Proc Soc Antiq Scot 152 (2023), 261–287
https://doi.org/10.9750/PSAS.152.1364

William Bruce's Hopetoun House and the arrival of Serlio's unpublished 'Sixth Book on Dwellings' in Britain, *c* 1700

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ABSTRACT

William Bruce's Hopetoun House, begun in 1699, would have been Britain's first centrally planned villa, had it been completed as specified in the original contract. The source of its plan has attracted much speculation but this article argues that the closest precedent is a plan in the first draft of Sebastiano Serlio's unpublished 'Sixth Book on Dwellings', dating from the 1540s and preserved in an album, now belonging to the Avery Library in New York. The author demonstrated in an article published in 2022 that the album was in the ownership of the London sculptor, Francis Bird, by the early 18th century. The article here suggests that the original plan of Hopetoun House shows that the Avery Album was known to William Bruce by the late 1690s, and to James Smith; and that it was the source of the plan of Lord Burlington's Chiswick House; and may have inspired projects by Nicholas Hawksmoor and James Gibbs.

INTRODUCTION

The present article was originally intended to form the second part of a longer paper but for a variety of reasons the first part was published separately last year.[1] As we shall see, it explored the provenance of the first draft of Sebastiano Serlio's unpublished 'Sixth Book on Dwellings' and established it was in the possession of the prominent London sculptor Francis Bird (1667–1731) by the time of his death. What it did not do was explain that the genesis of the research was my noticing the similarity of the plan of William Bruce's Hopetoun House (begun 1699) to one of the plans in the 'Sixth Book'. That is the principal focus of this follow-up article, along with some early 18th-century buildings in England, which, I suggest, may also demonstrate knowledge of the same source. The findings are speculative but are published in the hope they will stimulate further research which will throw more light on the subject. We begin by summarising the argument of the first article on the provenance of the first draft of Serlio's 'Sixth Book' and its context within his other writings.

THE PROVENANCE AND CONTEXT

By the time of his death, David Laing, the great Scottish antiquary (1793–1878), had accumulated a treasure trove of around 25,000 books and 20,000 prints and drawings, as well as manuscripts and paintings.[2] The University of Edinburgh was given the pick of the manuscripts, while the Old Master prints and drawings were offered to the Royal Scottish Academy, and now form the core of the collection of the National Gallery of Scotland.[3] For whatever reason, neither institution seems to have noticed the significance

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of a calf-bound album of more than 70 folios on which were mounted fragments of paper of differing sizes containing architectural drawings and writings, despite its title page proclaiming it to be the eighth book of the architectural treatise of the famous Italian architect Sebastiano Serlio, (1475–1554).[4] Consequently, the volume was sold, along with the remainder of Laing's collections, at auction in 1879 and disappeared for another 40 years or so until the London antiquarian booksellers Bernard Quaritch acquired it and offered it for sale in 1919, after first rebinding it and cutting out the centres of the mount sheets to allow the versos of the original sheets to be visible.[5] The following year, it attracted the attention of the architectural historian William B Dinsmoor (1886–1973), best known for his work on ancient Greek architecture, who persuaded the Avery Library of Columbia University in New York to acquire it in 1924, where it has become one of the greatest treasures of what is probably the world's greatest architectural library.[6]

In his major study of 1942, introducing what he calls the Avery 'Manuscript' (although 'Album' is probably a more accurate description, and will be used here),[7] Dinsmoor explains, that, although its title page declares it to be Serlio's eighth book, he recognised that the contents were the earliest known draft of Book VI, on dwellings, of Serlio's projected seven-book architectural treatise, which Serlio proposed in the address to readers at the start Book IV, on the architectural orders, which was actually the first to be published in Venice in 1537.[8] The next book, Book III, on architectural antiquities appeared, in Venice, in 1540,[9] followed by Books I and II, on geometry and perspective, in Paris in 1545,[10] after Serlio had moved to the court of François I (r 1515–47); and Book V, on churches in Paris in 1547.[11] Having lost favour early in the reign of François's successor, Henri II (r 1547–59), Serlio moved to Lyons and there in 1551 published a collection of 50 designs of doors and gateways, indicating by its title, the *Libro Estraordinario/ Livre Extraordinaire*, that it was not a substitute for the projected book on dwellings.[12] The seventh and final book, a miscellany of architectural subjects, dealing with particular situations, was published posthumously in 1575 by Jacopo Strada, who had bought the manuscript from Serlio in Lyons in 1553, a year before the latter's death.[13] By 1575, the first five books and the *Libro Estraordinario* had been collected together and published in 1566, reprinted in 1569.[14] In 1584, another compilation was published in Venice by Francesco de' Franceschi, adding the 'Seventh Book' after the *Libro Estraordinario*, making the latter the *de facto* sixth book.[15] The heirs of de' Franceschi reprinted this compilation in 1600 but changed the title of the *Libro Estraordinario* to *Il Sesto Libro di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese ….*[16] Thereafter, the originally intended 'Sixth Book', on dwellings, was all but forgotten.

From the watermarks on the sheets of paper bearing the drawings and texts, the references to François I (r 1515–47), and other aspects of the contents, Dinsmoor concluded that the drawings and texts of the Avery Album represented preparatory drafts for the 'Sixth Book', from the early and mid-1540s, and that they precede in date a presentation manuscript copy on vellum, preserved in Munich since at least 1585.[17] Subsequent scholarship has accepted the main lines of his argument. The Munich version, published in facsimile in 1966, is dedicated to Henri II, and can be dated between 1547 and about 1550, with both the drawings and the texts more polished and finished than those in the Avery Manuscript.[18] It was not itself directly intended for publication, but a set of printer's proofs of woodcuts, printed on late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century paper, discovered in Vienna in the 1960s, has designs which are closer to the Munich version than the Avery ones, from which it has been deduced that they derive from a lost third manuscript version, bought by Jacopo Strada from Serlio, along with the manuscript of Book VII and another one on Roman encampments, on his second visit to Lyons in 1553.[19] Book VII was published by Strada, as we have seen already, in 1575, but that on Roman encampments suffered the same fate as Book VI until the first publication of the manuscript in 1996.[20]

Dinsmoor's intention to publish a facsimile edition of the Avery Album was only realised in 1978, by Myra Nan Rosenfeld.[21] Subsequent

publications by her and others, most recently on the Avery Library's 'Digital Serlio' website, launched in 2018, have concentrated on the drawings and accompanying texts, with little attention paid to their fate after Serlio's death.[22]

Dinsmoor's assumption that the original sheets of drawings and text remained loose until they were mounted and first bound is surely correct, The paper used for some of the mount sheets and the title page bear a watermark with a Maltese cross inside a chaplet of rosary beads accompanied by a countermark consisting of a cartouche containing the letters 'B' and 'C' separated by a heart. Dinsmoor was only able to suggest similar marks were found in papers produced in the Auvergne between 1660 and 1760.[23] However, in my article published last year, I point to two examples fitting Dinsmoor's description, in Edward Heawood's *Watermarks*, first published in 1950.[24] Both are found in books printed in Paris, one in 1683 and the other in 1695.[25] We can therefore assume that the loose sheets of the Avery Album were mounted and bound in or near Paris in the 1680s or 1690s or at least with paper acquired there. Because the mount sheets have their centres cut out, the remains of one or more different watermarks on other mount sheets are too fragmentary to be identified.[26]

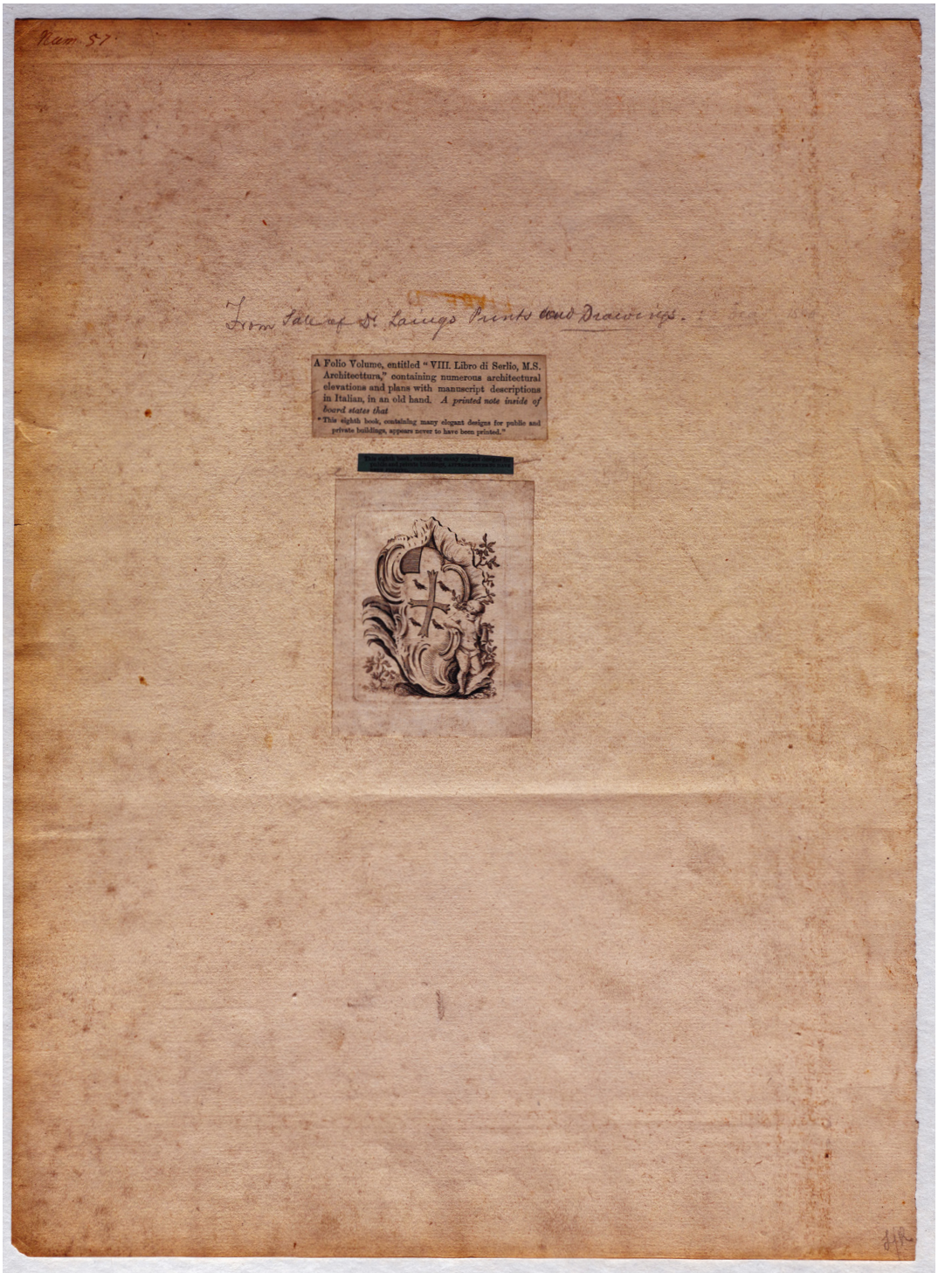
Dinsmoor pointed out that the title page with 'VIII LIBRO DI SERLIO – M:S: ARCHITTURA' (sic) written in capitals demonstrates that the then owner recognised Serlio's authorship.[27] This accords with the one other piece of firm evidence suggesting that the existence of the Avery Manuscript was still known in later seventeenth-century Paris, namely a notice in a bibliographical appendix by François Blondel (1618–86) to a 1673 edition of *L'Architecture Françoise de bastimens particuliers* by Louis Savot (*c* 1579–1640), first published in 1624.[28]

The question of who the French owners might have been is not central to the present paper, but, for those interested, I build in the 2022 paper on the speculation that Jacques Androuet du Cerceau I (1511–85/86) might have owned the Avery draft and that it was still in the possession of his family until the late seventeenth century, after which it resurfaced in Britain.[29]

THE AVERY ALBUM IN GREAT BRITAIN, *C* 1699–1919

Prior to David Laing's ownership, the only evidence for its British provenance is a bookplate bearing a coat of arms in a rococo cartouche. Dinsmoor identified the arms as those 'originally borne' by a family called Bird from Cheshire, whose last representative died in 1724.[30] His phrasing implies that he was not convinced the Avery Manuscript actually belonged to any of the Cheshire Birds, whose collecting habits are unknown, a circumspection which is maintained by Rosenfeld, but no one seems to have explored further.[31] The key to the mystery comes from a second example of the same bookplate, which, as Dinsmoor tells us, is also in New York, in the Metropolitan Museum.[32] Handwritten below the cartouche, in a typical eighteenth-century hand, are the words 'Bird Lincoln's Inn Fields', whom I identified as the prominent English sculptor, Francis Bird, responsible for most of the figurative sculpture at St Paul's Cathedral and numerous funerary monuments.[33] Proof that he owned the Avery Album comes from the sale catalogue of his effects, which were not sold by his widow until 1751.[34] In the sole surviving copy in the British Museum, listed erroneously among 'Books of Prints', is Lot 57, '*Sebastian Serlio's* architecture', which we can identify with the Avery Album, because at the top left corner of the verso of the album's title page is the tiny inscription 'Num. 57'[35] (Illus 1).

The discovery that the album was in London in the early eighteenth century and owned by a figure who worked with leading architects of the day, including Christopher Wren, James Gibbs and possibly Nicholas Hawksmoor, certainly represents a major advance in our knowledge but leaves many questions unanswered, not least when he acquired it and whether he was its first British owner. Neither question can be answered definitively at the moment but I speculated in the first article that Bird may have had the opportunity to acquire it on his various travels to the Continent.[36] In 1678, at the age of 11, he was sent to Brussels to train as a sculptor for several years. From there he is said to have walked to



Illus 1 Sebastiano Serlio, Avery Album, fol 00v, Verso of title page. (Courtesy of the Avery Library, Columbia University, New York)

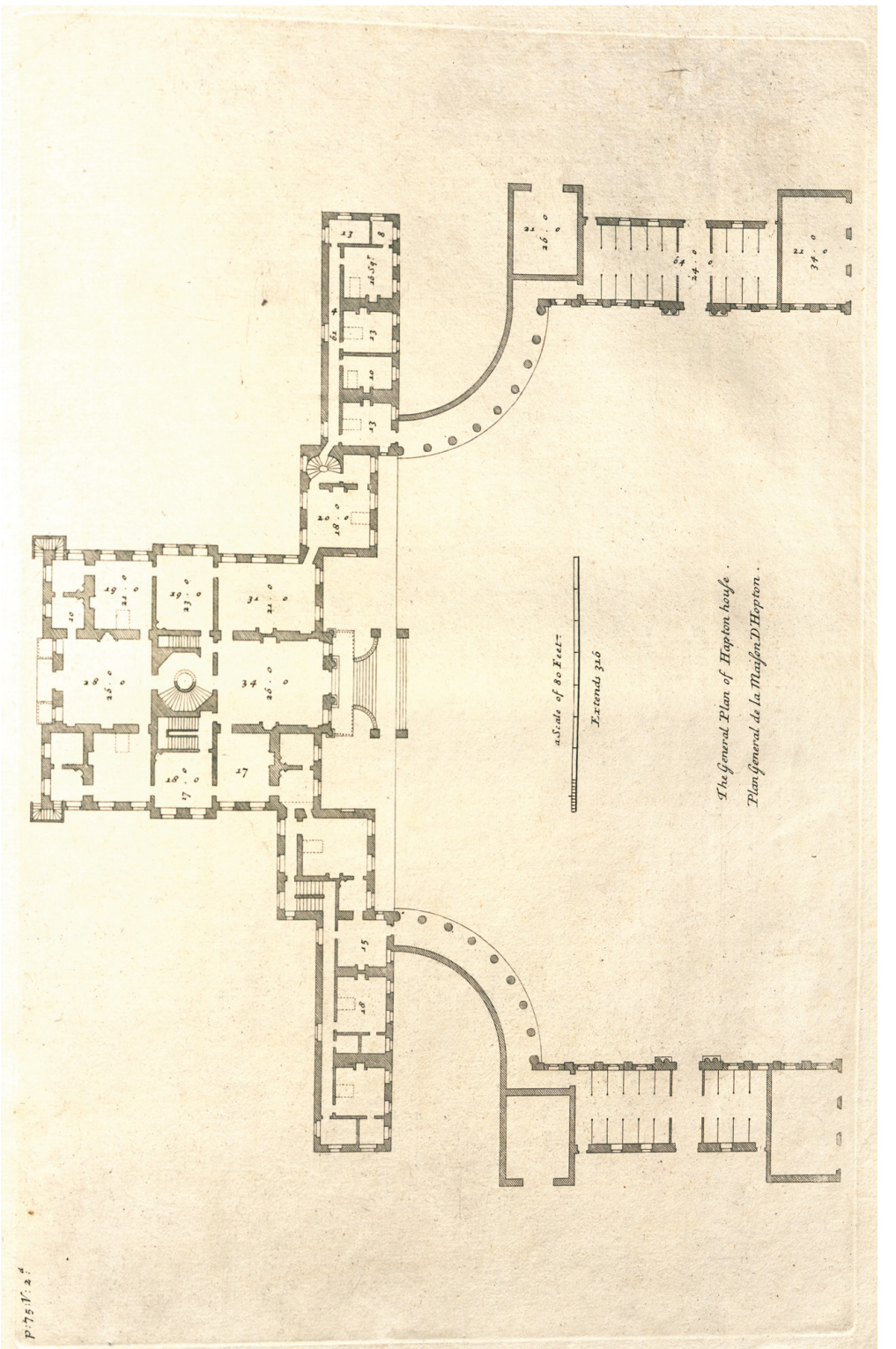
Rome, returning to England in 1689, when he was 22. He was in Rome a second time in 1695 (again said to have walked at least part of the way), where he worked with Pierre Legros for several months, and a third time in 1711. There is no suggestion that the album was ever in Rome but there was nothing to stop Bird from acquiring it in France or elsewhere en route. I suggested the 1695 trip was perhaps the most likely occasion partly since it fits well with the likely time that the sheets were mounted and bound into an album, but another reason is, as mentioned in the Introduction, that it appears to have had a major influence on William Bruce's plan of Hopetoun House, the contract for which was signed at the end of 1698.[37]

HOPETOUN HOUSE AND THE CENTRALLY PLANNED VILLA TYPOLOGY

Although Hopetoun was drastically remodelled by William, John and Robert Adam from 1721 to 1756, the Bruce design is known to us from Colen Campbell's second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* published in 1722.[38] The elevation shows the main block, 13 bays wide, with a pedimented three-bay centre flanked by two bays each side slightly recessed, and ending in three-bay projecting pavilions, from which extend unprecedented convex colonnades leading to two office courts, inspired, John Lowrey suggested, by Palladio's design for the Villa Mocenigo (Illus 2), though whether it was a misreading of the plan by Bruce or a deliberate design choice cannot be determined.[39] However, the accompanying plan reveals that the central *corps de logis* was almost square apart from the two corner pavilions, and that the colonnades screen two office ranges attached to the house.

As depicted by Campbell, Hopetoun is considerably larger than the contract specified, and Rowan accounts for the discrepancy by speculating that it was built in two separate phases, the first from 1689 to 1702 and the second from 1706 to *c* 1710.[40] Charlotte Bassett, however, has established that the house was built in a single phase from 1699 to 1707, and reveals that an account for additional masonry work not in the original contract was submitted in 1701, for the considerable enlargement of the corner pavilions and the office ranges, by which time the shell of the main house was substantially complete.[41] Whatever the exact sequence of events, both authors agree that originally the *corps de logis* was intended to be free-standing, and almost square apart from the two small corner pavilions at the front. At the centre of the house was an octagonal space, filled with the principal stair and lighted by a cupola, certainly the earliest a domestic context in Scotland, and probably in Britain as a whole, just pre-dating that at Vanbrugh's Castle Howard.[42] The stair is reached from the entrance vestibule in front (east) and a saloon to the rear (west). To the right (north) of this central spine is a state apartment comprising three principal rooms, that at the north-west corner having two small closets or cabinets in its west wall. On the left (south side) both the rooms at the south-west and the south-east corners have twin closets while the middle room is reduced in size by the intrusion of a secondary stair, presumably for servants and private access to the upper floor.

Such a typology, essentially a centralised plan approximating to a square, with either a circular or octagonal central hall or courtyard, had been current in western architecture since the early Renaissance.[43] It was first explored in the theoretical drawings of Francesco di Giorgio (1439–1501), inspired by antique buildings he had sketched in the Campagna around Rome, including Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.[44] The earliest built examples appear to be the house designed by the artist Andrea Mantegna in Mantua for himself, and constructed between 1476 and 1502, which has a circular courtyard (Rosenthal 1962); and the Odeo Cornaro in Padua, a garden pavilion, with an octagonal umbrella-domed central space, intended for the performance of music.[45] It was built by Alvise Cornaro (*c* 1484–1566) in the late 1530s, probably designed by himself with the collaboration of Giovanni Maria Falconetto, who had designed the famous adjacent Loggia Cornaro in 1524, but died in 1535 before work on the Odeo began. Both Serlio and Andrea Palladio were close to Cornaro and knew the



ILLUS 2 Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London 1717), vol 2, pl 75; Plan of Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House. (Courtesy of the University of Edinburgh Centre for Heritage Collections; RECA.FF.255)

Odeo at first hand, the former including it in his Book VII, along with a design for the unfinished Villa Isolani at Minerbio near Bologna, an early project of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–73) begun around 1530, again with an octagonal central space.[46] Had the book been published in Serlio's lifetime it would have been the earliest example of the typology to appear in print, but it was instead pipped at the post by Palladio's *Quattro Libri* in 1570, where he illustrates what became the most famous exemplar of the typology, his design for the Villa Rotonda at Vicenza, built for Paolo Almerico, with a circular central space.[47] Although begun in 1566 and habitable by 1569, it was completed only after Palladio's death in 1580 to a slightly modified design by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616), who had already begun his own influential centrally planned villa, the Rocca Pisani at Lonigo in 1576, the circular interior central space expressed externally as an octagonal dome, which he published in his own treatise, *Idea dell'Architettura Universale* in 1615.[48]

Both the Villa Rotonda and the Rocca Pisani were visited by Inigo Jones on his second trip to Italy in 1613–14, where he also met Scamozzi, whose influence can be seen in one surviving drawing of a centrally planned villa.[49] Had Hopetoun been built as specified in the original contract, it could have laid claim to be the first example of the typology realised in Great Britain, anticipating by over two decades Colen Campbell's Mereworth Castle (1722–5) and Lord Burlington's Chiswick Villa (1725–9).[50] Unsurprisingly, the house has attracted the interest of historians searching for precedents and parallels.[51]

John Summerson recognised contemporary French influence in the elevations but ignored the centralising plan, merely asserting Hopetoun was 'clearly derived from the great English houses of the early Restoration years', such as Clarendon House, designed by Roger Pratt, the plan of which is not recorded but from a surviving view appears to be a U-plan with a three-bay centre and projecting wings three bays wide and three bays deep.[52] Rowan remarked that it was one of the most unusual houses in Britain of its time, for its Greek cross plan and strict axial symmetry, and that French influence was evident not only in the elevations but in the planning of the two suites of apartments on the principal floor.[53]

James Macaulay also looks to France, proposing Jules Hardouin-Mansart's Château de Marly as a close precedent, begun for Louis XIV in 1679. Macaulay cites as evidence a plan of Marly drawn by Alexander Edward (1651–1708), who collaborated with Bruce on the gardens and designed landscape at Hopetoun, and acquired many engravings of buildings for the Earl of Hopetoun on his tour of England, France and the Netherlands, sponsored by a group of Scottish grandees in 1701–2.[54] Macaulay also mentions Palladio's Villa Rotonda, and concludes that Hopetoun's plan marks Bruce's conversion to Palladianism from his former dependence on Serlio.[55] When, however, Macaulay returned to the subject in 2009 he much more emphatically argues that the precedents for Hopetoun are French, and barely acknowledges Palladio's influence, clearly responding to interventions by Deborah Howard and Konrad Ottenheym, looking to Italy and Holland respectively.[56]

Howard points out that Edward's drawing of Marly probably dates from his European tour, therefore too late to influence the initial design of Hopetoun (though not denying Bruce could have known of Marly from other sources), and that, while Villa Rotonda may have been an influence, Serlio's Book VII central-plan villa with its octagonal dome was a closer precedent.[57] She also introduces the French royal chateau of Chambord, begun in 1519, as a precedent for inserting a staircase in the central space.[58] She suggests that Bruce could have known of it either from the plan of the whole chateau in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, which circulated widely in Scotland in the seventeenth century, or from Palladio's inclusion of the staircase in his *Quattro Libri*, a copy of which Bruce bought in 1676, as well as from his son John, who visited Chambord during his Continental tour from 1681 to 1683.[59] Konrad Ottenheym instead proposed Middachten Castle, built 1693–8, in Gelderland, as a precedent for the staircase in the central space of a villa.[60] It

may be worth noting that a theoretical scheme for a square central-plan house with a circular staircase at its centre was sketched by the German Nicolaus Goldmann, who taught mathematics at the university of Leyden from 1640, during the time Bruce was resident in the Netherlands, as will be discussed below.[61] All these precedents could have been known to Bruce, and may have some claim to have inspired one or other features of Hopetoun, but none has the twin closets which are so distinctive a feature of its plan.

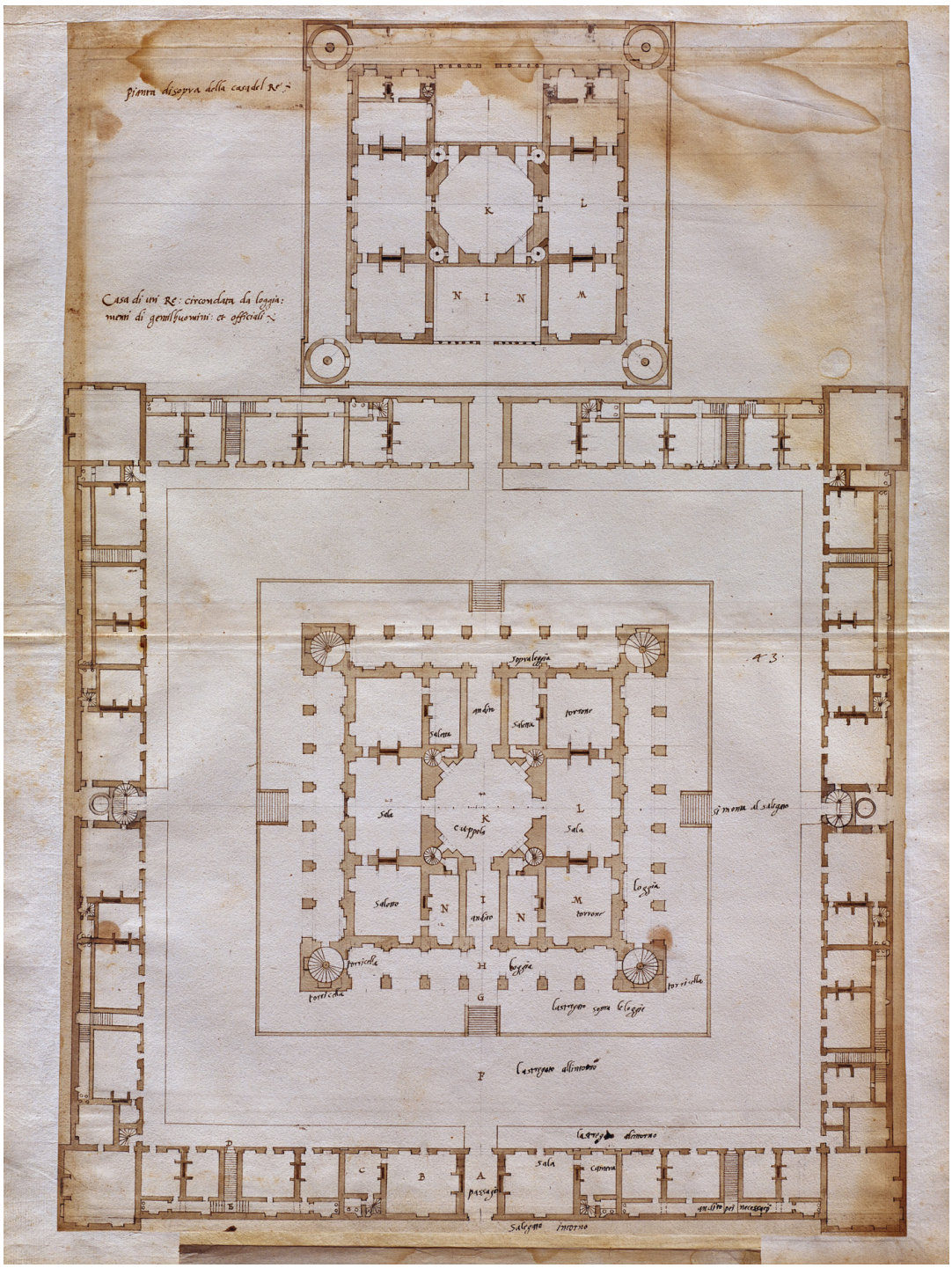
Macaulay did discuss them, pointing to the pairs at the east end of the suites of apartments on the ground and upper floors of Ham House in Surrey, home to Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart (1626–98), whose second marriage in 1672 was to John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, Charles II's Secretary of State for Scotland and Bruce's patron and protector.[62] He could equally have mentioned that Bruce's own house, Kinross, begun in 1679, has twin closets at both ends of the house, on the principal and two upper floors, modelled almost certainly on those at Coleshill in Berkshire (from *c* 1650), designed substantially by Roger Pratt but with some input by Inigo Jones.[63] However, all these examples are planned linearly rather than centrally.

Twin closets in the corners of central plans again go back to the theoretical drawings of Francesco di Giorgio,[64] but the closest example to Hopetoun is the plan of the first floor of a 'house of a king' (Illus 3) in Serlio's Avery Album, which is essentially a square (albeit with circular stair turrets at each corner) with an octagonal central space, flanked by parallel suites of apartments ending in twin closets at the top corners. While the ground floor with loggias on all four sides recalls the plan, in his Third Book, of Poggio Reale, the royal *villa suburbana* built outside Naples from 1487, the massing with round corner towers and octagonal central cupola echoes back to schemes explored by Leonardo da Vinci around 1505 for a palace for Charles d'Amboise, which were probably known to Serlio.[65] It also bears a strong resemblance to Chambord, begun in 1519 to the design of Domenica da Cortona, but possibly with input from Leonardo, who died that year. Not only does Chambord have a similar large outer courtyard, housing the offices and apartments for servants, but also in the planning of the *corps de logis* there are pairs of closets (albeit of unequal size) accessed from the major rooms in the four corners, which in turn lead to circular corner towers.

The correspondence between the Avery plan and Hopetoun is not only closer than any of the other examples already discussed but also closer than the same project as represented in the other two versions of Serlio's original 'Sixth Book', the Munich manuscript and the Vienna proofs, where in both cases the corner twin closets are absent.[66] Therefore, unless Bruce arrived at his design independently, he can only have known of Serlio's house for a king from the Avery Album. The question is whether his knowledge was direct or indirect. And, if the former, when did he see it? As a royalist, Bruce spent much of the Cromwellian Commonwealth (1649–60) in the Netherlands, where the Stuart court was in exile, and he had family connections. Sir Robert Moray's letters to Bruce's kinsman, Alexander Bruce, 2nd Earl of Kincardine reports William travelling from Norway to La Rochelle in September 1657, and then via Rouen, the Netherlands and Bremen, reaching Hamburg by late 1658, before travelling to London in 1659 as one of the negotiators for the return of Charles II from exile and the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660.[67]

He is also known to have travelled within France in 1663 and there may have been another trip to the Netherlands in 1671.[68] Moreover, as we have already noted, his son, John, travelled extensively in France during his Continental tour in 1681–3.[69] However, although there is evidence Bruce used Serlio's Third Book for his remodelling of Thirlestane Castle, begun in 1670, and Craighall, from 1697, nothing in Bruce's surviving works suggests a knowledge of Serlio's 'Sixth Book' before Hopetoun, suggesting that if he saw the Avery Album itself, it was in London, although his latest known visit was in 1685–6.[70]

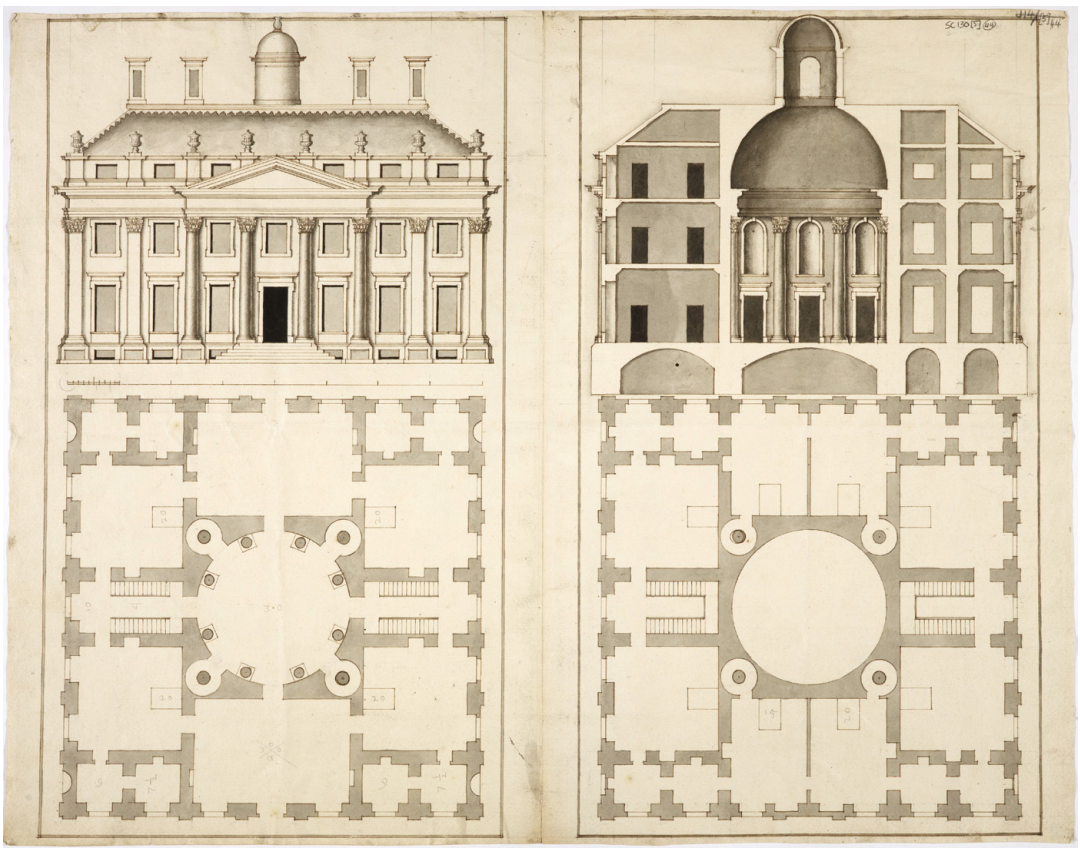
We must therefore consider the possibility that Bruce did not know the Avery Album directly but through an intermediary, two possible candidates being Alexander Edward,



Illus 3 Sebastiano Serlio, Avery Album, fol 43, Plan of a palace for a king in the countryside. (Courtesy of the Avery Library, Columbia University, New York)

Bruce's close collaborator, and James Smith (*c* 1645–1731), who first worked under Bruce on Holyroodhouse and then succeeded him as Surveyor of the King's Buildings in Scotland in 1683.[71] Edward might have had the opportunity to see the Serlio drawings in London during his stay of two or three months in early 1702, but even if he had that would be too late to influence the design of the main block at Hopetoun, which leaves us with Smith.[72]

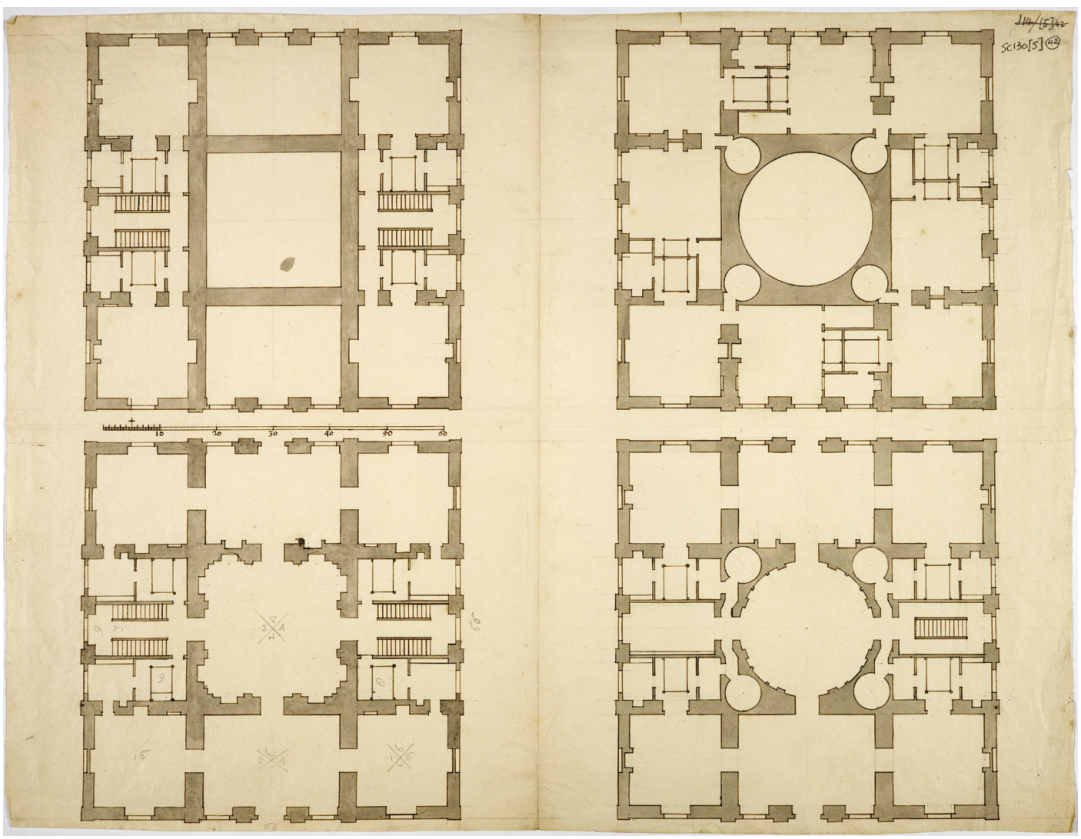
Both Bruce, aided by Alexander Edward, and Smith made drawings for Melville House in Fife around 1697, and it is likely that they were in contact then.[73] Two of Smith's designs for Melville survive among a large group of his drawings, which once belonged to Colen Campbell (1676–1729).[74] Along with some other buildings we know Smith worked on in the late 1690s and early 1700s, such as his own house, Broughton (later renamed Newhailes), Cawdor Castle and Dalkeith Palace, there are many centralised plans of houses and churches, which appear to be exercises in invention, and look contemporary in style and execution. One sheet shows a plan very close to that of Hopetoun, as Alistair Rowan recognised, with twin closets in all four corners, the chief difference being that the central space is circular rather than octagonal and that four spiral stairs occupy the spandrels between the central space and the surrounding rooms (Illus 4).[75] But similar stairs are found on the plan of the upper floor in the Avery Album plate 43, making Smith's plan even closer to it than that of Hopetoun.[76] Significantly, another of



Illus 4 James Smith, London, British architectural Library RIBA SC130/5(44). Plans, elevation and section of a seven-bay house. (Courtesy of the RIBA)

Smith's designs has plans closely resembling the ground floor in plate 43, in having three narrow small rectangular spaces flanking the central rotunda, suggesting Smith had direct knowledge of the album (Illus 5).[77] As with Bruce, the question arises of where Smith saw it. Like Bruce he had travelled on the Continent, having studied for the Catholic priesthood at the Scots College in Rome from 1671, but left before ordination in 1675, returning to Scotland by an unknown route.[78] However, given the likely date range of the drawings, it seems more likely Smith would have seen them in London. We know Smith was there in 1691 on business for the 1st Duke of Queensberry, and again in 1693, with the 4th Duke of Hamilton, when they went to Hampton Court to consult Matthew Banckes (d 1706), royal carpenter and close associate of Wren about Hamilton Palace for which Smith was the architect.[79] The duke paid Banckes the following year for drawings, probably for the main staircase of the palace, and Smith was still in correspondence with him in 1697.[80]

Either of these visits might have been an opportunity to see the Avery Album if it was already in London, whether Bird was its first owner or not. We do not know of any Scottish clients for Bird's monument sculptures, but it is not impossible there was contact through the sale of marble for chimneypieces or floors, which was certainly part of his business later in his career, continued by his son, Edward, until his bankruptcy in 1770.[81] We know the brother of the Duke of Hamilton was buying marble for chimneypieces



Illus 5 James Smith, London, British architectural Library RIBA SC130/5(42): Designs for two houses with central rotunda, one with a circular rotunda, the other with a square one: four plans. (Courtesy of the RIBA)

for Hamilton Palace in London in 1698 but searches for the supplier have proved fruitless.[82] We also know that Grinling Gibbons, for whom Bird worked at some point in the 1690s, supplied chimneypieces to Dalkeith Palace while Smith was remodelling it, although the dates in the early 1700s are just too late for our purpose.[83] In any case, whatever the exact circumstances, the evidence of both Hopetoun and of Smith's theoretical designs strongly points to either Bruce or Smith having seen the Avery Album before 1699, and more likely in London than abroad.

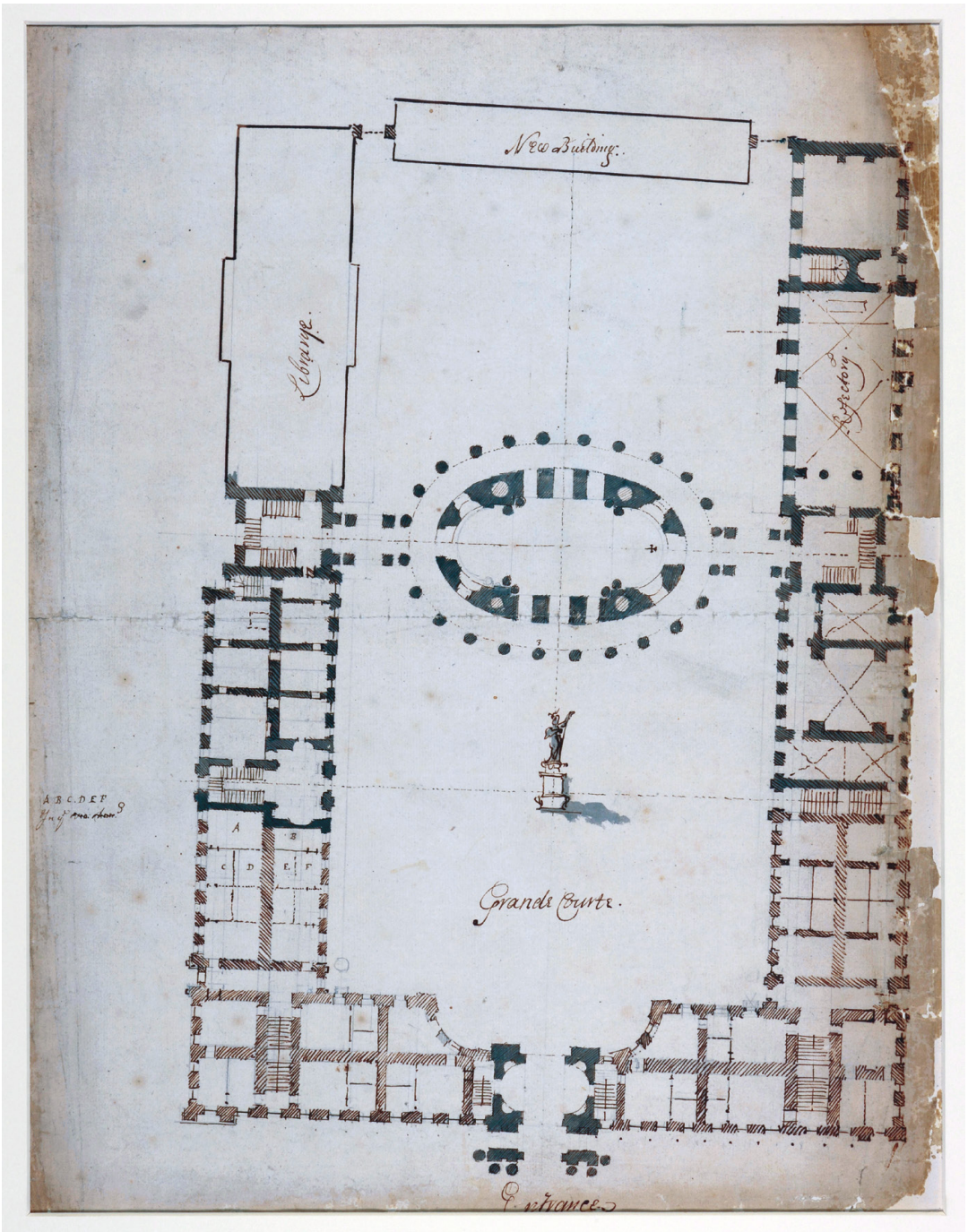
OTHER BUILDINGS SHOWING THE INFLUENCE OF THE AVERY ALBUM

Before concluding, four further possible cases of the influence of the Avery Album should be briefly mentioned before leaving the subject to those more expert in early eighteenth-century English architecture. In order of date, the first is found among the variants of Nicholas Hawksmoor's designs for the Queen's College, Oxford, dated *c* 1708–9. 'Proposition VI' has an oval chapel set within a quadrangle (Illus 6), to which it is linked by porticos at either end. An oval church plan is first published in Serlio's Book V, and Gian Lorenzo Bernini's St Andrea al Quirinale in Rome (1658–61) is the first to be built expressing its oval form externally as well as internally.[84] However, the only known precedent for setting an oval structure within a rectangular courtyard is Avery Album, fol 45, albeit for a palace (Illus 7) rather than a church.[85] Particularly telling is that in both cases the central oval buildings are connected to the perimetral buildings by porticos. Bird and Hawksmoor have been connected to a project for a monument to William III in Greenwich, for which the marble was bought in 1714, but it remained unexecuted.[86]

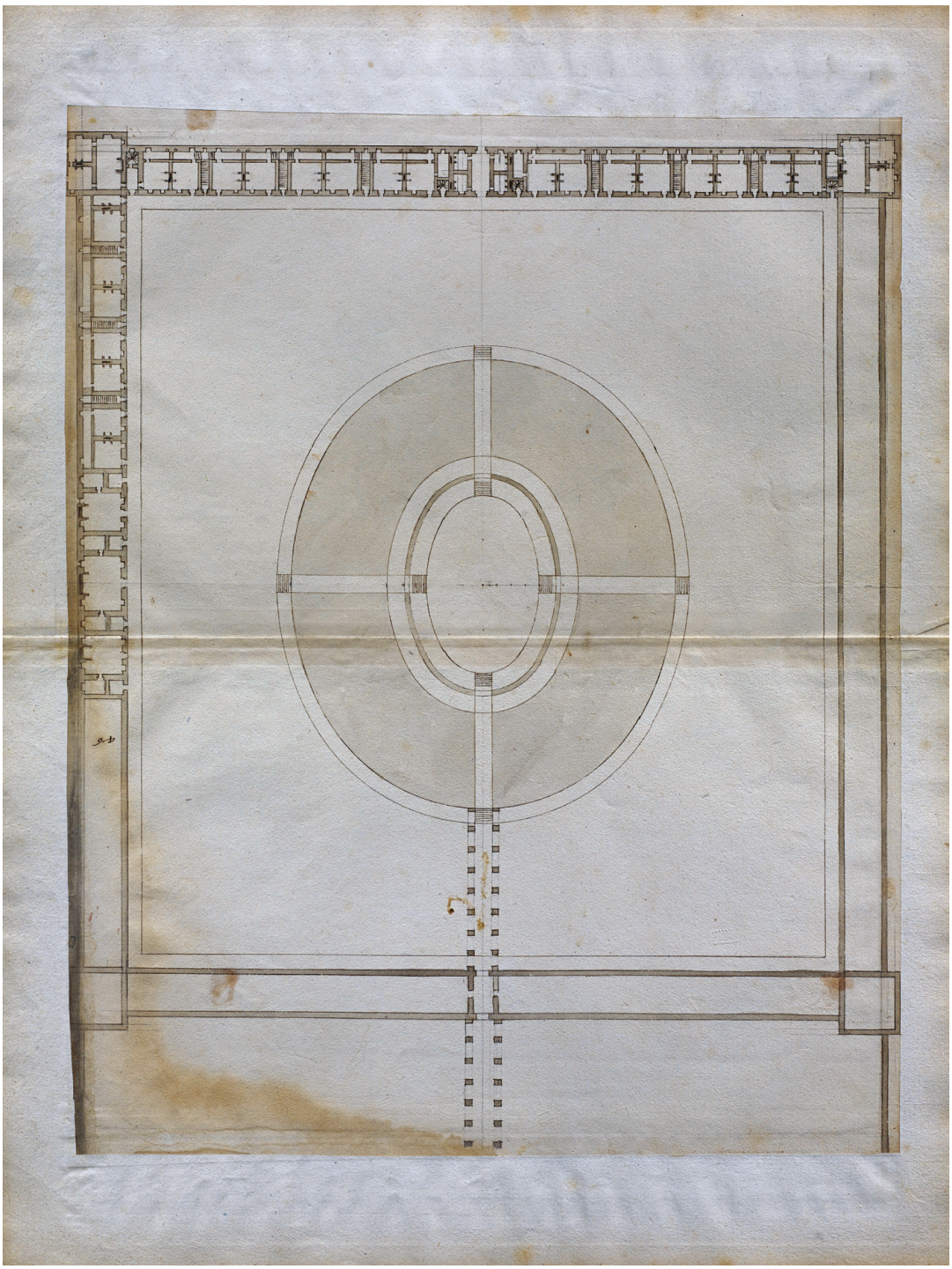
The second putative case is a plan among the drawings of Wren and his circle at All Souls College, Oxford, called 'Design for a trianon' and dated *c* 1710–20 (Illus 8).[87] Again it appears to derive from the upper storey of the palace for a king in Avery Album fol 43, having the combination of an octagonal hall surrounded by four staircases, and the twin closets, albeit with the major difference that the front façade has a concave central bay so that the main door opens directly on to the central octagon, an idea which, however, can be found in Serlio's 'Seventh Book'.[88] Bird carved the sepulchral monument of Wren's only daughter (1701) and worked on the sculptural programme for St Paul's for two decades and so would have been acquainted not only with Wren but with most of his circle.[89]

The third case is a proposal by James Gibbs for a square pavilion, for the grounds of Down Hall, Essex, in his *Book of Architecture* (1728), with an octagonal domed central hall but also with inset three-bay loggias on each façade (Illus 9), the latter very close to the ground floor of Avery Album, fol 28 (Illus 10).[90] Bird collaborated with James Gibbs, a fellow Catholic, on two tombs, for the 1st Duke of Newcastle in Westminster Abbey (1721–7), and for the 2nd Duke and other members of the Cavendish family at Bolsover in Derbyshire (1727–8), but they would already have known each other from their membership of the Rose and Crown Club, an informal society for artists which existed in London from 1704 to 1745, as well as their membership of the precursor of the Royal Academy, the academy of art founded in Great Queen Street in 1711, under the governorship of Sir Godfrey Kneller.[91]

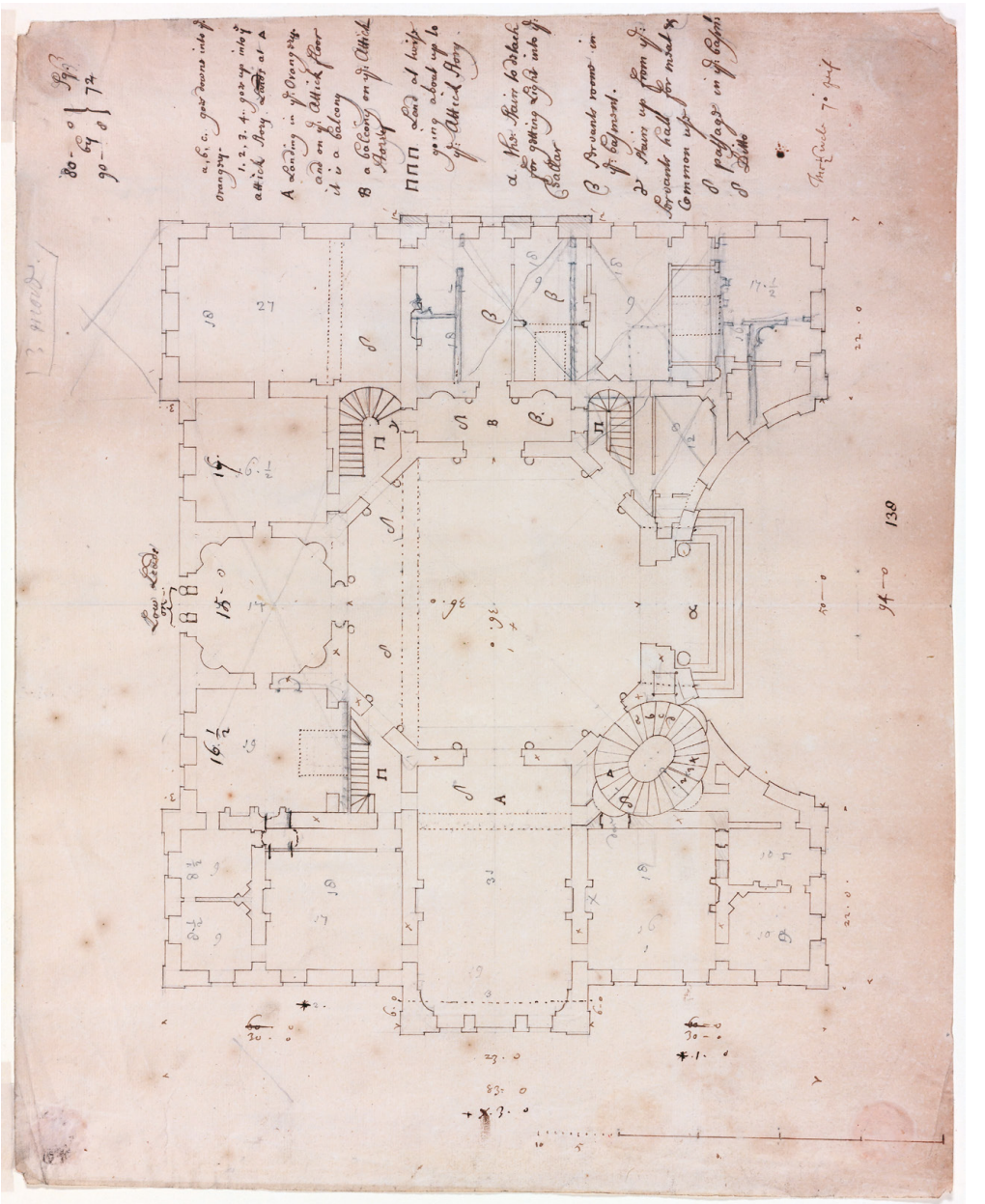
The final case is Chiswick House (1725–9), built for and by Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694–1753). Richard Hewlings made a forensic analysis of every element of Chiswick, demolishing the long-held assumption that Burlington was a slavish follower of Palladio, merely because he had acquired the bulk of the latter's drawings in 1721.[92] He demonstrated that Burlington's range of Italian sources was much more eclectic, and that only a handful came solely from Palladio. The plan, he argued, was a conflation of three of Scamozzi's villa designs, the Rocca Pisani, the Villa Bardellini at Asolo and a villa on the Brenta.[93] Giles Worsley originally agreed with Hewlings on Chiswick's dependence on the Rocca Pisani.[94] However, in 2006, in the last lecture he gave, a week before his premature death, Worsley recognised the close similarity between Chiswick, with its octagonal hall and



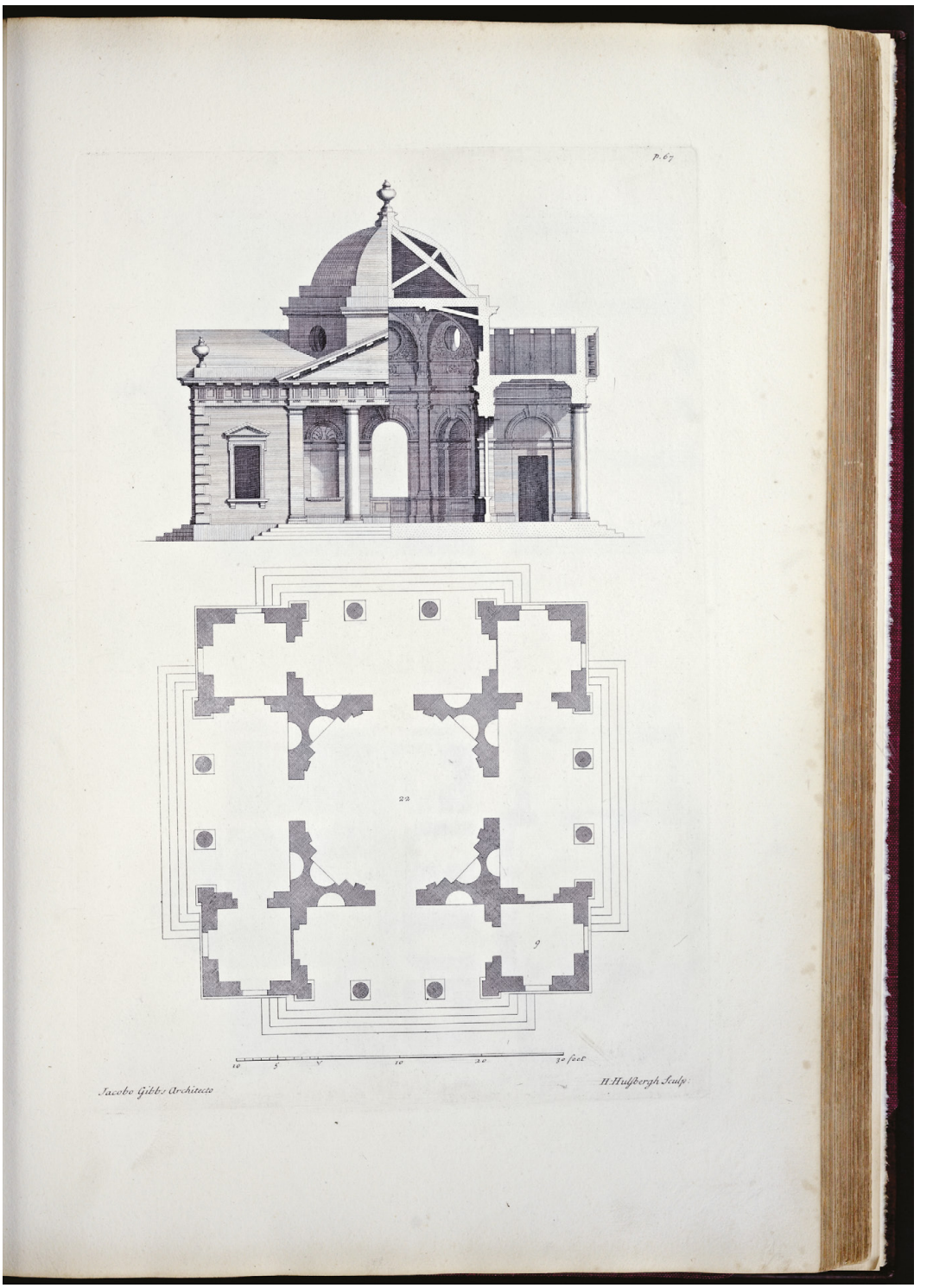
ILLUS 6 Nicholas Hawksmoor, Plan for Proposition VI for the Queen's College, Oxford; The Queen's College Oxford, Hawksmoor drawing 17. (Courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of the Queen's College, Oxford)



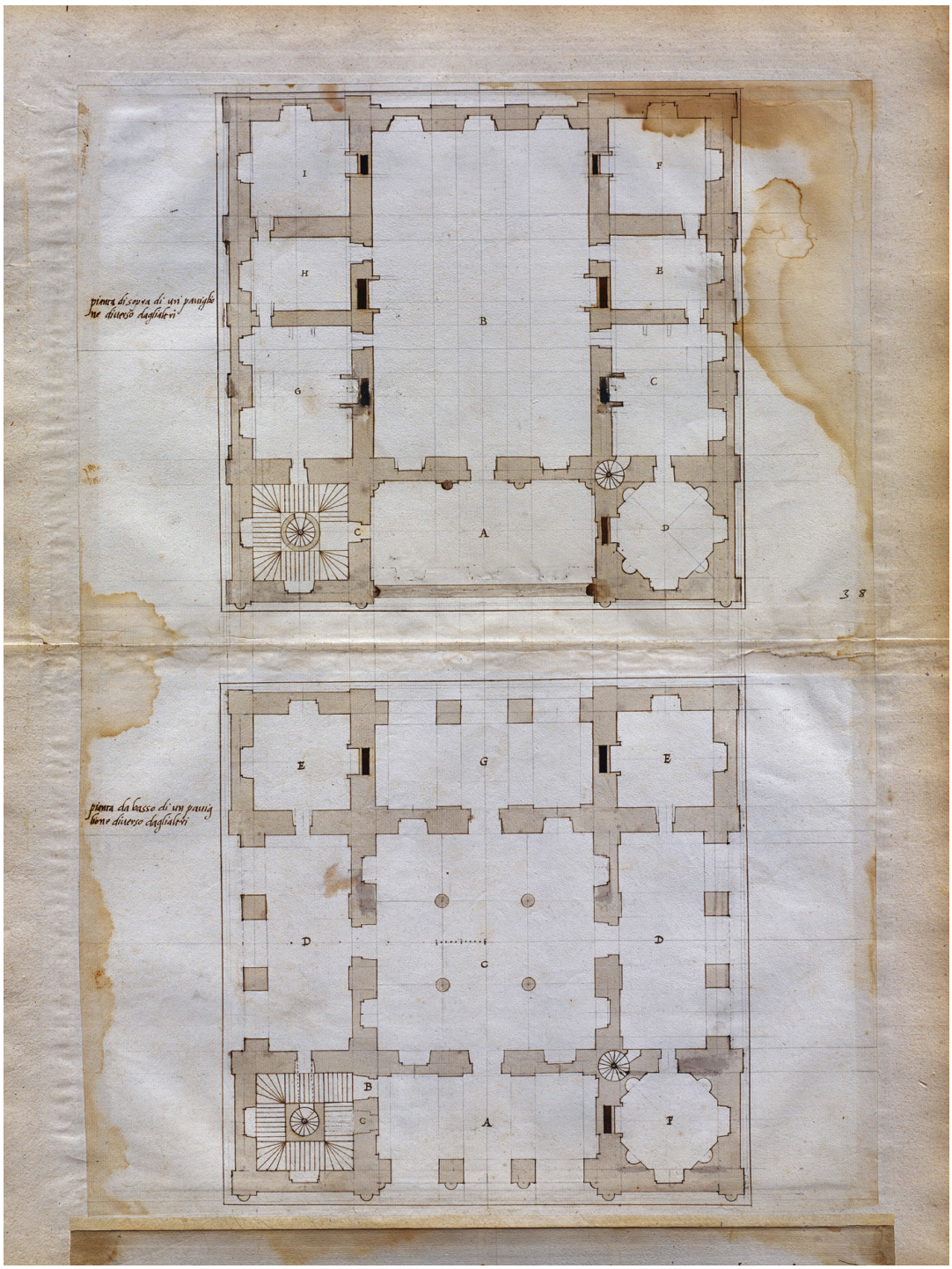
Illus 7 Sebastiano Serlio, Avery Album, fol 45, Plan for a palace for a king in the countryside. (Courtesy of the Avery Library, Columbia University, New York)



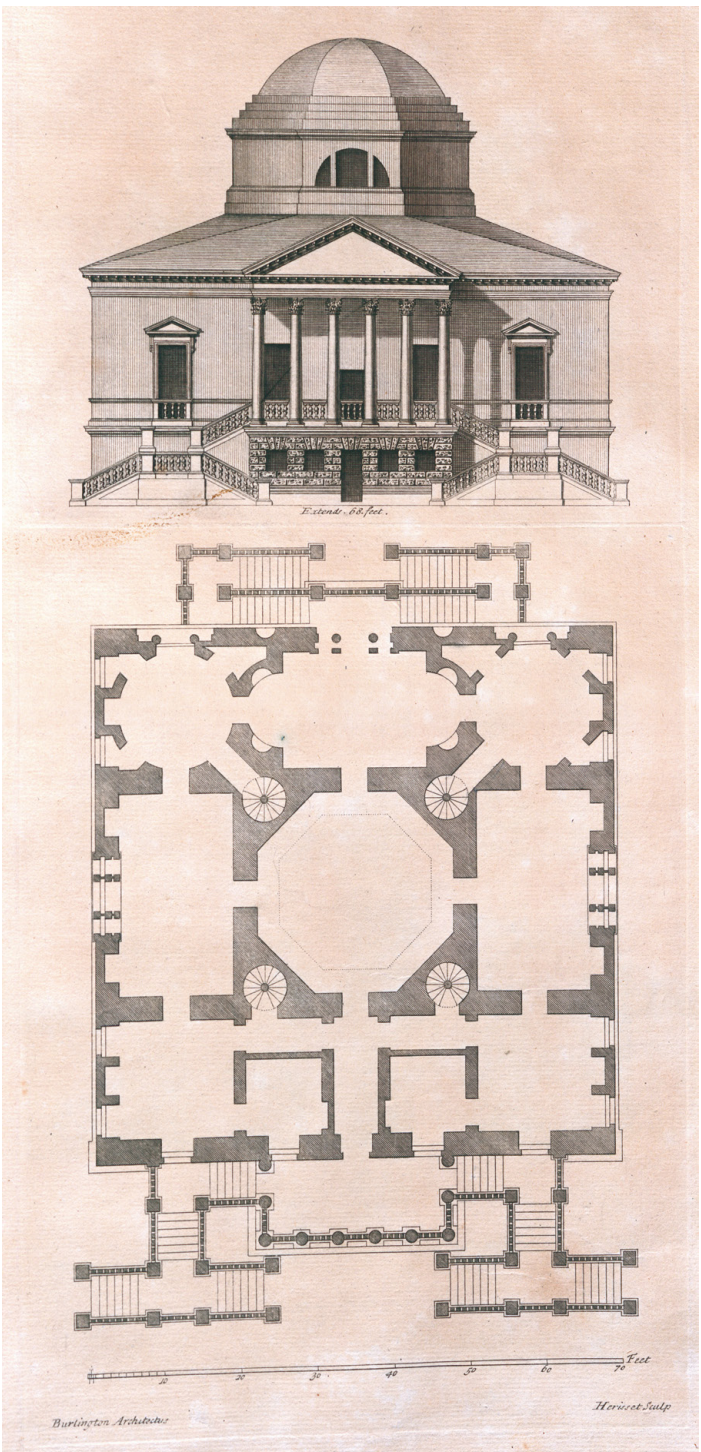
ILLUS 8 Wren Circle, 'Design for a trianon', All Souls College, Oxford, IV.138. (Courtesy of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford)



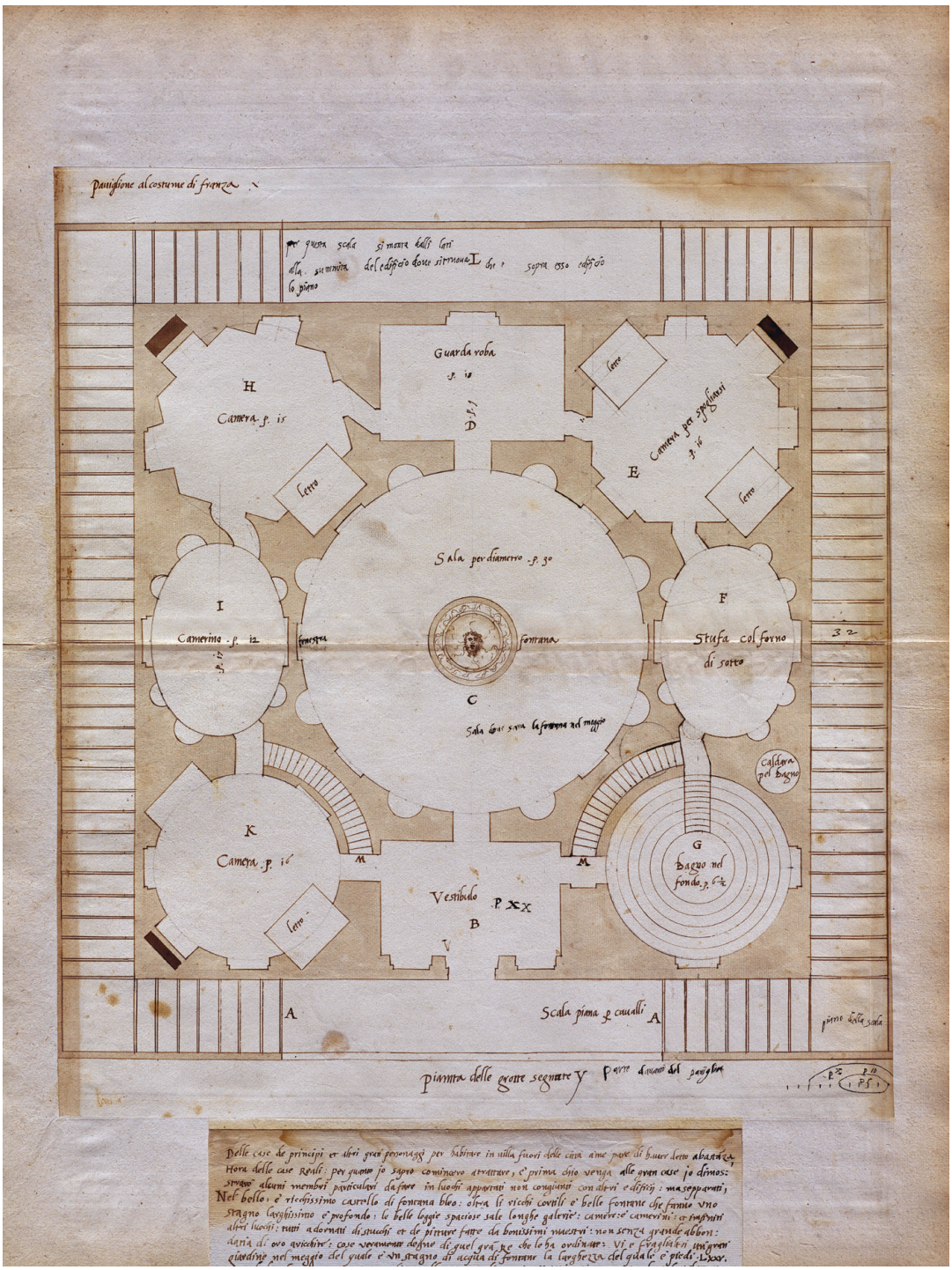
Illus 9 J Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture containing designs of buildings and ornaments*, London 1728, pl 69: Design for a pavilion for Down Hall, Essex. (Courtesy of Getty Research Institute)



Illus 10 Sebastiano Serlio, Avery Album, fol 38, Plan of a pavilion for a king. (Courtesy of the Avery Library, Columbia University, New York)



Illus 11 Plan of principal floor of Chiswick House: detail from page 71 in W Kent, *The Designs of Inigo Jones, consisting of plans and elevations for public and private buildings*, London 1727. (Courtesy of University of Edinburgh, Centre for Heritage Collections: RECA.FF.376)



Illus 12 Sebastiano Serlio, Avery Manuscript, fol 32, Plan for a small royal house in the countryside. (Courtesy of the Avery Library, Columbia University, New York)

four circular stairs in the spandrels (Illus 11), with the upper storey of the palace for a king in Serlio's 'Sixth Book', illustrating his argument with the plan from the Munich vellum manuscript.[95] His unsupported assertion that, though the 'Sixth Book' was unpublished knowledge of it was widely disseminated, seems cavalier, but it has to be remembered that the lecture was published posthumously as it was delivered and, had he had the opportunity to prepare it for publication, he might have presented new evidence to substantiate his claim. Although I have found no direct connection between Bird and Burlington, it is nigh impossible that their paths did not cross frequently in London, and we can now confirm that Worsley's intuition was correct but that it was the Avery Album version of the 'Sixth Book' that Burlington saw. I would merely add that the precedents for the two corner rooms, one octagonal and one circular, otherwise unprecedented in British architecture, echo the polygonal rooms found in the pavilion on fol 32 of the Avery Album, probably based on thermal architecture (Illus 12).

While the resemblances in each of these cases individually might be regarded as coincidence, our new knowledge of the Avery Album's presence in London by the early eighteenth century makes the cumulative evidence compelling that some of the major British architects of the time were consulting it for their projects, most notably Bruce at Hopetoun and Burlington at Chiswick. More work needs to be done to see if we can pinpoint exactly when and how the album made its way to England; and to explore what happened to it between the sales in London in 1751 and in Edinburgh in 1879. Let us hope it will not take another 80 years to piece together the story.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful for the help of many individuals and institutions in preparing this article, including the two anonymous readers, Charlotte Bassett, Tristram Clarke, Clarisse Godard Desmarest, Ian Gow, Richard Hewlings, John Lowrey, Nick Mols, Margaret Stewart, David Walker, Matthew Shaw at The Queen's College, Oxford, Gaye Morgan at All Souls College, Oxford, Charles Hind and colleagues at the RIBA Drawings Collection, London, Teresa Harris and colleagues at the Avery Library, New York, and the staff of the Centre for Heritage Collections at the University of Edinburgh, as well as all those whom I acknowledged in Campbell (2022), which was the foundation for the present article.

NOTES

1 Campbell (2022).
2 Simpson (2013).
3 Simpson (2013: 9, 11).
4 Dinsmoor (1942: 117).
5 Dinsmoor (1942: 117).
6 Dinsmoor (1942: 118–19).
7 Serlio, Avery MS, fol 00r, henceforth the 'Avery Album'.
8 Dinsmoor (1942: 115–17); Serlio (1537 Vène 1: fol IIIr). Understanding the complicated publication history of Serlio with its multiple reprints and translations has been greatly facilitated by Magali Vène's Bibliographia serliana (Vène 2006); henceforth the different editions include their Vène numbers in citations.
9 Serlio (1540: Vène 3).
10 Serlio (1545: Vène 9).
11 Serlio (1547: Vène 12).
12 Serlio (1551: Vène 20).
13 Serlio (1575: Vène 47).
14 Vène 40–1.
15 Vène 48.
16 Vène 51.
17 Serlio, 'Sesto libro d'architettura. Delle habitationi fuori e dentro delle città' – BSB Cod. icon. 189. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon. 189; Dinsmoor (1942: 124–7), with reference to earlier publications; Serlio (1978: 28).
18 Serlio (1966) which forms the first volume of a set with the second also edited by Rosci titled Il trattato di architettura di Sebastiano Serlio. See the review of both volumes in Rosenfeld (1970) and Fiore (2004a).

19 Serlio, 'Plusieurs dessins d'architecture', Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 72.P.20, published in Serlio (1994) and reviewed in Rosenfeld (1998); see also Fiore (2004b).
20 Serlio, 'Sesto libro d'architettura. Delle habitationi fuori e dentro delle città' – BSB Cod. icon. 189. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon. 189; reproduced in Serlio (1994).
21 Serlio (1978); see also Serlio (1996), which reproduces the drawings without the text, but updates the introductory essays with valuable new information. The whole manuscript has been digitised by the Avery Library and is available online: 'Sebastiano Serlio – On Domestic Architecture' (https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/serlio) to which I will refer for folio numbers.
22 Rosenfeld (2004a, 2004b); 'Digital Serlio Project: Scholars' Essays' last updated 28 September 28, 2020 (https://library.columbia.edu/libraries/avery/digitalserlio/essays.html).
23 Dinsmoor (1942: 118).
24 Campbell (2022: 145).
25 Heawood (1950: H 226, H 227).
26 Dinsmoor (1942: 118) reports seeing the letters 'I', 'E' and 'T' together and assumed there was only one other paper type. Mauro Mussolin has kindly shown me backlit photos from fols 35, 41, 44 and 45, where can be seen the letter 'I' separately and 'E' and 'T' together. They are probably countermarks. I could find nothing similar to their distinctive letterforms in Heawood.
27 Dinsmoor (1942: 117–18).
28 Savot (1673: 345): 'Il y a un Livre di luy [Serlio] qui traitte des bastiments des particuliers, à commencer depuis la Cabane du Berger, iusqu'aux Palais des Roys, lequel n'a jamais esté imprimé, quoy qu'il pût être de quelque utilité'; (translated: 'There is a Book by him [Serlio] which treats the buildings of private individuals, starting from Cabane du Berger, up to Palais des Roys, which has never been printed, although it might be of some use.') The statement is repeated on page 346 of a revised edition of 1685.
29 Thomson (1975: 122; 1984); Campbell (2022: 145–6).
30 Dinsmoor (1942: 118).
31 Serlio (1978: 27).
32 Baillie Collection of Bookplates, unnumbered folio; Dinsmoor (1942: 118).
33 Campbell (2022: 148); Daily Journal, no. 204 (16 September 1721), [2]. On Bird, see Roscoe et al (2009: 111–15). See also Craske (2008).
34 Langford's Catalogue.
35 Campbell (2022: 150, fig 1); Langford's Catalogue: 4–5.
36 Campbell (2022: 150).
37 Bassett (2018: 21).
38 C Campbell (1717–25, vol 2); I Campbell (2022).
39 Palladio (1570, book 2: 66); Lowrey (2007: 165).
40 Rowan (1984: 184, fig 1).
41 Bassett (2018: 23–4; 2020: 332–4).
42 The earliest appears to be a miniature one over the entrance to the royal palace of Holyroodhouse, designed by Bruce and built in the 1670s (Campbell 2020). The second was built in 1693, capping the tower of George Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, probably following the drawing supplied by Bruce in 1676 (Gifford et al 1984: 180).
43 Mols (2023).
44 On the antique precedents drawn by Francesco, see Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, U 326 Ar and U 335 Ar; discussed in Burns (1994: 359, no. XX.15 and 371, no. XX.32); and Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Cod. Saluzziano 148, fol 89v, reproduced in di Giorgio Martini (1967, vol 1: pl 167). For the theoretical drawings, see Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Cod. Saluzziano 148, fol 18, reproduced in di Giorgio Martini (1967, vol 1: pl 31); and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Magliabechiano, II.I.141, fols 18v–21v, reproduced in di Giorgio Martini (1967, vol 2: pls 196–202). See also Tafuri (1994).
45 Moretti (2010).

46 Serlio 1575: 5; see Daly Davis (1992).
47 Palladio (1570, book 2: 18–19); Beltramini & Burns (2009: 264–6).
48 Scamozzi (1615, vol 1: 272–3).
49 Worsley (2007: 105, fig 118).
50 Mols (2023: 70–4).
51 Bassett (2020: 93–125) surveys the scholarship on the design of Hopetoun.
52 Summerson (1970: 153, fig 109, and 267).
53 Rowan (1984: 186).
54 Macaulay (1987: 21, fig 24). On Edward's general career, see Colvin (1995: 332–3); on his role at Hopetoun see Lowrey (2012); on his European tour, see Lowrey (2020b).
55 Macaulay (1987: 21).
56 Macaulay (2009).
57 Howard (1995: 59); Palladio (1570, book 2: 19); Serlio (1575: 5).
58 Howard (1995: 57).
59 Howard (1995: 57); Androuet du Cerceau (1576: fol 7r); Palladio (1570 (1): 64–5). On du Cerceau's influence in Scotland, see Campbell (2015). Bruce's purchase of a copy of Palladio is recorded in a bill preserved at Kinross House, built by Bruce for himself; see Dunbar (1970: cat nos. 41, 57).
60 Ottenheym (2007: 144–5).
61 Ottenheym (2014: 4, fig 2).
62 Macaulay (2009: 4).
63 Cooper (1999: 184–7).
64 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham 361, fol 17; Tafuri (1994: 404) and Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Cod. Saluzziano 148, fol 18r; di Giorgio (1967, vol I: pl 31).
65 See Serlio (1978: 72); on Poggio Reale, see Serlio (1996: 240–1); on Leonardo's palace projects, for Charles d'Amboise, especially Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, inv. no. 12591, see Pedretti (1962: 47–50). For their possible influence on Serlio, see Chastel (1967).
66 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 189, fol 40v (https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00018617?page=88,89); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 72.P.20. no. 54 (https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ15728070X).
67 Moray (2007: 61–201).
68 Letter of the Earl of Lauderdale to Bruce, dated 16 March 1671, in Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD 29/1905.
69 Howard (1995: 57).
70 Macaulay (1987: 12); Lowrey (2020a: 96); Godard Desmarest (2017: 32–3).
71 Colvin (1995: 893–6).
72 Lowrey (2020b: 330–1). We have no evidence for Alexander Edward travelling outside Scotland in the 1690s but it may be worth noting that his brother, Charles Edward, was arrested in London in 1696 on arrival from France, on suspicion of clandestine Jacobite activities; Clarke (1987: 173–4). The ostensible reason for his journey was to bring the 4th Earl of Lauderdale's manuscript translation of the Aeneid to London for publication, but it is easy to imagine that he could also have been a source of information on architecture for his brother.
73 On the involvement of Bruce, Edward and Smith in the Melville House project, see Colvin (1995: 176, 332, 896).
74 On Campbell, see Colvin (1995: 176–9). John Harris believes Campbell came by Smith's drawings by 'foul' means since Smith outlived Campbell (Harris 2009: 159, no. 4). For a general discussion of the Smith drawings see Colvin (1974). See also MacKechnie (1989), who points out that they also display knowledge of work in the circle of Wren; and Gonzalez-Longo (2012: 90–1).
75 Rowan (1984: 186).
76 London, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, SC130/5(44); Richardson (1975: 87, no. 44).
77 London, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, SC130/5(42); Richardson (1975: 87, no. 42).
78 Gonzalez-Longo (2012).
79 For the 1691 visit see 'Papers of the 1st Duke of Queensberry', Buccleuch Archives, Drumlanrig Castle, BD 1.4 (National Register of the Archives of Scotland: NRAS1275/Bundle 160–215: William Stewart's London account and vouchers, 17 October 1691–

26 March 1692, include several payments to Smith. For the 1693 visit, see Marshall (2000: 193).

80 Marshall (2000: 194); Gonzalez-Longo (2012: 87).

81 Craske (2008).

82 Marshall (1970, vol 1: 247); Godfrey Evans pers comm.

83 Jeffery (2016, 2020).

84 Serlio (1545: fols 7r–v). Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's St Andrea in Via Flaminia (1550–c 1553) has an oval dome over a rectangular ground plan, while St Anna dei Palafrenieri, begun 1565, has an oval interior plan but enclosed within a rectangular shell.

85 The Queen's College Library, Oxford, Hawksmoor Drawing 17; White (1997: 23–4); Hart (2002: 203–4, fig 298); Pistis (2012: 6).

86 See Roscoe et al (2009: 113–15), where the works for Wren and Gibbs are listed, but not that with Hawksmoor. The anonymous authors of the Wren Society state that Bird collaborated with Hawksmoor on a monument to William III for Greenwich which was not executed, although the marble for it was purchased in 1714; Wren Society (1924–43, vol 12: 20, pl XLI). It does not appear in the catalogue of Hawksmoor's works by Kerry Downes (1959). Anthony Geraghty (2007: no. 446) dates the drawing which the Wren Society volume illustrates to the 1690s but does not identify the monument; Oxford, All Souls College, AS IV.75 (http://library.asc.ox.ac.uk/wren/monument_2.html#446).

87 Oxford, All Souls College, AS IV.138 (http://library.asc.ox.ac.uk/wren/monument_2.html#446).

http://library.asc.ox.ac.uk/wren/trianon.html; Geraghty (2007: no. 341).

88 Serlio (1575: 13).

89 Roscoe et al (2009: 113).

90 Gibbs (1728: xviii and pl 69), https://archive.org/details/bookofarchitectu0000gibb/page/n170/mode/1up; Friedman (1984: 169).

91 On the tombs, see Roscoe et al (2009: 114); on their memberships of the Rose and Crown Club and of the Academy, see Bignamini (1988: 53–4, 64, 74).

92 Hewlings (1995).

93 Hewlings (1995: 17).

94 Worsley (1995: 112).

95 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon. 189, fols 31v–32r (https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00018617?page=70,71l); Worsley (2011: 129, fig 48).

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