



**David Hemsoll**

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## **Drawings by Palladio and Others of the Porta dei Leoni in Verona**

In:

Pegasus : Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike ; 16.2014, S. 263-294

Berlin : Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance, 2015

Persistent Identifier: [urn:nbn:de:kobv:b4-opus4-33815](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:kobv:b4-opus4-33815)

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PEGASUS

Berliner Beiträge  
zum Nachleben der Antike  
Heft 16 · 2014

Census of Antique Works of Art  
and Architecture Known in the Renaissance  
Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften  
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

[www.census.de](http://www.census.de)

Census of Antique Works of Art  
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Herausgeber: Horst Bredekamp, Arnold Nesselrath

Redaktion: Barbara Lück, Philipp Schneider, Maika Stobbe, Timo Strauch

Institut für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte  
Unter den Linden 6  
10099 Berlin

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and Architecture Known in the Renaissance

Satz: Susanne Werner (Lukas Verlag)  
Druck: Elbe Druckerei Wittenberg

ISBN: 978-3-86732-201-0

ISSN: 1436-3461

DRAWINGS BY PALLADIO AND OTHERS OF THE PORTA DEI LEONI  
IN VERONA

DAVID HEMSOLL

Dozens of drawings of antiquities must have been produced by the young Andrea Palladio (1508–80), some of which still survive today in the collections of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in London and the Museo Civico in Vicenza (now housed in Vicenza's Palladio Museum).<sup>1</sup> Most of these surviving sheets bear Palladio's youthful handwriting, and they were all executed during the 1540s or earlier,<sup>2</sup> with at least some of them, therefore, having been produced before Palladio ventured beyond the confines of the Veneto region in 1541.<sup>3</sup> The sheets often have drawings on both their sides, and they depict a considerable number of antique monuments, mainly from Rome and close-at-hand Verona. In style and presentation, they are mostly very similar to one another. Sometimes they provide very full coverage of specific monuments by, for example, representing them in plan, elevation and section, and supplying many individual details as well. In some notable respects, they have much in common with certain drawings produced in central Italy rather earlier in the sixteenth century. For instance, Palladio's practices of giving orthogonal elevations occasional perspectival features and showing side-elevations in sharp perspectival recession accord with conventions seen in, say, the *Codex Coner*, the famous sketchbook produced in Rome around 1515.<sup>4</sup> His matching of elevations sometimes with sections or plans is likewise presaged in the *Codex Coner*, and his way of delineating entablatures and other sequences of mouldings in carefully measured cross section, while showing their fronts and ornaments in oblique projection, is especially close. As early productions of Palladio, two of these sheets, which represent the ancient *Porta dei Leoni* in Verona (fig. 1), are particularly instructive. Not only do they depict the ancient monument in an exceptionally comprehensive and meticulous manner but they also allow important conclusions to be reached about how they were produced, and this, in turn, helps throw valuable new light on the methods Palladio followed, at this early time, for amassing such material.

The two sheets, which are in the RIBA collection, were probably produced right at the start of Palladio's career (figs 2–5).<sup>5</sup> They have drawings on both their sides, which have been conjectured to have possibly been derived, in

*1 Verona, Porta dei Leoni,  
later façade with the earlier  
façade visible behind it*

some sense, from the work of a previous draftsman;<sup>6</sup> and they show, with extraordinary exactitude, the surviving portion of the gate's later façade, in elevation, plan and section, as well as the earlier façade preserved immediately behind it (glimpsed in fig. 1), and also numerous individual details, which are all carefully measured in Veronese feet.<sup>7</sup> Most of the details are from the later façade, although they also include a cornice from the Verona church of S. Pietro Incarnario (on fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> As regards authorship, one of the sheets bears a watermark that is similar or identical to those on other early drawings by

Palladio,<sup>9</sup> and the Veneto dialect of the annotations is very typical of him. The handwriting (see fig. 14a) is more or less identical to that on a pair of his sheets depicting Verona's ancient Porta dei Borsari (fig. 6),<sup>10</sup> and it is quite like the early (or so-called >epsilon<) handwriting seen on other drawings by him (e.g. fig. 7), although it is not precisely the same.<sup>11</sup> It is still close enough, however, to conclude that it is his, and to suggest that these particular drawings date from perhaps a little earlier than the rest.<sup>12</sup> The handwriting apart, the two sheets are extremely close, in style and presentation and in their exceptionally fine execution, to various other drawings that are indisputably by the young Palladio (e.g. fig. 7). Furthermore, they were certainly owned by Palladio who, later on, used them – like certain other early drawings – as the basis for modified renditions of the same monument.<sup>13</sup> What makes these drawings so especially interesting, however, stems from the remarkable facts that they are virtually identical to a pair of sheets, by a different draftsman, which are now in the Uffizi in Florence, and that one of them is a near replica of yet another sheet, now lost, which once belonged to Verona's Biblioteca Civica.

The Uffizi sheets (figs. 8–11) are almost indistinguishable in all respects from the two produced by Palladio.<sup>14</sup> For the most part, they show exactly the same things at precisely the same scale, in the same positions and in the same meticulous manner, while the annotations on them are usually in precisely the same places and convey exactly the same information. Perhaps the main differences between the two pairs are that their versos are switched around,<sup>15</sup> and that the annotations are not in the same script or even dialect.<sup>16</sup> The Uffizi drawings have been attributed to Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–73),<sup>17</sup> but the handwriting on them is not his,<sup>18</sup> and they were almost certainly produced well before his time. The annotations are written in fairly standard Tuscan/Italian (as opposed to the Veneto dialect of Palladio's) and in an early-to-mid sixteenth-century hand (see fig. 14),<sup>19</sup> and this, coupled with the fact that the sheets are in the Uffizi collection, rather suggests that they are the work of a central Italian draftsman, who was possibly, therefore, a member or associate of the circle of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484–1546).<sup>20</sup> They would have been produced after the time of the Codex Coner but, considering the representational conventions that were adopted, perhaps not so very long afterwards.

It might be wondered, therefore, whether the Palladio sheets, with their distinctly backward-looking drawing conventions, are copies of the ones in the Uffizi. But this is impossible, since there are several small particulars in the Palladio drawings that are not matched in the others. For example, in his drawing

2 *Andrea Palladio: Porta dei Leoni, elevation, plan and section of the later façade, London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 201*

3 *Andrea Palladio: Porta dei Leoni, details of the later façade and cornice from S. Pietro Incarnario (centre left), London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 20v*



4 *Andrea Palladio: Porta dei Leoni, elevation of the earlier façade and Composite capital, London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 18r*

5 *Andrea Palladio: Porta dei Leoni, details of the later facade, London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 18v*

6 *Andrea Palladio: Porta dei Borsari, London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 16r*

7 *Andrea Palladio: Mausoleum at Spoleto, London, RIBA, Palladio IX, 18r*

showing the gate's later façade (fig. 2; cf. fig. 8), Palladio completed the visible left intrados of the lower-storey arch, recorded the inscription on the lower-storey architrave and the decoration in the pediment above it, added shading to the arched windows on the level above, and showed more of the cornice of the top storey's central apse.<sup>21</sup> There are also differences in the neighbouring section, in that Palladio made the middle-storey pilasters a little thicker, and, unlike in the Uffizi counterpart, he listed a whole succession of vertical dimensions. An interesting discrepancy on one of the versos concerns the detail of the pedestal and base of the later façade's top storey.<sup>22</sup> Palladio's drawing (fig. 3) has them tilting slightly backwards in relation to the entablature directly beneath them, which is how they appear on the monument in its surviving condition (see fig. 1), whereas the Uffizi drawing (fig. 10) has them turned and made vertical. Other annotations provided by Palladio but missing from the Uffizi drawings include the one, on the same sheet, accompanying the cornice that establishes it came from Verona's church of S. Pietro Incarnario. All these various discrepancies, therefore, would indicate not that Palladio made use of the Uffizi sheets, but

that the Uffizi draftsman had recourse to authoritative originals that must have looked very like the drawings that Palladio produced.

It should be asked, therefore, if the Uffizi sheets were copied specifically from Palladio's. This possibility has been suggested,<sup>23</sup> and it may have seemed reasonable when they were attributed to Vignola, and when Palladio's sheets were thought, erroneously, to be by his north Italian predecessor, Giovanni Maria Falconetto (c. 1468–c. 1535),<sup>24</sup> but it is most unlikely. In the first place, it is highly improbable that the Uffizi drawings were executed in the 1530s or later (which if copied from Palladio's is when they would have had to have been), since, by this date, the representational conventions used by central Italian draftsmen had moved well away from the increasingly outmoded practices encountered in the *Codex Coner*, and they were much more >advanced< than those still persisting in northern Italy. In the second place, it seems decidedly farfetched that drawings produced by a central Italian draftsman – in the 1530s or later – would have been copied from drawings in the possession of an architect, Palladio, who was resident in northern Italy. In the third place, there are certain differences between the two pairs of sheets that suggest they were produced independently. One of these concerns the detail of the later façade's lower-storey pedestals and bases to the half-columns, which on the Uffizi sheet (fig. 9) has receding lines extending obliquely from the measured sections, as was the usual practice, but which on the Palladio sheet (fig. 5) has them horizontal and parallel with the bottom margin, suggesting the adjustment was made to suit the appearance of the page as a whole.<sup>25</sup> Other differences are to be seen in the representation of the Composite capital on the sheets showing the earlier façade (fig. 11; cf. fig. 4), which in the two drawings is also positioned differently,<sup>26</sup> differences that prove to be especially conclusive, as will shortly be discussed at greater length.

It thus seems certain that the two pairs of sheets are not directly related, and so it can be concluded that they derive, ultimately, from common prototypes that are now lost. These authoritative originals were perhaps very similar to Palladio's sheets, which may well reproduce them very closely. They could, however, have been of some age when Palladio copied them, since they were also copied by the central Italian draftsman, who may have done so well beforehand. The originals could have been annotated in a Tuscan script, in which case Palladio would have translated the notes into the Veneto dialect, but it is very possible too that they were produced by a draftsman from the Veneto, which would explain why the gate was measured in Veronese feet, in which case the dialect

8 *Unidentified draftsman: Porta dei Leoni, elevation, plan and section of the later façade, Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1818 Ar*

9 Unidentified draftsman: *Porta dei Leoni*, details of the later façade, Florence, Uffizi, GDSU  
1818 Av

10 Unidentified draftsman: *Porta dei Leoni*, details of the later façade and cornice from *S. Pietro Incarnario* (centre left), Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1817 Ar

11 *Unidentified draftsman: Porta dei Leoni, elevation of the earlier façade and Composite capital, Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1817 Av*



*12 Unidentified draftsman: Porta dei Leoni, elevation of the earlier façade and Composite capital, formerly Verona, Biblioteca Civica*

13 *Unidentified draftsman: Porta dei Leoni, details of the later façade, formerly Verona, Biblioteca Civica*

*14a Handwriting, detail of  
fig. 4*

*14b Handwriting, detail of  
fig. 12*

*14c Handwriting, detail of  
fig. 11*

annotations would have been rendered by the central Italian draftsman into Tuscan. The conclusion that both pairs of sheets were very carefully duplicated from now-lost originals is of some consequence for Palladio; for it demonstrates that he followed such a practice at least sometimes at the start of his career,<sup>27</sup> and it also implies that yet other early – and surviving – Palladio drawings are likely to be copies as well.

One of the Palladio sheets, as noted previously, is very like yet another which was once in the possession of the Biblioteca Civica in Verona (figs 12–13), a sheet now known only from photographs and which, at some point previously, was seemingly one of a pair.<sup>28</sup> The Palladio sheet is the one showing the older of the gate's façades (fig. 4), and it is even more closely related to the Verona sheet (fig. 12), which is by yet another hand (as can be seen from the handwriting: fig. 14), than it is to its counterpart in the Uffizi (fig. 11);<sup>29</sup> and, moreover, the verso of the Palladio sheet (fig. 5) this time tallies with that of the Verona sheet (fig. 13), and it is, likewise, more precisely akin to it than it is to its Uffizi equivalent (fig. 9). The detail of the pedestal and base, on the verso of the Palladio sheet, with their projecting faces shown horizontally rather than obliquely is matched in the Verona sheet, as is the Veneto dialect of the annotations,<sup>30</sup> and these are very similar in their wording (with identical line breaks), even though the words themselves are not always of exactly the same spelling (figs 14a–b).<sup>31</sup> The Verona sheet, however, is not as finely wrought as its Palladio equivalent, as can be seen, for example, by comparing the treatment of the brick courses,

and so it can hardly have been its prototype. To conclude from this that the Verona sheet is, therefore, a copy of Palladio's might seem reasonable – that is were it not for the fact that, on the two rectos, the detail of the Composite capital to the right of the gate's façade is not quite identical and, on the Verona sheet, there is another capital above it, in exactly the same place as the capital on the respective Uffizi sheet.

The positioning of these capitals on the three sheets poses an interesting problem, since it is different in each case, but even in this regard the three sheets are still very obviously related to one other. On the Palladio sheet (fig. 4), the capital is placed near the sheet's bottom edge, with the area higher up left blank; on the Verona sheet (fig. 12), a capital appears in the same place, but it is not quite finished, while above, close to the top margin, there is a second, unfinished drawing of a very similar, if not identical, capital; on the Uffizi sheet (fig. 11), the capital is drawn near the top (above a shaft with now ten flutes rather than eight),<sup>32</sup> and in exactly the same position as the unfinished capital on the Verona sheet, but in precisely the same manner as the capital seen on the Palladio sheet, while beneath it there is a tentative drawing of the abacus of a further capital in exactly the same place as the abacus of the capital on the Palladio sheet. Just what should be made of all this is not entirely clear, but it appears certain that the three drawings show three variations on a common prototype. It could be, for instance, that the prototype had capitals drawn on it that were perhaps unfinished, or that drawings of one or more capitals were loosely affixed to it, to be then included in different positions in the copies made later on.

These capitals, however, also pose another problem (see fig. 15a). They have been consistently identified as representing the Composite capitals of the half-columns adorning the bottom storey of the gate's later façade,<sup>33</sup> but this seems at least open to question. For a start, a bottom-storey capital is also included among the various details on the versos (fig. 15b),<sup>34</sup> and, what is more, it is not quite the same as the one under consideration. The capital seen on the versos, which corresponds in design to the actual capitals of the gate's lower storey, and is also consistent with the independently-derived illustrations of them provided both by Sebastiano Serlio (fig. 15c) and by Giovanni Caroto, has smaller volutes, with fully-carved acanthus leaves swathing the bell almost up to its apex.<sup>35</sup> By contrast, the capital shown on the various rectos has much larger volutes that drop well below the apex of the bell, and acanthus leaves that rise to a correspondingly lower height, so that, in its proportions, it is

*15b Composite capital, detail of fig. 5*

*15a Composite capital, detail of fig. 4*

more akin to the Composite capitals of other ancient monuments, such as the Arches of Titus and Septimius Severus in Rome, which are recorded in other early drawings by Palladio.<sup>36</sup> The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the capital in question was extraneous and had no connection with the Verona gate, or, just possibly, that it was an intended ›correction‹ to the capital included on the versos. Be that as it may, however, Palladio certainly seems later on to have misunderstood his own drawing, since, on one of the sheets of the gate he produced subsequently that shows a selection of its details, he included a Composite capital of this design, and not the one seen on the versos (and on the actual monument), and he specifically labeled it as belonging to the half-columns of the gate's bottom storey (fig. 15d).<sup>37</sup>

The capital in question, moreover, is represented in a different way from all the others that are shown on the various sheets. Those other capitals (see fig. 15b) are all shown according to a convention, followed consistently for the various depictions of Corinthian and Composite capitals in the Codex Coner, whereby the bottom moulding is drawn horizontally, but the abacus is shown as curved to indicate its concavity. This capital, by contrast, is depicted in strictly orthogonal projection, so that the abacus is also shown horizontally,

15c *Composite capital, from Serlio 1619 (note 35), fol. 116, detail*

15d *Andrea Palladio: Composite capital, London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 19v*

and in such a way as to be relatable to the plan of the capital immediately above it (fig. 15a). This way of representing a capital, in strict orthogonal elevation and with an accompanying plan, is fairly unusual even by the 1530s, although there are comparable examples to be found even from the end of the previous century.<sup>38</sup> It is, however, a type of representation that is seen in certain drawings by Antonio da Sangallo and his associates, one of which, depicting a Corinthian capital from the Pantheon, provides a plan of the capital as seen from below and indicates the positions of the acanthus leaves in a very similar manner.<sup>39</sup> This suggests, firstly, that the original *Porta dei Leoni* drawing may have been made in Sangallo's orbit, which was well versed both in the drawing conventions seen in the *Codex Coner* and in those preferred subsequently,<sup>40</sup> and, secondly, that the drawing may have been added to sometime after it was originally produced. Similar alterations may, just possibly, have been made to other original drawings of antiquities utilised by Palladio, since on one of his early sheets representing the *Porta dei Borsari* there is a Corinthian capital depicted in exactly the same way.<sup>41</sup>

As to who was actually responsible for creating the original drawing, it seems clear that this was somebody fully attuned to the representational conventions of central Italy, which would imply somebody with connections with Antonio da Sangallo. In that case, it might be asked whether this somebody was Antonio himself or someone in his immediate circle. Antonio would appear to have been in Verona around 1526, when he made a drawing of the city's fortifications,<sup>42</sup>

16 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: *Arco dei Gavi*, Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 815 *Ar*, detail

17 Giovanni Battista da Sangallo: *Arco dei Gavi*, Florence Uffizi, GDSU 1382 *Ar*

and both he and his younger brother and collaborator, Giovanni Battista (1496–1548), also produced drawings, maybe at this same time, of Verona's antiquities.<sup>43</sup> In fact, a surviving drawing by Giovanni Battista shows the *Porta dei Leoni* itself, but it is very different and clearly unrelated to the drawings previously discussed, since it is not an elaborate and painstaking survey of the ancient edifice but is, instead, a rapid and exploratory sketch of the monument in its part-buried state.<sup>44</sup>

Another sheet, however, this time by Antonio, is nevertheless of perhaps some relevance here. Folded down the middle, it has one side showing the *Porta dei Borsari* and the other (originally on the top) devoted to Verona's *Arco dei Gavi* (fig. 16), and the significance of the latter depiction is that, although little more than a sketch, its mode of representation is highly comparable to that in the drawings previously discussed:<sup>45</sup> it comprises an elevation, this time of half the façade, which is accompanied, below, by a plan and by numerous details, including the main entablature and the archivolt that are both shown in cross-section and oblique projection. This portrayal of the arch also corresponds very closely to that on a sheet by Giovanni Battista (fig. 17), which shows a half-façade at precisely the same height and accompanied by the same selection of details and the same annotations, and which has been considered

18 *Andrea Palladio: Arco dei Gavi, elevation and detail, formerly Verona, Biblioteca Civica*

19 *Andrea Palladio: Arco dei Gavi, various details, formerly Verona, Biblioteca Civica*

to be a copy of his brother's sheet.<sup>46</sup> Such a conclusion may not, however, be warranted. There are telling differences in the treatments of the details of the entablature and archivolt that suggest that Antonio's sketches were not the direct sources of his brother's: Antonio did not depict the sections of these details very rigorously but he took careful note of the ornamentation on their fronts; Giovanni Battista, by contrast, outlined their sections fluently but indicated their ornamentation rather cursorily. In other words, it would appear that Antonio and Giovanni Battista both had access to now-lost original drawings of the arch, which would have been drawn to scale and meticulously executed, and that they both produced their own hurried copies of it. This original could well, in fact, have resembled the extremely meticulous drawings of the arch executed, later on, by the young Palladio (figs 18–19), drawings that likewise include a half-façade as well as details of the entablature and archivolt which, apart from being reversed, are exactly the same in format as those seen in the Sangallo drawings.<sup>47</sup> What all this suggests, therefore, is that there was a culture of copying which was endemic in the Sangallo circle,<sup>48</sup> and that this could sometimes result in the production of numerous drawings of the same



subject.<sup>49</sup> It also seems that the skilled draftsman responsible for the Arco dei Gavi originals was well versed in exactly the same representational conventions as the person who produced the original drawings of the Porta dei Leoni.

A figure very possibly responsible for some of these originals, who was known to the Sangallo circle and later to Palladio, would be the architect Michele Sanmicheli (1487/8–1559).<sup>50</sup> Sanmicheli had precisely the right background, contacts and capabilities. Born in Verona, he had been based in Rome during the early years of the sixteenth century, where, as Vasari records, he had studied and measured the antiquities there with such »diligence« that he soon became »renowned and famous«.<sup>51</sup> He was, in addition, a former colleague of Antonio da Sangallo, whom he accompanied, in 1526, on an official tour to inspect the fortifications of the Papal States, returning later in 1526 to settle in Verona, which was when Antonio was perhaps also there.<sup>52</sup> It would thus have been perfectly feasible for Sanmicheli to organise laborious and time-consuming surveys of the ancient monuments of his native city, and it is more than likely that his drawings of ancient monuments, none of which would appear to have survived, would have followed very similar conventions to those of others working or trained in the Sangallo circle; and it is very plausible, too, that they could have been made available for others to copy.<sup>53</sup> It is, therefore, eminently possible that it was Sanmicheli who produced the original drawings for the Porta dei Leoni, and Sanmicheli who also made other original drawings of Veronese monuments that Palladio was to copy.<sup>54</sup> He may have also made the originals for the Palladio sheet depicting the mausoleum at Spoleto (see fig. 7), which is very close in both format and execution to those representing the Porta dei Leoni, and perhaps the prototypes too for other Palladio drawings of the antiquities of Umbria, originals that Sanmicheli would have produced while based at Orvieto in the years before 1526.<sup>55</sup>

In fact, it is nigh on indisputable that the young Palladio made use of drawings produced by Sanmicheli, although it is equally certain that Sanmicheli was not the only supplier of Palladio's early source material. This is clear from an early sheet by Palladio showing the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome, which, on one side (fig. 20), includes a section through the main Ionic entablature that is accompanied by an annotation supplying width measurements (for the band of dentils) »according to the drawing of Messer Michiele«.<sup>56</sup> The annotation, therefore, implies that Palladio was referring to a drawing produced by this »Messer Michiele«, who would almost certainly be Sanmicheli, but that he was not actually copying it.<sup>57</sup> Other sources utilised by Palladio are suggested by a

20 *Andrea Palladio: Details from the Theatre of Marcellus*, London, RIBA, *Palladio X*, 20r

21 *Bernardo della Volpaia: Details from the Theatre of Marcellus*, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, *Codex Coner*, fol. 70r (Asby no. 93)

second annotation concerning dimensions (for the cornice) which refers to a drawing by an earlier architect named »Ventura«, possibly the long-deceased Ventura Vitoni (1442–1522), and, in addition, states that this rendition was slightly inaccurate and that its measurements were converted from Roman »palmi« into Florentine »braccia«, thereby implying that the Palladio drawing was derived, at least in part, from a correctly drawn original measured in these same units. This original would have very likely been produced by a central Italian draftsman, as is also indicated by the striking similarity, in the representation of the Ionic entablature, between the Palladio drawing and a page in the Codex Coner (fig. 21), which is likewise measured in Florentine »braccia«. <sup>58</sup> The original, moreover, was probably produced in the circle of Antonio da Sangallo, to judge from the similarities of Palladio's depiction of the monument's Doric entablature both with that on another page in the Codex Coner and with that in a drawing made by one of Sangallo's immediate associates. <sup>59</sup> It is as though, when producing his own drawings of these entablatures, Palladio was now working in an environment where he had ready access to several versions of his subjects, and was able to make informed choices between them. Further

22 *Andrea Palladio: Details from the Temple of Serapis, London, RIBA, Palladio IX, 18v*

23 *Bernardo della Volpaia: Details from the Temple of Serapis, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Codex Coner, fol. 63v (Ashby no. 81)*

evidence of Palladio resorting to more than one source of material comes from the sheet of drawings representing the mausoleum at Spoleto (fig. 7).<sup>60</sup> These drawings (which are accompanied by a detail of the entablature of Rome's Temple of Antoninus and Faustina) are on the recto, and they could well have been derived from Sanmicheli originals, but this may not be the case with the drawings on the verso. The main study there, which is of the entablature of Rome's Temple of Serapis (fig. 22),<sup>61</sup> follows a different drafting convention (showing both the front and side in perspective), but which, to judge from its striking similarity to a depiction of the same entablature in the Codex Coner (fig. 23), is also based on an earlier source.<sup>62</sup> It is still, however, inaccurate since there appears to be an extra moulding beneath the corona, an error then corrected in a neighbouring drawing of the entablature, in profile and oblique projection, that comes, presumably, from yet another available source.

Other early drawings by Palladio were probably dependent upon prototypes produced in the Sangallo circle, and these demonstrably include several of architectural details.<sup>63</sup> An obvious example is Palladio's study of the Doric entablature of the Basilica Aemilia (fig. 24),<sup>64</sup> an ancient edifice demolished

24 *Andrea Palladio: Details from the Basilica Aemilia, Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 5v*

25 *Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: Entablature from the Basilica Aemilia, Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1413 Av*

long before his day. In this instance, the drawing is clearly related to the entablature's depiction again in the Codex Coner, but it also bears what can be described as a distinct family resemblance to a number of surviving drawings from the Sangallos and their associates (e. g. fig. 25) which show the entablature and particular features of it that are similarly recorded by Palladio.<sup>65</sup> Other Palladio drawings of details with clear parallels by members of the Sangallo entourage include those of the entablature of the Temple of Hadrian and of the internal order of the Pantheon.<sup>66</sup> The fact that the Palladio drawings do not normally match precisely with any of the previous ones may of course indicate that their immediate prototypes are now lost, but, equally, it could be that Palladio sometimes chose to redraw and reconfigure the material he had available, whilst also taking some account of what could be observed from the actual monuments at first hand.

The conclusions that can be drawn from all this are that, in his early drawings of antiquities, Palladio made heavy use of the output from earlier draftsmen, and that in some cases he appears to have copied previous drawings very carefully. It may, however, be also possible to discern certain changes in the development

of Palladio's early practices in this area. At the outset, that is during the 1530s, he may have had limited access to other drawings, which may have included various sheets by Sanmicheli, and quite possibly some too by other architects such as Falconetto – although Falconetto was certainly not the draftsman responsible for the originals of the Porta dei Leoni;<sup>67</sup> and, at this stage, Palladio may have put special efforts into replicating these as painstakingly as possible. After his first trip to Rome in 1541, however, and especially during his lengthy stays there in 1545–46 and 1546–47,<sup>68</sup> he must have had access, through his probable contacts with the Sangallo workshop, to many more drawings; and, during this later time, he may have also decided to modify his practices, by sometimes taking note of a range of drawings, as is documented by his Theatre of Marcellus sheet, provided these drawings were – in his opinion – reliable. He would have benefited, too, from the investigative and interpretative expertise that was available in Rome, and become ever more accustomed to representational techniques that were more rigorous as well as being more modern. Thus, as time went by, Palladio may well have then discarded some of his earliest drawings, but he still retained others that were of unquestionable quality and proven documentary value, such as those of the Porta dei Leoni.

## NOTES

- 1 The drawings are catalogued in Giangiorgio Zorzi: *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio*, Venice 1959. Those in Vicenza are also catalogued in Lionello Puppi: *Palladio. Corpus dei disegni al Museo Civico di Vicenza*, Milan 1989.
- 2 There are thirty-six sheets attributed by Zorzi to Giovanni Maria Falconetto on the basis of the handwriting on many of them (subsequently known as >epsilon< handwriting), which differs in certain respects from that on later drawings unquestionably by Palladio; see Zorzi 1959 (note 1), pp. 34–39; and also Giangiorgio Zorzi: *Alcuni disegni di Gio. Maria Falconetto riguardanti monumenti antichi nelle raccolte palladiane di Londra e di Vicenza*, in: *Palladio 5* (1955), pp. 29–53. Zorzi's hypothesis, however, was undermined by Spielmann, who found that some of these early sheets carried watermarks dating from after Falconetto's death in around 1535; see Heinz Spielmann: *Andrea Palladio und die Antike. Untersuchung und Katalog der Zeichnungen aus seinem Nachlass*, Munich 1966, p. 16. The handwriting and drawing style are now agreed to be those of Palladio at this early time; see in particular Howard Burns: *I disegni del Palladio*, in: *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio 15* (1973), pp. 169–191, here pp. 169–170; see also Puppi 1989 (note 1), pp. 28–35.
- 3 Palladio first visited Rome in 1541; for this trip and the others made there in 1545–46, 1546–47, 1549 and 1554, see Zorzi 1959 (note 1), pp. 17–23.
- 4 For the *Codex Coner* (London, Sir John Soane's Museum), see Thomas Ashby: *Sixteenth-Century Drawings of Roman Buildings Attributed to Andreas Coner*, in: *Papers of the British School at Rome 2* (1904), pp. 1–96; Arnold Nesselrath: *Codex Coner 85 Years On*, in: *Cassiano Dal Pozzo's Paper Museum*, ed. by Jennifer Montagu, Ian Jenkins, 2 vols., Milan 1992, vol. 2, pp. 145–167. The similarities with Palladio's drawings are often striking as regards not only details (some noted below) but also plans and elevations, such as the façade of the Portico of Octavia in Rome: *Codex Coner*, fol. 52r; Ashby 1904, p. 37, no. 63; cf. Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 26; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 59; Puppi 1989 (note 1), p. 103.
- 5 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 18 and 20; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), pp. 48–49. The drawings are also covered by Giuliana Cavalieri Manasse in: *Palladio e Verona*, exhibition catalogue, ed. by Paola Marini, Verona 1980, pp. 74–75, no. III.53, p. 79, no. III.62, p. 81, no. III.65, pp. 81–82, no. III.66. They are the subject, too, of a recent discussion by Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina; see below note 50. The two sheets are an obvious pair, with a stain on Palladio XII, 20r, along the base mouldings of the top-storey apse, being transferred onto Palladio XII, 18r.
- 6 The position established by Howard Burns: *Nota sui disegni cinquecenteschi dei monumenti antichi veronesi*, in: *Palladio e Verona 1980* (note 5), pp. 83–84.
- 7 The drawings are measured in feet, which are identified as Veronese feet by Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 48 and Manasse in *Palladio e Verona 1980* (note 5), p. 74, no. III.53 and p. 79, no. III.62.
- 8 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 20v (fig. 5), centre left: »questa chornixa sie in verona alla chixia de santo pietro i[n] charnalle«.
- 9 The watermark is that of an anchor in a circle surmounted by a star, and was noted by Spielmann 1966 (note 2), p. 174. There has been no systematic study of the watermarks on Palladio's drawings, although all those on the Vicenza sheets are listed in: *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe dei Musei Civici di Vicenza. I disegni di Andrea Palladio*, ed. by Maria

- Elisa Avagnina, *Giovanno Carlo Federico Villa*, Vicenza 2007. Similar watermarks, however, have been recorded, for example, on early sheets showing Verona's arch of Jupiter Ammon (RIBA, Palladio XII, 14), and the Arch of the Sergii at Pula (RIBA, Palladio XII, 9), which both have annotations in Palladio's so-called early (or >epsilon<) handwriting; see Spielmann 1966 (note 2), pp. 171 and 175; and also Douglas Lewis: *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio*, Washington 1981, pp. 33 and 34. There are similar watermarks too on rather later sheets showing a terrace of Verona's ancient theatre (RIBA, Palladio X, 13; see below note 54) and the Temple of Augustus at Pula (Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 28); see Spielmann 1966 (note 2), p. 151; Lewis 1981 (as previously), pp. 31 and 176.
- 10 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 16 and 21; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), pp. 50–51. The same handwriting is also found on the pair of sheets, now lost, showing Verona's Arco dei Gavi that were once in the Biblioteca Civica; see below at note 47.
  - 11 As noted by Burns 1980 (note 5), p. 84; see following note.
  - 12 The handwriting on one of the sheets showing the Porta dei Borsari (RIBA, Palladio XII, 21v) is fairly similar to Palladio's early >epsilon< handwriting on the drawing (RIBA, Palladio IX, 18r) showing the mausoleum in Spoleto (see below at n. 60). This particular >epsilon< handwriting has some of the letters >e< written not as epsilons but as normal (although with extended horizontal bars), while the script at the bottom of the Porta dei Borsari drawing has some of the letters >e< written normally (again with extended horizontal bars) but some in the form of epsilons.
  - 13 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 17 and 19; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), pp. 48–50. These later drawings may have been produced in preparation for Palladio's treatise, which, in its originally conceived format, would have been far more extensive than was finally realised, and would have included a coverage of >arches<; see Andrea Palladio: *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venice 1570, Book 1, p. 6. In the treatise, moreover, Palladio makes specific mention of the Porta dei Leoni in connection with the design of pedestals; *ibid.*, pp. 22 and 51.
  - 14 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1817 A and 1818 A; see Orietta Vasori: *I monumenti antichi in Italia nei disegni degli Uffizi*, Rome 1981, pp. 197–204. The drawings were previously noted by Giuliana Cavalieri Manasse in *Palladio e Verona* 1980 (note 5), p. 75, no. III.54 and p. 79, no. III.63.
  - 15 I. e. GDSU 1817 Ar and 1818 Av.
  - 16 See below note 31.
  - 17 Vasori's attribution follows Ferri's listing; see Pasquale Nerino Ferri: *Indice geografico-analitico dei disegni di architettura civile e militare esistenti nella R. Galleria in Firenze*, Rome 1885, p. 225.
  - 18 For an early example of Vignola's handwriting, on a drawing dating to 1547, see Richard J. Tuttle et al.: *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, Milan 2002, p. 154.
  - 19 The annotations on the Uffizi sheets are recorded (albeit with certain minor modifications) in Vasori 1981 (note 14), pp. 197–204; those on the RIBA sheets are recorded in Zorzi 1959 (note 1), pp. 48–49. For a comparison of wording, see below note 31.
  - 20 The handwriting is similar, but not identical, to examples by Giovanni Battista da Sangallo; see Christoph L. Frommel: *The Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: History, Evolution, Method, Function*, in: *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo and His Circle*, ed. by Christoph L. Frommel, Nicholas Adams, vol. 1: *Fortifications, Machines, and Festival Architecture*, New York/Cambridge, Mass./London 1994, pp. 1–60 (in particular p. 44, figs 38 e and f).
  - 21 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 20r and Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1818 Ar.

- 22 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 20v and Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1817 Ar.
- 23 This was the presumption of Vasori 1981 (note 14), p. 202, and also the conclusion of Manasse in *Palladio e Verona* 1980 (note 5), p. 75, no. III.54 and p. 79, no. III.63, although she attributed the Uffizi sheets also to Palladio.
- 24 See note 2.
- 25 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1818 Av and London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 18v.
- 26 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1817 Av and London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 18r.
- 27 See e.g. Hubertus Günther: *Palladio e gli studi rinascimentali dell'architettura antica*, in: *Palladio 1508–2008, il simposio del cinquecentenario*, ed. by Franco Barbieri, Donata Batilotti, Venice 2008, pp. 74–79.
- 28 The sheet was owned by Verona's Biblioteca Civica until the Second World War and is illustrated in Pirro Marconi: *Verona romana*, Bergamo 1937, p. 91, fig. 39; but towards the end of the war it disappeared; see Giangiorgio Zorzi: *Gli antichi archi veronesi nei disegni palladiani di Verona e di Londra attribuiti a Gio. Maria Falconetto*, in: *Atti e memorie della Accademia di Agricoltura Scienze e Lettere di Verona*, series 6, 15 (1963–64), pp. 169–191, here pp. 170–171. Zorzi, however, had earlier had it independently photographed, plates held today by the Biblioteca Bertoliana in Vicenza (Archivio fotografico Zorzi, scatola 48, lastre 5 and 4). Previously, the sheet (like all those now in Vicenza's Palladio Museum) was in the possession of Gaetano Pinali (1759–1846); and it is listed as being one of three he acquired from Tommaso Temanza, and as being accompanied with another (now lost) showing the gate's later façade, most likely the equivalent to the companion drawings in the RIBA and Uffizi; see the inventory reproduced by Puppi 1989 (note 1), p. 14 and p. 36, n. 17; see also Lionello Puppi: *La memoria e i segni, un lacerto e le sue peregrinazioni*, in: *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe dei Musei Civici di Vicenza* 2007 (note 9), pp. 11–28, here pp. 13–14. Recent attention has been drawn to the Verona sheet by Ghisetti Giavarina 2013 (see note 50 below), p. 17.
- 29 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 18r.
- 30 The Verona annotations are recorded, with some minor modifications, in Zorzi 1963–64 (note 28), pp. 177–181.
- 31 For example, and as in fig. 14, the upper annotation on the recto of the Palladio sheet (RIBA, Palladio XII, 18r) reads: »notta ch[e] le teste delio[n] che i[n] la cornixe che sopra littiglifi bate p[er] mezo alle pilastrate dele fenestrelle«, while that on the ex-Verona sheet reads: »notta chele teste delion che inla chornise che sopra littiglifi batte pere mezo ale pilastrate delle finistrelle«. The corresponding inscription on the equivalent Uffizi sheet (GDSU 1817 Av) reads: »nota ch[e] leteste dilioni ch[e] sono nella cornice ch[e] sopra li triglifi batte per mezo le pilastrate delle finestre«.
- 32 The actual half-columns have 11 flutes.
- 33 Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 48; *Palladio e Verona* 1980 (note 5), pp. 74–75, no. III.53 (G. C. Manasse); Vasori 1981 (note 14), p. 200.
- 34 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 18v (bottom centre); Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1818 Av (bottom centre). The annotated measurements on the various drawings of the respective capitals are also different.
- 35 Sebastiano Serlio: *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva*, Venice 1619, Book 3, fol. 116; Giovanni Caroto: *De le antiqita de Verona*, Verona 1560 (unpaginated). Serlio's third book was first published in 1540, and Caroto's illustrations were issued previously in Torello Saraina: *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae*, Verona 1540. For Caroto see also below note 67.



- 36 Arch of Titus: Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 10v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 56; Puppi 1989 (note 1), p. 104. Arch of Septimius Severus: Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 13r; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 56; Puppi 1989 (note 1), p. 105. The Arch of Titus drawing is especially interesting in this context because it was originally drawn with smaller volutes before being redrawn, on a flap, with larger volutes, like those of the capitals in reality.
- 37 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 19v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 50: »capitelo de le colone da baso de le porte«.
- 38 See e.g. Cronaca's drawing (c. 1480) of a Corinthian capital from the church of SS. Apostoli in Florence (Montréal, Canadian Centre for Architecture, DR1985:0674); see Michael J. Waters, *Cammy Brothers: Variety, Archeology and Ornament, Renaissance Architectural Prints from Column to Cornice*, Charlottesville (Va.) 2011, p. 50.
- 39 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1059 A; Alfonso Bartoli: *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, 6 vols, Florence 1914–22, vol. 3, fig. 386; Arnold Nesselrath, Sabine Eiche: U 1059A, in: *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo and His Circle*, ed. by Christoph L. Frommel, Nicholas Adams, vol. 2: Churches, Villas, the Pantheon, Tombs, and Ancient Inscriptions, New York/Cambridge, Mass./London 2000, pp. 199–200.
- 40 See Tilmann Buddensieg: Bernardo della Volpaia und Giovanni Francesco da Sangallo. Der Autor des Codex Coner und seine Stellung im Sangallo-Kreis, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975), pp. 89–108.
- 41 London, RIBA, Palladio XII, 16v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 51.
- 42 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 814 A; see Nicholas Adams, Simon Pepper: U 814A, in: Frommel, Adams 1994 (note 20), pp. 144–145.
- 43 See Palladio e Verona 1980 (note 5), pp. 33–82; Vasori 1981 (note 14), pp. 88–90, 107–110, 144–145, 149–150, 158–163, 165–172, 179.
- 44 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1383 A; Palladio e Verona 1980 (note 5), pp. 76–77, no. III.57 (G. C. Manasse); Vasori 1981 (note 14), pp. 162–163.
- 45 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 815 A; Palladio e Verona 1980 (note 5), pp. 36–37, no. III.2 (G. Tosi); Vasori 1981 (note 14), pp. 88–90.
- 46 Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1382 A; Palladio e Verona 1980 (note 5), pp. 37–38, no. III.4 (G. Tosi); Vasori 1989 (note 14), pp. 160–162.
- 47 The drawings are on two sheets, both now lost, that were once in the Biblioteca Civica in Verona (photographs: Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, Archivio fotografico Zorzi, scatola 48); see Zorzi 1959 (note 1), pp. 53–54; Palladio e Verona 1980 (note 5), pp. 43–46, nos III.20–III.23 (G. Tosi).
- 48 In fact, this same original could have provided an immediate source for the depiction of the Arco dei Gavi on a sheet of studies (Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 478 A) from the hand of Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536), which shows the façade together with details again of the entablature and archivolt; see Palladio e Verona 1980 (note 5), pp. 35–36, no. III.1 (G. Tosi); Vasori 1989 (note 14), pp. 54–57.
- 49 It is very possible, therefore, that the elaborate drawings of Verona's ancient Arena by the Sangallos (Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1337 A, 1386 A, 1393 A and 3974 A) and by Peruzzi (GDSU 605 A) are not the fruits of independent surveys but are again copies of lost master drawings, see Burns 1980 (note 6), p. 83. These, subsequently, may have also served as the basis for those of Palladio (RIBA, Palladio VIII, 18 and 19).
- 50 It has previously been suggested that some of Palladio's drawings of antiquities could have been copied from Sanmicheli; e.g. by Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina: Palladio e le antichità dell'Umbria, in: *Annali di architettura* 18–19 (2006–07), pp. 115–128, here pp. 123–126.

- More recently, Ghisetti Giavarina has gone further and proposed, on the basis of handwriting comparisons, that the four sheets in the RIBA depicting the Porta dei Leoni and Porta dei Borsari (plus the sheet once in Verona) are not just connected with Sanmichelì but are actually from his hand; see Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina: *Disegni di Michele Sanmichelì e della sua cerchia, osservazioni e proposte*, Crocetta del Montello 2013, pp. 15–17. The difficulties with this argument, however, are that there are few examples of handwriting that are definitely Sanmichelì's (rather than the work of assistants or scribes); and that authentic examples, such as an autograph letter of 1534 to the duke of Milan (reproduced in Carlo Pini, Gaetano Milanese: *La scrittura di artisti italiani sec. XIV–XVII*, 3 vols, Florence 1876, vol. 2, no. 161), or the note addressed by Sanmichelì to his cousin Paolo on the back of a drawing (1537) of the Porta di Terraferma in Zadar (Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1759 A; Ghisetti Giavarina 2013, pp. 20 and 62–63, ills 19 and 19a), do not look at all like the handwriting on the RIBA (or ex-Verona) sheets.
- 51 Giorgio Vasari: *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. by Gaetano Milanese, 9 vols, Florence 1878–85, vol. 6, p. 341: »... studiò di maniera le cose d'architettura antiche e con tanta diligenza, misurando e considerando minutamente ogni cosa, che in poco tempo divenne [...] nominato e famoso.«
  - 52 See Paul Davies, David Hemsoll: *Michele Sanmichelì*, Milan 2004, pp. 29–30 and 237–239.
  - 53 No drawings of antiquities by Sanmichelì have been identified; but see above note 50.
  - 54 These include not just the early drawings of the Porta dei Borsari and Arco dei Gavi (mentioned above), but also Palladio's two drawings of the terraces of Verona's ancient theatre, RIBA, Palladio X, 13 and XII 22v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 94, which are both represented in orthogonal elevation and may be later in date. The second of these drawings is on the verso of one of Verona's arch of Jupiter Ammon, which is itself a redrawing of a perspectival rendition of the same monument: RIBA, Palladio XII, 14; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 52; the theatre drawing closely resembles an earlier sketch by Giovanni Battista da Sangallo: Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1394 A; see Palladio e Verona 1980 (note 5), p. 57, no. III.52 (L. Franzoni); Vasori 1981 (note 14), pp. 168–172, and both may well be derived ultimately from the same original; see also note 49.
  - 55 Palladio's Umbrian drawings are covered in Ghisetti Giavarina 2006–07 (note 50), and, apart from the mausoleum at Spoleto (discussed further below), their subjects include the nearby Tempio di Clitunno. Palladio's drawings of this monument, Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 22; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 81; Puppi 1989 (note 1), p. 102, has been linked to similar drawings of it by Pirro Ligorio (Burns 1973 (note 2), p. 173); but, as Ghisetti Giavarina points out (pp. 119–122), they are also closely related to a sheet from the hand of Antonio da Sangallo (Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1162 A). Sangallo's hurried drawings, which were presumably executed previously, comprise plans, elevations and details (including the main entablature rendered in section and oblique projection), and they have the appearance of being copies after much neater originals – originals that could well have been the work of Sanmichelì and would have been the prototypes for all the surviving sixteenth-century drawings of the monument.
  - 56 London, RIBA, Palladio X, 20r; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 92: measurements of dentils and the spaces between them »segondo quella cha disegnata mes. Michiele«. The drawing is noted by Ghisetti Giavarina 2013 (note 50), p. 12.
  - 57 The cornice »disegnata secondo la misura de ventura abenchè la sia mesurata a palmi, ma io lo reduta ala misura del brazio fiorentino et nota che la dita chornise secondo la misura de ventura l corona non è inchavata soto«.

- 58 Codex Coner, fol. 70r; Ashby 1904 (note 4), p. 47, no. 93; see Wolfgang Lotz: Osservazioni intorno ai disegni palladiani, in: *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 4 (1962), pp. 61–68, here pp. 61–63.
- 59 Codex Coner, fol. 60v; Ashby 1904 (note 4), p. 42, no. 76. Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1705 A; Bartoli 1914–22 (note 39), vol. 4, fig. 562.
- 60 London, RIBA, Palladio IX, 18r; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 102.
- 61 London, RIBA, Palladio IX, 18v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 75.
- 62 Codex Coner, fol. 63v; Ashby 1904 (note 4), p. 43, no. 81. The similarity is noted by Lewis 1980 (note 9), p. 28. The inaccuracy may have come about as a result of a drafting error, since the additional moulding is not shown in a consistent manner. The profile drawing is similar to one by Antonio da Sangallo the Elder: Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1591 A; Bartoli 1914–22 (note 39), vol. 1, fig. 139.
- 63 See David Hemsoll: Palladio e il tempio antico autentico nelle illustrazioni dei Quattro libri, in: *Palladio 1508–2008 2008* (note 27), pp. 144–149.
- 64 Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 5v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 104; Puppi 1989 (note 1), pp. 103–104.
- 65 Codex Coner, fol. 61r; Ashby 1904 (note 4), pp. 42–43, no. 77. Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1413 Av (Antonio da Sangallo) and GDSU 1057 A (G. B. da Sangallo); Bartoli 1914–22 (note 39), vol. 3, fig. 392 and vol. 4, fig. 533. The recto of GDSU 1413 A (ibid., vol. 3, fig. 391) shows the triglyphs and metopes which also feature on Palladio's sheet.
- 66 Temple of Hadrian: Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 6v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 76; Puppi 1989 (note 1), pp. 99–100; cf. Florence, Uffizi, GDSU 1180 A (Sangallo); Bartoli 1914–22 (note 39), vol. 3, fig. 357; GDSU 1407 A (now attributed to Pietro Rosselli: ibid., vol. 1, fig. 155). Pantheon: Vicenza, Museo Civico, D 8v; Zorzi 1959 (note 1), p. 77; Puppi 1989 (note 1), p. 100; cf. GDSU 85 Av (Antonio and G. F. da Sangallo); Bartoli 1914–22 (note 39), vol. 3, fig. 446; GDSU 1387 A (G. F. da Sangallo: ibid., vol. 4, fig. 537); the drawing is very similar too to one in the Codex Coner, fol. 65v; Ashby 1904 (note 4), p. 45, no. 86.
- 67 For Falconetto's depiction of the Porta dei Leoni in the frescoes (c. 1520) of Palazzo d'Arco in Mantua, which is much more schematic than the Palladio drawing, see *Palladio e Verona* 1980 (note 5), p. 92, no. IV.7 (G. Schweikhart). It is very possible, however, that Palladio could have copied a Falconetto drawing of the amphitheatre at Pula; see Burns 1980 (note 6), p. 84. According to Vasari, Falconetto's drawings were used by Giovanni Caroto for his woodcut illustrations of Verona's antiquities; see Vasari 1878–85 (note 51), vol. 5, pp. 289–290.
- 68 See above note 3.

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