

The Consolations of Friendship: Salvator Rosa's Self-Portrait for Giovanni Battista Ricciardi

WENDY WASSYNG ROWORTH

University of Rhode Island

A PAINTING BY SALVATOR ROSA (1615–73) in The Metropolitan Museum of Art of a man writing on a skull has traditionally been considered a self-portrait (Figure 1).¹ The strong, dark features and brooding expression suggest an image of the Neapolitan artist; he was noted as a Cynic, satiric poet, and melancholic personality as well as a painter of landscapes, religious subjects, and highly original allegories. The funereal cypress wreath, somber clothing, books, and the human skull upon which he writes in Greek, “Behold, whither, when,” reflect Rosa’s interest in Stoic moral philosophy as the basis for contemplation and resignation in the face of death.²

Recent cleaning of the painting has revealed two details. A small, transparent teardrop clings to his right cheek below the eye, and the name “Seneca,” faintly visible on the spine of the book, can now be clearly understood as a pentimento that was overpainted by the artist himself.³ These details, although minor, raise questions about the painting’s identity and meaning. Why would Rosa remove the name of Seneca, one of his heroes, and why would a Stoic weep while confronting death?

On a scrap of paper to the left of the skull Rosa included his signature and a dedication: “Salvator Rosa dipinse nell’Eremo e dono a Gio Batt Ricciardi suo Amico” (Salvator Rosa painted this in a solitary place and gave it to his friend Giovanni Battista Ricciardi). The inscription has been understood to mean that Rosa intended the portrait as a gift for Giovanni Battista Ricciardi. Ricciardi (1623–86), an author of comedies and burlesque poetry who would become Reader in Moral Philosophy at the University of Pisa in 1673, was Rosa’s

very close friend during the artist’s years in Florence, between 1640 and 1649, when Rosa returned to Rome, and they continued to correspond until Rosa’s death in 1673.⁴

The portrait’s undated dedication states that it was painted “nell’Eremo,” a phrase that has been interpreted in several slightly different ways to mean “in a retreat,” “in a hermitage,” or “in a solitary place.” Some scholars have assumed that by “retreat” or “hermitage” Rosa meant, literally, an actual retreat, such as Ricciardi’s country villa at Strozzevolpe or one of the Maffei family villas at Barbaiano or Monterufoli in Tuscany, where Rosa and Ricciardi visited often during the 1640s. Assuming that the picture was painted while the two men were together, scholars have generally dated it to the 1640s or to 1659, when Rosa once again visited Ricciardi at Strozzevolpe.⁵ Only the cataloguer of Rosa’s drawings, Michael Mahoney, proposed a date in the middle to late 1650s, a period when Rosa did not leave Rome or see Ricciardi. His suggestion was based on several drawings associated with the painting that are similar in style and technique to Rosa’s drawings of the mid-1650s (Figures 2, 3).⁶

Some time ago it was suggested that the painting was not a self-portrait of the artist but, rather, a portrait of Ricciardi.⁷ For several years the Metropolitan Museum exhibited the painting as *Portrait of Giovanni Battista Ricciardi(?)*, although subsequently, for lack of secure evidence to the contrary, it was labeled *Salvator Rosa*. Even though many scholars have continued to accept the painting as a self-portrait, the confusion and disagreement concerning the sitter’s identity and the painting’s date persist.⁸ I would argue that the work is a



1. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 99 × 79.7 cm., dated here 1657. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mary L. Harrison, 1921, 21.105

self-portrait and that Rosa painted it, as Mahoney proposed on stylistic grounds, in Rome during the mid-1650s. In fact, there is evidence to pinpoint the date more precisely to the very end of 1656 or the first part of 1657, and its meaning can be more fully elucidated in terms of Rosa's relationship with Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, the portrait's intended recipient.

Rosa painted very few, if any, portraits of family or friends, and if there were commissions they are not securely documented.⁹ There is no existing likeness of Ricciardi by Rosa or any other artist, and thus his physical appearance remains unknown. However, this did not deter Federico Zeri from proposing that the subject might be a portrait of Ricciardi.¹⁰ Subsequently Ubaldo Meroni claimed that it was indeed Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, and he presented evidence in the form of two unpublished manuscripts.¹¹ The first was an inventory of Ricciardi's property made in 1687 shortly after his death.¹² Among the paintings by Rosa was "un quadro grande con cornice di albero bianche dipintovi un filo-

sofo che scrive sopra una testa di morto" (a large framed picture in which is painted a philosopher who writes upon a death's head). Meroni correctly made the connection between this painting and the portrait of the man writing on a skull in the Metropolitan Museum. However, the text did not specify the identity other than "a philosopher," and elsewhere in the same inventory is "a portrait of Giovanni Battista Ricciardi"; these are two distinct paintings. Assuming the inventory was made by someone connected with the Ricciardi household, it is likely he would have recognized Ricciardi. Thus, while the inventory establishes Ricciardi's ownership of the painting in question, it does not document him as its subject.

In an unpublished manuscript for a history of Tuscan literature by Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli (1625–1705), Meroni found additional evidence that the painting could be a portrait of Ricciardi. In his life of Ricciardi Cinelli Calvoli discussed their friendship and the numerous paintings Rosa had given to Ricciardi as gifts. Among these, he wrote, is a most beautiful picture, in which Ricciardi is portrayed dressed as a philosopher in the act of contemplating a human skull, and he quoted the words of the dedication to Ricciardi as they appear

2. Salvator Rosa, *Man Contemplating a Skull*. Pen, brown ink and brown wash, 7.4 × 6.9 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

3. Reverse of *Man Contemplating a Skull* (Figure 2)



in the Metropolitan Museum painting.¹³ This seemed to provide convincing proof of the sitter's identity, but Cinelli Calvoli did not make note of the unusual act of writing on the skull. Although he knew both Rosa and Ricciardi between 1645 and 1650, it is not clear whether he actually saw the Metropolitan Museum's painting or was repeating information from another source.¹⁴ In addition, similar passages in other sources on Ricciardi state that Ricciardi's "amico unico," Salvator Rosa, gave Ricciardi "a painting of his own likeness," an ambiguous phrase that does not clarify to whom it might refer, the artist or his friend.¹⁵

Meroni's documentation on its own offers persuasive, if inconclusive, proof that the subject is Ricciardi; but visual evidence, including the painting's resemblance to documented self-portraits by Rosa, and an analysis of its composition cast doubts on his conclusion.

The identification of the Metropolitan Museum's painting as a self-portrait had been partly based on comparison with another picture considered a self-portrait, which is in the National Gallery, London (Figure 4).¹⁶ This painting depicts a half-length figure in a scholar's cap and gown who scowls out of the picture in strikingly direct contact with the viewer. The Latin inscription, "AUT TACE,/AUT LOQUERE MELIORA/SILENTIO," may be translated as "Either keep silent or speak better than silence," which is typical of Rosa's use of terse philosophical phrases. On the basis of style and treatment, scholars have dated it to Rosa's Florentine period between 1640 and 1649, when he self-consciously adopted a cultivated image as a Cynic-Stoic philosopher.

Although that painting has generally been accepted as a self-portrait,¹⁷ documentation for such identification dates only from 1767, when it was included in a Florentine exhibition as one of a pair of pictures belonging to the marchese Lorenzo Niccolini. The exhibition catalogue, *Il Trionfo delle Bell'Arti*, identified the pair as "Due Quadri compagni di mano di Salvator Rosa, che in uno un figura di Filosofo, l'Autore ha ritratto se medesimo nell'altro in figura di Femmina ha rappresentata la Poesia"¹⁸ (Two pendants by the hand of Salvator Rosa, in one the artist has portrayed himself as a philosopher, in the other he has represented Poetry in the figure of a woman). The companion painting, now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, represents, as described, the allegorical image of Poetry, symbolized by the attributes of laurel entwined in her disheveled hair, the book, and poised pen (Figure 5).¹⁹

In addition to sharing the same early provenance,

both paintings are identical in size and format, and the figures show a certain psychological affinity and even a family resemblance with their dark, handsome features and serious, frowning expressions. On the reverse of each canvas is an inscription, numbered consecutively "29" and "30," albeit in different handwritings. The inscription on the painting of the woman names her "La Ricciardi, the favorite of Salvator Rosa, depicted as a Sibyl for the Niccolini," an inaccurate identification, for her attributes show her to be the personification of Poetry, not a Sibyl (Figure 6).²⁰ Moreover, we know from several biographical sources that Rosa's female companion was called Lucrezia Paolina, and the erroneous name "La Ricciardi" suggests that the writer unwittingly confused the identities of Rosa's well-known friend with his mistress.

The inscription on the reverse of the philosopher picture (Figure 7) identifies it as a self-portrait made by Rosa for the Casa Niccolini in Florence; however, a 1677 description of the Niccolini collection does not mention a Rosa self-portrait and cites only "pictures of philosophers."²¹ The Niccolini were neither particular friends nor patrons of Rosa, and such a personal painting or pair of portraits as a special gift or commission seems unlikely. In 1729 the marchese Filippo Niccolini had exhibited two paintings by Rosa identified only as "mezza figura" and "Testa di filosofo," which may be associated with these two pictures.²²

The discrepancies and confused identities may be explained by the fact that on the basis of handwriting, as well as content, the inscriptions appear to have been added at a later time, probably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.²³ While it is possible that the painting of the man may have been intended as an idealized self-image, the identification of the pair of paintings as the painter and his mistress was most likely made to enhance interest in the works and to increase their value when they were sold in the early nineteenth century. By that time paintings of allegorical personifications popular in Florence in the 1640s had gone out of fashion, but an interest in artists as individual personalities had increased.²⁴

This attribution of a pair of unidentified male and female figures as the artist and his mistress-model is an example of a *topos* of artists' lives, which had appeared

4. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait* (?). Oil on canvas, 115 × 92 cm. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)



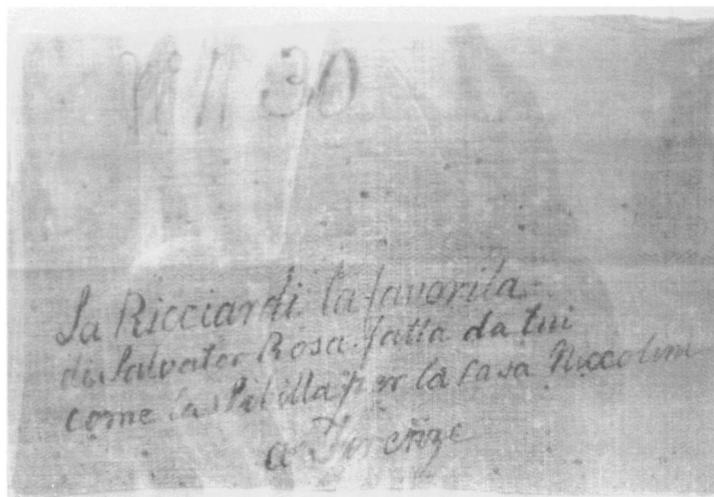


5. Salvator Rosa, *Poetry*. Oil on canvas, 116 × 94 cm. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (photo: Wadsworth Atheneum)

in numerous variations since antiquity, including such couples as Apelles and Campaspe or Praxiteles and Phryne, whose relationships reflected the ideal Artist inspired by Beauty as personified by a lovely, mysterious woman.²⁵ There is no evidence to suggest that this pair of portraits was ever intended to record the likenesses of Salvator Rosa and Lucrezia Paolina. While it is possible, if not probable, that Rosa drew upon himself and his mistress as models for these figures, their portrayed identities are by no means definite and would be only part of their overall meaning as allegorical figures. Furthermore, the character of Salvator Rosa as a romantic, melancholy, and dashing figure had by then been made popular through Bernardo de Dominici's 1742 biography, in which Rosa's legendary exploits among brigands in the Abruzzi mountains were mythologized, and in Lady Sydney Morgan's biography-cum-novel, which emphasized the more romantic and colorful aspects of his life.²⁶ The image of the handsome, glowering young genius and his beautiful mistress-model would have fulfilled the Romantic ideal of the antisocial, temperamental artist—an idea that suited the taste of a later time. In any event, the intended meaning of Rosa's National Gallery picture must be considered with its pendant, *Poetry*, in the Wadsworth Atheneum, and cannot be fully ascertained without additional information.²⁷

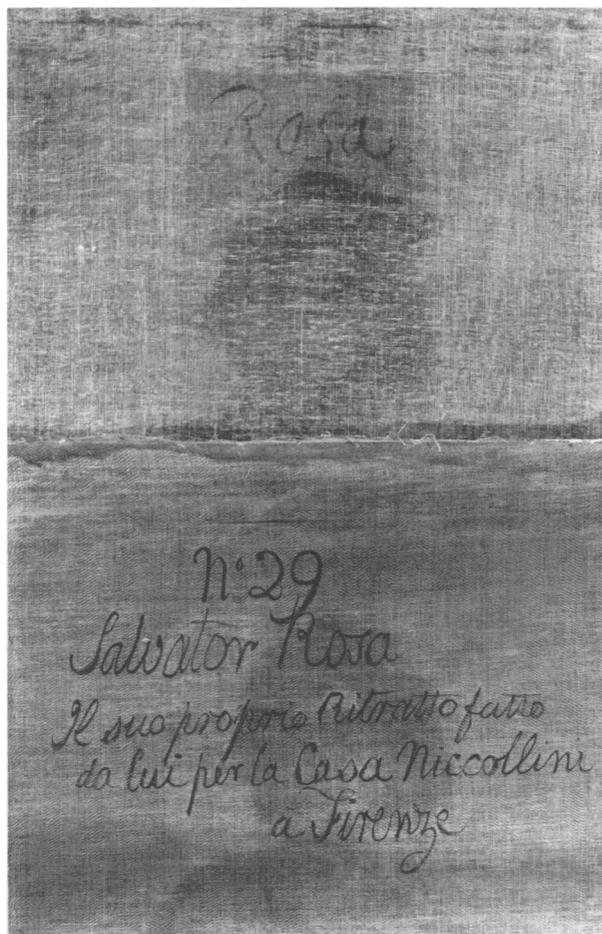
In the same exhibition of 1767 in which the Niccolini pendants were shown, the descendants of Giovanni Battista Ricciardi exhibited a painting by Rosa described as "autoritratto in atto di scrivere sopra un teschio di morto" (a self-portrait in the act of writing on a skull).²⁸ This must be the Metropolitan Museum's self-portrait. In 1706 and again in 1729 the Ricciardi family also exhibited a Rosa self-portrait as recorded in catalogues of the Florentine exhibitions.²⁹ This evidence seems to indicate that at least through the early eighteenth century the Ricciardi picture of a man writing on a skull was considered a self-portrait, while the Niccolini (now National Gallery) painting known as a "philosopher" was not called a self-portrait until 1767, and the "Lucrezia" was so identified even later.

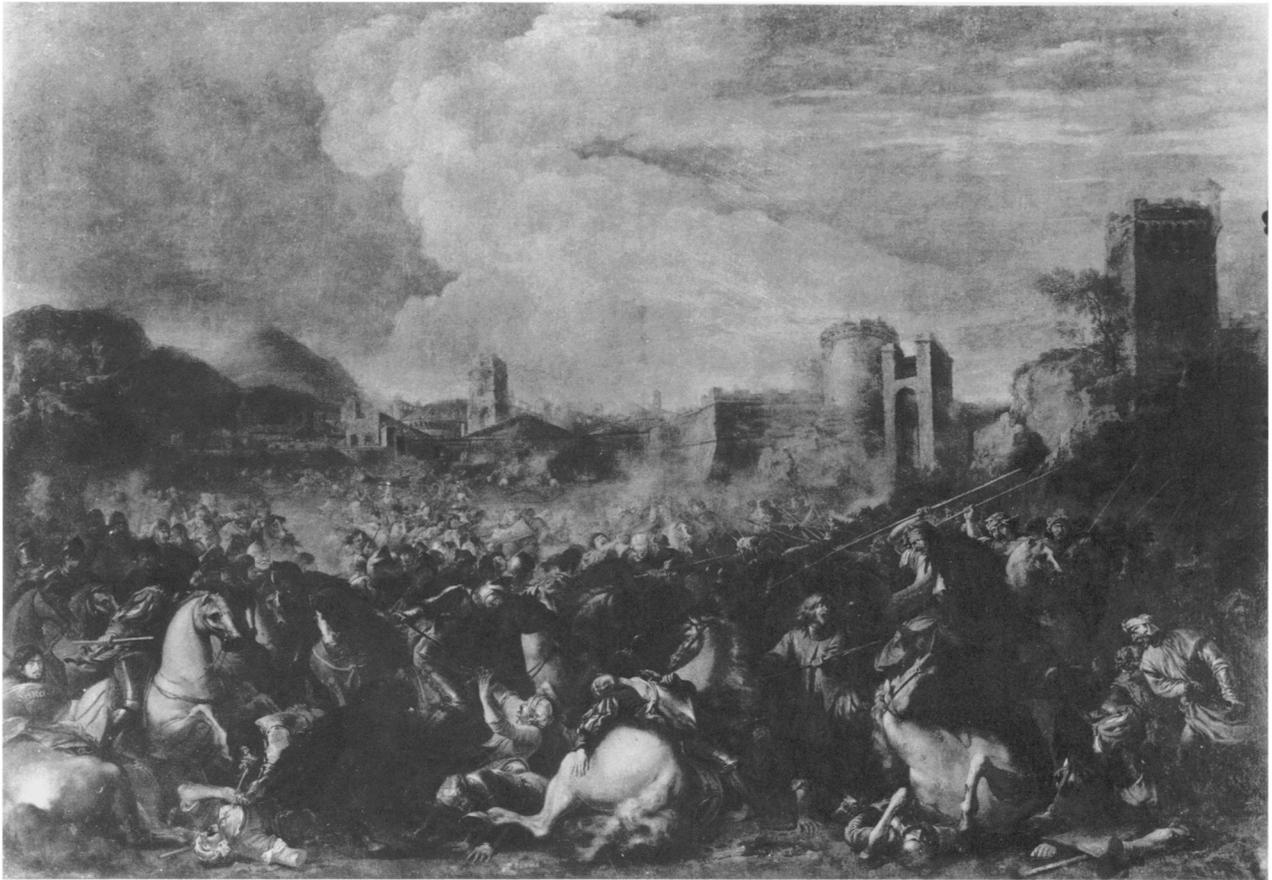
In order to determine if one or both of these paintings in question portray Rosa himself, it is necessary to compare them with the securely identified self-portraits.



6. Inscription on back of *Poetry* (Figure 5)

7. Inscription on back of *Self-Portrait* (?) (Figure 4)





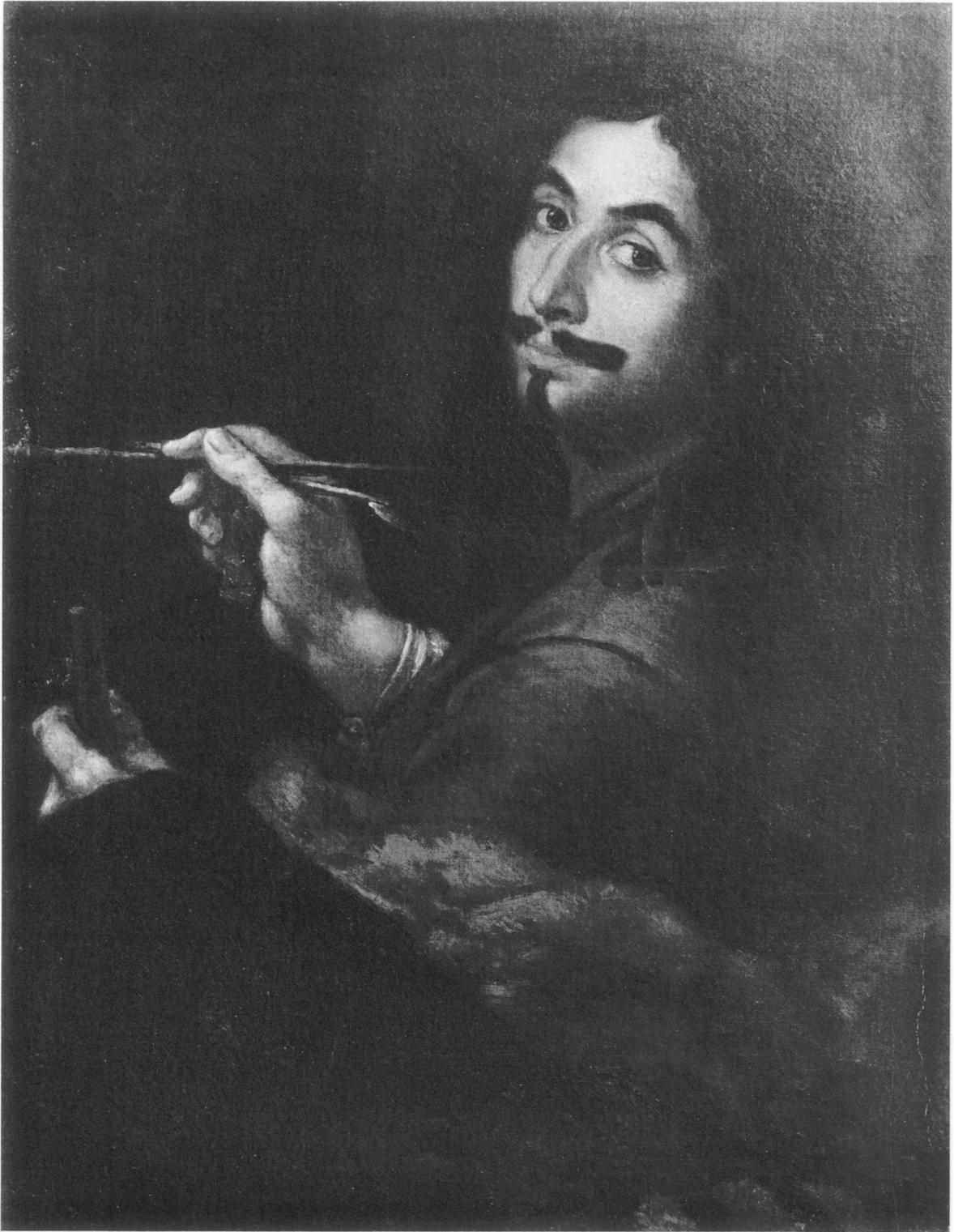
8. Salvator Rosa, *Battle Scene*, 1640. Oil on canvas, 234 × 350 cm. Florence, Pitti (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico)



There are actually very few of them, and all were painted between 1639 and the mid-1640s. According to Rosa's biographer Filippo Baldinucci, the first large work Rosa painted when he arrived in Florence in 1640 was a *Battle Scene*, in which he included his own image (Figure 8).³⁰ At the far left edge of this painting, above a large rock on which appear the letters SARO as his signature, the small image of the artist's face looks calmly out at the viewer and seems to bear witness to the horrible, bloody battle scene (Figure 9). The youthful face is round, with broad cheeks, heavy-lidded eyes and thick brows, full lips, prominent nose, mustache, and a small beard. His long, dark, curly hair, parted over a low forehead, frames the face and falls to his shoulders.

A second self-portrait, originally painted for Giulio Maffei, another Tuscan friend, later became part of the Medici collection of self-portraits in the Uffizi (Figure 10).³¹ In this picture a slightly older Rosa looks over his

9. Detail of *Battle Scene* (Figure 8)



10. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 71 × 57 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico)



shoulder at the viewer in a pose frequently used for self-portraits. He is elegantly dressed with a fur-trimmed cloak and appears to have been interrupted in the act of painting. He holds both a paintbrush and a dart to signify his double role as painter and satiric poet. The features are very similar to those in the Pitti *Battle Scene*. We see the same strong, curved nose, full lips, long hair, mustache, and large, slightly protuberant eyes.

Another self-portrait had been included in Rosa's first major commission, an *Incredulity of St. Thomas* painted in 1639 for the Bishop of Viterbo (Figure 11).³² The image of the artist appears at the far right gazing out of the picture. This face shares the same features as those in the Uffizi *Self-Portrait* and the *Battle Scene*. In addition to these three documented self-portraits, there is one known portrait of Rosa by another artist, an engraving by Giovanni Battista Bonacina of 1662, which became the basis for several later pictures of Rosa.³³ The artist is shown in profile, a view that emphasizes his most distinctive features: prominent nose, low forehead, curly hair, and deep-set, slightly bulging eyes (Figure 12).

The man in the Metropolitan Museum's painting must be the same person. He appears older, perhaps thinner in the cheeks, with the same shape of nose, lips, eyes, hair—perhaps an idealized image of Rosa in his early forties. The figure depicted in the National Gallery's painting bears a general resemblance; there are, however, noticeable differences (Figure 4). His longer face has thinner lips, small, narrow eyes, a distinctly straight, sharp nose, and only the slightest traces of facial hair. This could be an exaggerated self-idealization in which the thick-featured, swarthy Neapolitan represented himself as a more refined, ascetic type to better suit his image as a scholar-philosopher. Nevertheless, the discrepancies are notable, and if, as scholars agree, the National Gallery's painting was made in Florence in the 1640s when he painted the *Battle Scene* (Figure 9) and the Uffizi *Self-Portrait* (Figure 10), the differences in appearance cannot be attributed to age. Another factor to be considered is that in the *Battle Scene*, his first major commission for the Medici, Rosa must have created what he believed to be a proud, flattering self-image, and this would have been equally true for his self-portrait for the Maffei, his friends and frequent hosts in Tuscany. If these are his self-idealizations of the 1640s, the National Gal-

11. Salvator Rosa, *The Incredulity of St. Thomas*. Oil on canvas, 258 × 164 cm. Viterbo, Museo Civico (photo: I.C.C.C.)



12. Giovanni Battista Bonacina (active in Rome, ca. 1650–70), *Portrait of Salvator Rosa*. Engraving, 1662

lery's painting either represents a very different characterization—another person entirely—or, more likely, an allegorical image, which may possibly incorporate the artist's own features.

Two other paintings should be noted, although neither has a certain attribution or provenance. These are the *Self-Portrait as a Warrior* in the Palazzo Chigi-Saracini, Siena (Figure 13),³⁴ and a very similar *Self-Portrait* in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 14).³⁵ The physical features of both resemble those in the Metropolitan Museum's painting, and they may be later works based on this portrait. The bold, dramatic characterization in the Siena painting, especially the drawing of the sword, appears to suggest the legendary Rosa of the nineteenth-century Romantics, although Meroni believes this painting to be a portrait by Rosa of Agostini Chigi, governor of Castel Sant' Angelo, Rome, from 1656 to 1667.³⁶

Analysis of the Metropolitan painting's imagery provides further support for its being a self-representation.



13. Salvator Rosa(?), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 94 × 107 cm. Siena, collection Chigi-Saraceni (photo: Alinari)

Rosa was influenced by the well-established tradition of the *vanitas* or *memento mori* portrait with a skull.³⁷ Several seventeenth-century Northern European artists portrayed themselves holding or pointing to a skull, usually accompanied by books, manuscripts, and the tools of the trade: palette and brushes. There are examples by Jan Molenaer (about 1640), Gerard de Lairesse (about 1675–80),³⁸ and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1644), who depicted himself as a melancholic, gazing pensively at an open book surrounded by a skull, hour-glass, and snuffed candle, symbols of the transitoriness of human life (Figure 15).³⁹

Another example of a *memento mori* portrait with compositional and iconographic similarities is Robert Walker's 1648 half-length portrait of John Evelyn, in which the subject, dressed informally, leans on one hand in melancholic contemplation while the other hand

lightly covers a skull that rests in front of him (Figure 16). A Greek inscription (Repentance is the beginning of wisdom) appears on a column above Evelyn, and a handwritten quotation from Seneca on the importance of preparing for death lies beneath the skull.⁴⁰ As in Rosa's painting, Evelyn is depicted as a Stoic man of letters who reflects on the temporary nature of human life.

The emphasis Rosa placed on the melancholic contemplation of death, as well as his physical appearance and other circumstantial evidence, strongly suggests that the painting was made at the end of 1656 or in early 1657. That year marked Rosa's darkest moment of despair, for he was compelled then to send his beloved Lucrezia and their son, Rosalvo, away from Rome in order to escape persecution from the Church for living in sin. Mistress and child went to Naples and stayed with Rosa's family; but 1656 was the year in which the plague ravaged that city, and by July or early August Rosalvo, as well as Rosa's brother Giuseppe, had died.



14. Salvator Rosa(?), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 75 × 61 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, John and Rhoda Lord Fund (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)

15. Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–78), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on panel, 58 × 74 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. (photo: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)



In August Rosa also learned of the death of his old friend Giulio Maffei. Although Lucrezia survived and returned to Rome, Rosa found it nearly impossible to work for much of that year and was preoccupied with thoughts of death, the arbitrariness of fortune, and the transitoriness of human life. In August 1656 Rosa declared that he was the most unhappy man alive, without hope of ever returning to a state of tranquillity.⁴¹ He was able to continue work on the series of etchings known as the *Figurine* for Carlo de' Rossi, but he found himself unable to pick up his brushes for many months (beginning in the summer) until almost the end of 1656.⁴²

When Rosa was finally able to return to painting by the end of the year, he must have begun the powerfully pessimistic painting known as *L'Umana Fragilità* (Fig-

16. Robert Walker (1607–58), *Portrait of John Evelyn*. Oil on canvas. London, National Portrait Gallery (photo: National Portrait Gallery)



ure 17).⁴³ This allegorical yet highly personal painting of human frailty and the transitoriness of life was described and explained at length by Baldinucci. The grim skeleton, putti burning tow on the end of a distaff and blowing bubbles, cypress-wreathed Terminus, fragile butterflies, monumental obelisk, and other symbols surround the female personification of Human Frailty, who wears roses in her hair, symbolic of love and evanescence, as well as Rosa's own name.⁴⁴ His monogram appears on the knife blade in the foreground—another reminder of abrupt separation through death. The innocent infant, seated like the Christ Child on a woman's lap, his helpless arm in the grip of grinning Death, writes the words: "Conceptio Culpi Nasci Pena Labor Vita Necessesse Mori" (Conception is sinful; birth a punishment; life, hard labor; death, inevitable). Rosa's biographer connected these

17. Salvator Rosa, *L'Umana Fragilità*. Oil on canvas, 186.5 × 133 cm. Cambridge, Eng., Fitzwilliam Museum (photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



18. Salvator Rosa, *Study for Self-Portrait*. Pen, brown ink, and brown wash over red chalk, 9.4 × 8.6 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico)

phrases and the painting in general with a poem dedicated to Rosa by Ricciardi. The words in Rosa's painting are almost exactly those in Ricciardi's *canzone*:

Rosa, il nascere è pena,
Il vivere è fatica,
Et il morir necessità fatale; . . .⁴⁵

The overall theme of Ricciardi's poem is the human condition, but the specific subject is Rosa himself, whom the poet consoles and commends for his virtue and strength in adversity. He praises Rosa's defiance of fortune and describes him as wearing the double laurels of painting and poetry, while his greatest talent is the candid splendor of the moral conduct with which he faces destiny. Rosa is compared to the great Stoic heroes of antiquity: Socrates, Seneca, Scipio, Regulus, Cato. He is counseled to remain strong, for his talents and virtues will eventually be appreciated by those who truly comprehend, and ultimately he will triumph:

Credi, Rosa, al mio canto:
Presto verrà quel giorno
Ch'alle nostre vittorie il Ciel destina;
Tra 'l foco, e 'l vento, i pregi
Dimostran L'Oro e L'Elce,

E l'indurata selce
 Se percossa non è, cela i suoi fregi.
 Sia fulminato e scosso il fragil velo;
 Glorioso è cader per man del Cielo.⁴⁶

Scholars have assumed that Ricciardi's poem was written in 1652 on the basis of information contained in a letter Rosa wrote on July 6, 1652, in which he mentioned an unidentified *canzone* Ricciardi had sent him.⁴⁷ Other evidence, however, suggests that Ricciardi composed the poem in 1656, a more probable date in terms of the poem's theme and its relation to Rosa's desperate unhappiness at that time. This would also establish its composition directly before the painting of *L'Umana Fragilità*, to which it is connected circumstantially and iconographically. In the postscript of a letter dated August 12, 1656, in which Rosa lamented his son's death and described himself as the most unfortunate man alive, he added: "La Sua canzone è degno parte del vostro ingegno" (Your ode is worthy of your genius).⁴⁸ In all likelihood this refers to the poem written for Rosa as a friend's consolation during his period of tragic loneliness.

There are numerous stylistic and iconographic affini-

19. Salvator Rosa, *Study for "L'Umana Fragilità."* Pen, brown ink, and wash, 21.6 × 15.2 cm. Collection Nathalie and Hugo Weisgall (photo: S. Wassynng)

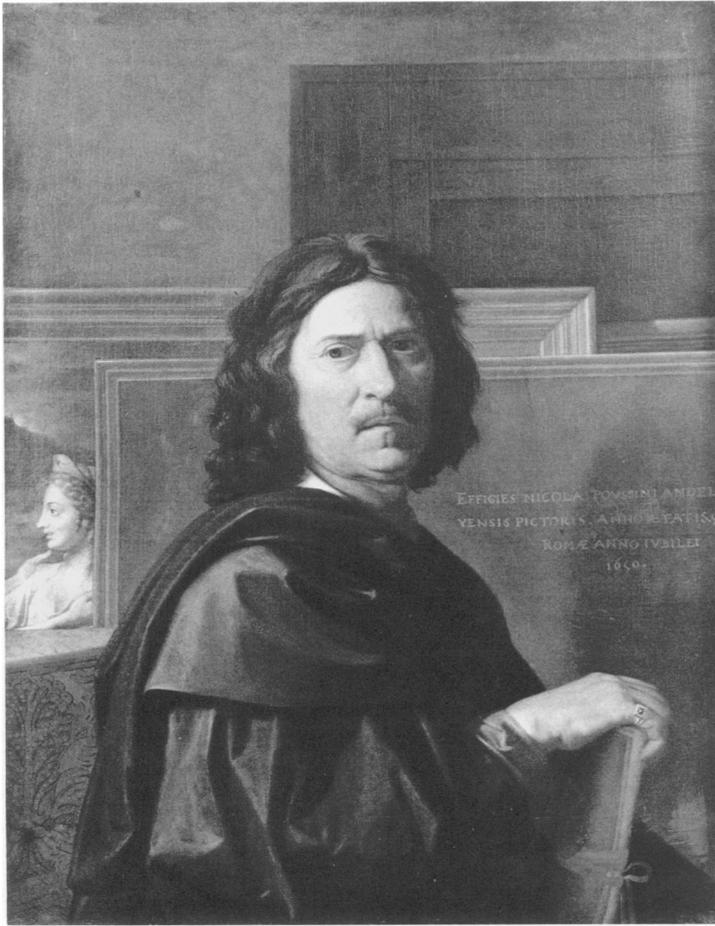


ties between *L'Umana Fragilità* and the Metropolitan Museum's portrait. The brooding atmosphere, dark sky, garlands of funereal cypress, and the physical presence of death as skull and bones are self-evident. Several drawings provide a further link between them.⁴⁹ In one drawing, which appears to be a study for the self-portrait, a long-haired male figure holds a pen poised above a skull, while more skulls and crossbones are lightly sketched above him on a funerary monument and a second base (Figure 18).⁵⁰ Similarly, in a preparatory study for *L'Umana Fragilità* the figures of woman, child, putti, and Death are grouped below the base of a large funerary monument decorated with curved volutes and a skull and crossbones (Figure 19).⁵¹ In the painting *L'Umana Fragilità* this monument is straight-sided and topped by the sculptured bust of Terminus, but in the drawings the ideas for the funerary monument are quite similar.

Wallace has pointed out several strong and direct connections between Rosa's *L'Umana Fragilità* and Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Melencolia I* (Figure 20),

20. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *Melencolia I* (B.74). Engraving, 24.3 × 18.7 cm. The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of J. Lionberger Davis (photo: The Art Museum)





21. Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), *Self-Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 98 × 74 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

which also shows a seated wreathed woman, a child who scribbles, and symbols of practical and theoretical human activities.⁵² Elements in Rosa's self-portrait also suggest a relationship with Dürer's well-known and influential print, which has been understood to represent the debilitating effects of an artist's melancholy. As symbolized by the actively scribbling putto and the passive, contemplative figure of Melancholy, artistic practice severed from theory results in the impossibility of meaningful creation. The cure for the artist's melancholy is found through strengthening the bond between intellectual and practical skill and pursuing purposeful activity.⁵³ Thus, although Rosa portrayed himself as a melancholic, he is not shown in passive contemplation of the death's head but as writing directly on the skull.

The emphasis on the act of writing in both of Rosa's paintings provides the most significant link between the self-portrait and the allegorical *L'Umana Fragilità*. In the self-portrait the crumpled paper bearing the dedication to Ricciardi features prominently as a distinct visual element tucked between the closed book and the open book, the pages of which are covered with illegible (albeit decorative) script. In fact, the skull is surrounded by various forms of writing, virtually confined between Rosa's writing hands, the paper, and books. In *L'Umana Fragilità* the main focal point is the infant, writing in large, clearly legible script the words that paraphrase Ricciardi's poem. The long, stiff sheet of parchment forms the centerpiece of the composition and commands the attention of the woman, child, and Death, who grasps the child's arm to create a grim contrast between the hard, bony fingers and soft, youthful flesh.

Baldinucci documented the connection between the painting *L'Umana Fragilità* and Ricciardi's poem; similarly, Rosa's self-portrait must be understood as a pictorial response to the *canzone*, functioning as its visual equivalent. The painting was a special gift for a sympathetic friend, "dono a suo amico," to commemorate their personal and intellectual relationship. The portrait is an example of a *Freundschaftsbild* (a friendship painting),⁵⁴ which, in addition to recording the likeness of the artist, self-consciously alludes to the *conchetto* of presence and absence. Rosa appears unaware of the viewer, self-absorbed; he is not depicted as though looking into a mirror (as in most artists' self-portraits), and perhaps ironically—despite his Stoic stance—he does not peer into the mirror of self-knowledge. Rather, we see him as if through Ricciardi's eyes, not just as described verbally by the poet but actually, as if viewed by him.

In most portraits or self-portraits intended for a particular individual, such as the self-portrait painted by Nicolas Poussin for his friend and patron Chantelou (Figure 21), the subject poses as if looking directly and meaningfully out of the picture to link the artist-subject with the viewer-friend. Other mid-seventeenth-century examples are Nicolas Regnier's *Self-Portrait of the Artist at His Easel* (Figure 22), in which he is shown painting the portrait of another man, and the double portrait by Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne and Nicolas de Platte-montagne (Figure 23).⁵⁵ In Regnier's picture both the "real" image of the artist and the painted image on the canvas make eye contact with the spectator. The double portrait shows both friends together looking out of the



22. Nicolas Regnier
(1591–1667), *Self-Portrait
of the Artist at His Easel*.
Oil on canvas, 110.5 ×
137.5 cm. Cambridge,
Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University, Gift
of Mrs. Eric Schroeder
(photo: Fogg Art Museum)

picture. In contrast, Rosa portrays himself alone, apparently unaware of the viewer. His solitary presence and the friend's implied absence are essential to our understanding of the full meaning of this picture.

In order to justify a date in the mid-1650s, Mahoney had suggested that “nell'Eremo” could refer metaphorically to Rosa's loneliness and solitary existence in Rome, far away from his dear friend, rather than to an actual “retreat” where the portrait was painted. Support for this interpretation can be found in Rosa's own language, for in poetic expression “eremo” can mean a solitary place, an idea consistent with Rosa's attitude toward his situation in Rome during the mid-1650s when, in addition to having had to bear the death of his son, brother, and old friend Giulio Maffei, he was attacked by rival poets, accused of plagiarism, and threatened with excommunication, to which he responded by composing “Invidia” and “Tireno,” his bitterest personal satires.⁵⁶

Ricciardi, too, had employed a variant of the word “eremo,” “èrmo,” which may also be related to this idea. In his *canzone* to Rosa the verses that immediately follow

those paraphrased in the painting *L'Umana Fragilità* continue:

Così forte catena
Ambo gl'estremi implica,
Che distinguer non so Morte, o Natale;
Ci prova eterna forza
In quest' erma palestra;
L'onnipotente destra
Guida i seguaci, e i renitenti sforza;
Il decreto del fato il tutto regge,
Ma pria del fato a noi virtù dia legge. . . .⁵⁷

The literary phrase “erma palestra” (solitary training ground) can be understood, according to seventeenth-century usage of “palestra,” as a place where the individual learns virtue—perhaps in competition with others—through grappling with one's passions in order to gain control.⁵⁸ In 1685 Rome was described as “la palestra nella quale meglio che altrove si apprende la forma da frenar le passioni” (the grappling ground where it is better than anywhere else to learn to restrain the passions).⁵⁹ Thus Rosa may have used “eremo” in the same sense, the lonely place in which he struggles to



23. Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne (1631–81) and Nicolas de Platemontagne (1631–1706), *Double Portrait*. Oil on canvas, 132 × 185 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (photo: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)

gain control of his passions and to practice virtue. Rosa’s “eremo” could imply the whole world, but at least it suggests Rosa’s separation from his friend and may be identified with his place of exile, the city of Rome. In any case, the dedication need not be understood literally as a country villa or retreat where the work was actually painted.

During the period from August 1656, when Rosa’s son and brother died, to June 1657, Rosa’s letters to Ricciardi were filled with anguish and anger, frustration and sorrow, and he constantly sought his absent friend’s support. The letters allude to his melancholy state of mind, his loneliness in Rome, and how very much he missed Ricciardi’s company. He lamented that even the

philosophy of the Stoics could not console him; for their theory, as written in notes and recorded by history, was quite different from the practice of Stoic behavior. What we read of Seneca’s bravery in the face of death is no greater than that of the common man condemned to the gallows. All Seneca’s “schiamazzo della vita beatà e tranquillità dell’animo” (racket about a happy life and tranquility of the soul) had been supported by the comforts of his own large fortune, while Rosa, who has little, suffers so much more.⁶⁰

The following month Rosa declared that his greatest comfort was to meditate on Ricciardi, “la vostra persona, il vostro amore, la vostra virtù,” joined to the hope that one day soon he would see him again.⁶¹ A few weeks later Rosa wrote that he had no consolation apart from meditation on the great day when he might find himself with Ricciardi, all he cared for in this life.⁶² In October 1656, when he had not heard from Ricciardi for a few weeks, he admonished that “il privar un amico di

mia qualità delle consuete consolazioni son . . . heresie nel Tribunale dell'Amicitia" (deprivation of the usual solace accorded a friend of my quality is heresy in the Court of Friendship).⁶³

During the rest of that year and into the spring of 1657 Rosa continued his outpouring of distress and need for comfort, culminating in June with the statement that his greatest torment was considering himself far away from Ricciardi; he did not know when these increasing maledictions, now hardened into melancholia from which it seemed impossible to rouse himself, would cease. Each day he grew worse, but by now at least he could shield himself from the most extreme agony through the application of paintbrush or pen.⁶⁴ Earlier in the same month he had written that he was feeling some relief from his fiendish afflictions through poetry; he was composing a new satire, most likely the "Tireno."⁶⁵ This bitter satire expresses the pessimistic belief that the world has become too corrupt for anyone to be instructed in good conduct, and the rules of Seneca or Zeno serve only to depress the spirit, thus rendering the cruel Neroes worse.⁶⁶ Rosa, through the voice of "Tireno," claimed that he would now give up satire to concentrate on his own moral conduct with "un cranio spolpato" (a skull) as master,⁶⁷ an image reminiscent of the portrait.

Thus, by the middle of the year, although still depressed, Rosa was back at work painting as well as writing. This is the most likely period for Rosa to have produced the personal allegory of death and loss, *L'Umana Fragilità*, as well as the self-portrait for Ricciardi, his distant yet consoling friend. Ricciardi had sent Rosa the *canzone* in an attempt to lift his spirits, and Rosa responded with

these paintings, one providing a pictorial rendering of Ricciardi's words and sentiments, the other a visual equivalent to Ricciardi's poetic image of his melancholy friend.

Dating the self-portrait at this time may also help to explain the overpainting of the name Seneca on the spine of the book and the tear that runs down Rosa's cheek in contradiction to the Stoic conduct attributed to him by Ricciardi. Initially, inspired by Ricciardi's ode and in accordance with the iconography for a memento mori portrait, Rosa had included the book of Seneca. However, he then ironically subverted the Stoic ideal, for as expressed in his letters and in "Tireno," Rosa rejected Seneca and renounced the consolations of Stoic philosophy. Seneca's philosophy had become inappropriate for this particular portrayal; rather than a display of calm contemplation in the face of death, Rosa weeps for his losses and his desire to join Ricciardi. The words inscribed on the skull in Greek—"Behold, whither, when"—allude not only to Death itself, the sinister winged skeleton of *L'Umana Fragilità*, but also to Ricciardi, Rosa's solace. The written word in the poem, letters, and painting and the act of writing as depicted in the painting tie them together, and Rosa's self-portrait completes the bond through which Ricciardi may actually see his friend as he imagines him: reflective, solitary, and sad, yet free of his melancholy inertia.

In conclusion, the Metropolitan Museum's painting seems to be a self-portrait painted for Ricciardi early in 1657 in Rome. It was most likely conceived at the same time as *L'Umana Fragilità* as a response to Ricciardi's ode and to provide a surrogate image for his absent friend.

NOTES

1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mary L. Harrison, 21.105. Oil on canvas, 99.1 × 79.4 cm. Harry B. Wehle, *Metropolitan Museum Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings* (New York, 1940) p. 260.

2. Richard W. Wallace, "The Genius of Salvator Rosa," *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965) p. 474; idem, "Salvator Rosa's *Democritus* and *L'Umana Fragilità*," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968); idem, *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa* (Princeton, 1979) pp. 43–44, 21–22; idem, *Salvator Rosa in America*, exh. cat. (Wellesley, Mass., 1979) pp. 12–13. See also Luigi Salerno, *L'opera completa di Salvator Rosa* (Milan, 1975) pp. 86–87; and Wendy W. Roworth, "Pictor Succensor": *A Study of Salvator Rosa as Satirist, Cynic, and Painter* (New York/London, 1978) pp. 258–259.

3. According to Keith Christiansen, Associate Curator at the Metropolitan Museum, to whom I am grateful for assistance in

studying this painting. Wallace had noted that "Seneca" was lightly painted out and suggested that Rosa did so when he realized Seneca's writings did not fully support the quietistic attitude expressed by the painting (*The Etchings*, p. 44).

4. On Ricciardi and his relationship with Rosa, see Aldo de Rinaldis, *Lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa a G. B. Ricciardi* (Rome, 1939) pp. xlii–xliv; Uberto Limentani, *Poesie e lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa* (Florence, 1950) pp. 30–34, and *La Satira nel Seicento* (Milan, 1961) pp. 125–128. Earlier sources on Ricciardi's life and poetry include E. Toci, *G. B. Ricciardi, Rime burlesche edite e inedite* (Livorno, 1881); Angelo Fabroni, *Historia Academiae Pisanae* (Pisa, 1795; Bologna, 1971) III, pp. 127–133; and Francesco Inghirami, *Storia della Toscana* (Fiesole, 1844) XIV, pp. 175–177.

5. Salerno had first dated this to 1659 (Salvator Rosa [Milan, 1963] p. 123) and later to June 1640, at Monterufoli ("Salvator

Rosa at the Hayward Gallery," *Burlington Magazine* [December, 1973] p. 827; and *L'opera completa*, no. 27, p. 86); Lucio Festa as at Strozzevolpe, 1659 ("Una redazione inedita del 'Tireno' di Salvator Rosa," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* [Naples, 1979] ser. 3, XVIII, p. 192, and "Salvator Rosa filosofo," *Criterio* [Naples, 1985] p. 58); Wallace, ca. 1650 (*Salvator Rosa in America*, p. 13); and Helen Langdon in *Salvator Rosa*, exh. cat. (London, 1973) p. 22 as the early 1650s at the latest.

6. Michael Mahoney, *The Drawings of Salvator Rosa* (New York/London, 1977) I, group 49, pp. 471-477.

7. See John T. Spike, *Baroque Portraiture in Italy: Works from North American Collections*, exh. cat. (Hartford, Conn./Sarasota, Fla., 1985) no. 58, p. 158.

8. See note 5 above. Salerno originally believed it was Rosa (*Salvator Rosa*), then accepted it as Ricciardi (*L'opera completa*); Wallace has always believed it to be a self-portrait, as have Mahoney (*Drawings*) and Festa (*"Una redazione"*). Langdon (*Salvator Rosa*) was noncommittal and presented both views. Limentani has been unsure but favors it as a self-portrait (letter). Ubaldo Meroni (see note 9 below) has been adamant in insisting on the Ricciardi identification, which was accepted by Spike (*Baroque Portraiture*). I first published it as a self-portrait (*Pictor Succesor*) then accepted it, reluctantly, as Ricciardi, in a review of "Baroque Portraiture in Italy," *Burlington Magazine* 127 (June 1985) p. 406.

9. The one painting identified as a specific individual, Sir James Altham, supposedly a pupil of Rosa in Rome, is at Kingston Lacy (National Trust). See Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau, eds., *Painting in Naples 1606-1705 from Caravaggio to Giordano*, exh. cat. (London/Washington, D.C., 1982) no. 137, p. 238. Meroni proposed, with dubious proof, that, in addition to three portraits he has identified as Ricciardi, other paintings of unidentified male figures represent Agostino Chigi and Giulio Maffei ("Salvator Rosa: autoritratti e ritratti di amici," *Prospettiva* [Apr. 1981] pp. 65-70).

10. Catherine Monbeig and Walter Vitzthum, *Le dessin à Naples*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1967). This idea was noted in the catalogue for the exhibition of Salvator Rosa's works held in London in 1973 (*Salvator Rosa*, no. 22, p. 27), and Zeri's intuitive suggestion was accepted by Salerno in his review of this exhibition ("Salvator Rosa at the Hayward Gallery," p. 827); see also Burton B. Frederickson and Federico Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Paintings in North American Public Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) p. 177.

11. Ubaldo Meroni, *Lettere e altri documenti intorno alla storia della pittura. G. B. Castiglione, Salvator Rosa, G. L. Bernini*, Fonti per la storia della pittura e della scultura antica, VIII (Monzambano, 1978) pp. 7-8; idem, "Autoritratti."

12. Meroni, *Lettere*, p. 95: "Inventario dei beni di Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, 22 aprile 1687" (Ricciardi had died in 1686).

13. Meroni, *Lettere*, p. 105: "Il Ricciardi in abito dell filosofico ritratto in atto di contemplare un teschio umano, nel cui quadro son queste parole scritte: 'Salvator Rosa dipinse nell'Eremo e dono a Gio Batt Ricciardi suo amico.' . . ." Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli, "La Toscana letterata ovvero Storia degli scrittori fiorentini," unpublished manuscript (Magliabecchiano, classe IX, codice 67, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence).

14. Meroni, *Lettere*, p. 104. *Della biblioteca volante di Gio Cinelli Calvoli* (Venice, 1699) p. 91: "Fu Rosa da me ben conosciuto in

Firenze ed in Pisa in casa del suo amico Ricciardi col quale aveva qualche servitù. . . Era Rosa graziosissimo ed ameno nella conversazione, la quale godei più volte essendo commensale del Ricciardi ch'era buono e leale amico, e questo fu dall'anno 1645 fino al 1650. . . ."

15. Fabroni, *Historia Academiae* III, p. 132: "Ut vero gratissimus erga Ricciardium cognosceretur, amico unico (sic illum appellabat) suam effigiem, aliasque tabulas dono dedit. . . ." I wish to thank Lucio Festa for bringing this passage to my attention. Limentani has noted a passage in Inghirami, XIV, p. 176, which states that among the most beautiful pictures by Rosa given to Ricciardi was one in which he had portrayed "il Ricciardi in abito filosofico, in atto di contemplare un teschio umano." This may refer to the portrait of Ricciardi in the inventory cited above, but it is likely that such statements relied on earlier sources who confused the paintings and identities. See note 4 above.

16. National Gallery, London, no. 680. Oil on canvas, 116 × 96 cm. See Michael Levey, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italian Schools* (London, 1971) pp. 200-202; Langdon, *Salvator Rosa*, no. 9, p. 22.

17. Most scholars have accepted this as a self-portrait although Ellis K. Waterhouse had expressed doubts (Levey, *Italian Schools*, p. 201), and Langdon found the features of the New York painting difficult, but not impossible, to reconcile with those of the National Gallery painting (*Salvator Rosa*, p. 27). On the other hand, Meroni drew attention to the "striking resemblance" between them and claimed that the London painting also represented Ricciardi, not Rosa ("Autoritratti," p. 65).

18. *Il Trionfo delle Bell'Arti renduto gloriosissimo*, SS. Annunziata (Florence, 1767) p. 21, noted in Levey, *Italian Schools*, p. 201; see also Fabia Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte a Firenze 1674-1767," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* XVIII (1974) pp. 1-166.

19. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection, 1956.159. Oil on canvas, 104 × 91 cm.; Spike, *Baroque Portraiture*, no. 57, p. 156. See also J. Paoletti, "The Wadsworth Atheneum, The Italian School: Problems and Suggestions," *Apollo* (Dec. 1968) pp. 23-24; and Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611) pp. 430-432, for the allegorical image of Poetry.

20. "No. 30/La Ricciardi la favorita di Salvator Rosa fatta da lui come la Sibilla per la casa Niccolini a Firenze." I wish to thank the Wadsworth Atheneum for allowing me to examine and photograph the back of their painting.

21. "No. 29/Salvator Rosa/Il suo proprio Ritratto fatto da lui per la Casa Niccolini a Firenze"; Francesco Bocchi and M. Giovanni Cinelli, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze. . .* (Florence, 1677) p. 408.

22. *Nota de' quadri e opere di scultura esposti per la festa di San Luca dagli Accademici del Disegno Nella loro Capella, e nel Chiostro secondo il Convento de' PP. della SS. Nonziata di Firenze l'Anno 1729* (Florence, 1729) pp. 27-28; Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte," p. 27.

23. Meroni, who believes this to be a portrait of Ricciardi, suggested that the identity as Rosa and the inscription were probably fabricated by the marchesi Niccolini. ("Autoritratti," p. 70 n. 6.)

24. See Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976); and "The Old Masters in 19th-Century French Painting," *Art Quarterly* 34 (1971) pp. 55-85.

25. Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven/London, 1979) pp. 116ff.

26. Bernardo de Dominici, *Le vite dei pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani* (Naples, 1742–43); Lady Morgan, *The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa* (London, 1824); see also John Sunderland, "The Legend and Influence of Salvator Rosa in England in the Eighteenth Century," *Burlington Magazine* 115, 849 (Dec. 1973) pp. 785–789.

27. I have argued, in a paper presented in a symposium on Italian Baroque Art at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1984, and in a more developed version at the Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, University of Durham, in 1987, that the National Gallery painting is meant to represent a "speaking picture" and can be understood as a form of visual rhetoric and companion to "silent poetry."

28. *Il Trionfo delle Bell'Arti*, p. 32, in the collection of cav. Niccolò Ricciardi Serguidi. See Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte," p. 120.

29. Borroni Salvadori, "Le esposizioni d'arte," p. 119.

30. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua . . .* (Florence, 1773; Florence, 1847) V, p. 448. The painting is now in the Galleria Pitti, Florence. See Salerno, *L'opera completa*, p. 91.

31. The portrait hung in the Casa Maffei, Volterra; see L. Festa, "I lunghi amichevoli rapporti fra Salvator Rosa e i Maffei," *Volterra* II, 12 (Dec. 1963). In 1681 it was acquired by Cosimo III de' Medici; see also Meroni, *Lettere*, VIII, p. 76; idem, "Autoritratti," p. 68.

32. Viterbo, Museo Civico. Salerno, *L'opera completa*, no. 10, p. 85. See also Langdon, *Salvator Rosa*, add., no. 151, p. 87; and Mahoney, *The Drawings*, I, pp. 55–58.

33. Rosa mentioned this engraved portrait in a letter to Ricciardi in Dec. 1662. See Limentani, *Poesie e lettere*, p. 129. See also Meroni, "Autoritratti," p. 67; and M. Rotili, *Salvator Rosa incisore* (Naples, 1984) pp. 68, 114, n. 9.

34. Palazzo Chigi-Saraceni, Siena. Oil on canvas, 94 × 107 cm. See Salerno, *L'opera completa*, p. 87, no. 34; Meroni, "Autoritratti," p. 66; and *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, exh. cat. (Naples, 1984) II, p. 428 n. 215 as "Portrait of an Armed Gentleman."

35. Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, John and Rhoda Lord Fund 66.191. Oil on canvas, 74.93 × 60.96 cm. See Wallace, *The Etchings*, p. 14, fig. 5.

36. Meroni, "Autoritratti," p. 66; Wallace (*The Etchings*, p. 14, n. 7) suggests that the Chigi-Saraceni painting follows the Detroit Institute painting and is probably by another hand.

37. This was suggested by Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," p. 21; see also Robert Oertel, "Die Vergänglichkeit der Künste: ein Vanitas-Stilleben von Salvator Rosa," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3 (1963) p. 108.

38. See H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, 1984) pp. 266–281, figs. 161, 163; he discusses many other examples and varieties of Northern European self-portraits.

39. Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 1386. Raupp, *Untersuchungen*, fig. 164. Raupp noted Rosa's National Gallery painting as a rare Italian example of the artist as

melancholic with the distinguishing characteristic of silence as indicated by the inscription: AUT TACE, / AUT LOQUERE MELIORA / SILENTIO, p. 271, n. 454.

40. National Portrait Gallery, London, L166, on loan from private collection; see also *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, 1625–1714*, compiled by D. Piper (Cambridge, Eng., 1963).

41. Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 59, Aug. 12, 1656, p. 84.

42. On Aug. 19, 1656 (Limentani, *Poesie*, no. xxiv, p. 113), Rosa wrote that he had not painted for three months. In September (Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi contributi all'epistolario," *Studi Secenteschi* 13 [1972] p. 266) he states that it had been five months since he had picked up his brushes. By Oct. 14, 1656 (Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi studi e ricerche," *Italian Studies* 8 [1953] p. 53) the series of etchings dedicated to Carlo de' Rossi was finished.

43. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Eng. Oil on canvas, 199 × 133 cm. Langdon, *Salvator Rosa*, no. 27, pp. 29–30; Salerno, *L'opera completa*, no. 116, pp. 94–95; and *Civiltà*, no. 2.214, p. 427. The date of 1656–57 is now generally accepted, based on an inventory of Flavio Cardinal Chigi's possessions in 1658. Chigi first came to Rome in 1656 and was made a cardinal in 1657. Stylistic affinities with other paintings of this period also support this date. For a full discussion of the work, see Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," pp. 27–31; Mahoney, *The Drawings*, II, no. 48.1; and Roworth, *Pictor Succensor*, pp. 259–261.

44. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, V, p. 445.

45. The entire poem, which begins "Sotto rigida stella/Chi nacque per languire. . ." was published by Giovanni Alberto Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere edite e inedite di Salvator Rosa* (Naples, 1892) II, pp. 138–148, from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome. Ricciardi's source was an obscure poem by the 12th-century Adam of St. Victor. See Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," p. 29.

46. Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere* II, p. 148.

47. Rinaldis (*Lettere*, no. 22, July 6, 1652, p. 37, n. 1): "La canzone se me la manderete mi sarà cara, perchè è parto del vostro ingegno. Ma per dirvela con schiettezza, in sentir Cascina mi vien voglia di cacare non essendo soggetto questo da cantar fra i Volluni Bandinelli e Salvator Rosa." The date of 1652 was accepted by Salerno and Wallace. Festa believes the ode was composed in 1656 and that the one of 1652 was actually written for Ricciardi's friend Pietro Cascina, Gran Priore dei cavalieri di Santo Stefano in Pisa, on the occasion of his marriage, printed in 1652 in Pisa for Niccolò Galeotti. "Una redazione inedita del 'Tireno' di Salvator Rosa," *Archivio Storico*, p. 194.

48. Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 59, Aug. 12, 1656, p. 84.

49. In Mahoney's chronology of Rosa's drawings, the sketches for *L'Umana Fragilità* (Group 48) precede those related to the self-portrait (Group 49), both dated between 1655 and 1659; Mahoney, *The Drawings*, I, pp. 465–477.

50. Uffizi, Florence, no. 12093F. Pen, brown ink, and brown wash over red chalk, 94 × 86 cm. Mahoney, *The Drawings*, I, no. 49.4, pp. 474–475.

51. Collection Nathalie and Hugo Weisgall. Pen, ink, and wash, 21.6 × 15.2 cm.; see D. C. Miller, "A Preparatory Study for Salvator Rosa's *L'Umana Fragilità*," *Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977) p. 272, fig. 66.

52. Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's Democritus," pp. 27–28; Dürer, *Melencolia I* (B. 74), engraving, 24.3 × 18.7 cm. (1514).

53. See Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (New York, 1964) pp. 388–390.

54. As noted by Spike, *Baroque Portraiture*, no. 58, p. 158, although this catalogue identifies the figure as Ricciardi. On *Freundschaftsbilder* in general see Klaus Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik* (Heidelberg, 1952) chap. 2, "Das humanistische Freundschaftsbild"; and Horst Keller, "Entstehung und Blütezeit des Freundschaftsbildes," *Essays in the History of Art presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967) pp. 161–173.

55. On Poussin, see Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (1967) no. 2, p. 8; Matthias Winner, "Poussins Selbstbildnis im Louvre als Kunsttheoretische Allegorie," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983) pp. 417–448; O. Bätschmann, *Dialektik der Malerei von Nicolas Poussin* (Munich, 1982) and especially the review by Elizabeth Cropper (*Art Bulletin* 65 [1983] pp. 700–701), who associates the *conetto* of presence and absence with earlier Renaissance portraits created in response to Petrarch's sonnets. On the Regnier (Niccolò Renieri) painting (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., no. 1982.116, Gift of Mrs. Eric Schroeder), see Spike, *Baroque Portraiture*, no. 50, p. 142. For the double portrait of the artists J.-B. de Champaigne and N. de Plattemontagne, see Siegmar Holsten, *Das Bild des Künstlers: Selbstdarstellungen*, exh. cat. (Hamburg, 1978) p. 100, fig. 205. Other examples of 17th-century portraits related to this idea are Michelangelo Cerquozzi's portrait of a gentleman (Rome), which shows the back of the man accompanied by a grinning self-portrait with palette and brushes on the reverse of the canvas, and Johannes Gump's self-portrait (ca. 1650) in the Medici collection, Uffizi, in which he depicts himself from the back, his own face hidden yet seen in the painting within the painting and reflected in a mirror. The "painted" image looks out rather than the "real" artist, who is unaware of the viewer's presence. See also Giuliano Briganti et al., *I Bamboccianti* (Rome, 1983) p. 132; Paul Ortwin Rave, "Das Selbstbildnis des Johannes Gump in den Uffizien," *Pantheon* 18 (1960); Kristina Herrmann-Fiore, "Due artisti allo specchio: un doppio ritratto del Museo di Würzburg attribuito a Giovanni Battista Paggi," *Storia dell'Arte* 47 (1983) pp. 29–38; John Wetenhall, "Self-Portrait on an Easel: Annibale Carracci and the Artist in Self-Portraiture," *Art International* 27 (Aug. 1984) pp. 48–

55, and Caterina Caneva and Antonio Natali, *Painters by Painters*, exh. cat. (New York/Houston, 1988), no. 17.

56. See Limentani, *La Satira*, pp. 193–211, 234–244; Roworth, *Pictor Succensor*, pp. 156–192; and Festa, "Una redazione."

57. Cesario, *Poesie e lettere*, p. 143: "A strong bond links together the extremes that make it impossible to separate Death from Life. An eternal force tests us in this solitary training ground. The all-powerful hand guides its followers, the reluctant hold back; The decree of Fate rules all, But above Fate, virtue is our law."

58. S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Torino, 1984) XII, p. 400, "palestra," no. 5, defined as used figuratively: "Luogo o ambiente in cui si svolge un'attività, per lo più di carattere intellettuale, spesso in competizione con altre persone, o si manifestano le attitudini e le qualità morali" (A place or milieu in which activity of a most intellectual nature takes place, especially in competition with others, or attitudes and moral qualities are revealed).

59. G. B. Pacichelli, *Memorie di viaggi per l'Europa cristiana* (Naples, 1685) V, p. 364.

60. Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi contributi," no. iv, Sept. 9, 1656, p. 256–265.

61. Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 60, Oct. 9, 1656, p. 85.

62. *Ibid.*, no. 61, Oct. 21, 1656, p. 86.

63. Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi studi e ricerche," no. 3, Oct. 14, 1656, p. 52.

64. Limentani, "Salvator Rosa: ultimi contributi all'epistolario," *Studi Secenteschi* 25 (1983) p. 241; see also the letters of Jan. 14, 1657 (Limentani, "Salvator Rosa—nuovi studi," p. 53–54); Mar. 3, 1657 (Rinaldis, *Lettere*, no. 62, p. 87): "Quello che sopra ogni altra cosa mi tiene in affezione, è il non essere in vostra compagnia e diviarmi con le solite occupazioni" (That which above all else keeps me in distress is not being in your company, and I divert myself with the usual pursuits).

65. Limentani, *Poesie*, no. xxvii, June 15, 1657, p. 115. Festa has convincingly argued that this satire was "Tireno," not "Babilonia," as had been suggested by Rinaldis.

66. "Tireno," vv. 163–165 (Festa).

67. *Ibid.*, v. 606.