

**The Te Papa *Endymion*. A study on the subject of two sketches on a sheet
attributed to Maarten van Heemskerck**

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ABSTRACT: A drawing attributed to the Dutch painter, draughtsman and print designer Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) was acquired in 1973 by Melvin Day, director of the then National Art Gallery of New Zealand. The sheet presents several studies after Antique sculpture, supposedly dating from 1532–6/7, when the artist was in Rome. This article focusses on a sculpture represented at the top of the *recto* of the sheet, a reclining male nude which is illustrated twice, seen from slightly different angles. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the object was located in the courtyard of Casa Maffei in Rome. The sculpture – often referred to as *Endymion* – later travelled to Venice, Verona and Munich, where it resides today. Executed in Rome, probably in the first century CE, at the end of the sixteenth century it was recognised as a replica of a piece forming part of a fourth-century BCE group representing Niobe and her sons. Three other copies of the same subject are known, currently located in Florence, Dresden and Turin. The article discusses similarities and differences between the replicas, as well as their individual stories, with the aim of understanding how the model was read and interpreted when it was depicted on the Te Papa sheet.

KEYWORDS: art collecting, drawing, Italian Renaissance, Maarten van Heemskerck (1498 –1574), Rome, Antique statuary, *Niobids*, *Endymion*.

Introduction

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) owns a sheet of drawings attributed to the Dutch painter, draughtsman and print designer Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) (Figs 1-2).¹ It was bought through the Harold Beauchamp Trust Fund in 1973 from the London dealers Colnaghi.² The drawing is listed and reproduced in the sale catalogue, where the attribution to Heemskerck is credited to Christopher White.³ The acquisition reflected the collecting policy of the director of the then National Art Gallery of New Zealand, Melvin Day (1923–2016, dir. 1968–78), who expanded the museum's Old Master drawings collection. Day built on the highly impressive print collection largely acquired through the same dealers by Sir John Ilott (1884–1973),⁴ who in turn had donated it to the gallery. The sheet presents several studies after Antique sculpture, supposedly dating from 1532-6/7, when Heemskerck was in Rome. In that period, the artist observed and illustrated some of the most important buildings – especially famous are his drawings of St Peter's, which was then under construction⁵ – and items from prominent private collections of Antique sculpture, such as the della Valle, Maffei and Galli. It was customary practice for Renaissance artists, in particular when they travelled, to cover sheets of paper with sketches and drawings, which later they could use as models for paintings or other commissions. Heemskerck filled a sketchbook, subsequently dismembered and bound together with drawings by other artists in two albums now located in the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.⁶ Other sheets containing sketches and drawings lived separate individual lives, ending up in public and private collections all around the world. These types of objects became of interest to connoisseurs and collectors, who were attracted by their freshness and immediacy.

Although the attribution of the sheet falls outside the objectives of this article, a few words should be said on the matter.⁷ In 1951 Ludwig Goldscheider published two sketches taken from it, precisely the ones considered in this article, in his monograph on Michelangelo's drawings, crediting them to Perino del Vaga (1501–47).⁸ The attribution to the Florentine artist was subsequently superseded and the work was ascribed to Heemskerck. Yet the sketches on the sheet seem slightly removed from the fluency demonstrated by the Dutch artist in his Roman drawings. Secondly, the use of the red/brown ink in these drawings is not common in the draughtsman's production, although this might reflect conservation issues. The format and dimensions of the sheet, moreover, are different from those normally used by Heemskerck in the drawings of this period, evident in the works currently preserved in Berlin (c. 125-135 x c. 190-210 mm). However, Te Papa's sheet is certainly the product of a skilled and talented artist, as the reputable attributions confirm. The question remains open and can only benefit from further study and discussion.

The *recto* of the Te Papa sheet shows studies after Antique statuary, including sketches of statues and reliefs, which were then in the collection of Cardinal Andrea della Valle (1463–1534)⁹ and in the Casa Maffei.¹⁰ The *verso* is occupied by drawings on the *Labours of Hercules*, possibly taken from a sarcophagus now at Palazzo Altemps in Rome, and formerly in the Boncompagni-Ludovisi collection.¹¹ On the *recto* three collectors' stamps can be found,¹² attesting to previous ownership: on the upper right a partially illegible stamp recognisable as Lugt 628 and attributable to the painter and avid collector of drawings Richard Cosway (c. 1740–1821);¹³ on the lower centre the initials "C.M", which can be connected to Lugt 598a, ascribed to the German engraver Conrad Martin Metz (1749–1827), who owned a remarkable collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian drawings and who – interestingly – published in 1798 a

collection of etchings reproducing a selection of drawings in Cosway's collection; and finally, on the lower right, an almost faded fleur-de-lis.¹⁴ Considering the area around the stamp, this can be identified as Lugt 2781, with three fleurs-de-lis, two on top of the third,¹⁵ and frequently found in drawings from the Cosway collection.¹⁶ The sale catalogue reports the following list of previous owners, in this order: "Richard Cosway, Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, Arnett Hibbert, C.M (unidentified), Dr Pietro del Giudice".¹⁷

This article centres on the sculpture illustrated at the top of the *recto* of the sheet, a reclining nude which the artist drew twice, viewed from slightly different angles (Fig. 3). A male nude is represented in a lying position. The right arm bends upwards to touch the head with the hand, while the left arm rests on the abdomen. The left hand lacks the index finger. The legs are slightly bent, the right one above the other. The right foot is totally missing, while just the left heel is visible. The figure seems to be lying on a cloth or a rock. The hair is short and curly, while the facial expression is barely visible in the sketch on the left. The torso is muscular, and so are the legs. The artist seems particularly interested in the shadows of the areas of the upper body and of the crossing of the legs. In the sketch on the left, the figure is seen from above, adopting a viewpoint slightly rotated towards the right side of the body, while the one on the right is taken from a lower perspective, also favouring a view of the right side of the body.

Rome

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the sculpture represented on the Te Papa sheet was located in the courtyard of the Casa Maffei in Rome,¹⁸ as testified by – among other sources – a drawing by Heemskerck now in Berlin (Fig. 4).¹⁹ The figure is here depicted foreshortened, barely visible under a flight of stairs leading to the *piano nobile* (Fig. 5). The building was located in the Via dei Cestari near the Arco della

Ciambella. The Maffei brothers, Benedetto (d. 1494), Agostino (d. c. 1496), and Francesco (d. 1497), settled there in the mid-fifteenth century. Originally from Verona, they were appointed as apostolic scribes – Agostino in 1455, Francesco in 1466 and Benedetto in 1468. Their house in Rome soon became an intellectual coterie, thanks also to their impressive collection of manuscripts of classical texts, which the brothers frequently commissioned from the most important scholars and copyists of the time.²⁰ Agostino especially showed a strong interest in collecting antiquities, such as statues and marble busts, coins and medals, and epigraphs.²¹ In the last two decades of the fifteenth century, the original palace was enlarged through the acquisition of adjacent properties. Inscriptions and epigraphs placed on the fronts on the Via della Pigna and Via dei Cestari, in addition to painted friezes, signalled to interested visitors the presence of antiquities within the building.²²

The sculpture was not cited in the fairly detailed description of the Maffei collection in *Delle statue antiche* (compiled 1549–50; published 1556), by the naturalist and antiquarian Ulisse Aldrovandi. This was a catalogue of the most celebrated collections of ancient sculpture in sixteenth-century Rome.²³ Kathleen Christian believes that when Aldrovandi visited the collection around 1550, many of the objects previously seen by Heemskerck in the courtyard had been moved to other areas of the Maffei properties.²⁴

Several Renaissance artists showed interest in the object: in addition to the Te Papa sheet and Heemskerck's drawing illustrating the Maffei courtyard, at least four other drawings have been associated with it.²⁵ The earliest depiction currently known is probably the one contained on a sheet now at the Prado (Fig. 6), attributed to a draughtsman in the circle of Domenico Ghirlandaio, and possibly executed at the end of the fifteenth century.²⁶ The other sculpture depicted on the same sheet, a semi-draped

female figure, was also in the Maffei collection at the time, evident in Heemskerck's drawing of the courtyard (Fig. 4), where it can be distinguished on the right hand side, leaning towards the wall.²⁷

A contemporary literary source, written by the anonymous "Prospectivo Melanese Depictore", dedicated to Leonardo da Vinci and published in Rome around 1496, refers to our reclining nude in these terms:

The Maffei have many things
A nude male reclined overcome by slumber
Which induces my eyes to droop.²⁸

The sketch in the so-called *Umbrian Sketchbook* (Fig. 7),²⁹ and the profile contained in the so-called "Codex Wolfegg" by the Bolognese painter and draughtsman Amico Aspertini (c. 1474–1552) (Fig. 8),³⁰ representing the sculpture with the inscription "in casa dei mafei", are from the same period. The latter artist returned to the subject in the 1530s, in the same years that Heemskerck saw it in the courtyard of the palace, and again drew the reclining nude in a sketchbook now at the British Museum (Fig. 9).³¹ In general, these representations focus on the torso and the crossing of the legs. The facial expression was apparently of no particular interest to these artists. The right forearm and the feet are frequently omitted or quickly synthesised, probably recording missing parts of the sculpture.

The object seems also to have inspired works such as Aspertini's decapitated saint in the fresco of *The Burial of Sts Valeria and Tiburtius*, in Bologna, Oratorio of Santa Cecilia (c. 1504–6),³² the same artist's *Burial of Jacob's wife*, a marble relief for the left portal of San Petronio in Bologna (c. 1514–30),³³ the figure hanging down from the wall in Raphael and Giulio Romano's fresco of *Fire of the Borgo* in the Vatican Stanze (1514–7),³⁴ and Michelangelo's *Dying Slave* now at the Louvre (c. 1513–6).³⁵ A drawing by

Giovanni Ambrogio Figino (1548/51–1608), now at Windsor Castle, has also been claimed to represent the Maffei sculpture,³⁶ although it seems more likely that the artist was instead inspired by Michelangelo, as applies to the other figures represented on the same sheet.³⁷

Endymion in Venice and Verona (and an offer to the Medici)

Thanks to the studies of Clifford M. Brown and Anna Maria Lorenzoni, we know that presumably around 1570 the Maffei sculpture joined the collection of Leonardo Mocenigo (1523–c. 1575) in Venice, together with other items from Rome, possibly from Casa Maffei as well.³⁸ In 1570 a shipment of 18 busts and several statues of various size received a “*lasciapassare*” (a pass permit) to travel from Rome to Mocenigo’s residence in Venice, signed by Pope Pius V.³⁹ Francesco Sansovino, in his *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (1581), lists Leonardo Mocenigo’s collection of antiquities as one of the most important in the city.⁴⁰ When the latter died in the mid-1570s, the collection passed to his son Alvisè (b. 1549), who soon began selling items to settle the debts that his father had contracted whilst acquiring valuable and rare objects.⁴¹

We now know, thanks to Martha McCrory, that at the end of 1581 the sculpture then belonging to Mocenigo was offered to Francesco I de’ Medici.⁴² A letter dated 28 November sent by Mocenigo’s agent Ercole Basso to Belisario Vinta, First Secretary of State of the Grand Duchy, containing the offer of the sculpture, is located today at the Archivio di Stato in Florence.⁴³ The document also included a drawing (“*disegno*”), now unfortunately lost. Interestingly, the letter refers to the sculpture as “*Endimione*”, the handsome son of Aethlius (son of Zeus) and of Calyce who, according to Greek mythology, spent much of his life in uninterrupted sleep, in exchange for remaining

forever young.⁴⁴ It seems that the negotiation with the Medici was unsuccessful, and the work remained in Venice for a while longer.

Brown and Lorenzoni claim that the Maffei-Mocenigo *Endymion* formed part of the “ancient things” sold by Alvise Mocenigo to the Veronese collector Mario Bevilacqua (1536–93) in the later 1580s.⁴⁵ At the time, Bevilacqua was setting up a “galleria” in his palace – situated on the current Corso Cavour and renovated in the later 1550s by the architect Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559).⁴⁶ Displayed there were some of the most important objects of Bevilacqua’s rich collection, which included paintings, sculpture, prints and drawings, coins and medals, and musical instruments (Figs 10-11).⁴⁷ The numerous objects were installed for the most part in three dedicated spaces: the “antiquarium”, the library and the musical “ridotto”, which were open to the public.⁴⁸ It was probably the acquisitions of the Mocenigo objects that provided the impulse for establishing a new display space, the “galleria”, in the second half of the 1580s.

Late sixteenth-century inventories report the content of the room. Together with the Maffei-Mocenigo sculpture, listed as “Endimione ignudo giacente” (“naked lying Endymion”) in 1589 and “Endimione che dorme” (“Endymion sleeping”) in 1594–5,⁴⁹ the room contained five large paintings, including Jacopo Tintoretto’s *Paradise* (c. 1564), now at the Louvre, a drawing, two “carte grandi di cosmografia”,⁵⁰ six life-sized statues, 11 marble busts – all but one of Roman emperors – and a bronze “Apollo”, unanimously recognised as the so-called “Adorante”, now in the Antikensammlung of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.⁵¹

Endymion became one of the most admired and appreciated works of art in the palace, where it remained for more than two centuries. It was praised by the writer and antiquarian Scipione Maffei in his study of the most important pieces of the Bevilacqua collection (1732),⁵² and was illustrated in an engraving published in 1753 by Dionisio

Valesi in his *Varie fabbriche antiche e moderne di Verona con alcune statue e busti della Galleria Bevilacqua*, where it is clearly identified as “Endimione” (Fig. 12).⁵³ Contrasting with the sixteenth-century representations considered above, in this engraving the right foot is visible, though not the right hand. The sculpture was acclaimed as “delightful” (“köstlich”) by Johann Wolfgang Goethe, who visited the palace in 1786 and published his account in the *Italienische Reise* a few years later.⁵⁴

From Verona to Munich

In 1811 the sculpture was sold by Mario Bevilacqua’s heirs to Georg von Dillis, who was acting as agent for the collection of antiquities of Prince Ludwig I of Bavaria, who was expanding it at the time.⁵⁵ Described as one of the best pieces among the thirty sculptures bought from Bevilacqua’s heirs, in the initial correspondence between Dillis and the prince, the statue is described as “the so-called gladiator (or, much better, a son of Niobe)”,⁵⁶ while in the letter confirming the acquisition, dated 16 November 1811, Dillis refers to it as “a son of Niobe”.⁵⁷

The sculpture is now in Munich, at the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (Fig. 13).⁵⁸ The figure is currently missing both feet; only the left heel is visible, like in the drawing on the Te Papa sheet. The left hand is incomplete, and the right arm is truncated in the upper part, consequently lacking the right hand too. A cavity on the upper left-hand side of the head might suggest former contact with the right hand or with some sort of support. Old photographs record restored parts that now have been dismantled, such as the right arm, the fingers of the left hand and the feet (Fig. 14).⁵⁹

The Medici *Niobids*, Rome and Florence

In the spring of 1583, a remarkable group of 14 sculptures was excavated in the Vigna Tommasini on the Esquiline Hill, and acquired by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609, Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1587) shortly afterwards.⁶⁰ Eleven of them were recognised as forming part of a group depicting Niobe and her sons. Niobe was the Queen of Thebes, whose children were killed by Apollo and Artemis to punish their mother's arrogance.⁶¹ The theme was frequently illustrated in ancient Greece, and the story was narrated by Homer and Hesiod. Later, in Roman times, the myth reappeared in such authors as Apollodorus and Ovid. A famous sculptural version, seen by Pliny in the first century CE and described in his *Natural History*,⁶² was possibly executed by Skopas or Praxiteles and commissioned by Seleukos, a king of Cilicia in south coastal Asia Minor in the fourth century BCE. It was moved to Rome in 38 BCE to decorate the rebuilt temple of Apollo Sosianus in the Campus Martius.⁶³ This literary source was well known in the late sixteenth century, and the sculptures excavated in the Vigna Tommasini were long reputed to be copies of the group described by Pliny.⁶⁴

After their restoration, these sculptures were placed by the Medici in the garden of their villa on the Pincio in Rome, and in 1776 were transported to the Uffizi, where they still reside today, in the so-called "Sala della Niobe".⁶⁵ Two sets of casts were made, in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries respectively.⁶⁶ The first set was displayed at the Uffizi while the original group was still in Rome, while the second is still displayed in the Villa Medici and was made when the original group was relocated in the Uffizi.⁶⁷ The sculptures were restored again when they arrived in Florence. Recent studies have confirmed that the group was realised by different workshops in the second century CE.⁶⁸

Among the various figures forming part of the group excavated in the Vigna Tommasini was a reclining nude remarkably similar to the Maffei-Mocenigo-Bevilacqua

Endymion (Fig. 15),⁶⁹ as testified in an engraving published by Francois Perrier in 1638 (Fig. 16).⁷⁰ In the period it resided in the Medici garden, the sculpture was also illustrated by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in the third and fourth books of his *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae* (1594) (Fig. 17).⁷¹ Carlo and Ferdinando Gregori represented the object after it had arrived at the Uffizi in Angelo Fabroni's *Dissertation sur les statues appartenante a la fable de Niobe dédiée a son Altesse Royale Monsieur l'Archiduc Pierre Leopold Grand Duc de Toscane* (1779) (Fig. 18).⁷²

The Uffizi sculpture possesses two prominent holes in the chest, which are not present – and indeed have never been recorded – in the Munich version. Furthermore, in the Florentine example, the musculature of the figure seems more tense and nervous, especially on the right side of the torso, hips and knees. These features are reflected in the plates published by Cavalieri (where the sculpture appears in reverse) and Fabroni. The right arm, both in the sculpture and in its representations, is detached from the head, as if in a spasm. The sculpture in Munich, in contrast, presents a clear indication in the head suggesting that the right hand or some form of support might have originally touched it, in what could appear as a more relaxed pose.

***Endymion* reinterpreted**

The 1583 discovery meant that our reclining nude, until then considered an individual piece in the Maffei, Mocenigo, and Bevilacqua collections, was consequently reinterpreted as another replica of one of the sons of Niobe, forming part of the original group of Greek sculptures. Yet notwithstanding the near instant fame of the group, *Endymion* kept his original name for a long time, as testified by Valesi's engraving of 1753. (Fig. 12).

A possible explanation for this resistance to correction is that no previous sources suggest that the sculpture contained any clear interpretative key to redefine it as a mortally injured man. In the Uffizi version, the spear wound – the cause of death – is instead clearly evident: the two holes in the chest were likely intended to house a metallic pole piercing the right side of the rib cage. This is clearly represented in the plate published by Fabroni in 1779 (Fig. 18). Although we are uncertain whether these holes formed part of the original sculpture or were introduced later, the Munich version presents no hint of this. Moreover, the facial expression of the latter figure looks serene, not showing any signs of pain. The eyes are almost closed and the musculature generally seems quite relaxed and not contracted in a spasm; indeed, the young man seems convincingly asleep. Probably for these reasons, in addition to the fact that the object did not form part of a group but constituted an isolated piece, in the sixteenth century he was regarded as a dormant Endymion and not as a dying Niobid.

The early representations of the Maffei-Mocenigo-Bevilacqua version reflect this interpretation: the sculpture is almost always illustrated as a serene and relaxed figure. In contrast, the woodcut by Cavalieri and the engraving published by Fabroni, instead represent indeed a body writhing in pain. The interpretation of the subject as a dying son of Niobe eventually prevailed, and this is the name currently applied to all the different versions.

Two other copies from Rome to Dresden and Turin – and another offer to the Medici

Two other examples of the same subject, very similar to the Munich and Uffizi versions – and likewise considered copies of a Hellenistic original – are currently preserved in Dresden and Turin. The one now in the Skulpturensammlung in the Staatliche

Kunstsammlungen in Dresden (Fig. 19) was acquired in 1728 in Rome from the Albani collection.⁷³ This had been created at the behest of Cardinal Gian Francesco Albani (1649–1721), elected Pope Clement XI in 1700 and – especially – his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692–1779).⁷⁴ A lover of the arts and a connoisseur, the latter helped found an antiquarian academy, entrusting its direction to Francesco Bianchini (1662–1729).⁷⁵ At the same time Albani initiated vast campaigns of excavations and established a rich collection of antique statues, without excessive scruples in obtaining them. In 1728 he sold thirty statues, among the most valuable of his collection, to the king of Poland. In its current location the sculpture was engraved by Johann Balthasar Probst (1673–before 1750), and published as “Un Fils de Niobe” in 1733 by Raymond Le Plat in his *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du Roy de Pologne a Dresden* (Fig. 20).⁷⁶ The object has been heavily restored: the right forearm and hand, the left hand, the left leg below the knee and the right leg below the upper thigh have all been reconstructed.⁷⁷ The plate published by Le Plat records these restorations. It is interesting to note the position of the right hand, resting on the head, which recalls the characteristics observed in the Munich version, while the pose of the restored left hand, as illustrated by Le Plat, differs significantly from the sculpture at the Uffizi.

The version in Turin, now heavily incomplete – lacking the lower half of the face, including the nose and mouth, both arms, pelvis and legs – came from the Altoviti collection (Fig. 21).⁷⁸ The sculpture was probably excavated in the early 1550s at Hadrian’s Villa in Tivoli, then largely owned by the famous banker and collector Bindo Altoviti (1491–1557).⁷⁹ Ulisse Adrovandi did not refer to the sculpture in his account of 1549–50,⁸⁰ while the object probably formed part of the much enlarged collection of statues recorded in the 1591 inventory of Altoviti’s possessions, which unfortunately, with rare exceptions, does not name individual items.⁸¹ The sculpture was sold in 1612

to the duke of Savoy as an “Idimeone [in later documents corrected in “Endimione”] lying naked”.⁸² Interestingly this sculpture too was still interpreted as *Endymion* in the early seventeenth century.

The summary of a letter from Cosimo I de’ Medici to Lodovico Ciregiuola, dated 17 May 1567,⁸³ refers to a “model of the statue of Endymion”, which was offered to the former.⁸⁴ Cosimo refused the offer, saying that at the moment he was not in need of statuary. Considering the documented offers of objects from the Altoviti collection to the Medici in exchange for political favours in the years 1565–7,⁸⁵ this letter may well refer to the statue now in Turin, and not to the Maffei *Endymion*, as has been suggested by Brown and Lorenzoni.⁸⁶

Conclusion

The sculpture currently in Munich and portrayed in the upper part of the *recto* of the sheet attributed to Maarten van Heemskerck now at Te Papa had attracted the interest of artists and art lovers since the late fifteenth century. They repeatedly reproduced it in their sketchbooks and appraised it in their textual descriptions. Originally considered an individual masterpiece in the Maffei collection, following the discovery in 1583 of a group of Niobids, the object has been reinterpreted as a figure forming part of a broader narrative scheme. The success that the model enjoyed in Roman times is confirmed by two other replicas, also excavated in Rome during the Renaissance and now located in Dresden and Turin. The material and iconographic characteristics of the subject implied that in the sixteenth century it was read and illustrated as a dormant Endymion, and was only later reinterpreted as a dying Niobid. However, the earlier interpretation lasted over time, particularly when applied to the versions in Munich and Turin. The reasons for this resistance to iconographic ‘correction’ perhaps lie in the specific

characteristics of these individual copies, particularly that depicted in the Te Papa sheet. The facial expression, the apparent muscular relaxation of the body, and the absence of visible wounds all explain this. It is possible that the artists of these replicas intentionally executed these features to distinguish their figures from the original group, thus transforming them into individual works, with their intrinsic and independent narrative value. Certainly, this was how the sculpture was perceived by sixteenth-century viewers and the author of the drawing now in Wellington.

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NOTES

¹ Marten van Heemskerck (attr.), *Studies after the Antique*, c. 1532-6/7. Pen and brown ink on paper, 230 x 222 mm. Registration no 1973-0002-1a (recto), 1973-0002-1b (verso). For Heemskerck, see Ilja M. Veldman, 'Heemskerck, Maarten [Maerten; Martinus] van.' *Grove Art Online*. Accessed 7 December 2018.

<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000037167>.

² On the Harold Beauchamp Trust Fund, see <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/630>.

³ *Drawings by Old Masters, June 27 to July 29, 1972* by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd (London and Bradford, Lund Humphries, [1972]), no. 20, 26-7.

⁴ On Sir John Ilott, see <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/agent/3441>.

⁵ See especially Christof Thoenes, 'St. Peter's as Ruins: On Some "Vedute" by Heemskerck', in *Sixteenth-century Italian Art*, ed. Michael W. Cole (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 25-39; *Rom zeichen. Maarten van Heemskerck 1532-1536/37*, ed. Tatjana Bartsch and Peter Seiler (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2012); Arthur J. Di Furia, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of Ruins* (Boston: Brill, 2019).

⁶ See for example Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, 2 vols (Soest: Davaco, 1975).

⁷ This discussion about the authorship of the sheet mainly reflects mainly the opinion of Kathleen Christian, with which I agree.

⁸ Ludwig Goldscheider, *Michelangelo drawings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1951), figs 162-3. At the time the sheet formed part of the private collection of Pietro del Giudice in London. Cf. *Drawings by Old Masters*, 27.

⁹ The inscription "de vale" can be read on the *recto* on a left-hand sketch. For the della Valle collection, see Kathleen Christian, *Empire Without End. Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 383-8, with further references.

¹⁰ Mary Kisler, 'Marten van Heemskerck 1498–1574', in *Art at Te Papa*, ed. William McAloon (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2009), 30. See also the online entry by Mark Stocker at <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/38922>.

¹¹ Kisler, 'Marten van Heemskerck', 30. See also the online entry by Mark Stocker at <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/42413>.

¹² I wish to thank Mark Stocker for information regarding the collector's stamps on the drawing.

¹³ For further information and bibliography, see <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/6331>.

¹⁴ For further information and bibliography, see <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/6277>.

¹⁵ See <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/detail.cfm/marque/10014>.

¹⁶ See for instance London, British Museum, Prints & Drawings, inv. 1946,0713.619 attributed to Cesare Pollini, and inv. 1946,0713.621, ascribed to the circle of Bernardino Gatti.

¹⁷ *Drawings by Old Masters*, 27.

¹⁸ On the Maffei collection, see especially Anna Bedon, 'I Maffei e il loro palazzo in Via della Pigna', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* n. s. 12 (1988): 45-64; Mara Minasi, "'Rerum romanarum thesaurus". Agostino Maffei e le origini della raccolta di antichità all'Arco della Ciambella', in *Collezioni di antichità a Roma tra '400 e '500*, ed. Anna Cavallaro (Rome: De Luca Editori, 2007), 105-18; Christian, *Empire Without End*, 326-30, with further references.

¹⁹ Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 79.D.2, vol. I, fol. 3v, c. 1532–6/7.

²⁰ See Minasi, “Rerum romanarum thesaurus”, 106-7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 108-11.

²² *Ibid.*, 112.

²³ *Le antichità de la città di Roma. Brevissimamente raccolte [...] per Lucio Mauro [...] Et insieme ancho di tutte le statue antiche, che per tutta Roma [...] si veggono [...] per m.*

Ulisse Aldroandi (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1556), 241-2: “In casa del Reverendiss[imo] Maphei, presso la Ciambella”. On this source see esp. Daniela Gallo, ‘Ulisse Aldrovandi, “Le statue di Roma” e i marmi romani’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome* 104/2 (1992): 479-90.

²⁴ Christian, *Empire Without End*, 329.

²⁵ For a list of drawings related to this figure, see Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture* (London and Oxford: Harvey Miller and Oxford University Press, 1986), 140 no. 109.

²⁶ Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, F. D. 149. See especially Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, ed., *I grandi disegni italiani nelle collezioni di Madrid* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale per RAS Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà, 1977), cat. I.

²⁷ See, Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 140 no. 109.

²⁸ *Antiquarie prospettiche romane* (Rome: Andreas Freitag e Johann Besicken, c. 1496), stanza 19: “Han molte cose poi certi Maphei, / giacquato un nudo vinto dal sopore / v’è che colar da spesso gli ochi miei”. Translation provided in Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 140. On this work, see especially the edition by Giovanni Agosti and Dante Isella (Milan and Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo and Ugo Guanda, 2004).

²⁹ *Umbrian Sketchbook*, f. 9r, formerly Calenzano, Bertini collection, no. 306; see especially Annegrit Schmitt, 'Antikensammlungen im Spiegel eines Masterbuchs der Renaissance', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 21 (1970): 99-128.

³⁰ Amico Aspertini, *Codex Wolfegg*, fols 33v-34r, Schloss Wolfegg; see Gunter Schweikhart, *Der Codex Wolfegg. Zeichnungen nach der Antike von Amico Aspertini* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986), 84-5, and plate XI, fig. 17.

³¹ London, British Museum, Aspertini album (so-called London I), inv. no. 1898,1123.3(19) (verso) and 1898,1123.3(20) (recto). See also Phyllis Pray Bober, *Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini. Sketchbooks in the British Museum* (London: Warburg Institute, 1957), 14.

³² Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 140 no. 109.

³³ Minasi, "Rerum romanarum thesaurus", 113-4.

³⁴ Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 140 no. 109.

³⁵ Goldscheider, *Michelangelo drawings*, plates 162-8; cf. *Drawings by Old Masters*, 27.

³⁶ Minasi, "Rerum romanarum thesaurus", 114. For the drawing, see Arthur Ewart Popham and Johannes Wilde, *The Italian drawings of the XV and XVI centuries in the collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon Press, 1949), 224 no. 326/23. A digital image is available at

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/906891/>

³⁷ The figure is clearly standing and not lying, the left arm is not visible, the characteristic position of the legs is not recorded and the relative positioning of the arm above the head does not correspond to the original subject. See Annalisa Perissa Torrini, *Disegni del Figino* (Milan: Electa, 1987), 18.

³⁸ Clifford M. Brown and Anna Maria Lorenzoni, ‘The “studio del clarissimo Cavaliere Mozzanico in Venezia”. Documents for the Antiquarian Ambitions of Francesco I de’ Medici, Mario Bevilacqua, Alessandro Farnese and Fulvio Orsini’, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 41 (1999): 55-6, 62.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 62 and 63 doc. 1. In the document, the statue is not listed, but the authors hypothesise that it was shipped to Venice in the same period. See *ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁰ Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Giacomo Sansovino [Domenico Farri], 1581), 138v. For further references, see especially Linda Borean, ‘Leonardo Mocenigo’, in *Il collezionismo d’arte a Venezia. Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber and Stefania Mason (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 297-8.

⁴¹ See the synthesis suggested in Borean, ‘Leonardo Mocenigo’, 297.

⁴² Martha McCrory, ‘The Dukes and their dealers: the formation of the Medici Grand-Ducal collections in the sixteenth century’, in *The art market in Italy, 15th-17th centuries*, ed. Marcello Fantoni, Louisa Matthew and Sara Matthews-Grieco (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2003), 359-61, and esp. 365 n. 37.

⁴³ Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo del Principato, b. 753, c. 119r: “Il disegno in canto, che con questa mando a V[ostra] S[ignoria] Illust[re] è d’una figura di marmo antica di Endimione, che veramente è la più bella che in tal positura si sia mai vista, ella è del naturale, et tutta anticha, di m[aest]ro ecc[ellentissi]mo sinciera, et conservansi [illegibile]: fu’ comprata in Roma dal chi[arissi]mo cav[alie]re Mocenigo, che la fece condurre a Ven[ezi]a dove che hora è in mano d’un suo figliuolo, con molti altri bei pezzi di marmi; quali tutti si venderebbono [...]. Ma havendo io considerato la bellezza della su detta fig[ur]a et essendo sicuro, che serebbe cosa per per S[ua] Alt[ezz]a

Ser[enissi]ma [...] quanto al prezzo ch'è secondo la domanda del [illegible] di 500 scudi d'oro [...]" . I thank Francesca Fantappiè for providing photographs of the document.

⁴⁴ See especially 'Endymion', in Jennifer R. March, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, 2nd ed., Oxbow Books, 2014,

<https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/oxbocm/endymion/0?institutionId=2454>. For early modern examples of this subject, see Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 73-4 no. 26.

⁴⁵ Brown and Lorenzoni, "The "studio del clarissimo Cavaliere Mozzanico in Venezia"", 62, with further references.

⁴⁶ On Palazzo Bevilacqua, see especially Francesco Marcorin, 'Alcuni documenti inediti relativi alla facciata sanmicheliana di palazzo Bevilacqua a Verona', *Annali di Architettura* 25 (2013): 117-34, with further references.

⁴⁷ See Lanfranco Franzoni, *Per una storia del collezionismo. Verona: la galleria Bevilacqua* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1970), and my monographic study currently in preparation. See also Laura Moretti, 'L'immagine della musica nello "studio" del palazzo veronese di Mario Bevilacqua (1536-93)', *Music in Art* XL/1-2 (2015): 285-96.

⁴⁸ On this point, refer to my monographic study on Bevilacqua's palace and collections currently in preparation.

⁴⁹ Both documents are now in Archivio di Stato, Verona, VIII Vari, reg. 187, n.n. The 1589 document, named "Memoria de Bronzi antichi con Medaglie et Statue fatta de ottobre MDLXXXIX; et de Marmi" and containing monetary values of the various objects, was published in Lanfranco Franzoni, 'La Galleria Bevilacqua e l'Adorante di Berlino', *Studi storici veronesi Luigi Simeoni* 14 (1964): 161-83. A transcription of a copy of this document, now in Archivio di Stato, Verona, Bevilacqua di Chiavica, b. 38, fasc. 476, is in

Francesco Marcorin, 'Michele Sanmicheli: la "loza" di Palazzo Bevilacqua a Verona (1556–59)' (Ph.D. diss., Università IUAV di Venezia, 2014), 209-28. Another copy is now in Archivio di Stato, Verona, Bevilacqua di San Michele alla Porta, b. 4, fasc. 36. Monetary values of the objects differ over time. The 1594–5 list, named "Nomi delle Teste, e statue de Marmi che sono nella loggia, e camera di mezo sopra il Corso", has been published in Franzoni, 'La Galleria Bevilacqua e l'Adorante di Berlino', 188-9, and in Franzoni, *Per una storia del collezionismo*, 164-5.

⁵⁰ Archivio di Stato, Verona, Bevilacqua di San Michele alla Porta, b. 74, no. 1s511, n.n., "Invent[ariu]m bonorum q[ondam] Ill[ustris] Com[itis] Marij de Bevilaquis", 5-6 August 1593: "Nella sala della Galeria sop[ra] il Corso / Un paradiso in quadro grande cornisato à oro / Due retratti uno del S[igno]r Sforza Palavicino l'altro della S[igno]ra Sua consorte grandi cornisati / Doi quadri di pittura grandi cornisati / Due carte grandi di cosmografia cornisate / Una carta a' mano cornisata".

⁵¹ Archivio di Stato, Verona, VIII Vari, reg. 187, n.n., "Nomi delle Teste, e statue de Marmi che sono nella loggia, e camera di mezo sopra il Corso": "Apollo in bronzo il quale fù trovato nel Porto di Rodi, et la parte del piè sinistro fù trovato nelli fondamenti di Padoa". The statue is the famous so-called "*Adorante*", now in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Inv. no. Sk 2. See, among others, Brown and Lorenzoni, "The "studio del clarissimo Cavaliero Mozzanico in Venezia", *passim*.

⁵² Scipione Maffei, *Verona illustrata* (Verona: Jacopo Vallarsi, e Pierantonio Berno, 1731–32), vol. III, 393: "La figura al naturale d'uomo nudo, e disteso quasi in atto di dormire, è d'eccellente artefice".

⁵³ Dionisio Valesi, *Varie fabbriche antiche e moderne di Verona con alcune statue e busti della Galleria Bevilacqua, non che del Museo Muselliano* (1753), tav. XXIII, plate XV.

⁵⁴ Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Italienische Reise* (Leipzig: Insel, 1914), 50.

⁵⁵ See esp. Franzoni, 'La Galleria Bevilacqua e l'Adorante di Berlino', 111-12.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 112: "il cosiddetto gladiatore (o, molto meglio, figlio di Niobe)".

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 113: "1. Figlio di Niobe".

⁵⁸ Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, also known as *Endymion*, possibly first century CE.

Marble, length 198 cm. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Inv.

269. See Raimund Wünsche, *Glyptothek München. Meisterwerke Griechischer un*

Römischer Skulptur (München: Beck, 2016), 80; Barbara Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische*

Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Glyptothek München (München: C.H. Beck,

1979), 472-89.

⁵⁹ Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen*, 472.

⁶⁰ See especially Erna Mandowsky, 'Some Notes on the Early History of the Medicean "Niobides"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 41 (1953): 251-64.

⁶¹ See especially 'Niobe', in March, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*,

https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/oxbocm/niobe_2/0.

⁶² Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 138-9.

⁶³ See especially Karl Bernhard Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden in ihrer literarischen,*

künstlerischen und mythologischen Bedeutung (Leipzig, W. Engelmann, 1863) and, for

general reference, William A.P. Childs, *Greek Art and Aesthetics in the Fourth Century B.C.*

(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2018). Cf. Carlo Gasparri, 'La storia di

Niobe', in *Villa Medici. Il sogno di un cardinale*, ed. Michel Hochmann (Rome: De Luca,

1999), 162-7.

⁶⁴ Gasparri, 'La storia di Niobe'.

⁶⁵ Mandowsky, 'Some Notes', 262.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 256-9, 264.

⁶⁷ See especially Maria Maugeri, 'Il trasferimento a Firenze della collezione antiquaria di Villa Medici in epoca leopoldina', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 44/2-3 (2000): 306-34.

⁶⁸ Donato Attanasio, Chiara Boschi, Susanna Bracci, Emma Cantisani and Flavio Paolucci, 'The Greek and Asiatic marbles of the Florentine Niobids', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 66, (2016): 110.

⁶⁹ Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, second century CE. Pentelic marble, length 185 cm. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Inv. 1914, no. 298. For the dating of the statue, see Attanasio, Boschi, Bracci, Cantisani, and Paolucci, 'Greek and Asiatic marbles', 110.

⁷⁰ François Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum* (Rome, 1638), plate 87.

⁷¹ Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae tertius et quartus liber* (Rome, 1594), plate 15.

⁷² Angelo Fabroni, *Dissertation sur les statues appartenante a la fable de Niobe dédiée a son Altesse Royale Monsieur l'Archiduc Pierre Leopold Grand Duc de Toscane* (Florence: Francesco Moücke, 1779).

⁷³ Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, possibly Roman copy of a model of the second half of the fourth century BCE. Marble, length (with restored parts) 177 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. no. Hm 124. See *Idealskulptur der römischen Kaiserzeit, Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden*, ed. Kordelia Knoll, Christiane Vorster and Moritz Woelk, 2 vols (Munich: Hirmer, 2011), vol. 2, 673-77, with further references.

⁷⁴ On Alessandro Albani, see especially the entry by Lesley Lewis in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1, 595-8, with further references.

⁷⁵ Daniela Gallo, 'Per una storia degli antiquari romani nel Settecento', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 111/2 (1999): 832-3.

⁷⁶ Raymond Le Plat, *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du Roy de Pologne a Dresden* (Dresden: A l'imprimerie de la Cour chez la veuve Stössel, 1733), plate 117.

⁷⁷ *Idealskulptur der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2, 673-77.

⁷⁸ Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, possibly Roman copy of a model of the second half of the fourth century BCE. Marble, length 143 cm. Turin, Museo di Antichità, Inv. 315. See Anna Maria Riccomini, 'Marmi antichi da Roma a Torino: sul collezionismo di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia', *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte* 26 (2011): 134, with further references.

⁷⁹ Donatella Pegazzano, 'Bindo Altoviti's ancient sculpture', in *Raphael, Cellini, & a Renaissance banker: the patronage of Bindo Altoviti*, ed. Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzano and Dimitrios Zikos (Boston, Mass.: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003), 352-3. See also David Alan Brown and Jane Van Nimmen, *Raphael & the beautiful banker: the story of the Bindo Altoviti portrait* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁸⁰ Cf. Riccomini, 'Marmi antichi da Roma a Torino', 134.

⁸¹ Archivio di Stato, Rome, Notai del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae, notaio Petrus Catolonus, vol. 1542, fols 1048-62. Published in *Raphael, Cellini*, 447-9.

⁸² Archivio di Stato, Turin, Corte, Casa Reale: Gioie e mobili, mazzo 5 d'addizione, fasc. 12, published in Pegazzano, 'Bindo Altoviti's ancient sculpture', 361-2: "Un Idimeone [in later documents corrected in "Endimione"] ignudo a giacere alla supina lungo p[al]mi 8

in c[irc]a con pie di stallo di legno”. The statue has been in Turin since then; see Riccomini, ‘Marmi antichi da Roma a Torino’.

⁸³ Brown and Lorenzoni, ‘Cavaliero Mozzanico’, 62 n. 17. The date provided in this source (1 May 1567) is incorrect, as the letter is dated May 17.

⁸⁴ Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo del Principato, b. 225, c. 90: “Habbiamo visto il modello [i.e. drawing] della statua di Endiminione [*sic*] mandataci con la vostra de’ x et inteso la bellezza et il pregio di essa, non havendo per hora bisogno di statue, ci risolviamo di non ci voler’ attender’ [...].” I thank Francesca Fantappiè for providing a photograph of the document.

⁸⁵ Pegazzano, ‘Bindo Altoviti’s ancient sculpture’, 353 and 358 n. 18.

⁸⁶ Brown and Lorenzoni, ‘Cavaliero Mozzanico’, 62 n. 17.

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IMAGE CAPTIONS

Figure 1. Marten van Heemskerck (attr.), *Studies after the Antique*, c. 1532-6/7. Pen and brown ink on paper, 230 x 222 mm. Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, registration no. 1973-0002-1a (recto).

Figure 2. Marten van Heemskerck (attr.), *Studies after the Antique*, c. 1532-6/7. Pen and brown ink on paper, 230 x 222 mm. Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, registration no. 1973-0002-1b (verso).

Figure 3. Marten van Heemskerck (attr.), *Studies after the Antique*, c. 1532-6/7. Pen and brown ink on paper, 230 x 222 mm. Wellington, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, registration no. 1973-0002-1a (recto), detail.

Figure 4. Marten van Heemskerck, *Courtyard of Casa Maffei, Rome*, c. 1532-6/7. Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 79.D.2, vol. I, fol. 3v.

Figure 5. Marten van Heemskerck, *Courtyard of Casa Maffei, Rome*, c. 1532-6/7. Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 79.D.2, vol. I, fol. 3v, detail.

Figure 6. Artist from the workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio (attr.), *Studies of classical sculptures*, end of fifteenth century (?). Silverpoint and white lead on grey prepared paper, 160 x 267 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. F. D. 149.

Figure 7. Unknown artist, *Studies of classical sculptures*, c. 1500. Pen ink on silverpoint, 190 x 125 mm, from the so-called "Umbrian Sketchbook", f. 9r. Formerly Calenzano, Bertini collection, no. 306. Genoa, private collection.

Figure 8. Amico Aspertini, *Studies after the Antique*, 1500-3. Pen and brown ink, 225 x 170 mm, from the so-called "Codex Wolfegg", fols 33v-34r. Schloss Wolfegg, Fürstliche Sammlungen.

Figure 9. Amico Aspertini, *Studies of Antique sculpture*, c. 1535. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, on vellum, 184 x 48 mm (each page), from so-

called sketchbook “London I”: 19th opening left (1898,1123.3(19) *verso*) and right (1898,1123.3(20) *recto*). London, British Museum, 1898,1123.3. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 10. Palazzo Bevilacqua, Verona, façade. ©Cameraphoto Arte, Venezia

Figure 11. Plans of the groundfloor (“Pianta Terrena”) and *piano nobile* (“Pianta Superiore”) of Palazzo Bevilacqua, Verona, from Francesco Ronzani, Girolamo Luciolli, *Le fabbriche civili ecclesiastiche e militari di Michele Sanmicheli* (Venice: Giuseppe Antonelli, 1832). Verona, Biblioteca Civica, 130.12.

Figure 12. “Endimione”, from Dionisio Valesi, *Varie fabbriche antiche e moderne di Verona con alcune statue e busti della Galleria Bevilacqua, non che del Museo Muselliano* (1753), plate XXIII, fig. XV. Verona, Biblioteca Civica, 320.8.

Figure 13. Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid* also known as *Endymion*, possibly 1st century CE. Marble, length 198 cm. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Inv. 269.

Figure 14. Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid* also known as *Endymion*, possibly 1st century AD. Marble, length 198 cm. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Inv. 269. Photograph showing an earlier restoration.

Figure 15. Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, 2nd century CE. Pentelic marble, length 185 cm. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Inv. 1914, no. 298.

Figure 16. François Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum* (Rome, 1638), plate 87. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2894-469).

Figure 17. Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae tertius et quartus liber* (Rome, 1594), plate 15.

Figure 18. Angelo Fabroni, *Dissertation sur les statues appartenante a la fable de Niobe dédiée a son Altesse Royale Monseigneur l'Archiduc Pierre Leopold Grand Duc de*

Toscane (Florence: Francesco Moücke, 1779), plate III. Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, collections Jacques Doucet, NUM FOL RES 384.

Figure 19. Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, possibly Roman copy of a model of the second half of the fourth century BCE. Marble, length (with restored parts) 177 cm.

Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. no. Hm 124.

Figure 20. Raymond Le Plat, *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du Roy de Pologne a Dresden* (Dresden: A l'imprimerie de la Cour chez la veuve Stössel, 1733), plate 117. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (94-B18894).

Figure 21. Unknown artist, *Dying Niobid*, possibly Roman copy of a model of the second half of the fourth century BCE. Marble, total length 143 cm. Turin, Museo di Antichità, Inv. 315.