Reading as a Gentleman and an Architect: Sir Roger Pratt's Library

by

KIMBERLEY SKELTON

This article illuminates the changes in English seventeenth-century architectural practice when members of the gentry educated themselves as architectural professionals and as a result several became noted practitioners. The author analyses the rarely examined notes and library of Sir Roger Pratt to explore how a seventeenth-century gentleman both studied and practised architecture literally as both gentleman and architect. Also she considers Pratt's notes chronologically, rather than according to their previous thematic reorganisation by R. T. Gunther (1928), and offers a full reconstruction of Pratt's library beyond Gunther's catalogue of surviving volumes.

Mid-seventeenth-century England experienced a sharp change in architectural practice and education. For the first time, members of the gentry began to design buildings and to educate themselves as professionals in architecture. From the late 1650s, Sir Roger Pratt designed country houses, and several members of the landed and educated classes became prominent architects: Sir Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, Hugh May, William Winde, William Samwell, and William Talman. These gentleman architects brought new techniques to the study of architecture since they were more highly trained in analysing text than image. Scholars have yet to consider the seventeenth-century emergence of the gentleman architect in detail; they have focused more on monographic studies of architects, patronage, and building types than on shifts in the architectural profession. This article explores how a seventeenth-century gentleman would both study and practise architecture; it considers the rarely examined library and manuscript notes of Sir Roger Pratt. I argue that Pratt practised and read as literally patron and architect — using the techniques of a patron to answer the questions of an architect designing for English geographical and social particularities.

A GENTLEMAN PRACTISING ARCHITECTURE

A member of the county gentry, Roger Pratt practised architecture within the expected professional and social circles of a mid-seventeenth-century gentleman. He matriculated

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at Magdalen College, Oxford in 1637 and at the Inner Temple in 1639.³ From April 1643 to August 1649, during the Civil War, Pratt completed his education with the customary travel on the Continent; he followed the usual path of nobility and gentry abroad, travelling through France, Italy, Flanders, and Holland.⁴ On his return to England, he assumed the gentlemanly profession of barrister and began to move in typically elite London social circles. His account book of London expenses reveals that he maintained a chamber in the Inner Temple at least until 1674 and documents how Pratt pursued the life of an elite gentleman.⁵ He filled pages with purchases of clothes expected of a gentleman, such as gold and silver lace for a suit and a silver sword in 1657, and bought his own private coach in 1667.6 Like other gentry in the mid-1660s, he also remained in London from October through either late spring or early summer and then travelled in the country during the summer months. While in London, he socialised frequently with other nobility and gentry. He attended plays, went to recreational areas such as Spring Gardens, and was closely linked in networks of social obligation; he gave gifts to family and friends, and borrowed and lent money readily. In 1667, he inherited the Ryston estate from his cousin Edward Pratt and subsequently assumed the life of a country gentleman focused on estate refurbishment and management. During the following years. Pratt filled notebooks with remarks on stock, crops, and tenants and recorded few London expenses. 10 Only during 1668 did he remain in London for several months; 1669 and 1670 accounts reveal little time spent in London per year - ten days in July for 1669 and three months, from April to June, in 1670.11

Against this background of elite social circles and responsibilities, Pratt practised architecture for roughly a decade, from the commissioning of Coleshill in the late 1650s to his participation in the 1666 committee for rebuilding London after the Great Fire. 2 Both his commissions and his supervision of design and construction suggest a gentleman pursuing architecture as an additional profession. Pratt received his first commission from a relative - his cousin Sir George Pratt at Coleshill - and continued to receive commissions from members of his social circles. When Sir George Pratt engaged Pratt to design a new house on the family property, he consulted Pratt as a social equal more than employing him as a trained architect. Sir Roger Pratt records in his London account book how he offered Sir George Pratt and his wife dinner in January 1661 and how he lent money to Sir George Pratt.¹³ Engaging a family member in this way for a particular project does not even appear to have been uncommon; Pratt himself notes how he paid a Pratt cousin for legal assistance. 14 In the early 1660s, Pratt then received three house commissions from other nobility and gentry: Sir Ralph Bankes for Kingston Lacy in Dorset, Lord Allington for Horseheath Hall in Cambridgeshire, and the Earl of Clarendon for Clarendon House in London. At least Lord Allington moved directly in Pratt's social circles and remained acquainted with Pratt after Horseheath was completed. Pratt noted in his account book that he saw his brother-in-law, Charles Cotterell, at Lady Allington's in May 1668 and that he lent money to Lord Allington in July of the same year. 15 After the Great Fire in 1666, Pratt received his first – and only – public assignment when he was appointed to the committee for rebuilding London. 16 As with his country house commissions, he most likely received this appointment through social connections since he had recently finished Clarendon House for the Earl of Clarendon.

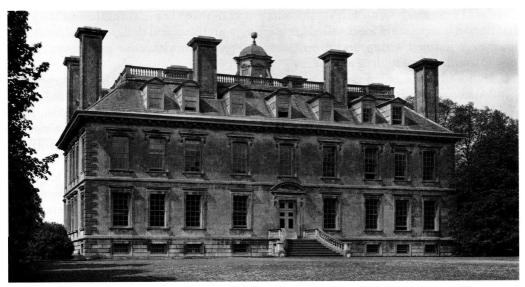


Fig. 1 Sir Roger Pratt, Coleshill, Berkshire, late 1650s to early 1660s, entrance façade Copyright Country Life



Fig. 2
Peter Mills, Thorpe Hall, Cambridgeshire, 1654-7, entrance façade
Reproduced by permission of Thorpe Hall Hospice, Peterborough

Charles II's close adviser. Pratt's quick succession of three house commissions suggests that he had a reputation for detailed knowledge of architectural design; this reputation, however, remained within his immediate social circles in which one gentleman might turn to another for building advice.

In his supervision of each project, Pratt combined this role of knowledgeable gentleman patron with an architect's close control of design details. Architects like John Webb, who were trained in draftsmanship, would execute drawings to propose new designs and to instruct craftsmen. Webb travelled infrequently and used drawings to design as well as supervise Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire from his London office. He sent Sir Justinian Isham, his patron, drawings to which Isham would then respond and life-size drawings of mouldings which craftsmen could use as templates for their carving.¹⁷ Pratt likewise appears to have travelled little to each of his commissions; he recorded only two visits to Coleshill as well as Kingston Lacy and three to Horseheath. 18 He corresponded about design changes and instructions to craftsmen. Notes from his commissions, which he copied into his notebooks, reveal advice on plan changes and extensive instructions to craftsmen from joiners to bricklayers about measurements that include room dimensions as well as the architrave of a chimneypiece. 19 These instructions, however, are always written text. Pratt made lists of measurements but instructed craftsmen to have the design drawn up. In a memorandum to Mr Taylor, the on-site supervisor for Kingston Lacy, Pratt wrote, 'Lett ye grand Cornish of ye howse bee drawne out for mee in paper, as it is to bee sett up, as likewise the frameing of ve roofe, yt I may at leasure, & by my selfe, consider of them'. 20 Much like a patron, Pratt asked for drawings so that he could visualise the design. He would then consider the drawings at a gentleman's 'leasure' and offer his response to Mr Taylor. For his patrons, Pratt thus offered another - and more knowledgeable - eye to develop, examine, and revise an architectural design.

The design itself reflects Pratt's more administrative role akin to that of a patron. In each of his country house designs, he relied primarily on existing conventions or turned to the innovations of the contemporaneous John Webb. His façades consistently echo the traditional astylar English house exterior. The façade of Coleshill, for instance, is similar to those of houses by master builders such as Thorpe Hall by Peter Mills; it has windows spaced along a planar façade and dormers on the roof (Figs 1 & 2). Pratt's only revision is the uneven spacing of windows as he placed the three central windows lighting the entrance hall more closely together than those of the flanking rooms. In his three 1660s houses, Pratt added a pediment at roof level (Fig. 3). Yet even with the pediment, the exterior retained its planar effect since the pediment projected little forward over the façade.

Pratt's plans, in turn, combine John Webb's innovations with the French and Italian arrangement of apartments. Webb's 1650s house plans newly included an enfilade with a window at each end for entertaining space and a clear division into a front range of entertaining and a back range of household rooms (Fig. 4).²¹ Both Sir Ralph Bankes's Kingston Lacy and Sir George Pratt's Coleshill have this open enfilade through the ground- and first-floor rooms on the garden front – the great parlour and great dining room used by elite guests (Figs 5 & 6). For Bankes and Pratt, two gentleman landowners

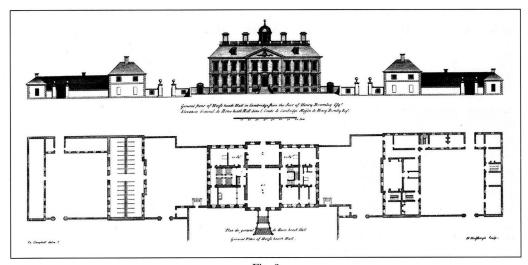
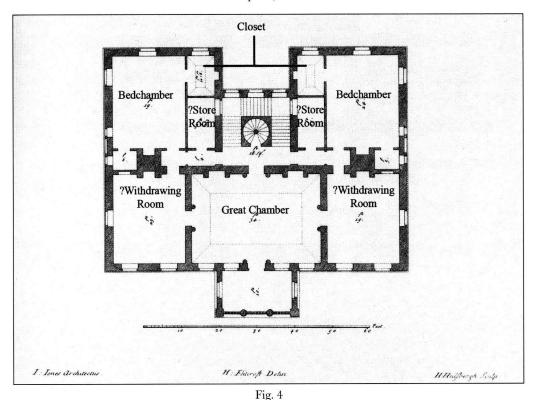
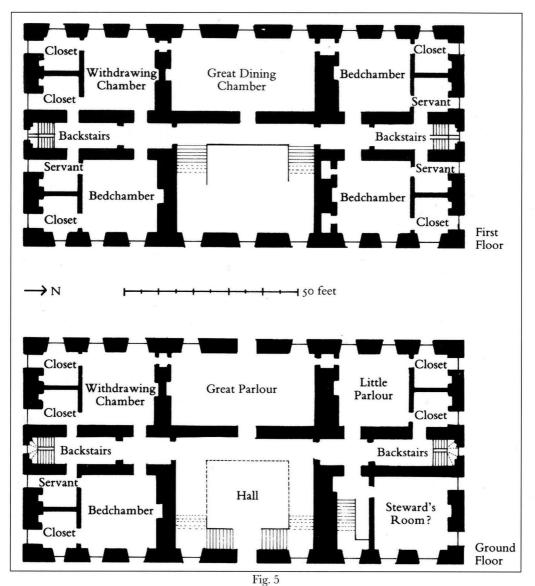


Fig. 3 Sir Roger Pratt, Horseheath, Cambridgeshire, begun 1663, entrance to façade and ground floor plan, from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*



John Webb, Amesbury, Wiltshire, 1659-64, first-floor plan, from Colen Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus



Sir Roger Pratt, Coleshill, Berkshire, late 1650s to early 1660s, ground- and first-floor plans

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with smaller social gatherings than a noble landowner, Pratt inserted the open enfilade not in entertaining rooms but rather into a plan that echoes French châteaux and house plans published by Serlio in Book 7 of his *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*.²² He placed an apartment in each corner of the house so that the entertaining space was isolated to the two central rooms of each floor. For the noble Lord Allington's Horseheath, Pratt followed Webb's plans more closely; he created a clear range of entertaining rooms, here along the garden

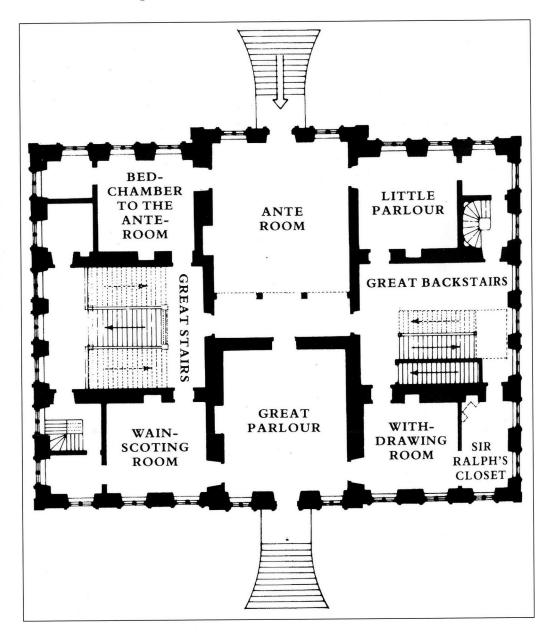


Fig. 6 Sir Roger Pratt, Kingston Lacy, Dorset, begun 1663, ground-floor plan By kind permission of the National Trust

front (Fig. 3). As at Kingston Lacy and Coleshill, the entertaining room on the garden front is flanked by a bedchamber on either side. These bedchambers, however, are for receiving guests ceremonially since they are connected to an anteroom rather than the usual small closet attached to an apartment for lodging. An enfilade again occurs across these rooms, yet Pratt chose to enclose it and hide the service courts at each end of Horseheath. Pratt thus designed façade and plan, much as might an educated landowner; he combined already established ideas that would have been visible to landowners as they visited English and French houses or read expensive folio architectural books.

During construction, Pratt continued to assume a role like that of a patron, now of organising craftsmen and their payment. Each of his patrons had the customary on-site supervisor who would execute measurements and oversee work on a daily basis; for instance, Sir Ralph Bankes employed Mr Taylor at Kingston Lacy, and the Earl of Clarendon engaged Mr Sowersbee for Clarendon House. 23 Pratt, however, had unusually detailed involvement with the work and payment of the craftsmen. Webb's patrons, whether high-ranking nobility or county gentry, had themselves paid their craftsmen. At Lamport, Thomas Sargenson as the on-site supervisor wrote directly to Sir Justinian Isham, and labourers as well as purveyors of materials addressed their letters to him. The Duke of Northumberland also appears to have overseen payment of his craftsmen since the accounts for refurbishment during Webb's interventions at Northumberland House and Syon House survive in the Northumberland family archives. 24 Craftsman accounts for Horseheath and Clarendon House, in contrast, remain at Ryston, and Pratt copied contracts for craftsmen into his notebooks as if he were overseeing their work. He also recorded in his London account book two moments when, like a patron, he managed the building accounts for Horseheath. On 14 May 1663, he noted the payment of three stonecutters to travel to Horseheath on Lord Allington's account, and, on 22 August 1665, he remarked that he was responsible to Lord Allington for £,70 to be paid to the workmen.²⁵ At Horseheath, Allington appears to have given Pratt the necessary money for the workmen and then expected him to allocate the appropriate payment to each craftsman.

It is this administrative, supervising role that Pratt also assumed in the rebuilding of London. Charles II appointed him to a committee with other gentlemen of limited architectural experience: Hugh May, Christopher Wren, and Robert Hooke. The committee, however, determined little about the appearance of the rebuilt city. They were instead responsible for instituting administrative measures – for instance, the length of time allotted to a proprietor for clearing his site and the widths of projected streets. He committee, Pratt in particular was requested to organise how the committee should proceed. He noted, 'I was desired to bring in ye most naturall method for our considerations upon it &c.' and then listed the two questions which he believed should be proposed, whether the streets should be laid out in the existing or a new pattern and where materials should be stored as the city was rebuilt. Like a patron, Pratt oversaw the administrative details of design and construction, yet, as the primary designer responsible for each country house, he also clearly possessed the detailed architectural knowledge to generate a desirable design.

COLLECTING AS A GENTLEMAN AND AN ARCHITECT

Underpinning Pratt's simultaneous roles of patron and architect was a study of architecture as a profession within the wide-ranging interests of a gentleman's library. Throughout his life, Pratt purchased prints and books across topics characteristic for a gentleman. His prints suggest a well-travelled and well-educated member of the elite. They include a drawing by Andrea del Sarto and another after Raphael, a portrait of the Marchese di Mantua, French and Italian buildings from Fontainebleau to Villa Aldobrandini, a print after the Dutch Cornelius Bloemaert, and twenty-one images of Homer. Pratt could have used the prints depicting buildings both as memories of his Continental tour and as sources for his architectural study. Since prints of buildings comprise slightly less than half of the total bought by Pratt, his collection reflects as much a gentleman's broad knowledge as a professional architect's attempt to study Continental architecture in depth.

In Pratt's extensive library, architecture was only one – and not even the primary – topic on which he purchased volumes. He bought books discussing philosophy, religion, history, medicine and natural science, and Classical literature as well as his two professions of law and architecture. These books were also in the languages with which a gentleman would be expected to be familiar: Latin, Italian, French, and English. Books on or related to architectural design were slightly less than one-third of Pratt's library; these books included architectural treatises, books on antiquities and guidebooks describing

buildings, gardens, art, and mathematics.²⁹

Pratt's purchasing patterns and annotation techniques, however, reveal that books on law and architecture received a close study unusual within his library. From 1657, the start of his account book, through the late 1660s, Pratt bought books on history, Classical texts, religion, philosophy, and other topics appropriate for a gentleman's library. He purchased the theological Opuscula aurea on 28 March 1658 and sent books by Ovid, Horace, and Petrarch to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667, for instance.³⁰ He concentrated his purchase of architectural books, however, nearly exclusively in the single month of January 1657. On 16 and 20 January, Pratt noted the purchase of seven volumes that gave him a basic library of French and Italian architectural books: Pietro Cataneo's I quattro primi libri di Architettura, Jean Martin's French translation of Vitruvius entitled Architecture, ou Art de bien bastir, Sebastiano Serlio's Il primo libro d'Architettura, Cosimo Bartoli's Italian translation of Leon Battista Alberti's De re aedificatoria, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's Livre d'architecture, Pierre Le Muet's Manière de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes, and an unidentifiable volume described as 'Architecture of de Anverso'.31 By the end of January, Pratt thus owned an edition of Vitruvius, three of the primary Italian authors (Cataneo, Serlio, and Alberti), and two of the three available French books (Androuet du Cerceau and Le Muet). After 1657, he recorded only two other purchases of architectural treatises; he bought Pierre Le Muet's French translation of Andrea Palladio's I quattro libri dell'architettura on 19 October 1658 and noted on 17 February 1664 that the bookbinder returned a volume of Vitruvius. 32 At two unrecorded dates, Pratt also acquired Vincenzo Scamozzi's L'idea della architettura universale and a third copy of Vitruvius. Therefore, as Pratt was advising Sir George Pratt on Coleshill in the late 1650s, he purchased the books to provide the knowledge necessary for his project.

Pratt then read these books closely to assimilate their details into a readily accessible reference for a practising architect. Among his surviving volumes, only those on law and architecture have annotations in the text, and only for his architecture books are there manuscript sheets with paraphrased notes. Pratt's other books have occasional notes of the date and price of purchase as well as miscellaneous marks on the title page. Sir Edward Coke's First Part of the Institutes, which Pratt could have used to study English law, has frequent marginal annotations that summarise the content of a paragraph. 33 Pratt's annotations and manuscript notes on his architectural books create a similar summary of architectural design. In Scamozzi, Alberti, and Cataneo - the three surviving volumes with annotations – Pratt underlined passages and paragraphs in pencil.³⁴ He also made occasional written comments in Scamozzi and Alberti to clarify or correct the text. In Scamozzi, he corrected the room labels of the ancient Greek and Roman house plans and noted the error in the margin, labelled each illustration of ancient masonry with its technical term, and noted a proportional measurement.³⁵ In Alberti, Pratt specified the loggia to which the author referred in a discussion of theatres and included the only criticism of his architectural notes, observing that the architrave appeared too long.³⁶

These annotations then became the basis for Pratt's summary of architectural design in his manuscript notes. For law, Pratt appears to have studied the single volume by Coke. His architectural treatises, however, presented him with several volumes on architecture that often duplicated topics such as the Orders. In his underlinings, Pratt attempted to synthesise these overlapping discussions into a single, comprehensive account of architectural design. Scamozzi received the heaviest underlinings. Pratt then used Alberti and Cataneo to supplement his study of Scamozzi; he underlined only Alberti's pages on siting and the theatre and Cataneo's analysis of city-planning. On his manuscript sheets, Pratt paraphrased these underlined passages and divided them into two groups - one on theatres and one of extensive notes from Scamozzi.³⁷ Pratt's notes clearly offer more a summary than an attempt to criticise the text. He retains the original language of each text and rarely inserts his own observations. Only in his notes from Scamozzi does he write an occasional 'Q', for 'Quaere', and remark in Italian among his paraphrases of the Orders when proportions are like those in a preceding Order.³⁸ For his professions, where he would need more detailed knowledge, Pratt sought summaries to which he could easily refer for ideas and advice.

He synthesised his notes even further by reorganising them thematically. Most of his notes from Scamozzi occur in the sequence of the text, as if Pratt paraphrased while reading the book. In his notes for Scamozzi's Book 8, however, Pratt collected remarks on individual building elements from across Scamozzi's treatise and ordered them from general principles to more particular details. In so doing, he often rewrote passages from his earlier notes and added in further details. His notes on stairs, for instance, begin in Book 8, Chapter 12 with construction and proportions. Pratt then rewrote a description of the main stairs and their proportions from Book 3, Chapter 20. This passage was followed with notes from Book 6, Chapter 34 on parts of stairs before Pratt returned to Book 3, Chapter 20 for possible geometrical forms of stairs. Finally he added a remark from Palladio's Book 1, Chapter 28 on the proportions for ancient Roman stairs. ³⁹ Pratt likewise organised his notes on antique Roman theatres from general principles to particular

examples. He wrote first notes from Vitruvius and Daniele Barbaro's commentary on general design principles, including siting and types of theatres. Subsequent notes from Alberti provided details on ancient amphitheatres, such as their construction in wood and the design of particular examples.⁴⁰

These manuscript sheets could be read both as an independent reference and as a summary alongside the more detailed text. Since he reorganised his notes thematically and added occasional references to other books such as Palladio, Pratt created a synthesis to which he could return for a range of details on a topic: for instance, proportions and types of stairs as well as their possible forms. Yet in these final notes as well as in his earlier pages, Pratt wrote frequent page numbers and, for particularly detailed notes on a single chapter, headed those notes with the number and general topic of the chapter. As he re-read his notes, he could then use the page references to locate the lengthier passage in the text. Pratt appears to have assumed that he would continue to study at least the text and illustrations of Scamozzi since he corrected the labels of the ancient house plans and labelled the types of ancient masonry. By annotating both illustrations, he made it easier to correlate text with illustrations. A newly practising architect in the late 1650s and early 1660s, Pratt assembled and then filtered a library to offer him readily accessible information on architectural design.

READING AS GENTLEMAN AND ARCHITECT: PRATT'S CHANGING USES OF HIS LIBRARY

The lens through which Pratt filtered his library shifted with changes in his architectural career – from his initial close reading of treatises to a stronger interest in English architectural practice in the 1660s to a more academic study of architectural history after he retired to Ryston. Pratt's surviving architectural notebooks fall into three groups: ϵ . 1660 notes for books on architecture addressed to a patron and an architect as well as Pratt's paraphrasing of his architectural treatises, one notebook from 1662-9 and another from 1664-6 used for notes on English craftsmen and materials as well as Pratt's commissions, and a 1666-72 notebook which contains Pratt's notes on rebuilding London after the Great Fire, reviews of books and an essay on architectural history.

Pratt relied most heavily on architectural treatises in his c. 1660 manuscript notes – as he was first assembling a more detailed knowledge of architectural design. In addition to paraphrasing treatise texts, Pratt used his architectural books for a projected book on architecture addressed to the architect.⁴³ He quoted nearly verbatim from Scamozzi on at least two occasions and combined eyewitness observations with treatise illustrations for his discussion of French and Italian buildings.⁴⁴ He noted, for instance, the materials of Genoese palaces and the siting of Scamozzi's villas, but referred to the elevations in Palladio's *I quattro libri* to describe façades. According to Pratt, Corinthian capitals had festoons and heads between them on Palladio's palace façades; however, only in Palladio's woodcut of the Palazzo Thiene façade are festoons and heads between the capitals.⁴⁵ At the beginning of Pratt's architectural career, he thus used architectural treatises to learn about design principles and to assemble his architectural writings.

In his 1662-9 and 1664-6 notebooks, Pratt turned to English buildings and architectural practice to support his design and supervision of Kingston Lacy, Horseheath

Hall, and Clarendon House. For the first time, he made notes on available English materials, the cost of those materials, the wages of craftsmen, and contracts. He also began to study the construction of English buildings, such as the brick walls at Eltham Lodge and Somerset House. As a result, Pratt now referred only briefly to architectural treatises. His remarks on cornices from May 1666, for instance, merely state that the architrave, frieze, and cornice should be divided as wee find it to bee set down in Palladio, Freart, &c'. Since Pratt did not note a page reference for Palladio and Fréart, his notebooks appear to have become sources independent of his reading of architectural books.

After Pratt retired to Ryston, he began to approach architecture as a discipline studied within a country gentleman's library. His 1666-72 notebook contains occasional remarks on individual building elements, but Pratt more frequently reviewed entire books and made observations on architectural history. He criticised the façades in Peter Paul Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, listed the contents of Vitruvius and Alberti, set down ancient Roman building types and the books which discuss them, and wrote an architectural history essay focused on ancient Rome.

Only in his critique of the Palazzi di Genova façades does Pratt suggest an ongoing concern with English architectural practice.⁴⁸ He introduced this critique by offering general advice on how to judge a façade - how to determine its dimensions and what particular elements should be present. The *Palazzi di Genova* then provided illustrations in which Pratt could isolate undesirable design elements; near the end, he wrote, 'The contraryes to wch errours will easely give you ye perfections of a building'. These 'errours' are more contradictions of conventional English design than characteristic faults within Genoese façades. Most faults occur in less than half of Rubens's façade illustrations and are moments where typical English façade elements are unusual or missing. Pratt, for instance, criticised the slenderness of quoins and façades without a raised basement; English country house façades commonly had quoins and raised basements.⁵⁰ By specifying what would not be desirable on a façade, Pratt created a short, clear list of faults rather than a lengthy - and potentially more intricate - description of possible façade elements. However, instead of judging a potential design as a practising architect, he was instructing his patron or architect reader about how to evaluate a building that could become a basis for their knowledge of English architectural design.

In his lists for Vitruvius and Alberti as well as ancient Roman building types, Pratt pursued more explicitly this interest in architectural education. He entitled the Vitruvius and Alberti list with the goal of seeking complete knowledge of architecture, 'What are ye most famous bookes weh wee have in Architecture; & what hath bin most particularly treated of by ye severall Authors of them, by ye consideration, & compareing of all weh, wee may see how a compleate body of Architecture is to bee framed, weh as yett hath bin done by noe one of them'. Fratt sought to understand the 'most famous bookes' on architecture and how, from them, it was possible to generate a 'compleate body of Architecture'. His list of ancient Roman building types continues this goal and reveals a new interest in architectural history; Pratt noted for the first time buildings with little relevance to seventeenth-century England, including a circus, bath, and forum. From the late 1650s through the early 1670s, Pratt did not approach architecture consistently with the eyes of a practising architect but shifted his questions to reflect changes in his own career.

THE CRITICAL EYE OF THE ARCHITECTURAL STUDENT: PRATT'S 1660 NOTES FROM TREATISES

In his most detailed notes from architectural treatises - his annotations and 1660 manuscript sheets. Pratt read the text through this lens of his own particular questions; he took notes only on information relevant to the preferences of English patrons. For the mid-seventeenth-century English patron and architect, Italian treatises were the preferred sources of architectural design. Both Inigo Jones and John Webb annotated and redrew illustrations more frequently from Italian than from French books (although they relied heavily on French sources for the design of chimneypieces and over-mantles).⁵³ Until the 1670s, the end of Pratt's career as a practising architect, English publishers printed approximately twice as many translations of Italian as French treatises.⁵⁴ By 1668, even a new edition of the Swiss Hans Blum's A Description of the Five Orders of Collumnes claimed to be 'According to the Ancient use and Best Rules of the Most Eminent Italian Architects'. 55 Pratt followed this Italian emphasis by citing mostly Italian treatises in his notebooks and by excluding non-Italian examples in his notes from Scamozzi, Pratt paraphrased Scamozzi, Alberti, Vitruvius, and Serlio and referred to French books only in his later notebooks and only twice; he cited Fréart de Chambray in his May 1666 notes on cornices and Alexandre Francine in remarks on great doors from the late 1660s. ⁵⁶ His notes on roofing from Scamozzi likewise include only Italian buildings. Pratt followed Scamozzi in listing the gilded tiles on the Campidoglio and St Peter's in Rome, tiles on other contemporary Roman buildings, and the terrazzo tiles of Neapolitan palaces. He omitted, however, Scamozzi's observation that glazed tiles were used in Bohemia and noted only that glazed tiles are durable in ice and storms. ⁵⁷ Like contemporary architects and patrons, Pratt turned most frequently to Italian books and studied only Italian buildings in detail, jotting them down for potential further study.

Pratt filtered these Italian sources with the eye of a practising architect; he turned to the volumes that offered the most relevant design advice. Of his surviving volumes, Pratt annotated the recent Italian authors, Scamozzi, Alberti, and Cataneo, but not the ancient Roman Vitruvius. In part, he may not have annotated Vitruvius because he owned an edition with extensive marginal annotations by a sixteenth-century owner.⁵⁸ However, Pratt appears to have been distinguishing among books more according to the content of the text. He appears to have little used this annotated Vitruvius since he copied notes from his two other unannotated editions of Vitruvius – paraphrasing Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius in his manuscript sheets on theatres and referring to this volume as well as the 1649 Amsterdam edition in his list of Vitruvius's topics. ⁵⁹ For most design advice, Scamozzi, Alberti, and Cataneo would have been more useful than Vitruvius; they wrote in the context of early modern Europe with its new social expectations and particular approach to Classicism. It was in their work that Pratt sought the knowledge necessary for an English architect. Like Jones and Webb, he relied on Scamozzi the most heavily, used Alberti less, and Cataneo least of all. 60 Six marginal annotations and frequent underlinings appear in Scamozzi, three marginal annotations and underlining occur across twenty pages on theatres and siting in Alberti, and there are only three pages of underlining on city-planning in Cataneo. ⁶¹ For Pratt, the degree of detail in design advice was clearly a major criterion in selecting the primary book on

a topic. Of Scamozzi, Alberti, and Cataneo, Scamozzi offered the most detailed advice for designing buildings since he considered proportions and construction of individual building elements, discussed the Orders at length, and analysed domestic planning. Alberti emphasised architectural history and theory, yet provided a more extensive account in his ten books than the four books of Cataneo. Also in his notes on theatres, Pratt turned to Vitruvius as the most detailed source on siting, theatre types, and the principles of theatre design and then added excerpts from Alberti's account of Roman amphitheatres.

He transformed his manuscript notes from each book into a readily accessible design manual by omitting nearly all historical and theoretical excurses. Scamozzi, for instance, justifies the central placement of the entrance door by citing nature as well as daily use: '...the principal doors imitate the animal's mouth, which as nature put in the middle of the face, so the Architect must place the principal door in the middle of the face of the building; as the most noble place and of greatest majesty: in addition that it brings convenience equally to the entire house'. 62 Pratt paraphrased this comment by writing simply: 'Let the principal door be in the middle of the building, both for majesty and convenience'.63 He removed Scamozzi's theoretical comparison of architectural to natural symmetry and noted only the reason that would be useful in responding to a patron – that a centrally placed door added to a building's majesty and convenience. It would create majesty appropriate for a wealthy patron by providing a central point for the façade's symmetry and would evoke convenience by offering access to the rooms arranged around the perimeter of the house. Pratt's notes from Alberti on theatres likewise exclude historical information irrelevant to contemporary practice. Pratt omitted Alberti's history of how games were first invented but included remarks that explained terminology and use of materials. Alberti's remark that Greek terms are used for theatres because Greeks invented most games appears as does his observation that theatres were initially constructed of wood.64

Pratt further filtered his reading of design principles through the particularities of mid-seventeenth-century England – its climate, materials, and patron priorities. Scamozzi wrote as an Italian architect in a hot climate with its specific materials. Pratt, in contrast, was designing houses in England's cold climate and different available materials. Scamozzi's explanation of how windows ventilate an interior appears nowhere in Pratt's manuscript sheets; Pratt wrote only the observation that windows needed to be protected from the rain. ⁶⁵ In so doing, he echoed traditional English concerns with cold drafts. Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Henry Wotton both warned in their early seventeenth-century writings how windows could chill an interior. ⁶⁶ Across his notes from Scamozzi's discussion of materials, Pratt omitted remarks on Italian stone and paraphrased observations on oak and chestnut. His patrons would use stone from local English quarries, but oak and chestnut appeared in English construction and interior decoration. ⁶⁷

Mid-seventeenth-century English patron priorities – both popular building types and aesthetic as well as social expectations – guided Pratt's notes on topics that did not involve site-specific particularities. Pratt paraphrased general design principles, such as proportions of the Orders and advice about individual building elements, but took notes on only two building types: theatres and domestic architecture. Scamozzi also discussed

ports as well as fortresses, and Pratt had underlined Cataneo's pages on city planning; these topics do not appear in Pratt's notes and were rarely, if ever, commissioned by seventeenth-century English patrons. Noble and gentle landowners, on the other hand, frequently commissioned new or refurbished country houses. These country house commissions would have appeared to be even more prominent during the 1650s in the absence of royal patronage. After the Restoration in 1660, London experienced intense theatre building as nobility and gentry returned from the Continent with the knowledge of the newly mechanised Parisian scenic houses. From 1660 to 1665, at least five theatre projects were undertaken to create scenic houses in London; three new theatres were begun, and two existing ones were renovated. Pratt thus focused on the knowledge necessary to execute commissions for English patrons.

He also read Scamozzi closely for advice on responding to aesthetic and social expectations of country house owners. Scamozzi describes two types of façades with columns: a portico, in which columns would support arches, and a loggia, a trabeated passage or a temple front on a country house. The portico, as described by Scamozzi, occurred rarely, if at all, on country house façades. A close approximation appears on the façade of Hatfield House, where the white stone central section has a ground-floor arcade (Fig. 7). Architect and patron, however, chose to use a system of pilasters supporting an entablature and then to cut the arcade out of the wall surface. The loggia, as described



Fig. 7 Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, south front, 1611 Kimberley Skelton

by Scamozzi, appears across the façades of Inigo Jones and John Webb. Jones had placed a loggia on the park façade of the Queen's House and proposed a design for the Prince's Lodging at Newmarket that included an engaged temple front (Fig. 8). During the 1650s, John Webb used the temple-front façade on all but one of his country house designs (Fig. 9). Making notes in the context of Jones's and Webb's designs, Pratt paraphrased only Scamozzi's description of the loggia.⁷¹

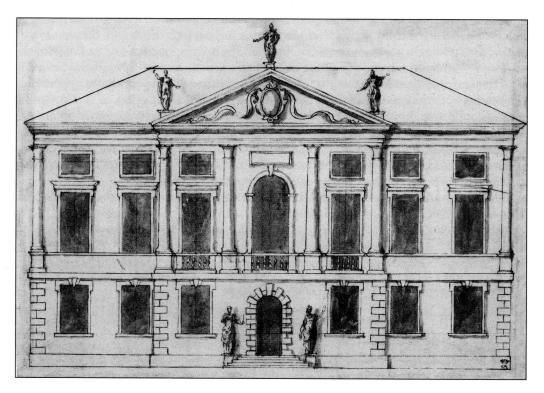


Fig. 8 Inigo Jones, Design for the Prince's Lodging, Newmarket, 1619, elevation RIBA Library Drawings Collection

In his notes on domestic planning from Scamozzi, he selected the room descriptions that corresponded to conventional English design and social patterns. The gallery, discussed by Scamozzi, appears nowhere in Pratt's notes. ⁷² It contradicted the priorities of a patron seeking a compact plan. ⁷³ Scamozzi's gallery required a large plan and transformed the private closet into a social space. Since Scamozzi explains that the gallery is a space for walking like a loggia, he suggests that it is a long room much like the English long gallery. Such a space, for an English reader, suggested an outdated plan. Until the early seventeenth century, English houses had included long galleries; however, with the new interest in compact plans, landowners and their guests now moved in sequences of

smaller square or rectangular rooms.⁷⁴ As a gentleman learning to practise architecture, Pratt sought design ideas and information relevant both to England's geographical particularities and to English patron priorities.

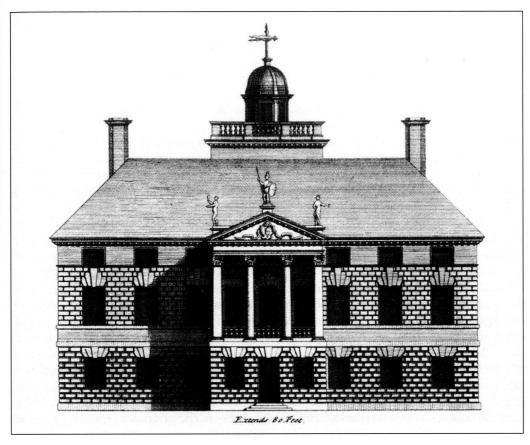


Fig. 9 John Webb, Amesbury, Wiltshire, 1659-64, entrance façade from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*

PART ARCHITECT, PART GENTLEMAN: PRATT'S READING IN CONTEXT

Pratt combined the critical eye of the seventeenth-century architect with the reading techniques of the seventeenth-century gentleman. Like Jones and Webb, the two previous architects who had studied foreign treatises in detail, Pratt read the text with the eye of a practising architect seeking design advice. In their annotations to Andrea Palladio's *I quattro libri*, Jones and Webb read particularly for information relevant to their own commissions. Jones annotated Books 1, 2, and 4 on general design principles, villas, and temples more heavily than Book 3 on infrastructure and public buildings.⁷⁵ Across his career, he proposed designs for domestic architecture – the royal palace at Whitehall

and country houses – and churches, including the west façade of St Paul's and the Queen's Chapel. Webb, as primarily a country house designer, focused on Books 1 and 2 and analysed the proportions of the temple porticoes in Book 4 to study models for his own country house porticoes. Fratt and Webb also both annotated more passages on design than on architectural history. Next to Serlio's discussion of the Pantheon, Webb wrote only notes that aided him in studying the Pantheon as a design model. He did not emphasise Serlio's discussion of the architect's qualities but instead noted that the Pantheon was an authoritative ancient example, 'Pantheon ye fa[irest] & best understood amongst ye Antiquityes', and listed its praiseworthy attributes, such as 'The members annswere well to ye body'.'

Pratt, however, read with the more text-based eye of a gentleman than the visual analysis of an architect trained in draftsmanship. Jones and Webb analysed illustrations in detail, making critical annotations about the illustration and even redrawing the illustration on a separate sheet. Jones wrote eyewitness observations of Palladio's buildings, while Webb listed detailed proportions visible from an elevation but not mentioned in Palladio's text. Each architect also redrew details for further study; Jones sketched three windows from different pages of Serlio, and Webb filled a notebook with design details from Palladio and loose sheets with plans from his books. Pratt, in contrast, only annotated the illustrations in his Scamozzi so that they could be more easily read alongside the text – correcting labels in the ancient Roman and Greek house plans and labelling an illustration of types of masonry. Nor do study drawings by Pratt survive. Pratt thus read more as a gentleman seeking to educate himself about architecture from his library than an architect trained in practice as well as study.

His approach to making notes from the text also suggests the education typical of a seventeenth-century gentleman. Jones, Webb, and Pratt were all clearly able to read the Italian texts of Palladio and Serlio, yet only Pratt retained the original language of the text. Jones and Webb made annotations in English next to the Italian text, and Webb translated his manuscript notes on windows from Italian books into English. Pratt's notes from Scamozzi, Alberti, and Barbaro's commentary on Vitruvius are in the original Italian, and those from Vitruvius on theatres in the original Latin. As a learned gentleman, Pratt would be expected to be familiar with Latin as well as fluent in Italian and French. In his notes, he had the fluency to read Italian and Latin readily and even to amend the text in Italian – for instance, when he summarised Scamozzi's repetitive lists of proportions for the Orders.

While this study of a text in its original language locates Pratt among mid-seventeenth-century gentleman readers, his close study of architectural books distances him from the more general interest of a patron. Sir Justinian Isham and his son Thomas Isham were, like Pratt, members of the county gentry and collected a library of architectural books that echoed Pratt's library. They remained patrons, however, since Isham commissioned Webb for an addition to Lamport Hall. Like Pratt, the Ishams owned Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Le premier volume*, Pierre Le Muet's *Manière de bien bastir*, Cosimo Bartoli's translation of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, Peter Paul Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, Daniele Barbaro's edited version of Vitruvius, and the 1649 Amsterdam edition of Vitruvius.

Both Pratt and the Ishams also bought, though in different editions: Sebastiano Serlio, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, and Andrea Palladio. ⁸⁰ As did Pratt, Sir Justinian Isham retained the original language of a text when he recopied it from a book. He transcribed, for instance, two Latin lines from Virgil's seventh Eclogue at the beginning of John Evelyn's *Sylva*. ⁸¹

Nowhere in the Ishams' architectural books, however, are there pencil underlinings and marginal annotations. Sir Justinian Isham made notes on blank front and back pages of a volume, while Thomas Isham occasionally wrote his name on the title page of a volume.⁸² These notes, moreover, often bear only slight connection to the text. At the back of Pierre Le Muet's Manière de bien bastir, Sir Justinian Isham listed a few châteaux in the book with their locations and then outlined the most important attributes for a bedchamber. Le Muet did not discuss a bedchamber in his text, other than to identify it in plan; Manière de bien bastir simply provided a convenient place for noting down this architectural commentary since it was a book on architecture. Isham also used the back of Androuet du Cerceau to note that he purchased it on 17 February 1661 for £2 10s and the back of Palazzi di Genova to write a cross-reference to Androuet du Cerceau. Either Isham or a later family member drew sketches of segmental pediments on another page of Androuet du Cerceau. This technique of writing annotations at the front or back and on the general topic of a book characterised Sir Justinian Isham's reading of books throughout his library. His copy of Walter Blith's The English Improver Improved, a book with advice on estate management, has notes at the back on how natural resources, plants, and household remedies can affect one's health.⁸³ The quotation from Virgil's seventh Eclogue at the beginning of John Evelyn's Sylva likewise continues the topic of that book since it describes woods. The Ishams collected several volumes on architecture from which they could learn about building design, yet they read those volumes with a less technical eve than Pratt.

Pratt thus both practiced and read as literally a gentleman and an architect. He offered his patrons a detailed knowledge of architectural design combined with the skills and responsibilities more typical of a gentleman – reviewing drawings, supervising construction, and distributing the wages of craftsmen. In his study of architecture, he used the gentleman's close textual reading and fluency in foreign languages alongside the architect's focus on site particularities and patron priorities. He also approached architectural design as a wealthy gentleman who learned about architecture as necessary but did not develop it into a primary profession. He executed commissions for patrons of his social circles, and, as his account books reveal, within the context of the typical leisured life of an English gentleman. Moreover, his questions about architecture and use of architectural books responded to specific changes in his own life – his increase in commissions and then his retirement at Ryston. The emergence of the gentleman architect thus reflects not only a change in who designed buildings but broader shifts in techniques of architectural study and practice as well as the relationship among patron, architect, and craftsman.

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NOTES

1. Barrington Kaye has included Jones, Webb, and Pratt in discussing the origins of the English architectural profession, and Nigel Crowe has described Roger Pratt as a gentleman architect. Barrington Kaye, The Development of the Architectural Profession in England: A Sociological Study (London, 1960), 32-8. Nigel Crowe described Pratt as a gentleman architect in his survey of Pratt's career, notebooks, and buildings: 'Sir Roger Pratt 1620-1685: The Ingenious Gentleman Architect', in The Architectural Outsiders, ed. Roderick Brown (London, 1985), 1-20 [hereafter cited as Crowe, 'Gentleman Architect']. John Harris and Robert Hradsky recently curated an exhibition of drawings and notes by seventeenth- to nineteenth-century gentleman architects: John Harris and Robert Hradsky, A Passion for Building: The Amateur Architect in England 1650-1850 (London, 2007), passim. The only study to date on the library of a gentleman architect is Anthony Geraghty, 'Robert Hooke's Collection of Architectural Books and Prints', Architectural History 27 (2004), 113-25. Howard Colvin has outlined a detailed history of the development of the English architectural profession in the introductory essay of Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840 (London, 1996).

Few studies of Roger Pratt have appeared in the twentieth century: R. T. Gunther, ed., The Architecture

of Sir Roger Pratt, Charles II's Commissioner for the Rebuilding of London After the Great Fire: Now Printed for the First Time From his Note-Books (Oxford, 1928), passim; Crowe, 'Gentleman Architect', passim; Nigel Crowe, 'The Life and Work of Sir Roger Pratt (1620-85)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Reading, 1986), passim [hereafter cited as Crowe, 'Life and Work']; John Newman, 'Criticizing Palazzi di Genova: The Evidence of John Webb and Roger Pratt', in The Reception of P. P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the Seventeenth Century in Europe, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, 2002), 121-30; and the recent debate on the dating of Coleshill: Sally Jeffery, 'The House in the Cucumber Garden', The National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual 2007, 25-9; John Harris, 'Extracting Sunbeams From Cucumbers', The National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual 2008, 9. Beyond these studies, Pratt has been included as a key mid-seventeenth-century architect in surveys of both country house design and architectural practice. Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House (New Haven, 1978), 122-6; John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830 (New Haven and London, 1993), 137-41; Harris and Hradsky, 28. To date, however, no comprehensive study of Pratt's library or his reading techniques has been accomplished, and his critical eye has yet to be connected with English design traditions.

3. Gunther, 2.

4. Pratt notes that he went abroad to avoid asking for interest money '& give my selfe some convenient Education' in his 1640 'A Reveue taken of ye Estate left mee by my Father'. Pratt Coll. MS. E, unnumbered page; Gunther, 3; Crowe, 'Life and Work', 14-7. On seventeenth-century elite English travel on the Continent, see John Stoye, English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics (New Haven and London, 1989), passim, esp. 71-90, 117-33 for itinerary details and 143-4 for a discussion of Pratt.

5. Pratt noted payments for commons and to staff in Commons from 1657, the start of the account book, and through the 1660s. He then recorded another payment for commons and duties at Temple

in 1674. Pratt Coll. MS. C.

6. He noted the purchase of the gold and silver lace on 16 April and of the sword on June 12. Pratt Coll. MS. C, p. 3. On the private coach, see Pratt Coll. MS. C., p. 39.

7. From 1657 to 1663, Pratt begins his accounts in October of each year, noting his return to London, and ending between April and August; his accounts for the spring of 1664 are sporadic. Then, from

- the summer of 1665, Pratt begins to spend the summer in London; it is unclear why this shift occurs. Pratt Coll. MS. C.
- 8. Pratt attended the theatre six times between December 1660 and May 1662 and afterwards less frequently. He recorded going to Spring Garden, Mulberry Garden, and unidentified gardens and parks. His gifts include money to family, often his niece Anne Cotterell, and 'treats' to family as well as friends; he recorded a 'treat' to Lord Allington in June 1666, for instance. He often borrowed money from his brother-in-law Charles Cotterell and lent money to his cousin Sir George Pratt as well as to nobility, such as the Earl of Bath. Pratt Coll. MS. C.
- 9. Pratt notes that he inherited the estate from Edward Pratt, his cousin and the son of his father's elder brother, on 22 April 1667. Pratt Coll. MS. E, unnumbered page; Gunther, 14.
- 10. Pratt Coll. MSS. E-K.
- 11. Pratt recorded these expenses in his account book for London (MS. C) and at the back of an estate account book (MS. F). Accounts for 1669 are noted in the London account book for 16-26 July. In the estate account book, Pratt noted that he was in London from May to September 1668 and from 6 April to 25 June 1670. Pratt Coll. MS. C, pp. 35-45; MS. F, unnumbered pages.
- 12. The dating of Coleshill has been frequently debated between the early and late 1650s, most recently by Sally Jeffery and John Harris in *The National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual 2007* and the *Annual 2008*. Jeffery, passim; Harris, passim. From Pratt's manuscripts, it would appear that the house dates from the late 1650s. Pratt recorded in the midst of his 1660 notes for books on architecture that Lady Pratt would pay for the carriage of glass and lead (Pratt Coll. MS. L, p. 14). The house thus seems to have been under construction in 1660 and not close to completion if the materials for windows were being transported to the site. It would seem unlikely that the design would be completed at the beginning of a decade and then only built ten years later; there appears to be little reason to delay construction since Sir George Pratt had already inherited the house and the Civil War had ended.
- 13. Pratt Coll. MS. C, p. 18.
- 14. On 8 July 1674, Pratt notes that he paid £2 'To my Cousen Pratt for solliciteing.' Pratt Coll. MS. C, unnumbered page.
- 15. Pratt Coll. MS. C, unnumbered pages.
- 16. Pratt Coll. MS. D, pp. 8v-11; Gunther, 11-2.
- 17. On the designing of Lamport Hall, see John Bold, John Webb: Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1989), 81-90; Kimberley Skelton, 'Spaces of Leisure: The English Country House and Social Changes in the 1650s' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2007), 148-59.
- 18. Pratt visited Coleshill in April 1659 and summer or October 1661, visited Kingston Lacy in November 1662 and April 1663, and visited Horseheath in November 1661, December 1661, and August 1663. Pratt Coll. MS. C, pp. 12r, 17r-v, 21r, 22r, 23r.
- 19. These notes are in Pratt Coll. MSS. A, B, M.
- 20. Pratt Coll. MS. A, p. 140v.
- 21. On Webb's innovations in English country house design, see Skelton, 213-71.
- 22. References to Mr Taylor occur in Pratt Coll. MS. A, pp. 10r, 140v. Mr Sowersbee is mentioned in Pratt Coll MS. A, p. 63r. Three estimates of the cost of work to be accomplished at Clarendon House also survive in the Pratt collections.
- 23. For French examples of these plans, see Pierre Le Muet, *Manière de bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes* (Paris, 1647), passim. For Serlio, see especially his ninth and fourteenth designs of houses outside the city. Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, vol. 2 of 2 vols., trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven and London, 2001), 186-7, 198-9.
- 24. The Isham papers are held at the Northamptonshire Record Office and are as follows: From Sargenson to Isham: IC4970, GK2391/2; IC4972, GK2391/7; IC4973, GK2391/10-11; IC4968, GK2391/12-13; IC4961, GK2391/14; IC4974, GK2391/15; IC4975, GK2391/16-17; IC4969, GK2391/18; IC4976, GK2391/19; IC4977, GK2391/20; IL3079 A15; IC4978, GK2391/22; IC4979, GK2391/23. From Sargenson to craftsmen: IC4971, GK2391/3. From John Greene, master mason, to Isham: IC4962, GK2391/6; IC4960, GK2391/9; IC4959, GK2391/21. From craftsmen to Isham: IC4971, GK2391/3; GK2391/8; IC4974, GK2391/15. Alnwick Castle, U III 2, U III 3, U III 5.
- 25. Pratt Coll. MS. C, pp. 22v, 27v.

26. Pratt Coll. MS. D, p. 9r.

27. Pratt Coll. MS. D, pp. 9v, 11.

28. Pratt Coll. MS. C, p. 3v.

29. Of a total of 181 books, only 58 – or 32% – fall into one of these categories related to architectural design.

30. Pratt Coll. MS. C, pp. 4, unnumbered.

31. Pratt Coll. MS. C, p. 4.

32. Pratt Coll. MS. C, pp. 9, unnumbered.

33. Edward Coke, The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England (London, 1633), passim.

 Leon Battista Alberti, L'Architettura (Florence, 1550), 12-25, 295-302; Pietro Cataneo, I quattro primi libri di Architettura di Pietro Cataneo (Venice, 1554), 7-9; Vincenzo Scamozzi, L'idea della architettura universale

(Venice, 1615), passim. All editions are hereafter cited as 'Pratt's copy of.'

35. Pratt noted the incorrect labels on the ancient Greek and Roman house plans; he corrected the labels and wrote next to the Greek plan, 'Very great errour because the letters correspond little or not at all to the preceding chapter (Grandiss: errore perche le lettere poco o niente rispondono al Capo precendente). In his other annotations, Pratt noted three measurements — of a cornice in the Corinthian Order chapter and of a cornice as well as door in the chapter that discusses the measurements of doors. He also marked 'l' and '2' next to the initial paragraphs of the chapter on proportions of the Doric Order and labelled Scamozzi's chart of ancient Roman masonry types. Pratt's copy of Scamozzi, vol. 1, 229, 235; vol. 2, 80, 155, 163, 299.

36. He noted in the margin 'the porticoes below (I Portici di sotto)', and 'To me it seems that the Architrave is too long between the columns (A me pare che l'Archit sarebbe troppo longa tra le Colonne)', Pratt's

copy of Alberti, 300, 301.

37. Pratt. Coll. MS. L.

38. Pratt Coll. MS. L, pp. 2, 4, 21. The 'Q' occurs primarily (six times) in Pratt's first pages on the first volume of Scamozzi; he queries the width of loggias, room placement, and the layout of gardens. Only one 'Q' occurs in the second volume for a detail on the Ionic frieze. For Pratt's referring to previous Orders, see Pratt Coll. MS. L, pp. 20-28.

39. Pratt Coll. MS. L, unnumbered pages.

40. Pratt Coll. MS. L, pp. 1-3 of architectural treatise notes.

41. For Scamozzi's first volume, Pratt made isolated notes for Chapters 2-21; he consequently noted Chapter 2 as one heading, then marked page numbers, and wrote his next heading for Chapter 21. For Scamozzi's second volume, he paraphrased more comments and noted headings more frequently,

particularly in the chapters on the Orders. Pratt Coll. MS. L.

42. The early 1660s notes are in MS. L, those from the mid-1660s in MS. A and MS. B, and those from 1666-72 in MS D. The annotations appear to date from the early 1660s since the manuscript notes are often paraphrases of the underlined text in each book; for instance, Pratt underlines Alberti's pages on theatres and then copies remarks from this section in his manuscript notes. In MS. L, the book addressed to the patron is the one with text beginning 'As to ye Modell' (pp. 1-23) and that addressed to the architect starts 'Certain short noates concerning Architecture' and is dated 20 November 1660 (pp. 31-63).

43. The projected book addressed to the patron cited primarily English buildings since Pratt advised the patron in his introductory essay to visit buildings that had examples of elements in the patron's projected design. In his book to the architect, however, he recommended a knowledge of French and

Italian buildings.

44. Pratt quoted from Scamozzi in his instructions on drawing and on calculating the cost of a building. In the second instance, he copies the comparison of money to a nerve. Pratt explains that money is the nerve of the building because the landowner's available funds govern decisions about building and also construction. A building, he observes, can be steadily constructed, if expenses do not exceed the funds at the landowner's disposal – for instance, if the landowner does not commission too large a structure. Pratt Coll. MS. L, pp. 33, 56; Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale*, vol. 1 of 2 vols. (1615; reprint, Vicenza, 1997), 48, 78.

45. Pratt Coll. MS. L, p. 46. The Palazzo Porto-Breganze has festoons between its capitals as built, but

- it has no heads. Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books on Architecture*, trans. Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 90.
- 46. Pratt Coll. MS. A, p. 83.
- 47. Pratt Coll. MS. B, p. 108v.
- 48. Pratt Coll. MS. D, pp. 26v-34r.
- 49. Pratt Coll. MS. D, p. 33v.
- 50. Pratt Coll. MS. D, p. 32v.
- 51. Pratt Coll. MS. D, p. 70v. The lists cover pp. 70v-73r.
- 52. Pratt Coll. MS. D, pp. 74v-75r.
- Christy Jo Anderson, 'Inigo Jones's Library and the Language of Architectural Classicism in England, 1580-1640' (Ph. D. diss., The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1993), 206-319; Skelton, 181-211.
- 54. Nine English editions of Italian treatises were published, as opposed to four English editions of French treatises. For a list of these books, see Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge, 1990), 514-5. On the proliferation of translations of treatises from the mid-seventeenth century, see John Harris, 'The Pattern Book Phenomenon', in *Building by the Book*, vol. 2 of 3 vols., ed. Mario di Valmarana (Charlottesville, 1986), 102.
- 55. Hans Blum, A Description of the Five Orders of Columnes and Tearmes of Architecture: According to the Ancient Use and Best Rules of the Most Eminent Italian Architects (London, 1668).
- 56. Pratt Coll. MS. B, p. 108v, MS. D, p. 37v.
- 57. Pratt Coll. MS. L, unnumbered page; Scamozzi, vol. 2, 354.
- 58. John Retsey, an earlier owner of the 1577 edition, made extensive marginal annotations that summarised the text; Retsey wrote his name on the title page as 'Jo: Retsey', and the annotations appear in a similar hand throughout the book.
- 59. Pratt Coll. MS. L, pp. 1-3, MS. D, p. 71v.
- 60. Jones made heavier annotations in Scamozzi, fewer in Alberti, and the least in Cataneo. Webb transcribed more quotations from Scamozzi than from Alberti in his manuscript sheets on windows, now held at Worcester College, Oxford. Anderson, 211-213, 226-227, 276-279.
- 61. See note 32.
- 62. 'le principali imitano la bocca dell'animale, laquale si come la Natura la fece nel mezo della faccia, così l'Architetto deve collocare la porta principale, nel mezo della faccia dell'edificio; come luogho più nobile, e di maggior maestà: oltre che apporta commodità egualmente à tutta la casa', Vincenzo Scamozzi, 318.
- 63. 'Sia la Porta principale nel mezzo del edificio, e per maestà, et commodità...', Pratt Coll. MS L.
- 64. Leon Battista Alberti, On the Art of Building in Ten Books, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 268-9; Pratt Coll. MS. L, p. 3.
- 65. Scamozzi, vol. 1, 321; Pratt Coll. MS. L, p. 4 of Scamozzi notes.
- 66. Francis Bacon, 'Of Building', in *Essays*, by Francis Bacon (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1995), 115; Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624; reprint, Farnborough, 1969), 55-6.
- 67. Pratt Coll. MS. L, unnumbered pages; Scamozzi, vol. 2, 173-270, 289-293. Geoffrey Beard has noted the use of oak for house frames and wainscot and of chestnut for the roof. On English uses of stone and wood, see Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England* (New York, 1981), 26-32, 47-84.
- 68. J. T. Cliffe has assembled data that suggests patrons commissioned 114-170 houses per decade across the seventeenth century. J. T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven and London, 1999), 4.
- 69. On the renewed building of theatres after the Restoration, see John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (New York, 1985), 168-85. Davenant's in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Killigrew's in Bridges Street, and the Cockpit in Drury Lane were newly built, while the Hall Theatre and the Cockpit-in-Court in Whitehall were renovated.
- 70. Scamozzi, vol. 1, 303.
- 71. Pratt Coll. MS. L, p. 2.
- 72. Scamozzi, vol. 1, 305; Pratt Coll. MS. L.

Girouard, 166-74.

74. John Newman notes that the long gallery had become little desired in the seventeenth century. John Newman, 'The Seventeenth-Century Great House: An Overview', in The Seventeenth-Century Great House (Oxford, 1995), 9. On the shift to a compact plan, see John Bold, 'Privacy and the Plan', in English Architecture Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes, eds John Bold and Edward Chaney (London, 1993), 107-19; Patricia Smith, 'Plain English or Anglo-Palladian? Seventeenth-Century Country Villa Plans', in The Renaissance Villa in Britain 1500-1700, ed. Malcolm Airs and Geoffrey Tyack (Reading, 2007), 89-110. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes (New Haven and London, 2008), passim.

Bruce Allsopp, ed., Inigo Jones on Palladio, vol. 1 of 2 vols. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970), 27.

76. Webb's copy of Andrea Palladio, I quattro libri dell'architettura (Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1601),

passim. This book is now at Worcester College, Oxford.

77. Jones's annotations are listed in Anderson, 282-3. For Webb's annotations, see his copy of Serlio held in the British Architectural Library of the RIBA, London or reproduced in facsimile: Sebastiano Serlio, Tutte l'opere d'architettura (Ridgewood, 1964), Book 3, 50r. On these annotations, see Bold, 29; Skelton, 192-3.

See particularly Jones's annotations to Book 2 of Palladio. Allsopp, 19-33. See especially Book 4 in

Webb's copy of Palladio.

On the Jones drawing, see John Harris and Gordon Higgott, Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings (London and New York, 1989), 96-7. Webb's notebook is currently held in the Devonshire Collection

at Chatsworth House.

Pratt owned the 1551 edition of Sebastiano Serlio (Il primo libro d'Architettura), most likely the 1669 English translation of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (The Regular Architect), and the 1650 French translation of Andrea Palladio (Les quatre livres d'architecture d'André Palladio). The Ishams owned the 1566 edition of Sebastiano Serlio, a small 1677 Italian edition of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, and a 1642 Italian edition of Andrea Palladio. The Isham books remain at Lamport Hall. For a brief discussion of the Isham library, see Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, English Country Houses: Caroline, 1625-1685 (London, 1966), 98-9.

Isham wrote, 'Fraxinus in sylvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis, / Populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis Virg. 7 Eclog.'

Thomas Isham wrote his name on the title pages of Alberti, Serlio, and Vignola. 82. 83. Isham notes, for instance, the benefits of spring water, the ill effects of Spanish sage, and, citing Gerrard's Herbal, the use of a purple ribbon about the neck to stop a bleeding nose.

SIR ROGER PRATT'S LIBRARY

This list of Pratt's books and prints has been compiled from the surviving books at Ryston Hall, R. T. Gunther's list in The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt (1928), Pratt's account book for his London expenses (MS. C), and his notebooks. When a book no longer exists and it is impossible to confirm Pratt's particular version, the earliest edition has been noted. Marks possibly by Pratt in the surviving volumes as well as references in his account book and notebooks are described below each title. The notebooks and corresponding Gunther labels are as follows: 1662-9 (MS. A), 1664-6 (MS. B), 1666-72 (MS. D), and 1660 (MS. L). Dates have been kept in Old Style, for ease of reference back to Pratt's notes.

‡ Listed by Gunther as surviving and no longer extant † Contains notes by Pratt * Surviving

BOOKS

*Agustín, Antonio. Antonii Augustini Archiepisc. Tarracon. Antiquitatum Romanarum Hispanarumque in Nummis Veterum. Ed. Andrea Schotto. Antwerp, 1617. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.

*†Alberti, Leon Battista. L'Architettura. Florence, 1550.

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 18 January 1657. He referred to it on his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook. The book has pencil underlinings and marginal marks on pp. 12-25 (siting) and 295-302 (theatres). There are also three marginal notes on pp. 298-301 – to clarify text and to criticise Alberti's architrave for the upper loggia. Limited manuscript notes on theatres survive from ϵ . 1660.

*Amydeno, Theodoro. De pietate romana. Rome, 1625.

Androuet Du Cerceau, Jacques. Livre d'architecture contenant les plans & dessaings de cinquante bastimens. Paris, 1579.

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought a volume by Androuet du Cerceau on 20 January 1657. In one list, he refers to the volume as 'Bastem: de Tem:' and in another list as 'Archit: de Androuet du Circeau'.

*Les Antiquitez et recherches des villes, chasteaux, et places plus remarquables de toute la France. Paris, 1631.

Architecture de Anverso

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 18 January 1657. The book has proven unidentifiable.

‡Aringhi, Paolo and Bosio, Antonio. *Roma subterranea novissima*. Rome, 1651.

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 28 January 1657. R. T. Gunther observes that this volume existed at Ryston in his list of books that Pratt purchased in January 1657; however, it does not appear in his comprehensive list of Pratt's library at Ryston.

?The Artificer's Plaine Scale or ye Carpenter's New Rule. London, 1657.

R. T. Gunther notes that Pratt mentioned this book on the inside cover of his 1662-9 notebook, but this mention does not appear in the manuscript as it is currently preserved (Gunther, 91).

- *Atanagi, Dionigi. Delle lettere facete, et piacevoli, di diversi huomini. Venice, 1601.
- *Aussonois, Filbert Bretin. Les oeuvres de Lucian de Samosate. Paris, 1583.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.

Bacci, Andrea. *De gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis*. Frankfurt, 1603.

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 4 November 1659.

*†Bacci, Andrea. De thermis Andreae Baccii Elipidiani. Rome, 1642.

Pratt wrote the price of thirteen shillings on the title page. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by this author to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.

Bacsius, De Cloal.

Pratt mentioned this volume on his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook. It may be a misspelling of the previous volume.

- *Baker, R. Chronicle of the Kings of England. London, 1650.
- *Baldi, Camillo. Alcune considerationi sopra una lettera d'Anton Perez scritta al Duca di Lerma. Carpi, 1622.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 20 February 1657.

Balsac, Robert de. Edition of Le chemin de l'ospital.

Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by Balsac to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. The precise edition has proven impossible to identify.

Bembo, Pietro.

Pratt noted in his account book that his cousin's servant brought Bembo to him in London during May 1662.

- *†Baptista, Johannes. Flora, seu de florum cultura, lib. IV. Amsterdam, 1646. Pratt noted the price of thirteen shillings on the title page.
- *Bate, George. Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia Pars Prima. London, 1663.
- *Baudouin, I. Les Fables d'Esope Phrygien. Paris, 1599.
- *Boccaccio, Giovanni. Il decamerone di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio. Venice, 1541.
- *Boccalini, Traiano. De ragguagli di Parnaso di Traiano Boccalini romano, centuria prima. Venice, 1612.
- *Boccalini, Traiano. De ragguagli di Parnaso di Traiano Boccalini romano, centuria seconda. Venice, 1613.
- *Boissard. Antiquitatum Romanarum, V. Pars. 1600.

 Pratt noted in his account book that four volumes of Boissard were returned by the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. He also mentioned Boissard on his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook.
- *Bosse, Abraham. La Pratique du trait a prevues de M. Desargues Lyonnois, pour la coupe des pierres en l'architecture. Paris, 1643.
- ‡Brerewood, Ed. Tractatus Quidam Logici. Oxon., 1637.
- ‡Brerewood, Ed. Tractatus duo. De meteoris, De Ochlo. 1637.
- *Calvin, John. Joannis Calvini Institutionis Christianae Religionis. Geneva, 1647.
- Camden, William. *Britannia*. London, 1586.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he used this volume to pay for Aringius's *Roma Novissima* on 28 January 1657. A series of versions were published of this book since its first printing in 1586; it is unclear which edition was owned by Pratt.
- ‡Campen, Jacob van. *Stadt huys van Amsterdam*. Amsterdam, 1661.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 13 December 1661.
- Caravaggio, Livio Lupi da. Libro di gagliarda tordiglione, passo è mezzo, canari è paesaggi. Palermo, 1607.

 Pratt mentioned Caravaggio in his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook.
- *†Cataneo, Pietro. *I quattro primi libri di Architettura di Pietro Cataneo*. Venice, 1554. Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 16 January 1657. The book is bound with Alberti and has underlining on pp. 7-9 (on cities).
- *†Coke, Edward. The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England. London, 1633. This volume has extensive underlinings and marginal notes summarising the text.
- Commynes, Philippe de.

 Pratt noted a book by Philippe de Commynes twice in his account book; a volume was delivered to the bookbinder on 1 March 1664 and another was sent to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. Commynes wrote two memoirs discussing his life under Louis IX and Charles VIII; editions were printed in English, French and Latin. It is unclear which edition was owned by Pratt.

- *Conti, Natale. Natalis Comitis Mythologiae, sive Explicationis Fabularum. Geneva, 1636.
- *Contzen, Adam. Politicorum Libri Decem. 1629.
- *Davanzati, Bernardo. Scisma d'Inghilterra con altre operette. Florence, 1638.
- *Davila, Henrico Caterino. *Historia delle guerre civili di Francia*. Venice, 1646.

 Pratt noted in his account book that this volume was delivered to the bookbinder on 23 January 1664.
- ‡Descartes, René. De homine figuris. Lugd., 1664.
- *†Diogenes, Laertius. *De vitis...* Geneva, 1615. Pratt noted the price on the title page, but it is illegible.
- *Donato, Alexandro. Roma Vetus ac Recens utriusque aedificiis ad eruditam cognitionem. Rome, 1639.

Pratt noted in his account book that this volume was bound in December 1664. He also mentioned it on his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook.

- *†Dubreuil, Jean. La perspective pratique. Paris, 1651.

 Next to the publication date on the title page is '# 36.a ½'. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- *Dubreuil, Jean. Second Partie de la Perspective Pratique. Paris, 1647.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- *Dubreuil, Jean. *Troisieme et derniere Partie de la Perspective*. Paris, 1649.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- Dugdale, William. *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*. London, 1658.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume in July 1666 and used it as the source for his notes on the measurements of Old St Paul's in his 1666-72 notebook.
- Erasmus. *Dialogues*.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume of Erasmus's dialogues to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. It is unclear what edition of Erasmus was owned by Pratt.
- ‡Erasmus. Adagiorum Chiliades. Basil, 1536.
- *†Estienne, Charles. Dictionarium Historicum Geographicum Poeticum. Geneva, 1638.

 Pratt noted on the title page the price of six shillings. Beside the publication date is also '6.8'.
- *Euclid. Euclidus Elementorum Lib. XV. Rome, 1589.
- *Euclid. Euclidus Posteriores Lib IX. Rome, 1589.
- *Faret, Nicolas. L'honeste homme, ou l'art de plaire à la cour. Paris, 1637.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. However, he listed the author as 'Gaffarell'.
- ‡Fernelius, J. De Morbis universalibus. Lugd., 1645.
- Ferrari, Ottavio. *De re vestiaria*. Patavia, 1654.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 9 April 1657.
- Ferrerio, Pietro. *Palazzi di Roma*. Rome, 1655.

 Pratt noted in his account book that this volume was purchased on 13 December 1659 and bound in March 1659.

Flavio, Giuseppe. Guerra giudaica or Antichità giudaiche
It is likely that Pratt owned this book. He noted it in his notes from Scamozzi; it appears in Scamozzi's marginal remarks, but is also the only volume noted by Pratt from these marginal remarks.

*Florimonte, Galeazzo. Ragionamenti sopra l'ethica d'Aristotile. Venice, 1567.

Fontana, Domenico. Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano et delle fabriche di nostro signore Papa Sisto V. Rome, 1590.

Pratt noted in his account book that he paid for the binding of this volume in May 1659.

- Francine, Alexandre. Livre d'architecture contenant plusieurs portiques de differentes inventions sur les cinq ordres de colonnes. Paris, 1631. Or: A New Book of Architecture. London, 1669. Pratt mentioned this volume in his 1672 notes on Palazzi di Genova of his 1666-72 notebook. Since the English translation was published in 1669, it is unclear which edition Pratt owned.
- Fréart de Chambray, Roland. *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne*. Paris, 1655. Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 18 January 1657. He mentioned it in notes on cornices in his 1666-72 notebook.
- *De Guevara, Antonio and Nicolas de Hereberay. L'horloge des princes. Paris, 1555.
- *Hammond, Henry. De confirmatione sive benedictione, post Baptismum solenni. N.d. Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this book on 27 October 1657.
- *†Herodotus. *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum*. 1648.

 There is 'q m' on the title page. Pratt noted in his account book that this volume was returned by the bookbinder on 23 January 1664.
- *Herigone, Pierre. Cursus Mathematicus. Paris, 1634.
- *Historiae Romanae, scriptores Latini veteres, qui extant omnes. Aureliae Allobrogum, 1623.
- *Historiae Romanae Scriptorum Latinorum Veterum...Tomus Secundus. Aureliana, 1623.
- *Horace. Quinti Horatii Flacci Poemata. Amsterdam, 1635.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- *Horace. Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini, Poetae Lyrici elegantiss. Opera ... Basil, 1580.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- ‡Jaques, J. L'art militaire pour l'infanterie. Francker., 1615.
- Jonson, Ben. Volume of plays
 Pratt noted in his account book that he used this volume to pay for Aringius's *Roma Novissima* on 28
 January 1657. This volume has proven unidentifiable.
- *Jonston, Johannes. Dendrographias sive historiae naturalis de arboribus et fruticibus... Frankfurt, 1662.
- *Jonston, Johannes. Historiae naturalis de avibus. Frankfurt, 1650.
- *Jonston, Johannes. Historiae naturalis de insectis. Libri. III. De serpentibus et draconibus Libri II. Frankfurt, 1653.
- *Jonston, Johannes. Historiae naturalis de piscibus et cetis. Frankfurt, n.d.
- *Jonston, Johannes. Historiae naturalis de quadrupetibus. Frankfurt, n.d.
- Iuliani Imp. Opera. Paris, 1630.
 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.

- *Iunius, Franciscus. *De pictura veterum*. Amsterdam, 1637.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 20 January 1657.
- *Keckermann, Bartolomeo. Systema Compendiosum Totius Mathematices, hoc est, Geometriae, Opticae, Astronomiae, et Geographiae. Hanoviae, 1621.
- Labacco, Antonio. *Libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente a L'architettura*. Rome, 1559.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought a print on 18 January 1657 to perfect Labacco. He also mentioned this volume in his 1672 notes on *Palazzi di Genova* of his 1666-72 notebook.
- Lacrob., Johannes de. *L'usage de compas*Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- *Libanii Sophistae Operum Tomus II. Lutetia, 1627.
- *†Lauremberg, Peter. *Horticultura*. Frankfurt, 1654.

 Pratt noted the price of nine shillings on the title page. Also on the title page is '4#' next to the publication date. Pratt remarked in his account book that he bought this volume in March 1659.
- Lipsius, Justus. *De Amphiteatro liber*. Antwerp, 1584.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- *Lipsius, Justus. *De militia romana*. Antwerp, 1630.

 Pratt noted in his account book that the bookbinder returned this volume on 23 January 1664.
- *Lipsius, Justus. *I. Lipsii Saturnalium Sermonum*. Antwerp, 1582.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- *Livy. Les decades qui se trouvent de Tite Live. Paris, 1583.
- Longinus, Dionysius Cassius. Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber De grande loquentia sive sublimi dicendi. Oxford, 1636.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by Dionysius Cassius to the bookbinder on 23 January 1664. It was probably this volume.
- *Magirus, Johannes. Dn. Ioannis Magiri Philosophiae Professoris in Academia Marpurgensi inclytii Corona Virtutum moralium, universam Aristotelis summi Philosophi Ethicen exacte nucleans. Frankfurt, 1628.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by Aristotle to the bookbinder on 18 March 1664. It was most likely this volume.
- *Margotti, Lanfranco. Lettere del Sig. Card. Lanfranco Margotti. Venice, 1642.
- *Martial. M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata. Amsterdam, 1645.
 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- *†Mercuriale, Girolamo. De Decoratione liber non solum medicis, & philosophis; verum etiam omnium disciplinarum studiosis apprime utilis, ex Hieronymi Mercurialis. Venice, 1601.

 Pratt noted on the title page the price of six shillings, and there is '#1' next to the publication date. He mentioned this book on his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook.
- *Mercuriale, Girolamo. *Opuscula aurea*. Venice, 1644.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 28 April 1657.
- †Mercuriale, Girolamo. De morbis cutaneis. 1625.

Ministre d'Estat.

Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. This book has proven unidentifiable.

- *Du Moulin, Pierre. Nouveauté du Papisme, opposee a l'antiquité du vrai christianisme. Geneva, 1633.
- Le Muet, Pierre. Manière de bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes. Paris, 1647.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 18 January 1657. It is most likely that he bought this expanded 1647 version since his 1660 essay to the architect contains references to châteaux included in the new illustrations. The earlier edition had contained primarily small houses, with only a few for wealthy patrons; the new illustrations added large châteaux.
- *Le Muet, Pierre. *Cabinet Roy de France*. 1581.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- ‡Le Muet, Pierre. *Traicté des cinq ordres*. Paris, 1647. R. T. Gunther notes that the book was inscribed 22 October 1658.
- *Novum D.N. Iesu Christi Testamentum. 1556.
- *Ovid. *Publii Ovidii Nasoni Metamorphose*. London, 1636.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- Palladio, Andrea. Les quatre livres d'architecture d'André Palladio. Paris, 1650.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 20 October 1658. It could be the same volume as Le Muet's Traicté des cinq ordres since that book is inscribed only two days later; Le Muet translated Palladio's Book 1 in the Traicté. However, Pratt refers to all four books of Palladio across his notes in his 1660 notes for books addressed to patron and architect, in his c. 1660 notes from Scamozzi, in his 1662-9 notebook as well as that from 1666-72.
- *Panciroli, Guido. Rerum memorabilium. Frankfurt, 1622.
- *†Panvinio, Onofrio, Bartolomeo Marlianus, Petrus Victoris, and Jean Jacques Boissard. *Topographia Romae*. Frankfurt, 1627.
 Pratt noted the price of fifteen shillings on the title page. He mentioned this book on his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook.
- Parkinson. *Herball and Flowers*. 2nd vol.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he purchased this volume in March 1659. This book has proven unidentifiable.
- *Parsons, Robert. Elizabethae Angliae Reginae Haeresium Calvinianam Propugnantis saevissimum in Catholicos sui Regni Edictum. Rome, 1593.
- *Parte seconda dell'itinerario d'Italia. Vicenza and Padua, 1638.
- *Paruta, Paolo. *Historia Vinetiana di Paolo Paruta*. Venice, 1605.

 Pratt noted in his account book that this book was delivered to the bookbinder on 23 January 1664.
- *Paruta, Paolo. Della perfettione della vita politica di M. Paolo Paruta. Venice, 1582.

 Pratt noted in his account book that this book was delivered to the bookbinder on 23 January 1664.
- *Pauli Benii Eugubini in Aristotelis Poeticam Commentarii. Padua, 1613.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 18 March 1664.

Perrier, François. Icones et segmenta illustrium e marmore tabularum. Rome, 1638. Or: Illmo. D.D. Rogerio Du Plesseis segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum. Rome, 1638. Pratt mentioned this book on his list of building types with book references in his 1666-72 notebook.

Du Perron, Jacques Davy

Pratt mentioned but did not identify in his account book a volume by this author as sent to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. Du Perron wrote a series of religious texts.

Petrarch

Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by Petrarch to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.

- *Philadelphe, Eusebe. *Le Reveille-Matin des François, et de leurs voisins*. Edinburgh, 1574. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- *Pignoria, Lorenzo. Laurentii Pignorii Patavini De Servis. Patavii, 1646.

Pliny. Epistles

Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. The precise edition has proven unidentifiable.

*Pliny. C. Plinii Secundi Historiae Mundi. Lugduni, 1561.
Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.

Pluvinel, Antoine de. Maneige royal: ou lon peut remarquer le defaut et la perfection du chevalier en tous les exercices de cet art, digne des princes, fait de la pratique en l'instruction du roy. Paris, 1624. Or: L'instruction du roy, en l'exercice de monter a cheval. Paris, 1629. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by Pluvinel to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. It is unclear which of Pluvinel's two books (listed above) was owned by Pratt.

*†Polverino, Giovanni Girolamo. *Medicina Practica*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1649.

Pratt noted the price of six shillings on the title page. There is also an 'H' to the left of the publication date. To the right is 'H.2.16.'.

‡Polybius. Historiae. 1610.

Pudius, Eustachius.

Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. This book has proven unidentifiable.

*Rosinus, Johannes and Thomas Dempster. *Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum*. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1613.

Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 18 March 1664.

Rubens, Peter Paul. *Palazzi di Genova*. Antwerp, 1622.

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 2 January 1657. He made notes on it in his 1666-72 notebook and dated them 1672.

- *Rudius, Eustachius. De humani corporis affectibus dignoscendis, praedicendis, curandis, et conservandis, Liber Primus. Venice, 1590.
- *Salmuth, Henry. Nova reperta sive rerum memorabilium recens inventarum & veteribus incognitarum, Guidonis Pancirolli...Liber Secundus. Frankfurt, 1622.
- *Saluste, G. de. Les oeuvres de G. de Saluste Sr. du Bartas. Paris, 1611.

- *Scaliger, Joseph. Aristotelis Historia de Animalibus. Tolosa, 1619.
 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by Aristotle to the bookbinder on 18 March 1664. It may have been this volume.
- *Scaliger, Joseph. Iuli Caesaris F. Opus de Emendatione Temporum. Geneva, 1629.
- *†Scamozzi, Vincenzo. L'idea della architettura universale. Venice, 1615.

 Pratt made extensive underlinings across this book. He also annotated several illustrations; he corrected labels on the plans of the ancient Greek and Roman houses, made notes on cornice mouldings, and identified types of masonry. Detailed manuscript notes from Scamozzi survive, and Pratt referred to him in his 1660 essays to patron and architect.
- *†Scapula, Ioannes. *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*. Amsterdam, 1652. Next to the publication date on the title page is '13ll: nottu [or nollu]'.
- *†Scheffer, Johannes. Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis De Militia Navali Veterum. Ubsaliae, 1654.

Pratt noted on the title page that he bought this volume on 27 October 1658 for six shillings and six pence. It appears as a purchase in his account book for 20 October 1658.

- *Schottus, Andreas. Nuovo itinerario d'Italia. Padua, 1642.
- Seneca. Epistres de Seneque. Rouen, 1604. Or: Les epistres morales de Seneque. Lyon, 1606. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a French edition of Seneca's epistles to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- *Seneca. L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera, que Extant Omnia. Antwerp, 1615.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- Seneca. *Tragoediae*.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. Several editions of Seneca's tragedies were printed in Italy, Germany, Flanders, and Switzerland during the early seventeenth century; it is unclear which edition Pratt owned.
- *Sennert, Daniel. Danielis Sennerti Vratislaviensis, Tomus Primus. Lugduni, 1650.
- *Sennert, Daniel. Operum Tomus Secundus. Lugduni, 1650.
- *Sennert, Daniel. *Operum Tomus Tertius*. Lugduni, 1650.

 Pratt noted in his account book that this volume was sent to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- *Sentinati, Petro Bizaro. Senatus populique genvensis rerum domi forisque gestarum historiae atque annales. Antwerp, 1579.
- *Septalius, Ludovicus. *In Aristotelis Problemata Commentaria*. Lugduni, 1632. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- ‡Serlio, Sebastiano. *Il primo libro d'Architettura*. Venice, 1551.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 18 January 1657. He mentioned it in his 1660 essay to the patron, in his 1660 notes from Vitruvius on theatres, the list of building types with book references and across other notes in the same 1666-72 notebook.
- *Sharrock, Robert. De finibus & officiis secundum naturae jus. Oxford, 1682.
- Simmler, Josias. *Republique des Suisses*. 1577.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.

- *Sinibaldus, Johannes Benedictus. Geneanthropeiae sive de hominis generatione decateuchon. Rome, 1642.
 - Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- *Sprecher von Bernegg, Fortunat. Historia Motuum et Bellorum postremis hisce annis in Rhaetia Excitatorum et Gestorum Auspiciis verò Christianissimi Galliarum Regis, Ludovici XIII. Serenissimae Reip. Venetae, & Serenissimi item Ducis Sabaudiae, Caroli Emanuelis, confectorum. Geneva, 1629.
- Stella, Giulio Cesare. Iulii Caesaris Stellae nobilis Romani Columbeidos libri priores duo. London, 1585.

Pratt noted in his account book that he had '2 bookes of Stella' bound with prints of Fontainebleau, 'boyes, Tableau de Vertues...Errards vases, Hesperidum cultura' on 9 July 1667. There are several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors with a last name of Stella, but Giulio Cesare Stella appears the most likely because the title notes the two books alluded to in Pratt's note.

Stillingfleet, Edward. Origines sacrae, or A rational account of the grounds of Christian faith. London, 1662.

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume in December 1664.

Stillingfleet, Edward.

Pratt noted in his account book a purchase of 'Stillingfleetes bookes' on 27 June 1676. It has been impossible to identify which particular volumes Pratt purchased.

- *Stobaeus, Joannes. Ioannis Stobaei Eclogarum. Antwerp, 1575.
- *Strada, Famiano. Famiani Stradae e Societate Iesu De Bello Belgico Decas Prima. N.d.
- *Strada, Famiano. Famiani Stradae e Societate Iesu De Bello Belgico Decas Secunda. N.d.
- *Strada, Famiano. Famiani Stradae Romani e Societate Iesu Prolusiones Academicae. Rome, 1617.
- *Strozzi, Ciriaco and Federic Morel. *Les politiques d'Aristote*. Paris, 1600.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 18 March 1664.
- *Suetonius. C. Suetonius Tranquillus . . . Commentarius. Lugduni Batavorum, 1647.
- *Sylburgius, Fridericus. Romanae historiae scriptores graeci minores. Frankfurt, 1590.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664.
- Tacitus. [an illustrated edition]
 Pratt noted in his account book that the bookbinder returned an illustrated edition of Tacitus on 23
 January 1664.
- *Tacitus. *Opere di G. Cornelio Tacito*. Venice, 1644.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- Terentius.

Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume by Terentius to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667. Terentius is either the Roman Terence or Johannes Terentius, a medical writer. This book has proven unidentifiable.

Tetius, Hieronymus. *Aedes Barbarinae ad Quirinalem*. Rome, 1642.

Pratt noted in his account book that this volume was purchased and bound in June 1661.

- *Thucydides. Thucydidis de Bello Peloponnesiaco. 1587.

 Pratt noted in his account book that the bookbinder returned this volume on 23 January 1664.
- ‡Turchi, F. Delle lettere facete. Venice, 1601.
- *D'Urfe, Honoré. *Astrea a Romance*. London, 1657. Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 13 February 1657.
- *Ursinus, Zacharias. Corpus Doctrinae Christianae Ecclesiarum à Papatu Reformatarum Continens Catecheticas Explicationes D. Zacharias Ursini. 1573.
- *Ussher, James. Annales Veteris Testamenti... London, 1650.
- *Ussher, James. Annalium Pars Posterior. London, 1654.
- *Du Vair, Guillaume. Les oeuvres de Messire Guillaume du Vair. Paris, 1625.

 Pratt noted in his account book that this volume was delivered to the bookbinder on 1 March 1664.
- *La Valteline. 1631.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent this volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- Vasari, Giorgio. Le vite de piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani. Venice, 1568. Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 16 January 1657.
- Vignola, Giacomo Barozzi da. The Regular Architect, or, The General Rule of the Five Orders of Architecture by M. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. London, 1669.

 Pratt mentioned Vignola in the notes on great doors of his 1666-72 notebook. He appears to have owned this 1669 English edition; the illustrations correspond more closely to Pratt's page references than the Italian, French, Dutch or earlier English editions. Only in the final eight illustrations of doors, where there are few page numbers, is it difficult to confirm a correspondence with Pratt's notes.
- ‡Villalpandus, J. B. Apparatus urbis ac templi Hierosolymitani. 3 vols. Rome, 1604. Pratt mentioned this volume in his 1660 essay to the patron and in a note dated 18 June 1662 on the inside cover of his account book.
- *Virgil. Polydori Vergilii Urbinatis de Rerum Inventoribus Libri Octo. 1604.
- *Virgil. *Pub. Vergilii Maronis Opera*. Basel, 1613.

 Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a Virgil volume to the bookbinder on 9 July 1667.
- Virgili. Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis Cum Servii Commentariis. Mediolanum, 1511-1512. Or: Pub. Virgilii Maronis Bucolicorum, eclogae X., Georgicorum libri IIII. Aeneidos, libri XII. Et in ea, Mauri Servii Honorati grammatici Commentarii. Paris, 1600. Or: P. Virgilii Maronis, poetae Mantuani, Universum poema, cum absoluta Servii Honorati Mauri. Venice, 1562. Pratt noted in his account book that he sent a volume of Servius and Virgil to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. The volume would have been one of the three editions listed above.
- Vitruvius, Architecture, ou Art de bien bastir. Paris, 1547.

 Pratt mentioned in his account book that he bought this volume on 18 January 1657. One copy of Vitruvius was also sent to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. A summary list of Vitruvius's ten books is in Pratt's 1666-72 notebook.
- *Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem*. Venice, 1567.

 This book was initially owned and heavily annotated by a John Retsey. One copy of Vitruvius was sent to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. Pratt's 1660 notes from Vitruvius on theatres are either from this volume or the following one. A summary list of Vitruvius's ten books is in Pratt's 1666-72 notebook.

*Vitruvius, De Architectura Libri Decem. Amsterdam, 1649.

One copy of Vitruvius was sent to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. Pratt's 1660 notes from Vitruvius on theatres are either from this volume or the previous one. A summary list of Vitruvius's ten books is in Pratt's 1666-72 notebook. Pratt mentioned this edition at the end of the list.

*Vitruvius, I dieci libri dell'Architettura di M. Vitruvio, Tradotti & commentati da Monsig. Daniel Barbaro. Venice, 1629.

One copy of Vitruvius was sent to the bookbinder on 17 February 1664. Pratt paraphrased several of Barbaro's annotations in his 1660 notes on theatres. A summary list of Vitruvius's ten books is in Pratt's 1666-72 notebook. Pratt mentioned this edition at the end of the list.

- *Vives, Juan Luis. Secundus Tomus Io. Lodovici Vivis Valentini Operum. Basil, 1555.
- *Vossius, Gerardus Joannes. De historicis graecis. Lugduni Batavorum, 1624.
- *†Vossius, Gerardus Joannes. *De historicis latinis*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1627. There are illegible notes on the title page and a 'c' next to the publication date.
- *Wecker, Johannes Jacobus. *Antidotarium generale et speciale*. Basel, 1642. Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this volume on 9 April 1657.
- ‡Zanchi, Basilio. De horto sophiae libri duo. Rome, 1540.

Pratt noted in his account book that two books in English and entitled *De horto* were bound in March 1659. It is possible that there was an English edition of this book.

Unidentified books

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought English books on 10 January 1657, books on 22 July 1674, and two books on 1 June 1676.

PRINTS

Boges

Pratt noted in his account book that he had these prints bound with print(s) of Fontainebleau, 'Tableau de Vertues ... 2 Bookes of Stella./, Errards vases, Hesperidum cultura' on 9 July 1667.

Château de Richelieu

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought these prints on 20 October 1658 and had them bound into a volume with the prints of Homer and the Louvre on 9 July 1667.

Drawing by Andrea del Sarto

Pratt noted in his account book that he exchanged a print of an obelisk for this print on 22 January 1657.

Drawing after Raphael

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this print on 22 January 1657.

Errard's Vases

Pratt noted in his account book that he had these prints bound with print(s) of Fontainebleau, 'Boges, Tableau de Vertues ... 2 Bookes of Stella./, ... Hesperidum cultura' on 9 July 1667. These would have been prints by the French artist and architect Charles Errard.

Fontainebleau

Pratt noted in his account book that he had print(s) of Fontainebleau bound with 'Boges, Tableau de Vertues ... 2 Bookes of Stella./, Errards vases, Hesperidum cultura' on 9 July 1667.

Hesperidum cultura

Pratt noted in his account book that he had these prints bound with print(s) of Fontainebleau, 'Boges, Tableau de Vertues ...2 Bookes of Stella./, Errards vases' on 9 July 1667.

21 Prints of Homer

Pratt noted in his account book that he had these prints bound into a volume with the prints of the Château de Richelieu and the Louvre on 9 July 1667.

8 Prints of the Louvre

Pratt noted in his account book that he had these prints bound into a volume with the prints of the Château de Richelieu and the prints of Homer on 9 July 1667.

Map of new Rome

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this print on 2 March 1657.

Marchese di Mantua

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this print on 22 January 1657 and had it pasted in December 1658.

Monumento del Papa

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this print on 20 October 1658.

Obelisk Print

Pratt noted in his account book that he exchanged this print for a drawing by Andrea del Sarto on 22 January 1657.

'Pareil ye christofs'

Pratt noted in his account book the purchase of these prints on 2 January 1657.

Round Print of Cornelius Bloemaert

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this print on 22 January 1657.

Rubens

Pratt noted in his account book the purchase of these prints on 2 January 1657.

24 Prints of Tableau de Vertues

Pratt noted in his account book that he has print(s) of Fontainebleau bound with Fontainebleau, 'Boges, ... 2 Bookes of Stella, Errards vases, Hesperidum cultura' on 9 July 1667.

Paolo Veronese

Pratt noted in his account book the purchase of one print on 2 January 1657.

Villa Aldobrandini

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought this print on 2 March 1657.

Parcel of prints in 'ye old Bayly'

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought these prints on 25 June 1658.

Unidentified prints

Pratt noted in his account book that he bought a print on 18 November 1657, 'diverse other Printes' on 13 December 1661, 'Printes' in October 1662, and 'a Print' in May 1664.