my Instrmentes [*sic*] of Astronomye and one kinde of every my mappes and a litell longe box of Woode of Antiquities [coins] of the Emperors in Silver' (*BCI*, 1. 421), and to the University Library, his 'greatest black booke of Antiquities of gold & Silver coynes of Emperors and consulls of Rome & other antiquities': McKitterick, *Andrew Perne: quatercentenary studies*, 112. Unfortunately all his collections have been either lost or, in the case of coins, dispersed among the coin collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Perne's collection of instruments was truly remarkable, including navigational as well as astronomical devices.

27 For an illustrated account of this cabinet see http://www.quns.cam.ac.uk/Queens/Record/2003/Historical/Vigani.html.

28 For example, a number of manuscripts at Gonville and Caius Library, noted by M. R. James as having been donated before 1569, and which are still in that library, are not listed in the library catalogue of 1569 (E. Leedham-Green, 'A catalogue of Caius College library, 1569', *TCBS* 8 (1981), 29).

peace', 'wrytinges concerning the ordre of Saynte Mychaell', and 'plattes and petygrees' in leather and canvas bags, in coffers, in boxes, and in a 'cupboard full of tilles' (i.e. 'drawers'). There were also two oak desks containing writing instruments (silver ink boxes, scissors, penknives and a pencil) and spectacle cases. Shelves supported 'paternes for Castles and engynnes of warre', and the room also contained measuring and surveying instruments and a 'great globe of the descripcion of the Worlde'. The presence of an elephant's 'toothe', a series of handsome cabinets and coffers covered in velvets or painted leather, two coffers of mother-of-pearl with silver mounts, twenty-four enamelled plaques of the Nine Worthies and other subjects (presumably from Limoges) and an unfinished portrait of Henry VIII himself suggests that this room most closely resembled the 'cabinet of curiosities' of art and nature associated with the collectors of the early seventeenth century (such as Sir Robert Cotton) and referred to by Sir Henry Wotton in his *Elements of architecture*, published in 1624, as 'Repositories for workes of rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the Italians called Studioli'. Some of the other items stored in the little study or 'newe librarye' suggest that it more closely resembled an up-market lumber room. Among these were 'one Angling roode of rede' and no fewer than fifteen velvet collars for hounds. Also at Westminster, the 'Kynges secrete studie', called the 'chaier house', was fitted with forty-four compartments in four tiers of eleven. This, however, contained no books, but another miscellaneous collection of treasures.

In an inventory of the goods belonging to Henry, Lord Stafford (1501–63), drawn up in 1565/6, the books seem to have been kept in four classes or cases in the gallery of Stafford Castle, but were actually used in a well-lit study on the ground floor near the garden. This study was furnished with a reading desk, two cupboards and a large trestle table. Such a room might have had some resemblance to the later Kederminster Library (1631).[60] Peacham, in *The compleat gentleman* (1622), had timely advice to give about the location of such studies and the general care of books: 'To auoide the inconuenience of moathes and moldiness, let your studie be placed, and your windows open if it may be, towards the East' rather than to the south or west, and 'suffer them not to lie neglected', but 'haue a care of keeping your bookes handsome and well bound'. His warnings were as pertinent then as they are now: 'our mappes and pictures will quickly become pale, loosing their life and colours, or rotting vpon their cloath, or paper, decay past all helpe and recouerie'.[61]

60 Illustrated in Heal and Holmes, *The gentry in England and Wales*, pl. 23.
61 1622 edn, 54f.

As collections grew in size, books were often distributed in different parts of the house. Sir William Ingleby's books, according to the 1618 inventory of Ripley Hall, Yorkshire, drawn up after his death, had been kept in the new study, the old study and the dining parlour, and where no separate library room existed this practice continued throughout the seventeenth century.[62] Sometimes there is information about how the books were distributed among these different locations. The 1588 inventory of Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, for example, describes in some detail the way in which his books and papers were stored in the various 'studyes'. Here, again, the various rolled up pedigrees, charters and seals were kept in sets of drawers, with the books arranged on shelves in numbered presses.[63] Books, however, were frequently kept in chests. In a 'noet of my lo[rds] books' made in 1584, the collection of Francis Russell (*c.* 1527–85), 2nd earl of Bedford, seems to have been kept 'in the long Trunck', and, 'in the great cheast bound with iron', there were no fewer than 190 books.[64] Business papers were also kept in chests. Lady Anne Clifford wrote in 1619 that she 'brought down with me my lady's [her mother, the countess of Cumberland] great trunk of papers to pass away the time, which trunk was full of writings of Craven and Westmorland and other affairs, with certain letters of her friends and many papers of philosophie'.[65] Books were still being kept in this way in the 1650s by John Holles, 2nd earl of Clare.

Gentlemen's book collections were frequently distributed among their various residences. For instance, Edward Paston (1550–1630), a Norfolk gentleman, kept some of his many music manuscripts in a chest, a closet and four 'trunckes' in the gallery in Appleton Hall (near Sandringham in Norfolk) as well as other items in the 'Study next the Parlor', but there were other books at his properties of Thorpe Hall and Town Barningham.[66]

Evidence exists, too, for a number of compact travelling libraries early in the seventeenth century made up of a selection of miniature books. Four examples have been identified, each with three shelves of small gold-tooled vellum-bound volumes, containing about forty-four books each, on theology and philosophy, history and poetry, placed in a wooden box, the lid of which contains on the inside an ornately decorated catalogue, while the outside of

62 Cliffe, *World of the country house*, 163–6.
63 The inventory is BL, MS Lansdowne 58, fols. 103–6. See also above, 476–84.
64 M. St Clare Byrne and G. S. Thomson, 'My Lord's books: the library of Francis, second earl of Bedford in 1584', *Review of English Studies* 7 (1931), 396–405.
65 Clifford, *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 66, annotation 51.
66 P. Brett, 'Edward Paston', 67.

the box gives the appearance of a leather-bound folio volume. These were evidently all gifts, very probably by the same donor, the barrister William Hakewill, to friends and patrons who included Sir Thomas Egerton (who died in 1617), Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls, a member of the Madden family, and one of the sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon. Other collections of miniature books with the same purpose in mind were made for Henry, Prince of Wales, and Prince Charles.[67]

Closets – small rooms within the private apartments of a gentry family – were frequently used both to store and to read books. A design for a closet made by the English architect Richard Smythson in about 1600 shows four elevations fitted out, apart from door, chimneypiece and window, with shelves divided into compartments and with four built-in desks. Some of the compartments are identified as 'For a mape', 'For loose papers', 'for writings' and 'For Incke'. This rather austere room seems more akin to a muniment room or an estate office than a room in which to enjoy a leisurely read. Nevertheless, we have a diary entry of Lady Anne Clifford for the use of a closet as a 'reading room'. She writes on 26 April 1617 at Knole: 'I spent the evening in working and going down to my Lord's Closet where I sat and read much in the Turkish History [*The Generall historie of the Turkes*, by Richard Knolles] and Chaucer.'[68] Again, a month later, on 24 May, she provides further evidence of the use of the closet as a library: 'The 24th we set up a great many of the books that came out of the North in my closet.'[69] The reference is to her library which had recently been brought down from the Clifford estates in the north, left to her uncle on her father's death.

The inventory drawn up on the death of Henry Percy, the 'Wizard Earl', in 1632 shows both chests and closets still being used for books. However, 'chests of books of all sorts fifty-two, and to fill twelve small chests besides' were kept in the library itself along with seventy-seven pictures, including 'twelve Turks' and 'twenty-four Emperors' and many 'curiosities'. Also, 'in the closet belonging to the Old Earl's chambers' were 'books in folio forty-four, in vellum of all sorts twenty-eight, pamphlets of all sorts thirty-three'. The inventory provides no evidence of shelving.[70] Again, in 1618, Sir William

67 W. A. Jackson and H. M. Nixon, 'English seventeenth-century travelling libraries', *TCBS* 7 (1979), 294–32.
68 Clifford, *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 54. 69 *Ibid.*, 56.
70 Batho, 'Library of the "Wizard" Earl', 250. For a recent reassessment suggesting 'an early form of the Pepys-type freestanding bookcase' see S. West, 'Studies and status: spaces for books in seventeenth-century Penshurst Place, Kent', *TCBS* 12 (2002), 266–92, esp. 271.

Ingleby's books shared the old study at Ripley Hall, Yorkshire, with items such as a sparrow net, a lark net, horse collars and bridles.[71]

The idea of a separate library room for the display of books on shelves took hold only gradually even among the wealthier gentry, as Cliffe points out.[72] Early in the period there is evidence from Longleat, the residence of Sir John Thynne, where in 1563 two Frenchmen, a sculptor and a joiner, were hired for work which included the decoration of the porch, the panelling of the gallery and work on bookcases for the library.[73] At the end of the period, an inventory of 1634 drawn up on the death of Sir Edward Zouch describes a room in his newly completed Jacobean mansion as a library containing 250 books. If the class-catalogue of Lord Lumley's library made by Anthony Alcock in 1596 was based simply on an inspection of the books on the shelves, then the collection at Nonsuch was arranged in a large room according to seven subject classes, with some, particularly theology, occupying a number of cases.[74] This seems to have been the case at Salisbury House in the Strand. The 1614/15 catalogue of books 'in your lordships library' – one of the many London houses of the Cecils – suggests a large library room with three cases on the left and four on the right, accommodating in all about 1,300 books. If a survey and plan made by Sir Christopher Wren in 1706 is to be believed, the library built at St James's in 1609–10 to accommodate the book collection of Henry, Prince of Wales, was located on an upper floor of the palace at the extreme south-east corner. The room was 25ft by 35ft, divided lengthways by a fitting which seems to have had a double stack of shelves or boxes. The interior was not exclusively utilitarian, as payments to the master sculptor Maximilian Colt reveal the addition of an elaborate fireplace and 'four greate arches over the passages in the library, with architrave round aboute them and the Princes armes in the spandrils'. The decoration also included both Ionic and Corinthian capitals, pyramids, pendants and satyrs.[75] It was not, however, until the end of the seventeenth century that the libraries of English country houses became the elegant rooms with ornate decoration, lined with books in uniform bindings, that we see today.

A library room furnished with bookcases rather than chests or trunks was a place where finely bound books could be displayed to advantage and shown to visitors, and there are many examples of owners from this period who valued their books in this way. Lumley, despite the size, range and historical

71 Cliffe, *World of the country house*, 163. 72 *Ibid.*
73 D. Burnett, *Longleat: the story of an English country house* (London, 1978), 32, 34.
74 Jayne and Johnson, *Lumley library*, 9–10, 32–3.
75 R. Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's lost Renaissance* (London, 1986), 210.

of the period – to Burghley in 1597.[94] Theobalds was acquired by Burghley in 1564, and during the 1570s and 1580s it developed into a kind of auxiliary royal palace for the queen's frequent visits there towards the end of her reign. The gardens were constructed in the latest fashion between 1575 and 1585. His London house also had elaborate gardens, though we know little about them. Burghley's 'weakness' is reflected in the books and manuscripts in his library. Hatfield preserves a number of garden plans in his own hand. In one of his notebooks that survive, there are notes in his hand relating to the planting and care of crops, and there is a letter from him in 1561 (25 March) to Sir Thomas Windebank, who was in Paris with Cecil's son Thomas, requesting him to procure 'a lymon, a pomgranat, and a myrt tree' (to add to his existing orange tree) so that these could be included with other items that Sir Francis Carew was intending to send home. He particularly requests Sir Thomas that 'before hand [he] send me in wryting a perfect declaration howe they ought to be used kept and ordered'.[95] Books relating to gardening and agriculture with Cecil's signature now at Hatfield include his much annotated 'Geoponica' (or *De agriculturae* (Basle, 1540) attributed to 'Constantine VII', with commentary by Cornarius), the *De re hortensi libellus, vulgaria herbarum florum et fructum* by Charles Estienne in 1539, bound with the same author's *Seminarium, et plantarum fructiferarum* (Paris, 1540) – the former annotated by Burghley throughout.

The garden at Theobalds seems to owe something to the gardens presented by Vredeman de Vries in his *Hortorum viridariorumque formae*. De Vries's work was widely used for its garden patterns by builders in England. There is a plan of the Great Garden at Theobalds endorsed by Burghley. The approach to this garden was through a loggia painted with genealogies (another of Burghley's interests), and the garden was surrounded by a moat on which visitors could be rowed in boats. The design echoes Androuet du Cerceau's engravings of French gardens in his *Le plus excellents bastiments de France* (1576) – one of the very few architectural books to give actual views of gardens, and a book which was known and studied in England.[96]

His son Robert inherited his father's passion for gardening. As a young man he had created a remarkable emblematic garden at his house at Pymms (4 miles distant from Theobalds)[97] in honour of Elizabeth I, and as soon as he inherited Theobalds, on Burghley's death in 1598, he started new garden

94 *STC* 11750, with Burghley's arms, as dedicatee, on the verso of the title page.
95 R. Strong, 'Sir Francis Carew's garden at Beddington', in E. Chaney and P. Mack (eds.), *England and the continental Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990, 1994), 234.
96 Strong, *Renaissance garden in England*, 53. 97 *Ibid.*, 46.

developments. The garden at Hatfield House, built between 1607 and 1612 (which he had exchanged with James I for Theobalds in 1607) was created by Cecil's gardener, Mountain Jennings. When it came to stocking the garden, John Tradescant took over, being to Hatfield what Gerard had been to Theobalds. Tradescant brought shiploads of rare trees, fruits, flowers, plants and seeds back from Europe. Marie de Medici sent Cecil 500 fruit trees and two gardeners to supervise their planting. Robert Cecil died on 24 May 1612 and never lived to enjoy either his great house or its magnificent garden.

The gentleman as 'virtuoso'

The early seventeenth century saw the emergence of the new cultural phenomenon of the 'virtuoso'. A virtuoso was someone whose main concern in life was with the collecting of natural or artifical 'curiosities' – accompanied by some antiquarian 'research', aesthetic appreciation, and the acquisition of classical sculpture and 'old-master' paintings. He often dabbled in a little 'science' and engineering, on the side. The collecting of 'curiosities' was certainly not new in the early seventeenth century. John Stowe tells us that Reyner Wolfe (d. 1573), the printer and also the instigator of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, had just such a collection, including 'curiosities' found among the numerous cartloads of bones he removed from the charnel house in St Paul's Churchyard when setting up his business there. Antiquarians such as John Twyne, of Canterbury, began excavating at ancient sites, and William Camden, Lord Howard of Naworth and Sir Robert Cotton were interested in Roman antiquities being found at Hadrian's Wall. Lord Howard, who lived very close to the wall, formed his own collection of Roman altars and inscribed stones to adorn the gardens at Naworth, sending some examples south to add to Cotton's growing collection of antiquities.[98] Pottery, bones and above all coins found their way into their collections – notably that of Sir Robert Cotton – and were proudly displayed to visitors, along with their shelves of books. William Cecil also had a coin collection to accompany his books at Theobalds, and evidence of his interest in coin and medal collecting survives in his library, which included Sebastiano Erizzo, *Discorso sopra le medaglie antiche* (Venice, 1559), which he acquired in 1565, now at the National Art Library (V&A, Clements Coll. CLE LL2). Henry Herbert, 2nd earl of Pembroke (?1534–1601), was another, collecting not only

98 G. Ornsby (ed.), *Selections from the household books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, Surtees Soc. 68 (Durham, 1878), lvii, lix.

manuscripts, but ancient sculpture, coins, medals and gems. Others had begun to purchase sculpture and works of art from abroad, often to decorate their new homes and 'fantasticall' gardens. In the 1560s, for example, William Cecil was buying statues of Roman emperors from Venice and importing marble doorframes, basins and tables from France to be set up eventually in his new residence, Theobalds. The 'Wizard Earl' was interested in scientific experiments, as William Drummond of Hawthornden was in trying to invent weapons of war. The libraries of such men reflect these interests and we have to see their libraries in this wider context.

However, it was Thomas Howard, 2nd earl of Arundel (1585–1646), who was to be dubbed by Horace Walpole in the eighteenth century as 'the father of virtu' in England. A man of great *hauteur* – whom many found insufferable – he was nevertheless to set before his contemporaries a new ideal for the life of a gentleman. It was this side of him that stands out in this description of him by his one-time secretary, Sir Edward Walker:[99]

> He was the greatest favourer of Arts, especially painting, sculpture, Designs [i.e. drawings], carving, Building and the like, that this age has produced; his Collection of Designs being more than any person living, and his Statues equal in number, value and antiquity to those in the Houses of most Princes . . . And he had the Honour to be the first Person of Quality that set a value on them in our Nation.

Arundel's visit to Italy in 1613/14 with his friend Inigo Jones saw the beginning of his collecting activities. While in Rome he obtained a licence to import Roman antiquities, and commissioned four statues from a Roman sculptor. He was also purchasing books in Italy. These antiquities had a considerable impact when they arrived in England. His great-uncle, John, Lord Lumley, had owned the largest collection of pictures in England – over 200 – but these were mainly portraits of ancestors and notable 'worthies' of the day. Lumley also had the second largest library of the time, and another relative, Lord William Howard of Naworth, had formed another large library in the north. What was different about Arundel's collection was not only its size and scope, but its intention – 'art for art's sake' – as opposed to the often utilitarian outlook of his predecessors.

Inigo Jones designed a new italianate picture and sculpture gallery at Somerset House to house the collection. The collection was viewed by Lady Anne Clifford in December 1616: 'Upon the 27th . . . Presently after Dinner

99 R. Strong, *The spirit of Britain: a narrative history of the arts* (London, 1999), 238. Chapter 18 (239–51) deals in detail with Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, the 'Virtuoso'.

came my Lord thither and we went together to my Lady Arundel's where I saw all the Pictures and Statues in the Lower Rooms.'[100]

As well as sculpture, paintings and antiquities, Arundel owned a huge library. This was augmented, when he was a part of the 1636 embassy to Vienna, by the purchase of the library of Willibald Pirckheimer, the wealthy Renaissance humanist and friend of Dürer, which included priceless books and incunabula – some of them illustrated by the great German artist.

Arundel's circle included Sir Robert Cotton, John Selden, William Camden, Sir Henry Spelman and William Harvey. His librarian was Francis Junius. In his *Compleat gentleman*, Henry Peacham, who was tutor to Arundel's children, sums up the changes in the education of a gentleman largely inspired by Arundel. In a chapter entitled 'Of the dignities and necessitie of Learning in Princes and Nobilitie', he writes: 'Since learning then is an essential part of Nobilitie, as vnto which we are beholden, for whatsoeuer dependeth on the culture of the mind; it followeth, that who is nobly borne, and a Scholar withal, Deserveth Double Honour, being bothe εὐγενης and πολυμαθης.'[101] These were fine words for a lofty ideal. We have come a long way from the perceived stereotype of the hunting and hawking gentleman who had little if any time for his books. Let Peacham have the last word in his timely advice to those who would be 'compleat gentlemen' in 1622:

> Affect not as some doe, that bookish Ambition, to be stored with books and haue well furnished Libraries, yet keepe their heads emptie of knowledge: to desire to haue many bookes, and neuer to vse them, is like *a childe that will haue a candle burning by him, all the while he is sleeping.*[102]

100 Clifford, *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 43.
101 Peacham, *The compleat gentleman*, ch. 2, 18.
102 Peacham, *The compleat gentleman*, 54.