

# Palladio drawings in Britain: half a century of research\*

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## Preamble: the 1960s

In the 1960s, John Harris (1931–2022), Margaret Richardson (b. 1937), and Jill Lever (1935–2017) began spearheading the initiative to catalogue all the architectural drawings in the Drawing Collection of the British Architectural Library (BAL), belonging to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).<sup>1</sup> Harris had been appointed Curator in 1961 and was joined by Richardson and Lever.<sup>2</sup> They set about assigning authors for the various volumes, which were arranged both alphabetically, and by individual architect where the collection was strong.

The first volume to be published was *A*, which appeared in 1969, but the first of the series of individual architects, *Andrea Palladio*, one of the jewels in the crown of this collection, which was also planned for 1969, to be catalogued by Howard Burns (b. 1939), never appeared and, as of late 2023, still has not seen the light of day.<sup>3</sup> This, despite Burns having immediate access from his office in the Courtauld

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\* Dedicated to Margaret Richardson, and in memory of Jill Lever, John Harris, and John Newman. My thanks to Neil Bingham, former Deputy Curator at the RIBA Drawings Collection, David Hemsoll, Gordon Higgott, and Douglas Lewis. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> Simon Swynfen Jervis, 'John Harris—an architectural historian and eagle-eyed connoisseur—has died, age 90', *The Art Newspaper*, 22 May 2022 (<https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/05/23/john-harrisan-architectural-historian-and-eagle-eyed-connoisseurhas-died-aged-90>). Alan Powers, 'Jill Lever obituary', *The Guardian*, 27 December 2017 (<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/dec/26/jill-lever-obituary>), where he noted, 'The architectural librarian and curator Jill Lever, who has died aged 82, wrote in the final volume of the printed catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the RIBA that if the publisher or cataloguers had known the immensity of the task, it would never have been started'. The volume *A*, without an author or editor, appeared in 1969 and *T-Z* in 1984, but *Palladio* remained absent. The publisher was at Farnborough: Gregg International. Harris authored *Inigo Jones & John Webb*, 1972; compiled *Colen Campbell*, 1973. Richardson authored *Edwin Lutyens*, 1973. Lever edited *G-K*, 1973; *L-N*, 1973; *O-R*, 1976; *T-Z*, 1984. Lever was awarded the Alice Davis Hitchcock Medallion in 1985 by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain for her editorship of the series.

<sup>2</sup> John, Margaret, and Jill all worked first on the front desk at 66 Portman Place in the RIBA Library, eventually moving over to take control of the Drawing Collection as it grew. Margaret and Jill job-shared for decades when raising their families. Personal communication, Neil Bingham, July 2023.

<sup>3</sup> Caroline Elam, 'Precision and *Fantasia*: Howard Burns, scholar and teacher' in Maria Beltramini and Caroline Elam, eds, *Some degree of happiness. Studi di storia dell'architettura in*

Institute of Art's then London location in Home House, at 20 Portman Square, to the RIBA Drawing Collection next door at 21 Portman Square. One suspects that principal difficulty was the apparent inability, then and even today, of stating with certainty the provenances of all the Palladio drawings located in Britain, the main issue discussed here. Important to this consideration is the elucidation of the various hands to be found on the drawings, including those not only of Andrea Palladio (1508–80), but of his sons Marcantonio (c.1530s–1600) and Silla (fl. 1580s–d. after 1619), Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616), and Francesco Zamberlan (1529–1606c.); and, in the case of ancient buildings depicted, identifying whether such a drawing was based on an earlier drawing.

### The 1970s

The other RIBA volumes appeared regularly throughout the 1970s. In 1976, with the publication of the volume *O-R*, edited by Lever, there is a brief, disarming statement explaining that:

The seventeen bound volumes of drawings by Palladio and others in the Burlington-Devonshire collection (q.v.) are the subject of a separate volume, *The Palladio volumes in the Burlington-Devonshire collection* by Howard Burns and Lynda Fairbairn, in the RIBA Drawings Collection catalogue series.<sup>4</sup>

Certainly, Burns, Lynda Fairbairn (b. c.1948), and Bruce Boucher (b. 1948) had been busy in 1974 preparing the Arts Council exhibition of 1975, *Andrea Palladio: the portico and the farmyard*, mounted at the Hayward Gallery, London.<sup>5</sup> Also, in 1973, Burns had published a short but important article on Palladio's drawings, so work on the cataloguing project seemed to be proceeding, advancing research published in the 1960s by Wolfgang Lotz (1912–81) and Heinz Spielmann (b. 1930).<sup>6</sup> Burns had also written the entries on Palladio's drawings in the 1973 Vicenza exhibition catalogue which included a final statement, here translated as:

Many of the observations regarding the London drawings presented here come from a work of close reading begun and not yet finished, together with

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*onore di Howard Burns*, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010, (xiv–xxii) xix for his method, 'Of greater importance than the sum of these discoveries is a whole methodology for the study of architectural drawing (influenced by Lotz, and by Wilde's and Hirst's work on Michelangelo). Considering every mark on the paper from compass point to inscription, treating the drawing as a document, considering its function as primary to its interpretation, taking handwriting seriously, but above all studying the drawing for what it reveals of the draughtsman's mentality, not only for its sequence in an architectural project. The drawing becomes a living, breathing work, a material object, a carrier of poetic meaning'. Michele Roberts dedicated her book, *The wild girl*, London: Methuen, 1984, to Burns.

<sup>4</sup> Lever, *O-R*, Farnborough: Gregg International, 1976, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Howard Burns, Lynda Fairbairn, Bruce Boucher, eds, *Andrea Palladio, 1508–1580: The portico and the farmyard*, London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1975.

<sup>6</sup> Howard Burns, 'I disegni del Palladio', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, 15, 1973, 169–91. Wolfgang Lotz, 'Osservazioni intorno ai disegni palladiana', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, 4, 1962, 61–8. Heinz Spielmann, *Andrea Palladio und die Antike: Untersuchung und Katalog der Zeichnungen aus seinem Nachlass*, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1966.

Miss Lynda Fairbairn who collaborates with me on the preparation of the catalogue of the Palladian collection of the R.I.B.A. [...]. Many of the conclusions presented here have a provisional character. For a more profound view I must refer to the catalogue of the London drawings which should come out towards the end of 1974.<sup>7</sup>

Fairbairn's task was to undertake a complete technical study of all the surviving drawings, but this research was never published.<sup>8</sup>

Certainly, there were some difficult questions to ponder over for such a catalogue, beginning with the identification of what each of the drawings on the several hundred sheets represented. The monumental volumes of the late 1950s and 1960s by Giangorgio Zorzi Giustinian (1887–1969) had made significant headway on this front, yet they were far from exhaustive because, except for the earliest volume dedicated to drawings after the Antique, arranged typologically, he had reproduced and discussed each drawing within the context of individual Palladian projects, rather than together as Palladio's drawn *oeuvre*. And, unfortunately, Zorzi misattributed very many early drawings to Giovanni Maria Falconetto (c.1468–c.1534), a misapprehension subsequently corrected by Spielmann.<sup>9</sup>

In 1979, Burns published further finds on Palladio drawings including the reattribution to the Scamozzis of one of the RIBA Burlington drawings which had previously been given to Palladio.<sup>10</sup>

At this time, however, most English-language scholars were unaware of a major breakthrough regarding the provenance of the drawings for the *Fabbriche Antiche Disegnate da Andrea Palladio* of 1730/40 of Richard Boyle, 3rd Lord Burlington (1694–1753), which was published in 1975 by Loredana Olivato (b. c.1945) and until today has remained relatively unnoticed. Olivato pointed out the significance of the published work of 1708 by the architect and author Francesco Muttoni (1669–1747) where, in the preface, he makes a fundamental statement about an archaeological excursion he made to Rome from Venice in that year:

To this effect I had brought with me, in addition to those of the Quattro Libri of Palladio, already printed, also all the original unpublished drawings of the Antichità di Roma in Palladio's own hand which by good luck passed

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<sup>7</sup> Howard Burns, 'I disegni' in Renato Cevese, ed., *Mostra del Palladio: Vicenza/Basilica Palladiana*, Milan: Electa, 1973, (133–54) 140.

<sup>8</sup> Douglas Lewis, *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio*, Washington DC: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1981, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Giangorgio Zorzi, *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio*, Venice: Neri Pozza, 1958; Giangorgio Zorzi, *Le opere pubbliche e i palazzi privati di Andrea Palladio*, Venice: Neri Pozza, 1965; Giangorgio Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti di Andrea Palladio*, Venice: Neri Pozza, 1967; Giangorgio Zorzi, *Le ville e i teatri di Andrea Palladio*, Venice: Neri Pozza, 1969. Spielmann, *Andrea Palladio*. As noted by Maria Cristina Loi, 'Howard Burns e lo studio dei disegni di architettura', *Il disegno di architettura*, 21/22, 2000, 3–8, here 3.

<sup>10</sup> Howard Burns, 'Suggerimenti per l'identificazione di alcuni progetti e skizzi palladiani', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, 21, 1979, 113–40, here 113–15, figs 168, 172. The captions and text attributions to Scamozzi and/or his father Giandomenico are inconsistent.

into my hands with other writings from those of the last of the Albanese family, sculptors of good name, who had received them from Vincenzo Scamozzi, accredited architect, of whom they were heirs.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, a decade before their purchase by Burlington, Muttoni stated clearly that he had obtained them from the then beneficiary of Scamozzi's will, Francesco di Girolamo Scamozzi Albanese (fl. 1660–1710), to whom they had been passed down, architect to architect, as per Vincenzo's testamentary bequest (*lascito*) following his death in 1616. These, the *Fabbriche Antiche* drawings, had been obtained by Scamozzi from Giacomo Contarini (1536–95) in the 1580s (i.e. they did not come from the drawings Palladio's son Silla had in Vicenza, nor were they subject to any conditions imposed in Contarini's will).<sup>12</sup> After Scamozzi's death in 1616, they were passed along to various beneficiaries until reaching Albanese, who illicitly gave or sold the *Fabbriche Antiche* drawings to Muttoni, who was not a beneficiary, and who took them to Rome in 1708, before returning to Venice where, presumably without further changes of ownership, they were sold to Burlington in 1719. Muttoni also redrew original Palladio drawings that were in very poor condition and these are now in the collection of the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, California.<sup>13</sup>

### The 1980s

The 300th anniversary of Palladio's death in 1580 spurred a plethora of celebratory exhibitions and catalogues. Wisely, given the then recent exhibition of 1973, a sensible 'work around' avoided mere repetition of that earlier initiative and instead focused on specific themes including: text, image, and city; Palladio and Verona; architecture and utopia; his second mentor, Alvise Cornaro (1484–1566); his bridges; documents; and Palladianism throughout the world.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, in this last-

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<sup>11</sup> Francesco Muttoni, *Architettura di Andrea Palladio Vicentino*, I, Venice: Pasinelli, 1743, vii, 'Prefazione', 'A tal effetto avevo io recato meco, oltre a quelli de' Quattro Libri di Palladio già stampati, anche tutti gli originali disegni non mai pubblicati delle Antichità di Roma di proprio pugno dello stesso Palladio per buona sorte passati con altre scritture nelle mie mani da quelle dell'ultimo della famiglia Albanese, scultori di buon nome, li quali gli avevano avuti da Vincenzo Scamozzi accreditato architetto, del quale furono eredi'. Loredana Olivato Puppi, 'Per la storia di un lascito: da Vincenzo Scamozzi a Bartolomeo Malacarne', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti*, 133, 1974–75, 347–69. For the dating of Burlington's *Fabbriche* see, Eileen Harris, 'Alexander Pope, Lord Burlington and Palladio's *Fabbriche Antiche*', *Georgian Group Symposium*, 1998, 10–13, here 11.

<sup>12</sup> For the consequences of Contarini's testament when his heir Bertucci died in 1714 and the Senate sent three experts to evaluate the collections in the palace at San Samuele see, Michel Hochmann, 'La collection de Giacomo Contarini', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 99, 1987, 447–89, here 458 n. 45.

<sup>13</sup> Lionello Puppi, 'Francesco Muttoni a Roma con Palladio: un'inedita raccolta di disegni e di appunti dall'antico' in Giancarlo Alisio et al, eds, *I disegni d'archivio negli studi di storia dell'architettura*, Naples: Electa Napoli, 1994 (88–98).

<sup>14</sup> Lionello Puppi, ed., *Andrea Palladio: Il testo, l'immagine, la città*, Milan: Electa, 1980. Licisco Magagnato, ed., *Palladio e Verona*, Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980. Lionello Puppi, ed., *Architettura e utopia nella Venezia del Cinquecento*, Milan: Electa, 1980. Maria Francesca Tiepolo, ed., *Testimonianze Veneziane di interesse Palladiano*, Venice: Archivio di Stato, 1980. Lionello Puppi, ed., *Alvise Cornaro e il suo tempo*, 2 vols, Padua: Comune di Padova, 1980. Fernando Rigon,

mentioned exhibition, Cinzia Sicca (b. 1954) wrote all the entries for the section dedicated to Palladianism in England, based on her PhD research, including the entry on Inigo Jones's copy of Palladio's treatise held at Worcester College, Oxford, mentioning the significance of the early possession by Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) of Palladio drawings and that of the Teatro Olimpico drawing RIBA XIII/5r by Marcantonio.<sup>15</sup>

Likewise, in 1980, Margarita Azzi Visentini (b. 1944) published an article in which she discussed Wotton's early ownership of Palladio drawings.<sup>16</sup> Here in translation are her perceptive observations, largely ignored and overlooked by English-language scholars:

James I had opened not only the political-diplomatic doors, but also the artistic-cultural gates towards the rest of Europe. And one certainly did not have long to wait for the results. Among other things, in our opinion, Inigo Jones's "pilgrimage" to Palladian places should be reconsidered from this perspective. The trip to Italy, and the prolonged stay in the Veneto, by the superintendent of monuments of the first Stuarts, which took place from the summer of 1613 to the autumn of the following year, and following his [Wotton's] return home of the British ambassador after his first sojourn in an official capacity in Venice ended abruptly at the end of 1610 following an unpleasant diplomatic incident (Wotton would then return to the lagoon city, always with the same position, from 1616 to 1619 and from 1621 to 1623). Jones, who already knew Wotton c.1611, was the person from whom perhaps in preparation for the trip to Italy of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, of which Jones would be a member, information had been requested. In fact, English travellers visiting Venice generally turned to Jones. It should be noted, among other things, that Jones himself annotated,

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ed., *I ponti di Palladio*, Milan: Electa, 1980. See the review by Bruce Boucher, 'Palladian Exhibitions in the Veneto', *The Burlington Magazine*, 122: 933, 1980, 864–9.

<sup>15</sup> Cinzia Sicca, 'Il palladianesimo in Inghilterra' in Anna Della Valle, ed., *Palladio: la sua eredità nel mondo*, Milan: Electa, 1980, (31–71), 34. The Wotton drawings were preparatory for thirty-five plates in the *Quattro Libri*, personal communication, Gordon Higgott, September 2023.

<sup>16</sup> Margarita Azzi Visentini, 'Ancora un'inedita pianta prospettica di Venezia in un dipinto di Odoardo Fialetti per Sir Henry Wotton', *Bollettino Civici Musei Veneziani d'Arte e di Storia*, 25, 1980, 19–25, here 22–3. Melanie Ord, 'Returning from Venice to England: Sir Henry Wotton as diplomat, pedagogue and Italian cultural connoisseur' in Thomas Betteridge, ed., *Borders and travellers in early modern Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, (147–67), but Ord's n. 13 is misleading. See also Edward Chaney, 'Pilgrims to Pictures: Art, English Catholics and the Evolution of the Grand Tour' in Edward Cheney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance*, London, Portland: 1998, (203–14), here 205–8. The first discussion in English of the Wotton drawings and the likely date when they came to England was by John Newman in 1992, who remained unaware of Azzi Visentini's research. Newman was quite brief, and suggested 1612 for the arrival of the drawings in England. In fact, the date must be 1611, soon after Wotton's arrival from Venice in March that year, Gordon Higgott, personal communication, June 2022. John Newman, 'The architectural education of Inigo Jones before 1614', *Architectural History*, 35, 1992, 18–50, here 48–9.

in his copy of the *Quattro Libri*, that he had seen some drawings by Palladio, preliminary studies for plates in the treatise, in the collection of Henry Wotton.<sup>17</sup>

Lionello Puppi (1931–2018) published an extraordinary article in the same year, in which multiple issues to do with provenance were raised, and many new documents presented.<sup>18</sup> One of his most important discoveries was that in 1710 there were some (*'alcuni'*) Palladio drawings of the Roman Pantheon with the Venetian patrician Bernardo Trevisan (1652–1720) when he visited the Eternal City that year:

We saw the famous rotunda / Behind that illustrious building various shapeless vestiges can be seen, no less from the Giustiniani side than from that of the Minerva; but some drawings by the hand of the remarkable Palladio that he outlined with his supreme skill, with a characteristic diligence and in much more ancient times, made with astonishment known [to the] more erudite of Rome (to whom we showed them) and [which] can make everyone understand what was ~~his research~~ its true magnificence, and greatness.<sup>19</sup>

Subsequently, Puppi went on correctly to discount the veracity of a late eighteenth-century source who claimed that the drawings of the ancient baths that Burlington had taken possession of had been stolen.<sup>20</sup> The source of this misinformation was

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<sup>17</sup> Azzi Visentini, 'Ancora un'inedita pianta', 23, 'Giacomo I, aveva aperto i cancelli non solo politico-diplomatici, ma anche artistico-culturali, verso la restante Europa. E i risultati non si fecero certo attendere a lungo. Va tra l'altro a nostro avviso riconsiderato, in quest'ottica il "pellegrinaggio" di Inigo Jones ai luoghi palladiani. Il viaggio in Italia, e la prolungata permanenza nel Veneto, del sovrintendente ai monumenti dei primi Stuart, che ebbe luogo dall'estate del 1613 all'autunno dell'anno successivo, è posteriore al rientro in patria dell'ambasciatore britannico dopo il suo primo soggiorno in veste ufficiale a Venezia, conclusosi bruscamente alla fine del 1610 in seguito ad uno spiacevole incidente diplomatico (Wotton sarebbe poi tornato nella città lagunare, sempre con la stessa carica, dal 1616 al 1619 e dal 1621 al 1623). È assai probabile che Jones conoscesse fin da allora Wotton, al quale forse in fase di preparazione del viaggio in Italia di Thomas Howard, Conte di Arundel, del cui seguito Jones faceva parte, erano state chieste informazioni. A lui infatti, generalmente si rivolgevano i viaggiatori inglesi in visita a Venezia. Va tra l'altro rilevato che lo stesso Jones ha annotato, nella sua copia dei *Quattro Libri* di aver visto alcuni disegni del Palladio, studi preliminari per tavole del trattato, nella collezione di Henry Wotton'.

<sup>18</sup> Lionello Puppi, 'Gli "altri" libri dell'architettura di Andrea Palladio', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, 22, 1980, 65–83, where he first traced the provenance of the drawings in the Museo Civico, Vicenza, subsequently published in full in 1989.

<sup>19</sup> Bernardo Trevisan, 'Raguaglio d'un viaggio di Roma e delle cose notabili osservate l'anno 1710', cod. it. XI 140 (6777) fols 187v–188r, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, 'Vedemmo la famosa rotunda / Dietro di quel insigne edificio si vedono diversi informi vestigie non meno dalla parte di Giustiniani, ch' da quella della Minerva; ma' alcuni disegni di mano dell'insigne Palladio che rilievò co la sua somma perizia, con una diligenza distinta ed in tempi tanto più anciani fecero con meraviglia conoscere più erudita di Roma (à quale noi li esponemo) e può far comprendere à tutti qual fosse la sua ~~ricerca~~ vera magnificenza, e grandezza'.

<sup>20</sup> Puppi, 'Gli "altri" libri', 79 n. 35,

the discalced Carmelite friar Angiolgabriello di S. Maria, whose given name was Paolo Calvi (1716–81), who hypothesised without evidence that the drawings had passed to the Procuratia de Supra as part of the Contarini inheritance and were subsequently stolen from there.<sup>21</sup> Although Calvi cited an earlier author, Scipione Maffei (1675–1755), the Marquis Maffei’s own account of his visit to Burlington at Chiswick Villa in the mid-1730s, makes no mention of such a theft: ‘He has had the good fortune to acquire in Italy more than sixty original drawings by [Palladio]’.<sup>22</sup> There is, therefore, no known source for Calvi’s assertion except his own imagination (and nationalism) and, as Olivato demonstrated in 1975, the *Fabbriche Antiche* drawings had left Contarini’s collection already in the 1580s and, therefore, simply were not part of the inheritance. Of importance was Maffei’s mention of more than sixty drawings, whereas only twenty-four were published by Burlington (and two, on pages 84 and 86, appear to have been redrawn after Palladio’s originals), meaning that others, perhaps ‘oversize’ or otherwise not deemed pertinent or congruent, were not included (figs 01–02).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Paolo Calvi, *Biblioteca e storia di [...] scrittori vicentini*, IV, Vicenza: Vendramini Mosca, 1778, 152–234, here 213, ‘Scilla in terzo Figliuolo [...] esecutore di alcun disegno del Padre, a cui sopravvisse: (ma a dir vero senza acquistarsi gran nome)’; 224–5 ‘e questi per avventura son que’disegni, che dalla Procuratia de Supra (f); a cui aveva lasciati in testamento il Contarini morendo [...] per incuria, o per ingordia piuttosto de’ Custodi di allora, trafugati passarono in Inghilterra, ed erano posseduti pochi anni sono da Mylord Conte di Burlington (g)’. Calvi may have made this suggestion based on the statement by Gualdo, Giangiorgio Zorzi, ed., ‘Paolo Gualdo “Vita di Andrea Palladio”’, *Saggi e Memorie della storia dell’Arte*, 2, 1959, 91–104, here 94, ‘Ma venendo a morte anco il detto Senatore, il tutto s’è smarrito né vi è stato rimedio poter rihavere cosa alcuna’. For Calvi see, Ermenegildo Reato, ‘La “Biblioteca Viceentina” di Paolo Calvi’, *Odeo Olimpico*, 26, 2004/06, 35–42, here 38–9. For the only extant drawing by Scamozzi for the Rialto Bridge project see Donatella Calabi and Andrew Hopkins, ‘Progetto per il ponte di Rialto a Venezia (1588)’ in Franco Barbieri and Guido Beltramini, eds, *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548–1616*, Venice: Marsilio, 2003 (283–88). That Contarini considered architectural drawings as technical objects to be used rather than artworks to be collected, see Hochmann, ‘Giacomo Contarini’, 455 n. 33, ‘Li altri disegni fatti dal Scamozzi furono datti da me Giacomo Contarini alli Illustrissimi Signori Capi del Consiglio adi 8 maggio 1589’; 459, for the prior dispersal of the Palladio drawings; 472–89, for the inventories, listing the subject of each drawing in the collection in 1714, none of the descriptions of which likely would apply to any Palladio drawings.

<sup>22</sup> Scipione Maffei, *Osservazioni letterarie che possono servir di continuazione al Giornal de’ letterati d’Italia*, III, Verona: Vallarsi, 1738, 206–7, ‘Ha avuto forte d’acquistare in Italia più di sessanta disegni originali di quel grand’uomo’. For Maffei, see Cinzia Sicca, ‘A lost drawing by Francesco Muttoni for the staircase and garden at the Castello di Trissino’, *Annali di Architettura*, 1, 1989, 122–5. Also see, Eleonora Pistis, ‘La biblioteca d’architettura secondo Scipione Maffei (1675–1755)’ in Giovanna Curcio et al, eds, *I libri e l’ingegno: Studi sulla biblioteca dell’architetto, XV–XX secolo*, Palermo: Caracol, 2010, (115–22). Eleonora Pistis, ‘Architettura e storia: “varj frammenti di verità” nell’incontro tra Filippo Juvarra e Scipione Maffei’ in Elisabeth Kieven et al, eds, *Filippo Juvarra, 1678–1736, architetto dei Savoia, architetto in Europa*, Rome: Campisano, 2010 (65–77).

<sup>23</sup> Burlington, *Fabbriche Antiche*, preface, n.p., eng. trans., ‘To the interested reader: The mention that Andrea Palladio makes in his already published books, of another work of his regarding Ancient Roman buildings, made me keen to find such a considerable treasure,





Figure 1 Lord Burlington, Frontispiece, *Fabbriche Antiche*, London, 1730/40 (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles CA, online open access).

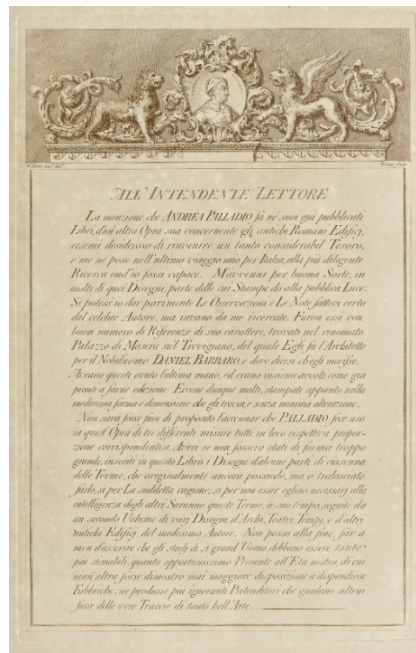


Figure 2 Lord Burlington, Preface, *Fabbriche Antiche*, London, 1730/40 (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles CA, online open access).

Another advance in the study of Palladio drawings came in 1981, when the art historian and curator Douglas Lewis (b. 1938) organised the exhibition, *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio*, held at the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC.<sup>24</sup> Previously, in 1973, Lewis had written an article on some unpublished Palladio

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which I undertook on my last voyage to Italy, with the most diligent research I was capable of. By good chance, I came across many designs, some of which I have now published. If I was able to likewise give The Observations and The Notes certainly made by the same celebrated author I would have, but my research was in vain. These [the drawings] were, with a good number of references of his character, found in the renowned Palace of Masera in the Trevigiano, of which he was the architect for the nobleman Daniel Barbaro, and where it is said he died. These had had the final touches and were rolled up together as being ready to produce an edition. Here therefore are many, printed precisely in the same form and dimension as I found them, without even minimal alterations. It will not be out of context to signal that Palladio made use in this work of three different scales, all corresponding in their respective proportions. If they hadn't been of such large format, I would have inserted into this book the designs of some details of each of the Baths, that I originally still possessed; but I didn't do this, for the already mentioned reason; also, because these are not necessary for the understanding of the others. These Baths will be, in due course, followed by a second Volume of various Designs of Arches, Theatres, Temples, and other Ancient Edifices by the same Author. I cannot, in the end, refrain from asserting that the studies of such a great man should be all the more admired, in the most opportune present of our times, of whom no other perhaps demonstrates a greater disposition towards costly buildings; it [our times] produces more ignorant pretenders who guide others off the true paths of such beautiful Arts'.

<sup>24</sup> See now the most up-to-date edition, Lewis, *The drawings*, revised and expanded edition, New Orleans: Martin & St. Martin, 2000.



drawings, and in this exhibition catalogue he wrote up a total of ninety RIBA drawing catalogue entries, around one quarter of the BAL collection.<sup>25</sup>

In the same decade, Fairbairn, one of the two younger scholars who assisted Burns with the 1975 exhibition, suggested that she take over writing the catalogue of the RIBA Palladio drawings, but this was rebuffed by the allocated author. She went on to research and write the exemplary catalogue of Italian Renaissance architectural drawings in the Sir John Soane Museum, funded by the late patron of architecture, Drue Heinz (1915–2018), and these two volumes were awarded the Alice Davis Hitchcock Medallion of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain in 2000.<sup>26</sup>

Another step forward (discussed in more detail below) was the publication in 1989 by Puppi of the other significant collection of Scamozzi's Palladio drawings held by the Civico Museo Vicenza, in colour and dedicated exclusively to this group.<sup>27</sup> In his essay, Puppi focused on the provenance of these drawings, developing his 1980 article. He underlined the significance of the early biography of Palladio by Paolo Gualdo (1553–1621) recording the existence of the separate group of Palladio drawings of ancient baths ready to be printed as a book and which were, at the time of Palladio's death in 1580, in Venice in the Contarini palace at San Samuele.<sup>28</sup> Puppi followed the results of Olivato's research, which traced the lineage of these drawings from Contarini to Scamozzi and his bequest, and later to Burlington in 1719 via Muttoni.<sup>29</sup>

A major documentary breakthrough regarding the provenance of the Palladio drawings acquired by Burlington in Italy in 1719 was made in the late 1980s by Jane Clark Dodgson (b. 1928). She transcribed an important notice regarding the visit to Venice and the Veneto of 1719 by Burlington in a letter inserted in the Fountaine collection example of Burlington's *Fabbriche Antiche* (figs 3–5).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Douglas Lewis, 'Disegni autografi del Palladio non pubblicati: le piante per Caldogeno e Maser, 1548–1549', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, 15, 1973, 369–79.

<sup>26</sup> Lynda Fairbairn, *Italian Renaissance drawings from the collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, 2 vols, London: Azimuth, 1998. For Drue Heinz as a victim of Princess Margaret's capriciousness, see Anne Glenconner, *Whatever next? Lessons from an unexpected life*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2022, 215–6.

<sup>27</sup> Lionello Puppi, *Palladio: corpus dei disegni al Museo Civico di Vicenza*, Milan: Berenice, 1989. Deborah Howard, 'Lionello Puppi (1931–2018)', *The Burlington Magazine*, 161: 1391, 2019, 179–80.

<sup>28</sup> Puppi, 'Gli "altri" libri', 69 n. 25, citing Zorzi, 'Paolo Gualdo', 94, 'mentre era in pronto per farlo stampare essendo soprapreso della morte restarono tutte queste sue nobili fatiche in mano del sig. Giacomo Contareno Nob. Veneziano suo intrisechissimo amico [...]. Ma venendo a morte anco il detto Senatore, il tutto s'è smarrito né vi è stato rimedio poter rihavere cosa alcuna'. See also, Lionello Puppi, 'La morte e i funerali di Palladio' in Lionello Puppi, ed., *Palladio e Venezia*, Florence: Sansoni, 1982 (155–72). For Contarini see Hochmann, 'La collection'.

<sup>29</sup> Puppi, *Palladio: corpus*, 17.

<sup>30</sup> Jane Clark, 'The mysterious Mr. Buck: patronage and politics, 1688–1745', *Apollo*, 129: 327, 1989, 317–22. While Clark had seen the letter in person, the volume subsequently left the

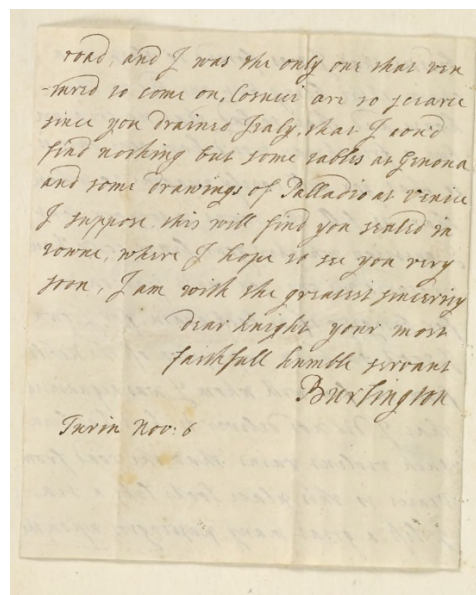
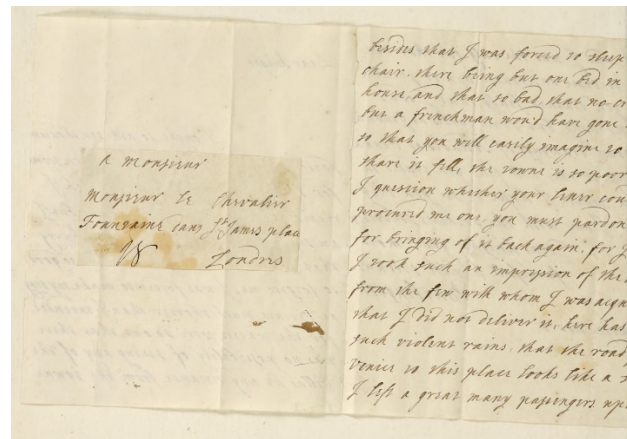
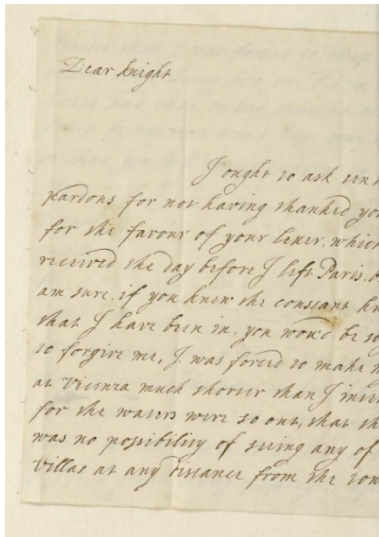


Figure 3 Lord Burlington, Letter inserted into, *Fabbriche Antiche*, London, 1730/40 (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles CA, online open access).

Figure 4 Lord Burlington, Letter inserted into, *Fabbriche Antiche*, London, 1730/40 (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles CA, online open access).

Figure 5 Lord Burlington, Letter inserted into, *Fabbriche Antiche*, London, 1730/40 (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles CA, online open access).

Because the country house of Narford Hall in Norfolk of Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676–1753) became one of the most inaccessible of all grand villas in Britain in the twentieth century – as Harris was at pains to point out – until recently it has not been possible for subsequent scholars to authenticate the letter – now held by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles – for themselves, so it is worth

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Fountaine collection and so could not be inspected by other scholars until it was recently identified by Gordon Higgott in the Getty Research Institute collections. See also Jane Clark, 'Lord Burlington is here' in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark, eds, *Lord Burlington: architecture, art and life*, London: Hambledon Press, 1996, (251–310).

publishing here.<sup>31</sup> Thus, it is known that Burlington acquired the drawings in Venice during his visit, the evidence being the letter written by Burlington in Turin to Fountaine in Paris on 6 November 1719, interleaved in the Fountaine exemplar. For a long time the vendor was presumed to have been Bernardo Trevisan, a descendant of the Barbaro-Trevisan family who, with his brother bishop Francesco (1658–1732), were then owners of the villa at Maser. This was based on Burlington's printed statement in his preface to the *Fabbriche Antiche* (fig. 02), but is contradicted by the handwritten letter in the Fountaine collection example.

Writing, Burlington noted that he was unable to visit the villas he had been hoping to see because the roads were not passable. To say that this discovery threw the cat among the pigeons would be an understatement. It prompted the recognition that Burlington did not acquire the drawings at the Barbaro villa at Maser, as he claimed in his introductory preface. In Burlington's letter of the sixth of November from Turin, he wrote:

Dear knight,

I ought to ask ten thousand pardons for not having thanked you sooner for the favour of your letter, which I received the day before I left Paris. But I am sure, if you knew the constant hurry that I have been in, you would be so good to forgive me, I was forced to make my stay in Vicenza much shorter than I intended for the waters were so out that there was no possibility of seeing any of the villas at any distance from the town besides that I was forced to sleep in a chair, there being but one bed in the house and that so bad that no creature but a Frenchman would have gone into it so that you will easily imagine to whose share it fell, the town is so poor that I question whether your letter could have procured me one, you must pardon me for bringing of it back again, for I own I took such an impression of the Nobili from the few with whom I was acquainted that I did not deliver it. Here has been such violent rains that the road from Venice to this place looks like a sea, I left a great many passengers upon the road and I was the only one that ventured to come on, *Cosucci* are so scarce since you drained Italy that I could find nothing but some tables at Genova and some drawings of Palladio at Venice.<sup>32</sup>

So, Burlington offered an appealing but entirely invented provenance for these drawings, presumably because the Barbaro brothers had been highly significant patrons of Palladio, and because Burlington therefore could avoid mentioning Muttoni, who presumably did not explain to his lordship where he had obtained (illicitly) the drawings, and whose treatise on Palladio in Italian of 1708 was overlooked or unread by most English-speaking readers of the day.<sup>33</sup> Given Muttoni's clear statement regarding the *Fabbriche Antiche* drawings, it has always

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<sup>31</sup> John Harris, 'Lord Burlington and Sir Andrew Fountaine', *Annali di Architettura*, 24, 2012, 163–68. See Lewis, *The Drawings*, 8.

<sup>32</sup> GRI Special Collections NA1123.P2 1730.

<sup>33</sup> For the Barbaro brothers see, Deborah Howard, *Venice disputed: Marc'Antonio Barbaro and Venetian architecture, 1550–1600*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011.

been surprising that some scholars (such as Sicca) continued to claim that the Palladio drawings had been removed illicitly from the Contarini-Trevisan inheritance, of which they were never a part.<sup>34</sup>

### The 1990s

Following on from his monograph on *Palladio* of 1994, in 2000 Boucher published his detailed research into Palladio's approach to nature and the antique and included a selection of RIBA drawings that were discussed at length.<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps the most significant breakthrough for the study of Palladio drawings in Britain was in terms of their eighteenth-century provenance. This came in 1997, although it was not immediately obvious, perhaps. In that year Antony Griffiths (b. 1951) published the study of the Talman marks based upon the work of the late John MacAndrew (1904–78). Crucially, Griffiths listed all the known numerical and other marks made on architectural drawings in Britain by William (1650–1719) and John Talman (1677–1726), father and son collectors.<sup>36</sup> It was the crucial basis for an article by this author in 2015 (discussed below). Griffiths suggested the marks were related to batching drawings and perhaps, also to sending them, with the presence of two like marks indicating that two smaller drawings had been joined together.

Also during the 1990s a number of Burns's doctoral students – now established scholars in their own right – suggested that if, collectively, they each catalogued several Palladio drawings, then the RIBA volume could be relatively easily completed and published, but this suggestion came to naught.

### The 2000s

A most significant issue, and one fraught with difficulties, was and remains the question of the extent of Scamozzi's involvement in the passage of Palladio drawings to Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (1585–1646) and Jones when in Italy in 1613. This topic was mentioned in two papers published by Burns in 2003 and 2007 which examined in detail Scamozzi's role and significance as the person connecting the world of Palladio to that of English architecture.<sup>37</sup> The first

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<sup>34</sup> Cinzia Sicca, 'Lord Burlington at Chiswick: Architecture and Landscape', *Garden History*, 10, 1982, 36–69, here 52, 67–8 n. 23, 'But this sale, if accomplished as it was eventually, had to be kept secret since all his family's properties were under direct control of the Venetian Senate which forbade any change in property'. See also, Cinzia Sicca, ed., *John Talman: an early eighteenth-century connoisseur*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008, including her essay, 'The making and unraveling of John Talman's collection of drawings', (1–75).

<sup>35</sup> Bruce Boucher, *Andrea Palladio: the architect in his time*, New York: Abbeville, 1994; Bruce Boucher, 'Nature and the antique in the work of Andrea Palladio', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 59, 2000, 296–311.

<sup>36</sup> Antony Griffiths, 'The Talman collection, marks and sales', *The Walpole Society*, 59, 1997. These marks are alpha-numerical and other symbols.

<sup>37</sup> Howard Burns, 'Note sull'influsso di Scamozzi in Inghilterra: Inigo Jones, John Webb, Lord Burlington' in Barbieri and Beltramini, *Vincenzo Scamozzi (128–41)*. Howard Burns, 'Inigo Jones and Vincenzo Scamozzi', *Annali di architettura*, 18/19, 2006–07, 215–24.

publication, a chapter in the Palladio Museum's Scamozzi exhibition catalogue, examined Palladio's influence on Jones, John Webb (1611–72), and Burlington. The second, specifically examining the relationship between Jones and Scamozzi, is of importance in this context because Burns held to the view first put forward by William Grant Keith in 1925 that, 'Furthermore Scamozzi is the most likely source for the greater part of the large block of Palladio drawings which Jones owned – an acquisition of enormous importance not only for Jones personally, but for the subsequent development of British architecture'.<sup>38</sup> Now, perhaps, in the light of recent research, it might be considered that Scamozzi may more likely have been the person who put Arundel in contact with Silla, from whom he acquired a large collection of Palladio drawings, given that Scamozzi's own Palladio drawings were intended for his bequest, while in 1613 Scamozzi sold Arundel his own drawings – probably to finance the future publication of his treatise – drawings that were recorded in Arundel's inventory of 1655 as, 'Cassoni decorated with designs, amongst which are two chests with architectural designs by Vincenzo Scamozzi'.<sup>39</sup>

To celebrate the 400th anniversary of Palladio's birth in 2008, a symposium was organised by the Palladio Museum and held at the Cini Foundation on the island of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.<sup>40</sup> In the section of the published proceedings entitled *Palladius Britannicus*, three brief chapters dealt directly and indirectly with the issue of Palladio drawings in Britain, beginning with Charles Hind (b. 1956) who followed the 1613 Jones and 1719 Burlington provenance sequence.<sup>41</sup> Harris began his contribution reminding the reader of Burlington's purchase of Palladio's drawings from John Talman.<sup>42</sup> And Richard Hewlings (b. 1947) brought the reader up-to-date regarding Clark's hypotheses of Burlington's Freemasonry and Jacobitism, with further affirmation of these issues.<sup>43</sup>

A year earlier, in 2007, the Vicenza drawings catalogue had appeared, edited by Maria Elisa Avagnina, the director of the Museo Civico, Vicenza.<sup>44</sup> For this volume, Puppi republished an updated version of his essay from the 1989 catalogue.<sup>45</sup> Puppi reiterated the provenance for Burlington's *Fabbriche Antiche*

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<sup>38</sup> Burns, 'Note sull'influsso' (215).

<sup>39</sup> Mary Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921, 487, '(In the margin: 12, and 2 chests)'. David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his circle*, New Haven and London, London: Yale University Press, 1985, 185, 244 n. 52.

<sup>40</sup> Franco Barbieri et al, eds, *Palladio 1508–2008: il simposio del cinquecentenario*, Venice: Marsilio, 2008.

<sup>41</sup> Charles Hind, 'British reactions to Palladio's buildings, 1750–1850; the waning of Palladio's reputation' in Barbieri, *Palladio 1508–2008* (348–51) 348.

<sup>42</sup> John Harris, 'Dreams of Ancient Rome: Lord Burlington, William Kent and the Houses of Parliament' in Barbieri, *Palladio 1508–2008* (357–61) 357.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Hewlings, 'Chiswick House: recent historiography' in Barbieri, *Palladio 1508–2008* (362–9) 364–6.

<sup>44</sup> Maria Elisa Avagnina, ed., *I disegni di Andrea Palladio (Catalogo scientifico delle collezioni, 1)*, Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2007.

<sup>45</sup> Lionello Puppi, 'Le memoria e i segni: un lacerto e le sue peregrinazioni' in Avagnina, *I disegni* (11–28).

drawings: Giacomo Contarini to Vincenzo Scamozzi in the 1580s, then after Scamozzi's death in 1616 as part of his bequest (*lascito*), they were passed down from architect to architect until Albanese, who also benefitted from the bequest, gave or sold the *Fabbriche Antiche* drawings to Muttoni, who although not a beneficiary, took them to Rome in 1708, before returning to Venice where he sold them to Burlington.

Given the reissue of the Vicenza catalogue just before the anniversary of 2008, one might likewise have expected a timely publication of the RIBA Palladio drawings catalogue. Instead, there was a travelling exhibition which this author saw in three iterations in Vicenza at the Museo Palladio, London at the Royal Academy, and Barcelona at the Caixa Forum, with Italian, English, and Spanish catalogues.<sup>46</sup> Many of the catalogue entries for the drawings were written by Burns, but many now also were written by Guido Beltramini (b. 1961).

Burns's request that the photographs of the drawings be taken in raked light revealed every detail of their materiality; these images were subsequently digitised and published online to the benefit of scholars and admirers alike.<sup>47</sup> Burns's interest from the 1970s onwards in the quality and character of the drawings has been pioneering, as is evident in a series of more recent publications dedicated to the material culture of architectural drawings.<sup>48</sup> For the 2008 exhibition Burns also wrote two brief but important essays on Palladio's drawings, pointing out for example how, after copying a perspectival survey drawing, Palladio would often redraw it.<sup>49</sup> The drawings have since been entirely re-photographed in regular light which is believed to make them more attractive for reproduction.

A little beforehand, in 2006, Sicca edited a volume dedicated to John Talman in which her important research into the making and unraveling of Talman's collection of drawings is set out in painstaking detail.<sup>50</sup>

### The 2010s

One might have expected the second decade of the twenty-first century to have witnessed the publication of the Palladio catalogue, given all the research already undertaken for the 2008–09 exhibitions, including that by Beltramini, director of the Palladio Museum in Vicenza, who wrote entries on individual Palladio drawings. What appeared next, however, in 2010, was yet another exhibition catalogue co-edited by Hind, Curator of Drawings at the RIBA, a non-specialist in the area, for three venues in the United States: the Morgan Library and Museum, New York; the Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee; and the Heinz Architectural Center, Carnegie

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<sup>46</sup> Guido Beltramini, Howard Burns, eds, *Palladio*, Venice: Marsilio, 2008; London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008; Madrid: Obra Social Fundacion "La Caixa", 2009.

<sup>47</sup> ribapix.com.

<sup>48</sup> Dario Donetti and Cara Rachele, eds, *Building with paper: the materiality of Renaissance architectural drawings*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

<sup>49</sup> Howard Burns, 'Models to follow: Studying and "restoring" the ruins', and 'Drawing the project' in Beltramini and Burns, *Palladio* (286–93, 300–10).

<sup>50</sup> Sicca, *John Talman* (1–75).



Museum of Art, Pittsburgh.<sup>51</sup> In this, Beltramini published an essay entitled ‘Thirty-one Palladio drawings: a self-portrait on paper’.<sup>52</sup> Burns contributed an essay, ‘Between the lines: Palladio’s project and Palladio’s drawings’, which took ‘the liberty of writing what Palladio never wrote, but taking account of what he did write and what we know, Palladio’s message could be summarized thus’, then proceeding to offer a masterful short account of Palladio’s aims and methods.<sup>53</sup> A mere page and a half on the RIBA drawings’ provenance was written, glossing over the multiple issues raised in the previous literature.<sup>54</sup> This division of labour signalled a change to scholars in the wider field: it now would be Beltramini rather than Burns writing the catalogue of the RIBA Palladio drawings, assisted by paper conservator Catriona Cornelius (b. c.1981) of the RIBA BAL Drawings Collection undertaking the technical analysis.<sup>55</sup> This seemed to be confirmed by yet another exhibition in 2011: this time at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, which presented fifteen drawings from the RIBA collections related to the theme ‘Palladio at Work’, curated by Beltramini with the collaboration of Hind. As Boucher deftly noted in his 1980 review of Palladio exhibitions in the Veneto: ‘the new twist given to Goya’s famous remark, now circulating in Venice: ‘the sleep of reason produces monsters; the sleep of the regions produces exhibitions’ (*il sonno della ragione genera mostri; il sonno delle regioni genera mostre*). In this case, the inability or unwillingness of the authors to produce a catalogue instead produced exhibitions that provide distraction from what is actually lacking.<sup>56</sup>

In 2015, this author (b. 1965) published an article entitled ‘Palladio and Scamozzi drawings in England and their Talman marks’ in *The Burlington Magazine*.<sup>57</sup> This was prompted by ongoing work on Scamozzi, given it was vital to

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<sup>51</sup> Charles Hind and Irena Murray, eds, *Palladio and his legacy: a transatlantic journey*, Venice, Marsilio, 2010.

<sup>52</sup> Guido Beltramini, ‘Thirty-One Palladio Drawings: a self-portrait’ in Hind and Murray, *Palladio and his legacy* (22–5).

<sup>53</sup> Howard Burns, ‘Between the lines: Palladio’s project and Palladio’s drawings’ in Hind and Murray, *Palladio and his legacy* (8–21) 15–16, for Inigo Jones and Burlington; Charles Hind, ‘Inigo Jones’ in Burns and Beltramini, *Palladio* (386–93).

<sup>54</sup> Unsigned (Charles Hind?), ‘Provenance of the Palladio drawings in the British Architectural Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects’ in Hind and Murray, *Palladio and his legacy* (xii–xiii), stating that Jones ‘acquired a large number of drawings by Palladio, either from Vincenzo Scamozzi, with whom he discussed architecture, or from Palladio’s surviving son, Silla’; ‘Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694–1753), who brought a separate group of Palladio’s drawings to England’; ‘The vendor was Bernardo Trevisan’, (xii n. 7), citing John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, 66–7 notes 15–16, who in turn cited Sicca, ‘Lord Burlington’, 67–8.

<sup>55</sup> In 2012 Burns published a significant comparison of Palladio and Michelangelo as draughtsmen. Howard Burns, ‘Michelangelo and Palladio as architectural draughtsmen: a comparison’ in Golo Maurer, Alessandro Nova, eds, *Michelangelo e il linguaggio dei disegni di architettura*, Venice: Marsilio, 2012, (255–83).

<sup>56</sup> Boucher, ‘Palladian Exhibitions’, 868.

<sup>57</sup> Andrew Hopkins, ‘Palladio and Scamozzi drawings in England and their Talman marks’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 157: 1344, 2015, 172–80.

distinguish just which drawings in the RIBA were by him, because they were mixed in among those of Palladio, as well as to evaluate just what was Scamozzi's contribution to the completion of Palladio buildings, principally the Teatro Olimpico and the villa Almerico Capra, better known as the Rotonda.<sup>58</sup> One assumption that then generally was taken for granted was that the Palladio drawings, purchased and paid for presumably by Arundel, were made available or given to Jones immediately, as per the previous literature. However, recent research by Gordon Higgott (b. 1953) suggests that Arundel kept them for himself until he left England in the 1640s, which is why they had no impact on Jones's architectural mindset until much later than previously thought.<sup>59</sup>

In 2016, one of Sicca's PhD students, Giovanni Santucci (b. 1985), completed his thesis, 'Talman collection drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford'.<sup>60</sup> This has been embargoed since its approval so that it only can be read online within the National libraries of Florence and Rome.<sup>61</sup> Peculiarly, in the recent Vicenza Raphael exhibition catalogue of 2023, Beltramini cites Santucci 2023, but when one goes to the website indicated there is nothing there.<sup>62</sup> One of the results of Santucci's research was to reattribute many Talman marks from John Talman to his father William; another was that while one can be certain that every drawing in the Burlington albums with a Talman mark passed through the hands of at least one of the Talmans, it is not the case that all these drawings, with their marks, passed through the hands of Arundel and Jones; rather, some would have been acquired by John Talman in Italy in the first two decades of the eighteenth century and sold directly to Burlington. In a chapter dedicated to the Talman marks, his major discovery was that sheets with one side (either height or length) of the same

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<sup>58</sup> Franco Barbieri, 'Interventi su architetture palladiane a Vicenza: "la Rotonda", palazzi Enea Thiene, palazzo di Alessandro Porto (1580–1608)' in Barbieri and Beltramini, *Vincenzo Scamozzi* (197–9). Andrew Hopkins, 'Neither Perfect Nor Ideal: Palladio's Villa Rotonda', *Architectural History*, 65, 2022, 155–94.

<sup>59</sup> Gordon Higgott, personal communication, September 2023.

<sup>60</sup> Giovanni Santucci, 'I disegni della collezione Talman nell'Ashmolean Museum di Oxford', unpublished and embargoed thesis, Pisa University, 2016 (<https://opac.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/bncf-prod/resource?uri=TD20017161&v=1#>).

<sup>61</sup> In this unpublished thesis, Santucci repeatedly berated the published research of Griffiths 'The Talman collection', and also, once, the article, Hopkins, 'Palladio and Scamozzi drawings', dismissing it as 'il recentissimo articolo di A. Hopkins – che prende in considerazione i soli marchi già indagate da Grant Keith nel primo quarto del secolo scorso (cat. Griffiths nn. 4, 5) e che si fonda, per l'interpretazione del significato di questi segni, interamente su una delle varie ipotesi formulate da Griffiths, estremizzandola e piegandola a dimostrazione di una tesi priva di riscontri – non è che fonte di grande confusione nell'ambito di una riflessione approfondita sulla totalità dei marchi'.

<sup>62</sup> Guido Beltramini et al, eds, *Raffaello nato architetto*, Rome: Officina Libraria, 2023, (221–2), entry by Beltramini who cites Santucci 2023, 1–2, but in his notes this turns out to be a reference to an online database: <http://talman.arte.unipi.it> where nothing of relevance can be found. Apparently, an article on the subject by Santucci will appear in the next volume to be published of the *Annali di Architettura*.

dimensions were rolled up together to be sent in packages to William in England and that is the principal significance of certain marks.<sup>63</sup>

And other studies appeared on individual Palladio drawings, looked at in detail by scholars for their record of important single buildings, such as David Hemsoll (b. 1954) on the Porta dei Leoni, and on ancient architecture.<sup>64</sup>

### The 2020s

An important study by Burns of 2020 examined Palladio's so-called conversation sketches, defined by Burns as: drawings or notes by Palladio and others on the same sheet, the use of non-Palladian paper, sketches on a range of subjects, and small sketches inserted into free spaces on sheets, concluding that numerous sketches by Palladio were made in the company of others.<sup>65</sup>

In the popular booklet entitled *The Palladio Companion*, Beltramini made an insightful comparison of the difficult RIBA drawing XVII/2 with the rear façade of the villa Repeta at Campiglia, to show that they correspond quite directly.<sup>66</sup>

Higgott has ongoing, as yet unpublished research regarding the question of Jones, Webb and their collection of drawings by Palladio, Scamozzi, and others. He has set out their provenance and the problem of the Talman marks, with a view to explaining the absence of comment by Jones on those which Webb possessed, and Jones's lack of response more generally to the large corpus of drawings by Palladio, Scamozzi and others which found its way into the collections of Burlington in the early 1720s. He emphasises the significance of Jones's notes on the collection of Palladio drawings brought back to England by Wotton in 1611 and demonstrates the fundamental role of Silla in providing information about the drawings Wotton acquired. He also offers a hypothesis regarding why Jones commented on so few of the drawings by Palladio and Scamozzi that were acquired in Vicenza in 1613.<sup>67</sup>

Does the ongoing absence of this RIBA catalogue really matter? And what are the consequences of there not being one? Essentially, an enormous wealth of knowledge about this hugely important collection of drawings by one of the sixteenth century's most important architects exists, but largely remains

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<sup>63</sup> Santucci, 'I disegni', 333–92, here 360, and at 368, where the author admits that there remain unresolved issues to do with the marks 'Questa interpretazione risolve a mio parere una parte dei dubbi sollevati da Griffiths, bisogna però confessare che alcuni nodi del problema restano di difficile soluzione'.

<sup>64</sup> David Hemsoll, 'Drawings by Palladio and others of the Porta dei Leoni in Verona', *Pegasus*, 16, 2014, 263–94; David Hemsoll, 'Drawing on the Past: Palladio, his precursors and knowledge of ancient architecture c. 1550', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 82, 2019, 195–249.

<sup>65</sup> Howard Burns, 'Talking and drawing: Palladio's "conversation" sketches' in María Cruz de Carlos, ed., *La mirada extravagante: arte, ciencia y religión en la Edad Moderna: homenaje a Fernando Marías*, Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2020, (49–108).

<sup>66</sup> Guido Beltramini, 'Villa Repeta' in Guido Beltramini, ed., *Palladio. The Companion*, Vicenza: Palladio Museum, 2020, (76–7), thus putting paid to Lewis's thesis that the drawing might refer to the Villa Arnaldi, at Meledo Alto, Lewis, *The Drawings*, cat. 68, 118–19.

<sup>67</sup> Gordon Higgott, personal communication, January 2022.

unpublished or scattered across time, continents, and languages, and is therefore not easily available to others, with deleterious effects especially for younger scholars embarking on Palladio research. By comparison, for example, with flourishing research on the Sangallo family and their drawings by productive scholars in the field, with impressive recent publications, knowledge about Palladio drawings is thwarted by the non-publication of this catalogue.

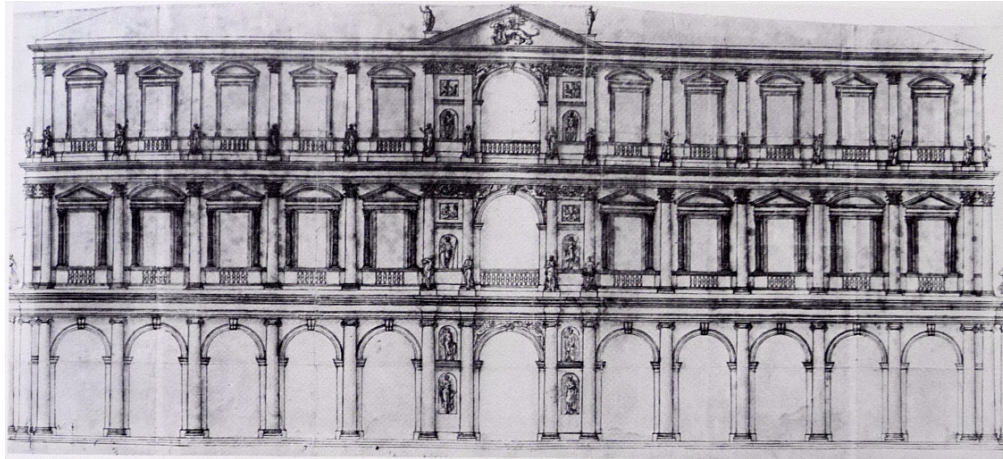


Figure 6 Circle of Andrea Palladio? Vincenzo Scamozzi?, *Project for a Ducal Palace, Venice, 1580s* (Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, photo Wikimedia Commons).

One drawing can stand as an example for the entire project: that held at Chatsworth for a monumental institutional Venetian palace project (fig. 06). In 1972 Harris attributed it as being possibly by Scamozzi, but in 1975 Burns attributed it to Palladio as being for his proposed rebuilding of the Ducal Palace in Venice after the fire of 1577.<sup>68</sup> Notably, the paper is unlike any other paper Palladio ever used and suffers from ink seepage. Neither Manfredo Tafuri (1935–94) nor others agreed with Burns’s attribution, for various reasons.<sup>69</sup> Tafuri’s objections included: 1) the wrong dimensions; 2) where would the Hall of the Great Council be located given the projected palace’s rigorous symmetry relative to the central axis; 3) why was there no use of the giant order in the project proposal; 4) the composition looks more like a montage of Palladian elements; 5) why are there three strong superimposed,

<sup>68</sup> Zorzi, ‘Paolo Gualdo’, 94, refers to Palladio drawings of projects which were not reproduced as woodcut plates in his *Quattro Libri* because they were late projects, i.e. post 1570, including the Teatro Olimpico, the Ponte di Rialto, and what he described as ‘il Palazzo Pubblico per la Repubblica di Venezia’. John Harris, ‘Three unrecorded Palladio designs from Inigo Jones’s collection’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 113, 1971, 34–7, here 34 n. 3. Howard Burns, in Burns, *Andrea Palladio*, 155, 158–60, fig. 279. Earlier literature is cited in Zorzi, *Le opere pubbliche*, 151–67.

<sup>69</sup> Manfredo Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura*, Turin: Einaudi, 1985, 272–8, as Scamozzi (?) in the section entitled, ‘Un progetto irrealizzato per un nuovo edificio sul Bacino’, for an autonomous ducal residence? Manfredo Tafuri, ‘Il disegno di Chatsworth (per il palazzo Ducale di Venezia?) e un progetto perduto di Jacopo Sansovino’ in André Chastel and Renato Cevese, eds, *Andrea Palladio: nuovi contributi*, Milan: Electa, 1990 (100–11), as anonymous, perhaps Cristoforo Sorte. For Tafuri, see James Ackerman, ‘In Memoriam Manfredo Tafuri, 1935–1994’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53, 1994, 137–8.

central triumphal arches when the triangular pediment above is so weak; 6) why are vertical and spiral flutings on the columns that alternate in pairs in the aedicule windows of the first floor depicted in the Chatsworth drawing?<sup>70</sup> Such spiral flutings can be found in Verona on the ancient Porta Borsari, and therefore would only in unlikely circumstances be included on a project for the premier government palace of the *Serenissima*. Nevertheless, such columns do appear throughout the paintings of Paolo Veronese (1528–88), with whom Palladio was intimately associated, and they are especially prominent in the frescoes in the Sala dell'Olimpo in the Villa Barbaro at Maser, for which Palladio himself drew the frameworks. They might well have been included in the Chatsworth drawing, as homage to, or enticement of Marcantonio Barbaro.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, based on Tafuri's dating between 1585–89 and Scamozzi's close relation with Marcantonio, this author finds Tafuri's proposition that the drawing represents a new residence for the doge, located elsewhere (either where the granaries were or where the prisons presently are) than the site of the ducal palace, convincing, especially given the Scamozzian influenced text of Giovanni Stringa, primicerio of San Marco who, in 1604, made specific reference to this project,

A similar resolution was also discussed in the Senate to build for a room and special residence for the Doge a most notable palazzo, in the exact place where at present the new prisons stand, which is the most lovely in the city; but as it was not passed, they built those prisons there with a rather strong and durable structure.<sup>72</sup>

If Scamozzi wanted to position himself as Palladio's heir, then drawing like Palladio and including specific reference to Barbaro family iconography certainly would have been an intelligent way of doing so. Indeed, as was noted by Deborah Howard (b. 1946),

Marc'Antonio Barbaro felt so strongly that he himself produced a drawing explaining his preferred solution. He recommended housing the weekly meetings in the state granaries on the site known as the Terranova to the west of the Zecca. Built at the same time as the Doge's Palace in the mid-fourteenth century, these granaries offered spacious accommodation close to the seat of government.<sup>73</sup>

Burns's attribution was also one that launched further research, especially among enthusiastic architects such as Antonio Foscari (b. 1938) who offered a published reconstruction of what Palladio's project might have looked like, based on extrapolations from this drawing attributed by Burns to Palladio.<sup>74</sup> In an

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<sup>70</sup> Taken from the English translation by Jessica Levine, Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, Cambridge, MA: MIT press, 1989, 179–84.

<sup>71</sup> Douglas Lewis, personal communication, September 2023.

<sup>72</sup> Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, 181.

<sup>73</sup> Howard, *Venice Disputed*, 140, 244 n. 46, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Terra, reg. 52, fol. 32r; Senato Terra, filza 72, citing Antonio da Ponte, 'disegno fatto per il Clarissimo messer Marc'Antonio Barbaro'.

<sup>74</sup> Antonio Foscari, *Andrea Palladio: unbuilt Venice*, Baden: Müller, 2010, and the review by Andrew Hopkins, 'What Palladio might have built in Venice', *Kunstchronik*, 64, 2011, 322–5.



exhibition held in 1981, Lewis placed the drawing within a section entitled the 'Legacy of Palladio' when it was shown in the United States, but attributed it to Palladio.<sup>75</sup> So, what will an eventual Palladio drawings catalogue have to say about this contested work? Will this drawing be 'by' Palladio or not? Will it be for the Ducal Palace in Venice, or not? In this case, the results of technical analysis could be revealing. It also will be interesting to see how scholars in this contested field position themselves politically. These and limitless other questions, however, remain unanswered until a catalogue appears. But, apparently, there is now some light at the end of the tunnel... perhaps. It is currently estimated that the catalogue will appear in 2025–26, and for work in progress one can see an online talk by Beltramini.<sup>76</sup>

In 1960, John Harris, who died last year, had, with Prunella Fraser (d. 2016), compiled a typescript catalogue of the RIBA drawings of Jones, Webb, and Burlington. Lever, who died in 2017, achieved the publication of all the other RIBA drawings catalogues. The single exception was, and remains, the RIBA Palladio drawings. Readers might be reminded of the triumph of hope over experience when reading a sentence in the third paragraph of Harris's and Fraser's typed text of 1960 (figs 7–8), 'It is hoped, however, that Part II, a catalogue of the seventeen volumes of drawings by Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) and his School, will be issued in the near future'.

This author was aged just four when the catalogue was supposed to have been published; he is now fifty-eight. Over half a century has gone by and the hugely important RIBA collection of Palladio drawings still has not seen the light of day in catalogue form. The enormous expertise of Fairbairn was squandered, while a

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Also see, Antonio Foscari, *Palladio e il Palazzo Ducale*, Venice: Lineadacqua, 2021, in which this drawing no longer appears.

<sup>75</sup> Norbert Huse, 'Palladio am Canale Grande', *Städel-Jahrbuch*, 7, 1979, 61–99, here 88–9 n. 154, disagreed. Loredana Olivato, in Puppi, *Architettura e utopia*, (102), discussed it as an idea of Palladio executed by Zambellan. Tipeolo, *Testimonianze veneziane*, 78–9. Lewis, *The drawings*, 204–5, as by Palladio. Donata Battilotti, in Puppi, *Palladio a Venezia* (207–8). Antonio Foscari, 'Tre appunti veneziani per Palladio' in Puppi et al, ed., *Contributi su Andrea Palladio nel quarto centenario della morte*, Venice: Ateneo Veneto, 1982, (79–90), here 86–90. Manfredo Tafuri, 'Alvise Cornaro, Palladio e Leonardo Donà. Un dibattito sul bacino marciano' in Lionello Puppi, *Palladio e Venezia* (26 n. 40). Antonio Foscari, 'Un dibattito sul Foro Marciano allo scadere del 1577 e il progetto di Andrea Palladio per il palazzo Ducale di Venezia', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di storia dell'architettura*, 1: 10, 1983–7. Lionello Puppi, ed., *Andrea Palladio: Scritti sull'architettura (1554–1579)*, Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1988, 144–7, 151–9. Boucher, *Andrea Palladio*, 1994, 284–8, as Palladio. Donata Battilotti, *Andrea Palladio*, Milan: Electa, 1999, cat. 163\*, 508–9, unknown. Tracy Cooper, *Palladio's Venice: architecture and society in a Renaissance Republic*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005, 205–11. Lionello Puppi, 'Andrea Palladio: Una biografia ambigua' in Barbieri, *Palladio 1508–2008* (24 n. 32). Howard Burns in Beltramini and Burns, *Palladio* (cat. 181, 361–3) as Palladio. Howard, *Venice disputed*, 136–43.

<sup>76</sup> Catriona Cornelius, personal communication, June 2023.

<https://consent.youtube.com/m?continue=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DDVkuXSAac3OM%26cbrd%3D1&gl=GB&m=0&pc=yt&cm=4&hl=en-GB&src=1>



collected edition of Burns's published papers has never appeared.<sup>77</sup> Even worse, in 2022 the then President of the RIBA, Simon Allford (b. 1961), renounced on the excellent collaboration with the V&A to make these drawings (and thousands more) available for study in the museum at South Kensington with the consequence that, by 2027, at the latest, there is a strong possibility that the originals will no longer be available for scholarly study.<sup>78</sup> The bitter irony is that the consequences of this hugely negative and ill-informed decision by Allford will take effect in the very years that the catalogue, in theory, ought to appear, prompting renewed interest in these fabulous drawings at the very moment the originals disappear from public view for the foreseeable future.<sup>79</sup>

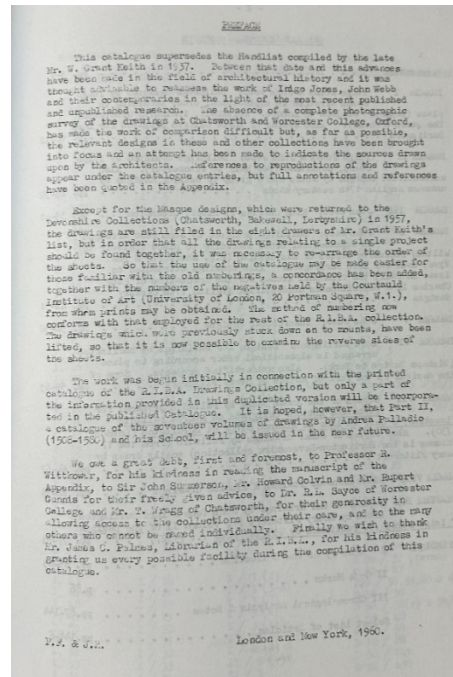
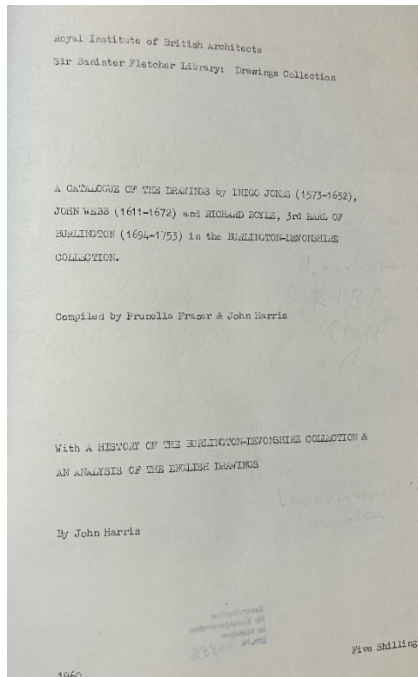


Figure 7 Title page, John Harris, Prunella Fraser, *A catalogue of the drawings by Inigo Jones 1573-1652, John Webb 1611-1672 and Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington 1694-1753 in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection*, London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1960.

Figure 8 Preface, John Harris, Prunella Fraser, *A catalogue of the drawings by Inigo Jones 1573-1652, John Webb 1611-1672 and Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington 1694-1753 in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection*, London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1960.

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<sup>77</sup> Elam, 'Precision and *Fantasia* (xviii n. 1), 'Cammy Brothers, Mauro Mussolin and myself are preparing such an anthology of Howard's articles', the notice dates from 2010.

<sup>78</sup> Michael Hall, 'The future of the RIBA Drawings Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, 165: 1443, 2023, 383.

<sup>79</sup> Oliver Urquhart-Irvine, John Bold, 'Letters: The RIBA Drawings Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, 165: 1445, 2023, 816.