The Letters of Salvator Rosa

An Italian Transcription, English Translation and Critical Edition

Alexandra Hoare

Harvey Miller Studies in Baroque Art

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Volume I

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HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS

HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS
An Imprint of Brepols Publishers
London/Turnhout

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library
ISBN 978-1-905375-88-2 (Set)
ISBN 978-1-912554-16-4 (Part I)
ISBN 978-1-912554-17-1 (Part II)

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D/2018/0095/279

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper

For my brother

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Acknowledgements

I wish first and foremost to thank Lorenzo Pericolo for his very kind counsel in all aspects of this multi-volume project, which includes the accompanying publication, *Salvator Rosa, Friendship and the Free Artist in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2018). In particular, I am grateful for his assistance with the laborious process of checking and revising the English translations of Rosa's letters. The accurate translation of these complex and challenging letters would have been impossible without his unique expertise in matters of language, literature and the history of seventeenth-century art, which he imparted with remarkable generosity and patience. I also wish to thank Philip Sohm at the University of Toronto, who encouraged me to take a second look at Salvator Rosa. I am grateful for his direction, generosity and support throughout my years as a graduate student and beyond. I am obliged to Evonne Levy for suggesting to me a different way of thinking about autonomy and friendship during the writing of my doctoral dissertation, and for setting me on the right path at an early stage in my research. I would also like to express my gratitude to Elizabeth Cropper, who as external examiner of my dissertation cast fresh light on many issues. I also wish to thank her for her encouragement and support of my research during my tenure as a post-doctoral research associate at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

This project has thrown into relief the value of friendship in my own life, and I am sincerely grateful for the assistance and support of friends and colleagues in Toronto, Florence, Rome, Washington DC, Bristol, and elsewhere. I wish to express thanks in particular to Betsy Bennett Purvis, who was the first to help me navigate a sea of impenetrable Florentinisms and Neapolitanisms in the very early stages of my attempts at translating Rosa's letters. I also wish to thank Guendalina Serafinelli, who kindly gave up many precious hours to assist me with refining and correcting the translations.

The community of scholars working on Rosa has grown exponentially in recent years, but there remains an important nucleus of pathbreakers who have made fundamental contributions to the field. I am grateful to Helen Langdon, Wendy Roworth and Caterina Volpi, in particular, for their early support of my work. I am especially indebted to Caterina for her continual encouragement and her interest in my project, and her suggestions for some refinements to the letter translations. These scholars' ground-breaking studies of Rosa have been essential for my research, and have set the bar very high for my own endeavours. I also wish to extend my gratitude to Gian Giotto Borrelli, with whom I briefly corresponded about my project on Rosa's letters at an early stage.

I am grateful to the many archivists and librarians who assisted me at the various institutions I consulted in order to write these volumes, in particular the staff of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. I wish to extend special thanks to Emilia Ambra, Maria Rosaria Grizzuti and Maria Francesca Stamuli at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, for their help with gaining access to the manuscripts of Rosa's letters and for permitting me to take many indispensable photographs. I also wish to thank the staff of the Morgan Library and Museum, New York, and the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, respectively, for their kind permission to obtain photographs of the letters by Rosa in their collections.

There are many colleagues who also shared their expertise on a number of minutiae and seemingly unsolvable problems, to whom I am also extremely grateful: Carlo Avilio, for helping me to find obscure

poetic references; Carlo Alberto Girotto, for generously lending his expertise in regard to matters of Italian transcription and philology; and Monica Bertè, Paolo Procaccioli and Matteo Motolese, for helping to unravel an especially obscure enigma in one of the letters. I also wish to thank colleagues and private collectors who helped me to source or who provided me with images for inclusion in these volumes, in particular Francesca Baldassari, Marco Simone Bolzoni, Brigitte Daprà and Francesco Petrucci.

Research for this project would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the Department of Art and the School of Graduate Studies at the University of Toronto, funding from the Italian Embassy in Ottawa for study at the British School at Rome (2006), a grant from the Fondazione Lemmermann for research in Rome (2007-2008), a pre-doctoral fellowship at the Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi in Florence (2007-2008), and support from CASVA for research travel in Italy and the UK (2011, 2012 and 2013). Publication subvention was aided significantly by a generous Samuel H. Kress Foundation Grant from the Renaissance Society of America (2013) and the University of Bristol Faculty Research Fund (2015).

I reserve a special gratitude, however, for the support of my parents and my brother. Without their unfailing encouragement and tolerance I would never have finished what I started. It is to them that I dedicate these volumes.

Introduction

The Letters of Salvator Rosa

Rosa's letters are perhaps unrivalled among seventeenth-century documents of their kind. With over four hundred extant examples, they outnumber the approximately two hundred surviving letters by the hand of Nicolas Poussin and the impressive two hundred and fifty by Peter Paul Rubens, artists with whom Rosa shared many professional interests and aspirations, and whose letters provide meaningful points of comparison with Rosa's own.[1] Also exceptional for their candour, Rosa's letters comprise not only an intimate chronicle of his own life but a record of many of the activities of his peers. The present publication takes up the task (identified as long overdue by a number of scholars) of providing a comprehensive transcription and English translation of the extant letters, with a critical apparatus that aims to expand our understanding of the documents and their significance.[2] Explanatory and historical notes identify previously unidentified persons, elaborate upon the historical events referred to therein, or explain unintelligible jokes or anecdotes that are difficult for even native Italian speakers to understand. A number of new observations are also made in regard to the physical characteristics of the letters, including the wax seal impressions and various marginal or appended sketches and notes.

The letters are particularly important as documents of friendship. This is the subject central to the volume that accompanies the present publication, *Salvator Rosa, Friendship and the Free Artist in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2018), which is guided in large part by Rosa's epistolary corpus. The letters are also documents of identity. The majority of Rosa's letters were written to two very close friends, an important context often overlooked by scholars preoccupied with their content. The letters are replete with references to the topoi of unity and similitude in friendship, exemplified not only by Rosa's pervasive (and conventional) signatory self-identification as "amico vero" (Figs **1-6**), but by a conspicuously recurrent invocation of the notion of the friend as a "second self". As argued more fully in Chapter Two of the accompanying volume, letter writing is fundamentally a social process of constructing and performing identities, and Rosa's own letters highlight the early modern awareness and promotion of the letter as an embodiment of this process. The letters are, in many ways, a textual counterpart to Rosa's various pictorial self-portraits, which record the spectrum of identities that Rosa sought to embody and endorse—particularly among his friends, who often received his self-portraits as gifts.[3] A similar notion was suggested by Filippo Baldinucci, who noted in his biography of the artist that Rosa's "private letters to friends" displayed the same "lively, witty, sharp-tongued expressions" as his satires, interpreted as "a true and very faithful portrait of himself".[4] Many of Rosa's letters—especially those addressed to his best friend, the Pisan poet and playwright Giovan Battista Ricciardi (1623–1686)—are masterpieces of affectionate and often passionate prose, filled with quotations and complex, inventive turns of phrase, and with very few redactions, revealing in particular Rosa's self-proclaimed identity as a philosopher and (in evidence of this) his mastery of the kind of language necessary to express both erudite doctrine and dirty jokes in the same breath and with equal flair. As a painter who was also a poet, Rosa writes exceptionally well (save the occasional anacoluthon or syntactical error), a proficiency that is noteworthy among artists of his generation.[5] Indeed, Rosa's letters participate self-consciously in the culture of intellectual exchange that comprises the *respublica literaria*. Following this line of interpretation, Maria Rosaria Nappi has classified Rosa's letters to Ricciardi as "literary epistle[s]" rather than accounts of the "secrets of a friend"—also in view of Rosa's frequent silence

on certain matters (in an effort to avoid upsetting his friend), his many hyperboles, and "the contradictions, which we can sense and imagine, between his stated principles and everyday life."[6] But Rosa can also be very natural and colloquial in his letters, as is shown by the many inside jokes that populate his letters to the Volterran merchant Giulio Maffei. Rosa's epistolary voice, then, is at times comparable to the "living speaking voice" that Anthony Mortimer identified as an unrivalled feature of Michelangelo's letters.[7] Rosa's letters also reflect, to an extent, the different relationships he shared with his friends: letters written to Giulio Maffei are generally shorter in length, often jocular in tone, and convey a sense of casual ease, while those addressed to Ricciardi are long, laboured exercises of epistolary prose that express either self-conscious displays of erudition or affectionate rebuttals in an ongoing contest of loyalties. The terms of address that Rosa uses in letters to both of these friends also evolve over time, becoming increasingly informal in tone.[8] The letters are also records of a historical moment, and the range of individuals who receive mention—artists, musicians, writers, scientists, statesmen, ecclesiastics, heads of state—open up a view into seventeenth-century culture and experience, seen through the eyes of one of the period's most fascinating exponents. The letters are first and foremost highly personal documents addressed to close friends, which offer important insights into Rosa's career as an artist—his attitudes, ambitions and practices—as well as providing detailed and often highly intimate information about his private life. Particularly revelatory in this regard are Rosa's comments (and complaints) about the various medical conditions and medicinal cures that he and his friends and family members endure.

Importantly, the correspondence is largely one-sided as very few letters survive by the hands of Rosa's principal correspondents. In the case of Ricciardi, there is only one known securely-identifiable survival addressed directly to Rosa.[9] As Caterina Volpi has noted, what few letters we have from Ricciardi (and those written to him by others) suggest a very different epistolary personality to Rosa's own—an "austere elegance" and prudence characterized by a highly restrained use of the medium (as comments in Rosa's letters also make clear), deployed in order to give or solicit important news and information and the occasional piece of gossip, "according to a stern and austere outlook that recalls the philosophy Rosa treated many times in his paintings."[10] Some sense of Ricciardi's epistolary voice, and in particular his erudition and flair with words, can perhaps be gleaned from the three letters reproduced here in the Appendices.[11] Volpi's recent publication, together with Franco Paliaga, of a corpus of letters written to Ricciardi by members of his and Rosa's circle (and now held in the Autografoteca Campori, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena)—together with Paliaga's own extensive work on the academic circles of seventeenth-century Pisa—has significantly expanded our knowledge of Rosa's and Ricciardi's network of friends and colleagues in Tuscany.[12] These missives can be added to the corpus of letters exchanged between members of Rosa's circle (some of which have been published elsewhere) and the much more extensive and unpublished body of letters still housed in archives.[13] As Volpi has noted, these letters—some of them written by members of the Pisan Accademia degli Stravaganti, an important academic context for many of Rosa's friendships—provide us with a clearer picture of Ricciardi as a kind of professorial patron, looking out for and following from a distance the activities of his academic friends, including Rosa.[14]

The Preservation and Publication of Rosa's Letters

The majority of Rosa's extant letters have been previously published in Italian, from the eighteenth century onward. A small selection of these have been translated into English, in full or in part.[15] The first of these publications was Giovanni Gaetano Bottari's *Raccolta di lettere,* the first two volumes of which (1754 and 1757) included twenty of Rosa's letters addressed to Giovan Battista Ricciardi, spanning the years 1652 to 1665.[16] Bottari's transcriptions were an important first step, but they are problematic for their omission of certain details (addresses, greetings and signatures, for example), for significant orthographic errors (Bottari transcribed the name of Rosa's first son Rosalvo as "Orsola," a mistake repeated in subsequent republications

of Bottari's transcriptions by other authors), and for an over-prudent censorship of the often crude and colourful language that is such an important feature of Rosa's epistolary identity. Rosa's prose, as Lucio Festa has noted, is distinctive among that of his contemporaries for its biting wit and frankness of language.[17] Bottari's transcriptions are also almost entirely bereft of historical and explanatory notes.

The first to reproduce Bottari's letters was the Irish novelist, Lady Sydney Morgan (1781?–1859), who included them, in English translation, in her useful (if occasionally whimsical) life-and-times biography of the artist of 1824. Explaining her choice of Rosa over any other "illustrious painter of the Italian schools," Morgan declares in her introduction to have been influenced "more by the peculiar character of the man, than the extraordinary merits of the artist"—a point of fascination that probably still rings true for many of the scholars who choose to study Rosa, and one for which his letters (as a record of that character) are particularly significant. Morgan took up the challenge of translating into English the twenty letters published by Bottari, including them at the end of her biography as a kind of appendix. She clearly, and rightly, saw the letters as essential to her discussion of Rosa's personality, experiences and work. (Her interest in Rosa "the man," however, is coloured—as are her translations of the letters to a certain degree—by a Romantic perspective that perpetuates the mythologies first concocted by Rosa's eighteenth-century biographer Bernardo De Dominici, including for example the tale of Rosa's imprisonment for part of his youth by Neapolitan bandits, and the story of his participation in Masaniello's revolt in Naples in 1647.) Morgan's translations, which are relatively accurate, are useful, but they repeat a number of errors introduced by Bottari and take certain unwarranted liberties with individual words and turns of phrase, frequently compacting otherwise complex Italian sentiments into succinct English expressions. Like Bottari and Giosuè Carducci (who in his 1860 study of Rosa relied upon Bottari's transcriptions), Morgan also chose to omit Rosa's frequent profanities (the expression "vien voglia di cacare," for example, is rendered as "I was ready to faint")—omissions that, clearly guided by Victorian propriety, detract from the actual flavour of Rosa's epistolary language. Morgan customarily blends what are clearly intended as poetic "citations" on Rosa's part into the running prose of the letter, apparently unaware of their significance or origin, and offers sparse—if any—annotation. Her comment, that "there is something English and natural in [Rosa's] manner of expressing himself, which can only be estimated by those who are acquainted with the wretched prose style of that day in Italy, or by comparing his epistolary correspondence with the letters extant of Nicholas Poussin, Lanfranco, Domenichino, etc." is an amusing proposal, but certainly misleading to the reader, whom Morgan denies the opportunity to compare her English translations with the Italian originals. Morgan's translations are also, by necessity, few in number and far from comprehensive as a treatment of Rosa's correspondence, in English or otherwise.

Bottari's letters were republished, in Italian, by a succession of authors: Bartolommeo Gamba, in his edition of Filippo Baldinucci's biography of Rosa (*La Vita di Salvatore Rosa scritta da Filippo Baldinucci fiorentino con voci aggiunte*, Venice, 1830); Giosuè Carducci (*Satire, odi e lettere di Salvator Rosa*, Florence, 1860); Giovanni Alfredo Cesareo (*Poesie e lettere edite e inedite di Salvator Rosa*, Naples, 1892); and Aldo De Rinaldis (*Lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa*, Rome, 1939). Cesareo and De Rinaldis also made important additions to the known corpus of Rosa's letters with the rediscovery and publication (in Italian transcription) of letters addressed to Giulio Maffei and his brothers (now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) and a large collection of letters written to Ricciardi (now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples). In 1875, Vittorio Corbucci published (in his *Salvator Rosa e i suoi tempi*, a short life-and-times book that once again perpetuates certain problematic mythologies initiated by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors)—along with excerpts from the Bottari letters—another previously unpublished letter by Rosa to Ricciardi in Pisa, brought to his attention by the Marchese Filippo Raffaelli, librarian of Ferrara.[18] In 1892, Cesareo published one hundred and twenty-eight letters: one hundred and five of them—all previously unknown—addressed to the Maffei brothers Giulio, Giovanni and Ludovico, the autograph copies of which (save three) were then in the collection of the Ferrajoli family in Rome and are now in the Vatican Library.[19] In addition to the letter discovered by Corbucci, and Bottari's twenty letters (the whereabouts of the autograph copies

of which were at this point unknown), Cesareo also included two letters by Rosa addressed to Antonio Ruffo in Messina, which belonged at the time to the Baron Gioacchino Ruffo of the princes of Floresta, in Messina, and are now in the archive of the Ruffo family.[20] Cesareo's goal was to reproduce the letters in their entirety, and to maintain their original orthography, including for example Rosa's rather indiscriminate and capricious use of capitalization (nonetheless conventional in seventeenth-century writing), his use of accents and his abbreviations. Cesareo also corrected many of the errors present in Bottari's transcriptions. Cesareo's transcriptions have few historical notes, but are augmented by his more extensive, accompanying two-volume study of Rosa, dedicated to Gaetano Ferrajoli, which also includes many of Rosa's poems, satires and newly discovered documents pertaining to the artist's life and career. In 1893, Benedetto Croce published a response to Cesareo's book, in which he noted a number of omissions, soon to be rectified in subsequent publications by other authors.[21] Also in 1893, Cesareo published four additional letters by Rosa.[22] Two of these had already emerged in a publication produced in honour of the wedding of Luciano Banchi (the former director of the Archivio di Stato, Siena) and Giuseppina Brini, celebrated on 16 January 1878.[23] These two letters, together with a third, unpublished letter (then in the possession of Vittoria Michon in Pisa) that Cesareo included in his 1893 publication, had at some point been separated from the Maffei corpus before it passed to the Ferrajoli collection in Rome. The fourth letter published by Cesareo in 1893 was owned by Alessandro d'Ancona.[24]

In his 1908 study of Rosa, Leandro Ozzola published three letters found among the Kempner manuscripts in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome, two attributable to Rosa and one to his life-long companion, Lucrezia Paolini. Ozzola also peppered his book with various excerpts from other extant letters by the artist.[25] In 1916, Vincenzo Ruffo republished the two extant letters written by Rosa to Antonio Ruffo in Messina.[26] These letters are important as rare surviving examples of missives that Rosa addressed to a patron. Vincenzo Ruffo's publication, which includes transcriptions of the entire corpus of letters written to Antonio Ruffo by other artists and art dealers, also offered the useful opportunity to compare Rosa's letters to those of his contemporaries.

In 1939, Aldo De Rinaldis published transcriptions of two hundred and seven letters by Rosa—the largest of the various collections.[27] These are now (except for five that were at the time considered to be lost, later to be rediscovered by Uberto Limentani in 1953, to the matter of which I shall return below) in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. Ferdinando Gerra had earlier acquired the bulk of these letters for his antiquarian bookstore on the Via del Babuino in Rome. In 1937, Gerra published a catalogue of the two hundred letters in his possession, reproducing therein a series of short excerpts from each letter. It was Gerra, according to De Rinaldis, who in June of 1937 successfully proposed to the Ministry of National Education in Naples that they acquire the letters.[28] The letters were subsequently consigned to the Biblioteca Nazionale, where they remain today. Of these two hundred letters, fifteen were among those previously published (with some "infidelity" of transcription, as De Rinaldis puts it) by Bottari in 1754 and 1757. The others, according to Gerra, passed to Antonio Bizzarri when he acquired the villa of Strozzavolpe, formerly owned by the Ricciardi family.[29] Alessandro Ademollo, in his 1888 study of seventeenth-century theatre, *I Teatri di Roma nel secolo XVII*, had earlier included short excerpts from a selection of these two hundred letters, brought to his attention by Filippo Mariotti, secretary of the Istituto Tecnico of Florence and the only individual at the time aware of their existence in the library of a Tuscan family, the indirect heirs of the Ricciardi.[30] Among this collection of two hundred letters there were also, according to De Rinaldis: the autograph copies of five letters published by Bottari (already lost by De Rinaldis's time[31]); ten letters owned by Antonio Bizzarri at Strozzavolpe; the letter from the Biblioteca Comunale in Ferrara (published by Corbucci and then Cesareo); a letter of 1662, extant only in a transcription by Isidoro del Lungo (and previously published by Cesareo); a letter of 23 February 1652, known by Mariotti and given a short notice by Ademollo; and a letter of 12 May 1658, "recently" (says De Rinaldis) acquired by Count Giovanni Treccani, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, and published by De Rinaldis in 1939 for the first time. De Rinaldis aimed for a "diplomatic transcription," but not the rigorously scientific treatment demanded by the transcription of other types of primary sources.

He removes abbreviations and the idiosyncratic accents that Rosa places on single-letter words, he consistently replaces the archaic "t" with a "z," he introduces punctuation where necessary (indeed, as with the writing of many of his contemporaries, Rosa's lack of signposts in this regard often presents a challenge to a reader accustomed to modern Italian), and he does away with Rosa's capricious use of capitals. De Rinaldis respects Rosa's original syntax and grammar, and maintains the artist's spelling and use of Neapolitanisms, but corrects various words within the transcription itself (for example, "Reto" becomes "Loreto," and "Azio" becomes "Lazio"). He omits, however, certain important elements of the letters such as the "Di vostra Signoria" or "DVS" that Rosa customarily includes in his closing valediction. De Rinaldis's most useful contributions are his *Note Liminari*, lengthy biographical entries on persons, works of art, and noteworthy topics that appear throughout the letters. A number of Rosa's letters were also published mid-century in their entirety or in part by other authors interested in members of Rosa's circle: Nino Pirrotta, for example, published in 1953 excerpts from Rosa's known letters that were relevant to the musician Marcantonio Cesti.[32]

Between 1950 and 1984, Uberto Limentani made a series of important contributions to the published corpus of Rosa's letters. In his *Poesie e Lettere Inedite di Salvator Rosa* of 1950, Limentani transcribed forty-eight of Rosa's letters addressed to Ricciardi, then (as now) conserved in the library of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. These letters had been acquired by the museum from the painter and connoisseur Charles Fairfax Murray (1849–1919) and bound together in a single volume, entitled "Lettere Autografi [sic] di Salvator Rosa." Limentani also published on this occasion two letters by Rosa housed in the British Museum (now in the British Library).[33] In addition to this group, Limentani published two letters by Rosa addressed to Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei, brought to his attention just as his book was going to press, both of which once formed part of the large collection of historical manuscripts and documents owned by Alfred Morrison of Fonthill, Wiltshire. They were later dispersed from this collection, and were acquired in 1918 by Tancred Borenius, whose wife, Anne-Marie Borenius of Coombe Bissett (Salisbury, England) obtained them for Limentani's consultation.[34] Limentani conjectures that the fifty letters to Ricciardi in the Fitzwilliam Museum and British Library were likely separated from the much larger corpus of the Ricciardi correspondence (which includes the letters now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples) at some point in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At this time, Rosa's letters ("evidently conserved by their recipient, well aware of the value of his friend's writings") found their way into the hands of the Tuscan heirs of the Ricciardi family at Strozzavolpe.[35] Of particular significance among Limentani's contributions to the study of Rosa's letters are his extensive historical notes. Taking his cue from De Rinaldis's indispensable *Note Liminari*, Limentani provided a lengthy introduction to the letters with an essay on Rosa's and Ricciardi's friendship and appended notes to each letter. Limentani highlights essential biographical and historical information, describing the works of art and poetry to which the letters refer and carefully reproducing details such as addresses and postscripts. Limentani's extensive annotations also include important new identifications, such as the painter Baldassarre Franceschini, called "Il Volterrano" (1611–1690), as the likely candidate for the certain "Baldassarre" to whom Rosa refers throughout the letters.[36] Limentani's self-declared aim with his transcriptions was to maintain some of the "life" of the original manuscripts: their grammar, syntax and orthography. Indeed, his is the first attempt to really give Rosa's letters the full scholarly attention they deserve.

In 1953, Limentani published six new letters belonging to the Rosa-Ricciardi correspondence: one was brought to his attention by Otto Haas, an antiquities dealer in London; the other five were owned by Margherita Banchi (née Bizzarri) of Florence, and formed part of the inherited property of Strozzavolpe. It was Limentani who rediscovered in the Banchi-Bizzarri collection the five missing letters of the twenty first published by Bottari.[37] As mentioned above, Aldo De Rinaldis had in 1939 rediscovered the autograph manuscripts of only fifteen of the Bottari letters. The re-emergence of these other five (which Limentani did not republish in full, only making brief mention of their existence) now made known all of the letters Bottari had originally published in the eighteenth century. In 1972, Limentani published another twelve of Rosa's letters to Ricciardi, which he had discovered in various locations over the course of the preceding

twenty years: eight belonged to the private collection of the Arcangeli family in Florence (the subsequent and current owners of the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe); one was brought to Limentani's attention by F. H. Kameny in New York, previously belonging to Max Thorek of Chicago; two were loose-leaf letters belonging to the Fitzwilliam Museum collection in Cambridge; and another formed part of the Westley Manning collection, sold at Sotheby's in 1955.[38] Again, Limentani aimed to be faithful to the original manuscripts, maintaining Rosa's spelling and structure and offering the letters in their complete state. In 1984, Limentani made his final contribution to the corpus with five more letters addressed by Rosa to Ricciardi: two in private collections, and three in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena.[39]

Throughout the course of the second half of the twentieth century, Lucio Festa—who has made a number of important contributions to the scholarship on Rosa, more generally—united all of the extant letters together in a single volume, published posthumously by Gian Giotto Borrelli in 2003. This volume is an important compilation, including as it does several new and useful historical and explanatory notes. There are also, however, some significant omissions and errors of transcription (on a number of occasions, entire sentences are missing). An attempt has been made to correct these in the present volume. In 2007, Floriana Conte published a review of the Borrelli and Festa edition.[40] As she notes, it is clear that Festa had planned to produce a comprehensive publication, but passed away before he could achieve his goal. The value of Rosa's letters, Conte emphasizes, lies not only in their relevance to the artist's life and work but in their significance as documents essential to the study of the Italian *seicento*. She highlights the various kinds of information the letters provide, and the insights they offer into Rosa's activities and experience. She also critiques the Borrelli and Festa volume for a number of unnecessary insertions and "excessive interventions" (such as the introduction of "che" for clarity of meaning in a sentence, when it is not in fact necessary, or for unwarranted anxieties over terminology), and notes a number of errors and omissions, including the exclusion of the three letters published by Ozzola in 1908.[41] Conte also laments the lack of a thematic index, a shortcoming that the present volume has attempted to rectify. The Borrelli and Festa edition also overlooked a letter published by Lucilla Mariani in 1943, addressed to an unidentified "Monsignore reverendissimo" and belonging to an album of notes and drawings that formed (until it went missing in 1986) part of the same group of manuscripts as the letters that Ozzola had discovered in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome.[42]

A number of individual letters by Rosa have also emerged over the years, some of which have been published in isolation. In 1950, G. D. Petrella published a letter by Rosa addressed to Giulio Maffei, dated 19 June 1649, held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome.[43] In 2002, one of Rosa's letters to Ricciardi (dated 26 June 1670) appeared on the Paris art market. Important for the information it yielded about Rosa's *Saul and the Witch of Endor* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), the final page of the letter was transcribed (albeit with a few inaccuracies) and published, together with a photograph, by Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée in the catalogue of the monographic exhibition of Rosa's paintings held in Naples in 2008.[44] In 2011, Hugh Hudson published a letter written by Rosa to Ricciardi in May 1657, now kept in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne—an important discovery that helps to fill a gap, as Hudson notes, in the artist's extant correspondence between April and June of 1657.[45] Three letters in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are published in the present volumes for the first time. One of these may have belonged to the painter Benjamin West (1738–1820), who collected letters by notable historical persons and is himself well known as an exponent of Rosa's pictorial style and subject matter.[46] Six letters by Rosa belonging to the collection of the Morgan Library and Museum in New York are also new additions to the corpus, published here for the first time—one of them the original manuscript reproduced in a nineteenth-century transcription now in the Vatican Library collection.[47]

The initial survival of Rosa's letters, as Uberto Limentani observed, was likely due to the foresight of their recipients and their heirs, who understood the artist's significance and recognized the value of preserving his epistolary legacy. Ricciardi (and his heirs) must have seen the merit of Rosa's letters, as the majority of the survivals are letters that were addressed to him. Assuredly cherishing the letters as missives from a

beloved but often distant friend, Ricciardi may well also have had an archival inclination, seeing the value in preserving documents such as these for posterity. Rosa's biographer Filippo Baldinucci had the same impulse (as did other art biographers of the seventeenth century when it came to saving and making use of documents of this kind), relying as he did on collections of letters like Ricciardi's as a historical source and keeping in his possession letters by many of Rosa's correspondents, which he culled for information about the artist. A "precious and copious source," as Volpi has described it, these documents demonstrate the continuation after Rosa's death of the bonds the artist had forged during his lifetime, in what one of his good friends Paolo Vendramin called the "Repubblica delle pitture"—a network founded on friendship and a community of hearts and minds mutually engaged in the activities of writing, painting, music, theatre and drawing.[48] Opinionated, provocative, and often amusing in tone, Rosa's letters indeed make for a fascinating read, and it is easy to see their continued appeal as the relics of a bold and idiosyncratic personality. As De Rinaldis noted, in regard to the letters now in Naples, "some of the intervals that interrupt the chronology of the letters are clarified by awareness of the periods in which Rosa and Ricciardi were together (1650, 1659 and 1661); others are explained by the loss of mail in the post, as Rosa regularly laments; but others still, as indicated by references in the correspondence itself, appear to have been removed or occasionally dispersed from this original bundle".[49] Ubaldo Meroni suggested that Rosa may have destroyed a number of his letters—a possible explanation, too, for the lack of surviving letters written to him by others.[50] The chronology of Rosa's letters is an additional point of concern, as a number of them are undated. Rosa frequently erred in assigning dates to his letters, as he himself admits on more than one occasion.[51] In the present volumes, the extant chronological order of Rosa's letters has been altered in a few instances in order to amend apparent incongruities of dating, and these alterations are explained accordingly in each case. It is likely that some of the letters are still in the incorrect order as it is not always possible to identify these anomalies and make the necessary adjustments.

Paper, Seals, Watermarks and other Physical Characteristics

Most of Rosa's extant letters are very well preserved, although there are many that have suffered water damage, the attack of insects, or other forms of decay and deterioration, creating losses in the script or partially-legible passages. There are a number of noteworthy physical characteristics that warrant mention. Sketches and marginalia, in the form of text or drawings, are few in number. One of these is well known: the drawing of a donkey's head, executed in mockery of a contemporary poet and his work, in a letter to Ricciardi of 5 January 1650.[52] Others, many of them more obscure in meaning and difficult to explain, are presented here for the first time. The pages of Rosa's letters also bear, with relative consistency, the impression of a seal with a heraldic shield displaying five roses. It has not been possible to trace this seal in the records of Italian heraldry or *stemmi*, however the flower in question, with its distinctive five-petal arrangement and buttoned centre, is—according to the conventions of heraldic design—identifiable as a "rose," and may well be representative of the family name "Rosa" (Figs **8** and **9**).[53] As noted by Michael Mahoney, the watermarks visible on the pages of Rosa's letters reveal that the artist used the same kind of paper for his letters as he did for his drawings.[54] Indeed, it seems that Rosa and his friends occasionally used the blank, reverse sides of drawings for drafting letters, as exemplified by two extant letters written by Ricciardi on the versos of drawings executed by Rosa and by a drawing of Rosa's, recently on the art market, inscribed on the verso "Amico carissimo," suggesting the page was also intended to serve as a letter.[55] In these instances, the presence of drawings likely contributed to the survival of the letters themselves, preserving in certain cases unique examples of Ricciardi's own missives. The majority of Rosa's extant letters are written on quarto sheets that have been folded in half. Each individual page, or octavo, generally measures about 20 x 26 cm (or approximately 8 x 10 in).[56] The letters are also occasionally present in sextodecimo (or half an octavo) format, the smallest size, particularly in the later years of the artist's life. Rosa's handwriting varies over the

course of his correspondence and occasionally reflects his age, state of being, or the letter's tone or content. The confident bravura and calligraphic flourish of his earlier hand, which more often than not takes full advantage of the entire page, begins in the later years of Rosa's life to make a discernible shift toward a smaller, weaker, and more reticent script that probably results from the gradual deterioration of his eyesight and the onset of illness.[57] Rosa's signature also varies in ways that might reflect his state of mind: on more than one occasion in which he expresses particular anger or frustration, for example, Rosa used his full name, "Salvator Rosa," in place of the more ubiquitous and casual "S. Rosa". Rosa's opening greeting or salutation also varies according to the occasion, or perhaps in connection with changes in the nature of his relationship with the correspondent: in 1661, for instance, Rosa began to address Ricciardi as "Amico unico" (one-of-a-kind friend), instead of "Amico caro" or "Amico carissimo" (dear, or dearest friend), a shift that indicates as much Rosa's own sense of longing for a distant friend as it does a desire to impress upon Ricciardi the importance of his friendship.

The Transcriptions

The present volumes aim for a comprehensive presentation of the letters, in transcription, translation, and with the accompaniment of numerous images of the manuscripts.[58] In regard to the transcriptions, careful examination has been made of the extant manuscripts in order to provide the reader with an accurate record of the letters. The task of transcribing—and translating—Rosa's letters presents particularly unique challenges. Rampant colloquialisms are often impenetrable, and variations in spelling resulting from either error or an alternative pronunciation are frequently difficult to distinguish between (as an artist born in Naples who spent a significant part of his early maturity in Tuscany, Rosa's Italian pronunciation was probably imbued with the phonetic inclinations of both regions, as his letters suggest). As much as possible, in either the text or the philological notes, I have sought to retain the "flavour" of the spoken voice that evidently informs Rosa's epistolary one.

It has unfortunately not been possible to consult the manuscripts in every instance, as a number of them have either been lost or belong to inaccessible private collections. These are relatively few in number, and are indicated as such in the notes. In these instances, transcriptions are provided on the basis of (and in the same format as) past publications. In instances where a previous transcriber (such as Limentani) has provided new notes to an already-extant transcription, by way of correction, these are also included and acknowledged appropriately. In addition, there are a small number of letters that survive only in the form of manuscript copies; these have been identified here as individual manuscripts in their own right, transcribed as they are in the original, and have been assigned abbreviations accordingly for the purposes of annotation. The relevant archival, material and publication information for each letter, indicated with an asterisk, has been placed within the philological notes in order to calibrate an even presentation of the Italian transcriptions and English translations.[59]

The original manuscripts are often difficult to decipher, for native and non-native Italian readers alike. The decision was therefore made to modify and adapt the orthography and the punctuation to the conventions of contemporary Italian, following in this regard the criteria employed in the recent transcription and translation of Carlo Cesare Malvasia's *Felsina Pittrice* (1678).[60] That said, the transcriptions offered here attempt to strike a careful balance between comprehensibility and faithfulness to the original. The Italian text adheres to a philological transcription that retains as much of the original as possible, with the exception of obvious errors in punctuation or spelling. Punctuation—often capricious, sparing, or even absent in the manuscripts—has been corrected for the sake of clarity of structure and meaning. Where significant interventions have been made in this respect, an explanatory note is included. Exclamation marks and question marks, used only sparingly by Rosa, have been introduced in instances in which the meaning is not entirely clear without them. Rosa's use of parentheses is also relatively indiscriminate and occasionally

nonsensical (he frequently seems to forget, for example, to complete a parenthetical phrase with a closing bracket, or places an opening or closing bracket in the incorrect position), and these instances have been altered or corrected for the sake of comprehension. Also omitted is Rosa's idiosyncratic spacing of lines within the manuscripts, wherein he frequently inserts a large gap between one sentence or paragraph and another. Rosa often includes long, horizontal lines in the manuscripts, by way of indicating quotations; in the transcriptions, passages demarcated in this manner (together with other instances of quotation, or the citation of parables and other such insertions that require differentiation from the main body of the text) have been framed with double inverted commas (“ ”). Wherever hands other than Rosa's intervene in the letters—as in the case of Cosimo Brunetti's contribution to letter 119—italicization has been employed in both the transcriptions and the translations in order to clearly distinguish one hand from another.

Idiosyncratic or unorthodox spellings, when these represent either known variants or archaic forms, or are not obvious instances of error, are maintained (for example, “cossì” in place of “così,” “nova” in place of “nuova,” “vota” in place of “vuota,” “continovo” in place of “continuo,” or “febbraro” in place of “febbraio”). In the case of words given unconventional spelling but that may not necessarily be immediately comprehensible to non-native Italian speakers, modern spellings have been included in the notes. Archaic verb conjugations have also been maintained (“saria” for “sarei,” “puole” or “puol” for “può,” “fussivo” for “foste,” etc.); in these cases, too, modern counterparts have been indicated in the notes with an eye to clarifying forms that are unfamiliar to non-native readers of Italian. The oscillation of orthography between short and geminate consonants is also preserved (“esaggero” instead of “esagero”). Where idiosyncrasies in spelling or grammar are important or interesting to acknowledge, particularly in cases of Neapolitan phonetics, a note has been included in the philological apparatus. Instances of Neapolitan spelling or pronunciation are maintained in the transcriptions, with explanatory notes offered in these cases for the sake of clarification. For example, occurrences of the consonant clusters “nd” rendered “nn” (such as “intennetemi” for “intendetemi”, or “quanno” for “quando”) or vice-versa (“condendare” for “condannare”), which are likely cases of Neapolitan linguistic hypercorrection (the excessive and often inaccurate application of a perceived grammatical rule in order to compensate for or correct an ostensible error), or instances of dialectical deformation (“sembre” in place of “sempre,” “patre” in place of “padre,” or “sensa” in place of “senza”), are retained in order to preserve as much as possible the unique phonetic characteristics of Rosa's Italian. Rosa habitually spells the word “lettera” as “lettra,” likely an instance in which spelling reflects oral pronunciation. Such spellings are maintained in the transcriptions. Archaic spellings have been modernized in the following cases: words beginning with or including the archaic, etymological “h” (such as “havere,” “hora,” or “allhora”) have been replaced with their modern counterparts (“avere,” “ora,” “allora”); the pronoun and verb combinations “ch'anno,” “ch'ho” and “ch'el” have been altered to “c'hanno,” “c'ho,” and “che 'l”; the conjunction “che” has been transcribed as “ché” in the instances where it stands for “perché,” “affinché,” etc.; the archaic “t” and cluster “tt” have been rendered with a “z” or “zz” (as in the case of “gratia” and “grazia”); the old cluster “qq” has been rendered “cq” (for example, “acqua” in place of “aqqua”); and words with the suffix “-j” or “-ij” (as in “negotij”) have been rendered with an “i”. In the case of interjections, an “h” has been added for the sake of comprehension (“Ohibò” instead of “Oibò,” or “Oh” instead of “O”). Apostrophes that compliment both definite and indefinite articles have been included in conformity with modern Italian (“dell'onta” in place of “del/del'onta,” or “un'oncia” in place of “un oncia,” for example). In the transcriptions, both upper and lower cases are employed in accordance with the conventions of contemporary Italian. Various transcribers of Rosa's letters have noted Rosa's “capricious” use of capitals (that is, for words that in modern Italian do not require capitalization), but the practice was quite conventional among seventeenth-century writers. There are instances in Rosa's letters in which capitalization appears to have been employed for the sake of emphasis: in the case of references to friendship (“amicizia”), for example—one of the most important concepts in Rosa's correspondence—it is certainly possible that on many occasions Rosa capitalized the word and its cognates to signal its particular significance, especially within the context of letters addressed to friends, wherein the subject of friendship is itself frequently highlighted as a point of concern. Location names have also been

given a modern spelling ("Strozza Volpe" becomes "Strozzavolpe"), and commonplace abbreviations ("Sig. re" for "Signore," "9bre" for "Novembre") have been expanded.

The transcriptions and philological notes incorporate various critical signs that indicate cancellations, losses, omissions, insertions and other features of the manuscript that require identification. All notes concerning autograph features of the manuscripts are prefaced "Ms:". Autograph cancellations present in the manuscripts are signalled: < >. Omissions are indicated: [. . .]. Losses are indicated: [ ]. (In cases where it is possible to suggest with certainty the candidate for a lost word or passage, or in which probable suggestions have been made by previous transcribers, these have been included in the text in square brackets.) Words or passages that are difficult or impossible to decipher are indicated: †…†. Autograph insertions are signalled: { }. Words or passages that have been underlined in the manuscripts are indicated as such in the notes (for example: "Ms: *1641*.") In cases in which it is apparent that Rosa has omitted a word, leaving a sentence grammatically problematic or unclear in meaning, insertions have been made within the transcription, in square brackets, for the purpose of clarification (for example, "settima[na]" or "ob[li]go"), and these are indicated in the notes. In the few instances in which Rosa has included a drawing or sketch, these, too, are acknowledged in the notes and given illustration when possible.

The beginning of the recto or verso of an individual page of the manuscript is indicated in square brackets: "[c. 1r]". In cases in which a letter's pages have been assigned numbers (as in the case of the Vatican Library codex) those same numbers are used in the transcription; in cases where pages have not been numbered, the pages are here assigned numbers for the purpose of differentiating between multiple pages ("[c. 1r]", "[c. 1v]", and so forth). In cases in which it has not been possible to identify or enumerate the pages of the original manuscript (that is, in instances where consultation of the manuscript was not possible but transcriptions can still be provided on the basis of a previous publication) page references have been omitted. In these instances, too, the name of the author of the previous publication is employed in the philological notes in place of "Ms:" (for example, "Limentani 1984:"). In the few cases in which Rosa's letters are known to us only through manuscript copies, these are identified in the notes according to the abbreviations listed in the "Critical Signs" section, below.

Significant or noteworthy errors and omissions made by previous transcribers have also been indicated and corrected, wherever possible, throughout. The addresses, opening salutations and closing valedictions—frequently omitted in past publications of the letters—are here reinstated. Instances in which a previous transcriber has omitted a word or passage present in the manuscript are indicated in the notes (for example, "Ms: *mio*. Omitted by Cesareo 1892 and Borrelli and Festa 2003."). Cases in which a previous transcriber has introduced an error are also acknowledged in the notes (for example, "Ms: *Giovanna*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: 'Girolama' (in error)."). In cases in which it is not possible to be certain about the interpretation of a word or passage, or in which multiple extant transcriptions offer differing interpretations of a word or phrase, these alternatives have also been indicated in the notes (for example, "Ms: *cosa* or *casa*. Reading uncertain. Borrelli and Festa 2003: 'casa'."). In cases where I suggest a word or passage, but interpretation is still open for debate, the suggestion is maintained in the transcription and alternatives are offered in the notes. Logical suggestions or proposed substitutions for losses or partially legible passages, offered by previous transcribers, have been maintained.

The same rules have been applied to the transcriptions of letters by Rosa and other correspondents, included in the Appendices.

The Translations

As with the transcriptions, the English translations offered here likewise aim toward both faithfulness to the original and clarity of meaning. It is important (though challenging) to retain in the process of translation as much as possible of the flavour of Rosa's word-choice and manner of expression—the words themselves,

their sequence, their formality or informality of tone, and their pace and combined impact. There is a self-conscious high-mindedness to Rosa's epistolary style, which is frequently poetic, abstruse and often long-winded. In part, this is a feature of seventeenth-century letter writing more generally. Rosa, however, always gives such conventions a unique turn utterly his own. Striking a balance between legibility for the modern reader and faithfulness to the esoteric and often impenetrable quality of Rosa's epistolary voice is a difficult task. An attempt has been made to retain as much of this idiosyncratic voice as possible without sacrificing comprehension. Notes provide explanations of the more elusive expressions and turns of phrase that either have no English equivalent or that are important to express in a manner as close as possible to Rosa's original Italian. Only in moments where it is impossible to do otherwise is the original altered significantly or sacrificed for the sake of clarity, and on these occasions explanatory notes have been added. In many ways, Rosa is entirely conventional: in his use of terms of address and salutation, such as the ubiquitous "amico vero"; in addressing friends with the pronoun "voi" and social superiors with "sua"; in the variation of his signature, occasionally substituting his name in full ("Salvator Rosa") for the more common, abridged "S. Rosa"; or in his seemingly capricious use of capitals. Rosa's language is often impenetrable, peppered with Neapolitanisms and Florentinisms, and elaborate inside jokes that are frequently difficult to unravel. Rosa also employs antiquated spellings or terms no longer in use, and occasionally invents his own words, all of which receive definition or explanation in the relevant notes. Where it has not been possible to offer a direct English translation of a term or concept, a note has been included. It is often difficult to do justice to a foreign expression or turn of phrase: in instances in which Rosa cites Neapolitan expressions ("as we Neapolitans say, . . ."), for example, the original Italian has been maintained and given an explanatory note. Where money is discussed, notes have been provided to explain coinage and its approximate value in relation to other denominations and—in the case of prices or fees received for paintings—comparisons to other contemporary examples. As Frederick Hammond has cautioned, establishing a correlation of monetary values between the seventeenth-century economy and our own is inadvisable. Even a comparison of the prices of daily staples such as bread, wine and olive oil is problematic because these items do not have the same relative importance in the modern world as they did in early modern Italy.[61] The matter is further complicated by the difference between moneys of account and actual circulating currency.[62] As Hammond notes, Roman money was "often worth more than its face value in the intrinsic amounts of gold or silver that it contained, resulting in a flight of currency"—hence the repeated concern voiced by artists that they be paid in Roman currency rather than another local coinage of potentially lesser value.[63]

Within the English translations of Rosa's letters, in cases in which a certain intervention has been required for the sake of clarity of meaning, these changes are given ample acknowledgement and explanation in the notes (in sentences where an individual is not identified by name, for example, but is recognizable from the context and warrants mention, the name has been inserted in the English translation so as to avoid a confusing string of similar or undistinguishable pronouns). The notes to the translation also aim to clarify the often impenetrable nuances of seventeenth-century Italian, with the inclusion of many definitions of terms and expressions. Modern English conventions of spelling are followed in the translations, as for example in the use of capitalized titles and honorifics ("Signor," "Doctor," "Cardinal," etc.). Quotation marks are introduced in the translations to correspond with passages in the manuscripts in which Rosa has underlined a passage of text to signal a quotation. Cases of indecipherable text, as in the transcriptions, are rendered "†…†". Losses are indicated "[ ]" and omissions "[. . .]". In cases in which a word or phrase is not itself present in the original manuscripts but has been introduced in the transcription for the sake of clarity, or when the meaning is apparent but warrants the introduction of a word or phrase in English, no brackets are present in the translation. In the instances in which Rosa has split the two elements of his epistolary closing—his customary valedictory "DVS" ("Di Vostra Signoria") and his signature—with a line of text, the two elements are rendered as conjoined in the English translation.

The Historical Notes and Images

Rosa's extant letters, almost all of them written to friends, are a curious blend of formulaic epistolary writing and a unique, idiosyncratic voice—reflective perhaps of the contradictions that characterize Rosa's private and professional lives. Profanities and dirty jokes intermingle with standard honorific salutations and expressions of obligation and duty, in ways that are alternatively unique to Rosa and more typical of the epistolary writing of his contemporaries.[64] The letters reveal a great deal of information about Rosa and his time, and the critical and historical notes offered here aim to expand upon our existing knowledge by providing the reader with as comprehensive as possible an identification or explanation of persons, events, terms and concepts. Some of the questions posed by the content of the letters have proven difficult or impossible to answer, and will require further research. Others have yielded partial solutions, and tentative suggestions have been made when it has not been possible to provide a full report. Persons and subjects that recur frequently in the letters are identified in the notes, usually in the first instance and not thereafter. A thorough index has been provided to help the reader track these identifications. An effort has also been made to not only include but expand significantly upon the notes and commentary offered by previous transcribers (Limentani, and Borrelli and Festa, have arguably made the most meaningful contributions in this respect), and to provide the reader with additional bibliography.

As the writings of an artist, Rosa's letters also warrant recognition as examples of visual culture in their own right. They are products of the artist's hand that are just as revealing of his personality as his paintings, drawings and prints. These volumes also include various new photographs of Rosa's letters, examples of which have previously been published only on rare occasion. These images are indispensable, as it is impossible to convey with type-written text the unique material qualities of the letters: the self-consciously calligraphic flourish of many of Rosa's signatures, for example, or passages like the splendid opening line of letter 43 (Fig. **17**) in which the graphic uniqueness of Rosa's hand is on full display[65]; the presence of marginalia or drawings, few in number but fascinating nonetheless; the difference between multiple hands when they are present; or even something as seemingly inconsequential as the diamond-shape folds produced in the page when Rosa chooses, apparently capriciously, to fold the page on the diagonal. The majority of the images published here are of letters conserved in the largest and most important collection, now kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. This was where I first encountered the manuscript pages of Rosa's letters, and where—with the salubrious Neapolitan summer air that he so cherished wafting through an open window—I became acquainted with Rosa as "amico vero".

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. For Rubens's letters, see Magurn 1955 and, most recently (and for photographs of several of the letters), Van Beneden 2015, esp. 182–185, cat. 21; 196–199, cat. 25; 200–201, cat. 26; and 210–213, cat. 30. Salinger 1957, 101, noted one scholarly estimate for the total number of Rubens's original letters (of which only 250 survive) as eight thousand. For an interesting comparison with Rosa's letters, see the analysis of Poussin's letters in Raben 2003, in which the artist's more than 200 letters are re-examined in connection with his "artistic and intellectual intentions"; Raben (53) concludes that a reading of the letters confirms "in a sense, Bernini's well-known characterization of Poussin as an artist who worked 'with his head.' This description can be extended to include a vivid interest in the theoretical background of his work, even if this did not lead to any concrete result. What also emerged is the image of a painter who attached particular value to his artistic freedom."
2. See for example, Conte 2011, 90, who calls for a critical edition of the entire corpus of Rosa's extant letters, a task not quite achieved by the Borrelli and Festa volume of 2003. Kitson 2008, 109, also noted that "Rosa's letters, only a handful of which have been translated into English, deserve to be better known."
3. On Rosa's self-portraits, see Hoare 2018, esp. chapter four, 179–185.

4. Baldinucci, 5:493–494, in the midst of a lengthy defence of Rosa as the author of his satires, writes: "[…] But before abandoning a discussion of these satires, I should say something about the idea that was current among true men of letters, and continues today among them: I said among 'true men of letters,' because as I'm not one of them, it would be very shameful for me to pass judgment on them, good or bad. And firstly, there is no doubt whatsoever that Rosa, in such compositions of his, made in verses—without realizing—a true and very faithful portrait of himself; so for this reason alone, if for no other, it [the satires] must be considered as his. And in short, I say that the material that he chose became like his own nature, more satirical than not: and whoever does not believe this should read the few notes we took to write about his life. The lively, witty, sharp-tonged expressions that seem cut from the same cloth as his comic performances, of his private letters written to friends, and the remarkable concepts that comprised his reasonings: with these things he knew how to captivate the most ingenious minds of his time, in Florence, in Rome, and anywhere else he went […]." ("Ma prima di abbandonare il trattato di queste satire, mi si conceda alcuna cosa dire del concetto, che fra'veri letterati corse, e corre oggi intorno a loro: dissi fra'veri letterati, perché a me, che tale non sono, saria di gran vergogna il mettermi a dar di esse alcun giudizio, o buono o reo. E primieramente, non ha dubbio alcuno, che il Rosa, in tale sua composizione, fece in versi, non se n'accorgendo, un vero e somigliantissimo ritratto di se stesso; onde per questo capo solamente, quando non mai per altro, si debba stimare per sua. E per dichiararmi in poche parole, dico, che la materia che egli elesse, tale riuscì, quale era la sua natura, satirica anzi che nò: e chi nol crede, legga le poche notizie, che abbiamo preso a scrivere della vita di lui. Le vivezze, i Sali, gli acutissimi detti appariscono fatti a misura de'suoi comici riecitamenti, del suo scrivere familiari lettere agli amici, e de'pellegrini concetti, che furon proprj de'suoi ragionamenti: colle quali cose seppe egli cattivarsi gli animi de'primi ingegni del suo tempo, in Firenze, in Roma, e ovunque ci portò sua persona […].")
5. Artemisia Gentileschi, for example, made a number of errors in the composition of her letters (for which see Solinas 2011), and Guido Reni was noted by Carlo Cesare Malvasia for his inability to read or write very well: Malvasia, 2:76 ("[…] avendo egli poco studiato, e meno dilettandosi di lettura […] Scriveva anche scorretto, & in così poco buona forma […]".
6. Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 22.
7. Mortimer 2007, xxxiii, who notes that "Michelangelo's letters are written rapidly, under the pressure of events. The vocabulary is colloquial, the grammar slipshod and the sentences composed of loosely connected strings of main clauses. Grotesque humour rubs shoulders with pithy proverbial wisdom. […] Michelangelo could write a formal and decorous prose when he had to, but it would be hard to find another letter-writer in the period who gives us a [sic] such a strong sense of the living speaking voice."
8. On the evolution of forms of epistolary address employed by two interlocutors engaged in a long-term relationship, from those of formality to intimacy, see also the observations of Bambach 2013, esp. 60–61, in regard to the letters written by Michelangelo to Giorgio Vasari.
9. For this short letter addressed by Ricciardi to Rosa, dated August 1661 and written on the verso of one of Rosa's drawings, see Appendix 3, Letter B. For nine letters written by Ricciardi to Francesco Lanfreducci, between 1650 and 1652, see Paliaga 2009, 221–222, Appendix XV. For other letters by or attributed to Ricciardi, see Appendix 3.
10. Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 8.
11. See Appendix 3.
12. Volpi and Paliaga 2012. The letters are by: Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, Marcantonio Cesti, Ascanio della Penna, Pier Dandini, Cosimo Brunetti, Marcantonio Eugeni, and Paolo Minucci.
13. See in particular Limentani 1950, 165–167, for a letter written by Ricciardi to an unidentified correspondent (for which see also Appendix 3, Letter A) and three letters written to Ricciardi by Marcantonio Cesti and Paolo Minucci, and see Schlitzer 1953, for a letter written by Marcantonio Cesti to Ricciardi.
14. Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 8–9.
15. A number of Rosa's letters have also been published, in their entirety or in excerpts, in both Italian transcription and English translation: Mahoney 1977, for example, published sections of four letters by Rosa in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, as well as a letter in a private New York collection (letters 8, 280, 284, 302 and 339); Friedenthal 1963 published English translations of two of Rosa's letters (letters 273 and 309) and part of a third (letter 386); Enggass and Brown 1999, 132–133, published (in part) in English translation one of Rosa's letters (letter 196); and, more recently, Conte 2014 included numerous citations of passages, in Italian, from Rosa's letters. For additional, though brief, summary notes on Rosa's letters, and the history of their publication, see also De Liso 2015, 36–39.
16. This small group of letters to Ricciardi had passed, upon his death in 1686, to his Tuscan heirs, in whose possession Bottari must have seen them.
17. Festa 1987a, 372.
18. See Corbucci 1875, 67–68, and Borrelli and Festa 2003, 217–18, letter 195. See letter 197 in the present publication. Corbucci perpetuates, for example, the story of Rosa's involvement in Masaniello's revolt (see Corbucci 1875, 43–45).
19. See Cesareo 1892, 2:3, for his account of the letters published in his book and their provenance. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, X, the letters had been conserved in the Maffei family collection until the middle of the nineteenth century, when—at some unknown date—they were acquired by the bibliophile and collector Gaetano Ferrajoli. At least two letters were apparently given by Ferrajoli to Luigi Azzolini, who in 1889 provided transcriptions now included in the Vatican codex, in place of the originals. For general comments on Rosa's correspondence with the Maffei (of which only Rosa's letters survive), see Festa 1987a. See also Festa 1963a, and Festa 1987b. As noted by Festa 1987a, 371, it is likely that not all of the letters Rosa wrote to Volterra have survived, many of them assuredly lost or destroyed.
20. Cesareo 1892, 2:93, note 2, noted that he could not

find the manuscript copies of the letters to Ricciardi that Bottari had published (see Bottari 1754, 1:314–338 and Bottari 1757, 2:24–31), but considered that the texts he was consulting followed Bottari's own reading. For the two letters to Antonio Ruffo, see letters 298 and 331.

21. See Croce 1893. Cesareo did not include, for example, the excerpts from another group of letters that Alessandro Ademollo had published in 1888 (see further below), and neglected two other letters then in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, which had come into the hands of Antonio Bizzarri when he acquired the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe (also discussed further below).
22. Cesareo 1893, 186, also responded here to the criticism of Benedetto Croce, who in his review (Croce 1893) of Cesareo's two-volume publication of 1892 had accused Cesareo of neglecting to include two letters "by Rosa," both among the Ricciardi manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence; these, Cesareo contends, together with three enclosures accompanying them, were not in fact by Rosa but by a "Salvatore Ricciardi," brother of Giovan Battista Ricciardi: Cesareo here notes that their author always begins with "S.re fratello mio S.re" and signs "Dev.mo fratello S. R."; the first of these letters, moreover, is dated 1684, and thus eleven years after Rosa's death. It has not, however, been possible to trace a "Salvatore" as a brother of Giovan Battista Ricciardi. On the Ricciardi family, see Toci 1881 and Arcangeli 1960, 102–131.
23. Carlo Minati, ed. *Lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa*. Per le nozze del Cav. Luciano Banchi, direttore del R. Archivio Senese di Stato e Sindaco di Siena, e Giuseppina Brini (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1878). The publication contains one letter by Rosa to Giovanni Maffei and fifteen letters by Rosa to Giulio Maffei. Fourteen of these letters were later published by Cesareo in 1892 (see Cesareo 1892, 2:134). Cesareo 1893, 187, notes that the two letters published on the occasion of the Banchi-Brini wedding, to which he had referred in his 1892 volume (and that he was not at that time able to consult in person), were later shown to him by Isidoro del Lungo. Cesareo notes further that the writings by Rosa brought to his attention by Del Lungo passed through the hands of Padre Tonini and Aurelio Gotti; one letter, dated 16 December 1651, written to a "Cosimo"—a friend or relative of Ricciardi's (perhaps Cosimo Fabretti?), in which he discusses Ricciardi's illness, was (at the time of Cesareo's writing) in the possession of Pietro Bigazzi, a Tuscan bibliographer.
24. The four letters published by Cesareo in 1893 are letters 8, 143, 149 and 271 of the present publication.
25. See Ozzola 1908.
26. See Ruffo 1916.
27. See De Rinaldis 1939.
28. See Gerra 1937. The letters in Naples, which joined a pre-existing group of autograph manuscripts in the collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples (acquired as a hereditary gift in 1913), were bought on the antiquarian market by the Ministry with the financial aid of the Banco di Napoli in June 1938: Guerrieri 1974, 129. (De Rinaldis 1939, III, gives this date as June 1937). I wish to thank Dottoressa Emilia Ambra of the Biblioteca Nazionale for her help in clarifying this information. De Rinaldis 1939, III, noted that Giuseppe Bottai, Minister of National Education, "recently secured for the Italian bibliographic patrimony the autograph mss. of 200 letters by Rosa, published here, now assigned to the Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele III in Naples." For De Rinaldis's account of the history of these letters, see De Rinaldis 1939, III–IV.
29. Gerra 1937, 15, says that only fourteen of the letters published by Bottari were among the two hundred he referenced in his catalogue. The other six, according to information communicated to him, passed into the hands of Dottor Antonio Bizzarri when he acquired the castle of Strozzavolpe, formerly owned by the Ricciardi family. See also Ozzola 1908, xiii, note 7, and Croce 1911, 296. There is a strange discrepancy here—presumably an error in calculation—between the "fifteen" letters that De Rinaldis mentions, and the "fourteen" recorded by Gerra. Gerra's own transcriptions of Rosa's letters, which are only partial excerpts, contain a number of errors, particularly in regard to dates.
30. See Ademollo 1969, 35–39, 66, 93, 95–96, 106 and 139–140, for Rosa and the theatre; and for excerpts from Rosa's letters, see in particular 66 (and note 1), 93, 95, 96, 106 (note 1), and 139–140 (and note 1). Gerra 1937, 16, notes Benedetto Croce's criticism of Cesareo (Croce 1893; reproduced in *Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del seicento*, 1962, 306) for his significant oversight in omitting from his 1892 *Poesie e Lettere* the 20 letters published by Bottari and those that Ademollo had published (in excerpts) in his *I Teatri di Roma nel secolo XVII*. Ozzola also neglected to find these letters and include them in his volume (Ozzola 1908). According to Cesareo, Ademollo had himself noted receiving a communication from Filippo Mariotti. Conducting his own investigation, Cesareo discovered from Mariotti's papers in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, that he had carefully copied the letters to Ricciardi owned by Aurelio Gotti. According to Croce, the letters passed from Aurelio Gotti into the Autografoteca Campori, and then to the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. Gerra (16) notes, however, that the letters could not be found in the Biblioteca Estense—this is because Filippo Mariotti knew of the letters' existence not from Gotti, but from a noble Tuscan family who owned them, having inherited them from a descendant who had acquired them through marriage with one of the members of the Ricciardi family. Mariotti, an ex-tutor of one of the members of this Tuscan family, and a friend of the family, understood the importance of these letters and set about studying them, transcribing them in some excerpts, perhaps in the hope of one day publishing them. It could be from Gotti that we have the indication of some other writings by Rosa, which subsequently passed to the Biblioteca Estense. Mariotti included passages from the letters in his unpublished "Il teatro in Italia nei secc. XVI, XVII e XVIII" (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. II. III. 454, 456). Limentani 1950, 85, note 10, noted that the collection of letters he published in 1950 was separated from the large collection of letters written by Rosa to Ricciardi (published by De Rinaldis in 1939) after the period in which Mariotti got his hands on the correspondence, probably in the final twenty-five years of the last century, in the library of the Tuscan heirs of the

Ricciardi family. Some passages of the letters, regarding theatrical matters, were communicated by Mariotti to Ademollo, who made reference to them in his *I Teatri di Roma nel sec. XVII* (Rome: Pasqualucci, 1888). From the study of these passages one gathers that the complete correspondence also contained other letters, now lost, since they are not found in the letters transcribed here, nor in De Rinaldis's publication. See for example the letter of 8 January 1667 (in Ademollo 1969, 96).

31. The five letters in question were later discovered by Limentani 1953 in the Banchi-Bizzarri collection, Florence. See letters 180, 269, 273, 286 and 386 in the present publication. On Limentani's publication of these letters in 1953, see the discussion further below. That Limentani extended gratitude to a member of the Arcangeli family for assistance with identifying these letters (see note 37, below) suggests that they, too, joined the letters by Rosa already owned by the Arcangeli, who presumably obtained the Banchi-Bizzarri collection in conjunction with their acquisition of the villa at Strozzavolpe.
32. See Pirrotta 1953.
33. For Limentani's account of the provenance of these letters, recounted here, see Limentani 1950, 18–20 and 157. Fairfax Murray donated the letters to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1918. A well-known painter, Fairfax Murray was a student of Edward Burne Jones, a great collector of books and art, and a dealer of paintings, drawings and books. It is not clear how he first obtained Rosa's letters. Limentani suggests he likely bought them in Italy, where he spent a long time and had contacts among the art dealers. On Fairfax Murray, see further: Limentani 1950, 20, notes 39 and 40; Elliott 2000; and Elliott 2004. The Fitzwilliam volume, as Limentani notes, is "splendidly bound in blue Maroccan, with gold decoration and edges; a work of English manufacture. On the spine is written: 'Lettere autografi (sic) di Salvator Rosa' [the word "autografi" is an apparently inadvertent misspelling of the correct "autografe"]. The letters are mounted on separate sheets of drawing paper, not in chronological order." There are in fact forty-seven letters by Rosa in the Fitzwilliam collection, however Limentani divided one of these (letter 46 in the present volume) in two, publishing it as two different letters, an error likely due to the pagination of the bound volume. The two letters in the British Library belong to a collection of miscellaneous autograph manuscripts acquired in 1877 and 1878.
34. See Limentani 1950, 157. The letter of 9 "February" (actually datable to March) 1652 is now bound with those in the Fitzwilliam volume, while that dated August 1650 is presumably still in a private collection.
35. Limentani 1950, 19, reiterates that it was in the library of this Tuscan family, indirect heirs of Ricciardi, that the letters were consulted by Filippo Mariotti, a friend of the family. Mariotti, in addition to using these letters in the compilation of his unpublished work entitled "Il Teatro in Roma nei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII," shared some excerpts with Alessandro Ademollo, who included them in his volume *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo* (1888). The letters cited come not only from those published by De Rinaldis in 1939, but also from those published here for the first time (the Fitzwilliam letters).
36. Limentani 1950, 27. See also on this matter letter 58, note 11.
37. Limentani 1953, 37, who thanks the lawyer Aldo Arcangeli of Florence, and Dottor Camilla Roatta, for helping him procure photos of the letters in the Banchi-Bizzarri collection. The five letters published by Limentani 1953, and cited in the present volume as "Banchi-Bizzarri collection, Florence, as of 1953" (letters 180, 269, 273, 286 and 386) are presumably now part of the Arcangeli family's collection. It was not possible to examine the letters in this collection in person.
38. Limentani 1972. Aldo Arcangeli had eighteen letters by Rosa in his possession, which Limentani consulted; presumably these are the letters still belonging to the family, also the owners of the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe. Limentani 1972 published eight of these letters; the other ten were published in Limentani 1953 and Limentani 1954. The two additional, loose-leaf letters by Rosa in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection, which are not bound in the single volume, are Mss. 1-1965 and 2-1965. See letters 272 and 401 in the present publication.
39. Limentani 1984. Of the two letters in private collections, one was brought to Limentani's attention by Albi Rosenthal, proprietor of the antiquarian bookseller Otto Haas, London; both were sold at Sotheby's, London, 12 May 1981 and 5 July 1978. The three other letters were held in the Autografoteca Campori (Biblioteca Estense, Modena).
40. See Conte 2007.
41. Conte 2007, 193, notes that certain letters were omitted from the Borrelli and Festa edition—including the three published by Ozzola in 1908, and another letter, belonging to the same collection, that is probably by Rosa but that Ozzola neglected to publish (see Ozzola 1908, note 246) on account of its "excessively vulgar" content. See Ozzola 1908, 246, note 1: "Non riproduciamo una lettera, che forse è del Rosa, senza indirizzo e senza firma, fatta tutta di bisticci con nomi propri: che sostituiscono nomi comuni per la volgarità eccessiva dell'argomento. Del resto non ha nessuna importanza." ("We do not reproduce a letter, which is perhaps by Rosa, unaddressed and unsigned, comprised of puns on proper names that replace common names for the excessive vulgarity of the subject. The rest has no importance.") The letter, found in the Kempner manuscript in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome, lacks an address and signature and is written entirely in puns with proper names substituted for common names. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 244, note 1, included a transcription of the letter attributed to Lucrezia, but did not cite Ozzola's earlier publication of it. For comments on the Borrelli and Festa edition of Rosa's letters, see also Conte 2008, 22–23.
42. See Mariani 1943, 340, and Conte 2007, 193, note 3.
43. Petrella 1950. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, Autografi 100.8, c. 1r–c. 2v. See letter 31.
44. Brejon de Lavergnée, in Naples 2008, 84 and notes 8 and 9. Among other details, the letter refers to a prospective patron and payment for the *Saul and the Witch of Endor*. On the painting, see Volpi 2014, 355–357 and 583, cat. 307.
45. Hudson 2011. See letter 215 in the present publication.

46. I wish to thank Carl Strehlke for bringing to my attention the letters in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia. These letters belong to three individual private collections acquired by the Society: the collection of Simon Gratz, a Philadelphia lawyer, trustee of the Free Library, and long-time member of the Society, who amassed a large collection of manuscripts, portrait prints and lithographs, which he began giving to the Society in 1917; a collection comprised of documents related to John Galt's two-volume biography on the painter Benjamin West (1738–1820) (*The Life, Studies, and Works of Benjamin West, Esq.*, 1816 and 1820) (the relevant letter by Rosa appears to have been part of Benjamin West's own collection of autograph letters, written by various heads of state—including Catherine the Great, Charles V, Isabella d'Este, Lorenzo de' Medici, and Napoleon I—and artists, including Poussin, Rosa, Reynolds, Harlow and Flaxman: see Carson 1921, 314); and the collection of Ferdinand Julius Dreer, a collector of autographs, which includes an extensive range of manuscripts.

47. The letters in the Morgan Library and Museum form part of a collection of miscellaneous letters by artists entitled "Literary and Historical Manuscripts" (LHMS). These letters presumably belonged to the so-called Azzolini Collection, acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan Jr.; as mentioned in note 19 above, Luigi Azzolini in 1889 provided transcriptions of a number of letters by Rosa in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana which substitute for the originals, one of which is to be identified as among the group now in the Morgan collection (see letter 15). On the Azzolini Collection acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan Jr., see Cacho Casal 2014, 21, note 3, who notes that "[t]he Azzolini Collection contained over 120 autograph documents, mainly letters, of notable figures, from the twelfth-century Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I to a letter of 1891 from Pius X before he was elected Pope."

48. Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 60. On Paolo Vendramin and the "Repubblica delle pitture," see Volpi 2008, 91–92. The biographer of Bolognese artists, Carlo Cesare Malvasia (1616–1693), for example, is also exemplary of this practice, having personally collected at least seventy-two letters written by the painter Francesco Albani (1578–1660). See Malvasia, 2:273. For Malvasia's ownership of Albani's letters, see Malvasia, 2:227–228, 244, 262–263, 276–277 and 281. See also Van Schaak 1969, 5 and 331–379. The practice of preserving artists' letters had an earlier legacy, as for example in the case of Lionardo Buonarroti, the nephew of Michelangelo, who kept and bound together fourteen of the master's letters in a *quaderno*. See Bambach 2013, 60. As noted by Conte 2010a, 181, however, Baldinucci is quite exceptional among his contemporaries for his particularly extensive collection of documents and information, on Rosa and other artists. In regard to the documents relevant to Rosa, Baldinucci, 5:463–464, writes: "I could copy many of his own originals here, which I keep close to me: a thing that I will not do, so as to avoid the tediousness, it being enough for me only to give a brief note of some of those who wrote [these letters], that is Evangelista Torricelli, Carlo Dati, Francesco Rovai, Andrea Cavalcanti, Giovambattisa Ricciardi, Pier Salvetti, Desiderio Montemagni, Volunnio Bandinelli, then cardinal, [those] by Paolo Vendramini, Giovan Filippo Appolloni, Fra Reginaldo Scambati, the doctor Lasagnini, Antonio Abati, and by other such men. And, since we are on the subject of letters written to Rosa by his friends from Florence and the [Papal] state, I will also mention that I keep many other original letters myself, written by other men of letters and persons of high affairs, from other parts to Rome, and from the same city of Rome, within Rome: amongst these [are letters by] Cardinal Brancaccio, Niccolò Sagredo, Count Ermes Stampa, Count Carlo Bentivogli, the Roman Carlo Conti, Orazio Quaranta, Lazzaro Ferro, and [those] by dilettantes of poetry, that is Giuseppe de' Domenici, Francesco Melosi, and Lodovico Leporio, among others." ("Potrei io quì copiarne molte da'proprj originali, che io conserve appresso di me: cosa, che per fuggir lunghezza io non fo, bastandomi solo il dare una breve notizia di alcuni di coloro che scrivevano, dico di Evangelista Torricelli, di Carlo Dati, di Francesco Rovai, di Andrea Cavalcanti, di Giovambatisa Ricciardi, di Pier Salvetti, di Desiderio Montemagni, di Volunnio Bandinelli, poi cardinale, di Paolo Vendramini, di Gio. Filippo Appolloni, di fra Reginaldo Scambati, del dottore Lasagnini, di Antonio Abati, e d'altri sì fatti. E, giacchè parliamo di materiali di lettere scritte al Rosa dagli amici di Firenze e dello stato, dirò ancora, che altre molte lettere orginali conserve pure io medesimo, scrittegli da altri Letterati, e persone di alto affare, da altre parti a Roma, e della stessa città di Roma in Roma: fra le quali evvene del Cardinale Brancaccio, di Niccolò Sagredo, del conte Ermes Stampa, del conte Carlo Bentivogli, di Carlo Conti romano, di Orazio Quaranta, di Lazzero Ferro, e di più dilettanti di poesia, dico di Giuseppe de' Domenici, di Francesco Melosi, e di Lodovico Leporio, con altri.") Baldinucci also solicited letters himself. One such letter is the missive sent to Baldinucci by Francesco Maffei, prior to 1690, in response to the biographer's request for information about Rosa; the correspondence is conserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, A.101.21 (see also the transcriptions in Festa 1982, 111–112).

49. De Rinaldis 1939, IV.

50. See Meroni 1978b, 69, who considers as a possible explanation for the loss of all the letters written to Rosa by his friends (especially Giulio Maffei) Rosa's own claim in a letter to Ricciardi of 21 February 1654 (letter 176) that his persecutors among the Holy Office (whom Rosa feared on account of his illegitimate relationship with Lucrezia Paolini, as well as for the censure of his poetic satires) would not find "in my house any other writings than the bills for the rent," perhaps an allusion, Meroni argues, to his having destroyed any letters from friends that made mention of these sensitive matters. Rosa likely chose to destroy all of the letters wholesale, Meroni conjectures, rather than carefully selecting only those with potentially incriminating content and leaving himself open to the danger of forgetting one. The presence of the drawing by Rosa on the verso of the only extant letter written by Ricciardi to Rosa (see Appendix 3, letter B, and Fig. **49**) is likely—as Meroni argues—the reason for its survival. In regard to such losses, it is also noteworthy that many of the *sopracoperte* or outer envelopes of the letters that Rosa addressed to Giulio Maffei do not appear to survive,

perhaps thrown away by the recipient as unimportant or lost at some point during the course of the letters' preservation.

51. See Rosa's comments in letters 266 and 280.
52. See letter 46 and Fig. **19**.
53. It has not been possible to identify the particular *stemma* that appears on Rosa's seal, however the flower that it features is the conventional heraldic symbol for the "rose," a flower with five or more petals that fold under at the outer edges, encircling a button centre, with lines dividing each petal. For this design, see Manno 1907, figs 324 and 325 (under "Rosa"). Two different seals, in fact, appear on one of Rosa's letters (letter 216): one, the smaller rose-decorated seal that appears on the majority of the surviving envelopes of Rosa's letters, and the other, a bell-shaped shield featuring diamond-like shapes and a fleur-de-lis at its base. A very different type of seal appears on a number of Rosa's letters, as for example in the case of letter 220: here, the verso of the *sopracoperta* bears a partially-visible imprint of a seal depicting a cardinal's hat and the caduceus of Mercury at the centre. On the subject of heraldry in seventeenth-century Italy, see Hammond 1988, 84, who notes that Italian heraldry was not regulated or supervised, and that there was no singular authority for Italian coats of arms. The "coat of arms" consists of the field and the devices, and "[e]ach member of the family had the right to bear the family arms, but these were often varied to indicate the individual's identity or achievements. […] The head of a family normally bore the family arms in their original form, but other male members might adopt subsidiary distinguishing devices known as differences. […] crests above the shield also indicated the status of the owners. Various forms of crown denoted emperor, king, prince, duke […]. A helmet indicated nobility. In the ecclesiastical world, the tiara and keys denoted a reigning pope; the hat or *galero*, depending on the number of its tassels and its colour (red for a cardinal, green for a bishop, black for a priest) indicated the rank of its wearer."
54. The watermarks on the pages of Rosa's letters include a schematic sun inscribed within a circle, and a Maltese cross inscribed within a circle. For the watermarks that appear on the pages of Rosa's drawings and letters, see Mahoney 1977, 1:743–752. As Mahoney notes (743), Rosa's "dated letters, particularly those conveniently in the Fitzwilliam Museum and published in 1650 by Limentani, penned on watermarked paper, record years during which Rosa must have had at hand similarly marked paper on which to draw. One should not infer, however, that Rosa used a certain paper only in the years recorded in dated letters […]. The only really pertinent fact emerging from correlating the watermarks on the drawings and letters is that it can thus be shown in certain cases the artist used the same paper over a span of years." Letters in both the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, in fact, also yield a watermark not recorded by Mahoney, which consists of downward-pointing arrows inscribed within a circle, atop a six-pointed star; this watermark is visible, for example, on the final page of letter 368.
55. For the letters by Ricciardi, written on the versos of drawings executed by Rosa, see Appendix 3, Letters B and C. For Mahoney's reproduction of images of certain of Rosa's letters, and fragments thereof, see Mahoney 1977, 2: images 1 through 5. The drawing recently on the art market (Christie's, sale 2820, 30 January 2014) represents "Crates Throwing his Money into the Sea" on the recto, with another study of the same composition on the verso, and can perhaps be connected to Rosa's painting of the same subject of *c.* 1641–1643 (private collection, UK), once owned by Rosa's Florentine patron, Carlo Gerini. On the painting, see Volpi 2014, 132–141 and 434–435, cat. 91. The verso of the Christie's drawing is inscribed with the words "Amico Carissimo". I am grateful to Richard Spear for bringing this drawing to my attention. For an additional example of Rosa's apparent use of the same sheets of paper for drawings as for letters, see Mahoney 1977, 1:367–368, and 2: no. 32.1: the drawing, held in the Princeton University Art Museum, depicts two figures—one seated and the other standing—engaged in heated conversation, and is suggested by Mahoney as a possible study for the *Parable of Saint Matthew*, on which see Volpi 2014, 483, cat. 164. The top of the sheet bears the beginning of a line of text, in Rosa's hand, that reads: "Questa mattina dicev[o/a] L." Rosa apparently began writing a note, or perhaps a letter, and then subsequently decided to use the same sheet for a sketch. Mahoney notes that the verso of the sheet bears an additional inscription, "Non mi ero accorto che il figlio era imbrattato." For a further instance, see also the example of Rosa's drawing of an *Allegory of Vanity*, depicting two putti next to a rock, with a cross and skull (location unknown; see Ebert-Schifferer 2010, 291, fig. 2), executed on the verso of an envelope addressed to Ricciardi.
56. This is also noted by Gerra 1937, 15.
57. On the changes that take place in handwriting due to old age or illness, but that do not ultimately alter the individual character of the handwriting itself (its layout and shapes) unless an illness is severe, see Sirat 2006, 432–434. On early modern handwriting, see Tannenbaum 1930.
58. As noted by Bambach 2013, 64, there are various benefits and pitfalls to each of the different scholarly approaches to, and organizations of, artist's letters. The "scientific" approach, for example, which extracts bits and pieces of letters and places them in footnotes, often has the problematic result of depriving the original of its epistolary context and value. These are important considerations that I have tried to take into account in the presentation of Rosa's letters here; while it has not been possible to reproduce images of every letter, significant care has been taken to offer the reader as accurate as possible a rendering of the original manuscripts as material objects and historical records in their own right.
59. These notes also concern the material conditions of the manuscript and any noteworthy considerations in this regard (such as significant instances of damage, or the absence of a *sopracoperta* or envelope with address), as well as the matter of access to the manuscripts in cases in which letters are either lost or inaccessible.
60. For commentary concerning the orthographic criteria in question, see Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice. Lives of the Bolognese Painters. Vol. 1. Early Bolognese Painting*,

eds. Elizabeth Cropper and Lorenzo Pericolo (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2012): 163–166.

61. As noted by Hammond 1988, 71, one method through which to find a correlation "is to determine the gold or silver content of a given coin and calculate its worth at the present market value of the metal (which is subject, of course, to wild fluctuations). Another system seeks equivalents based on average salaries. These seem to have been fairly high during the second half of the sixteenth century in Italy: […] in 1590 the average worker would have earned 5 *giuli* in three or four days. However, it is difficult to frame exact equivalents between seventeenth-century and modern definitions of works and days. Where financial records exist […] it is at least possible to compare the payment he [Girolamo Frescobaldi] received with that of other musicians or court servants. Another system is the comparison of staples of daily life. But even bread, wine, and olive oil do not have the same relative importance in twentieth-century America as in seventeenth-century Italy."

62. As noted by Hammond 1988, 67, "[i]t is necessary first to distinguish between moneys of account and actual circulating currency. Moneys of account are those denominations in which accounts are calculated, 'the measure of value'; circulating currency has been defined as 'the medium of exchange and the store of wealth'. Currency consists of the physical denominations in circulation at any given time, which may not even include units corresponding to the single denominations of the moneys of account. For example, in the US the moneys of account are dollars and cents; the circulating currency includes bills of the dollar and various multiples, and coins of dollar, half-dollar, quarter, dime, and nickel denominations, as well as the penny. With the probable disappearance of the latter, only one of these many denominations of currency will correspond to a money of account. The systems in use in Italy in the seventeenth century reflect the Carolingian establishment of the ratios 1 pound (lira/e, libbra, livre) = 20 shillings (soldo/i, sous); 1 shilling = 12 pence (denaro/i, deniers)."

63. Hammond 1988, 68, who notes further that "[i]n some cases coinage was so chaotic that values were calculated by the weight of the metal; in the Two Sicilies the oncia/e—a generic term denoting a twelfth of something, here a weight—became a currency value. One Roman pound = 339 grams; one ounce (1/12 pound) = 28.25 grams; one denier (1/24 ounce) = 1.1770 grams; one grain (1/24 denier) = 0.0490 grams."

64. As noted by Hammond 1988, 74, "[s]eventeenth-century letters, especially between members of a family or close friends, sometimes surprise us by such elaborate forms of address and by their relatively formal tone. In a dialogue on the duties of the secretary published in 1600, the poet [Giovanni] Battista Guarini (p. 88) noted that letters 'are presented like a gift, so that one may make to one's friends discussions that are not commonplace [*famigliari*], in addition not providing anything that is not cultivated and embellished."

65. On the prevalence of calligraphic flourishes such as these in seventeenth-century handwriting more generally, see Sirat 2006, 346–348.

Critical Signs

Critical Signs Used in the Transcriptions

[c. 1r] Beginning of recto or verso of an individual page of the manuscript

†…† Word or passage difficult or impossible to read

[…] Omission of a word or passage

[ ] Loss of a word or passage

{ } Insertion of a new word or passage (to cancel or substitute for an existing word or passage; or as an afterthought), within the line or above or below it, in the margin, or on the facing page or verso of the same page

Critical Signs Used in the Notes to the Transcriptions

< > Word or passage cancelled in the manuscript

†…† Word or passage difficult or impossible to read

V1 Word or passage present in the Vatican manuscript: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 15r

V2 Word or passage present in the Vatican manuscript: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 23r

V3 Word or passage present in the Vatican manuscript: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 27r

Critical Signs Used in the Translations

†…† Word or passage difficult or impossible to read

[…] Omission of a word or passage

[ ] Loss of a word or passage

Abbreviations

The following is a list of commonly used abbreviations, which have been expanded in the text.

Am.^{co} = Amico
AmicoVer/ AmicoVeo = Amico Vero
Ami = Amico
Batt/ Batt.^{a} = Battista
Cariss.^{mo} = Carissimo
Dev.^{o}/ Dv/ Dev.^{mo} = Devotissimo
D g/ Dg/ Diogdi = Dio guardi
DVS/ Di VS = Di Vostra Signoria
Fran.^{co} = Francesco
Ill.^{mo} = Illustrissimo
Ill.^{me} = Illustrissime
Oss.^{mo}/ Oss.^{o} = Osservandissimo
Pat.^{ne}/ Pat. = Patrone
Pad.^{ne} = Padrone
Salv = Salvator
Salv.^{r} = Salvator
Salv.^{re} = Salvatore
Serv.^{re}/ S.^{re} = Servitore
Singolariss.^{mo} = Singolarissimo
Sig./ Sig.^{r} = Signor
Sig.^{re}/ Sig.^{e} = Signore
S. R. = Salvator Rosa
VS/ V.S. = Vostra Signoria

IMAGES

Fig. 1. Letter 19 (9 January 1647), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 31v, detail of signature.

Fig. 2. Letter 133 (9 May 1652), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 20, c. 1v, detail of signature.

Fig. 3. Letter 259 (11 November 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 94, c. 1v, detail of signature.

Fig. 4. Letter 262 (2 December 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 96, c. 2v, detail of signature.

Fig. 5. Letter 355 (5 November 1667), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 164, c. 2r, detail of signature.

Fig. 6. Letter 366 (19 May 1668), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 172, c. 1v, detail of signature.

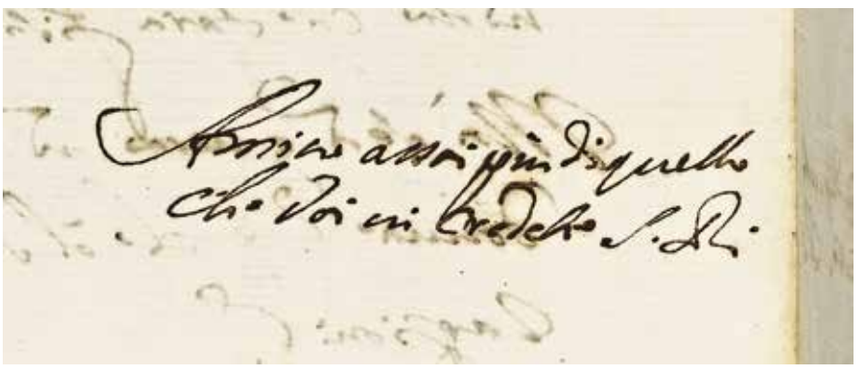

Fig. 7. Letter 357 (12 January 1668), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 32, c. 1v, detail of signature.

Fig. 8. Letter 134 (10 May 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 15, c. 2v, detail of seal impression.

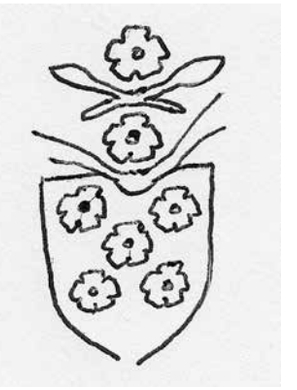

Fig. 9. Drawing of seal impression. Author.

Fig. 10. Letter 339 (9 October 1666), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 30, c. 1v, detail.

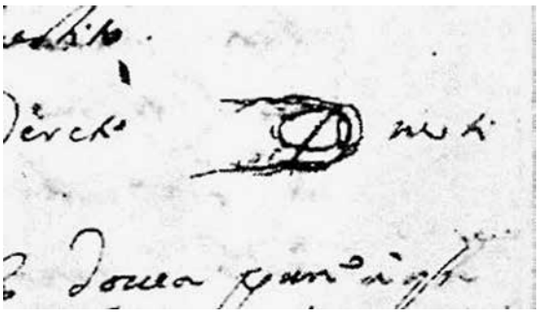

Fig. 11. Letter 70 (24 August 1650), collection of the Arcangeli family, Florence; sketch representing Augusto Rosa's cut finger.

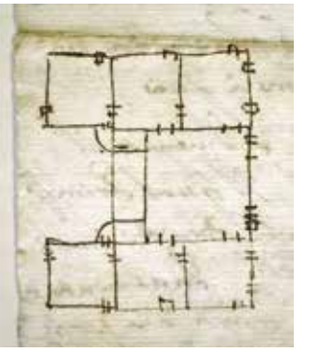

Fig. 12. Letter 162 (19 February 1653), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 36, c. 2v, detail.

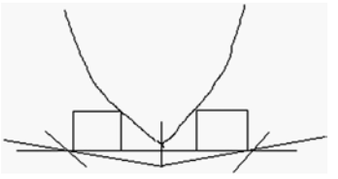

Fig. 13. Letter 226, rendering of sketch that appears on c. 2v. Author.

Fig. 14. Letter 318, rendering of sketch that appears on c. 2v. Author.

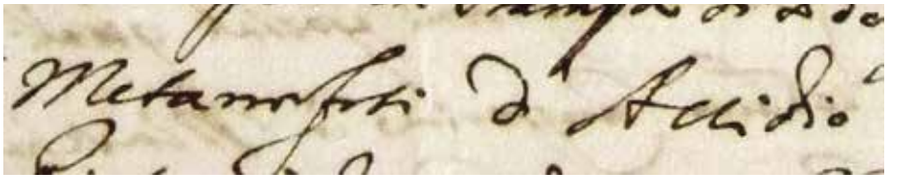

Fig. 15. Letter 374 (25 January 1669), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 179, c. 1v, detail.

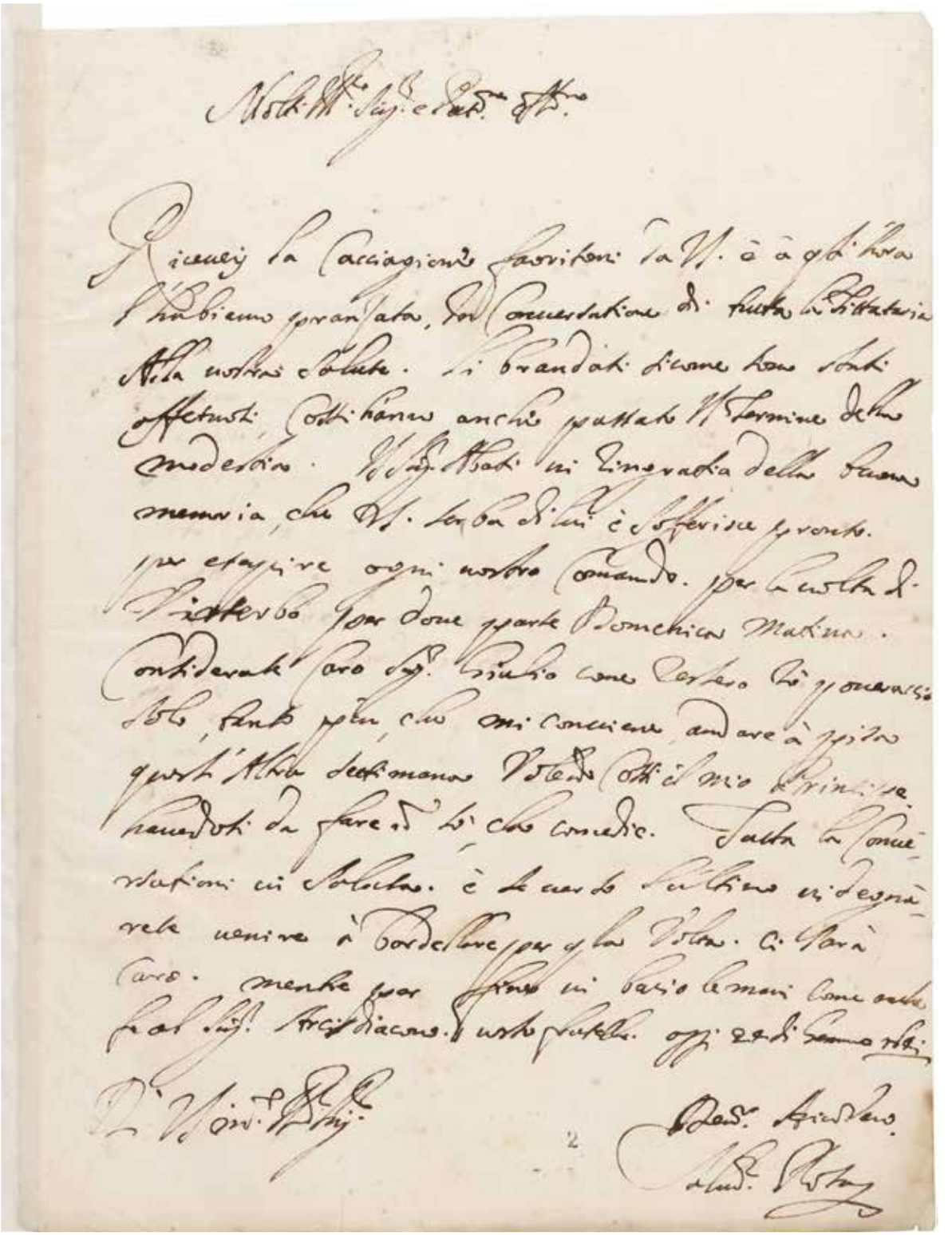

Fig. 16. Letter 1 (24 January 1641), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 2r.

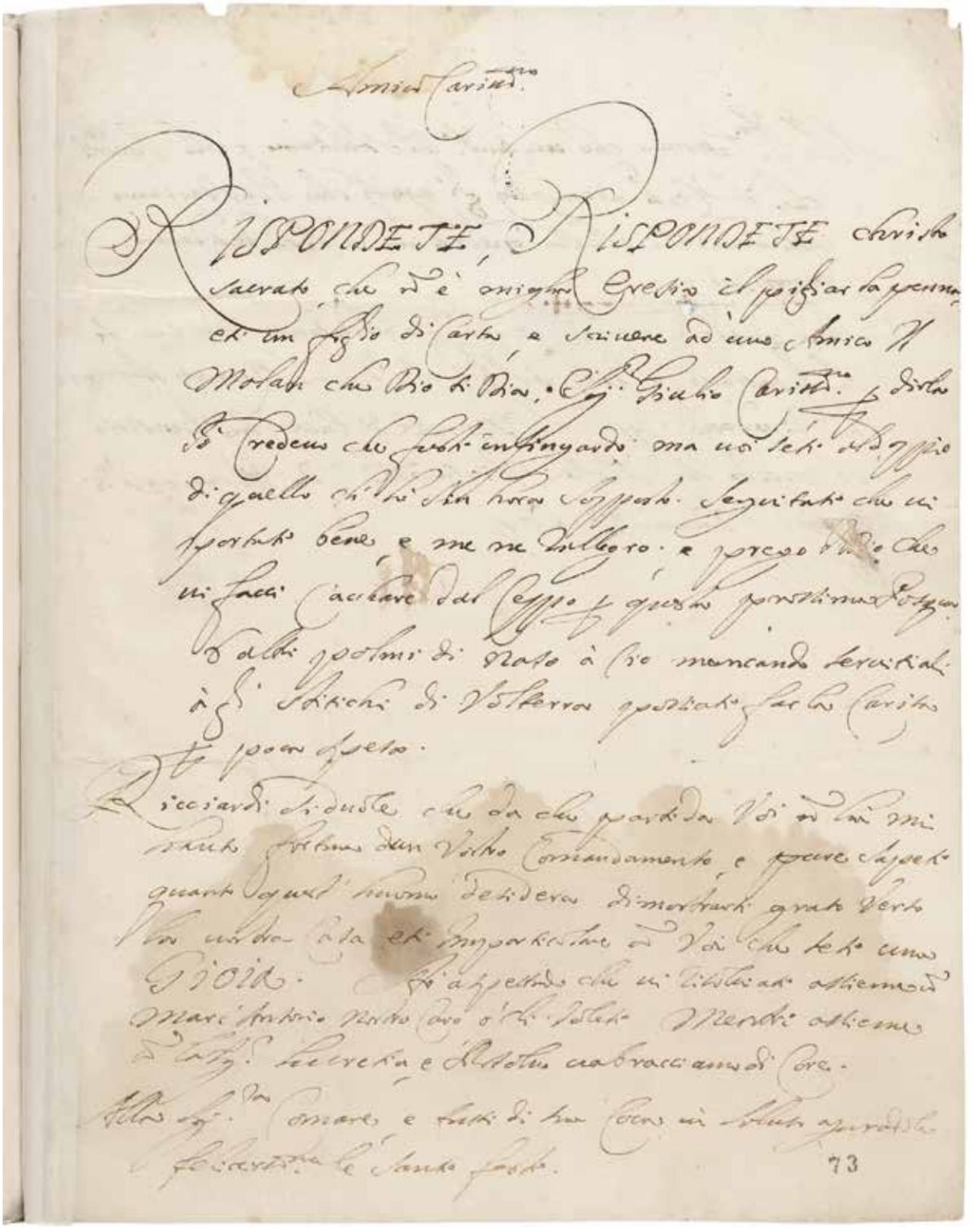

Fig. 17. Letter 43 (8 December 1649), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 73r.

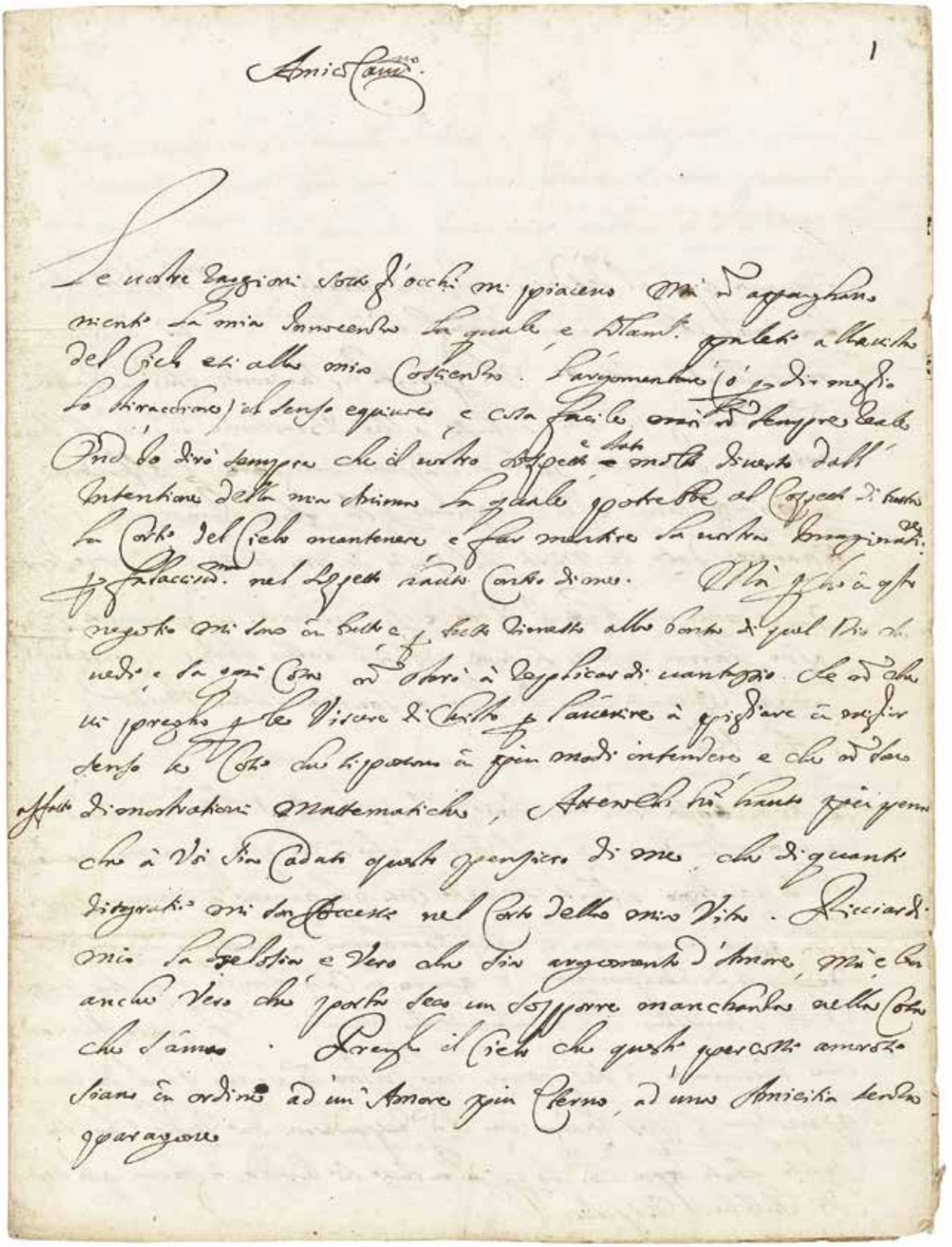

Fig. 18. Letter 46 (5 January 1650), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 2, c. 1r.

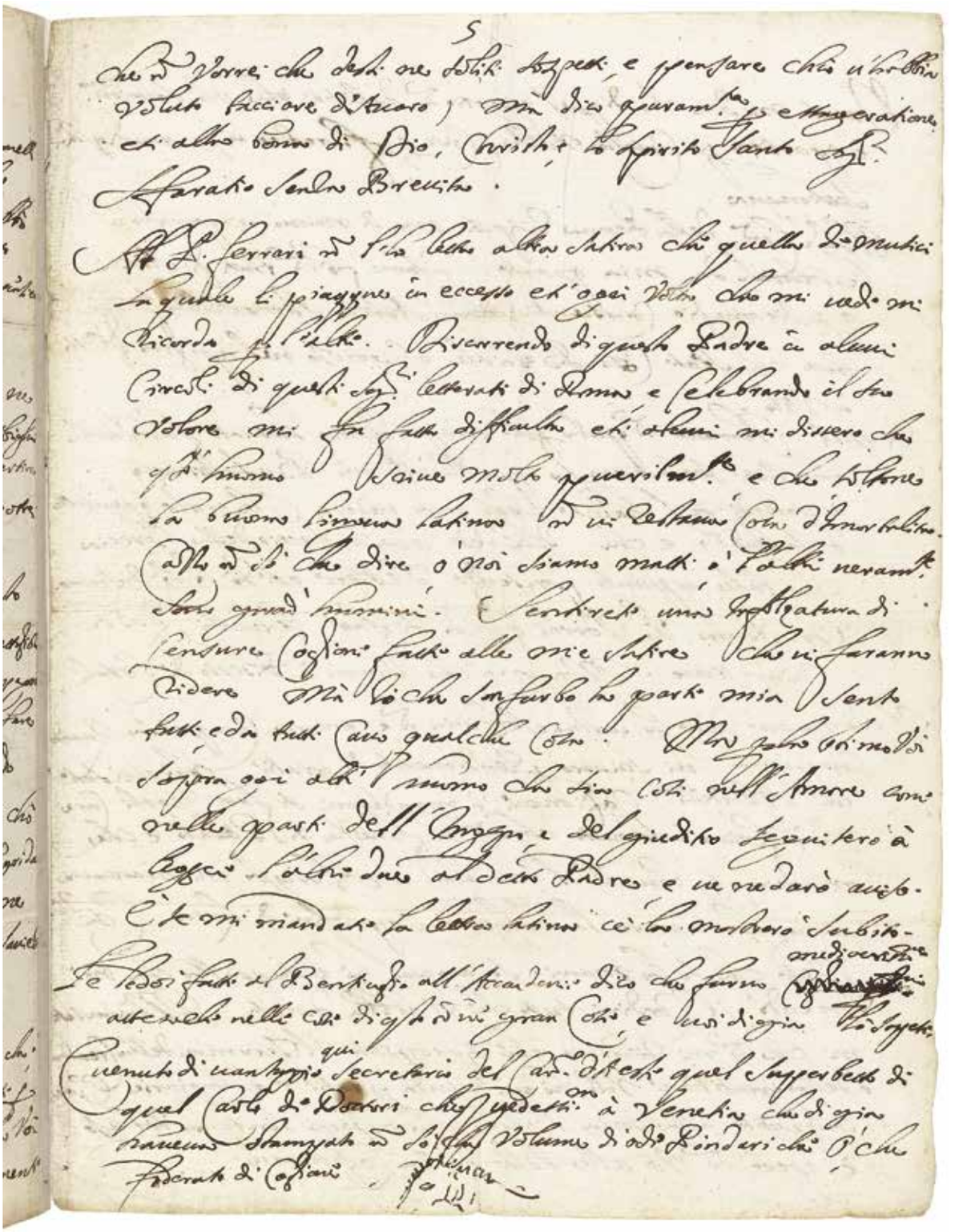

Fig. 19. Letter 46 (5 January 1650), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 2, c. 3r.

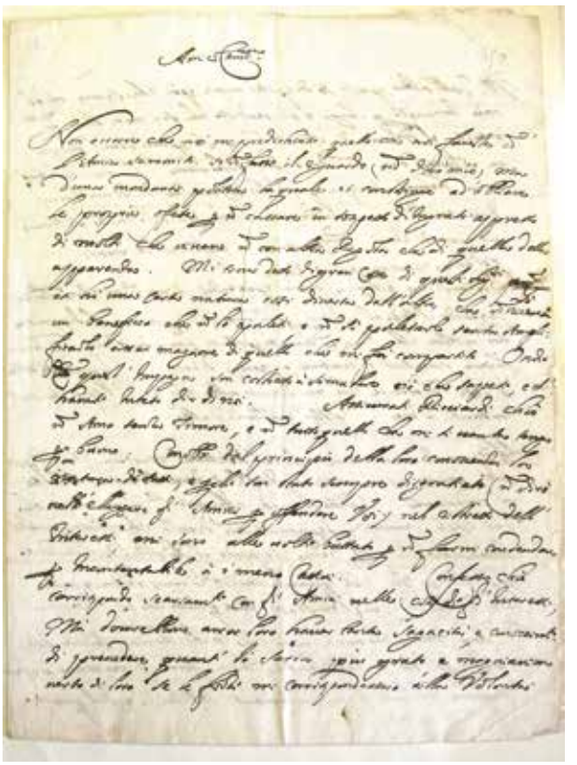

Fig. 20. Letter 48 (16 January 1650), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 1, c. 1r.

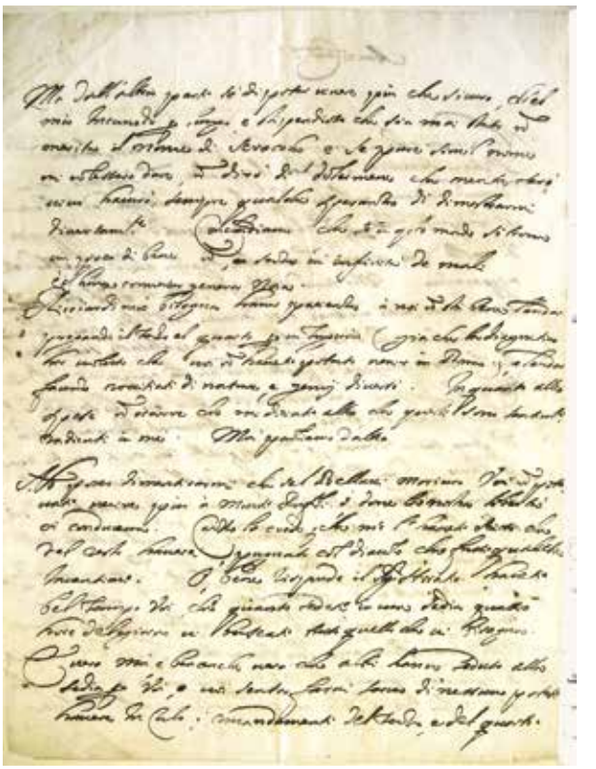

Fig. 21. Letter 48 (16 January 1650), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 1, c. 1v.

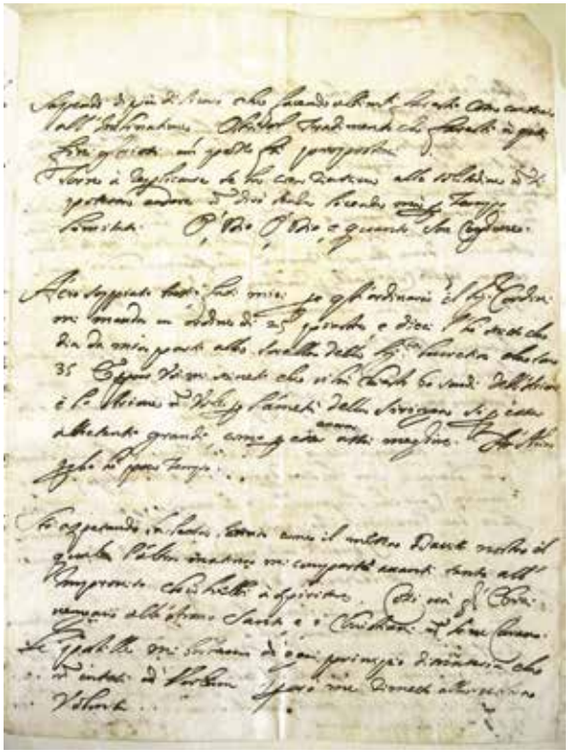

Fig. 22. Letter 48 (16 January 1650), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 1, c. 2r.

Fig. 23. Letter 48 (16 January 1650), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 1, c. 2v.

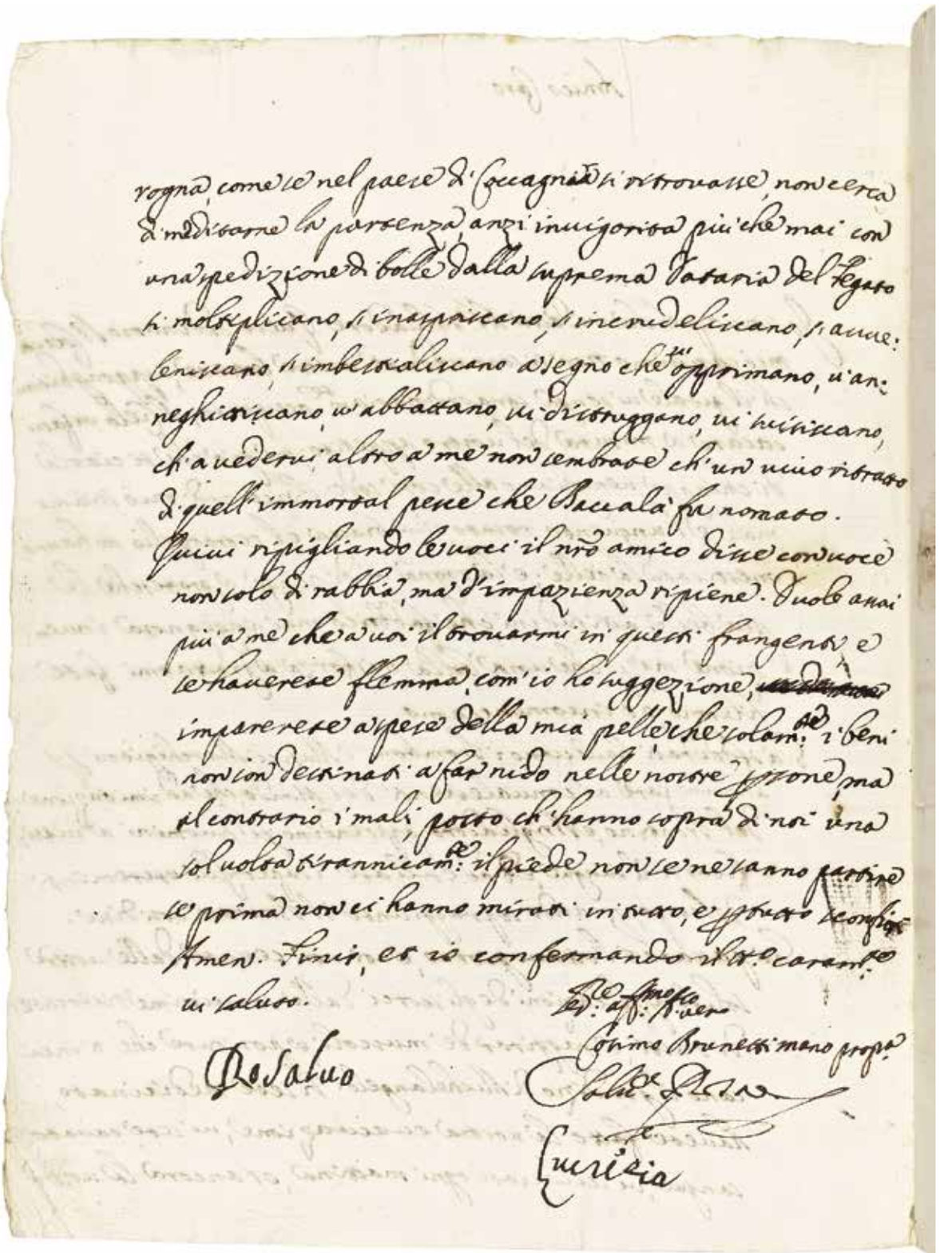

Fig. 24. Letter 93 (undated), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 49, c. 1v.

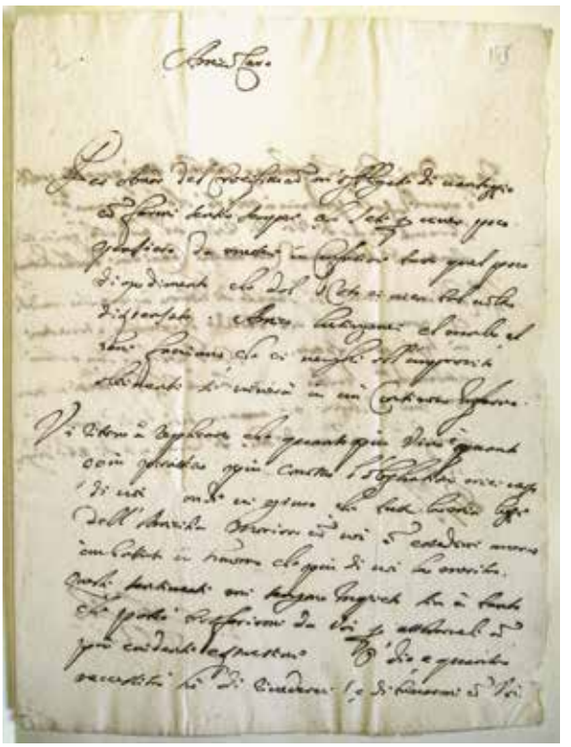

Fig. 25. Letter 104 (26 June 1651), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 9, c. 1r.

Fig. 26. Letter 110 (22 September 1651?), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 199r.

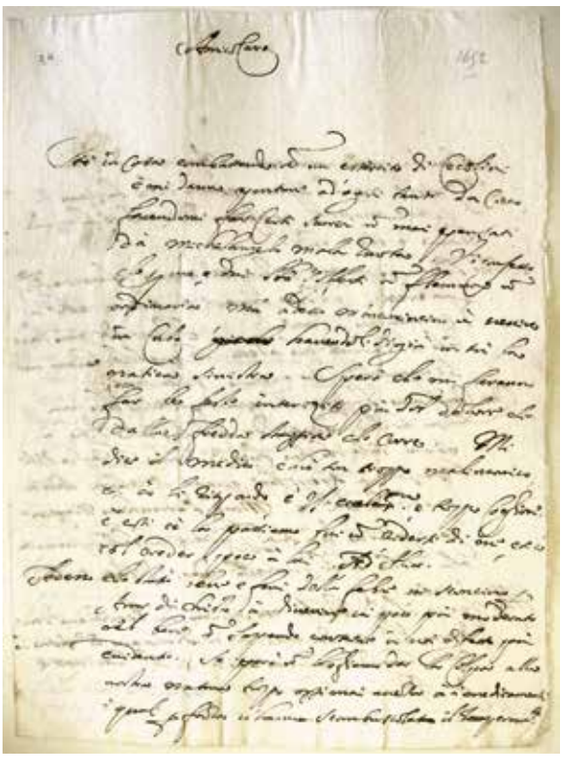

Fig. 27. Letter 159 (21 December 1652), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 34, c. 1r.

Fig. 28. Letter 181 (20 June 1654), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 47, c. 1v.

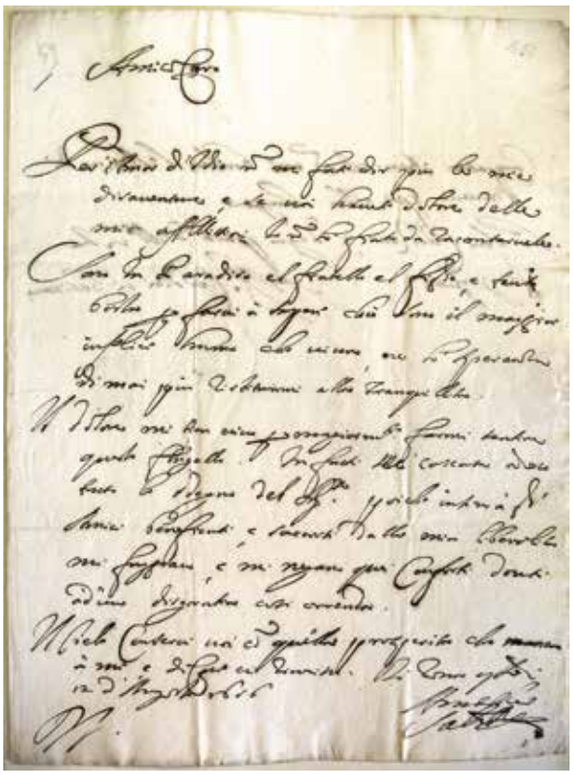

Fig. 29. Letter 202 (12 August 1656), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 59, c. 1r.

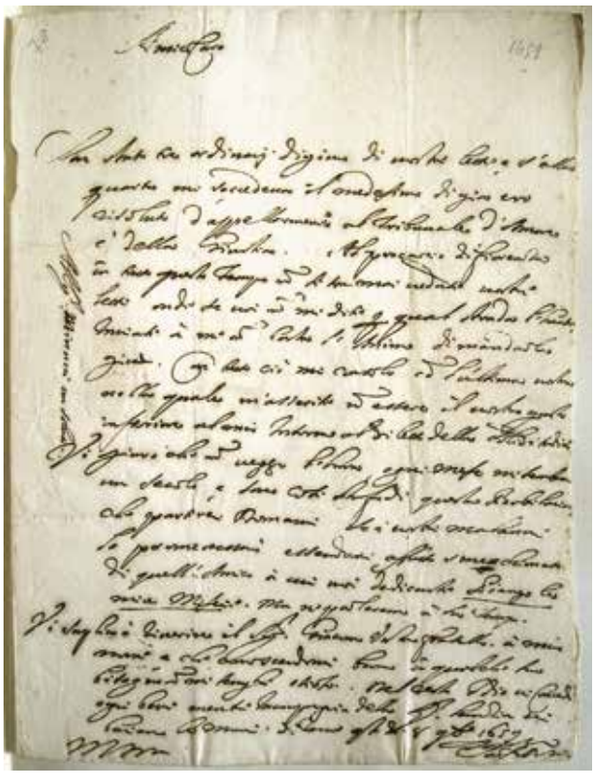

Fig. 30. Letter 237 (8 November 1659), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 78, c. 1r.

Fig. 31. Letter 254 (7 May 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 92, c. 1r.

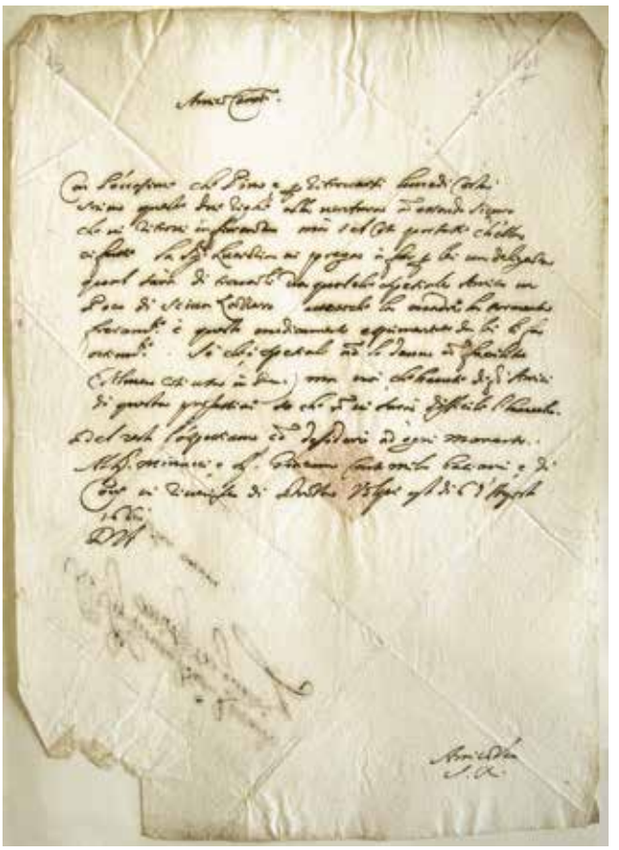

Fig. 32. Letter 256 (6 August 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 93, c. 1r.

Fig. 33. Letter 256 (6 August 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 93, c. 1v.

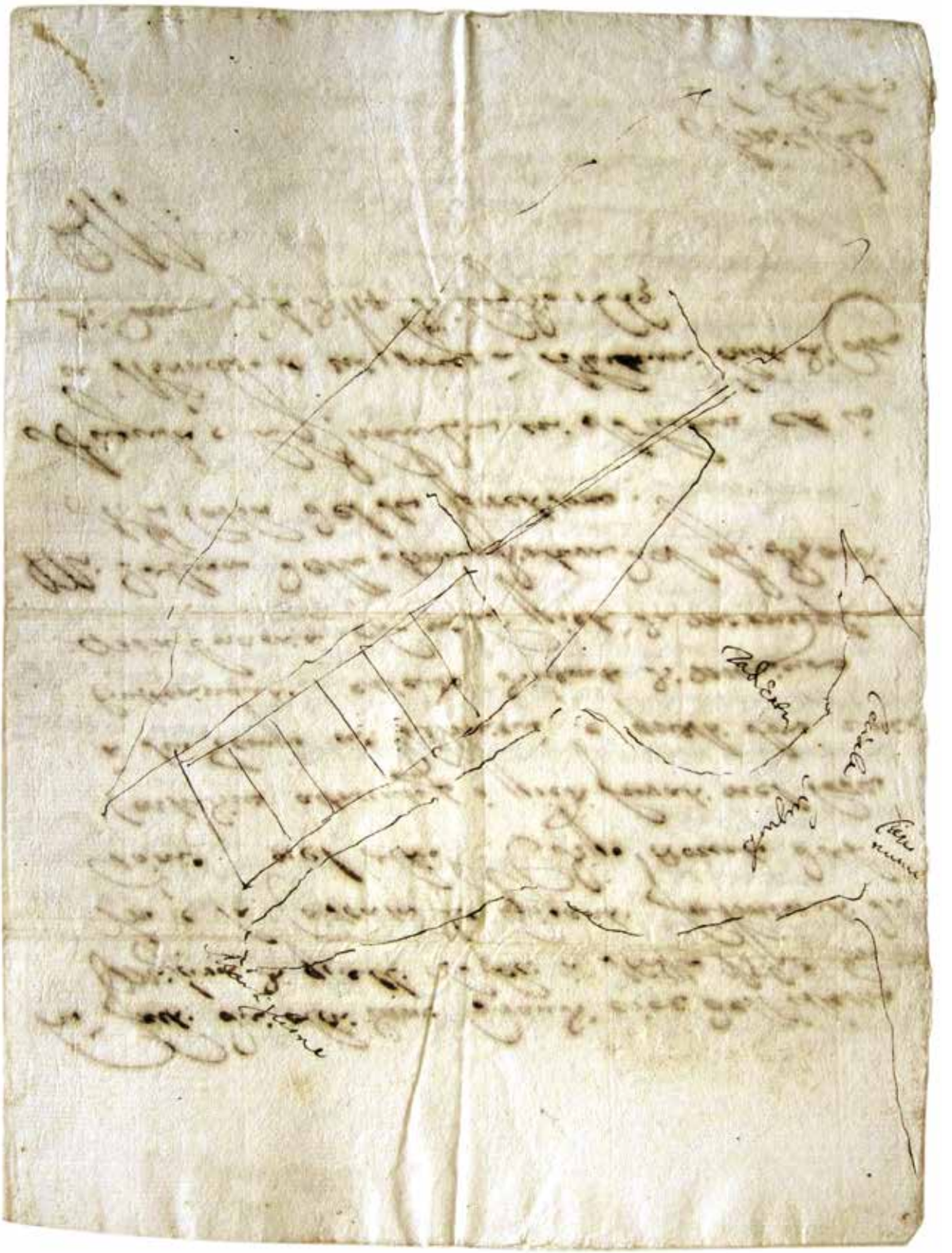

Fig. 34. Letter 297 (14 July 1663), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 120, c. 2v (image inverted for legibility).

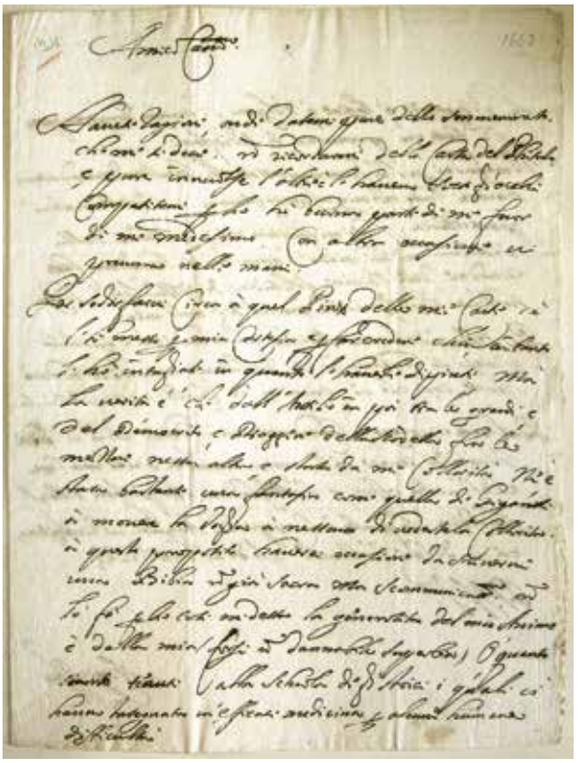

Fig. 35. Letter 305 (21 October 1663), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 124, c. 1r.

Fig. 36. Letter 342 (13 November 1666), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 153, c. 1r.

Fig. 37. Letter 356 (26 November 1667), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 165, c. 1r.

Fig. 38. Letter 356 (26 November 1667), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 165, c. 1v.

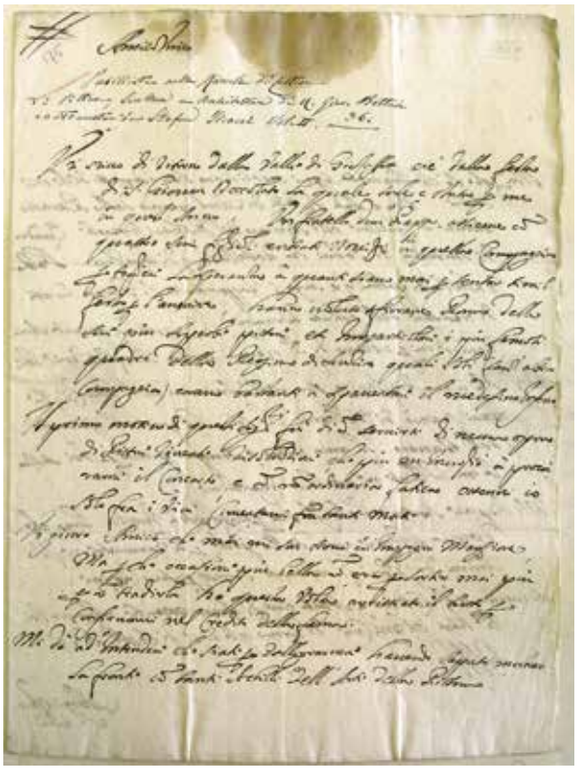

Fig. 39. Letter 370 (15 September 1668), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 175, c. 1r.

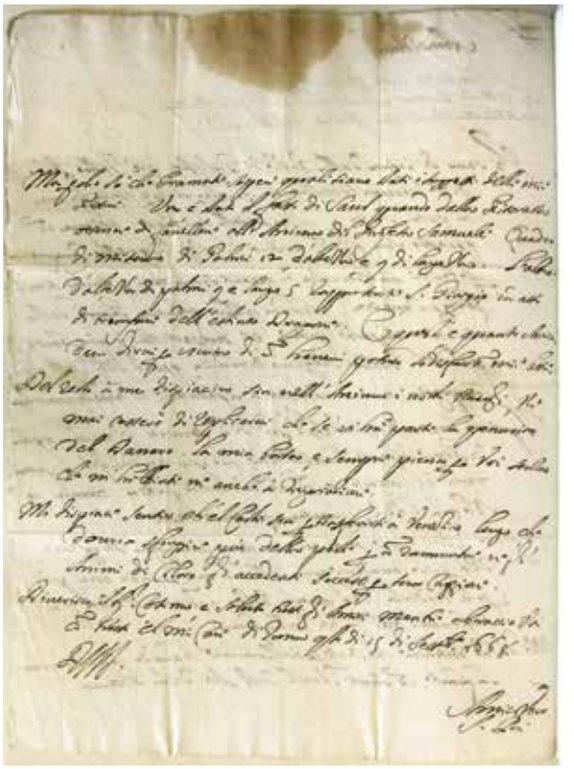

Fig. 40. Letter 370 (15 September 1668), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 175, c. 1v.

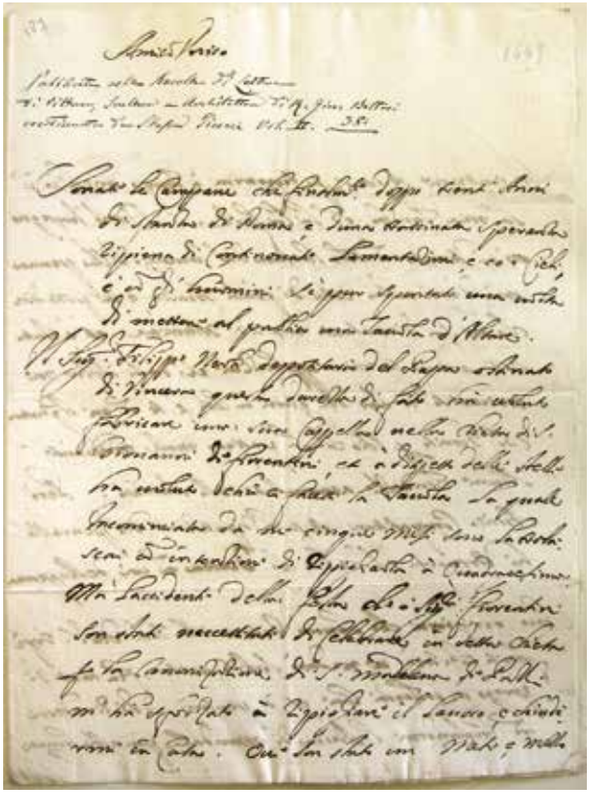

Fig. 41. Letter 382 (11 October 1669), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 187, c. 1r.

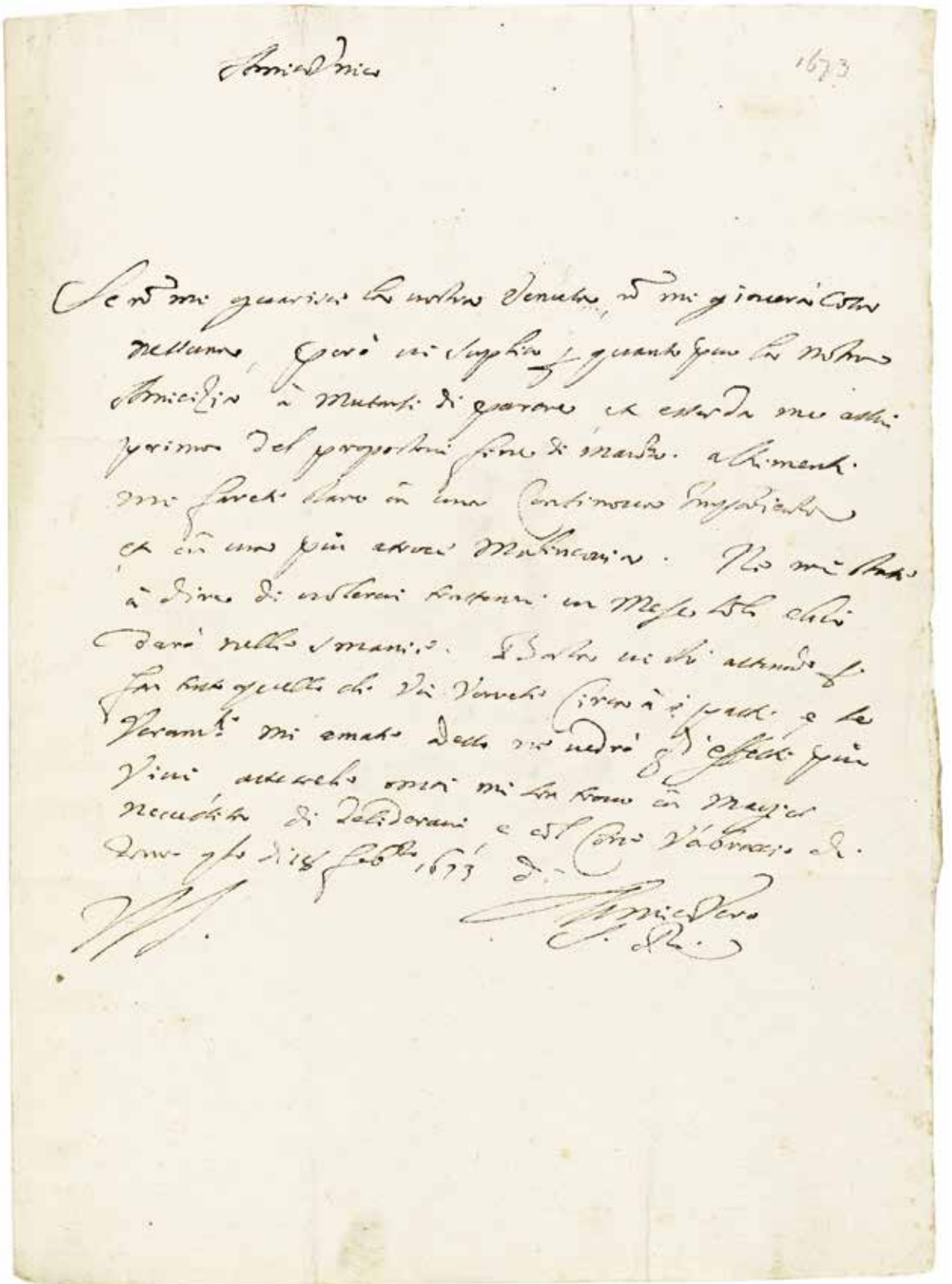

Fig. 42. Letter 403 (18 February 1673), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 36, c. 1r.

Fig. 43. Letter 93 (undated), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 49, c. 2v.

Fig. 44. Letter 396 (21 November 1671), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 44, c. 2v.

Fig. 45. Letter 403 (18 February 1673), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 36, c. 2v.

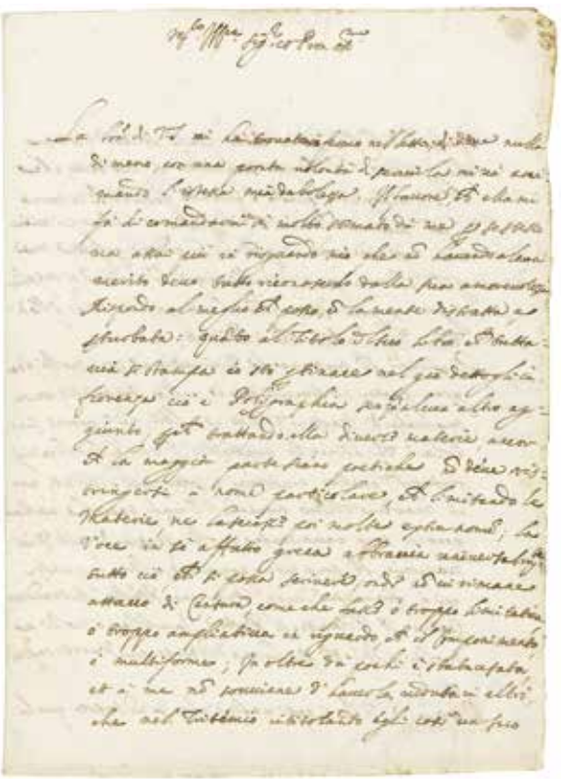

Fig. 46. Letter A (Appendix 3) (12 January 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 52, c. 1r.

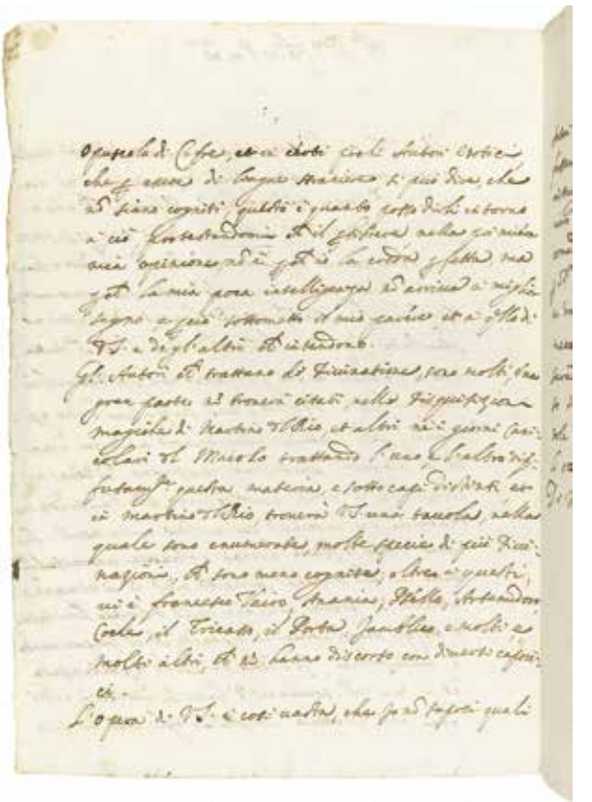

Fig. 47. Letter A (Appendix 3) (12 January 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 52, c. 1v.

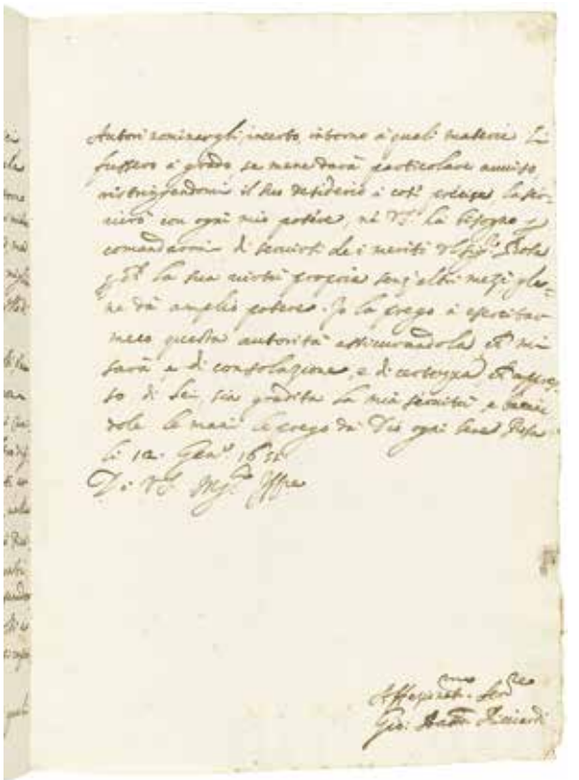

Fig. 48. Letter A (Appendix 3) (12 January 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 52, c. 2r.

Fig. 49. Letter B (Appendix 3) (August 1661), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; study by Salvator Rosa for a "Judgment of Paris" and other figure studies, c. 1v.

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Fig. 5. Letter 355 (5 November 1667), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 164, c. 2r, detail of signature. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

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Fig. 7. Letter 357 (12 January 1668), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 32, c. 1v, detail of signature. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 8. Letter 134 (10 May 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 15, c. 2v, detail of seal impression. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

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Fig. 11. Letter 70 (24 August 1650), collection of the Arcangeli family, Florence; sketch representing Augusto Rosa's cut finger. Photo: from Uberto Limentani, "Salvator Rosa – Nuovi Contribuiti all'Epistolario," *Studi Secenteschi* 13 (1972): fig. 11.

Fig. 12. Letter 162 (19 February 1653), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 36, c. 2v, detail. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig 13. Letter 226, rendering of sketch that appears on c. 2v. Author.

Fig. 14. Letter 318, rendering of sketch that appears on c. 2v. Author.

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Fig. 19. Letter 46 (5 January 1650), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 2, c. 3r. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

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Fig. 24. Letter 93 (undated), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 49, c. 1v. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

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Fig. 28. Letter 181 (20 June 1654), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 47, c. 1v. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 29. Letter 202 (12 August 1656), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 59, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 30. Letter 237 (8 November 1659), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 78, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 31. Letter 254 (7 May 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 92, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 32. Letter 256 (6 August 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 93, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 33. Letter 256 (6 August 1661), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 93, c. 1v. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 34. Letter 297 (14 July 1663), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 120, c. 2v. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 35. Letter 305 (21 October 1663), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 124, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 36. Letter 342 (13 November 1666), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 153, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 37. Letter 356 (26 November 1667), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 165, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 38. Letter 356 (26 November 1667), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 165, c. 1v. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 39. Letter 370 (15 September 1668), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 175, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 40. Letter 370 (15 September 1668), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 175, c. 1v. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 41. Letter 382 (11 October 1669), Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 187, c. 1r. Photo: author. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali d'Italia - © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Fig. 42. Letter 403 (18 February 1673), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 36, c. 1r. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 43. Letter 93 (undated), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 49, c. 2v. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 44. Letter 396 (21 November 1671), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 44, c. 2v. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 45. Letter 403 (18 February 1673), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 36, c. 2v. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 46. Letter A (Appendix 3) (12 January 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 52, c. 1r. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 47. Letter A (Appendix 3) (12 January 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 52, c. 1v. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 48. Letter A (Appendix 3) (12 January 1652), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 52, c. 2r. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 49. Letter B (Appendix 3) (August 1661), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Van Day Truex Fund and Cynthia Ryan Lambros Gift, 1983; study by Salvator Rosa for a "Judgment of Paris" and other figure studies, c. 1v. Photo: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, www.metmuseum.org.

PART 1

1641–1649

FIG. 16

Letter 1
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to (Volterra?), 24 January 1641*

[c. 2r]
Molto illustre signore e patrone osservandissimo

Ricevei la cacciagione favoritami da Vostra Signoria e a quest'ora l'abiamo pranzata in conversazione di tutta la tittatoria[a] alla vostra salute. Li brandati[b], sì come sono stati affettuosi, così hanno anche passato il termine della modestia. Il signor Abati vi ringrazia della buona memoria che Vostra Signoria serba di lui e s'offerisce pronto per eseguire ogni vostro comando per la volta di Viterbo, per dove parte domenica matina.

Considerate, caro signor Giulio, come resterò io poveraccio, solo, tanto più che mi conviene andare a Pisa quest'altra settimana, volendo cossì[c] il mio principe, avendosi da fare non so che comedie. Tutta la conversazione vi saluta e, se verso l'ultimo vi degnarete[d] venire a bordellare per quella volta, ci sarà caro. Mentre per fine vi bacio le mani come anche fò[e] al signor arcidiacono vostro fratello. Oggi 24 di gennaro 1641[f].

Di Vostra Signoria illustrissimo signore

Devotissimo amico vero[g]
Salvator Rosa

Letter 2
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to Volterra, 29 August 1641**

[c. 4v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[h]

[c. 3r]
Mio signore

Ricevo la vostra lettra in abito di citazione e mi rallegro sentir che, dopo una così lunga dimora di Monterufoli, sia ritornato con salute nell'alma città volaterana[i].

Se Vostra Signoria verrà fra otto giorni, conforme accenna, sarà conforme al solito ben veduto, accarezzato et abracciato. In quanto poi al prepararmi per venir con esso voi, sarà difficile (caso però

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 2r. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:6, letter 2; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 3, letter 1. The *sopracoperta* (or outer envelope; see letter 320, note 3) of the present letter is lost, as is the *soprascritta* (the name of addressee). As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 3, note 1, Rosa was at this moment in Florence and not in Pisa, as Cesareo 1892 believed. The letter was undoubtedly written to Giulio Maffei, who was presumably in Volterra.

** Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 3r–c. 4v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:6–7, letter 3; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 3–4, letter 2.

Letter 1
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to (Volterra?), 24 January 1641

Most illustrious Lord and most revered patron[1],

I received the game your Lordship kindly sent me, and at this hour we've dined on it in your honour, in the company of all the *tittatoria*[2]. Our toasts[3] were so affectionate that they exceeded the boundaries of modesty. Signor Abati[4] thanks you for the good memory your Lordship keeps of him, and he offers to carry out each of your commands, in the direction of Viterbo, where he's heading Sunday morning.

Consider, dear Signor Giulio[5], that I'll remain a solitary wretch, especially because I'm obliged to go to Pisa the week after next, at the order of my prince[6], having to attend comedies of some kind. The whole gang[7] sends you greetings, and, if towards the end of the month you might deign to come and carouse with us for a while, it would mean so much to me. Meanwhile, in closing, I kiss your hands[8] as well as those of your brother, Signor Archdeacon[9]. Today the 24th of January 1641.

The most devoted and true friend of your most illustrious Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 2
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to Volterra, 29 August 1641

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you[1]
Volterra

My Lord,

I received your letter in the form of a citation[2], and I'm glad to hear that after such a long stay at Monterufoli[3] you've returned in good health to the great city of Volterra.

If your Lordship will come within eight days, as you told me, you will—as always—be welcome, cherished and embraced. With regard to all the preparations I'll have to make in order to come with

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a Ms: *Tittatoria*. Cesareo 1892: "Tittataria".
b Ms: *brandati*, for "brindisi". See Cesareo 1892, 2:6, note 3.
c Ms: *cossì*, perhaps a fusion of the Neapolitan "accussì" and the Tuscan "così". For "accussì," see Andreoli 1887, 16.
d Ms: *degnarete*, for "degnerete".
e Ms: *fo*, for "fò," an abbreviation of "faccio".
f Ms: *1641*.
g Rosa frequently conjoins the words "amico" and "vero," as "AmicoVero".
h Ms: *Volterra*.
i Ms: *volaterana*, for "volterrana".

che voi non vi vogliate trattenere tutt'il mese di settembre, già ch'io non posso venir da voi se non verso la fine del detto mese, che sarà giusto al mettersi de' tordi nella remota stanza di Barbaiano).

Al signor Ricciardi non posso far vostre racomandazioni rispetto che si trova a Pisa da che soccesse l'amazzamento del nostro povero Manzini. Lo sto però aspetando.

La signora Lucrezia[a] e Rosalvo vi baciano le mani e salutano la signora Giovanna[b] conforme fò anch'io.

Alla signora Caterina e tutti di casa riverisco con quell'affetto dovuto a' loro meriti, mentre di vero core vi bacio le mani, di Fiorenza questo dì 29 d'agosto 1641.

Di Vostra Signoria

Devotissimo amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 3
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Florence?) to Volterra, 29 September 1641*

[c. 6v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[c]

[c. 5r]
Signor mio

Il negozio della suplica ancora è su la corda e non si sa qual esito s'abbia avere. La cornice quel becco fotuto dell'indoratore dice che non me la puol[d] dare sin'alla metà del mese d'ottobre; ora pensi Vostra Signoria come sto indiavolato.

Con tutto ciò mi sforzerò di far tutto il possible non già per godere delle vostre delizie, ma per fugire la vista de gl'uomini. È torno il signor Ricciardi e, con vostra licenza, dice voler venire ancor lui.

Credimi Giulio, ch'io sto il più imbrogliato uomo del mondo, né so come diavolo mi fare.

Il vetturale non venne mai per le vostre cose, tutto che dicesse di venire. Ma il furbo non comparse mai.

La signora Lucrezia, Rosalvo, signor Ricciardi vi baciano le mani e sopra ogn'altro io, di tutto core, conforme fò con tutti di casa, questo dì 29 di settembre 1641.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 5r–c. 6v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:7–8, letter 4; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 4–5, letter 3. Various mathematical calculations appear on c. 6v.

a Ms: *Lucretia*. Rosa frequently spells Lucrezia Paolini's name this way.

you, it will be difficult. (Unless, that is, you don't want to stay for the entire month of September, since I can only come stay with you toward the end of that month; that is, the very moment when the thrushes[4] go to that remote place of Barbaiano.[5])

I can't give your recommendations to Signor Ricciardi[6] because he's been in Pisa since the murder of our poor Manzini[7]. I'm waiting for him all the same.

Signora Lucrezia[8] and Rosalvo[9] kiss your hands and greet Signora Giovanna[10], as do I.

To Signora Caterina[11] and all of the family I send my regards with the affection their merits deserve, while I kiss your hands with a true heart, from Florence, today the 29th of August 1641.

The most devoted and true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 3
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Florence?) to Volterra, 29 September 1641

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra

My Lord,

The business of that request is still dangling on the line, and I don't know how it will turn out.[1] That fucking cuckold[2] of a gilder says he can't provide the picture frame until the middle of October, so your Lordship can imagine how frantic I am.[3]

Despite all of this I'll strive to do whatever I can, not only in order to enjoy your happy company, but to avoid the hubbub.[4] Ricciardi has returned, and, with your permission, he says he also wants to come.

Believe me, Giulio, that I'm the most confused man on earth, and I don't know what the devil to do.

The driver[5] never came for your things, even though he said he would come. The sneaky bastard never showed up.

Signora Lucrezia[6], Rosalvo[7] and Signor Ricciardi[8] kiss your hands, as do I—above all, and with all my heart—and give my greetings to everyone else there, today the 29th of September 1641.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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b Ms: *Giovanna*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "Girolama" (in error).
c Ms: *Volterra*.
d Ms: *puol*, for "può".

Letter 4
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Siena to Volterra?), 18 (October or November?) 1641*

[c. 1r]
[Amico caro]

La mia giornata terminò in coglionaria perché mi convenne restar fuor dell'uscio e renegare Idio tutta la notte con pulici, pidocchi et altre bestie familiari. La lettiga non la potei mandare subito perché ne volevano tesori e, per averla per vent'uno scudi, gi[a] è stato bisogno di sporvi[b] mezza Siena. Basta dir che sia cosa mia; ve la mando a ciò fate che venghi[c] subito la signora Lucrezia, e sopra tutto averta a non dimenticarsi del quadro di Ricciolino, e che badi a non farlo patire, potendolo leggare nel cielo della lettiga.

Questa sera ho letto una satira dove è corsa mezza Siena e camino per la città come fusse il Colonnello Amatagro mediante il corteggio che mi fanno questi signori.

Al lettighiero avertite a non dar[d] cosa nessuna, caso che vi chiedesse biada o altro, perché i patti son diversi.

Dite alla signora Lucrezia che il caldanino non lo mando perché oggi non ho avuto tempo da comprarlo e che lo piglierò al suo arrivo. Saluto tutti di casa et aspetto il signor arcidiacono. Mi scordavo di riverire quella bella comedia. Eviva, eviva!

Nel resto, Ciullo mio, [governati] e [vogliami] bene, assicurati che avete [c. 1v] †…† ille Bo †…†[e] et io con una monterufolata in faccia li faccio tacere. Alla signora comare un baciamano ed al signor Inghiramo Inghirami veramente gentil'uomo. Del resto in culo[f]. Questo dì 18 †…† 1641.

Di Vostra Signoria
Salvator Rosa[g]

Le spese se le f[otte] il lettighiero da sé. Ve l'avviso.[h]

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 1r–c. 1v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:5, letter 1; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 5–6, letter 4. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 6, note 1, this letter has been placed chronologically out of sequence in the Vatican codex. The *sopracoperta* is lost, but the letter could have been written between October or November of 1641. As noted by Cesareo 1892, 2:5, note 1, the opening greeting is illegible on account of damage to the page. The letter's content indicates, however, that it was intended for Giulio Maffei. The page is heavily water-damaged and somewhat darkened, with torn edges.

a Ms: *gi* (or *gie*), for "ci".

b Ms: *sporvi* or *porvi*. Reading uncertain. Cesareo 1892: "porvi".

Letter 4
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Siena to Volterra?), 18 (October or November?) 1641

Dear friend,

My day finished in a load of bullshit[1], because I was forced to stay outside and curse God all night with fleas, lice, and other such beasts.[2] I couldn't send the wagon[3] straight away because they wanted an arm and a leg for it, and in order to have it for twenty-one *scudi*[4] I had to solicit[5] half of Siena. Suffice it to say that I finally got it, and I'll send it to you, so make sure that Signora Lucrezia comes soon, and above all that she be careful not to forget Ricciolino's picture[6], and to see to it that it's not damaged, since it's possible to attach it to the ceiling of the wagon.

This evening I read a satire[7] to which half of Siena came running, and so I walk through the city as if I were Colonel Amatagro[8] in the midst of the retinue these gentlemen make for me.

Don't give anything to the wagon-driver, if he should ask you for horse feed or something else, because we've agreed to different arrangements.

Tell Signora Lucrezia that I won't send the bed-warmer[9] today because I didn't have time to buy it, and that I'll pick one up upon her arrival. Greet the entire family for me, and I'm waiting for Signor Archdeacon[10]. I forgot to celebrate that beautiful comedy[11]—Hurrah! Hurrah!

Lastly, my Ciullo[12], take care of yourself and love me, and rest assured that you have †…† and I, with a Monterufoli slap[13] in their face, will shut them up. To Signora Godmother[14] a hand-kiss, and the same to that true gentleman Signor Inghiramo Inghirami[15]. As for the rest, screw it[16]. Today the 18th †…† 1641.

To your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

The wagon-driver is stealing the expense for himself. I'm warning you.

---

c Ms: *venghi*, for "venga".
d Ms: *non* <†…†> *dar*.
e Partially or fully illegible words, due to damage to the page.
f Ms: *C.*, presumably for "Culo".
g Rosa here omits his customary "Amico vero".
h This line has been written vertically in the right-hand margin of c. 1v.

Letter 5
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Vallombrosa?) to Volterra, 8 July 1642*

[c. 8v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[a]

[c. 7r]
Mio signore e patrone carissimo

S'io sapevo che la stagione voleva esser cossì[b] piovosa e fresca, non averia[c] cangiato il vostro Barbaiano per quante ville Barbagianni si trovano in Toscana.

Vi giuro, signor Maffei gentilissimo, che vesto da inverno e marcio con un paio di zoccoloni che paio il priore d'Ognissanti, e pure siamo ormai alla metà di luglio; piaccia al Cielo che 'l signor Caldo non mi si riserbi fra codesti balzi monterufoliani e barbaiani per farmi renegare da savio le pazzie de' tempi.

Il signor Landini vi ha fatto un paesino, copia d'un mio, e fra pochi credo ve lo manderà a ciò serbiate memoria della sua amicizia, e vi bacia le mani. La signora Lucrezia non vede l'ora di trasferirsi tra cotesti dirupi per godere de' vostri favori e riverire la signora comare e sui bimbi. Riveritemi la signora Caterina e la prosapia maffeiana con quella divozione dovuta a' loro meriti, mentre unitamente con la signora Lucrezia e Rosalvino vi baciamo le mani; di villa, questo dì 8 di luglio 1642.

Di Vostra Signoria

Fate fra tanto preparare la stanza di Barbaiano ché 'l tempo vola.

Devotissimo amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 6
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Vallombrosa?) to Volterra, (probably 1642)**

[c. 201v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[d]

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 7r–c. 8v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:8, letter 5; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 6–7, letter 5.

** Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 201r–c. 201v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:132, letter 126; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 7, letter 6. The letter has been folded on the diagonal, producing a diamond-shaped pattern on the page.

Letter 5
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Vallombrosa?) to Volterra, 8 July 1642

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra

My dearest Lord and patron,

If I'd known that the season would be so rainy and cool, I wouldn't have exchanged your Barbaiano[1] for all the barn-owl[2] villas to be found in Tuscany.

I swear to you, kindest Signor Maffei, that I dress for winter and march about with a pair of big clogs[3] that make me look like the prior of the Ognissanti[4]—and yet we're already in the middle of July! May it please Heaven that Signor Heat[5] doesn't appear among those hills of Monterufoli and Barbaiano, giving me reason to curse the craziness of the weather.

Signor Landini[6] has made a small landscape for you, a copy of one of mine, and in a few days I think he'll send it to you so that you can cherish the memory of his friendship. He also kisses your hands. Signora Lucrezia can hardly wait to be back among your precipices and to enjoy your favours; she sends greetings[7] to Signora Godmother and her children[8]. Give my regards to Signora Caterina[9] and the Maffei lineage, with the devotion they deserve, while, together with Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvino[10], we kiss your hands, from the villa[11], today the 8th of July 1642.

The most devoted and true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

In the meantime, please have the room prepared at Barbaiano, because time flies.

Letter 6
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Vallombrosa?) to Volterra, (probably 1642)

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra

a Ms: *Volterra*.
b Ms: *cossì*, for "così". See letter 1, note c.
c Ms: *averia*, for "avrei".
d Ms: *Volterra*.

Letter 9
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to Volterra, 3 January 1646

To Signor Giulio Maffei
My Lord, may God protect you
Volterra

Most illustrious Lord and most revered patron,

When I thought I was about to see you, a letter came to me with your decision not to come[1] because of your trip to Monterufoli. This blessed Monterufoli of yours, which keeps you forever occupied! The comedies are back here in Florence, and I'm also obliged to do my part. So this is the reason why, during the entire Carnival season[2], I don't think I'll be able to make any other plans. Give my regards to Signora Caterina[3] and all of the household. Signora Lucrezia sends you infinite thanks, as will your godson Rosalvino[4] soon enough. I'll write to Signor Abati[5] on your behalf, while Signor Bandini[6] relentlessly reveres you, as do I with all my heart, from Florence, today the 3rd of January 1646.

The most devoted and true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

We're expecting you soon.

Letter 10
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to Volterra, 19 February 1646

To the most illustrious and most revered patron
Signor Giulio Maffei
Volterra

My Lord and patron, dearest Signor Giulio,

Carnival has vanished, and with Carnival the comedies. Thank Heaven, as now I have the time to pay respects to my Signor Giulio, to whom I confess myself indebted for two replies. I'll comply now with all my heart. In thanking you, I don't know whether I should call myself sow or

b Ms: *credevo* or *credeva*. Reading uncertain. Cesareo 1892: "credeva".
c Ms: *lasia*, for "lascia".
d Ms: *1646*.
e In the ms., this line appears to the right of the "DVS" abbreviation and above the signature.

[c. 19r]
Amico e signor mio

Vi rispondo di Val d'Arno da una villa del signor Landini, ove mi ritrovo quasi che disperato per le disdette della mia fortuna, come a suo tempo intenderete. Ricevo i prognoli[a], e vi rendo grazie delle galline e carne secca, non dirò di tutto core, che sarebbe poco al vostro merito et alle mie obligazioni. Assicuratevi, signor Giulio, ch'io sono più obligato alla vostra generosità che a quanti prencipi ho mai pratticato, e se avrò vita voglio che 'l mondo sappia questa verità. Credo che tornerò in Fiorenza fra otto o dieci giorni, sin che la mia disgrazia si dementichi, di dove vi scriverò più alla lunga.

Il padre Scambati va a Venezia, e mi prega ch'io li facci compagnia, ma perché non mi trovo in fortune proporzionate al bisogno, anderà da per sé questa volta, con mia non ordinaria mortificazione. Vi do nova con mio particolar dolore della morte del nostro dottor Buonaiuti, di suo padre e d'una sua sorella. Oh Dio, quanto me ne [c. 19v] dispiace, quanto intrinsicamente lo piango. Il Cielo conservi per tanto voi per poterci amare e godere, mentre per fine in compagnia della signora Lucrezia vi bacio le mani, com'anche fa il signor Landini, questo dì 20 d'aprile 1646.

Di Vostra Signoria

Devotissimo amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 14
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to (Volterra?), 24 May 1646*

[c. 21r]
Molto illustre signore e patrone osservandissimo

A ciò non pensate ch'io mi sia dimenticato d'un amico e patrone come il mio carissimo signor Giulio, vi saluto e v'oferisco il mio animo sempre più pieno di gratitudine e di comendazione. Le mie obligazioni verso Vostra Signoria saranno sembre[b] eterne, né lascerò mai di confesarmevi amico e servitore. Ho sbandito quell'infame del Bandini dalla mia grazia e dalla mia casa per aver già saputo i suoi mancamenti. Ringrazio il Cielo e la prudenza de' miei amici, ché, se lo sapevo prima, l'avria[c] a quest'ora fatto accoppare; ma chi ha tempo ha vita. Vi riverisco di tutto core conforme fa la signora Lucrezia e Rosalvino. Il signor Landini mi impone ch'io vi riverisca da[d] sua parte, conforme fò. Alla signora Caterina auguro[e] ogni felicità, mentre di tutto core vi bacio le mani, di Fiorenza, questo dì 24 di maggio 1646[f].

Di Vostra Signoria

Devotissimo amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 21r. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:13–14, letter 12; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 13, letter 14. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *prongnoli*, probably intending "prugnoli" (singular "prugnola"): Cesareo 1892, 2:13, note 1.

b Ms: *sembre*, for "sempre". See letter 7, note h.

My friend and Lord,

I reply to you from the Val d'Arno, from one of Signor Landini's villas[1], where I find myself in despair because of the cancellation of my fortunes[2], which you'll understand in due time. I received the wild plums, and I send you thanks for the hens[3] and dried meat—I won't say thanks with all of my heart, since even that wouldn't be enough to do justice to your merit and to my obligations. Rest assured, Signor Giulio, that I'm more obliged to your generosity than to all of the many princes I've worked for, and, as long as I live, I want the world to know the truth. I think I'll return to Florence in eight or ten days—when the memory of this bad episode has faded—and I'll write to you from there at greater length.

Father Sgambati[4] is going to Venice and has asked me to join him, but because I don't have enough money for it, he'll have to go there by himself this time[5]—to my great mortification. I'm particularly sorry to tell you of the death of our Doctor Buonaiuti[6], his father, and one of his sisters. Oh God, how greatly it distresses me, how deeply I mourn him! May Heaven preserve you, so you can love and enjoy us, while in closing, along with Signora Lucrezia, I kiss your hands, as does Signor Landini, today the 20th of April 1646.

The most devoted and true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 14
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to (Volterra?), 24 May 1646

Most illustrious Lord and most revered patron,

Lest you think I could forget a friend and patron[1] such as my dear Signor Giulio, I salute you and offer you my spirit, always and ever more full of gratitude and praise[2]. My obligations to your Lordship are forever eternal, and I'll never stop confessing myself to be your friend and servant. I banished that despicable Bandini[3] from my favour and my house, as soon as I became aware of his shortcomings. Thank Heaven and the prudence of my friends, since, if I'd recognized them sooner, I'd have bumped him off by now—but whoever has time has life. I revere you with all my heart, as do Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvino. Signor Landini[4] asks me to send you his regards, as do I. For Signora Caterina[5] I wish every happiness, while with all my heart I kiss your hands, from Florence, today the 24th of May 1646.

The most devoted and true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

c Ms: *avria*, for "avrei".
d Ms: *da*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "di" (in error).
e Ms: *aguro*, for "auguro".
f Ms: *1646*.

renderò che paia un Signoretti. Riverisco la signora Caterina e tutta la casa Maffea, mentre a Vostra Signoria bacio le mani di tutto core. Gli[a] dì 10 di luglio 1646.

Di Vostra Signoria

Devotissimo amico e servitore
Salvator Rosa

Se manderete il cavallo inviatelo al signor Signoretti.

Letter 18
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Vallombrosa?) to Volterra, 28 September 1646*

[c. 30v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[b]

[c. 29r]
Raccomandata al signor Girolamo[c] Signoretti

Molto illustrissimo signore patrone osservandissimo[d]

Sono in villa dal signor Raffaello ove sto dipingendo il vostro paese, mentre un altro ne sta facendo il signor Landini per portarvelo a suo tempo. Credo che in breve mi trasferirò a Fiorenza e, conforme dissi a Vostra Signoria, prenderò da nuovi motivi del padrone moti alle mie continue vicessitudini.

Per ora non vi scandolezzate se non mi vedete più sollecito, attesoché non si può far altrimenti per non incorrere ne' disordini. Datemi aviso di Barbaiano e se le signore sono per andarvi, mentre unitamente con la signora Lucrezia, signor Landini, vi baciamo le mani, non tralasciando di riverir sembre[e] la signora Caterina e signori Maffei tutti. V'abbraccio di core, questo dì 28 di settembre 1646[f].

Di Vostra Signoria illustrissimo signore

Devotissimo e vero amico
Salvator Rosa

Lo padre Rocco ve bacia le mani col manescalco di Pagliariccio.[g]

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 29r–c. 30v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:16–17, letter 16; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 16, letter 18.

a V3: *Gli*. Cesareo 1892: "Questo".

b Ms: *Volterra*.

c Ms: *Gir*.

when I return him, he'll look like a Signoretti.[5] Give my regards to Signora Caterina[6] and all of the Maffei household, while I kiss your Lordship's hands with all my heart. The 10th of July 1646.

The most devoted friend and servant of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

If you send the horse, send it to Signor Signoretti.

Letter 18
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Vallombrosa?) to Volterra, 28 September 1646

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra
Sent via[1] Signor Girolamo Signoretti[2]

Most illustrious Lord and most revered patron,

I'm at Signor Raffaello's villa[3], where I'm painting your landscape[4], while Signor Landini[5] is making another one that he'll bring to you shortly.[6] I think I'll return to Florence soon, and, in keeping with what I told your Lordship, my continuous vicissitudes will be determined by the latest whims of my patron.[7]

For now, don't be scandalized if I don't seem more amenable to you, as I can't act otherwise without running into problems. Give me news from Barbaiano, and whether the ladies are preparing to travel there. Meanwhile, together with Signora Lucrezia and Signor Landini, we kiss your hands, remembering to pay respects, as always, to Signora Caterina[8] and all the Maffei gentlemen. I embrace you with all my heart, today the 28th of September 1646.

The most devoted and true friend of your most illustrious Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Father Rocco kisses your hands along with the farrier of Pagliariccio[9].

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d Ms: *Molto illustrissimo signore patrone osservandissimo*. Omitted by Cesareo 1892.
e Ms: *sembre*, for "sempre". See letter 7, note h.
f Ms: *1646*.
g This line appears below the "DVS" ("Di Vostra Signoria") and to the left of the signature.

Letter 19
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Pisa to Volterra?), 9 January 1647*

[c. 31r]
Molto illustre signore e patrone osservandissimo

L'ire di Dio della mia vita mi fanno mutare da un giorno all'altro, né mai propongo di far cosa che sia di mio genio che non vi s'entrometta la zizania per guastarmi ogni mio disegno. Il nostro padre Scambati si ritrova in Pisa e con poca salute, ma è forzato a trattenersi per rispetto dell'aria, la quale in questi tempi è migliore. Ond'io, per servir l'amico indisposto e in una città non conosciuto che per il suo valore, mi convien di nuovo trasferirmi da lui, dopo essermeli trattenuto da 15 giorni, a feste di pasqua.

Sì che lascio considerare alla loro prudenza qual siano i debiti dell'amicizia e quale la forza del valore, oltre che dubito non averlo a servire sin in Roma, dove converrà che predichi la futura quadragesima.

Se volete venir a Pisa, ci goderemo per qualche giorno, e di Volterra, se non nasce qualche nuovo accidente, per ora [c. 31v] la mia venuta a Volterra ha dell'impossibile. Aspetto anche di giorno in giorno l'Abati col quale assicuratevi che volemo fare tutt'un'estate a Monterufoli (se però i francesi vorranno). Quest'è quanto sin ora posso dirvi di me, e se mi pesa il non potervi godere, sallo il Cielo e la mia inclinazione. Riverisco la signora Caterina insieme con tutti i signori Maffei, e se 'l signor cavalier Ottaviano si ritrova costà, baciatelo da mia parte. Mentre a Vostra Signoria, in compagnia della signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo, vi baciamo le mani, questo dì 9 di gennaro 1647.

Di Vostra Signoria illustrissimo signore

FIG. 1

Vostro amico vero e leale
Salvator Rosa

Letter 20
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to Volterra, 26 September 1647**

[c. 33r]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[a]

* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 31r–c. 31v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:17–18, letter 17; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 16–17, letter 19. The *sopracoperta* is lost, however the letter's content clearly indicates it was written to Giulio Maffei. It is not clear whether the letter was written from Florence or Pisa. Rosa's references to Pisa throughout suggest he was writing from that city, where he would perhaps have been staying with Ricciardi. In the Vatican codex, the present letter is followed by a draft of a letter (c. 32v) penned by a "Gio. Maffei" (probably Giulio's brother Giovanni Maffei), which seems to have been addressed to one of his brothers (perhaps Giulio himself). The letter (for which see letter 1, note 9) may have been sent together with the letter penned by Rosa (letter 19), however Rosa himself makes no mention of it.

Letter 26
Salvator Rosa to Giovanni Maffei
Autograph, Rome to Volterra, 22 March 1649*

[c. 43v]
Al signor Giovanni Maffei
Arcidiacono di Volterra,
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Volterra[a]

[c. 42r]
Signore mio

Signor arcidiacono mio carissimo, a ciò vediate che so distinguervi da gl'altri, vi scrivo queste poche righe, ricordandovi che sono vostro parziale et insieme obligato a servirvi, però volendomi far cosa grata non mi tenete ozioso e, bisognandovi cosa che possa far io in vostro servizio, comandatemi liberamente.

Vi do nuova come dopo un lungo raggirarmi finalmente trovai una casuccia da 80 scudi di piggione[b], la quale se non è conforme io vorrei, è almeno quanto basta a ricevere un par vostro amico senza cerimonie. Il sito di essa, per un che viene da Monterufoli, non puol[c] esser meglio, perché è nella Trinità de' Monti, che vuol dire nella meglior aria di Roma, e la strada si chiama Strada Felice. Ma questo nome non mi par che per ancora lo possa meritare se prima[d] non vi veggo qualche d'uno de' miei signori Maffei.

Il maggior impiccio ch'io m'abbia è di trovar una serva, poiché per molte deligenzie ch'abbia sin ora fatte, non trovo cosa per la quale, e per quanto mi significano gl'amici, tutte danno nel rufiano, oltre voler prezzi di salario bestialissimi. Ma questo a me non importerebbe nulla pur che si desse in qualche cosa di buono. Vi giuro che più d'una volta mi son pentito di non avermi menata [c. 42v] meco la Santa, la quale giudica la signora Lucrezia che sarebbe il casissimo per lei, e mi stimola ch'io ne scriva a lor altri signori a ciò, vedendo disposizione di voler venire, et essendoci occasione di compagnia, la terria più che volentieri.

Il simile scrivo al nostro signor Giulio. Di grazia, scrivetemene subito, ma scrivete con flemma perché il vostro carattere è diabolico. Mi rallegro della morte del Guidi poiché mi pareva[e] poco meritevole di vita.

Gl'amici tutti stanno bene e vi salutano, et in particolare il signor don Girolamo nostro, signor Martinelli e signor don Antonio, il quale s'è acomodato con un prelato per secretario[f] che lo tratta comodamente bene. La signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo vi baciano le mani, et io di tutto core v'abbraccio e v'auguro ogni bene. Alla signora Caterina un baciamano, e riverisco tutti di casa, e fuori il signor Polei virtuosissimo. Questo dì 22 di marzo 1649.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 42r–c. 43v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:22–23, letter 24; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 21–22, letter 26. There is another extant letter addressed by Rosa to Giovanni Maffei, dated 8 April 1651 (see letter 89). Letter 25 may also have been addressed to Giovanni Maffei.

a Ms: *Volterra*.

b Ms: {*da 80 scudi di piggione*}.

Letter 26
Salvator Rosa to Giovanni Maffei
Autograph, Rome to Volterra, 22 March 1649

To Signor Giovanni Maffei
Archdeacon of Volterra
My Lord, may God protect you
Volterra

My Lord,

My dearest Signor Archdeacon, in order to show you that you're special to me, I'm writing you these few lines, reminding you that I'm your friend and entirely obliged[1] to serve you. So if you want to please me, keep me busy, and, if you need me to do anything for you, command me freely.

I can tell you that, after a long search, I've finally found a little house for eighty *scudi* in rent[2], which, although it's not entirely what I want, is at least sufficient enough to receive someone like you, my unceremonious friend. For someone coming from Monterufoli, its location could not be better, because it's on the Trinità dei Monti, which means in the better air of Rome, and the road is called Strada Felice[3]. But I don't think this name will be merited until I see one of my Maffei gentlemen there.

The biggest dilemma I have is in finding a servant, since, for all the effort I've put into searching for one, I can't find the right one, and according to what my friends say, they're all scamming you[4] or asking for the most beastly salaries[5]. But this wouldn't concern me, provided I found someone decent. I swear to you that more than once I've regretted not bringing Santa[6] with me, as Signora Lucrezia swears she would be the best option for her, and she urges me to write about it to your other gentlemen, to see if you find in her any willingness to come here, and, if it's possible for someone to accompany her, I'd keep her more than willingly.

I'm writing the same to our Signor Giulio[7]. Please write to me soon, but write calmly because your character[8] is diabolical. I rejoice in Guidi's[9] death, since to me he seemed little deserving of life.

Your friends are all well and send you greetings, and in particular our Signor Don Girolamo[10], Signor Martinelli[11], and Signor Don Antonio[12], who has set himself up as a secretary with a prelate who treats him comfortably. Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvo kiss your hands and I embrace you with all my heart and wish you every good thing. A hand-kiss to Signora Caterina[13] and my regards to all of the family, and, in addition to them, the most virtuous Signor Polei[14]. Today the 22nd of March 1649.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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c Ms: *puol*, for "può".
d Ms: *se*<*non vi* †…†> *prima*.
e Ms: *parereva*, *pareverra* or *pareveva*. Reading uncertain.
f Ms: *secretario*. Cesareo 1892: "secretaria".

Letter 27
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to (Volterra?), 27 March 1649*

[c. 44r]
Amico carissimo

Ricevo i 6 salciciotti mandatimi per quest'ordinario e ve ne rendo quelle grazie che merita una cossì[a] sbordellata pontualità, e domani ne regalerò l'amico al quale l'avevo promessi, e son più che certo della sodisfazione che ne riceverà. Scrivo al signor arcidiacono che, dopo aver stentato come cane per trovar casa, mi son finalmente, se non acomodato conforme avrei voluto, affogato per necessità.

Quello ch'è meno male è che l'aria non puol[b] esser meglio, essendo questa alla Trinità de' Monti. In Strada Felice, il prezzo de la piggione 80 scudi. Ora lascio considerare a voi in che modo[c] mi stia la borsa, dovendomi rifar da capo. Ma questo è pure il minor male rispetto alla penuria che si vede in Roma di trovar una serva che non sia ruffiana, a segno tale che la signora Lucrezia s'è pentita più d'una volta non aver menata seco la Santa, la quale, tutto che sia così zotica, è però meglio che non sono le malezie[d] straordinarie di queste di Roma.

La signora Lucrezia mi dice ch'io vi scriva che se volesse venire, che tanto saria[e] a tempo, persuadendomi che non mancheriano[f] occasioni[g] di compagnia; della spesa poi m'intenderia[h] con voi. Credimi, Giulio mio, che oltre all'esser qual io ve l'ho segnificate, vogliono 4 testoni il mese e le spese: [c. 44v] cosa difficilissima a durare a un galant'uomo che non ave altre entrate che quelle che voi ben sapete. Così va, signor Giulio mio: le serve di Fiorenza son assai meglio di questa canaglia di Roma. Sopra ciò desidero che mi scriviate il vostro parere, e subito, di grazia.

In quanto poi alla morte del Guidi, mi rallegro, sapendo che non era troppo amico della vostra casa, e così prego il Cielo che facci al resto di quelli che non amano la Maffeia progenie.

La signora Lucrezia vi riverisce e saluta la signora comare e tutti di sua casa, et alla signora Caterina fa viva cordialissima riverenza, conforme fò ancor io di tutto core.

Saluto ancora il nostro signor Politico, il quale me lo figuro tutto allegro per non vederci più d'appresso, et al restante abraccio con[i] tutto l'affetto.

Di grazia, signor Giulio, ponderate a questa nostra necessità e, parendovi cosa riuscibile, non ci perdete tempo, trovando compagnia che venghi[j] in Roma, a mandarcela; caso che non possi[k] riuscire, datemene subito aviso. Al signor Polei me li ricordo devoto servitore et amico, meritandolo per le sue ottime virtù e qualità gentilissime.

[c. 45r] Del resto, poi, signor Giulio caro caro, voglimi bene e ricordati che non averai mai miglior amico di me, tutto che campassi gli anni di Mattusalem, e mi dispiace non poterti mostrare il mio animo che in cose dipinte, che vogliono dir l'istesso che in cose morte e di poco rilievo.

Ho veduto due volte il signor Ugo, ma non entra in discorso veruno meco, avendomi scorto troppo parziale del vostro nome, e cossì[l] ogn'uno gioca alla muta.

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 44r–c. 45r. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:23–24, letter 25; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 23–24, letter 27. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *cossì*, for "così". See letter 1, note c.

b Ms: *puol*, for "può".

c Ms: *moto* or *modo*. Reading uncertain. Cesareo 1892: "moto". Rosa likely intends "modo".

d Ms: *maletie*, for "malizie".

e Ms: *saria*, for "sarebbe".

f Ms: *mancheriano*, for "mancherebbero".

Letter 27
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to (Volterra?), 27 March 1649

Dearest friend,

I received the six sausages[1] you sent me in the mail[2], and thank you for such detestable[3] punctuality. Tomorrow I'll give them to the friend to whom I'd promised them, and I'm more than certain of the satisfaction with which he'll receive them. I wrote to Signor Archdeacon[4] that, after having struggled like a dog in order to find a house, I've finally (even if I'm not accommodated as I had intended) at least become settled, out of necessity.[5]

At the very least, I can take comfort in the fact that the air couldn't be better, since it's on the Trinità dei Monti, on the Strada Felice, for a rental price of eighty *scudi*.[6] Now I leave it to you to consider the state of my financial situation, given that I have to start over from scratch. But this is the least of my troubles considering the shortage in Rome of servants who aren't procuresses—to the point that Signora Lucrezia has regretted on more than one occasion not having brought along Santa[7], who, as rough as she is, is nonetheless better than these Roman servants, who are terrible demons.[8]

Signora Lucrezia tells me to write to you that, if she wants to come, it's not too late, and I'm sure there will always be someone available to accompany her. With regard to the expense, we'll reach an agreement. Believe me, my Giulio, that, other than the living costs I've already told you about, they want four *testoni*[9] a month and other expenses. And this is a very difficult situation for a gentleman to endure, having no other income than the one you know well. So that's how it is, my Signor Giulio: the servants of Florence are much better than this Roman riffraff. I ask you to write me your opinion about this, and soon, please.

In regard to Guidi's death[10], I'm glad, knowing that he wasn't much of a friend to your family, and so I pray to Heaven that the same fate befalls the rest of those who don't love the Maffei progeny.

Signora Lucrezia sends you her regards and greets Signora Godmother[11] together with the entire family, and to Signora Caterina[12] she sends her most heartfelt and cordial greetings, as do I with all my heart.

Greetings also to our Signor Politico[13], who I imagine is very happy to no longer have us nearby, and I embrace the rest with all affection.

If you please, Signor Giulio, think on this need of ours, and, if it seems feasible, don't hesitate—if you find a group of people coming to Rome—to send her[14] to us. If this isn't possible, then tell me straight away. As for Signor Polei[15], I recommend myself to him as a devoted servant and worthy friend for his excellent virtue and kindest qualities.

As for the rest, then, most beloved Signor Giulio, love me and remember that you'll never have a better friend than me, even if you live as long as Methuselah[16]. And I'm sorry not to be able to show you my heart except in painted things, which is to say dead things[17] or things of little importance.

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g Ms: *mancheriano occasioni*. Cesareo 1892: "mancherà un'occasione" (in error).
h Ms: *m'intenderia*, for "m'intenderei".
i Ms: *con* or *a*. Reading uncertain.
j Ms: *venghi*, for "venga".
k Ms: *possi*, for "possa".
l Ms: *cossì*, for "così". See letter 1, note c.

Alle cortesi offerte che mi fate non parlo, perché i vostri favori han potenza di turarmi la bocca. V'abraccio col core e prego il Cielo che prosperi ogni vostro desiderio, questo dì 27 di marzo 1649[a].

Di Vostra Signoria

Se il padre Cesti si ritrova in Volterra, salutatelo da mia parte.

Il signor don Girolamo e Simonelli vi salutano e v'adorano.

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 28
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to Volterra, 27 March 1649*

[c. 46v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Raccomandata alla cortesia
del signor Francesco Cordini
Fiorenza[b] per Volterra

[c. 46r]
Signor mio

La signora Lucrezia mi ha fatto scrivere il negozio della serva Santa, ma per quanto ho poi considerato, non so se sarà cosa riuscibile, però rispondete in modo che parrà ch'io ho fatto l'ofizio, a ciò che la signora Lucrezia non si lamenta di me e che vegga[c] che di simil negozio ne ho scritto a Vostra Signoria. Desidero sì bene di saper la sua volontà, cioè se era per venire, per tutti i buoni rispetti. Quest'è quanto, signor Giulio carissimo. Nel resto vi son servitore. Questo dì 27 di marzo 1649.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 46r–c. 46v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:25, letter 26; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 24–25, letter 28. The letter has been folded on the diagonal. The letter is written on an individual sheet, however it could be considered a postscript to the preceding letter (letter 27), as suggested by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 25, note 1.

I've seen Signor Ugo[18] twice, but he doesn't speak to me, having noticed that I'm too fond of your name, and so everyone plays at being mute[19].

I won't say anything about the courteous offerings you make to me, because your favours have the power to shut my mouth.[20] I embrace you with my heart, and pray that Heaven makes your every desire prosper, today the 27th of March 1649.

If Father Cesti[21] finds himself in Volterra, greet him on my behalf.
Signor Don Girolamo[22] and Simonelli[23] greet and adore you.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 28
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Florence to Volterra, 27 March 1649

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Sent via the courtesy
of Signor Francesco Cordini[1]
Florence for Volterra

My Lord,

Signora Lucrezia has made me write to you about the business of the servant Santa[2], but, upon further consideration, I don't know if it will work. But please respond in such a way that it appears I've done my duty, so that Signora Lucrezia doesn't complain to me, and sees that I've written to your Lordship about this business. I want to know her decision—that is, if in any eventuality[3] she might come. That's all, dearest Signor Giulio. As for the rest, I'm your servant. Today the 27th of March 1649.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

a Ms: *1649*.
b Ms: *Fiorenza*.
c Ms: *vegga*, for "veda".

Letter 40
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome?) to Volterra, 14 November 1649*

[c. 68v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[a]

[c. 67r]
Amico caro

In sentir fossati d'acqua fresca, ho dato subito un sospiro e son corso col pensiero a riverire il mio Adio, il mio Tatti, il mio Fosci. Tant'è, mentre avrò vita, mi saranno sempre vive le rimembranze di coteste catapecchie dal mio genio stimate assai più che le Rome.

Ciullo, ci volemo rigodere assai più presto di quello che tu sopponi e, s'abbiamo vita, il vederai. Desidero sapere se per quest'Anno Santo il nostro signor Politico vorrà degnarsi di venire a veder Roma e sodisfare alla promessa, assicurandolo che sarà da me servito se non in quella forma che merita, almeno col maggior sforzo possibile che potranno le mie abilità. Il simile s'intende detto a tutta la casa vostra.

Alla signora Caterina fò riverenza, e la prego a mandarmi qualche d'uno di voi altri per questo Santo Anno, altrimenti darò il bando a Monterufoli. La signora Lucrezia la riverisce, conforme fa Rosalvo et io sopra tutti. Vi bacio le mani, questo dì 14 di novembre 1649.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 41
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to Volterra, 28 November 1649**

[c. 70v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[b]

[c. 69r]
Amico caro

Ieri, mentre ero alla posta di Fiorenza, dalla quale ricevei una vostra scrittami li 13 di questo, mi si fece avanti quel nipote di messer Giovan Maria, il quale mi disse s'io avevo ricevuto una vostra

* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 67r–c. 68v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:37–38, letter 37; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 38, letter 40.

** Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 69r–c. 70v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:38–39, letter 38; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 38–40, letter 41.

Letter 40
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome?) to Volterra, 14 November 1649

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra

Dear friend,

In hearing the running of fresh water I immediately let out a sigh, and my thoughts ran to memories of my Adio, my Tatti, my Fosci.[1] So it goes.[2] For as long as I live, the memories of your hovels will always be kept alive, prized by my spirit so much more than all the Romes.

Ciullo, we'd like to enjoy your company again much sooner than you'd imagine, and as long as we have life, you'll see it. I'd like to know whether, for this Holy Year, our Signor Politico[3] will deign to come and see Rome, and fulfil his promise, assuring him that I'll take care of him—if not in the manner he deserves, then at least with the greatest possible effort my abilities can afford. The same applies to your entire family.

Give my regards to Signora Caterina[4], and I implore her to send me one of you from over there for this Holy Year, otherwise I'll put a ban on Monterufoli. Signora Lucrezia sends her regards as does Rosalvo, and as do I, above all. I kiss your hands, today the 14th of November 1649.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 41
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to Volterra, 28 November 1649

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra

Dear friend,

Yesterday while I was at the post office for mail from Florence, where I picked up one of your letters written to me the 13th of this month, the nephew of Messer Giovan Maria[1] came to me, asking if I'd received one of your letters that he brought to me a month ago, and told me that, not knowing where I was staying, he'd given it to someone else, who, so as not to inconvenience himself

a Ms: *Volterra*.
b Ms: *Volterra*.

lettra portatami da lui medesimo un mese fa, e che, per non sapere dond'io mi stavo, l'aveva data ad un altro, il quale per non pigliarsi incomodo a cercar di me, la portò a casa il signor Ugo, ond'io, andandoci per essa, l'ho trovo fuori di Roma e così, per grazia del Padre Eterno, quella lettra che voi sopponessivo[a] che m'avesse a capitar più sicura dell'altre è andata così dolcemente a male al solito. Sì che lascio considerare alla vostra prudenza quant'io mi sia disgraziato in sì fatto genere. Ma parliamo d'altro.

Ciullo mio, siamo ormai nell'Anno Santo. Vorrei sapere da voi se sete per venire in Roma assieme col nostro signor Politico carissimo e con tutti quegl'altri che a voi piacerà, ricordandovi che per quelli che non sono stati ancora in Roma, questa è occasione ottima, e di più santissima.

[c. 69v] Se voi volete venire per questo carnevale, io ti prometto da vero amico di ritornare con te a Monterufoli a far la futura estate. Di grazia, risolvete assieme con Marcantonio nostro gentilissimo, e se vi trovassivo[b] scarso di monete, io ho pronti al vostro comando non solamente quello che vi devo, ma di vantaggio, et il simile dico al signor Marcantonio, al quale prego che mi facci questa grazia, che ne lo prego con quanto io posso, tanto più che lui me l'ha promesso e la parola di cavaliere deve essere attesa, massime dove[c] si tratta d'amici, e venire in casa vostra propria dichiarandomi non aver cosa in questo mondo che non sia a comune con la vostra casa.

Ciullo, risolveti: il viaggio è corto, le strade saranno giornalmente battute da forastieri, monete ne ho io per voi. E vi prometto tornar con voi. Che volete più? Oltre che in questi tempi d'Anno Santo vengano le persone dagl'ultimi confini del mondo con incomodi non ordinari. Questo è quanto te ne prego, te ne sconciuro, e ne suplico la signora Caterina ad essermi pietosa nel dispensarmi una grazia così giusta e così onorata.

[c. 70r] In quanto poi al desiderio ch'avete di saper come me la passo intorno alle fortune, non so che dire se non all'ordinario. Questo sì che posso dirvi, che da che sono in Roma, oltre spese continove che richiede una casa apperta con 80 scudi di piggione, mi son levato cento cinquanta scudi di debito, e di più afrancatomi un paio di centinai di scudi, i quali sono più vostri che miei, perché così vuole la buona legge d'amicizia e l'obligo che vi professo. E ti giuro, amico, che non ho lavorato il terzo di tutto[d] questo tempo.

Per amor di Dio, scrivetemi subito e mandate la lettra al signor Cordini, e ditemi tutta[e] la vostra intenzione, e fate che 'l nostro signor Marcantonio anch'esso mi scriva.

Riverisco la signora Caterina e tutti di casa, e quando anche volessivo[f] venir tutti, mi saria[g] un favore straordinario e da farmi impazzir dall'allegrezza. Saluti i signori febricitanti inquartati, e prego il Cielo che li liberi da sì fatte indisposizioni. La signora Lucrezia saluta tutti, et in particolare la signora Caterina, conforme fa anche Rosalvo.

Saluto il signor Polei carissimo, e bacio le mani al signor Gasparrini assieme con tutti quelli che conoscete che veramente mi vogliono bene. Alla signora comare salutiamo unitamente[h], et a voi abraccio di core, questo dì 28 di novembre 1649, di Roma.[i]

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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a Ms: *sopponessivo*, for "supponeste".
b Ms: *trovassivo*, for "trovaste".
c Ms: *attesa* <†…†> *dove*; {*massime*}.
d Ms: *tutto* {<†…†>}.
e Ms: *tutta*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

in searching for me, took it to Signor Ugo's[2] house. So I went there to get it and discovered that he'd left Rome. And so, by the grace of the Eternal Father, that letter that you thought would find its way to me more securely than the others has promptly taken a turn for the worse, as usual. So I leave it to your prudence to consider how misfortunate I am in such matters. But let's talk about something else.

My Ciullo, the Holy Year is almost upon us. I'd like to know if you'll come to Rome together with our dearest Signor Politico[3] and with anyone else you like, reminding you that, for people who've not yet come to Rome, this is the best time, and the most sacred.

If you want to come for this Carnival[4], I promise as a true friend to return with you to Monterufoli next summer. Please make up your mind together with our most kind Marcantonio, and, if you find yourself with insufficient funds, I have ready at your command not only what I owe you but even more; and I say the same to Signor Marcantonio, whom I implore to do me this favour, asking for it with all that I can, all the more so because he had promised me to come to my house, which is your own (and one expects the word of a gentleman[5] to be made good, especially when one is dealing with friends) and I declare myself to have nothing in this world that I wouldn't share with your family.

Ciullo, make up your mind: the voyage is short, the roads will daily be beaten by foreigners[6], and I have money for you. And I promise to return with you. What more do you want? Also, during the Holy Year people come from the farthest reaches of the world with extraordinary difficulty. This is what I ask of you, beg of you, and implore Signora Caterina[7] to be charitable toward me in dispensing a greatly deserved and most honourable favour.

With regard, then, to your wish to know how my fortunes are doing, I don't know what to say other than in the usual manner. This I can tell you with all certainty: since I've been in Rome, besides the continual expenses required to keep a house running with 80 *scudi* in rent, I've ridded myself of one hundred and fifty *scudi* of debt, and have cashed in on about a hundred *scudi*, which is more yours than mine, since this is required by the good law of friendship[8] and the obligation I profess to you. And I swear, friend, that I've not worked for a third of all this time.

For the love of God write to me, and send the letter to Signor Cordini[9] and tell me all of your intentions, and get our Signor Marcantonio to write to me, too.

I send my regards to Signora Caterina and all of the family, and even if all of you want to come here, that will be a favour extraordinary enough to make me crazy from the joy. Give my greetings to the feverish gentlemen[10], and I pray to Heaven that they are liberated from their ailments. Signora Lucrezia greets everyone, and in particular Signora Caterina, as does Rosalvo.

I send greetings to my dearest Signor Polei[11], and kiss the hands of Signor Gasparini[12] together with all those who you know truly love me. We greet in unison Signora Godmother[13], and send you an embrace with all our hearts, today the 28th of November 1649, from Rome.

Your true friend,
Salvator Rosa

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f Ms: *volessivo*, for "voleste".

g Ms: *saria*, for "sarebbe".

h Ms: *salutiamo* <†…†> *unitamente*. Cesareo 1892, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "vivamente".

i Rosa here omits his customary "DVS" ("Di Vostra Signoria").

Letter 44
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome?) to Volterra, 1 January 1650*

[c. 76v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[a]

[c. 75r]
Amico carissimo

Avete altra invenzione, signor Nasamono, arcinasamonissimo, di menchionare gl'amici? Mandarmi 12 forme di cascio ottimo e 10 marzolini, tutti dieci guasti, fradici, riscaldati? Si tratta che tutti quelli a' quali ne ho dato mi menchionano con dirmi: si potrebbe saper la dosa di quel cascio così esquisito, di quei marzolini venuti da Fiorenza con tanto dispendio di chi li mandò? Se ne potrebbe aver de gli altri, signor Regalatore alla Moda? Oh che comedia, oh che cosa uniforme al mio genio! L'ho a caro, ne ringrazio l'anno nuovo: così meritate quando volete far le cose contro gl'ordini di chi vi vuole tutto il suo bene.

Non bastavano forse quelle dodici forme per consolarci fra di noi tutti unitamente senza metter mano alla borsa per cose così prelibate? Oh che comedia, oh che comedia! Quanto me ne rido! Si tratta che per ogni marzolino vi riserbo un bacio, e con ogni bacio vi contenterete di pigliarvi un solennissimo cazzotto. Ad alia.

[c. 75v] Ho pensato, et ho pensato benissimo, che, volendo venire assieme con Marcantonio nostro e con altri che volete voi, che sarebbe bene venire un mese avanti l'ultimo di carnevale per poter poi ritornar la quadragesima, che sogliono esser tempi buoni. In quanto al tempo da dimorare in Roma, sta in vostro arbitrio, e però non ne parlo, però disponete voi e scrivetemi minutamente il vostro senso, cioè quando vi parrà di venire e quanto sete per trattenervi in Roma.

Oh Dio, e perché non si risolvono tutti i signori Maffei a farmi questa grazia di darmi campo di poterli servire e godere in casa mia in questi tempi così proporzionati al venire in Roma? Il Cielo inspiri le loro volontà a ciò resti appagata la brama d'un loro servitore.

Riverisco la signora Caterina assieme con tutti di casa, mentre il simile fò io in compagnia della signora Lucrezia e di Rosalvo, i quali unitamente sospirano Monterufoli, in compagnia de' miei scarponi. Sto attendendo[b] subito risposta, e di grazia non mi manchi per quanto bene dimostra volermi. Questo dì capo dell'anno nuovo 1650. Il vostro amico che v'adora.

Delle casciotte di Cortona ch'ella m'acennava nell'ultima sua, non dirò cosa nessuna, perché non ho visto nulla né so che vi diciate. Per amor di Dio, non parliamo di cascio, ma d'averci presto a rivedere. Saluto il signor Polei e signor Gasparrini.

Salvator Rosa[c]

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 75r–c. 76v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:41–42, letter 41; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 41–42, letter 44.

a Ms: *Volterra*.

Letter 44
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome?) to Volterra, 1 January 1650

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra

Dearest friend,

Do you have any other clever ideas, Signor Big Nose[1], Most Supreme Big Nose, for cruelly mocking your friends? You've sent me twelve pieces of the best cheese and ten mozzarellas[2], all ten spoiled, rotten and warm! The situation is such that everyone I tell about it teases me by saying: "Please tell me the recipe for that most exquisite cheese, those mozzarellas from Florence! Would it be possible to get some more of them, Signor Fashionable Gift-Giver[3]?" Oh, what a farce—oh, how utterly in keeping with my spirit! I accept it willingly, and I thank the New Year for it: that's what you get when you try to do things against the orders of someone who desires only your well-being.

Perhaps those twelve pieces were not enough to satisfy us, without you putting your hands in your purse for such delicious treats? Oh, what a comedy, what a farce! How much it makes me laugh! The situation is such that, for every mozzarella, I set aside a kiss for you, and with every kiss you should be content to receive a most solemn punch in the face. On to other things.

I've been thinking—and I've considered at length—that, if you wanted to come together with our Marcantonio[4] and with whomever else you want, it would be good to come a month before the end of Carnival so as to be able to then return for Lent, as those are usually good times. With regard to the amount of time you stay in Rome, that decision is up to you, and so I won't mention it, but make arrangements as you wish and write to me about your decision in great detail—that is, when you'd like to come and how long you wish to stay in Rome.

Oh God, why don't all the Maffei gentlemen decide to do me the grace of giving me the chance to serve and enjoy them in my house, during these times that are so well suited for a trip to Rome? May Heaven inspire their will, so that the longing of one of their servants[5] will be satisfied.

I send my regards to Signora Caterina[6] as well as to the entire family, while I do the same with Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvo, who both yearn for Monterufoli, as do my boots[7]. I'm waiting for a prompt answer, and please don't disappoint me, in view of all the love you profess for me. This New Year's Day, 1650. Your friend who adores you.

Regarding the little cheeses from Cortona, which you mentioned in your last letter, I won't say anything because I've not yet seen anything, nor do I know what you have to say about it. For the love of God, let's not talk about cheese but of seeing each other soon. Greetings to Signor Polei[8] and Signor Gasparini[9].

Salvator Rosa

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b Ms: *attenendo*.

c Ms: *S. Rosa*. Rosa here includes an unusual variation on his signature, and omits his more customary valediction.

FIGS 18-19

Letter 46
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Florence or Barbaiano?), 5 January 1650*

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Le vostre raggioni sotto gl'occhi mi piaceno[a] ma non apagano niente la mia innocenza, la quale è solamente palese alla vista del Cielo et alla mia coscienza. L'argomentare (o, per dir meglio, lo stiracchiare) il senso equivoco è cosa facile, ma non sempre reale[b]. Ond'io dirò sempre che il vostro sospetto è stato molto[c] diverso dall'intenzione della mia anima, la quale potrebbe al cospetto di tutta la corte del Cielo mantenere e far mentire la vostra imaginazione per falacissima nel sospetto avuto contro di me. Ma perché in questo negozio mi sono in tutto e per tutto rimesso alla bontà di quel Dio che vede e sa ogni cosa, non starò a replicar di vantaggio. Se non che vi prego, per le viscere di Cristo, per l'avenire a pigliare a miglior senso le cose che si possono a più modi intendere e che non sono affatto[d] dimostrazioni mattematiche, attesoché ho avuto più pena che a voi sia caduto questo pensiero di me che di quante disgrazie mi son soccesse nel corso della mia vita. Ricciardi mio, la gelosia, è vero che sia argomento d'amore, ma è ben anche vero che porta seco un sopporre mancanza nella cosa che s'ama. Prego il Cielo che queste percosse amorose siano in ordine ad un amore più eterno, ad una amicizia senza paragone.

[c. 1v] In quanto poi al desiderio che voi avete, et all'instanza che me ne fate, ch'io vi segnifichi in che cosa v'ho[e] conosciuto[f] mascherato e finto, vi prego a scusarmi che la rabbia non so come non mi portasse alle biastemie[g] non che all'ingiurie. Dissi così perché non sapevo come fare per offendervi, per maltrattarvi, e con raggione, perché sono innocente e ti averei dato de' morsi sul naso se mi fussi stato presente. Onde me ne batto il petto e per l'avenire vi prometto mai più farmi uscire sì fatti titoli dalla bocca, conoscendoli adesso quanto sono difformi e lontani dalla verità. Ad alia.

Ho scritto a quest'ora tre lettre al nostro signor Politico, invitandolo a venire in Roma per quel tempo che a lui più piacerà, avendoli di vantaggio offerto monete, caso che avesse a mancar per questo.

Ora, chi può sentir mai maggior barbaria? A nessuna[h] di queste s'è degnato di rispondermi e pure, in caso simile, v'entra la legge dell'amicizia, il termine della creanza. Ti giuro, Ricciardi, che incomincio a sospettare che costoro non[i] siano stufi di me, parendomi troppo strana cosa il non rispondermi due righe[j]. Cristo Santo, tanto più che lo prego in tutte tre le mie a farmi quest'onore di subita risposta.

[c. 2r] Ricciardi, sto col cervello in aria, e fò[k] vari sospetti intorno a questo negozio, tanto più che non posso dimenticarmi quanto in più vostre lettre mi avete accennato intorno a i sospetti

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, nos. 2 and 3, c. 1r–c.4r. Published: Limentani 1950, 57–63, letters 1 and 2; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 44–47, letter 46. The *sopracoperta* is lost, however the content of the letter makes it clear that it was addressed to Ricciardi. The intended destination of the present letter is unknown, however the content suggests that Ricciardi was either in Florence or perhaps at the Maffei family's villa property at Barbaiano, the latter of which is certainly plausible but is perhaps complicated by the fact—evident from the letter's content—that Ricciardi and Rosa had apparently had some sort of falling-out with certain members of the Maffei family (Giulio in particular, it seems) at this moment. Limentani 1950 published the letter in two parts, thinking it necessary to treat it as two different letters, the second of which he considered to begin with c. 4r. His error was likely due to the pagination of the Fitzwilliam Museum volume, in which c. 4r has been included as a separate page. The present letter is also the only one in the Fitzwilliam Museum volume with numbered pages (indicated at the upper right corner on the first page, and then the upper middle on subsequent pages).

a Ms: *piaceno*, for "piacciono".

Letter 46
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Florence or Barbaiano?), 5 January 1650

Dearest friend,

Your reasons, as I see them[1], please me, but they don't gratify my innocence, which is only evident in the sight of Heaven and to my conscience. Arguing (or, to put it better, stretching) the equivocal sense is easy but doesn't always correspond to the truth. So I'll forever say that your suspicion was quite different from my very intention, which would hold up in the presence of the entire Court of Heaven, and would demonstrate that your imagination is utterly mistaken in your suspicions against me. But because in this matter I submit myself altogether and entirely to the grace of that God who sees and knows everything, I won't repeat myself again. Except that I beg of you, for the love of Christ[2], in the future to reach a better understanding of things that can be intended in various ways, and that are not, in fact, incontrovertible proofs. Indeed, the simple thought that you've even conceived such an idea of me has caused me more hardships than all the disgraces of my entire life. My Ricciardi, it's true that jealousy is a proof of love, but it's also quite true that it brings with it the suspicion that something is lacking in the object of one's love. I pray to Heaven that these amorous blows are signs of a more eternal love, a friendship without comparison.

Regarding, then, your request that I tell you why I thought you were a hypocrite—an utter hypocrite—I'll ask you to forgive me, since I don't know how my rage hasn't brought me to cursing, if not to insults. I spoke in that way because I didn't know what to do in order to offend you, to mistreat you—and with reason, because I'm innocent, and I would have bitten you on the nose if you'd been present. So I go about everywhere beating my chest[3], and in the future I promise never again to allow such statements to fly out of my mouth, knowing now how distorted and far from the truth they are. On to other things.

Thus far, I've written three letters to our Signor Politico[4], inviting him to come to Rome for however long he pleases, and I've even offered him money in case he needs it.

Now who could imagine a more barbaric thing: he hasn't deigned to reply to any of these letters, even though such matters are bound by the laws of friendship, the terms of decency. I swear to you, Ricciardi, that I'm beginning to wonder whether they're[5] sick and tired of me, as it seems very strange that they haven't answered me with even a few lines. And yet, in all three of my letters I begged of him—Holy Christ—to honour me with a swift response.

Ricciardi, my head is spinning, and I've been having various suspicions about this business. What's more, I can't forget that, in many of your letters, you've hinted to me your suspicions about them[6], in the light of things you were told, so I, who am even more proud than I am human, tell

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b Ms: *reale* or *leale*. Reading uncertain. Limentani 1950: "leale".
c Ms: *stato <e> molto*; {*e stato*}.
d Ms: {*affatto*}.
e Ms: *vò*.
f Ms: *conosciuto*. Limentani 1950: "consociate".
g Ms: *biastemie*, for "bestemmie".
h Ms: *per questo. Ora chi può sentir mai maggior barbaria: a nessuna*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
i Ms: *non*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
j Ms: *due righe* or *dui righi*. Reading uncertain. Limentani 1950: "due righe"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "dui righi".
k Ms: *fò*. Limentani 1950: "ho" (in error).

ch'avete di costoro mediante le cose state riferitevi; ond'io, che sono più superbo che uomo, dico a me medesimo che doveria[a], prima di partirmi di Roma, essere benissimo informato di quanto sia mai potuto soccedere di mormorazioni contro di noi (dico di me, ché voi non c'avete che far cosa nessuna).

Poiché non vorrei impegnar la signora Lucrezia a Barbaiano o a Volterra, et io venire a dirittura da voi, se prima non sapessi ben bene l'animo di queste persone, assicurandovi che una sola ombra mi soverchiarebbe[b] a farmi far voti eterni e ritornare indietro, se fusse di mezza notte.

Però, Ricciardi mio, è di dovere che voi mi communicate qualche cosa di quello che dite di volermi comunicare a bocca, a ciò possa con bel modo scoprir paese e risolvermi di quello che si dovrà fare. Il mio pensiero saria[c], giunse[d] che sarò a Siena, mandar la signora Lucrezia a Volterra et io venirmene a dirittura (se però la strada è più corta e sicura; caso che no, venirmene da Volterra col vetturale). Per amor di Dio, scrivetemi subito e scopritemi i velami di questo negozio, parendomi strano che per la parte di Giulio vi possa essere mala intenzione, conoscendo ben io le nature di tutti. Epperò non siamo ingrati, cazzo, cazzo.

[c. 2v] Del negozio del medico non posso dirvi cosa nessuna, perché Simonelli son due mesi che si ritrova fuor di Roma, e neanche si degna scrivermi due righe. Ricciardi, ti giuro che sto per scartarlo dalla mia memoria tanto l'ho conosciuto coglione, stolido, amico universale. Idio mi canci di pensiero ché ne sono tentato straordinariamente.

Del San Giacinto non occorre a parlarne, ché non è possibile né ch'io ve lo mandi né che lo porti meco, dovendomi sbrigar d'alcune cose delle quali sono impegnato e, volendo partire per venir da voi, il tempo è molto breve e non potrei far altrimenti senza scapito della mia riputazione, assicurandovi che ogni giorno licenzio de' lavori, et in questo punto che scrivo ho chiesto ad un prelato per una battagliol[ina] di 4 palmi cento scudi per levarmelo d'avanti e non impegnarmi di vantaggio. Se la detta tavola la volemo fare a Monterufoli, bene, se no, non ho che farci, dovendo venire a quadragesima; caso che voi poi vi contentate ch'io allunghi più in là, sarete sodisfatto. Di grazia, non gridate, non v'alterate, ché non si puol[e] far altrimenti, e se voi fossivo[f] ne' miei panni, dareste nell'istesse con tutta la vostra saviezza, signor Viso di Cotale.

E quando comparirà questa benedetta lettra latina? Cazzo, neanche i libri sebellini, movetevi a pietà se n'avete e tenete per sicuro che averò più gusto io d'una cosa simile che voi non avereste di trovare un tesoro (intennetemi[g] sanamente, [c. 3r] ché non vorrei che deste ne' soliti sospetti, e pensare ch'io v'abbia voluto tacciare d'avaro) ma dico puramente per essagerazione et alla buona di Dio, Cristo e lo Spirito Santo, signor Orazio senza brevità.

Al padre Ferrari non l'ho letto altra satira che quella de' Musici, la quale li piacque in eccesso et ogni volta che mi vede mi ricorda per l'altre. Discorrendo di questo padre in alcuni circoli di questi signori letterati di Roma e celebrando il suo valore, mi fu fatta difficultà, et alcuni mi dissero che quest'uomo scrive molto puerilmente e che, toltone la buona lingua latina, non vi restava cosa d'imortalità. Cazzo, non so che dire: o noi siamo matti, o l'altri veramente sono grand'uomini! Sentirete una infilzatura di censure coglione fatte alle mie satire che vi faranno ridere. Ma io, che son furbo, la[h] parte mia sento tutti e da tutti cavo qualche cosa. Ma perché stimo voi sopra ogn'altr'uomo che sia, così nell'amore come nelle parti dell'ingegno e del giudizio, seguiterò a leggere l'altre due al detto padre e ve ne darò aviso. E se mi mandate la lettra latina, ce la mostrerò subito.

Le lodi fatte al Bentivoglio all'accademia dico che furno[i] mediocrissime, attesoché[j] nelle cose di questo non v'è gran cose[k], e voi di già lo sapete.

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a Ms: *doveria*, for "dovrei".

b Ms: *soverchiarebbe* or *sorverchiarebbe*. Reading uncertain. Limentani 1950: "sorverchiarebbe".

c Ms: *saria*, for "sarebbe".

d Ms: <*di*>; {*giunse*}. Limentani 1950: "giunto".

e Ms: *puol*, for "può".

myself that I must (before leaving Rome) learn as much as I can about whatever rumours might have arisen against us (I say this in reference to myself, because you're not involved in it at all).

Since I don't want to commit Signora Lucrezia to Barbaiano or Volterra, nor to come to you myself without first fully understanding the inclination of these people, I assure you that even the slightest shadow of doubt would be enough for me to make a solemn decision and turn back, even if it were in the middle of the night.

Nevertheless, my Ricciardi, you have to tell me something of what you wanted to tell me in person, so that I can have enough time to get the lay of the land, and decide what to do.[7] I had thought that, once I'd arrived in Siena, I'd send Signora Lucrezia to Volterra, while I would come to you—only if the road is very short and safe. If not, I'll come from Volterra with the driver. For the love of God, write to me soon and pull back the veils on this business, as it seems very strange[8] to me that, for Giulio's part, there might be some bad feeling, knowing full well the nature of everyone. After all, we're not ingrates—shit, shit!

Regarding the business of the doctor, I can't tell you anything because Simonelli has been away from Rome for two months, and he won't deign to write me even a few lines.[9] Ricciardi, I swear to you that I'm about to wipe him from my memory, much as I've come to know him to be an asshole, a blockhead, a friend to anyone. May God convince me otherwise, because I'm very tempted to do it.

As for the Saint Hyacinth[10], it's out of the question, since it's not possible for me to either send it to you or to bring it with me. I have to take care of some of my present engagements. And if I want to leave in order to come to you, there isn't much time, and I couldn't do otherwise without losing my reputation. I assure you that every day I pass up work, and, at this very moment, I've asked for one hundred *scudi* from a prelate for a small battle scene measuring four *palmi*, just to get it out of my way and not engage myself in work any longer.[11] If we want to make this painting at Monterufoli, that's all well and good, otherwise I don't care, having to come for Lent. But if it's alright with you that I come there later[12], then you'll be satisfied. Please, don't shout and get upset, since it's not possible to do otherwise, and, if you were in my shoes, you'd do the same, even with all your wisdom, Signor Bigshot[13].

And when will this blessed Latin text arrive?[14] For God's sake, it's not like it's the books of the Sibyls[15], so have mercy, if you have any, and rest assured that I'll take a greater pleasure in such a thing than you ever would in finding a treasure (hear me well, since I don't want you to give in to the usual suspicions and think that I want to accuse you of greed). But I speak purely for exaggeration and in very, very simple terms[16], Signor Horace without brevitas.[17]

I haven't read another satire to Father Ferrari[18] beyond that of the Musicians[19], which pleased him greatly, and every time he sees me he reminds me about the others.[20] I ran into some criticism when talking about and celebrating the virtues of this Father in some circles of well-read gentlemen in Rome. Some of them told me that this man writes very childishly, and that, except for his skilful use of Latin, there didn't seem to be anything worthwhile. Shit, I don't know what to say: either we're crazy or the others are truly great men. You'll hear a slew of stupid criticisms levelled at my satires that will make you laugh.[21] But clever me, I hear all and am able to get something out of everyone. And because I esteem you above every other living man, as much in love as in talent and judgment, I'll read the other two satires to the aforementioned Father, and I'll tell you about it. And if you send me the Latin text, I'll show it to him right away.

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f Ms: *fossivo*, for "foste".

g Ms: *intennetemi*, for "intendetemi". Perhaps a case of Neapolitan hypercorrection.

h Ms: *la*, presumably intending "da".

i Ms: *furno*, for "furono".

j Ms: *furno <coglionissime> attesoché*; {*mediocrissime*}.

k Ms: *cose*. Limentani 1950: "che" (in error).

È venuto di vantaggio qui[a] secretario del cardinale da Este[b] quel superbetto di quel Carlo di Doctori che vedessimo a Venezia, che di già aveva stampato non so che volume di odi pindariche. Oh, che foderato di coglione!

[c. 3v] Daviti mi dice che di quel negozio non dubitate che sta sicurissimo e partirà per cotesta volta (cioè per Fiorenza) un giorno di questa settimana.

Al signor cavaliere Della Penna risposi, ma di nuovo vi prego a salutarlo da mia parte, conforme fò con tutti gli amici o, per dir meglio, conoscenti (ché amico stimo solamente voi, tutto che siate così bestiale e rigoroso nel pigliar gli orsi a volo).

Di quel Clemente non parlo, perché è troppo coglione; lasciate far tacole[c], ché tutti serviranno per publicarlo un Bufalmacco. Avisatemi se l'avete fatto mai vedere le vostre bagattelle dello studiolo, e che ha detto questo saccio della Grecia, ché tale appunto pretende d'essere, et io lo so di sicuro. In Roma li vorrei questi sì fatti cervelli, qui si chiariscono. Ma già che siamo a discorso di cotali:

Vi do nuova come la vostra salciccia[d] non è ancora comparsa. Quando comparirà, vi scriverò per rendimento di grazie che voi sete un solenissimo coglionone a mandarmi sì fatti regali, come voi non fussivo[e] informato ch'io non ho finezza di palato e che mancio e bevo con l'orecchio. Ora questo mi mancava adesso, far venire la salciccia soprafine[f] di Lucca. E chi volete che se la manci, se ancora ho tutta quella che mi mandò il Cordini, tutto che m'abbia donata? Ma scusatemi, ché non mi ricordavo; che sproposito! Il termine della creanza e della gratitudine vuol che vi renda grazie, e non ingiurie. E voi compatite alla mia libertà, che opera lontano dall'uso, e però con voi alle volte dà in coglionarie.

[c. 4r] Ricciardi, t'invidio, conoscendo che 'l Rosa ti vogli tanto bene. Credilo a me che ti adora per Dio santo, onde sei obligato a corrisponderli e credere che quest'affetto sia senza paragone, e son più che sicuro che durerà col mondo.

Godo che studiate per me intorno alla futura satira della Pittura, e s'io vi[g] ritorno a vedere con quei libroni in mano cercanno qualche cosa in quel benedetto stanzino[h] di Barbaiano[i], voglio gridare come un matto. Ma sopra tutto preparati a scontare a tanti morsi[j] la rabbia ch'a questi giorni ho sofferta per te innocentemente, bestia che sei.

La signora Lucrezia t'abraccia et io ti idolatro questo dì 5 di gennaro 1650.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

La lettra del Cordini che mi mandastivo[k] non ve la posso mandare, avendomene tre giorni sono nettato il vostro viso.

Mando la lettra del Piccolomini al signor Giulio per sodisfare a un mio capriccio, e l'impongo che la facci vedere al publico.

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a Ms: {*qui*}.
b Ms: *d'Aeste.*
c Ms: *tacole*. Limentani 1950: "favola" (in error).
d Ms: *salciccia*, for "salsiccia".
e Ms: *fussivo*, for "foste".
f Ms: *soprafine* or *saprafine*. Reading uncertain. Limentani 1950, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "saprafine".

Regarding the praise Bentivoglio[22] received at the academy, I can tell you it was very mediocre, considering that there's nothing great about his work, as you already know.

What's more, that haughty little Carlo de' Dottori[23] who, when we saw him in Venice,[24] had already published some volume of Pindar's odes, has become secretary of Cardinal d'Este[25]. Oh, he's such an ass.[26]

Daviti[27] tells me you shouldn't worry about that business, because it's a sure thing, and that he'll be heading in your direction—that is, for Florence—one day this week.

I replied to Signor Cavalier della Penna[28], but I implore you again to greet him on my behalf, and the same to all the friends, or to put it better, acquaintances (since I esteem only you as a friend, even though you're so beastly and so rigid in taking everything so seriously).[29]

I won't say anything about that Clemente[30] because he's such a dickhead. Let all of them do their silly babbling[31] because they'll soon reveal him as a Buffalmacco[32]. Tell me if you've ever let him see those little trifles of work you keep in your *studiolo*[33], and what he's said about them, as he fancies himself a Greek sage[34], which I know for certain. I'd like to see brains like this in Rome, since over here they're quickly revealed for what they are. But while we're on the subject of such things:

I can tell you that your sausage still hasn't arrived. When it appears, I'll write to you and thank you for being such a solemn asshole to send me such gifts, as if you didn't know that I lacked a truly refined palate, and that I eat and drink with my ears. Now this is exactly what I need, to receive such first-rate sausages from Lucca! And who would you like to eat them, if I still have all of those that Cordini sent me, even though they were a gift?[35] But excuse me, I realize I'm blurting out blunders; the boundaries of decency and gratitude require that I give you thanks, and not insults. Forgive my liberties, which are usually off the mark, and which (with you) sometimes turn into nonsense.

I envy you, Ricciardi, knowing that Rosa loves you. Believe me, he adores you, by God, so you're obliged to reciprocate him and to trust that his affection is incomparable, and I'm absolutely certain it will last forever.

I'm glad you're thinking about the future satire on Painting[36] for me, and if I return over there to find you[37] with those big books in hand, searching for something in that blessed musty old place of Barbaiano, I'll want to shout out like a madman. But, above all, prepare yourself to suffer in every possible way for the rage I've recently suffered because of you, for no reason, you beast.

Signora Lucrezia embraces you and I worship you, today the 5th of January 1650.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

The letter from Cordini that you sent me, I can't send it back to you, having three days ago wiped your face[38] with it.

I'm sending the letter from Piccolomini to Signor Giulio to satisfy my whim, and I'm asking him to share it publicly.[39]

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g Ms: *me*. Presumably in error, intending "vi".

h Ms: *stanzino* or *stantiano*. Reading uncertain. Limentani 1950: "stanzino"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "stantiano".

i Ms: *di <Mo†…†> Barbaiano*. Rosa presumably began writing "Monterufoli" instead of "Barbaiano".

j Ms: *morsi* or *morti*. Reading uncertain. Limentani 1950: "morti".

k Ms: *mandastivo*, for "mandaste".

Letter 47
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome?) to Pisa, (January 1650?)*

[c. 3r]
Amico caro

Dopo aver scritto, diedi in alcuni accademici Umoristi, i quali mi pregano se questo carnevale volevo recitare il mio Timone all'Accademia (toltone però alcune cose troppo licenziose e da non dirsi a quel congresso[a]). Li dissi che ci averia[b] fatto riflessione e che non ero affatto risoluto ma che c'era tempo. Ond'io desidero da voi (caso che venisse il caso da doversi recitarlo) d'una decina o dozzina di righe di prosa per il preambolo avanti d'incominciarlo[c] conforme s'usa per informare il lettore e preparar l'attenzione. Le materie di che tratta la satira di già ne sete informato, e però non occorre che dichi[d] di vantaggio.

Vorrei sì bene che fusse nobile e chiaro, umile e superbo insieme circa il sentimento. Di grazia, mandatemeli subito subito per la posta di Genova o per quella di Fiorenza, dico per quella che prima mi possono prevenir nelle mani.

Potendo anche essere che non abbiano a servire, ma per cautela favoritemene subito. Quest'è quanto. Ricciardi mio, vi saluto.[e]

Di Vostra Signoria[f]

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

FIGS 20-23

Letter 48
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 16 January 1650**

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Non occorre che voi mi predichiate quello che voi fareste con l'amico scimonito, se non fusse il riguardo (non dirò mio) ma d'una mondana politica, la quale ci costringe ad obliare le proprie offese per non cascare in sospetto d'ingrato appresso di molti che vivono non con altra regola che di quella dell'apparenza. Mi trovo detto di gran cose di questi signori, et[g] ho una certa natura così diversa dall'altre che non so[h] ricevere un beneficio che non lo palesi, e non so palesarlo senza amplificarlo assai maggiore di quello che mi fu compartito; onde, con quest'impegno, son costretto a simulare ciò che sapete e che avete inteso dir di noi. Assicurati, Ricciardi, ch'io non amo senza timore, e non tutto quello che mi si vanta tengo per buono. Conobbi dal principio della loro conoscenza la natura

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* British Library, London, Add. 30262 B. 1. Misc. Autographs, c. 3r. Published: Limentani 1950, 64, letter 2-A; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 47–48, letter 47. The *sopracoperta* is lost. The letter, now in the British Library, London, belongs to a collection of miscellaneous autographs acquired in 1877 and 1878, from A. J. dos Rios & Co. and Luigi Azzolini.

** Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 1, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 21, letter 1 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 3–6, letter 1; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 48–50, letter 48. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *concresso*, an error of spelling, a hypercorrection, or a reflection of Rosa's Neapolitan phonetics.

b Ms: *averia*, for "avrei".

Letter 47
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome?) to Pisa, (January 1650?)

Dear friend,

After I last wrote to you, I stumbled into some academics of the Umoristi[1], who asked me if I'd like to recite my *Timone*[2] to the academy during this Carnival (except, however, for some excessively licentious things, which are not suitable for that audience). I told them I'd think about it, and that I hadn't entirely made up my mind, but that there was time. So I want to ask you (if I have to recite it) for ten or a dozen lines of prose for the opening preamble, of the kind used to inform the reader and prime the audience. You already know the satire's subject matter, so I don't need to say any more.

I'd like its tone to be noble and clear, humble but also magnificent. Please send it to me as soon as possible via the post of Genoa, or that of Florence—that is, whichever will get it to me the fastest.

It may turn out that it won't be of any use, but just as a precaution do me this favour as soon as possible. That's that, my Ricciardi. I send you greetings.[3]

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 48
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 16 January 1650

Dearest friend,

You don't need to lecture me about what you'd do with a foolish friend. But a consideration (I won't say mine) of the ways of the world, forces us to forget our own offences in order not to appear as an ingrate in the eyes of the many who live only according to the rule of appearances. I hear that these gentlemen say many things about me,[1] but I have a certain nature that's very different to other people and I don't know how to receive a benefit without divulging it to everyone, nor how to reveal it without making it seem much greater than what I actually received. So, for this reason, I'm forced to pretend I don't know what you know, and what you heard was said about us. I assure you, Ricciardi, that I don't love without fear, nor do I believe everything that is boasted to me. Since I first became acquainted with them, I've known their nature.[2] And because I've always been unlucky (not at choosing my friends, so as not to offend you) as far as my interests are concerned, I've sometimes settled for the least bad people I could find so as not to appear too difficult to satisfy.

c Ms: *avanti* <†…†> *d'incominciarlo*.
d Ms: *dichi*, for "dica".
e The date is missing in the ms.
f Ms: *DVS*. Omitted by Limentani 1950, and Borrelli and Festa 2003.
g Ms: *signori* <†…†> *et*.
h Ms: {*so*}.

di tutti, e perché son stato sempre disgraziato (non dirò nell'eleggere gl'amici, per offendere[a] voi), nel ristretto dell'interessi mi sono alle volte buttato per non farmi condendare[b] per incontentabile ai meno cattivi. Confesso ch'io corrispondo scarsamente con gl'amici nelle cose degl'interessi. Ma dovrebbero ancor loro aver tanta sagacità e conoscimento di prevedere quant'io saria[c] più grato e magnanimo[d] verso di loro, se le forze mi corrispondessero alla volontà.

[c. 1v] Ma dall'altra parte so di poter vivere più che sicuro, ché 'l mio incomodo, per lungo e stipendioso[e] che sia mai stato, non merita il nome di scrocco, e se pure simil nome mi volessero dare, non dirò di dolermene, ché mentre sarò vivo avrò sempre qualche speranza di dimostrarmi diversamente. Concludiamo che, se in questo mondo si trova un poco di bene, non è senza un'infinità de mali

e il lungo conversar[f] genera noia.

Ricciardi mio, bisogna aver pacienza, a noi[g] non sta bene l'andar pregando il terzo e 'l quarto per un tugurio (già che la disgrazia ha voluto che voi non avete potuto venir in Roma) e l'andar facendo noviziati di natura et geni diversi. In quanto alle spese, non occorre che mi diciate altro, ché questi sono sentimenti radicati in me. Ma parliamo d'altro.

Non posso dimenticarmi che, se 'l Bellucci moriva, voi non potevate venire più a Monterufoli o dove la nostra libertà ci conduceva. Cazzo, lo credo perché me l'avete scritto, ché del resto averei pugnato col diavolo che fusse qualche invenzione. Oh bene, risponde il signor Orazio, averete[h] bel tempo voi che, quando[i] sedete in una sedia quattro ore del giorno, vi buscate tutto quello che vi bisogna.

È vero, ma è ben anche vero che altri hanno seduto alla sedia per voi, e voi, senza farvi servo di nessuno, potete avere in culo i comandamenti del terzo e del quarto, [c. 2r] sapendo di più di sicuro che, facendo altrimenti, fareste cosa contraria all'inclinazione, oltre al tradimento che fareste a quei fini gloriosi un pezzo fa propostovi.

Torno a replicarve[j], se la cosa riusciva, alla solitudine non si poteva andare, non dirò senza licenza, ma per tempo limitato. Oh Dio, oh Dio, e quanto son coglione!

A ciò sappiate tutti i fatti miei, per quest'ordinario il signor Cordini mi manda un ordine di 25 piastre, e dieci l'ho scritto che dia da mia parte alla sorella della signora Lucrezia, che sono 35. E pur voi mi scrivete che v'ha chiesto 60 scudi dell'Arione, e l'Arione non vale per la metà della Siringa, sì per essere altrettanto grande come per essere ancora[k] assai megliore. Ad alia, perché ho poco tempo.

Sto aspettando la lettra latina come il Messia Daviti nostro, il quale l'altra matina mi comparse avanti tanto all'improvviso ch'io ebbi a spiritare. Così va: gl'ebrei vengono all'Anno Santo e i cristiani non se ne curano.

Le postille mi bastano ad ogni principio di materia, ché non intesi ad verbum; però me rimetto alla vostra volontà.

[c. 2v] Attendete a comporre, ché farete assai più colpo di quello che voi medesimo sopponete.

Della dote della ragazza sorella della signora Lucrezia non parlo, perché così vuole la disgrazia e così è di dovere che ci contentiamo ancor noi, che siamo suoi soggetti.

Ier matina mi fu a trovare il signor conte Ercolani, quello che ci diede da desinare a Bologna e che, in maschera, andava col collare della marchesa Vittoria. Il conte Bentivogli recitò l'altro ieri[l] in

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a Ms: *per offendere.* Borrelli and Festa 2003: "per non offendere," for grammatical clarity. The negative sense, however, is implied by the rest of the sentence.

b Ms: *condendare*, presumably for "condennare" (in modern spelling, "condannare"). Likely a case of Neapolitan hypercorrection, in which "nn" becomes "nd".

c Ms: *saria*, for "sarei".

d Ms: *magnanimo*. De Rinaldis 1939: "magnianimo".

e Ms: *stipendioso* or *dispendioso*. Reading uncertain. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "dispendioso".

I confess that I poorly repay my friends in matters of business. But they should still have sufficient wisdom and knowledge to foresee how grateful and magnanimous I would be toward them, if my abilities corresponded to my intentions.

However, on the other hand, I know I can be more than certain that my predicament, as long and costly as it's been, doesn't justify calling me "freeloader". And if that name is given to me, I'll avoid complaining about it, since, for as long as I live, I'll always have some hope of proving to be otherwise. Let's conclude that, if one manages to find a little bit of good in this world, it's not without an infinity of evils,

and the long conversation generates boredom.[3]

My Ricciardi, we'll have to be patient. It's no good for us to go about begging this or that person for a hovel[4] (since misfortune has decided you won't be coming to Rome), and to subject ourselves to new or different places and temperaments.[5] Regarding the expense, you don't need to say anything else to me, since my feelings on this matter are settled. But let's talk of other things.

I can't get my head around the fact that if Bellucci[6] had died, you couldn't have come anymore to Monterufoli, or to where our freedom would have led us. Shit—I'll believe it because you wrote it. Otherwise, I'd have fought with the Devil to prove that it was some invention. Oh well, says Signor Horace, "you'll have a good time, since you sit in a chair for four hours and earn whatever you need."[7]

It's true, but it's also very true that others have sat in a chair for you[8], and you, without becoming the servant of anyone, can afford not to care about what this or that person commands you to do[9]—knowing full well that, in doing otherwise, you'd be behaving contrary to inclination, in addition to the betrayal you'd be committing to those glorious aims you embraced some time ago.

So I tell you again that if the thing went ahead, it wouldn't be possible to go into the wilderness[10]—maybe with some permission, but not for long. Oh God—oh God, what an asshole I am!

Just to keep you up on everything, in this post Signor Cordini has sent me an order[11] of twenty-five *piastre*[12], and I've asked him to give ten on my behalf to Signora Lucrezia's sister, which makes thirty-five. Yet you write to me that he asked you for sixty *scudi* for the *Arion*, although the *Arion* is not worth half of the *Syrinx*, which, even though it's just as big, is still much better.[13] On to other matters because I don't have much time.

I was waiting for the Latin text[14] as much as our Daviti[15] is waiting for the Messiah, and he appeared to me the other morning so suddenly that I was startled. So it goes: the Hebrews come for the Holy Year, and the Christians don't care about it.[16]

Comments on each subject will be enough for me, since they aren't intended to be word for word.[17] But I'll leave it up to you.

Apply yourself to writing, because you'll have a much greater impact than you'd expect.

I won't say anything about the dowry for the girl—Signora Lucrezia's sister[18]—because misfortune wills it thus, and so we'll have to rest content because we're at its mercy.

Yesterday morning Signor Count Ercolani[19] came here, the one who invited us for dinner in Bologna and who went about in costume with the collar of the Marchesa Vittoria[20]. Yesterday Count Bentivoglio[21] performed in an academy, where he made the kind of racket that thieves

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f Ms: *conversar* or *commentar*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "commentar".

g Ms: *noi* or *voi*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "voi".

h Ms: *averete* or *avete*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "avete"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "averete".

i Ms: *quando* or *quanto*. Reading uncertain.

j Ms: *replicarve* or *replicare*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "replicare".

k Ms: {*ancora*}.

l Ms: {*l'altro ieri*}.

una accademia, dove fece quel rumore che fanno i ladri quando vanno nelle case d'altri per rubare, e pure vi pioverono i coglioni. Così va: Roma in Roma è sepolta.

Salutatemi il signor cavaliere Della Penna, e se vedete il signor Volunnio, fate il medesimo. A voi saluta Patroclo, alias Colombina, più puttana che mai. Al signor Lupi un caro abraciamento, e che mi conservi in sua grazia.

A quest'ora averete riceuto[a] l'involto delle testacce[b], le quali, senza più lodarvele, dirò che sono degne di voi, e col tempo faranno rumore (già che l'openione ne[c] vuole la maggior parte). Fateci fare due corniciacce[d], alla peggio, ché fra l'altre cose staranno ancor loro. Oh quanti vizi nuovi, degnissimi di stare avanti a quel vostro predicatore, si vedono comparire!

In questo punto ricevo una lettra del nostro sagacissimo signor arcidiacono, dove v'è l'augurio delle buone feste; oh che coglioneria! Ma che si vuol fare, bisogna (conforme ho detto) che abbi pazienza. Del resto, vogliatemi voi bene, ché del resto m'importa poco, e ricordatevi di mandarmi la lettra, mentre unitamente con tutti vi salutiamo, questo dì la vigilia di Sant'Antonio Abate (ma non quello che scrive satire con precetti) 1650, di Roma [16] gennaro.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 49
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 22 January 1650*

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Non trovo il modo di quetar me, né di scusar voi; e per forza ch'io facci a me medesimo, non posso far di meno di non condendare[e] la vostra barbara impressione, la puerilità del vostro[f] sentimento. Ho creduto sin ora ch'il disordine fusse nato da' primi impeti della vostra natura. Ma voi medesimo mi confermate di no, avendomi in due altre vostre lettere replicato il medesimo, dalle quali io appertamente discerno che ciò che voi m'avete scritto non è stato un volo di penna, ma assolutamente una meditata e[g] volontaria volontà, et una fissa credenza di quello che non saprei neanche sognarmi.

Dubito, Ricciardi mio, che voi non andate misurando la mia amicizia e l'affetto ch'io vi professo con l'istessa misura de' passati vostri amici. Vi ricordo che, se ciò è, che errate all'ingrosso, poiché per tutti i versi io sono d'altro merito e conoscimento che non furno[h] quelli; perciò dovete avvertire molto bene et avere straordinario riguardo a non offender la mia innocenza, essendo questo un sentimento troppo dellicato.

Io ho 34 anni, nel corso de' quali non posso vantare altra prerogativa nella mia persona che il non essere interessato. Se voi poi credete altrimenti, dico che errate e che sete tenuto ad emendarvi.

[c. 1v] Ma veniamo alle strette.

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 2, c. 1r–c. 4r. Published: Gerra 1937, 21, letter 2 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 6–9, letter 2; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 51–53, letter 49. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *riceuto*, for "ricevuto".

b Ms: *testaccie.*

c Ms: {*ne*}.

usually do when they break into other people's houses to steal things. But the idiots still rushed there to hear him! That's how it goes: Rome is buried in Rome.[22]

Greet Signor Cavalier della Penna[23] for me, and if you see Signor Volunnio[24] do the same. Patroclus, also known as Colombina[25], sends his greetings to you, a bigger whore[26] than ever. To Signor Lupi[27] a loving embrace, and ask that he keeps me in his good graces.

By now you'll have received the package of the *testaccie*[28]. Without praising them any further, I'll at least say that they're worthy of you, and with time will cause a stir (since reputation is the most important thing). Have a couple of big frames made for them, regardless of their quality, since they'll fit in with the other things. Oh, how many other new vices will emerge, so worthy of appearing in front of your preacher?![29]

I've just received a letter from our shrewd Signor Archdeacon[30], in which he gives the compliments of the season. Oh, that asshole! But what can you do. One must (as I've said) be patient. As for the rest, love me, since everything else matters little to me, and remember to send the letter[31] to me, while together with everyone we greet you, today the eve of Saint Anthony Abbot—but not the one who writes satires with precepts[32]—1650, from Rome, the 16th [33] of January.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 49
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 22 January 1650

Dear friend,

I don't know how to calm myself nor excuse you. And as much as I try to contain myself, I can't help but condemn your barbaric opinion, the childishness of your sentiment. I believed, until now, that this intemperance resulted from the first impulses of your nature. But you yourself prove that this isn't the case, having replied to me in two other letters in the same way, from which I clearly understand that what you wrote to me was not a mere flight of the pen, but assuredly the work of a calculating and voluntary will, and a conviction about something I'd never dream up.

I have the feeling, my Ricciardi, that you measure my friendship and the affection I profess to you by the yardstick of your past friendships. I remind you that, if this is true, you're entirely in the wrong, since I'm completely different to them in merit and understanding. So you should beware, and take special care not to offend my innocence, which is very fragile.

I'm thirty-four[1], and during the course of those years I can boast only of having possessed a single virtue: a lack of self-interest. If you believe otherwise, I say you're wrong and that you have to mend your ways.

But let's cut to the chase.

You say in one of your letters the following words: "For the love of God, dear friend, let's search for all the ways to immortalize the love between us, and sever all roads to the suspicions and shadows our minds concoct."

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d Ms: *corniciaccie*.
e Ms: *condendare*, for "condannare". See also letter 48.
f Ms: {*vostro*}.
g Ms: *meditata* <†…†> *e*.
h Ms: *furno*, for "furono".

Voi dite in una vostra le seguenti parole: "Per amor di Dio, amico caro, cerchiamo tutti quei mezzi che possono[a] fra di noi eternar l'amore, e recidiamo tutte le strade ai sospetti et all'ombre che possono[b] generarsi nelle nostre menti".

Vi dico che sì fatti pretesti con me sono affatto inutili e che potessivo[c] assolutamente far di meno d'accennarmeli. Ma perché non conoscete bene[d] la mia natura, vi compatisco. Ho detto che non conoscete bene la mia natura,[e] e con raggione, poiché se vi avessivo[f] un poco più di notizia, non averestivo[g] dato in un'eresia così solenne di pensare che i legami della nostra affezione[h] siano quelli d'un quadro, d'un disegno; il sospetto è veramente da fiorentino che non sa amare che con riguardi e politiche. Ma non già da Giovan Battista Ricciardi, che tanto professa e milanta esquisitezza di genio e di conoscimento. Non vi scandalizzate[i] se queste cose a me sembrano così mostruose, attesoché non mi sono neanche per ombra passate per l'imaginazione.

Voi avete poca sodezza nell'amare gli amici che veramente meritano questo nome, già che v'andate attacando agli equivoci, a stirachiare la purità dell'altrui parole a sensi così cattivi, anzi vituperosi. Il Cielo vi dia lume da conoscere il vostro errore, che non è picciolo presso di me.

[c. 2r] Io v'ho più volte confessato il mio poco potere, e di nuovo vi dico che sono un pover'uomo. Ma non così mendico che non possi[j] donare ad un amico un disegno, una pittura; le quali cose, potendole dare, e volendole dare, non intendo che mi possa[k] esser proibito da nessuno, et in particolare da voi, che dovete per più rispetti adeguarvi alla mia volontà, massime nelle cose che non hanno del vizioso, anzi del lodevole.

Infatti, Ricciardi (scusami se lo dico) voi o[l] non mi conoscete, o non avete veramente quel candore che vantate, poiché questi vostri pretesti sono da ragazzi, e tanto più a me sembrano odiosi quanto che vanno con maschera di interessi nella materia loro.

Deh, per amor di Dio, amatemi da davero[m], e vergognatevi per l'avenire di farvi cascare nel pensiero sì fatti motivi e sospetti di me, ch'io dalla mia parte vi prometto perdonarvi per questa volta. Ad alia.

Sento le vostre nove risoluzioni, i vostri nuovi voti di non voler pratticar più nessuno per l'avenire; dico che farete bene, ma non farete mai di vantaggio di quello ch'avemo tante volte discorso. Bisogna, Ricciardi mio, che voi abiate un poco più del Timone, né correre così in furia a dar lode di buono e di virtuoso a nessuno, et in particolare sete[n] degno di riprensione, anzi d'esser bastonato atrocemente ogni volta che, per aver parlato due sole[o] [c. 2v] volte ad un uomo, volerli subito dedicare i componimenti che non si devono consacrare a nessuno, o vero a persone più che notissime. E che credi, che tutti siano Salvatori Rosa che ti adorano e che veramente conoscono i meriti del tuo ingegno, la bontà del tuo animo? Oh quanto dai in coglionerie! Iddio, bisogna che ne crei un altro che possi[p] superarmi o, per dir meglio, adeguarmi nell'affetto che vi professo, ché in quanto a quelli che son ora vivi, è pazzia, signor Oraziaccio!

Del Cordini non so che dire; voi credete, con motivarmi quello che più volte m'avete detto, di dir qualche cosa. Ma non dite niente, poiché il difetto non è mio, e quando io averò adempiuto[q] tutte le parti che si devono e che mi vengano significate dall'amico, non son tenuto a più: chi manca, suo danno. Dico di nuovo che non sono interessato, e tutto questo è a vostra confusione,

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a Ms: *possono* or *possano*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "possano".
b Ms: *possono* or *possano*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "possano".
c Ms: *potessivo*, for "poteste".
d Ms: {*bene*}.
e Ms: *vi compatisco. Ho detto che non conoscete bene la mia natura*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
f Ms: *avessivo*, for "aveste".
g Ms: *averestivo*, for "avreste".
h Ms: *affezione*. De Rinaldis 1939: "effezione".
i Ms: *scandalizzate* or *scandalezzate*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "scandolezzate"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "scandalezzate".

I can tell you that such exhortations are totally useless to me, and that you'd do well not to point them out. But since you don't know my nature very well, I'll indulge you. I said that you don't know my nature well, and with reason, since if you had a little more knowledge of it you wouldn't have given yourself over to such a solemn heresy as to think that the ties of our affection are those of a picture, a drawing; this suspicion is truly that of a Florentine who doesn't know how to love except with ceremony and diplomacy[2]. But never Giovan Battista Ricciardi, of course, who always professes and boasts of an exquisite spirit and understanding! Don't be scandalized if these things seem so monstrous to me, because nothing of the kind has ever crossed my mind.

You aren't very consistent in loving friends who truly deserve this name, since you persist in clinging to misunderstandings, haggling over the purity of other people's words in a mean, indeed shameful, manner. May Heaven shed light on your error, which isn't a small one in my opinion.

I've confessed to you many times my meagre abilities, and tell you once again that I'm a poor man. But I'm not such a mendicant that I can't give a friend a drawing, a painting.[3] Because I can and want to give them, I never intend to let anyone stop me from doing so, especially you, who should adapt yourself to my will more often, especially with regard to the things that have nothing to do with malice, but are instead commendable.

In fact, Ricciardi (excuse me for saying it) either you don't know me, or you truly don't possess the candour you boast of, since these pretexts of yours are childish and seem all the more hateful to me because they are presented as the matter of my own interest.[4]

For the love of God, love me truly, and you should be ashamed of ever again falling into thinking such things and having such suspicions about me, which I, for my part, promise to pardon you for on this one occasion. On to other things.

I hear your new resolutions, your new vows to no longer want to associate with anyone in the future: this is a good decision, but will never be enough in view of what we've discussed many times.[5] My Ricciardi, you must be a little more like Timon[6], and not hurry with such frenzy to give good and virtuous praise to just anyone. And you, in particular, are deserving of censure, indeed worthy of an atrocious beating, every time that you—after having spoken only a couple of times to someone—want immediately to dedicate compositions to them that don't actually need to be dedicated to anyone, or at least only to very famous people. What do you think? That everyone is a Salvator Rosa who adores you, and who truly knows the merits of your intelligence, the virtue of your mind? Oh what a load of crap[7] you give in to! God will have to make another capable of surpassing me, or—to put it better—able to equal me in my affection for you, which, considering the people alive today, is madness, Big Bad Signor Horace[8]!

I don't know what to say about Cordini.[9] By repeating the same justifications many times over, you think you're telling me something. Yet you say nothing. Because the defect is not mine, and once I've fulfilled all the duties required of me as a friend, I'll no longer be obligated for anything else: he who is in the wrong, it's his loss. I'll tell you again that I'm not a self-interested person, and all of this shows you're wrong, for having thought ill of me. My Ricciardi, you must get it into your head that, except for our friendship, all the others have some ulterior aim—that is, if someone gives

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j Ms: *possi*, for "possa".
k Ms: *mi* <†…†> *possa*.
l Ms: {*o*}.
m Ms: *davero*. De Rinaldis 1939: "dovero".
n Ms*: particolare* <†…†> *sete*.
o Ms: *sole*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
p Ms: *possi*, for "possa".
q Ms: *adempiuto* or *adempiute*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "adempiute".

che avete creduto così male di me. Ricciardi mio, bisogna che voi vi mettiate in testa che fuor che le nostre amicizie, tutte l'altre sono con qualche fine, e che se uno dà un cedrato, un salciciotto[a], vuole in contraccambio cosa che vagli il doppio. Et a me compete chiuder gli occhi et apprir la borsa per non parer uomo come gli altri, per non restare affatto privo d'un cane che mi facci un servizio alla giornata.

[c. 3r] Ma perché voi volete forse con questi mezzi indebolirmi l'amore che mi dovete, lascerò operate al vostro arbitrio. Chiamerò il Cielo giudice di questa causa, il quale non potrà mai sincerarmi se non opera miracoli, avendomi la vostra inumanità e poca affezione fattomi mutare nel maggior eretico dell'amicizia che oggi viva nel mondo. E quel che più importa è che poi dite ch'io son quello che non vi ho fenito[b] di conoscere, ch'io sono quello che non ha il gusto raffinato nell'amore, nel conoscere gli amici.

Et è possibile che voi avete tanta faccia[c] di scrivermi: "Per amor di Dio, Rosa mio, migliorati il concetto di me".[d]

Queste son pure vostre parole.

E come volete ch'io megliori se voi peggiorate meco a canne, se quand'io dico pane, voi interpretate acciuche[e], se mi rinfacciate di quelle cose che non furno[f] mai, se sospettate di me che[g] mi rincresca il donare, se non ho altra priorità in questo mondo, e voi sapete molto bene che, per essercitarmi e sfogarmi in questo genio, l'ho fatto con la feccia degl'uomini che m'hanno per tutti i versi reso ingratitudine per amor, odio per benevolenza.

[c. 3v] Ricordati, Ricciardi, quante volte tu medesimo m'hai ripreso per soverchio prodigo nel donare a persone che non meritavano. In quante occasioni m'hai celebrate per generoso! Dunque, se queste cose son vere, come volete che ora a me dispiaccia di donare a voi un pezzo di telaccia, un foglio di cartaccia, avendovi dedicato l'arbitrio, ch'è di gran lunga superiore a queste cose? M'avete troppo offeso, m'avete ingiuria[to], e tanto basti.

Ad altri capi non mi curo di rispondere, perché non mi premono nulla in comparazione di questi. Dirò solo che voi, perché non volete ch'io più mi pervaglia della vostra cortesia intorno alle materie della poesia, vi protestate di non voler più da me né pitture né disegni. Sete il padrone, a questo non so che dirvi; fate quello che Dio v'inspira, a me non basta l'animo d'operare diversamente.

La vostra lettra non l'abrugierò[h] altrimenti, anzi procurerò di tenerla quanto più costodita[i] sia possibile per potervi rimproverare[j] ad ogni ora per l'avvenire che voi pensaste una volta non bene di me.

V'abraccio perché v'amo, e v'amo perché così son tenuto per sodisfazione del mio animo eternamente grato. [c. 4r] Di Roma questo dì 22 di gennaro 1650.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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a Ms: *salciciotto*, for "salsiciotto". De Rinaldis 1939: "salciotto" (in error).
b Ms: *fenito*, for "finito" in Neapolitan dialect.
c Ms: *faccia*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "fatica" (in error).
d Ms: *Per amor di Dio, Rosa mio, migliorati il concetto di me*.
e Ms: *acciuche*, for "acciughe".

an orange[10], a sausage, he wants in exchange something that weighs twice as much. And so I have to close my eyes and open my purse in order not to seem like the others—in order not to be deprived of even a dog to serve me.

But because you're doing this, perhaps, to diminish the love you owe me, I leave you to do it your way. I'll call upon Heaven to judge this case, and it will only be able to assure me by working some miracle, what with your inhumanity and meagre affection having made me out to be the greatest heretic of friendship alive in the world today. What's even worse is that you dare to say I'm the one who has not fully come to understand you—that I'm the one who doesn't have a refined taste in matters of love, in the understanding of friends.

And how can you have the nerve to write to me: "For the love of God, my Rosa, improve your opinion of me"?

These are indeed your words.

How do you expect me to improve, if you behave so badly with me, more and more[11]? If, when I say bread, you hear anchovies? If you accuse me of things that never happened? If you suspect me of regretting giving a gift when I have no other priority in this world? And you know full well that in order to practise my trade and give free reign to my talent, I've done this for even the scum of humanity—those people who in every possible way have repaid my love with ingratitude, my goodwill with hatred.[12]

Remember, Ricciardi, how many times you yourself took me for an excessive spendthrift in giving to those who didn't deserve it. On how many occasions did you praise me for generosity?! So, if these things are true, how can you think I now regret giving you a big old piece of canvas, a big old sheet of paper, having devoted to you my free will, which is far superior to these things? You have greatly offended me, you have insulted me, and that's enough of that.

In any case, with regard to other matters, I don't care to answer because they're not as important to me as these. I'll only say that you claim that you no longer want either paintings or drawings because you don't want me to avail myself any longer of your courtesy in matters of poetry[13]. You're the master, and to this I don't know what to say. Do whatever God inspires you to do, as I don't have sufficient enough desire to act differently.

I won't burn your letter[14], but instead will try and keep it as safe as possible so that I can reproach you at every hour in the future for having once thought badly of me.

I embrace you because I love you, and I love you because I'm forced to for the satisfaction of my eternally grateful soul. From Rome, today the 22nd of January 1650.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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f Ms: *furno*, for "furono".
g Ms: *me* <†…†> *che*.
h Ms: *abrugierò*, for "brucerò".
i Ms: *costodita*, for "custodia".
j Ms: *potervi* <†…†> *rimproverare*; {*rimproverare*}.

Letter 50
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Pisa?), 29 January 1650*

[c. 1r]
Amico

Leggetela al cospetto del Cielo, come quello
che vede più d'ogni altro il core degl'uomini.

Averei pagato quanto ho, e quanto sia mai per avere, et oltre a questo un anno d'infermità, più tosto che ricevere quest'ultima vostra lettra. Ricciardi, voi m'avete offeso nell'anima, m'avete tradito il concetto che sin ora ho nutrito di voi, e ti giuro che non saprei trovar rimedio per mitigare, tanto nelle viscere mi son penetrate le vostre parole.

Adesso sì che mi chiamerò disgraziato da davero, perché la disgrazia mia depende da voi, qual io stimavo[a] un altro me medesimo. Ma quanto mi sono ingannato con sì fatte imaginazioni, credere che voi foste un altro me medesimo, se in me non[b] caderno neanche per ombra i sospetti accennatemi dalla vostra (lo dirò pure) mascherata amicizia! Tralascio i giuramenti, perché sono fatti troppo comuni ne le bocche degl'uomini. Ma chiamerò solo la mia coscienza avanti al tribunale della sincerità, se mai il mio animo imaginò quello che voi sopponete. (Anzi, dirò di vantaggio che m'è parso così strano il vostro modo di favellare ch'io non lascio di dubitare et insieme assolutamente credere che voi m'abiate scritto con qualche travaglio d'animo, nel qual caso l'uomo, come dimenticato di se medesimo, è facil cosa che spropositi, che deliri.)

[c. 1v] In questo caso poteva pur la vostra prudenza differire lo scrivermi, sino a tanto ch'avesse diggerito la collera per altra occasione generata, assicurandovi che non so appagare la mia inquietezza con altro sopposto che di credere che voi non fussivo[c] veramente in voi medesimo.

Tant'è, tutto il mondo è paese! Sono nato per errare sin all'ultimo della mia vita. Ma che si vuol fare? Chi non ha doppiezza, è forza che ci caschi. Torno a dire che averei voluto più presto perdere una mano che leggere l'eresie del vostro capo, l'ingiurie dirette alla mia innarivabile bontà. Ho sin ora creduto d'avere l'amico e di poter, con questa sicurezza, mettermi l'anima in pace a procurarne altro megliore. Ma non era così, poiché voi mi vi sete scoverto assai diverso da quello che v'ho[d] sino a questo tempo stimato.

Oh Gesù[e] Cristo, interpretare i sensi liberi del mio animo, tanto lontani dal vero, dal verosimile, e voler poi ch'io creda che questi tali siano veritieri, anime uniformi alla mia, amici senza paragone! Dico, e dico con tutto il core, che ho creduto male, ma non mi pento però (come confessate voi) poiché voglio essere io quello di peccar per soverchio credere in sì[f] fatte matterie.

[c. 2r] Oh Dio, e quanto questa lettra m'è dispiaciuta, poiché mi dà più casi da considerare in un istesso tempo! Ricciardi, le fessure[g] nelle fabriche[h] grandi son pronostico di rovine. Piaccia a Dio ch'io mentisca, attesoché voi, da che ci conosciamo, non m'avete mai dato ombra del vostro animo poco bene affetto verso di me che in questa volta. È possibile che dove si professa vera amicizia possa entrare segno di sospezzione, d'interesse? E pure è vero che dalla vostra parte è soccesso, poiché mi scrivete d'aver creduto, e che credete, ch'io scrivessi di non voler dipingere in Pisa per non aver

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 3, c. 1r–c. 3v. Published: Gerra 1937, 22, letter 3 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 9–12, letter 3; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 54–56, letter 50. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *stimavo* or *stimava*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "stimava".

b Ms: *non*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

c Ms: *fussivo*, for "foste".

Letter 50
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Pisa?), 29 January 1650

Friend,

Read this in the presence of Heaven, which knows—better than any other—the hearts of men.

I'd have paid all that I have, and all that I ever will have, and—in addition to this—endured a year of illness, so as not to receive this last letter of yours. Ricciardi, you've offended my soul, you've betrayed the opinion of you that I nourished until now, and I swear that I don't know how to find a remedy to alleviate it, so deeply do your words pierce my soul.

So now I'll call myself disgraced indeed, because my disgrace depends on you, whom I esteemed to be my other self.[1] But how greatly I was tricked by such thoughts—to think that you were another me—if it never even dawned on me that you suspected me of the things your feigned friendship (yes, I'll say it) has accused me of. I'll leave out the oaths because they've been made too commonplace in the mouths of men. But I'll call only my conscience before the Court of Sincerity, as to whether my mind ever imagined what you suppose. (Indeed, I'll say furthermore that your manner of speaking seemed so strange to me that I'm convinced—in fact, absolutely certain—that you've written to me in some state of mental malaise, in which a man, forgetting himself, easily makes mistakes and is delirious.)

If this were the case, your prudence could have postponed you writing to me until it had digested the anger, provoked by another circumstance. I can assure you that I don't know how to alleviate my distress except to believe that you were not truly yourself.[2]

So it goes[3]—people are the same the world over. I was born to make mistakes until the end of my life. But what can you do? Anyone who lacks duplicity is doomed to be duped. I repeat, again, that I'd have sooner preferred to lose a hand than to read the heresies of your mind, the injuries directed at my incomparable kindness. Until now, I'd thought I had a friend, and that I could with this certainty put my soul at peace in searching for a better one. But this wasn't the case, as you've revealed yourself to be very different to what I had up to now believed.

Oh Jesus Christ! That you should interpret the free senses of my mind in such a mistaken and implausible way! And to make me believe that these things are true! Is this a soul comparable to my own, a friend without comparison? I say—with all my heart—that I've thought wrongly. But I don't regret it, however (as you say) because I want to be the guilty one for an excessive belief in such matters.

Oh God, how much this letter upset me, since it gave me so many things to consider all at once. Ricciardi, the cracks in large buildings are omens of ruin.[4] May it please God that I'm lying, because, for as long as we've known each other, you've never given me even an inkling of how little affection you have in your soul for me except on this occasion. Is it possible that, where one professes true friendship, a sign of suspicion or self-interest might appear? Indeed, it's true in your case, since you wrote to me that you believed—and still believe—that I told you I didn't want to paint in Pisa so that I wouldn't have to present you with my things. Here I'll stop, and confess that

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d Ms: *vò*.
e Ms: *Giesù*, for "Gesù".
f Ms: *sì*, partly illegible due to a tear in the page.
g Ms: *le* <†…† (perhaps *fabriche*)> *fessure*.
h Ms: *fessure* <*delle*> *fabriche*; {*nelle*}.

occasione di donarvi delle mie cose. Qui mi fermo, e confesso di non aver forma, né parole, né giuramenti da biastemar[a] me che non sia ora creduto per vero amico, e da scusar voi come canciato affatto di natura (dirò canciato, non avendo mai sentito dalla vostra penna sentimenti così barbari, così lontani dal vero, dal giusto).

Oh Dio, e che diversità! Io studiare e[b] speculare tutto il giorno e la notte come potria[c] fare per incontrare il gusto del Ricciardi, che cosa potria dipingere, che cosa potria designare per darli nel umore, biastemare la fortuna che m'abbia fatto così povero da non poter donare la maggior parte di quello che dipingo a quelli che [c. 2v] veramente mi son amici, fra quali voi eravate l'unico, il beniamino[d]. E voi, con una corrispondenza più che barbera, vi date ad intendere ch'io non dichi[e] da davero[f], e che l'interesse d'un quadretto o d'un disegno ci possi[g] avvelenare e rompere le santissime leggi dell'amicizia?

Dissi di non voler[h] dipingere in Pisa in riguardo a i fiorentini e dell'istessi pisani, a ciò non credessero ch'io, per non aver che farmi in Roma, mi fossi ritirato da voi. E se è stato altrimenti il mio sentimento, Idio m'abandoni della sua grazia e mi facci penare per tutto il restante di mia vita in un fondo di letto. Ma voi che sete più amico che non son io, più morale assai di quello ch'io mi pretenga[i], m'avete chiarito, se non conforme io meritavo, almeno conforme la maggior parte degli amici sogliono riuscire.

Vivete sicuro che per l'avenire viverò e mi regolerò con voi in altra guisa, poiché io non intendo d'impegnare tutto il mio affetto con un'anima colorata, con una mente così poco prudente che, sfugendo di pensare al bene, cerchi con supposti lontanissimi appigliarsi più tosto nel male. Il mio amore verso di voi non meritava questa sorte di sospezzione, la quale tanto più mi par stravagante, quanto che nasce da principi interessati, cosa affatto lontana dalla purità della mia fede, da' motivi della mia mente.

[c. 3r] È giusto un mese e mezzo che Simonelli si ritrova col suo padrone a Nettuno, sicché non posso dirvi cosa nessuna del medico e, quel ch'è peggio, non se li può scrivere, essendoli proibito, et il suo padrone asinissimo (e più asinissimo lui che ci sta) apre tutte le lettre che capitano de' suoi servitori. Cazzo, quand'io ve dico che son disgraziato, credetelo!

Di Daviti non so dirvi cosa sicura intorno alla voce che corre, se non che, venendo l'altro giorno a desinare da me, li dissi se veramente era vero quello che voi desiderate di sapere. Ma perché vidi che non mi diede quella retta che volevo, disse che[j] questa è una mera voce uscita di lui, rispetto che si trova innamorato d'una donna cristiana, per la quale hanno avuto la corda ambi unitamente. Ma per quanto posso scorgere, Daviti ne sta malamente picco[k], et avendoli io fatto una predica da galant'uomo, dice che bisogna che torni a Fiorenza, che si sente martellato: altro non so dirvi, facci lui.

Di già m'averia[l] scritto che la dote per la ragazza sorella della signora Lucrezia era sicura, e di nuovo credo che non c'è un palmo di netto. E qui ci casca:

Così la scimmia, quando il foco[m] avampa,
Per cavar le castagne e non si cuocere,
de la gatta balorda opra[n] la zampa.

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a Ms: *biastemar*, for "bestemmiare".
b Ms: *studiare* <†…† (perhaps *tutto*)> *e*.
c Ms: *potria*, for "potrei".
d Ms: *beniamino* or *beneamino*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "beneamino".
e Ms: *dichi*, for "dica".
f Ms: *davero* or *dovero*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "dovero"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "davero".
g Ms: *possi*, for "possa".

I don't possess the manner, the words, or the curses[5] to condemn myself as an unfaithful friend, nor to excuse you as completely changed in nature (I say changed, since I never heard from your pen sentiments so barbarous, so far from the truth, so unfair).

Oh God, what a transformation! How foolish I was, all day and all night to chew over what I could do to please Ricciardi, what thing I could paint or draw to make him happy, blaming the fortune that has made me so poor that I can't give the majority of what I paint to those who are truly my friends, among whom you were the one and only, the favourite[6]. And you, with such barbarous letters, imply that I don't speak honestly, and that the business[7] of a small painting or drawing can poison and sever the holy bonds of friendship?

I said I didn't want to paint in Pisa in consideration of people in Florence, as well as in Pisa, so that they wouldn't be led to believe that I was going to your place because I had no work in Rome.[8] And if I meant otherwise, may God renounce me from his grace and make me suffer for the rest of my life, confined to my bed. But you, who are a better friend than I, and much more moral than I claim to be, made yourself clear, perhaps not in the way I deserved, but at least in the way most friends commonly do.[9]

Rest assured that, as long as I live, I'll behave in a different manner toward you, since I don't intend to pledge all of my affection to a false[10] soul, to such an imprudent mind, which—instead of thinking the best of things—more often than not tries with far-fetched assumptions to think the worst. My love for you didn't deserve your suspicions, which seem all the more odd[11] to me because they're dictated by motives of utility, a thing very far from the purity of my good faith, from my intentions.

It's only been a month and a half since Simonelli was with his patron in Nettuno[12] again, so I can't tell you anything about the doctor.[13] And what's worse, we can't write to him because it's forbidden, and his most asinine patron[14] (and Simonelli even more so because he accepts the situation) opens all the incoming letters of people who work for him. Shit, when I say I'm unfortunate, believe it.

Regarding Daviti[15], I don't know what I can reliably tell you about the rumours circulating, except that, when he came the other day to dine with me, I asked him if that thing you wanted to know was really true. But since he wasn't paying proper attention to me, he told me that it was just a rumour about him, regarding the fact that he was in love with a Christian woman, for which both of them had gotten into trouble[16]. As far as I can tell, Daviti is still extremely upset, and after I gave him a frank sermon[17], he said he needed to return to Florence and that he felt tormented. Other than that I don't know what else to say. It's up to him now.

I'd have written to you by now that the dowry for Signora Lucrezia's younger sister[18] was secure, but then again I believe that nothing is less certain[19]. And so we can say:

The monkey, when the fire flares up,
In order to retrieve the chestnuts, and not burn himself,
Uses the stupid cat's paw.[20]

Everyone tries to take credit for the work of others, everyone seeks to gain profits from other people's hardships. But we aren't asses.

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h Ms: {*voler*}.
i Ms: *pretenga*, for "pretenda".
j Ms: *volevo* <†…†> *che*; {*disse*}.
k Ms: *picco*, for "piccato".
l Ms: *averia*, for "avrei".
m Ms: *foco*, for "fuoco".
n Ms: *opra*, for "opera".

Ogn'un cerca farsi bello con le fatighe d'altri, ogn'un procura cavar i comodi dagli stenti altrui. Ma noi non[a] siamo coglioni.

[c. 3v] Il signor Giulio mi scrive di voler venire su l'incominciare di quadragesima e, per molto ch'io abbia scritto e pregato, quel nasonissimo di Marcantonio né anche mi vuol scrivere se vuol venire o no. Oh che gentaccia, oh che cavalieri di merda! Ma poiché dagl'uomini simili bisogna far come si fa delle piante, di pigliarne quel frutto che producono, bisogna consolarsi.

Riverisco il signor cavalier Della Penna[b], signor Lupi e tutti coloro che conoscete che m'amano da davero[c]. E che presto ci rivederemo, piacendomi il vostro parere di publicare la mia venuta, a ciò non abiano a discorrere sinistramente di me. In tempo che l'ho in culo quando anche ne dicessero bene.

La signora Lucrezia in compagnia di Rosalvo scolare vi bacia le mani, e sospira ogni ora per un[d] anno di rivedervi.

Ma perché mi soviene che sono in collera con voi, finisco questo dì 29 di gennaro 1650.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 51
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 2 February 1650*

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Non so che dirvi[e] circa quel che m'accennate de' signori Maffei. L'acordar tante sampogne[f] è difficile, onde bisognerà che noi abiamo una santissima pacienza, e chi altro non può, si colchi con la moglie (suol dirsi al mio paese). Se a noi ci stesse bene l'andar cercando altro tugurio, direi che si procurasse, ma per più rispetti non si deve fare, sì che bisognerà lasciar dire ma far dal canto nostro quello che ci starà più bene e per nostra sodisfazione e per meno incomodo dell'amico e della casa, come vogliam dire. In quanto al motivo dello spendere, alle spese quotidiane, di già l'ho accennato al signor Giulio, e per quest'ordinario ce ne dò un'altra battuta, et assicuratevi che a me preme assai più di quello che voi forse credete.

Ho di più scritto al signor Giulio ch'io non vorrei trovarmi a fare la pasqua in Roma, ché però sollecitasse, sì che non so dove voi fondate l'averci non prima a rivedere che a maggio. Dicendovi di più che li scrivo che, quando non sono per venire per detto tempo, che non si movano, ché non m'importa.

[c. 1v] Finire il San Giacinto vi dico di nuovo che non è possibile, perché devo per mia riputazione non mancar di parola con alcune persone con le quali non posso usar confidenza, et a questo rispetto vado rinunciando di molte cose da fare.

Della lettra latina non se ne parlerà più già che da signor Orazio mi sete riuscito un Trappolino.

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 4, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Limentani 1950, 65–67, letter 3; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 57–58, letter 51. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *non*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

b Ms: *Sig. Cav.*[e] *della Penna*. De Rinaldis 1939: "Sig. card. Della Penna" (in error). See also letter 46, note 28.

Letter 86
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 10 March 1651*

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Già che avete curiosità di saper qual sia stato il cavaliere che mi disse della Siringa, ve lo dirò: questo fu il signor cavalier Andrea Leoni, quel cavaliere che in Bologna ci diede da disinare[a], unitamente parente d'Alesandro del Nero, qual credo che voi molto ben vi ricordate. Questo fu che mi disse d'aver veduta in Bologna una Siringa di mia mano; ond'io, che sapevo di certo che la detta Siringa si ritrovava nelle mani del nostro signor Cordini, et oltre a questo che n'aveva fatte far[b] delle copie, conforme esso medesimo mi aveva scritto e significato a bocca, e di più l'informazione che da lui avevo avuta delle[c] trappole[d] che andava facendo sopra l'accennate copie con farle rittoccare dal Baldassare, mi fece subito credere che, non avendomi lui mai significato né la vendita né la scommessa fatta del quadro, che fusse qualche copia al sicuro mandata in Bologna per minchionare al suo solito. Ond'io, che un pezzo fa mi covava nel seno questo sospetto e, venendomi ora nelle mani un riscontro simile, li scrissi risentitamente (e come si dice) fuor de' denti.

Ma poiché la cosa è andata diversamente dal sospetto concepito, anzi in maggior mia laude e riputazione, ho fatto seco le mie scuse, chiedendoli cento volte perdono se forse la mia impazienza avesse corso più del suo dovere in concepir concetto sinistro della sua lealtà. [c. 1v] Questo è quanto passa intorno al detto negozio. Onde prego ancor voi a scusarmi se vi fussi di me scandalezzato, attesoché nelle cose che s'appartengono alla riputazione della mia arte vivo soverchiamente geloso e sospettoso.

Vi rendo grazie che m'abbiate favorito di dare le due teste al signor Pandolfini, come anche soppongo che farete col signor Lanfreducci, tanto più che mi dite d'averlo fatto con l'accompagnamento delle cornici indorate e della vernice, tutte due cose necessarie per renderle più riguardevoli.

Ieri consegnai in mano propria del nostro signor Brunetti la lettera ultima mandatami, col quale ci vediamo spesso, e si va aviando benissimo conforme nell'ultima mia v'accennai.

Della tavola non dirò di vantaggio, solo che lascerò[e] fare a voi che sete la mia fortuna.[f]

Domani ad otto esporrò fuori il quadro del Democrito nella festa di San Giuseppe alla Rotonda, e vi giuro amico che in detto quadro ci ho lavorato otto altri giorni continovi e posso dire d'averlo ridotto a qualche segno di perfezione, avendoci agiunte alcune altre notomie, con un tripode antico et acordatolo a maraviglia. Ma poiché la [c. 2r] fama è un colpo di fortuna, staremo a vedere. Quel che importa è che a quest'ora non l'ha veduto altra persona che Simonelli, avendolo sempre tenuto in[g] una camera chiuso. Di tutto quello che se ne dirà ve ne darò minutissimo raguaglio.

Riverisco tutti cotesti signori, et in particolare[h] il signor Lanfreducci, signor Pandolfini, e signor cavalier Leoli, e Pesciolini, et al mio caro signor Fabretti un baciamano col core. Conforme a voi fa la signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo.

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 6, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Limentani 1950, 70–73, letter 5; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 92–93, letter 86. The *sopracoperta* is lost. It is interesting to note the character of Rosa's handwriting in this letter, which increases in size and boldness as he progresses, lending a sense of urgency and animation to what he writes.

a Ms: *disinare*, for "desinare".

b Ms: *fatte far*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "fatto" (in error).

c Ms: *lui* <†…†> *delle*; {*avevo auta*}.

Letter 86
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 10 March 1651

Dear friend,

Since you're curious to know which gentleman told me about the *Syrinx*[1], I'll tell you: it was Signor Cavalier Andrea Leoni[2], the gentleman who offered us dinner in Bologna, and who is also the relative of Alessandro del Nero[3], whom I believe you'll remember very well. This was the man who told me he'd seen in Bologna a *Syrinx* by my hand, so I—who knew for certain that this *Syrinx* was in the hands of our Signor Cordini, and, in addition to this, that he'd made copies of it (in keeping with what Cordini had written to me and told me in person, not to mention the information I've had from him about his ploys with these copies, having them retouched by Baldassare[4])—was immediately led to believe that, since he never informed me about selling or receiving an offer for the original picture, it was certainly a copy sent to Bologna to defraud people as he usually does. And so, for quite a while this suspicion has been weighing on my mind[5], and since I discovered confirmation of this, I wrote to him resentfully and (as we say) spoke my mind.

But since the thing has gone differently from what I suspected, indeed for the most part to my praise and reputation, I've made my excuses to Cordini, asking him a hundred times for forgiveness (if I've been more quick than I should have been to think badly of his loyalty). So that's what has happened about this business. And so I still beg of you to forgive me if you were scandalized by me, considering that in the things that pertain to the reputation of my art I live jealously and exceedingly suspicious.[6]

I send you thanks for doing me the favour of giving the two heads[7] to Signor Pandolfini[8], as I suppose you'll also do for Signor Lanfreducci[9]—all the more if you tell me you've done this along with the gilded frames and the varnishes, both of which are necessary in order to render them more remarkable.[10]

Yesterday I delivered to the hand of Signor Brunetti[11] (whom I see often) the last letter you sent me. He's progressing very well, as I mentioned to you in my last letter.[12]

I won't say any more about the painting[13], only that I'll leave it to you—you, who are my fortune[14].

In a week from tomorrow I'll exhibit my painting of Democritus[15] on the feast day of Saint Joseph at the Pantheon[16], and I swear to you, my friend, that I've worked on this picture continuously for eight more days, and can say that I've raised it to a certain degree of perfection, having added some other anatomical fragments[17] to it, with an ancient tripod, and I've harmonized everything together wonderfully. But since fame is a whim of fortune, we'll have to wait and see.[18] What's important is that, until now, no one else has seen it except for Simonelli, as I've always kept it locked up in a room.[19] I'll tell you everything that people say about it, in detail.

I send my regards to all of your gentlemen and in particular Signor Lanfreducci[20], Signor Pandolfini[21], Signor Cavalier Leoli[22], and Pesciolini[23], and to my dear Signor Fabretti[24] a hand-kiss from my heart—as also to you from Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvo.

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d Ms: *trappole.* Borrelli and Festa 2003: "sroppole"(in error).
e Ms: *lascierò*.
f Ms: *fortuna* <†…†> *Domani*.
g Ms: *ci* or *in*. Reading uncertain.
h Ms: *imparticolare*.

Letter 91
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Pisa?), 18 April 1651*

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Circa il motivo accennatovi dal signor Brunetti intorno al quadro del Democrito, non è altro se non che il suo avocato Eugeni vuol comprarsi il quadro lui assolutamente, e di già ne siamo alle strette per il prezzo di scudi ducento, e quando questo non sortisse, per l'istesso prezzo v'è chi lo prenderà per il viceré di Milano. Quest'è quanto.

Ieri fu da me il signor cavalier Pietro Pandolfini, e mi pregò a ch'io li facessi favore di farli una teluccia[a] in una cornice assai bella indorata per donarla, avanti che se ne torna costà, al maestro di camera del cardinale Panziroli, onde di presente lo sto servendo. E giunto che sarà costà, vi potrà informare del mio credito e del rumore che in particolare ha fatto il Democrito. Il quale, avanti cacciarlo fuori[b], di già avevo risoluto di volervelo mandare. Ma sentendo poi da tutta l'università de' pittori che gridava che detto quadro valeva mille scudi, mi posi su ancor io a pretenderne trecento o ducento almeno. Però scusatemi se per questa volta non faccio a vostro modo, massime che unitamente aspirate e desiderate il mio magior bene.

[c. 1v] Col signor Brunetti non passa quasi giorno che non ci vediamo. E se non era acomodato, l'aveva di già trovato un'occasione in casa d'un cardinale de' primi della corte. Ma perché stimo assai meglio l'indirizzo dell'Eugeni, non ho voluto dirne altro. Vi chiamiamo e sospiriamo mille volte al giorno. Ma sempre indarno poiché mai vi vediamo comparire. Maledetti impicci[c], disgraziate nostre fortune che ci tengono lontani con tanto pregiudizio del nostro genio.

Cazzo, vi giuro che tutto quel tempo ch'io consumo lontano da voi mi par di buttarlo a' fiumi e di spenderlo inutilmente, e pur voi non lo credete. Ad alia.

A quest'ora crederò che averete ricevuti i breviari, replicandovi di nuovo che meglio non basterà l'anima ad uomo vivente di trovarli (se però le coverte non fussero di gioie o altra cosa preziosa). In quanto poi al desiderio ch'avete di saperne la spesa, vi dico che ne domandiate alla nostra santa amicizia, che v'informerà del tutto, ma con russore del vostro[d] viso di cotale.

Avisatemi se il cavalier Lanfreducci s'è operato a nulla intorno al quadro delle monache, come anche del Leoli per mia curiosità, [c. 2r] poiché il core mi dice che solamente Ricciardi è quello che vigila intorno a sì fatti interessi con l'assistenza del signor Pandolfini.

Ricciardi, son due mesi che stiamo con la rogna che portò la signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo da Monterufoli, e se m'affligge lascio che lo considerate, e vi giuro che non dormo un'ora della notte, onde son risoluto di volermi un poco purgare per liberarmene, essendomi di troppa suggezione. La signora Lucrezia è gravida, e son tre mesi, e questo è quanto.

Aspetto mio fratello di Napoli giorno per giorno, stimolato dall'amore di vedermi. Ma io che son bestia, ma bestia generosa, ameria[e] più tosto di[f] veder comparire i vostri scarponi alla Porta del Popolo che mio fratello per quella di San Giovanni. Così l'intende il mio genio, e così vuole la mia volontà.

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 7, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Limentani 1950, 74–76, letter 7; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 98–100, letter 92. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *teluccia*. Limentani 1950: "testuccia".

b Ms: {*avanti cacciarlo fuori*}.

Letter 91
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Pisa?), 18 April 1651

Dear friend,

Regarding the matter that Brunetti told you about, concerning the painting of Democritus, it's only that his solicitor Eugeni is determined to buy the picture himself, and we're already close to the deal for the price of two hundred *scudi*.[1] If this doesn't pan out, I've already found someone who will purchase it for the Viceroy of Milan.[2] So that's that.

Yesterday, Signor Cavalier Pietro Pandolfini[3] came to see me, and asked me to do him the favour of making him a small canvas[4] with a very beautiful gilded frame so that he could present it to the *maestro di camera* of Cardinal Panciroli[5] before he returns there, and so I'm working for him at the moment. And once he arrives there, he'll be able to tell you about my reputation, and in particular the uproar my *Democritus* has created.[6] I'd resolved to send it to you, even before I exhibited it.[7] But after hearing the entire profession of painters shout that the picture was worth a thousand *scudi*, I set out to ask at least three hundred or two hundred for it.[8] So accept my apologies on this occasion if I don't do it your way, especially since you—like me—wish for and desire my greatest advantage.

Not a single day passes when I don't see Signor Brunetti[9]. And if he wasn't already settled, I'd have found an opportunity for him in the house of one of the foremost cardinals of the court.[10] But because I believe his position with Eugeni is much better, I didn't want to say anything else about it. We call out your name, and sigh for you a thousand times a day. But it's always in vain since we never see you appear. These damned problems, these damned fortunes of ours that keep us far apart with so much detriment to our spirit[11].

Shit, I swear to you that I seem to be wasting[12] all the time I spend far away from you, and spending it uselessly, and yet you don't believe me. On to other things.

At this hour I believe you'll have received the breviaries[13], and I'll insist once again that no other living soul would be able to find better ones (unless, however, they were covered with gems or other precious stones). Regarding your wish to know the cost, I'll refer you to our holy friendship, which will inform you of everything, but not without you blushing, Signor Bigshot[14].

Tell me whether Cavalier Lanfreducci[15] has done anything regarding the picture for the nuns[16], and also, for the sake of my curiosity, about that one for Leoli[17], since my hunch is that Ricciardi alone is the one who takes care of such matters, with the help of Signor Pandolfini[18].

Ricciardi, it's been two months now that we've had the scabies that Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvo brought with them from Monterufoli, so I'll leave it to you to consider how much it troubles me.[19] I swear to you that I don't sleep even a single hour of the night, so I've resolved to undergo a little purging[20] in order to get rid of it, since it's become such a great burden. Signora Lucrezia is pregnant, and it's been three months, and that's that.[21]

I wait for my brother[22] from Naples day by day, whose love makes him eager to see me. But as I'm a beast—even if a generous beast—I would much prefer to see your big boots appear at the Porta del Popolo than my brother at the Porta San Giovanni.[23] This is what my spirit[24] desires, and what I wish for.

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c Ms: *Maledetti* <†…†> *impicci*.

d Ms: *vostro* or *nostro*. Reading uncertain.

e Ms: *ameria*, for "amerei".

f Ms: *di*. Omitted by Limentani 1950, and Borrelli and Festa 2003.

Saluto tutti gli amici, cioè il signor Lanfreducci, signor Pandolfini, Leoli, Pesciolini et il mio caro Fabretti del quale non me ne date nuova nessuna. Quest'è crudele[a], cazzo.

La signora Lucrezia, Rosalvo assieme con una catta[b], due piccioni e due storni vi baciano le mani, et io v'adoro, questo dì 18 d'aprile 1651.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Ricordatevi (se volete) di Baiazzett.[c]

[c. 2v] Mi dimenticavo un fatto memorando del nostro signor Cordini, et è che per quest'ordinario m'avisa come ha dato ordine qui in Roma ad un mercante che ad ogni mia domanda mi sborsi ducento scudi d'oro ad una mia semplice ricevuta, e questo lo fa a ciò, venendomi occasione, mi prevaglia[d] non d'altri che di lui. Che ne dite Ricciardi, non son motivi questi da predicarli conforme ho fatto e fò[e] per Roma?

Letter 92
Salvator Rosa to Ugo Maffei
Autograph, (Rome?) to Volterra, 18 April 1651*

[c. 140v]
Al signor Ugo Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[f]

[c. 139r]
Amico carissimo

Avevo di già scritto al mio signor Giulio e mandata la lettra quando mi capitò il plico con dentro la lettra per messer Rinaldo (qual io ben conosco). E perché non potei a quell'ora tornare a casa, riserbo a servir Vostra Signoria domatina di portar da me la scatolina con l'olio di talco, e con essa la lettra inviatami, con ogni pontualità, e consegnarla in mano propria (conforme farò ogni volta che si degnerà comandarmi).

In quanto poi alla mia venuta costà, a me pesa sin dentro l'anima non potere per più rispetti; l'uno per non abusar la straordinaria cortesia ch'io dalla lor casa ricevo, l'altro per non divenire affatto la favola di Roma con strappazarla a questa foggia. E pure è vero che, quando penso d'avere a far l'estate in Roma, mi viene il caldo a[g] pensarci.

Ma già che non si può far altro, piegherò le spalle, invidiando Vostra Signoria che si goderà, a mio dispetto, la soave temperatura di cotesto cielo tanto da me giornalmente sospirato.

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 139r–c. 140v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:72-73, letter 73; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 97–98, letter 91. The *sopracoperta* (c. 140v) has been significantly damaged with large sections of the sheet torn away, however the portion bearing the address remains intact.

a Ms: *crudele* or *crudeltà*. Reading uncertain.

b Ms: *catta*, for "gatta".

tal volta dispensato. Amico, lusingarci è 'l male; e 'l bene facciamo che ci venghi[a] all'improviso, altrimenti si viverà in un continovo inferno.

Vi ritorno a replicare che quanto più vivo e quanto più prattico, più conosco l'obligazioni miei verso di voi, onde vi giuro che tutta la mia legge dell'amicizia morirà con voi, non essendomi ancora imbattuto in uomo che più di voi la merita.

Questi sentimenti mi tengono inquieto sin a tanto che potrò trasferirmi da voi per attestarveli con più evidenti espressioni. Oh Dio, e quanta necessità ho di rivedervi e di trovarmi con voi!

[c. 1v] De' quadri farò la riforma, e serberò tre o quattro pezzi, i quali, perché piacciono a me, so che consequentemente saranno degni di voi. Il resto al bordello (già che tanto vi sete avanzato nella cognizione della pittura).

Il signor Cordini mi scrive che sarete di ritorno a Fiorenza, avendoli così promesso. Se ciò soccede, di grazia, scrivetemi un po' più spesso. Del resto, io sono e sarò eternamente vostro. Saluto il signor Fabretti assieme[b] con tutti gli amici che amano voi, e con tutta la famiglia v'abraccio di core, di Roma questo dì 26 di giugno 1651.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 105
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome?) to Volterra, 30 July 1651*

[c. 156v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Volterra[c]

[c. 155r]
Amico caro

Lodato il sol leone[d] quale ha potuto riscaldare in voi la fredezza nello scrivermi. Questa matina, che siamo ai 30 di luglio, ricevo una vostra ripiena delle solite offerte et amorevolezze, alle quali non rispondo, attesoché la mia gratitudine non ha voci che con quelle abino[e] proporzione, e per questo la passerò in silenzio.

Mi dispiace sentire d'avermi scritto accennandomi non so che vostri travagli, e per grazia del Cielo questa lettra a me non è per ancora capitata nelle mani (disgrazia solita delle cose che tal volta più premono). Però scrivetemene di nuovo, a ciò sappia ancor io quel che passa intorno ai vostri andamenti e provedervi d'un amichevole consiglio ove mancheranno tal volta gl'aiuti della fortuna.

Datemi qualche nuova della raccolta, e come vanno i vostri beni della campagna, a ciò possa tra me medesimo ralegrarmi.

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 155r–c. 156v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:82–83, letter 81; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 115–116, letter 105.

a Ms: *venghi*, for "venga".

b Ms: *assieme* or *essieme*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "essieme".

I insist that the longer I live and work, the more I become aware of my obligations to you. So I swear to you that all my laws of friendship[1] will die with you, never having encountered anyone who deserves them more than you.

These feelings will keep me restless until I'm able to come and see you, in order to proclaim them to you even more emphatically. Oh God, how badly I need to see you again, and to be with you!

About the paintings: I'll make the change[2], and set aside three or four pieces that—because they please me—I know will be worthy of you.[3] The rest can go to ruin[4] (since your knowledge of painting is so advanced[5]).

Signor Cordini[6] writes to me that you'll be returning to Florence, having promised him to do so. If you do, please write to me a little more often. As for the rest, I am—and will eternally be—yours. I send my greetings to Signor Fabretti[7] together with all the friends who love you, and with the entire family I embrace you with my heart, from Rome, today the 26th of June 1651.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 105
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome?) to Volterra, 30 July 1651

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Volterra

Dear friend,

Praise the dog days[1] of summer, which have managed to warm your cold attitude toward writing to me. This morning, the 30th of July, I received one of your letters full of the usual offers and fondness, to which I won't respond, considering that my gratitude lacks a commensurate voice, and for this reason I won't say a word.

I'm sorry to learn that you wrote to me about certain ordeals of yours.[2] By the grace of Heaven, this letter of yours hasn't yet arrived (the typical misfortune of things that are sometimes more important). However, write to me again so that I know what's going on with you, and so that I can give you friendly counsel when fortune fails you.

It would cheer me up to hear some news about the harvest, and how your country estate is doing.

Signora Lucrezia sends her regards to Signora Giovanna[3] and all of her family, as do I together with Rosalvo and all your friends.

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c Ms: *Volterra*.
d Ms: *Sol Leone*, for "solleone".
e Ms: *abino*, for "abbiano".

La signora Lucrezia riverisce la signora Giovanna e tutti di casa, com'il simile fò ancor io assieme con Rosalvo e tutti gli amici.

Intorno all'invito per le cacce[a], pregherò il Cielo che disponga le mie cose in maniera da poter con quiete far qualche resoluzione. Ma di presente la veggo impicciata. Se lo desidero lo sa Idio Benedetto, e l'amore che vi professo.

[c. 155v] Riverisco con tutto l'affetto il signor Polei, uomo degnissimo assieme con quel cordial genio del signor Gasparrini, il quale, tuttoché abbia un poco del pasticcero[b], non si può dir però che non sia di sua lode, mentre[c] questo mestiero lo rende di così esquisita pasta[d] nelle conversazioni degli amici carnali[e] come li siam tutti noi.

Datemi qualche nuova della vecchia di Monterufoli, e che fa e come se la passi. Del resto, Ciullo mio, vogliatemi bene, e pensate sempre ch'io penso sempre a voi, e vi giuro d'amico che fò più conto di vedere e[f] contemplare la vostra proboscide che quanti obelischi aspira d'inalzare la mano d'Inocenzio X. Et è più vaga quella continova scolazioncina[g] dell'intabaccato naso del signor arcidiacono che l'acque della nuova fontana di Piazza Navona. Oh che delizie, oh che vistosi ruscelletti!

Alla signora Caterina salutate a mio nome assieme con tutti di casa, et al signor Lodovico rendo nuove grazie dei cocomeri dell'anno passato. Un baciamano al signor Perissi da parte di tutti, et a voi, Ciullo mio, abraccio col core, questo dì 30 di luglio 1651.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 106
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 5 August 1651*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Pisa

[c. 1r]
Amico mio

Non ricevo vostre lettre in quest'ordinario. Soppongo che l'indisposizione vi tenga travagliato, però fate che ne sappia qualche cosa ancor io a ciò sia a parte d'ogni vostro andamento. Raguagliatemi ancora come fate a schermirvi dal caldo, poiché qui da noi si stilla formatamente, tutto ch'io mi ritrovi ad abitare una casa che v'è sempre qualche poco di venticello.

Il Brunetti sta bene e ci vediamo quasi ogni sera, e ier sera m'accorsi che va mettendo gli scaccia amici a furia.

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 10, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 24, letter 10 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 21–22, letter 10; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 116–117, letter 106.

a Ms: *caccie*.

b Ms: *pasticciero*.

c Ms: *lode,* <†…†> *mentre*.

Letter 108
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 16 September 1651*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Sua mano
Fiorenza

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Cazzo, avete trovato un altro modo per farvi più caro e magiormente desiderabile, col quale, se ben voi conseguite il vostro fine, a me però è materia di farmi dare al diavolo. Però lasciate, vi prego, questa manieraccia d'usarla con me e, se volete esser crudele e tiranno, fatelo con coloro che non hanno tanta notizia[a] delle vostre virtù e prerogative.

Per questa volta ve la perdonerò, già che non si può far altrimenti; per l'avenire (tutto che non sia questo il verace testimonio d'una vera amicizia), vi prego a far che resti sodisfatta questa mia impazienza o, per dir meglio, desiderio d'esser sempre con voi. Il favore di quattro miserabilissime righe una volta la settimana.

Godo che sete in Fiorenza e che vi siate per beneficio del nostro signor Fabretti cordialissimo. Darò in propria mano la lettra al nostro signor Brunetti, col quale (conforme v'ho più volte scritto) non passa sera che non ci vediamo mediante la frequenza di Piazza Navona, la quale, per la sua bellezza e sfrattazione di revenduglioli [c. 1v], è frequentata da tutto il passeggio.

Io non vi scrissi che avevo intenzione d'andare a Monterufoli, ma bensì che 'l signor Giulio me ne faceva grandissima istanza. È ben vero però che, avendo voi risoluto di non volerci più andare, che venendoci desiderio di villeggiare, troviamo qualch'altro tugurio, attesoché ci vuole ogni tanto una rinselvata, una scampagnata, una sbracata. E se l'aria di Monterufoli è nociva alla vostra complessione, se ne trovi una megliore; e, per Dio, che sarebbe cosa rarissima fare un'estate a Napoli o in altro luogo di marina di quei contorni, ché vi sono paradisi formati. Così la vostra coccia non s'incoccerà di vantaggio.

La signora Lucrezia si va avicinando al tempo del partorire, e vi saluta assieme con Rosalvo, e l'istesso fa la signora Caterina.

Se avete occasione di vedere a bell'aggio il signor Volunnio, riveritelo a mio nome, et al signor Baldassarre e signor Serenai un cordialissimo baciamano, come anche al signor Cavalcanti.

Del quadro non ne parleremo più, avendovi di già seccato l'anima. Scrivetemi spesso e vogliatemi bene, e me ne contenterei per la metà di quello ch'io ne voglio a voi. V'abraccio di Roma, questo dì 16 di settembre 1651.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 11, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 25, letter 11 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 22–24, letter 11; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 119–120, letter 108.

Letter 108
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 16 September 1651

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My Lord, may God protect you
Private and confidential.[1]
Florence

Dear friend,

Prick! You've found another way to make yourself even more lovable and—what's more—desirable. And in doing so, even if you achieve your goal, it'll be enough to damn me.[2] So I beg of you to stop behaving so badly toward me, and if you want to be cruel and tyrannical, do it to those who aren't so familiar with your virtues and gifts.

I'll forgive you this time since I have no choice. But in the future (although this is not the genuine testimony of a true friendship[3]), I beg of you to do what you can to satisfy my eagerness—or, to put it better—my desire to always be with you. Do me the favour of a few utterly miserable lines once a week.

I'm glad you're in Florence, and that you're staying there for the benefit of our most cordial Signor Fabretti[4]. I'll take the letter to our Signor Brunetti myself.[5] As I've written to you many times before, every evening that passes by, we see each other when walking in Piazza Navona[6], which, on account of its beauty (and for having evicted the vendors[7]), is frequented by everyone who goes out for a stroll.

I didn't tell you that I'd intended to go to Monterufoli, but rather that Signor Giulio[8] urged me insistently to do so. It's true, however, that, since you've decided not to go there anymore we'll need to find some other hovel[9] if we want to take a holiday, considering that every now and then one needs to hide in the woods[10]—a trip to the country, an escape[11]. And if the air of Monterufoli is harmful to your constitution, find yourself a better one. By God, wouldn't it be a rarity to spend a summer in Naples or some other coastal location of that region, the stuff of paradise[12]! So your stubbornness will cease its obstinacy.

Signora Lucrezia is coming close to giving birth[13], and she sends you her greetings together with Rosalvo, and Signora Caterina[14] does the same.

If you have the occasion, at your leisure,[15] to see Signor Volunnio[16], give him my regards. And give Signor Baldassarre[17] and Signor Serenai[18] a most cordial hand-kiss, as well as Signor Cavalcanti[19].

We'll say no more about the painting[20], since I've already bothered you enough. Write to me often, and love me, and rest assured that I'd be happy with half the love I feel for you. I embrace you from Rome, today the 16th of September 1651.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

a Ms: *notia*.

[c. 2r] Mi saria[a] oltre modo caro il favore di Baiazzett[b] per un mio interesse o fine, come vogliam dire, che non passasse il numero di 6 strofe; caso che no, avremo pacienza.[c]

Letter 109
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 22 September 1651*

[c. 160v]
Al signor Giulio Maffei, mio signore
Dio guardi
Fiorenza

[c. 159r]
Amico carissimo

È possibile che non vi movete a pietà d'una miserabile risposta di quattro righe? Compatisco le vostre faccende e gli accidenti nuovi della condotta col nostro dilettissimo provveditor Maffei, ma non son però tali che mi deveno negare questa consolazione. Avisatemi se riceveste mai quella lettra intorno a i quadri, e quello che soccesse del nostro agiustamento. Vi sia a core l'amicizia del nostro signor Ricciardi, amico senza pari, e dotato di tante prerogative degne della vostra e mia affezione.

Il signor Ugo mi scrive che avete consegnato non so che cascio e carne secca. La starò dunque aspetando e ve ne renderò le grazie quando sarà il suo tempo; per ora, contentatevi di salutarmi tutti a mio nome, e da parte della signora Lucrezia, che si va avicinando al tempo del partorire, salutare[d] la signora Giovanna assieme con tutti di sua casa, conforme fò io e Rosalvo. Tutti questi amici vi riveriscono, ma più di me nessuno v'ama e desidera ogni bene, di Roma, questo dì 22 di settembre 1651.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

FIG. 26

Letter 110
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome to Volterra?), (22 September 1651?)**

[c. 199r]
Mio amico carissimo

Tutti i quadri e disegni ch'io ho messo in casa vostra, signor Giulio mio carissimo, non ho

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 159r–c. 160v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:85–86, letter 83; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 120–121, letter 109.

** Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 199r. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:131, letter 125; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 121, letter 110. The letter is undated, but can be placed at this point in the chronology on account of its content, which appears to link it to the previous letter (letter 109, dated 22 September 1651), in which Rosa asks Giulio to "[l]et me know if you ever received that letter concerning the pictures, and what's happening about our arrangement". The present

The favour of the Bayezid[21] will be extremely dear to me for a certain undertaking or project of mine, so to speak, and the number of verses should not exceed six. If it's not possible, then we'll be patient.

Letter 109
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 22 September 1651

To Signor Giulio Maffei, my Lord
May God protect you
Florence

Dearest friend,

How can you not be moved by compassion to give me one wretched answer of a few lines? I'll make allowances for your occupations, and the new mishaps brought on by the conduct of our most beloved Proveditor Maffei[1], but they can't be so important as to deny me this consolation. Let me know if you ever received that letter concerning the pictures[2], and what's happening about our arrangement[3]. Take to heart the friendship of our Signor Ricciardi, a friend without equal, endowed with many prerogatives worthy of both your affection and mine.[4]

Signor Ugo[5] has written to tell me you've sent some cheese and dried meat. So I'll wait for it, and will send you thanks in due time. For now, be content to greet everyone on my behalf. And greet Signora Giovanna[6] together with her entire family on behalf of Signora Lucrezia, who is coming close to giving birth[7], as well as for Rosalvo and I. All of these friends send their regards, but no one loves you or wishes you every blessing more than I, from Rome, today the 22nd of September 1651.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 110
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, (Rome to Volterra?), (22 September 1651?)

My dearest friend,

All those paintings and drawings that I've put in your house, my dearest Signor Giulio—I never

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letter could also be a postscript to letter 109: as noted by Cesareo 1892, 2:131, note 1, it is missing an address and superscript, as well as the date. The context clearly indicates that it was addressed to Giulio Maffei.

a Ms: *saria*, for "sarebbe".

b Ms: *B.*, presumably for "Baiazzett".

c This line appears in the centre of c. 2r.

d Ms: *salutare* or *salutate*. Reading uncertain. Cesareo 1892: "salutare"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "salutate".

sake.[11] What an ass! No jealousy implied! Well, well—it seems you aren't entirely flawless. And that's enough of that.

Father Cavalli[12] admits he's guilty of not writing to you. But he says he's your most devoted friend, and Father Friar Giuseppe Compagno[13]—with the face of a fool[14]—sends you a thousand greetings, and just the other day we resumed making our usual toasts to you with a minestrone.[15]

Thursday morning, while I was getting dressed, I had a visit from three cardinals: Brancaccio[16], Omodei[17], and Ottoboni[18]. And yet the two pictures[19] are still in my possession. Now I guess I can squander my fortunes.[20]

Embrace our Signor Fabretti[21] for me, together with all the gentlemen[22], your friends, while Signora Lucrezia, Rosalvo and I kiss your hands, from Rome, the feast day of Saint Peter 1652[23].

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

We'll talk about that business of the sale[24] another time.

Letter 137
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 6 July 1652

Dear friend,

It's clear that you're suffering from some malady of the eyes, since you judge painting so badly[1]. Poor Albani[2]—just when he thought he'd reached the ultimate perfection of art, Ricciardi says upon seeing one of his paintings that he's never seen anything worse. Foolish me, to think that if I exchanged one of my small landscapes for a little painting by such a famous man, Ricciardi—who is neither a professor of painting nor very clear-sighted in his judgment—might not only appreciate it, but find some small part of it to approve of! Shit—I'll have to stay vigilant, because you know more about it than me, my most wise and refined Signor Metrodorus[3]. But I have to say that I don't understand why you're so severe in disliking the three butterflies. So let's discuss other things, and I'll leave it entirely to your judgment, since I see that your opinions about this man are so different from those of most people.

I promise you in the future not to fall into this error, since you tell me you have more esteem for my own work.

I can tell you that I've already sold my two large pictures[4] to the ambassador of Venice[5], who is here—a gentleman of extraordinary courtesy, who, when he came to visit me, took pains to voice his

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e Ms: *Ottobono*, for "Ottoboni".
f Ms: *pure*. Reading uncertain. Bottari 1754 and Cesareo 1892: "come".
g Ms: *non <p> disprezzar*.
h Ms: *Cazzo*. Omitted by Bottari 1754, Carducci 1860 and Cesareo 1892.
i Ms: *quest'* <†…†> *errore*.
j Ms: *imbasciatore*, for "ambasciatore".
k Ms: *ch'è qui*. Omitted by Bottari 1754, Carducci 1860 and Cesareo 1892.
l Ms: *strasordinaria*, for "straordinaria".
m Ms: *compitezza*. Reading uncertain. Bottari 1754, Carducci 1860, Cesareo 1892 and De Rinaldis 1939: "compitezza"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "completezza".

stima non ancora espressa con parole da bocca di personaggio simile, a segno tale che m'obligò ad offerirli i due miei quadri alla prima sua offerta, che da un suo gentil'uomo e mio conoscente mi fece fare. Il pagamento fu di ducati 300; il qual prezzo, tutto che non sia a proporzione della fatiga[a] de' miei quadri, è però vantaggioso a' miei fini.

Vi suplico dunque, occorrendovi detta somma di danaro, a prevalervene con quella libertà e schiettezza d'animo con la quale ve l'offerisco, avendovi più d'una volta detto ch'io non ho cosa in questo mondo che a parte con voi non l'abbia, e se voi non lo fate, crederò sempre che voi crediate ch'io lo dichi[b] per complimento.

[c. 2r] Ricciardi, chi v'ha conservato tutto il suo arbitrio e tutto il suo affetto, deve ancora offerirvi ogni sua sostanza.

La canzone, se me la manderete, mi sarà cara, perché 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 Volunni Bandinelli e Salvator Rosa. Intendetemi sanamente.

Qui le vampe Nemee si vanno preparanno bestialissimamente, e per Dio[c] che sempre mi confesso più coglione a voler far l'estate in Roma! Ma voi colpate di ogni inconveniente, et a suo tempo me ne pagherete il fio. Saluto tutti cotesti signori, e mi farete grazia dire al signor Lanfreducci ch'io di già l'ho servito, avendo fatto copiare le due arie chiestemi, ma che resta che l'amico venghi[d] per esse conforme restassimo d'accordo, essendo tra di noi una distanza di 3 miglia. Del resto, non ho altre nuove che più mi consolano che sentire che stiate bene di salute.

La signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo[e] v'abracciano in mia compagnia; questo dì 6 di luglio 1652.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 138
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 20 July 1652*

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

È forza ch'io creda che voi sete infermo perché intendete poco sanamente le mie lettere, o che voi non mi amate con quella svisceratezza con la quale amo io voi.

Voi dite di restarmi con obligo delle riprensioni circa al Cascina, et io vi torno a dire che quel ch'io dico per ischerzo[f] con un amico come voi, non meritava questi gradimenti, perché intendo, in simil materie, sempre di burlare e scherzare col vostro genio severo e singolare. Mi dite ancora ch'io fò con voi da critico, e pur questo prendo in pazienza perché v'adoro.

Quand'io scrivo al mio Ricciardi, penso ad ogni altra cosa che appuntar parole, ma mi lascio in tutto e per tutto guidare dalle prime impressioni della fantasia, più ingenue, e dagl'impulsi [c. 1v] più cordiali d'amore. Io riflettere a parole con voi? Io voler far da critico col mio genio medesimo,

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 23, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 27, letter 24 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 38–39, letter 23; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 154–156, letter 138. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *fatigha*, for "fatica".

b Ms: *dichi*, for "dica".

Primieramente, bisogna che voi crediate che, in riguardo dell'accidente de' passi e delle quarantene, a me non sta bene né comple[a] condurre la signora Lucrezia per i lazzaretti, con incomodi e spese straordinarie. Sì che quasi per forza son necessitato a lasciarla: nel qual caso, chi ha giudizio fa subito i conti. La spesa che vi si richiede [c. 1v] di piggione e vitto quotidiano, che in questi tempi è straordinariamente carissimo, et io, per colpa di trascorsi travagli, affatto spogliato da quei comodi che vi si richiederebbeno[b].

V'è poi la mia persona, la quale non può condursi costì senza passare il centinaro di scudi, in riguardo delle benedette o maledette (per dir meglio) quarantene. Sì che, amico mio dolcissimo, o ch'io vogli o che no, ci vogliono ducento scudi come a ducento lupini! Senza gl'impicci che portano seco le lunghe dimore, e i pericoli ne' quali con tanta facilità s'incorre in accidenti sì fatti.

E poi io sono il libero e d'animo e di corpo! Avete raggione, perché discorrete con chi vi ama al pari di sé medesimo. Basta, molte cose e[c] di maggior relievo non voglio fidarle alla penna, per non fare a sapere né anche a questo foglio le mie amarezze[d], per non dir necessità.

Assicuratevi dunque ch'io, con tutti questi incomodi impossibili a sfugirne nepure un minimo, vivo impaziente[e] di trovarmi da[f] voi per vedervi e abracciarvi, quand'anche m'avesse a costare il prezzo di me medesimo.

Idio facci che le cose piglino qualche largura, per farvi conoscere che so anche, a rigorosi prezzi, essercitare le finezze del mio animo verso la vostra persona, [c. 2r] assicurandovi ch'ogni giorno più conosco verissima quella sentenza:

Dificil cosa è il consigliar se mismo[g]
E facil molto il consigliare altrui.

Ritorno a dirvi che non v'è uomo più legato di me, né più libero di voi, e tanto basti, riserbandomi a suo tempo di dilinearvene[h] le dimostrazioni.

Nel comparire che farà il vostr'ordine, sarà da me sodisfatto, mentre di tutto core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 1 di decembre 1652,

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 158
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to (Volterra?), 20 December 1652*

[c. 179r]
Amico caro

Bisogna che per forza crediate che non ho riceute[i] tutte le vostre lettre, et in particolare[j] quella dove voi dite di darmi l'aviso della morte del nostro arcidiacono, giurandovi da quell'amico che

* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 179r–c. 180r. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:102–103, letter 97; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 175–176, letter 157. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *comple*, for "compitevole," according to Borrelli and Festa 2003. See also letter 134, note 4.

b Ms: *richiederebbeno*, for "richiederebbero".

c Ms: *cose* <†…†> *e*.

d Ms: *per non fare a sapere né anche a questo foglio le mie amarezze*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

e Ms: *impaziente*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "paziente" (in error).

First of all, you must know that, on account of the hazards of the roads and the quarantines[2], it seems neither right nor suitable to bring Signora Lucrezia to the quarantine hospital[3], with discomfort and extraordinary expense. So I'm essentially forced to leave her, in which case anyone with judgment can easily make their own calculations. The required expense is for daily rent and board, very expensive at the moment, and because of previous problems I'm entirely deprived of the means that would be necessary.

Then there's me, who can't manage the trip over there without at least a hundred *scudi*, on account of the blessed (or to put it better, cursed) quarantines. So, my sweetest friend, whether I want it or not, I will easily end up spending two hundred *scudi* as if they were lupins! And that's not counting the additional nuisance of having to spend a long time in a place and the dangers one runs into so easily with such hazards.

And yet, according to you, I'm free in mind and body! But you're right, because you're talking to someone who loves you as much as himself. Enough. There are many more important things I don't want to trust to the pen, lest I make known my troubles, not to mention my needs, even to the page.[4]

Rest assured, then, that with all these discomforts—impossible to avoid entirely—I live impatient to be with you, to see and embrace you, even if I had to pay the price with my own person.

God willing, things will open up[5] and then you'll understand that I, too, even at a great expense, am able to exercise the refinements of my spirit toward your person, assuring you that every day I find that maxim increasingly true:

It's hard to take your own advice
But easy to give it to someone else[6].

I'll tell you again that there's no one more tied-up than me, nor anyone freer than you, and that's that, saving myself for the opportunity to clarify the evidence of this to you in due time.

If your order[7] shows up, I will fulfil it, while I embrace you with all my heart, from Rome, today the 1st of December 1652.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 158
Salvator Rosa to Giulio Maffei
Autograph, Rome to (Volterra?), 20 December 1652

Dear friend,

You have to believe that I've not received all your letters, and in particular the one in which you say you've given me news about the death of our archdeacon[1], as I can swear to you as your friend that I heard this news from Signor Cordini[2] and not from your letter. I'm sure that you, in your

f Ms: *da*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
g Ms: *mismo*, a Hispanism, for "medesimo".
h Ms: *dilinearvene*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "declinarvene"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "dilinearvene".
i Ms: *riceute*, for "ricevute".
j Ms: *imparticolare*.

vi sono che questa nuova l'ebbi dal signor Cordini e non altrimenti da vostra lettra. Crederò bene che la vostra pontualità non mancossi[a] di darmene parte, come quello che sa a che segno amo gl'interessi di sua casa. Ma per mia disgrazia non m'è per ancora pervenuta nelle mani, e perché questa è una disgrazia da me provata e sofferta tante e tante[b] altre volte, avrò pacienza anche in questa.

Sento che unitamente vi godete le solitudini di Barbaiano e, quel che più importa, con l'assistenza della signora Caterina, la qual pure si risolse una volta d'uscire dalla sua Volterra.

Mi rallegro che vi sete incontrati nella più bella staggione che mai sia stata e sia per essere: [c. 179v] tempi non solo potenti a far uscir di Volterra, ma a fare voltare le spalle a Roma, non essendoci restato il terzo delle persone.

Datemi qualche nuova de' signori sposi, e come si fanno carezze, non avendomene mai mai detto cosa nessuna, e se la famiglia Maffea si va propagando.

Vi resi le dovute[c] grazie del cascio, il quale è ottimo, e di nuovo ve ne resto con obligo, come l'istesso fa la signora Lucrezia per i favori fatti alla Catera, sua sorella, per conto della dote, avendoli ancor io rimesso venti scudi. Rosalvo crederò al più lungo questa quadragesima mandarlo in Napoli, attesoché qui apresso di noi impoltronisce, tutto che poche cose se li mandino buone. Il Cielo facci che rieschi a qualche cosa per poter ancor lui agiutarmi[d] negli oblighi che vi devemo[e] unitamente.

Il nostro signor Ricciardi i giorni passati stiede[f] male, ma adesso, per grazie[g] del Signore, sento che è fuor di pericolo e che se la passa in convalescenza. A me parebbe [c. 180r] il dovere che voi li scrivestivo[h] quattro righe, a ciò vegga[i] che, fra tanti, voi non vivete dimenticato di lui.

Del resto, signor Giulio mio, assicurati che, se voi avete desiderio di vedermi, io spirito di ritrovarmi con voi nelle solite dimestichezze del nostro genio e, se piacerà al Cielo, voglio che ce ne facciamo una panciata alla lunga.

Questi amici, cioè signor Martinelli, don Girolamo e signor Simonelli, vi rendono infenite grazie della memoria che serbate di loro, et assicuratevi che spesissimo si fa commemorazione del vostro nome unitamente. Se vedete il signor Polei, ricordatemeli servitore e amico di core, come anche al signor Gasparrini (se però si trova costà). Mentre v'esorto a farvi da voi medesimo buone le Sante[j] Feste, cioè con dar poche mance[k], manciare alla gagliarda, e pensare quanto meno si può ai travagli della vita. Saluto tutti di casa, et in particolare[l] la signora Caterina, mentre assieme con la signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo vi baciamo le mani, di Roma, dì 20 di decembre 1652.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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a Ms: *manchossi*, for "mancasse".
b Ms: *e tante*. Omitted by Cesareo 1892, and Borrelli and Festa 2003.
c Ms: *doute*, for "dovute".
d Ms: *agiutarmi*, for "aiutarmi".
e Ms: *devemo*, for "dobbiamo".
f Ms: *stiede*, an old form of "stette".

punctuality, did not fail to inform me about it, fully aware of how much I care about your[3] family's affairs. But to my misfortune, it's still not reached my hands, and because this is one hardship that's tested and punished me on so many other occasions, I'll have to be patient this time as well.

I hear you're enjoying the solitudes of Barbaiano together, and what's even more important, with the company of Signora Caterina[4], who has resolved just this once to leave her Volterra.

I'm happy you're enjoying the most beautiful season there has ever been or will be: weather that is powerful enough not only to make someone leave Volterra but to turn their back on Rome, where not even a third of the populace remains.

Give me some news about the married couple[5], and how they're enjoying each other—having never heard a single thing about it—and whether the Maffei family is growing.

I already sent you due thanks for the cheese, which is excellent, and once again I remain obliged to you for it, as does Signora Lucrezia for the favours done for Catera, her sister, with regard to the dowry, to which I have also contributed twenty *scudi*.[6] I think that I'll send Rosalvo to Naples this Lent at the latest, considering that here with us he's growing lazy, although he manages to do well at a few things. May Heaven grant him success in something[7] so that even he will be able to help me with the obligations we owe you, together.

Our Signor Ricciardi hasn't been doing well lately, but now, thank the Lord, I hear he's out of danger and that he's recuperating. I think you owe him a few lines, so that he sees that among so many people you haven't forgotten about him.

As for the rest, my Signor Giulio, rest assured that if you desire to see me, I yearn to be with you again, enjoying the usual intimacies of our spirit, and if Heaven wills it, I'd like us to overindulge[8] ourselves.

These friends—that is Signor Martinelli[9], Don Girolamo[10] and Signor Simonelli[11]—send you infinite thanks for the memory you have of them, and rest assured that we commemorate your name, together, very often. If you see Signor Polei[12], recommend me as his affectionate servant and friend, as well as to Signor Gasparini[13] (that is, if he's over there). Meanwhile, I urge you to spoil yourself over the holidays[14]—that is, in giving a few treats, eating heartily[15], and thinking as little as possible about the sufferings of life. I send greetings to the entire family, and in particular Signora Caterina, while together with Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvo we kiss your hands, from Rome, today the 20th of December 1652.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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g Ms: *gratie* or *gratia*. Reading uncertain.
h Ms: *scrivestivo*, for "scriveste".
i Ms: *vegga*, for "veda".
j Ms: *le Sante le*.
k Ms: *mancie*.
l Ms: *imparticolare*.

FIG. 27

Letter 159
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 21 December 1652*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Pisa

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Sto in casa combattendo con un essercito di cecolini, e mi danno ponture ad ogni tanto da cieco[a], facendomi far certi scurci non mai pensati da Michelangelo mala ruota[b]. Vi confesso che, per uno o due [giorni][c], l'ho sofferti con flemma non ordinaria, ma adesso m'incomiciano a venire in culo, avendoli[d] di già in sù la natica sinistra. Spero che mi faranno far le feste interizito[e] più dal dolore che dalla fredda staggione che corre. Mi dice il medico ch'io son troppo malinconico, et io li rispondo: e Vostra Signoria eccelentissima è troppo coglione; e così ce la passiamo, lui con ridersi di me, et io col creder poco a lui. Ad alia.

Adesso che state bene e fuori della febbre, vi sconciuro per amor di Cristo a divenire un poco più moderato nel bere, non sapendo conoscere in voi difetto più evidente. Se però non vogliamo dar la colpa alla vostra natura troppo oggi mai avezza ai medicamenti, i quali per forza v'hanno scombuscolato[f] il temperamento, [c. 1v] e toltovi da quella vostra prima verginità di vita. Ma perché noi non sappiamo quello che ci facciamo in sì fatte materie, pregamo Idio che ce la mandi buona, e tanto basti.

Scrissi l'ordinario passato, e risposi ancora al nostro signor Fabretti, desidero sapere se le mie lettre vi pervengono sicure. Ricciardi mio, vorrei che vi ricordaste che adesso ho qualche baiocco, onde, bisognandovi cosa nessuna, fate motto.

Qui corre una staggione la più preziosa ch'io mai m'abbia veduta da che sono alla vita, a segno tale che tien fuor di Roma il terzo delle persone a spopolare quanti occellami[g] sono in questi contorni, e monsignor parrocchiano maggiore ogni giorno va fuori per godersi la bella giornata alla barba di chi [lo][h] vorrebbe vedere disteso in San Pietro.

II signor Ugo et il signor Giulio mi scrivono da Barbaiano dove dicono che son due mesi che vi dimorano con tutta la casa, avendoci condotto anche la signora Caterina, e de' signori sposi non ne so cosa nessuna.

[c. 2r] Le settimane passate, cioè nella partenza di monsignor Corsini per Francia, fu messo negli avisi che si spiccano da questa città il seguente capitolo:

Partì monsignor Corsini per la sua nunziatura, e doppo alcune cose seguitava: E porta per donare a quella corona un quadro di battaglia, mano del signor Salvator Rosa, pittor famoso napolitano. E di questo me ne sono venuti i riscontri da molte città d'Italia, oltre d'averlo letto da[i] me proprio.

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 34, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 29, letter 33 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 50–51, letter 34; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 176–177, letter 158. A large section at the top of c. 2r has been torn away.

a Ms: *da cieco*. De Rinaldis 1939: "da Cicco"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "da cicco" (in error).

b Ms: *Mala Ruota*.

c Added here for clarity of meaning.

d Ms: *culo* <†…†> *avendoli*.

Letter 159
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 21 December 1652

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My Lord, may God protect you
Pisa

Dear friend,

I'm still at home fighting an army of boils[1], and they give me a furious[2] sting every now and then, forcing my body into certain contortions[3] that even Michelangelo *malaruota*[4] would never have conceived of. I confess I've suffered one or two of these with extraordinary stolidity, but now they're starting to appear on my ass[5], and I've already got them on the left buttock. I expect the pain they're causing me—rather than the current cold season—will freeze me stiff for the holidays. The doctor tells me that I'm too melancholic[6], so I answer him: "your most excellent Lordship is too much of an ass"—and so we go, with him laughing at me, and me putting very little faith in him.[7] But on to other things.

Now that you're well and free of the fever, I beg of you for the love of Christ to be a little more moderate in drinking, since I'm unable to find in you a greater weakness. Unless we want to blame your nature, too accustomed as it is now to the medicines, which, naturally, have unsettled your temperament, and—in addition to that—are stealing from you your first virginity of life[8]. But because we don't know what to do in such matters, let's pray that God grants us His goodwill. And that's enough of that.

In the last post I replied again to our Signor Fabretti[9] that I want to know whether my letters are reaching you securely. My Ricciardi, I'd like you to remember that I have money now. So, if you need anything, you only have to say the word[10].

We're having the most precious season here that I've ever seen in my life, such that a third of the city's population has fled Rome, depopulating as many flocks[11] as there are in these borders, and Monsignor Head Parishioner[12] goes outside every day in order to enjoy the beautiful day, in spite of those who'd prefer to see him stretched out in Saint Peter's.

Signor Ugo[13] and Signor Giulio[14] write to me from Barbaiano, where they say it's been two months that they've been there with the entire family, having taken Signora Caterina[15] with them. But I've heard nothing about the married couple.[16]

In the past few weeks—that is, after Monsignor Corsini's[17] departure for France—there appeared in the *avvisi* issued by this city the following item:

"Monsignor Corsini left for his nunciature".[18] And then, after a few other things: "And he brings with him, to give to that monarch, a battle painting by the hand of Signor Salvator Rosa, the famous Neapolitan painter."[19] And I've received confirmations about this from many cities throughout Italy, in addition to having read it myself.

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e Ms: *interizito*, for "intirizzito".
f Ms: *scombuscolato*, for "scombussolato".
g Ms: *occellami*, for "uccellami".
h Added here for clarity of meaning.
i Ms: *letto* <†…†> *da*.

Giunti che fanno[a] questi avisi a Fiorenza conforme è solito in mano del Signoretti per stamparsi, il Signoretti, per dispetto, levò tutto il periodo che parlava di me. Ond'io l'ho scritto una lettra, promettendoli di farlo bastonare sin dentro il letto, oltre una man di titoli a proporzione del figurino. Che ne dite?

Saluto tutti gl'amici et a voi bacio le mani in compagnia di Rosalvo e signora Lucrezia, di Roma, questo dì 21[b] di decembre 1652.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 160
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 18 January 1653*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Pisa

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Bisogna sperare e credere che la gioventù e buona complessione v'abbi in qualche cosa a giovare, con patto però che la parsimonia della bocca, et in particolare[c] quella del becchiero[d], abbi il suo luogo, ed ecco che da pittore vi divento medico per le mani.

In quanto poi alla mercanzia che desiderate di fare, a me piace in estremo per esser cosa onorevole, com'anche di qualche utile. Ma quei due vostri riquisiti sono assai più ridicoli che le facezie dell'Arlotto; dico quella di non voler copie, e che le tele non siano dell'ordinario. Bisogna, signor mercante mio gentilissimo, considerare che i poveri giovani cercano di spender quanto meno si può, e però è vanità il sperare trelliccio ne' quadri di 3 o quattro scudi l'uno; l'altra delle copie è impossibile, perché tutti costoro per camparne s'impiegano in sì fatto mestiere.

[c. 1v] Ma perché so che voi sete uomo raggionevole, vi lascerete persuadere, e farete come fanno tanti e tanti altri, et io incomincerò a far qualche pratica per voi.

Resto obligato al desiderio che tengono cotesti signori di avermi in Pisa, e vi giuro che se loro il desiderano, io ne spirito di voglia, onde vi prego a salutarmi tutti coloro che m'amano veramente, et insieme assicurarli della mia corrispondenza.

Brunetti, [è] dalle feste di Natale in qua che non l'ho veduto, né so se[e] per colpa di lui o della mia severissima ritiratezza. La signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo vi baciano le mani, mentre io di tutto core vi desidero quel bene che vorrei per me medesimo, di Roma, questo dì 18 di gennaro 1653.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa[f]

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 35, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 30, letter 36 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 52–53, letter 35; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 178, letter 159.

a Ms: *fanno* or *fuori*. Reading uncertain.

b Ms: *21*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "20".

preti a farmi la causa adesso[a]; ma questo li riuscirà vano ogni volta che ci si tenteranno, poiché, oltre l'essere i miei componimenti lontani da questi sospetti, anzi consparsi[b] di santissimi dogmi, non mi troveranno in casa altre scritture che le riceute[c] della piggione. La[d] mia maggior paura è l'attacco della donna; ma questo né anche mi può partorir[e] gran guerra, sapendo quello che ne va. Il farmi tirare un'arcibugiata, a questo vi[f] vuole altra barba de la loro. Del resto, potria[g] riuscir prima a me quello[h] che forse loro non sanno imaginarsi.

In quanto alla lettra del Cordini, non so che risponderci[i], sapendo la mia coscienza; né so chi possino[j] esser questi tali personaggi[k] che si chiamino offesi dalla mia penna, non avendo io né anche col pensiero toccate altre persone che i miei nemici, i quali ogn'altra[l] cosa sono che personaggi.

Ma dubito (e lo tengo per vangelo) che questo sia uno spauracchio ritrovato da' miei nemici, assicurandovi che a quest'ora [c. 2r] si saria[m] sentito qualche cosa, tanto più che hanno sfogato nella scrittura mandatavi, la quale si dubita che non sia d'un tale al quale io, l'estate passata, diedi un schiaffo, e nella mia satira va sotto nome di Partenio. Però non si sa di certo.

Vivete dunque senza sospetti, ché son più cauto di quello che ciascheduno suppone, et a suo tempo ci rivederemo, e se ne ho desiderio lo sa Idio.

Vi scrissi che mi mandassivo[n] quel pensiero ch'ella diceva d'aver intorno al quadro dell'Invidia, et io doppo vi manderò il mio. Ma questo vorrebbe esser subito.

Il Bardi non l'ho veduto e, per questo, non vi ho servito. Il raguaglio che voi facevate comedie me lo diede il medesimo, onde mi scuserete se son stato così facile a crederli.

Del nostro signor Giulio non ho nova nessuna, e pure li scrissi pochi giorni sono, con l'occasione d'un volterrano che partiva per quella volta.

Del resto, attendete a[o] star bene di salute, conforme cerco di far ancor io, e vadi il mondo come vuole. La signora Lucrezia e Rosalvo vi baciano le mani, et io di core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 21 febbraro 1654.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero[p]
Salvator Rosa

Letter 177
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 27 March 1654*

[c. 1r]
Amico vero

Già che voi vi dimostrate sì[q] curioso de' miei andamenti, è di dovere che vi sodisfaccia col raguagliarvi pontualmente.

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 40, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Gerra 1937, 30–31, letter 40 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 57–59, letter 40; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 195–197, letter 176. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *adesso*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "adosso".

b Ms: *consparsi*, for "cospargersi".

c Ms: *riceute*, for "ricevute".

d Ms: *pigione.* <†…†> *La*.

e Ms: *partorir*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "partire"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "partorir".

f Ms: *vi*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "vi"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "ne".

g Ms: *resto* <†…†> *potria*; *potria*, for "potrei".

useless, since—in addition to the fact that my compositions are far from these suspicions—indeed, replete[12] with the holiest dogmas—they won't find in my house any other writings than the bills for the rent. My greatest fear is an attack on the woman.[13] But not even this could trigger a great war, knowing what would come of it. It takes better barbs than theirs to fire a shot at me.[14] In any case, before they try anything, I could pull off something they wouldn't have even dreamed of.

With regard to Cordini's[15] letter, I don't know how to reply to him, knowing my conscience: nor do I know who these certain personalities[16] could be who consider themselves offended by my pen, not having even with my thoughts criticized anyone other than my enemies, who are anything but personalities.

But I suspect (and I hold it as Gospel) that this is a bugbear[17] invented by my enemies, and I assure you that by now you'd have heard something—all the more so as they've already given out everything in the text they sent you—which I suspect is by a certain person whom I gave a slap this past summer, and who goes under the name "Partenio"[18] in my satire. But I don't know for certain.

So, live free of fear, since I'm more cautious than everyone thinks, and soon enough we'll see each other again. God knows how much I desire it.

I wrote to ask you to send me that idea you said you'd had regarding the picture of Envy[19], and I'll send you mine afterward. But I need it soon.

I've not seen Bardi[20] yet, so I haven't been able to serve you. He's the one who told me that you were working on comedies[21], so forgive me if I was too quick to believe him.

I have no news from our Signor Giulio[22], although it's been a few days since I wrote to him, taking advantage of a person from Volterra who was heading in that direction.

As for the rest, take care to keep in good health, as I'm trying to do myself. Whatever will be, will be.[23] Signora Lucrezia and Rosalvo kiss your hands, and I embrace you with all my heart, from Rome, today the 21st of February 1654.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 177
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 27 March 1654

True friend,

Since you were so curious to know what I'm up to, I'm obliged to satisfy you by informing you punctually.

Regarding my illnesses and my misfortunes:

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h Ms: *me* <†…†> *quello*.
i Ms: *risponderci* or *rispondervi*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "rispondervi"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "risponderci".
j Ms: *possino*, for "possano".
k Ms: {*personaggi*}.
l Ms: *quali* <†…†> *ogn'altra*.
m Ms: *saria*, for "sarebbe".
n Ms: *mandassivo*, for "mandaste". Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "mandassime".
o Ms: *a*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "di" (in error).
p Ms: *Amico vero*. Reading uncertain.
q Ms: *sì*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

De' miei malanni e delle mie disgrazie.

Già sapete della scrittura del Valselapiglia. Doppo questo un tal da me registrato in quest'ultima mia satira, detto Partenio (nel giorno di San Gioseppe, festa della Rotonda, dond'io sono solito trionfare), questo furfante in un'accademia, eretto di nuovo in casa d'un certo gentil'uomo poeta, recitò una lezione contro di me. Doppo questa, va in volta una satira in versi, la quale non ho ancor veduta. Il motivo (o per dir meglio l'invenzione): Dante nel Purgatorio che dialogizza con l'anima dello Scambati, e mi dicono che sia tutta in quel[a] stil dantesco, e che, fra l'altre cose che vi sono, dicono ch'io ho due altre satire, una sopra l'amicizia e l'altra sopra la nobiltà, tutti due motivi da me celebrati per belli da far satire, discorrendo di sì fatte materie con i medesimi gli anni passati.

Di più: quest'anno predica nella Minerva un padre da Sarzana, o di quei contorni, paesano di Sciribandolo, il quale predica tutte le cose del povero Scambati, a segno tale che non può esser diffeso da i medesimi sui amici e paesani. [c. 1v] Onde il compositor di detta satira accusa me e lui per ladri delle sue fatighe, et un'altra mano di coglionerie da far ridere i Catoni. Se ne volete più, avisatemi.

Ora che ne dite, amico, non son io divenuto il Socrate, il[b] Tasso et il Guarino de' tempi miei, con tanti invidiosi latratori? Credete, amico, come credete in Dio, che la letteratura pedestre[c] di Roma non sta occupata in altro che in perseguitare e lacerare la mia persona; per tutti i circoli de' poestronzoli non si parla d'altro che de' fatti miei, e questo nasce perché ho avuto disgrazia d'incontrarmi in persone affatto spensierate, le quali non[d] hanno altra occupazione che andar in traccia di soggetti qualificati[e] per morderli, per criticarli. Si studiano tutto giorno d'irritarmi l'Accademia degli Umoristi col dire ch'io ne ho detto grandissimo male, e che giornalmente ne dico. Ma perché i medesimi odono[f] il contrario, li riuscirà poco prospero questo tentativo. Insomma, qui non si tralascia cosa da fare per la distruzione della mia fama, per la turbolenza della mia quiete, e se ne vanno gonfi e pettoruti d'avere coi loro sdegni amazzato il Gherardelli.

[c. 2r] Oh poveretti, che Idio sia quello che li dia contrizione e che li cancelli colpa così indiavolata. Tutto ieri, per quell'Idio che ci mantiene in vita, pregai per la loro emendazione. Poverelli, quanto son coglioni e, quel ch'è peggio, è che si coglionano da lor medesimi, né hanno occhi da contemplare la virtù del mio animo che, potendoli distruggere, mi rido et ingrasso alle loro ciarle. Poverelli, ché non s'accorgono che con le loro maledicenze mi fabricano il processo per la mia canonizazione, e tanto basti. Ad alia.

Son tre ordinari che non ricevo vostre lettre, non avendovi mancato che una sola volta. Ma perché vi troverete[g] con l'occupazione della comedia, vi compatisco. Di grazia, potendo, fatemi degno delle solite grazie, confessandovi che solamente la vostra filosofia può consolare questo Boezio.

Saluto tutta cotesta virtuosa conversazione, e prego il signor Cosimo a far deligenza per sue lettere, seguitando al solito.

Rosalvo e la signora Lucrezia vi baciano le mani, et io, che non adoro altri che voi, di core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 27 di marzo [1654][h].

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

[c. 1v] Per martedì averò un altro quadro della misura di cotesti grandi, il quale vi servirà giusto per concertar la sala.[i]

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a Ms: *quel*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
b Ms: *Socrate* <†…†> *il*.
c Ms: {*Pedestre*}.
d Ms: *non*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
e Ms: *qualificati*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "qualificativi".

You already know about the writing of the "go fuck yourself"[1]. After this, a certain person called Partenio (whom I mention in my last satire), on the day of Saint Joseph, the feast day of the Pantheon[2]—where I usually triumph[3]—this scoundrel, in an academy that was newly organized in the house of a certain gentleman poet, recited a lecture against me.[4] After this, a satire in verse came out, which I've not yet seen. The theme (or, to put it better, the invention): Dante in Purgatory, who talks with the spirit of Sgambati. I'm told that it's written entirely in that Dantesque style, and that among other things, it claims I have two other satires—one on Friendship and the other on Nobility—both themes I've celebrated as beautiful subjects for satires, having discussed such matters with the same persons in years past.[5]

Moreover, this year there's a certain priest preaching at the Minerva.[6] He's from Sarzana, or that region, a countryman of Sciribandolo[7], who's preaching everything by poor Sgambati to such a degree that he can't be protected by his friends and countrymen.[8] So, the composer of the aforementioned satire accuses both me and him of stealing his work, and another handful of bullshit that's enough to make even the staunchest moralists[9] laugh. If you want to hear more about it, let me know.

So what do you say about this, friend? Have I not become the Socrates, the Tasso, and the Guarini of my own time[10], with all these envious slanderers[11]? Believe, friend, as you believe in God, that the common *letterati*[12] of Rome occupy themselves with nothing other than my persecution and laceration.[13] All the circles of bastard poets[14] discuss nothing but my business, and this is because I've had the misfortune to encounter people with nothing better to do, who have no other occupation than to go about searching for appropriate people to attack and criticize. They spend all day planning to stir up the Academy of the Umoristi[15] against me, by claiming I've said terrible things about them, and that I do so daily. But because the Umoristi hear otherwise, then their attempt will be in vain. In sum, over here everyone's caught up in the destruction of my reputation, the turbulence of my quietude, and they puff up with pride over having murdered Ghirardelli[16] with their disdain.

Oh, that God might give the wretched their contrition, and forgive their most terrible offences! All of yesterday I prayed to God—the one who keeps us alive—for their amendation. Poor little men, what idiots they are—and what's worse is that they're making themselves look stupid, and they seem incapable of recognizing the virtue of my mind, which, capable of destroying them, laughs at and thrives[17] upon their chatter. Poor little men, who don't realize that with their slander they lay the groundwork for my canonization. And that's that. On to other things.

There have been three postal deliveries in which I've not received your letters, and yet I've failed you only once. But because you're probably busy with the comedies, I'll forgive you.[18] Please, consider me worthy of your customary favours, confessing to you that only your philosophy can console this Boethius.[19]

Greet all of your virtuous group[20], and I beg of Signor Cosimo[21] to try and ensure that his letters continue to come as usual.

Rosalvo and Signora Lucrezia kiss your hands, and I, who love no one but you, embrace you from my heart, from Rome, today the 27th of March 1654.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

By Tuesday I'll have another picture with the same measurements as those large ones, which will suit you perfectly in arranging your room.[22]

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f Ms: *odono*, for "udano".

g Ms: *troverete* or *trovate*. Reading uncertain.

h Ms: *1653*. The letter can be re-dated to 1654 on account of its content, which is closely related to that of letters 176 and 178. On Rosa's frequent error in dating his letters, see letters 266 and 280.

i This line appears at the head of c. 1v.

Altro non m'occorre di dirvi, solo che mi vogliate bene e che mi compatiate delle mie troppe ciarle, attesoché così mi sforza la mia rabbia e l'amor che son sicuro che voi mi portate. La signora Lucrezia sta bene e vi riverisce et io di tutto core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 19 giugno 1656.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Il *Cartes* non venne mai.

FIG. 29

Letter 202
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 12 August 1656*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Fiorenza

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Per amor d'Idio, non mi fate dir più le mie disaventure e, se voi avete dolore delle mie afflizioni, io non ho fiato da racontarvele.

Sono in paradiso e 'l fratello e 'l figlio, e tanto basta per farvi a sapere ch'io sono il maggior infelice uomo che viva, né ho speranza di mai più restituirmi alla tranquillità.

Il dolore mi tien vivo per magiormente farmi sentire questo flagello. In fatti, m'è cascato adosso tutto lo sdegno del Signore, poiché insino a gli amici beneficati e soccorsi dalla mia liberalità mi fuggono e mi negano quei conforti dovuti ad una disgrazia così orrenda.

Il Cielo conservi voi con quella prosperità che manca a me, e di core vi riverisco. Di Roma, questo dì 12 d'agosto 1656.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

[c. 1v] Compatitemi amico, ché non mi basta l'animo di scrivervi più alla lunga.

La sua canzone è degno parto del vostro ingegno. Al signor Cordini un baciamano.

* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 24, no. 59, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 35, letter 59 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 84, letter 59; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 222–223, letter 199.

I laughed when I heard that Signor Lodovico Maffei[29] was waiting for me in Volterra, and I also laughed at you, who can be so simple-minded sometimes.

I can't think of anything else to tell you, only to ask you to love me and forgive me for my endless jabbering which is a product of my rage, as well as being owed to the love I'm sure you feel for me. Signora Lucrezia[30] is doing well, and she sends you her greetings, and I with all my heart embrace you, from Rome, today the 19th of June 1656.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

The *Cartes*[31] never arrived.

Letter 202
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 12 August 1656

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My Lord, may God protect you
Florence

Dear friend,

For the love of God, don't make me say any more about my misfortunes, and if you take pain in my afflictions then know that I lack even the breath to tell you about them.

They are in Paradise, my brother and son[1], and it's enough for me to tell you that I'm the most miserable man alive, and I no longer have any hope of restoring myself to tranquillity.

The sorrow keeps me alive mainly in order to suffer this calamity. In fact, at present, all the disdain of God has fallen upon me, since even my friends who benefitted from and were aided by my generosity flee from me, and deny me those due comforts during such a horrible misfortune.

May Heaven conserve you with the prosperity it has denied me, and I send my greetings to you from my heart. From Rome, today the 12th of August 1656.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Forgive me, friend, as I can't be bothered to write to you more at length.

Your poem[2] is a worthy product of your genius. A hand-kiss to Signor Cordini.

Letter 203
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 19 August 1656*

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Questa volta il Cielo m'ha percosso di maniera che mi fa provar vani tutti i rimedi umani, e la meno pena ch'io provo è il dirvi che vi scrivo piangendo. Amico, abbiate pietà di me, poiché le mie aflezioni sono incapaci di medicina, né so donde ragirarmi per incontrare qualche sollievo. Mi sono racomandato agl'amici con le braccia in croce che abbino[a] qualche pietà del mio stato, né questo è stato[b] bastante a moverli a trovarsi meco un po' più spesso dell'ordinario; e pure, alla maggior parte ho in ogni loro bisogno essercitati gl'atti della mia liberalità con la borsa, e cordialità con la conversazione. Oh Dio, che questo mi trapassa l'anima, e mi desider[ ] [c. 1v] fenir di vivere per fenir di scandalizzarmi!

Lascio considerare a chi ha viscere come possa stare il mio core nel trovarmi solo in faccia alla signora Lucrezia con una amaritudine simile nell'anima.

Oh Dio, e quanto mi saria[c] di medicina la vostra persona in necessità così terribile, la quale è a segno che il medico mi dice che, s'io non mi sollevo, è facil cosa che dia in delirio mediante la mia soverchia apprensione, o in qualche febre senza rimedio.

Voi, voi solo mi potreste mitigare in parte le mie angosce, come quello il quale ha tutto il mio genio e, senza misura, l'affetto; e pur l'atroce mio destino me n'impedisce per tanti capi, e piaccia a Idio ch'avanti il mio esterminio vi rivegga[d] una volta. Non posso stare in casa. Aborrisco più che il Diavolo la croce i pennelli, i quali [c. 2r] son tre mesi che non ho tocchi, né so come fare a ripigliare. Vado per Roma come pazzo, mi son dimenticato di favellare, né si trova a favor mio argomento per consolarmi. Sicché, amico mio caro, ogn'un dubita di mia salute, et io ne veggo troppo apertamente i pericoli.

Il raccomandarsi al Cielo è vanità, poiché, in faccia a[e] lui, solo gli iniqui et i rei sono felici e vivi, e il mio linguaggio, tutto che sia di lagrime, non è inteso per niente.

Se per l'avenire non vedrete spesso mie lettere, compatitemi, ché, non sapendo favellare d'altro che di malanni, non è di dovere che inquieti voi, e del resto mi rimetto in tutto e per tutto al destino.

Il Cielo prosperi la vostra persona, e di core me vi raccomando; di Roma, questo dì 19 d'agosto 1656.

Di Vostra Signoria

Al signor Cordini un saluto da mia parte, e che mi scusi se non li scrivo.

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 20, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Limentani 1950, 112–113, letter 24; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 223–224, letter 200. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *abbino*, for "abbiano".

b Ms: *né questo è stato*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

Letter 203
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 19 August 1656

Dear friend,

This time Heaven has struck me in a manner that proves to me the uselessness of all human remedies. And the least pain I'm enduring at the moment is to tell you that I'm writing while crying. Friend, have mercy on me, since my afflictions are incapable of remedy, and I don't know where to turn to find some relief. I implored[1] my friends to have some mercy for my situation, but not even this was enough to inspire them to spend a little more time with me than usual. And yet, with most of them, I've exercised the freedom of my purse and geniality of conversation in all of their needs. Oh God, how this pierces my soul! I want to cease living in order to put an end to my outrage.

I leave it to someone with feelings to consider the state of my heart, finding myself all alone with Signora Lucrezia, with such a bitter[2] spirit.

Oh God, what great medicine your presence would be amid such terrible need, which is so strong that the doctor tells me that if I don't recover, I might very well become delirious or suffer some incurable fever, on account of my excessive anxiety.

You, and only you, can help mitigate my anguish because you have entirely the same spirit as I do, and an affection without measure. And yet the atrocity of my destiny impedes me in so many ways. May it please God that before my demise I'll see you once again. I can't stay at home. And I abhor the paintbrushes more than the Devil does the cross. It's been three months since I've touched them, and I don't know what to do in order to take them up again. I go about Rome like a crazy person. I've forgotten how to talk with other people, and can't find a single subject that consoles me. So, my dear friend, everyone fears for the state of my health, and I see the dangers all too clearly.

Appealing to Heaven is vanity since, in spite of it, only the wicked and the criminals are alive and happy, and my words, which consist of nothing but tears, are utterly incomprehensible.

If in the future you don't see my letters very often, forgive me, since, what with having nothing else to talk about but maladies, I don't need to worry you. As for the rest, I submit myself entirely to destiny.

May Heaven give you prosperity, and from my heart I recommend myself to you, from Rome, today the 19th of August 1656.

Greet Signor Cordini[3] on my behalf, and ask him to forgive me if I don't write to him.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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c Ms: *saria*, for "sarebbe".
d Ms: *rivegga*, for "riveda".
e Ms: {*a*}.

Letter 204
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 25 August 1656*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Pisa[a]

[c. 1r]
Amico

Il non aver un amico da sollevarmi[b] è caggione dell'evidente mia rovina. Ma perché il destino vuol così, è forza aver pacienza.

Almeno si fenisse questa coglionaria della vita per fenir di patire, già che non solo sono in odio a me medesimo, ma a tutti quelli che mi conoscono e che, forse, mi sono obligati.

Ma perché la mia poca buona sorte mi ha destinato ad aver amici solamente nella prosperità, e non nell'affllezioni, non dirò di vantaggio.

Il Cielo vi dia ogni bene, e di core vi bacio le mani, di Roma, questo dì 25 d'agosto 1656.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 205
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 9 September 1656**

Amico caro

A pena[c] avevo persuaso i miei occhi a dar qualche tregua alle lagrime che mi sopragiunge la seconda catastrofe della morte di mia sorella e di mio cognato, socessa tre settimane sono assieme con cinque suoi figlioli. Se qui ci vanno le parole e bestemie di Giobbe, lo lascio considerare a chi non è di marmo, essendosi affatto spento il mio seme e la mia parentela, a segno tale che, di quanti parenti ho avuti nel mondo, non ve n'è restato pur[d] uno da testimoniar la mia schiatta.

E pur voi mi persuadete esser questa infallibil providenza d'Idio, alla barba del maestro di color che sanno qual dice: "Deus pro sua excellentia nihil praeter se ipsum cogitat, nobis autem bonum aliunde evenit". Le consolazioni de gli stoici non passano la [ ][e] e gli inventori di coteste metafisiche chi [ ][f] potuti pratticare l'averia[g], trovi[h] forse differ[enti] assai da quello che predicheno nei loro

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* Morgan Library and Museum, New York, LHMS, Misc. Artists, MA 8638, c. 1r–c. 2v. Previously unpublished. Three lines of script appear on c. 2v, in another hand: "Roma . 25 . Ag: 1656/ Dal [illegible]: Salv.[e] Rosa/ 2 Sett.[re] 1656 . Fior:[a]".

** Collection of the Arcangeli family, Florence. Published: Limentani 1972, 265–266, letter 4; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 224–226, letter 201. The transcription given here is based upon Limentani 1972, 265–266, who noted that the pages of the letter have suffered corrosion and tearing, necessitating the proposal of various additions and corrections, indicated in his transcription (and replicated here) with square brackets.

a Ms: *Pisa*.

Letter 204
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 25 August 1656

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My Lord, may God protect you
Pisa

Friend,

Having no friend to comfort me will clearly bring about my ruin. But because fate desires it thus, one has to be patient.[1]

If only this bullshit of a life would end, and put a stop to the suffering, because not only do I hate myself, but everyone I know, and everyone who is perhaps obliged to me.[2]

But since what little good fortune I have has destined me to have friends only in prosperity and not in the midst of afflictions, I won't say any more.

May Heaven grant you every blessing, and from my heart I kiss your hands, from Rome, today the 25th of August 1656.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 205
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 9 September 1656

Dear friend,

No sooner had I convinced my eyes to give some truce to the tears, than there suddenly occurred a second catastrophe: the death of my sister and, three weeks later, my brother-in-law and five of their children.[1] I leave it to whoever isn't made of marble to consider just how fitting are the words and curses of Job.[2] Both my progeny and my relatives have been so thoroughly extinguished that of all the kin I have in this world, no one now remains to testify to my lineage.

And yet you try to persuade me that this is the infallible Providence of God, in spite of the master of those who know, who says: "God in his excellence does not think about anything but himself, and good comes to us from another source."[3] The consolations of the Stoics won't [ ], and whoever might have frequented the inventors of that metaphysics perhaps would have found

b Ms: *sollevarmi* or *sollecitarmi*. Reading uncertain.
c Limentani 1972: "A pena," for "appena".
d Limentani 1972: "pur". Borrelli and Festa 2003: "per".
e Limentani 1972: "[pena]".
f Limentani 1972: "[l'avesse]".
g Limentani 1972: "averia," for "avrebbe".
h Limentani 1972: "trovi". Borrelli and Festa 2003: "trovati".

scart[afacci]. Seneca, che fa tanto schiamazzo della vita beata e della tranquillità dell'animo, aveva 2 milioni, né mi si dica che è vero che li ebbe ma li debbe anche lasciare, ch'io vi risponderò: e fanne di meno se si può. L'intrepidezza della sua morte noi non l'abbiamo veduta ma, quando sia come ce la raccontano l'istorie, non è niente superiore a quella che soccesse la settimana indietro d'un mio paesano, connendato[a] alla forca (morte assai più infame che lo svenarsi), il quale andò con tanta intrepidezza che fece atterire tutta la Compagnia de' Confortatori.

Questi Socrati, Zenoni, Aristippi e Catoni bisogneria[b] [che][c] li avessimo conosciuti, e non stare alle rellazioni [ ][d] tanti secoli, i quali come le pecore in corsa [ ][e] l'altra con una sbardellatissima fede. [ ][f] [cer]tamente ebbero per fine di costituire l'idea [dell']uomo perfetto e di predicarcelo come dovrebbe essere, non che loro facessero quel che scrissero; e l'anima mia, che non è niente inferiore a quella di costoro, ne fa giornalmente l'esperienza, quanto sia (come dissi) differente la teorica dalla pratica. Basta, sia come si vuole, mi rido de i racconti de' Giobbi, poiché, se la fortuna m'avesse potuto seccare i campi, gli armenti, la casa e il resto delle fortune, a quest'ora me l'averia fatta vedere in candela. Ma perché non avevo altro, quello me l'ha distrutto affatto. Ad alia.

Come io me la possi[g] passare lo lascio considerare alle vostre viscere, senza narrarvi ad uno per [uno i][h] miei dolori. Il consiglio che voi mi [date di][i] dipingere saria[j] ottimo, quando lo potessi [ ][k]. Poiché io non trovo altro sollievo che lo star [ ][l], né vi capito che a desinare e a dormi[re. Amo passar]mela ove son più persone, come al gioco della pilotta o palla a corda, luoghi in altro tempo abborriti dal mio genio.

"Così va il mondo, or mi diletta, e piace; quel che più dispiacque or veggio e sento."

Sono 5 mesi che non ho tocchi pennelli, parlandosi in questi tempi d'ogni altra cosa che di pittura, e quello che prima di queste turbolenze valeva dieci, adesso va uno, né si trova chi lo voglia. Ma perché voi mi dite che questa è providenza, non sia per detto. Piacesse a Idio, amico, che avessi voi d'apresso, ché son sicuro che le mie angosce[m] diminuiriano assai. Ma bisogna o notare o affogare.

Il Cielo vi conservi la salute e, con essa, l'affetto che mi dovete, mentre io di core v'abbraccio, di Roma, questo dì 9 di settembre 1656.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Nella mia patria sono morte duecento cinquanta mila persone, e di presente tutto il regno va morendo . . . Providenza.[n]

a Limentani 1972: "connendato," presumably for "condannato".
b Limentani 1972: "bisogneria," for "bisognerebbe".
c Limentani 1972: "[che]".
d Limentani 1972: "[vecchie di]".
e Limentani 1972: "[una tira]". Borrelli and Festa 2003: "[l'una dietro]".
f Limentani 1972: "[Essi]".
g Limentani 1972: "possi," for "possa".

them very different to what they preach in their silly books.[4] Seneca, who makes a great fuss about the blessed life and the tranquillity of the soul,[5] had two million—and don't tell me that, even if he had them he was forced to part with them, because I'll reply: "then dispense with the money, if you can"[6]. We didn't witness the bravery of his death, but even if it was like the historical account tells us, it doesn't top the death of one of my countrymen, which happened last week: he was condemned to the gallows (a much worse death than slashing your veins), and faced it with such bravery that he shocked the entire Compagnia dei Confortatori.[7]

We should have met these Socrateses, Zenos, Aristippuses and Catos[8], and not remain steeped in these centuries-old accounts like sheep who run one after the other with an utterly stupid[9] credulity. These authors certainly aimed to devise the idea of the perfect man, and to preach it to us as it should be, but they didn't put into action what they wrote. And my spirit, which is in no way inferior to theirs, proves the point on a daily basis—that is, how different theory is (as I said) from practice. Enough. It is what it is, and I laugh at the stories of Job, since, if fate had dried up my fields, my herds, my house and every other fortune, then it would have proved me wrong[10]. But because I had nothing else, it took everything from me.[11] On to other things.

As to how I'll get through this, I leave it to your feelings to consider, without narrating to you one by one each of my grievances. The advice you give me to paint would be excellent if I could follow it, but I can find no other relief than staying out of the house, nor do I put a foot there except to eat and sleep. I love spending my time where there are lots of people playing *pilotta*, or *pallacorda*[12], places my spirit once loathed.

"How this world alters! What once displeased me most now delights and pleases me: now I see and feel".[13]

I haven't touched my paintbrushes for five months, because these days people talk about everything but painting. And the things that before these turbulences were worth ten now go for one, and no one can be found who wants them.[14] But because you think this is Providence, then let's say nothing. God willing, friend, if only I had you nearby, since I'm sure that my pains would diminish greatly. But one has to either swim or drown.[15]

May Heaven conserve your health, and with it the affection you owe me, while I embrace you with my heart, from Rome, today the 9th of September 1656.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

In my native land two hundred and fifty thousand people have died, and at present the entire kingdom is dying[16] . . . Providence.

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h Limentani 1972: "[uno i]".
i Limentani 1972: "[date di]".
j Limentani 1972: "saria," for "sarebbe".
k Limentani 1972: "[seguire]".
l Limentani 1972: "[fuor di casa]".
m Limentani 1972: "angoscie".
n Limentani 1972 notes that this line has been written as a postscript, at the top of the final (fourth) page of the letter.

Letter 217
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Pisa?), 30 June 1657*

Amico caro

La maggior mia afflezione è il considerarmi lontano da voi, né so quando cesseranno queste dilatate maledizioni, le quali m'hanno talmente incallito nella malinconia che stimo impossibile trovargli rimedio o mai più sollevarmi. Ogni giorno peggioro, né trovo altro schermo per non buttarmi nell'ultimo precepizio che l'applicazioni o della penna o del pennello, le quali, nel giovarmi in qualche parte, mi precipitano per un'altra; sì che voi per un verso et io per un altro stiamo benissimo accomodati; eppure è vero che, se avessi voi vicino, non mi sariano[a] così dolorosi i giorni come li sofro.

In fatti mi conviene star sempre armato di costanza, attesoché mi mancano gli amici, e mi veggio li nemici prosperati dalla fortuna, e pur so di coscienza che son iniqui, cattivi, a segno tale che bisogna un petto di bronzo a veder simili vicessitudini. Ma perdonatemi, che avete altro bisogno che sentir guai; il Cielo vi consoli e vi dia quel bene che merita la virtù della vostra bellissima anima, et a me salute per poterla idolatrare in eterno. Vi bacio le mani assieme con la signora Lucrezia, questo dì ultimo di giugno 1657.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 218
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 22 December 1657**

Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Pisa

Amico caro

Già vi scrissi de la mia disgrazia, et ora vi replico di nuovo che, per molte deligenze oprate, non è stato possibile venire a cognizione veruna del fatto. Quello che sommamente mi trafigge l'imaginazione è che cento scudi m'erano stati consegnati due giorni prima per prezzo d'un quadro, quale mi convien fare senza altra ricompensa. Se ne volete sentir de le più badiali, procuratele di sentire per altro verso, o vero abiate flemma, ché la disgrazia per coglionarmi non dorme. Del resto,

* Collection of Otto Haas, London. Published: Limentani 1984, 241, letter 4; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 234, letter 212. The transcription given here is based upon Limentani 1984, who notes (231, note 2) that the letter was brought to his attention by Albi Rosenthal, the proprietor of the antiquarian bookseller Otto Haas, in London.

** Private collection (formerly collection of Max Thorek, Chicago). Published: Limentani 1972, 267–268, letter 6; Borrelli and

Letter 217
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome to Pisa?), 30 June 1657

Dear friend,

My greatest affliction is considering myself so far away from you, nor do I know when this chain of calamities will cease[1], which have exacerbated my melancholy to such a degree that I doubt I'll ever find a remedy, nor ever recover again. Every day I get worse, and can find no other defence against hurling myself into the final precipice than taking up either the pen or the paintbrush, which, although they cheer me somewhat also drag me down.[2] So we're not faring very well, you in your way and I in mine, and it's true that if you were nearby, the days wouldn't be so distressing for me as they are.

In fact, I must always be armed with resolve, considering that I'm lacking in friends and see my enemies prosper from fortune, and yet I know in my mind that they're wicked—evil!—to such a degree that one needs to be steadfast[3] in the face of such vicissitudes. But forgive me, since you have better things to do than listen to my troubles. May Heaven console you, granting you the blessings owed to the virtue of your most beautiful spirit, and giving me the health to be able to worship it eternally. I kiss your hands together with Signora Lucrezia, the last day of June 1657.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 218
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 22 December 1657

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My Lord, may God protect you
Pisa

Dear friend,

I already wrote to you about my misfortune, and now I repeat again that, despite all the efforts I've made, I've not been able to gain any knowledge about it. The thing that upsets me the most, though, is that one hundred *scudi* were delivered to me two days ago, in payment for a painting that I have to make without any other compensation.[1] If you want to hear more cheerful news, then you'll have to go elsewhere. Otherwise, be patient because the misfortunes that seek to make a fool of me have no respite. As for the rest, may God grant you the tranquillity I'm

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Festa 2003, 234–235, letter 213. The transcription given here is based upon Limentani 1972, 267–268. The letter was brought to Limentani's attention by F. H. Kameny, New York. It formerly belonged to the collection of Max Thorek, Chicago, and was sold in 1972 by the Charles Hamilton Galleries, New York. See Limentani 1972, 255, note 2.

a Ms: *sariano*, for "sarebbero".

vi dia più cognizione per conoscermi, e con essa ogni fortuna, e di core vi bacio le mani, di Roma questo dì 16 d'aprile 1661.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero[a]
Salvator Rosa

FIG. 31

Letter 254
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 7 May 1661*

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Già me l'imaginavo ch'eravate per dare in quest'eresia di negar la mia Bibia, ma questo poco importa alla mia ingenuità, qual sa di non peccare in sì fatte matterie; però contentatevi di credere che ancor voi avete le vostre fragilità e le vostre eguaglianze[b] agl'altri uomini. Ho sempre creduto che l'amico sia un altro me medesimo per virtù della santa amicizia; che meraviglia è dunque ch'alle volte si trascurino le proprie cose, anzi quelle che più premeno[c]?

Questa verità dovrebbe essere intesa da voi, e stupisco il sentir che la contrastiate. Mi fate ridere quando mi dite che alcune cose me le scrivete perché così vi vengono riferite da coloro che possegono la mia confidenza. Oh quanto v'ingannate, poiché, se vedreste la maniera del mio vivere, tochereste con mani il contrario, come presto da la mia bocca resterete sodisfatto. E quei motivi, da' quali voi così facilmente avete argomentata la mia buona fortuna, nel trovarvi[d] meco son sicuro che li darete nome di disgrazie, [c. 1v] perché tali veramente sono, e di tal natura che, se ve n'avessi[e] dato gli avisi con lettre (di cui tanto voi vi dolete), voi istesso mi averestivo[f] ripreso d'imprudente.

Oh quanto sareste coglione se a quest'ora non mi aveste conosciuto per leale e da bene a praticarmi, né lascerò mai di ricordarvi che la mia bontà e virtù è avezza[g] a ricevere inganni, non[h] a farne, e voi lo sapete senza che ve[i] ne ricordi gl'esempi.

Vi torno a replicare che non ho avuto mai pensiero di veder la Germania, e s'il Cesti vi dice di volersi meco menare, e ch'io glie n'abbia data intenzione, lasciate dire, ché non sono tanto coglione che non sappia donde stia[j] bene la buggia e la verità. Ma perché voi mostrate poco di conoscermi, muteremo ragionamento.

Sto in pensiero di partir per cotesta volta domani[k] a otto, che saressimo[l] a i quindici del mese, se gl'accidenti non me l'impediscono. La signora Lucrezia non vuol perdere quest'occasione di riveder sua madre, dopo tant'anni, e di rigoder la vostra cordial compagnia, sì che saremo tutti di casa, cioè tre persone e un solo Idio. Averei caro (se però così voi stimate bene) di trovarvi, prima che in Fiorenza, [c. 2r] a Strozzavolpe, per non avere a dirittura a condurre all'Arno[m] cose che in

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 92, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Gerra 1937, 41–42, letter 91 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 121–122, letter 92; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 268–269, letter 246. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *Amico vero*. De Rinaldis 1939: "Amico caro" (in error).

b Ms: *eguaglianze*. Reading uncertain.

c Ms: *premeno*, for "premono".

d Ms: *trovarvi*. Reading uncertain. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "trovarmi".

e Ms: *n'avessi*. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "ve l'avessi" (in error).

f Ms: *averestivo*, for "avreste".

you claim. May God grant you more intelligence in order to know me better, and with it every good fortune. And with my heart I kiss your hands, from Rome, today the 16th of April 1661.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 254
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 7 May 1661

Dearest friend,

I suspected that you'd give in to this heresy, refuting my Bible[1], but this matters little to my innocence, which knows it has no fault in such matters. So, content yourself to believe that even you are weak and share the qualities of other men. I've always believed that the friend is a second self, by virtue of holy friendship.[2] It's no surprise, then, that sometimes one neglects one's own matters, even those that are more important.

You should understand the truth of this, and I'm astonished to hear you oppose it. You make me laugh when you say you write to me some things as they've been related to you by those who enjoy my confidence. Oh, how wrong you are! If you could see the way I live, you'd understand that the opposite is true, as you'll soon learn with satisfaction from my own lips. And as to those reasons from which you so easily surmised my good fortune, when we meet I'm sure you'll call them misfortunes, which they truly are. And they're of such a nature that if I'd told you about them in my letters (which you complain about so much), you yourself would have reprimanded me for my imprudence.[3]

Oh what an idiot you'd be, if by now you didn't know me to be loyal and honest in my relationships. And I'll always remind you that my decency and virtue are accustomed to being the object of deceptions, rather than their source—and you know this without me having to give you examples.

I'll tell you again that I've never even thought of seeing Austria[4]. If Cesti[5] told you about wanting to take me there with him, and that I'd given him a sign of my intention to do so, then let him talk, since I'm not such a prick that I can't tell a lie from the truth. But because you prove to know me so little, we'll change the subject.

I'm thinking about heading in your direction a week from tomorrow, which will be on the fifteenth of the month, if no problems prevent me. Signora Lucrezia doesn't want to lose this opportunity to see her mother[6] again, after so many years, and to enjoy your cordial company again, so the entire household will be coming—that is, three people and one god[7]. I'd love (that is, if you think it's a good idea) to come and find you at Strozzavolpe, prior to arriving in Florence, in order

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g Ms: *è* <†…†> *avezza*.
h Ms: <*che*>; {*non*}.
i Ms: <*che*>; {*ve*}.
j Ms: *donde stia*. De Rinaldis 1939: "dove sta" (in error).
k Ms: *volta* <†…†> *domani*.
l Ms: *saressimo*, for "saremmo".
m Ms: *all'Arno*. Reading uncertain.

Fiorenza non sono per servirci. Il nostro viaggio procurerò che sia di cinque giornate (se mi sarà possibile); caso che no, mi rimetterò all'impietà[a] de' vitturini[b].

Vi prega la signora Lucrezia a non far che si sappia la sua venuta in Fiorenza per desiderio che ha di giungere all'improviso a sua madre, donde pensa di trattenersi nel tempo che si starà in Fiorenza. La mia[c], perché non so donde m'andare, e voi ci sete più forastiero di me, vorrei che fusse unitamente dal Cesti, avendomi scritto d'esserci la comodità; del resto, mi rimetto a voi che sapete et il mio et il genio de' fiorentini, e già che fate tanto, pensate anche a questo, perché la libertà sia avanti a tutte le cose.

Per assicurarmi dal pericolo di portar monete per viaggio, v'invio l'aclusa poliza di scudi cinquanta di[d] paoli dieci, quali serviranno per dar principio alle provisioni ch'ella ha pensiero di fare, et, occorrendovi altro bisogno, avisatemi subito, ché v'invierò tutto il mio tesoro.

Cento saluti alla signora sua sorella e signor Cosimo, così da mia come da parte della signora Lucrezia, con la quale viviamo impazienti di rivedervi et abracciarvi, e di core vi dò la buona sera; di Roma, questo dì 7 di maggio 1661.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 255
Salvator Rosa to Lodovico Maffei
Autograph, Strozzavolpe to Volterra, 29 July 1661*

[c. 194v]
Al signor Lodovico Maffei
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Volterra[e]

[c. 193r]
Amico carissimo

Unitamente col signor Ricciardi restiamo meravigliati che Vostra Signoria non abbia a quest'ora riceuto[f] il suo guardacore, poiché, doppo molte deligenze fatte non solo in Pisa, ma in Livorno, e non trovato mai il simile, il signor Ricciardi lasciò ordinato al signor Cosimo che si manda[sse] speditamente a Vostra Signoria, et in una lettra di detto signor Cosimo dice averlo dato ad un tal Simone, e pure Vostra Signoria mi scrive di non averlo riceuto, a segno tale che ieri si riscrisse di nuovo a Pisa.

Signor Lodovico, non pensi Vostra Signoria che per questo fatto non si sia fatta ogni esatta deligenza, ché sarebbe, il pensare altrimenti, un peccato de' più grandi che si potesse commettere.

Li facciamo sapere come sono oggi 20 giorni e più che ci troviamo in villa di Strozzavolpe, donde non facciamo che tutto giorno aditare Volterra in compagnia della signora Lucrezia e

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* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 193r–c. 194v. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:113–114, letter 107; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 270, letter 247.

a Ms: *impietà*, for "empietà".

b Ms: *vitturini*, for "vetturini".

not to have to bring directly along the Arno things that won't be of use to us in Florence. I'll try to make the journey in five days (if I can), but if it's not possible, then I'll submit myself to the mercy of the coachmen.

Signora Lucrezia asks you not to make known her coming to Florence, since she'd like to surprise her mother upon her arrival, with whom she thinks she'll stay for the duration of her time in Florence. As for my stay, since I don't know where to go—and you're more of a foreigner than me—I'd prefer that it was with Cesti, as he's written to say this would be possible.[8] As for the rest, I submit myself to your decision—as you know both my character and that of the Florentines—and since you do so much, then think about this too, so that freedom comes before everything else.

In order to insure myself against the danger of carrying money on the journey, I'm sending you the enclosed bill of exchange[9] for fifty *scudi*, each in ten *paoli*[10], which will serve to start making the provisions you would like to arrange, and if any other requirement occurs to you, tell me immediately and I'll send you all of my treasures.[11]

One hundred greetings to the Signora, your sister[12], and to Signor Cosimo[13], both on my behalf and Signora Lucrezia's, with whom I live impatient to see you and embrace you again, and from my heart I bid you good evening, from Rome, today the 7th of May 1661.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 255
Salvator Rosa to Lodovico Maffei
Autograph, Strozzavolpe to Volterra, 29 July 1661

To Signor Lodovico Maffei
My Lord, may God protect you
Volterra

Dearest friend,

Together with Signor Ricciardi, we're amazed that your Lordship has not yet received your jacket[1], since after a great deal of diligence carried out not only in Pisa, but also in Livorno, we've not been able to find it. Signor Ricciardi entrusted it to Signor Cosimo[2] to send it promptly to your Lordship, and in one of Signor Cosimo's letters he says he gave it to a certain Simone[3], and yet your Lordship writes to say that you never received it. So yesterday we wrote to Pisa again.

Signor Lodovico, your Lordship should not think that in this matter we didn't make every punctual effort. To believe otherwise would be the greatest sin you could commit.

We can tell you that it's been more than twenty days now that we've been at the villa of Strozzavolpe[4], where we do nothing but spend all day pointing at Volterra in the company of Signora Lucrezia, Signor Ricciardi and Augusto, and greet from afar the merits of your entire

c Ms: *la mia*. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "la mia dimora". With the phrase "la mia," Rosa seems to be referring to his own journey, analogous to Lucrezia's ("la sua venuta"), mentioned above.
d Ms: *di*. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "e" (in error).
e Ms: *Volterra*.
f Ms: *riceuto*, for "ricevuto".

della medesima fortuna, uno se ne ruppe. I rami son venuti meglio condizionati d'ogni altra cosa, e di questo ringrazio il Cielo, come quelli che più mi premevano; e quest'è quanto.

Del resto, poi, vi posso giurare che mi ritrovo il più stolido conzo[a] che viva, e quelle specie che poco dianzi[b] m'erano di tanto sollievo a meditarle, mi sono ora di fermento[c] non ordinario.

[c. 1v] La signora Lucrezia sospira l'appetito di Strozzavolpe, et Augusto non si rinviene e par stolido ancor lui, et io, lontano da voi, maledico quella fortuna che mi costringe a sì fatta lontananza; e questo è intorno al viaggio e mio arrivo in Roma.

Circa poi alla lettra ch'io ricevo, scrittami da voi li 5 di novembre, mi riserbo a rispondervi per quest'altro ordinario, per esserci alcuni punti i quali non mi basta l'animo, così all'imprescia, di discifrarli[d], e questo è l'avermi rimandato indietro quell'ordine che io v'inviai prima d'arrivar costà. Basta, ve ne dirò con più comodità il mio sentimento.

Domani incomincerò a dar l'acqua ai rami e, feniti che saranno, resterete servito di quanto sono in debito di sodisfarvi, e con essi vi manderò anche il Sest'Empirico.

Vi prego a riverirmi tutti di casa, e salutarmi tutti cotesti signori, tanto cordiali verso la mia persona.

La signora Lucrezia vi prega che a suo nome salutiate tutti di vostra casa, et Augusto vi bacia cento volte le mani. Idio conceda a voi ogni bene, et a me salute per poter corrispondere alle grazie riceute[e] dalla vostra liberalità, e di core v'abraccio, conforme il simile fa la signora Lucrezia, di Roma, questo dì 11[f] di novembre 1661.

Di Vostra Signoria

FIG. 3

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 260
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 16 November 1661*

Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore, Dio guardi
Pisa

Amico caro

Così fortuna va cangiando stato. Appena oggi sono otto giorni feni[i][g] di scrivervi quattro righe ch'il nostro povero Farfanicchio[h] s'ammalò d'una terzana doppia, e sono oggi sette giorni che si contrasta con serviziali[i], medicine, e sanguine et altri incredienti[j] preservanti alla malignità della mutazione dell'aria, e paure ricevute per istrada mediante le cascate della lettiga, viaggiare di notte, e passaggi di fiumi, et altri rimescolamenti che portano seco i viaggi. Basta, così vogliono i fati, e così è forza che vogliamo ancor noi. I medicanti sono stati a tempo, et in riguardo di questa sollecitudine si sono assicurate le cose, e con l'aiuto del Supremo si sta comodamente bene.

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* Collection of the Arcangeli family, Florence. Published: Limentani 1953, 54–57, letter 5; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 274–276, letter 252. The transcription given here is based upon Limentani 1953.

a Ms: *conzo*, for "gonzo". See De Rinaldis 1939, 124, note 2.

b Ms: *dianzi*, for "dinanzi".

c Ms: *fermento*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "fermento"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "tormento".

d Ms: *discifrarli*, for "decifrarli".

better condition than everything else, and for this I thank Heaven, since they're the things I valued most. And that's that.

As for the rest, then, I swear to you that I think I'm the most slow-witted moron alive today, and the things that not long ago gave my thoughts such great relief, in dwelling upon them, now give me extraordinary agitation.

Signora Lucrezia yearns for the appetite she had at Strozzavolpe, and Augusto hasn't yet recovered, and he also seems glum. And I, so far away from you, curse the fortune that keeps me so distant. And this is everything regarding the voyage and my arrival in Rome.

Concerning the letter I received, which you wrote to me on November 5th, I plan to reply to you in the next post, because there are a few things there that I'm not able to wrap my head around right now[6]—that is, the fact that you sent me back the money I sent to you in advance of my arrival there.[7] Enough. I'll tell you my feelings about it at a more convenient moment.

Tomorrow I'll start etching the copper plates[8], and as soon as they're finished you'll be served according to the debts I owe you. I'll also send you the Sextus Empiricus[9] along with them.

I beg of you to greet the entire household on my behalf, and to say hello to all of your gentlemen[10] who are so cordial towards my person.

Signora Lucrezia begs of you to greet your entire family on her behalf, and Augusto kisses your hands a hundred times. May God grant you every blessing, and grant me health so as to be able to correspond to your generous favours, and with my heart I embrace you, as does Signora Lucrezia, from Rome, today the 11th of November 1661.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 260
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 16 November 1661

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My Lord, may God protect you
Pisa

Dear friend,

It seems that the whims of fortune are changing[1]: eight days ago, as soon as I finished writing a few lines to you, our poor Farfaricchio[2] was taken ill with a twofold tertian fever[3], and it's now been seven days that he's been struggling with laxatives[4], medicines, blood-lettings[5] and other things to protect him against the malignity of the change of air[6], and the anxieties brought on by the journey on account of the tumblings of the carriage, travelling at night, crossing rivers, and the other hassles that come with travel.[7] Enough. The Fates desire it thus, so we have to endure it, too. The doctors[8]

e Ms: *riceute*, for "ricevute".
f Ms: *11* or *12*. Reading uncertain.
g Limentani 1953: "feni[i]". Borrelli and Festa 2003: "feniti".
h Limentani 1953: "Farfanicchio," for "Farfaricchio".
i Limentani 1953: "servitiali," for "serviziali".
j Limentani 1953: "incredienti," for "ingredienti".

Che ne dite di sì fatti cambi? Dalle deliziose solitudini et aria salubre di Strozzavolpe siamo passati all'ire della molesta e pestilenziale aria di Roma. La signora Lucrezia è inconsolabile in riguardo della mutazione della vita, e vi posso giurare che manciava più in una sera a Strozzavolpe che non ha fatto in quindici giorni che si ritrova in Roma; né fa altro dalla matina alla sera che ramentare la vita lasciata, le cortesie ricevute dalla vostra liberalità, et io con un basso continovo replico seco le medesime cose.

Mi persuado che a quest'ora siate in Pisa, e però non vi dimando nulla delle cose di Fiorenza. Vi dico bene che 'l Fantacci cortesissimo, con l'occasione d'una lettiga vota ch'è venuta di Firenze, m'ha mandato a regalare di nuovo d'una cassetta di Verdea, et un'altra di salami di Lombardia. Ma io, che non sono avvezzo ad essere soprafatto se non da voi, l'ho mandato un quadretto del signor Ghisolfi assai bello, e ringraziatolo al maggior segno.

Questa matina s'è concluso il prezzo della tavola dell'Anime del Purgatorio per Milano per cento doble, et è la sua misura palmi dieci e mezzo, e 7 di larghezza, e va in un luogo il più riguardevole di quella città.

Ieri mi capitò un personaggio con una lettera di Germania con un'altra misura per un quadro, istoria del Testamento Vecchio, che di là vogliono di mia mano, et io per farlo l'ho dimandato mille scudi per il suo prezzo. Questi sono gli accidenti di questa settimana.

Avevo incominciato a dar l'acqua ai rami, ma la infermità del putto m'ha fatto lasciare ogni cosa; fenito ch'avrò questa funzione, vi manderò i disegni e con i disegni il libro di Sest'Empirico.

Della poliza rimandatami indietro averei molte cose da dirvi, ma per non offendere la grandezza del vostro animo le tralascio; dico solo che potevate far di meno di rimandarmela, per farmi conoscere un atto di maggior confidenza e corrispondere nella medesima maniera di sicurtà che avevo usata con voi; ma perché io intendo questa sorte di linguaggio, vi prometto d'approfitarmene, e per l'avenire non darvi più incomodi così dispendiosi.

Questo carnevale nella mia contrada da una conversazione di galant'uomini si rappresenta la comedia vostra dell'osteria[a], e questo spero che soccederà tutto con vostra fama e mia straordinaria sodisfazione, essendo pure arrivato a sentire che a questo cielo si rappresenterà una delle vostre fatiche, alla barba dell'idolatrato Cicognini.

È necessario che dichi[b] a voi ciò che passa intorno a gli interessi del Cesti. Questi signori si dichiarano molto maltratati da quest'uomo per aversi preso ardire di prendersi con tanta facilità da sé medesimo l'arbitrio della licenza in tempo ch'aveva più che obligo di ritornare a rassegnarsi in Roma, essendo stato prestato dal papa a coteste altezze per lo semplice servizio della comedia, e per tempo determinato. L'imprudente musico, non ricordandosi de' benefici ricevuti, ha scritto qui in Roma di non voler più ritornare, senza ricordarsi che questo non poteva soccedere che con suo grandissimo danno, come si dubita che sia per soccedere, per essere duplicatamente religioso, e per consequenza[c] tenuto all'obedienza de' suoi superiori, i quali dicono che, quando questa bestia volesse far di capriccio e buttarsi al partito del disperato, li manderanno l'obedienza a ciò venghi[d] e, non venendo, caschi in pena delle solite scumuniche[e], per esser lui tenuto alla religione nella quale è votato, e che a questo riguardo li fu fatta la grazia dello sfratarsi a ciò avesse a servire alla Cappella Pontificia, ch'altrimenti lo faranno ritornare nella religione di San Francesco, e forse con qualche migliazione[f].

Credetemi, amico, c'ho[g] fatto per lui quello che lui mai si sognerà di far per me, ma è ben vero che per quello che s'appartiene alla materia dell'obligo del ritorno, dico che non l'ho potuto

a Limentani 1953: "Hosteria".
b Limentani 1953: "dichi," for "dica".
c Limentani 1953: "consequenza," for "conseguenza".
d Limentani 1953: "venghi," for "venga".

have acted quickly, and because of their care they've secured the situation, and with the aid of the Supreme One, he's doing comfortably well.

What a difference, don't you think? From the delightful solitudes and salubrious air of Strozzavolpe we've passed into the wrath of Rome's troublesome and pestilential air. Signora Lucrezia is inconsolable with regard to the change of routine, and I can swear to you that she ate more in a single evening at Strozzavolpe than she's had in the fifteen days that she's been back in Rome. From morning to night, she does nothing other than reminisce about those days, the courtesies received from your generosity—and I, providing the continual bass[9], repeat along with her the same things.

I'm sure you must be in Pisa by now, so I won't ask you anything about Florence. I can report that our kindest Fantacci[10], finding an empty carriage on its way from Florence, has once again sent me the gift of a small box of Verdea wine[11], and another containing Lombard salami. But because I'm only used to your overwhelming favours, I've sent him a very beautiful small painting by Signor Ghisolfi[12], and have thanked him as much as possible.

This morning the price of the painting of the Souls in Purgatory[13] for Milan was agreed upon at one hundred *doble*. It measures ten and a half *palmi* in height and seven in width, and it's destined for the most highly-regarded location in that city.

Yesterday a certain person arrived here with a letter from Austria, with another set of measurements for a painting, a story from the Old Testament, which they want from my hand, and in order to do it I've asked for a thousand *scudi* as the price.[14] These are the events of this week.

I've begun to etch the copper plates, but the child's[15] illness has made me put everything to one side. When I've finished this task, I'll send you the drawings[16] along with the book by Sextus Empiricus.[17]

With regard to the bill of exchange you sent back to me[18], I have many things to say to you, but in order not to offend your liberality of mind, I'll omit them. I'll only say that you didn't have to send it back to me to show me a gesture of greater familiarity and to match the same kind of trust that I've shown you. But because I understand this sort of language, I promise to learn from it, and, in the future, not to bother you with any more costly inconvenience.

During next[19] Carnival, in my neighbourhood, a group of gentlemen will be presenting your tavern comedy[20], and I hope it will bring great success to your reputation, and to my extraordinary satisfaction, since I was able to find out that one of your works will be performed in this city, despite the venerated Cicognini[21].

I have to tell you what's going on regarding Cesti's business. These gentlemen are claiming to have been very mistreated by this man, on account of his having ventured—with a great deal of ease on his own part—to take the latitude[22] to be absent, whereas he was required to return to Rome and turn himself in, even more so in that the pope had granted him permission only on account of the comedy, and for a determined period of time. The imprudent musician, not considering the benefits he's received, has written to Rome that he no longer plans to return, without recognizing that this would be of great detriment to him. And it's certain that this will happen, what with him being furthermore a cleric and therefore obliged to obey his superiors, who say that if this beast wants to act on a whim and behave recklessly[23] they'll send him the command to return, and that if he doesn't he'll receive the punishment of the usual excommunications, what with him being bound to the order for which he took vows, and that in this regard he was only granted licence to leave the order[24] so that he could serve the papal chapel, otherwise they'll make him return to the order of Saint Francis, perhaps with some humiliation.[25]

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e Limentani 1953: "scumuniche," for "scomuniche".

f Limentani 1953: "migliazione," presumably for "umiliazione".

g Limentani 1953: "ch'ò".

difendere, e però stimo necessario, anzi neccessarissimo che si risolvi a venire, altrimenti darà in scoglio non ordinario, attesoché i preti hanno le mani troppo lunghe, e nelle perfidie ci fanno stare qualsivoglia persona. Se l'amico si ritrova ancora in Fiorenza, Vostra Signoria ce ne scriva due righe a mio nome, e che non manchi d'ubedire per quanto stima la sua libertà e coscienza, e quest'è quanto.

Vorrei che mi mandaste la misura di quelle due cornici vote di vostra sala, a ciò, venendomi qualche occasione, possiate restar servito, ché qua non ne mancano. Vi ricordo ancora della promessa de' soggetti comici, ogni volta però ch'averete volontà d'aplicarvi.

La signora Lucrezia e Farfanicchio malato salutano e voi e tutti di vostra casa, conforme fò io di tutto core, e mentre con l'anima v'abraccio, vi prego dal Cielo ogni bene, di Roma, questo dì 16 di novembre 1661.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 261
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 30 November 1661*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[a]

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Sono oggi trent'uno giorni che si è combatuto con la morte, mediante una febre maligna in persona d'Augusto nostro. Siamo stati due volte col confessore, et in tutto questo tempo non mi son spogliato che cinque o sei volte. Ma la povera signora Lucrezia, mai. Finalmente, per grazia del Signore, siamo in stato di sicurezza: ve ne do l'aviso, a ciò ve ne possiate rallegrare come il maggior amico ch'io mi abbia in questo mondo. La signora Lucrezia, se non s'amala, farà più che Orlando, et io mi racomando a i numi per la medesima paura. Dateci qualche nova di voi, e compatitemi se non sono più lungo, ché ho una testa più vota d'una cucuzza[a]. V'abraccio e vì desidero ogni bene, di Roma, questo dì ultimo di ottobre 1661.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 95, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 42, letter 94 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 125, letter 95; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 276, letter 253. A short mathematical calculation appears on c. 2v, presumably in Ricciardi's hand.

Believe me, friend, I've done things for him that he'd never have even dreamed of doing for me, but it's true that, in regard to the matter of his obligation to return, I have to say I've not been able to defend him, so I think it necessary—indeed, very necessary—that he resolves to come back, otherwise he'll encounter extraordinary obstacles, considering that the priests have a very long reach, and in matters of treachery they surpass everyone[26]. If our friend is still in Florence, your Lordship, write him two lines about this on my behalf and tell him that, for however much he values his freedom and conscience, he ought to obey, and that's that.

I'd like you to send me the measurements of those two empty frames[27] for your room, so that if I have the opportunity I can do you the favour, since there are a lot of them[28] here. I remind you again about your promise regarding the comic subjects[29]—if, that is, you have the inclination to apply yourself.

Signora Lucrezia and a poorly Farfaricchio greet you and your entire house, as do I with all my heart, and meanwhile I embrace you with my soul and pray to Heaven for your every blessing, today the 16th of November 1661.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 261
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 30 November 1661

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend[1],

It has been thirty-one[2] days since we've been at war with death, on account of a malignant fever that's taken over our Augusto.[3] We've been with the confessor twice, and in all this time I've not undressed[4] more than five or six times, and poor Signora Lucrezia, never. Finally, by the grace of the Lord, we're out of danger: I'm telling you this so that you can rejoice in it as the greatest friend I have in this world. Signora Lucrezia, if she doesn't fall ill, will do more than Orlando[5], and I commend myself to the gods out of the same fear. Give us some of your news, and forgive me if I don't write more as my head is emptier than a pumpkin. I embrace you and wish you every blessing, from Rome, today the last of November[6] 1661.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

a Ms: *cucuzza*, for "cocuzza".

Letter 262
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 2 December 1661*

[c. 1r]
Amico caro

Chi nacque per languire non aspetti altro mai che influssi atroci.

La medaglia della vostra lettra m'ha fatto buttare uno strillo, che un pazzo non poteva far di vantaggio. E chi poteva mai, da quel primo impronto, imaginarsi un rovescio così differente? Un trapasso così inaspettato? E non volete poi ch'io dichi[a] che l'influenze pessime delle stelle vigilano unitamente per l'inquietudine d'uno solo? Si può sentir cumulo d'ira di Cieli più della vostra? Oh, che bei transiti, oh che belle peripezie! E poi non volete ch'io strilli e che mi facci sentire di là dal mondo, che 'l seme de' malanni è in noi e, consequentemente[b], pululano dovunque noi respiriamo.

Ma lodo per mille volte l'onnipotenza eterna che le cose siano sortite in sicurezza di salute, e ritornate le cose alla pristina quiete.

Amico, è troppo necessario il vivere ne' tempi dell'estate lontano da cotesta palude, assicurandovi che lo starci è un stuzzicare l'istessa cattività e, per dirvela, io stupisco che vi sia individuo vivo nella staggione del caldo. Abiasi pacienza chi ci abita, ché peggio non credo che si possa far di cotest'aria.

Oh quanto ci siamo ingannati con la signora Lucrezia, attesoché dicevamo: Il Ricciardi a quest'ora sarà nel tugurio. Beato lui che seguita il periodo delle sospirate solitudini, e, s'è lontano da Strozzavolpe, è però in luogo consimile e di sua sodisfazione; né sapevamo che si facevano i conti senza l'oste.

[c. 1v] Ma non si può far altro; bisogna ing[hi]otirsela[c] e prepararsi a sofferire quelle che sono ancora[d] in cuna.

La malattia di Farfaricchio ci ha fatto sudare e sospettare e, se i medicamenti non erano a tempo, per Dio che ci averia[e] dato da sospira[r][f] per un pezzo. Per l'Idio grazia è fuori di pericolo, e le dure febri l'hanno quasi lasciato affatto; seguita però a star nel letto per la debolezza. Fra questo mentre ho avuto ancor io un rafredore fierissimo, con dolori di testa crudeli e, per dirvela, il transito dell'aria è così differente che non so come non ci abbia trafitti affatto, essendo più deliziose le fierezze dell'aria di Strozzavolpe che la severità[g] di questa contagiosa ariaccia di Roma, e, per Dio, che invidio, cento volte il giorno, lo stato di don Michele, anzi del minimo contadino di Strozzavolpe. Ma perché fortuna vuol così, bisogna serar gl'occhi.

Io non so che vi cinquetate[h] di conti, di danari spesi, pagati ad altri. Giuro al Cielo che voi mi volete matto con sì fatti motivi. Per amor di Cristo, amico, ricordatevi ch'io, se non sono perfetto nell'ottime e sante leggi dell'amicizia, non sono però tanto indietro nelle buone cognizioni d'essa che non ne sappia almeno i principi; e però vi dico col maggior senno ch'io mi abbia che se, un'altra volta voi mi motivate sì fatte coglionarie, m'obligherete a non scrivervi mai più.

Gesù[i], Gesù, Gesù, e che non sapete a quest'ora il mio genio? E che in me non v'è cosa che vostra non sia? Per amor d'Idio, non mi fate sentire sì fatte puerilità, ché d'amico vi giuro che mi

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 96, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 43, letter 96 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 125–128, letter 96; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 277–279, letter 254. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *dichi*, for "dica".

b Ms: *consequentemente*, for "conseguentemente".

c Ms: *ingnotirsela*, for "inghiottirsela". See De Rinaldis 1939, 126, note 2.

d Ms: {*ancora*}.

Letter 262
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 2 December 1661

Dear friend,

He who was born to suffer can expect nothing but a horrible fate[1].

Like a two-sided coin, your letter caused me to let out a scream that even a madman couldn't rival. After seeing that first side, who could ever imagine such a different reverse?[2] Such an unexpected transition! And yet you don't want me to say that the stars' bad influences unite to constantly ensure the restlessness of just one single person. Has anyone ever heard a greater heap of extreme anger than yours? Oh, what beautiful alterations[3], oh what beautiful vicissitudes! But you don't want me to scream—and make myself heard on the other side of the world—that we possess the seed of misfortune, which consequently sprouts up wherever we breathe.

But I'll praise Eternal Omnipotence a thousand times if things turn out to the benefit of health, and are returned to their previous tranquillity.

Friend, during the summer one should live far away from that swamp, as I can assure you that staying there is tantamount to provoking illness itself.[4] And, to tell you the truth, I'm astonished that anyone can survive this hot season. Whoever lives there must have patience, since I don't think this air could be any worse.

Oh, how wrong we were, Signora Lucrezia and I, in saying to ourselves: "By now Ricciardi will be at his hovel[5]. He's so lucky to stay in that beloved place of solitude, and, if he's far away from Strozzavolpe, he must be somewhere similar that pleases him".[6] We didn't know we were counting our chickens before they'd hatched.[7]

But what can you do? You just have to put up with these things, and prepare to suffer those that are destined for us in the future.

Farfaricchio's illness[8] had us worried and anxious, and if the doctors hadn't been so timely, by God, he'd have kept us distressed[9] for a while. By the grace of God, he's out of danger, and the fever's severity has almost entirely diminished. But he's still in bed on account of the weakness. Meanwhile, I also had the fiercest cold, with cruel headaches. And, to tell you the truth, the change of air is so great that I don't know how it didn't kill us, what with the pure rural air of Strozzavolpe being more agreeable than the severity of this infected bad air of Rome. And by God, how I envy a hundred times a day our Don Michele's[10] situation—indeed, even that of the lowliest peasants of Strozzavolpe. But since fortune desires it thus, it's better not to think about it.

I don't know what you're muttering[11] about, regarding accounts, expenses, payments and other things. I swear to Heaven that you want to drive me crazy with such matters.[12] For the love of Christ, friend, remember that, even if I'm not perfect according to the mighty and holy laws of friendship[13], I'm not so backward in understanding it that I don't at least know the principles. And so I'll tell you with all of my mind that if you bring up such nonsense to me again, you'll force me not to write to you ever again.

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e Ms: *averia*, for "avrebbe".
f Ms: *sospira*, for "sospirare".
g Ms: *severità* or *serenità*. Reading uncertain.
h Ms: *cinquetate*, for "cinguettate". De Rinaldis 1939: "cinguietate".
i Ms: *Giesù*, for "Gesù".

fanno nausea a sentirle dalla vostra bocca; [c. 2r] anzi vorrei che vi ricordassivo[a] che io ho mille scudi, i quali sono ad ogni vostra riquisizione, e tanto basti.

Del Cesti non starò a dire di vantaggio, sentendo per tutto l'ostinazione de' suoi pensieri, e pure io, che l'amo, non so trovare argomenti così gagliardi da difenderlo dalle giuste mormorazioni che si fanno contro di lui; e questi preti, che sanno donde il gran diavolo tiene la coda, lo predicano per il più ingrato[b] uomo dell'universo, e per dirvela, con qualche raggione, per il beneficio fattoli dello sfratamento, al quale non poté †…†[c] il suo arciduca. Ma perché il musico è nato e vive per dare in sì fatte debolezze, lascerò[d] che se la sbrighi da per lui, tanto più che intendo che 'l gran duca ci ha poste le mani, che vuol dire che consequirà[e] tutto quello che lui desidera in riguardo dell'autorità di principe così grande.

De' soggetti comici, intendo sempre che 'l tutto socceda sul concertato, e con vostra comodità; e s'io avessi potuto indovinare le vostre disgrazie, saria[f] stato pazzo a farvene un minimo motivo.

Della comedia non parlo, attesoché gli intermedi delle vostre aflezioni sono di maggior conseguenza assai che tutto il campo dell'opera; godo però ch'abiate avuto sodisfazione a quel segno che me ne segnificate.

Fatemi grazia riverirmi tutti di vostra casa, e che godo al maggior segno della ricuperata loro salute, et il simile dice la signora Lucrezia e Farfanicchio[g] nostro.

Al signor canonico da Scorno un cordialissimo saluto, e che mi rallegro della buona nova che sento della sua ricuperata sanità.

[c. 2v] Le misure mandatemele quando potete, ché saranno sempre a tempo per trovarci qualche cosa d'empire il vano d'esse.

Quando scrivete al signor Giacomo, non vi dimenticate di riverirlo a nome di tutti, come anche al signor Minucci gentilissimo.

Del resto, Idio conceda a voi quel bene che desidero per me medesimo, et il simile s'intenda ad ogn'uno di vostra casa, mentre di tutto il core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 2 di decembre 1661.

Di Vostra Signoria

Abraciatemi il signor Cosimo cordialmente.

FIG. 4

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

a Ms: *ricordassivo*, for "ricordaste".
b Ms: *ingrrato* or *ingnorato*. Reading uncertain.
c Ms: †…†. De Rinaldis 1939: "arivarci". Borrelli and Festa 2003: "ovviare" (in error).
d Ms: *lascierò*.

Jesus, Jesus, Jesus! How can you not yet know my mind, nor that everything in me doesn't also belong to you? For the love of God, don't subject me to such childishness, since, as a friend I swear to you that just hearing it from your lips makes me nauseated. In fact, I'd like you to remember that I have a thousand *scudi* that are available at your every request, and that's enough of that.

I won't say any more about Cesti, having heard everywhere the obstinacy of his decisions.[14] Even I, who love him, can't find arguments strong enough to defend him from the justifiable rumours spoken against him. And these priests, who know how to be sharp and cunning[15], preach that he's the most ungrateful man in the universe, and to tell you the truth, they do so with some reason, for the benefit he was granted to leave the monastic order, which even his archduke couldn't have [arranged].[16] But because our musician was born and lives to give in to such weaknesses, I'll leave it to him to sort it out, especially since I understand that the Grand Duke[17] has taken on the matter—which is to say he'll achieve whatever he wants, on account of the authority of such a great prince.

As for the comic subjects[18], my understanding is, as always, that everything should be as we agreed, and at your leisure. And if I could have been able to guess at your misfortunes, it would have been crazy to make even the slightest mention[19] of it.

I won't say anything about the comedy, considering that the interludes of your afflictions relegate the comedy itself to the background.[20] I'm glad, however, that you've been pleased as much as you've told me.

Do me the favour of greeting your entire family on my behalf, and tell them I'm thrilled to hear that they've been restored to health, and Signora Lucrezia and our Farfaricchio say the same.

A most cordial greeting to Signor Canon da Scorno[21], and tell him I rejoice in the good news I hear of his restored health.

Send me the measurements when you can, since there are plenty of opportunities to find something to fill them up.[22]

When you write to Signor Giacomo[23], don't forget to greet him on behalf of everyone, and do the same to the kindest Signor Minucci[24].

As for the rest, may God grant you the blessings I also wish for myself, and the same is intended to everyone in your family, while with all my heart I embrace you, from Rome, today the 2nd of December 1661.

Cordially embrace Signor Cosimo[25] for me.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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e Ms: *consequirà*, for "conseguirà".
f Ms: *saria*, for "sarebbe".
g Ms: *Farfanicchio*, for "Farfaricchio".

Letter 280
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), (post-15?) July 1662*

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Bisogna aver pacienza e credere che, quando io prendo la penna per scrivervi quattro sole righe, lo fò in tempo che mi pesa la testa come una macina, già che, per mia fortuna, sempre il sabato mi ritrovo con i pennelli in mano, e per far le cose come vanno fatte o, per dir meglio, per farle men cattive degli altri, mi bisogna star con la testa a bottega e con l'occhio a pennello, non bastandomi più l'anima di far quelle prove che si facevano nella gioventù; e s'io vi dicessi che son necessitato, quando dipingo, a dipingere in piedi, ella lo puol[a] credere rispetto all'ipocondria o flati, come diavolo s'hanno a chiamare, che mi tormentano a segno tale che, nel comparire che fò la sera al monte doppo il lavoro, tutti mi veggono[b] la languidezza nel volto e l'esanimazione negli occhi. Però compatitemi, e credetemi, per l'amicizia sacrosanta che passa fra di noi, che ad altri che a voi non scrivo a persona del mondo, mancando anche di rispondere molte [c. 1v] volte ad alcuni che da vari luoghi mi scrivono.

La stanza di Roma, oh quanto è differente dalla vita che si faceva a Strozzavolpe! Basta, bisogneria[c] esser ne' miei panni e poi dolersi.

Son stato due mesi intorno alla tavola dell'Anime del Purgatorio, la quale, per grazia della fortuna, e a dispetto di chi mi vuol buono per altro, è stata veduta da tutti i pittori di Roma megliori, e, giunta in Milano, ha messo sotto sopra la città, a segno tale che il cavalier Rondini ne giubila di sodisfazione.

I due rami grandi riuscirono assai bene, et a quest'ora sono in Fiandra e Pariggi assieme con tutto il resto, che vendono 6 giuli l'uno, et io li dò a li mercadanti per mezzo scudo l'uno, e si sbaiocca a qualche segno, con speranza ch'abiano ad esser col tempo in maggior prezzo e venerazione al sicuro. L'Atilio è uscito fuori col vostro nome.

Ve ne dirò una un poco più prelibata. Il papa l'ha comendate a gran segno, e, per mostrar quanto le stimava, le volse[d] presso di lui, e di presente le tiene sopra un suo tavolino (e spienne[e]), dicendo questa è una gran fantasia (e spienne[f]). [c. 2r] V'è poesia e bizzaria straordinaria (e spienne[g]).

Di presente sto facendo due quadri, quali ve ne darò raguaglio per quest'altro ordinario, e quest'è quanto. Comanda altro Vostra Signoria, Coccia sgarbatissimo[h]?

Se i versi del Niente non vagliono niente[i], diasi la colpa a quel coglione che li ha composti, e, se son[j] scritti male, di grazia compatite, ché[k] non è mia colpa, ma per quello che sono, non ci voleva meglior scrittore.

Ho detto e dico al signor Conti che son pronto per sborsare quanto occorrerà, onde Vostra Signoria può scrivere al signor Marcantonio che non si dia tanta impazienza, ché vi sono io per suplire a[l] quanto bisognerà.

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 24, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Limentani 1950, 124–127, letter 32; Mahoney 1977, 2: image 5; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 292–293, letter 271. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *puol*, for "può".

b Ms: *veggono*, for "vedono".

c Ms: *bisogneria*, for "bisognerebbe".

d Ms: *volse* or *vuolse*, for "volle". Reading uncertain.

e Ms: *spienne*. In a larger script, for emphasis.

Letter 280
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), (post-15?) July 1662

Dearest friend,

You'll have to be patient, and realize that when I take up the pen to write you only a few lines, I'm doing it at a time when my head weighs like a millstone—because, thanks to my fortune, I spent all of Saturday with paintbrushes in hand, and, in order to do well (or, to put it better, in order to make sure that my work is not as bad as that of others) I had to keep the mind sharp[1] and the eye focused[2], not having the strength to perform as I did when I was young. And if I told you that I have to paint standing up, you'd believe it, on account of the hypochondria[3], or flatulence—or whatever the hell it's called—that torments me to such a degree that when I go out at night on the mount[4], after working, everyone sees the listlessness in my face and the despondency[5] in my eyes. So forgive and believe me, on account of the sacrosanct friendship that we share, that I write to no one else in the world but you—I even neglect to respond on many occasions to those who write to me from various places.

Life in Rome—oh, how different it is to the time we spent at Strozzavolpe! Enough. One has to live in my shoes first before complaining about it.

I've been working for two months now on the painting of the Souls in Purgatory[6]. And by the grace of fortune, and in spite of whoever thinks I'm only good at other things[7], it was seen by all of the best painters of Rome, and—reaching Milan—it's turned the city topsy turvy, to such a degree that the Cavalier Rondini[8] rejoices in it with satisfaction.

The two large copper plates[9] have turned out very well, and by now they've[10] reached Flanders and Paris together with all the rest, which are selling for six *giuli* each, and I'm passing them on to the dealers for half a *scudo* each. They're earning some significant profit[11], with the hope that in time they'll certainly increase in price, as well as in veneration.[12] The *Atilius* has gone out with your name on it.[13]

I'll tell you something a little more exciting about them: the pope[14] has praised them very highly, and in order to show how much he esteems them, he keeps them with him and currently has them on one of his small tables. And what's more, he praises their imagination. And get this: they have poetry, and extraordinary eccentricity[15], he says![16]

Right now I'm working on two paintings, which I'll tell you about in my next letter, and that's that.[17] Do you have anything else to command, your most discourteous[18] Lordship, Signor Hard-Head?[19]

If the verses of *Niente* aren't worth anything[20], then blame the asshole who composed them, and if they're poorly written, then please forgive me—it's not my fault, since, for what they are, a better writer wasn't required.

I've told Signor Conti[21]—and I'll tell him again—that I'm ready to pay out whatever necessary, so your Lordship can write to Signor Marcantonio[22] and tell him he doesn't need to be anxious about it, and that I'm here to provide whatever is required.

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f Ms: *spienne*. In a larger script, for emphasis.
g Ms: *spienne*. In a larger script, for emphasis.
h Ms: *sgarbatissimo* or *agarbatissimo*. Reading uncertain.
i Ms: *niente non vagliono Niente*, the inverted capitalization perhaps intended ironically.
j Ms: *se son*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "se non son" (in error).
k Ms: *compatite* <†…†> *ché*.
l Ms: *a*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

Centomila saluti[a] al signor Cosimo assieme con tutti di casa, e di core v'abraccio di Roma questo dì che non lo so mai[b], […][c] luglio[d] 1662,

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 281
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 29 July 1662*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Ricevo il secondo plico, e subito fu portato come l'altro, ma senza la fortuna di poterlo consegnare in man propria del signor Conti, il quale non ho mai più veduto, e, come voi dite, se non si vien per quattrini, non credo che si farà nulla al proposito; a questo io non ho colpa, avendoli significato ch'ero pronto per sborsarli ogni somma da lui dimandatami[e].

I giorni passati fu da me un certo prete, qual mi disse d'avermi a sborsare scudi dieci, e questi credo che siano quelli che Vostra Signoria mi dice che 'l signor Marcantonio ha rimessi qui in Roma per detta causa. Io non li volsi[f] pigliare, dicendoli che, quando mi saranno domandati, li ripiglierò da lui, e così restassimo. Per dirvela, questo negozio in mano al Brugiotti[g] a me non piace nulla, essendo questo un soggetto da[h] niente e di nessuna stima. Ma perché è stato eletto dal signor Conti, qual voi stimate, io non dico cosa nessuna, tanto più che in dette materie sono il Bertoldino del secolo, né posso sentir cosa di maggior noia che questo nome di lite. [c. 1v] Ho concluso i due quadri che stavo lavorando, i sogetti de' quali sono del tutto e per tutto nuovi, né tocchi mai da nessuno. Ho dipinto in una tela, di palmi 8 per lo lungo, Pitagora lungo la riva del mare cortegiato dalla sua setta, in atto di pagare ad alcuni pescatori una rete che stanno tiranno[i], a ciò si ridia la libertà ai pesci, motivo tolto da un opuscolo di Plutarco.

L'altro è quando il medesimo, doppo esser stato un anno in una sotterranea abitazione, alla fine d'esso, aspettato dalla sua setta, così d'uomini come di donne, uscì fuori e disse venir dagl'Inferi e d'aver veduto colà l'anima d'Omero, d'Esiodo, et altre coglionarie[j] appettatorie di quei tempi così dolcissimi di sale. Queste due opere l'ho fatte per esporle, alla fine di quest'altro mese, alla festa di San Giovanni Decollato; di quanto soccederà ne sarete pontualmente avisato.

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 107, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Bottari 1754, 1:329–330; Morgan 1824, 2:278–280, letter 10; Carducci 1860, 421–423, letter 10; Cesareo 1892, 2:117–118, letter 112; Gerra 1937, 45, letter 108 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 140–141, letter 107; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 294–295, letter 272. In the ms., a note in a modern hand at the head of c. 1r reads: "Pubblicata nella Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura/ e Architettura di Sig. Giov. Bottarij/ e continuata da Stefano Ticozzi/ Vol. 1 452."

a Ms: *saluti*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

b Ms: {*che non lo so mai*}.

c The day is missing in the ms. Rosa has left a blank space.

One hundred thousand greetings to Signor Cosimo[23], together with the entire family, and with my heart I embrace you, from Rome, the […] day (which I can never remember)[24] of July 1662,

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 281
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 29 July 1662

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

Dearest friend,

I received your second envelope, which I immediately forwarded as I did the other one—but without the good fortune of being able to deliver it to the hands of Signor Conti, whom I haven't seen again, and, as you say, if he doesn't ask for the money, I don't think the matter will be taken care of.[1] In this matter, however, I'm not the one to blame, as I've told him I was ready to pay out whatever sum he demanded from me.

A few days ago, a certain priest came to see me, who told me he had ten *scudi* for me, which, I believe, is the money that your Lordship tells me Signor Marcantonio had sent here to Rome for this business.[2] I didn't take the money, telling him that I'd only take it from him when the money was demanded of me, and we agreed on that. To tell you the truth, I don't like that this business lies in the hands of Brugiotti[3], since he's not a worthy character and has a bad reputation. But, since he was chosen by Signor Conti—whom you esteem—I won't say any more about it. All the more so because in such matters I'm the Bertoldino[4] of the century, and I can't imagine anything more irritating than the matter of lawsuits. I've finished the two pictures I was working on, the subjects of which are completely and utterly new and have never been treated before by anyone.[5] On a canvas of eight *palmi* in length, I've painted Pythagoras on the seashore surrounded by his sect, and in the act of paying some fishermen for a net they're hauling so as to free the fish. The theme is taken from one of Plutarch's essays.[6]

The other depicts the moment when the same man, after spending a year living underground, returns at the end of it to find his followers waiting for him, men and women alike. He emerges and declares that he's returned from Hades, having seen there the ghosts of Homer, Hesiod, and a thousand other nonsensical things typical[7] of the naivety of those times. I've made these two paintings in order to exhibit them at the end of next month, at the feast day of San Giovanni Decollato.[8] I'll let you know immediately how it goes.

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d Ms: *luglio*. Limentani 1950, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "di luglio" (in error).
e Ms: *dimandatami*, for "domandatami".
f Ms: *volsi*, for "volli".
g Ms: *Brugiotti*. Reading uncertain. Bottari 1754 (followed by Carducci 1860, Cesareo 1892, and De Rinaldis 1939): "Bregiotti".
h Ms: *da* <†…†> *niente*.
i Ms: *tiranno*, for "tirando" in the Neapolitan dialect. See De Rinaldis 1939, 141, note 2.
j Ms: *coglionarie*. Bottari 1754 (followed by Carducci 1860 and Cesareo 1892): "minchionerie," for the sake of propriety.

FIG. 35

Letter 305
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome?) to Pisa, 21 October 1663*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Avete ragione, onde datemi pure dello smemorato[a], ché me si deve. Non ricordarmi della carta del Phitalo! E pure involsi[b] l'altre, e l'avevo sotto gl'occhi. Compatitemi, perché ho buona parte di me fuor di me medesimo. Con altra occasione vi preverrà[c] nelle mani.

Per sodisfarvi circa a quel "pinx." delle mie carte, ce l'ho messo per mia cortesia, e per far credere ch'io intanto l'ho intagliate in quanto l'avevole dipinte. Ma la verità è che, dall'Attilio in poi, tra le grandi, e del Democrito e Dioggene della scodella, fra le mezzane, nessun'altra è stata da me collorita. Né è stata bastante una fantasia come quella de' Giganti a movere la voglia a nessuno di vedersela collorita.

A questo proposito, averei occasione da scriverne una Bibia, non già sacra, ma scommunicatissima; non lo fò perché così mi detta la generosità del mio animo e della mia (forse non dannabile) superbia. Oh quanto siamo tenuti alla scuola degli Stoici, i quali ci hanno insegnata un'efficace medicina per alcune umane difficultà!

[c. 1v] Le dedicatorie, o latine o volgari, ci devono importar poco; con tutto ciò procurerò di sodisfarvi.

Vi mandai per l'ordinario passato la licenza domandatami; averei caro che vi giungesse sicura. Quella vostra particolarità (così vi fussimo noi), parlando della vittellina, m'ha pieno d'amaritudini, avendomi fatto ricordare delle divine solitudini di Strozzavolpe. Ch'ogni abitato luoco[d] è nemico mortal de gl'occhi miei!

Per sollievo del mio animo vado meditando qualche viaggio; se soccederà in ciò risoluzione nessuna, ve ne darò parte; caso che no, svanirà con gl'altri miei castelli in aria.

Del resto vi prego a comandarmi, et a credere ch'io non ho di vivo e di tenace nella mia memoria e nel mio core che 'l vostro affetto e l'obligazioni che professo alla signora Lucrezia, la quale, in compagnia d'Augusto, vi riveriscono, et io di core v'abraccio, questo dì 21 d'ottobre 1663.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 25, no. 124, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Bottari 1754, 1:336–337; Morgan 1824, 2:293–295, letter 15; Carducci 1860, 436–438, letter 15; Cesareo 1892, 2:124–125, letter 118; Gerra 1937, 48, letter 125 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 157, letter 124; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 316–317, letter 296.

a Ms: *smmemorato*, intending "smemorato".

Letter 305
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, (Rome?) to Pisa, 21 October 1663

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

Dearest friend,

You're right. So you can call me neglectful because I deserve it. How could I have forgotten the print of *Phytalus*![1] And yet I had it in front of me[2] when I was packing up the others. Forgive me, because I'm half out of my mind. You can expect to receive it on another occasion.

In order to satisfy you concerning that "pinx"[3] of my prints, I've written it there for my own sake and in order to suggest that I engraved them because I painted[4] them. But the truth is that, from the *Atilius* onward, among the large ones, and the *Democritus* and *Diogenes with the Bowl* among the medium-sized prints, I've not painted any of the other printed subjects. Not even an invention like the *Giants* sufficed to move anyone's desire for a painting of it.[5]

I could write a Bible on this subject—not sacred, however, but utterly heretical. I won't do so because the generosity of my mind and my (perhaps not damnable) pride tell me not to. Oh, how much we're obliged to the school of the Stoics, who have taught us an effective medicine for certain human difficulties![6]

The dedications—either in Latin or vernacular—should not be a matter of concern. With all of this I'll try to satisfy you.[7]

In the last post, I sent you the licence you asked me for, and it's important to me that it reaches you safely.[8] Your mention of the little calf[9] (if only we could be there!) has filled me with bitterness, having reminded me of the divine solitudes of Strozzavolpe. Every inhabited place is the mortal enemy of my eyes.[10]

In order to relieve my mind, I'm thinking about taking a trip, and if I'm able to do so I'll let you know. If not, it will vanish with the rest of my fantasies.[11]

As for the rest, please command me, and trust that I have nothing more alive and tenacious in my memory and my heart than your affection, and the obligations I owe to Signora Lucrezia, who, together with Augusto, sends you greetings; and I embrace you with my heart, today the 21st of October 1663[12].

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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b Ms: *innvolsi*, intending "involsi".
c Ms: *preverrà*, for "perverrà".
d Ms: *luoco*, for "luogo".

Di mia salute sto alle medesime; solo che, per caggione d'alcune comedie, la mia testa s'è alquanto di nuovo scombusolata. Riveritemi caramente il signor Cosimo, et a voi abraccio di core, questo dì 6 di marzo 1666, Roma.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 331
Salvator Rosa to Antonio Ruffo
Autograph, (Rome?) to Messina, 1 April 1666*

[c. 1r]
Illustrissimo signore e padrone osservandissimo

Ho promesso più di una volta al signore de Rosis di servir Vostra Signoria illustrissima, ma perch'io non dipingo per arrechire[a], ma solamente per propria sodisfazione, è forza il lasciarmi trasportare da gl'impeti dell'entusiasmo et esercitare i pennelli solamente in quel tempo che me ne sento violentato. Ond'è necessità che Vostra Signoria illustrissima compatisca[b] questo[c] qual si sia in me obligata[d] vocazione, assicurandola che, venendomene l'appetito, ella sarà da me se non sodisfatta, almeno pontualmente obedita, e di core li fò riverenza, questa[e] dì 1 aprile 1666.

Di Vostra Signoria illustrissima

Obligatissimo e affezionatissimo servitore
Salvator Rosa

Letter 332
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 24 April 1666**

[c. 1v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[f]

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Quest'è il quarto foglio ch'io vi[g] scrivo senza averne[h] di nessuno veduta mai risposta: disgrazia oggi mai così inveterata che m'ho convertita in flemma l'impazienza.

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* Archive of the Ruffo family (Archivio di famiglia Ruffo), Messina, c. 1r. Published: Cesareo 1892, 2:129, letter 122; Ruffo 1916, 180; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 342–343, letter 321. The transcription given here is based upon Ruffo 1916, 180. Cesareo 1892, 2:129, note 1, noted that at the time of his publication of the letter, the ms. was in the collection of the Baron Gioacchino Ruffo de' Principi della Floresta, Messina. The *sopracoperta* is not reproduced in either Cesareo 1892 or Ruffo 1916, and was perhaps lost from an early date, however it is likely that the letter was addressed to Messina.

** Morgan Library and Museum, New York, LHMS, Misc. Artists, MA 8641, c. 1r–c. 1v. Previously unpublished. The letter has been folded on the diagonal.

With regard to my health, I'm the same, except that my head—on account of some comedies[3]—is a little unsettled again. Give my kind regards to Signor Cosimo[4], and I embrace you from the heart, today the 6th of March 1666, Rome.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 331
Salvator Rosa to Antonio Ruffo
Autograph, (Rome?) to Messina, 1 April 1666

Most illustrious Lord and most revered patron,

I have promised Signor de Rosis[1] more than once that I'll serve your most illustrious Lordship, but because I don't paint in order to make money but for my own satisfaction, I must allow myself to be carried away by the impulses of enthusiasm and take up the paintbrushes only when I feel myself rapt.[2] So your most illustrious Lordship must forgive me this necessary inclination, assuring you that, as soon as I have the appetite for it, you will be—if not satisfied—at the very least punctually obeyed, and from the heart, I bow to you, today the 1st of April 1666.

The most obliged and most affectionate servant of your most illustrious Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 332
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 24 April 1666

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

Dearest friend,

This is the fourth letter I've written you, and yet I've not seen any response. It's unfortunate I've become so accustomed to this now, as I've turned impatience into composure.

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a Cesareo 1892 and Ruffo 1916: "arrechire," for "arricchire".
b Cesareo 1892: "tolleri"; Ruffo 1916: "compatisca".
c Cesareo 1892: "questa"; Ruffo 1916: "questo".
d Cesareo 1892: "Oblighata"; Ruffo 1916: "obligata".
e Cesareo 1892: "Questo"; Ruffo 1916: "questa".
f Ms: *Pisa*.
g Ms: {*vi*}.
h Ms: *avermi* or *averne*. Reading uncertain.

Per amor di Cristo, datemi nova di vostra salute, e come ve la passate con tanti malanni, e, se io posso e voglio in parte nessuna alleggerirvene, prevaletevene, e di core vi bacio le mani. Non son più lungo per timore[a] che anche di questo mezzo[b] foglio non sia la solita disgrazia. Tutto vostro, di Roma, questo dì 24 d'aprile 1666.

Di Vostra Signoria[c]

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 333
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 9 May 1666*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Giuro che non so a che più pensare intorno al vostro ostinatissimo silenzio. Questa è la quinta volta che vi scrivo, senza aver mai avuta fortuna d'una sola vostra riga di risposta; e pure (se voi sete vivo) non sete tanto lontano da me che ci vogli tanta lunghezza di tempo per vedere un vostro foglio. Ho data la colpa alla solita disdetta dello smarrimento delle lettre, ma mi par pur dura[d] cosa d'avermi a persuadere che tutte vadino[e] in perdizione. Amico, se avete più visceri di pietà, non mi negate questa così picciola consolazione, e come più volte ve n'ho suplicato, a me basta una sola riga, nella quale intenda[f] che sete vivo, e di tutto core vi riverisco, di Roma, questo dì 9 di maggio 1666.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 334
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 29 May 1666**

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 148, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 54, letter 151 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 184–185, letter 148; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 343, letter 322.

** Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 149, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 54, letter 152 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 185, letter 149; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 344, letter 323.

For the love of Christ give me some news about your health and how you're handling your many illnesses, and if I can alleviate any of them—as I certainly want to—then take advantage of me, and with my heart I kiss your hands. I won't say any more, out of fear that this short letter might encounter the usual misfortune.[1] Entirely yours, from Rome, today the 24th of April 1666.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 333
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 9 May 1666

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

Dearest friend,

I swear that I don't know what more to think about your truly obstinate silence. This is the fifth time I've written to you, without having ever had the fortune of a single line from you in response. And yet (if you're alive) you're not so far away from me that it should take so long for me to see one of your pages. I've been blaming the usual misfortune of lost letters, however it seems difficult to believe that they're all going to perdition. Friend, if you have any feelings of mercy, don't deny me this very small consolation; and as I've implored you many times before, a single line to let me know you're alive would satisfy me, and with all my heart I send you regards, from Rome, today the 9th of May 1666.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 334
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 29 May 1666

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

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a Ms: *timore*. Reading uncertain.
b Ms: *mezzo*. Reading uncertain.
c Ms: *DVS* or *DVS Ill.ma*. Reading uncertain.
d Ms: *dura*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "d'una"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "dura".
e Ms: *vadino*, for "vadano".
f Ms: *ve n'ho supplicato, a me basta una sola riga, nella quale intenda*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

Letter 346
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 15 December 1666*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Fiorenza[a]

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Col padre Cavalli è stato Vostra Signoria servita nella conformità che desiderava; resta ch'io lo sodisfaccia circa le sue curiosissime domande.

Primieramente, la misura dell'Attilio sono braccia quattro di lunghezza e poche dita di più, e di larghezza due e mezzo poco più. Il regalo che ne riportai furno[b] cento piastre sotto una forma di cascio parmigiano mandatami in una canestra. Di detto quadro n'ho trovo più volte cento doble, e s'io l'avessi a dipingere adesso, non lo farei per meno di quattrocento scudi.

Di quello delle Streghe, la sua lunghezza sono braccia due e un quarto, e largo uno e mezzo poco più. Il suo regalo furno quindici doble, e sono ormai venti anni ch'io lo feci. Di questo, ogni volta che 'l signor Rossi se ne avesse voluto privare, li potevano entrar nelle mani quattrocento scudi, et una volta gliene furno offerti cinquecento. Et io l'ho fatta la profetizia che doppo me sarà in prezzo di mille scudi, attesoché trapassa i segni della curiosità, e, come tale, si mostra doppo tutte le cose, e sta coverto col taffetà. [c. 1v] Et ecco sodisfatto alla vostra curiosità con la confidenza dovuta.

I Giganti e l'Edipo non sono stati da me ancora dipinti; il resto, si è ben vero che ho pensiero[c] d'una volta dipingerli (se mi verrà fatta).

All'imbasciator[d] Cricchi, mentre stiede[e] in Roma, prese da me tre tele, una grande e due mezzane et un'altra commesse da Pariggi, che sono al numero di quattro, et un altro piccolo. E quest'è quanto Vostra Signoria desidera saper da me; agiungo a questo che qui non capita francese che si delletti[f] di pittura che non procuri d'aver qualche cosa del mio.

Intorno alla salute, me la vado passando al meglio che sia possibile; e come vi scrissi, mi bisogna fuggire il freddo. L'andare a Venezia non so se mi potrà riuscire; basta, mi rimetterò al destino. Vi prego con tutto il core riverirmi il signor Minucci, signor Signoretti, e signor Cordini, mentre a voi salutano con quell'amore che vi si deve la signora Lucrezia et Augusto; et io v'abraccio di tutto core, di Roma, questo dì 15 di decembre 1666.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 157, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Bottari 1757, 2:24–26; Morgan 1824, 2:297–299, letter 17; Carducci 1860, 440–443, letter 17; Cesareo 1892, 2:128, letter 121; Gerra 1937, 55–56, letter 159 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 192–193, letter 157; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 356–357, letter 335. A note in a modern hand, to the left of the greeting "Amico carissimo," reads: "Pubblicata nella Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura/ e Architettura di Sig. Giov. Bottarij/ e continuata da Stefano Ticozzi/ Vol. 2, 31."

a Ms: *Fiorenza*.

Letter 346
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 15 December 1666

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Florence

Dearest friend,

As Father Cavalli has served your Lordship in the manner you hoped, it only remains now for me to satisfy your rather curious questions.[1]

Firstly, the measurements of the *Atilius* are four *braccia* in length, plus a few fingers more, and a little over two and a half *braccia* in height.[2] The gift I received for it was one hundred *piastre*, placed under a wheel of Parmesan cheese, and sent to me in a wicker basket.[3] Many times I was offered a hundred *doble* for it, and if I were to paint the same subject again I wouldn't do it for less than four hundred *scudi*.[4]

As for the one of the *Witches*[5], its length is two and a quarter *braccia*, and its height a little over one and a half *braccia*. The original payment was fifteen *doble*, and it's been twenty years since I painted it. If Signor Rossi had wanted to part with it, he could have had four hundred *scudi* for it—and one time he was offered five hundred for it. I've predicted[6] to him that, after my death, it will be worth a thousand *scudi*, considering that everyone is most intrigued[7] by it—and for this very reason, it's displayed at the end, after everything else, and is covered with a silk curtain.[8] So I hope I've satisfied your curiosity with the customary confidence you deserve.[9]

I've not yet painted the *Giants* or the *Oedipus*.[10] As for the rest[11], it's true that I think about painting them (if I were given the opportunity).

While he was in Rome, the Ambassador Créquy took three canvases from me[12], one large and two mid-sized, and he ordered another intended for Paris[13], which makes four works from me, along with another small one. So this is everything your Lordship asked me about; and I can add that all of the French who come here, who delight in painting, endeavour to procure something by my hand.[14]

As for my health, I'm doing as well as possible. And as I told you, I have to stay out of the cold. I don't know if I'll be able to go to Venice.[15] Enough. I'll submit myself to destiny. I beg of you with all my heart to greet Signor Minucci[16], Signor Signoretti[17], and Signor Cordini[18] on my behalf, while Signora Lucrezia and Augusto greet you with the love you deserve, and I embrace you with all my heart, from Rome, today the 15th of December 1666.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

b Ms: *furno*, for "furono".
c Ms: *che <avere> pensiero*; {*ho*}.
d Ms: *imbasciator*, for "ambasciatore".
e Ms: *stiede*, for "stette".
f Ms: *delletti*, for "diletti".

Letter 347
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 1 January 1667*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Fiorenza[a]

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Io non so qual strada tenermi con voi, già che la mia, libera et ingenua, vien da voi interpretata affatto contraria alla mia impeccabile intenzione. In somma, io dubito di non esservi stato cambio lato[b] nella culla, già che mi fate più da matrigna che d'amico. L'incomodo del polizotto per madonna Francesca, di grazia, non lo postilatte con tanto rigoroso esame, ché la mia intenzione è assai più divina di quello che voi siate mai per[c] imaginarvi, e mi maraviglio assai della vostra anima che dia in sì fatte puerilità, sapendo voi molto bene che, in cose di maggior relievo e d'altra importanza, ho con libertà fatto capitale e della vostra borsa e della vostra confidenza. Ma viva Idio che quelle cose che voi specolate contro di me, non cascherebbono[d] né meno per pensiero nel mio core e nella mia intenzione, e pure non son tanto grosso di capocchia quanto mi fate.

[c. 1v] In oltre, vi dolete meco ch'avendomi richiesto che vi raguagliassi del regalo o prezzo dell'Attilio e Stregherie, non v'abbia voluto compiacere. In questo particolare (come in ogn'altro), vi prego a compatirmi se a piena voce invoco tutto il paradiso.

Sa lo[e] Idio se in ricever la vostra lettra subito vi diedi minutissimo ragu[a]glio[f] di quanto desideravate intender da me, con quella sincerità propria del mio core, douta[g] alla nostra amicizia.

Se questa lettra poi non v'è per ancora capitata nelle mani, dovevate, in virtù dell'esperienza ch'avete della mia pontualità e schiettezza, trattenere i ramarichi e credere impossibile[h] ch'io sia mai per mancarvi e, credendo altrimenti, sarete caggione ch'io mi dia la testa per le mura per la disposizione, signor patrigno mio bello.

Di grazia, operate meco un po' più alla carlona, e credete ch'io non son punto mutato da quel che mi praticaste una volta, e che d'ingenuità né voi né quanti vivono nel mondo son per superarmi. Idio vi facci più credolo[i] di mia bontà, mentre di core v'abraccio e riverisco, di Roma, questo dì primo dell'anno 1667.

Di Vostra Signoria

Mi riserbo a scrivervi più a lungo d'alcuni miei malanni per l'ordinario a[j] venire.

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 158, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 56, letter 160 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 194–195, letter 158; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 357–358, letter 336.

a Ms: *Fiorenza*.

b Ms: *cambiolato*. See note 1.

c Ms: *per*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

d Ms: *cascherebbono*, for "cascherebbero".

Letter 347
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 1 January 1667

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Florence

Dearest friend,

I don't know how to behave with you, since you interpret my behaviour—which is free and innocent—to be entirely contrary to my impeccable intention. In short, I worry that I might have been swapped at birth[1], since you behave with me more like a stepmother than a friend. About the favour of the little bill of exchange[2] for Madonna Francesca, please don't mull over it with such detail, since my intention is more divine than you'd ever imagine. I'm very surprised that you give in to such childishness, knowing full well that—in regard to more significant and important matters—I've freely availed myself of both your purse and your trust. But God be praised that the things you suspect me of would never cross my mind or my thoughts (and my head isn't as big as you make it out to be).

What's more, you complain to me that, in having asked me to tell you about the gift or payment I received for the *Atilius* and the *Witchcraft Scene*, I didn't want to indulge you.[3] With regard to this matter (as in every other) I beg of you to forgive me if at the top of my voice I invoke all of Paradise.

God knows whether, in receiving your letter, I immediately satisfied you with the most minute details of what you wanted to know, offered with my heart's usual sincerity and merited by our friendship.

If this letter hadn't reached your hands, you should have—by virtue of having experienced my punctuality and sincerity—held back your complaints, and considered it impossible that I could ever fail you. And if you think otherwise, I'll have to bang my head against the wall for such a frame of mind, my beautiful Signor Stepfather.[4]

Please, behave with me in a more easy-going manner. You should trust that I've not changed one bit from how I used to be, and that, when it comes to innocence, neither you nor the world can surpass me. May God make you more trusting of my integrity, while I embrace and greet you with my heart, from Rome, the first day of the year 1667.

I'll save writing more about some of my illnesses until later on, in the next post.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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e Ms: *Sallo*, for "Sa lo".
f Ms: *se in ricever la vostra lettra subito vi diedi minutissimo raguglio*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003. *Raguglio*, for "ragguaglio".
g Ms: *douta*, for "dovuta".
h Ms: *credere* <†…†> *impossibile*.
i Ms: *credolo*, for "credulo".
j Ms: *l'ordinario* <†…†> *a*.

Letter 348
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 17 January 1667*

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Mi giova il persuadermi ch'ella operi con maggior prudenza della mia ingenuità, e che vagliano più i vostri aforismi che le naturalezze del mio core lontanissimo con voi da tutte l'ombre di politica. Confesso in certe cose prevalermi un po' troppo dell'uso della carlona maniera. Ma che si vuol fare; bisogna averci una santissima pacienza et ammettere per ottimo tutto quello che non ha per fondamento la malizia.

Confesso dunque di non voler lite con voi in questo particolare e, se vi casco la terza volta, vi dò autorità che mi tagliate la punta del naso, ché ve ne perdono; e per non mancare a quanto devo vi rendo infenite grazie, così io come la signora Lucrezia, della generosa limosina[a] usata con madonna Francesca, e[b] poiché Vostra Signoria m'accenna che si ritrova alquanto male in arnese di vestimenta, ho agiunta un'altra piastra alla poliza e pregato per quest'ordinario il signor Cordini a favorirmi di comprarli[c] una veste col concerto della medesima madonna Francesca, come quella che sa meglio il suo bisogno. [c. 1v] E quest'è quanto so per dirvi in detta facenda.

Mi resta di far con voi un'altra mia giustificazione, et è intorno al vostro non credermi intorno alle difficultà di mia salute.

Voi mi dite in una vostra ch'io difficilmente mi disporrò a lasciar tante belle comodità e tanti amici geniali, e che la scusa del freddo mi serviva per cavallo di ritorno.

Dio ve lo perdoni a lasciarvi scappar dalla penna simil sorte di bestemie. Primieramente (già che siamo a questo discorso, e mi sforzate a dire i miei malanni), dovete sapere che il mercordì[d] della settimana avanti Natale si posero a letto Augusto e la madre, l'uno con la rosolia (la quale mi ha fatto sudar sangue a scapparla mediante l'influenza mortale che ne corre), e la povera signora Lucrezia con una postema dentro del capo (la quale, se non pigliava lo sfogo di purgar per l'orecchio, era bella che spedita). In questi frangenti, son stato necessitato a non mancar del mio debito d'assistere e, come obligato e come infermiero, sino al giorno della settima[na][e] passata.

[c. 2r] Il giorno dell'Epifania fui necessitato entrare[f] io in letto per i soliti miei denzissimi[g] dolori del capo, donde son stato quattro giorni gridando misericordia, e tutto per avere nella detta assistenza preso del freddo. E voi, spiatatissimo[h], dite che mi voglio servire di maschera del freddo per non venir da voi. Oh dei, oh Cieli, e perché non favellate per me in quest'occasione! E quest'è quanto al travaglio dell'infermità. Circa poi a rincrescermi di lasciar gli amici geniali che voi dite, a questo replicherò senza alterarmi in poche parole con solo significarli o[i] che voi volete meco scherzare o che non mi conoscete. Vi dico (e questa è vangelica verità) che gli amici di Roma che voi sopponete che vagliano ad incantarmi non vagliano un fico secco in vostra comparazione, e vi fò questa confessione, che quanto più vivo e quanto più prattico, più giornalmente conosco che voi non avete il secondo presso di me con tutte le finezze da me essercitate con i Carli Rossi e con i Simonelli, i quali tutti oggi mi servono per canonizar voi: né dico di vantaggio

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 48, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Limentani 1950, 144–145, letter 41; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 359–360, letter 337. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *limosina*, for "elemosina".

b Ms: *Francesca* <†…†> *e*.

c Ms: *comparli*, for "comprarli".

d Ms: *mercordì*, an older, or dialect-based, form of "mercoledì". See Battaglia, 10:148.

Letter 348
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 17 January 1667

Dearest friend,

I must believe that you're acting with a circumspection that exceeds my candour, and that your aphorisms are more valuable than the sincerity of my heart, which, when it comes to you, is utterly devoid of any shadow of diplomacy.[1] I'll admit that in certain matters I use too much of a straightforward manner. But what can you do? We'll have to have a most holy endurance and appreciate as perfect anything that doesn't derive from malice.

I confess, then, that I no longer wish to argue with you on this matter, and if I fall into it with you a third time, you have the right to cut the tip of my nose, because I'll forgive you, and lest I fail to do my duty, I give you infinite thanks—both Signora Lucrezia and I—for the generous charity you showed Madonna Francesca.[2] And since your Lordship informs me that she finds herself a little down at heel in regard to clothing, I've included another *piastra* with the bill of exchange[3], and have written to ask Signor Cordini[4] to do me the favour of purchasing a dress, with the agreement of Madonna Francesca[5] since she knows what will suit her needs. And that's all I have to tell you on this matter.

It remains only for me to justify myself to you on another point, concerning your doubts about the difficulties I'm having with my health.

You say in one of your letters that I'm unlikely to decide to leave all my wonderful comforts and my many congenial friends, and that the excuse of the cold[6] served me as a pretext.

May God forgive you for letting your pen run away with such nonsense! Firstly (since we're having this discussion, and you're forcing me to talk about my illnesses), on the Wednesday before Christmas, Augusto and his mother were taken ill. Augusto caught rubella, which I was barely able to avoid on account of the deadly influenza that's going around, and poor Signora Lucrezia has an abscess[7] in her head, and if it hadn't been released and purged from her ear, her goose would have been cooked. Throughout all these predicaments I've had to do my duty in helping out—both out of obligation, and by acting as nurse—until eight days ago.

On the day of Epiphany, it was my turn to stay in bed because of my usual extreme headaches, where I stayed for four days, screaming for mercy. And this was all down to the fact that I'd gotten a chill from helping the sick, as I mentioned above. And yet you say very mercilessly that I wanted to hide behind the excuse of the cold so as to avoid coming to see you! Oh God, oh Heaven, why won't you vouch for me this time! And that's all I can tell you with regard to suffering illnesses. As to your notion that I regret leaving the company of good friends, I'll reply with only a few words—so as not to get worked up—to say that you're either joking around, or you don't know me. I can tell you (and this is the evangelical truth) that my friends in Rome, whom you imagine to be so important to have bewitched me, don't mean anything[8] compared to you. And I confess to you that, as I go on living and go about my daily business, I know that you could never take second place for me, even with all the favours I do for the Carlo de' Rossis and the Simonellis, all of whom serve me now only

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e Ms: *settima*, for "settimana".
f Ms: *entrare* or *entro*. Reading uncertain.
g Ms: *denzissimi*, for "densissimi".
h Ms: *spiatatissimo*, for "spietatissimo".
i Ms: {*o*}.

per non[a] assospettar[b] la vostra modestia. Ma viva Idio che così è a mantenervelo nel giorno del giudizio.

[c. 2v] Il padre Cavallo non ho potuto vedere in due volte che vi sono stato; desidero ben di[c] sapere se v'ha[d] sodisfatto.

Vi prego, per amor di Cristo, a credere ch'il mio desiderio altro non pensa che di vivere e morir con voi, e che non ho core da sapere amare altro ch'il vostro; e che la mia penna non si degna di scrivere più a nessuno di questo mondo, solo che a voi, e pur voi diffidate di me.

Il Cielo vi dia[e] quel bene che vi desidero, mentre di tutto core vi bacio le mani; non son più lungo perché sono aspettato ad un sermone d'un predicatore mio amico, di Roma, questo dì 17 di gennaro 1667.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 349
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 25 February 1667*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Fiorenza[f]

[c. 1r]
Amico carissimo

Fenì il carnevale, nel qual tempo ho avuta assai più occasione d'impazientarmi che di sollievo, attesoché e le maschere e le comedie son state d'una tempra così vigliacca e pidocchiosa ch'averebbe mossa la bile alla medema[g] pazienza; né si dia ad intendere che ciò sia difetto di mia svogliatura, ma querele delle bocche d'ogni persona. Staremo a vedere se ne' ciarlatani del pergamo vi si trovi pastura da trattenersene.

Di salute mi sento assai bene, e meglio starei se avessi ventura di rivedervi! L'ozio del pennello coopera non ordinariamente a questo beneficio, ond'io, se potessi così promettermi dell'inquietudini dell'animo, ardirei di dire di star benissimo[h]. Amico, non mi mancate di vostre lettre, a ciò non mi manchi quello che più d'ogni altra cosa m'è cordiale. Al signor Minucci e signor Signoretti e signor Susini un milione di saluti, mentre a voi di tutto core abraccio e riverisco, di Roma, questo dì 25 di febraro 1667.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 159, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 56, letter 162 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 195, letter 159; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 360–361, letter 338.

a Ms: *per* <†…†> *non*.

b Ms: *assospettar*, for "sospettar".

c Ms: *ben di*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "bensì" (in error).

to canonize you.[9] I won't say any more so as not to doubt your modesty. But God be praised that this is true, and may He keep it that way until the Day of Judgment.

I've been there twice, and neither time managed to find Father Cavalli.[10] I'd really like to know if he's done what you asked.

I beg of you, for the love of Christ, to trust that I have no other desire than to think of living and dying with you, that my heart knows to love nothing but yours, and that my pen doesn't deign to write to anyone else in this world, only to you. And yet you mistrust me.

May Heaven grant you every blessing you desire, while with all my heart I kiss your hands. I won't write any more because I'm awaited at a sermon by a preacher friend of mine; from Rome, today the 17th of January 1667.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 349
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Florence, 25 February 1667

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Florence

Dearest friend,

Carnival has finished, during which time I've had much more occasion for impatience than comfort, considering that both the masks and the comedies have been so base and petty[1] that Patience itself would have produced bile. And don't think this is a product of my laziness, because everyone's complaining about it. We'll wait and see whether those charlatans of the pulpits can give us any subject to dwell upon.[2]

I'm feeling very well in terms of my health, and I'd be better if I had the fortune to see you again. The idleness of the paintbrush is an extraordinary help in this regard, so—if I could expect the same from the restlessness of my mind—I'd venture to say I'm doing very well. Friend, don't forget to send me your letters, so that I'm not deprived of what is dearer to my heart than anything else. A million greetings to Signor Minucci[3], Signor Signoretti[4] and Signor Susini[5], while I embrace you and greet you with all my heart, from Rome, today the 25th of February 1667.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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d Ms: *và*, for "v'ha".
e Ms: *vi* <†…†> *dia*.
f Ms: *Fiorenza*.
g Ms: *medema*, for "medesima".
h Ms: *benenissimo*, for "benissimo". De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "benissimo".

Letter 368
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 14 July 1668*

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

La flussione degl'occhi seguita tutta via ad inquietarmi, e la settimana passata s'inoltrò a segno che mi necessitò a buttar via i pennelli, e per disperato andarmene a caminare, rinegando quei pochi semi di pazienza che conservo. Infatti, amico caro, l'applicazioni non sono più per me, e tocco con mani ch'ogni volta che mi disaplico, godo assai meglior salute. So che qui voi mi risponderete ch'io dia il bando a tutte quelle cose che mi possono intorbidare il star bene, et io replico e dico che voi dite santamente, et io, che non sono scemonito[a], lo conosco; e pure non m'è possibile ricalcitrare all'entusiasmo et alla consuetudine con la quale mi sono retto tutto il corso della vita sin ora. Troppa gran repugnanza sente la mia inclinazione ad avere a far divorzio da quelle cose, esercitate sin ora da me con tanta sensualità. E pure (se non voglio precipitare affatto) è necessità o che l'abandoni, o che mi moderi nell'esercitarle.

Nella medesima settimana la Signora Lucrezia stette con febbre quattro giorni in letto, e si dubitò di qualche pontura[b] mediante una fierissima tosse che la tenne inquieta tre giorni. [c. 1v] Di presente passa alquanto meglio. Della gamba ha rimesse tutte le sue speranze ad una più rigorosa purga, et a qualche sorte di bagnoli di acque semplici. Vi saluta di tutta cordialità, come fa anche Augusto, il quale mi dispiace assai ch'abbia sortito poco genio col disegno, dal quale era assai più facile il[c] cavarne il pane che da quante lettre siano mai per sapersi. Ma non occorre inquietarsi. Ciò che 'l Ciel destinò forza è che sia.

Il signor Brunetti è stato troppo rigoroso esageratore delle mie doglianze, le quali, tutto che siano state grandi, si sono sempre ristrette contro de' fati che in offesa de' vostri pensieri di burlarmi, sapendo molto bene quanto voi sete pontuale negl'impegni e veritiero nelle promesse. In questo è necessario che compatiate la mia impazienza c'ho di trovarmi con voi. Vorrei sapere da voi e dal medemo[d] Brunetti se sia per uscire d'Italia, già che nella sua lettra non me ne dà cenno nessuno.

Del romano o lucchese che sparla di me non so imaginarmi chi possa essere. Quello che mi fa ridere è sentire che asserisce averlo sentito dalla mia propria bocca, semplicità che né Sancio Panza né Don Chisciotte[e] la mandariano[f] giù; e pure, come cosa fuor di noi, bisogna averci pazienza.

[c. 2r] So che al vostro affetto et alla vostra attività non mancheranno modi da difendermi.

Del resto, vogliatemi bene, ché non avete né averete uomo mai che più di me vi stimi e riverisca, e di core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 14 luglio 1668.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 174, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Gerra 1937, 58, letter 174 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 208–209, letter 174; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 376–377, letter 357. The *sopracoperta* is lost.

a Ms: *scemonito*, for "scimunito".

b Ms: *pontura*," for "puntura".

Letter 368
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 14 July 1668

My one-of-a-kind friend,

The fluxion[1] of my eyes is still bothering me, and last week it got so bad that I had to throw aside the paintbrushes, and out of desperation I went out to take a walk, giving up what little patience I have left. In fact, dear friend, I can no longer keep up the efforts of work, seeing clearly that every time I rest, I enjoy much better health. I know you'll answer this by saying I should shun everything that might trouble my well-being, and I'll reply that you speak the holy truth, and that I'm not stupid[2]—I know this. Nevertheless, I can't simply reject the enthusiasm and habits I've had for the entire course of my life, up to now. My inclination feels too great a repugnance at being separated from the things that, until now, I've exercised with such desire. And yet (if I don't want to completely collapse) I'll either have to abandon them or at least limit how often I practise them.

During the same week, Signora Lucrezia spent four days in bed with a fever, and we thought she had some pleurisy[3], on account of the fiercest cough that's kept her restless for three days. Right now she's doing somewhat better. As for her leg, she's put all of her hopes into a more rigorous purgative, and some sort of medicinal water baths[4]. She sends you her best wishes, as does Augusto, who disappoints me in having achieved little talent[5] in drawing, with which it would be much easier to make money than with however many humanistic studies one might pursue.[6] But one needn't worry. Whatever Heaven has destined for him, so be it.

Signor Brunetti[7] has greatly exaggerated my complaints, which, even though they've been significant, were only directed against fate, and not against your intentions to mock me, knowing very well how punctual you are in your obligations and truthful in your promises. In this, you'll have to forgive my eagerness to be with you. I'd like to know from you, and from Brunetti himself, whether he's going to leave Italy, since in his letter to me he doesn't say anything about it.

As for the Roman or Lucchese person who bad-mouthed me, I can't imagine who it could be.[8] What makes me laugh is hearing that he says he's heard it directly from me—a silliness that neither Sancho Panza nor Don Quixote[9] could swallow! And so, because it's a matter that's beyond us, we'll have to endure it.

I know that in your affection and your industry you won't fail to find ways to defend me.

As for the rest, love me, since you don't have—nor ever will have—a man who esteems and reveres you more than me, and with my heart I embrace you, from Rome, today the 14th of July 1668.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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c Ms: *il*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
d Ms: *medemo*, for "medesimo".
e Ms: *Qisciotte*, for "Chisciotte". De Rinaldis 1939: "Scisciotte" (in error).
f Ms: *mandariano*, for "manderebbero".

FIGS 39-40

Letter 370
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 15 September 1668*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[a]

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Vi scrivo di ritorno dalla Valle di Giosaffatt, cioè dalla festa di San Giovan Deccolato, la quale tale è stata per me in quest'anno. Un fratello d'un papa assieme con quattro suoi figlioli entrati novizi in quella compagnia per togliere la speranza a quanti siano mai per tentar simil festa per l'avenire hanno voluto sfiorare Roma delle sue più superbe pitture, et in particolare[b] i più famosi quadri della reggina di Svezia, quali soli (senz'altra compagnia) erano bastanti a spaventare il medesimo inferno.

Il primo motivo di questi signori fu di non servirsi di nessuna opra[c] di pittore vivente: risoluzione che più mi invogliò a procurarne il concorso, e con non ordinaria fatica ottenni, io solo fra i vivi, cimentarmi fra tanti morti.

Vi giuro, amico, che mai mi son trovo in impegno maggiore. Ma perché occasione più bella non era per sortir mai più, per non tradirla, ho questa volta arrischiato il tutto per confirmarmi[d] nel credito della fama.

Mi do ad intendere che siate per rallegrarvene, avendo saputo mostrar la fronte con tanti Achilli dell'arte della pittura.

[c. 1v] Ma perché so che bramate sapere quali siano stati i soggetti delle mie pitture: uno è stato il fatto di Saul, quando dalla pitonessa ottenne di favellare all'anima del profeta Samuele, quadro di misura di palmi 12 d'altezza e 9 di larghezza; l'altro, d'altezza di palmi 9 e lungo 5, rappresentante San Giorgio in atto di trionfare dell'estinto dragone. E quest'è quanto, amico, devo dirvi per iscusa[e] di non avervi potuto sodisfar con mie lettre.

Del resto, a me dispiacino sin nell'anima i vostri travagli, né mai cesserò di replicarvi che, se v'ha parte la penuria del danaro, la mia borsa è sempre piena per voi senza che m'abbiate né anche a ringraziare.

Mi dispiace sentir che 'l Cesti sia per trasferirsi a Venezia, luogo che dovria[f] sfuggire più della peste, per non rammentare negli animi di coloro gli accidenti soccessi per sua caggione.

Riverisco il signor Cosimo e saluto tutti gli amici, mentre abraccio voi con tutto il mio core, di Roma, questo dì 15 di settembre 1668.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 175, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Bottari 1757, 2:28–30; Morgan 1824, 2:304–307, letter 19; Carducci 1860, 447–449, letter 19; Corbucci 1875, 63 (excerpts); Ademollo 1969, 106, note 1 (excerpts); Cesareo 1892, 2:129–130, letter 123; Gerra 1937, 58, letter 175 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 209–210, letter 175; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 378–379, letter 359. A note in a modern hand, written below the opening salutation "Amico unico," reads: "Pubblicata nella Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura/ e Architettura di Sig. Giov. Bottarij/ e continuata da Stefano Ticozzi/ Vol. 2 36."

a Ms: *Pisa*.

Letter 370
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 15 September 1668

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend,

I'm writing to you upon my return from the Valley of Josaphat[1]—that is, the feast day of San Giovanni Decollato—which is what this exhibition has turned out to be for me this year. A brother of a pope, together with four of his sons[2], has joined the novitiate of that confraternity, and, in order to extinguish all hope from those who wish to attempt similar exhibitions in the future, they've skimmed Rome of its most superb paintings, in particular the most famous pictures owned by the Queen of Sweden[3], which even by themselves (without any other accompaniment) would be enough to frighten the Devil himself.

The primary goal of these gentlemen was to exclude any work by a living painter, a resolution that spurred me even more to enter myself to take part in it. And with great difficulty I finally managed it so that I alone of all living painters would be allowed to measure myself against all the dead.[4]

I swear to you, friend, that I've never been so caught up in a greater undertaking. But since a more wonderful occasion may never be encountered again, in order not to waste it, this time I've risked everything in order to secure for myself the credit of fame.[5]

I'll let myself believe that you'll rejoice in this, as I've been able to challenge so many Achilleses of the art of painting.[6]

But since I know you're eager to hear what the subjects of my paintings are: one deals with the fate of Saul, when the Pythoness conjures up for his counsel the spirit of the Prophet Samuel[7], a picture measuring twelve *palmi* in height and nine in width. The other, which is nine *palmi* high and five wide, represents Saint George in the act of triumphing over the extinguished dragon.[8] And that's everything, friend, that I must tell you by way of apology for not having been able to satisfy you with my letters.

As for the rest, my very soul laments your tribulations, and I'll never stop reminding you that if you find yourself short of money, my purse is always full for you, and you never need to thank me for it.

I'm sorry to hear that Cesti is moving to Venice, a place he should avoid like the plague so as not to revive the memory of those misfortunes he brought about.[9]

I send my regards to Signor Cosimo[10] and greet all the friends, while I embrace you with all my heart, from Rome, today the 15th of September 1668.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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b Ms: *imparticolare*.
c Ms: *opra*, for "opera".
d Ms: *confirmarmi*, for "confermarmi". Borrelli and Festa 2003: "conferirmi" (in error).
e Ms: *iscusa*, for "escusa," an older form of "scusa".
f Ms: *dovria*, for "dovrebbe".

Letter 371
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 17 November 1668*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[a]

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Finalmente rispiro doppo un'infenità di malanni; è un mese che si combatte con la gamba della signora Lucrezia, l'indisposizione della quale l'ha tenuta da due settimane in letto; ma a pena[b] se ne levò che comparve[c] la seconda di cambio, cioè un sollenissimo cicolino nel collo del ragazzo, che l'ha fatto star gesuita[d] una man di giorni, senza poter voltar la testa all'altra banda; et io, e con l'una e con l'altro, necessitato a far da infermiere, se ci ho avuto stomaco. Della terza non vi dirò nulla, attesoché incomincia ad essermi male familiare, dico della mia indebolita vista; e l'eccessivo caldo dell'estate, con le frequenti applicazioni, m'ha cochiumato[e] per le feste, a segno tale che mi bisogna risolvermi a dar de' calci a i pennelli se non voglio incontrare stato assai peggiore del presente. So che in questo particolare il vostro amore m'ha più volte ripreso. Ma quel che non s'è fatto, vi do parola che si farà; e che sia vero di già ne ho incominciata l'esecuzione, poiché, essendo le settimane passate stato richiesto dalla republica di Venezia [c. 1v] da dipingere una tavola per l'altare d'un tempio eretto d'un publico lor voto, la rifiutai con rappresentarli le mie indisposizioni, e così prometto di far per l'avenire, a ciò non m'abiate più a riprendermi.

Il signor Cordini mi scrive che in breve sarete in Fiorenza; se ciò sia per soccedere, me ne rallegro per avervi più vicino. Datemi qualche nova di Strozzavolpe, da me eternamente sospirata, e salutatemi caramente il signor Signoretti, et al signor Cosimo Fabretti cento baciamani, et a voi abraccio con l'anima, di Roma, questo dì 17 di novembre 1668.

Di Vostra Signoria

Mi scordavo il meglio, i saluti d'Augusto e della signora Lucrezia.

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 176, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 59, letter 176 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 210–211, letter 176; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 379–380, letter 360.

a Ms: *Pisa*.

b Ms: *a pena*, for "appena".

Letter 371
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 17 November 1668

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend,

I'm finally able to breathe after an infinity of illnesses. It's been a month now that Signora Lucrezia has been fighting with her leg, the infirmity of which has kept her in bed for two weeks.[1] But as soon as she got rid of it we encountered another one instead—that is, a very serious boil[2] on the boy's neck, which has forced him to behave like a Jesuit[3] for a number of days, not being able to turn his head to the other side. So I had to have the stomach to act as a nurse to both patients. I won't mention the third thing, considering that it's becoming such a familiar malady to me—that is, my weakened vision. And the excessive heat of the summer, not to mention the constant work, has finished[4] me for the holidays, to such a degree that I've had to resolve to chuck away the paintbrushes if I don't want to become much more worse than I am now. I know that, in this matter, your love has often scolded me. But as for what I haven't done, I promise that I will—and in evidence of this, I've already begun carrying it out, since when the Republic of Venice asked me a few weeks ago to paint a picture for the altar of a church erected as a public votive[5], I refused by telling them about my ailments, and I promise to do the same in the future so you won't have to scold me again.

Signor Cordini[6] writes that you'll soon be in Florence. If so, I'll be happy to have you closer by. Give me some news about Strozzavolpe, which I eternally yearn for, and greet our Signor Signoretti[7] with affection, and to Signor Cosimo Fabretti[8] a hundred hand-kisses. And I embrace you with my soul, from Rome, today the 17th of November 1668.

I forgot the best thing: the greetings of Augusto and Signora Lucrezia.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

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c Ms: *a pena se ne levò che comparve*. De Rinaldis 1939, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "a pena che si levò, comparve" (in error).
d Ms: *Giesuita*, for "Gesuita".
e Ms: *chochiumato*, for "cocchiumato".

FIG. 41

Letter 382
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 11 October 1669*

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Sonate le campane, ché finalmente, doppo trent'anni di stanza di Roma e d'una trascinata speranza ripiena di continovate lamentazioni, e co' i Cieli e con gl'uomini, s'è pur spontato una volta di mettere al publico una tavola d'altare!

Il signor Filippo Nerli, depositario del papa, ostinato di vincere questa durezza di fato, ha voluto fabricare una sua cappella nella chiesa di San Giovanni de' Fiorentini, et a dispetto delle stelle ha voluto ch'io ci facessi la tavola, la quale incominciata da me cinque mesi sono, la tralasc[i]ai[a] con intenzione di ripigliarla a quadragesima. Ma l'accidente della festa, che i signori fiorentini son stati neccessitati di celebrare in detta chiesa per la canonizazione di Santa Madalena de' Pazzi, m'ha sforzato a ripigliare il lavoro e chiudermi in casa. Qui son stato un mese e mezzo [c. 1v] in continove agonie per trovarmi a tempo anch'io, con la mia tavola, con la lor festa. Quest'impegno m'ha tenuto non solo lontano dal comercio della penna, ma d'ogni altra cosa di questo mondo, e vi posso dire che mi son dimenticato insin di manciare, et è stata così ardua la mia applicazione che verso il fine mi necessitò a star due giorni in letto, e, se non mi agiutavo[b] col vomito, per Dio che la passavo male mediante alcune crudezze accumulate nello stomaco. Però, amico, compatitemi se, per la riputazione del pennello, ho trascurato al debito che dovevo con voi della penna.

Sono dui giorni che lavoro intorno alla tela del San Torpé; fenito che sarà, ve ne darò subito aviso. Fra tanto vi prego a volermi bene, et a pensare di rivederci, non bastandomi l'animo di mandarla più alla lunga.

[c. 2r] La signora Lucrezia con non troppa buona salute, et Augusto il simile, vi salutano e spiritano di rivedervi, e tutto il giorno non si fa altro che ramentare gl'accidenti di Strozzavolpe. Al signor Fabretti un[c] bacio a mio nome, mentre a voi abraccio con tutta la mia anima, di Roma, questo dì 11 di ottobre 1669.

Di Vostra Signoria

Il dottor Oliva vi saluta.

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 187, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Bottari 1757, 2:30–31; Morgan 1824, 2:307–309, letter 20; Carducci 1860, 450–452, letter 20; Cesareo 1892, 2:130–131, letter 124; Gerra 1937, 61, letter 187 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 222–223, letter 187; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 390, letter 371. The *sopracoperta* is lost. A note in a modern hand at the head of c. 1r reads: "Pubblicata nella Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura/ e Architettura di Sig. Giov. Bottarij/ e continuata da Stefano Ticozzi/ Vol. 2 38."

Letter 382
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Pisa?), 11 October 1669

My one-of-a-kind friend,

Ring out the bells! At last, after thirty years of living in Rome, with a never-ending hope filled with continuous lamentations—both to the heavens and mankind—I have now, finally, succeeded in offering the public one of my altarpieces.[1]

Signor Filippo Nerli[2], treasurer[3] of the pope, who has determined to vanquish my cruel destiny, intends to build a chapel in the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. And, in spite of fate, he wants me to make the painting for it.[4] I began it five months ago, and I had put it aside with the intention of taking it up again at Lent. But with the coming of the holidays—in particular, the one that the Florentines are obliged to celebrate in this church, for the canonization of Saint Maddalena de' Pazzi[5]—I've been forced to take up the job again and shut myself up in the house. Here I've been for a month and a half in continuous agony, trying to finish the painting in time for their celebration. Not only has this engagement kept me away from the business of the pen, but from everything else in this world, and I can tell you that I've even forgotten to eat. I've been working so hard, that towards the end of it I had to spend two days in bed. And if I hadn't vomited, by God, I'd have had a horrible time because of some obstruction in my stomach. So you'll have to forgive me, friend, if for the reputation of the paintbrush I've neglected the debts I owe you with the pen.

It's been two days now that I've been working to finish my painting of Saint Torpes.[6] As soon as it's done, I'll tell you immediately. In the meantime, I beg of you to love me, and to think about our reunion, since I can't bear putting it off any longer.

Signora Lucrezia, who's not doing very well, and Augusto (the same), greet you and anxiously desire to see you again, and all day long they do nothing but remember the diversions of Strozzavolpe. Give Signor Fabretti[7] a kiss on my behalf, while I embrace you with all my soul, from Rome, today the 11th of October 1669.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Doctor Oliva[8] sends you greetings.

a Ms: *tralascai*, for "tralasciai".
b Ms: *agiutavo*, for "aiutavo".
c Ms: *una*.

Letter 395
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 26 September 1671*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[a]

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Sarò breve, attesoché una facenda di pennello non mi permette di discorrer quant'io vorrei con esso voi. V'accennai, i giorni passati, dell'indisposizione d'orina della signora Lucrezia, et adesso vi do nova come la settimana passata, doppo aver combattuto con quei dolori che son propri dell'accidente, mandò fuori un cancolo[b] di grossezza quanto una buona fravola[c], di figura piramidale, giusto come quella del pino, composta di minutissimi granelletti di color giallo; e quello che fu sua ventura è che venne per la punta. Stiede[d] tutto il giorno duro, ma la sera del giorno doppo, volendolo toccare, [c. 1v] si disfece in polvere. Il tutto fu fatto e con agiuti[e] intrinseci et esteriori.

Di presente, per grazia de' fati, se la passa assai bene, ma però si dubita che non sia per generarne dell'altri; facci il Cielo. Vi saluta e riverisce con quell'affetto che vi potete imaginare, come fa anche Augusto.

Il signor Francesco dice aver finito il quadro dell'Agar; quando me lo consegnerà, ne sarete avisato.

Datemi di voi qualche nuova, così delle cose pertinenti alla salute come anche degl'interessi della lite. Soppongo però che di presente la vendemia vi tenghi[f] lontano da' tribunali.

Vi prego a riverire a mio nome il signor Giacomo, mentre a voi abraccio col core, di Roma, questo dì 26 di settembre 1671.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 396
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 21 November 1671**

[c. 2v]
FIG. 44 Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa

* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 197, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 64, letter 197 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 236–237, letter 197; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 402–403, letter 384.

** Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 44, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Limentani 1950, 152–153, letter 46; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 403–404, letter 385.

Letter 395
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 26 September 1671

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend,

I'll be brief, considering that the labours of the paintbrush won't allow me to talk with you as much as I'd like.[1] I told you, a few days ago, about Signora Lucrezia's urinary disorder, and now I can tell you that last week, after having fought with the pains that are typical of this illness, she passed a stone as big as a strawberry, pyramidal in shape—just like a pinecone—composed of the tiniest yellow granules.[2] And luckily for her, the tip came out first. It remained hard all day, but by the evening of the following day, when I was about to touch it, it disintegrated into dust. All of this was achieved with both internal and external means.

At present, by the grace of fate, she's doing very well, but we still hope that she won't produce any others, Heaven willing. She greets you, and sends you regards with the affection you can imagine, as does Augusto.

Signor Francesco says he's finished the picture of Hagar.[3] I'll tell you as soon as he delivers it to me.

Give me some of your news, both in regard to your health as well as the business of your litigations.[4] I suppose, however, that right now the grape harvest is keeping you far away from the courts.[5]

Please greet Signor Giacomo[6] on my behalf, while I embrace you with my heart, from Rome, today the 26th of September 1671.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 396
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 21 November 1671

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

a Ms: *Pisa*.
b Ms: *cancolo*, for "calcolo".
c Ms: *fravola*, for "fragola". See also letter 138.
d Ms: *stiede*, for "stette".
e Ms: *agiuti*, for "aiuti".
f Ms: *tenghi*, for "tenga".

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Dal primo dì d'ottobre sino al giorno d'oggi ancora si combatte col male; ond'è più che verissimo che i mali autunnali o son mortali o lunghissimi.

Il nostro povero Augusto non può arrivare a rifarsi, e v'assicuro che la convalescenza non è dissimile dall'infermità, toltone la febbre et il pericolo assicurato. La signora Lucrezia ha fatto e fa più che Orlando, e monsù Pietro mi ha obligato nell'anima essendo stato alla cura un mese continovo notte e giorno senza[a] mai spogliarsi, con una legge et affetto d'amico che m'ha costituito negli abissi dell'obligazione.

Per amor di Cristo, datemi qualche nova di voi, come ve la passate, e a che segno sono i vostri interessi delle solite liti.

[c. 1v] Del signor Francesco non discorro, attesoché se la passa in casa del Contestabile in dipingere una galleria a guazzo in compagnia di altri pittori in genere di geografia, cosa di poca sua sodisfazione, e piaccia al Cielo che ci sia da far bene. Sicché non si può parlar per un pezzo di far copie. Mi consegnò la tela con l'Agar, onde restano copiati tutti i pezzi del signor don Girolamo.

Augusto, mentre io scrivo, mi prega che vi saluti a suo nome, come il simile fa la signora Lucrezia, donna senza pari nel mondo. Vi prego a compatirmi se scrivo di rado, ché sino [a][b] che questo ragazzo non [sia][c] guarito affatto io non so donde mi stia col capo. V'abraccio di core, di Roma, questo dì 21 di novembre 1671[d].

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 397
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, (?) December 1671*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[e]

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Appena fu posto in sicuro il ragazzo che la signora Lucrezia fu necessitata[f] mettersi a letto per la sua indisposizione della gamba, e incominciare un poco di purga. Ma, nel meglio del medicarsi, fu assaltata da un nuovo dolore di fianco con vomiti, segni di qualche nuovo calcolo, e così se l'ha passata quindici giorni in letto con dolori di stomaco et innappetenza, e per grazia de' Cieli il male s'è risoluto in grandissimo freddo preso nell'infermità del figliolo, oltre una fiera mestione di mal

* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 198, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 64, letter 198 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 237–238, letter 198; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 404–405, letter 386.

a Ms: *senza*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

b Added here for clarity of meaning.

My one-of-a-kind friend,

From the first day of October until now we've been continually fighting illness. So it's a proven certainty that the maladies of the autumn are either deadly, or very long-lasting.

Our poor Augusto can't seem to restore himself, and I assure you that his convalescence is similar to his illness, except for the fever and his being out of danger. Signora Lucrezia has done—and continues to do—more than Orlando[1], and Monsù Pietro[2]—for having taken care of us, for an entire month, day and night, without rest[3]—has obliged my very soul to him in gratitude, with a friendly commitment and affection that has placed me in the abyss of obligation.

For the love of Christ, give me some of your news—how you're doing, and the state of your affairs and your usual litigations.[4]

I'll say nothing about Signor Francesco, since he spends all his time at the Constable's house, painting a gallery in gouache[5], together with other painters who specialize in geography[6], a subject that doesn't really satisfy him. May it please Heaven that there's opportunity for him to do well. So it won't be possible to talk about making copies for a while. He gave me the canvas with the Hagar, so all the pieces owned by Signor Don Girolamo have been copied.[7]

While I write, Augusto asks me to greet you on his behalf, as does Signora Lucrezia, a woman without equal in the world. I beg of you to forgive me if I write very rarely, since until this boy has entirely recovered, I won't know where my mind is. I embrace you with my heart, from Rome, today the 21st of November 1671[8].

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 397
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, (?) December 1671

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend,

As soon as the boy had recovered, Signora Lucrezia needed to be put to bed on account of her leg ailment, and to begin a little regimen of purgation.[1] But in the middle of her cure she was assaulted by a new pain in her side, which elicited vomiting—the sign of a new stone—and she's remained this way for the last fifteen days, in bed with stomach pains and a loss of appetite. And by the grace of the heavens, these illnesses have turned into the most terrific cold, caught from the boy's illness and fiercely aggravated by the mother's concern.[2] These misfortunes have not only kept me from writing, but to tell you the truth, they've made me so disgusted by everything that more

c Added here for clarity of meaning, as in Limentani 1950, and Borrelli and Festa 2003.
d Ms: *1661*, presumably intending "1671".
e Ms: *Pisa*.
f Ms: *necessitata*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "necessita"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "necessitata".

di madre. Questi accidenti non solo m'hanno tenuto lontano dallo scrivervi, ma, per dirvela, così nauseato d'ogni altra cosa che più d'una volta sono stato tentato di ficcarmi in una certosa per non uscir mai più d'una di quelle celle. Oh Dio, e quanto son divenuto impaziente e stufo di veder più imagine umana!

Ma voi mi direte che tutti questi travagli sono segni d'amicizia del Cielo, et io vi replico che me ne contento, ogni volta che sia così. Queste sono le nove che posso darvi di me; resta che voi mi rag[u]agliate[a] degl'andamenti [c. 1v] vostri, così della salute come delle liti.

Il signor Francesco lavora al solito dal Contestabile, e non fenirà il suo lavoro che per tutta la presente invernata (se basterà). Di presente abita vicino alla mia casa, cioè nella medesima strada.

Qui si dice che il nuovo Gran Duca sia per trasferirsi il carnevale costà, e che lor signori[b] li preparano delle feste; se ciò sia vero, me ne rimetto al successo. Ma questi son gl'avisi che me ne dà il signor canonico. Del resto vi prego a scrivermi quando potete, e ricordarvi ch'io vivo con la memoria di voi. La signora Lucrezia, cento saluti, Augusto il medesimo, et io v'abraccio col core, di Roma, questo dì […][c] decembre 1671.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 398
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 23 January 1672*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[d]

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Dio imortale, e come è possibile che si possa combinare tanta eguaglianza[e] di geni fra di noi, che mentre uno di noi travaglia sotto il peso d'una disgrazia, l'altro tormenta con infortuni diversi? M'è tanto dispiaciuta la disgrazia del signor Giacomo assieme con le vostre che, in legger la lettra, stiedi[f] con le spalle interezzite un pezzo per lo stupore. Ma perché[g] i signori Cieli e le signore Sfortune vogliono così, bisogna serrar gli occhi, e stimarsi fortunato ogni volta che non siano mortali.

Augusto e la signora Lucrezia se la passano con buona[h] salute, et io in lor compagnia, e se unitamente vi desideriamo ogni bene, lo dichi[i] chi vede i nostri cori.

Al signor Francesco ho subito sborsato il danaro, e se, oltre a questo, ve ne bisognasse somma maggiore, basta che apriate la bocca per esser obedito volando. Ricordandovi ch'io non ho cosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 199, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 64, letter 199 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 239, letter 199; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 405–406, letter 387.

a Ms: *ragagliate*, for "ragguagliate".

b Ms: *lor signori*. Reading uncertain. De Rinaldis 1939: "la Signoria"; Borrelli and Festa 2003: "lor Signori".

c The day is missing in the ms. Rosa has left a blank space.

d Ms: *Pisa*.

than once I've been tempted to hole myself up in a monastery and hide in one of those cells forever. Oh, God—how impatient and fed up I've become at the sight of mankind!

But you'll say that all these sufferings are signs of Heaven's friendship, to which I'll reply that I'd willingly be content with that, if it were actually true. This is all the news I have for you, so now you need to tell me about your activities—both in regard to your health and your litigations.[3]

Signor Francesco is working, as usual, for the Constable, and he won't finish his work before the winter is over (if that will be enough time).[4] Right now, he's living near my house, on the same street.[5]

Here in Rome it's rumoured that the new Grand Duke[6] is moving over there[7] for the Carnival, and that those gentlemen are preparing the festivities for him. If this is true, the facts will reveal it. But this is what I hear from Signor Canon[8]. As for the rest, I beg of you to write to me when you can, and to remember that I live with the memory of you. A hundred greetings from Signora Lucrezia, the same from Augusto, and I embrace you with my heart, from Rome, today the […][9] of December 1671.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 398
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 23 January 1672

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend,

Immortal God, how is it possible that there can be such unity of spirit between us[1], since when one of us suffers under the weight of disgrace, the other is tormented by so many misfortunes? I'm very sorry to hear about the tribulations of Signor Giacomo, as well as yours, and in reading the letter my shoulders froze[2] for a moment on account of the shock.[3] But because the Lords of Heaven and Misfortune desire it thus, we just have to close our eyes and consider ourselves lucky when these misfortunes aren't fatal.

Augusto and Signora Lucrezia are enjoying good health, as do I in their company, and anyone who knows our hearts can tell you whether we unitedly wish you every blessing.

I immediately gave Signor Francesco[4] the money, and if, in addition to this, you need a large sum, you only have to open your mouth to be promptly obeyed. I remind you that I have nothing

e Ms: *euguaglianza*, for "uguaglianza" or "eguaglianza".
f Ms: *stiedi*, for "stetti".
g Ms: *la lettra stiedi con le spalle interezzite un pezzo per lo stupore. Ma perché*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
h Ms: *con buona*. Borrelli and Festa 2003: "con la buona" (in error).
i Ms: *dichi*, for "dica".

che non sia vostra, e con tutto me medesimo v'abraccio e riverisco, di Roma, questo dì 23 gennaro 1672.[a]

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 399
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 20 February 1672*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa[b]

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Non potei la settimana passata ragu[a]gliarvi[c] del ricevimento delle sue due ultime lettre, rispetto ad una visita d'un signore che mi levò di casa e[d] mi tenne tutto il mezzo sabato con lui. Sento con particolare mia sodisfazione le nuove che mi date di salute del nostro signor Giacomo, e ne rendo a mani giunte grazie a i Cieli. Mi dispiace dall'altra parte sentire le disparate rivoluzioni di casa Maffei, e sto con curiosità d'intendere se, con aver trattato col signor Lodovico, si è preso partito nessuno, attesoché qui il signor canonico suo figliolo tiene le cose per disperatissime in riguardo dell'ostinazione del nostro signor Marchino.

Intorno alle due vostre lettre, avrei a dolermi d'una di esse; ma voglio sempre ricordarvi a credere e pensare che la mia volontà verso di voi è impeccabile, e che cosa non ho che non sia vostra. Del resto conservatevi, mentre, in compagnia della signora Lucrezia et Augusto, v'abracciamo con l'animo, cordialissimamente, di Roma, questo dì 20 febbraro 1672.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. XX. 26, no. 200, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Gerra 1937, 64, letter 200 (excerpts); De Rinaldis 1939, 240, letter 200; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 406, letter 388.

a Rosa here omits his customary "DVS" ("Di Vostra Signoria").

that isn't yours, and, with all of me, I embrace you and send you greetings, from Rome, today the 23rd of January 1672.

Your true friend,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 399
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 20 February 1672

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend,

Last week I wasn't able to let you know that I'd received your last two letters, because of a visit from a gentleman who raised me from the house, and kept me with him for half of Saturday. I was very happy to hear your news about the health of our Signor Giacomo[1], and I put my hands together in prayer and thanked the heavens for it. But I'm sorry, on the other hand, to hear about the various problems of the Maffei family; and I'm curious to hear whether, in speaking with Signor Lodovico, any decision has been made, considering that over here his son, the Signor Canon[2], considers things to be quite hopeless, in regard to the stubbornness of our Signor Marchino[3].

Concerning those two letters of yours, I have to complain about one of them; but I want to always remind you to believe and trust that my will, when it comes to you, is impeccable, and that everything I have is yours. As for the rest, take care of yourself, while, together with Signora Lucrezia and Augusto, we embrace you with our hearts, most cordially, from Rome, today the 20th of February 1672.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

b Ms: *Pisa*.
c Ms: *ragugliarvi*, for "ragguagliarvi".
d Ms: *casa* <†…†> *e*.

Letter 400
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Florence?), 17 July 1672*

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Mi dò a credere che siate in Fiorenza per sfugire al solito l'aria di Pisa ne' presenti mesi dell'estate. Ond'io vi scrivo queste quattro righe per quella volta.

Di mia salute ogni cosa va bene fuor che i denti, gl'occhi e la testa. Ma quello che più di questi mi ha tormentato son stati i denti, i quali tutti mi ballano in bocca, e la settimana passata mi ci colò una flussione così impertinente che stiedi[a] un giorno senza poter manciare neanche i fichi, che sono spezie di brodetto. Con tutto ciò mi par zucchero in comparazione d'alcune sorte di mali de' quali il nome solo basta a spaventare la costanza medesima (e questo è quanto s'appartiene al corpo). Dell'animo dirò che in molte cose sta ottimamente bene. Solo che mi sento trapassare giornalmente in un aborimento di tutte le cose e con una nausea così fiera del genere umano che, se non fusse per lo timor della vita, daria[b] nelle magiori timonagini che si possono mai pensare; e vi giuro che mi trovo a sofrir giornate così tetre [c. 1v] che da me a un taverlino non ci conosceresti nessuna diferenza, a segno tale che[c], se venisse una legge che gli uomini non avessero più a parlare, io sarei il primo ad abracciarla e predicarla per sensualità. Al pennello non ci vado più[d] con quell'ardenza d'una volta, e mi dispiacciono infinite cose che un tempo mi dilettorno[e]. Se quest'effetti, amico, siano per debolezza di corpo o di spirito, non so che dirvi; dubito bene che sia una mestione e dell'uno e dell'altro.

Ma, di grazia, non portiamo acqua al mare, ché bastano i vostri malanni senza il racconto de' miei. Mi son pentito mille volte di non esser venuto a Strozzavolpe, e tutto ci è colpato questa benedetta tavola, quale credevo d'avere a fare in quest'estate. Ma un'altra volta non mi lascerò[f] lusingare[g] più da cosa nessuna, e spero di sbandir anche[h] questa poca rugine di gloria che m'è restata nell'animo, conoscendola per più vana[i] assai dell'altre cose in comparazione dell'eternità de' secoli che ne divora ogni cosa.

[c. 2r] Non vi scordate, nel trovarvi in coteste osterie in compagnia del signor Minucci, di farmi qualche volta un brindasi[j], tenendo per sicuro che con tutta la sua prelibata secreteria non sia per abandonar mai la consueta sua libertà.

Il signor Francesco sta bene, e li ho fatto guadagnare alcune doble, e di presente lavora in casa del Contestabile a mezza dobla il giorno in una galleria di geografia, e vi saluta.

Desideraria[k] saper qualche nova del nostro Brunetti, e s'è vivo o morto. Del resto, io mi protesto avanti a tutti i numi che non mi è restato altro senso che quello del vostro amore e della speranza d'averci e rivedere.

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 25, c. 1r–c. 2r. Published: Limentani 1950, 154–155, letter 47; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 407–408, letter 389. The *sopracoperta* is lost. Rosa's handwriting in this letter is noticeably less steady and smaller in size than that of his earlier letters, a sign perhaps of his ailing health and failing eyesight.

a Ms: *stiedi*, for "stetti".

b Ms: *daria*, for "darei".

c Ms: *che*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

d Ms: *più*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.

Letter 400
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to (Florence?), 17 July 1672

My one-of-a-kind friend,

I guess you're in Florence, in order to escape—as usual—the air of Pisa during the current summer months. So I sent you these few lines over there.

As for my health, everything's doing well except my teeth, my eyes, and my head. But what torments me most of all are my teeth, which dance around in my mouth. And last week I suffered a most impertinent fluxion[1] and went for an entire day without being able to eat even the figs[2], which are like a mushy broth. But even all of this seems sweet to me, when compared with certain illnesses, whose names alone suffice to frighten perseverance itself. And that's everything, as far as my body is concerned. As for my mind, I can say that in most respects it's doing very well—except that I'm daily transfixed by a hatred of everything, and with such a wild disgust of mankind that, if it was not for fear of my life, I'd have surrendered myself to the most Timon-like lamentations[3] imaginable. And I swear to you that I'm suffering such gloomy days that you wouldn't be able to tell the difference between me and a little writing tablet[4]—to such a degree that, if a law was passed that men no longer had to speak, I'd be the first one to embrace it, and to preach it zealously. I don't use the paintbrush with the same passion I once did, and an infinity of things that used to delight me now just annoy me. Whether these are the effects, friend, of the weakness of body or spirit, I don't know what to tell you. I greatly suspect that it's a mixture of the two.

But, please, let's not carry water to the sea. Your illnesses are enough, without recounting my own. I regret, a thousand times, that I've not come to Strozzavolpe. It's entirely the fault of this blessed canvas, which I thought I'd have to do this summer.[5] But next time I won't let myself be deluded by anything, and will try to banish even that little tinge of ambition that plagues my mind, recognizing such things to be vain in comparison to the eternity of the centuries that devour everything.

Don't forget, if you find yourself in those taverns, in the company of Signor Minucci[6], to drink a toast to me sometime. I know for certain that, despite his plum job as secretary[7], he will never abandon his usual freedom.

Signor Francesco[8] is doing well, and I've helped him earn some *doble*. Right now he's working in the Constable's house, for half a *dobla* a day, in a gallery of maps[9], and he sends you his greetings.

I'd like to hear some news about our Brunetti[10], and whether he's dead or alive. As for the rest, I protest before all of the gods that your love is the only sensation I still feel, along with my desire for us to see each other again.

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e Ms: *dilettorno*, for "dilettarono".
f Ms: *lascierò*.
g Ms: *a fare in quest'estate. Ma un'altra volta non mi lascerò lusingare*. Omitted by Borrelli and Festa 2003.
h Ms: *di* <†…†> *anche*; {*sbandir*}.
i Borrelli and Festa 2003 incorrectly repeat at this point the phrase "di rugine di Gloria," from the previous line.
j Ms: *brindasi*, for "brindisi".
k Ms: *Desideraria*, for "Desidererei".

La signora Lucrezia con i denti più infermi de' miei vi desidera, e vi sospira per servirvi in compagnia d'Augusto; et io, con la stima e l'amore di sempre, di[a] core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 17 di luglio 1672[b].

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

Letter 401
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 22 August 1672*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio signore singolarissimo
Pisa

[c. 1r]
Amico unico

Sono due ordinari che non vi ho scritto; è forza che m'abbiate per iscusato[c] e di credere che, quando tralascio di discorrere con voi, è segno massimo ch'io non ho tempo di farlo. La salute in questo tempo non è stata qual io la desideravo, mercé ad alcuni così impertinenti scirocchi che m'han tenuto travagliatissimo di corpo, e con i caldi eccessivi non mi sono mancate certe piccole inquietudini d'animo da tenermi sottosopra.

Il signor Francesco mi consegnò due altri pezzetti copiati con assai diligenza, et averia[d] seguitato il resto se i caldi ce l'avessero permesso. Subito che piove, marcerò[e] alla volta di San Giovanni, ché di presente è impossibile.

La signora Lucrezia seguita con la sua indisposizione dell'orina, quale vi potete imaginare se la tiene inquieta. Ma non per questo tralascia mai di invocare il vostro nome, e desidera di servirvi in compagnia d'Augusto. Dateci per tanto voi qualche avviso di vostra salute, mentre io in compagnia di tutti gli amici vi saluto e riverisco; di Roma, questo dì 22 d'agosto 1672.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

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* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 2-1965, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Limentani 1972, 273, letter 12; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 408, letter 390.

a Ms: *sempre* <†…†> *di*.

b Ms: *1662*.

Signora Lucrezia, whose teeth are doing worse than mine, longs for you, and yearns to serve you together with Augusto, and I, with the usual esteem and affection, embrace you with my heart, from Rome, today the 17th of July 1672[11].

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Letter 401
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 22 August 1672

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My most singular Lord
Pisa

My one-of-a-kind friend,

There have been two postal deliveries now in which I've not written to you. So you'll have to forgive me and trust that, when I neglect to speak with you, it's a clear sign that I don't have time to do so. My health hasn't been what I'd hoped, thanks to some rather impertinent south-east winds that have greatly tormented my body, and the excessive heat that's brought on some slight restlessness of spirit that keeps me unsettled.

Signor Francesco delivered two other small copies to me with great diligence.[1] And the rest would have followed if the heat had allowed it. As soon as it rains, I'll march in the direction of San Giovanni[2], which right now is impossible.

Signora Lucrezia is still suffering with her urinary disorder, so you can well imagine how restless it makes her.[3] But even with this, she never forgets to mention your name, and wishes to serve you together with Augusto. So give us some news about your health, while I in the company of all our friends send you greetings, and my regards, from Rome, today the 22nd of August 1672[4].

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

c Ms: *iscusato*, for "scusato".
d Ms: *averia*, for "avrebbe".
e Ms: *marciero* or *marcieo*, for "marcerò". Reading uncertain.

Letter 402
Augusto Rosa and Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Hands of Augusto Rosa and Salvator Rosa, (Rome?) to Florence, (undated)*

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio padrone
Firenze[a]

[c. 1r]
Mio signore

Vostra Signoria mi scuserà se io non ho mostrato quella puntualità che doverei, poi che il signor padre stando anco alle medesime, et io essendo solo, dovendo fare tutte le cose di casa, non mi è concesso quel tempo che vorrei, e s'assicuri che io non averei maggior premura che sodisfar all'obbligo che io devo con Vostra Signoria.

Ebbi una lettera quest'ordinario inviata al signor padre alla quale si sarebbe potuto rispondere avanti le feste, ma, per non aver avuto chi andasse alla posta, non ho potuto scrivere se non quest'ordinario.[b]

Questa è la prima volta ch'io metto penna in[c] *carta doppo cinque mesi. Amico mio sopra ogn'altro carissimo, sappiate che si contrasta con l'idropesia*[d]*, e questo vi basti ad imaginarmi inquietissimo. Vi ricordo a pensare di rivedermi e con l'anima v'abbraccio.*

Salvator Rosa

[c. 3r] Signor Ricciardi, lo prego per l'amor che Vostra Signoria porta al signor padre a voler venire, poiché, se ci è cosa che il signor padre desideri, è Vostra Signoria, come tutti di casa.[e]

FIGS 42, 45

Letter 403
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 18 February 1673**

[c. 2v]
Al signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Mio padrone
Pisa

[c. 1r]

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* Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Autografoteca Campori, c. 1r–c. 3r. Published: Limentani 1984, 241–242, letter 5; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 409, letter 391. The majority of the letter is written in Augusto Rosa's hand, on behalf of Salvator Rosa, and therefore lacks the latter's more customary salutation and valediction. The date is missing, however (as noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 409, note 2) the letter's content suggests it be placed around the beginning of January 1673. Augusto's handwriting is notably more legible than Rosa's, written in very neat, straight (perhaps initially ruled?) lines. Rosa's handwriting is rather frail and small in size, indicative of his ailing health at this moment.

** Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Lettere Autografe di Salvator Rosa, no. 36, c. 1r–c. 2v. Published: Limentani 1950, 156, letter

Letter 402
Augusto Rosa and Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Hands of Augusto Rosa and Salvator Rosa, (Rome?) to Florence, (undated)

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My patron
Florence

My Lord,

Your Lordship will have to forgive me if I've not shown the punctuality I should, since Father is still in the same condition, and as I'm on my own and have to do all the housework, I don't have the time I'd like, and I assure you that I have no greater desire than to satisfy the obligations I owe your Lordship.

I received a letter in this last post, addressed to Father, which I could have answered before the holidays, but as I don't have anyone to go to the post office, I've not been able to write anything but this present letter.[1]

This is the first time I've put pen to paper in five months. My dearest friend above all others, you know that I'm fighting with dropsy[2] *right now, so you can imagine how restless I am. I remind you to think about seeing me again, and with my soul I embrace you.*

Salvator Rosa

Signor Ricciardi, I ask you for the love your Lordship has for Father to try and come, since the one thing he desires is your Lordship, as does the entire household.

Letter 403
Salvator Rosa to Giovan Battista Ricciardi
Autograph, Rome to Pisa, 18 February 1673

To Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi
My patron
Pisa

48; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 409–410, letter 392. As noted by Limentani 1950, 156, note 2, the address on c. 2v appears to have been written in a hand other than Rosa's; it was perhaps written by Rosa's son, Augusto, as in the case of letter 402.

a The address is written in Augusto Rosa's hand, as also noted by Limentani 1984.

b The following paragraph and signature are written in Rosa's own hand.

c Ms: *in*. Reading uncertain. Limentani 1984, and Borrelli and Festa 2003: "su".

d Ms: *idropesia*, for "idropisia". Limentani 1984: "idopresia".

e This final passage is written in Augusto's hand on a separate, small sheet.

Amico unico

Se non mi guarisce la vostra venuta, non mi gioverà cosa nessuna: però vi suplico, per quanto può la nostra amicizia, a mutarsi di parere et esser da me assai prima del propostovi fine di marzo; altrimenti mi farete stare in una continova impazienza et in una più atroce malinconia. Né mi state a dire di volervi trattenere un mese solo, ch'io darò nelle smanie. Basta, vi sto attendendo[a] per far tutto quello che voi vorrete circa a i patti, e, se veramente mi amate, adesso ne vedrò gli effetti più vivi, attesoché mai mi son trovo in magior necessità di desiderarvi, e col core v'abraccio, di Roma, questo dì 18 febraro 1673.

Di Vostra Signoria

Amico vero
Salvator Rosa

a Ms: *attendendo*. Reading uncertain.

My one-of-a-kind friend,[1]

If your coming doesn't cure me, nothing will make me feel better.[2] So I implore you, for the sake of our friendship, to change your mind and come visit me much sooner than the end of March, as we'd agreed upon, otherwise you'll put me in a state of continual impatience and a more atrocious melancholy. Don't tell me, either, that you'll only stay a month, because it will send me into hysterics. Enough. I'm waiting for you to do all you can to fulfil our agreements, and if you really love me, then this will be the ultimate proof of it—considering that I've never needed nor desired you more, and with all my heart I embrace you from Rome, today the 18th of February 1673.

The true friend of your Lordship,
Salvator Rosa

Historical Notes

Letter 1:

1. Rosa uses standard honorific epistolary salutations throughout his correspondence, in keeping with contemporary conventions and stipulations for both formal and personal letter writing. These salutations frequently correspond very closely to those considered appropriate for addressing specific types of addressee, as cited in Hammond 1988, 74 (from Stevens 1980): "Serenissimo [mio Singolare] Signore et Padron Collendissimo: considered appropriate for a duke or prince"; "Serenissima . . . : a duchess"; "Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signore mio et Padron Collendissimo: a cardinal"; "Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo mio Signore et Padron Collendissimo: a foreign duke, procurator, marquis or younger son of a duke"; "Illustrissimo mio Signore et Padron Collendissimo: a councillor, first rank"; "Illustrissimo mio Signore et Padron Osservandissimo: a councillor, second rank"; "Molte Illustre mio Signore et Padron Osservandissimo: a councillor, third rank"; "Vostra Reverendissima Paternità: abbots"; "Vostra Reverenda Paternità: monks". The term *osservando* (*observando*) is an old-fashioned expression signalling the highest respect, deference, esteem and deferent homage, used primarily in expressions of respect or emphasis in direct discourse and in lofty epistolary writing: Battaglia, 12:212–213.

2. Cesareo 1892, 2:6, note 2, considered the word "tittatoria" to be a reference to the Neapolitan names for Giambattista and Salvatore—that is "Titta" and "Tore"—and, hence, a conflation of "Giambattista" or "Giovanni Battista" (likely Ricciardi) and "Salvatore". Cesareo transcribes the word as "tittataria". See also Borrelli and Festa 2003, 3, note 2. On Rosa's close friend Giovan Battista Ricciardi (1623–1686), to whom the majority of Rosa's extant letters were written, see letter 2, note 6.

3. For "brindare," to drink a toast to someone, see Battaglia, 2:383. For "brindisi," see Battaglia, 2:384. The term "branda" in southern Italian dialect refers to aquavite, an alcoholic beverage similar to brandy or grappa: Battaglia, 2:383.

4. Antonio Abati (*c.* 1600/1605–1667), a well-known poet and writer originally from Gubbio who likely first met Rosa during their period of shared employment in Viterbo at the court of Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio (whom Rosa mentions by name in letter 136). Abati participated in various academies in Rome, including the Umoristi. In 1638, he travelled to Milan and then onward to Vienna, where in 1640 he became court poet and was taken on as poet laureate by the Archduke Leopold, in whose service he remained until 1645. Abati travelled throughout the Netherlands and France between 1640 and 1644. After returning to Italy, he received the protection of Cardinal Fabio Chigi (the eventual Pope Alexander VII), and was granted a position as governor of certain papal municipalities in the province of Rome. Abati spent his final years at a farm near Senigallia (a gift from the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Vittoria della Rovere), where he died after a lengthy illness. Abati was also highly regarded by the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, on the matter of which see the biography of Abati in *Opere Postume* (Venice: Angelo Bodio, 1676), 8. Rosa's biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri (Passeri, 387) suggested that Rosa's satirical-poetic inclinations were in large part encouraged by his interaction with Abati in Viterbo in 1638. Abati's satires in rhyme and prose, compiled in his *Delle Frascherie fasci tre* (Venice, 1651), exerted a particular influence on Rosa, who mentions them in letters 114, 115, 117, 163, 170 and 345. On Abati, see Zapperi, in *DBI* 1 (1960):7–8. On the *Frascherie*, see Mancini 1904. On Abati's involvement in musical compositions, see Holzer 1990. Abati's poem *La Guerra* closely resembles Rosa's satire of the same name (dated to the end of the 1640s), on which see letter 47, note 2. On the relationship between Abati's and Rosa's writings, see Moffa 1901, 328, and Tomory 1980. On analogies between Abati's poems and Rosa's paintings, see Volpi 2005, 127–128. For various poetic compositions that Abati wrote about Rosa's paintings, see Hoare 2018, 164. For a debate in which Rosa and Abati engaged, concerning ancient painters, see Hoare 2018, 140. Abati's relationship with Rosa continued until 1641 and resumed after Abati's return from Vienna: Limentani 1950, 105, note 2. Abati's friendship with our artist is attested by his long letter to Diego Gera, probably written before Abati's sojourn in Vienna, which praises the artist's work as a "pittore di paesi" (painter of landscapes) and discusses Rosa's now lost painting of "Pittura solitaria": Cesareo 1892, 2:149–155. Abati's name appears again in Rosa's letters after 1650, but it is evident that between 1647 and 1649 Rosa had begun to feel a certain hostility toward him, and the two friends fell out for some unknown reason. At this date, Rosa's early admiration for Abati (expressed in letters from 1641 to 1653) turns to irreverence: in a letter of January 1650 (letter 48) Rosa speaks with irony of Abati as a writer of "satire con precetti"; in another letter of that same year (letter 52), Rosa proposes Abati as a subject "suited to the Carnival" on account of his ridiculousness; between 1651 and 1653, Rosa mocked Abati's *Frascherie*, his income as a poet, and his reputation (see letters 114, 115, 163 and 170). Rosa critiques Abati again in a letter of 1659 (letter 225). On Abati's possible role in the "anti-Rosa" movement of the 1650s in Rome—the period in which the authorship of Rosa's satires was brought into question—and the relationship between the two poets' compositions, see De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 1. On Rosa's and Abati's personal relations, see further: Roworth 1978, 45–68; Anselmi 2014; Conte 2014, 156–163; and Volpi 2014, 90–93. Abati also seems to have been acquainted with Giulio Maffei, sending him greetings via Rosa in November 1645 (see letter 8).

5. The merchant Giulio Maffei (1609–1654), on whom see: Maffei 1887; Maffei 1925; De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 22; Festa 1963a; Bertini 1972; Festa 1982; Festa 1987a; Festa 1987b; Marrucci 1997; and Marrucci 1999. Giulio belonged to the Order of the Knights of Santo Stefano, as did many other members of the Maffei family, among the oldest families of Volterra. Giulio died on 9 December 1654, for which see Festa 1982, 122, note 72, a date unknown to Raffaello Scipione Maffei (Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 1793, IV:57) who believed that Giulio had died in 1653, and also unknown to Petrella 1950, 202. A letter by Rosa addressed to Giovan Battista Ricciardi on 4 September 1654 (letter 187) reveals that Giulio was still alive at that date. No letters by Rosa survive from the period between

5 December 1654 and 5 June 1655 (letters 189 and 190), and Rosa's correspondence contains no reference to Giulio's death. On Rosa and the Maffei family, see also Festa 1982, 111–112, and Scott 1995, 67–73. Giulio was one of the nine children of Paolo Maffei and Caterina Gotti, who married in 1602. In addition to Giulio, these children included: Maria (born in 1603; she later married Iacopo Guidi), Giovanni (1604–1652, archdeacon of the Cathedral of Volterra), Mario (a Knight of Malta, who died in his youth), Marcantonio (1613–1693), Luisa, Ugo (1617–1686), Antonio, and Lodovico (born 1624). See Festa 1963a, and Archivio Maffei, II, v. 2, conserved in the Biblioteca Civica Guarnacci, Volterra. Festa 1963a identifies Lodovico as a cousin of the Maffei brothers. Two other cousins were Raffaello Maffei (1605–1673; proveditor of the saltworks and fortress of Volterra) and Ascanio Maffei (1624–after 1675; the principal organizer of musical comedies in Volterra: Paliaga 2009, 86 and 90).

6. The sources are in disagreement as to which of the Medici brothers was Rosa's primary Florentine patron. According to Baldinucci, 5:448, it was Cardinal Gian Carlo de' Medici. For Passeri, 390, it was Gian Carlo's brother, Mattias, who is believed to have contacted the painter through the Medici's principal Roman agent, Fabrizio Piermattei. On this matter, and on Rosa's tenure as Medici court artist, see Fumagalli 2007, 38–75, and Hoare 2018, 70–72. On Rosa and Piermattei, see also Volpi 2005, and Volpi, in Naples 2008, 30. Gian Carlo de' Medici, who became cardinal in 1644, was certainly Rosa's most important and prolific patron of the two brothers, commissioning and purchasing many of the artist's paintings and paying Rosa's salary, on which see Hoare 2018, 70–71. Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 25, suggested that Rosa's reference in the present letter to the "comedies" being performed in Pisa provides a possible *terminus a quo* for Rosa's first meeting with the members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti, foremost among them Giovan Battista Ricciardi. On the Stravaganti, see further Hoare 2018, 86–90. Michelassi 2010, 141, interpreted Rosa's comment as evidence that the artist's relationship with Gian Carlo was not idyllic, and that Rosa considered his involvement in Florentine theatrical performances to be on a par with his activities as a painter, more a duty to perform than a recreational activity; his comment here, in Michelassi's opinion, suggests the inconvenience Rosa perceived in having to follow Gian Carlo everywhere, rather like a court jester. Michelassi considers along similar lines Rosa's comment in letter 9, dated 3 January 1646—regarding his obligation to participate in the comedies in Florence—interpreting this as a reference to the performances recited by the Percossi during Carnival of 1646. Rosa's derogatory comments about the comedies being performed in Rome, which appear throughout his letters, are read by Michelassi as evidence of the artist's high-minded and moral conception of theatre: Rosa expresses contempt toward the "comics-for-hire" in 1659 (letter 226), and toward professional singers (whom he also disdained in his satires), revealing a "virtuous" and dilettante (in the highest sense) conception of theatrical practice, which Rosa rejected as a kind of "business" (see letter 249). On Rosa's disdain toward the comedies performed during the Carnival season, in particular, see further letter 9, note 2.

7. The term *conversazione* refers alternatively to the act of conversation and to the small gatherings of friends that comprised a particular type of early modern private academy, conceived as an informal group or network "of literary associates and friends" or a "sodality of scholars with shared interests who set store upon regular meetings and contacts with one another": Chambers 1995, 6 and 13. Baldinucci, 5:451, described Rosa's private academy, the Accademia dei Percossi, as originating from a small gathering of friends who met in order to enjoy each other's company and conversation, and who "in a short time […] decided to give themselves the form of an academy, under the name *Percossi*" ("in breve tempo radicatasi in quel luogo la bella conversazione, fu deliberato di darle forma di accademia, sotto nome de' Percossi"). Many of the academies of the sixteenth century, and increasingly into the seventeenth century, began as informal gatherings of friends, including the Svogliati, the Crusca, the Apatisti and the Umoristi (of which Rosa was also a member). Characterized by a relative lack of formality, an often diverse membership, and a prevailing interest in stylistic concerns and the display of wit and novelty, *conversazioni* usually met in the founder's home or in the house of a patron, and used the term *academia* as "a kind of vague synonym of *arte*, or *compagnia*, or *università*": Pevsner 1940, 72–77. Pevsner distinguished *conversazioni* from the institutional academies of the previous generation, characterized by "ambitious social aims," however a version of the same objective was pursued by many of Rosa's academic colleagues, and seems to have formed a central component of the Percossi's own mission. See further on this matter Hoare 2018, 110 and 131–132. On the broader social significance of the *conversazione* as a "microcosm of Italian sociability," see Elias 1983, 53.

8. The "hand-kiss" is part of the conventional epistolary *conclusio* (the closing phrase of the letter) that, from antiquity onward, was required to conform to "precise canons of courtesy" and therefore tended to take on a standardized form: Matt 2005, 126–127. These phrases, and the physical actions they encoded, were meant to convey sincere affection while retaining that quality of social deference that extended from their earlier use in exchanges with social superiors. The "obsequious and submissive" language that constituted the discourse to be used in letters to both friends and patrons in the seventeenth century was in part dictated by the continued emphasis on protocol and the traditional structure of patronage relationships that held sway, particularly in Florence, at least until the mid to late seventeenth century: Barzman 2000, 189. The hand-kiss derives from ancient pledges of fealty between men in both social and political contexts. In the context of the early modern royal court, it referred to "the requirement that the office-holder *actually* kiss the hands of the Sovereign as a symbol of personal fealty and loyalty": Brazier 1997, 28 and 81–88. The mouth-kiss, to which Rosa also refers in his letters (see for example letters 67, 69 and 201) similarly symbolized a bond of loyalty between men: Pasquinelli 2005, 141.

9. Giovanni Maffei (1604–1652), the brother of Giulio Maffei. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 3, note 5, Giovanni Maffei was the archdeacon of the Cathedral of Volterra. Giovanni suffered a long illness, from which he died in 1652, as Rosa himself reports in letter 151. Paliaga 2009, 86 and 90, suggests that Rosa's frequent inquiry after the health of one of the Maffei brothers refers to Ascanio Maffei, however Giovanni could instead be the individual in question. For three extant letters written by Rosa to Giovanni Maffei, see letters 25, 26 and 89. A draft of a letter attributable to Giovanni Maffei himself, which appears to concern his illness, is bound within the Vatican codex of Rosa's letters (Ms. Codice Ferrajoli 959, c. 32v, following letter 19 of the present publication) and reads: "Signor frate[llo]/ Non venni ieri perché nella mezza notte bisognò chiamare il medico et cerusico indurmi rip[rese] questo mal di gola in spezie di San Matia, i travagli†…† fino alle 15 ore! Ora per grazie di Dio sto bene, ma non in stato di viaggiare. Sarà Vostra Signoria domani, vista che doviamo dicorrere insieme et †…† stare un pezzo fuori di tutta come sti†…† tutti per levare li sospetti./ Non mandai il ragazzo, per rispetto del

dottore, quale né meno si manda oggi perché non l'aspetto./ Mandai domattina quell'†…†, in cassa che porre a †…†./ Ci riparleremo, e Dio vi guardi./ Vostro fratello osservandissimo/ Gio[vanni] Maffei."

Letter 2:

1. "Dio guardi" is an abbreviation of the expression "Dio vi guardi" or "Dio ti guardi" ("May God protect you"), an augural form of salutation or farewell commonly used in letters: Battaglia, 4:499. Borrelli and Festa 2003 omit this greeting in the transcription of Rosa's letters.

2. The meaning of the word "citazione" is not entirely clear, but Rosa presumably intends to suggest that Giulio Maffei's letter was written in the form of a kind of "summons" or request, in either a literal or more figurative sense. An interpretation of the term "citazione" according to its alternative meaning, as a quotation or extract from a text, does not really make sense in the present context.

3. On the Maffei family's villa at Monterufoli, which is located in the *comune* of Monteverdi Marittimo, in the province of Pisa, see: Bertini 1972; Scott 1995 (fig. 81); and Marrucci 1999. The villa is mentioned in a letter written by Carlo Milanesi to Isidoro del Lungo (reported by Toci 1881, xxxi, note 14): "luogo degno d'esser veduto, e fatto proprio per un pittore di boscaglie orride, com'era il Rosa. V'è anche una stanza dove sono di sua mano segnati, o colla brace o col pennello, di suoi capricci" ("A place worthy of visiting, and well-suited to a painter of sublime woodland scenes, such as Rosa. There is also a room where he executed in his own hand, either in charcoal or with the paintbrush, certain of his caprices"): Limentani 1950, 59, note 8. Milanesi might have been confusing these wall drawings with those that Baldinucci had reported being present at Barbaiano, on which see note 5, below. It is possible, however, that Rosa executed such drawings at both villas. According to Baldinucci, 5:462, it was at Monterufoli, "celebrated for its great quantity of chalcedony and other beautiful and hard stones that are to be found in its environs" ("celebre per la gran quantità de' calcedoni e d'altre pietre vaghe e durissime, che si trovano nei suoi contorni") that Rosa composed the majority of his satires. On the time that Rosa spent with the Maffei at their villas, see Festa 1963a and Bertini 1972. Rosa also executed a number of paintings at Monterufoli, including the *Democritus in Meditation* and, in all likelihood, the *Poet-Philosopher* painted as a gift for Giovan Battista Ricciardi. On the *Democritus*, see letter 86, note 15. On the *Poet-Philosopher*, see Hoare 2018, chapter four.

4. A "tordo" is a type of thrush, a species of migratory song-bird of the passerine order, of the *Turdus* family, of medium size, brown in colour with both light and dark markings on its chest, and is especially fond of the bush or forest. Among the most noteworthy species rampant in Italy is the *tordo bottaccio* (the "mill-pond" *tordo*, also known as the *gentile, comune, nostrale* or *mezzano*) which has an ashen-olive plumage on its upper body and a yellowish one on its lower body. There is also the *sassello* (the red-winged thrush, also known as the *alpigino* or *minore*), which is red-coloured on its flanks and under its wings, and has a light-coloured stripe over the eye. For these and other types of this bird, see Battaglia, 21:44. Favoured for its succulent meat, the *tordo* features in numerous early Italian proverbs, literature and poetry. See for example: Torquato Tasso, *Il mondo creato* (Florence: G. Petrocchi ed., 1951), day 5, verse 835: "Tornanno al fin d'autunno i tordi a volo/ nel tepido confin del verno algente,/ dove son tesi lor ben mille aguati/ ne l'inospite terra"; Giovanni Boccaccio, *L'Ameto – Lettere – Il Corbaccio* (Bari: N. Bruscoli ed., 1940), 226: "I tordi grassi, le tortole, le suppe lombarde"; and Lodovico Ariosto, *Satire*, in *Opere minori* (Milan-Naples: C. Segre ed., 1954), 3–46: "In casa mia mi sa meglio una rapa/ ch'io cuoca, e cotta s'un stecco me inforco,/ e mondo, e spargo poi di accetto e sapa,/ che all'altrui mensa tordo, sterna o porco/ selvaggio".

5. Here, Rosa presumably means the "period during which" the thrushes go to the remote location of Barbaiano, or perhaps "the moment when one puts the birds in the room, after they are caught". Rosa's intended meaning with the phrase "remota stanza" is not entirely clear. The Maffei family owned a property at Barbaiano, to which Giulio frequently invited Rosa (and in this instance, also Ricciardi). Here we learn that Rosa has apparently been taking care of some possessions—or the transportation of them—for Giulio. The "podere Barbaiano," or Barbaiano farm, which is now an agritourism hotel (see the website of the Azienda Agrituristica Podere Barbaiano: www.barbaiano.it), is located in the region of Ariano, about 12 km southeast of Volterra and 70 km southwest of Florence. The property was purchased by the Maffei family from the Inghirami for 300 *fiorini* in 1516, after which they built a villa on the site. See further Maffei 1925. Baldinucci, 5:463, implied that Rosa first went to Volterra in 1642, but Rosa's letters indicate that he was travelling to the villas in 1641, and probably before this date. Baldinucci, who noted (462) that Rosa was often visited at the villas by friends from Florence, described a series of *trompe l'oeil* wall drawings that Rosa executed on the walls of the villa at Barbaiano in charcoal and lead white, depicting "little stories and figures" that appeared to be set "in frames hung on certain nails" ("disegnò assai storiette e figure sopra le mura, fingendo fossero in quadri appiccati a certi chiodi"). These were probably executed in the 1640s, but are now lost. On the villa of Barbaiano, see also Bertini 1972, who notes (15) Rosa's additional decoration of a fireplace hood at Barbaiano with a forge of Vulcan, and overdoors depicting cherubs and the figures of Vulcan and Venus, works also mentioned by Maffeo 1975, 150, as recorded by an "unknown member of the Maffei family" in the second decade of the eighteenth century. On the wall decorations that Rosa reputedly executed at another villa property owned by the Maffei, San Donnino, see letter 18, note 3.

6. This is the first reference in Rosa's letters to Giovan Battista (or "Giambattista") Ricciardi (1623–1686), a poet, satirist, playwright and academic from Pisa who likely met Rosa in Florence shortly after the artist's move to the city in 1640. Born on 22 November 1623, Giovan Battista was the illegitimate son of Francesco Ricciardi (the head of a noble family originally from San Gimignano) and Maria Luisa di Mario da Spurano. He was subsequently legitimated by the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici: Arcangeli 1960, 116. Giovan Battista died celibate, with no children, in Pisa in November 1686. In 1673, the year of Rosa's death, Ricciardi became Reader in moral philosophy at the University of Pisa, but lamented in a poem entitled *Sopra lo studio di Pisa* the pressures ("il peso insopportabil") of that academic environment, where (it is said) he committed certain serious injustices: Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 499. Ricciardi held the post from 1673–1674 and 1686–1687. To judge from Rosa's extant letters—the majority of which are addressed to Ricciardi—he was Rosa's closest life-long friend. A member of Rosa's private academy, the Accademia dei Percossi, Ricciardi also belonged to the Accademia Pisana (the University of Pisa) and the Accademia degli Stravaganti (an academy devoted to theatrical and literary pursuits, on which see Hoare 2018, 86–90). As noted by Fabbri 2009, 83, Ricciardi was a key intermediary between the Florentine and Pisan circles of his

and Rosa's mutual friends. Ricciardi achieved fame in Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Naples, Rome, Venice and Innsbruck as a composer of theatrical comedies and as a writer and author of burlesque poetry, and was described by Giulio Negri as "uno de' grandi e prodigiosi ingegni che fiorirono nello scorso secolo decimo settimo" ("one of the greatest and most prodigious minds to prosper in the late seventeenth century"): Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 11. In his (unpublished) biography of Ricciardi, Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli described him as possessing a *mostruoso ingegno*, and as an author of sonnets in the "familiar" style that were widely read and popular among his contemporaries: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Magl. IX 67, "Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli, *La Toscana letterata ovvero Storia degli scrittori fiorentini*," Life of Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, 227–233. On Ricciardi's life and work, see further: Fabroni, 126–135 (vol. 3, chapter 5: *De Philosophiae Moralis Magistris*); *Storia dell'Università di Pisa*, 2:530 and 562; Archivio di Stato, Florence, Ms. Manoscritti 600 [Carte Pucci], 30/IX, "Albero genealogico Fam. Ricciardi"; Archivio di Stato, Florence, Ms. Ceramelli Papiani, 3976, "Albero Genealogico Fam. Ricciardi," San Gimignano: Florence, S. Giovanni di Vaio; Archivio di Stato, Florence, Raccolta Sebregondi, 4447, "Albero Genealogico Fam. Ricciardi, poi Ricciardi Serguidi"; Inghirami 1844, 14:175–177; Toci 1881; Arcangeli 1960, 102–131 (also for information on the Ricciardi family); Limentani 1961, 125–126, note 11; Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 498–499; Castelli 1998; Di Muro 1999; Molinari 1999, 242, note 133; Miarelli Mariani 2003; Paliaga 2009, esp. 150 and 171, note 79; Paliaga 2010; and Volpi and Paliaga 2012 (esp. 18, note 2, for a useful bibliography of sources, and for the letters published therein, addressed to Ricciardi by various friends). Ricciardi makes an earlier appearance of sorts in letter 1, as one of two friends comprising the inventive nickname "Tittatoria," a conflation of Ricciardi's and Rosa's first names. Rosa's letters (including the present one, with the comment concerning Giulio's "good graces") reveal an apparently strained relationship between Ricciardi and the Maffei family, on which see letter 36, note 6. On Ricciardi's relationship with Rosa, and its importance for the artist's pictorial and poetic production, see: Gerra 1937; De Rinaldis 1939, xlii–xliv; Limentani 1950, 30–34; Limentani 1961, 125–128; Meroni 1978b; Roworth 1988; Miarelli Mariani 2003; Paliaga 2009, esp. 146–162; Hoare 2010b; Volpi and Paliaga 2012, esp. 8–9, 11–17, 23–40 and 51–60; Volpi 2014, 182–192; and Hoare 2018, esp. chapter four. Baldinucci, 5:491–495, consulted with Ricciardi in the writing of his biography of Rosa; see also in this regard a letter from Pier Dandini to Baldinucci of 1677, in which Dandini refers to Ricciardi as Rosa's "vero e caro amico" (Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 32 and 87, doc. 19). For Rosa's first extant letter addressed to Ricciardi, see letter 46.

7. The identity of this "Manzini" is not certain, nor is it clear whether Rosa's reference to his "murder" is literal or metaphorical. Apparently a mutual friend of Rosa, Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei, Manzini could perhaps be the *letterato* Giovanni Battista Manzini (1599–1664), brother of Luigi Manzini (author of one of the texts on the subject of *niente*, or nothingness, mentioned by Rosa in letter 277), if the "murder" to which Rosa refers is to be understood metaphorically. Giovanni Battista was an important exponent of the literary and academic communities of Florence, Bologna and Rome, and he enjoyed the patronage and protection of a number of prominent members of the papacy and nobility, including the popes Urban VIII, Innocent X, and Alexander VII, as well as King Louis XIV, Emperor Ferdinand III, and Ferdinando II de' Medici. In his published works, he engaged in a series of polemical debates with other authors (including one with Matteo Peregrini on the subject of the court, toward which Manzini expressed a decidedly negative and libertine viewpoint, endorsing for the wise man a life of freedom and distance from the court), and another—of relevance, perhaps, to Rosa's comment in the present letter—with the writer Agostino Mascardi (1590–?): Mascardi had devoted part of his *Arte historica* (Rome, 1636) to the censure of the style of certain unnamed modern prose writers, including, by implication, Manzini; Manzini responded in kind with his own defence, *Lettera apologetica*, which appears as an appendix to *Le grazie rivali. Declamazioni accademiche del cavalier Gio. Battista Manzini* (Bologna: Nicolò Tebaldini, 1637). On this exchange, see Bellini 2002, 227–230. It could perhaps be to this or to another literary argument that Rosa refers in the present letter, although it has not been possible to identify such a quarrel with certainty, nor to establish a clear connection between Manzini (Giovanni Battista, or another individual with that popular surname) and Rosa, Ricciardi or Giulio Maffei. On Giovanni Battista Manzini, see Matt, in *DBI* 69 (2007):273–276.

8. This is the first mention in Rosa's extant correspondence of his life-long partner (or "mistress"—a title that does little justice to the true nature of her relationship with Rosa), Lucrezia Paolini (*c.* 1620–1696). Rosa likely met Lucrezia in Florence in 1640, after which she became his model and companion. Lucrezia seems to have been the model for a number of Rosa's paintings, including the paired *Music* and *Poetry* (on which see Volpi 2014, 426–427, cat. 79 and 80) and the *Umana Fragilità* (on which see Volpi 2014, 527–528, cat. 226), and is represented in a mournful portrait of *c.* 1650–1656 (on which see Volpi 2014, 512–513, cat. 203). On the subject of artists' models, and their cost, in seventeenth-century Florence, see Fumagalli, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 174. The daughter of Silvestro Paolini, "a Florentine who had been living in his native city only since 1640," Lucrezia bore Rosa numerous children, only two of which—both boys—were kept. The rest were taken to the orphanage: see letter 17, note 3. Lucrezia eventually married Rosa on his deathbed, a few days before his passing. On this event, see: Cesareo 1892, 2:137, docs. I and II (for the Act of Matrimony, dated 4 March 1673, and Act of Death, dated Wednesday 15 March 1673); De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 8; Hults 2005, 205–207; and Hults 2010. As noted by Limentani 1950, 63, note 2, Rosa's letters reveal his profound affection for Lucrezia and members of her family. On the couple's troubles with the Holy Office in Rome (on account of the fact that Lucrezia was still legally married to another man, who had run away shortly after she became involved with Rosa and was now untraceable), see letters 151, 176, 178, 179, 193, 194, 195, 196 and 208. For two letters presumed to be written by and exchanged between Rosa and Lucrezia, see letter 227 and Appendix 4. In his letters, Rosa occasionally spells her name as "Lucretia"; more regularly, she appears as "Lucrezia".

9. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 4, note 5, Rosa's and Lucrezia's son Rosalvo seems to have been born—perhaps in Volterra (Festa 1963a suggested that Lucrezia may have given birth to Rosalvo at the home of the Maffei, perhaps on account of the illegality of her relationship with Rosa)—on 18 June 1641. See letter 31, dated 19 June 1649, wherein Rosa mentions Lucrezia having given birth the day prior to another child, the "same day, month and hour" as Rosalvo. Some confusion is created, however, by Rosa's reference to Rosalvo's "anniversario" in a letter dated 15 August 1654 (letter 185), which scholars have also taken as evidence for the date of Rosalvo's birth. Given Rosa's self-confessed propensity toward error when it came to remembering dates (see letters 266 and 280), it is possible that he got it wrong on one of these two occasions. Rosa frequently refers to Rosalvo in his letters with the affectionate diminutive

"Rosalvino". Rosalvo died in the plague that struck Naples in the summer of 1656, at the age of fifteen: see letter 202.

10. This is presumed to be a reference to Giovanna Incontri, the wife of Giulio Maffei. In successive letters, she is mentioned as "signora comare" (Signora Godmother), in reference to her role as godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See Cesareo 1892, 2:5, note 3.

11. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5. For works by Rosa recorded in the Gotti family collection, Volterra, see Volpi 2014, 636, Appendix I.176. These included a possible landscape by Rosa: a painting on copper of an unspecified subject was given by Rosa to Caterina Gotti in September 1651 (see letter 110). Festa 1982, 119–121, proposed that the work be identified with a painting representing a small landscape, signed and painted on copper, belonging to a private collection in Naples, on which see also Salerno 1975, 104, cat. 246.

Letter 3:

1. The "business" to which Rosa here refers is not known. Conte 2014, 100–101, proposed that it might refer to a request that the Medici family had made of Rosa that year, which was a critical one for the fate of the Ordine degli Scolopi, or Piarist Order, in Florence, aimed at avoiding the sudden banishment of Rosa's brother Giuseppe (1613–1656), a member of the Order, who had been in Florence for only a month. On Giuseppe, see further letter 91, note 22. Rosa's subsequent reference to another misfortune in his letter of 20 April 1646 (letter 13), Conte suggests, is perhaps to be linked with the aftermath of this earlier event, although five years have elapsed in the interim. As Conte notes, in March of 1646 Pope Innocent X imposed a limitation on the Order, founded by Giuseppe Calasanzio, reducing it to a congregation, subject to the jurisdiction of local bishops, also allowing members the opportunity to become laypersons. Surviving documents of the Scolopi seem to indicate that Giuseppe Rosa chose to become a priest, although on this matter, too, Rosa's letters reveal nothing specific.

2. The term "becco" refers to a cuckold: Battaglia, 2:140. This sort of uncensored language is typical of Rosa's letters to both Giovan Battista Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei, in which the artist mixes the crude expressions of informal speech, shared only among the closest of friends, with the more formal, deferent and sycophantic expressions that typify letters to social superiors. Rosa appears to be referring to the same gilder in letter 20.

3. Rosa is clearly writing to Giulio in Volterra—probably from Florence—about the matter of a painting for which he hopes to provide a frame. In February 1650 (see letter 53) Rosa was looking for paintings (and perhaps executing paintings himself) to decorate a gallery in the Maffei family palace in Volterra, and it may be that the painting under discussion here was to form part of this collection. On framing and the significant expense of frames in the seventeenth century, by that time customarily purchased by patrons and collectors rather than the artist, see Spear and Sohm 2010, 23, 39, 75, 79, 94, 101, 105, 111, 115–116, 127, 140, 142, 175, 282, 290 and 315, note 506. Sohm, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 23, notes that frames "sometimes cost as much or more than the painting itself—but by the seventeenth century patrons and collectors usually purchased them separately from a frame maker." On Rosa's own practice of providing elaborately moulded and gilded frames for his work (later known as "Salvator Rosa" frames), see Scott 1995, 134, who cites the report of Baldinucci, 5:485, that Rosa displayed his paintings at home in gilded frames in order to make them more appealing to prospective buyers, accustomed as they were to seeing paintings on display in artists' studios in far less decorative frames; Rosa would then keep the frames after a sale and reuse them, because "the decoration acted as a very good pimp for the pictures" ("[f]u anche solito il Rosa di far fare ad ogni sua pittura l'adornamento; cosa rare volte udita da me d'altri pittori; né volle che alcuna mai ne fosse senz'esso veduta, ricordevole forse del verso dell'Ariosto, che dice: 'Che molto cresce una beltà un bel manto.' È però vero, che nel vendere i quadri era il primo patto, che l'adornamento dovesse rimanere nella sua stanza. In tal proposito era solito dire che l'adornamento ora alle pitture un grande *aiuto*"). De Dominici, 1:473–474, included in his biography of Rosa a laudatory, posthumous text written in honour of the artist by the painter Paolo de Matteis (1662–1728), in which Rosa is described as being "protective about his reputation" ("geloso della sua stima"), and also "delighting in architecture, making a design for a frame for paintings" which came to be called the "Salvator Rosa" model ("Si dilettò di architettura e fece un disegno di cornice da quadri, che da maestri di tal professione vien comunemente nominato: il modello di Salvator Rosa"). On the likelihood that Rosa designed his own frames, see also the recent study of Amendola 2010, who notes (256) the comments of Rosa's biographer Pascoli, 144, concerning Rosa's reluctance to exhibit paintings intended for the art market without a frame, particularly a frame of his own design—a strategy that contributed to his position of relative professional independence, as well as allowing him to impose his prerogative on the customer. Echoing Baldinucci's own turn of phrase, Pascoli noted that Rosa referred to his frames as the "go-betweens" or "procuresses" of his pictures ("ruffiana delle pitture"). Amendola, who gives evidence (258–260) for the particular versatility of Rosa's frame design, also notes the recorded sale of two frames—referred to on those occasions with the name "Salvator Rosa"—by the painting merchant Pellegrino Peri in 1674. On Rosa's frame design, and on its sale by Peri, whose account book records various sales of "Salvator Rosa" frames, see also Lorizzo 2010c, 32–33, 186 and 189. The 1673 inventory of Rosa's possessions, for which see Volpi 2008, 96–97, records a number of empty frames still present in his house at the time of his death. Rosa indicates the importance of framing to the final presentation of his work in letters 85 and 86.

4. The expression "fuggire la vista degli uomini" means, literally, "to avoid the sight of men".

5. A *vetturale* is a professional driver, carrier, or transporter of goods or persons, who conducts their transport with the aid of animals (usually horses) or carts: Battaglia, 21:830. On the hire of a *vetturino*, one of a number of options for transportation in the early modern period, see Hammond 1988, 75. As noted by Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 38 (citing Moryson 1907, 3:472–473), the seventeenth-century postal service "was dependent on horses, whose hire could be pricey. Moryson relates that in Italy 'post-horses are to be hired in every City, and for one they commonly pay a silver crowne [*scudo*], that is seven Venetian lyres, for ten miles', though a 'more frugall course' was to hire at only a third the price 'horses of returne, so called, because they must returne home empty, if they find no passengers by chance to use them'."

6. Rosa's partner, Lucrezia Paolini, on whom see letter 2, note 8. Subsequent references to Lucrezia in the letters will not receive a note, due to the frequency with which she appears.

7. Rosa's son, Rosalvo, on whom see letter 2, note 9. Subsequent references to Rosalvo in the letters will not receive a note, due to the frequency with which he appears.

8. Giovan Battista Ricciardi, on whom see letter 2, note 6. Subsequent references to Ricciardi in the letters will not receive a note, due to the frequency with which he appears.

Letter 4:

1. Rosa uses the term "coglioneria" and its variants throughout his letters. *Coglione* are, literally, testicles. The expression *coglioneria* refers to an action, subject, or utterance that is "da coglione"—that is, revelatory of a person's stupidity, foolishness, silliness, incompetence or absurdity. The term can also refer to a gross mistake, blunder, nonsense, coarseness or vulgarity, rubbish, bullshit, etc.: Battaglia, 3:264–265. The English expression that perhaps comes closest, in this particular instance, would be "bollocks".

2. The reference to "fleas, lice, and other such beasts" suggests that Rosa spent the night in a tavern or some other lowly resting place, having just arrived in Siena.

3. A *lettiga* (also spelled *lettigha*, *letiga*, *letica*, *lettica*, *lettigia* or *litiga*) is a portable bed surmounted by a canopy, used to transport persons or goods, and usually carried by other persons by resting it upon their shoulders. In more common usage, the term refers to a stretcher used for carrying and transporting the sick or wounded. In Rosa's usage here, the term appears to refer to the type of wagon or cart—used for transporting goods—lacking wheels, drawn by oxen; that is, a kind of *treggia*, a sled or rudimentary wheel-less cart, pulled by oxen or other animals and used especially in steep, mountainous Alpine regions. See Battaglia, 8:990 and 21:298.

4. The *scudo*, or *ducato* (sometimes also called a *piastra*), is a denomination of gold or silver coin, weighing 31,788 grams and bearing on one side the reigning ruler's coat of arms. First coined in France in 1337, the *scudo* became pervasive in Italy, where various municipalities and states (including Florence and Venice) issued the coin with different values. See Battaglia, 18:331. In seventeenth-century Rome, the gold *scudo* was worth approximately 1.3 times a silver *scudo*, and the silver *scudo romano* was divided into 10 *giuli* or *paoli*, 20 *grossi*, 100 copper *baiocchi*, and 500 *quattrini*, and consisted of about thirty-two grams of silver. The value of the silver *scudo romano* declined roughly fourteen percent between *c.* 1590 and 1625: Spear 2003, 311. On the *scudo romano*, see further Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 34–35. In seventeenth-century Florence, the silver *scudo* (or *piastra*, or *ducato*) was equivalent to seven *lire*; one *lira* equalled twenty *soldi*; and one *soldo* was equivalent to twelve *denari*: Fumagalli, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 173. On the Roman "scudo d'oro," or gold *scudo*, minted from 22-carat gold, see also Hammond 1988, 68, who notes that after 1594 one *scudo d'oro* was worth 105 *baiocchi*, and the *scudo di moneta* was worth 10 *giuli* or 100 *baiocchi*. As Hammond points out, the *scudo* and *ducato*—whether in gold or silver—were always approximately equivalent. The gold *scudo* was more valuable than the silver *scudo*: at the start of the seventeenth century, it was worth approximately 1.2 times the value of the silver *scudo*, or 120 *baiocchi*: Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 34. For a useful summary of early coinage values, see also Hammond 1988, 70. For useful notes on monetary equivalencies, see: Martini 1883, 613; Martinori 1915, 394; Delumeau 1975; Delumeau 1979; Stumpo 1985; Spear 1994; Spear 2003; and Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 34–35.

5. Cesareo 1892 transcribes this word as "porvi," however it is difficult to be certain from the ms. If the word is "sporvi," then the origin of this term is not entirely clear. It most likely derives from the verb *sporgere*, which means to lean out, but also, figuratively, to show or present to someone, to invite, to reach out your hand in a request for help, or to speak your mind: Battaglia, 19:1007–1008.

6. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 6, note 2, note that it is unclear whether this "Ricciolino" is meant to be the proprietor or the author of the work in question, since neither are identified. From the context, however, it seems more likely that he is the recipient. Richard Spear kindly brought to my attention a drawing by Rosa (Christie's New York, 30 January 2014, Sale 2820, lot 10) that depicts a young boy or putto holding a skull, standing in a landscape, and bears an inscription in Rosa's hand on the verso that mentions a certain "Giovan Ricciolini," perhaps the same individual identified in the present letter. The inscription reads: "Qui fra noi sta il signor Giovan Ricciolini; Vostra Signoria, non manchi honorarlo con la sua vista, la quale so che potrebbe querelarsene, di potrebe venir dopo pranzo." ("Signor Giovanni Ricciolini is here with us. Your Lordship, don't neglect to visit him, because otherwise he might complain about it, and your visit could take place after lunch.") The addressee is not named, however it could be Giulio Maffei or Giovan Battista Ricciardi—the latter being more likely, on account of the evidence we have for Rosa's habit of sending Ricciardi his drawings, on which see letter 357, note 1, and Hoare 2018, 294–295.

7. This is probably a reference to Rosa's satire *La Musica*, composed between 1640 and 1641, on which see: Della Corte 1946; Romei 1995, 51–70; and Besutti 2010, 158–165. Rosa's recital on this occasion probably took place at one of the Sienese literary or theatrical academies, perhaps the Intronati, on which see letter 46, note 18. On Rosa's satires more generally, see: Limentani 1957; Limentani 1961, 113–244; Roworth 1978; Roworth 1981; Festa 1983; Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 485–497; and Romei 1995. Importantly, Rosa's satires—mentioned and cited throughout his correspondence—were never published in his own lifetime, likely for fear of any trouble they might cause him, and were circulated among his friends and academic colleagues (and critics) only in manuscript form. There were at least four unauthorized published editions circulating from the last decade of the seventeenth century, the first of which is probably the *Satire di Salvator Rosa dedicate a Settano*, published in Rome *c.* 1694 (with a false place of publication, publisher and date given as "Amsterdam: Severo Prothomastix, 1690"). The first edition of the satires with a commentary, which included a biography on the artist, was published in 1781 (*Satire di Salvator Rosa con le note di Anton Maria Salvini e di altri* (Livorno: Masil, 1781). On the publication history of Rosa's satires, see: Limentani 1955; Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 516; and Romei 1995, 30–33.

8. This "Colonel Amatagro" is likely one of the *capitani* (or "captain" characters) of the *commedia dell'arte*: Scott 1995, 80. On Rosa's participation in the *commedia dell'arte*, and the character of the *capitano*, see Hoare 2018, esp. 48–58.

9. A *caldanino* is a brazier or bed-warmer. See Borrelli and Festa 2003, 6, note 4, and Battaglia, 2:533. Rosa's comment suggests that Lucrezia was staying with the Maffei family, probably in Volterra.

10. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

11. Rosa's use of the term "commedia" is presumably in reference to a comedic production or composition by one of his friends. As suggested by Paliaga 2010, 86, Rosa's comment in letter 7, in regard to celebrating the "comedy of the Signor Proveditor," probably relates to Raffaello Maffei's *Madonna di Liesse*, performed in Volterra on 1 June 1642 in honour of the

visit of Vittoria della Rovere. The date of this event would also support a dating of the present letter to after June of that year, if the "commedia" referred to in the present letter is the same as that mentioned in letter 7. On Raffaello Maffei, a relative of Giulio and a playwright, see letter 7, note 2.

12. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 6, note 5, this appears to be a nickname for Giulio Maffei. "Ciullo" is in fact an abbreviation of "fanciullo," meaning little boy or child, and, when used as an adjective, means ignorant, inexperienced or child-like: Battaglia, 3:206. As he does in other instances of nicknaming, Rosa is probably playing upon this pejorative association in applying the name to Giulio.

13. The term "monterufolata" is an invented noun, used in this instance with an apparently offensive meaning, in reference to the villa of Monterufoli owned by Giulio Maffei where Rosa frequently spent time with Tuscan friends. Rosa seems to intend the word here to refer to a slap in the face, or another comparably rude gesture. For other instances of Rosa's inventive variations on the word "Monterufoli," see letters 5, 12 and 102. On the villa of Monterufoli, see letter 2, note 3.

14. A reference to Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, who was godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10. It is important here to note the distinction in Italian between "Madrina," used by godchildren in reference to their godmother, and "Comare," used by the parents of the child in reference to the godmother. For "Comare," see Battaglia, 3:340–341; for "Madrina," see Battaglia, 9:402.

15. This is perhaps a reference to Curzio Inghirami (1614–1655) from Volterra, a scholar of Latin and Etruscan antiquities and the author of certain false histories, refuted by the theologian and scholar Leone Allacci (1586–1669) in his *Animadversiones in antiquitatum etruscarum fragmenta* of 1648. On Inghirami, see in particular Casini 1994 and Marrucci, in *DBI* 3 (1997):1056–1059. On his antiquarian activity, his forgeries, and his friendship with the Maffei family, see: Inghirami; Inghirami 1645; Allacci; Lisci; Rowland 2004; Fiore 2012; and Fiore 2013, 56–122. On Rosa and various members of the Inghirami family, see Hoare 2018, 166 and 268. On Curzio and his writings, and their ties to Rosa's own interest in a magical form of scientific inquiry, see Hoare 2018, 342, note 234. Volpi 2014, 344, notes that Curzio must have shared antiquarian interests with Raffaello Maffei; on their friendship and shared pursuits, see further Rowland 2004, 82–84 and 117–120, and Fiore 2012. That Curzio is to be identified as the individual to whom Rosa refers in the present letter is also suggested by Volpi 2010b, 69 and 73, note 141. Alternatively, this "Inghiramo Inghirami" (perhaps the author of the poem dedicated to Rosa by a certain "Abbate Inghirami," on which see Hoare 2018, 166 and note 250) may—as suggested by Conte 2010a, 187—be identifiable with a member of the branch of the Inghirami family of Prato (properly called "Inghiramo") who held an ecclesiastical title. See the genealogy of the Inghirami family of Prato, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Collezione genealogica Passerini, s.v. "Inghirami," box 188, no. 54, ff. 377r–v, which records "A Reverend Monsignor Inghiramo, son of Valerio di Tedaldo and brother of Giovanni and Francesco" ("Un reverendo monsignor Inghiramo, figlio di Valerio di Tedaldo e fratello di Giovanni e Francesco"). Conte notes further that in a loose sheet in box 220, in a genealogical tree, this "Inghiramo" is recorded as active between 1631 and 1633. A "certain Signor Inghirami" was also in attendance at one of the Accademia degli Stravaganti's theatrical performances in Pisa, in 1654: see Paliaga 2009, 161 and 175, note 157, citing Galluzzi and Torrini 1984, 146, no. 540.

16. For the expression "in culo," see Battaglia, 3:1042–1043.

Letter 5:

1. Barbaiano is the name of one of the countryside villas owned by the Maffei family. See letter 2, note 5.

2. The term "barbagianno" refers, literally, to a barn-owl; figuratively, it refers to a foolish, idiotic person: Battaglia, 2:56. Rosa seems here to be playing upon the name of the villa, "Barbaiano," and the alternative meanings of the term "barbagianno".

3. A "zoccolo" is a type of clog, a hollow shoe carved from a single piece of wood, commonly worn by peasants and members of religious orders, such as the Franciscan priors of the Ognissanti, Florence, to whom Rosa here refers. See Battaglia, 21:1086, who refers to Saint Francis and his *zoccoli* by way of example.

4. The church of the Ognissanti in Florence, located near the Arno river, to which a convent founded by the friars of the Umiliati was annexed. At their suppression in 1571, the church became Franciscan.

5. "Signor Caldo" is a humorous, invented personification, employed here in reference to the seasonal heat.

6. Raffaello Landini, a Florentine gentleman and dilettante painter who appears also to have produced copies of Rosa's paintings. On Rosa and Landini, who was also a friend of the Maffei family, see Hoare 2018, 113, 265 and 268. Festa 1963a suggested that Rosa likely met Landini through the Maffei. In an undated letter to Filippo Baldinucci, probably written after 1690, Francesco Maffei reported that Rosa had painted an altarpiece for Raffaello Landini's family chapel, although he did not name the church or the identity of the work in question: Festa 1982, 112. For another likely instance of Landini's work as a copyist of Rosa's paintings, see letter 18.

7. The verb "riverire," which means to revere but also to esteem, admire and cherish, is frequently used as part of a conventional salutation or farewell, in declaration of affection and respect, in the closing of letters: Battaglia, 16:1050–1051.

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 7, note 4, this is Rosa's only explicit epistolary reference to the "babies" ("bimbi") of Giulio Maffei and his wife, Giovanna Incontri (who was godmother to Rosa's son, Rosalvo). The couple are not known, however, to have had any living children. It is possible that these offspring died young, as seems to have been the case with the curious "Gioseppino," on whom see letter 88, note 5. A certain "Giovannino," who could be another child of Giulio's and Giovanna's, is mentioned in letter 80.

9. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

10. The diminutive of "Rosalvo," Rosa's son.

11. It has generally been presumed that the villa in question is the one owned by Raffaello Landini, located in the Val di Sieve, probably in the Vallombrosa, an area famed as a site of religious retreat and hermitage on account of its ancient monastery founded by Giovanni Gualberto in the eleventh century. Rosa clearly spent time with Landini at his villa, as is apparent from his comments in letters 12 and 13. However, it may be that Rosa is in the present letter referring instead to the villa of San Donnino, owned by Raffaello Maffei, located in Villamagna and about 14 km from Vallombrosa. In letter 18, Rosa refers to his presence at "Signor Raffaello's villa" where "Signor Landini"

is at work on a painting for Giulio Maffei. The distinction he makes on this occasion between the two friends—both named Raffaello—suggests that the former be identified with Raffaello Maffei (whom Rosa would also be more likely to address with his first name in a letter to Raffaello's cousin, Giulio) and the latter, with Raffaello Landini. On this occasion, then, the "villa" where Rosa was staying was perhaps the Maffei property at San Donnino (also likely in view of Rosa's rather casual reference to it as "the villa"), suggesting this may also be the case in other instances in which Rosa was writing to Giulio from an otherwise unspecified location in the environs of Vallombrosa. See also letter 16, where Rosa once again refers, rather unspecifically, to "Signor Raffaello". On the villa of San Donnino, see letter 18, note 3. On Raffaello Maffei, see letter 7, note 2.

Letter 6:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 7, note 2, this is a reference to Giovanni Tarcagnota's *Delle historie del mondo . . . sino all'anno della nostra salute 1513* (Venice: Michele Tramezino, 1562), a comprehensive history of the world from its beginnings, reprinted in many editions. Borrelli and Festa suggest that Rosa is here referring in particular to the two-volume edition printed in Venice (Varischi, 1617). This is one of many instances throughout the letters in which Rosa asked friends to obtain books for him, or offered to do the same for them.

2. This "signor Polei" appears to be a doctor from Volterra, and a friend of Rosa. He is frequently mentioned in Rosa's letters. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 7, note 3, he is referred to as "signor dottor Polei" in letter 56.

3. It appears that Rosa's son, Rosalvo, who would have been four years old at this date, was not ready to be fully weaned from his mother, as Rosa further indicates in letter 7, prompting Rosa to consult with the physician Polei for advice.

4. Raffaello Landini, on whom see letter 5, note 6.

5. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. As noted by Cesareo 1892, 2:132, note 1, the date is missing from the ms., although the greeting from Raffaello Landini suggests that it probably dates to 1642, one of the years during which Rosa apparently spent time with Landini in the environs of Vallombrosa. Rosa's reference here to his son Rosalvo as "Rosalvino," a diminutive that might suggest a very young age, and his mention of a certain situation regarding the child, for which Rosa had sought the advice of Polei, also suggest a date contemporaneous with letter 7, in which Rosa complains about Rosalvo's apparent refusal to be weaned.

Letter 7:

1. *Provatura* is a regional name for a type of fresh cheese prepared with buffalo milk that is curdled as soon as it is milked and formed into a round shape. It is typical of southern central Italy: Battaglia, 14:779. Rosa's letters—particularly those addressed to Giulio Maffei—are punctuated with requests for foodstuffs from the Maffei family's farm properties. On Rosa and the significance of the exchange of gifts between friends, particularly non-monetary gifts, see Hoare 2018, chapter five. Rosa here constructs a playful alliteration with the repetition of words beginning with "pr-," continued in the next line, perhaps intending to replicate the sound of eating.

2. This is presumably a reference to Raffaello Maffei (1605–1673), not to be confused with the fifteenth-century humanist of the same name. A descendant of another line of the Maffei and Guidi families of Volterra, Raffaello was the son of Lodovico Maffei and Maria Virginia di Giovanni Guidi, and second cousin to Giulio Maffei. Raffaello studied law in Pisa, receiving his doctorate in 1628, subsequently turning toward the study of letters and the authorship and production of theatrical operas, the latter of which was (as Rosa's letters also suggest) an important basis for his friendship with Rosa. Paliaga 2010, 86, has recently suggested that Rosa's reference in the present letter to the "comedy of the Signor Proveditor" refers to the musical drama in five acts, entitled *Madonna di Liesse*, devised by Raffaello Maffei and performed in the theatre of Volterra on 1 June 1642, in honour of the visit of the Gran Duchessa Vittoria della Rovere. See also Maffei 1887, 38, and Cinci 1977, 10. In 1636, Ferdinando II de' Medici granted Raffaello Maffei the position of *provveditore* (local overseer or superintendent) of the saltworks and the fortress of Volterra. Raffaello also wrote a history of Volterra, the *Storia Volterrana dal 962 al 1351* (published 1887), which contained numerous fables and erroneous facts: see Maffei 1887. Raffaello belonged to the Volterran Accademia dei Sepolti, acting as the academy's consul until 1655. On Raffaello and his professional life, see: Maffei 1887; Pescetti 1936; and Festa 1963a. There were in fact two *provveditori* in the Maffei family, on the matter of which see letter 128, note 1. The administrative post of "proveditore" (or "provveditore")—literally "he who oversees things"—is that of the individual, often a local district governor, responsible for determining the needs (particularly matters of food supply or money) of a certain group or community. The position entailed various administrative roles, and could also involve governing fiscal matters such as revenue and the allocation of public money, as well as taking care of public services in general: Battaglia, 14:804–805. The term can also refer, more generally, to a benefactor or someone who provides aid or assistance.

3. Rosa's "patron" is presumably Gian Carlo de' Medici.

4. The particular paintings in question have not been identified, however Rosa's comment is noteworthy in connection with his conviction about the artist as the authority on his own practice, and in the context of Rosa's engagement in the culture of connoisseurship and collecting (perhaps introduced to this by the antiquarian Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23), as well as in connection with the broader phenomenon of artists acting as advisors to patrons in matters of art collecting. On the adjudicative position and authority of the artist, see further: Ames-Lewis 2000, 85–87; Haskell 1980; and Sohm, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 13–21 and 219. Artists were frequently called upon to evaluate works of art left by wealthy collectors to their heirs, as in the case of Rosa's friend Ascanio della Penna (on whom see letter 46, note 28), whose death in 1664 occasioned the assessment of his extensive collection of paintings, drawings and prints by the painters Domenico Salvi and Zaccaria Rondinosi, both of whom disagreed on the attribution of a painting that they asserted "was not by Correggio": Paliaga 2009, 36 and 41, note 41. On Rosa and the notion of the artist as authority and judge in matters of art, see also Hoare 2013, and Hoare 2018, 140, 280 and 283.

5. This is presumably a reference to the painter Clemente Bocciardi (1620–1658), also known as Il Clementone, from Genoa, to whom Rosa also refers in letters 34, 46, 51 and 135. Paliaga 2009, 151 and 172, note 89, suggested that

Rosa's comments in letters 46 and 51 imply his own tutelage of Ricciardi in drawing (see in particular Rosa's comments in letter 46, wherein he asks whether Ricciardi has shown Bocciardi his "little trifles of work you keep in your *studiolo*," referring to these "trifles" again in letter 51 as "ours"). A student of Bernardo Strozzi (*c.* 1581–1644), Bocciardi studied in Rome and Florence, moving to Pisa in 1639. On Bocciardi, see Newcome-Schleier 1982 and Noferi 2001. He must have been friends with the Maffei family, who apparently regarded him as a connoisseur of art (although Rosa seems not to have been of the same opinion after meeting him: see letter 34). It is not clear as to what position Bocciardi had been "elected" at this moment, but it could perhaps have been an academic membership. In 1652, the prolific art collector, poet, music composer and *letterato* Francesco Lanfreducci (on whom see letter 84, note 7) commissioned Bocciardi to paint a copy of a "testa di filosofo" by Rosa that was in his possession. See Paliaga 2009, 156–157.

6. The music composer Antonio Bandini, about whom relatively little seems to be known. Bandini set to music Rosa's ode *Non ha tregua né fine il duolo mio*, a poetic lament dedicated to Giovan Battista Ricciardi: Limentani 1950, 17. On the ode, see Hoare 2018, 172 and note 282. Rosa abruptly interrupted relations with Bandini in May 1646 for unclear reasons: see letter 14.

7. Evangelista Torricelli (1608–1647), a mathematician and physicist from Faenza, known for inventing the barometer. A close correspondent of Galileo Galilei, Torricelli succeeded him as the Grand Ducal mathematician and professor of mathematics at the University of Pisa. Baldinucci, 5:451, cites Torricelli as among Rosa's circle of Florentine friends and as a member of Rosa's Accademia dei Percossi. On Torricelli, who included Rosa in his final will, see: Torricelli-*Carteggio*; Torricelli-*Opere*; Berardi Ragazzini 1957; Galluzzi 1979; Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 704–706; Roccasecca 2000; Schlimme 2006; Toscano 2008; and Torricelli 2009.

8. The verb "escludere" here functions in the sense of denial or refusal. See Battaglia, 5:308.

9. The term "compare" here refers to Giulio Maffei's role as godfather to Rosa's son, Rosalvo. Rosa frequently refers to Giulio in this way, most likely for having held Rosalvo at baptism: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 8, note 7. Giulio's wife, Giovanna, was also godmother to Rosalvo, on which see letter 2, note 10.

10. Presumably a reference to Rosa's and Lucrezia's son, Rosalvo, who would have been four years old at the time. Rosa was apparently consulting with a certain "Signor Polei," a medical physician, on the matter of Rosalvo's refusal to be weaned (see letter 6). On Rosalvo's birthdate, see letter 2, note 9.

11. The mother of Giulio Maffei, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

12. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

13. "Seculi seculorum" is a variant of "in saecula saeculorum," a Biblically-derived expression that conveys the notion of eternity.

Letter 8:

1. Rosa here plays upon the conventional analogy of the "pen" and the "heart," popularized in the Middle Ages (but traceable to antiquity) and closely related to the phenomenon of the "book of the heart" in which both writing and the written text become sites of subjectivity and sincerity.

2. In this sentence, as on other occasions in the letters, Rosa oscillates between the pronominal forms of "voi" and "Lei" in reference to the same person (in this instance, Giulio Maffei). The second person plural form ("voi"), which was gradually replaced with the third person singular ("Lei") as the primary mode of formal address throughout much of Italy, endured in Naples and Sicily as an accepted alternative.

3. Antonio Abati, on whom see letter 1, note 4.

4. As in the opening paragraph of the letter, Rosa's use of the pronominal form "suoi" ("your") seems to refer in this instance to Giulio Maffei, to whom Rosa subsequently refers in the same sentence with the alternative "vostra".

5. Rosa customarily uses the term "interesse" to refer to practical or utilitarian concerns, or matters of business, and often as a point of contrast to matters of the heart (see, for example, letters 35, 48, 49, 50, 71, 78, 80, 83 and 91). For the various definitions of "interesse," including its particular connotation of utility or advantage, frequently in the context of personal or economic matters, see Battaglia, 8:230. The "concerns" in question on this particular occasion are not known.

Letter 9:

1. For "esclusiva" as refusal or denial, see Battaglia, 5:309. See also Rosa's usage of the term in this manner in letter 7.

2. On Carnival in the seventeenth century (particularly in Rome), see: Clementi 1938–1939, 1:356–659; Torniai 1991; Hammond 1994, esp. 129–132; and Minasi et al. 2010. For Rosa's involvement in the theatrical activities of Carnival, which were pivotal for his early career in Rome, see: Cope 1987; Gozzano 2010; Hoare 2010b; Langdon 2010b, 17–18; and Dickerson 2012. On Rosa's later participation in the Florentine and Roman Carnival season, and his rather mixed opinions about its theatrical productions, see letters 10, 41, 47, 52, 90, 114, 118, 119, 121, 162, 164, 175, 226, 240, 249, 330, 349 and 375. See also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 30. Michelassi 2010, 141, interprets Rosa's comment in the present letter—in regard to his obligation to participate in the staging of comedies in Florence—to refer specifically to the activities of the Accademia dei Percossi, about which we now have important documentary evidence for the years *c.* 1644–1646, for which see Hoare 2018, 85. Michelassi also interprets the tone of Rosa's comment to suggest a frustration on his part with these performances as a professional courtly obligation, rather than a recreational activity for his own enjoyment, on which see also letter 1, note 6.

3. The mother of Giulio Maffei, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

4. The diminutive of "Rosalvo," Rosa's son.

5. Antonio Abati, on whom see letter 1, note 4.

6. Antonio Bandini, on whom see letter 7, note 6.

Letter 10:

1. The expression "troia o porco" is an especially insulting Florentinism; a "troia" is an adult female pig, or sow, raised primarily for the purpose of breeding and reproduction, while a "porco" is the male version of the same animal. The term "troia" is also used colloquially to refer to a whore or prostitute. The sentiment of such an expression is also reflected in the common

Italian profanities "porco Dio," or "Madonna troia," frequently used to convey an especially angry sentiment. See Battaglia, 13:902–904 and 21:393. It is perhaps also worth noting in this context—particularly in view of Rosa's reference here to "anatomies"—that the term "porco troiano" refers, in ancient Roman gastronomy, to pork or boar that has been stuffed with other animals, in their entirety, and then roasted: Battaglia, 13:902.

2. Rosa uses the term "anatomie" as part of a joke that plays upon the contrast between "troia" (sow) and "porco" (pig). He intends the term "anatomie" in the figurative sense of "anatomical structure, or body" (as noted by Conte 2007, 196), or "physical contortions," as he uses the term in his satire *La Pittura*, vv. 560–561 (Romei 1995, 112), where it has a particularly crude meaning: "the stench of your house causes offence/ for all the contortions you've made there" ("la casa tua con il fetore annoia/ per tante anatomie che tu ci hai messo"). For Rosa's use of the term "notomie," see also letter 86, note 17.

3. Reginaldo Sgambati (died 1648), who in Rosa's letters always appears as "Scambati," was a Dominican friar and Lenten preacher, civic orator, comic poet and *letterato* who first befriended Rosa in Naples. Sgambati travelled widely in Tuscany, as well as to Genoa and Venice, and died in the convent of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples, where he had been a novice and had taken his orders: Echard and Quetif, 2:559. Rosa executed a humorous caricature of Sgambati (British Museum, London), in which Sgambati is labelled as "Famoso Predicatore"; the page bears a portrait of Sgambati on the recto, and a drawing of part of a tree on the verso. See Scott 1995, 104–105 and fig. 108, and Compton Verney 2005, 39, no. 9. Sgambati dedicated a poem to Rosa entitled "Per la nascita del Gran Principe di Toscana," on which see Hoare 2018, 165–166. Sgambati also appears as a character in a defamatory satirical dialogue, published in response to Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*, on which see letter 177. On Sgambati, see further De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 21.

4. Lent is the Christian period of fasting, prayer and almsgiving that takes place for the period of approximately six weeks leading up to Easter.

5. The mother of Giulio Maffei, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. The specific "picture" to which Rosa here refers is not known. It is clear from the letters, however, that Rosa was engaged in finding paintings by other artists (as well as producing his own) for the Maffei family. See also on this matter letter 53, note 2. In two subsequent letters of the same year (see letters 12 and 17, dated March and July 1646), Rosa makes specific reference to a painting he is at work on, which could be the same picture in question (or perhaps one of two or more such pictures, as Rosa in the present letter suggests there is more than one under discussion). The painting mentioned here could also be the "landscape" to which Rosa refers in September 1646 (see letter 18).

7. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 10, note 2, in this instance (as in letter 22) Rosa appears to use the term "signora comare" to refer not to Giovanna Incontri (Giulio Maffei's wife, and godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo), as he does habitually in the preceding letters, but instead to Lucrezia Paolini, suggesting that she was godmother to one of Giulio's children—perhaps the "Gioseppino" mentioned in letter 88. On the problem of identifying the children of Giulio and Giovanna Maffei, see letter 5, note 8.

Letter 11:

1. Interestingly, the ancient Roman festival of Iuppiter Terminus, or Jupiter Terminalis (Jupiter of Boundaries), which celebrated yearly renewal, took place on 23 February, the day after Rosa wrote the present letter. The association of Jupiter with the god Terminus was made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, among others, who refers to "Jupiter Terminalis" in his *Roman Antiquities*, 2.74.2–5.

2. Giovanna Incontri, wife of Giulio Maffei and godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10.

3. Caterina Gotti, mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

4. The meaning of the term "augustine" here is not entirely clear. Rosa probably intends it to mean "majestic" or "noble," according to the term's imperial associations. See the entries in Battaglia, 1:266 and 843, for "agosto," "augusto," and their cognates.

5. On the identity of this painting, see letter 10, note 6.

Letter 12:

1. This "signor cavaliere" could be Ottaviano Incontri, the purported "signor cavalier Ottaviano" mentioned in letter 19, who is clearly a mutual friend of Rosa and the Maffei family.

2. One of a number of instances in the letters in which Rosa links his person with his epistolary writing. On the notion of the letter as the "self," see Hoare 2018, 152–154.

3. The identity of this painting is not known. It could be one of the works mentioned in other letters of around the same date; see letter 10, note 6. The term "aggiustamento" means repair, alteration or completion: Battaglia, 1:242.

4. On Raffaello Landini and his villa, located in the environs of Vallombrosa, see letter 5, notes 6 and 11.

5. Giovanna Incontri, the wife of Giulio Maffei and godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10. Cesareo 1892, 2:12, note 1, considered that the "C." might stand, instead, for "Caterina," in reference to Giulio Maffei's mother, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. Perhaps a humorous reference to Giulio Maffei.

7. Here Rosa uses the name of the Maffei villa property at Monterufoli as a verb, as in "to be in Monterufoli". See also Rosa's inventive use of the word "monterufolata" in letter 4. Rosa's proposal that he and his friend should "not speak of primadonnas for a thousand years" is suggestive of the ideal conception of academic retreat as an inherently masculine enterprise.

8. Here Rosa uses the word "dame," but clearly intends a connection with his earlier use of the term "primo damo".

9. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 12, note 1, this is a reference to the Holy Week. In 1646, Easter Sunday was celebrated on 1 April.

10. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

11. By "datore di questa" Rosa intends the "signor cavaliere" mentioned at the opening of the letter.

12. Rosa had earlier referred to these "hens" in letter 11.

Letter 13:

1. Rosa's use of the phrase "una villa del signor Landini" suggests that Raffaello Landini owned multiple villas. Alternatively, Rosa could simply have meant "a certain villa". On Landini and his property in the environs of the Vallombrosa, see letter 5, notes 6 and 11.

2. The subject of fortune, particularly its ill-favour, is a recurring theme in Rosa's pictorial oeuvre as well as in his poetry and letters. Two of Rosa's most ambitious, large-scale paintings treat the theme explicitly: the *Fortune* (1640–1642, private collection) and the *Allegory of Fortune* (1659, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), for which see most recently Langdon 2010a, 218–219 and 224–225, cat. 35 and 37, and Volpi 2014, 430–431 and 531–532, cat. 87 and 231. See also the drawing of the *Allegory of Poor Painting*, dated by Roworth 2010 to *c.* 1648 (on which see Hoare 2018, 233–234) and considered to perhaps reflect in particular the circumstances to which Rosa alludes in the present letter. On Rosa and fortune as a concept, see also Hoare 2018, 33–34. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, and as others have suggested, Rosa's claim in the present letter to prefer Giulio Maffei to the "many princes" he has worked for, together with his comment about the "cancellation of my fortunes," may allude to a falling-out with his Medici patrons, from whom he seems to have distanced himself at this point in time. See Scott 1995, 42–43, and Fumagalli 2007, 58–62 (and notes 121–122), who points out that the only recorded payments made to Rosa for paintings on the part of the Medici took place between 1641 and 1645. Gian Carlo's final payment of Rosa's salary, and his last payment of Rosa's rent, occurred in 1648: see Hoare 2018, 70 and note 32. In a letter of 28 September 1646 (letter 18), Rosa—after a period of time spent in the Vallombrosa with Raffaello Landini—writes of his plan to return to Florence, motivated by "my continuous vicissitudes," suggesting his—albeit begrudging—return to Florence for a period of time, and a continued reliance upon the financial support of his Medici patrons. Borrelli and Festa 2003 further link the souring of Rosa's relations with the Medici to Rosa's execution of the painting formerly known as *La Menzogna* (Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence) (for which see: Salerno 1975, 92, cat. 102; Scott 1995, 42–43; Fumagalli 2007, 172–173, cat. 16; Volpi, in Naples 2008, 106–107, cat. 6; and Volpi 2014, 508–509, cat. 196), however this painting has been convincingly identified as *Plautus and Terence*, in connection with a painting of this subject listed in Giovan Battista Ricciardi's 1687 inventory: Paliaga 2009, 153–154, and 229, Appendix XXVI. As suggested by Borrelli and Festa 2003, more meaningful is the connection to be drawn between the circumstances of Rosa's break with the Medici and the content of Rosa's satirical ode *La Corte*, written in precisely these years, for which see Limentani 1953, 30–34. As noted by Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 35, Rosa seems to have definitively parted ways with his Medici patrons in 1647, the date at which he must have retrieved the personal belongings and paintings being kept for him in Gian Carlo's Casino on the Via della Scala, and a period that also coincides approximately with the first known public improvisory comic performances staged by the Percossi, about which we have notice from 1644 (see Hoare 2018, 85). Alternatively, Rosa's reference in the present letter to the "cancellation of my fortunes" might allude—as suggested by Conte 2014, 100–101—to the contemporary crisis experienced by the Ordine degli Scolopi, to which Rosa's brother Giuseppe belonged. On this matter, see letter 3, note 1.

3. Rosa had previously asked Giulio for these hens in letters 11 and 12.

4. On the Dominican friar Reginaldo Sgambati, see letter 10, note 3.

5. Rosa's use of the phrase "this time" suggests that he previously travelled to Venice, perhaps with Sgambati, at an earlier date. In January 1650 (letter 46), Rosa indicates that he had been in Venice with Giovan Battista Ricciardi, in 1648 or 1649 (on this journey, see also letter 23, note 1). Evidence for another visit on Rosa's part to Venice, in 1661, comes from a letter written by Ippolito Falconieri to Carlo Dati, dated 29 October 1661 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Baldov. 258 IV, 190v), in which Falconieri indicates that Rosa was returning to Rome from the city. See Volpi, in Naples 2008, 236, cat. 80, and Volpi 2014, 541, cat. 245. Rosa also travelled north to Loreto and Ancona in 1662, a journey that may once again have incorporated a stay in Venice, although this is not certain (see letters 272, 273 and 274). Rosa mentions his desire to see the city again in 1666 (see letters 339, 341 and 346). In 1668, Rosa was invited by the Venetian Republic to paint an altarpiece for Santa Maria della Salute, a commission he turned down, for which see letter 371. On Rosa's trips to Venice, see also Conte 2014, 126–131.

6. A mutual friend of Rosa and the Maffei family, who cannot be identified with certainty. He is perhaps the certain "P. Maestro Stefano [Buonaiuti] de' Servi di Maria, addottorato nell'Università de' Teologi nel Collegio Fiorentino l'an. 1646, nel qual anche morì," identified thusly in the *Istoria Fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani pubblicata, e di annotazioni, e di antichi munimenti accresciuta, ed illustrata da fr. Ildefonso di San Luigi Carmelitano Scalzo della provincia di Toscana Accademico della Crusca* (Florence: per Gaet. Cambiagi stampator granducali, 1776), 1:xlvi. Rosa also refers to a "signor Buonaiuti," perhaps a relative, in a letter of 27 June 1650 (letter 59). In letter 234, Rosa reports the death of a certain "Don Buonaiuti".

Letter 14:

1. On the significance of friendship and patronage for Rosa, and their interconnection, see Hoare 2018, 237–238.

2. The term "commendazione" (or "comendazione"), no longer in use, means praise, approval, or endorsement: Battaglia, 3:362.

3. This is perhaps a reference to the composer Antonio Bandini, on whom see letter 7, note 6. Rosa's reference to banishing Bandini from his house, however, suggests the individual in question could instead be someone working in Rosa's service. Although the circumstances of Rosa's falling-out with Bandini are unknown, Rosa's apparent response to the incident referred to here is exemplary of his frequently quick-tempered dismissal of certain friends, colleagues and associates on various occasions throughout his career. As noted by Conte 2014, 100–101, the reason for Rosa's argument with Bandini (if he is indeed Antonio Bandini) may perhaps have played a role in the artist's temporary departure from Florence to stay with Raffaello Landini and perhaps also Raffaello Maffei at their villa properties near Vallombrosa: see letters 13, 15, 16, 18, 21 and 22.

4. Raffaello Landini, on whom see letter 5, note 6. As we learn in letter 13, Rosa had gone to stay with Landini in "one of his villas" in April of 1646, and was there again (or nearby, at Raffaello Maffei's villa in San Donnino) in June (see letters 15 and 16), apparently returning briefly to Florence in May, as the present letter indicates.

5. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

Letter 15:

1. This "don Giammaria" is perhaps Giovan Maria Giovannelli, on whom see note 2, below.

2. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 14, note 2, this is a reference to Lorenzo Rogerio's *Laureata sapienta sive de Diva Catharina Virg. & Mart. oratio*, edited by Giovan Maria Giovannelli (presumably the "signor don Giammaria" to whom Rosa here refers) and printed in Florence by Pietro Nesti and Girolamo Signoretti in 1644, for which see Bruni 1999, 279, no. 642. Rosa could be referring to the same "Giammaria" in letter 41. On Signoretti, who became one of Rosa's good friends and who is probably the "printer" referred to here, see letter 16, note 6. The printer in question could alternatively be Pietro Nesti, however, in view of the fact that Rosa does not, rather conspicuously, mention Signoretti here by name, as he does in letter 16. Rosa's comment in the present letter is also interesting for what it reveals about Giulio Maffei's involvement in Rosa's professional activities, and in those of their mutual friends—particularly in regard to financial matters. Rosa also looked to Giulio for help with finding employment near Volterra for a certain chaplain friend of his, from Romagna, as is clear from letter 16.

Letter 16:

1. On the significance of the concept of freedom for Rosa, and its epistolary import in particular, see Hoare 2018, 31–33 and 152–158.

2. Giovanni Maffei, the brother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

3. The identity of this particular chaplain friend is not known.

4. That is, the friend's prospective employer.

5. This is just one of many instances in the letters in which Rosa reports conducting or seeking favours on behalf of his friends, as part of a more widespread series of exchanges carried out within his network of friends and colleagues. Here, too, as on other occasions, Rosa takes pains to display and highlight the efforts he has put into such activities in the service of amity (and with the expectation of a return).

6. Girolamo Signoretti (active 1644–1670), a printer and bookseller who worked in Florence, who is frequently mentioned in Rosa's letters. He is perhaps the "printer" to whom Rosa refers in letter 15. Rosa sent various letters to Giulio Maffei and Giovan Battista Ricciardi via Signoretti. Rosa also painted his *Self-Portrait as Pascariello* (private collection, UK) as a gift for Signoretti, together with a landscape painting (as yet unidentified): Baldinucci, 5:456. On the *Self-Portrait as Pascariello*, see most recently Langdon 2010a, 50–51, and Volpi 2014, 466, cat. 141. See also Hoare 2018, 49–53, 138–139, 151 and 293. Signoretti was among the group of friends that Rosa made during his time in Florence. Rosa availed himself of Signoretti's courtesies on the occasion of his trip to Tuscany in 1659: see letter 243. In a letter to Ricciardi of 20 September 1659 (letter 234), Rosa greeted Signoretti with particular affection. On Signoretti, see also Bruni 1999 and Hoare 2018, 50, 121, 163 and 293. Signoretti was alternatively the subject and recipient of a number of poems by Francesco Cordini, Pier Salvetti and Lorenzo Panciatichi, written with affectionate mockery: Cordini's poem (Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ms. 3148, cc. 336–337, "A Salvator Rosa, che faccia il ritratto di Girolamo Signoretti") suggested that Rosa should paint a portrait of Signoretti: see Fumagalli 2007, 67–68, who also records a composition by Cordini addressed to Averano Seminetti that features Signoretti as the object of mockery, and a composition in which Cordini narrates a journey to the painter Francesco Furini. Conte 2010a, 185, note 40, adds to this list of works the copy of a sonnet by an anonymous author in which Signoretti is mocked, with antiphrasis, in comparison with Solomon (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Panciatichiano 366, c. 99r, a manuscript that also contains other compositions by members of the Accademia dei Percossi including Valerio Chimentelli, Volunnio Bandinelli, and Rosa himself). For a further poem by Lorenzo Panciatichi written in mockery of Signoretti, see Aglietti 1904, 127. Signoretti dedicated to Rosa the Florentine edition of Daniello Bartoli's *Dell'huomo di lettere*, in 1645, on which see Hoare 2018, 121 and note 332. He also published the poems of Francesco Rovai, in a posthumous edition of 1652: *Poesie di Francesco Rovai ccademico Fiorentino. Dedicate al serenissimo, e reverendiss. signor principe cardinale Gio. Carlo di Toscana da Niccolo Rovai canonico fiorentino* (Florence: Stamperia di S.A.S., 1652).

7. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

8. Ugo Maffei (1617–1686), another of Giulio Maffei's brothers, who was living in Rome at this time. After moving to Rome, Ugo had become page to the Duke of Bracciano: Festa 1963a. Limentani 1950, 81, note 6, summarizes: "As is clear from a letter dated 24 December 1651 [letter 116], to Giulio Maffei, Ugo had erroneously informed his brother that Rosa was coming to see him after the holidays. At the start of 1651, Ugo had married Cinzia d'Agny (or Cinzia Catalani), a widow with a son named Pietro Catalani. A few months later, however, Ugo was the protagonist of a scandal, following his illicit relationship with the Duchess of Ceri. He must have fled to Volterra in order to escape arrest (his stepson Pietro was put in prison, instead), and then lived in hiding in Albano Laziale with Cinzia and Pietro, the latter of whom had been freed in the meantime. The entire series of events can be reconstructed with the help of the Rosa-Maffei correspondence of this period." On Pietro Catalani, see also letters 94, 95 and 97. Baldinucci, 5:450, suggested that Ugo was the first member of the Maffei family to befriend Rosa, in Rome. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 15, note 2, notwithstanding Ugo's troubles with the law, he had an important career: he was responsible for French affairs at the papal court, was a *conservatore* (keeper) of the Campidoglio, and was prior of the Caporioni (the heads of districts entrusted with policing responsibilities) in 1662 and 1681. On the debacle concerning Ugo, see also Festa 1963a. On Ugo's involvement with the Farnese family in Rome and French dignitaries in the city, in the 1660s, see Chenique 2014, who cites Ugo's pertinent correspondence with Charles III de Blanchefort, Duc de Créquy (1624–1687), the French ambassador to Rome (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. Ital. 509).

9. This has been presumed as a reference to Rosa's friend Raffaello Landini, on whom see letter 5, note 6. However, it is possible that he is instead Raffaello Maffei, Giulio Maffei's second cousin, as Rosa distinguishes between "Signor Raffaello" and "Signor Landini" in letter 18. It also seems more likely that, in a letter addressed to Giulio Maffei, Rosa would refer to a

close relative of Giulio by his first name, and to Landini by his surname.

10. Depending upon the identity of the "Raffaello" in question, the "villa" to which Rosa refers in the closing of the present letter could be that of Raffaello Landini, on which see letter 5, note 11, or the villa of San Donnino owned by Raffaello Maffei, on which see letter 18, note 3. Both villas were located in the environs of Vallombrosa. See also letter 17, wherein Rosa indicates that he is in Florence with Landini and that they are soon "coming back" (presumably) to Vallombrosa.

Letter 17:

1. Raffaello Landini, on whom see letter 5, note 6.

2. The verb "sconciare" has various meanings, including to deteriorate, gravely damage, break or deform: Battaglia, 18:160. In its reflexive form ("sconciarsi"), it can mean to fall ill, or, in a very specific and older sense no longer in use, to have a miscarriage: Battaglia, 18:161. Rosa could simply mean to say that Lucrezia is "unwell," however his use of the phrase "si sconciò," followed by the statement that she "was not well for five or six days," suggests that she suffered a particular event, such as a miscarriage, and that she was subsequently unwell for a period of time afterward. Hults 2010, 21, also interprets Rosa's comment as a reference to a miscarriage.

3. Rosa and Lucrezia also gave up various newborn children to the orphanage of the Innocenti in Rome (probably Santo Spirito in Sassia), and Lucrezia suffered certain physical ailments as a result of these pregnancies. As noted by Hults 2010, the births reported in the extant letters include three unnamed births (and possibly a fourth) and Augusto Rosa (born in 1657), which, together with Rosalvo (born in June 1641 and thus predating the extant letters), equates to a total of six known live births. The children given to the orphanage include: a girl, born in June 1649 (see letter 31, dated 19 June 1649, and letter 32, dated 3 July 1649); a boy, born in October 1651 (see letter 88, dated 1 April 1651; letter 91, dated 18 April 1651; letter 108, dated 16 September 1651; letter 109, dated 22 September 1651; letter 111, dated 7 October 1651; and letter 112, dated 28 October 1651); a girl in May 1653 (see letter 151, dated 26 October 1652; letter 164, dated 1 March 1653; letter 165, dated 7 March 1653; letter 166, dated 16 March 1653; letter 167, dated 16 March 1653; letter 168, dated 22 March 1653; letter 170, dated 12 April 1653; and letter 172, dated 20 May 1653); and a child of unspecified sex, born in October 1655 (see letter 190, dated 5 June 1655, and letter 192, dated 1 October 1655), the similar fate of which is suggested in the relevant letters. For other instances of illness on Lucrezia's part, certain of which may be connected to her various pregnancies or to longer-term afflictions arising from their outcomes, see for example letters 77, 264, 289, 290, 313, 314, 320, 325, 336, 348, 361, 364, 366, 368, 371, 372, 374, 382, 395, 396, 397, 400 and 401. For an illuminating discussion of Lucrezia's pregnancies and their significance, see Hults 2010, esp. 13, 20–22, 24–27 and 31–33. Hults (25–26) argues that the issue of illegitimacy and the threat of religious prosecution in Rome were likely Rosa's primary concerns in giving up his children to the Innocenti, more so than other social and economic factors that impacted upon the growing rate of infant abandonment in the period (Rosa himself complained that he lacked "the means" to look after all the children born to him in letter 112). On foundling hospitals in early modern Italy, see: Kertzer 1993; Terpstra 2005; Presciutti 2008; Presciutti 2010; and Presciutti 2011. On Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, which reportedly took in about five hundred abandoned infants a year in Rosa's day, see: Lavagnino 1962; and Alloisi and Cardilli 2002.

4. The particular painting to which Rosa here refers is not known. On this matter, see also letter 10, note 6. The painting may perhaps also be identified with the one mentioned in letter 12.

5. Rosa appears here to be mocking his friend Girolamo Signoretti, a printer and bookseller who worked in Florence, on whom see letter 16, note 6. See also Rosa's mockery of Signoretti in letter 159. Rosa's request (at the end of the letter) that the horse be sent to Signoretti is in keeping with his more frequent recourse to Signoretti as a go-between for items sent in the post, including letters sent to Giulio Maffei and Giovan Battista Ricciardi.

6. Caterina Gotti, Giulio Maffei's mother, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

Letter 18:

1. The term "raccomandato" has various meanings. It can refer to something left in the custody of someone else (eg. a package or letter), or something delivered with the expectation of the delivery taking place as quickly as possible and with the utmost urgency; it can also refer to something expedited via the postal service with a particular guarantee of consignment to the addressee, incurring a higher fee for delivery; a "lettera raccomandata" (sometimes expressed, as it is here, with just the word "raccomandata") is a letter whose delivery is guaranteed by the post office, or simply a letter delivered quickly to its destination. See Battaglia, 15:221. For other instances in which Rosa sent letters "via" friends, including Girolamo Signoretti and Francesco Cordini, see for example letters 28, 58, 68, 207, 208 and 247.

2. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

3. Paliaga 2010, 86 and 90, note 41, proposed that this could be a reference to the villa owned by Raffaello Maffei, in San Donnino a Villamagna, near Volterra. The identification is certainly plausible, on account of the fact that Rosa seems here to refer to two different people, "Signor Raffaello" being distinct from "Signor Landini," as both share the same Christian name. Paliaga notes further the possibility that Rosa produced painted decorations at Raffaello's countryside residence at San Donnino, if we can believe a nineteenth-century inscription that claims the painter had executed, on one of the walls of the villa's central *sala*, a fresco with a cross surrounded by angels, still in situ. The stylistic characteristics of the painting, however, seem to exclude Rosa's authorship. See on this matter Pagnin 2008, esp. fig. 16. See also Appendix 5, Document 1, note 1. If the wall paintings at San Donnino were executed by Rosa at some stage, and have since been destroyed, then they offer further evidence of the artist's close friendship with Raffaello Maffei. On the villa at San Donnino, see also Pescetti 1936, 5. On Raffaello Maffei, see letter 7, note 2. On Raffaello Landini, see letter 5, note 6.

4. It has not been possible to identify this landscape painting with certainty. According to Rosa's early biographers, he executed numerous works of art for Giulio and the Maffei family, including the restoration and decoration of the case of a harpsichord (identifiable with the *Vanitas* or *Singing Skull* now in a private collection, Scotland, on which see Volpi 2014, 529, cat. 227, and Hoare 2018, 124 and 292) and *trompe l'oeil* drawings executed on the walls of the Maffei villa at Barbaiano,

on which see Baldinucci, 5:462. Rosa also seems to have acquired works of art by other artists for Giulio's collection. For works that Rosa executed and acquired for Giulio, see letters 33, 53, 57, 110, 113, 116, 128 and 148. On the Maffei family's collection, and for an inventory thereof that records a number of landscape paintings by Rosa, see Hoare 2018, 292 and note 613. The painting to which Rosa here refers could be identifiable with the work mentioned in letters 10, 12 and 17.

5. Raffaello Landini, on whom see letter 5, note 6.

6. It is not entirely clear here whether Landini was at work on his own painting, or making a copy of one of Rosa's, perhaps the landscape to which Rosa here refers. It seems likely that it was a copy, in view of Rosa's earlier reference to Landini's production of a copy of one of his paintings in letter 5.

7. Here, Rosa might be referring to a renewed employment, and perhaps improved relations, with his Medici patrons. On Rosa's presumed falling-out with the Medici, see letter 13, note 2. Michelassi 2010, 141, suggested that Rosa may have feared encountering reprisals, begrudgingly reconsidering the possibility of returning to Florence to suffer the impositions of his despotic protector. It is noteworthy that Rosa here constructs an alliteration with his use of the terms "motivi" and "moti," perhaps alluding to the ancient mechanistic theory of motion, codified by Aristotle, in which movement is induced by a "prime mover". These theories were also the subject of much discussion and revision among members of the new scientific circles of the first half of the seventeenth century (members of which Rosa was himself close to) in the form of mechanical philosophy, a branch of natural philosophy.

8. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei and his brothers, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

9. "Pagliariccio," or "Pagliaccio" (from "pagliaio," or pile of straw; "pagliericcio" is a sack full of straw), is another manifestation of the stock clown or fool character of the *commedia dell'arte*. A "maniscalco" (spelled "manescalco" in the ms.) is a farrier, horseshoe-fitter or horse doctor; the term is also used figuratively to refer to a person who blunders their profession, particularly an incompetent doctor: Battaglia, 9:699. The identity of the person to whom Rosa here refers, together with that of the certain "Father Rocco," is not known.

Letter 19:

1. In his letters, Rosa uses the term "genio" in a variety of ways. It frequently refers to "spirit" or character, as in the original sense of the word. This is the meaning intended with the title of Rosa's etching, *The Genius of Salvator Rosa* (*c.* 1662), on which see: Wallace 1965; Roworth 1978, esp. 69–93; Wallace 1979, 289–293, cat. 113; Salamon 1993, cat. 99; and Nappi 2014, 165–167 and 211–212, cat. 86. On other occasions, however, as in that of the present letter, Rosa uses the term "genio" in reference to his creative or inventive talents, approximating the modern notion of "genius" (*ingegno*) that first emerges in seventeenth-century discourse. The concepts of "genio" (spirit) and "ingegno" (inventive genius) coincide within the early notion of the term "genio" as "unique character". On these definitions, see Battaglia, 6:666. As noted by Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 165, Rosa uses the term "genio" in his letters as "a synonym of inclination, natural disposition and aptitude, but also the more discursive meaning of desire, proclivity and *capriccio*." Rosa also uses the term "genio," notes Nappi, "when he wants to underscore his affinities with his friend, their attitude towards freedom or philosophy and art, and also to emphasize the spontaneity and immediacy of their relationship," as in the case of letter 138, where Rosa uses the term "genio" in reference to Ricciardi's spirit or soul, highlighting its affinity with his own: "Io voler far da critico col mio genio medesimo (che sete voi)?" ("Do I ever want to play the critic with my own soul (which is you)?").

2. A "zizzania" is a particularly virulent weed-like plant or herb: Battaglia, 21:1084. The term is used here, in the figurative sense, to refer to discord, argument, conflict or enmity, as in the case of the parable of Matthew, 13:24–30 ("The Parable of the Weeds"): "Jesus told them another parable: 'The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sowed good seed in his field. But while everyone was sleeping, his enemy came and sowed weeds among the wheat, and went away. When the wheat sprouted and formed heads, then the weeds also appeared. The owner's servants came to him and said, 'Sir, didn't you sow good seed in your field? Where then did the weeds come from?' 'An enemy did this,' he replied. The servants asked him, 'Do you want us to go and pull them up?' 'No,' he answered, 'because while you are pulling the weeds, you may uproot the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest. At that time I will tell the harvesters: First collect the weeds and tie them in bundles to be burned; then gather the wheat and bring it into my barn.'" The misfortunes to which Rosa here refers perhaps include the current problems he seems to have been experiencing with his Medici patrons, on which see letter 13, note 2, and letter 18, note 7.

3. Reginaldo Sgambati, on whom see letter 10, note 3.

4. On the meaning of "aria" as a moral condition, climate, or atmosphere specific to a place, country or society, or a favourable situation or opportune moment, see Battaglia, 1:652, no. 8. The notion derives from the writings of ancient theorists of medicine, such as Hippocrates, who in his *On Airs, Waters and Places* commented upon the relative health benefits and detriments of cities in various locations, on account of their differing climates, including exposure to the sun, the direction of the winds, and the variable "state of the air". The term "aria" was also used in the language of art theory to refer to individual style or to a certain quality of an image, and in this context is closely linked to individual character, on which see Summers 1987, 121: "Aria could also refer not simply to the atmosphere but to the characteristic 'spirit' of places, so that Vasari could partly attribute the revival of the arts and the competitiveness of the Florentines to the influence of 'air', which might be receptive or hostile to the spirit of the painter." See further in this regard Chastel 1978b, and Baxandall 1988, 26–27. See also the entries in Baldinucci 1985, 13. Likewise, the term "arie di testa" (literally, "airs of the head") referred to attitudes and expressions of the head and face: Wohl 2005, 441.

5. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 17, note 1, propose that Rosa here inadvertently wrote "Pasqua" (Easter) instead of "Natale" (Christmas), which had in fact just taken place.

6. The link between friendship and obligation is a theme that runs throughout Rosa's letters.

7. Antonio Abati, on whom see letter 1, note 4.

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 17, note 2, this is likely a reference to an event that had taken place in the previous year—one of the events of the Thirty Years' War—in which French forces occupied Piombino and Porto Longone on the island of Elba, securing for themselves a base for further military operations in the Kingdom of Naples. The lacuna in Rosa's correspondence, between the present letter of January 1647 and letter 20, of September 1647, suggests that Rosa

spent the intervening summer with friends at one of their villa properties in the environs of Volterra (perhaps Monterufoli, as is suggested by Rosa's comment in the present letter concerning his desire to spend the summer at Monterufoli, as well as by his request in letter 20, addressed to Giulio Maffei, that Giulio permit Ricciardi to join Rosa and "come to cast the nets and to hunt," and perhaps by Rosa's comments in letter 32, dated 3 July 1649, in which he fondly remembers a previous and relatively recent stay at Monterufoli—a possible reference to a sojourn in 1647, or to another stay at the villa just prior to his move to Rome in early 1649). This seems to be the period, too, during which Rosa composed his satire *La Guerra* (on which see letter 47, note 2). Festa 1963a noted the likelihood that it was during this sojourn that Rosa received news of Masaniello's revolt in Naples, which took place that summer (the uprising began on 7 July), and the event perhaps played a role in inspiring his satire *La Guerra*. Rosa refers directly to Masaniello in the satire itself (vv. 55–72; Romei 1995, 122–123), praising him for his courage in the face of injustice. Michelassi 2010, 141, suggested that the summer of 1647 was the moment of Rosa's definitive departure from Florence, although he does not mention the letter of September 1647 (letter 20), in which Rosa clearly indicates that he has returned once more to Florence. On the question of the duration of Rosa's stay in Volterra, see Fumagalli, in Fumagalli 2007, 62, who also notes (126, note 65) the important fact that Gian Carlo de' Medici's payments to Rosa continued until January 1648.

9. The term "inclinazione" can have various meanings, including inclination, spirit, tendency, sentiment and intention, as well as referring to an individual's natural disposition or his or her astrological influences: Battaglia, 7:696–697.

10. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

11. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 17, note 3, this is probably Ottaviano Incontri, on whom see also letter 12, note 1. See further Maffei 1887, 21.

12. This is the first instance in the extant letters of Rosa's reference to "loyalty" as an attribute of his friendship, echoing his earlier comments on the "debts of friendship" and the "strength of valour". On Rosa and the rhetoric of friendship, including such declarations of servitude, see Hoare 2018, 155–156.

Letter 20:

1. The identity of these particular paintings is not known. They could be among the works that Rosa and Raffaello Landini were in the process of acquiring (or producing themselves) for Giulio Maffei, on which see letters 5, 10, 12, 17 and 18, although these letters date to at least a year or more prior.

2. This is probably the same gilder to whom Rosa refers earlier (and with equal disparagement) in letter 3.

3. Rosa's comment is perhaps indicative of the ongoing friction between Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei. See further in this regard letter 36, note 6. Rosa may have been at one of the Maffei family's villa properties, perhaps Monterufoli, during the summer of 1647 (see letter 19, note 8), and Ricciardi was apparently hoping to come and spend time with him there and to partake of the usual pastimes enjoyed at the villas, which included hunting.

Letter 21:

1. It is not entirely clear whether the "enclosed letter" to which Rosa here refers is the postscript by Marcantonio Maffei (written on the same page as Rosa's own letter) or another letter, now lost.

2. Francesco Cordini (1625–1684) was a Florentine connoisseur and art dealer who had ties to numerous artists in Florence and Bologna, among them Francesco Furini (1603–1646) (who in his final testament left Cordini the majority of his drawings), Elisabetta Sirani (1638–1665), and Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano) (1611–1690) (who according to Baldinucci, 5:158, executed a number of paintings for Cordini at an uncertain date, probably intended for sale, including "un bel ritratto d'uno Romito, d'un Biante, un Diogene," now lost, as well as a portrait of Bonaventura Cavalli, also now lost). On these ties, see Fumagalli 2007, 64–66 and 129, note 145. On the paintings that Cordini owned by Franceschini, see Hoare 2018, 268 and notes 372, 374 and 377. On the paintings he owned by Furini, see Baldinucci, 4:639 and 644. Cordini married Ortensia Leoni, a descendant of a noble Bolognese family, in 1658. A portrait of Ortensia in the guise of Saint Dorothy was executed by Elisabetta Sirani in 1661, on which see Hoare 2018, 252. Cordini suffered various misfortunes, but never seems to have lost the support of the Medici family. He was still alive in 1684, as his name appears in the testament of the cavaliere Matteo Zeffi, who left Cordini four paintings by Cecco Bravo in his will of 3 January 1685: see Fumagalli, in Fumagalli 2007, 66, and Ewald 1960, 348 (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Notarile Moderno 19121, Notaio Filippo Vezzi di San Miniato, Testamenti dal 1666 al 1692, 25v–30r). Thanks to the protection of Leopoldo de' Medici, in 1659 Cordini was made (for the duration of one year) the "sottoprovveditore" of Livorno, but on account of certain poorly-conducted affairs was subsequently forced to leave Florence. In 1664, Cordini wrote to Leopoldo from Venice, asking for help to return to the city and assuring him of his unconditional fidelity: Fumagalli, in Fumagalli 2007, 129, note 141. A close friend of Rosa (as the artist's letters make clear), Cordini was also a member of Rosa's private academy, the Accademia dei Percossi: Baldinucci, 5:451. On Cordini's participation in the Percossi's theatrical activities, and the comedic roles he played, see also Hoare 2018, 252–253. Rosa's letters reveal that his relationship with Cordini lasted for the duration of the artist's life, however the two shared an occasionally awkward friendship and business relationship. Rosa entrusted the dealer with numerous paintings for sale and appears to have conducted these transactions with certain unmet expectations. See in this regard letters 48, 86 and 228. Cordini also seems to have written various poetic compositions, including a short humorous poem inviting Rosa to paint a portrait of their mutual friend, the publisher and librarian Girolamo Signoretti, on which see Hoare 2018, 293 and note 626. See also Fumagalli 2007, 67 and 129–130, note 151 (for another poem by Cordini concerning Signoretti) and Conte 2010a, 185 (and note 40) and 189–191. Baldinucci's (5:451) estimation of Cordini as a "giovinetto di bellissime maniere, amante delle buone arti e ben parlante" ("a young man of excellent manners, and an eloquent lover of the fine arts") is echoed by Rosa's own praise for Cordini's skills of conversation in letter 180. Cordini was also on close terms with Giovan Battista Ricciardi, who dedicated to Cordini his poem *Il Tempo* (*c.* 1657–1658), on which see Hoare 2018, 172. Rosa mentions this poem in letter 224, and cites verses from it in letter 244. On Rosa and Cordini, see further: De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 4; Scott 1995, 57; Fumagalli 2007, 64–69; Lorizzo 2010a, 380; and Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 12, 15, 17, 19, 24,

29, 41–44, 77, 90 and 114. On art dealers and merchants in seventeenth-century Florence, see Fumagalli, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 174–176.

3. The location from which Rosa was writing is unknown, and its identification is complicated by the additional question of the date at which Rosa definitively left Florence for Volterra, which seems to have been in the autumn of 1647. On this matter, see also Hoare 2018, 113 and note 278. Rosa's reference to being "at the villa" in letter 22, suggests he could have been staying with Raffaello Landini in Vallombrosa, or with Raffaello Maffei at San Donnino, as Rosa uses the same expression in letters 5 and 16, wherein the implication is that "the villa" refers to one of the properties owned by these two friends. Rosa could also, however, be referring to one of the other villa properties owned by the Maffei, such as Monterufoli, where he seems to have spent the summer of 1647 (see letter 19, note 8).

4. The identity of this individual is not known, but is presumably someone working in the service of Marcantonio Maffei. The term *pensionaio*, presumably intended here for "pensionario" or "pensionato," is literally a person who receives a pension; figuratively, the term refers to an elderly person. See Battaglia, 12:1052–1053.

5. The expression "essere in grado di" means to be (or to believe to be) able to do something; to have the capacity or possibility: Battaglia, 6:1016.

6. On the "piastra," a monetary denomination, see letter 4, note 4, and letter 48, note 12.

7. The word here, difficult to decipher with certainty from the ms., appears to be the name of a location, perhaps "Gabbiano," for Gabbiano Vecchio, which forms part of the *comune* of Cortona, in the province of Arezzo, located approximately 120 km southeast of Volterra.

8. A "barletta" (or "bariletta") is a firkin or small, portable cask in the form of a barrel, carried over the shoulder by travellers for the purpose of refreshment; a travel flask. The term can also refer more generally to a small vessel or barrel. See Battaglia, 2:73–74.

9. Antonio Maffei, on whom see letter 29, note 7.

10. Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

Letter 22:

1. It is not entirely certain as to which "villa" Rosa is here referring. It seems likely to be a reference to either the villa owned by Raffaello Landini or that owned by Raffaello Maffei (see letter 21, note 3), however Rosa's comment in the present letter concerning Monterufoli, the villa owned by the Maffei family, suggests that this is his current location, and that he is perhaps writing from here to Giulio in Volterra. Rosa seems to have spent the summer of 1647 at Monterufoli (see letter 19), and could have returned in the autumn.

2. Rosa makes previous mention of Raffaello Landini's practice of producing copies after Rosa's work in a letter of July 1642 (letter 5). The identity of this particular painting, however, is not known.

3. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

4. Francesco Rovai (1605–1648), an erudite Florentine poet, academic and amateur painter, a copyist of Rosa's paintings, and a member of the Accademia dei Percossi, the Apatisti, the Svogliati, and the Alterati. Rovai was a member of the Svogliati as early as 1626, when he recited to the academy—to "universal acclaim"—a discourse on one of Petrarch's sonnets. Rovai is also mentioned in the minutes of the Svogliati in July of 1638, and became the academy's consul in 1645: Haan 1998, 15 and 61. Among the Apatisti he bore the anagrammatic nickname "Rainero Fucasco". Rovai, who belonged to a noble family with Turkish origins, wrote "more serious pastoral verse rich in learned references to mythology": Langdon 2010b, 24. Baldinucci, 5:451, refers to Rovai as "celebrated for his poetry". On Rovai's work as a painter and poet, see Hoare 2018, 77–79. Rovai was also in close contact with the Maffei family and belonged to the group of artists and intellectuals involved in the Florentine theatre, sponsored by Gian Carlo de' Medici. See Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 16, and 20, note 40, for two letters of 1645, written by Rovai to Raffaello Maffei, in which Rovai sends his greetings also to Rosa, Cesare Dandini and Jacopo Chiavistelli, and comments on matters of comedy, the organization of theatrical recitals, and painting. Volpi 2014, 218, notes Rovai's ties to the writer and poet Paganino Gaudenzi (1595–1649), who was also close to Ricciardi and Rosa in Pisa, and who dedicated a sonnet to Rovai. Rovai was also close with John Milton, Antonio Malatesti and Andrea Cavalcanti, the last of whom wrote a Latin funerary elogium on the occasion of Rovai's death (for which see Conte 2014, 553–554, Appendix V.4) and the draft of a biography of Rovai (see Conte 2014, 155 and 554–560, Appendix V.5) that offers additional insights into Rovai's life and activities: here Cavalcanti praises Rovai's oral recitations of compositions to his friends, making note of his "agreeable conversation". Cavalcanti mentions Rovai's marriage to Cornelia Salvetti, "gentildonna fiorentina," and notes Rovai's skill as one of the first to figure out how to "work on crystal in the fire, and gild it in such a manner that it seems gilded with joy". (Volpi 2014, 218, note 612, also notes Rovai's apparent dedication to inventing new techniques for the making and decoration of crystal, and his request to Raffaello Maffei for stones to decorate his own house in San Gaggio: see the letters conserved in the Archivio Maffei, Biblioteca Guarnacci, Volterra.) Rovai, notes Cavalcanti, composed ingenious works in music, and executed worthy inventions in "pittoresca e disegno," studying drawing and painting with the printmaker Remigio Cantagallina (*c.* 1582–1656)—well known for his landscapes—and becoming exceptionally talented in the genre of landscape himself. Cavalcanti refers to Rovai's role as consul of the "*Accademia grande*, where he gave two very beautiful orations". He also notes Rovai's poor eyesight, which necessitated the use of eyeglasses for all of his activities. Rovai was himself involved in composing theatrical texts, and wrote an important poem in praise of the "Improvvisi," or the theatrical members of the Percossi, on which see Hoare 2018, 77 and note 66. Rovai was also involved in gathering painters for the decoration of the Maffei villa at Monterufoli, and announced in one letter to Raffaello Maffei that he was coming to the country with the artists Jacopo Chiavistelli, Cesare Dandini and Rosa: Volpi 2014, 218, note 615; letter of 17 August 1645, in vol. 22, Archivio Maffei, Biblioteca Guarnacci, Volterra.

5. The Garden of Hesperides was Hera's orchard of immortality-granting apple trees, guarded by a hundred-headed dragon named Ladon.

6. Raffaello Maffei, on whom see letter 7, note 2.

7. A reference to Lucrezia Paolini, as in letter 10.

8. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna (on whom see letter 2, note 10), and his brother, Giovanni (on whom see letter 1, note 9).

9. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

Letter 23:

1. This appears to be the first extant letter written by Rosa after his return to Rome, following an almost decade-long sojourn in Florence. Volpi 2014, 235–240, notes the important evidence for the date of Rosa's return to Rome that is offered by letters written by Rosa's friend Ascanio della Penna (on whom see letter 46, note 28): in a letter of 31 August 1649, Ascanio refers to Rosa's departure from Tuscany, and his probable journey on that occasion to Modena, or Mantua, via Rome: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 81–82. Rosa was already in Rome in January 1649, however, where he encountered Ascanio della Penna's brother, Bernardino: see the letter written to Giovan Battista Ricciardi by Ascanio, dated 23 June 1649, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75–76, doc. 5. On 22 March of that year, Rosa wrote to Giulio Maffei about having finally found a house on the Trinità dei Monti (see letter 26). As Volpi notes, it is not entirely clear as to when exactly Rosa took his voyage to Parma and Mantua, however from Ascanio's letters we can hypothesize either that Rosa arrived in Rome in 1649, having already made a grand tour, or that he left the city again a little while after having settled in his new house on the Strada Felice, perhaps in April 1649, and then subsequently returned to Rome: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 52 and 77. A possible trip at this date is also suggested by the absence of letters by the artist from Rome at this moment, and would confirm the possibility of a trip to Venice together with Diego Velázquez (1599–1660), as narrated by Boschini 1660, 56–59. (Pirrotta 1953, 60, noted that Marcantonio Cesti may also have been in Venice on this occasion.) Velázquez arrived in Italy in 1649, via Venice, moving on afterward to Modena, on a diplomatic journey whose primary objective was to obtain paintings and statues for the Alcazar. Rosa's own direct involvement in the traffic of works of art at this moment, between Francesco I d'Este, Gian Carlo de' Medici and Philip IV of Spain, is testified by his encounter with Tommaso Guidoni, "suo parzialissimo," the agent of Gian Carlo in Modena, in 1649, when he was in the city to acquire a painting by Correggio, on which see Ascanio della Penna's letter of 31 August 1649, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 81–82, doc. 10. On Rosa and Modena, see the interesting note, reported by Fumagalli 2010, 349–365, of a request, sent from Florence in 1645 and addressed to the Florentine ambassador in Modena, for an encomium on Rosa by the poet Fulvio Testi (on which see also Hoare 2018, 165 and note 242). That Rosa not only encountered Velázquez but probably met with him on a regular basis over the course of 1649, when both were living in Rome, is likely in view of the fact that both participated in the annual exhibition held at the Pantheon, as well as visiting the rooms of the palace of Prince Camillo Pamphilj where Velázquez perhaps also had the chance to meet the painter Pier Francesco Mola: Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 52, and 61, note 9, who also notes in this regard Velázquez's painting of *Mercury and Argus* (*c.* 1658, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), derived from a print by Mola of a similar subject, which also supplied Rosa with the idea for a painting of the same theme (private collection, Rome; see Naples 2008, 160–161). Volpi further suggests that the encounter with Velázquez may offer evidence of the Spanish painter's influence on Rosa, particularly the impact of paintings like the portrait of Juan de Pereja (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, but first exhibited at the Pantheon in 1650) on two of Rosa's self-portraits (one in Detroit, and another in a private English collection)—both usually dated to Rosa's Florentine years but that could easily date to the period after Rosa's return to Rome—as well as the influence of the Spaniard on Rosa's *Portrait of Lucrezia* (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome). To the list of Rosa's works that reveal the influence of Velázquez, Volpi also adds the *Prodigal Son* (The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg), a work that displays a monumentality that also characterizes Rosa's *Allegory of Fortune* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), executed a few years later. On the prospect of this journey to Venice in 1649, see also letter 46, note 24. On the subject of Rosa's departure from Florence and return to Rome, see also Hoare 2018, 113. The preceding letters of 1648 (letters 21 and 22) are only two in number and were written from the villa of one of Rosa's friends, perhaps in Vallombrosa or Monterufoli, leaving the possibility that Rosa could have moved to Rome in 1648 and then gone to stay with friends in the countryside before returning again to the city, although this would have entailed rather a lot of arduous travel and seems unlikely. The content of the present letter also suggests that Rosa might have stopped to spend time with the Maffei family in Volterra, on his way south to Rome. A visit to Monterufoli, in particular, on this occasion is suggested by Rosa's comments in letter 32, which could refer either to his time spent there in the summer of 1647 (on which see letter 19, note 8) or to a sojourn prior to his move to Rome in 1649. In letter 36 (dated October 1649) Rosa refers to having spent time among the "crags" of one of the Maffei family's villas (presumably Monterufoli) in the "last year".

2. Girolamo Mercuri (1606?–1683), who first met Rosa around 1633, during the artist's youth in Naples, and who assisted him during his early years in Rome: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 20, note 1. When Mercuri travelled to Rome with Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio (1592–1675), he invited Rosa to come with him. De Dominici, 1:417 and 427, claims that Mercuri met Rosa in 1633 among the "compagnia della morte," the band of artists sympathetic to the cause of Masaniello. This was the same year that Brancaccio left Naples for Rome: Volpi 2005, 120–124. On Rosa and the matter of the *compagnia della morte*, see also Volpi 2014, 19–22, who suggests (22, note 55) that Rosa likely met Mercuri in Aniello Falcone's workshop. De Dominici also claimed that Mercuri was trained alongside Rosa in Falcone's workshop, and that he became a dilettante in drawing thanks to the teachings of his artist friend; the biographer (1:417) also has Mercuri accompanying Rosa on his first trip to Rome. Mercuri, who may also have met Cardinal Brancaccio via the Neapolitan Accademia degli Oziosi, perhaps also encountered Rosa through the academy as the artist's brother-in-law Francesco Fracanzano was also a member. Rosa and his family presumably stayed with Mercuri after their return to Rome in 1649. Mercuri seems also to have earlier assisted Rosa financially shortly after the artist's move to Florence in 1640 (see Hoare 2018, 249 and note 169). Mercuri was *maestro di casa* (head of the household) to Brancaccio, and subsequently worked in the service of the cardinal's nephew, Stefano Brancaccio (1618–1682). In 1635 (see letter 341, note 10), Mercuri moved with Rosa from Naples to Rome and, for a short period, to Viterbo, where Brancaccio was bishop. Among the works that Rosa painted for Brancaccio is the *Incredulity of Saint Thomas* (Museo Civico, Viterbo; formerly Chiesa dell'Orazione e Morte, Viterbo). On Rosa and Brancaccio, see Volpi 2005. On Rosa and Mercuri, and for information regarding Mercuri's own important art collection, see Volpi 2014, 85–87, and Hoare 2018, 249 and note 172. In 1655, Mercuri became *maestro di casa* to Cardinal Flavio Chigi (1631–1693)—the nephew of Pope Alexander VII—who was made a cardinal in 1657: Baldinucci, 5:439. Rosa's letters attest to his long and affectionate friendship with Mercuri: see for example

letters 26, 71, 96, 161, 228, 231, 315, 341 (and note 10) and 396. Mercuri had close ties to many of Rosa's friends, including Giovanni Filippo Apolloni (to whom Mercuri left in his will of 1682 his rare and precious copy of *Il Pastor Fido*): Gozzano 2010, 118. Mercuri was also the witness to Rosa's deathbed marriage to Lucrezia Paolini in 1673 (on which see: Cesareo 1892, 2:137, docs. I and II; De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 11; and Hoare 2018, 249 and note 169) and he became the protector and friend of Augusto Rosa after his father's death (see Miarelli Mariani 2003).

3. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

4. Giovanna Incontri, the wife of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

5. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

6. The date written in the ms., "1648," does not entirely correspond with the information we have from Baldinucci, 5:497, who tells us that Rosa left Florence for Rome "around the year 1649," nor does it make sense in connection with the content of the rest of the letter. Rosa's mention here, in particular, of the "cheeses" corresponds to letter 22 (of October 1648), and letter 25 (of March 1649), in which Rosa also refers to Girolamo Mercuri's gratitude to Giulio for the gift of cheese. Rosa also mentions in the letter of March 1649 that he is still searching for a house, making a date of 1648 for the present letter (and, consequently, for Rosa's definitive move to Rome) seem unlikely. There are numerous instances throughout Rosa's correspondence in which he writes the incorrect date—the day, month or year—or leaves the date blank. Rosa himself acknowledged this failing of his in letters 266 and 280.

Letter 24:

1. Rosa reports on his strenuous journey to Rome in letter 23, the first extant letter written after what appears to be his official return to the city.

2. Rosa refers to the sausages and this unidentified "friend" again in letter 27.

3. A doctor from Volterra, on whom see also letter 6, note 2.

4. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

5. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, who was godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10.

6. The date written in the ms. is "1646," however Rosa's reference here to his presence in Rome, as well as to Lucrezia's exhaustion from the "long journey" (presumably the move from Florence to Rome) and her delight at the "marvels of Rome," suggests instead that the letter belongs to March 1649. On Rosa's occasional habit of incorrectly dating his letters, see also letter 23, note 6, and letters 266 and 280.

Letter 25:

1. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

2. Despite the frustrations that Rosa encountered soon after his move to Rome, there were also clearly some moments of joy. Rosa relates in a letter of 6 March 1649 (letter 24) that Lucrezia, although exhausted from the journey, was "already beginning to enjoy the marvels of Rome".

3. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

4. Holy Years, or Jubilees, take place every twenty-five years and are marked by an influx of pilgrims to Rome who are required to visit the four primary basilicas of the city: San Giovanni in Laterano, San Paolo fuori le mura, Santa Maria Maggiore and Saint Peter's. Rosa is here referring to the upcoming Jubilee year of 1650, the last of the papacy of Pope Innocent X. As summarized by Hammond 1988, 60, each Holy Year was begun with "the unblocking of the Holy Door in the narthex of each of the four great basilicas on Christmas Eve preceding the year. The pilgrims who flocked to Rome followed a prescribed course of visits to the more important churches of the city (in times of plague, the list was reshaped to eliminate churches outside the city walls) to gain the specified indulgences. The closing of the Holy Year the following Christmas Eve was symbolized by the walling up of the Holy Doors. Holy Years were generally marked by increased charitable and building activity, provision of special music, and increased religious fervour (abolition of that year's Carnival, for example)." On the inundation of Rome with pilgrims during these moments, and the impact that this had on the city, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 33. See further Romani 1948 and Delumeau 1957–1959.

5. The term "stravagante" means strange, unusual, bizarre or excessive. On the multivalency of this term, see also letter 50, note 11.

6. Rosa frequently asserts his poverty throughout the letters, often in connection with declarations of friendship and solicitations of financial and other forms of aid. On Rosa and poverty, as both a philosophical ideal and a reality of economic hardship, see Hoare 2018, 163 and 232–236. In this particular instance, Rosa intends "poverty" to refer to his meagre hospitality.

7. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

8. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

9. For "comandatemi," "mi comandi," etc., as a standard epistolary expression of courtesy and respect, see Battaglia, 3:338.

Letter 26:

1. The term "obbligato" does not literally mean "servant" but refers to someone formally bound by virtue of some pact, official disposition, or previously established agreement that is ostensibly unbreakable; a person who is bound to fulfil a promise or vow: Battaglia, 11:714.

2. Scott 1995, 221, argued that Rosa must have intended this "eighty *scudi* in rent" to refer to an annuity. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 22, note 1, considered that although Rosa repeats the same amount later on in letters to Giulio Maffei (see letters 27 and 41), it might be possible that Rosa exaggerated the figure, which seemed to Borrelli and Festa to be conspicuously high. According to Bartoni 2010, 416, note 10, the "eighty *scudi* in rent" that Rosa cites "corresponds to the annual rent that was usually paid in quarterly instalments, as is suggested by the 19.5 *scudi* that the painter paid in rent to a certain Marco Cecconi between 1662 and 1664, payments traced by Leandro Ozzola among the Kempner manuscripts" (see Ozzola 1908, 244–245, for the two receipts for Rosa's rent in Rome, kept in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Palazzo Venezia, Rome, which record payments of 20 May 1664 and 2 September 1664. Ozzola's transcriptions contain some

errors, corrected by Conte 2014, 624, Appendix VI.4. The first payment, of 20 May, declares that Rosa is the "pigionante" or tenant of "Signor Marco Cecone" and that the payment is to be made to "Signor Ignatio Petronio"; the second, of 2 September, declares that Rosa's friend, the banker Carlo de' Rossi, is pleased to pay the above amount to Ignatio Petronio, and that Marco Cecone is the owner of the house in which Rosa is living. These documents are important evidence of the fact that Rosa continued to rent, rather than to own, his lodging in Rome even during his later years.) The average cost of a house or apartment in seventeenth-century Rome ranged from 15 or 20 *scudi* to 100 *scudi* a year (see Spear 2003, 312), and in the area of the Trinità dei Monti, from approximately 35 to 40 *scudi* a year (see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 39), suggesting to Bartoni 2010, 410, that Rosa's house was probably not a "casuccia" ("little house")—as Rosa put it—but rather a more convenient, mid- to high-level dwelling. On the cost of living in seventeenth-century Rome, see also Hammond 1988. As noted by McPhee 2012, Gian Lorenzo Bernini paid 7000 *scudi* for a small palace in Rome in 1641. Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 39, notes that the sum of 80 *scudi* was almost twice the cost of rent that Rosa had paid in Florence, on which see Fumagalli, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 180 and 326, note 94, who records documentary evidence that Gian Carlo de' Medici paid the yearly rent of 50 *scudi* for Rosa's house located near the Croce al Trebbio in Florence. On the rental costs paid by, and housing situation of, artists in seventeenth-century Rome, and the especially high cost of rent in the city centre, and the zone around the Trinità dei Monti in particular, see Spear 2003, esp. 312, and Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, esp. 33–34 and 37–40, who discusses other important economic conditions and costs of living in the city, including food expenses, noting (38) that "[f]or the wealthy of Rome, food and housing, like clothing and art, were traditional signs of status". On Rosa's living situation in Rome, see further note 3, below.

3. The Strada Felice, or what is now called the Via Sistina. On Rosa's houses in Rome, see Bartoni 2010, 410, who notes that the location of this particular house (this was Rosa's penultimate residence in Rome, in which he lived from 1649–1667; Rosa lived in at least three houses in Rome, identifiable from the biographies and the letters, as well as from relevant *stati d'anime* records, for which see Bartoni 2012) is difficult to determine with certainty on account of the significant changes made to the architectural fabric of the street, but that it "probably belonged to the Padri of the SS. Trinità dei Monti" and "can be found located between the properties of the Signori Stefanoni and a building owned by the Altieri, just before the houses of Giacinto Gimignani." Rosa's final residence in Rome was located on the Via Gregoriana (where he lived from 1668–1673), on the Isola Toscanella, adjacent to the Strada Felice (Via Sistina). The reasons for his move to the Via Gregoriana are not known, however they may be connected to Rosa's declining health from the mid-1660s onward and to his financial losses, which included a failed investment with his friend Carlo de' Rossi: see Bartoni 2010, 410, and Bartoni 2012, 60, 478, 508 and 510 (on the investment with De' Rossi, see letters 314, 325 and 339). The close proximity of Rosa's house on the Strade Felice to that of the painter Giacinto Gimignani is noteworthy: Rosa refers to Gimignani as his "neighbour" in letter 264. The Trinità dei Monti was one of the prime locations in the city given over to artists, another being the Campo Marzio. Among the other artists who lived near Rosa were: Nicolas Poussin, who lived in various residences with the painters Jean Lemaire (1598–1659) and Gaspard Dughet (1615–1675), and with the sculptor Francois Duquesnoy (1597–1643); Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who lived on the Via delle Mercede; and Claude Lorrain, who lived on the Strada Paolina (Via del Babuino). See Sparti 1997, 25–26. On the numbers and varieties of painters in seventeenth-century Rome, and for figures relating to the various regions within the city, including the popular neighbourhoods for painters in and around Piazza del Popolo, Sant'Andrea delle Fratte and San Lorenzo in Lucina, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 40–50. See also, in regard to Rosa's living situation in Rome, Bartoni 2012, 31–60, 69, 70–71 and 508–510. Bartoni 2012, 60, notes further that the landscapist Bartolomeo Torreggiani, whom both Passeri and Baldinucci record as a student of Rosa, lived in the area of Via Paolina (today Via Due Macelli), at the foot of the Pincian Hill, in the years 1655–1656, and again between 1660 and 1664. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, Rosa's collaborator and copyist, also lived near Rosa's house between 1669 and 1670, and in 1672 occupied a room at the front of Rosa's final house in Rome, on the Via Gregoriana. This house, traditionally understood to be located in the "island" dedicated to the Palazzo Zuccari (now the Bibliotheca Hertziana), is the last and most well known of Rosa's homes, identified by some scholars as the building demolished for the construction of the Palazzo Stroganoff, and by others as the adjacent property, today indicated with the number 34. (Ms. Vittorio Emmanuele 1490, a collection of manuscript documents pertaining to Rosa and his family kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, records "no. 33" Via Gregoriana as the property acquired by Rosa's son Augusto, which then passed to his children.) As noted by Bartoni 2010, 411, the only reliable historical evidence for the purchase of a house at this moment by a member of Rosa's family is a record of a property bought by Rosa's son Augusto, for 2000 *scudi*, only after Rosa's death, in 1688, where Augusto lived with his wife and children and his mother Lucrezia, until his death in 1737, after which the house passed to his children Francesca Savina Rosa and Francesco Giuseppe Rosa: Bartoni 2012, 70–71. The house had three floors, with an entrance on the Via Gregoriana, and included a stable and garden at the rear, facing onto the Strada Felice: Bartoni 2010, 411. There is no documentation of Rosa's own purchase of a house on the Via Gregoriana. The residence in which Rosa actually lived between 1668 and 1673, a little further down the street, was in fact the property of the Collegio di San Bonaventura, as indicated by the *stati d'anime* of those years, and the *assegne dei beni* of 1708. Indeed, as noted further by Bartoni 2012, 71, Rosa spent the duration of his time in Rome in rented properties, whether out of choice or necessity. His finances were certainly not sufficient enough to allow him to purchase his own property, without risk, even though his savings amounted to around 4000 *scudi* before 1666. Like his neighbour Nicolas Poussin, who lived on the Via del Babuino and adopted a modest lifestyle, Rosa, too, may have consciously chosen to live within his means and without unnecessary material comforts. Rosa frequently protests his poverty in his letters, and laments the whims of fortune. According to Baldinucci, Rosa oscillated between periods of "big spending" and more prudent moments, and despite his success on the art market, the lack of significant large-scale commissions probably made him overly cautious, and helps to explain why he never purchased his own house in Rome. The house on the Via Gregoriana remained in the possession of Rosa's heirs into the eighteenth century. For an interesting and amusing account of one of these heirs, the "architect" Augusto Rosa II, who made cork models of Roman ruins, see the report of the painter Thomas Jones (1742–1803), who wrote about his stay in the house as a tenant in February of 1779, noting in particular that the walls of the rooms were "covered with landscapes painted in water color by old Salvator's pupils" and referring to Augusto's acquaintance with Giovanni Battista Piranesi (an interesting connection, in view of Salvator

Rosa's own artistic legacy as a landscape painter) and their trip together to Paestum in 1778: Bernini, in Nappi 2014, 114. On Rosa's house on the Via Gregoriana, see also Mariani 1939. For early scholarly discussions of Rosa's house in Rome and its location, see Corvisieri 1907 and Orazi 1960. Rosa's comment in the next line of the present letter, concerning the "merits" of the street's name, is of course in reference to the dual meaning of the word "Felice": a reference to its creator and namesake, Felice Peretti (Pope Sixtus V), and a term meaning "happy" or "cheerful".

4. Rosa uses the phrase "tutte danno nel ruffiano," which could be more literally interpreted as "they are all practically procuresses".

5. On the ostensible paradox between Rosa's claims for poverty and his desire for—and attainment of—certain luxuries associable with a wealthy lifestyle (including the retention of a servant, and the ownership of a silver basin, as reported by Baldinucci, 5:501), see Hoare 2018, 116 and 230–233. On the role and cost of domestic servants kept by painters in early modern Rome, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 69, who notes in this regard Rosa's complaints in the present letter about the difficulty of finding a servant in Rome, and considers the circumstances of Nicolas Poussin as an interesting point of contrast: Poussin "took pride in shunning the luxury of having a servant. When Cardinal Camillo Massimi told the painter, 'I pity you that you haven't a servant' at home, Poussin replied, 'And I pity your lordship more for having many of them'." For the anecdote concerning Poussin, from Bellori, see Wohl 2005, 325. On the prevalent practice among painters in Florence of keeping servants (a practice in which Rosa also seems to have engaged in this city, and that likely informed his desire to have a servant in Rome), see Fumagalli, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 174.

6. "Santa" is presumably the name of a servant woman formerly in Rosa's and Lucrezia's service in Florence, now working in the service of the Maffei.

7. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 22, note 3, this is a reference to Giovanni Maffei's indecipherable handwriting. Indeed, this seems to be confirmed by the handwriting of a letter attributed to Giovanni, for which see letter 1, note 9. The alternative meaning of the term "carattere," however, as a person's nature or disposition (an import that is in this instance reinforced by the word's combination with the term "flemma," which also has a double meaning as a state of sluggishness or calm and the phlegmatic humour, on which see letter 53, note 3) would not have been lost on Rosa or Giovanni. On the topos of "writing the self," see Hoare 2018, 153. Alongside the rise in popularity of the "autograph letter" in the Renaissance, written by the hand of the correspondent rather than a secretary, grew the attendant perception of handwriting, from the sixteenth century onward, as a "portrait of the soul," an idea also present in antiquity. See Sirat 2006, 442. As Erasmus argued, "[a] man's handwriting, like his voice, has a special, individual quality": Erasmus, 26:391. The idea, noted Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy in his *De Arte Graphica* (1668), finds an early origin "in the opening lines of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says that we naturally all take an author's writing to be an image of his character"—a notion that also finds a parallel in the early modern conceit of "ogni dipintore dipinge sé" ("every painter paints himself"): Dufresnoy, 363.

9. This is probably a reference to Iacopo di Giovanni Guidi (1603–1649?), the husband of Giulio Maffei's sister, Maria Maffei (see letter 1, note 5): Borrelli and Festa 2003, 22, note 4.

10. Rosa's friend Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

11. Giulio Martinelli, a Florentine gentleman of uncertain occupation, whose friendship with Rosa probably dates back to the years between 1635 and 1640: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 22, note 5. Rosa dedicated one of his large prints of 1663 to Martinelli, *The Rescue of the Infant Oedipus*, on which see Wallace 1979, 304–306, cat. 116, and Nappi 2014, 173–174 and 214, cat. 93. See also Hoare 2018, 297–298. For Martinelli, see also letters 56, 71, 80, 81, 88, 155, 158, 161, 166, 317, 318 and 325. On Rosa's practice of dedicating prints, see Hoare 2018, 295–300.

12. Cesareo 1892, 2:23, note 2, proposed this as a reference to the poet Antonio Abati, who would therefore at this point in time still have been on good terms with Rosa. On their relationship and ultimate falling-out, see letter 1, note 4.

13. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

14. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

Letter 27:

1. Rosa had earlier asked Giulio for "a half-dozen sausages" ("una mezza dozzina di salciciotti") in letter 24, to give to an unidentified friend.

2. The term "ordinario" is shorthand for the "regular" mail service, or for the courier responsible for this service: Battaglia, 12:34. On the delivery of mail in seventeenth-century Rome, see the useful comments of Hammond 1988, 73–74, who notes the different types of service offered and the relative cost of each: "[t]he classes of mail correspond roughly to the modern ones. The usual post, the equivalent of regular mail, was called the *ordinario*, carried by the regularly scheduled mail-carrier or *corriere* (*messaggiero*, *ordinario*, *scarselliere*, from the *scarsella* or post-bag), who was expected to ride day and night (averaging 75–100 km a day) and not to stop for sleep, but only to receive or discharge mail. The *corrieri* employed relays of post-horses that could also be hired by travellers for a fee of five *giulii* a day or two *giulii* a stage (*c.* 1580). (The other alternative was to hire horses from a *vetturino*, who fed them and the travellers. Foot travel was the only other option, since in the papal states the only road suitable for coaches was that between Rome and Loreto.) Corresponding to parcel post were the services of the *procaccio*, who carried not only letters but money and hand-baggage and accompanied travellers following the same route. […] The air-mail service was provided by the *corrieri straordinari*, who were paid by the individual sender, averaged 250–300 km per day and were capable of such feats as 41 hours from Rome to Venice or two days from Milan to Rome (eight by the *ordinario*). The fees for these services were the following: letters up to an ounce: Bologna-Rome = 1 *baiocco*; beyond Bologna-Rome = 2 *baiocchi*; letters over an ounce: Spoleto-Rome = 2 *baiocchi* an ounce; Pesaro-Rome = 3 *baiocchi* an ounce; Bologna-Rome = 4 *baiocchi* an ounce; packages: Pesaro-Rome = 5 *baiocchi* a pound; Bologna-Rome = 8 *baiocchi* a pound; beyond Bologna-Rome = 10 *baiocchi* a pound." On the twelve different postal destinations from Rome, see Hammond 1988, 74–75: "Lyon, by way of Ronciglione, Viterbo, Siena, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Alessandria, Turin, Susa, Mont-Cenis, Chambéry; Spain, by way of Lyon; Milan (thence to Flanders, by way of Genoa and Lyon); Venice (which received news from the Levant and the German territories), by way of Terni, Spoleto, Pesaro, Rimini, Ravenna, Ferrara, Chioggia; Genoa and Florence (route of

Lyon); Naples, by the Via Appia and Terracina; Bologna, by way of Rimini and the Venice route; Ancona, by way of Foligno, Macerata, and Loreto (after Rome, the most important pilgrimage centre of the papal states); Orvieto, via Viterbo; Alatri, via Frosinone; and Benevento, by the Via Latina. It has been estimated that Rome received a regular mail-delivery from Spain every month, from Lyon every two weeks or ten days, from Venice, Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Naples every week. Mail left Rome for Bologna twice a week, on Wednesday and Saturday evenings (so as to give diplomats and writers of *avvisi* the chance to include the day's news); in addition, there was a *procaccio* service by way of Loreto and Ancona. (The institution of post-days explains why clumps of letters were written on the same day)." Indeed, a number of Rosa's extant letters were written to different correspondents on the same day. See the examples listed in letter 45, note 2. On the prices of postal services in Rome in the seventeenth century, see also Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 38.

3. A "sbordellato" is someone who frequents brothels. The term can also be used as an insulting epithet for women: Battaglia, 17:689. Rosa uses it here as an adjective, which is difficult to translate into English.

4. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9. Rosa is here referring to letter 26, addressed to Giovanni Maffei.

5. The verb "affogare" literally means to drown or suffocate. Figuratively, it can mean to be covered, hidden, surrounded, or, as Rosa seems to intend it here, "holed up": Battaglia, 1:219–220. Rosa essentially means that he is making the best of a bad situation—like living in a rain barrel, perhaps.

6. Rosa had earlier quoted the same amount in a letter to Giovanni Maffei (letter 26) in which he also laments his financial situation.

7. A servant woman formerly in Rosa's and Lucrezia's service in Florence, and who now worked in the service of the Maffei. She is first mentioned in letter 26.

8. Rosa complains about the difficulty of finding a servant, and his regret at not bringing "Santa," in letter 26.

9. A *testone* is a silver coin worth approximately a quarter of a gold ducat, minted in various Italian states from the fourteenth century onward, which bears the image of the reigning sovereign's portrait in larger dimensions than other coins (hence its name, "testone," or "big head"): Battaglia, 20:1008. The Florentine *testone* was a silver coin weighing 9.32 grams and equivalent to 2 *lire*. A Roman *testone* in the seventeenth century was a silver coin equal to 3 *giuli* or 30 *baiocchi*: Hammond 1988, 68, and Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 34.

10. This is probably Iacopo di Giovanni Guidi, on whom see letter 26, note 9.

11. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, who was godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10.

12. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

13. The nickname of Marcantonio Maffei (1613–1693), one of Giulio Maffei's brothers: Limentani 1950, 58, note 3. Rosa wrote a short letter to Marcantonio from Rome, on 30 April 1651 (letter 98), in which he complained about his friend's unfulfilled promises to come and visit him in the city. Marcantonio's occupation, apparently in the political sphere, is unknown. For a letter by Marcantonio Maffei, probably written to his brother Giulio, see letter 21.

14. That is, the servant Santa. See note 7, above.

15. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

16. Methuselah, the oldest man in the Bible.

17. In referring to paintings as "dead things," Rosa may be making more than just a throwaway comment. He may have been intentionally playing upon the popular early modern topos of the life-giving power of painting, popularized by early Renaissance art theorists such as Leon Battista Alberti, who famously stated in his treatise *On Painting* (on this occasion, specifically in reference to painted portraiture) that art had the power to make the absent present or allow the dead to live on in perpetuity (see Holt 1957, 210–211), or Francesco Lancilotti, who in 1509 commented that painting had the miraculous power "[t]o make some dead stuff seem quick, living and active" (see Baxandall 2003, 1–5). The idea became a canonical precept and goal of the visual arts more generally. Rosa's use of the phrase "di poco rilievo," (literally, "of little relief"), too—which could be interpreted alternatively as "of little importance," "of little comfort," "two-dimensional" or "of diminished three-dimensionality"—could also be intended to refer in jest to another aspect of the *paragone*, the contest between the different arts as to which was capable of the greatest verisimilitude. The idea of art as a "dead thing," incapable of replicating reality, recalls Plato's fundamental aesthetic argument about the distance between artistic representation and the truth of things (Plato, *Republic*, Book X), a sentiment repeated by Seneca in his *Moral Letters* (*Epistulae morales*, 84). The notion is also a constant point of contention for early modern artists in their animative endeavour (for example, the idea that the portrait is so lifelike that the only thing missing is the sitter's voice or heartbeat). This prerogative was expressed by Leonardo da Vinci in his treatise on painting, under the section regarding "How Figures not Expressive of the Mind are Twice Dead": no. 33, in Pedretti 1964, 46–47. The idea was also voiced by the influential art theorist and proponent of classicism, André Félibien (1619–1695), who in 1667 provided the canonical formulation of French classicist art theory, citing the requirement for the painter to enliven otherwise "dead" or "lifeless" things, expounding at the same time the central precepts of intellectual painting that were also fundamental to Rosa's own ambitions: "He who paints landscapes perfectly is above the painter who only paints fruit, flowers, and seashells. He who paints living animals is more estimable than the painter who only paints things that are lifeless [*choses mortes*] and without movement. And since mankind is the most perfect of God's works on Earth, it is certain that he who makes himself the imitator of God in painting the human figure is much more estimable than all the others. […] A painter who paints only portraits has not achieved the highest perfection and cannot pretend to those honours that the most erudite receive. For that one must move from one figure to the representation of several together; one must depict history and fable and represent great deeds like historians, or charming subjects like poets; and climbing ever higher, one must in allegorical compositions know how to cover under the veil of fable the virtues of great men, and the most exalted mysteries. We call a painter great who can perform such tasks well": Félibien, preface to *Conférences de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture pendant l'année 1667*, unpaginated; as cited in Duro 2007, 96. The deficiencies of visual representation also feature, of course, in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century debates concerning religious art, from the period of Protestant iconoclasm to the Counter Reformation, in which the relationship between images and their sacred subjects was much discussed. Girolamo Savonarola, for example, in drawing a parallel between the artist imitating nature and man imitating God, noted in 1493 that art "cannot imitate nature entirely, even if the artist is perfect, because, even if a painter

makes something similar to man in everything, it will not yet have life": Gilbert 1980, 156. Rosa's comment in the present letter could also be interpreted as a self-deprecatory statement, akin to John Ruskin's much later romanticizing declaration that the painter's artificial pigments are "dead and lifeless" when compared to nature's "living colour": Ruskin ["Of Truth of Colour"], 157 (notwithstanding Ruskin's denigration—a few lines later—of Rosa's own "awkward" and "impossible" use of colour). On Rosa's theory of painting, in which an emphasis is placed more upon the artist's *fantasia* and imagination than the rote representation of nature, see Hoare 2018, 276.

18. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

19. That is, Rosa realizes that he has to stop saying Giulio's name. On the Maffei siblings' arguments about money, which may underlie the friction to which Rosa here alludes, see Maffei 1887.

20. That is, "if I speak of them, I'm putting my foot in my mouth."

21. Pietro Cesti (in religion, "Antonio" or "Marcantonio") (1623–1669), originally from Arezzo, was a Franciscan musician and *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral of Volterra. He set to music four of Rosa's poetic odes (*La Corte di Roma*, *La* Strega, *Hor son pur solo*, and *Sensi, voi ciò che godete*), on which see Limentani 1953. Cesti died in Florence on 14 October 1669, at the age of 46, on which see further letter 383, and De Rinaldis 1939, 224, note 2, and Note Liminari 3. Cesti began his brief career as a highly successful musician and choral singer, first at the Duomo of Arezzo (1633), then at the church of Santa Maria della Pieve (1635), and subsequently at the convent of San Francesco d'Arezzo, where he entered the Order of the Minori as a young friar (1637), assuming the monastic name "Antonio". After 1650, his works are registered under the name "Marcantonio Cesti". Receiving his musical education in Rome, Cesti entered the Franciscan convent of Volterra in 1645 with the office of *maestro di cappella*, and was subsequently employed as a music teacher in the Volterran seminary. It was in Volterra, in the house of the Maffei family, that Rosa would probably have had the occasion to first meet Cesti. As suggested by Besutti 2010, 167, Rosa probably met Cesti in Volterra in 1645, where the musician had been named *maestro di cappella* of the seminary, and perhaps also of the Duomo, on 27 February of that year. On account of his ecclesiastical role, Cesti certainly knew the Maffei family, who counted an archdeacon (Giovanni) among their ranks. In 1649, Cesti had his first musical success as an *operista*, in Venice and Florence, with the acclaimed performance of Giovanni Filippo Apolloni's *L'Orontea*, set to music by Cesti and Giacinto Andrea Cicognini in 1656 (on which see also Apolloni's own comments in letter 225, note 2). In the summer of the following year (see letter 60, dated 3 July 1650), Cesti seems to have been back in Florence, as Rosa wrote to Giulio Maffei in Florence, asking him to give his greetings to Cesti if Giulio met him on some occasion. That same year, Cesti got into trouble for an alleged affair with the singer Anna Maria Sardelli, on which see letter 60, note 9. In another letter of 24 August 1650 (letter 69), Rosa refers to Cesti's lascivious inclinations. Various of Rosa's epistolary comments, as noted by Besutti 2010, 168–169, suggest that Rosa resented Cesti for his uninhibited activities as both a monastic and a musician and singer. In 1651, Cesti failed to convince Rosa to collaborate on a drama to be performed the following year (see letter 99). In 1652, Cesti transferred to the court of the Archduke of Austria at Innsbruck to take up the position of *maestro di cappella di camera*, where in 1655 in the presence of Queen Christina of Sweden he gave a performance of his new opera *L'Argia* (written by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni in 1654, whose drama "Dori" or "La schiava fedele"—first performed in Florence for the wedding of Cosimo III de' Medici and Marguerite Louise d'Orléans—Cesti also set to music); Rosa mentions Cesti's invitation to Florence for this occasion in a letter to Ricciardi of 3 March 1661 (letter 252). In a letter by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni to Ricciardi, dated 1 April 1656 and sent from Innsbruck, we hear that Apolloni will be returning to Florence shortly and that he is also anticipating Cesti's return to the city: Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75, doc. 3. In 1658, Cesti's name reappears in Rosa's letters (letters 220 and 224). Cesti returned to Rome, and re-entered the Collegio Romano as a papal singer, in December 1659, when Rosa expressed his own envy of Cesti's material fortunes (see letter 238). Cesti seems to have visited Rosa and his friends in Florence in the summer of 1659 (see letter 231); he was together with Rosa and Ricciardi in Pisa, although Ricciardi expressed his jealousy at Rosa's friendship with Cesti (see letter 238, and letter 377, dated 23 March 1669, in which Rosa was still placating Ricciardi's jealousy). In 1661, Cesti left the Collegio Romano to return to the court of Innsbruck, inviting Rosa to go with him (letters 253 and 254), but Rosa declined. From 1666 to 1669 Cesti was working in Vienna as the second *maestro di cappella* of the Emperor Leopold I (see Rosa's comment on Cesti in letter 335). For further information on Cesti, see: Coradini 1923; De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 3; Limentani 1950, 117, note 5; Pirrotta 1953; Schlitzer 1953; Schlitzer 1954; Burrows 1965; Hill 1976; Schmidt 1976; Frosini 1978; Bianconi, in *DBI* 24 (1980):281–297; Pestelli, in Basso 1996, 2:20–22; Brown 2000; Dellaborra 2003; Dieci 2003; Hill 2003; Schmidt 2003; Testaverde 2003; (on Rosa and Cesti, in particular) Regel and Graf, in Regel and Köhler 2007, 238–245, 252–258 and 264–265; and Besutti 2010. On Cesti's activity in Innsbruck, see Seifert 2003. On the *L'Orontea*, see also Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 20, note 34. On Cesti's close friendship with Francesco Lanfreducci, who encouraged Cesti's musical career, see Paliaga 2009, 150–151 and 219–220, Appendix XI, and Hoare 2018, 89. On the matter of Cesti's sexuality, which seems to have been a point of contention in regard to his professions as musician and ecclesiastic, see letter 69, note 4. For a letter written by Cesti to Rosa in 1661, see Schlitzer 1953 and Schlitzer 1954. On Cesti and his friendship with Rosa, see also Pirrotta 1953, who notes (57) Cesti's own particular skill for manipulating friendships and patronage in order to meet his professional goals. Pirrotta (71) also publishes a transcription of Cesti's letter to Ricciardi of 29 November 1661, previously published by Limentani 1950, 168–170, Appendix 3—an important letter in regard to the delicate circumstances in which Cesti found himself with the Cappella Sistina. On Cesti's tenure of this position, see further letter 238. On Cesti, see also letter 228, note 10.

22. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

23. Niccolò Simonelli (*c.* 1611–1671), a connoisseur, art dealer and antiquarian, who formed close professional relationships and friendships with many artists in Rome, including Rosa and Pier Francesco Mola, the latter of whom Simonelli may have supported financially after the painter's return to Rome in 1647: Spezzaferro 1989, 49. Mola also produced no less than thirteen caricature drawings of Simonelli, a tribute to their intimate friendship. Simonelli was also the object of affectionate mockery in drawings by Jusepe de Ribera and Pietro Testa, for which see Bayer 1995, fig. 1, and Cropper 1988, 216–220, cat. 99–100. On Simonelli's rather contentious relationship with Testa, see also Hoare 2018, 247, 249 and 289. Simonelli was *guardaroba* (master of wardrobe and possessions) to

Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio and, subsequently, to Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj and Cardinal Flavio Chigi, for each of whom he also worked as curator of their art collections. Simonelli formed his own extensive collection of antiquities, armaments and art, which included works by many of the artists he befriended in Rome such as Mola, Ribera, Testa, Rosa and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1664). Simonelli appears throughout Rosa's extant correspondence, and is last mentioned in a letter of 17 January 1667 (letter 348). In letters of the early 1650s, Rosa refers to Simonelli's financial and health troubles and to various instances of his mistrust of the dealer: see letters 29, 46, 50, 71, 81, 86, 106, 139 and 162. Simonelli was apparently granted first access to Rosa's prized painting, the *Democritus in Meditation*, while it was still in the painter's studio in March 1651 (see letter 86). According to Passeri, 388, Simonelli was responsible for launching Rosa's career on the Roman public scene. He was also involved, it seems, in less praiseworthy activities: in 1636, Simonelli received a group of paintings by Pieter van Laer, intended for resale, which had been stolen from Herman van Swanevelt: Bayer 1995, 74. On Simonelli, see further: Haskell 1980, 124, 126, 135 and 142; Grassi 1986; Cropper 1988, 216–220, cat. 99 and 100; Spezzaferro 1989; *Fasto Romano* 1991, 119–120; Bayer 1995; Capitelli 2004; and Volpi 2005, 119–136. See also: De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 27; Limentani 1950, 59 (note 6) and 145 (note 4); and Hoare 2018, 249–250. On Simonelli's relationships with artists in Rome, see also Albl 2014, who notes (81) that the art dealer "played the role of intermediary on the market. Very probably, he interwove professional contacts and helped artists to enter their works into various collections, inviting special strategies of promotion". The first notice of Simonelli in Rome appears in 1636, when he was twenty-five years old, and at which time he seems to already have been well established in the Roman art world. Simonelli then entered the service of Cardinal Brancaccio, who became Rosa's first important patron. The various caricatures by Mola, Testa and Ribera that feature Simonelli as their subject shed a certain light on his character and habits, in particular those that elicited the frustration of artists who sought his services and help with entering their works in the most prestigious collections. From 1656, notes Albl 2014, 84, Simonelli worked in the service of Alexander VII Chigi; we see him thus represented in the portrait mentioned by Pietro de' Sebastiani in 1683: "si vede il ritratto del fu Nicolò Simonelli, huomo di tanto buon gusto nel conoscere le cose tutte della natura e nell'operar di mano sua in disegno, che, a suo tempo, non ha avuto pari." See Pietro de' Sebastiani, *Viaggio sagro, e curioso delle chiese più principali di Roma ove si nota il più bello delle pitture, sculture, & altri ornamenti* (Rome, 1683), 57. For a presumed portrait of Simonelli, attributed to Mola, see Hoare 2018, 249 and note 177. Francesco Scannelli attested to Simonelli's reputation as an authority on art, as did Giovan Pietro Bellori: Scannelli, 307–308; and Bellori, *Nota delli Musei, Librerie, Gallerie & ornamenti di Statue, e pitture, ne' Palazzi, nelle Case, e ne' Giardini di Roma* (1664), ed. E. Zocca, Rome, 1976, 114–115. Albl also reports on the recent discovery of a letter by Simonelli, written on the verso of a drawing by the painter Giovanni Lanfranco (for which see Albl 2014, 84–85, fig. 3; the letter was sold at auction in France): the letter is signed by Simonelli and dated 1634. It is significant in this context that Simonelli's grandfather, Giacomo Simonelli, known at the courts of Paul V and Urban VIII, in around 1623 commissioned from Lanfranco two altarpieces for Santa Marta in Vaticano, important evidence not only of the Simonelli family's ties to Lanfranco, but also of the connections that Niccolò Simonelli's forefathers had to the Roman court. On Simonelli, see also letter 71, note 7.

Letter 28:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. A servant woman formerly in Rosa's and Lucrezia's employ, on whom see letter 26, note 6. See also Rosa's comments regarding "Santa" in letter 27.

3. The expression "per tutti i buoni rispetti" means, in this instance, "in any case," or "in any eventuality": Battaglia, 16:860.

Letter 29:

1. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

2. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

3. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

4. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

5. A "propositura" is the ecclesiastical office of the provost, or the "provostship". The term can refer to the incumbency or office of the provost, the territory (the parish) under his jurisdiction, or his residence: Battaglia, 14:658. Rosa mentions the same "propositura" in letter 30.

6. Rosa's comments perhaps refer to his own need for work, and to Simonelli's dissatisfaction with and resentment toward his Pamphilj patrons (in whose employ Simonelli was then working as *guardaroba*; see letter 27, note 23) who "frustrated his ambitions". See further on this matter Spezzaferro 1989, esp. 44. Rosa could also be alluding here to Simonelli's financial problems, also mentioned in letters 71, 81, 106, 139 and 162. It is also possible that the eye ailment that seems to have afflicted Simonelli in January of 1650 (see letter 50) had been bothering him at this earlier date; Rosa referred to the ailment again in a letter of February 1653 (letter 162).

7. Giulio Maffei's brother, Antonio Maffei, who was canon of the Cathedral of Volterra: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 26, note 2. Rosa here refers to a certain illness from which Antonio was suffering.

8. The "laws of friendship" is a recurring phrase in Rosa's letters, and a concept that encapsulates the import Rosa and his friends gave to friendly solidarity and its obligations. See for example letters 41, 45, 46, 104, 119, 184, 207, 328, 392 and 396. The idea, employed by many early modern authors, derives from ancient authorities like Petrarch (*De vita solitaria*, 104–105) and Cicero (*De amicitia*, XIII 44, 20) who both discuss the "laws" of friendship. That friendship required "regulation" suggests the potential for distrust and insecurity among friends. In seventeenth-century practice, it indicates not only a humanist prerogative but a need to differentiate true friendship from other forms of social relationships. It also expresses the broader contemporary conception of an ideal state of decorum in social conduct, attitude, behaviour and even speech, that all virtuous members of society were expected to uphold—the severe "regulation" of which is cogently conveyed by Cardinal Richelieu's programme of social policing in which "insolence and breaches of politesse came to be regarded as crimes against the state": Goldsmith 1988, 8, and Ranum 1980. On Rosa's and his contemporaries' understanding of friendship, and the roots of early modern friendship theory in the ancient "Laws"

of Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca (among others), see Hoare 2018, 34 and 69.

9. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

10. Rosa was endeavouring to bring a servant woman named Santa to Rome from Volterra. See also on this matter letters 26, 27 and 28.

11. The term "raccomandazione" is a conventional declaration of benevolence, deference, devotion, respect or regard in epistolary writing, frequently used in the closing lines of a letter: Battaglia, 15:222.

12. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, who was godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10.

Letter 30:

1. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

2. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

3. On the meaning of the term "obbligato," see letter 26, note 1. Rosa was probably writing to Marcantonio and Giovanni ("Arcidiacono") Maffei about the matter also discussed in letter 29.

4. A reference to the servant Santa, on whom see also letters 26, 27, 28 and 29. This is the last mention of her in Rosa's extant correspondence, as she had apparently refused to come and work for Rosa and Lucrezia in Rome (hence Lucrezia's "mortification").

5. On this provost position, see also letter 29.

6. It has not been possible to identify with certainty this "marchese," who was apparently helping Rosa and his friends to secure the position for an unidentified third party—presumably the "Signor Bambi" mentioned in letters 33, 34 and 35, for whom Rosa seemed to be endeavouring to find employment. The "marchese" could be an associate or member of the Sacchetti family (who became *marchesi* in 1632 after purchasing Castel Rigatti, in Rieti, near Naples, subsequently receiving a *marchesato* from Pope Urban VIII), members of which Rosa was perhaps calling upon for help in this matter. See also letters 33, 34 and 35. Rosa refers to both Cardinal Giulio Cesare Sacchetti and Niccolò Sacchetti, Bishop of Volterra, in letters 34, 35 and 36, in connection with the matter concerning Signor Bambi. On this matter, see letter 34, note 1, for the likelihood that the position Bambi sought was with (or dependent upon the approval of) Niccolò Sacchetti, in particular.

7. The expression "lavorare sott'acqua" means to work in secret; to plot, scheme or intrigue; to do something or conduct oneself in a secretive, silent or mysterious manner: Battaglia, 1:126.

8. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

9. Giovanna Incontri, the wife of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

10. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

11. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

12. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

13. Nettuno is a seaside town and *comune* of Rome, located about 60 km south of the city. On Niccolò Simonelli and his position as *guardaroba* to Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj, see letter 27, note 23. In 1648, the cardinal obtained a house in Nettuno from Duke Federico Cesi, acquiring adjacent buildings over the next two years that were turned into a new Pamphilj family palace. On the palace and its decoration in the seventeenth century, see: Tantillo Mignosi 1989; Di Schino and Luccichenti 2001; and Petrassi et al. 2002. In 1656, Nettuno was identified as a possible point of entry for the plague that ravished the country in that year: Benedetti, in Fosi 2006, 14.

Letter 31:

1. This is one of numerous instances in which Rosa refers to himself in the third person. See also, for example, letters 65, 111, 299 and 312.

2. It has not been possible to trace with certainty the earliest literary origin for this metaphor (the pen as a galley oar), however it appears to have become relatively commonplace in more modern literature. Gustave Flaubert, for example, in a letter of 23 October 1851, wrote "[w]hat a heavy oar the pen is, and what a strong current ideas are to row in!," while C. S. Lewis reputedly wrote that "[t]he pen has become to me what the oar is to a galley slave," with regard to the disciplined torture of writing letters for hours every day. An early instance of the metaphor appears in the Byzantine theologian and chronicler Nikolaos Mesarites's (1163–1224) prose ekphrasis on the Holy Apostles (see Downey 1957), in which, digressing from his account of the depiction of the Baptism, Mesarites proceeds to construct an analogy between his pen as an oar, and his ink as the river Jordan into which he (as author) has fallen: Webb 1999, 73.

3. Rosa here uses the term "cavaliere," which literally means "knight". As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 28, note 1, Giulio Maffei is not known to have ever received a knighthood. The term could be intended in a more general sense, as Gamurrini, 4:271, reports that the Maffei family was considered "nobility of the illustrious religion of Santo Stefano […] and of the Sacred Religion of Malta". On the Order of Santo Stefano, to which many of Rosa's Tuscan friends belonged, see letter 46, note 28. The term "cavaliere," according to Battaglia, 2:906–907, can also be used to refer more generally to a "gentleman" or to someone who adopts the noble, refined and courteous behaviour and comportment of a knight.

4. "Adio" is the name of a spring, creek or river near Monterufoli, the property owned by the Maffei family. See Bertini 1972, 12, and Limentani 1984, 236, note 5. Rosa also mentions the Adio in letters 32, 40, 51, 54 and 107.

5. The Apostolic "Dataria," or Datary, is one of the five offices of the Roman Curia whose authority it was, originally, to date the petitions to, and acts of, the pope. The office later obtained the authority to judge the content of such petitions, necessitating negotiation with the "Datario" on the part of a petitioner in order to obtain a favourable response: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 28, note 3, citing Storti 1969. See also Battaglia, 4:38. As noted by Hammond 1988, 56, the Datary was concerned with "the granting of ecclesiastical benefices, matrimonial dispensations, and the sale of church offices; it represented a primary source of revenue for the papacy". The "position" to which Rosa here refers is probably the "provost position" also referred to in letters 29 and 30.

6. "Ad alia" is a Latin phrase meaning "on to other things".

7. That is, approximately "thirteen hours" after sunset. Hammond 1988, 82, provides a useful explanation of the measurement of time in seventeenth-century Italy according

to the "ore italiane," or the Italian 24-hour clock: "[t]imes of day were reckoned by taking the total time between sunrise and sunset, and between sunset and sunrise, and dividing each into 24 equal parts, referred to as the X hour of the day or the X hour of the night. Thus, the same hour of the day was relatively long in summer and relatively short in winter." In Lugano, for example, the sun rose in December during the "fourteenth hour" and noon fell on the "nineteenth hour"; in June, the sun rose at the "seventh hour" and noon fell on the "fifteenth hour". See also Talbot 1985, who cautions against any attempt to make a direct conversion of, or establish a modern equivalent for, seventeenth- or eighteenth-century times of day or night, in view of the complexity of the variables involved. He notes (52) that "[i]n the Italian system sunset is always timed at 23 hours 30 minutes (or at another conventional time close to that), but the times of sunrise and noon vary over the year by about three-and-a-half to four hours, depending on latitude." Hammond (82) adds that the Angelus—the church bell rung to mark the Ave Maria in the morning, at mid-day, and at sunset (which generally takes place in Rome, depending on the time of year, between 5 pm and 8:15 pm)—offered another marker of time, signalling "24 o'clock" of the day hours. "Thus, 'after the Ave Maria' indicated after the closing of the normal day, when city gates were often shut, and the hour after the Ave specified the hour of the night." In an alternative but similar interpretation, the twenty-four hours of the daytime (hours between sunrise and sunset) were counted from a half hour after vespers, or sunset. As noted by Talbot (52), the Italian system of timekeeping "originally fixed the start of the day at sunset, but from about the middle of the seventeenth century usually placed it half an hour later" when the Ave Maria (or Angelus) rang, signalling 24 hours. On the reckoning of time in early modern Italy see also Holford-Strevens 2005, 6.

8. This was the first of Rosa's children sent to the "Innocenti," the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome. Other newborns of Rosa and Lucrezia met the same fate. See letter 17, note 3. Rosa's comment is also significant in connection with establishing the birthdate of his son Rosalvo, on which see letter 2, note 9.

9. Giovanna Incontri, wife of Giulio Maffei and godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10.

10. A "giulio" is a silver coin (equivalent to ten *baiocchi*), first coined by Pope Julius II in 1504 to replace the papal *grosso* or *carlino* (carlin). The "giulio" became widespread in other Italian cities, and in 1540 (after the accession of Pope Paul V) became better known as the "paolo": Battaglia, 6:881. A Florentine *giulio* was a silver coin weighing 1.55 grams, equivalent to 6 *soldi* and 8 *denari*: Hammond 1988, 70. A silver *giulio* (or *paolo*) in seventeenth-century Rome was worth 5 *baiocchi*: see Hammond 1988, 68–69, who lists the prices of basic commodities in Rome in order to offer some sense of relative value. In 1630, for example, a *rubbio* (a weight measure equivalent to about 294 litres) of wheat cost 90 *giuli*, a cask of oil cost 27.90 *giuli*, and a barrel of wine cost 28.20 *baiocchi*.

11. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

12. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

13. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

Letter 32:

1. A "thebaid" is a solitary or deserted place, or a tranquil, silent place, suited to a contemplative life of retreat; a refuge, a place apart in which hermits retire to live piously in meditation: Battaglia, 20:786. The word also refers to the Thebaid or Thebais, a region of ancient Upper Egypt, close to the capital of Thebes, a desert region that became a site of retreat for various Christian hermits in the fifth century. Rosa also uses the term in his satire *La Poesia*, vv. 931–934 (Romei 1995, 96): "Solo invaghita di Giacinto e Laide,/ stufa è di versi quest'età che corre:/ secoli da fuggir ne la Tebaide,/ tempi più da tacer che da comporre." ("Only enchanted with Hyacinth and Lais, the current era is fed up with modern verses: centuries away from the Thebaid, a time in which to be silent instead of writing"). The term also appears in Rosa's satire *La Babilonia*, v. 837 (Romei 1995, 192).

2. A "saione" is a fairly long men's vest, worn in the middle ages and early modern period: Battaglia, 17:370. Rosa uses the term again in letters 36 and 58.

3. With the word "aione" Rosa likely intends to refer to an "aia," a farmyard or barnyard, or an area of flat, level ground surrounded by a low wall and used for threshing or for drying seeds, usually located adjacent to a farmhouse: Battaglia, 1:274.

4. The word "incoglionita" is an adjectival variation of the term "coglione," meaning stupid, foolish or silly. See the entries in Battaglia, 3:264–265.

5. "Adio" is the name of a spring, creek or river near Monterufoli, on which see letter 31, note 4.

6. The "damned red hats of this city" are the prelates or cardinals of Rome. Rosa is here playing upon the correlation between the circular cardinal's hat (the wide-brimmed, round red hat known as the *pileus cardinalitius* or *galero*) and the "ovals" of the valleys of Monterufoli.

7. The "pains" experienced by Lucrezia are presumably those in connection with having just given birth, on which see letter 31.

8. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

9. On Rosa's desire to achieve professional fame in Rome, an ambition he shared with most artists of his generation, see Hoare 2018, 40–41 and 242–243. Rosa frequently voices his aspirations in this regard throughout the letters. In 1651, for example, Rosa boasted of the esteem he was garnering in Rome with the exhibition of his large *Democritus in Meditation* (see letters 86, 88, 91 and 101). In 1669, Rosa could finally lay claim to one of the most sought-after signs of this achievement: a major altarpiece in a Roman church, the *Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, painted for an altar in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (see letter 382). For two revealing letters of 1652 by Cosimo Brunetti, on the subject of Rosa's achievements and reputation in Rome, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 110–112, docs. 47 and 49.

10. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

11. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

12. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

13. Rosa's nickname for Giulio Maffei.

14. Rosa's comments here suggest that he had borrowed money from Giulio Maffei. On Rosa's apparent financial difficulties, after his return to Rome in 1649, see letter 51, note 24.

15. In the original Italian, Rosa's literal meaning here is "you are its friend".

Letter 33:

1. The verb "schermire" means to evade or protect oneself against, escape or avoid; to confront, fight or attack: Battaglia, 17:962.

2. The identity of this "Signor Bambi" is not known. Rosa also mentions him in letters 34 and 35. The "cause" in question seems to have been a provost position, also mentioned in letters 29, 30 and 31.

3. On Niccolò Simonelli, and his support of Rosa's early career in Rome, see letter 27, note 23, and Hoare 2018, 249–250.

4. That is, the letter can be used as toilet paper.

5. On Antonio Maffei's illness, see also letter 29, note 7.

6. Here, Rosa might have been remembering a line from Dante's *Divine Comedy* (*Inferno*, III, vv. 94–96): "And my guide: 'Charon, do not rack yourself!/ This deed has so been willed where one can do/ whatever He wills—and ask no more questions'." ("E 'l duca lui: 'Caron, non ti crucciare:/ vuolsi così colà dove si puote/ ciò che si vuole e più non dimandare'.") On Rosa's interest in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, particularly evident in his satires, see Conte 2014, 124–125, who also notes that members of the Accademia degli Umoristi in Rome seem to have employed Dante's poetry in the context of ridiculing Rosa, as in the case of the slanderous text written against him, the *Purgatorio. Satira sesta*, on which see letter 153, note 12.

7. Rosa frequently expressed a desire to keep his letters secret, or to limit their audience to the immediate recipient and his trusted friends and family. In another letter to Giulio (letter 36), for instance, Rosa suspected Giulio's brothers of stealing and tampering with his letters.

8. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

9. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

10. The verb "spiritare" means to show great emotion or anxiety, to be greatly agitated, frightened, bewildered or amazed, to reveal confusion over something incomprehensible, to be infatuated, to be seized by poetic infatuation or excitement, or to be consumed with impatience and longing: Battaglia, 19:946.

11. This passage is difficult to understand. Rosa could be telling Giulio "I don't need you to find me any more patrons or buyers for my paintings, since I can promise you that I have too many of those buyers, which your generous hands promise to me [to buy] and make me enjoy." Alternatively, Rosa could be referring to the paintings that he had himself been acquiring for Giulio, on which see in particular letter 53. Another possibility, certainly plausible in view of Rosa's predilection for elaborate and abstruse inside jokes, is that Rosa is here constructing a metaphor that plays upon the relationship between the "hands" that make paintings and those that write letters, positing Giulio's letters as "paintings"; Rosa could be referring to the "pictorial" content of Giulio's letters—in which he apparently describes the delights of his family's countryside villas—to which Rosa also frequently refers, as in letter 34.

Letter 34:

1. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 32, note 1, considered that Rosa was here confusing two men of his acquaintance: Cardinal Giulio Cesare Sacchetti (1587–1663)—a powerful prelate and member of the Sacred College, and prefect of the Congregazione della Segnatura, who was one of the candidates for election as pope in the conclaves of 1644 and 1655—and his nephew Monsignor Niccolò Sacchetti (*c.* 1590–1650), who was bishop of Volterra from 1634 until his death, but who was never made a cardinal. It seems to be the case, however, that the author of the letter to which Rosa here refers is the cardinal (Giulio Cesare), and the recipient is the monsignor (Niccolò): this is suggested by Rosa's later reference to "that glorious Apicius of yours" in letter 35, addressed to Giulio Maffei, a reference that implies (with the word "yours") that the individual in question resides in Volterra. The "Sardanapalus" or "Apicius" is therefore Niccolò Sacchetti, Bishop of Volterra, to whom the only person in Rome apparently willing to write (as Rosa here suggests) was his uncle, Cardinal Giulo Cesare Sacchetti. A further implication here is that the "provost position" sought by Signor Bambi was with (or dependent upon the approval of) Niccolò Sacchetti. Rosa mentions the cardinal's letter again in letter 35. In regard to Rosa's own relations with the Sacchetti family, it is noteworthy that Rosa later lamented out of jealousy the Sacchetti family's support of his artistic rival, Pietro da Cortona, in a letter of 1662 (letter 286). Cosimo Brunetti, in a letter to Ricciardi of September 1652, made special note of Rosa's esteem for Cardinal Sacchetti: Rosa "always says that Sacchetti has no other equal who does so much here in Rome" ("il Rosa sempre dice che Sacchetti non ha un altro pari, che fa assai qua in Roma"). For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 112, doc. 50. On the matter concerning Signor Bambi, see also letters 29, 30, 31 and 33. On the Sacchetti family, see Zirpolo 2005.

2. Rosa was trying to help secure a "provost position" for this certain Signor Bambi. See also letters 29, 30, 31 and 33.

3. Sardanapalus (612–605 BCE) was a legendary Assyrian king famous for his hedonistic and decadent lifestyle. The Roman gourmand Marcus Gavius Apicius (*c.* first century CE) appears throughout ancient Roman literature as a paragon of gluttony and luxury: see for example Seneca *Consolatio ad Helviam*, 10, wherein Apicius is described as squandering his fortune of 100 million *sestertii* on his kitchen and in extravagant hospitality, and, fearing death in poverty, poisons himself. See also Juvenal, *Satires* 4, vv. 22–23, who records that Apicius is said to have written recipes for sauces and instructions for planning dinners. Rosa once again mocks Niccolò Sacchetti as a glutton in letters 35 and 39. Albl 2014, 95, note 23, interprets Rosa's comment in the present letter as expressive of a more pervasive contemporary sentiment among artists of disillusionment with and malcontent toward powerful patrons, and a concern over the matter of the artist's social standing.

4. The phrase "nettarsi l'occhio delle chiappe" means, literally, "clean the eye [hole] of your ass". The phrase may also have a more figurative meaning, since "nettarsi l'occhio" means to mind one's own defects or to try to amend oneself: Battaglia, 11:393. Rosa uses a similar phrase in letter 33.

5. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

6. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

7. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

8. The painter Clemente Bocciardi, on whom see letter 7, note 5.

9. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

10. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

11. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

12. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

13. Giulio Maffei apparently had a large nose, a continuous object of mockery on Rosa's part. Rosa also poked fun at the nose of Giulio's brother, Marcantonio. For both, see Rosa's comments in letters 37, 43, 44, 50, 54, 57, 66, 70, 82, 98 and 105. Rosa also ridiculed Giovan Battista Ricciardi for his nose, although less for its physical qualities than in connection with his snobbery: see letters 136 and 138. Rosa's repeated mockery of Giulio's nose, throughout the letters, recalls a drawing by the artist depicting three figures climbing up the nose of a bearded man (F. Lugt collection, Paris; see Mahoney 1977, 1: group 10.9). Langdon, in Langdon 2010a, 165, has linked the drawing to Giovan Battista Basile's interest in, and descriptions of, grotesque figures, such as the "goitered Meneca, big-nosed Tolla, hunchback Popa, [and] drooling Antonella," expressive of an "extravagant humour" that may also have inspired elements of Rosa's witchcraft scenes. See Basile 2007, 42. The drawing may also be connected to Jusepe de Ribera's drawing of a *Fantastic Scene* (private collection, Madrid), in which small men clamber over a nobleman in contemporary dress wearing a mask of the *commedia dell'arte* character Punchinello (Pulcinella). Both drawings, Langdon suggests, may be traceable to Basile's descriptions of a grotesque ogre whose nose was "dented by two horse's nostrils that looked like two sewer mains, his mouth […] as big as a grape press": Basile 2007, 44; as cited in Langdon 2010a, 169, note 11.

14. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

Letter 35:

1. On this Signor Bambi, and the provost position that Rosa and Giulio were trying to help secure for him, see letters 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36 and 38.

2. On the meaning of the epithet "Apicio," assuredly intended as a reference to Niccolò Sacchetti, Bishop of Volterra, see letter 34, note 3. Rosa also mocked Sacchetti for his gluttony in letter 39.

3. The phrase "come prendete di Tordi" (literally, "how you are taking the thrushes") could refer either to eating or catching the birds. On the matter of thrush-catching, which seems to have been a frequent pastime at the Maffei family's villa estates, see letter 2, note 4.

4. A reference to Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

5. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

7. Giovanna Incontri, Giulio Maffei's wife, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

8. Rosa is here referring to the imminent Holy Year of 1650. On the subject of Holy Years, see letter 25, note 4.

Letter 36:

1. With the word "scrittole" Rosa seems to intend a diminutive term in reference to his own letters, perhaps implying "little writings" or "meagre writings". Rosa uses the same term in letter 37.

2. Rosa had earlier expressed concern over the safe delivery and secrecy of his letters in letter 33. He voiced a similar concern over the negligence of the Maffei family in this regard in letter 77.

3. It has not been possible to further identify this "Signor Perissi," clearly a mutual acquaintance of Rosa and Giulio Maffei who acted as a go-between for Rosa's letters. Presumably a resident of Volterra, as is suggested by Rosa's words here, Perissi could be a member of the Volterran Perissi family who owned a chapel in the city's cathedral, on which see Baracchini 1994, 24–25. Perissi stayed with Rosa at Monterufoli in 1650 (see letter 71), and Rosa sent greetings to him via Giulio in 1649 (letter 37) and 1651 (letters 88, 90 and 105). Rosa mentions sending his letters to Giulio under Perissi's name in letter 37.

4. On this "Signor Bambi" and the provost position that Rosa and Giulio were endeavouring to secure for him, apparently with the aid of the Sacchetti family, see letters 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35 and 38.

5. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

6. Ricciardi appears to have had a rather difficult relationship with Giulio Maffei, for reasons that are unknown. It seems that Giulio and Ricciardi were not as close as Rosa and Ricciardi, as Rosa indicates in a letter of August 1651 (letter 107) in which he asks Giulio to make an effort in regard to his friendship with Ricciardi, noting that "you really don't know him, so you don't appreciate him". Rosa's letters, in which he frequently takes pains to calm and reassure Ricciardi of his affections, and encourages amity between Ricciardi and Giulio (who, together with Rosa, form what he calls his "triumvirate"; see letter 88)—as he does in the next paragraph of the present letter by singling out Ricciardi as Giulio's equal—indicate Ricciardi's jealous possessiveness in this regard. However, it seems that certain unspecified events must have transpired to create a rift between Ricciardi and Giulio. See for example Rosa's letter of 26 September 1647 (letter 20), in which he first alludes to some possible friction between the two friends. See also Rosa's letter of 25 February 1650 (letter 53), in which he expresses a concern that Giulio take care of all necessary financial arrangements in coming to stay with him—suggesting on this occasion, as in others, that the matter concerning Giulio's friendship with Ricciardi may have had something to do with money. See also Rosa's letter of 12 May 1651 (letter 99), in which Rosa urges Giulio to "keep alive the friendship with our Signor Ricciardi," and his letter of 22 September 1651 (letter 109), in which Rosa reminds Giulio to "[t]ake to heart the friendship of our Signor Ricciardi, a friend without equal, endowed with many prerogatives worthy of both your affection and mine." In a letter of 24 December 1651 (letter 116), Rosa again urged Giulio to write to Ricciardi and express his affection, sympathies and generosity, particularly in regard to Ricciardi's distress over the malady of his eyes, and to show that he is "different to the others". See also letter 118, in which Rosa counsels Ricciardi to take care in his treatment of Giulio, on account of the longstanding, good relationship Rosa has forged with him, and the benefits (foremost among them the opportunity to holiday at the Maffei family's countryside properties) to be gained by maintaining their friendship.

7. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

8. For the definition of "saione," see letter 32, note 2.

9. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

10. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see also letter 6, note 2.

11. On Rosa's frequent assertions of poverty, and his alternative association and dissociation of affection with monetary favours, see Hoare 2018, 163 and 230–236.

Letter 37:

1. With the word "scrittoli" Rosa seems to intend a diminutive term in reference to his own letters, perhaps implying "little writings" or "meagre writings". Rosa uses the same term in letter 36.

2. A mutual acquaintance of Rosa and Giulio Maffei. See also letter 36, note 3.

3. One of a series of puns that Rosa makes on the size of Giulio's nose, on the subject of which see letter 34, note 13.

4. The expression "rendere conto," or "dare conto," means to inform, to give news, or to give reasons or justifications: Battaglia, 3:664.

5. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

Letter 38:

1. Roughly translated as the "islands of wonder," the epithet is probably connected to another literary expression, "India pastinaca," which refers to an ideal or imaginary place, or the Land of Cockaigne: Battaglia, 12:793. Rosa seems to have conflated these "islands" with the "Molucche," presumably the Maluku (or Moluccas) Islands, located in Indonesia, which played an important role in the ancient and early modern spice trade and became known as the "Spice Islands".

2. The "ultima Thule," considered the extreme northern limit of the ancient world, appears with this name in Virgil's *Georgics*, I, 30: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 36, note 1. In medieval geographies, the Ultima Thule (or Ultima Thile) also denoted any distant place located beyond the borders of the known world. The Greek word "Thule" was used to refer to the extreme north, corresponding to the northern island of Iceland, while the Latin phrase "Ultima Thule" was used to refer to Greenland. See Battaglia, 20:1023.

3. The term "bell'occellaccio" is a euphemism for the "bird" as the male sexual organ: Battaglia, 21:489, and 11:755.

4. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 36, note 2, suggested that this "Signora Liscia" was a member of the Lisci family of Volterra. The Lisci family, however, also had members elsewhere, including Benedetto Lisci, knight of the Order of Santo Stefano and captain of the Grand Duke's galley, who lived in Livorno. Paliaga 2009, 160 and 174, note 147, cites two letters of September and November 1650, exchanged between Benedetto Lisci and Achille Sergardi, of Siena, the latter making a (failed) request to Benedetto to obtain two of Rosa's landscape paintings from the artist; he eventually turned to the painter Pietro Ciafferi. The Lisci family, Paliaga notes, was well-acquainted with Rosa, and Benedetto Lisci frequently travelled to Volterra. On Achille Sergardi's attempted commission from Rosa, see also Paliaga 1993, 15 and 21, notes 15–16, and Carofano and Paliaga 2001, 154–155. Rosa refers to other members of the Lisci family in letters 67, 171 and 228.

5. The term "mostaccio" means "ugly face" and, in an older usage, "moustache": Battaglia, 10:999–1000, and 11:133.

6. Hercynia silva, or the Hercynian Forest, was the name given by the Romans to the ancient forest that stretched across southern Germany eastward from the river Rhine.

7. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 36, note 4, Rosa seems to be referring to Mount Latmos (or Latmus), located in the region of Caria, a short distance from Miletus in what is present-day Turkey. According to legend, in a cove of this mountain slept the shepherd Endymion, a beautiful youth to whom Jupiter (Jove) had granted eternal sleep to the point of making him immortal. Endymion was visited at night by the enamoured goddess Diana.

8. Rosa is here referring to the husband of Helen of Troy, Menelaus, and his experience of rejection (and, as Rosa here intends it, cuckoldry) by Paris, who either abducted or seduced Helen and consequently initiated the Trojan War. As with Rosa's preceding references to Venus and Diana, there appears to be some sort of sexual pun at work here. The implication is perhaps that Giulio, who has seen various "beauties," should not sleep (like Endymion), nor bring "shame" to his sexual desires with his "schnozzle" (which Rosa clearly intends here as the male member, as in letters 37 and 105; this association is further suggested by Rosa's reference, at the end of the present letter, to Giulio's "profession as pimp") by behaving like Menelaus.

9. Another in a series of puns that Rosa makes on the size of Giulio's nose, on the subject of which see letter 34, note 13.

10. A probable reference to Monsignor Niccolò Sacchetti, Bishop of Volterra, from whom Rosa was attempting to solicit assistance for his friend "Signor Bambi," in regard to a certain provost position. See also on this matter letters 34 and 36.

11. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

12. Quartan fever, or malaria: Battaglia, 5:764–765 and 15:78.

13. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 37, note 6, suggested that this "Signor Orazio" was a cousin of the Maffei brothers: he could be identified with the son of Ascanio Maffei, the brother of Paolo (on whom see letter 1, note 5). This "Signor Orazio" appears again in letter 39, where he is implicated as a member of the Maffei family. "Orazio" (or Horatio) is also a nickname (after the poet Horace) that Rosa gave to Giovan Battista Ricciardi for his long-windedness (see letters 46, 48, 49 and 51). The former of the two options, however, seems more likely in this instance, as Giulio is the one relating news about the "Orazio" in question.

14. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

15. A reference to the area of Rome known as Capo le Case, one of the boundaries of the Tridente zone (which housed a significant proportion of the city's artistic community), comprised of the streets between Via del Babuino and the Corso, as well as the area of Piazza di Spagna and the area toward the old Piazza Grimana (now Piazza Barberini): Bartoni 2010, 409. Rosa's reference here is probably more specifically to the church of Sant'Isidoro a Capo le Case, a Franciscan monastic complex

and college located in this area, on the Pincian Hill in Rome, directly behind the Trinità dei Monti and not far from Rosa's house on the Via Sistina (or Strada Felice), on which see letter 26, note 3.

16. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, who was godmother to Rosa's son Rosalvo. See letter 2, note 10.

17. The identity of the "aunt" in question is not known.

18. A mutual acquaintance of Rosa and Giulio Maffei. See also letter 36, note 3.

19. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

20. On the early modern usage and meaning of the phrase "singolare amico" see Davis 2007, who examines the subject of a portrait painted by Titian (San Francisco Art Museum) in which the sitter holds a small sheet of paper (folded in the fashion of an early modern letter) inscribed "D[ominus] Titiano Vecellio/ Singolare Amico". Davis (261) notes the various possible interpretations of the phrase, which "can carry the meaning *amico speciale*, or *amico stretto*, testifying to a close or dear friendship. But, in sixteenth-century Italy, the words *amico singolare* and similar expressions, for instance *amicissimo*, could equally be conventional epithets, used with abandon to label relationships that were neither all too deep nor all too binding." Davis (263) offers the example of Michelangelo's letters to Vasari, wherein he uses the word 'singolare' "possibly with a trace of ironic amplification: *A messer Giorgio pictore e amico singulare in Firenze*; […] *A messer Giorgio Vasari amico e pictore singulare*."

21. Rosa may have intended a double meaning with this term: a "zoccolante" is someone who wears socks or wooden clogs, and the term commonly refers to an observant friar, often of the Franciscan order: Battaglia, 21:1085. This definition is in keeping with Rosa's earlier use of the term in another letter to Giulio (letter 5), where he mentions the "zoccoloni" he is walking about wearing, with reference to the Franciscan order of the Ognissanti in Florence. It seems more likely, however, that Rosa is here using the term in reference to prostitutes ("zoccole," for which see Battaglia, 21:1085), which would be consistent with his subsequent mockery of Giulio as a "pimp" at the end of the letter. The term also appears in several of Rosa's letters to Ricciardi: see letter 253, and letter 308, where it appears as the variant "socchi".

22. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5, and letter 27, note 13.

23. Here Rosa probably intends "pappina," meaning pap, gruel, baby food or bread soup, a dish traditionally made of bread cooked in water or in a meat or milk broth, usually flavoured with tomatoes: Battaglia, 12:525.

24. A "ruffiano" is a procurer of prostitutes; a pimp: Battaglia, 17:213. Rosa's meaning here, in likening Giulio Maffei to a "pimp", is not entirely clear, but seems to be connected to the elaborate pun that Rosa constructs earlier in the letter. See note 8, above.

Letter 39:

1. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

2. Quartan fever, on which see also letter 38, note 12.

3. A probable member of the Maffei family, on whom see also letter 38, note 13.

4. Timon of Athens, the great misanthrope who lived (according to Plutarch) during the era of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE). Rosa frequently identified with Timon, who also features in his fourth satire, *Autore e Timone* (later published as *La Guerra*), on which see letters 47 and 51 (note 11). In 1661, Rosa referred to his own anti-social behaviour by likening himself to Timon: see letter 249. See also in this regard letter 400. Rosa occasionally urged Ricciardi to "be a little more like Timon" and exercise greater caution in doling out his praise: see letters 49 and 244.

5. On the *tordo*, a type of thrush, see letter 2, note 4.

6. The phrase "sentimenti della gola" refers to the sense of good taste, or attraction to good food. It is difficult to translate directly into English, since the Italian expression uses the word "throat" in reference to taste, while a comparable English phrase would refer to the "stomach". The term "parco" means moderate, frugal, parsimonious or sparing, and derives from the Latin "parcus": Battaglia, 12:578–579.

7. "Epulone" is a term used in Italian, in both a descriptive sense and as a proper name, to refer to a "big eater". For the parable of the wealthy Epulon and Lazarus, see Luke 16, 19–31. Rosa's reference to "your bishop" is assuredly to Niccolò Sacchetti, Bishop of Volterra from 1634 to 1650, whom Rosa had reprimanded as "Sardanapalus" and "Apicius" (both infamous gluttons) in letters 34 and 35. The word "vaccina" is here used in place of "vacca," meaning cow: Battaglia, 21:613. Rosa refers to Epulon and Lazarus in his satire *La Poesia*, vv. 715–720 (Romei 1995, 90): "ch'ampio asilo per tutto hanno gl'errori/ e che con danno e publico cordoglio/ mai si vedon puniti i traditori,/ e ch'ad ogn'or degl'Epuloni al soglio/ i Lazzari cadenti e semivivi/ mangian pane di segata e di gioglio". Rosa also mentions the "ingordi epuloni" (greedy Epulons) in his satire *La Musica*, v. 237 (Romei 1995, 57).

8. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

9. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

10. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

11. "Scarponi" are boots or tall, big, heavy and coarse shoes: Battaglia, 17:867.

Letter 40:

1. Limentani 1950, 65, note 2, identified the Tatti and the Adio as locations, or possibly rivers, in the vicinity of Monterufoli. "Tatti" is in fact the name given to a forested area of the Val di Cecina, near both Monterufoli and Barbaiano. The "Adio" is a river (perhaps better described as a creek) located in the same environs, which lends its name to the Valle d'Adio. See Bertini 1972, esp. 12–13. On the river Adio, see also letter 31, note 4. The "Fosci" is another river in the Val di Cecina region. Rosa mentions the Tatti and the Adio again in letter 51.

2. The idiomatic expression "tant'è" means "that's just the way it is": Battaglia, 20:717.

3. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

4. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

Letter 41:

1. This could perhaps be the same "signor don Giammaria" to whom Rosa refers in a much earlier letter (letter 15) of 1 June 1646—that is, Giovan Maria Giovannelli, who is identified as the editor of Lorenzo Rogerio's *Laureata sapienta* (1644). It has not been possible to identify the "nephew," however.

2. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

3. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

4. On the Carnival season in Rome, and Rosa's conflicted attitude toward it, see letter 9, note 2.

5. Rosa here uses the word "cavaliere," meaning knight. Marcantonio, however, is not known to have ever received a knighthood. As in letter 31, the term could here be intended to allude to the Maffei family's purported noble lineage. See letter 31, note 3.

6. A reference to the many pilgrims who were flocking to Rome for the Holy Year of 1650, on which see letter 25, note 4.

7. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

8. On the "laws of friendship," see letter 29, note 8. The implication here is that Giulio had been giving Rosa financial aid during these rather difficult years, after the artist's return to Rome.

9. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

10. Rosa is here referring to a certain "Orazio" Maffei (on whom see letter 38, note 13) and Giovanni Maffei, and their infection with malaria, or "quartan fever," on which see letter 38, note 12.

11. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

12. A friend of the Maffei family who frequently receives greetings from Rosa in his letters to Giulio and Ugo Maffei. Gasparini seems to have been a pastry chef with poetic ambitions. Rosa sends greetings to Gasparini "con tutta la pastecieria" in another letter to Giulio (letter 124). His use of the term "pastecieria" here (as well as in another reference to Gasparini in letter 105) probably refers primarily to Gasparini's profession as a "pasticciere," or pastry chef (usually one who makes and sells meat-filled pastries: Battaglia, 12:790), but could also be interpreted in a more figurative sense: in the context of painting, in particular, the term refers to an eclectic painter who works in a variety of styles and techniques: Battaglia, 12:790. In this instance, Rosa could therefore also be alluding to Gasparini's aspirations as a poet, an inclination suggested by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 40, note 3, on the basis of Rosa's comments in letter 111 (see note 9). Baldinucci, 5:489, recounts an anecdote in his biography of Rosa in which he makes use of the same term: "Another time, upon seeing a history painting full of very confused figures, executed by someone lacking in good taste but whom he [Rosa] liked a great deal, he [Rosa] said he wasn't capable of passing judgment, but that it would be better to let some pastry cook [*pasticciere*] see it." ("Un'altra volta, essendogli fatta vedere un'istoria abbondante di assai confuse figure, da persona di poco buon gusto, a cui però molto piaceva, disse non essere egli persona atta a darne giudizio, che però meglio sarebbe stato il farla vedere a qualche pasticciere.")

13. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

Letter 42:

1. See letter 41.

2. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

3. The term "apposta" means deliberately, precisely, specifically, exactly; or suitable, appointed, set aside: Battaglia, 1:580.

4. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

Letter 43:

1. The word "miga" ("migha" in the ms.) is an old form of "mica," meaning a small amount or an insignificant quantity. In negative expressions, and as an adverb, the word has a reinforcing or emphatic value, meaning "nothing" or "at least": Battaglia, 10:342.

2. A "palmo" was a standard unit of linear measure, in use before the adoption of the metric system. Its value varied according to period and location, but in general was roughly equivalent to 25 cm: Battaglia, 12:431, according to whom a "palmo" in Cagliari (Sardinia) equalled 22.2 cm; in Rome, 22.3 cm; in Genoa, 24.8 cm; in Sicily, 25.8 cm; and in Naples, 26.4 cm. The Florentine "palmo" (or "half *braccia*") was equivalent to about 29.18 cm. For a useful list of seventeenth-century Roman measures of length, see Hammond 1988, 82–83.

3. The term "serviziale" refers to an enema, either the medical liquid used as a laxative or the instrument itself: Battaglia, 18:781.

4. The term "stitico" has a double meaning, also perhaps intended by Rosa in this particular instance, of both constipated and stingy or miserly.

5. The implication is that the people of Volterra will consequently have an approximately four foot (133 cm) long trough in which to defecate (based upon the estimation of a Roman *palmo* as 22.3 cm). Rosa makes a number of scatological jokes in his letters, perhaps inspired in this by writers like Giovan Battista Basile, who employed scatology in his influential *Lo Cunto de li Cunti* (1634 and 1636) in order to "attack his readers' taboos with the most shocking [and] outrageously humorous […] assault on decorum": Marino 2011, 180. On these sorts of jokes, see Legman 1975, 811–812 and 819, who notes that "[s]catological jokes and tales are among the most primitive and direct, requiring nothing more than the mere mention of the taboo object of action to achieve the effect of anger, terror, shock, offense or laughter—that is to say, humor—upon persons controlled by the taboo and thus responsive to its verbal flouting […]. Scatology is the weapon of choice or court-of-last-appeal, when a crushing insult is wanted, and this not only in our culture but in almost all […]. The deepest level, insofar as jokes and insults are concerned, is that of the inevitable and hostile infantile anality of almost all humor." Rosa's scatological sense of humour is also on display in drawings like the *Caricature of a Young Boy (A Dwarf?) Defecating*, which he gave to his friend Niccolò Simonelli, on which see Hoare 2018, 188–189 (note 76) and 295 (note 647), and another drawing of a *Peasant in the Act of Defecating* (Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) on which see Volpi 2014, 213, fig. 170. On Rosa's frequent mockery of the size of Giulio Maffei's nose, see letter 34, note 13.

6. On the apparent friction between Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi, see letter 36, note 6.

7. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

8. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

9. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

10. Another reference to the quartan fever, or malaria, from which Giovanni Maffei and "Signor Orazio" were suffering. See letter 38.

11. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

12. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

Letter 44:

1. A play on the correlation between "naso" (nose) and "Nasamones," the polygamous shepherd inhabitants of Libya, for which see Herodotus, *History* 4. 172: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 42, note 1. Rosa's hyperbolic mockery of Giulio in this instance is clearly intended as a pun on the derision he feels Giulio has directed toward him by sending him rotten cheese. Rosa's choice of the Nasamones—as nomadic shepherds—is also significant in connection with his frequent ridicule of the Maffei for the farming activities undertaken at their countryside estates, for which see, for example, letters 32, 60, 71 and 143. On Rosa's frequent mockery of the size of Giulio Maffei's nose, see letter 34, note 13.

2. "Marzolini" are similar to mozzarellas: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 42, note 2. See also Battaglia, 9:859, wherein "marzolino" is defined as a type of cheese made with sheep or buffalo milk.

3. The term "regalatore" literally means "gift-giver". Rosa puts an additional spin on the term with the qualifier "alla moda," or "in fashion". Apparently Rosa had distributed the cheeses as gifts among his friends.

4. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

5. That is, Rosa himself.

6. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. Another reference to the boots that Rosa had previously mentioned wearing at Monterufoli. See letter 39.

8. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

9. On Gasparini, a pastry chef, see letter 41, note 12.

Letter 45:

1. By "alla fortuna" Rosa means "with the hope" that fortune will come to his aid.

2. It is interesting to compare this letter with the following one (letter 46), written to Giovan Battista Ricciardi on the same day. Both express impassioned declarations of friendship, although the letter to Ricciardi (as is typical) is significantly more demonstrative in this regard, and longer in length. For other instances of letters written by Rosa to different recipients on the same date, see for example letters 27 and 28, letters 66 and 67, letters 69 and 70, and three letters written on 18 April 1651 to Giulio Maffei, Ugo Maffei and Ricciardi (letters 90, 91 and 92). See also letter 27, note 2, on the common practice of writing letters to multiple recipients on the same day. The handwriting of the present letter is also, for whatever reason, significantly more legible than that of many of Rosa's letters.

3. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

4. Ottavio Piccolomini (1599–1656), an Italian nobleman and military leader who served in various campaigns throughout Europe, including those of the Thirty Years' War. In 1639, he was made Duke of Amalfi by Philip IV of Spain. Piccolomini had fought in the Imperial army, and served under the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662), the younger brother of Emperor Ferdinand III. On Piccolomini, see Mannucci 1930, and, on Piccolomini's patronage and artistic endeavours, see most recently: Seeger 2007; Becucci 2011; Becucci 2012; and Seifertová 2012. See also letter 46, in which Rosa refers explicitly to a "letter from Piccolomini," presumably an invitation written on behalf of the Emperor of Austria to work at the court of Vienna.

5. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 43, note 5, suggest that this is a reference to Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–1657), who was the then-reigning Holy Roman Emperor (from 1637 until his death). It appears that Rosa had been invited by "General Piccolomini," probably Ottavio Piccolomini, on behalf of the emperor to work at his court, on which see also letter 46. Rosa's comment—that he would "decline the invitation of an emperor"—is also meaningful in connection with his subsequent refusal of a number of invitations to work as a court artist. In 1652, Rosa would also turn down the invitation of Queen Christina of Sweden (see letter 128), and in 1665 he refused the invitation of King Louis XIV of France (see letter 315). In 1661, Rosa refused the invitation of the Austrian court (probably the Archduke Ferdinand Karl (1628–1662)) to come to Innsbruck as court painter (see letter 253, and Baldinucci, 5:498), on the occasion of which Rosa again framed his decision (at least in part) in connection with his devotion to a close friend, in this case Ricciardi. Baldinucci, 5:502, says, rather amusingly, that Rosa "refused the invitations of many crowned heads who extended extraordinary offers of hospitality […] for the sole reason that figs were not to be found in those places" ("rifusò gl'inviti di più teste coronate, da cui vennero offerti non ordinarj trattamenti […] per questo solamente, perché in essi non si trovavano i fichi"). Rosa's declining health may also have played a role in his refusals, particularly during the 1660s.

6. With the word "mercadante" Rosa intends "mercatante," a merchant or tradesman: Battaglia, 10:129. The expression "fare orecchie di mercatante" means to pretend not to hear, or to ignore what someone says: Battaglia, 10:130.

7. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

8. Rosa frequently sent and received letters through the art dealer Francesco Cordini in Florence. The letter to which Rosa here refers is presumably the invitation from Ottavio Piccolomini, or perhaps the answer that Piccolomini wrote in response to Rosa's refusal, for which see also letter 46 (in which Rosa again mentions his demand that Giulio read the letter "publicly").

9. Caterina Gotti, the mother of Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

10. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

11. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

12. On Gasparini, a pastry chef, see letter 41, note 12.

Letter 46:

1. The phrase "sotto gl'occhi" literally means "under the eyes," by which Rosa here intends the reasons before him, on the page. The phrase is awkward to translate into English. Limentani 1950, 58, note 2, here notes that "in order to comprehend the resentment Rosa demonstrated toward his friend, one must compare the letters written around the same time". See in particular letters 49 and 50, in which we learn that Ricciardi, who had received from Rosa a painting and drawing as gifts, apparently expressed his suspicion that Rosa "regretted the gift," and cast doubt on his generosity, in order—according to De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 23—to provoke Rosa to be more attentive to his gift-giving. Hence, perhaps, the anger that Rosa expresses here.

2. The "viscere di Cristo" are, literally, the "viscera" of Christ; figuratively, the term "viscere" refers to a person's interior disposition, profound sentiment, or love: Battaglia, 21:914–915.

3. That is, in penitence.

4. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

5. The Maffei family. See letters 41 and 44, in which Rosa invites Giulio and Marcantonio Maffei to come and visit him in Rome.

6. In regard to Rosa's suspicions about the Maffei family, see also letter 48, in which Rosa further suggests that the Maffei no longer want to offer him their hospitality. Ricciardi has clearly hinted at some suspicion of his own in this regard, and Rosa is in the present letter asking his friend to tell him more about it, before he goes to see the Maffei himself. The specific circumstances of their falling-out is not known, however it may have had something to do with the lending of money or other favours, as is suggested by Rosa's objection here to being called an ingrate. See also letter 48, where Rosa mentions having been wrongly labelled an "ingrate" and a "freeloader".

7. The phrase "scoprir paese" means to try to figure out someone's intentions; to find out information (*Vocabolario della Crusca*).

8. With his use of the words "velami" and "strano" Rosa may be making a conscious allusion to a line from Dante's *Inferno*, Canto IX, 61–63: "Oh you, who have clear minds,/ take note of the meaning that conceals itself/ under the veil of clouded verse!" ("O voi ché avete li 'ntelletti sani,/ mirate la dottrina che s'asconde/ sotto 'l velame de li versi strani.")

9. On Niccolò Simonelli, see letter 27, note 23. Rosa's intention with the adjective "universale" is not entirely clear, however the pejorative context suggests that he means to imply a "fair-weather" or occasional friend, in the sense that Simonelli is himself "friends with everyone". For the alternative meanings of "universale" as known by everyone, sociable or affable, or well-versed in every area of knowledge (as in "uomo universale," or universal man), see Battaglia, 21:550–551. The "doctor" to whom Rosa here refers is a physician of Simonelli's acquaintance, also mentioned in letters 50, 52 and 54. Ricciardi may have wished to consult with him on a certain health matter, perhaps in connection with a problem he was having with his knee, on which see letter 57.

10. Limentani 1950, 59, note 7, first considered the "San Giacinto" (Saint Hyacinth) to be a lost work by Rosa. The likelihood that this "San Giacinto" was a painting is also supported by the content of the rest of the paragraph in the present letter, which goes on to discuss other paintings on which Rosa was at work. Further evidence is offered by a "quadretto del miracolo di S. Diacinto con cornice dorata" ("a small canvas depicting the miracle of Saint Hyacinth with a gilded frame"), mentioned in the 1687 inventory of Ricciardi's collection, identifiable perhaps (although the name of the artist is not mentioned) with the presumed and now-lost painting by Rosa referred to in the present letter. For the inventory, see Paliaga 2009, 230. On this painting, see also Hoare 2018, 242.

11. This attitude is in keeping with the disdain Rosa expressed on other occasions toward his reputation and success as a painter of battle scenes, on which see letter 144, note 19, and Hoare 2018, 148, 243, 244 and 302–303. As noted by Conte 2014, 262, Rosa's comment here, in regard to the low price (at least in Rosa's apparent estimation; 100 *scudi* was not in fact a meagre sum) expected for a small-sized battle painting, presents an interesting point of comparison with the amounts Rosa received a few years later for works representing the same subject matter but of more impressive dimensions, such as the *Heroic Battle Scene* executed in 1652 for Neri Corsini to give to King Louis XIV of France, on which see letter 143, note 3.

12. The meaning of Rosa's use of the term "allunghi" in this instance is not entirely clear.

13. Here Rosa seems to use the term "cotale" in the ironic, mocking sense defined by Battaglia, 3:915, as a "certain person," a term usually used with a pejorative or disparaging connotation. The phrase "un gran cotale" refers to someone possessing an air of great self-importance. The expression "essere dei cotali," or "farsi dei cotali," means to believe oneself to be, or brag of oneself as being, of noble lineage. Alternatively, the term "cotale" can also be used to refer to the male member, and this resonance, too, could well be intended on Rosa's part.

14. This is one of a number of texts that Rosa requested from Ricciardi over the years, and was probably in this instance a composition written by Ricciardi himself. As Limentani 1950, 60, note 9, points out, we do not know whether Rosa ever received this composition from Ricciardi. On 12 February, Rosa was still waiting for it (see letter 52). The text may be one and the same with the "preamble" Rosa requested from Ricciardi, for his satire *La Guerra*, on which see letter 47, note 2. It is not entirely clear to what extent Rosa was able to read Latin. Conte 2014, 198, suggests that Rosa probably read most classical texts in Italian translation, as there is not much evidence for his practical knowledge of Latin, even if it seems he was able to read it somewhat, to judge from certain Latin passages he includes in letters to Ricciardi (as in letter 114) and the requests he made to his friend for additional Latin texts (as in letter 207). Rosa frequently makes use of short Latin statements in his letters. As the recipient of a Latin elogium by his friend Andrea Cavalcanti, moreover (on which see Hoare 2018, 166 and note 249), who inserted the text in a series of other elogie dedicated to other *letterati* of proven linguistic competence, Rosa was assuredly literate enough in Latin to have been able to understand the poem's meaning. For a contemporary criticism of Rosa's abilities in this regard, see Baldinucci, 5:490, who tells the story of a critic of the artist (sceptical of Rosa's authorship of his satires) who challenged Rosa to translate the *Te Deum* into Italian as proof of his linguistic and literary competency.

15. A reference to the *Sibylline Books* (*Libri Sibyllini*), a collection of oracular declarations in Greek that survive only in fragmentary form. Believed to have been acquired from a sibyl—one of the women upheld as oracles in ancient Greece—by Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, these texts became a popular authority to be consulted during moments of crisis.

16. The expression "alla buona di Dio" means something done in simple terms, or without ceremony: Battaglia, 2:447. Rosa here expands the expression, for emphasis, by also including Christ and the Holy Spirit, producing a phrase difficult to translate directly into English.

17. Rosa frequently mocked Ricciardi for his long-windedness (and his literary predilections) by likening him to the famous ancient Roman poet, Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, 65–8 BCE). See also letters 48, 49 and 51. By pointing to Ricciardi's lack of brevity, Rosa is also constructing a further layer of ironic meaning in his choice of nickname, either in regard to Ricciardi's long-windedness or perhaps intending particular reference to the concept of "brevitas" (the choice of detail) as discussed in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, wherein the author cautions that brevity can result in obscurity. See Horace, *Ars Poetica*, vv. 24–31. Here, then, Ricciardi lacks "brevitas" because he cannot explain what he wants to say. In the ms. Rosa has written the word "Sig.r" with particular calligraphic flourish, giving emphasis to his mockery.

18. Giovanni Battista Ferrari (1582/1585–1655), from Siena, a Jesuit and author of scientific tracts and comedies: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 47, note 3. Ferrari was a professor of Hebrew and rhetoric at the Collegio Romano, and was horticultural advisor to the pope. Rosa only mentions him in one other extant letter (letter 51), in which he notes Ricciardi's rather inflated idea of Ferrari's reputation in Rome. In 1633, under the auspices of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Ferrari published his illustrated *De Florum Cultura*, a treatise on the maintenance of gardens and the identification of flower species, illustrated with prints by some of the most prominent artists of the day, including Pietro da Cortona, Guido Reni, Andrea Sacchi and Claude Mellan. Ferrari's close involvement in the circle of Cassiano dal Pozzo led to the publication, in 1646, of another work entitled the *Hesperides sive de Malorum Aureorum Cultura et Usu Libri Quatuor*, a study of citrus plants. Ferrari was also a member of the Sienese Accademia degli Intronati, an academy devoted to poetic, literary and theatrical pursuits, whose members composed and performed comedies, on which see Maylender 1926–1930, 3:350–362. On Ferrari, see Ceresa, in *DBI* 46 (1996):595–598.

19. Presumably a reference to Rosa's first satire, *La Musica* (1640–1641), on which see the sources cited in letter 4, note 7.

20. The other satires, to which Rosa also refers below, are perhaps *La Poesia* (composed 1642–1643) and *La Guerra* (completed before January 1650). On the dating and chronology of Rosa's satires, see Roworth 1981. See also letter 216, note 4.

21. This is the first indication in Rosa's extant letters of the difficulties he experienced in Rome on account of his satires and their unflinching critique of his contemporaries. On Rosa's troubles with the Accademia degli Umoristi in this regard, in particular, see letters 153, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182 and 183.

22. Gerra 1937, 21 (followed by De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 30) identified this individual incorrectly as Count Ippolito Bentivoglio (1591–1685), a poet and comedy writer. Limentani 1950, 60, note 11, was first to suggest Carlo Bentivoglio (1615–1661), a Bolognese priest and author of poems and plays. In 1640, the Senate of Bologna named Carlo Bentivoglio "lettore nello Studio," a position he held until his death. He was ordained as a priest in 1654, when he became Apostolic Protonotary and Archdeacon of Bologna. Bentivoglio also belonged to numerous academies, including the Bolognese Riaccessi, Indomiti and Gelati (for the last of which he served as secretary, censor, and then in 1649, *principe*), and the Roman Umoristi and Fantastici. In 1658, he founded his own private academy in Bologna—the Accademia dell'Arcidiacono, concerned with matters of law, philosophy and theology—which was dissolved at his death in 1661. Among his most important compositions are *Il Corindo* (a pastoral fable in verse) and *Il Mida* (a drama set to music). *Il Mida*, which treats the story of Midas and the ass's ears, was first performed in Bologna in 1647 (the composer of its music is unknown) and published in that city in the same year under the pseudonym Giulio Centralbo. For these and other details concerning Bentivoglio's career, see Ascari, in *DBI* 8 (1966):607–608. In the present letter, the perhaps uncoincidental analogy between the subject of Bentivoglio's *Il Mida* (the ass's ears) and Rosa's subsequent allusion—with a drawing of ass's ears at the bottom of the page (Fig. **19**) (see note 26, below)—to Carlo Dottori and his own composition (*L'Asino*) also suggests that Carlo Bentivoglio is the likely "Bentivoglio" in question, as does Carlo's membership in the Umoristi, probably the "academy" to which Rosa here refers. Rosa refers again to Bentivoglio's academic recitals in letter 48. In a letter of 1651 (letter 114), Rosa mentions him more specifically as "conte Carlo" Bentivoglio. From Rosa's comments here and elsewhere, it is clear that he held Bentivoglio's work in low esteem. See also letter 118.

23. Carlo Dottori (or De' Dottori) (1618–1686), a poet and writer of comedies from Padua, who became secretary to Rinaldo d'Este (1618–1672; made a cardinal in 1641 and Bishop of Reggio Emilia in 1650) in Rome. Rosa is probably here referring to Dottori's *Odi* (Padua: Crivellari, 1647). As Limentani 1950, 61, note 13, writes, "we do not know the reason for Rosa's lack of sympathy for the Paduan poet. Dottori's Pindaric *Odes*, mentioned here [and in letter 51], are probably those in the *Poesie Liriche*, published in 1643 (Padua: Paolo Frambotto). Dottori's stay in Rome only lasted four months [see in this regard Natale Busetto, *Carlo de' Dottori, letterato padovano del secolo decimosettimo: studio biografico-letterario* (S. Lapi: Città di Castello, 1902, 94ff)]. Before he entered the service of Cardinal d'Este in Rome, Dottori had known Prince Leopoldo de' Medici, and perhaps Rosa and Ricciardi had met Dottori through him." On Dottori, see also Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 351–355, and 555–558, on the subject of his mock-heroic poem, *L'Asino*, first published by Matteo Leni in Venice in 1652 under the pseudonym Iroldo Crotta, an imitation of Alessandro Tassoni's *La secchia rapita* (1622), which treats the subject of the war between Padua and Vicenza, the former having stolen the latter's banner, emblazoned with the emblem of an ass, its restitution achieved through the payment of a certain quantity of sausage.

24. As noted by Limentani 1950, 61, note 14, this trip to Venice was made before 1650, together with Ricciardi. On the matter of this journey, and on Rosa's other possible trips to Venice, see letter 13, note 5, and letter 23, note 1.

25. Rinaldo d'Este (1618–1672), not (as noted by Conte 2014, 211–212, note 116) to be confused with his nephew of the same name (the individual identified here by Limentani 1950 and Borrelli and Festa 2003), who lived from 1655 to 1737 and was Duke of Modena. Rinaldo the Elder was made a cardinal by Pope Urban VIII in 1641, and in 1650 was elected Bishop of Reggio Emilia. He also participated in numerous papal conclaves.

26. At this point in the letter, at the bottom of the page, Rosa has drawn a donkey's head with a few short strokes of the pen (Fig. **19**). As suggested by Limentani 1950, 61, note 15, Rosa probably had in mind the poem *L'Asino*, which Carlo Dottori was then (or had just finished) composing, on which see note 23, above. Rosa elsewhere exploited the symbolic import of

the ass in a number of his pictorial works: see for example the drawing representing an *Allegory of Poor Painting* (Jean Bonna Collection, Geneva), which includes the image of an ass's head (in reference, presumably, to the ignorance of contemporary patrons), and the large *Allegory of Fortune* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), which likewise includes an ass among its various animalian symbols as an allusion to ignorant patrons, in this instance members of the reigning papal court.

27. Rosa also mentions this certain "Daviti" in letter 48, in which he refers to him as a "Hebrew". Daviti appears to have encountered trouble with the law for courting a Christian woman (see letter 50).

28. Ascanio della Penna (1607–1664), originally from Perugia but active in Pisa, was *provveditore* of the Grand Ducal Arsenal (from 1635), a dilettante artist and collector, and courtier of the Medici in Florence. As noted by Limentani 1950, 61, note 17, Della Penna was a close friend of Rosa, for whom he acted as protector and patron (see, for example, letters 51, 129 and 132). On Della Penna as an art collector, see Ricci 1921, esp. 68, also for useful biographical and chronological information in regard to Rosa from the letters of Belmonte Belmonti, a friend of Rosa and Della Penna. Limentani noted the problematic error of De Rinaldis 1939 in mistaking the abbreviation "Cav.^{e}" della Penna for "Card." (Cardinale) della Penna. De Rinaldis 1939, 5, also incorrectly interpreted Ascanio's name as "Bernardino" della Penna, one of Ascanio's brothers who was living in Rome (and was also, like Ascanio, a noted collector and merchant of drawings, and an acquaintance of Rosa). On Ascanio della Penna and his friendships with Rosa, Ricciardi and various members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti in Pisa, see Paliaga 2009, 146, 151, 158–159 and (in regard to Della Penna as a collector—especially of drawings—and an amateur artist in his own right) 41 (note 41), 86, 93–96, 123, 124, 130–134, 166, 202 and 224, Appendix XVIII (for the 1664 inventory of Della Penna's art collection, which included seven paintings by Rosa. See further Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 25–28. Paliaga 2009, 130–131, notes that Ascanio della Penna first worked as an administrator for the Medici, under Cosimo II. He subsequently acquired a position within the Order of Santo Stefano, the dynastic-military order of Tuscany founded in 1561 by Cosimo I de' Medici, and to which many of Rosa's friends in Florence and Pisa belonged. In 1635, Della Penna was named *provveditore* of the naval arsenal of Pisa, a post he held until his death in 1664. Della Penna began his career as an artist, and participated in theatrical performances for the Medici in Florence. On the subject of a drawing by Rosa, executed on the verso of a letter attributed to Giovan Battista Ricciardi and addressed to Ascanio (Appendix 3, letter C), see Hoare 2018, 121–123. The letter also offers evidence that Ascanio was friendly with the Maffei family. Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75–83, docs. 5–11, publish seven letters held in the Autografoteca Campori (Biblioteca Estense, Modena) written by Della Penna in Pisa to Ricciardi in Florence, all of which date to the summer of 1649 and treat for the most part the matter of Della Penna's concerns over his restoration of a *Testa*, or portrait-head (perhaps a drawing, or, more likely, a work in oil on paper glued to a panel that was in poor condition, as is suggested by Della Penna's comments in his letters), attributed to Lodovico Cardi (Il Cigoli); at the time in the possession of Francesco Cordini, the work had been sent by Ricciardi to Della Penna for repair: Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 25–26 and 42, note 13. On Della Penna's activities as an artist and collector, see further Hoare 2018, 91–92. These letters also reveal the close friendship shared between Rosa and Della Penna's brother, Bernardino, with whom Rosa spent time on a certain occasion in Rome, as reported by Ascanio in a letter of 1649. See Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75–76, doc. 5.

29. The idiomatic expression "pigliar gli orsi a volo" (literally "catching flying bears") means to take everything seriously, or take everything by the letter: Battaglia, 12:160, who offers this passage from Rosa's letter as his example in defining the phrase.

30. Presumably the painter Clemente Bocciardi, to whom Rosa also refers in letters 7, 34, 51 and 135.

31. The term "taccole" refers to an insignificant matter or issue; a trifle; an unimportant activity, or something of little value: Battaglia, 20:656.

32. A reference to the Italian painter Buonamico Buffalmacco (*c.* 1315–1336), active in Florence, Bologna and Pisa, whose work has not survived. Various authors—Giovanni Boccaccio in the *Decameron*, Franco Sacchetti in the *Il trecentonovelle*, and Giorgio Vasari in his biography of the painter—describe Buffalmacco as a prankster who plays tricks on his colleagues, friends and patrons. Rosa elsewhere employs the name as an affectionate moniker for his own son Rosalvo (see letter 115). On Buffalmacco, see most recently Land 2005 and Bellosi 2006.

33. Paliaga 2009, 151, suggested that Rosa's comments here allude to Ricciardi's experience of artistic tutelage under Rosa, the "bagattelle" or trifles of work being Ricciardi's own graphic compositions. For Ricciardi's collection of art, including many works by Rosa, see the inventory of 1687 reproduced in full in Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI. See also Paliaga's discussion of Ricciardi's collection in Paliaga 2009, 91–92, and in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 23–24. See also Hoare 2018, 292 and note 611.

34. The term "saccio" is possibly a play on the words "saggio" and "saccio," the first person singular of "sapere" in the Neapolitan dialect: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 47, note 10. There is also in Italian the pejorative combination "saccente sacciuto," meaning someone who pretends to know things he does not. For "saccente" as a person who behaves in a sententious manner, who annoys with his erudition, or who boasts of an erudition that is more feigned than real, see Battaglia, 17:300. For "sacciuto" as someone who pretends to have (or brags about having) great knowledge, and gives continual demonstration of it, see Battaglia, 17:305.

35. Rosa's meaning here ("even though they were a gift") is not entirely clear. He could be foregrounding the matter of gift-giving itself (by implying that he was still holding on to the sausages he had received from Francesco Cordini *because* they were a gift), as this seems to have been a particularly contentious issue in the letters Rosa exchanged with Ricciardi. On Cordini, see letter 21, note 2.

36. These words have been a source of some confusion in regard to the dating of Rosa's satire on painting, *La Pittura*, on which see Roworth 1981 and Festa 1983. Roworth's argument for a date to between June and December 1650 is now widely accepted, and Rosa's comment in the present letter may be the earliest reference to the satire. For the text of the satire, see Romei 1995, 97–120. Limentani 1950, 63, note 1, considered that it was just as possible that Rosa was here referring to the prospect of a pictorial satire. By 1650, Rosa had already composed at least three poetic satires: *La Musica*, *La Poesia* and *La Guerra*. Rosa's fifth satire *L'Invidia* was not written until three years later, while the last two satires, *La Babilonia* and *Il Tirreno*, belong to the final years of his life. Rosa's reference here to a "future satire on Painting" is also important evidence

of Ricciardi's role as a consultant for Rosa in his satirical endeavours, both poetic and pictorial. See also in this regard De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 24. Roworth 2010, 136, maintains that Rosa's comment in the present letter pertains to his presumed fourth poetic satire, *La Pittura*, noting further that "Rosa did not compose the satire until later that year when he joined Ricciardi and the Maffei brothers at Monterufoli between June and December, 1650". Additional evidence for the date of the satire *La Pittura* is offered by a letter written by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi on 1 April 1651, in which he writes: "On Tuesday [Rosa] recited that [satire] on painters, and on Wednesday the universal satire, and both were greatly admired" ("Martedì [Rosa] lesse quella [satira] sopra i pittori e mercoledì quella universale e sono state stimate in sommo grado"): Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 100; the "universale" satire is perhaps *La Guerra*, on which see letter 47, note 2. Both Rosa's and Brunetti's letters therefore suggest that at the beginning of 1650 the satire *La Pittura* was still in the process of being written, likely with the help of Ricciardi, and that the satire was completed before April 1651.

37. Rosa has written "me" in the ms. but clearly intends "vi".

38. Rosa here intends "vostro viso" ("your face") to mean "my ass," a pun that frequently appears in the letters in different variations. See for example letters 91, 111, 163, 193 and 196.

39. As noted by Limentani 1950, 63–64, note 3, Rosa did not shy away from expressing his pride in his well-deserved achievement. In this particular instance, he had good reason to be proud: his reference is to an apparent invitation he received from Emperor Ferdinand III, via the auspices of General Ottavio Piccolomini, to work at the court of Vienna. See also letter 45, written to Giulio Maffei on the same day as the present letter. Rosa had perhaps already shared the invitation with Ricciardi, who would undoubtedly have been jealous if Rosa had sent it to Giulio first.

Letter 47:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 48, note 1, Rosa was a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi, founded in 1600 by the Roman nobleman Paolo Mancini and his wife Vittoria Capocci, at the suggestion of Gasparo Salviani and under the protection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. The academy's meetings were hosted at Mancini's palace in Rome, where during the Carnival of 1603 the members first performed comedies and recited poetic compositions, forming the basis for the group's subsequent activities as one of the foremost literary academies of seventeenth-century Rome. On the academy, see: Maylender 1926–1930, 5:370–381; Gallo 1992; Alemanno 1995; and Diffley 2002. As noted by Conte 2014, 153–154, Rosa's name appears in the list of the Umoristi's members, which begins 27 March 1608, however the date of his entry into the academy is not specified: Maylender 1926–1930, 5:374 and 380. On the Umoristi and Rosa's encounters with the academic community of Rome at large, see the letters cited in letter 46, note 21, and Hoare 2018, 101–103. Other members of the Umoristi who receive mention in Rosa's letters include: Carlo Bentivoglio (on whom see letter 46, note 22); Francesco Melosi (or Melosio) and Agostino Favoriti (for both of whom see letter 129, notes 21 and 23); Giovanni Francesco Savaro (see letter 176, note 18); Giovan Filippo Ghirardelli (see letter 177, note 16); Orazio Quaranta (see letter 301, note 6); and the painter and biographer Giovanni Battista Passeri. Rosa was also a member of the Accademia dei Fantastici, for which see letter 162. On the significance, and possible influence on Rosa, of the Umoristi's engagement in poetic recital and improvised performance, see Hoare 2018, 81.

2. This is Rosa's fourth satire, *Autore e Timone* (later published as *La Guerra*), written in the form of a dialogue between the "Author" (Rosa) and Timon of Athens, the famed misanthrope. On the satire, see Roworth 1978, 5–6, 33, 46–48, 157, 208–209, 211 and 313, and Roworth 1981, 613. For the text of the satire, see Romei 1995, 121–138. Cesareo 1892, 1:46, proposed that the satire was written in the autumn of 1647, while Roworth 1981, 613, note 17, argued that it was "most probably composed during Rosa's visit to Monterufoli in 1647–48". The preamble that Rosa requested from Ricciardi in the present letter may be one and the same with the "Latin text" that Rosa mentions in letters 46 and 48. If the two texts are one and the same, then the present letter probably precedes letter 46 in the chronology, as it seems to be the first official request for the text in question. As noted by Conte 2014, 119, Rosa appears to have decided in the end that he did not need a preamble for the satire; it is not clear whether it became unnecessary for a reason relating to its recital (such as the lack of opportunity to recite the work in public) or because Rosa had perhaps changed his mind about the work's structure.

3. The date is missing in the ms., however the letter's content suggests it be linked to (and perhaps precedes) letter 46, dated to January 1650. See also letter 51, dated 2 February 1650, where Rosa refers to "preliminary thoughts regarding the *Timone*". This preamble could, in fact, be one and the same with the "lettra Latina" (Latin letter) to which Rosa repeatedly refers, first in letter 46. If so, it would mean the present letter predates letter 46.

Letter 48:

1. Rosa's reference to himself as an "ingrate" seems to tie these opening comments to his protracted discussion, later in the letter, of certain problems that he and Ricciardi were beginning to experience with the Maffei family. Rosa's comments in the present letter, including his concern regarding "what you heard was said about us," echo his statements in letter 46. Rosa has apparently heard the content of the rumours that Ricciardi had not wished to reveal to him earlier (see letter 46).

2. See also letter 46, note 6, on the matter of Rosa's and Ricciardi's "falling-out" with the Maffei family, which—as seems to be suggested by Rosa's comments here (in particular, his reference to the accusation of being a "freeloader")—could well have been to do with the Maffei family's (in particular, Giulio Maffei's) lending of money or other favours, including the hospitality extended to Rosa and Ricciardi at the family's countryside villas of Monterufoli, Barbaiano and San Donnino.

3. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 50, note 1, this is the last verse of Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. The line has been written in a slightly smaller script, below the line of text above it. On Guarini and the *Pastor Fido*, see also letter 177, note 10.

4. A "tugurio" is a hovel or shanty. Rosa frequently uses the word as an affectionate term for the Tuscan villas owned by his friends. See also letters 51, 108, 262, 269, 271, 276, 307, 321, 322, 323 and 339.

5. The identity of Rosa's referent, in regard to "different temperaments," is not entirely clear. He could be referring to himself and Ricciardi (in the sense of not trying to be different

from who they are), or he could be referring to their potential hosts (presumably the Maffei), in the sense of having to stay with people who are themselves of a different nature. See Rosa's comment in another letter to Ricciardi (letter 54), in which he refers to Giulio Maffei as "two-faced" and "incapable of reciprocating our good nature". Giulio seems to have neglected (or perhaps refused) to extend to Rosa and Ricciardi the usual invitation to holiday at one of his or his family's countryside properties, forcing Rosa to seek alternative accommodation. See also Rosa's comment, later in the present letter, concerning the impossibility of going "into the wilderness," by which he presumably means Monterufoli or another of the Maffei family's properties. See also Rosa's comments in letter 51.

6. It has not been possible to further identify this "Bellucci". He was perhaps someone working in Ricciardi's service, who may have been ill at the time.

7. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear. The implication could be that Ricciardi (whom Rosa frequently mocked as "Horace"; see letters 46, 49 and 51) was claiming that Rosa sits in a chair all day, as a painter, easily earning his income.

8. Rosa here constructs an inversion on the basis of his previous statement. Again, the meaning is not entirely clear. However, if the act of "sitting in a chair" was intended by Ricciardi to refer to the effortlessness of Rosa's profession as a painter, then it could be that Rosa was here turning that notion on its head (as he often did, on other occasions), pointing out the reality of his many hardships—in particular, arguing that "sitting in a chair" (or the profession of painting) is practised in the service of others, including Ricciardi, hence Rosa's declaration that "others have sat in a chair for you". Ricciardi, Rosa seems to say, has no such obligation to the commands of others.

9. The phrase "avere in culo i comandamenti del terzo e del quarto" means not to care about what this or that person commands of you.

10. Rosa here seems to be referring to one of the Maffei family's countryside properties.

11. Rosa here intends the term "ordine," or "order," in reference to a particular type of financial document, such as an "ordine di pagamento" or "ordine di consegna," either an authorization of payment or a receipt of payment: Battaglia, 12:55, who defines an "ordine" as any number of administrative measures, issued by the authorized person, to provide a fee (that is, a "titolo di spesa"), according to which the body in charge of the payments (the treasury) is authorized and obliged to pay a determined sum on behalf of a creditor; such measures may include, in addition to money orders, "ordine di accreditamento," or credit orders, with which a determined sum is made available to the officials responsible for the expenses, so that they can use them directly in order to arrange or make payments. On Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2.

12. A "piastra" is a silver coin, relatively large in size, minted in Italy from the sixteenth century onward (especially in Bologna), and in Spain in the eighteenth century (when it was also circulated in Naples). This type of coin is also referred to as a "scudo Bolognese," "scudo Romano" or "scudo Fiorentino". It was equivalent to 120 *grana* in Naples and in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies: Battaglia, 13:307. The Roman silver *piastra*, or silver *scudo*, is equivalent to 10 *giuli* or 100 *baiocchi*: Hammond 1988, 68. The Florentine silver *piastra* weighed 22.42 grams and was equivalent to 7 *lire*: Hammond 1988, 70.

13. This is the first reference in Rosa's extant letters to two paintings of his Florentine years: the *Arion on the Dolphin* (*c.* 1648, private collection) and the *Pan and Syrinx* (*c.* 1645–1649, Palazzo Enzelberg, Caldaro (Bolzano)), for which see: Naples 2008, 126–127 (cat. 18) and 150–151 (cat. 31); Volpi 2010b, 57–58; and Volpi 2014, 470 (cat. 149) and 472–473 (cat. 152). Baldinucci, 5:456, describes the *Arion* as among the paintings owned by the art dealer Francesco Cordini, referring to its subject as "the figure of an Adonis, life-size, in the act of sitting on the dolphin" ("la figura di un Adone, di grandezza quanto il naturale, in atto di sedere sopra il delfino"). As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 4, note 3, the painting's theme "was suggested by the vicissitudes of the legendary poet Arion, recounted by Herodotus and (with variations) by Plutarch. The poet, travelling from Taranto to Corinth, was thrown into the sea by the men in his boat, who stole the possessions he had brought on the journey, acquired in Sicily in reward for his singing. A dolphin saved him and carried him on his back." The *Pan and Syrinx*, which Rosa here appears to esteem as the more accomplished painting of the two, treats an episode from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book I, 690–712) in which the nymph Syrinx transforms herself into reeds in order to escape the advances of Pan. Rosa's comments here (in regard to Ricciardi's attempt to purchase the *Arion* from Cordini) may refer to Ricciardi's occasional activity as an art dealer for Rosa, on the subject of which see letter 85 (note 3), letter 91 (note 7), letter 160 (note 5) and letter 174 (note 1).

14. This "Latin text" is presumably the composition that Rosa had requested from Ricciardi in letter 46. It could be one and the same with the "preamble" he requested from Ricciardi, for his satire *La Guerra* (see letter 47).

15. On Daviti, see letter 46, note 27. He also appears in letter 50.

16. By "the Hebrews" Rosa intends the certain "Daviti" mentioned in the line above. Rosa's comment here is probably intended as a dig at Ricciardi, and perhaps the Maffei brothers, too, whom Rosa had been trying to convince to come visit him in Rome.

17. Presumably in reference to the "Latin text," the composition referred to above.

18. Lorenza Paolini, one of the sisters of Lucrezia Paolini, Rosa's life-long partner. Rosa was anxious to secure a dowry for her, as well as for Lucrezia's other sister, Catera. On this matter, see also letters 50, 60, 90, 95, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 113, 149, 155, 158, 161, 162 and 165. On the subject of dowries in early modern Italy, see the useful sources cited in McPhee 2012 (who notes, 34, that "a noblewoman's dowry in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century was about 7,800 *scudi*"): Accati 1990; De Giorgio and Klapisch-Zuber 1996; Dean and Lowe 1998; Menchi and Quaglioni 2001; Menchi and Quaglioni 2004; and Sperling 2004. On dowries more generally, see: Nussdorfer 1992, 110; Fosi and Vesceglia 1998; Calcaterra and Petrucci 2004, 142–146; Ago, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 264 and 271–272; and Goldthwaite, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 299. For comments on the economic importance of dowries in seventeenth-century Naples, see Marshall, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 126, who notes that "[d]owries were extremely important for heads of households because they represented one of their biggest costs and were seen by artists, as by aristocrats, as a public declaration of financial security."

19. The identity of the particular "Count Ercolani" to whom Rosa here refers is not certain, but is presumably a member of the prominent and noble Bolognese Hercolani (or Ercolani) family. Conte 2014, 236, suggested Count Alfonso Hercolani, on whom see the entry on his son Filippo Hercolani (1663–1722) by Mandelli, in *DBI* 61 (2004):685–687. For other possible candidates, see Dolfi, 292–293.

20. The "marchesa Vittoria" could be Vittoria della Rovere (1622–1694), Grand Duchess of Tuscany and the wife of Grand Duke Ferdinando II. Rosa could also, however, be referring to a Bolognese marchesa, and perhaps even the wife of the unidentified "conte Ercolani" himself. The wearing of "costume" (or "disguise," as the term "maschera" can also be interpreted) also suggests the occasion of a masked ball.

21. On Carlo Bentivoglio, mentioned in the present letter as giving a recital at an academy (perhaps the Umoristi or Fantastici), see also letter 46, note 22.

22. Previously unnoted, the line "Così va Roma, in Roma è sepolta" seems to be a variation on a line from a poem by Fulvio Testi (1593–1646), a master of lyric poetry originally from Ferrara who worked primarily in Modena and whose poetry frequently centred on the subject of the court. Rosa likely intends: "Così va: Roma in Roma è sepolta" ("That's how it goes: "Rome is buried in Rome"), taking from a line in Testi's satirical poem *Il Lusso di Roma* (1644), a composition that belonged to a more widespread contemporary critique (in which Rosa himself participated) of corruption and dissimulation at court. Testi's poem reads: "Roma in Roma è sepolta; e quel che avanza/ Del suo gran corpo, oggi è corrotto e pute;/ Balsamo di valore e di virtute/ Nel moderno fetor non ha possanza": De Castro 1875, 85, who notes further (83) that the poem, little-known today, created a significant scandal at the time. See further McPhee 2012, 43 and 221, note 32, who notes, in connection with Fulvio Testi's friendship with Gian Lorenzo Bernini, that Testi left Rome for the last time in 1637: Testi "was a poet and diplomat who served Francesco d'Este, Duke of Modena. Though he ended life in prison, suspected of high treason, Testi had a brilliant career in the courts of Europe and wrote a series of extraordinarily descriptive letters, in many of which Bernini appears. Fulvio Testi's departure from Rome is mentioned in a letter from Guido Bentivoglio to the Duke of Modena dated 17 Oct 1637." For the letter from Guido Bentivoglio, see Bentivoglio, 394–395. On Testi, see also: Testi; Massano 1900; Zamboni 1939; and Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 251–261. In two letters of June 1649, Ascanio della Penna asked Ricciardi to see if he could find a number of rare texts for him, including a copy of Fulvio Testi's recently published *Rime*, along with a specific edition of the Bible; Ricciardi suggested Gian Paolo Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura e architettura* (1584) and Carlo Ridolfi's *Vite de' pittori veneziani* (1648). See Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75–77, docs. 5 and 6. See also the subsequent letters by Della Penna in Volpi and Paliaga's volume, in which Della Penna discusses the same texts with Ricciardi. See further Fumagalli 2010, 363–364, for a recently discovered letter written to Testi by an anonymous Florentine gentleman, inviting the poet to write a composition "in verse or in prose" in celebration of Rosa and his talents. See also on this matter Hoare 2018, 165 and note 242.

23. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28. De Rinaldis 1939, 5, transcribed "Sig. *Card*. della Penna," and erroneously identified him as "Cardinal Bernardino della Penna, who died in 1665" (the notice of which, in regard to Bernardino, Rosa himself gives in letter 318). Bernardino della Penna was Ascanio's brother. De Rinaldis made the same mistake in the transcriptions of subsequent letters, in reference to the identity of Ascanio.

24. Volunnio Bandinelli (*c.* 1597–1667), a man of letters and ecclesiastic from Siena. From 1643 to 1644, he was deputy of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena, after which he became the tutor of Cosimo III de' Medici until 1655: Galluzzi, 4:137. In 1658, Bandinelli was nominated as cardinal by Pope Alexander VII. As noted by Limentani 1950, 69, note 6, Bandinelli is in Rosa's present letter referred to as "Signor" since he was still a layman until 1657, when the new pope called him to Rome. On this matter, see Rosa's comments in letter 214. In his youth, Bandinelli had been married and had children. Limentani cites from Cardella, 7:142–143, who writes that "this Cardinal was not a man of profound learning, however he had a great deal of experience in worldly affairs; hence the pope willingly conferred [the title of Cardinal] to him, relaying his satisfaction with his advice." Limentani also cites from Crescimbeni (*De' Comentarj intorno all'Istoria della Volgar Poesia*, 3, book 4, Venice: Lorenzo Basegio, 1730, 210) who informs us that Bandinelli "had the great protection of learned men, and bestowed his noble name to several celebrated academies, particularly the Filomata of his country [the Accademia dei Filomati of Siena, an intellectual association founded in 1577 that subsequently, in 1654, merged with the Accademia degli Intronati; Bandinelli joined the Filomati in 1649], and the Accademia della Crusca of Florence […]. In writing poetry in the vulgar tongue, Volunnio had a luminous, high and resonant style, but not bombastic […]". As a member of the Accademia della Crusca, Bandinelli is recorded, alternatively, under the academic nicknames "Lacero" or "Rimpastato": Accademia della Crusca, Catalogo degli Accademici online (http://www.accademicidellacrusca.org). On Bandinelli, see further Moroni 1840–1861, 4 [1840]:90, and Hoare 2018, 77–78.

25. "Patroclo" is the ancient Greek hero Patroclus, whose close friendship with Achilles is recounted in Homer's *Iliad*, XVII 411, 655, wherein Patroclus is referred to as the "*hetaîros* who is the most *phílos* by far". "Colombina" is a recurring female character in the *commedia dell'arte*, mistress to the wily servant character of the *zanni*—the role, perhaps not uncoincidentally, portrayed by Rosa in his comic performances in Rome and Florence. To judge from his use of these two epithets, it seems that Rosa is referring to a member of his and Ricciardi's theatrical circles in Florence and Pisa. Rosa mentions a "Colombina" in another letter to Ricciardi of 5 January 1652 (letter 118). Baldinucci, 5:452–453, recorded the roles adopted by the various members of the Accademia dei Percossi in their comic performances: among those who played female roles were Francesco Cordini, who played the role of a "sly and clever servant woman," and Giovan Filippo Marucelli and Dottor Pier Filippo Tommaso Lasagnini ("a young person of great genius"), who played the parts of the maidens. It is not possible to identify with certainty the individual to whom Rosa is referring in the present letter, but Cordini is a possible candidate among the performers identified by Baldinucci; he is frequently mentioned in Rosa's letters to Ricciardi, also as an object of disdain (see in particular letter 228). The individual in question, however, was clearly in Rome, with Rosa, at the time he was writing the present letter.

26. The word "puttana" refers to a prostitute or whore, but, as an adjective, means obscene or vulgar: Battaglia, 14:1068.

27. This is presumably a reference to Jacopo Antonio Lupi, another of Rosa's and Ricciardi's mutual friends from Pisa and a member of the Accademia degli Stravaganti. In letter 85, he is referred to as "dottor" Lupi. On Lupi, who is frequently mentioned in Rosa's letters, see Paliaga 2009, 142, 146 and 170, note 57, who notes that on 7 July 1672—together with other members of the academy—Lupi made a request to the Priors of Pisa for the use of their "stanzone delle commedie" (a large room dedicated to theatrical performances) for the purpose of staging a musical performance during the upcoming Carnival. From 1667 to 1683, Lupi was vice chancellor of the Order of Santo Stefano. He was also involved in the enterprise of printing Alessandro Marchetti's vernacular translation of Lucretius's *De Rerum natura*. On Lupi, see also Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 24 and

76 (doc. 6) (for a letter from Ascanio della Penna to Ricciardi of June 1649, in which Ascanio mentions Lupi's anticipation of an as-yet undelivered package).

28. These "testaccie" have been linked to Rosa's single figure, half-length portrait heads depicting philosophers and philosopher-types, representative of a more pervasive genre of painting known as "teste" or "teste di fantasia". Here it appears that Rosa has painted two of them expressly for Ricciardi. There are a variety of "teste" listed in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory, for which see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI, however none of the artists' names are given. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 50, note 5, Luigi Salerno (see Salerno 1975, 92, cat. 101) identified one of the "testaccie" to which Rosa refers in the present letter as the painting in the Denis Mahon collection, now in the Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham (known as a "Head of a Man with a Turban"), noting that Rosa "used as a model his image reflected in the mirror." On this painting, see also: Scott 1995, 95; Finaldi, in Finaldi and Kitson 1997, 144–145, cat. 67 (who dates the painting to the 1650s and notes its unique possession of a well-documented Florentine provenance); and Volpi 2014, 513 (cat. 204). On the evidence for this painting as a gift for Rosa's friend Luigi Ridolfi, see Hoare 2018, 181 and note 40. For other examples of Rosa's "teste," see further: Salerno 1975, 92 (cat. 98–100), 93 (cat. 119), and 98 (cat. 163); Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 31.1–12 (drawings); Daprà, in Naples 2008, 63–64 and 110–111, cat. 8; Meyer, in Naples 2009, 81, cat. 3.39–3.40; Farina 2010, 62, fig. 23; Salomon 2010b, 118–119, cat. 6; Volpi 2014, 428–429 (cat. 82–84), 467 (cat. 143 and 144), 468 (cat. 145), 472 (cat. 151), 510–511 (cat. 199–201) and 594 (cat. 325); and Volpi 2015b, 399, fig. 3 (for a *Ritratto virile*, Davies Collection, London). Another "testa" attributed to Rosa appeared on the art market in 2006, in the collection of the Studio Grassi (private collection, New York; exhibited as a "Portrait of a Man, or "A 'Character' Head," at the Biennale Internazionale dell'Antiquariato di Firenze, Palazzo Corsini, Florence, 2006; attributed to Rosa by Nicola Spinosa and dated to *c.* 1660). For a number of "teste" listed in Ricciardi's inventory, see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI. On Rosa's "teste" or "testaccie," more generally, see Langdon, in Langdon 2010a, 102–105. Volpi 2010b, 73, note 133, also suggests that the "testaccie" to which Rosa refers in the present letter might be linked to a group of drawings of male and female heads represented in theatrical costume (for which see Mahoney 1977, 1:357–365, group 31), reminiscent of the figures represented in Rosa's *Plautus and Terence*. Rosa did, however, as Volpi further notes, produce drawings of "teste" over a longer period of time, and had already begun to do so during his period in Florence, *c.* 1640–1649.

29. There are various possibilities here, with regard to Rosa's specific meaning. De Rinaldis 1939, 5, note 6, proposed that with the word "predicatore" Rosa was referring to a specific painting of a philosopher that he had given Ricciardi as a gift on a prior occasion, although he did not know of Ricciardi's inventory at the time and did not suggest any specific candidates. By referring to "your Preacher," however, Rosa probably intends Saint John the Baptist ("Giovanni Battista"), Ricciardi's namesake. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 50, note 6, proposed that the painting in question could be the *Saint John the Baptist* (Galleria Colonna, Rome; for which see: Salerno 1965, 85, cat. 13; Safarik 1999, 236, fig. 417; and Volpi 2014, 416, cat. 65), however the date of the Galleria Colonna painting is uncertain—it could be either an early work or a late work of the 1660s. Volpi 2014, 416, dates the painting to *c.* 1639–1640, on the basis of its stylistic and compositional resonances with Rosa's early works and the influence in those years of Jusepe de Ribera and Domenico Gargiulo, as well as its similarity to the hermit saints painted by Herman van Swanevelt for the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid. Rosa treated the subject of Saint John the Baptist in a number of other paintings over the course of his career, for which see Volpi 2014, 383 (cat. 13), 390 (cat. 26), 502–503 (cat. 189), 514 (cat. 205), 523 (cat. 219), 543 (cat. 247) and 593 (cat. 322), however none can be linked with certainty to Ricciardi. Rosa's reference in the present letter to "*your* Preacher" might suggest he was referring to a painting by another artist already in Ricciardi's own collection. The only possible candidates in Ricciardi's inventory of 1687 (for which see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI) are a "quadro grande dipintovi dentro un paese et il Battesimo di Nostro Signore senza cornice," or a "ritratto del Sig.re D.re Gio Batt.a senza cornice," neither of which is given directly to Rosa in the inventory (and the latter of which appears to have been the portrait of Ricciardi painted by Pier Dandini, on which see Bellesi 1991, 171, and Hoare 2018, 369, note 2). Rosa's capitalization of the word "Predicatore" in the ms., which would seem to suggest a reference to a painting, could alternatively—in view of Rosa's penchant for likening himself and his friends to a variety of historical and literary figures—be intended as a reference to Saint John the Baptist himself, as Ricciardi's namesake. De Rinaldis 1939 further proposed that Rosa's words indicated that the "testaccie" he had painted for Ricciardi represented personifications of vices, which suggests the intriguing possibility that Rosa was referring to the moral conflict that would result if these works were hung on the wall alongside ("in front of") Ricciardi's painting of a "preacher," perhaps Saint John the Baptist, or, indeed, "in front of" Ricciardi himself.

30. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9. De Rinaldis 1939, 5, note 7, considered that Rosa's use of the adjective "shrewd" ("sagacissimo") was ironical, in view of his frequent mockery of both Giovanni and Giulio Maffei. See letter 151, where even on the occasion of Giovanni Maffei's death Rosa seizes the opportunity to mock him.

31. Presumably the "lettra Latina" (or Latin letter) that Rosa mentions earlier in the letter, and that he had asked Ricciardi for in letter 46 (and probably letter 47).

32. A reference to Rosa's friend, the poet Antonio Abati, on whom see letter 1, note 4. By "precepts" Rosa probably means "moral" precepts. See the definition of "precetto" in Battaglia, 14:42–43. Rosa's reference here to Saint Anthony Abbot also brings to mind a painting by the artist, owned by Ricciardi, representing the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (*c.* 1650–1655, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence), on which see Hoare 2018, 108 and note 249.

33. The date of 16 January is here presumed on account of Rosa's reference to the feast day of Saint Anthony Abbot, which falls on 17 January.

Letter 49:

1. Rosa appears to have been born on 21 July 1615, as is attested by a musical composition dedicated to Rosa himself, to be sung on the occasion of his fortieth birthday in 1655, in Rome, entitled "La cena della rosa: componimento per musica, fatto recitare al signor Salvator Rosa doppo una lauta cena data a gli amici nel giorno suo natalitio 21 luglio 1655 in Roma," printed in an anonymous and autonomous pamphlet in Rome, in 1655: Conte 2010a, 183, and Conte 2014, 541–543, Appendix IV.4. There have been various scholarly suppositions as to the date of Rosa's birth, including the month of July

1615, largely based upon the anecdotal evidence offered by the early biographies of the artist. As noted by Farina 2010, 17 (and note 17), Baldinucci, 5:437, followed by Pascoli, 134, indicated Rosa's birthdate as 20 June 1615, while Passeri, 385—frequently considered a more reliable source—recorded 21 July 1615. An anonymous copy of the birth record of Rosa, held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, records the date as 21 July 1615: Conte 2014, 544, Appendix IV.5. The birth-month of July, along with the alternative date of the 22nd of the month, is recorded in the short memorial text composed by Rosa's grandson (the son of Augusto Rosa), also named Salvator Rosa: Festa 1982, 101 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, mss. Fondo Vitt. Emanuele, 1490/3). 22 July is also the date given by Passeri in his biography of Rosa appended to Giovanni Baglione's *Vite*: Passeri 1733, 290. De Dominici, 1:408, records Rosa's birthdate as 20 June 1615, and his date of baptism as 22 June. For Rosa's apparently erroneous calculation of his own age at a later date, see letter 357. For a useful chronology of the events of Rosa's life, with dates, see Bartoni 2012, 509–510.

2. Rosa's comment here suggests that he is accusing Ricciardi of being Machiavellian on account of his "Florentine" use of tact and diplomacy in matters of the heart.

3. The content of the letter suggests that there was some misunderstanding between the two friends over Rosa's gift to Ricciardi of a drawing or a painting. On the complicated procedure and discourse of gift-giving in this period, and in regard to the term "donare" in particular, see Hoare 2018, 289–290.

4. Rosa customarily uses the word "interesse" to refer to practical or utilitarian matters of business and often as a point of contrast to matters of the heart. See letter 8, note 5. In this particular instance, Rosa could alternatively be using the term to indicate that Ricciardi's pretexts are being made in the name of financial or utilitarian interests, under the belief (mistaken, in Rosa's opinion) that Rosa's gift was given in expectation of return.

5. Rosa's comments here perhaps pertain to members of the Maffei family, with whom Ricciardi seems to have fallen out for some reason. See also letters 36 (note 6), 46 and 48.

6. On Rosa's own self-identification with the great misanthrope Timon of Athens, who also features in his fourth satire *La Guerra*, see letter 39, note 4.

7. On the meaning of the term "coglioneria," see letter 4, note 1.

8. Rosa frequently refers to Ricciardi in mockery as "Horace". See letter 38, note 13, and letter 46, note 17.

9. Francesco Cordini's particular transgression on this occasion is not known. The matter could relate to Rosa's comments in letter 46, concerning a gift he had received from Cordini. On Rosa's own falling-out with Cordini, see letter 21, note 2, and Rosa's comments in letters 48, 86 and 228.

10. A "cedrato" is a cedar orange, the fruit of a cedar tree: Battaglia, 2:942.

11. The expression "a canne" is here used for emphasis. For "a canne," see Battaglia, 2:637, no. 23, who defines the term as "obliquely," meaning (in a figurative sense) askew, indirectly, or deviously. Rosa uses the same expression, "peggiore a canne," in letters 285 and 336.

12. This is an important statement on Rosa's part with regard to his practice and conception of gift-giving, as part of a strategy for maintaining creative freedom. On Rosa and the complex economy of the gift, see Hoare 2018, 287–300.

13. On the subject of Rosa's reliance on Ricciardi for advice in matters of poetry and for iconographic suggestions for paintings, see Hoare 2018, 279–282. Rosa had also recently asked Ricciardi for a "Latin letter," presumably one and the same with the preamble he solicited for his satire *La Guerra*, on which see letters 46, 47 and 48.

14. Rosa is here probably speaking in jest, however his comment raises an interesting point about the strange absence of surviving letters written by Rosa's friends to the artist himself. Ubaldo Meroni has made the intriguing suggestion that Rosa destroyed them out of fear of their discovery by the Holy Office, which condemned him for living in sin with Lucrezia and for the satirical content of his work. As Rosa wrote to Ricciardi in 1654 (letter 176), "they won't find in my house any other writings than the bills for the rent". See Meroni 1978b, 69. This proposal, however, does not explain why Rosa would have destroyed *all* of the letters and not just the "compromising" ones. Meroni conjectures that Rosa likely chose to destroy all of the letters wholesale, rather than carefully re-reading and selecting only those with potentially incriminating content, leaving himself open to the danger of forgetting one. Meroni suggests further that the lacuna in the correspondence may be due to Rosa's possible habit of not keeping letters, but given the apparent significance to Rosa of his friend's missives, this seems rather unconvincing.

Letter 50:

1. An important instance in Rosa's letters of his frequent recourse to the topos of the "friend as a second self," on which see further Hoare 2018, 32 and 177–178. One of the most well-known stories of such a bond (and to which Rosa may be consciously alluding in this particular instance) concerns the relationship shared by Alexander the Great and his friend Hephaestion, who were so close that they seemed (according to Aristotle, as claimed by Diogenes Laertius, 9) to be "one soul abiding in two bodies". According to Plutarch (*Life of Eumenes*, II, 1–5), Hephaestion frequently elicited anger from Alexander, who nonetheless repeatedly defended him as his beloved friend, even after Hephaestion's death.

2. Here Rosa seems to construct a deliberate play on the notion of "selves," continued from the previous paragraph, in which he contrasts the idea of two selves conjoined in friendship ("un altro me medesimo") with a notion of the disembodied or absent self ("non fussivo [foste] […] in voi medesimo").

3. "Tant'è" is an idiomatic expression meaning "that's just the way it is". See also letter 40, note 2.

4. It is by no means necessarily the case that Rosa is here referring to a specific instance (the expression was no doubt commonplace), however one cannot help but be reminded of the debacle of the bell towers that Gian Lorenzo Bernini—one of Rosa's particular rivals in Rome—had constructed at Saint Peter's between 1636 and 1642, a project that failed almost from the outset when the weight of the new structures caused cracks to appear in the facade and foundation of the church. See McPhee 2002. Rosa took at least one direct stab at Bernini in his letters, in reference to the Four Rivers Fountain, for which see letter 105, note 10.

5. The word "iastimare" (or "biastemare") is a Neapolitanism for "bestemmiare," meaning to swear, to curse, to give an oath, to express an absurd affirmation, or to speak "nonsense": Battaglia, 2:192–193. For the noun in Neapolitan dialect (also spelled "jastemma" or "ghiastemma"), see Galiani, 1:183.

6. The word "Beniamino" (or "Beneamino," as Rosa writes in the ms.) means the beloved one, or favourite. The term is derived from the Biblical "Beniamino" (or "Benjamin"), Jacob's favourite son and the one "beloved by all". See Battaglia, 2:174–175. The word that Rosa has written in the ms. looks more like "Beneami".

7. On the meaning of the term "interesse," see letter 8, note 5.

8. On Rosa's concern for his reputation in Rome, see letter 32, note 9.

9. Rosa intends that Ricciardi is here reducing friendship to matters of business, a recurring lament on Rosa's part in his letters. See for example letters 46, 136 and 354.

10. The term "colorata" is intended here in the sense of "feigned" or "false". See Battaglia, 3:313.

11. The term "stravagante" can mean divergent from the norm, strange, unusual, anomalous; exorbitant or excessive. In the context of art and literature, however, it refers in particular to the surprise of the unusual, the novel, or the capricious, often in the pejorative sense of diverging from the canon or classical rules. In a more positive sense (as Rosa frequently intends it), it indicates a person or thing with a capricious, unpredictable nature—bizarre, eccentric, and above all, novel (or "original") in nature: Battaglia, 20:317. On the concept of *stravaganza* as a vital category of artistic production for Rosa, see also Hoare 2018, 241, 275, 276, 280 and 306.

12. On Niccolò Simonelli and the Pamphilj family, who owned property in Nettuno, see also letter 27, note 23, and letter 30, note 13. As noted by Grassi 1986, 636, the prohibition placed upon Simonelli's receipt of letters was probably due to an infirmity of the eyes on his part, an affliction that arose again in February 1653 (see letter 162).

13. The same "doctor" is mentioned in letters 46, 52 and 54, however on none of these occasions is his identity further clarified, nor the "negozio" to which Rosa refers.

14. This is presumably a reference to Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj, in whose service Simonelli was employed as *guardaroba*. See letter 27, note 23, and letter 30, note 13.

15. On this certain "Daviti," who appears to have been Jewish, see also letter 46, note 27, and letter 48.

16. The phrase "avere corda" means to be vexed, troubled or criticized. The expression "avere la corda al collo," or "essere con la corda al collo," means, literally, "to be hanged" and, figuratively, to be constrained by a moral enslavement, obligation or restriction, to be in a very difficult situation without an easy solution, or to be in danger. See Battaglia, 3:767.

17. The phrase "una predica da galant'uomo" is perhaps a variation on the expression "parlare da galant'uomo," which means to speak with particular honesty and loyalty: Battaglia, 6:543.

18. On the dowries that Rosa was attempting to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, Lorenza and Catera, see letter 48, note 18.

19. The phrase "di netto" means with a single movement, jump or blow; a stroke or a blow; fully, improvisationally, resolutely, perfectly: Battaglia, 11:400. In negative expressions, the term "palmo" means a facet or small detail: Battaglia, 12:432, who cites by way of example a line from a poem by Cesare Caporali (1531–1601) entitled "Cesare Caporali in Parnaso così cantò l'ultima sera di Carnevale alla presenza d'Apollo" with which Rosa may have been familiar: "Questo mondo è un bordeletto/ così succido e sì brutto/ che, se ben lo squadro tutto,/ non v'è un palmo in lui di netto". For the poem, see Frati 1918, 75.

20. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 11, note 2, these lines are from Rosa's fourth satire *La Guerra*, vv. 292–294 (Romei 1995, 129), on which see letter 47, note 2. The term "gatta" also has a derogatory meaning with no real equivalent in English, connoting a diverse set of qualities including crudeness, wildness, stupidity, or an evasive, equivocal nature: Battaglia, 6:608–609. The passage derives from the fable of "The Monkey and the Cat," traceable to the fifteenth century and first published by Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695) in his *Fables* (1679).

21. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

22. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13. For Rosa's mockery of members of the Maffei family for the size of their noses, see letter 34, note 13.

23. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

24. This is presumably a reference to Jacopo Antonio Lupi, on whom see letter 48, note 27.

25. The expression "in tempo che," difficult to translate into English, can mean "before" or "previously" (as in the expression "prima di"), but also, in this particular instance, "nevertheless," "even so" or "it makes no difference". For "in tempo," see Battaglia, 20:849.

Letter 51:

1. On Rosa's and Ricciardi's apparent falling-out with the Maffei family, and Rosa's search for other holiday accommodation, see also letter 48, note 5.

2. Rosa here uses the word "colchi," from the verb "colcarsi" (or "coricarsi"), meaning to lay down, or to go to bed. The expression, as Rosa himself clarifies here, is a Neapolitanism. There is no equally colourful equivalent in English. The idea expressed is that of "the impossibility of doing something, and the consequent need to be content with what you already have".

3. A "tugurio" is a shanty or hovel. See letter 48, note 4.

4. That is, the Maffei family.

5. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. As noted by Limentani 1950, 65, note 1, Rosa's comments here appear to refer to a projected journey of the Maffei family to Rome, an idea that finds corroboration in letters 40, 41, 42, 44 and 54.

7. This is presumed to be a painting by Rosa depicting Saint Hyacinth, now lost. See also letter 46, note 10.

8. On this "Latin letter" that Rosa had requested from Ricciardi, see letters 46, 47 (note 3) and 48.

9. Trappolino is a deceitful and comical character from the *commedia dell'arte*, and a role frequently portrayed by the painter Guidobaldo Abbatini (*c.* 1600–1656) in Gian Lorenzo Bernini's comedies: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 58, note 1, citing Clementi 1938–1939, 1:475. See also Passeri, 77. Molinari 1999, 243–247, considered Rosa's comment in the present letter to be an allusion to Ricciardi's performance in the role of the "lover" in the comedy *Lo Sposalizio tra' Sepolcri*. On Rosa's and Ricciardi's adoption of specific *commedia* roles, see also letter 310, note 5. On Rosa and the *commedia dell'arte*, see Hoare 2018, chapter one. Rosa had previously nicknamed Ricciardi "Signor Horace" on account of his lack of brevity (see letter 46, note 17).

10. Rosa also mentions with affection the forested area of the Tatti, the river Adio, and another Tuscan river—the Fosci—in letter 40.

11. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 58, note 2, the entire phrase refers to some misfortune on Ricciardi's part, apparently—as Rosa's rather abstruse analogy suggests—some sort of physical ailment. For Limentani 1950, 65, note 3, Rosa's expression is intended in a double sense, similar to that in vv. 286–288 of his satire *La Musica* (Romei 1995, 58), where he alludes to the fact that Norcia (a *comune* in the province of Perugia) produced the most expert castrators of pigs: "Bella legge Cornelia, ove n'andasti,/ in quest'età che per castrare i putti/ tutta Norcia, per Dio, non par che basti?" In the present letter, the words "oppilato nel vitupero" have been underlined in the ms. "Oppilato" alludes to sleeping on the right side, a habit reserved for poor health, while "vitupero" (according to the *Vocabolario della Crusca*) also stands for "scabbia" ("scabies"). The metaphor Rosa has created seems to be rather more complex, however. The verb "oppilare" refers to the closing or obstruction of an anatomical channel (particularly the urinal, bilious or intestinal tracts), and the word "oppilato" can also refer to the urinal tract itself: Battaglia, 11:1063. The term "vitupero" ("shame") seems to function here as a euphemism for male genitalia. The implication, then, is perhaps that, since Ricciardi has no "obstruction" (or no problem with urinating), he is therefore not in need of castration, hence the reference to Norcia. The term "norcino" in popular lexicon also means "surgeon": Romei 1995, 225. In modern Italian, Rosa's phrase can be interpreted as "mi dispiace sentire che dovete sottoporvi a trattamenti fastidiosi (appunto, da norcino, cioè chirurgici), tanto più che non avete problemi di oppilazione (cioè non siete impedito nella minzione)." ("I'm sorry to hear that you have to undergo annoying treatments (by which I mean, with the pork butcher, that is to say, surgery), all the more so because you don't have any obstruction problems (that is, your urination is not encumbered).") Rosa's underlining of the words "oppilato nel vitupero," however, must signal a citation, and here it is significant to note that, in the first published edition of Rosa's satires (Amsterdam: Severo Prothomastix, 1690), a comparable line appears in the satire *La Guerra* (*Autore e Timone*), vv. 370–375, in the words of one of the satire's interlocutors, "Timone": "[Autore:] Sì disse il Tordo in su l'antica piazza/ Della Zelanda, applichi a se lo sgerro./ Premia un la guerra, e un milion n'amazza./ [Timone:] Lascia, lascia gli far, che, s'io non erro,/ Mentre oppilati son nel vitupero/ Solo li puo guarir l'acciaro, e il ferro." ("[Author]: Yes, said the thrush atop the old piazza/ of Zeeland; let the mercenary take care of himself/ War rewards one, and kills a thousand./ [Timon]: Leave, leave it to them, because, if I'm not wrong,/ while they have their member obstructed/ only steel and iron can heal them.") The line differs in the Romei 1995 edition of the satires, where it reads "applicati son nel vitupèro". Rosa's use of the words "e pur voi" in the present letter can also be interpreted as "e anche voi" ("and you too"), however this reading only makes sense if Rosa was himself suffering a similar ailment or had undergone a similar operation. In the passage from Rosa's satire *La Guerra*, cited above, Rosa may be referring to the venereal diseases from which mercenaries frequently suffered, which Rosa appears to suggest can be solved (or "taken care of") by castration. I wish to thank Monica Bertè and her colleagues Paolo Procaccioli and Matteo Motolese for their kind assistance with deciphering this difficult passage.

12. The Jesuit writer Giovanni Battista Ferrari, on whom see also letter 46, note 18.

13. Reginaldo Sgambati, on whom see letter 10, note 3. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 58, note 3, propose that the "published things" to which Rosa here refers are probably Sgambati's *Orationi* (Venice: Turini, 1648 [?]).

14. The phrase "sotto gli occhi" means, literally, "under the eyes"; figuratively, the phrase refers to something that is apparent, obvious, or demonstrable according to one having experienced clear and direct evidence of it ("sottocchio"): Battaglia, 19:589.

15. Limentani 1950, 66, note 5, considered that Rosa might be referring to the edition of Carlo de' Dottori's *Odes* cited in letter 46. Alternatively, Limentani notes, a volume of the *Odes* appeared in 1647 (Padua: Crivellari), and a third volume of the *Canzoni* was published in 1650 (Padua: Pasquati, published at the request of Andrea Baruzzi).

16. This is presumably a reference to the painter Clemente Bocciardi, on whom see letters 7, 34 and 46. Conte 2014, 265, considers that the "trifles," or sketches, in question are instead works by Rosa in Ricciardi's collection—works that this certain "genovese" was apparently incapable of judging correctly.

17. Rosa here uses the term "giudizio" in the dual sense of "assessment" and "opinion". On Rosa and the matter of the artist as the rightful practitioner of artistic judgment, see letter 7, note 4.

18. Rosa's reference to an anecdote concerning the poet Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) seems to be based upon one of the accounts given in biographies of the poet, such as that by Giovan Battista Manso (1621), who records a number of anecdotes that reflect Tasso's hostility toward the judgment of his work. In one tale (which seems a likely candidate for Rosa's source), Manso recounts an occasion on which "some gentlemen, when examining the most artful passages of [Tasso's] *Gerusalemme*, each took turns in citing them and vying over which was the most beautiful; among them was Salvator Pasqualoni, as learned in poetry as he was in law, who recited the passage that begins: 'Giunto a la tomba, ov'al suo spirto vivo/ Dolorosa prigione il Ciel prescrisse', a dictum corroborated by Tasso. Then one of these men, as sweet as salt, and who felt ashamed for not knowing what to say, annoyingly asked him what he considered to be the most beautiful of Petrarch's verses. To which [Tasso] replied, 'Infinite are the multitude of fools'." ("Esaminavano innanzi a Torquato alcuni gentiluomini le più artificiose stanze della sua *Gerusalemme*, e adducendo chi l'una e chi l'altra, contendevano fra di loro qual fosse la più bella, fra' quali Salvator Pasqualoni, intendentissimo delle cose della poesia non meno che della legge, recitò quella che comincia: 'Giunto a la tomba, ov'al suo spirto vivo/ Dolorosa prigione il Ciel prescrisse;' la cui sentenza fu confirmata dal Tasso. Allor uno di coloro, così dolce di sale, che si recava a vergogna il tacere tutto che non sapesse di che favellare, scioccamente gli addimandò qual stimasse il più bello de' versi del Petrarca. A cui egli rispose con quello: 'Infinita è la schiera degli sciocchi.'"): Manso 1995, 263–264. It is perhaps indicative of Rosa's familiarity with this particular anecdote concerning Tasso that he cites this line from Petrarch elsewhere in his letters (see letter 271). On Rosa's interest in Tasso's writings, particularly the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, as a source of iconography for his own pictorial works, see Hoare 2018, 117 and 148. In a letter to Ricciardi of 18 March 1656 (letter 198), Rosa refers to "the affections of the local Armidas"—the sorceress who bewitches Rinaldo, one of the protagonists in Tasso's book—as a metaphor for his own misfortunes.

19. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 58, note 4, suggested this might be Rosa's painting of *Saint Peter* (Trinity College, Hartford), a pendant to another painting by Rosa representing *Saint Paul*

(Athens University, Georgia). These two paintings (for which see Salerno 1975, 86, cat. 18–19, and Naples 2008, 59–60), which depict half-length "portraits" of saints in the vein of Jusepe de Ribera's well-known representations of philosophers, have now been reidentified as portraits of Saint Andrew and Saint Simon, for which see Volpi 2014, 406–407, cat. 50 and 51. Rosa's use of the term "historietta," moreover, suggests that the painting of "Saint Peter" in question represents a narrative event or episode in the life of the saint, rather than a half-length portrait. Rosa treats narrative subjects from the life of Saint Peter in two known paintings: *Christ Saving Peter from the Waves* (*c.* 1662, San Felice, Florence) and *The Liberation of Saint Peter* (*c.* 1665, recently for sale on the art market) for which see Volpi 2014, 560 (cat. 269) and 568 (cat. 282), although both paintings date to the 1660s.

20. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

21. Bernardino della Penna (died 1665), brother of Ascanio della Penna, and a teacher of law: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 58, note 5. On Bernardino, see Paliaga 2009, 132–133, and Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 27 and 43, note 22 (with a bibliography of sources). Like his brother Ascanio, Bernardino was a noted collector and dealer of drawings. Rosa refers to Bernardino's death in letter 318.

22. This is presumed to be a reference to Jacopo Antonio Lupi, on whom see letter 48, note 27.

23. On Rosa's fourth satire, *La Guerra*, also known as "Autore e Timone," see letter 47, note 2. Rosa seems to have asked Ricciardi to supply him with a preamble for an upcoming recital of the satire (see letter 47).

24. A reference to the book by the Jesuit Daniello Bartoli, entitled *La povertà contenta descritta e dedicata a' ricchi non mai contenti* (Venice: Francesco Baba, 1650): Limentani 1950, 67, note 8. Rosa may have designed the frontispiece for the book, on which see further Hoare 2018, 163 and note 227. The "Huomo di lettere" is Bartoli's *Dell'huomo di lettere difeso ed emendato* (1645), in which the author recounts the experiences of his education. The Florentine edition of this book, published in 1645, was dedicated to Rosa by its publisher, Girolamo Signoretti, on the subject of which see letter 16, note 6. Bartoli was living in Rome in 1650. As Limentani points out, Rosa here takes advantage of the opportunity to proclaim his own Stoic interests. On Rosa and Bartoli, see further: Langdon 2004; Langdon 2008, 50; Conte 2010b, 62–63; Langdon 2012; Conte 2014, 149 and 319–324; Volpi 2014, XII, 81, 296–297, 300, 353 and 360; and Hoare 2018, 121, 142, 163, 293 and 298. Conte 2010a, 186, suggests that Bartoli's *Povertà Contenta* likely appealed to Rosa on account of his own interest in the subject of poverty, rather than attracting him for the overarching theme of "stoicism" that pervades the text, and may have supplied him with ideas for his paintings on the same theme. Rosa's acquisition of Bartoli's book at this particular moment in his career, as noted by Roworth 2010, 136, is also meaningful: the final years of Rosa's Florentine sojourn and the moment of his return to Rome presented Rosa with certain difficulties—financial, professional and personal. As Roworth notes, the city of Rome was itself suffering "adverse economic conditions, the Accademia di San Luca faced financial difficulties, and independent dealers were beginning to play a larger role in the art market. Though Rosa earned considerable money during his years in Florence (around 9000 *scudi*), by the time he arrived in Rome he had only 300 *scudi*, and by July he needed to borrow money from Giulio Maffei [see Baldinucci, 5:454 and 484–485; Passeri, 301; and letter 32, note 14]. Rosa had left some paintings behind to be sold by Cordini, but in Jan[uary] 1650 he complained that Cordini had sold his *Arion* for much less than he thought it was worth [see letter 48]." Bartoli's text, Roworth suggests, "must have brought him some consolation and reinforced his belief that a true artist's aim was not riches but to serve the more noble purpose of creating moral paintings. If he was destined to be poor, at least he could face his situation with Stoic equanimity."

Letter 52:

1. Rosa is apparently still waiting for the "Latin letter" or composition he had requested from Ricciardi in January and February. See letters 46, 47 (note 3), 48 and 51.

2. The phrase "vendere cara un'azione" means to pay for harshly, atone for, do penance for, or serve: Battaglia, 21:727.

3. It is not entirely clear as to whom Rosa is here referring. He appears to be citing from a literary source, perhaps the *Novella di frate Battenoce. Al gentile & virtuoso messer Francesco Maria Malchiavello nobilissimo vicentino Giovanni Battista Dragonzino da Fano*, attributed to the poet Giovanni Battista Dragoncino (1497–*c.* 1550?), published in Venice in 1525. On Dragoncino, who was born in Fano and active in the Veneto, see Milan, in *DBI* 41 (1992):659–661. Rosa's conspicuous use here of the spelling "penzzieri" (for "pensieri"), with the cluster "zz" in place of "s," is in keeping with the traditional vernacular used both in Fano (in the Marches) and Venice. The cluster "zz" is also, however, typical of the Neapolitan vernacular.

4. On Rosa's reputation for his high opinion of his poetic and acting talents, and the praise he also received in this regard from his contemporaries, see Hoare 2018, chapter three, esp. 170. Michelassi 2010, 142–143, considers Rosa's comment in the present letter as evidence of the artist's desire to no longer perform in theatrical comedies, after his Florentine experience: on this occasion, he had been asked to participate, but did not wish to do so, in part on account of his satirical streak. On the possibility that Rosa had a negative attitude toward certain of his theatrical activities in Florence, see letter 1, note 6.

5. Rosa had been invited to deliver a "reading" or recitation of his satire, *La Guerra*, by the Accademia degli Umoristi, for which see letter 47.

6. The "signori accademici" are members of the Accademia degli Umoristi. On Rosa and Antonio Abati, see letter 1, note 4.

7. This unidentified doctor is also mentioned in letters 46, 50 and 54. On Niccolò Simonelli, see letter 27, note 23.

8. The contents of the box could be works of art by Rosa, and Rosa might be taking pains here to reassure Ricciardi that they are gifts for him—an apparent point of contention between them. See also letters 49 and 50.

9. That is, to the Maffei family in Volterra. The Maffei, to judge from Rosa's words here, seem to have been away from the city at one of their countryside villa properties.

10. That is, presumably, in reference to the Maffei family's villa properties.

11. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

12. Jacopo Antonio Lupi, on whom see letter 48, note 27.

13. This must be a reference to the Medici. On Rosa's travels to the port city of Livorno with his Medici patrons in 1641, see Scott 1995, 30, who excerpts a number of letters exchanged between Leopoldo de' Medici and Gian Carlo de' Medici in March of that year, which make reference to Rosa and his

presence in Livorno. For excerpts from the letters, see also Fumagalli 2007, 46 and 127, note 86. A letter by Filippo Niccolini, dated 27 March 1641, written to Gian Carlo de' Medici (for which see Fumagalli 2007, 46), suggests that Rosa's visit to Livorno on this occasion in 1641 was made in order to execute, first-hand, drawings of the ships in the port, in preparation for the large seaport scenes he painted for Gian Carlo, on which see Hoare 2018, 246 and note 150.

14. This is probably a reference to one of the villa properties owned by the Maffei family: Monterufoli, Barbaiano or San Donnino. See also Rosa's use of the word "Parnassus" in letter 111.

Letter 53:

1. Rosa's comments here suggest further his frequent reliance upon Giulio Maffei's financial assistance, and are a clear example of Rosa's skilful use of the language of friendship in matters of utility: his sycophantic and ingratiating turns of phrase convey both a sincere affection and a self-serving desire to maintain the financially profitable aspects of his relationship with Giulio. Rosa's comments here could also be indicative of the matter that caused friction between himself, Ricciardi, and the Maffei, on which see letter 36, note 6, and letters 46 and 48.

2. Rosa's comment offers evidence that he was "dealing" in paintings by other artists. In this instance, he was apparently searching for paintings to decorate a "gallery" in one of the Maffei family's residences, probably the Palazzo Maffei in Volterra. In a letter to Giulio of 10 December 1651 (letter 113) Rosa expresses his pleasure at hearing that "the gallery is coming along very well" noting that he had "a certain something" for Giulio. On 24 December 1651 (letter 116), Rosa informed Giulio that he had found two paintings "for the room" ("per la sala") that were large in size and "not bad at all" ("non affatto mali"). In another letter of 30 March 1652 (letter 128), Rosa also mentions obtaining pictures from a "young boy" as a gift for Giulio (perhaps the same two pictures mentioned in letter 116), for the "main room in Volterra". On the collection of the Maffei family, and its dispersal, see Festa 1982.

3. The term "flemma" can mean both "sluggish," in a general sense, and "phlegmatic," in reference to the phlegmatic humour. See Battaglia, 6:65–66. "Signor Politico" is Rosa's nickname for Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

4. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

5. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

6. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

Letter 54:

1. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

2. A variation on Rosa's nickname for Marcantonio Maffei, "Signor Politico". See also letter 27, note 13. In his previous letters, Rosa had been urging Marcantonio to come and visit him in Rome. On the double meaning of the term "nasamone" see letter 44, note 1.

3. Rosa's comments are interesting for what they reveal about the cost of travel at this time. Here, as on many other occasions in the letters, Rosa expresses his desire to display financial generosity to friends. Rosa had earlier mentioned his offer of funds to Marcantonio ("Signor Politico") for this particular journey, in letter 46.

4. A *soldo* is an ancient coin dating back to the Carolingian era, when it was established as a monetary denomination worth a twentieth of a *lira*. With the growing value of silver, the *soldo* became a silver coin worth twelve *denari*. From the thirteenth century onward, in Florence, it was known as the *fiorino d'argento* (silver florin): Battaglia, 19:307. In the 1620s the gold *scudo* was valued at 7.5 *lire*, with 1 *lira* being worth 20 *soldi*. On the *soldo*, see also letter 4, note 4.

5. This "doctor" is also mentioned in letters 46, 50 and 52.

6. On Niccolò Simonelli, see letter 27, note 23.

7. Presumably a reference to Rosa's satire *La Musica*, on which see letter 4, note 7.

8. Rosa's wording could be taken to mean that he is himself esteemed a "connoisseur" among Ricciardi's acquaintances in Pisa (as interpreted here, and as intuited by Conte 2014, 263–270), or that Ricciardi is. Of the latter opinion, Paliaga 2009, 155, links Rosa's comment to Ricciardi's own apparent activity as a dealer of Rosa's paintings (as well as works made by his copyists), especially in Pisa. On Ricciardi's role as an art dealer, see also letter 85 (note 3), letter 91 (note 7), letter 160 (note 5), and letter 174 (note 1). For Rosa's own activities as a dealer and connoisseur, and his opinions about his authority in this regard, see also letter 7, note 4, and Hoare 2018, 255 and note 239.

9. The verb "smaccare" means, among other things, to hit hard, to provoke, or to show someone up: Battaglia, 19:131. The phrase "fare smacco" means to cause offence or wrong someone: Battaglia, 19:132.

10. On the river Adio, near Monterufoli, see letter 31, note 4.

11. Mattias de' Medici (1613–1667) and Leopoldo de' Medici (1617–1675), both sons of Duke Cosimo II de' Medici, and brothers of the Grand Duke Ferdinando II. Mattias took part in the Thirty Years' War and the War of Castro. Under Ferdinando II, he was the head of the Grand Ducal military. Mattias was also one of Rosa's principal patrons in Florence, on the subject of which see Hoare 2018, 70 and note 28. Leopoldo, who was made a cardinal in 1667, was a scholar and patron of the arts. Among the founders (together with Ferdinando II) of the Accademia del Cimento (1657–1667), Leopoldo collaborated in the administration of the state. The two princes held accommodation in the Villa Medici in Rome (now home to the French Academy), situated on the Trinità dei Monti, very close to where Rosa lived: Limentani 1984, 236, note 6. On Rosa's house on the Trinità dei Monti (on the Strada Felice), see letter 26, note 3. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 63, note 2, Rosa's reference here to the star that guided the biblical Magi was clearly intended with irony, since the painter was at that point not on very good terms with the Medici family. See letter 13, note 2.

12. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

13. Jacopo Antonio Lupi, on whom see letter 48, note 27.

14. There is a contradiction between the date Rosa gives at the end of the letter ("today the 2nd of April"), and the date reported in the first sentence ("yesterday, the 2nd of April"), the latter of which suggests the letter's date is in fact 3 April. For Rosa's own admission of his frequent error in recording dates, see letters 266 and 280.

15. This postscript by Giulio Maffei indicates that he had finally managed to make the journey to Rome, satisfying

Rosa's many previous entreaties. He signs himself as "Amico vero," however the brevity of Giulio's greeting to Ricciardi may somewhat substantiate the claims made elsewhere in Rosa's correspondence—wherein Rosa gives voice to Ricciardi's own complaints—that Giulio made little effort to keep alive their "triumvirate" (see letter 88) or to satiate Ricciardi's own desire for confirmation of their friendship. On this matter, see also letter 36, note 6.

Letter 55:

1. A "ferraiolo" is a circular cape: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 63, note 1.

2. As suggested by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 63, note 2, the "bassina" could be a play on words between the name for a type of courtly dance (the "bassa danza," which by this time, however, seems to have fallen out of favour) and the representation of the "basso" (the inferior levels of social hierarchy), a stylistic principle of some of Ricciardi's comedies.

3. By "both families" Rosa is probably referring to the family of Giulio Maffei and that of Giulio's mother Caterina, to both of whom Rosa frequently addressed his epistolary salutations.

4. This "Signor Alessandro Incontri" is probably a relative of Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri. A resident of Siena, Incontri was apparently helping Rosa with the delivery of a case containing books that Rosa had sent "by way of Rome, direct for Volterra". In letter 56, Rosa refers to another case that seems to have contained canvas cloth for Rosa to use for his paintings. On the matter of the case referred to in the present letter, and its delivery to Rosa, see also letters 58, 76 and 77.

5. Rosa's apparent concern to conceal the presence of certain books in the package he was waiting for suggests the possibility that they were either subject to an additional customs fee that he wanted to avoid paying, or that they were perhaps among the texts listed on the Index of Prohibited Books. In 1652, Rosa and his friends were attempting to get hold of a number of books on the Index, for Ricciardi: see letter 119 and letter 129, note 12.

6. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

7. The date is missing in the ms. The letter probably dates to the first half of May 1650, on the basis of Rosa's reference to having "arrived in Pisa" and his indication that Lucrezia was staying with Giulio's family. See also letter 56, in which Rosa also writes to Giulio from Pisa and sends his greetings to Lucrezia.

8. It has not been possible to further identify this "Bastiano," who is only mentioned on this one occasion in Rosa's extant correspondence. On the "piastra," a silver coin, see letter 48, note 12.

9. This is presumably a reference to the letter of invitation that Rosa had received from Ottavio Piccolomini, on which see letter 45, notes 4 and 5.

10. Lucrezia was apparently staying with Giulio's family at this moment.

11. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

Letter 56:

1. That is, "on my way back to Monterufoli".

2. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 64, note 1, it is possible that the performance, staged on 22 May (the Sunday following the date of the present letter), was organized by the Accademia degli Stravaganti. On the Stravaganti and its members, see: Maylender 1926–1930, 5:272–273; Paliaga 2009, esp. 141–176; Paliaga 2010; and Hoare 2018, 86–90.

3. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

4. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

5. Alessandro Incontri, on whom see letter 55 (and note 4), in which Rosa also mentions the package in question.

6. The term "franca," in the context of postage, means direct or express. It derives from the verb "francare" (or "affrancare," to stamp) and essentially means "postage paid": Battaglia, 6:282, esp. no. 3 ("francato") and no. 5 ("francare"). Letters or packages sent via this method can be delivered without incurring the recipient any expense for their transit (the recipient originally had to pay this fee), the sender having paid at the moment of postage.

7. Presumably canvas cloth for Rosa's paintings. Rosa was on his way to Monterufoli, where he seems to have remained for the next five months (see letters 57 through 79), and from where he made a series of requests for painting materials. We know that he painted the *Democritus in Meditation* (on which see letter 86, note 15) during this period at Monterufoli, as well as a now-lost altarpiece for a church in Pisa (perhaps the Pandolfini chapel in Santa Caterina, Pisa) (on which see letter 65, note 4), and Rosa's requests for materials at this moment were likely in connection with the production of these works. As noted by Volpi 2014, 245, Rosa also made at this moment various small paintings for his Tuscan friends, and some drawings of the Volterran landscape. It was also probably during this sojourn at Monterufoli that Rosa painted his *Poet-Philosopher* for Ricciardi, on which see Hoare 2018, 191 and note 105.

8. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

9. The word "paro" is an alternative spelling of "paio," a pair: Battaglia, 12:373.

10. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

11. On this Signor Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

12. Rosa here repeats a request made in letter 55, in regard to a package he was expecting from Rome.

Letter 57:

1. Rosa had travelled to Monterufoli, after first taking a trip to Pisa to see Ricciardi (see letters 55 and 56). Ricciardi seems to have gone with Rosa to Monterufoli on this occasion, as Rosa's words in the present letter suggest. See also letters 59, 60, 61, 64 and 65, in which Rosa sends Giulio Maffei greetings on Ricciardi's behalf.

2. The "ruota" is probably the wheel-grinding instrument operated by an "arrotino," or knife-grinder: Battaglia, 1:698.

3. There seems to have been snowfall in the region during the summer of 1650. See also in this regard letters 58, 59, 60, 66 and 67. Rosa here uses the phrase "mandare male," meaning to leave unused, to waste or to squander: Battaglia, 9:518.

4. This is perhaps the same priest to whom Rosa refers in letter 68. He could be the "padre Basina" mentioned in letter 69.

5. This is presumably a reference to Giovanni Battista da

Scorno (1622–1673), also called "Scornio," to whom Rosa frequently refers in his letters as the "Canonico da Scorno". He was a member of an ancient family from Pisa, and canon of "a certain church in Rome," according to Ademollo 1969, 139: Limentani 1950, 68, note 5. In a letter of May 1654 (letter 179), Rosa refers to Scorno as his "neighbour" and an "excellent gentleman". Scorno appears again in another letter of 1654 (letter 184) as the author of various satires. On Scorno, see also Baldinucci, 5:471–472, where he is mentioned by Francesco Baldovini in his account of Rosa's final illness. As further noted by Limentani 1950, Scorno seems to have enjoyed posing as a poet, and attracted a good deal of ridicule both for his literary compositions and for his pretensions, as is to be judged from the pointed remarks he elicited, reported by Ademollo. Rosa seems to refer to the mockery Scorno received in this regard in letter 248. Rosa constructed a pun on his name, "Scorno," in a letter to Ricciardi of 6 May 1668 (letter 365), writing the word in a larger script and playing upon the term's alternate meaning as "shame" or "disgrace." Paliaga 2009, 159–160, provides further details regarding Scorno's academic and artistic ties in Pisa: an admirer of Marcantonio Cesti's music, Scorno was also a member of both the Pisan Accademia degli Stravaganti and the Roman Accademia degli Umoristi. Scorno's father, Bartolomeo da Scorno, was a collaborator and intermediary of the prolific art collector Francesco Lanfreducci (on whom see letter 84, note 7): Paliaga 2009, 49. Scorno's brother Mariano owned a large art collection, as evidenced by Mariano's 1663 inventory, for which see Paliaga 2009, 49 and 222–224, Appendix XVII. On Scorno, see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 19 and 21, and Paliaga 2009, 49, 98 and 145.

6. A *testone* is a silver coin worth approximately a quarter of a ducat. See letter 27, note 9.

7. A *gratia* (also spelled *grazia* or *cratia*) is a Tuscan denomination of currency comprised of an alloy coin, weighing one gram, equivalent to 1 *soldo*, 8 *denari*, or 5 *quattrini*: Cesareo 1892, 2:47, note 1, and Hammond 1988, 70. See also Battaglia, 7:16 (under "grazia"), who notes its value as equivalent to approximately one Roman *baiocco*.

8. A "paraninfo," or paranymph, is an assistant or guide in religious ceremonies, particularly weddings (as in the case of the "master of ceremonies"); the term also refers to a marriage broker, or match-maker: Battaglia, 12:561. Libiano, or Libbiano, is a village in the Val di Cecina, near San Gimignano and not far from Volterra. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 66, note 3, note that the village's parish church of Santi Simone e Guida was annexed to the chapel of Sant'Andrea, belonging to the villa of Monterufoli. For this and other information about the villa and its surroundings, see Bertini 1972 and Marrucci 1999.

9. "Paternostri" are rosary beads ("Our Fathers"). Rosa's use here of the phrase "in maschera di" seems to mean "in the guise of" or "in the form of"; he uses the phrase in this (now disused) sense in letters 48 and 374. In the present letter, Rosa could also mean that the rosary beads are "made of cherry-wood," however the former option ("in the form of cherries") seems more likely. The rosary beads could also in this instance be made of cherry pits, which frequently feature as a material in their manufacture. The term "paternostri" is also used to refer to a type of pasta used in soup, taking the form of small cylinders that are either perforated, smooth or ridged: Battaglia, 12:818.

10. This "cavaliere Cavalcanti" is perhaps Andrea Cavalcanti (1610–1673), a Florentine poet, writer and art collector, known for writing a number of anti-clerical short stories. As noted by Conte 2008, 35, Rosa frequently seems to have used the appellation "Cavaliere" to stand for "Signore" (in that certain persons he sometimes identifies as "Cavaliere" do not necessarily possess a knighthood). Alternatively, notes Conte (35), the individual in question could be Francesco Cavalcanti, also a member of the Crusca, who can more securely be identified as bearing the title "Cavaliere": he is listed with this title in Rondinelli. Francesco, however, is mentioned nowhere else in the rest of the documents or correspondence pertaining to Rosa. Andrea Cavalcanti was a member of Rosa's Accademia dei Percossi and the Florentine Accademia della Crusca. Five of his *novelle* were published by the nineteenth century, including *Il vicario burlato* and *La carità dei frati*. Various tragedies are also attributed to him, such as *Il caso della Rosina*, written on the occasion of a courtesan's assassination in 1649, and *La morte della signora Caterina Canacci* who was murdered by her stepson in 1638. For these and other compositions by Cavalcanti, see Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 615, note 47. On Andrea Cavalcanti, see also Hoare 2018, 77. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 23, note 4, Leandro Ozzola transcribed from the Kempner manuscripts (Misc. Mss. B. 1. 2; Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Palazzo Venezia, Rome) the beginning and end of a Latin poem by Cavalcanti dedicated to Rosa: it begins "Salvatori Rosae Neapolitano Poetae Pictori," and closes "Andreas Cavalcantes interiturae amicitiae - teneram Minerva suadente ultro exibet." See: Ozzola 1908, 250; Conte 2008, 34–35; Conte 2010a, 194; and Volpi 2014, 204. The poem seems to treat conventional epideictic themes, praising Rosa for his talents as a painter and poet, lauding his virtues and "genio," and alluding to various ancient deities (Apollo, Aphrodite, Mercury, Minerva, Parthenope, Cytherea) and the personified cities of Rome and Florence. The subject of friendship, too, appears in the poem more than once. On this poem, see also Hoare 2018, 166 and note 249.

11. "Cantuccio" is a sweet type of Tuscan bread, made into loaves and cut into thin slices, usually toasted in the oven. It is made primarily of egg, oil and anise: Battaglia, 2:667.

12. With the words "pasta regale" Rosa probably intends "pastareale," which is, alternatively: a type of very light pasta, in the form of small balls, made for use in soup; a type of soft, tender dough or pasta prepared with flour, eggs and sugar; or a sweet almond paste, otherwise known as marzipan: Battaglia, 12:787.

13. Here Rosa seems to be constructing a humorous analogy between the swarms of people at his house and the masses who attend the audience of the pope in Rome in order to receive benedictions. For "zitella," meaning either a young unmarried woman or an elderly spinster, a term often used with pejorative or ironic connotations, see Battaglia, 21:1083.

14. A "telaio" is a wooden armature or stretcher, used to stretch the canvas being prepared for painting: Battaglia, 20:803. See also Baldinucci 1985, 162. On the use of stretchers in the seventeenth century, and their expense, see further Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 67–68.

15. The word "forma" is used to describe an entire round, or block, of cheese, as well as the receptacle ("forma," also called a "fascera") into which the milk is poured in order to form the block itself: Battaglia, 6:172.

16. The term "ostia" refers to a very thin layer of liquid paste in white, red, or another colour, cooked between two well-heated, polished metal plates similar to the tongs of a pair of pincers. The paste is cut with a mould or stamp, in small circular pieces. Bathed in water or saliva, each piece can be used to seal a letter or to attach pages together. The same implement employed in making the *ostia* is also used to make *cialdoni*, a type of cornet pastry filled with cream. See Carena 1846–1860, 232. The

word "ostia" (traditionally used in reference to the holy wafer) was used in reference to the sealing-stamp on account of its similarly small, flat, round shape.

17. Rosa is likely here referring to Colle Val d'Elsa, frequently abbreviated as "Colle". See for instance Arcangeli 1960, 110, for a discussion of "Colle" (Colle Val d'Elsa) in connection with the Ricciardi family. Colle Val d'Elsa lies on the route toward Poggibonsi (not far from the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe, perhaps the intended ultimate destination of the letter to which Rosa here refers) and Florence.

18. With the phrase "[l]e toppe, che vi sia toppata" Rosa seems to be playing upon two alternative meanings of the term "toppa," as either a lock (the keyhole portion of a lock into which a key is inserted) or a patch used for mending and healing wounds. For both, see the *Vocabolario della Crusca* and Battaglia, 21:31.

19. The identities of the "portrait" and the "doctor" to whom Rosa here refers are not known. Rosa refers to a "signor Ciccio from the portrait" in another letter to Giulio Maffei (letter 71), however he is identified there as "signor" and not "dottor". Rosa's use of the term "dottora" in the present letter, moreover, suggests he is referring—mockingly—to a woman, or perhaps to the wife of a doctor (to whom the term "dottora" could also refer). From the context, it appears that she could also be a cook. The "pigs' feet," moreover, could also be interpreted as a humorous reference to the "dottora's" own feet.

20. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

21. On this Signor Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

Letter 58:

1. Written at the top of the page in the ms., this note—in which Rosa asks Giulio Maffei to pick up a few things in Florence before returning to Monterufoli—was probably an afterthought. In his transcription of the letter, Cesareo 1892 includes the line at the end of the letter.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. On Rosa's frequent mockery of the size of Giulio Maffei's nose, see letter 34, note 13.

4. "Vermicelli" are a type of pasta, similar to spaghetti but thicker in diameter: Battaglia, 21:784.

5. On this Alessandro Incontri, probably a relative of Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, see letter 55, note 4.

6. The expression "franca per," derived from the verb "francare" (or "affrancare") (to stamp), essentially means "postage paid". See letter 56, note 6.

7. This is presumably a reference to Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

8. "Tagliolini" are a fine or thin, ribbon-like type of pasta, also referred to as "taglierini".

9. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 67, note 1, interpreted the term "condotta" as "appalto," or a form of contract. It seems more likely, however, that Rosa is here using the term, as he does in the previous line, in reference to the form of transportation or courier service being employed.

10. Ludovico Serenai, a member of the Accademia dei Percossi, who was, according to Baldinucci, 5:460, "very learned in matters of astronomy" ("il dottore Lodovico Serenai, studiosissimo di materie d'Astronomia"). According to Baldinucci, Serenai owned the portrait of Rosa painted by their mutual friend, the Florentine painter and poet Lorenzo Lippi (1606–1664/1665), and was present on the occasion of its spontaneous creation: various friends having gathered one day in his studio in Florence, Lippi was suddenly inspired to paint a portrait of Rosa, which he completed in only a few hours, "tanto bello e somigliante, che poi ne furono fatte assai copie": Baldinucci, 5:460. On this anecdote, see further Hoare 2018, 99 (note 216) and 294. Serenai's close friendship with Rosa is clear from the artist's own letters (see also letters 60 and 67) as well as from the correspondence between Serenai and Giulio Maffei concerning the final testament of their mutual friend Evangelista Torricelli: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Gal. 131, *Discepoli di Galileo Tomo XXI, Torricelli Evangelista, Volume 1, Vita e Documenti. Notizie raccolte da Gio. Batta Nelli per servire alla vita del Torricelli*, 50–51, and Ms. Gal. 132, 154–159.

11. There has been some confusion over the identity of this "signor Baldassarre," in part because of the variation in the way in which he is identified throughout Rosa's correspondence, and perhaps on account of the suggestion that he was involved in the retouching of copies executed after Rosa's paintings (for which see letter 86). This "Baldassarre" also appears in letters 60, 61, 62, 67, 70, 71, 73, 86, 108, 163, 165, 169, 172 and 374. He has been alternatively identified as the well-known painter from Volterra, Baldassarre Franceschini (1611–1690) (popularly known as "Il Volterrano"), who worked in Volterra, Florence and Rome, or as an unknown painter who went by the name "Baldassarre". Rosa's letters to Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi alike frequently make general reference to a certain "signor Baldassarre" as well as more specific references to "signor Baldassarre da Volterra, pittore" (letter 163) and "signor Baldassarre pittore volterrano" (letter 374), which are clearly references to Franceschini. It is not entirely certain, but seems highly plausible, that in every instance Rosa is in fact referring to Franceschini. In letters to Giulio Maffei, who lived in Volterra, he appears only as "signor Baldassarre". This makes sense, as Giulio knew Franceschini personally; his second cousin Raffaello Maffei was one of Franceschini's principal patrons in Volterra, and there are nineteen extant letters written by Franceschini between 1641 and 1675 to Raffaello Maffei and his son Francesco: see Pescetti 1936, for the letters and their important evidence of paintings—including still lifes—executed for members of the Maffei family. (On Franceschini's ties to various members of the Maffei family, in Volterra and in Rome, see Hoare 2018, 99 and 268.) In these letters, Franceschini does not mention Rosa, nor does he refer to conducting retouchings specifically, but does indicate on a number of occasions his practice of making copies after other artists' work. Ricciardi also knew Franceschini personally (as Rosa indicates in letter 163), and he likely owned a number of works by the painter: see Paliaga 2009, 91. Additional evidence for Franceschini's close relationship with Ricciardi is offered by Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 28, who notes in particular the occasion of Ricciardi's provision of epigraphs or devices to accompany a fresco (now lost), executed by one of Franceschini's students, Pier Maria Baldi, representing the *Allegoria della Quiete che riposa tra le braccia del Padre Eterno* (*Allegory of Silence Resting in the Arms of the Eternal Father*), at the palace of Vincenzo Giraldi on the Via Ginori, Florence; the commission (part of a larger decorative project entrusted to Franceschini) and Ricciardi's verses are both discussed by Baldinucci, 5:170–171. Rosa also mentions Franceschini by name in a letter to Giulio Maffei (letter 165). De Rinaldis 1939, 215, note 5, proposed that Rosa's reference to "Signor Baldassarre, the painter from Volterra" (in letter 374) concerned an "unknown painter," however here, too, Rosa seems quite clearly to be referring to Franceschini.

It is moreover unlikely that Rosa would refer to an assistant or unknown painter with the prefix "Signor," or include him in a list—as Rosa frequently does—of friends to whom he sends affectionate salutations. A further indication of the identity of this "Baldassarre" as Franceschini comes in letter 62, where Rosa mentions him in connection with helping to source better quality supplies for painting, and where he appears alongside Francesco Cordini, the connoisseur and art dealer who knew Franceschini personally, and for whom the artist executed a number of paintings (see letter 21, note 2). Uberto Limentani (in Limentani 1950, 71, note 4, and Limentani 1972, 262, note 8) identified this "signor Baldassarre" as Franceschini. Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 29, also supports the proposition that the "Baldassarre" we first encounter in the present letter is one and the same with the artist responsible for the "retouchings" of Rosa's paintings (letter 86), and that he is to be identified as Franceschini. In one letter to Ricciardi (letter 70), Rosa mentioned his particular esteem for the paintings of "signor Baldassarre," referring to him as being "in the company of our Signor Cordini," two conditions that further suggest he be identified as Franceschini. Conte 2014, 238 (who appears to confuse letter 58 with letter 59), also considered the present "Baldassarre," and those that follow, to be Franceschini. Volpi 2014, 218, suggested that Rosa perhaps met Franceschini via Antonio Malatesti, who owned a villa in Apparita, located in the environs of Volterra and not far from Monterufoli. On Franceschini, who may also have first met Rosa in Florence, see *Il Seicento fiorentino. Biografie*, 188–193. See also: Campbell 1995; Fabbri 1996; Spinelli 1999; Thiem 2007; Monbeig-Goguel 2009; Grassi 2011; Fabbri, Grassi and Spinelli 2013; Grassi 2014; Spinelli 2014; Spinelli 2015; and Hoare 2018, 268–269. The possibility that Franceschini collaborated with Rosa himself is also suggested by a reference to a painting in the 1783 inventory of Marchese Donato Guadagni—a "Testa del giovane che legge" described as bearing a head painted by Rosa and a hand painted by Franceschini: Getty Provenance Index, Inventory of 1 June 1783, Archivio di Stato, Florence, Ms. Pupilli (Principato), 2707 (Inventari, 1789–1793), n. 66, 4 item 54. Baldinucci makes no mention of Franceschini "retouching" painted copies, but does record that in 1683 the artist "restored" some paintings for Ferdinando de' Medici in his villa at Pratolino: Baldinucci, 5:189.

12. The meaning of Rosa's construction here is unclear. Perhaps he means to imply that the rain outside is so heavy that it even seems to be raining indoors. On the apparent snowfall in the summer of this year, see also letter 57.

13. Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, who lived in Florence with two of her unmarried daughters, Lorenza and Catera.

Letter 59:

1. On the apparent snowfall in the summer of this year, see letter 57, note 3.

2. A "boccia" is a glass or crystal vase, usually with a long straight neck, traditionally used for water, wine or perfume: Battaglia, 2:282. It is not entirely clear from Rosa's phrasing as to who—Rosa or Giulio—is sending the bottle. The latter option seems more likely, in view of Rosa's frequent requests for supplies, as in the later part of the present letter.

3. The "Consulta" is the judicial and administrative court of the Papal State: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 68, note 1. The "sacra consulta" is the old ecclesiastical ministry, established in 1588 and dissolved in 1870, devoted to interpretative and judicial functions in civil, criminal and other legal matters: Battaglia, 3:618.

4. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

5. This "signor Buonaiuti" is perhaps a relative of the "dottor Buonaiuti" mentioned in letter 13. He may be one and the same as the "Don Buonaiuti" mentioned in letter 234.

6. Cinnabar, or crystallized mercury sulphide, is reddish-brown in colour and has been used in its pure form since antiquity in the manufacture of pigments for painting, especially bright red or vermilion: Battaglia, 3:148. See also Eastaugh et al. 2007, 105–106. See further Hoare 2018, 91, for the painter Giovanni Navarretti's comments concerning Rosa's 1646 lesson on Ribera's painting technique, in which he mentions the use of cinnabar. Rosa requested pigments and other supplies for painting from Giulio (and from Ricciardi) on a number of occasions during his time at Monterufoli, for which see also letters 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 73, 74 and 76. On the role played by pigments in the cost of paintings and the prices paid for them, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 65–66, who notes (citing Scott 1995, 87) Rosa's interesting comment in his satire *La Pittura*, vv. 616–618 (Romei 1995, 113), concerning the habit of certain duplicitous painters who attempt to trick the viewer into thinking that smalt—a cheap substitute—is ultramarine.

7. The verb "pettinare" means, literally, to fix or arrange one's hair; the term also has various figurative meanings, including to amend or purify from sin (Battaglia, 13:210), which could also perhaps be intended in Rosa's usage, in keeping with the frequent double entendres he directs at his friends.

8. A *quattrino* was a monetary denomination in use throughout Italy, equivalent in value to four *denari*: Battaglia, 15:101. Hammond 1988, 70, describes the Florentine *quattrino* as a copper coin weighing 0.75 grams, equivalent to 4 *denari*. For the relationship of the *quattrino* to other denominations, see letter 4, note 4.

9. *Terra gialla*, or ochre (yellow ochre), is one of a number of mineral substances comprised of varying quantities of oxide and iron hydroxide, which in the case of the yellow variety consists of limonite (yellow ochre) and is used as a natural pigment in the preparation of yellow and brown oil paint: Battaglia, 6:761, and 11:801–802. Verdigris, or copper green, is a relatively transparent green pigment produced by applying acetic acid (or vinegar) to copper plates. The term also refers to the natural patina created over time when copper, brass or bronze is exposed to air and seawater. On verdigris (or "verderame") as an artist's pigment, see: Cennini, 87 (chapter LVI); Thompson 1956, 163–169; Harley 1970, 73–75; Kühn, in Roy 1993, 131–158; and Eastaugh et al. 2007, 283–284. See also Battaglia, 21:767.

Letter 60:

1. On Rosa's participation in the more common practice of artists painting figures within the works of other artists, as for example in the case of paintings by Giovanni Ghisolfi, see Hoare 2018, 268 (and note 366) and 271 (and note 393). On Rosa's collaborative activities as a painter, more generally, see also Hoare 2018, 265–272.

2. See Rosa's requests in letter 59.

3. A "vaccaro" (or "vaccaio") is a cowherd or cowhand; the term can also refer to the farm or ranch where cows are raised: Battaglia, 21:612–613. Lodovico, Marcantonio and Antonio Maffei are probably here referred to as "cowherds" because

of the farming activities undertaken at their family's various countryside estates: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 69, note 1. For Rosa's mockery of the Maffei and their farming activities, see also letters 32, 71 and 143.

4. This could be a reference to the Val di Cecina, an area of Tuscany named for the river Cecina and that incorporates Volterra and the locations of villa properties owned by the Maffei family (see also letter 40, note 1), or it could refer to the town of Cecina itself, located on the coast to the southwest of Volterra.

5. On the dowries that Rosa was trying to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, Lorenza and Catera, see letter 48, note 18.

6. On the snowfall that seems to have taken place in the summer of this year, see letter 57, note 3.

7. Rosa here intends the verb "abbattarsi" in the reflexive sense of "imbattersi," meaning to come across, to meet, to run into; or "scoprire per caso," to discover by chance: Battaglia, 1:19 (no. 7).

8. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21. Rosa's comment suggests that Cesti was back in Florence. On Cesti's movements and activities in 1650, see Testaverde 2003.

9. Although he was a Franciscan friar, Marcantonio Cesti had a relationship with a singer, Anna Maria Sardelli (active from 1642), otherwise known as "la Campaspe" because of her performance of that role in 1651. Cesti was censured by the superior general of his monastic order for his alleged affair with Sardelli: Schmidt 2003, 82, who notes further (82, note 12) that Sardelli performed in productions of Cesti's "Il Cesare amante" (Venice, 1652) and "Alessandro vincitor di se stesso" (Florence, 1654). In letter 320, Rosa seems to allude to Sardelli's death. On Cesti, see letter 27, note 21. On Sardelli, see further Mamone 2003b, part 5, who outlines a fascinating moment in Sardelli's career during which a series of negotiations over her employ took place between the Medici family in Florence, the Abbate [Vittorio] Grimani in Venice, and Sardelli's Bolognese protector, the Marchese Francesco Guicciardini, a situation that was complicated by Sardelli's decision (in 1649) to become a nun. Mamone notes the particular praise given to Sardelli for her beauty as much as her singing voice. On the generally negative perception of female singers in seventeenth-century Rome, see McPhee 2012, 51, who discusses the documentary evidence in support of the contemporaneous notion that "[s]ingers, it seems, by definition had lives that were *rilassata et impudica* ('undisciplined and immodest') […]. Because of their constant exposure to men of all conditions and social strata, women who are singers, innkeepers, vendors of *arte bianca* (pastry, vegetables, oil, soap, utensils, glass containers), and makers of collars or *acquavite* are automatically presumed to live dishonest lives." On Sardelli, see also Besutti, in Sadie 1992, 178, and Besutti 2010, 153. On the more complex question of the nature of Cesti's sexuality, see letter 69, note 4. Cesti's paradoxical predilections, as a friar and layman, caused Rosa a certain consternation, as his comments in letters 69, 70, 231, 299 and 301 suggest.

10. Rosa's meaning here with the phrase "dà canzone a canzonette" is not entirely clear. "Dare canzone" can mean to be all talk and no action (*Vocabolario della Crusca*), or to say things that don't correspond to the truth or to lie in order to mock someone (Battaglia, 2:670). On the distinction between the term "canzone" and the more diminutive, or even pejorative, "canzonette" (simple, popular songs), see Battaglia, 2:669–671. Rosa's reference to "canzonette" may be intended to allude in particular to Anna Maria Sardelli's performance as Campaspe, on which see note 9, above.

11. *Terra d'ombra*, or umber earth, is a brown or reddish-brown pigment used to achieve dark, sombre or brown tones in painting: Battaglia, 11:913. Baldinucci in his *Vocabolario Toscano dell'arte del disegno*, 167, defines it as: "un color naturale capellino scuro, che serve per dipingere, e per metter nelle mestiche, e imprimiture delle tele e tavole. Questo però è stimato da' più pratici Pittori un color maligno; a tanto in sé del diseccante, che nello mestiche non fa buon lavoro, e nell'a olio, per altre sue triste qualità, fa variare i coloriti; onde a ingannato molti, che l'anno usato nelle lor tele, anche uomini di gran valore nel colorire" ("a natural, dark brown colour, which serves for painting and for use as a primer or base layer for canvases and panels. It is, however, considered by the most experienced painters to be a problematic colour; too dry in itself, it does a poor job as a primer, and in oil, on account of its certain dismal qualities, it can alter other colours; so it has deceived many who have used it on their canvases, even the most talented colourists.")

12. On the value of the *quattrino*, see letter 59, note 8.

13. This "signor Baldassarre" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of this "signor Baldassarre," see letter 58, note 11.

14. Ludovico Serenai, on whom see letter 58, note 10.

15. Evidence for Ricciardi's presence at Monterufoli at this moment also comes from a letter he wrote from Monterufoli to Francesco Lanfreducci in Pisa, dated 4 July 1650, thanking Lanfreducci—also on behalf of Rosa—for sending gifts of cheese and meats to them at the villa, and noting that "over here, we study, paint and talk, and when the basket with your gifts arrived, we pronounced a long encomium on your most illustrious Lordship throughout these woods." ("Qui si studia, si dipinge, si discorre et a punto quando arrivò il cestino che portava il suo presente, avevamo fatto un lungo encomio di V.S.Ill.ma per questi boschi.") For the letter, see Paliaga 2009, 221, Appendix XV.1.

Letter 61:

1. See Rosa's earlier requests for these items in letters 59 and 60. The doll was perhaps a gift for Rosalvo.

2. "Tagliatellini" are a type of pasta. Rosa had earlier asked Giulio to send a similar pasta ("tagliolini") in letter 58.

3. This is presumably a reference to Alessandro Incontri, on whom see letter 55, note 4.

4. A *libbra*, or pound, is a measure of weight: Battaglia, 8:1037. In both Rome and Florence the *libbra* was equivalent to 339.5 grams: Hammond 1988, 82. The term "fiasco" was also used to refer to a measure of weight, however Rosa appears to be using it here in reference to the receptacle or container itself.

5. The term "grosso" could refer to a "large quantity," or, more likely in this instance, to the silver coin known as a *grosso*, minted in Italy from the medieval period onward, with varying weights and values according to its region of origin. It was originally worth twelve *denari*, corresponding to one *soldo*, and later came to be valued at four or six *soldi*: Battaglia, 7:73.

6. The term *indigo bagattino* must be a reference to what was known, from the medieval period onward, as "Baghdad" indigo or Gulf indigo, a type of indigo pigment imported from the east. See Thompson 1956, 135. See also Schweppe, in West FitzHugh 1997, 82, who notes that "[f]rom 1228, indigo

from Baghdad listed in the Marseille tariffs was called 'indigo bagadel', and in his book on dyeing, Rosetti (1528) called Indian indigo 'endego de Bagdad'." (Schweppe is here referring to Gioanventura Rosetti's *Plictho de l'arte de tentori*, considered the first Italian book to treat the subject of professional dyeing.) See also Merrifield 1967, 1:272–275, who notes the use of the terms "bagadellus" and "bagadellum" in reference to indigo by the fifteenth-century licentiate Jehan Le Begue. Cennino Cennini also makes reference to Baghdad indigo, which he calls "indacho bacchadeo": Cennini, 88 (chapter LXI). The term "bagattino" can also refer to a type of coin, worth one twelfth of a *soldo* (or *denaro*): Battaglia, 1:942. Here, however, Rosa seems to use the term "bagattino" as an adjective in reference to the indigo itself, and not to its cost or weight, which is instead indicated by the term "grosso".

7. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

8. This "signor Baldassare" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

9. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

Letter 62:

1. The term "terra verde" refers to a group of iron-based mineral pigments known as "green earths" that are dull, transparent, and soapy in texture, comparable to clay. These pigments vary in colour, ranging from blue-grey to a darker brown-olive. As they are not highly pigmented or intense in colour, they were often used for the underpainting of flesh tones, particularly in tempera painting. On *terra verde*, see Thompson 1956, 162–163, and Grissom, in Feller 1986, 1:141–167. See also Battaglia, 20:950.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. *Giallo santo* is the name given to a yellow pigment, produced from the yellow lakes made from unripened buckthorn (Rhamnus) berries. Popular in the fifteenth century as "giallo santo," or "holy yellow," these pigments were increasingly in demand well into the eighteenth century: Thompson 1956, 187. See also Battaglia, 6:762. See further Hoare 2018, 91, for the painter Giovanni Navarretti's comments concerning Rosa's 1646 lesson on Ribera's painting technique, in which he mentions the use of "giallo santo".

4. With the multivalent word "chiaro," Rosa could here intend either "clear, transparent and weak in quality or consistency," or "pale and pallid in density of pigmentation," or perhaps a combination of both. See Battaglia, 3:54–55. The former of the two possibilities (transparent in consistency) seems more likely, as Baldinucci in his *Vocabolario Toscano dell'arte del disegno*, 33, defines "chiaro" as "puro, limpido, contrario di torbido" ("clear and transparent, rather than muddy"). Rosa was apparently still unhappy about the supplies Giulio Maffei had sent him, as his comments in a letter of 24 July 1650 (letter 64) suggest. Rosa relates further that he is so busy with work that he has only appeared for the past thirty days "at lunch and supper". In a letter of 1 August 1650 (letter 65), Rosa thanks Giulio for sending the supplies he required.

5. This "signor Baldassarre" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

Letter 63:

1. It has not been possible to further identify this "Cicco Toti," probably a labourer working in the service of the Maffei family. The word "cicco" is Tuscan dialect (particularly in the region of Lucca and Versilia) for "piccolo," or little: Battaglia, 3:122.

2. It has not been possible to further identify this "Pietro Antonio," presumably a farm-hand or labourer working in the service of the Maffei family.

3. Presumably a mill owned by a family with this name.

4. Giulio Maffei's brother, Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

5. The identity of the individual in question is not clear. He appears to be identifiable with a third person (the "son" or "brother") who is not here referred to by name.

6. The identity of this "son" or "brother" is unknown.

7. Rosa's comments are interesting in view of his philosophical aversion toward servitude. On this subject, see Hoare 2018, 25 and 232–238.

8. The implication of Rosa's comment here is that Giulio had earlier been informed about the event by another source.

Letter 64:

1. See Rosa's comments in this regard in letter 62. On Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2.

2. On the yellow pigment *giallo santo*, see letter 62, note 3.

3. On the group of pigments known as *terra verde*, see letter 62, note 1.

4. On the pigment indigo, see letter 61, note 6.

5. See Rosa's earlier request for this oil in letters 61 and 62.

6. This is perhaps an allusion to the matter that Rosa recounts in detail in letter 63.

Letter 65:

1. The identity of this "Verginio," who is also mentioned in letter 74, is not known, nor is the reason for the "quarantine" imposed upon him. The term "quarantena" could here be intended as part of a particular expression. He seems to have been a friend of, or someone working in the service of, the Maffei family, and was apparently assisting with the delivery of painting supplies to Rosa. On the matter of the oil Rosa had requested, see also letters 61, 62 and 64.

2. The term "fattora" can refer alternatively to a female servant, maid or attendant, or to the wife of the "fattore," the administrator (or chief labourer) of a farm, or, in the case of a household, a "maggiordomo" (a house-steward or butler). See Battaglia, 5:735. Rosa's use of the term here ("la fattora") suggests she is probably the primary female servant at Monterufoli. Rosa also refers to Lucrezia and Rosalvo, in jest, as "signora Fattoressa e Fattorino" in letter 69.

3. Presumably, Rosa is here referring to a cooking utensil, a perforated ladle or scoop usually made of wood or metal: Battaglia, 10:235.

4. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 73, note 1, this is perhaps the painting, now lost, that Rosa executed for Pietro

Pandolfini for "his chapel in Santa Caterina, Pisa, which was darkened in the fire" ("sua Cappella in Santa Caterina di Pisa che rimase abbuiato nell'incendio"), as recorded by Francesco Maffei in a letter to Filippo Baldinucci (for which see Festa 1982, 112). See also the comments of Paliaga 2009, 158. On Pandolfini, see letter 84, note 8. Paliaga 2009, 157–158 and 221, Appendix XV.1, links this painting to one mentioned in the correspondence between Ricciardi and Francesco Lanfreducci: in a letter of 4 July 1650, Ricciardi informed Lanfreducci from Monterufoli that he would be bringing to Pisa Rosa's "quadro de SS.ri Pandolfini"—that is the painting for the brothers Giovanni Battista and Pietro Pandolfini. On Francesco Lanfreducci, see letter 84, note 7. As noted by Paliaga 2009, 158, it is not possible to verify whether the painting decorated the altar that the Pandolfini family held in the church, since a painting by another artist—a *Saint Hyacinth the Confessor*, attributed to Niccodemo Ferrucci—is recorded as being on the altar in a document from around 1643. After the fire of 1650, which destroyed the church and its paintings, Pandolfini provided for the creation of a new altar (*c.* 1655) with a new altarpiece depicting the *Virgin and Child appearing to Saint Hyacinth* by an unknown artist (now located in the bishop's seminary, or Sala Leone) and that bears no evidence of Rosa's hand. As Paliaga further points out (174, note 132), it is interesting to note that Rosa treated the theme of Saint Hyacinth ("San Giacinto") in a painting owned by Ricciardi, which is recorded in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory and is perhaps the painting mentioned by Rosa in letters 46 and 51. In regard to Pandolfini, see also Rosa's comments concerning a commission he received from Pandolfini for a small canvas, in letter 91.

5. The word "Tore" is presumably an abbreviation for "Salvatore," as in the earlier instance of Rosa's conflation of his and Ricciardi's names with the word "tittatoria" (see letter 1, note 2).

6. Lupin flour has been used in baking since antiquity. On the history of lupin domestication and cultivation, see Kurlovich 2002.

Letter 66:

1. Rosa had earlier used the term "Nasamono" in mockery of Giulio Maffei (and his large nose), likening him to the "Nasamones," the polygamous shepherd inhabitants of Libya. See letter 44, note 1. Ricciardi has apparently left Monterufoli (where he was still present at the start of August; see letter 65) to spend time in Florence.

2. A reference to the famous Mercato Vecchio in Florence. On Rosa's particular love of figs, see Hoare 2018, 113 and 289. A "popone" is a type of melon. See also Rosa's reference to the "zatta" (cantaloupe) and figs in letter 67.

3. The word "annevate" is an adjectival form of the verb "annevare," a Neapolitanism for "ghiacciare," or frozen. See Andreoli 1887, 48, and Rocco 1882, 115. The word "nevato," in the Tuscan dialect, means snow-covered. See also Rosa's use of the term "annevate" in letter 380. There seems to have been snowfall in the region in the summer of this year, as Rosa also indicates in his previous letters (beginning with letter 57). In letter 59, Rosa mentions that the "snow is gone". However, in letter 67 he seems to imply that it has returned (or is at least present in Florence).

4. This seems to be a reference to Marcantonio Cesti and the scandal of his involvement with Anna Maria Sardelli (on which see letter 60, note 9). Rosa's use of the phrase "Santissimo Bastone" is probably derived from a line in his own satire on music, *La Musica*, vv. 328–330 (Romei 1995, 60): "Benedette le donne de' Ciconi,/ Che fero al canto d'Orfeo la battuta/ co i cromatici lor santi bastoni!" ("Blessed are the women of the Cicones,/ who deliver a blow to Orpheus's song/ with the chromatics of their holy batons!"). The ancient Thracian tribe of the Cicones, who feature in Homer's *Odyssey* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, were ruled by Orpheus, the legendary king and musician. Rosa's reference here is to the violent death of Orpheus at the hands of the Ciconian women who, as Ovid recounts in Book XI of the *Metamorphoses*, retaliated against their king for his decision to take only male lovers by throwing sticks and stones at him as he played his music, which was so beautiful that even the rocks and branches that they threw refused to hit him; angered at this, the women then tore Orpheus to pieces. Rosa cites a different passage from the same satire in a subsequent letter to Ricciardi (letter 69), in connection with Cesti and his professional transgressions with Sardelli, whom Rosa also mocked in letter 60. Figuratively, the term "bastone" can also mean hard-headedness, obstinacy or toughness (Battaglia, 2:103), a quality that Rosa frequently ascribed to Ricciardi and that he may well also have intended here in reference to Cesti. The combination here of the terms "boccie" and "bastone" may also allude to the game of bocce, or bocce ball: the term "boccia" can refer to the balls used in the game or the bowling green, the "campo da bocce" (for which see Battaglia, 2:282), while the term "bastone," a stick or bat, can refer to the mallet used in the game of bocce (a "bastone da bocce"). The term "bastone" also refers to another popular game, apparently of Sicilian origin, deriving from exercises for martial combat with sticks. The coincidence here of "balls" and "sticks" additionally suggests the possibly of a crude sexual metaphor, also further developed by Rosa in reference to Cesti in letter 69, the "frozen balls" in the present letter perhaps an allusion to Cesti's attempt at abstinence. On Cesti, see letter 27, note 21.

5. That is, Ricciardi.

6. With the phrase "fare razza" Rosa intends "fare razzia," or "razziare," meaning to plunder, pillage, raid, steal or clean out: Battaglia, 15:591.

7. A "gallina d'India" or "gallina indiana" is a turkey hen, as noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 74, note 1. See Battaglia, 6:557.

8. This must be the same "signora Antonia di Monterufoli," probably a woman in the employ of the Maffei family at Monterufoli, to whom Rosa also refers in letters 88 and 100.

Letter 67:

1. De Rinaldis 1939, 15, note 3, considered the painting that Rosa mentions here, and at the end of the letter, to be the altarpiece (of an unknown subject) executed for Pietro Pandolfini, to which Rosa appears to refer at an earlier moment in letter 65. However, in that letter Rosa indicates that he has already finished this painting, and it could well be that he is in the present letter referring to a different work. We know that Rosa produced other paintings at Monterufoli, including the *Democritus in Meditation*, the *Self-Portrait as an Artist*, and the *Poet-Philosopher*, for which see letter 86 (note 15), letter 110 (note 2), and Hoare 2018, chapter four. Rosa also mentions a painting he is restoring for Ricciardi, in letter 70, however this seems a less likely candidate.

2. A "vento marino" or "brezza marina" (both frequently abbreviated as simply "marino") is a sea breeze: Battaglia, 9:809.

3. There seems to have been snowfall in the summer of this year. See letter 57.

4. A "zatta" is a variety of melon, now commonly called a cantaloupe: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 75, note 1. See Battaglia, 21:1060. Rosa also refers to "poponi," or melons, in letter 66.

5. Rosa's love of figs is apparent throughout his letters. See also letters 66, 279, 284 and 400. Baldinucci, 5:502, claimed rather amusingly that Rosa "refused the invitations of many crowned heads who extended extraordinary offers of hospitality […] for the sole reason that figs were not to be found in those places" ("rifusò gl'inviti di più teste coronate, da cui vennero offerti non ordinarj trattamenti […] per questo solamente, perché in essi non si trovavano i fichi").

6. Rosa wrote a letter to Giulio Maffei on the same day, 14 August 1650 (see letter 66), in which he urges Giulio to give Ricciardi any financial assistance he might need. Rosa here seems to use the term "provveditore" in humorous reference to Giulio's role as the "administrator" or "overseer" of the group of friends and their activities. On the meaning of the term "provveditore," see letter 7, note 2.

7. "Monsignor Minestra" and "signor Broda" appear to be humorous nicknames for a mutual acquaintance of Ricciardi and Rosa. Limentani 1972, 262, note 12, considered "Monsignor Minestra" (who is also mentioned in letter 70, as "Papa Minestra") to be a friend belonging to the circle of the Maffei family. He could be the priest Giuseppe Compagno, the object of Rosa's mockery in letter 136, and in the company of whom Rosa sent affectionate greetings to Ricciardi, toasting him "with a minestrone". Rosa's nicknames also bring to mind the comparable epithet—"Monsignor Insalata"—that the painter Caravaggio purportedly gave to his frugal Roman host, Monsignor Pandolfo Pucci of Recanati, as recorded by Giulio Mancini in his *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (see Mancini, 1:224), written between 1617 and 1621 and unpublished until the twentieth century, the content of which Rosa was nonetheless very likely familiar with. On Pucci, whose nickname may signal his involvement in the so-called *Madonna dell'Insalata*, attributed to Caravaggio, see Hess 1967, 1:230, note 2.

8. A reference to the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin, which takes place on 15 August, the day after the present letter was written. On the tradition of the placement of pilgrimage ex-votos in the Chiostro dei Voti of the church of Santissima Annunziata in Florence, a practice conducted in supplication of a miraculous thirteenth-century painting of the Virgin, see: Borea 1965; Casalini 1987; Warburg 1999, 204–208; and Connell 2005, 70–71.

9. *Nero d'osso* is "bone black," or bone charcoal (also known as "animal black" or "ivory black"), a carbon-based black pigment made from animal bone or horn. On this pigment, see Winter and West FitzHugh, in Berrie 2007, 2 and 21, and Battaglia, 12:234–235. Although this pigment was in common use among early modern painters, it is interesting to note the comments of Giovanni Navarretti concerning the lesson Rosa gave to a group of his Pisan friends in the winter of 1646, on Ribera's painting technique, in which "bone black" features prominently, along with cinnabar and "giallo santo," both mentioned by Rosa in letters 59, 62 and 64. For Navarretti's comments on this lesson, see Hoare 2018, 91.

10. Rosa frequently shared with Ricciardi his drawings and even the copper plates he engraved for prints. See also letters 117, 119, 259, 260, 297 and 299.

11. On Rosa's painting of *Pan and Syrinx* see letter 48, note 13. The "business" to which Rosa here refers is perhaps connected to the events he relates to Ricciardi in letter 86. On Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2.

12. This is presumably a reference to the Maffei family, and in particular Marcantonio Maffei, whom Rosa nicknamed "signor Politico". See letter 27, note 13.

13. Cosimo Brunetti (*c.* 1628/1630–after 1678), a lawyer, poet and man of letters, probably originally from Siena, whom Rosa met through Ricciardi, before 1650. As noted by Limentani 1950, 68, note 4, Brunetti practised law in Rome, where he maintained a close rapport with Rosa. See letter 119, written partly in Brunetti's own hand, and letter 93, written entirely in Brunetti's hand on Rosa's behalf. Brunetti commented on his own state of affairs in a letter to Ricciardi of 1651, on which see letter 84, note 3. Brunetti later left the law profession to travel throughout Europe, perhaps following the papal nuncio (the permanent diplomatic representative of the papacy sent to Catholic countries and papal states within Italy) in whose service he had sought to obtain an appointment in 1652. See also on this matter letters 120 and 122; Rosa's comment in letter 122, dated 17 February 1652, regarding Brunetti's desire to go to Spain in particular, suggests that the nuncio in question may have been Giulio Rospigliosi (1600–1669), the future Pope Clement IX, who was papal nuncio to Spain from 1644 to 1653. In another letter, of 17 August 1652 (letter 144), Rosa refers to the "nuncio-elect" to Spain, Giovan Francesco Caetani, who may alternatively be the nuncio with whom Brunetti was seeking employment. Brunetti planned to make the trip "by means of the aid of the solicitor of Cardinal Sacchetti," that is, the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni, and (presumably) Cardinal Giulio Cesare Sacchetti, on whom see letter 34, note 1. In 1657, Brunetti worked in the service of Celio Piccolomini (1609–1681), the papal nuncio to France (between 1656 and 1663), however the two fell out that same year over the papal condemnation of the Jansenists. As noted by Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 53, Brunetti was the same age as Ricciardi, ten years younger than Rosa, and seems to have had a gentle and kind character, a little caught up in a narcissistic preoccupation with his own youthful appearance, continually searching for mentors and masters, a search that took him far afield, to England, France and Poland, and that put him in contact with extraordinary people all over Europe and new intellectual trends. Brunetti's ambitions in this regard are clear from a letter he wrote to Leopoldo de' Medici, dated 22 August 1659, in which he admitted that his primary desire on these journeys was to meet "persone celebri" in all manner of scientific study, especially those concerned with mathematics. For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 90, doc. 26. In 1653, Brunetti moved to Holland and then onward to London and Paris, where he came in contact with the Jansenist community of Port Royal. Brunetti's international experience and contact with the French Jansenists encouraged him to attempt an impossible mediation between the followers of Antoine Arnauld (one of the leaders of the Jansenist group at Port Royal) and the Roman Catholic Church. Brunetti translated Blaise Pascal's *Lettres provinciales* in 1659 (the translation was published in 1684), but he was never prosecuted by the censors, in part because he always lived abroad—at least from 1656—save for the occasional return to Rome or Florence, notice of which is given by Rosa in his own letters: Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 53. For Rosa's notices in this regard, see letters 306, 354, 369 and 374. As noted by Volpi 2005, "until 1656, the majority of [Brunetti's] energies were expended in pleading the cause of Antoine Arnauld with the intransigent Pope Alexander VII in hopes of obtaining a reconciliation between the papacy and the Jansenists. […] The

outcome resulted in the condemnation of Port Royal by the pope, following which Brunetti, deluded, moved definitively to Paris [in 1656]." The letters exchanged between Brunetti and Ricciardi cover the years of Brunetti's relocation to and sojourn in Rome, between 1650 and 1656, years in which Brunetti searched for a position through the offices of his Pisan friend, finding one in the end, thanks to Rosa, who directed him to the consistorial lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni (1592–1657) (on whom see letter 84, note 4): Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 54. For the letters from Brunetti to Ricciardi, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 90–114; those concerning his interaction with Marcantonio Eugeni are docs. 31, 33, 34 and 35. It was also Rosa who introduced Brunetti to the principal Roman prelates, and in particular the Florentines Francesco Nerli (1594–1670) and Giulio Cesare Sacchetti (1587–1663). Rosa frequently supported Brunetti's progress in Rome—a support that is also evident from Brunetti's letters to Ricciardi dating to these years. Volpi notes that Brunetti's and Rosa's familiarity with the Florentine families of the Nerli and Sacchetti must have lasted throughout their Roman years, if in 1669 Filippo Nerli (papal custodian and scholar in the circle of the Chigi) commissioned Rosa to paint an altarpiece for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, thereby providing the painter with the public and religious commission he had desired all his life. The absence of Rosa's paintings in the Sacchetti collections is therefore surprising, considering Rosa's expression of friendship and esteem toward Cardinal Giulio Cesare Sacchetti (as is clear from a letter written by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi, dated 14 September 1652, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 112). Brunetti and Rosa often met each other while taking walks in the Piazza Navona in Rome (see letters 108, 128 and 162), and the two dined together at Rosa's house (letter 297); Brunetti also reports on Rosa's habit of taking a walk "almost every morning" from the Trinità dei Monti to the Aracoeli, together with other Roman *letterati*: see Brunetti's letter to Ricciardi of 1 April 1651, transcribed in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 99–100, doc. 100. Rosa's and Brunetti's friendship is attested by the affectionate greetings that Brunetti sent to Rosa in a letter to Ricciardi of 18 November 1650: "Al Sig.r Rosa mi farete grazia singolare ricordar la mia devozione, col quale non dubito che la vostra cortesia sia per passar seco ogni caldo uffizio con pregarlo della sua amorevolissima protezione in ogni mia occorrenza in Roma di che vi supplico istantemente se però m'è lecito usar queste parole senz'offendere la vostra gentilezza." See Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 91–92, doc. 30. Rosa's final mention of Brunetti's presence in Rome appears in a letter of March 1653 (letter 169). Limentani 1984, 240, note 7, notes that Brunetti returned to Rome in 1655 in order to advocate his Jansenist cause to the pope, whom he had known since he was a cardinal; after failing to achieve his goal, with the papal condemnation of the Jansenists, Brunetti returned abroad probably on 13 October 1656. Brunetti was in Paris in 1657 (letter 213) and in England in 1662 (letter 266), and then went to Madrid and to Poland (letter 374), where he may have been when he died. Rosa reported the rumour of Brunetti's death "in the […] of Marseille" in a letter to Ricciardi of 9 December 1656 (letter 210), however the report was refuted the following March (see letter 213). Brunetti must have returned to Italy for a period between 1663 (letter 302) and 1667 (letter 354). In 1668, Rosa reported that Brunetti was "to set sail toward Spain" (letter 369). On Brunetti, see further: Hermant 1905–1910, 2 (1905):719–721; Pignatelli, in *DBI* 14 (1972):572–573; and Limentani 1978.

14. Ludovico Serenai, the astronomer and man of letters, on whom see letter 58, note 10.

15. This "signor Baldassare" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

16. The word "oflier" is probably intended for "offrire," to offer or show. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 75, note 3, suggest that this is a humorous reference to Niccolò Lisci, who in 1633 had married Luisa Maffei. De Rinaldis 1939, 15, note 1, had earlier proposed Ascanio Lisci as the person in question; he is mentioned by Rosa in a letter to Giulio Maffei of 20 April 1653 (letter 171) as having "gone to Paradise". For Rosa's reference to another member of the Lisci family, see letter 38.

17. Giulio's brother Giovanni Maffei, frequently referred to by Rosa as "arcidiacono".

18. On this painting see note 1, above.

19. Volunnio Bandinelli, on whom see letter 48, note 24.

Letter 68:

1. That is, presumably, letter 67.

2. Rosa here uses the term "legnini," referring to wood in the diminutive sense, as in "small wooden" combs.

3. Lucrezia Paolini's mother, Francesca Paolini, who lived in Florence and was still alive in January 1667 (see letter 348).

4. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

5. Lodovico Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. Monteverdi is a municipality located about 80 km southwest of Florence and 60 km southeast of Pisa, between the Val di Cornia and the Val di Cecina. It is also known as Monteverdi Marittimo.

7. This is perhaps the "padre Basina" to whom Rosa refers in letter 69. He could also be the priest referred to in letter 57.

8. The feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin takes place on 15 August.

9. Rosa referred to the incident again in a letter to Ricciardi of 24 August 1650 (letter 70), in which he mentions Rosalvo's wounded finger, and inserts in the same line a small sketch of the wounded fingertip.

10. Lionora must be a woman in the service of the Maffei family at Monterufoli. She is later identified by Rosa as the "old woman" at Monterufoli, to whom both he and Lucrezia frequently send their salutations, together with an "old man" who appears to be Lionora's husband. See letters 83, 100, 105 and 107.

11. A "cece" is a chickpea: Battaglia, 2:936–937.

Letter 69:

1. Rosa here uses the term "deca" to refer to a third "decade," or a third group of "ten books". On the term "deca," see Battaglia, 4:64.

2. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 76, note 1, proposed that this was an adage or probable invention by Rosa: "Calepino" was the popular name of the first Latin dictionary, the *Dictionarium latinum*, written by Ambrogio da Calepio (who was, not incidentally, an Augustinian monk) and printed in Reggio Emilia in 1502, by Dyonisii Bertochi. The term *calepino*, however, can also refer more generally to a large volume or big tome, and in colloquial

usage can mean a pundit or know-it-all (see Battaglia, 2:541), the former of which appears to be the meaning that Rosa likely intends here. Rosa seems to be referring to a "big volume," constructing a pun on a fictive book of "great sayings" by the sage-like Saint Augustine. Rosa's reference to Maecenas and sleep seems to be intended as a tautology in demonstration of his previous assertion about the water and wine: that is, "things are just the way they are". On Maecenas's purported insomnia, see Pliny, *Natural History* 7:51.

3. This "padre Basina" could be the same priest to whom Rosa refers in letters 57 and 68.

4. Rosa here cites a variation on a verse from his satire *La Musica*, vv. 137–138 (Romei 1995, 54): "in veder divenir questi arroganti/ calamita del legno e del rasoio". In regard to the "Cromatica Cantata a B. duro," Borrelli and Festa 2003, 76–77, note 2, considered that Rosa intended the apparent abbreviation "B." for the term "bischero," an old synonym for the small bridge that stretches the strings of musical instruments into an arc. In the Tuscan dialect, the word can also mean stupid, inane, foolish, or, in vulgar terms, the male member (see Battaglia, 2:249–250), and Rosa's use of the word in the present context could intend an allusion to Marcantonio Cesti's amorous propensities and the problems they presented for his position as a friar. De Rinaldis 1939, 12, considered that Rosa was here making a "clear reference to the erotic inclinations of the friar-musician [Cesti]" and his "Cromatica Cantata" with a playful conversion of the "B molle" (or "soft B," the "flat" symbol in musical notation that lowers a note by a half step) into "B duro," recalling a stanza from Rosa's satire *La Musica*, vv. 328–330 (Romei 1995, 60): "Benedette le donne de' Ciconi,/ Che fero al canto d'Orfeo la battuta/ co i cromatici lor santi bastoni!" ("Blessed are the women of the Cicones,/ who deliver a blow to Orpheus's song/ with the chromatics of their holy batons!"). Rosa makes a similar reference in letter 66, apparently also in connection with Cesti and his affair with the singer Anna Maria Sardelli. Besutti 2010, 154—noting the frequent error of modern editors of Rosa's letters in regard to identifying and acknowledging the musical compositions referred to therein, neglecting in the process a "musicalogical reading of the documents"—mentions in this regard the present letter and the "cantata in b duro," which she interprets as having a double resonance in reference to musical tonality, in this instance in regard to a song ("cantata") by Cesti. Daolmi 1992, 111–113, considers that Rosa's meaning here is not immediately apparent and rather more complex in nature. Daolmi makes a number of observations about Rosa's comments here, and in the letters that follow, which are worthy of consideration: the "Cromatica Cantata a B. duro" is not, Daolmi argues, a composition by Cesti, but a reference to the "unpleasant situation" in which Cesti found himself at this moment—not only in regard to the matter concerning Anna Maria Sardelli, but also in connection with his apparent involvement as a singer in certain performances then being staged in Lucca, an activity inappropriate to Cesti's profession as priest. It seems, however, as Daolmi notes further, that Cesti had transgressed more than just the requirements of his religious life, as Rosa declares that Cesti "wants to demonstrate that he's neither friar *nor layman*". Daolmi proposes that an explanation lies in Rosa's citation of the lines from his satire *La Musica* (also repeated at the beginning of letter 70), vv. 136–138 (Romei 1995, 54): "da le risa talor quasi mi muovo/ in veder divenir questi arroganti/ calamita del legno e del rasoio," a passage that itself requires further explanation. Refuting one scholar's suggestion that these lines inferred that Cesti was a castrato, Daolmi points out that this was not in fact true in Cesti's case. Daolmi also dispenses with the theory that the "legno e rasoio" refer to the instruments of flagellation and tonsure, perhaps administered to ecclesiastical sodomites, for which there is no documented evidence. Daolmi focuses instead on Rosa's intimation of Cesti's sexual inclinations. The lines from Rosa's satire (as explained in letter 66, note 4) refer to the episode from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* concerning the death of Orpheus at the hands of the Ciconian women, or Maenads, whose punishment hinges upon Orpheus's decision to take male—rather than female—lovers, after the death of his wife Eurydice. Comments in Rosa's successive letters, Daolmi argues further, affirm that Cesti was homosexual (a proposal that Daolmi supports with additional circumstantial evidence offered by the events and details of Cesti's career and his circle of patrons, which included for example Prince Mattias de' Medici, himself both celibate and a non-ecclesiastic): in letter 301, Rosa mentions to Ricciardi the "sin" that Cesti has committed, as "a musician and a friar," and later in the same letter asserts to Ricciardi that "our souls are neither those of Cesti nor Cordini, or people like them". Cordini may also have been homosexual, on the matter of which see Volpi 2010b, 71, note 65. See also letter 301, note 2. Testaverde 2003, 71, proposed alternatively that Rosa's comment concerning Cesti in the present letter alluded to the performance of *Il Giasone*, a composition by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini that Cesti had set to music, and that seems to have been marked by some "unfortunate vocal incident". On Cesti, see letter 27, note 21.

5. The epithets "signora Fattoressa" and "Fattorino" seem to be humorous references to Lucrezia and Rosalvo as "labourers" on the farm at Monterufoli. For "fattore" and "fattoresso" as terms that refer to agricultural labourers, see Battaglia, 5:735–736.

6. A reference to Ricciardi. Rosa had earlier, in letter 66, asked Giulio to offer Ricciardi money.

Letter 70:

1. Rosa here cites a variant of a line from his satire *La Musica*, as in letter 69.

2. An allusion to Marcantonio Cesti, and in particular to his amorous propensities and his grey-coloured habit as a Franciscan friar. Rosa makes a similar allusion to Cesti in a letter of the same date addressed to Giulio Maffei (letter 69). On the matter concerning Cesti, see letter 69, note 4. On Cesti, see also letter 27, note 21.

3. See Fig. **11**.

4. This must refer to an ailment from which Ricciardi was suffering, to which Rosa also alludes in letter 57.

5. "Aquavite" was a term applied to a number of different types of liquid medicinal treatments, most commonly a concentrated solution of ethanol. It also referred to alcoholic beverages used as medicinal aids. See also letter 1, note 3.

6. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5. Rosa had earlier asked Giulio to offer financial assistance to Ricciardi in letters 66 and 69.

7. The term "intavernato" is presumably analogous to "tavernare," a verb no longer in use, meaning to frequent taverns: Battaglia, 20:769.

8. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

9. This "signor Baldassarre" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11. Limentani 1972, 262, note 8, also identifies this "signor Baldassarre" as Baldassarre Franceschini.

10. Rosa frequently mocked Giulio and other members of the Maffei family for the size of their noses. See letter 34, note 13.

11. Lodovico Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

12. Rosa had earlier expressed his desire for the fruits on sale at the market in Florence, in letters 66 and 67.

13. As proposed by Limentani 1972, 262, note 11, this is probably a painting that Ricciardi had given to Rosa, as he frequently did, to be retouched. On Rosa and his practice of retouching paintings by other artists, see Hoare 2018, 269–272.

14. "Papa Minestra" is likely a nickname for a mutual friend, perhaps belonging to the circle of the Maffei family. See also letter 67, where he is referred to as "Monsignor Minestra". He could be the priest Giuseppe Compagno (see letter 136, note 15).

15. For the term "rognire" (also spelled "rugnire"), to mumble or grumble, and "rugnare" (or "rognare"), to whine, moan or mumble, see Battaglia, 17:229. For "rogne" as troubles, bothers, hassles or headaches, see Battaglia, 17:29–30. For "rogna" as scabies, see also letter 90, note 6.

16. Rosa's nickname for Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

17. The Val di Cecina, near Monterufoli.

18. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

19. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

20. Cosimo Fabretti, who seems to have acted as Ricciardi's secretary during bouts of illness that affected Ricciardi's eyesight (see for example letters 117, 119, 126, 139 and 141). Fabretti later married Ricciardi's sister, Caterina, in 1658 (see letter 219). In a letter to Ricciardi of 1651, Cosimo Brunetti reported Rosa's significant admiration for Fabretti and his "buona natura": Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 92, doc. 31.

21. This is presumably a reference to Pier (also Piero, or Pietro) Salvetti (1609–1652), a writer and musician and a member of the Accademia dei Percossi in Florence. See Baldinucci, 5:463. Baldinucci (451) described Salvetti as "renowned for the liveliness of his genius and his knowledge, particularly for his poetical compositions" ("rinomato per la vivezza di suo ingegno, e letteratura, non meno che pe ' poetici componimenti"). Salvetti was "a dwarf-like and ugly man who compensated with a sparkling wit and a torrent of epigrams and jokes, and wrote a sharp and bitter satire": Langdon 2010b, 24. He also ventured into the study of science and mathematics, and belonged to the Florentine Accademia degli Svogliati. He is likely the same Pier Salvetti discussed in Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 343–345, as a Florentine epigrammist and poet, known for his compositions in the style of "poesia giocosa," or playful, comic poetry. Salvetti wrote a sonnet on the occasion of Francesco Rovai's death, entitled "Per il sepolcro del sig. Francesco Rovai poeta eccellentissimo" (Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, ms. 2796, c. 318r). On Salvetti's participation in the theatrical and encomiastic culture of Rosa's academic friends, see: Aglietti 1904; Ponsiglione 2006; Conte 2010a, 184; Conte 2010b, 59; and Hoare 2018, 84, 118, and 172. On Salvetti, see also Baldinucci, 5:451–452 and 463, and Getto 2000, 152–164.

22. Rosa is here constructing a pun on the string of rhyming surnames, ending with the word "Righetti," meaning "lines".

Letter 71:

1. Rosa's nickname for Giulio Maffei, on which see letter 4, note 12. Rosa appears to still be at Monterufoli at this point, as he mentions in the present letter the visit of his friend "Signor Perissi" in order to attend a wedding in "Libiano" (Libbiano), a village near San Gimignano and not far from Volterra. See also letter 57. An additional clue is provided by Rosa's reference to the "fattoria" (or farm), which is likely an allusion to Monterufoli. In letter 73 (dated 3 October 1650), Rosa also indicates that he is still at Monterufoli.

2. On this "Signor Perissi," a mutual acquaintance of Rosa and Giulio Maffei, see letter 36, note 3.

3. Libbiano is a village near San Gimignano and not far from Volterra. See also letter 57, note 8.

4. The "principe" is Prince Camillo Francesco Maria Pamphilj (1622–1666), the cardinal nephew of Pope Innocent X. He abandoned the purple in 1647 in order to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini (1623–1681), princess of Rossano, who—as noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 79, note 1—participated in a conflict between the Roman aristocracy and Camillo's mother, Olimpia Maidalchini (1591–1657). The repairing of relations between Camillo and his mother, to which Rosa here refers, may have been in connection with her disapproval of Camillo's renunciation of his post or, more specifically, with events surrounding her promotion and subsequent defence of Camillo's replacement as cardinal nephew, Francesco Maidalchini (Olimpia Maidalchini's nephew), whom she had attempted to influence during his tenure at the papal court, but who was deemed incompetent and was removed from his post in September 1650, around the date of Rosa's letter.

5. Olimpia Maidalchini (1591–1657), whose second marriage had been to Pamphilio Pamphilj (the father of Prince Camillo, on whom see note 4, above). Maidalchini actively contributed toward the election of her brother-in-law Giovanni Battista to the papacy, as Pope Innocent X: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 79, note 2.

6. Giovanni Battista Pamphilj (1574–1655), elected in 1644 as Pope Innocent X: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 79, note 3.

7. On Niccolò Simonelli, see letter 27, note 23. The circumstances of his particular predicament in this instance are not known. At the time of the present letter, Simonelli was employed in the service of Cardinal (later Prince) Camillo Pamphilj, having obtained from the start of November 1644 a salaried position as *aiutante di camera*, and then in April 1645 that of *guardaroba*: Capitelli 2004, 385. As *guardaroba*, Simonelli was also responsible for curating Camillo's art collection: Albl 2014, 82.

8. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

9. Rosa's use of the name "Mercurio" is perhaps intended as a pun on the surname of Don Girolamo Mercuri (that is, in reference to "mercury" as changeable, and, by extension, to Mercuri's possibly "mercurial" nature), to judge from Rosa's similar reference to his friend in letter 161: "Mercurio, cioè don Girolamo". On Girolamo Mercuri, see letter 23, note 2.

10. The identity of this "signor Ciccio," together with that of the portrait itself, is not entirely clear. A possible candidate is the "Cicco Toti" mentioned in letter 63. The term "ciccio" means chubby, or, figuratively, darling. The name cannot be a reference to Giovan Battista Ricciardi (as a variation on his surname), as the "signor Ciccio" in question was clearly present at Monterufoli at this moment, and Ricciardi was not (as Rosa indicates here). He could be the doctor referred to in letter

57, of whom Rosa said he wanted to make a portrait, however Rosa's use of the term "dottora" in that instance suggests he might be referring to a woman.

11. The term "animo" is more accurately interpreted as "heart" or "mind," however "spirit" is the more common conceit in English. On the topos of bodily proximity in letter writing, see Hoare 2018, 153–154.

12. Ricciardi indicated his movements at this moment in time, writing in a letter to Francesco Lanfreducci from Pisa, dated 7 September 1650: "Il Sig.r Rosa alla mia partenza di là mi commette che io prostrassi a V.S.Ill.ma che egli desidera i suoi comandi per un certo contrasegno che ella l'avessi alla mia servitù. Haverei però ardire di venir costà per vederla, ma il sapere che non è sola mi ha ritenuto. Goda felicemente coteste delizie della campagna, mentre io pochi giorni me ne starò qui carcerato e solo. Credo di partir lunedi per Volterra, l'avviso a V.S. Ill.ma accioche ella sappia ove deve trasmettermi i suoi comandi, e di cuore le rendo pregandoli felicità e così." For the letter see, Paliaga 2009, 221, Appendix XV.2. Rosa seems to be reporting Ricciardi's return to Monterufoli in letter 72.

13. These are perhaps the same "old women" of Libbiano to whom Rosa also refers in letter 57.

14. This "signor Baldassarre" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

15. Ludovico Serenai, on whom see letter 58, note 10.

16. In another letter to Giulio Maffei of 24 August 1650 (letter 69), Rosa jokingly referred to Lucrezia and Rosalvo as "signora Fattoressa e Fattorino," probably intending to mock the farming activities undertaken at the Maffei family's villas (on which see also Rosa's comment in letter 32), including the villa of Monterufoli, where Rosa and his family were staying at the time.

17. Vermicelli are a type of pasta. See letter 58, note 4.

Letter 72:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 80, note 1, the Maffei family held the contract to the saltworks of Volterra. See also letter 7, note 2.

2. This is presumably a reference to Marcantonio Maffei, with whom Rosa was annoyed because he had not deigned to come pay him a visit. On Marcantonio, see letter 27, note 13.

3. Vermicelli are a type of pasta. See also Rosa's request in letter 71.

4. Rosa is probably still at Monterufoli at this point in time. In letter 73 (dated 3 October 1650), Rosa indicates that he is still at Monterufoli. Hence, Rosa is presumably here reporting on Ricciardi's return to Monterufoli. See also letter 71.

Letter 73:

1. The identity of this particular painting is not known. It is perhaps the same "large canvas" to which Rosa refers in letter 74, which he ruined by varnishing with cooking oil. It has not been possible to identify with certainty the specific painting to which Rosa here refers, however we know that he was at work on a number of paintings at Monterufoli at this date, including the "painting for Pisa" referred to in letter 65 (and perhaps letter 67), the *Self-Portrait as an Artist* (on which see letter 110, note 2), the *Poet-Philosopher* (on which see Hoare 2018, chapter four), and the large *Democritus in Meditation*, on which see letter 86, note 15.

2. The term "biacca" refers to the basic lead carbon used in white pigment for painting as well as in varnishes, in paint used for wall painting, and in the preparation of cosmetic pigments and certain medicinal concoctions: Battaglia, 2:202. On lead white, see further Thompson 1956, 90–94, and Gettens, Kühn and Chase, in Roy 1993, 67–81. On *biacca* in the context of medicinal treatments, see letter 93.

3. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

4. On the value of the coin known as a *soldo*, see letter 4 (note 4) and letter 54 (note 4).

5. The phrase "a rivederci" is used here in the sense of postponement, or to signify that nothing more can be done regarding the matter at hand: Battaglia, 16:1030.

6. A "braccio" is a unit of measurement that varied in length throughout Italy, according to region. In seventeenth-century Rome, the *braccio romano* was approximately equal to 26.38 inches (or 67 cm): Wohl 2005, 441. On the *braccio*, see also Battaglia, 2:345–346.

7. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

8. The word "trutto" derives from the verb "trottare," meaning to trot, hurry, or rush about: Battaglia, 21:413. Rosa may have intended a pun here in reference to the farming activities undertaken at Monterufoli, as in letter 143. Rosa reported on Ricciardi's return to Monterufoli in letter 72.

9. Ludovico Serenai, on whom see letter 58, note 10.

10. This "signor Baldassarre" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

11. This is probably a nickname based upon the name of the Florentine priest Arlotto Mainardi (Arlotto il Pievano, also known as "il Piovano"), who was famous for his book of pranks and jokes. Rosa mentions his work ("le facezie dell'Arlotto") in letter 160. Arlotto was also the subject of a painting by Rosa's friend, Baldassarre Franceschini, *The Practical Joke of the Parish Priest Arlotto* (*c.* 1643–1644, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence), on which see Hoare 2018, 269 and note 377. It is not entirely clear as to whom Rosa is here applying the epithet. He could be referring to himself, which would make sense as "signor Piovano" is here sending greetings along with Lucrezia and Rosalvo.

12. The expression "fare una riverenza" means to bow or genuflect: Battaglia, 16:1048.

13. The term "procaccio" usually refers to a courier, messenger or postal carrier, or to the place where letters are delivered and retrieved (the post office): Battaglia, 14:427–428. Rosa seems to be using the term in this instance, colloquially, to refer to the "package" itself, in the sense of "a lot" of greetings.

Letter 74:

1. The verb "cochiumare" means to stop up or plug a barrel with a bung ("turacciolo"); in this instance the term is analogous, in the figurative sense, to "gabbare," to play a trick on or

deceive someone: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 82, note 1, citing the *Vocabolario della Crusca*. For "gabbare," see Battaglia, 6:516.

2. On walnut oil as a popular binder for pigments and as a varnish used in early modern painting practice, see Thompson 1956, 67, and Harley 1970, 20, 46, 64, 127, 143 and 149. The identity of this "Verginio" is not known; he is also mentioned in letter 65. For Rosa's earlier requests for the oil, see letters 61, 64 and 65. In addition to the painting supplies that Rosa requested from Giulio Maffei in the present letter, and in preceding letters, Rosa elsewhere (letters 75 and 76) asked Giulio to supply him with paper ("carta"). The "large canvas" to which Rosa here refers is difficult to identify with certainty, although we know that he was working on a number of paintings during this stay at Monterufoli, including the "painting for Pisa" referred to in letter 65 (and perhaps letter 67), and the large *Democritus in Meditation* on which see letter 86, note 15.

3. The "grove" to which Rosa here refers must be some favourite spot in the woods surrounding Monterufoli. It is tempting to link it with numerous drawings by the artist, which depict isolated pairs of figures who sit or stroll in the idyllic countryside (see for example Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 21.1, 21.14, 35.1 and 35.2) and that also bring to mind Baldinucci's account of Rosa's time spent in the Volterran countryside (on this particular occasion, in reference to the Maffei family's property at Barbaiano): "It was [Rosa's] wish, however, to keep up his usual custom of spending a single hour of the morning in the small wood: returning later to the villa, until it was time to dine, he attended to reading and the study of good books" ("Volle egli però che fosse suo costume ordinario il consumare un'ora sola della mattina al boschetto: tornatosene poi alla villa fino all'ora del desinare attendeva alla lettura e allo studio de' buoni libri"): Baldinucci, 5:461. Rosa's comment also recalls the drawing he executed on the verso of a letter attributed to Ricciardi, addressed to Ascanio della Penna, for which see Appendix 3, letter C, and Hoare 2018, 121–123.

4. A *gratia* (also spelled *grazia* or *cratia*) is a Tuscan denomination of currency comprised of an alloy coin, weighing one gram, equivalent to 1 *soldo*, 8 *denari*, or 5 *quattrini*: Cesareo 1892, 2:47, note 1, and Hammond 1988, 70. See also Battaglia, 7:16 (under "grazia"), who notes its value as equivalent to approximately one Roman *baiocco*.

5. The word "tetrargilio" is presumed to stand for "litargilio" (or "litargirio"), litharge, an oxide of tetragonal lead used in the production of painting pigments in order to obtain a red colour: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 82, note 3. See also Battaglia, 9:150, and West FitzHugh, in Feller 1986, 1:121–122, who notes that "in fifteenth-century Germany, lead metal was the starting material in a two-stage process [for producing red pigment] in which litharge [or mineral litharge, tetragonal lead] was the intermediate product."

6. *Verde rame* (or *verderame*), also known as verdigris, is copper green, on which see letter 59, note 9.

7. A *giulio* is a silver coin, also known as a "paolo". See letter 31, note 10.

8. The "piego" is the folded cover-page of the letter, or "envelope". See letter 320, note 3.

9. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

10. The box from Cordini presumably contained the painting materials that Rosa had earlier requested from him. See letter 73.

11. The word "apposta" means deliberately, precisely, specifically, exactly; or suitable, appointed, set aside: Battaglia, 1:580.

Letter 75:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. The word in the ms. is "Ten'te". This could stand for "Tenente" (as Cesareo 1892 transcribed it), meaning Lieutenant. The term "tenente," however, in an older usage also means tenant or leaseholder (see Battaglia, 20:871), which could be Rosa's intended meaning here, particularly as he identifies this "Piero" by his first name rather than his surname. It has not been possible to further identify this individual.

3. Lodovico Maffei, on whom see letter 320, note 3.

4. This is presumably a tab or tally that Rosa was keeping of the costs Giulio incurred in carrying out these favours, and that Rosa was (or felt) obliged to pay back. See also letter 79.

5. Rosa also mentions this paper in letter 76.

6. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

Letter 76:

1. See Rosa's comments in letter 75.

2. This is probably Ottaviano Incontri, a mutual friend of Rosa and the Maffei family, also mentioned in letters 12 and 19.

3. It has not been possible to further identify this "Simone da Cascina," who is either a mutual friend of Rosa and the Maffei family, or someone who worked in Giulio Maffei's service. He is also mentioned in letters 77, 78 and 255.

4. On the value of the *giulio*, see letter 31, note 10.

5. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

6. See also letter 75, in which Rosa also requests writing paper from Giulio Maffei.

7. Rosa reports at greater length on Lucrezia's illness in letter 77.

8. On this probable relative of Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, see letter 55, note 4. He seems to have helped Rosa on numerous occasions with the receipt of parcels.

9. Presumably a reference to the Medici court, as in letter 52.

Letter 77:

1. Forcoli is a village in the Val d'Era, near the town of Palaia, in the province of Pisa.

2. This "Simone" was a friend of, or someone working in the service of, Giulio Maffei. See letter 76, note 3.

3. See letter 76.

4. See also Rosa's comment in letter 36, regarding his suspicions about the Maffei brothers' mistreatment of his letters. Rosa seems to have here omitted the word "non", which would make more grammatical sense ("e fra tanto [non] dimenticarsele in saccoccia").

5. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

6. From the symptoms Rosa here describes, it appears that Lucrezia was suffering from menorrhagia, or excessive menstrual bleeding, perhaps related to pregnancy complications or a miscarriage. We know that Lucrezia gave birth to a girl in June 1649 (see letters 31 and 32) and a boy in October 1651 (see letters 88, 91, 108, 109, 111 and 112), however Rosa does not

refer specifically to a pregnancy at this particular point in time, making it difficult to be certain of the exact cause of Lucrezia's malady.

7. See also letter 76, in which Rosa mentions this "cassettina," destined for "Signor Alessandro Incontri in Siena". On Incontri, probably a relative of Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, see letter 55, note 4.

8. Rosa has apparently asked Giulio to send him some lard, presumably for cooking.

Letter 78:

1. Montelupo Fiorentino, a *comune* of Tuscany located about 20 km southwest of Florence.

2. The exact date of Rosa's return to Rome from his stay at Monterufoli is not certain, although it must have been shortly before 17 December, as Rosa indicates his presence in Rome in a letter of that date (letter 80); in a letter of 2 November 1650, Cosimo Brunetti wrote to Ricciardi from Sansepolcro: "I believe at this hour Rosa will be leaving for Rome, but if he is over there [presumably Ricciardi was in Pisa or Florence], please do me the favour of greeting him as usual on my behalf, as well as that of Signor Fabretti" ("Credo che a quest'ora il signor Rosa sarà partito per Roma, se pure si trovasse di costì mi farete favore reverirlo al solito a nome mio, come anco il signor Fabretti.") For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 91, doc. 29. The particular "business" to which Rosa refers in the present letter may concern the matter mentioned in letter 79, presumed on the basis of its contents to be contemporaneous in date.

3. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

4. On the matter of this crate, and the certain "Simone" who received it on behalf of Rosa, see also letter 76.

5. Rosa had earlier reported on Lucrezia's malady in letters 76 and 77. It seems that the doctor Polei, mentioned in the next line, had suggested a treatment, about which Rosa had asked Giulio Maffei to consult with Polei in letter 77. The implication here is that Polei will give Lucrezia the required treatment when she gets to Volterra.

6. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

7. This is presumably the "cassettina," sent via Alessandro Incontri, to which Rosa also refers in letters 76 and 77.

8. In letter 77, Rosa mentions that Lucrezia is suffering from "continuous menstruation" ("continua il sangue del mestruo"). In the present letter, Rosa uses the somewhat more neutral term "flusso," meaning flow.

Letter 79:

1. "Sua mano" is a conventional declaration in letter writing, often written on the envelope, and is comparable to the more common formulations "sue proprie mani" (frequently abbreviated as "S. P. M."), or "Sue Gentilissime Mani" ("S. G. M."), meaning "to be opened by the addressee only" or that the letter is intended to be delivered directly to the recipient, and should be considered private and confidential. See Battaglia, 9:704. On the subject of Rosa's concern in regard to the privacy of his letters, see letter 33, note 7.

2. This is presumably Ottaviano Incontri, on whom see letter 12 (note 1) and letter 19 (note 11).

3. A "cannone di latta" is a tube or pipe made of tin. Rosa is probably referring to a tube intended for the transport of a rolled canvas. On the expense and logistics of transporting paintings in seventeenth-century Rome, including the use of metal tubes for transporting rolled canvases, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 38–39. Rosa referred explicitly to the rolling up of one of his canvas paintings (perhaps the same work to which he refers here) in letter 73.

4. This presumably refers to a tab or tally that Rosa was keeping of the costs Giulio had incurred in carrying out these favours, and that Rosa was (or felt) obliged to pay back. See also letter 75.

5. A considerably perfunctory variation on Rosa's customary signature, perhaps due to his haste in writing.

Letter 80:

1. By "arriving in Rome" Rosa means his return to Rome after a long stay at Monterufoli.

2. The term "primizie," in an agricultural context, means the "first fruits"; in a religious context (in keeping with Rosa's reference here to Giulio as a "deity"), it refers the most precious votive offering to the gods, originating in pagan and Early Christian religions. The "primizia" was the first shorn lock of hair that youths offered to the gods in ancient Greece, and in the Early Christian era referred to the tribute of either the "fruits" of the earth and animals, or of money, offered to the Church: Battaglia, 14:355. As Rosa intends it here, it is also the "first news" or the first account of his recent activities upon his return to Rome.

3. A "lettiga" is a type of wagon or cart. See letter 4, note 3.

4. It is not entirely clear what Rosa intends with the phrase "l'hosterie le fanno tutte". His use here of the phrase "di potenza" is also unusual: it appears to mean "significantly" or "repeatedly," however it has not been possible to securely trace a historical usage of the phrase in this manner.

5. The word "luccio" means pike, a type of fish: Battaglia, 9:238.

6. A type of plant (*parietaria officinalis*) comprising seven different species of the *Urticaceae* (or nettle) family of plants, which grows most commonly on rocks and walls, hence its English name "Pellitory-of-the-wall". Also known as lichwort, it was at one time used as a medicinal herb in the making of certain metheglins (an example of which is honey wine, or the "ossimele" to which Rosa refers here in the same line). It was taken to alleviate fluid retention, constipation, urinary tract disorders (such as kidney stones), and cough. For "paretaria," see Battaglia, 12:605.

7. "Ossimele" is a type of drink used for medicinal purposes, consisting of honey diluted in an acetic solution: Battaglia, 12:229.

8. On the value of the *giulio*, see letter 31, note 10.

9. Rosa seems to be complaining about the expense of travel on account of the Holy Year. The driver apparently has to stop at every inn, requiring passengers to pay more for the journey as a result.

10. This is presumably Signor Alessandro Incontri of Siena, on whom see letter 55, note 4.

11. These "signori Vecchi" are perhaps relatives of the certain

"signor Vecchi dottore," or Giovan Battista Vecchi, identified in letter 135, and Girolamo Vecchi, mentioned in letter 162. For a "Ludovico (or Lodovico) de Vecchi," who was a knight of the Order of Santo Stefano, and a member of the Accademia degli Stravaganti in Pisa and the Percossi in Florence, and a certain "Giorgio de Vecchi" of Siena, see Paliaga 2009, 143, 146 and 171 (note 81). For a composition entitled "Il Natale della Rosa," recited by Lodovico de' Vecchi (himself, in turn, the dedicatee of another composition written in praise of Rosa's *Peace Burning the Arms of War*, the now-lost *Ragguaglio della Pace* by Valerio Chimentelli), see Hoare 2018, 162 and note 209.

12. A "captain Girolamo Tani" (who died around seventy-three years of age, 24 March 1676) is named in the papers of the Maffei Archives, I:158 (Volterra, Biblioteca Civica Guarnacci): Borrelli and Festa 2003, 87, note 1.

13. This "satire" could be *La Guerra*, which Rosa composed toward the end of the 1640s. See Roworth 1978, 5. On Rosa's recitals of satires in Florence and Rome, see Hoare 2018, chapter three. It is not clear as to where exactly Rosa held this particular recital in Siena (as Rosa seems to have done on another occasion, for which see letter 4), but it perhaps took place at one of the city's literary or theatrical academies such as the Accademia degli Intronati.

14. Here, the term "intenerì" is intended as the remote past tense of "intenerire", to be moved or touched by something, or to have an emotional reaction to something.

15. That is, the four principal basilicas of Rome: San Paolo fuori le mura, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Giovanni in Laterano, and Saint Peter's.

16. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

17. This is presumably a reference to the scandalous relationship in which Giulio's brother Ugo had embroiled himself, on which see letter 16, note 8. Rosa refers to the "negozio del parentado" in letter 81, again in connection with Ugo's scandal. See also letters 82 and 83.

18. With his use of the phrase "risponderà il suo senso," Rosa seems to be conflating "risponderare" with "rispuntare," which means to arise, appear or manifest again: Battaglia, 16:875.

19. By "settle" Rosa seems to be referring to the legal situation in which Ugo Maffei found himself at that moment. See also Rosa's comments in letter 82 regarding the "court's decisions" in connection with Ugo.

20. This "Giovannino" could be a child of Giulio Maffei and Giovanna Incontri. It has not been possible to identify him securely.

21. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

22. Previously unidentified, this "signor Polinori" is perhaps the little-known painter Giovanni Antonio Polinori (active 1620–died 1663), originally from Todi, brother of the more well-known painter Andrea Polinori (1586–1648), the latter of whom spent the formative phase of his career in Rome. Among other projects, Giovanni Antonio painted the dome of the church of Santa Maria della Pace, Massa Martana (Perugia), and an altarpiece depicting the Assumption for the church of San Fortunato, Todi. On Giovanni Antonio Polinori, see Bogini and Rossetti 2004.

23. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

24. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

25. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

26. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

27. On Gasparini, a friend of the Maffei family, see letter 41, note 12.

28. With the phrase "qui se ne patisce," Rosa likely intends "there isn't enough" meat, in the sense of "suffering" due to a lack thereof.

Letter 81:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. This is a probable reference to the scandal that Giulio's brother, Ugo, had become involved in, to which Rosa also refers in letter 80.

3. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23. Rosa also refers to Simonelli's financial and professional troubles in letters 71, 106, 139 and 162.

4. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

5. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

6. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

8. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

9. On Gasparini, a friend of the Maffei family, see letter 41, note 12.

10. That is, "my spirit". On the notion of epistolary proximity, suggested by the "mind-body" topos that Rosa here invokes, see Hoare 2018, 153–154.

Letter 82:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. This is perhaps a reference to the papal court adjudicating Ugo's case, on the subject of which see letter 16, note 8. For the figurative meaning of the term "congiuntura," as a concurrence or combination of actions or events, aimed toward a final outcome, or as a circumstance or opportunity, see Battaglia, 3:555.

3. On this matter, see also letter 80.

4. This is presumably a reference to the scandal involving Ugo Maffei, to which Rosa also refers in letters 80 and 81.

5. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

6. On Gasparini, a friend of the Maffei family, see letter 41, note 12.

7. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

8. On Rosa's frequent mockery of the size of Giulio Maffei's nose, see letter 34, note 13.

Letter 83:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. This is presumed to be a reference to Ugo's scandal. See also Rosa's comments in letters 80, 81 and 82.

3. The word "predicate" means celebrated, praised, exalted or esteemed: Battaglia, 14:91.

4. On this matter, see also letters 80 and 82.

5. Rosa here refers to a man and woman (the latter named Lionora), probably a married couple, who worked for the Maffei family at Monterufoli. See letter 68, note 10.

6. A "merlo" is a blackbird.

7. On the matter of Giulio Maffei's children, see letter 5, note 8. The term "figlio" can refer to a baby girl or boy. The implication here is that Rosa is referring to Giulio's "child," however Rosa's meaning is not entirely clear. He seems to suggest that the child in question is about to be born (that is, Rosa appears to be asking about the prospect of any imminent offspring), and could perhaps be referring to the "Gioseppino" mentioned in letter 88.

8. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

9. On Gasparini, a friend of the Maffei family, see letter 41, note 12.

10. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

Letter 84:

1. This is the first instance of this expression being used as a form of address, rather than a closing greeting or valediction, in Rosa's extant correspondence.

2. A reference to Ricciardi's engagement in composing, and perhaps performing in, theatrical productions for the Carnival season. On Ricciardi's activities as a dramatist, see Hoare 2018, 68 and 86–90. For his published comedies, see letter 126, note 6.

3. Cosimo Brunetti, a lawyer and poet, and a mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi. On Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13. In a letter to Ricciardi of 7 January 1651—a little over a month prior to Rosa's present letter—Brunetti reported that he had been staying with the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni (on whom see note 4, below), apparently in order to study law with him. Brunetti expressed his great admiration and esteem for Eugeni, and for the valuable lessons he was learning, noting the details of his stay and the frequent trips he was taking with Eugeni in his carriage to his various assemblies, and also mentioning Eugeni's efforts to help him find a position. In another letter written 20 January of the same year, Brunetti told Ricciardi that Rosa was kind enough to take the trouble to drop off Ricciardi's letters for Brunetti at Eugeni's house when he passed through Piazza Navona: Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 93, doc. 32. In a letter of 4 February 1651, Brunetti reported to Ricciardi that he had been to Rosa's house for lunch, noting Rosa's gratitude for the receipt of news about his Pisan friend, and sending Ricciardi greetings on behalf of Lucrezia and Rosalvo: Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 93, doc. 33. On 11 February of that year, Brunetti reported that Rosa had paid a visit to Eugeni's house: Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 95, doc. 34. Brunetti also mentions riding in his patron Cardinal Giulio Cesare Sacchetti's carriage (Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 92, doc. 31), reporting in subsequent letters to Ricciardi the details of his various activities and interactions with the cardinal. Brunetti expressed his heartfelt gratitude for the patronage and hospitality of both Eugeni and Sacchetti in another letter to Ricciardi of 14 September 1652, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 112, doc. 50. From Rosa's words in the present letter, it appears he was responsible for first introducing Brunetti to Eugeni, and for promoting the professional cause of his young friend.

4. Marcantonio Eugeni (1592–1657), from Perugia, was a wealthy jurisconsult (an expert in law) and a consistorial lawyer (a lawyer appointed to a consistorial court, an assembly of cardinals devoted to the enactment of papal acts). In a letter to Ricciardi of 1651, Cosimo Brunetti reported Ricciardi's own opinion of Eugeni as "the best lawyer in Rome" ("il primo Avvocato di Roma"), which Brunetti himself confirmed, calling him "the best, without comparison" ("il primo senza comparazione"): Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 104, doc. 38. As noted by Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 54, Eugeni, who lived in Rome at Piazza Navona, was from 1641 a consul of the Campidoglio and became a consistorial lawyer through the aegis of Pope Alexander VII. Thanks to his skills and fame as a barrister, Eugeni was able to amass considerable wealth, allowing him to acquire numerous properties and a collection of paintings esteemed by Brunetti and Ricciardi, and visited with admiration by Rosa, as is clear from one of Brunetti's letters to Ricciardi, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 95, doc. 34: "Il signor Rosa si trattenne a vedere molti quadri del signor Eugenio quali n'ha alcuni bellissimi, et al signor Rosa son piaciuti assai." ("Signor Rosa stayed to see many of Signor Eugeni's paintings, some of which are very beautiful and that Signor Rosa liked very much.") The inventory of Eugeni's collection (published by Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 114–124) was formed over the course of the 1640s and 1650s, and contained for the most part genre paintings, landscapes by Alessandro Salucci and Agostino Tassi, a "fiore" attributed to Caravaggio, as well as works by Andrea Camassei and Mario de' Fiori (Mario Nuzzi). Eugeni also collected paintings of half-figures by Guido Reni, Domenichino and Francesco Albani. As noted by Volpi 2014, 239, particularly noteworthy is the presence of two very valuable paintings of Stoic subjects, by Guercino: the *Suicide of Seneca* (now lost) and a *Death of Cato* (now in the Musei di Strada Nuova di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa), paintings that must have been admired by Rosa on his visit to Eugeni's collection and that would have appealed in particular to Rosa's interest in Emilian art at that moment. (On Rosa's interest in Emilian art, see: Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 54–55 and 61–62, note 30, and Volpi 2014, 484.) It was during those very years that Rosa painted his Stoic and Cynic subjects of *Democritus in Meditation* and *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl* (on which see letter 86, note 15), and, a little later, the *Death of Socrates* acquired by Carlo de' Rossi, on which see Hoare 2018, 143 and note 76. Eugeni's collection also included a large number of portraits of artists, intellectuals and patrons. The self-portraits in his collection represented artists who were in some way or other connected, and who had each produced works in Eugeni's collection: Guercino, Lanfranco, Cavaliere d'Arpino, Giovanni Baglione and Rosa. For the self-portrait by Rosa in Eugeni's collection (now lost), see Volpi 2014, 626, Appendix I.99, who notes that it was listed in Eugeni's post-mortem inventory of 1657 as a "Ritratto di Salvator Rosa sua mano". Eugeni also owned portraits of Saint Charles Borromeo, various members of the Medici family, Fabio della Penna, and Galileo Galilei. On Eugeni, see also Messina, in *DBI* 43 (1993):478–480. On Rosa, Brunetti and Eugeni, see also Volpi 2014, 238 and 262–263, who notes that, from the letters exchanged between Brunetti and Ricciardi (for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012), we learn that Eugeni must have been the lawyer of the Sacchetti and Nerli families, and therefore provided an important link for Rosa and Brunetti with members of the Roman papal court. Volpi further suggests that it may have been through their mutual friend, Bernardino della Penna (also a jurisconsult from Perugia, and the brother of Rosa's friend Ascanio della Penna),

that Rosa and Eugeni first met. On the social and economic status of lawyers in seventeenth-century Italy, a profession that was "a secure path to social advancement," see Ago, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 261–262.

5. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

6. These are presumed to be portrait heads or "testaccie," perhaps comparable to those mentioned by Rosa in a letter of 1650 to Ricciardi (letter 48, note 28). Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 47, note 64, notes that these paintings, along with other examples of Rosa's work created and intended as gifts for friends, were executed at the villas of Rosa's friends, including not only Monterufoli and Strozzavolpe—owned by the Maffei and Ricciardi families, respectively—but also the villa of Noce, near the Monte Verruca (Pisa), owned by Francesco Lanfreducci, among the meeting places of Rosa's circle of academic friends.

7. Francesco Lanfreducci the Younger (1592–1656), and not "Luigi" Lanfreducci, as he has previously been identified. A prolific art collector and patron, poet, music composer and *letterato*, Lanfreducci was lauded by the Pisan professor of politics and history at the University of Pisa, Paganino Gaudenzi, as the "splendor della Nobiltà pisana": Paliaga 2009, 134 and 140, note 123 (also for comments on Lanfreducci's various academic ties). Lanfreducci was a knight of the Order of Malta (see Paliaga 2009, 54) and numbered among Ricciardi's group of friends in Pisa, where he was a member of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and played a vital role in promoting the academy's theatrical activities: Paliaga 2009, 143–146. On Lanfreducci, see also Fabbri 2009, 83, note 7, who notes his investiture with the habit of San Giovanni at the age of six, followed a few years later, after his return from Malta, by his entry into the service of Ferdinando I de' Medici as a page. After a troubled youth and the experience of prison, Lanfreducci actively served the cause of the Order, returning to Pisa from 1638 to 1640 in order to administer the affairs of the family and to work as *gentiluomo di camera* for Ferdinando II and his "Camerero secreto". Lanfreducci died in Malta on 17 May 1656, after receiving the Gran Croce and the prestigious titles of Capo della Lingua d'Italia and Prior of Naples. On Lanfreducci, see also Baragatti 1999–2000, 64–78. On Lanfreducci's receipt of various musical compositions from Rosa, including one entitled "il Sonno," see Paliaga 2009, 147 and 170, note 60 (for a letter to Lanfreducci from Vincenzo Cenciolini in Rome, of 20 July 1652, in which Cenciolini gives notice of finally receiving the *ariette* from Rosa, which he will send on to Lanfreducci "con molto mio gusto") and letters 137, 138, 139, 144 and 153. On Lanfreducci's close friendship with Ricciardi, who made him the dedicatee of a "poetic joke" entitled *Dai bagni* (*From the Baths*), see Limentani 1950, 70, note 13, and De Rinaldis 1939, 16, note 1; for the poem, which Ricciardi probably wrote from the baths at San Casciano, see Toci 1881, 23–25. The text is also reproduced in Hoare 2010a, Appendix II.9. As noted by Paliaga 2010, 79, Lanfreducci also travelled to the baths of San Casciano to take rheumatic cures, as well as to the baths of San Giuliano, not far from Pisa. Twenty-six extant letters written by Ricciardi to Lanfreducci between 1650 and 1652 (nine of them transcribed by Paliaga 2009, 221–222, Appendix XV) attest to the two friends' rapport. One of these letters (doc. 1), written from Monterufoli on 4 July 1650, includes thanks given on both Ricciardi's and Rosa's part for the gift of cheeses and salami. Two others (docs. 8 and 9) refer to compositions written by Ricciardi, sent to Lanfreducci with the request that they be set to music. On the "teste" and other works of art by Rosa in Lanfreducci's possession, including a copy (commissioned from Clemente Bocciardi in 1652) of a "testa di filosofo" by Rosa (perhaps the same *testa* that Rosa had given to Lanfreducci as a gift), a "ritratto che si dice essere stato dipinto dal medesimo Salvatore," and a "mezza figura con ghirlanda in capo, libri e penna in mano," see Paliaga 2009, 156–157. Lanfreducci appears to have commissioned a painting from another artist on the basis of one of Rosa's drawings (a preparatory study for his *Arion on the Dolphin*), on which see Hoare 2018, 93–96. In addition to these works, there are also "[t]wo Rosa portraits, a self-portrait and a half-length figure with his head garlanded and books and a pen in his hand" recorded in the Lanfreducci collection in the eighteenth century: Langdon, in Langdon 2010a, 105, note 19; see also Sicca 2005, 71. On Lanfreducci, see Hoare 2018, 93–96. On Lanfreducci and Rosa, see also letter 65, note 4. On Lanfreducci's collecting activities, see further Paliaga 2004 and Paliaga 2009, 54–61. On Lanfreducci's villas at Noce and Crespignano, located near the Monte Verruca (Pisa), which were among the meeting places of Rosa's circle of academic friends, see letter 273, note 3, and Hoare 2018, 93 and note 187.

8. Pietro Pandolfini (died 1678), a merchant from Pisa, and a mutual friend of Ricciardi and Rosa. Limentani 1950, 74, note 2, identified the recipient of Rosa's paintings as "Luigi" Pandolfini, a friend of Rosa and Ricciardi and possible relative of Pietro Pandolfini, but he seems to have confused the (also incorrectly identified) "Luigi" Lanfreducci with Pietro Pandolfini. Pietro Pandolfini and Francesco Lanfreducci (on whom see note 7, above) were recipients of Rosa's "teste". Pietro Pandolfini also seems to have commissioned a painting from Rosa for one of his chapels: see letter 65. Pandolfini also commissioned from Rosa a "small canvas" for the *maestro di camera* (responsible for his master's audiences, waiting on his person, and supervising attendants) of Cardinal Giovan Jacopo Panciroli: see letter 91. On the brothers Pietro and Giovan Battista Pandolfini (1628–1707), see also Paliaga 2009, 158 and 173–174, note 130. Both brothers were knights of the Order of Santo Stefano, and had made their fortune as leather merchants, a trade inherited from their father Ludovico Pandolfini. On works by Rosa in the Pandolfini collection, Pisa, see Volpi 2014, 618, Appendix I.64.

9. The referent here is not entirely clear, but is presumably either Cordini or Pandolfini.

10. Rosa's meaning with the abbreviated "T." is not clear: it could stand for "Tela," or for "Testa," in reference to one of the "Heads" ("Teste") mentioned in the previous line. If the "T." is to be connected with Pietro Pandolfini, in particular, it could perhaps be a reference to the now-lost work that Rosa purportedly executed for Pandolfini's chapel in Santa Caterina, Pisa, on which see note 8, above, and letter 65, note 4.

11. Cosimo Fabretti, who acted as Ricciardi's secretary. See letter 70, note 20.

Letter 85:

1. Ricciardi suffered from an unspecified malady of the eyes. See, for example, the comments in letters 87, 96 (and note 3), 114, 115, 116, 117 and 118. On the possible condition from which Ricciardi was suffering, see letter 114, note 3. Cosimo Brunetti, in his letters to Ricciardi, also frequently inquired after Ricciardi's health in connection with his eye ailment: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, esp. 111, doc. 48 (15 June 1652), and 111–112, doc. 49 (13 July 1652).

2. A reference to the portrait heads that Rosa had painted for Francesco Lanfreducci and Pietro Pandolfini, and entrusted to Ricciardi for delivery. See letter 84.

3. A "telaro" (or "telaio") is a frame or stretcher. See letter 57, note 14. On Ricciardi's activities as an art dealer, see letter 91 (note 7), letter 160 (note 5), and letter 174 (note 1).

4. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13. The solicitor to whom Rosa here refers is Marcantonio Eugeni (see note 6, below).

5. The phrase "il comodo dello studio" could also mean the comfort or convenience of having the opportunity to study.

6. On the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni, see letter 84, note 4. On Brunetti's tutelage under Eugeni, see letter 67, note 13. Brunetti's letters to Ricciardi elaborate at length on his studies with Eugeni, and on Eugeni's kind hospitality. See the letters by Brunetti published in Volpi and Paliaga 2012.

7. That is, the papal court of Rome. The implication here is that Rosa is advising Brunetti on court conduct. On Rosa and the subject of courtly dissimulation, and for a poem by Antonio Abati entitled *Invenzione d'andare in maschera* (*A conceit on wearing a mask*), of particular significance in connection with Rosa's comment here, see Hoare 2018, 40–41 (notes 11 and 12) and 164.

8. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

9. Volunnio Bandinelli, on whom see letter 48, note 24. The painting in question is not known.

10. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 91, note 2, this "painting of Saint Matthew" has been identified with a canvas by Rosa (now in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) that treats an unusual subject—not Saint Matthew the Evangelist himself, but the subject of the Parable of Saint Matthew, or the Admonition of Christ, described in Matthew 7:1–5: concerning the judgment of others, Matthew writes "Judge not, that ye be not judged/ For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged […]/ And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?". Rosa's painting, which gives quite a literal interpretation of the passage concerning the mote and beam, depicts a large wooden beam approaching the eye of the standing protagonist, who points a finger in judgment toward his seated companion. In the lower left-hand corner of the painting is a small piece of paper inscribed "Matth VII". For the painting, see: Salerno 1975, 92, cat. 108; Naples 2008, 226–227, cat. 75; and Volpi 2014, 483, cat. 164, who contends that Rosa is in the present letter (and successive letters that make mention of the "painting of Saint Matthew") referring to the Naples painting. Volpi notes the rarity of the subject and its likely appeal to Rosa in this regard, a difficult subject to render pictorially that he chose in order to demonstrate his ability to depict the episode in a literary manner, in the form of a rebus or allusive device in which pictures are employed to represent words or parts of words. Further evidence in favour of identifying the painting in Naples as the one mentioned in Rosa's present letter comes in letter 101, where Rosa again refers to "the picture of Saint Matthew," submitting the issue of its price to Ricciardi's "judgment," suggesting an analogy with the subject of the Naples painting. On the "Saint Matthew," see also letter 99, note 3. Conte 2014, 263, suggests alternatively that Rosa's reference in the present letter to "the painting of Saint Matthew" pertains to a commission that Ricciardi was attempting to secure for Rosa with the Benedictine nuns of the convent of San Matteo in Pisa, on whom see Niglio and Alessio 2008. In connection with this commission, Conte cites Rosa's references to a painting (perhaps identifiable with this work) in letters 86, 91 (see note 16), 99 and 101.

11. As noted by Limentani 1950, 69, note 8, this appears to be a reference to the text of a *canzone* or poem by Rosa entitled *Che non deve l'uomo fidarsi della prospera fortuna* (for which see Ozzola 1908, 222), in which the sultan Bayezid, captive at Marmara, narrates his sufferings. Rosa seems to have sent it to Ricciardi in solicitation of his opinion and perhaps suggestions for changes, as is implied by Rosa's comments in regard to Ricciardi's addition of certain verses, in letters 101 and 108. The subject of the "Bayezid" is mentioned again in letters 91, 96, 99, 101 (note 10) and 108. See the appendices of Limentani 1950 for a fragment of the *canzone*, with previously unpublished variations.

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

13. Gaspare Leoli (1627–1697), a gentleman from Pisa who was made a knight of Santo Stefano in 1642: Limentani 1950, 70, note 10, citing Toci 1881, xxxii, note 24. According to Toci, Leoli was the author of the *Gesta triumphalia per Pisanos facta*. A member of the Pisan Accademia degli Stravaganti, Leoli was clearly a mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi. On Leoli, see further Paliaga 2009, 146, 152, 170 (note 55), 171 (note 81) and 172 (note 97). Paliaga 2009, 171, note 81, notes that Gaspare Leoli asked Ricciardi in a letter of 6 October 1656 to obtain "qualcheduna delle sue opere comiche," which were requested by the Cavalier Ludovico de' Vecchi. Both Leoli and Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini (on whom see note 14, below) were acquainted with Ricciardi, as is attested by Fabroni, 3:130. They were also friends with Cosimo Brunetti, who sent them affectionate greetings in two letters of 1651, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 92–93 (doc. 31) and 95–98 (doc. 35).

14. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini (died 1671) of Pisa, the father of Niccolò Maria Pesciolini, who was diplomat of the Grand Duke of Tuscany: Limentani 1950, 70, note 11, citing Toci 1881. Like Gaspare Leoli, Giulio Pesciolini was another mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi, a knight of the Order of Santo Stefano (from 1634), and a member of the Accademia degli Stravaganti in Pisa. Rosa seems to have frequently stayed at Pesciolini's palace on the present-day Corso Italia: Panajia 2004, 231. Pesciolini was the brother-in-law of Luigi Navarretti, the son of the painter Giovanni Navarretti, and appears to have dabbled in drawing and painting himself: Paliaga 2009, 152. Toci 1881, xxxii, note 24, also recorded Pesciolini as a knight of the Order of Santo Stefano. Pesciolini is mentioned as being in attendance at one of the Stravaganti's theatrical performances in Pisa, in 1654, on which see Paliaga 2009, 161 and 175 (note 157) (citing Galluzzi and Torrini 1984, 146, no. 540), and Hoare 2018, 87 and note 147.

15. On Lupi, see letter 48, note 27.

16. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

17. This could be either a reference to the "picture Signor Bandinelli desires," or the "painting of Saint Matthew" mentioned above. It could alternatively be a third work, perhaps the one referred to in letter 84 (see note 10), which might be connected with a commission for Pietro Pandolfini.

18. As noted by Limentani 1950, 67, the feast day of Saint Matthew is 24 February, hence the presumed date of the letter as 25 February.

Letter 86:

1. On Rosa's painting of *Pan and Syrinx*, see letter 48, note 13. Executed by Rosa during his sojourn of the 1640s in Tuscany, the painting was entrusted to the art dealer Francesco Cordini (on whom see letter 21, note 2), who appears—from

what Rosa reports in the present letter—to have commissioned unauthorized copies of the painting. Fumagalli, in Fumagalli 2007, 66, suggested that Cordini was taking particular advantage of the Bolognese art market, where he must have had connections through his wife Ortensia's family, who were Bolognese. Conte 2014, 270, notes that Baldassarre Franceschini's participation in the production of copies of Rosa's large-figure paintings for the Bolognese market offers evidence of the demand for Rosa's works (or those executed in his style, or that treat his subject matter), beyond Tuscany. On Franceschini, see note 4, below, and letter 58, note 11. An interesting and heartfelt (although undated) letter written by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi, in defence of Cordini, may perhaps deal with the falling-out between Rosa (and Ricciardi) and Cordini at this moment, or shortly thereafter: in his letter, Brunetti mentions a rift between the three friends, and encourages Ricciardi to renew his feelings of friendship toward Cordini, who Brunetti felt was undeserving of the cruel comments being made about him. Brunetti also notes, in the opening lines of the letter, that he has heard first-hand—from a group of intellectuals in Bologna familiar with Cordini—that the art dealer held both Rosa and Ricciardi in high esteem. Brunetti argued that "if he [Cordini] could find some private time with Rosa, they would remain the best of friends". Brunetti was upset about the breakdown of this friendship, as he esteemed Cordini to be "a truly gallant gentleman" ("galantissimo gentilhuomo"), and knew "for certain that he [Cordini] still feels for us [Brunetti and Ricciardi] and for Rosa the same passion he's always had in serving you." Brunetti writes: "Io ho scritto una lunga lettera al Rosa dandoli parte di quel che è seguito a Bologna dove in una bella conversazione di belli ingegni ho toccato con mano che il Sig.r Cordini si è fatto conoscer in quella città e da per tutto per adorator del Rosa e di voi; è arrivato poi a Venezia trovo che con egual ardore parla del Rosa. Io ho avuto con esso qualche discorso, e credo certo che se si potrebbe trovar a quattr'occhi col Rosa e resterebbon migliori amici che mai. […] vi dirò solo che mi dispiace in estremo di sentir questa rottura d'amicizia perch'io stimo il Sig.r Cordini per galantissimo gentilhuomo, e oltre di questo io so di certo ch'ei conserva verso di noi e del Rosa la stessa passion ch'egli ha avuto sempre di servirvi. Le male lingue hanno troppo lavorato contro di lui. Vi prego perciò per la vostra parte a rimetter del vostro allontanamento dall'antica amicizia, circa di che quando io sentirò la vostra buona disposizione in darò meglio in mano perché veramente crediate che il Sig.r Cordini non merita questa crudeltà." For Brunetti's letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 90, doc. 27. Indeed, Rosa's comments in the present letter suggest that he did forgive Cordini, if only temporarily (see letter 228), and also asked Ricciardi to do the same.

2. Limentani 1950, 70, note 1, proposed that this "signor cavalier Andrea Leoni" might be the same person mentioned in letter 48 as the "Signor Count Ercolani […] who invited us for dinner in Bologna," suggesting that perhaps De Rinaldis 1939 (the first to publish letter 48 in full) had misread the name in the ms. The name in that letter, however, most certainly reads "conte Ercolani" and not "Andrea Leoni," the latter name clearly apparent in the ms. of the present letter. It is likely, then, that they are two different people. Andrea Leoni, as suggested by Fumagalli 2007, 66, appears to have been related to the wife of Francesco Cordini, Ortensia Leoni, who Cordini married in 1658; as Fumagalli conjectures, Ortensia's Bolognese connections, along with Cordini's own relationships with artists in the city, probably aided him with conducting business in Bologna. See also letter 21, note 2.

3. Alessandro del Nero belonged to an aristocratic Florentine family that supported the arts and promoted the city's literary academies: Limentani 1950, 71, note 2, citing Ademollo 1969, 155, note 1, who refers to other members of the family, noting their Medici connections and academic endeavours: the Baron Carlo Ventura del Nero, who was a favourite of the Medici, particularly Cardinal Carlo de' Medici; Agostino del Nero, who founded the Accademia dei Desiosi (the Roman literary and theatrical academy founded under the protection of Pope Urban VIII, which met at the palace of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy at Montegiordano, on which see Maylender 1926–1930, 2:173–177) and was at his death given a solemn but spectacular funeral by the academicians at the church of Santa Felicità; and Agostino's father, Tommaso del Nero, who promoted the Accademia degli Alterati.

4. This "Baldassare" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano), as is also suggested by Limentani 1950, 71, note 4. Volpi 2014, 472, concurs that the "Baldassare" in question, employed by the art dealer Francesco Cordini to retouch copies of Rosa's *Pan and Syrinx*, is Baldassarre Franceschini. Conte 2014, 241 and 338, note 61, also agrees with this identification. On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11. On Cordini, see letter 21, note 2. In the present letter, Rosa has written the name as "Baldassarj," a different spelling from the one he seems to use customarily in reference to Baldassarre Franceschini and perhaps evidence that Rosa is in this instance, as in certain others, referring to someone else; the spelling "Baldassari," however, is the one used by Antonio Malatesti in reference to Franceschini in a poem dedicated to the artist, on which see Hoare 2018, 268 and note 370. In regard to Rosa's use of the term "trappole," there is disagreement among the previous transcribers of Rosa's letter: Limentani 1950 transcribes "trappole," meaning traps or snares, or, figuratively, ploys or ruses, while Borrelli and Festa 2003 transcribe "sroppole" (for "stroppole"), a Neapolitanism meaning immaterial things, or trifles (see Galiani, 2:153). Examination of the ms. reveals "trappole" as the likelier candidate.

5. The phrase "fa mi covava nel seno" means, more literally, "brooded in my breast".

6. On Rosa's concern for his professional reputation, and his desire for secrecy in particular, see Hoare 2018, 256 and note 249. On Rosa's own engagement in making copies or having copies made after his works, and the significance of this undertaking in relation to his broader conception of artistic practice and identity, see Hoare 2018, 265–272. The exact nature of the outcome to which Rosa here alludes is rather vague: either the copy was not executed, it turned out that Leoni was mistaken in what he had seen, or something else transpired.

7. On these portrait "Heads," see also letters 48 (note 28), 84 and 85.

8. Pietro Pandolfini, on whom see letter 84, note 8.

9. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

10. On Rosa's own practice of framing his paintings, see letter 3, note 3. In the present letter, Rosa's comment clearly indicates his opinion regarding the importance of frames (and the final layers of varnish) to the final ("remarkable") presentation—and thus, the ultimate value—of his work. See also Rosa's comments in this regard, in letter 85.

11. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

12. See letter 85, in which Rosa reports on Brunetti's progress under the tutelage of the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni.

13. This is presumably the "Saint Matthew" to which Rosa also refers in letter 85. Limentani 1950, 72, note 7, had considered this a reference to a painting commissioned from Rosa in Pisa, completed during the previous summer in Monterufoli (see letters 65, 67, 73 and 74, in which Rosa discusses being at work on one painting—or more—during this period). Conte 2014, 263 and 335, note 34, considers Rosa's comment to be a possible reference to a painting (for which Ricciardi had secured the commission) that Rosa was to execute for the Benedictine nuns of the convent of San Matteo in Pisa; see letter 85, note 10. See also letter 91, note 16.

14. With his use of the phrase "voi che sete la mia fortuna," Rosa intends to convey the notion of one person constituting another's "fortune"; "essere una fortuna per qualcuno," according to Battaglia, 6:288, means to indicate a circumstance or set of circumstances that will succeed favourably.

15. The *Democritus in Meditation* (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenaghen), one of Rosa's most well known and important paintings. Executed while Rosa was staying with the Maffei family in Monterufoli between 1650 and 1651 (as Rosa himself indicates in letter 90), the *Democritus* was paired with a second canvas that treats another philosophical subject favoured by the artist, *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl* (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen), executed in 1652. On both paintings, see most recently Volpi 2014, 245–264 and 480–482, cat. 162 and 163. On the *Democritus*, see also: Wallace 1968; Wallace 1979, chapter 5 and 261–266, cat. 104; and Nappi 2014, 143–145 and 170–171, cat. 90. On Rosa's exhibition of both paintings at the Pantheon, see Salomon 2010b, 82–85. The two paintings were ultimately sold, in the summer of 1652 (as Rosa reports in letter 137) to the Venetian ambassador to Rome, Nicolò Sagredo (1606–1676), who later became Doge in 1675. Rosa had a high opinion of both paintings' merits, and seems to have struggled to obtain the high price he wanted. He first reported receiving an offer for the *Democritus* "for 250 *scudi*" in April 1651 (letter 90), but the painting was still with him in May (letter 102)—even if, as Rosa put it, the painting was nonetheless working in favour of his "great reputation" by drawing him attention—and was still in his possession in August (letter 107). In letters 88 and 90 Rosa boasts of the great success the *Democritus* had achieved at the Pantheon exhibition. Neither Limentani (see Limentani 1950, 72, note 8) nor De Rinaldis (see De Rinaldis 1939, 18–19, note 3, and Note Liminari 15)—who both report on the painting in their respective publications of the relevant letters—knew the actual painting in question. Lady Sydney Morgan (1824, 2:366) had included it in her list of works by Rosa in English collections, noting that the Marquess of Lansdowne had purchased both the *Democritus* and *Diogenes* from "Sir – Young, about the year 1806, for a large sum". A further sign of the import Rosa gave to them, both paintings were subsequently represented by Rosa in etchings (1661–1662), on which see Wallace 1979, 257–266, cat. 103–107, and Nappi 2014, 142–145 and 169–171, cat. 89 and 90. In an important and revealing letter written to Ricciardi on 25 March 1651 (recently published by Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 98–99, doc. 36), Cosimo Brunetti reported on the wildly successful reception of Rosa's *Democritus* among the circles of intellectuals and nobles in Rome—including the painter Pietro da Cortona who was seemingly "enchanted" by the painting, and who noted in particular the "sublime" qualities of Rosa's inventions and the rarity of the subject. (In regard to Brunetti's comment concerning Cortona's opinion of Rosa's *Democritus*, Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 56, notes that Cortona, certain of his undisputed primacy, must not have been particularly thrilled with Rosa's success, but it is likely that he and Rosa had earlier developed a friendly rapport, or at least a cordial relationship, during their time working together in Florence on the decoration of Gian Carlo de' Medici's residence. Rosa was also friends with Cortonesque artists like Baldassarre Franceschini and Giacinto Gimignani, and must have studied with admiration Cortona's frescoes in the Palazzo Pitti. With his close ties to the Florentine Sacchetti family, Rosa must have shown an interest in Cortona's *Battle of Darius and Alexander* (now Musei Capitolini, Rome), executed for Giulio Sacchetti in the 1640s, a painting that could not have been realized without the example of Rosa's own earlier Florentine battle scenes, now in the Palazzo Pitti and Uffizi. In the 1650s, both artists by that point in Rome, Rosa and Cortona continued to watch each other with curiosity and admiration, even if likely from afar. Volpi notes further the evidence for their mutual influence upon each other's work in these years.) In his letter, Brunetti discusses the iconography of the *Democritus* at length, noting (as apparently many other viewers also did) the particular skill with which Rosa had depicted the Stoic philosopher and the subject of human suffering, drawing primarily upon the conceit from Ezekiel 37:4, "Ossa arida audite verbum Domini" ("Oh, dry bones, hear the word of the Lord"). Brunetti laments his inability to express with words the marvels of Rosa's painting, however his ekphrasis is interesting for what it reveals about the aspects of the painting that held particular appeal for him, and, assuredly, for other contemporary viewers. Brunetti further reports that the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni was so impressed with the painting that he stopped Rosa—who was then in the company of certain *letterati*—on the steps of the Aracoeli, and made "the greatest applause [about the painting] he could ever hear". As Volpi notes, Brunetti's comments concerning the reputation that the *Democritus* helped Rosa to achieve in Rome probably reflected reality, his fame growing to such an extent that it opened doors to the houses of prelates and, above all, the most exclusive Roman academies of the city, where, as Brunetti also reports, Rosa frequently recited his satires. In a series of subsequent letters, Brunetti discussed the painting further and provided Ricciardi with detailed information regarding its sale. Rosa's Florentine friend Carlo Dati also admired the painting when he visited Rome in 1651 (see letter 115). The popularity of the *Democritus* is further attested by the various copies and imitations executed after the painting, on which see Conte 2014, 349, note 178, citing in this regard the record of the Fototeca della Fondazione Federico Zeri, Bologna, s.v. "Salvator Rosa—*Democrito in meditazione*—copie". The *Diogenes* was exhibited at the Pantheon in 1652, after the success of the *Democritus*, however, as noted by Volpi 2014, 482, Rosa may have initially conceived of the *Democritus* and *Diogenes* simultaneously, as a pair.

16. On the public exhibitions in Rome in the seventeenth century, see: Haskell 1960; Haskell 1980; and Haskell 2000. On Rosa and these exhibitions, see Salomon 2010b. See also Hoare 2018, 256–258.

17. With the word "notomie" Rosa presumably intends "anatomie," in reference to the anatomical fragments that he depicts in the *Democritus in Meditation*. In attempting to elucidate the meaning of the term "anatomie," as used by the Carracci, Summerscale 2000, 119, note 78 (citing Ciardi 1993) notes that "when used of or by artists (eg. Leonardo, Vasari, Baldinucci), the term 'anatomie' (translated here as 'anatomical dissections') not only meant anatomical studies but more frequently indicated the actual practice of dissection (especially the preparation of the *écorché*)." See also Battaglia, 1:443, no. 2. In letter 10, Rosa used the word "anatomie" as part of a joke that plays upon the contrast between the terms "troia" (sow) and "porco" (pig). Volpi 2010c, 128, has rightly drawn attention—in the context of the present letter—to a group of drawings

of "anatomies" (referred to as "notomie") by Rosa, which were sought after, upon the artist's death, by Domenico Maria Corsi—the agent of Cosimo III de' Medici—who wrote to his patron on 1 April 1673 with disappointment at his failure to obtain them: "Si son fatte diligenze per i disegni del medesimo Rosa e specialmente per i libri di notomie, ma chi ha assistito a metter insieme le sue cose m'afferma che questi libri non si ritrovano e quel che pare incredibile che de disegni non ve n'è alcuno eccettuate poche bagattelle fatte in prima gioventù […]" ("Efforts have been made to acquire the drawings by Rosa, and especially the books of anatomies, but whoever helped to assemble his things has told me that these books have not been found, and what seems incredible is that among the drawings nothing else has survived except a few trifles executed in his youth […]"): Meroni 1978, 68, doc. CLXIV: letter from Domenico Maria Corsi, in Rome, to Cosimo III de' Medici in Florence, 1 April 1673. As noted by Volpi, these drawings may have been anatomical studies, or perhaps representations of animal skeletons comparable to those executed by Filippo Napoletano. They were present in Rosa's studio together with the youthful "bagattelle" and other unidentified items. In regard to the use of the term "notomie" in reference to skeletons, in particular, see also San Juan 2012, 966, who notes that in sixteenth-century English a common name for "skeleton" was "an anatomy," "since the skeleton was increasingly associated with anatomical dissection and its production of a stripped body". See also in this regard Wootton 2006, 82. Volpi 2014, 480–481, also notes the significance of the fact that Rosa took pains to introduce into the *Democritus* the "tripod" and "anatomies" just prior to its exhibition at the Pantheon, thereby accentuating the skeletal content of the image and paying homage to the antiquarian and collecting tastes that were *de rigeur* in Rome. The *Democritus*, notes Volpi, which cites from the writings of the Roman Jesuit antiquarian Athanasius Kircher (in particular, his *L'Obeliscus Pamphilius* of 1650), also demonstrates the importance to Rosa of Cassiano dal Pozzo and the scientific, antiquarian culture of Rome at this moment. On the significance of the writings of Kircher and Marco Aurelio Severino in this regard, see Hoare 2018, 80 (and note 81) and 103–108. As noted by Volpi 2014, 245–248, Rosa appears to have conceived of his *Democritus* as a showpiece in demonstration of his identity as a true "Roman painter," filling the painting with a self-consciously erudite and classicizing iconography that makes reference to ancient Roman ruins and architectural and sculptural fragments. In this respect, the *Democritus* is comparable to other contemporaneous works by the artist, such as the *Marius Meditating among the Ruins of Carthage* (*c.* 1649, Fondazione Horak, Ente Museo Palazzo Costa, Piacenza), on which see Hoare 2018, 141–142 and note 71. Volpi notes further that the extraordinary, inventive iconography of the *Democritus* anticipates the work of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), and participates in contemporary scientific and antiquarian debates about fossils and the nature of ancient civilizations, as well as exhibiting the influence of eccentric figurative models, such as the prints of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, to which Rosa seems to have paid particular attention and admired during these years. On Rosa and Castiglione, see also Hoare 2018, 75, 160, 249 and 251.

18. As noted by Limentani 1950, 72, note 9, Rosa seems here to be paraphrasing a line from his second satire, *La Poesia*, v. 466 (Romei 1995, 83): "La fama insomma è un colpo di fortuna".

19. On Rosa's desire for secrecy, and the topos of the artist working in secret (or concealing his work) more generally, see Hoare 2018, 256 and note 249. On Niccolò Simonelli, see letter 27, note 23. As noted by Salomon 2010b, 83, Rosa's comments here suggest that his goal with the iconography of the *Democritus* (together with his desire to keep the painting secret) was not only to be novel, with an obscure subject, but also to "surprise" his Roman audience. With his reference to Simonelli as the only person permitted to see the painting, Rosa also suggests here the important role played by Simonelli in Rosa's engagement with the Roman art market in these years, on which see Hoare 2018, 159–160 and 249–250.

20. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

21. Pietro Pandolfini, on whom see letter 84, note 8.

22. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

23. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

24. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

25. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

26. Rosa also mentions Niccolò Simonelli's apparent financial problems in letters 81 and 139, where Simonelli is again referred to as "penniless". See also in this regard letters 71, 106 and 162. On Simonelli more generally, see letter 27, note 23.

27. The term "quanno" stands for "quando," in the Neapolitan dialect. Rosa here uses a refrain he later attributes to the Neapolitan *commedia dell'arte* character, Pulcinella, in letters 251, 314 and 391.

Letter 87:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. The term "caldezza," no longer in use, refers to a state of physical heat or warmth, as well as the sentiments of passion, fervour or enthusiasm: Battaglia, 3:534.

3. As noted by Limentani 1950, 73, note 1, the "illness" to which Rosa here refers is likely the "eye ailment" from which Ricciardi was suffering during this period. Additional evidence that this is the particular malady in question is offered by a letter written by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi on 4 February 1651, in which Brunetti asks after the state of Ricciardi's eyes, expressing his "great dismay" at the news of this "continual ailment," warning Ricciardi to steer clear of reading fine print and drinking alcohol, and to take care to seek any available remedy to help his vision: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 94, doc. 33. Brunetti sent similar condolences to Ricciardi on account of this ailment in other letters of that year, and into 1652: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 95 (doc. 34), 108 (doc. 43), 108–109 (doc. 44), 111 (doc. 48) and 112 (doc. 49).

4. The term "consulto" refers to a consultation of two or more doctors at a patient's bedside, to determine diagnosis and treatment: Battaglia, 3:619. The verb "instradare" means to direct or set on the right path: Battaglia, 8:149.

5. On the link between freedom and friendship, see Hoare 2018, esp. Introduction.

6. As noted by Limentani 1950, 74, note 2, Rosa's use of the phrase "l'indisposizione corrente" alludes to an epidemic that spread in a particular location between Rome and Pisa and resulted in the closure of transit routes in parts of central Italy. The same problem seems to have occurred the following year: see letters 133 and 147 (in which Rosa refers specifically to the "plague of Viterbo"), and letters 152 (again, in reference to a disease in Viterbo) and 157.

7. This must be in reference to the ongoing epidemic (see note 6, above) that would have necessitated certain prohibitions on transit between cities, and even outright closure of some routes.

The issue arose again during the plague in Naples and Rome of 1656, for which see letters 201, 202, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217 and 220. As noted by Wells 1973, 6, "during epidemics, control of all traffic, by land through the various gates of the city [of Rome], and on its river, was of great importance, in order to maintain a supply of food and yet regulate the movement of people into and out of the city." On the economic impact of the plagues in Italy during the seventeenth century, see Ago, in Spear and Sohm 2010, esp. 256. In 1656, Rosa frequently complained about the problems that the road closures were creating for his professional activities, on which see the letters cited above.

Letter 88:

1. Rosa had earlier mentioned the snowfall of that year in letter 86.

2. This "Signora Antonia" was probably a woman in the employ of the Maffei family at Monterufoli. She is also mentioned in letters 66 and 100.

3. Presumably Easter Monday.

4. The expression "aver caro qualcuno, qualche cosa" means to feel affection or tenderness for; "avere a caro" is to hold in great account, to prize, to esteem, to appreciate, to enjoy: Battaglia, 2:788.

5. This "Gioseppino" is perhaps one of Giulio and Giovanna Maffei's children, on the subject of which see letter 5, note 8. On this matter, see also letter 83, note 7. Paita 2007, 90, lamented Rosa's apparently dismissive attitude toward the "nuisances" of Lucrezia's pregnancies (for the relevant letters, see letter 17, note 3), an attitude that seems at odds with the sadness he expressed, as on the present occasion, over his friends' losses. However, Rosa's complaints about (and apparent relative epistolary silence on) the matter of his own children who were born out of wedlock was probably in large part due to a desire not to draw unnecessary attention (Rosa frequently expressed fear that his letters would be seen by prying eyes) to his illegal relationship with Lucrezia. On this matter, see letter 112, note 11.

6. The verb "scroccare" literally means to sponge or scrounge something off someone else without any effort on one's own part; to be a freeloader: Battaglia, 18:309. In view of the fact that Rosa is here apparently talking about a young child, his usage is probably intended with a more affectionate overtone.

7. Rosa's nickname for Giulio Maffei. See letter 4, note 12.

8. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear. He seems to be implying that he wants (or does not want, depending on whether his statement is sincere or ironic) to see Giulio grow old and become a "patriarch".

9. Rosa also asks after this "old man," together with an "old woman" ("Lionora"), in other letters to Giulio Maffei. See letter 68, note 10.

10. The "old woman" of Monterufoli to whom Rosa refers in letter 68.

11. On Rosa's high self-regard, and his desire for recognition in Rome, in particular, see letter 32, note 9. On the *Democritus in Meditation*, see letter 86, note 15.

12. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, and the "obstacle" Rosa considered them to create, see letter 17, note 3, and (for Rosa's lamentations, in particular) letter 112.

13. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

14. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

15. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

16. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

17. On the term "procaccio," see letter 27 (note 2) and letter 73 (note 13).

18. On this "Signor Perissi," an acquaintance of Rosa and Giulio Maffei, see letter 36, note 3.

19. On this "triumvirate" (comprised of Rosa, Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei), see letter 36, note 6, and letter 54, note 15.

20. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

21. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

22. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

23. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

Letter 89:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. On Rosa's desire for, and pride in, obtaining a significant professional fame and reputation in Rome, see letter 32, note 9.

3. The verb "fastidire," or in modern usage "infastidire," means to provoke annoyance, irritation or impatience; to irritate, annoy, pester or bore: Battaglia, 5:705 and 708–709.

4. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

5. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

6. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

7. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

8. The term "franca" conventionally means "postage paid," or "paid in advance". On the meaning of this term, see letter 56, note 6. The implication here is that the package was not sent "postage paid," which Giulio had apparently told Rosa it would be; Giulio had presumably given money to and entrusted someone else in Siena with the task of mailing the package "postage paid," and would now need to retrieve his money from them. See also Rosa's comments to this effect in letter 90, where it seems that the meat suffered on account of its unnecessarily long journey. Rosa refers to Giulio's gift of meat earlier in letters 80, 82, 83 and 88.

9. The term "profumatissimo" can mean perfumed, but also elegant or dressed up, or, in a pejorative sense, stinky or smelly: Battaglia, 14:542. There are therefore a number of alternatives here as to Rosa's intended meaning: he could be suggesting a penchant on Ugo Maffei's part for cologne, or alluding to his distinctive odour, or he could be mocking him more generally for his ostentatious physical display.

Letter 90:

1. Rosa also mentions this "Signor Antinori" as the benefactor of the dowry for Lucrezia's sister, Catera, in letters 95, 113 and 149. On the dowries that Rosa was trying to secure for Lorenza and Catera, see also letter 48, note 18.

2. That is, Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13.

3. See letter 89, where Rosa makes a similar complaint.

4. The *Democritus in Meditation*, on which see letter 86, note 15. By "sold" Rosa seems to mean "received an offer of payment for," as is clear from his comments in subsequent letters. On the painting and its eventual sale to Nicolò Sagredo, see letter 86 (note 15) and letter 137 (notes 4 and 5).

5. On Rosa's desire for fame in Rome, see letter 32, note 9.

6. "Rogna" is scabies. This is the first of a number of epistolary references to the "rogna" that Rosa and other members of his family were suffering from. See also letters 91, 93, 99 and 100, and (a much later instance) letter 302.

7. Giulio Maffei's brother, Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

8. A "palchetto" is a type of elevated platform or stage, often a theatrical stage: Battaglia, 12:388–389. Rosa is presumably here referring to one of the *commedia* "stages" erected during Carnival season.

9. The circumstances of the incident to which Rosa here refers are not known.

10. The wife of Giulio Maffei, Giovanna Incontri, who was apparently godmother to Rosalvo. On Giovanna, see letter 2, note 10.

11. On Signor Perissi, see letter 36, note 3.

12. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

13. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

Letter 91:

1. Rosa is here referring to his painting *Democritus in Meditation*, on which see letter 86, note 15. On the solicitor Marcantonio Eugeni's interest in Rosa's *Democritus* and his attempt to acquire the painting, see letter 86, note 15. On Eugeni himself, see letter 84, note 4. On Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13. In a letter to Ricciardi of 16 April 1651, Brunetti reported on the offer Eugeni had made in seeking to purchase the painting: "Regarding the sale of Signor Rosa's painting, much discussion has been made, as well as many different offers, such as 150, 180 and 200 *scudi*, but I think for certain that my Lord, Signor Lawyer Eugenio, will obtain it from him for 240 [*scudi*] […] and maybe today, or tomorrow, I'll have to tell Signor Rosa to hold on to the painting on behalf of Signor Lawyer." ("Circa la vendita del quadro del Sig. Rosa sono stati fatti più e diversi discorsi e fatte ancora più e diverse offerte, come di 150, 180 e 200 scudi, ma credo assolutamente che il Sig. Avvocato Eugenio mio Signore lo piglierà lui per 240. […] e forse hoggi, o domani dovrò dire al Sig. Rosa che tenga il quadro a requisizione del Sig. Avvocato.") For Brunetti's letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 100–104, doc. 38.

2. As noted by Limentani 1950, 74, note 1, the Spanish Governor of Milan in 1651 was Luis de Benavides de Carrillo, Marquis of Caracena, to whom Antonio Abati dedicated his *Frascherie* (in 1651), as Rosa himself reports in letter 114. Milan did not have the right to a viceroy. Perhaps Rosa believed that in Milan, as in Naples, there was a viceregal position. As noted by Conte 2014, 276, Rosa's comments here probably allude to a commercial strategy on his part to raise the prices of his paintings, or at least to achieve a higher price for this particular sale. On the Milanese interest in Rosa's paintings, see Conte 2014, 384–428.

3. On the merchant Pietro Pandolfini, see letter 84, note 8. The painting to which Rosa refers is not known. As suggested by Conte 2014, 335, note 35, it was probably a landscape, to judge from Rosa's reference to its small size. On Pietro Pandolfini and his purchase of paintings by Rosa, see also letter 65, note 4.

4. Limentani 1950 proposed that Rosa here employed the term "testuccia," which would alter the meaning from "small canvas" to "tiny little head"—that is, a painting perhaps in the vein of the "teste" or "heads" to which Rosa refers in letters 48, 84 and 85. In view of the fact that Rosa made one of the "teste" for Pietro Pandolfini, however, it is possible that the painting in question was a "testuccia".

5. Giovan Jacopo Panciroli (1585–1651), secretary of state under Pope Innocent X. Limentani 1950, 75, note 3, noted that Panciroli was the son of a tailor, "maestro Virgilio," and the right hand of the pope. See also Cardella, 7:21.

6. On Rosa and his desire for fame in Rome, see letter 32, note 9. On the *Democritus in Meditation* and its particular critical success, see letter 86, note 15.

7. The implication here is that Rosa either planned to give the painting to Ricciardi as a gift, or that he hoped to avail himself of Ricciardi's services as art dealer, with the expectation that Ricciardi would help him find a prospective buyer in Florence or Pisa. Rosa's comment in this regard is also interesting for what it suggests about his attitude toward his work: having decided at first to send the painting to Ricciardi, Rosa then changed his mind after seeing what a large sum he could make by selling it in Rome.

8. Rosa's expectation of "three hundred or two hundred" *scudi* for his *Democritus in Meditation* was perhaps quite high in view of the fact that only one figure is present in the painting—an important consideration in connection with the widespread contemporary practice of pricing according to the number of figures (on which see: Spear 1994; Sohm, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 27 and 240–244; and Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 52–60). It is revealing to compare Rosa's estimation with the kinds of prices contemporaries received for equally or even more ambitious large-scale and multi-figure paintings, such as the two hundred *scudi* given to Pietro da Cortona for his *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* of 1646 (San Lorenzo in Miranda, Rome)—of comparable dimensions to Rosa's painting (Rosa's is 344 x 214 cm and Cortona's is 320 x 180 cm) but a multi-figure composition with additional prestige as an altarpiece. See Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 59. Rosa's comments reflect a more pervasive desire on the part of contemporary artists to hold out for the best prospective price one could obtain. As noted by McPhee 2012, 90, "[t]he market for art in Rome in the mid-seventeenth century was particularly unstable; the price of pictures varied widely. It was understood […] that the market fluctuated and that one had to have patience, for a picture was worth the best price its seller could manage to command." On collecting and the art market in seventeenth-century Rome and other parts of Italy, see in particular: Spezzaferro 1989; Spezzaferro 1996; Ago 1998; Spezzaferro 1998; Spezzaferro 2001; Spezzaferro 2002; Cappelletti 2003; Lorizzo 2003a; Lorizzo 2003b; Spezzaferro 2004; Ago 2006; Lorizzo 2006; Nicolai 2008; Cavazzini 2008a; and Spear and Sohm 2010. On the prices Rosa received for his paintings, and his financial position in relation to the contemporary art market, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 73–76, and Hoare 2018, chapter five.

9. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

10. This is perhaps a reference to Cardinal Giulio Cesare Sacchetti, on whom see letter 34, note 1. Cosimo Brunetti had himself mentioned Rosa's particular esteem for the cardinal in a letter of 1652, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 112, doc. 50. On Brunetti and Sacchetti, see further letter 34, note 1, and letter 67, note 13.

11. On the meaning of the term "genio" in this context, see letter 19, note 1.

12. The phrase "buttarlo a' fiumi" means, literally, to throw into the river, or, more figuratively, to throw away. The comparable expression "buttare a mare" also means to throw away, discard, or abandon: Battaglia, 2:469.

13. These "breviaries" are not mentioned elsewhere in Rosa's extant correspondence.

14. On the expression "viso di cotale," which Rosa frequently employs as a nickname for Ricciardi, see letter 46, note 13.

15. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

16. Limentani 1950, 75, note 4, proposed that this was a lost work by Rosa. Paliaga 2009, 157, suggested it could have been a painting commissioned by Francesco Lanfreducci for the nuns of the church of San Martino, or for those of the church of San Matteo, where Lanfreducci was the patron of two altars dedicated respectively to Saint Ursula and Saint Matthew the Apostle. However, no such work by Rosa survives. On Lanfreducci, see letter 84, note 7. Conte 2014, 263 and 335, note 34, links this work with the painting mentioned in letters 85 (see note 10) and 86.

17. On Gaspare Leoli, see letter 85, note 13.

18. On Pietro Pandolfini, see letter 84, note 8.

19. On Rosa's (and his family's) infection with scabies, see letter 90.

20. For the medical definition of "purgare" as the undergoing of a depurative treatment, involving the administration of a purgative or laxative ("purga"), see Battaglia, 14:1022.

21. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. On the birth of this particular child, in October 1651, see letter 112.

22. Giuseppe Rosa (1613–1656), who was a Piarist at the convent of Santa Maria di Caravaggio in Naples. When Giuseppe joined the novitiate of the Piarist order in Naples, in 1629, he took the name "Domenico di San Tommaso Aquino" in homage to his maternal uncle, Domenico Antonio Greco. Giuseppe, who like Rosa engaged in the activities of painting and poetry, joined the order with the title "pictor": Costa 2013, 37. Salvator Rosa (who joined the order in 1630) took the name of "Salvatore di San Pietro," however Rosa abandoned the novitiate in 1631: Langdon 2010b, 11. See also Festa 1963b, 71, and Costa 2013, 38. Giuseppe travelled to Florence in, or just before, 1633, where he is recorded between 1633 and 1638 as the head of a school of arithmetic: Costa 2013, 38, who proposes further (43) that Giuseppe, who in Florence had close ties to the circle of Galileo (and may have been instrumental in introducing Rosa to this group), left Florence in the autumn of 1640, even though he managed to escape denunciation as an associate of Galileo by the Inquisition of the Padre Sozzi. With the suppression of the Scuole Pie by Pope Innocent X, in 1646, Giuseppe returned to a secular life instead of joining an alternative religious order. Giuseppe died during the plague in Naples in 1656, as Rosa laments in letter 202. On Giuseppe, see further Prota-Giurleo 1929b, and De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 29. On his purported work as a poet, see letter 153, note 12. On his work as a painter, see Hoare 2018, 249 and note 172 (for a number of his works in Girolamo Mercuri's collection), and letter 155, note 9. On Giuseppe and Salvator Rosa's ties to the Scuole Pie in Naples, and the significance in this context of their early work as painters (and for an important corpus of letters by Giuseppe Calasanzio, the founder of the Scuole Pie, which comment upon the two brothers' activities in this regard), see Costa 2013, 36–44. In regard to Rosa's comment in the present letter, Giuseppe Rosa did not arrive in Rome until February of the following year (see letter 122).

23. Rosa once again declared his preference for Ricciardi over his brother, Giuseppe, in letter 122. The Porta del Popolo is one of the primary gates of Rome, located in the north of the city, while the Porta San Giovanni is the primary entry point to the south; hence, the first gate would be used by Ricciardi, in arriving from Pisa, and the second by Giuseppe, in arriving from Naples.

24. On the meaning of the term "genio" in this context, see also letter 19, note 1.

25. On Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, see letter 85, note 14.

26. On Cosimo Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

27. On this composition, see letter 85, note 11.

28. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

29. As noted by Lorizzo 2010a, 380, Rosa and Francesco Cordini seem to have struck up some kind of exclusive contract, shortly after Rosa's return to Rome. Scott 1995, 95, considered that Rosa's opening of a line of credit with a merchant in Rome, entitling him to "draw 200 *scudi* on demand," suggests he must have been quite successful in selling his pictures at this point in time. On the subject of exclusive contracts, drawn up between artists and dealers or agents in seventeenth-century Rome, see Lorizzo 2010b, 45. On Rosa's relationships with art dealers, more generally, see Hoare 2018, 247–255.

Letter 92:

1. Ugo Maffei, one of Giulio Maffei's brothers. On Ugo, see letter 16, note 8. This is the only known extant letter written by Rosa to Ugo.

2. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

3. Rosa mentions this otherwise unidentified "Rinaldo" again in letter 95.

4. Rosa refers to a "small jug of talc oil," intended for Ugo Maffei, again in letter 95.

5. The object of mistreatment here is not entirely clear: "it" could refer to either the Maffei family's courtesy or the city of Rome (which Rosa would presumably "mistreat" by leaving).

6. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

8. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

Letter 93:

1. The letter is written in the hand of Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

2. The term "coccia," in Neapolitan dialect, means head or

skull: Galiani, 1:114. Used in expressions like "avere la coccia dura" (to have a hard head), the term refers to obstinacy or hard-headedness: Battaglia, 3:242.

3. "Biacca" is lead white, on which see also letter 73, note 2.

4. The word "tetrargilio" presumably stands for "litrargilio," or litharge, a form of lead oxide. See letter 74, note 5. Rosa is here referring to a medicinal treatment known as unguentum album, or ceruse ointment—comprised of rose oil, lead white and other ingredients including white wax, camphor and almond oil—used as a curative and coolant. See: James, 745; Raynalde 2009, 281; and Norri 2016, 1143. This was a treatment that Rosa was taking in order to alleviate his bout of scabies, on which see letter 90, note 6.

5. The verb "mesticare" means to mix together the various substances required in order to prepare colours for painting, or to apply the layer of primer or undercoat (the "mestica") in preparation for painting: Battaglia, 10:226.

6. On Rosa's bout of scabies, see letter 90, note 6.

7. Literally, the musicians of the Marche, or Marches, a region of central Italy. Rosa intends the expression here to mean "asses" or "idiots," in reference to the prevalence of donkeys ("asini") in the Marche region. He uses a variation of the expression in his satire *La Musica*, vv. 25–31 (Romei 1995, 51): "Quando 'l pensiero a contemplargli io/ volgo, col gran numero lor fan ch'io trasecolo/ gl[i] asini del senato e quei del volgo./ Su le cronologie più non ispecolo:/ mi forza a dire il paragone e 'l saggio/ che questo mio di Balaam è il secolo./ Multiplicato e il marchegian linguaggio". Rosa's reference, in the next line of the present letter, to two horses that feature in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (Frontino and Brigliadoro) seems to extend the crude animalian metaphor, in reference to defecation.

8. "Frontino" and "Brigliadoro" are the names of the horses belonging to Orlando (Brigliadoro) and Ruggiero (Frontino), two protagonists in Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 106, note 2.

9. Cosimo Brunetti. See note 1, above.

10. That is, Rosa.

11. The verb "incacare" literally means to smear with excrement. However, here, as in letters 119 and 200, the term is probably also intended in its figurative sense, meaning to outdo, surpass or render insignificant: Battaglia, 7:590. In literary usage, "rincacarsi" means to despise, disdain or hold in contempt: Manuzzi-*Vocabolario*, 3:873. In the present letter, Cosimo Brunetti (or Rosa) is probably also constructing a pun that plays upon the dual meaning of the term, in connection with Ricciardi's uncomfortable state of constipation, which forces him to adopt contorted poses that rival those of the figures in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (on which see further note 12, below).

12. A reference to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (1535–1541, Sistine Chapel, Rome) and the contorted poses adopted by the figures therein. As noted by Limentani 1950, 77, note 3, Rosa elsewhere expressed his aversion to Michelangelo, deriding him in his satire *La Pittura*, vv. 376–378 (Romei 1995, 107): "Michel'Angelo mio, non parlo in gioco; Questo che dipingete è un gran Giudizio; Ma del giudizio voi n'avete poco" ("My dear Michelangelo, I don't speak in jest; your painting is a grand Judgment; but as for judgment itself, you have very little"). In his biography of Rosa, Passeri, 396, reported (with some embarrassment) Rosa's challenge to the great Florentine master: after completing his altarpiece representing the *Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian* for the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, Rosa encountered Passeri one day on the Trinità dei Monti and bragged to him (with the honesty of a true friend—"amicissimo"—says Passeri): "Che dicono adesso questi maligni? si sono chiariti, se io so fare in grande? o venga Michelangelo, e disegni meglio quel nudo, che vi ho fatto io se lo saperà fare: adesso ho stoppato il Mondo perché gl' ho fatto vedere quanto vaglio." ("What do my detractors say now? Have they not been set straight and shown my ability to paint large figures? Come, Michelangelo, and draw a better nude than I have, if you know how. Now I have brought the world to a halt, because I've made them see the extent of my talents.") The term "scorcio," in the context of the figurative arts, refers to the perspectival technique of creating the visual illusion of foreshortening: Battaglia, 18:221. In this context, it is interesting to note the observation of Conte 2014, 170–178, that the figure lying on his back in the water in the foreground of Rosa's *Marina del Porto* (1641), depicted in an extremely foreshortened view, recalls Andrea Mantegna's *Dead Christ* (*c.* 1480, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), famous for its bravura display of foreshortening, and suggests a self-conscious exercise on Rosa's part in the display of his own skills in this regard. In this respect, Rosa's figure belongs to a series of early modern pictorial engagements with Mantegna's painting, and the visual challenge it represents.

13. This is probably a reference to blood-letting, a practice in which early modern barber-surgeons specialized. On this practice, known as phlebotomy, and its centrality to medicine in this period, see Cavallo 2007, 41–49.

14. The verb "sciropparsi," no longer in use, refers to drinking medicinal syrups: Battaglia, 18:83.

15. The Land of Cockaigne, the mythical land of plenty.

16. Here Rosa appears to be constructing a pun on the double meaning of the term "bolle," in reference to both "blisters" and the "Bolle" or decrees (known as "Bulls") issued by the pope, which were originally given dates by the Apostolic Datary (Dataria). On the Datary, see letter 31, note 5.

17. That is, Rosa.

18. On the meaning of the term "flemma" see letter 53, note 3.

19. The word "soggezione" has various figurative meanings, including: annoyance, irritation, bother and vexation; fear for one's health, or fear more generally; precaution; and deference or submission: Battaglia, 19:282–283.

Letter 94:

1. The original text of the *avviso* from which Rosa is here quoting has not been found. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 101, note 1, note that it is not recorded in the *Ottoboniano Latino* codices 2458 and 2459 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), which contain the *avvisi* for the years 1649–1653. On the *avvisi*—"news-letters" or "news bulletins"—produced in and distributed from various European centres, see: Battaglia, 1:905–906; Hammond 1988, 74 (who notes that *avvisi* "circulated in limited manuscript copies to important clients. Less formal and considerably more racy and informative than the official reports of diplomats, *avvisi* were sometimes prohibited by the Roman authorities, but without success"); Infelise 2002; Barbarics and Pieper 2007; and Infelise 2007.

2. Giulio Maffei's brother, Ugo, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

3. The Duke of Bracciano to whom Rosa here refers is Paolo Giordano II Orsini (1591–1655). Mario Maffei (one of Giulio

Maffei's sons) had been his secretary for a short time, and Ugo Maffei had also worked in the service of the Orsini family (at least until 1641): Borrelli and Festa 2003, 101, note 2.

4. Cardinal Girolamo Farnese (1599–1668), Duke of Latera. In 1650, he was named Governor of Rome, and in 1655 was made prefect of the Apostolic Palace and Governor of Castel Gandolfo. The Governor of Rome is the magistrate of the Holy Office who governs the principal judiciary penal body of Rome. He holds the highest rank among the so-called "Prelati di Fiocchetto," or the group of four prelates who comprise the Roman Curia: Moroni 1840–1861, 30 [1845]:5–48. The Governor of Rome (also known as the "Vice Chancellor") was the head of justice, civil and criminal law in the city and "presided over tribunals for civil and criminal cases and administered the prisons of the Corte Savella and the Tor di Nona, maintaining order with a police force": Hammond 1988, 56. See also on this subject: Del Re 1972; Londei 1991; Fosi 1997; Fosi 2002; Storey 2008, 8–9; and McPhee 2012, 59 (citing Fosi 2002, 354), who notes that by the seventeenth century it was customary for a supplicant to "write directly to the official in control of the institution, in this case the Governatore, rather than to the pope or his secretary." The "padroni" Rosa mentions here are presumably the pope and the cardinal heads of the Holy Office.

5. Anna Maria Aldobrandini, who married Francesco Maria Cesi (died 1657), Duke of Ceri and Selci: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 101, note 3.

6. Olimpia Aldobrandini (1623–1681).

7. On the "sbirri," the policemen or henchmen of the prisons and the courts of the Governor of Rome, see McPhee 2012, 49, who notes that they were "emissaries of papal justice". See further Pisano 1932 and Hughes 1987.

8. Pietro Catalani (or Catalano) (on whom see also letter 95), the son of Cinzia d'Agny, a widow who later married Ugo Maffei: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 101, note 5. See also letter 16 (note 8) and letters 95 and 97.

Letter 95:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. On this certain "Rinaldo," see also letter 92.

3. On these items, intended for Ugo Maffei, see also letter 92.

4. Pietro Catalani (or Catalano), the son of Ugo Maffei's wife Cinzia. He was unfortunately caught up in Ugo's scandal, and seems to have been arrested (perhaps mistakenly) in place of Ugo. See letter 94, note 8, and letter 16, note 8. See also letter 97, in which Rosa explains the reason for Catalani's arrest.

5. On the matter of this dowry, and Signor Antinori, see letter 90 and the letters cited in letter 48, note 18. For Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, see letter 58, note 13.

6. The phrase "di quante Roma ha Roma" means, literally, "however much Rome is in Rome." Rosa uses a similar phrase in letter 48, in that instance apparently citing a line from a poem by Fulvio Testi.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

8. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

9. The phrase "in primis" means first and foremost, primarily, or above all.

10. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

11. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

12. Festa 1982, 123, note 74, proposed this as a reference to Marcantonio Maffei, an identification that would correspond with Rosa's reference here to "politics," as his nickname for Marcantonio was "Signor Politico" (see letter 27, note 13). Alternatively, Rosa is perhaps here referring to the certain "Signor Marchi," named (occasionally alongside his equally unidentifiable nephew) in letters 167, 168, 194 and 399 (again, as "Signor Marchino").

Letter 96:

1. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

2. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

3. It is not certain, but seems likely that Ricciardi intended to use this yellow Indian jasmine for medicinal purposes, perhaps in connection with his "illness" of the eyes, on which see letter 85, note 1. Jasmine has poisonous properties, but its root (which Ricciardi had requested specifically, as Rosa indicates in letter 127) was historically used as an ingredient in herbal recipes for anaesthesia and other medicinal concoctions and treatments. See Ebadi 2006, 134. Rosa mentions the matter of the jasmine again in letters 126, 127, 128 and 129.

4. The phrase "hanno mandati fuori gl'occhi" means, literally, "their eyes have fallen out"; here, Rosa presumably intends "they have put out their buds".

5. The phrase "cavarsi la voglia" means to have the satisfaction of doing something.

6. With the word "Roses" Rosa is here referring with irony to himself.

7. It is not certain as to which "satires" Rosa is here referring. They could number among the written satires that Rosa had already completed (which by this date included *La Musica*, *La Poesia*, *La Pittura* and *La Guerra*), or they could be as-yet unwritten satires, including perhaps *L'Invidia*, composed between 1652 and 1654. Alternatively, by "Satire" (capitalized in the ms.) Rosa could mean his paired paintings of *Democritus* and *Diogenes*, which he was at the time eagerly trying to sell, and for the best possible price (see letter 86, note 15). The term "satire" had been applied to Rosa's paintings on other occasions, as in the case of the controversial *Allegory of Fortune* (1658–1659, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), on which see Volpi 2014, 531–532 (cat. 231), and Hoare 2018, 27 (and note 9), 134, 234–236, 250 and 258, or the now-lost *Landscape with the Figure of Painting*, on which see Hoare 2018, 133 (and note 19) and 163–164. On Rosa's "satirical paintings" see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 26.

8. The phrase "far di meno" is an unusual formulation, perhaps a variation on "non poter fare a meno di," meaning to be in absolute need of something, or to be obliged to do something or obliged to someone.

9. For "coccia" as obstinate or hard-headed, see letter 93, note 2.

10. On this composition, see letter 85, note 11.

11. Rosa appears to be quoting a line from Giovan Battista Basile's *Lo cunto de li cunti* (1634–1636), the first major compilation of fairy tales (fifty in total), written in the Neapolitan dialect. The line is from Basile's tale of "La Mortella" ("The Myrtle"): "Ma tornato lo prencepe da la caccia, tiraie lo capo de seta e sonaie lo campaniello; ma sona ca piglie quaglie!

sona ca passa lo piscopo! poteva sonare a martiello, ca la fata faceva de la storduta" ("When the prince returned from the hunt, he pulled the silken string, and rang the little bell; but ring as he would, *it was all a waste of time*; he might sound the tocsin, and ring until he was tired, for the fairy gave no heed"): Basile, 26. The line in Italian, here rendered in English in italics, is literally translated as "Ring, for they're catching quails—ring, for the bishop is going by." The expression exists in isolation within the Neapolitan dialect as "sona ca piglie quagli," which means to lose time without attaining your goal: Galiani, 2:52. Rosa's sentiment here, then, is tantamount to "whatever I do, it's useless," or "despite all my efforts, they will be fruitless". On the influence of Basile's work on Rosa, see Hoare 2018, chapter two, note 126.

12. On the meaning of "purga" in connection with the administration of a purgative or laxative, see letter 91, note 20.

13. De Rinaldis 1939, 17, note 2, noted that this letter had not been found. It has still not yet come to light.

14. The word "pellegrino" (also spelled "peregrino"), in its usage here, derives from the Latin term, meaning a stranger or foreigner. In the specific context of art theory, in which the term is applied to subject matter and iconography (as Rosa uses it here), it is borrowed from poetry and refers in particular to ingenious invention. For other seventeenth-century examples of the term's usage along these lines, see Bellori, 274 and 333 (Wohl 2005, 216 and 253), and Malvasia, 2:321, 325 and 336. Rosa could intend it here as "exotic," "strange" or "outlandish," which would be in keeping with his predilection for obscure and unique subject matter, on which see Hoare 2018, 272–279. For the various meanings of the term, including exotic, curious, rare, precious, inventive, marvellous and perfect, see Battaglia, 12:962–964.

15. On Rosa's frequent solicitation of ideas and advice from Ricciardi for pictorial works or poetry, and his search for novel subjects in particular, see Hoare 2018, 272–279. On Rosa's participation in the public exhibitions in Rome, including that of San Giovanni Decollato, which took place on 29 August, see Salomon 2010b, and Hoare 2018, 256–258. See also letter 86, note 16. The subject to which Rosa here refers suggests that the painting he was planning to execute resulted in the *Astrea Abandoning the Earth* (*c.* 1655–1660, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), as is suggested by the additional and more specific iconographic elements and physical features of the painting Rosa was at work on, mentioned in letter 99 (in addition to his reference in that letter to having already executed a painting on the subject, *The Return of Astrea* or *Justice among the Shepherds*). As noted by Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 56 and 62, note 40, these letters suggest a date for the *Astrea Abandoning the Earth*—until now unanimously dated to the early 1660s—of the early 1650s. On the dating of the painting, see also Prohaska, in Naples 2008, 134–135. It is interesting, in view of Rosa's erudite predilections and his strong convictions about the procedures of history painting—its literary underpinnings, and the importance of adhering to the "source," for example (on which see the letters cited in letter 281, note 6, and Hoare 2018, 135–136)—that Rosa here requests a subject from Ricciardi on the basis of the types of figures he wishes to represent, rather than working from the narrative subject itself as the starting point for a painting. Rosa also (as suggested by his comments in letter 99) seems to have used the size and desired orientation of the canvas as the basis for his iconographic choice. Rosa's protracted comments on the same subject, however, in letter 99, reveal that he had begun—at some point in this exchange with Ricciardi—to think in particular of Virgil's *Georgics* and the specific subject of Justice departing the Earth. Salomon 2010b, 84, adhering to the more general consensus that the *Astrea Abandoning the Earth* belongs to the 1660s, suggested that the exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato for the present year, 1651, at which Rosa says he planned to exhibit his completed painting, "may have been cancelled for lack of funds," as is implied by a document of 17 August 1660. Rosa, notes Salomon, "probably abandoned the project only to take up the subject matter once again more than ten years later, possibly for a similar occasion," that is, in producing the second, vertical version of the subject, representing *Astrea Abandoning the Earth*. On the painting, see Volpi 2014, 337–339 and 532, cat. 232, who notes its strong stylistic resonance with Rosa's Roman works, in comparison with Rosa's earlier Florentine version of Astrea, and considers it to perhaps present a deliberate polemic with the *Allegory of Fortune* of 1658–1659. The painting to which Rosa here refers may also be one and the same with the work depicting this subject that Baldinucci, 5:444, says was sent to France, together with the *Saul and the Witch of Endor*.

16. On the meaning of the term "coccia," see note 9, above.

17. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

18. Presumably a reference to Rosa's and Ricciardi's mutual friends among the knights of the Order of Santo Stefano, a number of whom also belonged to the Pisan academies, including the Stravaganti, the Disuniti and the Accademia Pisana (the University of Pisa). See the list of friends named in letter 86. On these academic friends, see also letter 46, note 28, and letter 56, note 2. See also letter 121, note 3 (for useful sources) and Hoare 2018, 86–90. For the term "cavaliere" as "gentleman," which could also perhaps be Rosa's intended meaning here, see letter 31, note 3.

19. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

20. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

21. Cosimo Brunetti reports on his well-being in his own letters of this period, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 93–109, docs. 32–44. Brunetti reported to Ricciardi in a letter of 23 March 1652 (doc. 44) that he had been sick "for 50 days," and that his friend and tutor in law, Marcantonio Eugeni, had been even worse off than him. Rosa again refers to the state of Brunetti's health in letter 99.

22. Marcantonio Eugeni, on whom see letter 84, note 4.

23. The *Democritus in Meditation*, on which see letter 86, note 15.

24. Rosa here constructs a rather impenetrable, figurative pun that plays upon his previous mention of the solicitor Marcantonio Eugeni's indecision in regard to purchasing the *Democritus in Meditation*. (Rosa earlier mentioned Eugeni's interest in the painting in letter 91.) Rosa seems to mean that he will clarify the situation using his own method, not what is expected of him—that is, he will "defeat the Devil" (or "overcome the obstacle" presented to him) by using something other than the most expedient or expected means: he will "make him bright" (make sense of the situation, perhaps) without using the most obvious material with which to do so, the pigment lead white; in other terms, he will solve the problem his own way. The Devil, who represents deception, is black, and therefore must be "made white" in order for the truth to be clarified. Alternatively, Rosa could be suggesting he will take care of the situation not by making the Devil white with his brush, but by beating him. Rosa's pun may bear some analogy with his comment ("the Devil isn't as ugly as painters make him out to be") in letter 328. In yet another interpretation, Rosa could be alluding to his bout of scabies (on which see in

particular letter 93) and the medicinal ointment (containing lead white) that he had been using as a treatment for this condition. His comment concerning "making the Devil bright without lead white" perhaps indicates a desire to avoid—in the case of this new misfortune (here made analogous, in Rosa's apparent estimation, to the nuisance of his earlier misfortune of scabies)—the continued use of what is effectively a highly poisonous concoction.

Letter 97:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. See letter 94, in which Rosa reports on the content of a recent *avviso*.

3. Pietro Catalani, the son of Ugo Maffei's wife Cinzia.

4. On the predicament of Pietro Catalani, see letters 94 and 95. It had initially been reported that Catalani was arrested in place of, or on account of being mistaken for, his step-father Ugo. See also letter 16, note 8. On the matter of the Index of Prohibited Books, see also letter 55, note 5, and letter 129, note 12.

5. Giulio Maffei had apparently expressed embarrassment over the scandal Ugo had created, writing to Rosa without signing his name, as well as omitting the location and date. See also letter 100, in which Rosa tries to allay Giulio's concerns, advising him to sign only with the initials "G. M."

6. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

7. By the "twentieth" hour, Rosa here means roughly four hours before sunset (a length of time that varied according to the season and location). At the end of April, in Rome, sunset takes place around 8pm of the modern clock. For the reckoning of time in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 31, note 7.

8. Cinzia, the wife of Ugo Maffei. See letter 16, note 8.

9. Rosa had earlier asked Giulio to assist with both Lorenza and Catera Paolini's dowries. See letter 48, note 18.

10. Rosa's reference here to the "book" of his obligations is probably intended in both a metaphorical and literal sense; in letters 75 and 79, he refers to the tally he is keeping of the costs incurred by Giulio in executing favours on Rosa's behalf.

Letter 98:

1. This is the only extant letter written by Rosa to Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

2. The term "aggarbato," an older spelling of "garbato," means polite, civil, amiable or pleasant-mannered: Battaglia, 1:235.

3. The verb "instivalare," or "stivalare," means to put on boots: Battaglia, 8:148 and 20:205.

4. On Rosa's frequent mockery of Giulio and Marcantonio Maffei's noses, see letter 34, note 13.

5. The "twentieth hour" of the day, or approximately four hours before sunset, the modern equivalent of which is rather difficult to approximate. On the measurement of time in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 31, note 7.

6. For the term "infilzata" as a spitful or skewerful, see Battaglia, 7:944.

7. A reference to Marcantonio Maffei's nickname, "Signor Politico".

8. On Rosa's house on the Trinità dei Monti in Rome, see letter 26, note 3.

Letter 99:

1. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

2. The word "scimmiesconne" is the augmentative or pejorative of the adjective, meaning monkey-like or ape-like, or, more generally, animal-like or bestial: Battaglia, 18:42.

3. The "business of the painting" probably concerns the "Saint Matthew" referred to in letters 85 and 86, and in letter 101, where Rosa mentions the rather astronomical offer of five hundred *scudi* he had received for the painting, and also indicates the role played by Ricciardi in negotiating its price, and perhaps in the commission and sale itself. Conte 2014, 263 and 335, note 34, considers Rosa to here be referring to the prospect of a painting (for which Ricciardi had secured the commission) that Rosa was to execute for the Benedictine nuns of the convent of San Matteo in Pisa: see letter 85, note 10. De Rinaldis 1939, 18, note 2, considered this an ironic reference on Rosa's part to his painting of *Pan and Syrinx*, and the situation involving Francesco Cordini, on which see letter 86.

4. Rosa's age is reported here as thirty-five, which is correct. In a letter of 1668 (letter 357), Rosa reports his age incorrectly as "forty-six", seven years younger than he actually was.

5. On the matter of Cosimo Brunetti's health during this period, see also letter 96, note 21.

6. Presumably, Rosa is here referring to visits he received from Cosimo Brunetti during his own bouts of illness at this moment. Indeed, Brunetti himself reports in a letter to Ricciardi of 13 May 1651 that "Signor Rosa has been so poorly that I'd never believe it possible to find greater patience in a man like him; for ten days he was unable to walk, sit, move his hands or other parts of his body, and couldn't even walk about the house. But he's almost free of it, and tomorrow he'll start to venture outside." ("Il sig.r Rosa è stato malissimo a segno ch'io non potevo mai capacitare che si trovasse una patienza tanto grande in un huomo di quella sorte; è stato dieci giorni senza poter camminare, ne sedere, ne muover le mani ne altra parte del corpo, e cercava di passeggiar per la casa non poteva; pure è quasi libero e domani comincerà a uscire fuori.") For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 104, doc. 39.

7. On Rosa's painting of *Democritus in Meditation*, see letter 86, note 15. On the solicitor Marcantonio Eugeni's offer for the painting, see letter 91. Rosa has clearly written "ha toccato con mani" in the ms., suggesting the subject is either Eugeni or Brunetti. That is, "Eugeni has discovered for himself that this was a whim of his eccentric mind," or "Brunetti has discovered for himself that this was a whim of Eugeni's eccentric mind." Alternatively, Rosa could have intended to write "ho toccato con mani," which would require an alternative translation: "I've seen with my own eyes that this was a whim of Eugeni's eccentric mind."

8. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 109, note 1, consider this to be the poem by Ricciardi entitled *Sotto rigida stella*, from which Rosa cites on other occasions in the letters: see letters 250, 262 and 330. On the poem, which seems to date to before 1651, see also Hoare 2018, 167 and note 258. Rosa's phrasing in the present letter could also be interpreted as "what you've composed in regard to the poem on friendship". See also Langdon, in Langdon 2010a, 103, who also identifies the "poem on friendship" with

Ricciardi's *Sotto rigida stella*, noting the author's praise therein of Rosa as "a great painter and poet, blessed by double laurels. Yet more beautiful than these twin lights, he assures him, is the bright candour of his virtue."

9. As suggested by Besutti 2010, 158, this "drammetto musicale" was likely the future (and highly successful) *Cesare amante*, performed in Venice in 1652, based upon a libretto by Dario Varotari.

10. See Rosa's request to Ricciardi in letter 96, for a subject that "deals with a soldier and some female figure".

11. The term "lunga" can refer to either the vertical or horizontal dimension. In this case, Rosa surely means "tall" and not "wide," since he is apparently referring to the second version he painted of the subject of Astrea, taken from vv. 473–474 of the second book of Virgil's *Georgics*. Rosa's second version of the subject, which has a longer vertical dimension and is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, was executed after another one (*The Return of Astrea*, or *Justice among the Shepherds*, with a longer horizontal dimension, also in the Kunsthistorisches Museum) that he painted during his years in Florence, *c.* 1642–1645, and that he mentions in the next line of the present letter ("my picture"). For both paintings, see: Salerno 1975, 89 (cat. 67) and 97 (cat. 159); Naples 2008, 118–119 (cat. 13) and 134–135 (cat. 23); and Volpi 2014, 436–437 (cat. 93) and 532 (cat. 232). On the second version, dated by Volpi 2014, 532, to shortly after the present letter, *c.* 1655–1660, see also Prohaska, in Fumagalli 2007, 178. Baldinucci, 5:444 and 449, mentions *Justice (Astrea) among the Shepherds* as the subject of two different paintings by Rosa: one, sent to France along with the *Saul and the Witch of Endor* (for which see letter 370), is presumably the second version; the other, listed by the biographer as belonging to Cardinal Gian Carlo de' Medici, is the first version, with "figures of approximately one *palmo*" in height. As he seems to have done in this instance, Rosa appears elsewhere to have used the size and orientation of the canvas to determine its subject, as is suggested by the comments of Onorato Gini, in letters addressed to Rosa concerning the matter of the *Madonna del Suffragio*, in which a "tall" canvas is considered as better suited to a mythological rather than a historical subject. On the *Madonna del Suffragio*, see letter 260, note 13. On Gini's letters, see: Conte 2011, 88, and Conte 2014, 395–401.

12. Rosa's "other picture" was the version of the same subject, the *Return of Astrea* (*Justice among the Shepherds*), painted in Florence *c.* 1642–1645. On the painting, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, see most recently Volpi 2014, 436–437 (cat. 93). See also Hoare 2018, 117–118 and note 306.

13. "Stravagante" is a multivalent term, meaning whimsical, extravagant, bizarre and outlandish. On the significance of the term for Rosa's artistic identity, particularly in connection with his desire for novel and obscure subjects, see Hoare 2018, 241, 275, 280 and 282. On Rosa's solicitation of Ricciardi for novel subjects for his paintings, see Hoare 2018, 279–282.

14. On this composition, see letter 85, note 11.

15. In the present letter, Rosa has indeed cut off the lower half of the page, presumably the section in which he writes about the "Bayezid" composition. There are at least two possible explanations for its removal: Rosa could be making a joke, telling Ricciardi that he can "tear up" the enclosed piece of paper, which bears the same request Rosa had made repeatedly in previous letters, but that Ricciardi seemed to be ignoring; alternatively (or at the same time), Rosa could intend to be "secretive" with his comments about the Bayezid composition.

16. On the scabies that was afflicting Rosa and members of his family, see also letter 90, note 6.

17. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

18. With the term "salza" (or "salsa") Rosa probably intends a medicinal concoction, perhaps more specifically the one derived from the plant known as "salsapariglia" (also spelled "salzapariglia" or "salsa pariglia") (smilax aspera, or sarsaparilla), which had (and still has) a variety of medicinal uses, one of which is pain relief. The drug extracted from the roots of the plant, which has diaphoretic (perspiration-inducing) and sialagogic (saliva-producing) properties, was once used as a blood depurative and treatment for syphilis (Battaglia, 17:427–428), which may also be meaningful in connection with Rosa's reference here to Fabretti's "celibacy". On Cosimo Fabretti's illness, see also letter 101. He was perhaps suffering from scabies, like Rosa. In previous letters to Ricciardi, Rosa had sent especially fond greetings to Fabretti, clearly concerned about his condition.

19. The word "intirizzazione" derives from "intirizzare," to go numb or stiff, to lose feeling, or to be unable to move: Battaglia, 8:301.

20. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

21. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

22. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

23. A certain "Signor Dini" is mentioned in a number of letters written by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi, transcribed in Volpi and Paliaga 2012. In one of these, dated 25 February 1651, Brunetti expresses his confusion as to the reason for the "break" between "Sig. Rettore" (probably a Rector of the University) and Signor Bardi (perhaps the same as the Signor Bardi mentioned in the present letter): Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 98, doc. 35. This Rector could perhaps be the "Signor Dini" in question. Brunetti mentions Dini again in a letter to Ricciardi of 1 April of the same year (Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 100, doc. 37), but without any information that helps to clarify his identity. Rosa here seems to use the term "vizier" (*visir*), which in ancient and medieval Abbasid cultures refers to a high-ranking political advisor or minister. Signor Dini is also mentioned in letter 175.

24. This "Signor Bardi," a mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi, is frequently mentioned in the letters: see letters 175, 176, 201, 243 and 297. In three letters to Ricciardi, Cosimo Brunetti sends his greetings to a Signor Bardi (who is either in Florence or Pisa) together with a list of members of the Stravaganti: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 93, 94 and 98 (docs. 31, 33 and 35). Ricciardi also mentions in a letter from Pisa to Francesco Lanfreducci, dated 21 September 1652, a "Sig.r Michel Maria Bardi" as the recipient of an open letter from a mutual acquaintance, Jacopo Navarretti, which Ricciardi had been sent on behalf of Lanfreducci; Bardi was apparently upset over not having been reimbursed money: see Paliaga 2009, 221, Appendix XV.6 (noting further Baldinucci's citation of a certain "Bardi" as among the members of the Accademia dei Percossi). Ricciardi mentions the same "Sig.r Bardi," and the same matter referred to above, in another letter to Lanfreducci of 2 October 1652: Paliaga 2009, 221–222, Appendix XV.7. Ricciardi's 1687 inventory (for which see Paliaga 2009, 229, Appendix XXVI) also lists "a box full of writings by Signor Bardi" ("Una cassa piena di scritture del Sig.re Bardi"). Testaverde 2003, 66 and 67, mentions a certain Ferdinando de' Bardi, author of the *Descrizione delle feste fatte a Firenze per le reali nozze de serenissimi sposi Ferdinando II. Gran Duca di Toscana e Vittoria principessa d'Urbino* (Florence: per Zanobi Pignoni Con Licenza

de' Super., 1637), who could perhaps be another candidate for the "Signor Bardi" in question.

25. On Jacopo Antonio Lupi, see letter 48, note 27. Rosa's comment here suggests perhaps that Lupi's wife had died.

Letter 100:

1. A reference to the scabies Rosa and his family have been suffering from. See also letter 90, note 6. Rosa seems to have endured at least two different bouts of scabies, as he suggests in letter 99.

2. The phrase "cavare sangue" means to bleed, or to administer blood-letting: Battaglia, 2:923. The term "cavasangue" refers to a person who conducts blood-lettings; figuratively, a quack or doctor of poor repute: Battaglia, 2:925. See also letter 93 (note 13) and letter 260 (note 5).

3. Rosa complained to Giulio Maffei about the same matter in letter 97.

4. Rosa reports in letter 112 that Ugo was hiding in "Albano" (presumably Albano Laziale, not far from Rome) together with his wife and stepson. On Ugo's precarious situation, see letter 16, note 8.

5. This is one of a number of instances in the letters in which Rosa expressed his concern about Giulio's and Ricciardi's friendship. See letter 36, note 6.

6. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

8. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

9. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

10. On the dowries that Rosa was trying to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, Lorenza and Catera, see letter 48, note 18.

11. Here Rosa seems to be referring to the prospective sale or rental of the villa of Barbaiano, one of the properties owned by the Maffei family. See also letter 107, where Rosa mentions a division of the Maffei family's estate, and notes that Giovanna (Giulio Maffei's wife) is "keeping the rent for the villa"—presumably the villa of Barbaiano.

12. A man and woman (the latter named "Lionora"), probably a married couple, who worked for the Maffei family at Monterufoli. See letter 68, note 10.

13. A woman who worked in the service of the Maffei family at Monterufoli, on whom see also letter 66, note 8. Rosa's comment here suggests that Giulio had a particular fondness for Antonia. He might be intimating an amorous inclination on Giulio's part, along the lines of the joke that Rosa constructs in letter 38. Perhaps Giulio had a bit of a reputation as a womanizer.

Letter 101:

1. The Annona is a magistracy in charge of the grain supply: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 111, note 1. See also Battaglia, 1:500, who defines the Annona as a collective of public administrative organizations responsible for providing food, clothing, and other necessities to the populace, particularly during periods of famine. Limentani 1950, 78, note 1, notes that the Annona was one of a number of congregations extant during Rosa's time that were subsequently abolished ("de quibus omnibus est Constitutio An. 1588, die 11 Kalend. Februar": Io. Palatio, Gesta Pontificum Romanorum, Venetiis, MDCLXXXVIII, apud Ioanem Parè, Volumen IV, 405). This congregation ("pro ubertate annonae status eccles.," ibid) also held general legal responsibilities: see Cardinal Joannes Baptista de Luca, *Relatio Curiae Romanae* (Cologne, MDCLXXXIII), Discursus XXVII, 148. Regarding the unidentified "business" concerning Ricciardi's sister, Caterina, see also letters 99 and 153. Rosa mentions Caterina again in letter 212, and in various successive letters, sending greetings to her and her husband Cosimo Fabretti.

2. On Lucrezia's sister Lorenza, and Rosa's request to Giulio Maffei and to Ricciardi for help with securing a dowry for her, see letter 48, note 18.

3. The word "abocchi" (or "abacchi") occurs in various Neapolitan expressions. See Rocco 1882, 10–11, who notes that "abboccare" means to make someone your partisan or friend with gifts or money. See also Limentani 1950, 79, note 3.

4. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

5. The term "genio" is here used in the sense of affinity or inclination, as in the expression "mi va a genio" ("andarsi a genio"), which means to fancy or like something: Battaglia, 6:667.

6. On Rosa and Stoicism, see Hoare 2018, 29, 32, 121, 123, 162, 178, 189, 200, 221, 230, 232, 239, 244, 262, 288 and 296. See also letter 205, note 4. On Rosa's paradoxical position in regard to patronal control and wealth, see Hoare 2018, esp. chapter five. On Rosa's affinity with the philosopher Democritus, see Hoare 2018, 167, 186–187, and 192–193. Lofano 2010, 240, suggests that Rosa's comment in the present letter is "a witty intellectual dance between self-identification with the philosopher and poetic fiction," noting that, while scholars have drawn close analogies between Rosa and his representation of Democritus in the *Democritus in Meditation*, interpreted as a kind of "self-referential" image, the evidence offered by contemporary texts on the subject of Democritus and melancholia (in particular, the writings of Torquato Tasso, Torquato Accetto and Robert Burton)—which reveal a more pervasive interest in the subject among Rosa's predecessors and contemporaries—complicates such a proposition.

7. The "dobla" (or "doppia") was a gold coin, originating in the Kingdom of Castile in the fourteenth century and later used in Spain (as well as its dominions and various Italian states) until the eighteenth century. The Roman *doppia* was a gold coin worth two gold *scudi*, coined in various multiples and subdivisions: Hammond 1988, 68; and Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 34. The Florentine *doppia* was a 22-carat gold coin weighing 6.095 grams, equivalent to 20 *lire*, and the *mezza doppia* was a gold coin weighing 2.60 grams, equivalent to 10 *lire*: Hammond 1988, 70. The term "dobla" was also used to refer to gold coins, in general: Battaglia, 4:890. It could also be used to refer to an ideal value of three *scudi*. For a sense of the value of the *dobla* in the seventeenth century, consider for example Ettore Ghisilieri's payment to Guercino, in 1662, of thirty "doble d'Italia," worth—according to Morselli 1998, 238—the equivalent of 112 *scudi* and 2 *lire*. On Rosa's pricing of his paintings and his valuation scheme, and on the economic practices of seventeenth-century painters more generally, see Hoare 2018, chapter five.

8. The term "speculare" in this context means to meditate, contemplate or reflect upon a concept or thought: Battaglia, 19:782.

9. On Rosa's solicitation of Ricciardi for motifs for his paintings, see Hoare 2018, 279–282. This particular instance repeats an earlier request from letters 96 and 99.

10. This "other business," clearly a poetic composition, is perhaps the "Baiazzett," or Bayezid, to which Rosa first refers in letter 85. This identification is further suggested by letter 108, where Rosa mentions the "favour of the B." (probably the Bayezid). See also letter 85, note 11. For "frizzare," meaning to sting or bite, as well as to dazzle or sparkle, see Battaglia, 6:373, no. 5.

11. On the subject of medicinal purgation, see letter 91, note 20.

12. Throughout his correspondence, Rosa expresses varying degrees of trust and mistrust toward medical physicians. See for example his comments in letters 114, 117, 129, 132, 159, 162, 260, 262, 313 and 372. On the subject of medicine in seventeenth-century Rome, see McPhee 2012, 46, who outlines the two branches of its practice: "there were the university-educated medical doctors who were part of the College of Physicians, and there were the barber-surgeons, licensed by the medical college, who belonged to a guild, whose experience was empirical, and who were considered craftsmen of the body. The former treated the interior of the body in theoretical and philosophical terms, the latter the exterior, gaining practical experience in the hospitals. Barber-surgeons let blood, applied cupping glasses, staunched and treated wounds, set fractures, extracted teeth, and performed incisions and surgical procedures. Sewing up a wound also fell to the barber-surgeon." On medicine in seventeenth-century Rome, see also: Garofalo 1949 (on barber-surgeons in particular); Gentilcore 1994; Bonella 1998; Kolega 1998; and Cavallo 2007, who argues that in early modern Italy there was less of a clear-cut division between these different categories of doctor. On the subject of the reputation of early modern medical practitioners, see Cavallo 2007, 231–240.

13. This is perhaps the *Parable of Saint Matthew* (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples), on which see letter 85 (note 10) and letter 99 (note 3). Conte 2014, 263 and 335, note 34, alternatively considers this to refer to a painting (for which Ricciardi had secured the commission) that Rosa was to execute for the Benedictine nuns of the convent of San Matteo in Pisa: see letter 85, note 10.

14. To be sure, five hundred *scudi* was not an insignificant price for a small altarpiece, particularly one with only two figures such as the *Parable of Saint Matthew* (see note 13, above). Compare for example Pietro da Cortona's larger, multi-figure *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* of 1637–1652 (Santi Michele e Gaetano, Florence), which fetched 400 *scudi*. See also the useful chart compiled by Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 85–88, for a comparison of prices paid for altarpieces in Rome between 1590 and 1700. On Rosa's desire to receive a commission for an altarpiece in Rome, see letter 382, and Hoare 2018, 242–243.

15. It appears that Ricciardi had inquired about some handwriting in one of Rosa's letters. This could be a letter that no longer survives, or it might be a reference to letter 93, which bears Rosalvo's signature, although there must have been numerous letters, no longer extant or now lost, exchanged between Rosa and Ricciardi in the interim.

16. This "charity" is probably a reference to the aid Rosa was seeking, from both Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei, in support of dowries for Lucrezia's sisters. On the dowries, see letter 48, note 18.

17. The word in the ms. appears to be "spotestato," a variant of "spodestato," meaning violent, furious or raging, particularly in reference to the weather: Battaglia, 19:975.

18. On the term "genio" as "pleasure," see note 5, above.

19. Rosa's comment here could pertain to either Cosimo Fabretti's apparent illness or his requisite "celibacy" (on which see letter 99), or to the matter referred to in letter 114 (see note 16). On Fabretti, see also letter 70, note 20.

20. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

21. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

22. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

23. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

Letter 102:

1. Rosa's nickname for Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

2. This "Curzio" ("Curtio" in the ms.) appears to be a servant working in the service of the Maffei family.

3. Regarding Ugo, Rosa reported in a subsequent letter to Giulio Maffei (letter 103) that Ugo had just departed from Rosa's company in Rome to head for Volterra, perhaps heeding the advice Rosa had offered him in regard to his precarious situation, warning him to keep out of Rome for the sake of his safety. On Ugo Maffei, see letter 16, note 8.

4. On freedom as a vital component of friendship, see Hoare 2018, 31–33.

5. The church of San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, which was financed by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain and built on the site of a ninth-century church dedicated to Saint Peter, on the Janiculum Hill, land that had been granted to the Spanish Amadeites, a Franciscan order, in 1472. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia, a "Capitolo," one of the Institutes of the consecrated life within the Catholic Church, is the meeting of friars for the purpose of reflection upon and making decisions about the common life of their members. The "Capitolo Generale" involves the entire order, or congregation. See further, Battaglia, 2:695, no. 9. The "Father" in question could be Bonaventura Cavalli, the general commissioner of the Franciscan order, mentioned by Rosa in connection with San Pietro in Montorio in letter 138. On Cavalli, see letter 134, note 8. The "Father" to whom Rosa refers in the present letter could also be the "Father Pierozzi" that Rosa mentions in connection with another "General Chapter," in letter 319: this letter dates to much later (1665), however Pierozzi is also mentioned in an earlier letter of 1659 (letter 230).

6. In the ms., Rosa uses the word "prudenza" but likely intends "imprudenza". On the matter concerning Ugo Maffei, see letter 16, note 8.

7. The word "esclusive" is the plural of "esclusiva," a term no longer in common usage, meaning exclusion, exception or limitation, as well as refutation, repulsion, prohibition or negation: Battaglia, 5:309.

8. Ugo Maffei was presumably at Monterufoli, as Rosa's words at the end of the letter suggest. Rosa had also sent to Volterra a letter addressed to Ugo of 18 April 1651 (letter 92). Ugo must have been moving back and forth between Rome and Volterra

(and the Maffei villa properties, including Monterufoli), as Rosa subsequently indicates Ugo's presence in Rome in letter 103. On Ugo, see letter 16, note 8.

9. Monterufoli.

10. On the "old man" employed in the service of the Maffei at Monterufoli, together with his (probable) wife Lionora—to both of whom Rosa frequently sent his greetings—see letter 68, note 10.

11. That is, Monterufoli. See note 8, above.

12. On the dowries that Rosa was attempting to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, Lorenza and Catera, see letter 48, note 18.

13. "Libro dell'anima" is a more colourful expression related to the "book of obligations" to which Rosa refers in letter 97.

14. The "usual matter" presumably concerns either the iconographic subject for a painting or verses for a poetic composition (perhaps the "Baiazzett," or Bayezid), both of which Rosa was soliciting from Ricciardi and to which he also refers in letter 101.

15. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

16. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

17. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

18. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

19. The phrase "se li raccomanda" is a conventional epistolary statement of supplication, frequently included in the closing lines of a letter, employed in declaration of the writer's desire for aid, protection or benevolence, or in the offer of a favour or service: Battaglia, 15:218.

20. By "given away" Rosa means "sold". On Rosa's practice of giving his paintings as gifts, and the practice and rhetoric of gift-giving within the context of early modern art, more generally, see Hoare 2018, 287–300.

21. Another indication of the tensions between Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi, on which see letter 36, note 6.

22. The word "imonterufolato" is another of Rosa's inventive variations on the word "Monterufoli". See also letter 4, note 13. Here, Rosa turns "Monterufoli" into an adjective with reference to Ugo's current (or desired) respite at the villa of Monterufoli.

23. In 1651, the feast day of Pentecost fell on 28 May.

Letter 103:

1. From Rosa's comment here, it is apparent that Ugo Maffei did go to Rome, a trip that Rosa said he had advised Ugo against in previous letters. See letters 97, 100 and 102.

2. The word "testaccia" is here intended as the pejorative of "testa," see Battaglia, 20:994.

3. These lines are from Rosa's satire *La Guerra*, vv. 377–378 (Romei 1995, 131). On the satire, see letter 47, note 2. Rosa is once again referring to the problematic situation in which Ugo found himself, on which see letter 16, note 8.

4. Rosa had apparently advised Ugo to stay away from Rome and remain in Volterra, however Ugo seems to have been moving back and forth between the two cities. See letter 102. In letter 100, Rosa suggested that Ugo "should stay outside of Rome."

5. The owner of the horse is probably Ugo, who had apparently left Rome in the direction of Volterra by sea, leaving his horse behind. He could have travelled from a port near Rome such as Civitavecchia, landing at Livorno and then travelling inland to Volterra. Presumably Ugo left the horse behind on account of its poor state, telling Rosa to do with it what he wished.

6. Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13.

7. See Rosa's similar comments on this matter in letter 102.

8. On the dowries that Rosa was attempting to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, Lorenza and Catera, see letter 48, note 18.

9. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

10. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

Letter 104:

1. On the "laws of friendship," see letter 29, note 8.

2. With the word "riforma," Rosa is presumably referring to a revision, correction or restoration of some kind (Battaglia, 16:280), although his exact meaning is not entirely clear. Conte 2014, 264, interprets the term as a reference to retouchings that Rosa executed in his own hand, or to a superficial intervention made for the sake of conservation in a work by another artist.

3. These are probably paintings that Ricciardi had sent to Rosa for retouching. See also letters 70 (note 13), 231 (note 9), 289, 290 and 311. On Rosa and the practice of retouching, see Hoare 2018, 269–272.

4. Rosa is perhaps using the phrase "al bordello" in the figurative sense of "andare in bordello" (or "mandare in bordello"), which means to go (or send) to ruin: Battaglia, 2:310.

5. One of a number of instances in which Rosa mocks or chastises Ricciardi in regard to his knowledge in matters of painting. See also letters 117, 137, 138, 160, 263 and 312. On Ricciardi's activity as an art dealer, see letter 85 (note 3), letter 91 (note 7), letter 160 (note 5) and letter 174 (note 1).

6. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 105:

1. With the phrase "Sol Leone" Rosa intends "solleone," the dead heat of July and August or the period of summer governed by the Zodiac sign of Leo (22 July to 23 August); the "dog days" of summer: Battaglia, 19:346.

2. The unidentified "ordeals" to which Rosa here refers could have something to do with the Maffei family's countryside estates, to which Rosa refers in letter 107, or could refer to the (equally unidentifiable) "mishaps" that Rosa mentions in letter 109.

3. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

4. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

5. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

6. Rosa's use here of the term "pasticciere" suggests Gasparini's profession as pastry chef or amateur painter or poet. See also in this regard letter 41, note 12.

7. The phrase "esquisita pasta" is a variation on the idiomatic

expression "essere di buona pasta," which means to be good natured, or to be "of good stuff". With the term "pasta," underlined for emphasis in the ms., Rosa is here playing upon the culinary metaphor in connection with his use of the term "pasticciere," which literally means a pastry chef, but also, figuratively (and in the context of the arts), an eclectic painter or poet who uses a variety of styles and techniques (see note 6, above; see also letter 41, note 12). Rosa uses a similar expression in regard to Gasparini in letter 124.

8. Rosa here uses the term "carnali," underlined for emphasis in the ms., to connote "true" friends, in the sense of a physical, blood relation.

9. On the old woman of Monterufoli, "Lionora," see letter 68, note 10.

10. Another humorous reference to Giulio Maffei's nose (with a probable sexual connotation, as well, as in letter 38), which Rosa here likens to the obelisk incorporated into the Four Rivers Fountain (1648–1651) designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and erected in Piazza Navona in front of the church of Sant'Agnese in Agone. The fountain had only just been unveiled to the public on 12 June 1651. The obelisk, which Baldinucci, 5:616, describes in his life of Bernini as being brought to Rome by Emperor Caracalla and subsequently unearthed from Capo di Bove, was crowned with the dove and olive branch, emblems of the Pamphilj family of Pope Innocent X (1574–1655). According to Baldinucci, it was Bernini's model for the fountain that saved his career and endeared him to the new Pamphilj pope, after having fallen out of papal favour with the decline of the preceding Barberini papacy. On the construction of Bernini's fountain, see most recently Fehrenbach 2013, and D'Amelio and Marder 2014. Rosa's comment in the present letter may reflect something of his attitude toward his great artistic rival in Rome. On Rosa's artistic relationship with Bernini, and the significance of Bernini to the fortunes of Rosa's professional ambitions in Rome, in particular, see Hoare 2018, 58–66 and 71. Dickerson 2012, 67, has interestingly suggested that Rosa responded to Bernini and the contentious rivalries presented by the Roman artistic and theatrical scene—in which Rosa and Bernini seem to have been directly involved in 1639 (see Hoare 2018, 58–66)—by including an obelisk in his *Democritus in Meditation* of *c.* 1650–1651 as a form of homage and deference to Bernini and a sign of Rosa's willingness at this later moment—roughly ten years after the rivalry of 1639—to "work within the system". For Rosa's mockery of various members of the Maffei family for the size of their noses, see letter 34, note 13.

11. The term "scolazioncina" derives from "scolazione," a medical term no longer in use that refers to a liquid or fluid, in particular a purulent or running fluid, draining or leaking from an organ. The term is also used to refer to an illness characterized by a fluid discharge. See Battaglia, 18:117.

12. The word "intabaccato" means stained with tobacco: Battaglia, 8:160. In another, earlier letter to Giulio Maffei (letter 95), Rosa sent his greetings to their mutual friend, Signor Gasparini, and his "exceptional nose for the consumption of Tuscan tobacco".

13. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

14. On Bernini's Four Rivers Fountain in Piazza Navona, see note 10, above.

15. The word "ruscelletti" means little streams or rivulets. A particularly poetic term, it is used for example by Petrarch in his eighth *Eclogue*, "Divortium - La separazione", vv. 22–27: "Non vedi il gregge affievolito e roco,/ Cui par che iniqua tabe il dorso affini,/ E che l'ozio consumi a poco a poco,/ E il rado vello ne straccian gli spini […]/ Che far? né qui sicuro è il ruscelletto,/ Né l'erba stessa de' paschi vicini". In Rosa's letter, this self-consciously poetic term lends a certain additional layer of sarcasm to his comment.

16. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

17. Giulio Maffei's brother, Lodovico, on whom see letter 1, note 5. Rosa maintained close ties with Lodovico even after Giulio's death: for four extant letters written by Rosa to Lodovico, see letters 199, 255, 257 and 258.

18. On this "Signor Perissi," see letter 36, note 3.

Letter 106:

1. This was the house that Rosa was renting on the Trinità dei Monti in Rome, first mentioned in letter 26, where Rosa makes particular mention of the good quality of the air. In a letter to Ricciardi of May 1651, Cosimo Brunetti reported that Rosa was "utterly tormented on account of the excessive heat in his house, and the poor man has reason because I don't think there's a house in Rome more beaten by the sun than his." ("Il Rosa si dà al diavolo per il caldo eccessivo ch'è nella sua casa, ma con ragione il poveraccio, perche non credo che in tutta Roma sia una casa più battuta dal sole della sua.") See Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 104, doc. 40.

2. The expression "scaccia amici" appears to be an invention on Rosa's part, here employing the prefix "scaccia-" as it occurs in other more common expressions (such as "scacciapensieri," for example, which means a distraction or pastime) to signify the "driving away" or "scaring off" of friends. On Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

3. *Ferragosto*, in the Catholic calendar, is celebrated as the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August. Since the date of the letter is 5 August, it seems that Rosa was using the term, as was commonly done, to refer to the entire month of August, which was taken as a holiday in honour of the feast day. Conte 2014, 334, note 13, suggested on account of this apparent incongruity that Rosa wrote the incorrect date (5 August) on the letter. For Rosa's own admission of his frequent error in remembering dates, see letters 266 and 280.

4. Paolo Vendramin, the Venetian ambassador to Florence, was the author of an *Adone* (*Adonis*), performed in Venice in 1639 and set to music by Francesco Mannelli (Belloni 1958, 417): Borrelli and Festa 2003, 117, note 1. Baldinucci, 5:451, described Vendramin as holding the office of Secretary of the Republic of Venice during the War of Castro in 1642. In the present letter, Rosa's use of the term "residente" refers to Vendramin's position as Venetian ambassador to Naples. On Vendramin, who was also a member of Rosa's Accademia dei Percossi, see De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 19, and Hoare 2018, 75, 135 and 162–163.

5. Rosa's comments in the present letter, regarding the fact that Vendramin is "acknowledging my name" while printing his poetry, is significant perhaps in connection with the three poetic compositions that Vendramin wrote on the subject of Rosa's *Prometheus* (*c.* 1642–1644, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome), on which see Hoare 2018, 135 and 162–163 (note 216); one of the compositions drawn up by Vendramin, in praise of the painting, could perhaps be associable with the "letter" to which Rosa here refers: see Conte 2008, 36–38. Conte 2010a, 174–177, notes that Rosa's

comments in the present letter suggest that Vendramin may have published an edition of his poetic compositions, although no such publication has yet come to light. Baldinucci, 5:463, refers to Vendramin as among the few important Tuscan friends with whom Rosa kept in touch after he left Florence for Rome, noting further his own possession of letters written to Rosa by Vendramin, which Baldinucci mentions in evidence of their friendship.

6. San Casciano in Val di Pesa is a *comune* of Tuscany, located about 15 km southwest of Florence. Francesco Cordini was probably visiting the region in order to take advantage of its popular and plentiful therapeutic thermal basins and spa waters. Cordini's particular "misfortunes" at this moment are not known. From the context, they seem to have been related to his health. On the matter of Cordini's apparently fluctuating financial situation, indicated by Rosa's letters, see Hoare 2018, 252 and note 207. Giovan Battista Ricciardi also visited San Casciano (also known as "San Casciano dei Bagni") expressly for health reasons in 1651 and 1652 (for which see letters 127 and 128). Ricciardi may also be referring to the baths in a letter, presumed to be addressed to Rosa, of August 1661 (Appendix 3, letter B). In July 1651, Ricciardi wrote two letters to Francesco Lanfreducci from the baths ("dal Bagno"), joking that he had turned into a frog, "living as much in water as on land," and mentioning Giulio Maffei's company at the baths on this occasion. See Paliaga 2009, 221, Appendix XV.4.

7. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

8. On Simonelli and his financial problems, see also letters 81, 86, 139 and 162. Rosa's use of the word "biancato" ("tutto biancato nelle speranze") can be linked to the English notion of a "white hope," a person or thing that is expected to succeed. For the figurative definition of "bianco" as propitious or favourable, see Battaglia, 2:208. Tantalus is a figure from ancient Greek mythology, the son of Zeus and the nymph Pluto (or Plouto), famous for his eternal punishment in Tartarus, the deepest part of the Underworld. Accounts differ as to the reason for his punishment (either for the brutal sacrifice of his son Pelops, or for divulging secrets entrusted to him by Zeus), however his transgression resulted in the punishment of being forced to stand in a pool of water under a fruit tree with low branches, its fruit forever just out of reach and the water receding each time he tried to take a drink. This fate came to be known as the "torments of Tantalus" and the source for the English word "tantalize". For the story, see: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV, 458–459, and VI, 172–176 and 240; and Smith 2007, 3:974. Rosa refers to Tantalus again in letters 276 and 307.

9. On the significance of the satyr as an emblem of Rosa's practice as a satirist, in connection with the history of the parodic-critical mode of "satire" (for example, its roots in the traditions of the Greek "satyra" or satyr-drama, and Rosa's engagement in the "burlesque" mode), see Roworth 1978, 15–33.

10. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 107:

1. Rosa makes similar statements on other occasions, contrasting the value of close friends to that of "monarchs". See letters 23, 45 and 243.

2. For "divisione" as a term referring to the division or apportioning of property to multiple persons, as in the case of the inheritance of property or an estate, see Battaglia, 4:880.

3. The word "pisciaia" is a colloquial Florentine term, derived from the word "piscia" (piss), which figuratively refers to stupidity, or a thing of little value or importance: Battaglia, 13:560. For "pisciaia" (also "pisgagione" or "pisciagione") as "minchioneria," meaning stupidity or a foolish thing, see also Verlato 2014, 103 and 145.

4. Rosa may here be using the term "parte" in connection with the legal matter of the division of the estate, in reference to a "quota," a percentage or quantity to be divided among various heirs. For this particular meaning of the term, see Battaglia, 12:649.

5. Rosa seems to be referring to some parable concerning a cherry tree, in the vein of Aesop, although it has not been possible to identify its specific source. Perhaps he was misremembering a Biblical parable concerning a different type of tree—the fig tree—in Joel 1:6–7: "For a nation has come up against my land, strong, and without number […] he has laid waste my vine, and ruined my fig tree; he has stripped it bare and thrown it away; its branches are made white." The sentiment, however, is not quite the same. Rosa also mentions with affection "four cherry trees" at Strozzavolpe (in connection with the "greediest mouthfuls" of Roman prelates), in a letter to Ricciardi of 1662 (letter 274), but they are unrelated to the subject of the present letter.

6. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

7. The implication here, perhaps, is that Giulio is financially supporting his brothers. The "villa" in question is presumably Barbaiano. In letter 100, Rosa asked Giulio whether the villa of Barbaiano was still in the family's possession.

8. The term "stanza" is commonly used to refer to a room, but can also mean "estate" or "storage space": Battaglia, 20:78, no. 11. Cesareo 1892 mistakenly transcribed this word as "Sandra".

9. The word "capace" can mean "capacity" either in the sense of "space" or "ability," however the former option seems more appropriate in this context.

10. That is, Rosa's own "harvests," or his production of paintings.

11. The "picture" to which Rosa here refers is the *Democritus in Meditation*, on which see letter 86, note 15. By "sold" Rosa means "secured the sale of".

12. The expression "un fico secco" (literally, a dried fig) is an old form of "ficosecco," meaning "nothing": Battaglia, 5:937. Rosa is also here playing upon the connection between the "dried fig" and the "dried meat" ("carne secca").

13. On the "old woman" Lionora, see letter 68, note 10.

14. The "Hills of Antoni" seems to be a reference to one of the features of the landscape surrounding Monterufoli. It could also, perhaps, be a reference to the certain "Antonia" Rosa mentions in letters 66, 88 and 100. On the Adio, a river near Monterufoli, see letter 31, note 4.

15. On Signor Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

16. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

17. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

18. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

19. On Rosa's desire to cultivate a closer relationship between Giulio and Ricciardi, see letter 36, note 6.

20. This must be Giovanni Giacomo Panciroli (1587–1651), who was a solicitor for the Roman Curia and travelled with

Giovanni Battista Pamphilj (later Pope Innocent X), during his nunciature, to Naples and Spain. In 1641, Panciroli became Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, and in 1642 was made papal nuncio to Spain. He was elected cardinal in 1643, and upon the election of Innocent X was made Cardinal Secretary of State. He died on 3 September 1651.

21. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

22. He is perhaps one and the same as the "Ipolito Ricci" named alongside the year 1651 in a list of the Capitani del Comune e del Popolo di Volterra—the representatives of the Podestà, or chief magistrate of the city—for which see Cecina, 283.

Letter 108:

1. "Sua mano" is a conventional declaration in letter writing, comparable to the more common formula "sue proprie mani," often abbreviated as "S. P. M.," meaning "to be opened by addressee only". Letters marked thusly are intended to be delivered directly to the recipient, and should be considered private and confidential. See also letter 79, note 1.

2. The expression "darsi al diavolo" means to put oneself at the Devil's service, or cede to his influence and suggestions: Battaglia, 4:338.

3. On the "legislative" topos of friendship, see letter 29, note 8.

4. On Cosimo Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

5. In a letter of 1651, Cosimo Brunetti also commented on Rosa's delivery to him of letters from Ricciardi, which Rosa brought in person to the house of Marcantonio Eugeni in Rome, where Brunetti was then staying. See Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 93, doc. 32. On Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

6. The Piazza Navona in Rome was a place of leisure in the seventeenth century, particularly in the summer, just as it continues to be today. Bernini's fountain provided particular relief during the hot weather. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 23, note 1, when Rosa wrote this letter, the Four Rivers Fountain at the centre of the piazza had only been finished three months prior (the inauguration of the fountain took place on 12 June 1651), which explains the removal of the junk dealers to which Rosa here refers. For Rosa's apparent mockery of Bernini's fountain, see letter 105. Cosimo Brunetti comments upon his own encounters with Rosa in Piazza Navona in letters of 1651–1652, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 90–114, docs. 26–52.

7. The term "rivendugliolo" refers to a seller or dealer of low-value goods, particularly foodstuffs or groceries. The term frequently has a negative connotation (as in "huckster" or "peddler"), as Rosa probably intends it here, and can also be a synonym for "rigattiere" or junk dealer. See Battaglia, 16:1040.

8. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

9. A "tugurio" is a hovel or shanty. See letter 48, note 4.

10. The verb "rinselvare" means to return to woodland habitation, or to find refuge, hide, or conceal oneself in the woods; a "rinselvato" is an animal (or person) who hides in the woods, or (as Rosa intends the term) a place surrounded by woodland: Battaglia, 16:580–581.

11. The adjective "sbracato" refers to a disorderly or dishevelled person, a vulgarity, or (among other things) a state of total freedom or liberty, and a lack of laws or regulations: Battaglia, 17:696–697. Ricciardi seems once again to be doubting the degree of Giulio's affection for him. See also letter 116, in which Rosa urges Giulio to be more attentive to cultivating his friendship with Ricciardi. On Rosa's and Ricciardi's problem with the Maffei family, and their apparent need to search for an alternative vacation spot, see also letters 48 (note 5), 51, 54, 115 and 118. In the time between their present and much earlier complaints in this regard, however, Rosa and Ricciardi do seem to have enjoyed at least one sojourn at Monterufoli, for which see letters 57 through 79.

12. This is one of a number of paradoxical epistolary comments by Rosa, concerning the alternative benefits and detriments of Naples. On Rosa's conflicted attitude toward his native *patria*, see Hoare 2018, 34 and note 46.

13. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. Rosa again reports that Lucrezia is "coming close to giving birth" in letter 109. The birth of the child on this particular occasion, a boy ("the spitting image of Salvator Rosa"), is reported in letter 112.

14. Ricciardi's sister, Caterina, who appears from the context to have been in Rome, perhaps staying at Rosa's house: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 120, note 1.

15. The expression "a bel'agio" means easily, comfortably, or at one's leisure: Battaglia, 2:153.

16. Volunnio Bandinelli, on whom see letter 48, note 24.

17. This "signor Baldassarre" is here presumed to be the painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

18. Ludovico Serenai, on whom see letter 58, note 10.

19. Andrea Cavalcanti, on whom see letter 57, note 10, and Hoare 2018, 77, 80, 126, 166 and 252.

20. It is not entirely clear to which painting Rosa is here referring. It could be the *Democritus in Meditation*, which Rosa also mentions with a similar tone of lament in letter 107. Or it could be the "Saint Matthew," about which Rosa expressed certain frustration and anxiety in letters 86, 99 and 101. De Rinaldis 1939, 24, note 1, considered it a reference to the painting Rosa first mentioned in letter 96, in which he consults with Ricciardi about its possible subject, however this seems a less likely candidate in view of the fact that Rosa appears to have come to a satisfactory decision about that painting (the eventual *Astrea Abandoning the Earth*, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), as suggested by his comments in letter 99.

21. On this poetic composition by Rosa, see letter 85, note 11.

Letter 109:

1. This is probably a reference to Raffaello Maffei, who was *provveditore* (or superintendent) of Volterra. See letter 7, note 2. There seem to have been two *provveditori* in the Maffei family, as Raffaello's cousin Francesco Maffei also held that title (see letter 128, note 1). On Francesco, a Capuchin missionary who died in the Congo, see Bertini 1972, 11. The particular "mishaps" to which Rosa here refers are not known. Alternatively, Rosa could be referring to Ugo Maffei and his troubles, on which see letter 16, note 8, however Ugo is nowhere else referred to as "provveditore".

2. These paintings are perhaps among those mentioned in letter 110, which may have been written around the same date as the present letter (and could be the "letter concerning the pictures" to which Rosa here refers).

3. Rosa here uses the term "agiustamento" to mean "arrangement" or agreement, perhaps in reference to his comments in letter 110.

4. On the apparently strained relations between Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei, see letter 36, note 6.

5. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

6. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

7. On this pregnancy, see also letters 91, 108, 111 and 112.

Letter 110:

1. On Rosa's practice of giving his paintings as "gifts," and on gift-giving as an economic and social strategy of artists and patrons more generally, see Hoare 2018, 287–300. Rosa here seems to have been reassuring Giulio of his intentions, in regard to the giving of his paintings and drawings as gifts, an issue that also arose in Rosa's correspondence with Ricciardi (for which see letters 49 and 50). Rosa's comment in the present letter suggests that there may have been some disagreement among the Maffei over who was the rightful recipient of Rosa's paintings.

2. The "heads" to which Rosa here refers are probably comparable to the "testaccie" Rosa painted for other friends, on which see letter 48 (note 28) and letter 84 (note 6). The painting on copper that Rosa mentions here was identified by Lucio Festa (Festa 1982, 119–121, figs 3-4) with a small, signed *Landscape* painted on copper (private collection, Naples; see Salerno 1975, 104, cat. 246, who incorrectly identifies the medium and measurements). On this painting, see more recently Volpi 2014, 460, cat. 135, who suggests a date of *c.* 1645–1649. Another candidate, also painted on copper, is a landscape of around the same date, for which see Volpi 2014, 460, cat. 134. Rosa seems to have produced other paintings on copper around this date, including a *Scene of Witchcraft*, for which see Volpi 2014, 475, cat. 155, although this particular painting is directly traceable to the collection of Rosa's friend, the Roman banker Carlo de' Rossi. In regard to the works of art that Rosa executed for, or gave as gifts to, the Maffei, Baldinucci, 5:462–463, records that Rosa—in addition to having painted for the Maffei family a harpsichord case (of which the *Vanitas* or *"Singing Skull"* in a private collection, Scotland, is perhaps a fragment; see Hoare 2018, 124 (note 356) and 292)—gave the family "a picture of the Sacrifice of Abel" (previously, but incorrectly, associated with a *Cain and Abel* in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome, for which see: Festa 1963a, 3; Salerno 1975, 100, cat. 191; and De Marchi, in Herrmann-Fiore 2007, 369, cat. VII.36; formerly given to Rosa, this painting is now attributed to the Sienese painter Niccolò Tornioli (*c.* 1598–1651) and dated to 1645), and a painting depicting Queen Esther, along with "many others," none of which have yet been identified. A few months before Rosa's death, there was apparently another argument among the Maffei siblings over the division "of a number of pictures by the hand of Salvator Rosa": Festa 1982, 123, note 74, as cited in Borrelli and Festa 2003, 121, note 2. On the works of art that Rosa made for or gave as gifts to the Maffei, which also include the *Self-Portrait as an Artist* (a presumed copy after which is now in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), see also Volpi 2014, 636–637, and Hoare 2018, 292 and note 613.

Letter 111:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. On the cheese and dried meat, see also letter 109.

3. Here, the phrase "in faccia" seems to mean explicitly, expressly, directly, or (perhaps) confidentially. See Battaglia, 5:557.

4. This is presumably a reference to Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio, for whom Girolamo Mercuri worked as *maestro di casa*. On Brancaccio, who played a significant role in Rosa's early career, see letter 1 (note 4), letter 23 (note 2), letter 136 (note 16), and Hoare 2018, 39 and note 1. Rosa mentions Brancaccio by name in letter 136. In letter 155, Rosa also mentions receiving a gift from Giulio Maffei, via Brancaccio.

5. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

6. There are two possible interpretations of Rosa's meaning with the phrase "mi mancò questo": either "but I don't have it" or "but you've failed me".

7. The phrase "bel viso di fauno" means, literally, the "beautiful face of a faun," however, as with Rosa's other constructions of this sort (such as "viso di cotale"), the expression is intended in a derogatory and mocking sense. See also the crude meaning of "viso" in letter 46, note 38.

8. The term "salato," in Rosa's usage here, refers to "salume" or sausage: Battaglia, 17:381.

9. Mount Parnassus, the sacred home of the Muses in Greek mythology. Rosa is here referring to the Maffei family's villas, perhaps Monterufoli in particular. On the analogy Rosa constructs between Parnassus and his time spent at the villas of friends in the Tuscan countryside, see also Hoare 2018, 116–117 and note 302. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 40, note 3, consider these lines concerning "Parnassus" and "Phoebus" to offer evidence for Gasparini's "poetic ambitions," on which see further letter 41, note 12.

10. Phoebus is the Greek name for Apollo, god of poetry, light and knowledge (among other things). The word derives from the Greek words "phoibos," meaning bright, and "phaos," meaning light. Rosa is here constructing a metaphor in reference to poetic inspiration, in connection with Parnassus as the sacred dwelling-place of Apollo.

11. With the line "con patto però che mi facci parte de' suoi parti" Rosa is playing upon the homophonic relationship between the words "parte" (part) and "parti" (as in "partorire," or to give birth, as conveyed in the expression "i parti dell'intelletto"—the fruits of the intellect). This statement seems to further corroborate the theory that Gasparini was a poet, on which see note 9, above.

12. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

13. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

14. On this pregnancy, see also letters 91, 108, 109 and 112.

15. As noted by Cesareo 1892, 2:87, note 1, Rosa confusingly records the date here as the "7th," while in the body of the letter he refers to it as the "6th". For Rosa's own admission of his frequent error in remembering dates, see letters 266 and 280.

16. A "tordo" is a type of thrush. See letter 2, note 4.

17. The phrase "fare il boschetto" refers to a method of bird-catching, in which trees and shrubs are strategically planted in order to attract birds into nets or snares: Battaglia, 2:322. Baldinucci, 5:461, also refers to Rosa's enjoyment of the "uccellatura" (fowling, or bird-catching) at Barbaiano.

18. Cesareo 1892, 2:87, note 2, understood the word "Tore" to stand for "Salvatore," comparable in this regard to Rosa's contraction of his name, along with Ricciardi's, to form a hybrid ("Tittatoria"), in letter 1. See also letter 65. An interpretation of the term "Tore" as "Salvatore" in the present letter, however, does not make grammatical sense (the construction would have to be "senza Tore il cane" or "senza Tore come cane"). In the present letter, it appears more likely that Rosa intended the verb "torre" (an old form of the verb "togliere"), which can mean to use, or to take or bring with oneself: Battaglia, 20:1107–1108.

19. Rosa frequently tried to encourage a closer bond between Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi, on which see letter 36, note 6.

Letter 112:

1. It appears that Rosa's wish for a letter from Giulio was answered at least by December, as a letter of Rosa's of the 10th of that month confirms (see letter 113).

2. For Rosa's earlier comments on this matter, see letters 109 and 111.

3. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

4. The word "Domine" is Latin for "Lord," or God.

5. According to Plutarch, *Life of Numa*, 8, the philosopher Pythagoras recommended silence as a virtue: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 124, note 1. On Rosa and the subject of Pythagoras, see Hoare 2018, 103–104, 139, 256, 272 and 274. Rosa painted at least two canvases treating Pythagoras, both of which were purchased by Antonio Ruffo in 1663. On the paintings, see letter 281. Rosa again refers to Pythagoras's philosophical precepts in letter 175.

6. On this pregnancy, see also letters 88, 91, 108, 109 and 111. The "fifth hour of the night" is about five hours after sunset. On the measurement of time in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 31, note 7.

7. On the fate of many of Rosa's and Lucrezia's children, destined for the orphanage of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome (the "Innocenti"), see letter 17, note 3.

8. On the term "flemma" as patience, resignation or tolerance, see Battaglia, 6:65.

9. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

10. The term "pappe" refers to a type of dish made of bread boiled in water, broth, or milk, which is thick, smooth and easy to digest, prepared for children at an early age or for the sick or elderly; in a general sense, it refers to any kind of baby food made from starchy ingredients that has the appearance and consistency of homogeneous mush: Battaglia, 12:520. The term "brodo" refers to a broth or clear soup.

11. On the significance of Rosa's claims not to be able to afford to keep children at this stage in his life, and the reality of his finances in general, see Hoare 2018, 300–306. With the phrase "modo d'accomodarli" Rosa could also be referring to his lack of ability, more generally, in regard to his precarious situation with Lucrezia in Rome. As noted by Hults 2010, 22, Rosa's reluctance to keep his children, born as they were out of wedlock, was likely due to his desire not to draw attention to the couple's illegal relationship, in addition to the fact that Rosa was, by this time, no longer in the employ of Gian Carlo de' Medici and was living in part off the support of friends like Giulio Maffei and the ever-fickle art market. On the costly burden of large families for the early modern painter, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 72.

12. The Sterza della Cecina is a river on the outskirts of Volterra that originates in the hills of Pruno, opposite the village of Canneto: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 124, note 2.

13. A "tordo" is a type of thrush. See letter 2, note 4.

14. This is presumably Albano Laziale (also known simply as "Albano"), a *comune* of the province of Rome, located in the Alban hills about 25 km outside of Rome, in the Castelli Romani region of Lazio. Ugo had been hiding out here after the scandal he caused in Rome, on which see letter 16, note 8.

15. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

16. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

Letter 113:

1. A joke in reference to the length of time Rosa had been waiting to hear a response from Giulio. For "paro" as "paio," or pair, see letter 56, note 9.

2. The word "cambio" is here intended in reference to a "lettera di cambio," or a bill of exchange.

3. Rosa here seems to be playing upon words with a double meaning, constructing an allusion to the experience of religious faith and conversion: "corrispondenza" can here refer to both "agreement" and letter writing; "confermato" can refer to both a confirmation of one's ideas and the rite associated with one of the Christian sacraments; and "primitiva credenza" can mean both "first belief" in a general sense (as in "the first thing I thought") or a crude, uncivilized and perhaps heretical religious belief.

4. Rosa expands his metaphorical allusion to religious faith and conversion by alluding to the rainbow that followed the Great Flood, as recounted in the Book of Genesis, a sign of God's forgiveness and appeasement. He also seems to be alluding to the Messianic symbolism of the rainbow, in connection with the reference made to the Jewish faith in the previous line.

5. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

6. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

8. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

9. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

10. The "gallery" is presumably the same room to which Rosa refers in letter 53. The identity of the "certain something" to which Rosa here refers is not known, and (if it is a painting) could have been executed by Rosa himself or by another artist. On the works by Rosa owned by the Maffei family, see letter 110, note 2, and Hoare 2018, 292 and note 613.

11. On the dowries that Rosa was trying to arrange for Lucrezia's sisters, Lorenza and Catera, see letter 48, note 18. On this "Signor Antinori" and his family, and their role in assisting Rosa with this task, see also letters 90 (note 1), 95 and 149.

Letter 114:

1. On the unspecified "illness" of the eyes that afflicted Ricciardi, see Rosa's first comment in this regard in letter 85. As noted by Limentani 1953, 50, note 91, the illness of the eyes that prevented Ricciardi from writing and reading manifested itself again ten years later. See letters 290, 291 and 297.

2. The term "fumo," in ancient medical theory, refers to an emission or vapour passing from one organ within the body to another, particularly from the stomach to the brain, provoked above all by the drinking of wine or ingestion of food: Battaglia, 6:450.

3. With the term "filacci," Rosa is perhaps referring to the filaments or fibrous veins of the eye, such as the capillaries or blood vessels. The "disorder" in question could therefore be bacterial conjunctivitis, or an inflammation of the capillaries of the eye. The term "filaccia" can also refer to a stringy formation of cloud or vapour (see Battaglia, 5:981), suggesting alternatively that Ricciardi might have had something in his eyes that was causing him trouble, although this seems less likely.

4. Carlo Bentivoglio, on whom see letter 46, note 22.

5. The *Delle Frascherie fasci tre* by Antonio Abati, published in Venice by Matteo Leni in 1651 and dedicated to Luis de Benavides de Carillo, Marchese of Caracena and Governor of Milan, to whom Rosa refers in the next line: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 127, note 1. On Abati, see letter 1, note 4. The *Frascherie* are among the poetic texts that exerted a particular influence on Rosa in the development of his own style of poetic writing. See further on this matter Hoare 2018, 158–159 and note 180. Roworth 1978, 47–52, and 78–80, suggested that the *Frascherie* supplied Rosa with certain iconographic motifs for his pictorial works, noting that the personification of Satire in Rosa's *Genius* etching—the female figure of a satyr—possibly derives from the frontispiece to Abati's *Frascherie*, executed by Giovanni Georgi. On the possibility that Rosa may have provided the design for the frontispiece itself, see Nappi 2014, 140–141 and 166–167. See further letter 115, note 11.

6. On the *Frascherie* and the Governor of Milan, see letter 91, note 2.

7. A "matita di Fiandra" must be a type of graphite, possibly packaged in a specific way.

8. On the sour relations between Rosa and Abati, see letter 1, note 4.

9. Carlo Roberto Dati (1619–1676) was among the most noteworthy proponents of Florentine literary culture in the seventeenth century. In 1650, he was named vice-secretary of the Accademia della Crusca (where he was known by his academic name "Smarrito"), and was elected as secretary in 1663, when he dedicated himself to the preparation of the third *Vocabolario*. Dati became the librarian of both Leopoldo and Gian Carlo de' Medici, and he replaced Volunnio Bandinelli as the tutor of Cosimo III de' Medici: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 127, note 2. Dati is also named by Baldinucci, 5:452, as one of the members of Rosa's Accademia dei Percossi. On Dati and Rosa, and the influence that Dati exerted on the artist, see Hoare 2018, 76. See also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 5, who notes that Rosa was not alone in expressing his disdain toward Dati's ostentation, calling him as he did the "Florentine Plato" (see letter 115): "[Dati's] petulant doctrinarian exhibitionism, and his serious self-importance, gained him enemies and strong antipathy. [Antonio] Magliabechi and [Lorenzo] Panciatichi, for example, detested [Dati] with unfailing unity, calling him 'Armandione della scienza', and never mentioning him without sarcasm. It is easy to understand why Rosa, with his lively popular candour, was unable to comply with Dati's calculated professorial dignity, dressed in velvet, likely black in colour. And considering his vocabulary, which was not pure and modest, one can also understand how Rosa, in speaking of Dati's visit, interrupted his discourse with a coarse remark." De Rinaldis further considers that "when Dati visited Rosa more than once in December 1651, he did not yet know the satire *La Pittura* [as is clear from letter 115], which had already been out for five or six years. This suggests that the painter, who met Dati in Florence, never had familiarity or continual exchanges with him." The nature and extent of Rosa's and Dati's contact is open for debate, however Dati's ignorance of Rosa's satire at this point is certainly significant. Dati wrote a series of biographies of ancient painters, *Vite dei Pittori Antichi*, writing to Rosa about the project in 1663 and sending the artist a manuscript copy of the work when it was in its final stages, in solicitation of his advice. See further on this matter Hoare 2018, 76 and note 55. On this occasion Dati also commissioned from Rosa a painting of *Divine Wisdom*, on which see Hoare 2018, 76 and note 57. On Carlo Dati, see: Crescimbeni, 3:223 (Libro IV, Tomo IV); Dati; Dati 1825; Fontani; Gamba 1826; Andreini 1936; Minto 1953; Rosen 1953; Vigilante, in *DBI* 33 (1987):24–28; Solinas 1995; Mirto 2002; and Conte 2010b.

10. Piazza Navona, in Rome, which Rosa mentions as a favourite spot for evening walks in letter 108.

11. By "our friends" Rosa is presumably referring to members of the academic community in Pisa, which included the Accademia degli Disuniti, the Stravaganti (on which see letter 56, note 2) and the Accademia Pisana (on which see letter 2, note 6). On these academies and their members, see also Hoare 2018, 86–90.

12. The term "speme" is a self-consciously literary term that derives from *speranza*, hope: Battaglia, 19:804–805. It can refer to hope itself, or to a person who constitutes the object of one's hopes or affections. Limentani 1953, 51, note 96, considered it a mocking allusion to Carlo Dati's manner of speech, as a member of the Florentine Accademia della Crusca (whose *Vocabolario* included various definitions of this term).

13. The meaning of the term "Fileni" is not entirely clear. If it is a reference to a classical authority, it could perhaps be one of a number of authors who go by the name Philinus, among them the orator Philinus of Athens (fourth century BCE), the physician Philinus of Cos (third century BCE), and the historian Philinus of Agrigentum (third century BCE)—the last of whom seems the most probable candidate, in view of Dati's and Rosa's mutual literary interests. On Philinus of Agrigentum, who became known for his description of the First Punic War and his account of Hannibal's campaigns, see Smith 2007, 3:268 (also with entries on the other two personages mentioned here). Another, though highly unlikely candidate, is the Greek poetess Philaenis (see Smith 2007, 3:261), a contemporary of Polycrates and Isocrates, who was famed for an obscene poem on the subject of love. "Fileno" was also a pseudonym adopted by various writers in the seventeenth century, including Gauges de' Gozze da Pesaro, who wrote an early seventeenth-century defence of the *Pastor Fido* under the name "Fileno d'Isauro" that circulated in manuscript form: Ristine 1910, 43. "Fileno" is also, connectedly, one of the fictive characters of the bucolic or pastoral genre, popular among Rosa's friends. Rosa's reference in the present letter to Dati being "armed with hope" suggests the possibility of love-seeking that characterizes the pastoral mode of writing. Hence, Rosa could here be referring more generally to "passages" of Dati's own invention, or derived from another text, in reference to Fileno. The pastoral figure Fileno, with

whom the librettist and poet (and friend of Rosa) Giovanni Filippo Apolloni frequently self-identified, features prominently in Apolloni's poetic production, which tends on the whole toward "lyrical-narrative texts, narratives with mythological or pastoral context, and those which make use of historical settings": Mechelli 2003, 253. Fileno features, for example, in one of Apolloni's "admittedly autobiographical poetic texts," entitled *Infelicità di Fileno* (*Infelice Fileno*), discussed by Mechelli 2003, 228; in the poem, Apolloni "invokes Fileno" with reference to his own feelings of "bitter disappointment, tracing a troubled and stormy itinerary of misfortunes, financial and personal discomforts, and challenging experiences: in particular, military misfortunes, studies and work that will end in a recurring situation of forced servitude, and the inconvenience of being subjected to the courts in which the poet was forced to work"—themes with particular resonance for Rosa and his circle. Apolloni's poem begins: "Infelice Fileno/ Che speri, che t'insogni, e che pretendi?/ Forse ancor non intendi,/ Che l'aspetto degl'astri/ Per chi nacque al dolore/ Non cangia mai tenore?/ Dunque si lunga serie/ Di trascorse miserie/ Che del nemico tuo fiero destino/ T'insegnar la costanza/ Non ti sgombra dal seno/ La mal nata speranza?/ Ah' misero fileno/ Servi, t'aggiri, e piangi,/ Ma per cangiar di ciel, sorte non cangi. […]": Mechelli 2003, 228–230; the poem is in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Campori, y.G.6.28, ff. 8–9.

14. The word "spene" is a poetic and erudite variation on "speme," or hope, according to the *Vocabolario della Crusca*. As with the word "speme," above, Rosa was probably using this term in mockery of Dati's academic pretensions.

15. As noted by Limentani 1953, 51, note 96, "fiorentino Platone" and "Dati Platone" were among the nicknames Rosa gave to Dati. See letters 115 and 117.

16. In a letter to Ricciardi of 7 October 1651, Cosimo Brunetti reported from Rome on a certain "matter" concerning Cosimo Fabretti, which may also be the subject to which Rosa here alludes. The matter concerning Fabretti appears in the midst of Brunetti's discussion of Rosa's rivalry with Agostino Favoriti and the Accademia degli Umoristi debacle in Rome, on which see the letters cited in letter 46, note 21, and Hoare 2018, 58, 101–103 (and note 222) and 171. Fabretti may have gotten himself caught up in the situation as well. Brunetti writes: "Signor Fabretti's situation is much less dangerous than you suspected, even though it's down to the scholars, or on account of the Collegio Ferdinandeo [of Pisa]. Now I'm much calmer, and thank God for it, because, to tell you the truth, he made me very afraid that he might have encountered some sort of disgrace. I hope there won't be another one, but it might be necessary for Signor Cosimo [Fabretti] to take more care. I'm thrilled that you were honoured by such a celebrated academy [the Umoristi?], since, if the Grand Turk can be admitted among so many Christian princes, then they should also honour the great Khan of the Tartars." ("Il caso del signor Fabretti è di molto menor pericolo di quello dubitavo, mentre procede dalli scolari, o per causa del Collegio Ferdinandeo. Adesso vivo molto più quieto, e ne ringrazio Iddio perché a dirvela mi averei messo un gran timore che avessi una volta a succedervi qualche disgrazia. Spero che non sarà altro, ma però è necessario ch'il signor Cosimo vada molto riguardato. Mi rallegro che siate stato onorato da una accademia così celebre, mentre vi sono tanti principi Cristiani e se ci metteranno fra poco il Gran Turco, doveranno anco onorare il gran Can de Tartari.") Brunetti's words suggest that Fabretti may have overstepped some boundary in his dealings with the academy. For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 105, doc. 42. The matter concerning Fabretti may also be connected to the "exploits" that Rosa mentions in letter 101. On Fabretti, see also letter 70, note 20.

17. As noted by Limentani 1953, 51, note 98, these lines are taken from Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, I, vv. 349–350.

Letter 115:

1. The verb "inanimarsi" means to be incited, spurred, or given courage: Battaglia, 7:575.

2. The "ailment" is the eye malady from which Ricciardi was suffering. See letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3. Cosimo Fabretti was likely helping Ricciardi with the writing of letters at this moment. On Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

3. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

4. Sextus Empiricus (or Sesto Empirico, in Italian) (*c.* 160–210 CE) was a physician and philosopher belonging to the sceptic school of ancient philosophy. The work to which Rosa refers is probably Sextus's *Adversus mathematicos*, which contains many notes on ancient authors: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 128, note 1. De Rinaldis 1939, 24, note 3, transcribes here "Sest'Empireo," however it is difficult to tell from the ms. whether or not Rosa has written "Empireo" or "Empireco". Rosa writes "Empireo" again in letter 117. As noted by Limentani 1950, 84, note 4, various editions of Sextus's work appeared in the first half of the seventeenth century. It seems that Rosa and Ricciardi sent the book back and forth to each other, as it is also mentioned in letters of 1658, 1659 and 1661, suggesting its continued significance to both Rosa and Ricciardi and their work: see letters 117, 118, 119, 120, 225, 259 and 260.

5. The word "contento" is used here in the sense of "approval," or satisfaction. As is evident from letter 119, Brunetti was making efforts to help Rosa and Ricciardi acquire certain rare and obscure texts in Rome, and the "approval" required may have pertained to the fact that a number of the texts were listed on the Index of Prohibited Books (see letter 129, in which Rosa says that Brunetti will "take care of the authorization for prohibited books"). See also the letters on this matter that Brunetti wrote to Ricciardi, cited in note 6, below.

6. This must be Lukas Holste (or Lucas Holstenius; 1596–1661) (later referred to by Rosa as "Signor Luca Custeri" in letter 241), the erudite historian and philologist, present in Rome from 1627 onward, where he also worked to gather manuscripts and antiquities for Queen Christina of Sweden. Holste was the librarian of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), and custodian of the Vatican Library. Pope Alexander VII had sent Holste to meet Queen Christina of Sweden when she came to Italy after her abdication in 1654. As noted by Limentani 1950, 84, note 5, the reference in the present letter must be to Holste's manuscript, the *Index of the Library of San Lorenzo*. De Rinaldis 1939, 24 (and note 4), incorrectly interpreted the name that appears in the ms. of Rosa's letter as "Alsario," considering it a reference to the Genoese doctor Vincenzo Alsario della Croce (1576–1632), a medical doctor and author of scientific treatises who adopted the pseudonym "Alsario" (Alsarius) and was well known in Bologna, Ravenna and at the papal court in Rome. On Alsario, see Beretta 2008, 183, note 15. Mazzuchelli, 1:178ff, lists nineteen printed works by him, and five manuscripts. "Elstenio," however, is clearly the word Rosa has written in the ms. Cosimo Brunetti mentions him (as "Olstenio") in letter 119. If "Signor Luca Custeri" (letter 241) is in fact Holste, then it seems that Rosa knew him personally. As the present letter confirms, the *Index*

of the Library of San Lorenzo was a manuscript work. Rosa, too, was conducting a search for this *Index* (see also letters 117, 118 and 119). In letter 117, Rosa refers to the work of "Alsatio," a reference perhaps to Holste or to Vincenzo Alsario della Croce (on whom see also letter 117, note 9). It is possible, as suggested by Limentani 1950, 84, note 5, that Rosa had, with his capricious spelling, transformed Holste's name on different occasions into "Elserio" and "Alsario". In addition to the fact that Cosimo Brunetti clearly writes "Olstenio" in letter 119, a clearer reference to Holste, it also seems more probable that the book desired was that of a bibliophile and philologist (Holste), rather than that of a scientist (Alsario). Perhaps Rosa had himself confused the names Olstenio and Alsario. On Holste, see further Wilckens, and Mirto 1999. Also of great interest in this regard are references in two of Cosimo Brunetti's letters to Ricciardi of 1652, which demonstrate the efforts Brunetti was making on Rosa's and Ricciardi's behalf: on 27 January, Brunetti reported that "Signor Carlo Dati returned yesterday from Naples, and since he has the *Index* produced by Holste [*Ostenio*], I'll ask him to give it to me to be copied and sent to you, and although he makes it a little bit difficult, he has promised not to give it to anyone." He concludes by sending greetings on behalf of Rosa, who was at that moment paying Brunetti a visit and had also—Brunetti adds—"made a truly magnificent landscape," the identity of which is not known. ("Il Sig.r Carlo Dati tornò hieri da Napoli, e perché egl'ha l'indice fatto dall'Ostenio, io me lo farò dare per copiarlo e mandarvelo, se bene ci fa un poco di difficoltà haver promesso di non lo dar ad alcuno […]. Amatevi, e conservatevi in vera grazia et io qui in casa il Rosa che ha fatto un superbissimo paese vi saluto di tutto core.") On 23 March, Brunetti again mentions Holste's book: "I think I'll only be able to get the *Index of the Library of San Lorenzo* from Signor Carlo Dati, who repeatedly refuses me, even though he knows its intended for you. Signor Leone Allacci gave me the enclosed note three days ago, but in order to get hold of the other published works, prior to [16]45, it will be necessary to find a printed book that includes a list of all his works, but as this is a rather little-known book I haven't been able to find a bookseller who has one, and one of them told me he was looking for it in a house with many other books, and if he gives it to me I'll tell you straight away." ("L'indice della libreria di S. Lorenzo non speravo poterlo havere che dal Sig. Carlo Dati quale costantemente me lo negò ben che sapessi che doveva servir per voi. Il Signor Leone Allaccio mi diede tre giorni sono l'inclusa nota, ma per havere gl'altri stampati dal 45 in dietro è necessario trovar un libretto stampato dove in fine c'è la nota di tutte le sue opere, ma per esser il libro di pochissima considerazione, non ho potuto trovar alcun libraro che l'habbia, ben è vero che uno m'ha detto di cercarne in casa fra molti altri libri, e se me lo darà ne l'avviserò subito.") On 6 April, Brunetti told Ricciardi that "Rosa gave me a list of books for which you would like a licence, and today at 8 o'clock I'll send it to you, but I'm afraid, however, that we won't be able to get some of [the books], in particular the works of Machiavelli; I would have been able to send it today, if I hadn't had to have the licence approved by the Sacred Congregation of Cardinals, so be patient since they won't be meeting until after this week." ("Rosa m'ha dato una listra di libri di che voi vorresti la licenza, e hoggi a otto ve la manderò, ma dubito però che d'alcuni non l'otterremo, et in particolare dell'opere del Machiavello; ve l'haverei potuta mandar hoggi se non fusse necessario passar la licenza nella Sacra Congr.e dei Cardinali, però haverete pazienza sino a che non si raduna che sarà di questa settimana.") On 13 April, Brunetti writes: "By now you should have the list of books by Allacci; I can't find the published one: I'll try again. I haven't been able to send you the licence for prohibited books because the cardinals of the congregation of the Index haven't assembled yet, and if you see Doctor Ciampoli do me the favour of telling him—if, that is, it's not too much to his disliking—that I haven't replied to him because I'm waiting for the licence for the book he's asked of me." ("Averete avuto a quest'ora la listra dei libri dell'Allatio, quella stampata non la posso trovare: farò altre diligenze. Non vi posso mandare la licenza dei libri prohibiti, perché i cardinali della congregazione all'Indice non si sono ancora radunati, e se voi vedessi il dottor Ciampoli fatemi favor di dirli, se però non ci avesse ripugnanza, che io non gli ho risposto perché aspetto d'aver la licenza del libro che mi chiede.") Again, on 4 May, Brunetti writes: "I didn't think you'd want to be detained in Florence, so I sent the list of books directly to Pisa, and perhaps you've received it by now if Signor Fabretti has sent it to you. Send me the rest of the ones that aren't permitted so that I can apply for a licence from the Father Inquisitor." ("Io non pensavo che voi ci volessi trattenere in Firenze, e però mandai diretta a Pisa la lista dei libri, et a quest'ora forse l'averete havuta, che l'haverebbe haver mandata il Sig. Fabbretti. Mandatemi il resto di quel che non è concesso che mi farò haver licenza dal padre Inquisitore.") For Brunetti's letters, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 108–110, docs. 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47.

7. A humorous reference to Carlo Dati, on whom see letter 114, note 9.

8. By "cielo" (sky), Rosa means the city of Rome.

9. On Rosa's *Democritus in Meditation*, see letter 86, note 15. On his satire on painting, *La Pittura*, see letter 46, note 36.

10. The term "studi" ("studies") is probably here intended in the sense of "stanze di studio," or rooms dedicated to intellectual pursuits and collections of books: Battaglia, 20:420. The term could also be intended to refer to a "studio" in the sense of an artist's workshop. On the practice of collecting books in seventeenth-century Rome, see Ago 2006, 185–193.

11. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 25, note 2, this is a reference to Antonio Abati's *Frascherie*, published in Rome in 1651. Abati had "gathered together in this publication his satires and other minor poetic works, written in the years before, regrouping them into several sections, inserting them in the prose of many convivial conversations (or 'academies') in which he treated the subject of persons who had fled to Ephesus during the time of a great war." Rosa mentions having finished reading the *Frascherie* in letter 114. On Abati's *Frascherie*, see also letter 1 (note 4) and letter 114 (note 5). Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 166–167, suggested that Rosa may have provided the design for the frontispiece to Abati's text: as indicated by the present letter (and letter 114), Rosa had received a copy of Abati's book before it was widely distributed, expressing upon reading it "a highly negative opinion about the poem's merits". These circumstances suggested to Nappi that "it was Rosa himself who drew the title page, reflecting his interest in the dual animal/human nature believed to be at the origins of satire. This is probably the reason why he was sent the book before it was put on the market."

12. That is, the papal court of Rome.

13. Rosa here uses the verb "irritarsi" to mean "atirrarsi," to appeal to, or to encourage. He essentially conflates two different expressions: "per non irritare gli spassionati" and "per non attirarsi le critiche degli spassionati". The term "spassionato" can also refer to someone who is disinterested, impartial or neutral.

14. Presumably Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. Rosa refers to him as "Signor Fabretti" in the opening and closing of the letter.

15. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

16. As noted by Paliaga 2009, 160 and 175 (note 150), and Fabbri 2010, 160, Rosa here appears to be thanking his friend Francesco Lanfreducci for an invitation to his villas at Noce and Crespignano, located near the Monte Verruca (not far from Pisa), on which see also letter 84, notes 6 and 7, and letter 273, note 3. On the significance of the landscape in this region for Rosa's paintings, see Hoare 2018, 93 and note 187.

17. See Rosa's comments concerning Ricciardi's desire not to stay with the Maffei at their villa properties on this occasion in letter 108.

18. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

19. Another reference to the painter Buonamico Buffalmacco (see letter 46, note 32), famed for his trickery. Rosa here uses the name in reference to his son Rosalvo, perhaps in allusion to the young boy's aspirations (or to Rosa's own hopes in this regard) to pursue the profession of painting. On this matter, see also letter 155 (note 9), letter 158 (note 7) and letter 161 (note 11).

20. The expression "rompersi la testa" means, figuratively, to wrack one's brains, to be troubled or annoyed: Battaglia, 20:994.

21. It is appropriate that Saint Lucy, the patron saint of the blind (whose miraculous resistance to martyrdom led to the removal of her eyes), is the saint to whom Lucrezia prays, presumably on account of Ricciardi's persistent "eye illness," on which see note 2, above.

22. The sharing of all things in common is a fundamental precept of true friendship, and one to which Rosa frequently refers in his letters.

Letter 116:

1. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

2. On the predicament of Ugo Maffei, see letter 16, note 8.

3. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3. See also Rosa's comments in letter 115.

4. On the apparently strained relationship between Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi, see letter 36, note 6.

5. Yet another of the many instances of Rosa's crass mockery of Giulio, with jokes that frequently revolve around bodily functions. For another particularly noteworthy example, see letter 43.

6. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

8. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

9. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

10. Rosa was engaged in acquiring paintings for Giulio's "gallery," on which see also letters 53 and 113. Giulio had apparently inquired after the identity of the painter of the works in question. The two paintings to which Rosa here refers might be the same ones mentioned in letter 128, which Rosa had commissioned from a certain "young boy," perhaps the "Pasquale" referred to in subsequent letters as Rosa's copyist and assistant (see letter 128, note 10).

Letter 117:

1. In reference to Ricciardi's "ailment" of the eyes, Rosa here mentions two creatures particularly noteworthy for their eyesight: Argus and the lynx. Argus (or Argus Panoptes), the primordial giant of Greek mythology and guardian of the cow-nymph Io, was described as having one hundred eyes (Panoptes means "all-seeing"). Rosa painted the subject of *Mercury and Argus* on more than one occasion: see Salerno 1975, 96, cat. 142–144 (for a painting at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; one at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City; and another formerly in the L. Harris collection, London), and 101, cat. 204 (for another painting of the same subject in a private collection, Rome). See also: Fredericksen 1991; Scott 1995, 125–126, 194, 216 and 231; Naples 2008, 160–161, cat. 37; and Volpi 2014, 487 (cat. 168), 497 (cat. 179) and 516 (cat. 208). The lynx was also believed to have particularly good eyesight. Its name derives from the Greek and Latin words for "light," on account of the particular brightness of its reflective eyes. On Ricciardi's unspecified eye illness, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

2. Ricciardi had presumably undergone a treatment involving the cauterization (or burning) of the back of his neck, in order to create an incision ("cauterio") that would allow the removal or release of the cause of the infection or malady. Rosa mentions the differing opinions of friends concerning the "cautery of the neck" in another letter to Ricciardi of 5 January 1652 (letter 118). There is evidence that the treatment was used specifically in connection with eyesight: in his autobiography, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio (1532–1602), the Archbishop of Santa Severina, wrote in an entry of December 1567 that he had begun to "be somewhat deprived of sight" and was forced "according to the advice of doctors, to submit to a *cauterio alla collottola*," having first taken various "syrups and other medicines": *Archivio Società romana*, 12:345.

3. On Rosa's more general distrust of medical physicians, see letter 101, note 12.

4. A humorous nickname for Carlo Roberto Dati, on whom see letter 114, note 9. The "brother" in question is presumably Lionardo Dati, who—like Carlo Roberto Dati—was a member of the Accademia della Crusca in Florence. At the end of 1651, Dati accompanied his brother Lionardo on the voyage from Rome to Naples, after Lionardo had been elected bishop of Montepulciano. See Vigilante, in *DBI* 33 (1987):24–28.

5. The phrase "un Par suo" means "such a person," or "a person like him".

6. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

7. A reference to the work of Sextus Empiricus, probably the *Adversus mathematicos*, on which see letter 115, note 4. Rosa mentions in letter 118 that he has found a newly-bound copy of the text in excellent condition, in Greek and Latin. The book was still in Rosa's hands on 18 January 1652 (letter 120), when he also reported that he was still hunting for the other books Ricciardi had requested, which Rosa worried would be difficult to find in Rome.

8. This statement has been interpreted as an indication that Rosa could not read Greek, relying in this regard upon the help of friends like Ricciardi. Alternatively (or additionally), Rosa could also mean that he is not particularly knowledgeable about Greek texts. Various other members of Rosa's circle of friends also specialized in Greek, including Valerio Chimentelli, who was a Reader in Greek at the University of Pisa from 1648–1649 and 1652–1653: Paliaga 2009, 147. On Rosa's education,

erudition, and desire to be well-read (and recognized as such) in ancient philosophy and history, see further Hoare 2018, 75, 123, 131–132, 155, 256, 275–276 and 280.

9. With the name "Alsatio" Rosa could be referring either to Vincenzo Alsario della Croce or to Lukas Holste, to whom Rosa refers in letter 115 as "Elstenio" (in which case "the work" in question in the present letter is probably Holste's *Index of the Library of San Lorenzo*). In the present letter, Rosa creates confusion by writing the name as "Alsatio," rather than "Alsario," although this error perhaps adds further support to the theory (discussed in letter 115, note 6) that Rosa was struggling to remember the correct name of the person in question. Alsario della Croce was a medical doctor and author of scientific treatises, including a 1617 text on the diseases of the head, entitled *De morbis capitis frequentoribus quorum cognitio*. It is also possible that Rosa was confusing the author in question with, or was instead thinking of, the Greek scholar and theologian Leone Allacci, to whom Cosimo Brunetti refers in letter 119 (where his name is spelled "Allazio") in the context of a series of texts that Brunetti was helping Rosa to find for Ricciardi. Brunetti himself, however, clearly differentiates between Allacci and Holste in letter 119, as he does in letters to Ricciardi (for which see letter 115, note 6). On Allacci, see letter 119, note 7. Rosa also refers to "Alsario" in letter 120, in which he once again refers to Ricciardi's eye malady and erysipelas, a skin infection, suggesting the possibility that Ricciardi was in fact interested in getting hold of Alsario della Croce's medical treatise, in addition to the text by Holste. On Alsario, see also letter 115, note 6.

10. The *Frascherie* of Antonio Abati, on which see letter 1, note 4, and letter 114, note 5.

11. This is perhaps another subtle dig on Rosa's part at Ricciardi's lack of knowledge in matters of art, on which see letter 104, note 5. Rosa had apparently sent these two unidentified copper plates, with designs, to Ricciardi for his approval—one of a number of instances in which Rosa shared his work with Ricciardi in order to either solicit ideas or to satisfy the requirements of friendship. Rosa's reference here to "your things" suggests that the prints in question may have been intended for Ricciardi himself, and for some particular use on his own part, although no specific candidates are known. Rosa kept close control over his copper plates, on the significance of which see further Hoare 2018, 264 and note 326. Eighty-five of Rosa's copper plates are now extant; they remained the property of Rosa's heirs for more than a century and were sold to the Calcografia of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, where they are housed today, in 1788, by Teresa Santamico, the widow of Augusto Rosa II (died 1784; Augusto Rosa II was the son of Francesco Giuseppe, himself in turn the son of Augusto Rosa I); the plates seem to have been treated with great care, and were used occasionally to make new prints in order to provide an income for the family. On these plates, see Bernini, in Nappi 2014, 112–119. As noted by Griffiths 1992, 250, there is clear evidence in support of the theory that Rosa controlled the use of his own plates: none of Rosa's prints bear the address of a publisher, and his letters reveal that he was himself in control of both their printing and marketing. This was an unusual practice among contemporary Italian printmakers—other prolific printmakers such as Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1664) and Pietro Testa (1611–1650) did not keep their prints together, but instead sold them off individually to publishers. Evidence that the plates remained in the possession of Rosa and his heirs is offered by the fact that almost all of them are now together in the Calcografia in Rome, and by the fact that they find no mention in the catalogues of the leading Roman printing firm De' Rossi. Further testimony is offered by Lady Sydney Morgan, who noted in her 1824 biography of Rosa (Morgan 1824, 2:377) that "[t]he original plates, nearly worn out, were sold by the present family (descendants of Rosa) to the Roman Gov't for 1000 dollars, and are now in the Papal Calchographic Office." On Rosa's plates, see also Wallace 1979, 125 and 127, and Nappi 2014, 112–119 and 216–231. Wallace 1979, 3, notes that Rosa's comment in the present letter is the earliest known reference the artist makes to his etchings. Wallace considers that "the offhand way in which the artist refers to the plates suggests that the etching process was not unfamiliar to him, and it seems very likely that Rosa had done at least five etchings by this time." On these prints, among them possible candidates for the "plates" mentioned in the present letter, see Wallace 1979, 3–11 (chapter 1). On Rosa's practice of selling his prints in bound volumes, see letter 280, note 12. On Rosa's etching technique, see letter 250, note 3.

12. Ricciardi's friend, Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. Rosa referred to Fabretti as "Signor Segretario Fabretti" in another letter to Ricciardi (letter 141), as he did in numerous other letters, a nickname Fabretti earned for assisting Ricciardi in writing letters during the latter's bouts of trouble with his eyesight: Limentani 1953, 51, note 99. On the role of the secretary in writing letters in the early modern period, see Sirat 2006, 435–436 and 442–443.

13. This is perhaps a reference to the doctors who were paying house calls to Ricciardi. By "a tempo" Rosa means "on a time basis," suggesting that he is here referring to someone working "by the clock," such as a physician. See Rosa's earlier derogatory comment about physicians in the present letter. See also in this regard letter 101, note 12.

14. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

15. On Jacopo Antonio Lupi, see letter 48, note 27.

16. If Rosa is here using the plural "Signori," then he is presumably referring to Giovanni Battista and Pietro Pandolfini, on whom see letter 65, note 4, and letter 84, note 8.

17. On the matter of air quality, a vital concern for Rosa and his contemporaries, see also letter 19, note 4. For Rosa's earlier exchanges with Ricciardi, concerning the choice of a vacation spot for that year, see letters 108 and 115. On this occasion, Rosa also seems to have been urging Giulio once again to show affection toward Ricciardi (see letter 116) during another moment in which Ricciardi doubted the degree of Giulio's friendship (see letter 108).

18. A reference to Mount Tabor, a mountain in Galilee, believed to be the site of Christ's Transfiguration. This is one of a number of instances in which Rosa constructs a parallel (explicit or implicit) between himself and his "namesake" (as "Salvator"), Jesus Christ. See Rosa's similar comments in letters 134, 155, 178 and 326. Rosa made a similar comment during his final illness, according to the account Francesco Baldovini sent to Baldinucci, included by the biographer toward the end of his life of the artist (Baldinucci, 5:469). As Langdon 2010b, 44, summarizes, "Rosa tried several cures, but collapsed in loud fury when nothing worked. Baldovini, trying to shame him into greater fortitude, commented that such a man as he, who had professed himself above the blows of fortune, should maintain a greater calm. Rosa, annoyed and impatient, retorted 'Fa un altro Salvatore, che questo se vo' dolere' ('Make another Saviour, because this one wants to moan'). He then, on 4 March, married Lucrezia, in order to save his soul, and was reassured when Baldovini told him that this terrible illness and suffering was part of God's plan for those whose souls He

wished to save. Anyway, he added, how could God send to Hell a man named Salvatore. Rosa, clinging to every hope, was reluctant to take communion, but finally capitulated. He died on 17 March 1673."

19. On the subject of friendship and freedom, see Hoare 2018, esp. 31–33.

Letter 118:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. A reference to the "eye ailment" that Ricciardi had been suffering from, on which see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

3. Carlo Bentivoglio, a Bolognese priest and author of poems and plays. On Bentivoglio, see letter 46, note 22. Rosa also mentions Bentivoglio's illness in letter 114.

4. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

5. Giovanni Maffei had apparently complained to Rosa about Ricciardi's hospitality.

6. The word "seme" here refers to "seed," in the sense of "progeny": Battaglia, 18:550–551. Rosa uses the term in a similar sense in letter 178.

7. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

8. See also Rosa's reference to this apparent misunderstanding in letter 116.

9. That is, "in possession" of the use of the Maffei family's property.

10. On the apparently strained relationship between Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei, see letter 36, note 6. On the matter of Rosa's concern over finding a place to vacation that year, in consideration of Ricciardi's qualms about the Maffei, see also letters 108 and 115.

11. A reference to the *Adversus mathematicos* of Sextus Empiricus, on which see letter 115, note 4.

12. Rosa was also looking for other texts for Ricciardi, on which see letter 115, notes 4 and 6.

13. The "two holidays" to which Rosa here refers could be two of the feast days associated with Epiphany or the New Year.

14. This is probably the *Index of the Library of San Lorenzo* by Lukas Holste, custodian of the Vatican Library, a text to which Rosa seems to be referring in letter 115 (see note 6). Alternatively, it could be the *Bibliotheca Photii* of Photius, mentioned by Cosimo Brunetti in letter 119 as one of the books he was helping to find for Ricciardi. Previously unidentified, the individual referred to here as "Scotti" is perhaps Ranuzio (or Ranuccio) Scotti Douglas (1597–1659), bishop of Borgo San Donnino, governor of the Marches, pontifical nuncio to Switzerland and France, and, subsequently, patriarchal vicar of the Vatican Basilica. Ranuzio resigned his post as bishop of San Donnino in March 1650. He was also, interestingly, a co-consecrator (in 1652) of Cardinal Neri Corsini, one of Rosa's most important patrons (on whom see letter 143, note 3). On Ranuzio Scotti, see Pastor, 31:18, and http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org. On the Scotti family, see the entry for "Scotti" by Carotti, in *Enciclopedia Italiana* 1936. An alternative candidate for the "Scotti" to whom Rosa here refers—although perhaps less likely, in view of Rosa's spelling of the name—is the German Jesuit scientist and scholar Gaspar Schott (1608–1666), who was in Rome in 1652, working with Athanasius Kircher at the Collegio Romano, the library of which we know Rosa frequented (see letter 277, note 2). Rosa's use of the term "accessione" here seems to be in the sense of consent, approval, or acceptance, for which see Battaglia, 1:75.

15. "Colombina" seems to be a nickname for one of Rosa's and Ricciardi's mutual friends. See also letter 48, where Rosa refers to an unidentified acquaintance as "Patroclo, alias Colombina," in reference to a female character from the *commedia dell'arte*. The likelihood that he is referring to the same individual in both letters is suggested by Rosa's reminiscence here, in the next sentence, about a past Carnival and (likely) theatrical performance in which he and Ricciardi participated, presumably along with this "Colombina". Conte 2014, 339, note 85, considered that Rosa's reference to "Colombina" in the present letter could be to a painting or to a pseudonym for an otherwise unidentifiable person.

16. Rosa is here remembering with affection past activities enjoyed among the members of the Pisan Accademia degli Stravaganti (to which Ricciardi also belonged) and his own Florentine Accademia dei Percossi. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Percossi, see Hoare 2018, chapter two.

17. On this procedure, which involves the cauterization of the neck, see letter 117, note 2.

18. The verb "diseccare" (or "disseccare") means to parch, dry up, desiccate, drain or wither: Battaglia, 4:763.

19. In the Catholic tradition, the three Ave Marias (or "Hail Marys," prayers to the Virgin Mary) are to be said once after waking in the morning and again before going to bed. In seventeenth-century Italy, the evening Ave Maria (or Angelus), usually signalled by the ringing of the Angelus bell, also marked the start of the 24-hour clock, on which see letter 31, note 7.

20. The "little animal" to which Rosa here refers is presumably the pig, the animalian symbol of Saint Anthony Abbot. As suggested by Limentani 1950, 83, note 7, Rosa's reference to Saint Anthony Abbot could also be intended in mockery of his former friend, the poet Antonio Abati (on whom see letter 1, note 4). Rosa had also mocked Abati in letter 48.

21. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

22. In Italy, the Christian liturgical feast day of Epiphany falls on 6 January, and is marked by the traditional celebration of the tale of the witch Befana, who arrives on her broomstick during the night of 5 January, filling the stockings of good children with sweets and toys and giving lumps of coal to the bad children.

Letter 119:

1. On the "laws of friendship," see letter 29, note 8.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. On the term "flemma" and the phlegmatic humour, see also letter 53, note 3, and Hoare 2018, 187, 188, 193 and 225.

4. What follows in italics has been written in the ms. in Cosimo Brunetti's hand—notable for its significant legibility in comparison with Rosa's. For other letters by Brunetti, see the images published in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 96–97, 101–103 and 106–107.

5. As noted by Limentani 1950, 84, note 1, it is not possible to determine exactly which edition of this text Ricciardi had requested. One of the most recent had been published in 1605: *Grammaticae Latinae Auctores Antiqui*, Hannoviae, Opera et

studio Heliae Putschii, Typus Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium.

6. Konrad von Gesner (1516–1565), a scholar, naturalist, bibliographer and philologist from Zurich: Limentani 1950, 84, note 2. Gesner is best known for his five-volume *Historiae animalium* (1551–1558), an important early contribution to the field of zoology. In view of the fact that a number of the texts that Ricciardi had requested seem to have been on the Index of Prohibited Books (see letter 129)—and in consideration of Ricciardi's literary interests, as well as the fact that most of the books on his list seem to be bibliographic in nature—it seems more plausible that the book he wanted by Gesner was the *Biblioteca Universalis*, the first comprehensive "universal" list of books from the first century of print, including all known books in Latin, Greek and Hebrew (published in four volumes, 1545–1549). As a work of Protestant scholarship, the book had been placed on the Index. On Gesner's book and its prohibition, see Moreni 1986. Zellmann-Rohrer 2014, 191, note 25, adds to the list of possible texts by Gesner that Ricciardi was seeking the *Ioannis Stobaei sententiae ex thesauris Graecorum delectae, quarum autores, circiter CCL citat: Et in sermons sive locos communes digestae*, 2 vols. (Paris: Apud Martinum Juuenem, 1557), a Latin translation of Stobaeus's anthology, which may have in turn provided Rosa with the inspiration for the inscription in his *Allegory of Philosophy*, on which see Hoare 2013, and Hoare 2018, 97–98 (and note 209), 139–142, 183, 190–191 and 222.

7. Leone Allacci (or Leo Allatius; *c.* 1586–1669), a Greek scholar and theologian, appointed as librarian to Cardinal Francesco Barberini and, subsequently, to Pope Alexander VII, who made him custodian of the Vatican Library in 1661, a position Allacci held until his death in 1669. From Brunetti's words here, it appears he knew Allacci personally, an acquaintance further suggested by Brunetti's comments in a letter to Ricciardi of 23 March (for which see letter 115, note 6). Ricciardi probably knew Allacci as well. As noted by Limentani 1950, 84, note 3, Allacci's *Drammaturgia* (Venice, 1755) presents a list of several of Ricciardi's published comedies, on which see further letter 126, note 6. It is not surprising, notes Limentani, that "eight or ten days" might be needed to make notes on Allacci's works, since even the published texts were about sixty in number. On Allacci, see: Fumaroli 1980; Fumaroli 1986; Nau 2005, 32–34; and Fiore 2013. Langdon 2012, 178–184, has noted the resonance of Allacci's ideas about "genius" with those of Longinus, an important context for understanding Rosa's own ideas on the subject: "In 1635 Leone Allacci, librarian to the Barberini, published his *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo*, a commentary on Longinus, which transposes long passages of Longinus's text. Allacci takes from Longinus the idea of the grandeur of man's soul; he believes, too, that it is this grandeur of soul that resonates in the sublime, and towards which the godlike genius strives, even through danger, and despite breaking all rules." On Rosa, the sublime, and the concept of "genius," see also Hoare 2018, 29–30 (and notes 19 and 20).

8. On the work of Sextus Empiricus, see letter 115, note 4.

9. Lukas Holste (or Lucas Holstenius), on whom see letter 115, note 6. The text in question is Holste's manuscript text of the *Index of the Library of San Lorenzo*. Holste's *Index* does not itself seem to have been prohibited, but may have contained references to prohibited books. In this context it is interesting to note that another text by Holste did encounter such censorship: his *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum* (based on a manuscript collection of ancient Roman chancery formulae used in the administration of the Roman Church, which Holste had found in the monastery of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome). This text was printed in 1650, but copies were withheld from publication by Pope Alexander VII and stored at the Vatican, largely on account of the book's reference to the monotheism (and therefore heretical potential) of Pope Honorius I (625–638) and the implications that this association had for papal authority more generally. See Kirsch 1910.

10. The *Myriobiblion* or *Bibliotheca Photii* of Photius I (*c.* 810–*c.* 893), Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, also known as Saint Photius the Great within the Eastern Orthodox Church. As noted by Limentani 1950, 84, note 6, the *Myriobiblion* was reprinted several times over the course of the first half of the 1600s. The text comprises a collection of extracts of 280 volumes of classical authors (especially historical writers), the originals of many of which are now lost.

11. Eustace of Thessalonica's commentary on Homer's *Iliad*, reprinted several times in the first half of the 1600s: Limentani 1950, 85, note 7.

12. The work of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), a doctor and naturalist from Bologna: Limentani 1950, 85, note 8. Aldrovandi is considered by some to be the father of natural history. Known for his impressive cabinet of curiosities, comprised of 7000 "cose naturali," Aldrovandi's many publications on matters of natural science and history included the *Antidotarii Bononiensis, siue de vsitata ratione componendorum, miscendorumque medicamentorum, epitome* (1574), the *Serpentum et draconum* (1640), the *Monstrorum historia cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium* (1642), and the *Dendrologiae naturalis scilicet arborum historiae libri duo sylua glandaria, acinosumq* (1667). The "opere dell'Aldovrando" ("works of Aldrovandi") mentioned in the present letter, however, could be books that had been in Aldrovandi's own possession, a number of which were prohibited—an interesting consideration in connection with the other books on Ricciardi's list. See Grendler 2004, 190.

13. As noted by Limentani 1950, 85, note 9, this list of books to be acquired, together with the letter by Ricciardi to an unknown recipient (dated 12 January 1652, close in date to the present letter, and first published in Limentani's Appendix, 165–167, no. 2, reproduced here in Appendix 3 (letter A)—in which Ricciardi refers to a wide variety of ancient and contemporary texts—offers insights into Ricciardi's personality, his erudite and eclectic tastes, and his identity as the future Reader in moral philosophy at the University of Pisa. From the list in the present letter, and from Appendix 3, letter A, one gathers that Ricciardi's interests included philology, the natural sciences, classical literature, theology and the philosophical doctrines. As Limentani notes, if Ricciardi is known to some as a burlesque poet and comedy-writer, then Rosa's letters reveal Ricciardi to be also an expert in literature, history and philosophy, and a connoisseur (if only a dilettante) of art.

14. Rosa's painting, the *Democritus in Meditation*, on which see letter 86, note 15. Rosa had been trying to sell the painting since he first exhibited it in March 1651. Rosa's high opinion of the quality of his work, and his unwillingness to settle for less recompense than he felt he deserved, is apparent from his comments about the painting in letters from that date to this, and continuing onward to July (letter 137) and August (letter 144) of 1652.

15. On the value of the *dobla*, or *doppia*, see letter 101, note 7.

16. On the melancholic humour shared by Rosa and Ricciardi, see Hoare 2018, chapter four, esp. 179–181 and 191–193. See also letter 132. By "humour" Rosa also seems here to be referring

to a more general "mood" or emotional state. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

17. By the "month of February," Rosa means to refer to Carnival, hence his mention of the "rehearsal of scenes" in reference to the theatrical performances staged during the Carnival season.

18. This must be one of the plates to which Rosa refers in letter 117. As recorded by Wallace 1979, 3, note 1, this particular plate was associated by Bozzolato 1973, 5 and 15, with Rosa's *Shepherd* etching, for which see Wallace 1979, 244, cat. 98.

19. Limentani 1950, 86, note 11, proposes this epithet as an indication that Cosimo Fabretti held a post as secretary in an academy (pointing in this regard to letter 126, where Rosa asks Ricciardi to greet Fabretti, or "Signor Secretary," together with "the entire academy of your gentlemen"). However, it seems more likely—as Limentani also suggests—that the name was an inflated and humorous reference to Fabretti's role in assisting Ricciardi with the writing of letters, on account of the latter's deteriorating eyesight. See also on this matter letter 117, note 12.

20. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

Letter 120:

1. The verb "cerimoniare" means to stand on ceremony or make a fuss: Battaglia, 2:1000.

2. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

3. For Rosa's earlier conversations with Ricciardi about the matter of staying with Giulio Maffei, presumably at Monterufoli, see letters 108, 115 and 118.

4. The word "coccia" means hard-headed or obstinate. For Rosa's use of the term on other occasions, see letter 60, and letter 93, note 2.

5. Rosa is here being ironic in his use of the word "incomodo," playing upon its correlation with the word "accommodare". By "incomodo" he intends to refer both to Ricciardi's illness and to the inconvenience of the decision about where to stay together.

6. The medical condition of erysipelas (meaning "red skin"), also known as "holy fire" or Saint Anthony's fire, is an acute infection of the skin and lymphatic system, typically caused by a bacterial infection. Symptoms include a high fever, the chills, headaches and vomiting.

7. This is probably a reference to the *Adversus mathematicos*, by Sextus Empiricus, on which see letter 115, note 4. On the other books that Rosa and Cosimo Brunetti had been trying to find for Ricciardi, see letters 115, 117, 118 and 119.

8. This is presumably a reference to the work of Vincenzo Alsario della Croce, on which see also letter 117, note 9.

9. By "disgiunte" Rosa presumably means "in individual volumes".

10. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

11. In an older usage, the term "impersonato" refers to the condition of being in good physical shape, having a solid or sturdy constitution, or being vigorous, robust or hearty, either in one's person or body: Battaglia, 7:455. The "new prospects" to which Rosa here refers are presumably in regard to Brunetti's hopes of obtaining an appointment in the service of a papal nuncio, on which see also letter 122. On Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 121:

1. The Via del Corso in Rome, which served from the fifteenth century onward as a racetrack during the Carnival season for the annual running of the "corsa dei barberi," or riderless horses.

2. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

3. A reference to Ricciardi's group of academic friends in Pisa, who belonged to the theatrical academy of the Stravaganti, as well as the literary academies of the Disuniti and Accademia Pisana, and were either involved in or attended Ricciardi's performances in Pisa. On the members of these academies, their literary and theatrical activities, and their significance for Rosa, see: Paliaga 2009, 141–162; Paliaga 2010; Volpi 2010b, 59; Volpi and Paliaga 2012, esp. 11–49; and Hoare 2018, 86–90.

4. For this list of books, see letter 119.

5. On the "giulio," a monetary denomination, see letter 31, note 10. Noting Rosa's rather odd orthography in this instance ("*di 4* l'opera"), Conte 2014, 339, note 86, suggested that the "di" might be intended as an abbreviation for "ducati" or ducats. The fee to which Rosa here refers is nonetheless noteworthy. As noted by Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 38, "[m]any Roman services and entertainment were expensive," citing in this instance Rosa's present lamentation about the cost of attending the comedies, as well as his comment in letter 374, concerning the high cost—5000 to 6000 *scudi*—of staging what he considered to be a bad comic opera.

6. For the expression "rompersi la testa" as to drive oneself crazy, see letter 115, note 20.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

8. In the year 1652, the first day of Carnival fell on 3 February, as noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 29, note 2. Gerra 1937 incorrectly placed the present letter after letter 123, which is dated 25 February 1652.

Letter 122:

1. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

2. Rosa's brother Giuseppe, on whom see letter 91, note 22.

3. Rosa earlier expressed his preference for Ricciardi over his own brother, Giuseppe, in letter 91.

4. On Cosimo Brunetti and his ambition to secure an appointment in the service of a papal nuncio, see also letter 67, note 13, and letter 120. The "solicitor" mentioned here is Marcantonio Eugeni (on whom see letter 84, note 4), who took Brunetti under his wing in the study and practice of law. On Brunetti and Eugeni, see letter 84, notes 3 and 4. The "Cardinal Sacchetti" in question is Cardinal Giulio Cesare Sacchetti, on whom see letter 34, note 1, and letter 67, note 13.

5. On the books that Rosa was trying to find for Ricciardi, with the help of Cosimo Brunetti, see also letters 115, 117, 118, 119, 120 and 121.

6. Rosa seems to have been trying to persuade Ricciardi to spend time with him at Monterufoli, with Giulio Maffei, over the summer, rather than to make alternative arrangements. See also in this regard letters 108, 115, 118 and 120.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

8. A reference to Ricciardi's group of academic friends in Pisa, who belonged to the theatrical academy of the Stravaganti, as well as the literary academies of the Disuniti and Accademia Pisana, and were either involved in or attended Ricciardi's performances in Pisa. See the list of friends named in letter 86. On the Stravaganti, see also letter 56, note 2, and Hoare 2018, 86–90. On the Accademia Pisana, see letter 2, note 6. See also the sources cited in letter 121, note 3.

9. The fourth day of Lent, which Borrelli and Festa 2003, 137, note 1, place on 20 February. In 1652, however, the first day of the forty days of Lent (Ash Wednesday) fell on 14 February, which would make the "fourth day of Lent" 17 February. De Rinaldis 1939 erroneously placed the present letter out of chronological sequence.

Letter 123:

1. Rosa probably intends the term "impotenza" in reference to physical inability or incapacity, due to illness. The term can also refer to "defencelessness" or "helplessness" (in body or in mind), listlessness, passivity, a lack of energy, or incompetence. See Battaglia, 7:507. On Ricciardi's particular ailments at this moment, see letter 120.

2. On Rosa's brother, Giuseppe, see letter 91, note 22.

3. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

Letter 124:

1. That is, presumably, in the sense that hairdressing is pointless on account of the weather.

2. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

3. That is, on the Trinità dei Monti. On Rosa's house on the Strada Felice (Via Sistina), see letter 26, note 3.

4. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

5. Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna Incontri, on whom see letter 2, note 10.

6. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

7. Rosa's use of the term "pastecieria" here, as in another reference to Gasparini in letter 105, seems to refer to Gasparini's literal profession as a "pasticciere," a pastry chef (usually one who makes and sells meat-filled pastries: Battaglia, 12:790). The term could also be intended in reference to Gasparini's apparent poetic ambitions, on which see letter 111. See also letter 41, note 12.

8. A "macinella" is a grinder, muller or pestle, in this instance presumably the kind used for mixing pigments. See Battaglia, 9:381.

9. This could be a reference to the villa of Barbaiano, for which Giulio Maffei's wife Giovanna was apparently responsible. See letter 100, note 11, and letter 107.

Letter 125:

1. On the popular analogy drawn between the pen and the heart, see letter 8, note 1.

2. See also letter 128, where Rosa mentions Lucrezia's feelings of loneliness in Rome. With his use of the term "selvatica" Rosa assuredly also intends to allude to the more literal meaning of the term, as "wild" or "desirous of the woods," in connection with the landscape surrounding Monterufoli.

3. Giulio Maffei's wife, who may have been ill at the time. Rosa refers to her death in letter 128, dated 30 March 1652.

4. On the apparently strained nature of Giulio Maffei's friendship with Ricciardi, see letter 36, note 6. Rosa also urged Giulio to tend to his friendship with Ricciardi in letter 116. By "guaranteed convenience" ("comodità sicura") Rosa could mean a number of things: he could be referring to matters of finance, or matters of health (the latter of which seems most likely, in view of the ailments that Ricciardi was suffering at that moment—particularly an eye disorder that would have interfered with his writing, on which see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3). Rosa could alternatively be referring to the time at one's disposal to write.

5. For the predicament of Ugo Maffei, and his stay in Albano Laziale, see letters 16 (note 8), 100 and 112.

6. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

8. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

9. On Rosa's brother Giuseppe, see letter 91, note 22. Rosa first reports on his brother's visit to Rome in letter 122.

10. As in the case of letter 126, Rosa seems here to have mistakenly written "February" in the ms., intending March. As noted by Limentani 1950, Rosa's reference to the visit and departure of his brother suggests the present letter belongs to March of 1652. See further letter 126, note 9. On Rosa's occasional error in recording the date in his letters, see letter 23, note 6, and letters 266 and 280.

Letter 126:

1. Rosa's brother, Giuseppe, on whom see letter 91, note 22. Giuseppe had been staying with Rosa in Rome. See also letters 122 and 125.

2. See also letter 125, where Rosa writes to Giulio that his plan to come to Monterufoli might be delayed on account of various engagements.

3. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

4. Marcantonio Eugeni, on whom see letter 84, note 4. Apparently Brunetti had also been unwell at this moment, as he reported himself in a letter to Ricciardi of 23 March 1652, on which see letter 96, note 21, and letter 127, note 6.

5. Ricciardi had been asking Rosa to obtain some yellow Indian jasmine for him in Rome, perhaps for medicinal purposes. See letter 96, and letters 127, 128 and 129.

6. It is difficult to establish with certainty to which of Ricciardi's comedies Rosa is here referring. Seven of them were published without a date, and others probably without the author's consent (see letter 267, note 1), some years after they were written. In regard to Ricciardi's comedies, see: Allacci, 183, 374, 422, 686, 783, 842, 913 and 931; Sanesi 1944, 2:199ff; and Castelli 1998. Allacci includes a bibliography of Ricciardi's comedies (also recorded by Toci 1881, XXXII). See also on this subject Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 18, note 2. Allacci's list of Ricciardi's published comedies includes:

i. *Chi non sa fingere non sa vivere*, *overo Le cautele politiche*. Opera. In prose. Bologna: Longhi, (no date), in 12º – ed. Bologna, Giuseppe Longhi, 1679, in 12º.

ii. *La forza del sospetto overo il Trespolo Hoste*. Comedy. In prose. Ronciglione: (no publisher), 1674, in 12º.

iii. *Per la Gloria non per l'amore contendono i rivali*. Opera. In prose. Bologna: eredi del Pisarri, 1687, in 12º. Composed in 1654, on the request of the Archduke of Austria.

iv. *La ruota della fortuna*. Opera. In prose. Bologna: Longhi (no date), in 12º.

v. *Il Trespolo tutore*. Burlesque drama. In prose. Bologna: Longhi (no date), in 12º – ed. Bologna, Gioseffo Longhi, 1683, in 12º. (Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 18, note 2, records a publication date of 1669.)

vi. *Amore è cieco*, or *La Barberia*. Comedy. In prose. Bologna: Longhi, 1684, in 12º.

vii. *Lo sposalizio tra' sepolcri.* Opera. In prose. Bologna: Longhi, 1695, in 12º.

The manuscript copies of Ricciardi's comedies can be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Magl. VII. 1285, 152r–181r and Ms. Magl. VII, 1286, 62r–209v. The manuscript collections of the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome (MS 45E17, cod. 638, fol. 139ff) contain another comedy by Ricciardi, entitled *La Rivalità generosa*, which also features the oft-favoured character Trespolo.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, who helped Ricciardi with the writing of his letters. See letter 70, note 20.

8. "Patacca" is the name of a character of the *commedia dell'arte* that Rosa performed many times in Florence with members of the Accademia dei Percossi, and perhaps also among the Accademia degli Stravaganti in Pisa. On the role, and on Rosa's comic performances in general, see Hoare 2018, 53–57 and 84–85. On Ricciardi's academic affiliations in Pisa, see Hoare 2018, 86–90.

9. Rosa has written the word "February" in the ms., however (as noted by Limentani 1950, 86, note 1) the letter must date instead to 9 March. The departure of Rosa's brother Giuseppe could not have taken place on 9 February, since he was not yet in Rome (he arrived a little after the middle of February; see letter 122). Instead, the letter of 23 March (letter 127) was clearly written a few days after the present letter: Rosa speaks there, as he does here, of the futility of a trip to Tuscany since Ricciardi might be away at the time; Rosa also mentions the matter of the jasmines, as well as the recovery of the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni.

Letter 127:

1. A reference to Rosa's painting of *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl* (1652, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen), painted as a companion to the *Democritus in Meditation*. On both paintings, see letter 86, note 15. Rosa mentions the *Diogenes* again in letter 128. Rosa's friend Cosimo Brunetti, who had earlier reported on the wildly successful reception of the *Democritus* (see letter 86, note 15), wrote again to Ricciardi about the praise given to the *Diogenes*: in a letter of 23 March 1652, Brunetti reported that "if last year, his *Democritus* was esteemed superior to all other paintings, then this year the *Diogenes* has rendered worthless paintings by those that might otherwise be most excellent" ("se l'anno passato il suo Democrito fu stimato superiore a tutti gli altri quadri, quest'anno il Diogene ha fatto stimar vilissimi i quadri di quelli che per altro sarebbono stati eccellentissimi"). Brunetti noted the praise Rosa was receiving for the "morality" of his brush ("la moralità, che così la chiamo"), and for the "admirable and expressive physiognomies" ("l'ammirabili fisionomie tanto espressive") with which he rendered the lively expression and character of the Cynic philosopher. "I'm telling you this," he wrote to Ricciardi, "because I know you'll enjoy it, as he's such a good friend of yours" ("Io vel'avviso perché so che n'haverete gusto, essendo egli a voi tanto amico"). With the *Diogenes*, as Brunetti reported further, Rosa had managed to acquire a reputation for expertise not only in landscapes and battle scenes, but the honour of "primo pennello" ("supreme brush") in every iconographic genre. For Brunetti's letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 108–109, doc. 44. Rosa's *Diogenes* was not yet known at the time that De Rinaldis and Limentani first published Rosa's letters: De Rinaldis 1939, 36, considered it a lost work, while Limentani 1950, 99, note 10, interpreted it as a painting recorded by Thieme-Becker (29:2), at the time located in a collection in Lucerne.

2. Rosa has here omitted a word that would help clarify the meaning of the sentence. There is no empty space or cancellation in the ms., however Rosa surely means to say an "attempt at healing [or curing] the illness of your eyes". On San Casciano and its therapeutic baths, and for two letters written from the baths by Ricciardi to Francesco Lanfreducci, see letter 106, note 6. Ricciardi dedicated a humorous poem to Lanfreducci, entitled *Dai bagni* (*From the Baths*), for which see letter 84, note 7, and Toci 1881, 23–25.

3. On the subject of the quality of the "air," a frequent point of concern for Rosa and his contemporaries, see letter 19, note 4.

4. The "first villa" must be the Maffei family's villa at Monterufoli. Rosa's comment that Ricciardi did not own his "own villa" is presumably in connection with the villa at Strozzavolpe, a property owned at the time by Cassandra Ricciardi, the mother of Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo. Rosa also refers to this matter of ownership in letters 129 and 131. On Strozzavolpe, see letter 228, note 7.

5. Ricciardi had requested these yellow Indian jasmine roots at an earlier date, probably intending them for medicinal use. See also letters 96, 126, 128 and 129.

6. On Cosimo Brunetti and the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni, and the latter's illness, see also letter 126, note 4. Brunetti reported to Ricciardi in a letter of 23 March 1652 that he had been sick "for 50 days," and that Eugeni had been even worse off than him. For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 109, doc. 44.

7. On Ricciardi's academic friends in Pisa, many of whom also belonged to the chivalric Order of Santo Stefano, see the sources cited in letter 121, note 3, and Hoare 2018, 86–90. On Cosimo Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 128:

1. Lodovico Maffei is the brother of Giulio Maffei (see letter 1, note 5). As noted by Limentani 1950, 88–89, note 2, the nature of Lodovico's relationship to Giulio is also suggested by a letter of 20 April 1652 (letter 130), addressed to Raffaello Maffei and containing Rosa's formal congratulations for the "accasamento" (marriage) of Lodovico Maffei to Raffaello's daughter, Giovanna. After the date of Giulio Maffei's death, in 1654, Lodovico is the only member of the Maffei family whose correspondence with Rosa has survived. The "Provveditore" Maffei mentioned

in the present letter is Raffaello Maffei (on whom see letter 7, note 2), who was *provveditore* (or superintendent) of Volterra. Limentani 1950 failed to identify him correctly. Cesareo 1892 earlier proposed—mistakenly—that he was Raffaello Landini, who seems to have hosted Rosa in Vallombrosa in 1642 (see letter 5, notes 6 and 11). Incidentally, there appear to have been two *provveditori* in the Maffei family: as noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 32, Francesco Maffei, the cousin of Raffaello Maffei (but incorrectly identified by De Rinaldis 1939 as a brother of Giulio's) was also *provveditore* of the city of Volterra. See also on this matter Maffei 1887, XIV, and letter 109, note 1. On the marriage between Lodovico Maffei and Raffaello Maffei's daughter, Giovanna, see also Festa 1963a. The wedding itself did not take place until the spring of 1652 (see letters 130 and 131). Paliaga 2010, 90, note 40, notes that on the occasion of the wedding, various members of the Accademia dei Sepolti of Volterra (to which Raffaello himself belonged) sent Lodovico numerous celebratory poetic compositions.

2. Rosa had planned to go to Monterufoli, together with Ricciardi. See letters 125, 126 and 127. As noted by Limentani 1950, 89, note 3, the "social qualms" to which Rosa refers are perhaps related to the fact that he was living "in sin" with Lucrezia, who was herself still married to another man—a situation that would draw further unwanted attention at a wedding.

3. This letter to Giulio Maffei does not appear to have survived, unless it is to be identified with letter 125. If the "reason" that Rosa mentioned in the letter to Giulio included the "social qualms" he refers to here, and if these pertained to his relationship with Lucrezia, then it is possible that Giulio destroyed the letter at Rosa's request. On the possibility that a number of Rosa's letters were destroyed for this reason, see the Introduction, and Hoare 2018, 154.

4. This is the first notice in Rosa's extant correspondence of the death of Giovanna Incontri, the wife of Giulio Maffei.

5. The sentence lacks an explicit object ("mi rimetto . . ."). It is probably Ricciardi, but could also be Giulio.

6. On the baths of San Casciano, favoured for their therapeutic waters, see letter 106, note 6.

7. On Rosa's conflicted attitude toward Naples, which he nonetheless praised on numerous occasions for its good climate, see Hoare 2018, 34 and note 46. Rosa's Neapolitan biographer, Bernardo De Dominici, also speaks of the restorative "air" of Naples in his biography of the artist, noting that Rosa fell ill on his first trip to Rome, but returned to the salubrious air of Naples to recuperate: De Dominici, 1:417–418. On the mythologies surrounding Naples as a place of unparalleled beauty, abundance and historical and cultural significance, see Marino 2011, 17, 34 and 79. Naples was celebrated as the mythical city of the Sirens: according to ancient tradition, the Siren Partenope had been washed ashore there, hence the poetic name ascribed to Naples, "Partenope": Marino 2011, 34 and 43. The identity of the city of Naples in this regard was also promoted in works like Giovan Battista Basile's court masque, *Monte Parnaso. Mascarata da Cavalieri Napoletani*, first performed in 1630, in which he turned the city into the setting of Mount Parnassus, home of Apollo and the Muses, in order to "reinforce the Neapolitan self-image of a city blessed for its arts and learning": Marino 2011, 79. On Naples's cultural rivalry with Rome, see Marino 2011, 41–42.

8. On the meaning of the term "genio" as "spirit," see letter 19, note 1.

9. See letters 115, 117, 118, 120, 122 and 126.

10. As noted by Limentani 1950, 90, note 6, this is perhaps the certain "Pasquale," a student or assistant of Rosa who is referred to in letter 188 as having died prematurely at the age of twenty-four "because of the change of air between Albano and Rome," and about whom nothing more is known. He is probably the individual mentioned (either by name or implication) as a copyist and painter (probably of landscape paintings, for the most part) in other letters by Rosa: see letters 190, 232, 242 and 312. On Pasquale, see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 18. The two paintings referred to in the present letter could be the same as those mentioned in letter 116. Festa 1963a proposed that Rosa likely had assistants execute paintings to give as gifts to the Maffei family, as he did not simply "give away" his large-scale paintings, which were expensive to make and for which he sought financial recompense.

11. The paintings in question have been identified as the *Sacrifice of Abel* and *Queen Esther* (both now lost), which Baldinucci, 5:462, declares were painted by Rosa for the Maffei, however Festa 1963a expressed doubts in regard to the identification of these particular paintings with the works that Rosa mentions here. On the paintings that Rosa made for, or gave as gifts to, the Maffei, see Hoare 2018, 292 and note 613.

12. The room in question is perhaps the "gallery," a room in the Maffei family palace for which Rosa had earlier been searching for paintings. See letter 53, note 2, and letter 116, note 10.

13. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

14. Regarding Ugo Maffei's stay in Albano Laziale, see letter 16, note 8, and letter 112, note 14.

15. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

16. On Rosa's frequent walks in the Piazza Navona, see letters 108 and 162. On Cosimo Brunetti and his tutelage under Marcantonio Eugeni, at Eugeni's house in Piazza Navona, see letter 84, note 3.

17. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 143, note 1, it may be that Rosa received the invitation via Nicolaus Heinsius (1620–1681), the Roman agent of Queen Christina of Sweden and her advisor in the purchase of rare books and works of art. It was only three years later, toward the end of 1655 (after abdicating in 1654), that Christina made her triumphal entry into Italy, where she remained for the rest of her life. Rosa's refusal was one of a number that he made throughout his career, on which see letter 45, note 5. Salomon 2010b, 84, considered that Rosa's comment here—that his successful exhibition of the *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl* had prompted Queen Christina's invitation to Rosa to work at her court—is one of a number of statements that are difficult to verify, perhaps exaggerations on Rosa's part aimed at "promoting fanciful stories through his friends' network".

18. Rosa's painting of *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*, on which see letter 86, note 15, and letter 127, note 1.

19. On Rosa's concept of friendship, see Hoare 2018, esp. Introduction.

20. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

21. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

22. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

23. 30 March.

24. These jasmine roots were probably being sought for medicinal purposes. See letter 96, note 3, and letters 126, 127 and 129.

25. San Bernardo alle Terme, constructed between 1598 and

1600, and at one time a Cistercian convent. It incorporates into its structure the remains of one of two circular towers that mark the corners of the southwestern wall of the Baths of Diocletian.

26. With the word "carioso" Rosa probably intends "curioso," in reference to an "amateur" or "dilettante" gardener. His rendering is either a result of misspelling or a reflection of pronunciation. The word "carioso," alternatively, is an adjective meaning rotten, decayed or putrid (Battaglia, 2:771), but this interpretation does not make much sense in the context of Rosa's comment here.

27. On the value of the "dobla" (or "doppia"), see letter 101, note 7.

Letter 129:

1. A reference to the thermal baths at Monte Amiata, in Tuscany. It is possible that Rosa had here confused the baths of San Filippo with those of San Casciano, mentioned in letter 128. As noted by Limentani 1950, 92, note 1, both sites are located near Monte Amiata, and are only about twenty kilometres apart from one another: San Filippo is northwest, and San Casciano southwest, of Radicofani.

2. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

3. For Ricciardi's previous stay at Monterufoli and Volterra in 1650, see letters 57 and 59, and the successive letters written by Rosa from Monterufoli (letters 60 through 79).

4. The phrase "venghi [venga] da donde vuole" literally means "it can come from wherever it wants"; figuratively, it refers to the sense of having no control over something.

5. On the matter of air quality, a vital concern for Rosa and his contemporaries, see also letter 19, note 4.

6. A reference to the quandary in which Rosa and Ricciardi found themselves, as to where they might summer together, on account of their apparently strained relations with the Maffei family. See Rosa's earlier comments in this regard in letters 108, 115, 118, 120 and 122. Ricciardi seems to have suggested alternative accommodation, perhaps among these options the villa of Strozzavolpe owned by the Ricciardi family (hence Rosa's comment concerning "lands that aren't Ricciardi's"). See also on this matter letter 127.

7. Presumably in reference to the "social qualms," concerning Rosa and Lucrezia, that Rosa mentions in letter 128.

8. Rosa's reference here to "Signor Maffei" and the matter of a wedding likely refers to the wedding planned between Lodovico Maffei and Raffaello Maffei's daughter, Giovanna (on which see letter 128, note 1), which would have preoccupied the Maffei during the period of time that Rosa and Ricciardi had hoped to spend at one of the family's villas. The "Signor Maffei" is likely Lodovico, but could also be Raffaello, and the problem itself (the reason for the "removal of hope") is presumably the inconvenience of the wedding, which took place later in the spring (see letters 130 and 131). The "Signor Maffei" cannot be Giulio, as Rosa refers to him by name in the following line. In letter 131, Rosa mentions Giulio's complaints with regard to his own plans (or indecision) to remarry after the death of his wife, Giovanna Incontri; here, too, Rosa mentions Giulio's mockery of Rosa's "ridiculous excuses" in regard to the matter.

9. The expression "dare del coglione" means to speak ill of someone, or to call someone stupid.

10. On the matter of the jasmine, see letters 96, 126, 127 and 128. For the value of a *dobla* (or *doppia*), see letter 101, note 7.

11. A "ferraiolo" is a large mantle or cloak, made of silk or another light material, usually worn by the noble class, members of the papal court, bishops, prelates or priests: Battaglia, 5:853.

12. On the institution of the Index of Prohibited Books (*Index librorum prohibitorum*) in seventeenth-century Rome, and the censorship of books more generally, see: Barbierato 2002, esp. 116–127 (on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*), 140–142 (on the subject of permission to read books listed on the Index), and 210–212 (for a useful bibliography); Ago 2006, 203–206; and Infelise 2008. See also Hilgers 1908, who notes that "[i]n the early part of the seventeenth century both the Congregation of the Index and the *Magister Sacri Palatii* published in Rome, from time to time, decrees containing new prohibitions of books. These decrees were collected in smaller indexes considered as additions to the index of Clement VIII, and in 1632 the then secretary of the Congregation of the Index edited (in his private capacity only) a complete alphabetical list of all books forbidden up to that time." On the ownership of, and access to, prohibited books among certain members of the intellectual elite in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Grendler 2004, 190–191, 195 and 306. For the books that Ricciardi had requested, and that Cosimo Brunetti was helping to obtain, see letter 119. See also a series of letters by Brunetti in which he mentions the matter of obtaining a "licence" for Ricciardi to get hold of certain prohibited books, cited in letter 115, note 6.

13. With the word "essibendosi" Rosa intends "esibirsi," to volunteer.

14. The "unique city" to which Rosa here refers is likely Naples, and not Rome. Rosa had been trying to convince Ricciardi of the benefits of time spent in Naples: see letter 128.

15. A reference to Rosa's and Ricciardi's academic friends in Pisa, who belonged to the Accademia dei Disuniti, the Accademia degli Stravaganti and the Accademia Pisana, many of whom were also knights of the Order of Santo Stefano. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6. On the Order of Santo Stefano, see letter 46, note 28.

16. The painting in question is the *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*, on which see letter 86, note 15, and letter 127, note 1. On Rosa's *Democritus in Meditation*, see letter 86, note 15. On Rosa's practice of designing, using and reusing his frames, see letter 3, note 3.

17. On the payment Rosa was offered for the paintings, see also letter 90.

18. On the complex interrelationship between the gifting and sale of works of art, see Hoare 2018, 287–300.

19. This Pietro Rosini, "Sassaiolo," is perhaps a painter, also mentioned by Rosa in letters 131, 132, 135 and 142. Nothing more is known about him. Limentani 1950, 93, note 4, suggested that the epithet "sassaiolo" indicated that Rosini was from Sassari, a city in Sardinia. De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 18, suggested the name indicated the possibility that Rosini "was particularly skilled in painting rocks". The term "sassaiolo" (or "sassaiuolo") refers alternatively to something that lives among the rocks, to someone who fights by throwing rocks (or to a brawl consisting of rock-throwing), or, in an older usage, to a stonebreaker or quarry worker: Battaglia, 17:585. Rosa may intend the term to mean "stonebreaker," either literally or in mockery.

20. Ascanio della Penna, a dilettante artist and collector, and

an expert on drawings in particular, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

21. Francesco Melosi (or Melosio) (1609–1670), an amateur poet and librettist from Città della Pieve, near Perugia. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 145, note 2, identify Melosi as the governor of Ronciglione and Caprara, prior to his ordination as clergyman. Melosi began his career with the study of law and philosophy, in Rome, subsequently taking up the position of *aiutante di camera* to Cardinal Bernardino Spada. In 1641, Melosi travelled to Venice, where he began his work as a librettist and forged close ties with musicians, composers and poets. In the 1650s Melosi became involved in the Roman academic community, reciting a discourse at the Accademia degli Umoristi in 1658. Around 1659, he became the governor of Capranica. In a letter of 27 May 1662 (letter 274), Rosa mentions that Melosi had been made a clergyman and had "entirely renounced the writing of poetry as a useless and crazy thing". As noted by Limentani 1950, 94, note 5, Melosi's playful brand of poetry was still popular at the time. His return to Piedmont—mentioned by Rosa in the present letter—can be explained by the fact that he held a position as *giudice di campo* (*Viceuditore generale di guerra*, or Counsellor General in matters of military law) with the Piedmontese army. See further De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 10. Melosi is also mentioned in a letter to Ricciardi of 13 June 1654 (letter 180), where Rosa says he will "transcribe the text by Melosi" on the back of the letter; the *Capitolo*, dedicated to Rosa and written in defence and praise of the artist during his persecution by certain Roman academics in the early 1650s, was published by Limentani 1953, 46–49. Melosi is also mentioned in letters 182, 183, 187, 274, 301 and 319. On Melosi, see also Catucci, in *DBI* 73 (2009):376–379, who notes that Melosi obtained various other lucrative government positions later in life, and records that, in addition to writing his *Capitolo* in defence of Rosa, Melosi had also—in around 1640—written two sonnets for Gian Lorenzo Bernini, one in praise of his statue of Saint Longinus in Saint Peter's and the other in defence of the sculptor during the fiasco of the bell towers he constructed at the basilica. Melosi also wrote a sonnet for Niccolò Simonelli, entitled "Al Sig Simonelli, ricordandoli a far spedire la Patente d'un suo nuovo Governo": Melosio, 45. On Melosi's ties to Rosa, Simonelli, Pier Francesco Mola, the singer Bonaventura Argenti, and the poet and librettist Sebastiano Baldini, see Hoare 2018, 97 and note 207. Among Mola's various caricature drawings of friends is a sheet representing Melosi in Città della Pieve, together with Sebastiano Baldini, in a canteen (Oppè Collection, UK, n. 2155): Volpi 2014, 286.

22. Città della Pieve is a *comune* in the province of Perugia, located in Umbria, about 50 km southeast of Perugia.

23. Agostino Favoriti (1624–1682), from Sarzana, was a *monsignore* and an author of mediocre Latin and Italian poetry: Limentani 1950, 94, note 6; and Borrelli and Festa 2003, 145, note 3. On Favoriti, see further Cesareo 1892, 1:71, and Ms. 623 in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, which contains Favoriti's unpublished letters. As noted by Limentani 1950, 94, note 6, Favoriti was a member of the Roman Accademia dei Fantastici, to which Rosa also belonged. Favoriti also belonged to the Umoristi and the Intrecciati, and held a number of prominent positions in Rome, including the post of personal secretary to Cardinal Flavio Chigi, and the title of canon of Santa Maria Maggiore. With regard to his literary talents, Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni (*De' Comentarj intorno all'Istoria della Volgar Poesia*, vol. III, Libr. IV, 207, Tomo IV. Venice: Lorenzo Basegio, 1730) referred to Favoriti as "uno de' principali cultori che avesse la lingua latina nel passato secolo; fu letterato di molto grido massimamente nella Poesia latina, e nella eloquenza […]. Né fu da questo cospicuo soggetto trascurata la nostra Poesia; quantunque delle sue Rime nulla si vegga impresso […]". The examples of Favoriti's poetry provided by Crescimbeni, however, reveal just how poor was the quality of his writing. Prior to his falling-out with Rosa, Favoriti had been an admirer of Rosa's works: in 1651, Favoriti recited to the Accademia degli Intrecciati a sonnet in praise of one of Rosa's battle paintings, on which see letter 143, note 3. Favoriti subsequently became a bitter enemy of Rosa's (see letters 177, 196, 212 and 248, and De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 21), and he was the intended object of criticism (together with other Roman academics) in Rosa's fifth satire, *L'Invidia*, which elicited scorn and retaliation in 1654. See *L'Invidia*, vv. 379–441 (Romei 1995, 149–151) for Rosa's fierce mockery of Favoriti, who used the pseudonym "Ippolito Sciribandolo," under which he wrote a pamphlet criticizing Giovan Filippo Ghirardelli's play *Il Costantino* (1652), which had been performed in February 1653 and for which Rosa had provided the frontispiece. In James Alban Gibbes's *Carminum Iacobi Albani Ghibbesii, Pars Lyrica* of 1668 (for which Rosa also supplied the frontispiece), the author dedicates a poem to Rosa that is inspired by the same spirit of vitriolic diatribe against common detractors; as noted by Langdon 1976, Gibbes's reference to Rosa's depiction of "the loathsome face of Zoilus" may be an allusion to his earlier attack on Favoriti. On Favoriti and his rivalry with Rosa, see further: De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 21; Limentani 1957; Scott 1995, 104–108; Volpi 2010b, 66–68; and Hoare 2018, 58, 101–103 (and note 222), 167 (and note 253). On Favoriti, see also Contarino, in *DBI* 45 (1995):477–482. Two letters written by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi, dated 30 September 1651 and 7 October 1651 (recently published by Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 105–108, docs. 41 and 42) offer important evidence of—and a possible date for the onset of—the heated argument that sprung up between Rosa and his academic detractors in Rome, Favoriti foremost among them. In the letter of 30 September, Brunetti reported taking particular pleasure in there being a general disagreement with Favoriti's "story" about Rosa's deficiencies, in regard to the accusations levelled against Rosa and the questions about the authorship of his satires. Brunetti first gives notice of Rosa reciting his satires to some admiring "letterati" at his own house in Rome in another letter to Ricciardi of April 1651 (see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 99–100, doc. 37). On 13 April 1652, a few days before the date of Rosa's present letter, Brunetti wrote to Ricciardi about the praise that Rosa's satires were receiving in Rome: "The chatter that's spreading about Rosa's satires will be to his good fortune, since it's gaining him an immortal appreciation and esteem […]." ("Le chiacchere che si divulgarono sopra le satire del Rosa furono la sua ventura perché va acquistandosi un credito e una stima immortale […].") On 4 May 1652, Brunetti reported to Ricciardi that "Our Rosa is doing very well, and here in Rome he's achieved a great reputation […]. Many gentlemen and experts in letters always ask him to read them one or another of his satires, and every time he reads one the entire city knows about it, and he always has more of an audience than any worthwhile academy, and they are all highly knowledgeable individuals." ("Il nostro Rosa sta benissimo, e qui in Roma ha preso gran nome […]. Molti Signori e professori di lettere lo pregano spesso a leggergli qualche sua satira, et ogni volta che ne legge una si sa per tutta la Città e sempre ha più audienza ch'ogni buona Academia, e tutte persone di gran garbo.") The gossip about the authorship of Rosa's satires, Brunetti told Ricciardi, had ceased because Rosa had in the meantime garnered much more esteem, having recited his satires aloud and thereby making known his particular style of writing—and on one particular occasion reading one of them (a "canzona morale," Brunetti calls it) to

the Accademia degli Umoristi, to the greatest applause. Brunetti exclaimed that Rosa was now, despite his enemies, esteemed as the "primo soggetto" ("main subject") of discussion in Rome, both in painting and poetry. For Brunetti's letters, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 109–110 (doc. 46), 110 (doc. 47), and 111–112 (doc. 49).

24. The month, not indicated in the ms., is probably April: Limentani 1950, 92, note 1. The letter's content suggests that it directly follows letter 128, in which Rosa mentions the baths of San Casciano—perhaps confused in the present letter with those of San Filippo—and also refers to the Maffei family wedding and the jasmines Ricciardi had asked him to find. This letter must also precede the one written at the end of April (letter 131), where Rosa again mentions Pietro Rosini.

Letter 130:

1. On the term "grazie" as signalling affection (as in the expression, "essere in grazie da qualcuno" or "ingraziarsi qualcuno," to secure someone's benevolence or affection), see Battaglia, 7:17.

2. On the marriage between Raffaello Maffei's daughter Giovanna and Giulio Maffei's brother Lodovico, see letter 128, note 1, and letter 129. The wedding itself took place toward the end of April 1652, as indicated by Rosa's present letter and letter 131. On Raffaello Maffei, to whom only this single letter by Rosa survives, see letter 7, note 2.

3. By referring to his "migliori spiriti," or "best" or "vital" spirits, Rosa alludes to the philosophical doctrine of vitalism, the physiological theory that "living organisms are fundamentally different from non-living entities because they contain some non-physical element or are governed by different principles than are inanimate things": Bechtel and Richardson, in Craig 1998. The idea can be traced back to the Greek anatomist Galen in the third century BCE, but it still had adherents in the early modern period, even alongside the development of new ideas about human biology. On the seventeenth-century reaction against vitalism, see Sloan 1977.

4. The term "duplicati" means doubled, or reinforced. Rosa seems here to use the term in reference to the fact that there were already blood ties between the bride and groom, both of them members of the Maffei family, their bond now "redoubled" by the marriage.

5. It is not possible to identify these paintings with certainty, but among them could be the *Heroic Battle Scene* (on which see letter 143, note 3) or the *Assumption of the Virgin* (on which see letter 146, note 7).

6. The phrase "presentialmente col corpo" literally means "presently, in body"; figuratively, "presentialmente" means "right now," which, in combination with "col corpo," means in person, or personally: Battaglia, 14:235.

7. It is interesting to note the somewhat more formal and deferential tone Rosa adopts in this letter to Raffaello Maffei—enhanced by the reverential valediction "devotissimo servitore vero"—when compared with the letters Rosa wrote to Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi. On the conventions of letter writing in this regard, see Hoare 2018, 152–158.

Letter 131:

1. Rosa had earlier announced the death of Giulio Maffei's wife, Giovanna, in letter 128. Rosa also appears to comment on Giulio's concerns in this regard in letter 129.

2. Raffaello Maffei, on whom see letter 7, note 2.

3. A reference to the wedding between Raffaello Maffei's daughter, Giovanna, and Lodovico Maffei. See letter 128, note 1. See also Rosa's letter to Raffaello Maffei (letter 130).

4. This "travel" for the purpose of a "cure" was perhaps to the baths of San Casciano, or the baths of San Filippo, in connection with the various ailments that Ricciardi was suffering from at this moment, on which see letter 85 (note 1), letter 114 (note 3) and letter 120 (note 6). On the baths, see letters 106 (note 6) and 129 (note 1).

5. According to Galiani, 2:210, the term "zubba" is a Turkish word with an obscene meaning, which in the Neapolitan dialect means "cosa di niente" ("a mere nothing," "a trifle"). Here, as in other instances in which he makes reference to a Neapolitan axiom or expression, Rosa could well be attempting to rival Ricciardi's linguistic erudition by asserting his own special aptitudes in this regard.

6. This is probably a reference to the villa at Strozzavolpe, owned by Cassandra Ricciardi, the mother of Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo. See also Rosa's comments in letters 127 and 129. On the villa, see letter 228, note 7.

7. This is perhaps a reference to the ongoing epidemics that necessitated the closure of roads, and that would have been exacerbated by the warm-weather months. See also Rosa's comment in letter 133.

8. The painter Pietro Rosini, on whom see letter 129, note 19.

9. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

10. A reference to members of the academic community of Pisa, including the Accademia dei Disuniti, the Accademia degli Stravaganti, and the Accademia Pisana, many of whom were also knights of the Order of Santo Stefano. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6. On the Order of Santo Stefano, see letter 46, note 28.

11. The day is missing in the ms., however the content of the letter suggests a date toward the end of the month.

Letter 132:

1. The term "ipocondria" (hypochondria), in ancient and early modern medicine, signifies not a general state of paranoia about illness, as it does today, but a depressive state of neurasthenia (or mechanical weakness of the nerves). Closely linked with the humour of melancholia, the condition is brought on by problems with the functioning of the "ipocondri," or the two lateral parts of the abdominal cavity, located between the diaphragm and the costal arch of the ribcage (the right side occupied by the liver and the left by the abdominal organs—the spleen, colon and intestines). This is the same area of the body that was also considered the seat of the melancholic humour: Battaglia, 8:503–504. On Rosa and the humours, see Hoare 2018, 187–191. Rosa also complained about his "incurable hypochondria" ("mia incurabile ipocondria") in letter 223, and again lamented his "extraordinary hypochondria, or melancholy, as you might call it" ("straordinaria ipocondria o malinconia, come la vogliamo chiamare") in letter 285. On 13 May 1663 (letter 294), Rosa wrote to Ricciardi about his worsening "hypochondrias," mentioning in this instance the use of rhubarb as a curative. On Ricciardi's present ailments, see letter 85 (note 1), letter 114 (note 3), and letter 120 (note 6).

2. A "pignatta" is a cooking pot, usually made of roughly-worked terracotta, used for cooking food: Battaglia, 13:462. Rosa here employs a popular expression, "no one knows the cooking pot better than the ladle". The term "pignatta" (or "pegnatta") can also refer to the female sexual organ: Battaglia, 13:462–463.

3. The expression "far vedere la luna nel pozzo" (literally, to make one see the moon in the well) means to make someone (or oneself) believe one thing is something else; to make false, absurd or unbelievable promises; to be impossible: Battaglia, 9:283. See also Rosa's scepticism concerning these doctors in letter 129.

4. Pietro Rosini, on whom see letter 129, note 19.

5. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

6. Rosa mentions in an earlier letter (letter 129) that Rosini had asked him to write on his behalf to Ascanio della Penna, a favour that Rosa did "against his will".

7. By "others among those gentlemen" Rosa is likely referring to Ricciardi's and Ascanio della Penna's academic colleagues and friends in Pisa, on whom see letter 2, note 6, and Hoare 2018, 86–90.

8. The expression "fare l'indiano" (also "fingere l'indiano") means to pretend not to understand or to turn a deaf ear: Battaglia, 7:795.

9. René-François Walter de Sluse (1622–1685), a Flemish intellectual, mathematician, and clergyman, born in Liège, Belgium. He studied in Rome and made important contributions to mathematics, with numerous publications on the subject, including the *Mesolabum seu duae mediae proportionales inter extremas datas per circulum et ellipsim vel hyperbolam infinitis modis exhibitae* (1659). For De Sluse's correspondence, of which more than one hundred letters survive, see Le Paige 1884 and Bernès and Lefèbvre 1986. On De Sluse more generally, see Rosenfeld 1928 and Halleux 1986. Rosa mentions De Sluse in another letter to Ricciardi, dated 10 May 1652 (letter 134), as "signor Slus, uomo assai scienzato" ("Signor Sluse, a man of great science").

10. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

11. The term "canonicato" refers to the office or rank of a canon; a canonicate, or canonry: Battaglia, 2:645.

12. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

13. Carlo Dati, on whom see letter 114, note 9.

14. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

Letter 133:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. A reference to the Carthusian order, for whom a vow of silence was integral to each monk's practice and daily life.

3. A reference to the ongoing epidemics that necessitated the closure of numerous routes in the regions of Tuscany and Lazio. See also letter 87 (notes 6 and 7) and letters 131, 147, 152 and 157.

4. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

5. On Ricciardi's and Rosa's academic friends in Pisa, see letter 56, note 2, and Hoare 2018, 86–90. On the meaning of the term "conversazione," see letter 1, note 7.

Letter 134:

1. With the word "labardiere" Rosa intends "albardiere". As noted by Limentani 1950, 96, note 1, Rosa is here employing a Neapolitan expression, for which see Andreoli 1887, 348: "Appujare a libbarda, sedere all'altrui mensa o farsi altrimenti le spese, Appoggiar l'alabarda: dalla prepotenza dei soldati d'un tempo, che appoggiata l'alabarda al muro, sedevano volentieri all'altrui mensa". The expression refers to the overbearing manner of soldiers who rested their halberds (a type of two-handed weapon consisting of an axe blade topped with a spike, mounted on a long pole) against the wall, seating themselves willingly at the dining tables of their hosts in expectation that others would pay.

2. Perhaps an allusion to Rosa's name, "Salvator," in association with Christ, a connection that Rosa makes in a number of letters to Ricciardi (see letters 117, 155, 178 and 326).

3. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

4. Limentani 1950, 96, note 2, suggests that with the term "comple" Rosa intends "conviene," as in the verb "convenire," to suit or to be worthwhile. Rosa uses the same term in letter 157 (in this instance, Borrelli and Festa 2003, 174, suggest that the term "comple" is an abbreviation for "compitevole," as in the verb "compiere," to carry out, accomplish or fulfil).

5. See also Rosa's comments on this matter in letters 127, 129 and 131.

6. Rosa is likely referring to what he had heard concerning Giulio Maffei's rental of a property in Bolgheri, on which see letters 139, 140, 142 and 143.

7. Rosa's words suggest that a gift on his part had created a rift between members of the Maffei family, perhaps the two paintings mentioned in letters 116 and 128. On the various works of art that Rosa executed for or gave as gifts to the Maffei, see Hoare 2018, 292 and note 613.

8. Bonaventura Cavalli (1619–1689), general commissioner (*commissario generale*) of the Franciscans and bishop of Caserta (1668–1689). He was also *consultore* of the Sacra Congregazione dei Riti, as well as the author of an important biography of the blessed Niccolò Albergati, published in 1654. Cavalli seems to have been on close terms with both Rosa and Ricciardi, the latter of whom dedicated a *canzone* to Cavalli entitled *L'Iddio*, conserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Cod. Pal. 19, for which see Toci 1881, xix (also for the existence of alternative stanzas). On the poem, see also Hoare 2018, chapter three, note 288. The dedication of *L'Iddio*, written to Cavalli as "predicatore gloriosissimo" ("most glorious preacher"), reads: "Eccovi, o P. Bonaventura, quei versi che già composi di Dio: voi ne sentiste una parte, e l'ascoltaste con la virtù propria del vostro sovrano ministero, che portandovi ad insegnar la via della perfezione, vi ammaestrò prima a compatire le debolezze umane." ("Here you have, oh Father Bonaventura, those verses already composed by God: you will have heard some of them, and listened to them with the virtue befitting your supreme ministry, which, in carrying you to instruct the way of perfection, teaches you first to forgive the faults of man.") As noted by Limentani 1950, 97, note 3, Cesareo (see Cesareo 1892, 1:41) had earlier confused Cavalli with a famous composer, Pier Francesco Coletti; Coletti, who assumed the name "Cavalli," was a layperson who lived for nearly the entire duration of his life in Venice and was not likely ever acquainted with Rosa. On a now-lost portrait of Cavalli executed by Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano), at the request of Francesco Cordini, see Baldinucci, 5:158,

and Fabbri, Grassi and Spinelli 2013, 345 and 371, cat. OP 107. Cavalli was in Florence in May 1652 (see letters 134 and 135), on which occasion he stayed with Cordini, the moment at which the portrait was probably commissioned. Cavalli was also friends with Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, who sent him greetings via Ricciardi in a letter of 1656, sent from Innsbruck: "if you happen to speak with the Reverend Father Cavalli, do me the honour of revering him on my behalf, and remind him I'm his devoted servant, and be sure to tell him that the echo of his virtue resounds even in Austria, and that all the Italians over here would have happily chosen the city of Pisa as their homeland this Lent." ("Se lei ha commodità di parlare con il reverendo padre Cavallo mi honori si riverirlo per mia parte, e dedicandomi servitore, e li dica pure liberamente che l'eco della sua vi[r]tù rimbomba anco in Germania, e che tutti gli Italiani che son qua si eleggerebbono volentieri questa quadragesima la città di Pisa per Patria.") For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 74, doc. 2. Cosimo Brunetti refers to conversations shared with Cavalli, on the subject of Ricciardi, in a letter to Ricciardi himself of 14 September 1652: Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 112, doc. 50.

9. Reginaldo Sgambati, on whom see letter 10, note 3.

10. René-François Walter de Sluse, on whom see letter 132, note 9.

11. Ludovico Serenai, on whom see letter 58, note 10.

Letter 135:

1. The word "dimenticataccio" is the pejorative of the noun "dimentico," forgetful. See Battaglia, 4:466–467.

2. On Rosa's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3. In a letter of 15 June 1652, Cosimo Brunetti wrote to Ricciardi concerning Rosa's desire to spend time with Ricciardi that summer, eager to escape from Rome to Monterufoli in particular, but expressing concern over the detrimental effects that the change of the air would have on Ricciardi's eyes. For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 111, doc. 48. On the significance of the "air" in this period, and the perception of its alternative benefits and detriments to one's health, see letter 19, note 4.

3. The "dottore" is perhaps Giovan Battista Vecchi, who taught civil law at the University of Pisa until 1650 (see Fabroni, 3:276–277): Borrelli and Festa 2003, 151, note 1. It has not been possible to further identify the brother, indicated here as Geronciano Vecchi. Here, Rosa likely intends the verb "leggere" in the sense of "to teach" or "to instruct": Battaglia, 8:904.

4. Rosa here uses the word "figliola," which literally means "child," but in figurative terms—and as the term is likely intended in this particular context—implies something minor, small or relatively insignificant.

5. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

6. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

7. Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 37, considers Rosa here to be speaking in a humorous, ironical sense, intending that his character was opposed to—rather than the same as—Ricciardi's: Rosa tended toward exaggeration, while Ricciardi pursued a more sober and literary activity, with a consequently austere comportment. Paliaga cites in this regard Baldinucci, 5:491, who noted: "E prima sappiamo, che un tale spirito satirico in ogni detto e fatto, tanto fu proprio, e quasi omogeno del Rosa, quanto improprio del genio poetico del Ricciardi, il quale, toltone qualche composizione piacevole, fatta per giuoco, non fece mai sentire altre sue rime, che in stile eroico, trattando in esse scientificamente materie alte e sublissime, come ad ognuno è ben noto." Rosa's comment, however, could alternatively be interpreted in a more literal, unironic sense.

8. Rosa writes "Rogagli" in the ms., but presumably intends "Rigogli," in reference to the little-known Benedetto Rigogli, the author of the *Combattimento e balletto a cavallo rappresentato di notte in Fiorenza* (Florence: S.A.S. alla Condotta, 1652): Borrelli and Festa 2003, 151, note 2. Rigogli is mentioned by Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli as the author of this poetic composition, written in celebration of the mock-battle performance organized by Tommaso Guidoni and held in the amphitheatre of the Boboli Gardens at the Palazzo Pitti on 28 April 1652, in honour of the visit of Anna de' Medici, the Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria, and Sigmund Franz of Austria; the published text of the composition includes a print by Stefano della Bella. Rigogli was also a member of the Florentine Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello from 1612 to 1630, on which see Hill 1979, 130, and Harness 2006, 85–86, note 68.

9. The word "ladrissima" is the superlative of the adjective "ladro," meaning stolen, wrongfully or dishonestly appropriated, or plagiarised: Battaglia, 8:687. As a noun, the term can also refer to a dishonest, fraudulent person; a scoundrel.

10. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

11. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

12. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

13. Jacopo Antonio Lupi, on whom see letter 48, note 27.

14. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

15. A reference to the painter Clemente Bocciardi, on whom see letter 7, note 5.

16. A nickname for the painter Pietro Rosini, on whom see letter 129, note 19. Rosa had written a letter on behalf of Rosini to Ascanio della Penna (see letters 129 and 132).

17. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

Letter 136:

1. Quotation marks have been added in the translation for clarity of meaning.

2. On the subject of friendships conducted for the sake of utility, which Rosa lamented on other occasions, see Hoare 2018, 229 and 247–255.

3. Here, Rosa seems to intend the term "fini" in the sense of "confini," boundaries or limits. See Battaglia, 5:1025.

4. "Pasquino" is the name given to an ancient Greek (3rd century BCE) sculptural fragment of a male head and torso, unearthed in Rome in the fifteenth century and placed on a street corner near Piazza Navona, where it remains today. Pasquino is one of a number of "talking statues" in Rome, to which—from the early sixteenth century onward—were attached Latin epigrams or anonymous poetic lampoons, often political in nature (acquiring the name "pasquinades"). On the tradition of the pasquinade in Piazza Navona, see Warwick 2006.

5. The term "metafisiche" is translated here as "syllogisms," abstruse logical arguments in which one proposition is inferred from two or more others, often based in the theories of metaphysics. The expression "senza tante metafisiche" means to refrain from subtle or fine distinctions: Battaglia, 10:245.

6. This paragraph plays upon the "legislative" topos of friendship, encapsulated elsewhere in Rosa's frequent reference to the "Laws" of friendship, on which see letter 29, note 8.

7. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

8. Pietro Cascina (died 1661), the Gran Priore of the Order of Santo Stefano in Pisa, from 1650 to 1653. He was the dedicatee, on the occasion of his wedding in 1652, of a *canzone* by Ricciardi: *Per le nozze dell'Ill.mo sig. Pietro Cascina Gran Priore . . . colla signora Dorotea Grassolini*. Ricciardi's poem was published in Pisa by Niccolò Galeotti in 1652 (see Toci 1881, XVII, who records that the *canzone* consists of forty-two stanzas, or 378 verses). Rosa expressed his jealousy over Ricciardi's *canzone* for Cascina, and made no mystery of his resentment in the present letter, as he does again in letter 137. At this point in the ms. (after the word "Cascina"), Rosa has cancelled three quarters of the line of text, perhaps in order to censor himself. On Cascina and his ties to artists and intellectuals in Pisa, see Paliaga 2009, 89, 123–124, 132, 141, 146 and 170 (note 54), for documents and a notice of Cascina's contact with Cassiano dal Pozzo.

9. Peleus and Thetis are the subjects of ancient Greek mythology. The hero Peleus married the sea-nymph Thetis, their wedding feast attended by various gods of Olympus. Their union produced Achilles, who, according to the most well-known version of the story, was dipped by Thetis in the River Styx when she held him aloft by only one heel. After Peleus caught her in the act, Thetis fled, leaving Achilles's heel vulnerable. The ancient Roman lyric poet Gaius Valerius Catullus (*c.* 84–*c.* 54 BCE) wrote a poem (Poem 64) in honour of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Rosa's meaning here, in reference to Ricciardi becoming Cascina's "Catullus," is in regard to Ricciardi's analogous role as poetic laudator (or epithalamist, as Rosa calls him below), dedicating as he did a *canzone* to Cascina on the occasion of his wedding, on which see note 8, above.

10. An "epitalamicista," or epithalamist, is a writer of epithalamia, songs or poems composed in celebration of a marriage. See Battaglia, 5:203.

11. "Cappetrina" (for "caspiterina," or "caspita") is an expression meaning "Goodness!" or "For Goodness' sake!": Limentani 1950, 99, note 2. For "caspita" as a Neapolitanism, see also Andreoli 1887, 146.

12. The Franciscan preacher, Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

13. As noted by Limentani 1950, 99, note 3, we have no further information about this acquaintance of Rosa and Ricciardi. Compagno is also mentioned in letters 138, 145, 156, 184 (where he is described as a "cocomero," or fool) and 200.

14. Limentani 1950, 99, note 4, considered "milopiro" to be a possible Neapolitanism, resulting from the combination of "milo" (the word for *melo*, or apple) and "piro" (for *pero*, or pear). This is confirmed by Galiani, 1:269, wherein the word "milopiro" appears in the definition of the term "nsierto" (or "nzierto), meaning *innesto*, a term used sometimes to describe a fool. The expression "nsierto de milopiro," for example, is analogous to "bastardo innesto" (foolish bastard), "inutile" (useless), and "infecondo" (barren, infertile).

15. The phrase "fare i soliti brindati co' la pegnata maritata" is a Neapolitan expression, as noted by Limentani 1950, 99, note 5. See Galiani, 2:21, who notes under the entry for "*pegnata*, pentola": "pegnata maretata dicesi una minestra verde di cappucce, acci, scarole, e più sorti di carni salate porcine, e fresche" ("a *pegnata maretata* is a green soup consisting of cappucci lettuce, herbs, endives, and various kinds of salted and fresh pork meats"). Rosa's comment in the present letter suggests that Giuseppe Compagno can perhaps be identified with the "Monsignor Minestra" and "Papa Minestra" referred to in letters 67 and 70.

16. Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio (1592–1675), born in Bari to a noble Neapolitan family. On Brancaccio, who was Rosa's first major patron after the artist's move to Rome in 1635, see also letter 1 (note 4), letter 23 (note 2), and Hoare 2018, 39 (note 1), 70, 72 (note 42), 75, 103, 241, 244, 246 and 249. As noted by Limentani 1950, 99, note 6, the present letter reveals that Brancaccio was still in close rapport with Rosa; he knew him for at least fourteen, and perhaps seventeen, years. Brancaccio was made a cardinal by Pope Urban VIII on 28 November 1633, on which see Cardella, 7:307. Cosimo Brunetti recounted to Ricciardi in a letter of 13 July 1652 details concerning the same visit paid to Rosa's house by the three cardinals—Brancaccio, Ottoboni and Omodei—to which Rosa refers in the present letter, their visit motivated by a desire to listen to Rosa's satires. Brunetti notes rather amusingly that Rosa received them wearing his slippers, as if they were ordinary guests (and thereby confirming Rosa's comment in the present letter that he had received the cardinals "while I was getting dressed"). For Brunetti's letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 111, doc. 49. As Volpi notes, Brunetti's letter offers important evidence of Rosa's early contact with the principal prelates and aristocrats of Rome, probably facilitated by Brancaccio himself. For another important and equally prestigious visit paid to Rosa's studio by two prelates (probably in 1658), in connection with the *Allegory of Fortune*, see Baldinucci, 5:447, and Hoare 2018, 134 (and note 21) and 250 (and note 183).

17. Rosa here writes "Amodei," intending "Omodei," in reference to Luigi Alessandro Omodei (1608–1685), from Milan, who was made a cardinal by Pope Innocent X on 19 February 1652: Limentani 1950, 99, note 7. On Omodei, see Cardella, 7:91. On his collecting interests, see Volpi 2014, 266–267. In 1652, Omodei commissioned an *Assumption* from Rosa, on which see letter 146, note 7. In 1661, he commissioned from Rosa the *Madonna del Suffragio*, for which Rosa received 200 *scudi*; on the painting, see letter 260, note 13. On Omodei's commissions from Rosa, see also letter 280, note 6.

18. Pietro Ottoboni (1610–1691), from Venice, was made a cardinal by Pope Innocent X on 19 February 1652, and later became Pope Alexander VIII in 1689. See Cardella, 7:93.

19. The *Democritus in Meditation* and the *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*. On the two paintings, see letter 86, note 15, and letter 127, note 1.

20. The phrase "spienne . . . squazza," as noted by Limentani 1950, 99, note 9, is a Neapolitan expression, a variation on "spende squazza," which means spending ("spienne," from the verb "spennere," which is derived from "spendere") and squandering—or, in reference to a noun, a big spender or squanderer. For "spienne," see Galiani, 2:269. In his usage of the terms, Rosa divides the expression in two, offering first the positive connotation and then its inversion, in order to suggest the irony of his situation: the cardinals' visit brings the promise of money, but since they did not actually buy anything from Rosa he is left to "squander" his unattained fortunes. Rosa uses a variation of the expression in letter 280.

21. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

22. A reference to members of the Pisan academic community, many of whom were also knights of the Order of Santo Stefano, on which see letter 46, note 28.

23. The feast day of Saint Peter is 29 June.

24. A reference to the prospective sale of the two paintings Rosa mentions above, the *Democritus in Meditation* and the *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*. A week later, Rosa wrote to inform Ricciardi that he had sold the two paintings to the ambassador of Venice, Nicolò Sagredo, for three hundred ducats: see letter 137.

Letter 137:

1. On Rosa's frequent mockery of Ricciardi's lack of knowledge in matters of painting, see letter 104, note 5. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

2. Francesco Albani (1578–1660) was one of the most celebrated painters of the seventeenth century and an important exponent of the Bolognese school of painting. Albani was renowned in particular for his landscapes. On Albani's contemporary reputation, see Puglisi 1999, 55–70, and 15–28 (on his work as a landscapist). The full extent and nature of Ricciardi's critique of Albani's painting is not clear from this letter, however it is tempting to consider it in connection with critical assessments of the artist by contemporaries such as Guido Reni, who purportedly referred to Albani as "not a painter but a gentleman who tended to his little conceits, and his trifles as a pastime and for amusement": Puglisi 1999, 56. Albani was quite elderly by the date of Rosa's letter, and, as noted by Conte 2014, 248, the difficulty encountered in assessing his work in this instance was probably due to the fact that it was a work of the painter's later years. Rosa refers to Albani's "little oval painting" again in letter 144. Bottari 1754, 1:314, note 1, suggested that Rosa was here bartering with Ricciardi to trade the painting by Albani for one of his own landscapes. Rosa's words in reference to the painting, in letter 144, suggest that he had given it to Ricciardi as a gift. The subject of Albani's painting is not known, and none of the works listed in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory (for which see Paliaga 2009, Appendix XXVI, 229–230) are attributed to the painter. The inventory does contain numerous still lifes and landscape paintings, however, including a "quadrettino con cornice di ebano di farfalle miniate" ("a small ebony-framed canvas with illuminated butterflies"; the term "miniate" could refer to a number of things: the "illuminated" or iridescent colour of the butterflies themselves; the way in which they are lit within the painting; or the particular way in which they are painted, as "miniare" can also mean to paint with a certain finitude of skill). On Rosa's interest in Emilian painting, see letter 84, note 4.

3. Metrodorus of Athens (second century BCE), a philosopher and painter. According to tradition, he was the first Greek painter to go to Rome. Metrodorus became the tutor to the sons of the consul Aemilius Paulus, and glorified his patron's military enterprises in paintings. On Metrodorus, see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXV:135. Interestingly, in his dedication to Rosa of his *Vite dei Pittori Antichi* (1667), Carlo Dati likened Rosa to Metrodorus: see Volpi 2008, 95–96. By applying the name to Ricciardi, Rosa is clearly mocking his friend's pretentions to expertise in matters of painting.

4. The *Democritus in Meditation* and the *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*, on which see letter 86, note 15, and letter 127, note 1. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 36–37, note 2, both paintings were recorded by Baldinucci, 5:449, as being in the Casa Sagredo in Venice. De Rinaldis, however, did not know the whereabouts of the paintings themselves, recording them as "untraced" and noting instead Rosa's two prints of the same subjects, for which see Wallace 1979, 261–263 (cat. 104) and 257–259 (cat. 103), and Nappi 2014, 169–171 and 212–213, cat. 89 and 90.

5. Nicolò Sagredo (1606–1676), born in Venice, was ambassador to Spain, Vienna and Rome. Sagredo was also *savio del Consiglio* (council magistrate) and *procuratore* (civil administrator, or legal representative) of San Marco (1655), and was elected Doge of Venice on 6 February 1675. (For the term "savio del consiglio," see Battaglia, 17:612; for "procuratore," see Battaglia, 14:458–461.) In a letter to Ricciardi of 13 July 1652, Cosimo Brunetti corroborates Rosa's comments in the present letter, regarding Sagredo's particularly generous actions: Brunetti reports on Sagredo's visit to Rosa's house, in order to listen to a recital of one of his satires. Sagredo was so pleased with it, says Brunetti, that he stayed on, wishing to hear the rest of them. Sagredo subsequently showered Rosa with gifts of wine and other refreshments, and a few days later sent a representative to inform Rosa that Sagredo was completely enchanted with him and wanted some of his paintings, being particularly desirous of the *Democritus* and the *Diogenes* that he had seen in Rosa's house, but that, not knowing Rosa very well, was not sure how much money to offer him in payment, suggesting 60 *doble* for each painting or 360 *scudi* for both paintings, and telling Rosa that he would only pay that price if Rosa was happy with it, and accepted it as a gift, to which Rosa replied immediately that Sagredo was his patron, giving him the paintings and expressing his desire to do whatever possible to correspond to his spirit and satisfy his taste. Brunetti indicates his own certainty that Rosa only sold the paintings to Sagredo on account of the manner in which the ambassador requested them, because Rosa had never before received more money for a single painting. For Brunetti's letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 111–112, doc. 49. On Sagredo's own collection of works of art, see: Mazza 1995; Mazza 2004; Borean and Mason 2007, esp. 21, 22, 29, 37, 40, 64, 251, 281 and 314; and Volpi 2014, 264, who notes that the collection included works by artists who comprise a veritable "entourage" of the major artists then working in Rome (including Rosa, Pietro da Cortona, Jacques Courtois, Pier Francesco Mola, Mattia Preti and Giovanni Ghisolfi), as well as works by earlier masters—paintings that, in turn, likely exerted a significant influence on Venetian artists of the next generation, such as Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770) and Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (1682–1754). In regard to Sagredo's collecting tastes and his particular interest in Rosa's paintings, Langdon 2010b, 32, notes that Sagredo's "distinguished collection must have gratified Rosa, even though Sagredo was an enthusiast for bambocciante pictures. Sagredo was the nephew of the libertine philosopher Gianfrancesco Sagredo, friend and mentor of Galileo, and owner of a famous *Kunstkammer*. Maybe Nicolò was attracted by Democritus's aura of scientific experiment and curiosities." Langdon notes further (48, note 157) that "in the eighteenth century the [Sagredo] family owned eight works by Rosa, both landscapes and animal paintings, but it is not clear when they were acquired." On Sagredo and his patronage, see also Volpi 2010b, 65–66. For works by Rosa in the Sagredo collection, Venice, including the *Democritus* and the *Diogenes* (both of which are listed in the oldest extant inventory of the Sagredo family's collection, drawn up between 1685 and 1714), see Volpi 2014, 635–636, Appendix I.174. On Sagredo and his purchase of Rosa's *Democritus*, see also Volpi 2014, 263–264. Baldinucci, 5:463–464, lists Sagredo among a number of authors of poems written in praise of Rosa, although his composition has yet to be found.

6. On the value of the ducat, or *ducato*, a type of silver coin minted under the jurisdiction of a Duke (or Doge), see letter 4, note 4. See also Battaglia, 4:1023. It is noteworthy that Rosa here

refers to the price of his pictures in terms of its relationship to the "labour" ("fatigha") of his work, an essential consideration—and one that was variously defined and consisted of a number of different factors (time required, physical expenditure, quantity of work to complete, size of work or number of elements to include, involvement of assistants, etc.)—in the seventeenth-century practice of pricing paintings. See in this regard the comments of Sohm, Spear and Fumagalli, in Spear and Sohm 2010, esp. 24–26, 44–65, 181–182 and 196–197. Speed of execution was a particular skill and economic strategy cultivated by a number of seventeenth-century artists, including Rosa (see letter 144, note 4, and Hoare 2018, 256 (and note 250) and 284). On this subject, see also Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 63–65. Salomon 2010b, 84, notes that "[i]t is tempting to read in between the lines" of Rosa's comment in the present letter, "in which he explains in detail why he had accepted such a low payment—because of the gracious behaviour of the buyer—and to detect a certain sense of desperation and a burning desire finally to sell two pictures which he could not dispose of."

7. On the *canzone* that Ricciardi dedicated to Pietro Cascina, see letter 136, note 8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 154, note 3, Rosa's resentment must have been due to the fact that the *canzone* Ricciardi had dedicated to Cascina had been published, while the one dedicated to Rosa (and another, dedicated to Volunnio Bandinelli) had not, and thus remained unknown. The one dedicated to Rosa, entitled *Sotto rigida stella*, was later published by Cesareo 1892, 2:138. The *canzone* for Bandinelli, entitled "Che la forza del dolore eccede la capacità dell'umano intendimento […]," remains in ms. form in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. For both poems, see Hoare 2018, 167 (and note 258) and 172 (and note 287).

8. "[L]e vampe Nemee" are, literally, the "Nemean flames," in reference to Nemea, now located in the region of Corinth in Greece. The Nemean Games, one of four ancient Greek festivals (similar to the Olympic Games), took place in the dead heat of July or August.

9. Rosa here refers to Ricciardi's unwillingness, or inability, to participate in their earlier plan to go to Monterufoli. See also letter 134.

10. That is, friends and colleagues among the Pisan academic community, on whom see Hoare 2018, 86–90.

11. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

12. De Rinaldis 1939, 37, note 3, proposed that these "two arias" were musical compositions by Rosa, or those based on his verses. The two compositions are mentioned again, in letter 138, where Rosa indicates that at least one was written by him. On Rosa's musical activity, see Hoare 2018, chapter one (notes 25 and 33), 89 (note 150), and 97–98.

Letter 138:

1. The theme of reciprocity in friendship seems to be a particular preoccupation of Rosa's in the present letter. On the subject, see further Hoare 2018, esp. chapter five.

2. Pietro Cascina, to whom Ricciardi had dedicated a *canzone*. In letter 137, Rosa had asked Ricciardi to send him a copy of the poem so that he could read it, mocking Cascina—and Ricciardi's poem dedicated to him—out of jealousy. See letters 136 and 137. In the present letter, Rosa is being ironic in reference to Ricciardi's "gratitude" for Rosa's criticism of the *canzone*, which was quite harsh.

3. Rosa's comment is probably in reference not only to the matter of the *canzoni* that Ricciardi dedicated to Pietro Cascina and Rosa himself, but (as Rosa's further comments here suggest) to the matter of Ricciardi's connoisseurial opinions about the painting by Francesco Albani, opinions that Rosa critiqued in letter 137.

4. On "genio" as spirit, character, soul or mind, as well as the more modern notion of "talent" (a meaning that Rosa implies with his use of the term, here), see letter 19, note 1.

5. Rosa seems here to be contrasting the term "concubinary" with "singular," putting a particularly humorous spin on an otherwise serious subject. With this rather convoluted sentence, which can be interpreted and translated in various ways, Rosa appears to intend that he is the only one suffering: the "love between" Rosa and Ricciardi is only emanating from Rosa himself (that is, "in one direction"). If the two friends were united in a single, "concubinary," mutual affection (and if their affection moved in "two directions," from Rosa and from Ricciardi), neither would suffer, as they would be one entity. On the unity of friendship as an important concept for Rosa, celebrated most potently in his *Poet-Philosophe*r of *c.* 1647, see Hoare 2018, chapter four. With the term "concubinary" Rosa could also be alluding with humour to the criticism of his relationship with Lucrezia; see Rosa's reference to his state of living "in public concubinage" (according to his academic detractors) in letter 178.

6. On the painting by Francesco Albani, see letter 137.

7. Quotation marks have been added here for clarity of meaning. For other instances of Rosa's criticism of Ricciardi for his lack of knowledge in matters of painting, see letter 104, note 5.

8. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

9. On these two "picturesque" still life paintings of flowers, which are presumed to have been (though are not certainly identifiable as) painted by Rosa himself, see Paliaga 2009, 155 and 229, and Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 24 and 41–42, note 8, who notes the presence in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory of certain paintings representing vases with flowers, among them "due quadri di fiori senza cornice," perhaps the paintings mentioned here. Sohm 1991, 93–94, interprets the paintings as Rosa's own; in view of the scarcity of still life paintings in Rosa's *oeuvre*, however, and his animosity toward painting anything but grand histories, it is equally plausible that they were among the works by other artists (some of them copies of Rosa's own paintings, which he is known to have occasionally retouched) that Rosa was acquiring for his friends in the 1650s and 1660s. On this matter see also Hoare 2018, 255 and note 239. As noted by Conte 2007, 196, Rosa's use of the term "pittoresco" in this instance is "derived from Vasari's use of the term in an art-stylistic sense," while Rosa's use of the term in letter 393 is "in the more common sense usage of a particularly suggestive and fantastical pictorial subject, according to the more widespread use of the term in the period," for which see Battaglia, 13:590. On Rosa's adoption of a "picturesque" style of painting, see Hoare 2018, 278–279. Rosa's meaning with his use here of the term "furia" is also not fully encapsulated by the concept of "haste," as he assuredly also means to imply a sense of the creative spontaneity closely allied with the "pittoresco" manner of painting. Interestingly, Ricciardi uses the same phrase—"alla pittoresca con furia"—in a letter to Francesco Lanfreducci of 2 August 1652 (and thus written shortly after receiving the present letter from Rosa): "I'm sending your most illustrious Lordship Rosa's sketch of Arion, included herewith, and it's been executed in a picturesque manner, in haste [*con furia*], so it might not appeal to your taste." ("Invio a V.S. Ill.ma lo schizzo dell'Arione del Rosa, incluso nella presente, è fatto alla

pittoresca con furia, onde non le riuscirà forse proportionato al suo gusto.") For the letter, see Paliaga 2009, 221, Appendix XV.5. On this drawing and its possible connection to Rosa's *Arion on the Dolphin*, see also Hoare 2018, 93–96 and note 193. On Rosa and "pittoresco," see also letter 302, note 5, and letter 311, note 7.

10. The term "urto" refers to a collision or impact; figuratively, it can also mean profound conflict, dissent, offence or disapproval: Battaglia, 21:578.

11. Vincenzo Cenciolini, the agent of Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see Paliaga 2009, 79, 144 and 147.

12. On these two musical compositions for Francesco Lanfreducci, presumably written by Rosa himself (according to Rosa's statement here that at least one of them—the "Il Sonno"—bears his name), see letter 137, note 12. On these compositions, see also letter 84, note 7. On the matter of the "Sonno," see also note 13, below. Paliaga 2009, 147 and 170, note 60, records a letter written to Lanfreducci by his agent, Vincenzo Cenciolini, dated 20 July 1652, in which Cenciolini gives notice of finally receiving the *ariette* from Rosa, which he will send on to Lanfreducci "con molto mio gusto".

13. It is not entirely clear whether, in referring to the presence of his "name," Rosa means that his name appears within the composition itself or that the work came out under his name as author. If the work in question is the "Sonno," then the latter of the two options seems plausible, in view of the fact that—as noted by Conte 2014, 263 and 335, note 38—Rosa's academic detractors mocked him as the "composer of *Sogno*". Alfonso Gioia, who came to Rosa's defence, remarked to this effect in his notes on Emilio Sibonio's satire against Rosa (the *Purgatorio. Satira sesta*), for which see Conte 2014, 590, Appendix VI.1. On the *Purgatorio*, see also letter 153, note 12. Conte (263) suggests further that, if Rosa was limited to composing the text for a musical composition by Lanfreducci entitled "Sonno" (or "Sogno"), then he could be the author of the poem, which was then set to music, but not the composer of the musical composition itself. See also Rosa's comment in letter 153, where he requests that his name be removed from the *Sonno* he sent to Lanfreducci. The possibility that Rosa's name appeared within the composition (perhaps in addition to indicating his role as its author) is also suggested by Rosa's comment in letter 153 that the name could be substituted with another two-syllable name, presumably to complete a rhyme.

14. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

15. On Cavalli's apparent connection to San Pietro in Montorio, see also letter 102, note 5.

16. Giovanni Maffei, to whom Rosa refers in his letters as "Signor Arcidiacono". See letter 1, note 9. In letters 140 and 141, Rosa indicates that Giovanni's health has improved, but that he will not likely recover entirely. On Giovanni's death, see letter 151, where Rosa informs Ricciardi that "[t]he archdeacon has gone to the next life."

17. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

18. These "three hundred *scudi*" are presumably the "three hundred ducats" (a ducat is another name for a *scudo*) that Rosa reported receiving for his *Democritus in Meditation* and *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl* in letter 137, in which he also offered the money to Ricciardi. Rosa had previously offered his friend money on numerous occasions, as for example in letter 128, in connection with their plans to spend time together over the summer.

19. On the priest Giuseppe Compagno, see letter 136, notes 13 and 15.

Letter 139:

1. Cosimo Fabretti. On this nickname, presumably used in reference to Fabretti's assistance of Ricciardi with the writing of his letters, see letter 70, note 20, and letter 117, note 12.

2. The phrase "una secchagine da merluzzo" literally means "dry as a cod"; figuratively, it means parsimonious or brief.

3. For "pigliare sciroppo," literally to take one's medicine (syrup), and figuratively, to do something because one has to, or to endure an unpleasant situation, see Battaglia, 18:83.

4. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

5. With the phrase "una scena di sdegno" Rosa here intends a "dramatic scene" in the sense of a scene enacting an argument between two lovers. Rosa is referring primarily to Ricciardi's work as a playwright, but is probably also alluding to both Ricciardi's and Rosa's own participation in theatrical comedies that typically featured such scenes, such as Ricciardi's own *La ruota della fortuna* (*The Wheel of Fortune*), on which see letter 271, note 5.

6. The connoisseur and art dealer Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23. On Simonelli's apparent financial problems, see also letters 81, 86, 106 and 162. As noted by Limentani 1950, 101, note 3, Rosa's satirical barbs were particularly acute in his picturesque references to this faithful friend. See also, for example, Rosa's reference to Simonelli's "face like Tantalus" in letter 106.

7. Rosa's reference here to "vostre grazie" recalls, interestingly, a passage from a letter written by Niccolò Machiavelli in Florence, to Francesco Vettori in Rome, dated 10 December 1513: "Magnificent Ambassador. 'Divine graces were never late.' I say this because I seem not only to have missed, but entirely lost your grace, as it's been a long time since you wrote to me, and in my suspicion I've been wondering what the reason could be." ("Magnifico ambasciatore. 'Tarde non furon mai grazie divine.' Dico questo perché mi pareva di aver non perduto, ma smarrito la grazia Vostra, essendo stato Voi molto tempo senza scrivermi; ed ero nel dubbio chiedendomi donde potesse nascerne la causa.") For Machiavelli's letter, see Alvisi 1883, 305–310, letter CXXXVII.

8. This is presumed to be the title ("Il Sonno") of a poetic composition by Rosa, to be set to music: Limentani 1950, 101, note 4. It is one of the two "arias" to which Rosa refers in letters 137 and 138. Rosa refers to the "Sonno" again in letters 144 and 153. Cesareo 1892, 2:98, who did not consult the autograph ms. but derived his transcription of letter 144 from Bottari 1754, transcribed the word as "Sonn.°," that is, "Sonnetto," or sonnet. On Francesco Lanfreducci and the "Sonno" that Rosa sent him, see also letter 84, note 7. On Lanfreducci's agent, Vincenzo Cenciolini (the "person" to whom Rosa here refers), see letter 138, note 11.

9. The expression "corre la posta" means, among other things, to compete with, to proceed, or to carry out something quickly or diligently: Battaglia, 13:1062.

10. Giulio Maffei seems to have been renting certain properties in Bolgheri. See letters 134 (note 6), 140, 142 and 143.

11. On Rosa's paradoxical attitude toward Naples, which he proposed to Ricciardi as an especially salubrious vacation spot in letters 108, 128 and 129, see Hoare 2018, 34 and note 46.

Letter 140:

1. On Giovanni Maffei's ailing health at this moment, see also letters 138, 141 and 151 (in which Rosa reports Giovanni's death).

2. It has not been possible to further identify this "Signor Pantera," who appears only once in Rosa's extant correspondence. The particular "business" to which Rosa here refers must be connected to the search for a place to holiday. See also letters 142 and 143.

3. The expression "buon conto", in figurative terms, can mean "in any case," "at any rate," or "for all eventualities," however in this instance the context suggests that Rosa intends the phrase in its alternative sense, in reference to a down payment, an advance or a deposit. See Battaglia, 3:661–662.

4. The expression "fare restare qualcuno uno stivale" means to astonish, to make dumbfounded or speechless; the phrase "restare uno stivale" likewise means to be astonished, amazed, bewildered or speechless: Battaglia, 20:206.

5. For "spiantazione" as economic ruin or decline, or significant forfeiture or loss, see Battaglia, 19:878.

6. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

7. On Rosa's continual protestations of poverty, and his financial state of affairs more generally, see Hoare 2018, chapter five, esp. 233–237.

8. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

9. Bolgheri is a subdivision of the *comune* of Castagneto Carducci, known for its wine production, which is located in the province of Livorno about 90 km southwest of Florence. The Maremma region is a large area of the country, comprised of Tuscany and part of northern Lazio. Rosa's comments here suggest that the area was the location of one of the properties being rented by Giulio Maffei, to which Rosa refers in letter 139. See also Rosa's comments in letter 142.

10. The word "maremma" can refer, in a general sense, to seaside marshland. More specifically, it is the name of a particular region known as the Maremma, a large area of southwestern Tuscany and northern Lazio, formerly dominated by marshland (and considered unhealthy as a result), on the edge of the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian seas. Rosa also mentions it in letter 143.

11. As noted by Cesareo 1892, 2:96, note 2, this "Oliva" is difficult to identify, and is not mentioned in any of Rosa's other extant letters. Cesareo proposed that she could be "the wife of Lodovico Maffei, and the daughter of Raffaello Landini"—incorrectly confusing Landini with Raffaello Maffei, however. She was perhaps a servant working in the employ of the Maffei family.

12. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

13. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

Letter 141:

1. On Cosimo Fabretti, who seems to have assisted Ricciardi with the writing of his letters on account of an ailment afflicting his eyes, see letter 70, note 20. See also Rosa's complaints about the length of Ricciardi's letters, versus those written by Fabretti, in letter 139.

2. Ricciardi was sending his letters via Francesco Cordini. On the practice of sending letters via friends, see letter 18, note 1.

3. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9. Giovanni seems to have died toward the end of 1652, for which see letter 151.

4. It has not been possible to further identify this "Bacca". The name could be a nickname for a mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi.

5. Rosa's sentiment here seems to be that he intends to "prod" Ricciardi onward in the writing of his letters. The expression "toccare innanzi il cocchio" literally means to prod with the whip the horses that pull the carriage ("cocchio"). The expression can also mean to travel in another manner, even without the aid of a carriage. See the definition for "cocchio," no. 4, in Tommaseo and Bellini. See also Battaglia, 3:241.

6. The term "barca" could here refer to either an actual boat or to the "group" taking the trip. If Ricciardi was undertaking a boat journey, then he could have accessed the likely "Alberi" in question (located in the Tuscan *comune* of Montaione, near Florence) via the river Egola, which joins the Arno.

7. Presumably a reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

8. The term "caratello" (or "carratello") refers to a type of bottle, cask or keg used for conserving finer quality wines, liquors, beers or other alcoholic beverages. It can also refer to the quantity of liquid kept in such a receptacle. See Battaglia, 2:738.

9. An amphora is a type of double-handled, slender-necked vase typically reserved for wine or oil: Battaglia, 1:467.

10. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

11. Jacopo Antonio Lupi, on whom see letter 48, note 27.

12. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

13. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

14. This "signor Sigoli Politico" is perhaps the same person to whom Rosa refers as "cavalier Sigoli" in letter 386. Limentani 1953, 52, note 103, considered it a probable reference to Marcantonio Maffei, whom Rosa frequently called "signor Politico" in reference (presumably) to his "political" profession, noting further the reference in letter 386, where this "Sigoli" (erroneously interpreted by Bottari 1757 and successive transcribers as the painter Lodovico Cardi, "il Cigoli") appears in the context of his rather extravagant methods for warding off the cold. As Limentani also concedes, the name could refer to another friend of Rosa and Ricciardi, but was certainly someone still alive in 1652, and not Cardi, who died in 1613. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 159, note 1, consider this "Sigoli" to be another person to whom Rosa had given the same nickname as Marcantonio Maffei.

Letter 142:

1. Rosa is presumably at work on the *Heroic Battle Scene* for the king of France, on which see his first specific reference to the painting in letter 143.

2. A painter named Pietro Rosini, on whom see letter 129, note 19.

3. On Bolgheri, see letter 140, note 9. For other comments on the subject of the property Giulio Maffei was seeking in Bolgheri, see letters 134 (note 6), 139 and 143.

4. With the phrase "si bolgheri" Rosa constructs a pun on the name "Bolgheri," turning it into a verb.

5. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. By "escape the danger" Rosa could be referring to the rather unsavoury qualities of the place—presumably worse in the summertime than in the winter—which he mentions in letter 140. The sentiment could also be interpreted in connection with Rosa's and Ricciardi's previous discussions about, and concerns over, securing a villa in order to spend time together (see letter 118, and successive letters); perhaps Rosa here intends that it is now Giulio's turn, and not theirs, to make such arrangements, intending "danger" to mean "obligation".

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 143:

1. This is presumably a reference to the matter of Ricciardi's and Rosa's hunt for a villa to rent for their holiday. See letter 118 and successive letters. See also Rosa's more recent comments in letters 139, 140 and 142.

2. On Giulio Maffei's collection and the "gallery" to which Rosa refers in letters 53 and 113 (and perhaps letters 116 and 128), as well as the works of art Rosa was obtaining for Giulio, see Hoare 2018, 255 (and note 239) and 292 (and note 613). Rosa seems to refer to these paintings again in letter 148.

3. The so-called *Heroic Battle Scene* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), signed and dated 1652, which was purchased by Cardinal Neri Corsini (1624–1678) (recently appointed by Pope Innocent X as apostolic nuncio to France) as a gift to be presented to King Louis XIV. See also on this matter letter 144. Rosa mentions the painting again in letters 144, 145, 148, 149, 150 and 151. As noted by Tostmann 2010, 212, it is still not entirely clear whether Corsini explicitly commissioned a battle scene from Rosa, or whether the artist chose the subject himself. For reasons that are also unclear, the painting seems to have remained with Corsini for many years, only to be given to the king by another nuncio, Cardinal Flavio Chigi, much later in 1664 (see letter 314). The delay may have had something to do with the political tensions between France and the papacy in Rome during these years (see also in this regard Rosa's comments in letter 151), and, as noted by Petrucci 2010, 384, these political problems were compounded by the fact that the king did not accept Corsini's appointment as apostolic nuncio. Corsini had been named to replace Nicolò Guidi di Bagno, who had been recalled to Rome by Pope Innocent X on account of suspicions that he was too deferent to Cardinal Jules Mazarin. The appointment of Corsini upset Louis XIV as he had not been notified of it in advance. Corsini was then detained in the convent of Saint Augustin in Marseille. The situation continued until the end of 1656. On this matter, see: Stumpo, in *DBI* 29 (1983):649–651; Conte 2014, 306; and Volpi 2014, 491–492. On Rosa's painting, see in particular: Salerno 1975, 93, cat. 111; Scott 1995, 101; Loire 2006, 320–325; Brejon de Lavergnée, in Naples 2008, 83–87; Tostmann 2010; and Volpi 2014, 276–279 and 491–493 (cat. 172), who notes that the painting appears to be Rosa's first attempt at a monumental, fully Roman, historical battle scene, clearly influenced in this regard by Pietro da Cortona and Giulio Romano; the survival of a large quantity of preparatory drawings for the painting also suggests this aspiration on Rosa's part. On the painting, see also Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 55, 58–59, 62, 63, 69 and 113–114, who publish (113–114, doc. 51) an important, long letter written by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi on 28 September 1652 that provides valuable new information about the painting's subject and its contemporary reception: in his letter, Brunetti recounts his own visit to see the painting, together with various noteworthies, prelates and artists. Brunetti signals his frustration at not being able to sufficiently describe with words the expressivity of Rosa's pictorial abilities, highlighting in particular Rosa's treatment of "various actions" and admiring his skill in adjusting the "*aria*" and the "effects of the air, clouds and dust" in the painting. Desiring with all sincerity to be able to pay tribute to his friend Rosa with a public encomium (the text of which has not yet come to light), intended to be read publicly in an academy (also to counter the lingering voices of Rosa's Roman academic critics), Brunetti is forced to call upon Ricciardi for help. Brunetti's account of the painting was circulated and sent to Carlo Dati and Francesco Cordini a little later. See the two letters from Brunetti to Ricciardi, transcribed in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 113–114 (docs. 51 and 52), who also note a third letter, written by Brunetti to Carlo Dati on 12 November 1652 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Bald. 258. II 35, f. 139; see Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 63, note 62), in which Brunetti informs Dati about the encomium he had written on Rosa's painting, and asks him to tell Francesco Cordini about it—referring to Cordini as Rosa's very good friend ("amicissimo"). The text of Brunetti's encomium may have ended up in the hands of Agostino Favoriti, who recited a composition in praise of one of Rosa's battle scenes (perhaps the *Heroic Battle Scene*) at a meeting of the Accademia degli Intrecciati of 12 January 1651, a moment that clearly precedes Favoriti's subsequent falling-out with Rosa (on which see letter 129, note 23). For Favoriti's poem, see: Carpano, 39; Limentani 1961, 195; Salerno 1963, 94; and Conte 2010a, 187, note 51. The painting to which Favoriti's poem referred has alternatively been suggested as the Louvre *Heroic Battle Scene* (a possibility, if Rosa was at work on the painting at this point in 1651), the *Battle Scene* formerly at the Cleveland Museum of Art, but now in an unknown private collection (for this suggestion, see Langdon 2010b, 33; for the painting, see Volpi 2014, 524, cat. 222, who dates the work to *c.* 1657), and the more likely candidate, the *Heroic Battle* (1645, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Volpi 2014, 464, cat. 139), on which see Volpi 2005, 129. Brunetti's letter of 28 September 1652 also suggests that the *Heroic Battle Scene* can now more accurately be labelled "The Battle of Cimon": in his letter, Brunetti comments that Rosa has represented "an event of the battle of Cimon, which, as you [Ricciardi] well know, saw two victories in a single day, one at sea and the other on land" ("vi ha fatto in battaglia una giornata di Cimone, che come sapete benissimo hebbe due vittorie in un giorno una in mare, e l'altra in terra"), referring to the battle fought near the Eurymedon river, between the Greeks (the Delian League of Athens) and Persians (the Persian Empire of Xerxes I), one of the great military exploits of the Athenian statesman Cimon. It was, indeed, a double battle that took place both on water and land, either in 469 or 466 BCE. Brunetti expressed his amazement at the wild popularity a single painting could achieve, noting his privileged position as its first viewer and reporting on the flocks of nobles and dignitaries who came to see the painting in Rosa's studio. For drawings connected to the painting (perhaps among those that Rosa shared with friends, especially Ricciardi) see Mahoney 1977, 1:401–411 and 413–421, and Volpi 2014, 277, figs 221 and 222. On Rosa's *Heroic Battle Scene*, see also Conte 2014, 298–307, who suggests that Rosa could have read

about the event of the Battle of Cimon in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, in his life of Cimon.

4. On this matter see letter 144, where Rosa declares that Corsini offered Rosa's asking-price of "at least two hundred *doble*".

5. The term "maremma" can refer, in a general sense, to seaside marshland. More specifically, it is the name of a region of southwestern Tuscany and northern Lazio, formerly dominated by marshland (and considered unhealthy as a result), on the edge of the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian seas. Rosa also mentions it in letter 140.

6. With the verb "trottare" Rosa makes a mocking reference to Giulio Maffei, again probably in connection with the Maffei family's farm-related activities at their countryside estates. Rosa may have intended a similar pun in letter 73.

Letter 144:

1. The *Heroic Battle Scene*, on which see letter 143, note 3. Rosa again mentions that he is "very busy finishing the picture" in letter 145.

2. This is presumed to be a reference to the *Bacchanal* (formerly Di Castro collection, Rome), for which see Salerno 1963, 119, no. 23 and fig. 23; Salerno 1975, 90, cat. 83; Scott 1995, 93; and Volpi 2014, 432 (cat. 88), who dates the painting to *c.* 1640–1642. Salerno 1975, noting the painting's iconographic and stylistic affinities to the work of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione and Pietro Testa, proposes the Di Castro *Bacchanal* as the likely candidate for the work Rosa mentions in the present letter, noting that its dimensions are reduced from those indicated here, perhaps because it was later cut down. On this painting and the significance of its subject to Rosa's Florentine academic circle, see Hoare 2018, 120 and note 325. Rosa returns to the theme again later in the present letter, where he refers to Alecto (one of the Furies) and Bacchus. Passeri, 391, mentions a painting of the same subject in his biography of Rosa, noting that it was painted in Volterra and then sent to Rome; Scott 1995, 243, note 5, considers the Di Castro painting to be the same work. On the painting and its Venetian qualities, and for arguments for and against identifying the Di Castro painting with the work Rosa mentions in the present letter, see also Mahoney 1977, 1:317–318 and 339–344. The 1687 inventory of Ricciardi's own collection records numerous paintings with Bacchic subjects, indicative of his own significant interest in the theme. For the inventory, see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI. For another *Bacchanal* by Rosa, dated to *c.* 1662–1663 and traceable to the collection of Antonio Ruffo, see Volpi 2014, 553, cat. 258.

3. The word "lunghezza" means length; here, however, Rosa intends "width," or the horizontal dimension of the painting.

4. On Rosa's "prestezza," or speed of working, a skill prized by many artists of his generation, see Hoare 2018, 256 and note 250. On the subject of "prestezza" more generally in relation to seventeenth-century artists, see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 63–65. On the subject of speed of execution, see also letter 137, note 6.

5. The phrase "chiudersi gli occhi" literally means to close one's eyes; figuratively, it is to intentionally ignore something with stubborn obstinacy, or to pretend—for the sake of indulgence or collusion—to not be aware of certain facts: Battaglia, 3:96.

6. On the value of the *dobla*, see letter 101, note 7. On the matter of the payment Rosa received for the *Heroic Battle Scene*, see also letter 148, note 3.

7. In this instance, Rosa's expression of delight at the rewards to be reaped from such a prestigious commission seem to contradict his erstwhile, derogatory comments about the restrictions of patronage.

8. Giovan Francesco Caetani (died 1671), who was the governor of Loreto from 1642 to 1649, and was also made governor of Fermo by Pope Innocent X. The nephew of Cardinal Camillo Astalli, Caetani was suggested to the pope by his uncle for the position of secretary of state, however the pontiff preferred Fabio Chigi. In 1652, Caetani was made archbishop of Rodi, and, later that year (in September), was made nuncio of Spain, hence Rosa's reference to him in the present letter as "nuncio-elect". On Caetani, see further Nitti de Giovanni, in *DBI* 16 (1973):176.

9. The *Democritus in Meditation* and *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*, on which see letter 86, note 15, and letter 127, note 1. Rosa had already sold both paintings to the Venetian ambassador, Nicolò Sagredo, for which see letter 137.

10. King Philip IV of Spain (1605–1665). On Rosa's own earlier ties to the Spanish court, in connection with his participation in the decoration of the Buen Retiro palace, see Hoare 2018, chapter one (note 1) and chapter two (note 28).

11. On the importance of reputation for Rosa, and his desire to achieve fame in Rome as well as abroad, see Hoare 2018, esp. 40–41, 242 and 254. Conte 2010a, 180, note 20, argues that Rosa's letters from this moment to 1656 do not contain sufficient enough declarations to suggest that he was engaged in a consistent production of paintings during this period; in fact, after the *Heroic Battle Scene* executed for King Louis XIV, Conte argues, Rosa was preoccupied with the polemics of his satires and the idea of writing his thoughts on painting; only at the start of the 1660s did he slowly begin to paint large-scale paintings again. Although Conte's observation is meaningful, the letters alone—which do not survive in totality, and in which Rosa does not always refer to works of art that we know he produced—cannot be taken as sole evidence of the nature and extent of Rosa's pictorial production. Rosa does in fact seem to have been at work on certain commissions during the period 1652–1656, including the *Assumption*, for which see letter 146, note 7.

12. The word "stragi" ("straggi" in the ms.) means massacres, probably in reference to Rosa's present engagement in painting the *Heroic Battle Scene*, which depicts a cacophony of figures engaged in battle.

13. Alecto, also known as *l'Inquieta* (The Restless One), is one of the three Furies: Alecto, Tisiphone and Megaera.

14. The phrase "m'è giunto nuovo l'avviso" is a variation on the expression "mi giunge nuovo," meaning "it's news to me".

15. On Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo (or Giacomo), see Arcangeli 1960, 106–109 and 117, who outlines the strange and complex history of the Ricciardi family's inheritance of Strozzavolpe and Jacopo's involvement in this regard. The villa was in fact owned by Cassandra Ricciardi, the mother of Jacopo Ricciardi. On this matter, see letter 228, note 7. Giovan Battista Ricciardi was half-brother to Jacopo, and was the natural son of Francesco Ricciardi (Jacopo's father) and Maria Luisa di Mario da Spurano. Jacopo was the son of Francesco Ricciardi and Cassandra Rinuccini, who married Francesco in 1628. Arcangeli (107–108) records that two portraits of Jacopo and his wife, Cammilla Rinuccini (they married

in 1674), are conserved at Strozzavolpe among a number of other portraits of members of the Ricciardi family (except, unfortunately, for Giovan Battista). In his portrait, Jacopo is represented with one hand on his hip and the other resting on a lavish sword (a composition that brings to mind Rosa's *Self-Portrait as Pascariello*). Arcangeli notes that Jacopo "must have been quite fat and large on account of the big robe he wears, under which there appears another garment and beneath this a shirt. His large mouth is drawn into a smirk, and his stolid eyes give the impression of an unusual subject. His wife must have been a congenial and pleasant creature, or at least she appears to be so in her portrait, where she is represented with her hair magnificently groomed, her neck adorned with pearls, and she is dressed in a brocade corset, opened wide, while she fondles some roses in one hand and, with the other, offers one to us, but to whom in particular?" Jacopo had four children, on whom see Arcangeli 1960, 108. On Jacopo's and his children's inheritance of much of Giovan Battista Ricciardi's art collection on the occasion of the latter's death in 1686, see Paliaga 2009, 91 and 229. Marcantonio Cesti mentions Jacopo in a letter to Ricciardi of April 1661, an important indication of his own rapport with Ricciardi's half-brother, and of Jacopo's own interest in—and perhaps friendship with—Rosa: "This morning in Santa Croce I saw your devoted brother, who eagerly inquired whether I'd received the letter from our Signor Rosa, and I said no, and I can say the same to your Lordship." ("Questa mattina ho veduto in Santa Croce il suo d.o fratello che con molta premura mi domandò se avevo avuta la lettera del nostro Signor Rosa, ed io dissi di no, e l'istesso avviso anco a VS.") For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75, doc. 4. On the Ricciardi family's litigations, and on Jacopo's own troubles in this regard, see also letter 147, note 1.

16. Croesus, the ancient Greek king of Lydia (595–*c.* 547 (?) BCE). He was renowned for his wealth, as were the Caecilii Metelli—one of the wealthiest noble families of ancient Rome (3rd century BCE to the end of the Republic). Rosa later gave the subject of Croesus pictorial treatment in his *Croesus Dissuading the Persians from Killing his Father* (*c.* 1663–1665, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide), on which see Volpi 2014, 564, cat. 276, and Hoare 2018, chapter two, note 235.

17. Rosa and Ricciardi had earlier discussed a painting by Albani, which Rosa had apparently sent to Ricciardi as a gift. See letter 137. On the contemporary critique of the quality of Albani's work, and his habit of repetition, in particular, see Pericolo 2011, 404–405. On the uncertainty of identifying paintings by Albani, who oversaw a large studio in Bologna (and whose assistants played an increasing role in the execution of his later works), see Puglisi 1999, 39–40. On Rosa's interest in Emilian painting, see Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 54 and 61–62, note 30.

18. On the subject of early modern artists in old age, and the impact of age on artistic practice, see Sohm 2007.

19. Rosa here refers to another battle scene, of measurements different to those of the Louvre *Heroic Battle Scene*, and—as Rosa's words here suggest—intended for a certain friend of Ricciardi's, perhaps one of the avid collectors among his Pisan academic friends, on whom see Hoare 2018, 86–90.

20. On Rosa's conflicted attitude toward painting battle scenes, see Tostmann 2010 and Hoare 2018, 148, 165–167, 243–244, and 302–303. Rosa seems to express a similar disdain toward the genre in letter 46.

21. The expression "dar di naso" literally means to turn up one's nose at; figuratively, it means to compete with or go against: Battaglia, 11:205.

22. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 41, note 4, Rosa's claim to be worthy of the kind of sums paid in his day for paintings by Raphael and Titian (or, indeed, of the recompense received by those painters themselves during their own lifetimes) reveals the "clear, precise mental state" of the painter and his opinion about the level of his achievement at this point in his career. In regard to his aspirations toward parity with Titian, Rosa would have been pleased to hear the eighteenth-century assessment of one of his paintings (perhaps a mis-attribution, however), a *Saint Francis and the Angel* then in the possession of the Armenian Gregorio Agdollo (1707–1789) in Venice, as "tanto bello, quanto se fosse Tiziano". See Volpi 2014, 602, Appendix I.5.

23. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

24. A musical composition entitled "Il Sonno," on which see letter 139, note 8.

Letter 145:

1. The *Heroic Battle Scene*, on which see letter 143, note 3.

2. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

3. Giuseppe Compagno, on whom see letter 136, notes 13 and 15.

4. With the term "Bibles" Rosa intends the typically longer length of his and Ricciardi's letters.

Letter 146:

1. On Rosa's self-identification with Democritus, see letter 101, note 6. Rosa also identified himself with a "laughing satyr" in letter 106.

2. The ancient Greek rhetorician and satirist, Lucian of Samosata (*c.* 125–after 180 CE), who was well known for his provocative and sarcastic wit and his moral precepts. Rosa comments on Lucian—and the aptness of his principles—again, in letter 201. In the instance of the present letter, as Rosa indicates a few lines later, it appears Ricciardi had suggested that Rosa read Lucian—probably the *Dialogues*, which contained his famous dialogue on Calumny. Here, Lucian described a famous allegorical painting by Apelles that the painter made in self-defence against his envious critics at court. The subject would certainly have appealed to Rosa's present circumstances, caught up as he was in a vicious argument with members of the Accademia degli Umoristi, on which see the letters cited in letter 46, note 21. As noted by Langdon, in Langdon 2010a, 216, Rosa included a long account of Apelles's painting in his satire *L'Invidia*, vv. 462–507 (Romei 1995, 152–153), "saying that this painting had aroused in his heart the desire to do likewise, and defend himself against similar slanders." Rosa never executed the painting he proposed he would make (*L'Invidia*, v. 505), however, as Langdon suggests, "a faint echo of it survives in the frontispiece to the *Figurine*". On the significance of Lucian's satires for Rosa's poetry, see Roworth 1978, 32–33, 89, 165–166, 274–275, 320 and 365.

3. The expression "Ira Dei" means the wrath of God, or divine punishment: Battaglia, 8:521.

4. Here Rosa is presumably referring to his satire *Autore et Invidia*, later published with the title *L'Invidia*, which got him into some trouble with certain academics in Rome. On the satire, and the academic polemic it elicited, see: Limentani 1957; Fabbri 1970; Roworth 1978, 6, 32–33 and 156–179;

Romei 1995, 139–167; Roworth 2010; Conte 2014, 282–292; and Hoare 2018, 101 (note 222) and 171–172.

5. The phrase "da potermene prevalare" is here translated as "to be of use". "Prevalersi" means to take advantage of, or avail oneself of.

6. This is an important example of a number of instances in which Ricciardi advised Rosa on the choice of subjects for his paintings. On this matter, see further Hoare 2018, 279–282.

7. Rosa was in fact at work on his *Assumption of the Virgin* (*c.* 1652, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Paris) at this moment, as is apparent from a letter by Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi, dated 13 July 1652, in which he says: "[Rosa is] currently at work on a few paintings, having been asked for many of them, and in September he will make an Assumption, an altarpiece for Cardinal Luigi Alessandro Omodei, who wants him to send it to Milan for one of his chapels, and they have agreed on 400 *scudi* for it. I assure you that I'm extremely happy that Rosa is now held in such esteem." ("Adesso fa una mano di quadri molti che gliene chiedono et a settembre farà un Assunta quadro da altare per il cardinale Homodei che lo vuol mandare a Milano per una sua cappella e l'hanno pattuito 400 scudi. Io vi assicuro che godo in estremo che il Rosa sia adesso in questa stima.") For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 111–112, doc. 49. Brunetti seems to report on the painting again in a letter to Ricciardi of 14 September 1652, noting that he was waiting for Rosa to finish work on a painting that he hoped to report back to Ricciardi about soon ("Si sta aspettando che il Rosa finisce il suo quadro, e poi vi darò qualche ragguaglio.") For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 112, doc. 50. As noted by Conte 2014, 387, if Brunetti's account is accurate, in July 1652 the newly-elected Cardinal Omodei (nominated on 19 February of that year) was already planning the decoration of his familial church, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Milan. Spiriti 2010 proposed that Rosa's *Assumption* was likely painted between May and July 1662, in readiness for the feast day of the Assumption of that year; the date of the painting's execution can now be placed a decade earlier, but the connection to the feast day could still be relevant. After Napoleon's suppressions in 1798, the altarpiece was taken to France, and is now in the church of Saint Thomas Aquinas, Paris. For the painting, see Volpi 2014, 264–273 and 484, cat. 165, who notes the work's significance in connection with Rosa's ambition to participate in the production of monumental altarpieces. For a good colour reproduction, see plate v in Ebert-Schifferer et al. 2010. Brunetti's letter of 1652 is important evidence for a date of the *Assumption* to the early 1650s, previously thought to have been painted between 1661 and 1663. In regard to the date of the *Assumption*, Volpi (in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 58, and 62, note 56) also notes certain stylistic and iconographic clues that suggest a date of the 1650s: the figures of the Apostles in the *Assumption*, for example, closely resemble the philosophers in Rosa's *Diogenes* of 1652 (on which see letter 86, note 15, and letter 127, note 1), while the figures of *putti* also show the imprint of Rosa's Florentine years. The composition as a whole reveals the lesson of Annibale Carracci and offers clear evidence of Rosa's close observation, during this period in Rome, of academic and classical painting, in a re-examination of Annibale's works as far back as his earliest production, including the *Assumption* Annibale painted for the Cerasi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. Rosa's *Assumption* was executed at the same time as another painting by the artist, the *Saint Paul the Hermit* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), also made for Omodei, and both works were probably purchased along with Pier Francesco Mola's *Saint John the Baptist* (painted in collaboration with Gaspard Dughet), in view of the large sum that Brunetti noted for the sale. On these paintings, see letter 280, note 6. On Rosa's *Assumption*, see also: Salomon 2010a; Spiriti 2010; and Conte 2014, 387–395, who notes the various contemporary texts written in praise of Rosa's paintings for Santa Maria della Vittoria, including an elogium by Carlo Torre in his *Il ritratto di Milano* (1674), 103.

8. De Rinaldis 1939, 45, note 1, notes that the rhyme Rosa describes does not appear (as one would otherwise expect) in the satire *L'Invidia*. The type of rhyme Rosa is describing is a "terza rima".

9. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) uses the term "scalpito" (from "scalpitare," to stomp one's feet) in the *Decameron* on numerous occasions. See also Battaglia, 17:772–773, who defines the (now disused) meaning of "scalpire" as trampling, or travelling across, and "scalpito" as the stamping of a horse's feet, or the sound this action produces.

10. As De Rinaldis 1939, 45, note 2, points out, Gerra 1937 dated this letter to 15 September. De Rinaldis considered that the date must be 25 September, in view of the letter's content and the indication therein that Rosa had received a letter from Ricciardi, meaning that it would post-date the letter of 22 September (letter 147).

11. Rosa again refers to Lucrezia suffering from a certain eye ailment ("indisposizione in un occhio") in a letter of 1658 (letter 221).

Letter 147:

1. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 43, note 1, it is apparent from this statement that Ricciardi was continually implicated in legal battles, perhaps inherited along with the assets of his family, and probably associable with the excesses of his half-brother, Jacopo, to which Rosa refers in letter 144. It is also very likely, however, as De Rinaldis proposes, that Ricciardi was temperamentally inclined toward such undertakings. Limentani 1972, 272, note 2, notes that the echo of the litigations in which Ricciardi frequently found himself embroiled reverberates throughout the entirety of Rosa's correspondence with his friend. Ricciardi's 1687 inventory (for which see Paliaga 2009, 230, Appendix XXVI) lists among the contents of his house in Pisa "many books and writings concerning business matters and litigations pertaining to his [Ricciardi's] concerns, and those of Signor Jacopo Ricciardi" ("più libri e scritture di negozi e lite attinenti alli di lui interessi et alli interessi del Sig.r Jacopo Ricciardi").

2. Rosa here intends the word "melancholy" more generally, in reference to a state of sadness. On Rosa's (and Ricciardi's) cultivation of and recourse to the characteristics associated with the melancholic humour, more specifically, see Hoare 2018, 180–182 and 191–193.

3. Rosa here intends the word "character" in reference to Ricciardi's handwriting, but its alternative meaning (as "spirit" or "nature") is probably also implied, as in the case of letter 26 (see note 8).

4. In the ms., Rosa has omitted the presumed object of the sentence, "in meditazione *di me*".

5. This is presumably an exaggeration on Rosa's part, in order to express the contrast between the insignificance of the time he is asking Ricciardi to devote to him ("fifteen minutes") and the considerable amount of time Ricciardi has at his disposal (not just seven, but "eight" days of the week). Alternatively, and in keeping with the often erudite tone of his correspondence with Ricciardi, Rosa could be referring to the Nundinal cycle or calendar, first developed by the Etruscans in the eighth or

seventh century BCE, which had an eight-day market week (the eighth day, or market day, being known as the *nundina*). This system was adopted by the Romans at least by the sixth century BCE, who later adopted the seven-day week that Constantine fully instituted as part of the official system of the Roman calendar in 321 CE. This eight-day cycle was also incorporated into the Christian liturgical calendar, in which Sunday was considered the spiritual "eighth day," representing the new world created after the resurrection of Christ. This spiritual "eighth day" functioned simultaneously as the actual "first day" of the seven-day week; it had only a symbolic value, and had no actual temporal effect on the seven-day week within the calendrical system. Some eight-day weeks (or octaves) are still observed within the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church.

6. The word "limosina" (for "elemosina") refers to a work of charity, or almsgiving; a good deed: Battaglia, 9:86.

7. The expression "fare la fica" refers to the display of a rude and mocking hand gesture, recorded by Dante in the *Inferno*, XXV, 2, which consists of placing the thumb between the index finger and middle finger: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 165, note 1.

8. The term "geniale" can mean kind, considerate, sympathetic or like-minded, as well as creative, erudite and intelligent: Battaglia, 6:663–664.

9. In 1652, cities in northern Italy established a *concerto*, or "circle of communications," inviting Rome and Naples in the south to take part in an agreement to cease business transactions with plague-infected cities or states. Naples, however, refused to break off trade with Spain, where an outbreak of plague occurred in 1652, which meant that both Naples and Rome (and, presumably, the town of Viterbo, which was only 80 km north of Rome) were cut off and kept outside the *concerto*. On this matter, see Kohn 2007, 201. The fear of infection due to plague was rampant in these years, and the occurrence of an "infection" in Viterbo could be related to a more general embargo, beginning in July 1652, on commerce in the country, particularly Tuscan traffic headed north to Genoa and Corsica. See Salvadori 1991, 51, note 155. See also Rosa's comment concerning "infections" in letter 133. On Rosa's own time spent in Viterbo, early in his career, see Hoare 2018, 39 and note 1. It has not been possible to identify the specific "infection" that afflicted Viterbo in 1652. Plague arrived on the island of Sardinia in that year, from Spain, producing Italy's second-most devastating plague of that century, however this particular outbreak does not seem to have reached the Italian peninsula until 1656: Sonnino, in Fosi 2006, 35. On this matter, see further letter 152, note 3.

10. This is probably a reference to the Grand Duke's decree to re-open traffic, allowing the passage of commerce and the mail. See also letter 152. Conte 2014, 263–264, who suggests the "Grand Duke" must be Ferdinando II de' Medici, rightly notes that Rosa's intention with the word "commerce" is not clear but could be interpreted in connection with Rosa's activities as a dealer and connoisseur, on which see further Hoare 2018, 140 (and note 67), and 255 (note 239). To judge from Rosa's subsequent references in other letters to the opening of roads for the purpose of transit (see for example letters 157, 212 and 214), he could well be referring to a more general "commerce" or movement between different cities.

11. The expression "darsi alle streghe" means to despair or give up hope; literally, to give oneself to the witches: Battaglia, 20:325.

12. This is presumably a reference to Rosa's satire, *L'Invidia*. See also letter 146, note 4.

13. Rosa had apparently asked Ricciardi for ideas in regard to the composition of his satire. See also letter 146, where Rosa asks Ricciardi for his advice, having consulted Lucian for ideas, and expresses anxiety that the tone of his new satire not stray too far from that of his previous ones.

Letter 148:

1. A "lettiga" is a type of wagon or cart. See letter 4, note 3.

2. These are perhaps the same paintings to which Rosa refers in letter 143.

3. Rosa here gives a different figure than the amount quoted to Ricciardi in letter 144, in regard to the payment he received for the *Heroic Battle Scene*, commissioned or purchased by Neri Corsini. Rosa had informed Ricciardi that he was negotiating 200 *doble* for the painting. In another letter to Giulio Maffei of 19 October (letter 149), Rosa repeats the same amount quoted in the present letter (600 *scudi*). Conte 2014, 345, note 143, considers that Rosa's reference in letter 144 to the price of "200 *doble*" was in regard to an honorarium received, which means that the "600 scudi" Rosa refers to in the present letter is not necessarily a contradiction. On the subject of honoraria as a form of payment, see Hoare 2018, 286 and note 555.

4. On Rosa's *prestezza*, or speed of working, see letter 137, note 6, and letter 144, note 4.

5. On Rosa's desire to not only share the news of his success with Ricciardi, but to credit him as its partial source, see Hoare 2018, 282. On the enthusiastic reception of the painting among Rosa's contemporaries, see also the letter written to Ricciardi by Cosimo Brunetti, dated 28 September 1652, cited in letter 143, note 3.

6. The expression "darsi buon tempo" means to enjoy oneself or have a good time. "Dare tempo" means to be patient: Battaglia, 20:849.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

8. The month is missing in the ms. The similarity of the letter's content to that of letter 149 suggests the month of October.

Letter 149:

1. On the dowries that Rosa was trying to secure for both Lorenza and Catera Paolini, see letter 48, note 18. On the certain Signor Antinori mentioned here, see also letter 90, note 1. The "Arte de' Mendicanti" is presumably the confraternal Ospedale dei Mendicanti in Florence, founded in 1621 as a beggars' hospital but soon afterward transformed into an institution aimed at helping women, its various responsibilities including assistance with the securing of dowries. On the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, see Lombardi 1986. On the later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history of confraternal charities and their involvement in the arrangement of dowries, modelled after the Bolognese Opera Pia dei Poveri Mendicanti, see: Terpstra 1999; Gavitt 2011; and Terpstra 2011.

2. The *Heroic Battle Scene*, on which see letter 143, note 3. See also Rosa's second notice to Giulio Maffei about the painting, and the payment he received for it, in letter 148. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 45, note 3, Rosa did not send the painting in 1652, as is clear from a much later letter of 1664 (letter 314), in which Rosa states that the *Heroic Battle Scene* (made "years ago" for the king) was among a group of paintings taken to France

by Cardinal Flavio Chigi, who was ambassador to France. In letters 150 and 151, Rosa again noted that the painting was "on its way" to France, but at this point in time it in fact went no further than the house of Monsignor Corsini.

3. Perhaps a reference to Ugo Maffei and his continual predicament, on which see letter 16, note 8.

4. On the marriage of Lodovico Maffei to the daughter of Raffaello Maffei, Giovanna, see letter 128, note 1.

5. This is presumably a reference to properties being rented by Giulio Maffei, to which Rosa also refers in letters 139, 140, 142 and 143.

6. See letter 138, where Rosa reports that Giovanni Maffei ("Signor Arcidiacono") is suffering a fatal illness.

7. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

8. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

9. Rosa's comment here could be intended in jest, or could be in reference to the actual matter of the villa's ownership. See also in this regard letters 100 and 107, in which Rosa asks Giulio about the family's affairs in connection with the division of their estate. See also, in regard to the matter of Giulio Maffei's rental of a property in Bolgheri, letters 134, 139, 140, 142 and 143.

Letter 150:

1. Rosa's *Heroic Battle Scene* was not sent to France until 1664. See letter 148, where Rosa informs Giulio Maffei that he has "already finished" the painting, and letter 149, where Rosa says it will be "rolled up" in preparation for transport. On the painting, see also letter 143, note 3.

2. The expression "fare un salto" means to grow considerably in height or stature, or to increase: Battaglia, 17:448. Rosa clearly intends the phrase in reference to his reputation. Here, he presents himself as rival to both modern painters and old masters.

3. On the books Rosa was trying to find for Ricciardi, with Cosimo Brunetti's help, see in particular letter 119.

4. That is, the *Heroic Battle Scene*. On the matter of the "processions of visitors" Rosa received in connection with the painting, see the letter written to Ricciardi by Cosimo Brunetti, discussed in letter 143, note 3.

5. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

6. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 151:

1. A "baiocco" is a copper coin that was minted in papal Rome and circulated in the Papal States, equivalent to about six cents of the French *franc* and divisible into four *quattrini*; ten *baiocchi* are also equivalent to one *paolo*: Battaglia, 1:948–949. The term was also used, colloquially, to mean "small change" or to refer to something of little value.

2. An important statement on Rosa's part, acknowledging his need for money in spite of a desire to maintain philosophical disdain toward it. On this matter, see further Hoare 2018, chapter five.

3. Rosa's *Heroic Battle Scene*, painted for the king of France, did not in fact leave for its final destination until 1664. See letter 149, note 2. On the painting, see also letter 143, note 3.

4. Rosa is probably referring to the ongoing conflict in France known as the War of the Fronde (1649–1652), a series of revolts against the parliament and the royal family. Louis XIV had been threatened by the attempts of Louis II, Prince de Condé (1621–1686), to seize power. With Spain as his ally, Condé fought against the French until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. These events may have contributed to the delayed delivery of Rosa's *Heroic Battle Scene*, on which see letter 143, note 3, and letter 149, note 2.

5. The term "donativo" refers to a gift or donation (of money or goods) given as a form of recompense, in homage or out of respect: Battaglia, 4:943. The "other little trifles" to which Rosa here refers may have had something to do with the king's rejection of Neri Corsini's appointment as apostolic nuncio, on which see letter 143, note 3.

6. On Rosa's desire for reputation, both in Italy and abroad, see Hoare 2018, esp. 41–45, 242–243 and 252.

7. On Rosa's paradoxical attitude toward his native Naples, see letter 128, note 7. The letter to which Rosa here refers does not survive. Rosa's enigmatic reference to "the reasons" for the projected trip to Naples may have had something to do with his concern over the safety of Lucrezia and Rosalvo, in connection with the rising threat of the Roman authorities and their condemnation of Rosa's and Lucrezia's illegal relationship, to which Rosa first explicitly refers in letter 193. Lucrezia was also once again pregnant at the time, which surely did not help the situation and would also have created practical reasons for delaying his travel plans. Rosa mentions his decision to send Rosalvo to stay with his brother Giuseppe in Naples in letter 155. These circumstances would further explain the disappearance of the letter to which Rosa here refers, perhaps destroyed or kept secret on account of its contents. (As Rosa himself noted in letter 176, there were "[no] other writings" in his house other than bills for the rent. Rosa may well have destroyed letters from friends that included any detailed discussion of his predicament, as well as perhaps urging friends to do the same.) Rosa's rivalry with academics in Rome at this time also seems to have drawn the attention of the Roman authorities, with the matter coming to a head in February of 1654. See letters 176 and 178, in the latter of which Rosa explicitly refers to his academic detractors' accusations against him as living in "public concubinage". See also letter 193, where Rosa refers to Lucrezia's "position," and letter 195, where Rosa declares his decision to send Lucrezia and Rosalvo to Naples.

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 169, note 1, there is a group of twenty preparatory drawings by Rosa for the *Heroic Battle Scene*, now scattered among several museums and private collections. See Mahoney 1977, 1:401–411. On the significance of Rosa's habit of sharing his drawings with Ricciardi, see Hoare 2018, 156–157 (note 159) and 265.

9. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear. It is possible that he hoped to prevent the making of unauthorized copies—a problem he had encountered before (see letter 86). On Rosa's desire for secrecy in regard to his working methods, see Hoare 2018, 256 and note 249. On Rosa's anxieties in regard to the practice of copying, see Hoare 2018, 265–272.

10. On the book of drawings that Ricciardi was collecting, see Mahoney 1977, 1:15–16, and Hoare 2018, 156–157 and note 159.

11. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. This particular child was born in May 1653 (see letter 172).

12. Giovanni Maffei. This is the first notice of his death in Rosa's extant correspondence.

13. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

14. Bottari 1754, Morgan 1824 and Cesareo 1892 all repeat the incorrect date of 16 October.

15. Francesco Maria Ceffini (died 1685), a Reader in law, or jurisprudence, at the University of Pisa. Rosa and Ceffini seem to have had an erratic relationship, and one that Rosa quickly forgot about: five years later (see letter 216), Rosa claimed not to even know "a certain Signor Ceffini," and had perhaps forgotten meeting him. Morgan 1824, 2:262, notes that Ceffini (spelled "Cespini" in her transcription) was also a knight of the Order of Santo Stefano, a membership confirmed by Paliaga 2009, 90–91, who notes further the significance and high quality of Ceffini's art collection. Ceffini, originally from Florence, was a member of the Pisan Accademia dei Disuniti and the Accademia degli Stravaganti. He spent his entire career at the University of Pisa, first, from 1647 to 1648, as a Reader in civil institutions, and then as a full Professor of civil law from 1658 to his death in 1685. On Ceffini, see also Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 31 and 160, who notes the close rapport between Ceffini and the painter Pier Dandini, as signalled in Dandini's letters to Ricciardi, published in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 84–89, docs. 12–25. For the 1686 inventory of Ceffini's art collection, which reveals a wide array of mythological, biblical, academic and secular subjects—including allegories treating the subjects of Sculpture, Mathematics, Painting, Music, Fame, and Truth, and portraits of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, Cardinal Cesare Maria Antonio Rasponi, Giovan Paolo Oliva (General of the Jesuit Order), and Cardinal Jules Mazarin (all by artists not identified in the inventory)—see Paliaga 2009, 228–229, Appendix XXV. Ceffini's inventory also reveals an extensive collection of books, one of the most important in Pisa. Paliaga (160 and 174, note 146) notes further the possibility that Rosa's works, or paintings with close affinities to his own, numbered among those listed in Ceffini's collection, in view of Rosa's mention in the present letter of the praise he received from Ceffini. Cesareo 1892, 1:70, numbered Ceffini among Rosa's friends, whose praise—lavished on Rosa's genius, as it apparently was in the letter from Ceffini to which Rosa here refers—elicited jealous rivals and enemies.

Letter 152:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

3. The term "legazioni" refers to territories or provinces outside of Rome belonging to the Papal States and governed by a papal cardinal legate, of which both Bologna and Ferrara are examples: Battaglia, 8:895. The 1629–1630 epidemic that preceded the outbreak of plague in 1656 had created problems in central Italy, perhaps initiated by disease spread during the German invasion of the Thirty Years' War; at this moment, Pope Urban VIII had established a permanent Congregation of Health in an effort to institute and enforce legislation to control the spread of disease, especially in Bologna (from mid-May to December 1630) and Rome (November 1630 to January 1632). See further Wells 1973, 24–27, who notes (26) that "[c]ities that continued to trade with infected places sometimes found themselves boycotted. Lucca, on August 28, 1656, prohibited commerce with Bologna and Ferrara, who were continuing to maintain free and open trade with the Romagna, though it was 'prohibited or suspended due to the infectious disease,' following the example of Venice and Florence who had also shut their doors to Ferrara and Bologna." These prohibitions must also have come into effect in 1652, perhaps in connection with the outbreak that affected Viterbo (for which see also letter 147, note 9). On the possible motivations for Rosa's planned journey—in addition to the desire to see his friends—see letter 151, note 7.

4. Marseille, France. Conte 2014, 306–307, considers Rosa's reference to Marseille in the present letter in connection with the possibility that the artist was invited to personally accompany his *Heroic Battle Scene* on the occasion of its delivery by Neri Corsini to the king of France, but that the length of the journey and difficulty of travel abroad, even if for such a prestigious event, made the trip too problematic. On the matter of the painting and its transferral to France, which ultimately did not take place until 1664, see letter 143, note 3. Rosa refers to the prospect of the journey again in letter 154.

5. This is presumably a reference to quarantines stipulated by the authorities in connection with the plague, and required for permission to travel along certain routes between infected cities.

6. The phrase "Cristo ne liberi i cani" is literally "Christ in freeing the dogs"; figuratively, it is a colourful expression, impossible to translate directly into English, that refers to numerous and unforeseen obstacles beyond our control. It is perhaps a variation of the expression "Dio ne guardi i cani," meaning "God forbid": Battaglia, 2:629.

7. On this outbreak, see note 3, above.

8. Rosa's comment has been interpreted in evidence of a desire on his part to write a short treatise on painting (see for example De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 6, who suggests that Antonio Santacroce's *La Secretaria di Apollo*—a text to which Rosa refers in the present letter—inspired him to "write about his art" and to mark down "motifs and ideas that would be of use to him"). The nature of Rosa's comment here, however (in particular, his reference to "ragguagli," meaning notices or short pieces of information), suggests that he intended to compile not a theoretical or practical treatise, but a notebook of ideas for paintings, for his own personal use.

9. The *Secretaria di Apollo*, by Antonio Santacroce, printed anonymously in Rome in 1650 and later republished in Venice, by F. Storti, in 1653. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 6, this short book comprises a series of brief "accounts" written in the form of messages sent by Apollo to men occupying the margins of ancient history and culture. It does not explicitly treat the subject of painting itself. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 48, note 2, it is not known which edition Rosa had to hand in October 1652. As noted by Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 42, the name of the author was probably known even before the 1653 edition, and the book itself may have been an important point of inspiration for the purported debate (recounted by Baldinucci and Pascoli) that took place, sometime before 1650, between Rosa and Antonio Abati, over the veracity of the historical accounts of the illusionistic feats of ancient painters. On this debate, see in particular Pascoli, 138–141, and Hoare 2018, 140 (note 66) and 276.

Letter 153:

1. On this unidentified matter concerning Ricciardi's sister, Caterina (who had married Cosimo Fabretti), see also letters 99 and 101.

2. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear. By "ultime preghiere" he could mean, literally, one's "final prayers," or perhaps more figuratively he might intend "preghiera" as "preghiero," a variation of the term, no longer in common usage, that refers to a request, plea, petition, invitation, courteous recommendation or solicitation: Battaglia, 14:118–119. For "mettere a mano qualcosa" as to prepare, begin, put to use, or start to do in someone's service, see Battaglia, 9:720.

3. The two subjects of the sentence are not entirely clear: by "dell'una e l'altra parte" Rosa seems to mean Caterina and Ricciardi, but he could also be referring to Ricciardi's desire for both "quietude" and "good things".

4. On the concept of sincerity in Rosa's letters, and its importance to early modern friendship and the culture of civility more generally, see Hoare 2018, 33, 152 and 155–156.

5. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

6. Limentani 1950, 103, note 2, considers this to be the "nephew of Signor Marchi," mentioned in letters 95 (perhaps), 167 and 168, and possibly letters 194 and 399.

7. The "he" in question is probably the "young man," and not Cosimo Brunetti, considering that Rosa has just indicated that he will be with Brunetti soon.

8. This is presumably a reference to Rosa's troubles with Agostino Favoriti and other Roman academics, criticized by Rosa in his satire *L'Invidia*. See letter 129, note 23. See also letter 196.

9. The academy in question must be the Accademia degli Umoristi, on which see letter 47, note 1. On the satirical barbs that Rosa directed against members of both the Umoristi and the Fantastici, see letters 48, 176, 177, 178 and 183. See also Rosa's second satire, *La Poesia*, vv. 343–347 (Romei 1995, 80), for a specific attack levelled at the Umoristi and Fantastici, among other academies.

10. Francesco Balducci (1579–1642), a poet and composer of oratorios, originally from Palermo: Limentani 1950, 103, note 5. Balducci had died ten years prior in Rome (see Belloni 1958, 94).

11. The word in the ms. could be "massa" or "macca". Battaglia, 9:346, defines "macca" as a large abundance or great quantity; copiousness. The term can also refer to great wealth.

12. Rosa's brother, Giuseppe Rosa, by whom no written works survive, appears in a letter written by Giuseppe Calasanzio as "fratel Pittore quale è ottimo in prosa e in verso" ("brother of the Painter who is very talented in prose and verse"): Borrelli and Festa 2003, 172, note 3; see Festa 1963b, 73. On the accusations of plagiarism levelled against Rosa, see further: Baldinucci, 5:490–496; Cesareo 1892, 1:71, 72 and 75; De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 21; and letter 162. Regarding the testimonies given in evidence of Rosa's authorship of the satires (furnished by Ricciardi, Francesco Maffei and Francesco Redi), which were recorded by Rosa's biographers after his death, see Cesareo 1892, 1:118–119. As noted by Limentani 1950, 103, note 6, a satire written against Rosa by Emilio Sibonio (who worked in the service of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino (1607–1667), on whom see Montanari 1998)—in which he pretends that a friar, the "true" author of Rosa's satires, is preparing to undergo punishment in Purgatory—was published as *Purgatorio. Satira sesta* by Borzelli 1910, 11–18. For a series of documents and poetic compositions by various authors, pertaining to the *Purgatorio*, kept in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, see Conte 2014, 289, and 572–606, Appendix VI.1. These include: 1) the opening lines of a refutation (by the Ferrarese jurist, Alfonso Gioia) of the *Purgatorio. Satira sesta* (Conte 2014, 573, Appendix VI.1.1) and the concluding lines of the same text (573–575, Appendix VI.1.2), which declare that the *Purgatorio* was written by Emilio Sibonio and dwell at length upon the "calumny" and "ignorance" of Rosa's enemies, also mentioning—along with the *Purgatorio*—another composition that Gioia had to hand, a *canzone* entitled *L'immortalità de l'animi*, addressed to a knight; 2) an incomplete version of the *Purgatorio*, identified as by Emilio Sibonio, drawn up by Gioia as part of a defence of Rosa (575–582, Appendix VI.1.3); 3) an incomplete version of the *canzone* entitled *L'immortalità* (the text of which Conte 2014 does not transcribe as it does not pertain to Rosa); 4) a partial copy of the same *canzone*; 5) a paraphrased version of the *Purgatorio*, written by Alfonso Gioia, which contains explanatory notes (582–594, Appendix VI.1.4); 6) a draft of the same satire (594–606, Appendix VI.1.5), by Emilio Sibonio, with notes for a paraphrase of the same text; and 7) a list of terms used by Emilio Sibonio, taken from Dante. Gioia was an intimate of the Chigi family during his time in Rome (no later than 1661), and was a dilettante poet and author of an elaborate unpublished commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy*. On Gioia, see further Ughi 1804, 2:15, and Milano 2000, 318–320 and 330–331. Unfortunately nothing more is known about Rosa's relationship with Gioia, nor the circumstances under which Gioia came to Rosa's defence. Rosa mentions the *Purgatorio* in two later letters to Ricciardi: see letters 177 and 178. On the subject of Rosa's purported plagiarism, and the issue of intellectual property, see also Hoare 2018, 101–103 and 273–274. See in addition the letters of Cosimo Brunetti to Ricciardi, dated 30 September 1651 and 7 October 1651, in which Brunetti reports on the accusations levelled against Rosa in this regard: Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 105–108, docs. 41 and 42 (the contents of these letters are also discussed in note 23 to Rosa's letter 129).

13. A reference to the rivalry between the Roman general and statesman Lucius Cornelius Sulla (*c.* 138–78 BCE) and the consul Gaius Marius (157–86 BCE). Sulla became quaestor to Gaius Marius in 107 BCE, the same year that Marius had been elected as consul. Sulla's military successes under Marius, in the war against Numidia in northern Africa, enhanced his political career, to the annoyance of Marius. This led to a series of power struggles and ruthless fighting between the two leaders and their factions, and to what is popularly known as the Civil War of Marius and Sulla.

14. A "poestronzolo" is a bad poet, or "bastard" poet. The term is a fusion of "poeta" and "stronzolo," meaning turd, shit or bastard: Battaglia, 13:709 (who cites by way of example this passage from Rosa's letter).

15. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

16. Rosa also seems to allude to Cavalli's unfortunate state in letter 167.

17. A "rubbio" is a measure of capacity, used for grain: Limentani 1950, 104, note 8. See also Hammond 1988, 83, who notes that the *rubbio* was equivalent to 294.465 litres.

18. Rosa could here be referring to one of a number of "sages" who took pleasure in, or praised the merits of, revenge. Aristotle, who considered revenge a virtue, seems a prime candidate, and certain of his comments on the subject probably would have appealed to Rosa. See Aristotle-*Ethics*, chapter 5: "The man

who is angry at the right things and with the right people, and, further, as he ought, when he ought, and as long as he ought, is praised. […] to endure being insulted and put up with insult to one's friends is slavish."

19. Giovanni Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 9.

20. The name "signor Capo Polcinella" is a mocking reference to Lodovico Maffei, the brother of Giulio Maffei. Pulcinella (who came to be known as "Punch" in England) is one of the most important comic characters—of seventeenth-century Neapolitan origin—of the *commedia dell'arte*. On the relationship of this character to the roles Rosa adopted in his own theatrical performances, see Hoare 2018, 48 (note 55), 49, 53 and 54. On Lodovico's marriage to the daughter of Raffaello Maffei, see letters 128 and 129.

21. Rosa earlier mentioned his plan to go to Naples in letter 151.

22. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

23. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear. It is probably a joke with a sexual overtone, in keeping with the kind of ribald mockery he deploys in other letters to both Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi. The phrase "tagliare di netto" means to cut cleanly.

24. The "Sonno" is a *canzone* by Rosa, referred to in letters 137, 138, 139 and 144, presumed to be entitled "Il Sonno". In letters 138 and 139, Rosa lamented that the composition bore his name. Rosa was concerned at this moment about his position in Rome, on account of the academic polemic he had become involved in with members of the Umoristi. As noted by Conte 2014, 283, Rosa might have also been suffering the indirect consequences of the misfortunes encountered by his brother, Giuseppe, in Florence, on which see letter 91, note 22.

25. Francesco Lanfreducci, on whom see letter 84, note 7.

26. The implication here is that Rosa's name perhaps formed part of a rhyme within the structure of the poem.

27. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

28. 2 November, All Souls' Day.

Letter 154:

1. With the phrase "leaving it all to my heart" Rosa seems to intend that his heart is to be called upon to testify as witness, so to speak, to the "subtleties" of his affection.

2. The expression "essere sulle spese" means to have to pay for one's own food and lodging, during travel away from home: Battaglia, 19:839.

3. On the plague that seems to have afflicted Viterbo and shut down the surrounding routes, see also letters 133 (note 3), 147 (note 9) and 152 (note 3).

4. Rosa's reference here to Marseille suggests that the letter be dated "1652" rather than "1657," as Rosa refers to the prospect of going there in letter 152, which is dated 29 October 1652. The projected journey may have been in connection with the transport of his *Heroic Battle Scene* to France, on which see also letter 152, note 4.

5. On the plague in Rome, see letter 201, note 15.

6. Rosa's reference in the present letter to the "plague of Viterbo" offers additional evidence for dating the letter to 1652. See also in this regard letter 152.

Letter 155:

1. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

2. On the meaning of the phrase "in faccia" as explicitly, expressly, or (perhaps) confidentially, see letter 111, note 3.

3. Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio, on whom see letter 1 (note 4) and letter 23 (note 2), and Hoare 2018, 39 and note 1. Rosa's mention of Brancaccio in the present letter suggests the possibility of their continued relationship, long after Rosa's early years in the cardinal's service. Rosa had earlier referred (in letter 111) to a package of cheese and dried meat that he had asked Giulio to send to him via Cardinal Brancaccio (in the care of Girolamo Mercuri).

4. On the dowries that Rosa was trying to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, Lorenza and Catera, see letter 48, note 18.

5. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. One of a number of instances in Rosa's letters in which he refers to himself in the third person, here playing upon the association of his name with Christ as "Saviour". See also letters 117, 134, 178 and 326. Rosa's *Sonetto contro quelli che non lo credevano autore delle Satire*, composed in response to the attacks against his satire *L'Invidia*, also employs the conceit: the sonnet begins "Dunque perché son Salvator chiamato/ crucifigatur grida ogni persona?" For the text of this sonnet, see Salvini, 28, and Romei 1995, 49. See also letter 187, note 4.

7. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

8. As noted by Conte 2007, 196, the term "cicolino," or "cecolino" (from the Latin "caeculus," the diminutive of "caecus") refers to a small boil or furuncle. See Battaglia, 3:127.

9. By "educazione" Rosa could mean, literally, an education, or he could be using the term in another sense, no longer in use, in reference to a treatment or cure: Battaglia, 5:47. The former option seems more likely, in view of the fact that Giuseppe was himself a painter: a number of his works are listed in the collection of Girolamo Mercuri, for which see Hoare 2018, 249 and note 172. Rosa could have planned to send Rosalvo, who at this date was eleven years old, to Naples, to study with his brother. As noted by Conte 2014, 82–83, note 92, the exact date at which Giuseppe's works entered Mercuri's collection is not known, but their presence there suggests the possibility that Giuseppe had continued to practise painting until the date of the present letter, and that Rosa's comments here refer to his plan to train Rosalvo in the profession, in part so that he could help release Rosa from his contractual obligations (in this particular instance, with the Maffei; see Rosa's comments in letter 158). Rosa's intention to entrust Rosalvo's training to Giuseppe did not transpire, however, since Rosalvo apparently remained in Rome to study "to be a painter" (see letter 161). Rosa may also have hoped to send Rosalvo to Naples on account of the threat posed by the Roman authorities, in connection with Rosa's and Lucrezia's relationship. On this matter, see also letter 151, note 7. In regard to Rosalvo's possible training as an artist, see also Mariani 1943, who attributed to Rosalvo an album of drawings conserved in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome.

10. Marcantonio Cesti (on whom see letter 27, note 21) had that year achieved significant fame with performances in Venice of his *Cesare amante* and *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso*: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 173, note 1.

11. This "Bava" is perhaps the "Canonico Bava" mentioned in a letter written by Francesco Lanfreducci to Marcantonio Cesti in July 1649, concerning the complications surrounding Cesti's

receipt of an invitation to leave Volterra and take up a position as *maestro di cappella* at the church of the knights of the Order of Santo Stefano in Pisa. In his letter, Lanfreducci expressed his awareness of the hostilities of the "gentil huomini di Volterra" toward Cesti's transferral to Pisa, referring in particular to the information he had heard in this regard from "Canonico Bava". See Frosini 1978, 110. It has not been possible to identify this "Bava" with certainty, nor to uncover further information about the particular rivalry to which Rosa alludes in the present letter.

12. The phrase "dar di naso in culo" means to interfere or poke one's nose into someone else's matters, to annoy or be a nuisance to someone: Battaglia, 11:205. Here, Rosa uses the expression in reference to one person expressing their superiority over someone else. "Naso in culo" also means, colloquially, "kiss my ass".

13. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

14. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

Letter 156:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

3. It has not been possible to further identify this "Pedacci," who is not mentioned in any other of Rosa's extant letters. The name could also be a nickname for one of Rosa's and Ricciardi's mutual friends.

4. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

5. The expression "mettere la barba" means, literally "to take root," or figuratively, to strengthen or increase, to settle in, to catch on, to cling to, or to prove popular. See the definition for "barba" (no. 38) in Tommaseo and Bellini. See also Battaglia, 2:54. On the matter of Brunetti's health at this moment, see letters 96 (note 21) and 99.

6. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

7. Giuseppe Compagno, on whom see letter 136, notes 13 and 15.

Letter 157:

1. On the medical condition of hypochondria, see letter 132, note 1.

2. On the matter of the closure of roads and the introduction of quarantines during this period of plague, see letter 147, note 9, and letter 152, note 3.

3. The term "lazzaretti" refers to hospitals intended for the purpose of isolation or quarantine, for those infected with disease during times of plague. Lucrezia was pregnant at this moment, as Rosa had notified Ricciardi in letter 151.

4. This is perhaps another allusion to Rosa's trouble with the Roman authorities, as well as with members of the Roman academic community. See also in this regard letter 151, note 7. Rosa also seems to be concerned here with the matter of Lucrezia's pregnancy.

5. A "largura" is a large open space or expanse; a widening (of a road or path). The expression "fare largura" means to make room, or open a way through: Battaglia, 8:780. In this instance, Rosa seems to be referring to the quarantines blocking the routes in and out of Rome, but he could also be referring more generally to the prospect of things becoming more comfortable and convenient.

6. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 175, note 1, suggest that these lines have been taken from one of Rosa's poetic compositions, no longer extant. It is certainly plausible that the lines have some poetic derivation, in view of Rosa's frequent habit in the letters of including quotations (and indenting them as he does here in the ms.), however the phrase is also a commonplace parable or expression.

7. The "ordine" is perhaps to be connected with the money Rosa had earlier discussed with Ricciardi, assembled for the purpose of their sojourn together, on which see Rosa's comments in letters 151, 153 and 164. On the meaning of the term "ordine," see letter 48, note 11.

Letter 158:

1. On the death of Giovanni Maffei, see letter 151.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. Rosa here uses the pronoun "sua," which he customarily employs for the third person but also uses on occasion for the second person, in place of "vostra". Hence in this instance he could mean either "his" (in reference to the archdeacon, Giovanni Maffei) or "your" (in reference to Giulio Maffei).

4. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti.

5. This is presumably a reference to Lodovico Maffei and his new wife, Giovanna, the daughter of Raffaello Maffei. On their wedding, see letter 128, note 1.

6. On this matter, and Rosa's solicitation of help from Giulio in particular, see also letters 149, 155 and 162. On the dowries that Rosa was trying to secure for Lorenza and Catera Paolini, see also letter 48, note 18.

7. Rosa seems to have had hopes for Rosalvo as a painter, and, as his comment in the present letter suggests, was optimistic that his son would achieve a sufficient enough talent to assist him with his own work. See also Rosa's comments in this regard in letters 155 and 161.

8. That is, "overindulge" themselves in each other's company.

9. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

10. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

11. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

12. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

13. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

14. That is, the approaching Christmas and New Year.

15. The "gagliarda" is an ancient type of popular dance, characterized by highly animated movement: Battaglia, 6:527. The term "gagliardia" can also refer, however, to great physical energy, vigour, strength, exuberance, abundance, passion or fervour (Battaglia, 6:528–529), which seems to be the meaning that Rosa intends here.

Letter 159:

1. On the meaning of the term "cicolino," see letter 155, note 8.

2. Rosa seems here to be using the expression "da cieco" in the sense of "in abundance" or "a great deal". The expression

is similar to "da orbi" or "da orbo" (the term "orbo" being analogous to "cieco," blind), meaning to be inflicted with extreme violence or to behave in a wild manner; to act furiously, intensely, or to be incensed: Battaglia, 12:14. According to the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (citing Benedetto Varchi, *Ercolano*, 84), the expression "fare un cantar da cieco" means to talk or jabber on at great length, in a boring manner. See also Battaglia, 3:130. Rosa uses a similar expression in letter 161.

3. The word "scurcio" is Neapolitan dialect for "scorcio," which in the context of the artistic exercise of anatomical perspective refers to "foreshortenings". See also Rosa's use of the term in letter 93. As noted by Conte 2007, 196, Rosa is here playing upon the double meaning of the term in reference to the "contortions" his body adopts (on account of the pain from the boils) and the kinds of poses represented in the practice of drawing "scorci," or foreshortenings, daring examples of which are exhibited in Michelangelo's work. According to Puoti, 405, "scurcio" in the Neapolitan dialect signifies "in an extravagant attitude or pose"; "di scorcio," or "vedere de scurcio" is the opposite of "vedere in faccia," that is "seen from the front"; the phrase "in iscorcio" means "foreshortened".

4. The phrase "mala ruota" (capitalized in the ms.) is a witty pun on Michelangelo's surname, Buonarroti. The "contortions" to which Rosa refers must be related to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. Cosimo Brunetti had compared similar physical ailments to the anatomical contortions of the figures in Michelangelo's fresco in an earlier letter of Rosa's (see letter 93). Michelangelo had himself famously lamented the uncomfortable poses he had to adopt in the process of painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which he laments in a well-known poem on the subject, for which see Saslow 1991, 70–72, no. 5.

5. Rosa here constructs another pun with a dual meaning: by "venire in culo" he means both that the boils are literally appearing "on his ass" and also, in connection with the figurative expression "in culo," that he "can't stand them any longer".

6. On Rosa and his melancholia, see Hoare 2018, chapter four, esp. 187–193.

7. On Rosa's mistrust of medical physicians, see letter 101, note 12.

8. With the phrase "prima verginità di vita," literally the "first virginity of life," Rosa likely intends the innocent, healthy, unpolluted body one possesses as an infant.

9. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

10. The expression "fare motto" means to speak: Battaglia, 11:21.

11. An "uccellami" is a gathering of birds. The term is used particularly in reference to quantities of birds in a specific location, or in relation to the hunt. It also refers to a species or type of bird, or a bunch of dead or butchered birds, put up for sale or to be cooked: Battaglia, 21:486.

12. An evident allusion to the pope, Innocent X (Giovanni Battista Pamphilj): De Rinaldis 1939, 51, note 1.

13. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

14. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

15. Caterina Maffei, Giulio's mother.

16. A reference to Lodovico Maffei and his new wife, Giovanna, the daughter of Raffaello Maffei. On their wedding, see letter 128, note 1.

17. Cardinal Neri Corsini, on whom see letter 143, note 3.

18. Quotation marks have been added here, and in the following sentence, for clarity of meaning. On Neri Corsini and the *Heroic Battle Scene* that he purchased from Rosa to give to King Louis XIV, see letters 143, 144 and 148.

19. Rosa's pride in being identified as a "famous Neapolitan painter" is significant in connection with his conflicted attitude toward his homeland, expressed throughout the letters. On this matter, see also Hoare 2018, 34 and note 46.

20. The printer and bookseller Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6. Signoretti had apparently omitted news of Rosa's success in France from the printed *avviso*. In a letter to Carlo Dati of 12 November 1652, Cosimo Brunetti confirmed the circulation of the same *avviso* in Florence, signalling the great fame that Rosa's painting was garnering outside of Rome: "Last week I informed Signor [Francesco] Cordini about a famous battle scene that Rosa had painted, and asked him to show it to your Lordship because it gives an account [of the painting], and I would be honoured if Signor Cordini would read it, as a very good friend of Rosa." ("La settimana passata detti avviso al signor Cordini di un famosissima battaglia che ha fatto il Rosa e gli scrissi che mostrasse a Vostra Signoria perché si facci mostrar il ragguaglio e mi honori che lo veda il signor Cordini come amicissimo del Rosa".) (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Bald. 258. II. 35, c. 139; for the letter, see Volpi, in Naples 2008, 44, note 71.) On Rosa's desire for reputation and fame, both in Italy and abroad, see letter 144, note 11. On the matter of *avvisi* or "news-letters," see letter 94, note 1.

21. The term "figurino" has various meanings, but in the pejorative colloquial sense it refers to a feeble, insipid, weak person, in both body and mind: Battaglia, 5:979.

Letter 160:

1. A "bicchiere" is a small drinking glass, or a type of drink, usually alcoholic: Battaglia, 2:216–217. Rosa here uses a variation of the older spelling ("bicchiero") of "bicchiere".

2. The expression "per la mano," according to Battaglia, 9:721, refers to an action carried out in order to accompany, support or guide someone, or to show someone affection, understanding or solidarity. The expression "per la mano (le mani) di qualcuno" means in someone's service or merit, on account of someone, or for someone's intervention or involvement. It can also mean, in this context, for someone's advice, exhortation or provision.

3. Arlotto Mainardi (1396–1484), also known as Arlotto il Pievano (or "il Piovano"), was a Florentine priest who became famous for the pranks narrated in his highly successful *I Motti e facezie del Piovano Arlotto* (*The Sayings and Jokes of Piovano Arlotto*), published posthumously, a lively and often vulgar portrait of Florentine life during the reign of Lorenzo the Magnificent. On Arlotto, see further: De Rinaldis 1939, 52, note 2; Folena 1953; and Crimi, in *DBI* 67 (2006):553–556. Arlotto and his practical jokes were given pictorial treatment in a painting by Rosa's friend, Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano): *The Practical Joke of the Parish Priest Arlotto* (*c.* 1643–1644, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence).

4. The term "trelliccio" refers to a type of canvas: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 178, note 2, citing the *Vocabolario della Crusca*. The word "triliccio" refers to a cord with a triple-weave thread (Battaglia, 21:346), meaning that this particular type of canvas was very high in quality. On the role played by certain practical concerns in the cost of paintings and their manufacture—

including stretchers, canvas, priming, brushes, paper and models—see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 67–69, who notes Rosa's comment regarding "trelliccio" in the present letter by way of example.

5. As noted by Lorizzo 2010a, 380, Rosa here seems to be mocking Ricciardi's ambitions to branch out into the business of art dealing, expressing his own awareness of the challenges and dynamics of the art market, and in particular an awareness of the necessity of creating and selling copies. Rosa mocked Ricciardi's unreasonable requests as a sign of his squandering inclinations and comparable "wealth," pointing out that "poor young people" are forced to spend as little as possible since the cost of living preoccupies them more than matters of art. Lorizzo interprets Rosa's comment as evidence that Ricciardi wanted to deal only in the works of young artists, excluding copies and "tele ordinarie". Conte 2014, 336, note 49, considers this to be an over-interpretation. Scott 1995, 95, considered Rosa's reference to Ricciardi as "signor mercante" to imply that Rosa had stopped employing Francesco Cordini as his dealer at this date, after which there are no other specific references in the letters to Cordini receiving or selling new works by Rosa; in May 1670 Rosa sent his painting of *Saint Torpes* from Rome to Pisa, via Ricciardi (see letter 391). On Rosa's practice of making copies, and their significance in relation to his self-conception as an artist, see Hoare 2018, 265–272. On Rosa's mockery of Ricciardi's lack of knowledge in matters of painting, see also letter 104, note 5, and on Ricciardi's activity as an art dealer, see letter 85 (note 3), letter 91 (note 7), letter 160 (note 5) and letter 174 (note 1).

6. The friends in question are probably those among the members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti, on which see letter 56, note 2, and the Accademia Pisana, on which see letter 2, note 6.

7. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

Letter 161:

1. An "ammazzatore" is a murderer, killer, or slaughterer: Battaglia, 1:404.

2. With the word "mercadante" Rosa intends "mercatante," a merchant or tradesman: Battaglia, 10:129. The expression "fare orecchie di mercatante" means to pretend not to hear, or to ignore what someone says: Battaglia, 10:130.

3. The Porta San Pier Gattolini is the southern-most city gate of Florence, now known as the Porta Romana, which marked the road to Rome. Giulio Maffei was in Florence at the time, as indicated in the address of Rosa's letter.

4. A reference to the dowry sought for Lucrezia's sister, Catera, which Rosa was trying to secure with the help of Giulio Maffei and Ricciardi. See also letter 48, note 18. Rosa referred to the matter in letter 158, and raises the issue again, with Ricciardi, in letter 162, also mentioning Giulio's assistance.

5. The term "baiocco" means money, or, in particular, a small amount of money. It is also a specific denomination of coinage, of varying value, on which see letter 4, note 4, and letter 31, note 10. Rosa could here be referring to the funds he was trying to assemble with Ricciardi's help, on which see letter 157.

6. Lodovico Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. Rosa had earlier commented on the newly married couple, Lodovico and Giovanna Maffei, and their attempts to have children, in letter 158. The couple apparently did have children, as indicated by Rosa's comment—regarding a request he had received from one of Lodovico's children (who would have been, at most, about three or four years old at the time)—in a letter of 31 March 1656 (letter 200).

8. As noted by Cesareo 1892, 2:104, note 3, Rosa probably here intends the term "politico" (the word "polico" appears in the ms.), in reference to the nickname ("Signor Politico") of Giulio Maffei's brother, Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

9. Rosa frequently uses this term ("proboscide" or schnozzle) in mockery of the large noses of various members of the Maffei family. See letter 34, note 13. Rosa's use here of the expression "da cieco," as in the case of letter 159, seems to mean vigorous, abundant or continual. As on other occasions in letters to the Maffei, Rosa appears to be constructing a vulgar analogy that aligns sexual acts with crude bodily functions. The term "cazzate" is probably intended both in reference to "bullshit" (or "blunders") and as the diminutive of "cazzo," meaning in a literal sense the male member and, in figurative terms, an extremely stupid person, a simpleton. See Battaglia, 2:935.

10. Rosa is here referring to the well-known game of kick-ball, or *calcio fiorentino*, played from the sixteenth century to the present day in Piazza Santa Croce in Florence. On the origins of the Florentine sport, which is still today played by teams from four of the *rioni* or neighbourhoods of Florence in Piazza Santa Croce, see Bardi, and Bredekamp 1995.

11. On Rosa's ambitions for Rosalvo to be a painter, see also his comments in letters 155 and 158.

12. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

13. Rosa's use of the name "Mercurio" is perhaps intended as a pun on the surname of Don Girolamo Mercuri (that is, in reference to "mercury" as changeable or mercurial). See also Rosa's use of the name in letter 71. On Girolamo Mercuri, see letter 23, note 2.

14. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

Letter 162:

1. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

2. On the antiquarian Niccolò Simonelli, and his financial and health problems, see letter 27, note 23, and letter 106, note 8. See also Rosa's comments in regard to Simonelli's eye ailment in letter 50. On Ricciardi's own eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

3. Rosa here refers to Niccolò Simonelli's service in the employ of two members of the papal court, Cardinal Camillo Pamphilj and Cardinal Flavio Chigi, on the matter of which see letter 27, note 23.

4. As noted by Conte 2014, 285, this is a reference to Pompeo Colonna (died 1658), Prince of Gallicano and *principe* of the Accademia dei Fantastici. On Colonna, see Petrucci, in *DBI* 27 (1982):414–416. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 181, note 1, incorrectly identified him as Niccolò Ludovisi (?–1664), Prince of Gallicano from 1632, and of Piombino from 1634.

5. On Rosa's academic memberships, and his fraught relations with academics in Rome, see Hoare 2018, 101–110. The Accademia dei Fantastici was founded in 1625, and was modelled on the Accademia degli Umoristi. The Fantastici held its meetings in the convent of Santi Apostoli, and its members included Claudio Achillini, Francesco Balducci, Pier Francesco

Paoli and Fulvio Testi. On the Fantastici, see Maylender 1926–1930, 2:346–348.

6. On the charges of plagiarism levelled against Rosa, see letter 153, note 12. Rosa first makes explicit mention of the accusations levelled against him in regard to the authorship of his satires in letter 153. See also on this matter De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 25.

7. Rosa here uses a variation on the expression "non me ne importa un fico," which means "I don't give a damn about it". The expression "non vale un fico secco" means "it's not worth anything".

8. The specific painters to whom Rosa here refers are not known. On the artistic community centred on the Trinità dei Monti in Rome and its environs, see letter 26, note 3. On Rosa's house on the Trinità dei Monti, see letter 26, note 3.

9. The word "bestialmente" means in a beastly manner, animal-like, brutally, with violence; or stupidly, foolishly: Battaglia, 2:197.

10. A "ridotto" is a place reserved for meetings and conversations, both for more serious matters and for games and pastimes. The term, which has various meanings, can refer to the gathering itself or to a group of friends who meet for the purpose of conversation or enjoyment of each other's company: Battaglia, 16:204. Rosa uses the term again toward the end of the present letter, in reference to the diversions of Piazza Navona.

11. Tiberio Fiorilli (*c.* 1608–1694), the celebrated Neapolitan actor who gained particular fame in France, where he directed the *Comédie-Italienne*. Fiorilli was most well known for his performance of the character Scaramuccia. The character (whose name means "skirmish") is one of the stock clown characters of the *commedia dell'arte*, related in many ways to the witty *zanni* character of Coviello adopted and performed by Rosa, on which see further Hoare 2018, 48–58. On Fiorilli, and the character Scaramuccia, a role in which Fiorilli was immortalized in a series of images, see further Duchartre 1929, 236–244, and Megale, in *DBI* 48 (1997):191–193. On Fiorilli, see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 30. Rosa also mentions Fiorilli in letter 240, indicating that he knew the actor personally, although deriding him and his troupe of fellow actors.

12. Camillo Francesco Maria Pamphilj (1622–1666), on whom see also letter 27, note 23, and letter 71, note 4.

13. This is perhaps Girolamo De Vecchi, originally from Siena, about whom little is known prior to 1655. Born in the first decades of the seventeenth century, and last recorded in 1691, De Vecchi was in 1655 appointed apostolic pro-nuncio to Brussels, a position he held for ten years and during which he was closely involved in the papal fight against Jansenism. On De Vecchi, see Messina, in *DBI* 39 (1991):542–545.

14. Lucrezia's sister, Catera Paolini. On the matter of the dowries Rosa was trying to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, see letter 48, note 18. See also Rosa's more recent comments in letters 158 and 161.

15. Rosa had earlier signalled his own donation of twenty *scudi* to Catera in letter 158.

16. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

Letter 163:

1. A reference to Antonio Abati's *Frascherie*, published in 1651, on which see letter 1, note 4.

2. Rosa had earlier used the expression "viso di cotale" in reference to Ricciardi. See letter 46, note 13.

3. See also Rosa's comment concerning Abati's success in making a living with his poetry in letter 114. Rosa is here referring to the highly successful and influential sixteenth-century poet Torquato Tasso, on whom see also letter 51, note 18.

4. On the visit of Rosa's brother, Giuseppe, see letter 122.

5. Tramater, 3:161 (cited in Limentani 1950, 105, note 4), includes the term "faldone" within the definition of "faldella" (analogous to "trufferia, giunteria," meaning a fraud, swindle or con). According to Battaglia, 5:590, "faldone" figuratively refers to an entanglement, sham or fraud. Battaglia cites by way of example a passage from Rosa's satire *La Pittura*, vv. 235–239 (Romei 1995, 103): "Vi è poi talun, che col pennel trascorse/ a dipinger faldoni e guitterie/ e facchini e monelli e tagliaborse,/ vignae, carri, calcate, osterie,/ stuolo d'imbriacconi e genti ghiotte." The term "faldone" also means (figuratively), a thing of little value or interest; mediocre. Battaglia cites in evidence of this definition the passage from Rosa's present letter.

6. On Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

7. For Rosa's criticism of the public comedies performed in Rome during Carnival season, see letter 9, note 2. See also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 30. By "competent company over there" Rosa likely means the Accademia degli Stravaganti, on which see letter 56, note 2.

8. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

9. Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano), on whom see letter 58, note 11.

10. Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669), one of the most successful artists of the seventeenth century, with whom Rosa collaborated on a number of decorative projects in Florence in the 1640s. See Hoare 2018, 246 and note 151. Rosa also expressed his distaste for Cortona's style of painting in his satire *La Pittura,* vv. 649–654 (Romei 1995, 114). As noted by Limentani 1950, 106, note 5, Rosa's reference to Cortona in the present letter should be seen in connection with the fact that Cortona exerted a particular influence on Baldassarre Franceschini's work. Cortona was already well-established as an artist when Rosa came to Rome. He also presided over the exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato in 1662, as Rosa notes in letter 286. On the concept of "dryness" in the early modern theory and critique of painting, see Sohm 2001, 28–33, 93, 109, 113 and 177–184, and Pericolo 2015. Passeri, 397, records Rosa's inherently "Neapolitan" distaste for the "dry" style of the Roman-Florentine school of painting, represented by Raphael: "He spoke about Paolo Veronese more than others, and he took great pleasure in the style of the Venetians. But he did not much like Raphael, because the Neapolitan school considered him hard, stone-like, and dry, and therefore [this style] did not agree with him." ("Egli parlava di Paolo Veronese più che di tutti, e gl'era sommamente a cuore lo stile dei Veneziani; ma con Rafaele non aveva molta domestichezza perché la scuola Napolitana lo chiama tosto, di pietra, e secco, e non vogliono amicizia sua.")

11. The composer and performer Luigi Rossi (or de' Rossi) (*c.* 1598–1653), born in Torremaggiore. He came to Rome in 1620 when he entered the service of Marcantonio Borghese, whom he served until 1636. Rossi was also organist of San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, from 1633. In 1627, Rossi married the harpist Costanza de Ponte (died 1646). A virtuoso performer of the harp and key instruments, Rossi wrote music for the libretto *Il palazzo d'Atlante* by Giulio Rospigliosi (1600–1669; later Pope Clement IX). In 1641, Rossi and his wife entered the service

of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, and in 1642 Rossi presented his first opera, Rospigliosi's *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante*, at the Palazzo Barberini. In 1646, Rossi went to Paris at the invitation of Cardinal Jules Mazarin where he staged the *L'Orfeo*, the first Italian opera presented in France: Limentani 1950, 106, note 6, and Borrelli and Festa 2003, 182, note 2. Rossi was also the author of numerous "Cantate da Camera," arias and oratorios (including *Giuseppe figlio di Giacobbe*), and religious music (including a *Stabat Mater*, according to D'Arienzo 1894, 398). Rossi's brother, Giancarlo de' Rossi (*c.* 1617–1692), was a harpist, organist and composer, previously confused in some of the early scholarship on Rosa with Carlo de' Rossi, the wealthy Roman banker and keen collector of Rosa's paintings (on whom see letter 207, note 5). On this confusion, see Volpi 1998, 356–357. Passeri, 396, who seems to be responsible for this confusion of identities, also called Luigi Rossi "noto a tutto il mondo per la sua perfezione della musica". Luigi Rossi died on 19 February 1653, and not 21 February, as Rosa affirms in the present letter. On Luigi Rossi, see also Hammond 1988, 159–160.

12. The word "cimbalo" is an older spelling of "cembalo," harpsichord: Battaglia, 3:144.

Letter 164:

1. With the term "ordine," Rosa here seems to mean "bill of payment" or "bill of exchange". On the meaning of the term "ordine," see also letter 48, note 11.

2. On the Roman *scudo* and its value, see letter 4, note 4.

3. The word *piastra* is another term for the monetary denomination of *scudo* or *ducato*. See letter 4 (note 4) and letter 48 (note 12).

4. A *giulio* is a silver coin, also known as a "paolo". See letter 31, note 10. On these matters of finance concerning Ricciardi, see also Rosa's earlier letter to Ricciardi of 1 December 1652 (letter 157).

5. By "whom he should mention for the money" Rosa presumably means "whose name should be put on the bill of payment".

6. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

7. The secret matter to which Rosa here refers may be his plan to leave Rome with Lucrezia and Rosalvo, on account of the threat of the religious authorities. Lucrezia was also once again pregnant (see letters 151 and 157).

8. For Rosa's criticism of the public comedies performed in Rome during Carnival season, see letter 9, note 2.

9. On the visit of Rosa's brother Giuseppe, see also letter 163.

10. The solicitor Marcantonio Eugeni, who had taken the young Cosimo Brunetti under his wing. On Eugeni, see letter 84, note 4.

11. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. Rosa first announces this particular pregnancy in letter 151.

Letter 165:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. On the matter of the dowries Rosa was trying to secure for Lucrezia's sisters, see also letter 48, note 18, and letter 162, note 14.

3. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. Rosa first mentions this particular pregnancy in letter 151.

4. On the visit of Rosa's brother, Giuseppe, see also letters 163 and 164.

5. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

6. On the importance of the concept of sincerity for Rosa, see letter 153, note 4.

7. The painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano), on whom see letter 58, note 11.

Letter 166:

1. The word "pesca" means fishing: Battaglia, 13:153.

2. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies see letter 17, note 3. Rosa first announces this particular pregnancy in letter 151.

3. See Rosa's earlier comments regarding a trip to Naples (or, at least, Rosa's plan to send Rosalvo there) in letters 151, 155 and 158. For the visit of Giuseppe Rosa (Rosalvo's uncle, and Rosa's brother) to Rome, perhaps conducted with the specific purpose of retrieving Rosalvo for the journey back to Naples, see letter 163.

4. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

5. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

6. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

7. It has not been possible to further identify this "Signor Cappelli," a mutual friend of Rosa and Giulio Maffei. Rosa mentions this "Cappelli" again in letter 172. For a "Luigi Cappelli" of Florence, see Paliaga 2009, 36.

Letter 167:

1. The term "polizza" refers to various types of documents, including: a brief written communication concerning a private matter; a letter or a note; a payment contract; a document sent from the creditor to the debtor, indicating the sum owed for service rendered; and a bill, invoice or payment request: Battaglia, 13:773–775. On these matters of finance concerning Ricciardi, see also letters 157 and 164. The matter presumably also concerns the "ordine," or bill of payment or exchange, to which Rosa refers in letter 164.

2. Rosa seems here to be using the term "becco" in both the figurative sense (meaning "a very minimal amount") and the sense of inferring something detrimental: Battaglia, 2:139. The phrase "non trovare né cane né gatto che abbai per qualcuno" refers to an inability to find anyone who cares: Battaglia, 2:629.

3. See letter 164, where Rosa refers to the same mistake.

4. It has not been possible to identify this "Signor Marchi," nor his nephew. Rosa mentions this "nephew" again in letter 168. See also the possible alternative identification of this person as "Signor Marchino," an individual mentioned in letter 95 (see note 12).

5. On this matter, see also letter 166.

6. On Lucrezia's pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. Rosa first announces this particular pregnancy in letter 151.

7. Rosa's meaning here with regard to Bonaventura Cavalli is not entirely clear. The word "rovine" can mean not only "ruin" but also violence or fury, and the implication here is perhaps

that Cavalli is having a "furious" success. Rosa could also be speaking—as he so often does—in jest, either in praise or mockery of Cavalli's current state of affairs. By "fa rovine" Rosa could also mean that Cavalli was "making his own ruin," perhaps in reference to some poor state of affairs on his part, or to the suffering of some illness. Rosa had referred to Cavalli's misfortune—apparently accused of plagiarism, as Rosa had himself been—in letter 153. Rosa cannot be speaking about Cavalli's age, as he was at this point only thirty-four years old (and lived to the age of seventy). In 1668, Cavalli was appointed bishop of Caserta, which is about 30 km north of Naples. On Cavalli, see letter 134, note 8.

8. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 56, note 2, Gerra 1937 records the date of the letter as 1652. The last number of the year could be either a "2" or a "3", however the content of the letter (including Rosa's mention of the "polizza" and the "nipote del Signor Marchi") strongly suggests it be placed at this point in the correspondence. Furthermore, Lucrezia, who gave birth to a child in October 1651, is not known to have been pregnant in March of 1652.

9. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

10. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

11. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 186, note 1, this Giovan Francesco della (or dalla) Ginestra is probably a relative of Ricciardi for whom Rosa found employment with the Venetian ambassador, Nicolò Sagredo. See also letters 169 and 170. De Rinaldis 1939 was unable to decipher Ginestra's signature in the present letter.

Letter 168:

1. On these two unidentifiable acquaintances of Rosa, see also letter 95, note 12. Rosa also mentions them in letter 167.

2. The verb "fastidire" means to provoke annoyance, irritation, impatience; to bore, bother or annoy. See letter 89, note 3.

3. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

4. That is, the nephew of Signor Marchi.

5. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

6. On Lucrezia's pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. Rosa first mentions this particular pregnancy in letter 151.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

8. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

Letter 169:

1. This "Signor Giovan Francesco della [dalla] Ginestra" is probably a relative of Ricciardi. See letter 167, note 11.

2. Nicolò Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador, who purchased two of Rosa's paintings: the *Democritus in Meditation* and the *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*. On Sagredo and his purchase of these paintings, see letter 86, note 15, and letter 137, note 5.

3. This is presumably the "subject" of one of Ricciardi's poetic compositions or one of his theatrical comedies, on the latter of which see letter 126, note 6.

4. The painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

5. On Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13. Brunetti was staying with the solicitor Marcantonio Eugeni in Piazza Navona, frequented by Rosa, who also offered Brunetti his service in the delivery of letters from Ricciardi. See letter 108, note 5.

Letter 170:

1. A reference to Antonio Abati's *Frascherie*, on which see letter 1, note 4.

2. On Rosa's falling-out with Abati, see letter 1, note 4. The sonnet to which Rosa here refers, written by Abati, has not been identified. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, ix, Note Liminari 1, Rosa here takes pleasure in informing Ricciardi about the failure of Abati's *Frascherie*, and describes Abati in unflattering terms, on account of a sonnet that the poet has apparently directed at the public, scorning the misunderstanding of his detractors. On the subject of Abati's own feelings in regard to his and Rosa's poetic undertakings, Passeri, 387, writes: "Abati, who was my very good friend, swore to me many times that, over the course of the years in which he spent time with him, Rosa never gave him the impression of his intention of writing down a single verse of his compositions, nor did he have any other interest in poetry than the superficial delight of reading, and Abati was astonished when he returned to Rome from Austria [Germania], after many years, and found that Salvatore had won applause as a poet from the entire crowd of *letterati*." ("Mi giurò più volte l'Abati, che fu amicissimo mio, che nel corso di qualche anno, che praticò con Salvatore non lasciò mai con lui intendersi di mettere in carta un verso del suo componimento, ne meno, d'avere nella poesia altro, che un superficiale diletto della lettura, e si stupiva quando egli ritornò in Roma dopo tanti anni da Germania, come Salvatore avesse guadagnato applauso di poeta dal concorso di tutti i letterati.")

3. The construction of this paragraph, with its variety of personal pronouns ("he," "they"), creates confusion as to which subject is conducting what action. Abati's name has been inserted in the translation in order to clarify Rosa's meaning.

4. Giovan Francesco della (or dalla) Ginestra, on whom see letter 167, note 11. The position to which Rosa here refers is also mentioned in letter 169.

5. Nicolò Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador to Rome, who purchased Rosa's *Democritus in Meditation* and *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*. On Sagredo, see letter 86, note 15, and letter 137, note 5.

6. A "romitorio" is a hermitage or place of retreat. The term is also used to refer to a monastery, convent or an individual cell within a convent. The term can also refer, figuratively, to a tranquil, isolated place, or a building situated in a solitary place. See Battaglia, 17:57. On Rosa's interest in the subject of retreat, and its role in his Florentine academic experience, in particular, see Hoare 2018, 110–123.

7. The expression "dare a credere" means to give oneself (or someone else) to understand; to induce to believe something to be true; or to persuade someone of the truth of something: Battaglia, 3:946.

8. The "favour" to which Rosa here refers could be a matter mentioned in a now-lost letter, or could pertain to the circumstances surrounding the academic critique of Rosa—enflamed by his satire *L'Invidia*—on which see letters 175 through 179.

9. Rosa seems here to be referring to someone, not further identified, belonging to Ricciardi's Tuscan circle of friends.

10. The phrase "l'ultima mano" refers to the refinements or finishing touches given to a work or project; the conclusive phase of a work or enterprise: Battaglia, 9:705–706.

11. The birth in fact took place shortly afterward (see letter 172). Rosa first mentions this pregnancy in letter 151.

12. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

13. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 171:

1. On the earlier predicaments of Ugo Maffei, see letter 16, note 8.

2. Rosa first mentions this particular pregnancy in letter 151. For the birth, see letter 172. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3.

3. Caterina Gotti, Giulio Maffei's mother.

4. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

5. This Ascanio Lisci is also perhaps the person mentioned in letter 67 (see note 16). Rosa seems here to be reporting on Lisci's death.

Letter 172:

1. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 61, note 1, the place in question is likely the foundling hospital, probably Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, on which see letter 17, note 3.

2. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 190, note 1, this is the only reference in Rosa's correspondence to the matter of "natural" (or illegitimate) siblings. It is possible that Rosa is being humorous, although the specific point of his reference is not clear. It is also possible that Rosa could here be alluding to the status of his own children, all of whom were born out of wedlock and were therefore, in legal terms, illegitimate.

3. This "Cappelli" is an unidentifiable acquaintance also mentioned in letter 166, where Rosa also refers to Cappelli's annoyance with Ricciardi.

4. Rosa's expression ("s'ha in culo") is rather more crass than as rendered in the translation here, but the tone is—in its present construction—difficult to translate directly into English.

5. On Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

6. On Gasparini, see letter 41, note 12.

7. A reference to Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*, which he completed at the start of 1654. See letter 146, note 4, and letter 175, note 3.

8. Giulio Maffei's mother, Caterina Gotti, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

9. Ugo Maffei, on whom see letter 16, note 8.

10. With the phrase "fluenza di sangue" Rosa probably intends "flusso di sangue," a haemorrhage or a loss of blood: Battaglia, 17:498. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, see letter 85, note 1, and letter 114, note 3.

11. This is presumably a reference to Lodovico Maffei and Giovanna, the daughter of Raffaello Maffei, on whose wedding see letters 128 and 129.

12. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 190, note 3, this is the last of Rosa's known letters to Giulio Maffei, who died 9 December 1654. No mention of his death is made, however, in Rosa's extant correspondence.

13. The painter Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano). On the problematic identification of the "signor Baldassarre" referred to in Rosa's letters, see letter 58, note 11.

Letter 173:

1. A reference to Sardanapalus (612–605 BCE), the legendary Assyrian king, famous for his hedonistic and decadent lifestyle. Rosa also refers to Sardanapalus by way of example in connection with Niccolò Sacchetti, Bishop of Volterra, in letter 34 (see also note 3), and in reference to the papal court of Rome more generally, in letter 291.

2. The expression "stare col piede sulle staffe" means to be ready to leave, or to be on the verge of leaving: Battaglia, 20:33.

3. As in, "locked in a room on account of illness, having to eat only soup". Rosa's use of the term "capponi" here, which is capitalized in the ms., could also be intended—in keeping with his earlier allusion to Niccolò Sacchetti as "Sardanapalus"—as a sly reference to the Capponi family, which also had close ties to the papal court in Rome.

4. The particular position to which Rosa here refers is not known.

5. Rosa uses an expression similar to this ("testa di cazzo" or "testa di coccia") in letter 60. For other examples, see letter 60.

6. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 191, note 2, the "borda" is the second sail, in order of size, after the "bastardo," on the galley.

7. In an older usage, the term "interesse" can mean damage, detriment or disadvantage: Battaglia, 8:231, no. 7.

8. The "manna" is the food that God provided to the Israelites during their travels in the desert; figuratively, the word refers to delicious food.

Letter 174:

1. As noted by Paliaga 2009, 92, Rosa's statement here suggests that he, Ricciardi, and the art dealer Francesco Cordini occasionally vied with one another over the acquisition of works of art for sale on the market, debating their prices. The paintings mentioned here seem to have been works that Cordini was negotiating over with Ricciardi, for onward sale to a prospective buyer—perhaps one of Ricciardi's friends in Pisa. Alternatively, Rosa may have been acting as an intermediary between Cordini and Ricciardi, assisting Ricciardi with the purchase of some paintings by another artist. We have no further information about the details of this particular transaction, as no other letters concerning the matter have come to light. Regarding Rosa's assistance in finding paintings for Ricciardi, see also Rosa's reference (in letter 177) to finding a picture for one of the rooms in Ricciardi's house. Rosa's statements in the present letter offer important evidence of Ricciardi's activity as an art dealer, on which see also letter 85 (note 3), letter 91 (note 7) and letter 160 (note 5). On Rosa's relationship with Cordini, see letter 21, note 2, and Hoare 2018, 252–255.

2. The expression "essere il caso" means to be opportune, to be necessary, or to come at the right moment; to be suitable or appropriate. The expression "esserci caso" means to have an

opportunity, or to have an occasion or method present itself: Battaglia, 2:840.

3. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 4, Rosa's words here suggest that he was trying to help Cordini during a moment of financial trouble, procuring for him paintings by other artists available on the market, apparently seeking Ricciardi's help in this matter as well. On Ricciardi's occasional role as art dealer, see note 1, above.

Letter 175:

1. Limentani 1972, 264, note 1, considered that this "Signor Pitassi" must be someone who acted on behalf of Ricciardi in legal matters. Conte 2014, 309–312, has convincingly identified him as the lawyer and wealthy wool producer and merchant Lorito Giuseppe Pitassi, from Pescocostanzo, on whom see further letter 309, note 3.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, a friend of Ricciardi's who frequently assisted him with the writing of letters. On Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20, and letter 117, note 12.

3. Rosa's fifth satire *L'Invidia*, on which see letter 146, note 4. Limentani 1972, 264, note 5, considered this a reference to a projected painting of "*Invidia*" (Envy), "probably never executed or completed," a project to which Rosa alludes in his satire of the same name (v. 505; Romei 1995, 153: "Farò con il pennel forse un bel gioco […]"), in terms analogous to those expressed in the present letter. Indeed, Rosa also refers to a "quadro dell'Invidia" in letter 176. However, the fact that Rosa contextualizes the "Invidia" mentioned in the present letter alongside "the other four" strongly suggests he is referring to his poetic satire; Rosa had already composed four of his other satires by 1650. Rosa also mentions in the present letter that he has "completed" the particular work in question, and in letter 176 asks Ricciardi for ideas for a projected, future "quadro" on the same subject.

4. The word "soda" means strong, vigorous, robust or severe; well-rounded, stable; knowledgeable; pragmatic; or profound: Battaglia, 19:248–251. Several of these meanings would make sense in this context, however Rosa here seems to intend the word to mean "well-rounded".

5. The term "agricomico" appears to be comparable to "agrodolce" or bittersweet. "Agricomico" likewise implies a combination of opposites, that is humour ("comico") and bitterness or sourness ("agro"). In the theatrical sense in which Rosa uses it, the term is also analogous to "tragicomico," or tragicomic, a combination of the tragic and comic. The "agricomic," then, could refer to the mode of the actor (or satirist, in the context in which Rosa here intends it) who performs a role consisting simultaneously of humour and acrimony.

6. As noted by Limentani 1972, 264, note 3, this is a veiled reference on Rosa's part to the calumnies of his enemies, who, among other things, alleged that Rosa's satires had actually been written by his friend, the preacher Reginaldo Sgambati. Considering that Sgambati died in 1648, Rosa would have been able to deny such accusations in regard to his fifth satire, replete with references to recent persons and events. See also on this matter letter 177. On the association of bile with both the melancholic and choleric humours (the latter of which was linked to anger), see Hoare 2018, 187–188 and 225.

7. Xenophanes claimed that Pythagoras believed in the transmigration of souls, or reincarnation, recounting the story of Pythagoras hearing the voice of a lost friend in the cries of a dog that was being beaten. See: Diogenes Laertius, viii. 36; Aristotle, *De Anima*, i. 3; and Herodotus, ii. 123. Pythagoras is thought to have claimed that he had, in previous incarnations, been Euphorbus, the son of Panthus, in the Trojan War, as well as various other characters, including a tradesman and a courtesan. See: Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 26; Pausanias, ii. 17; Diogenes Laertius, viii. 5; and Horace, *Od.* i. 28,1. 10. In his book *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Philostratus wrote that Pythagoras knew not only who he was in the present, but also who he had been in the past. See Philostratus, 2:39 (Book VI). On Rosa's interest in Pythagoras, the subject of a number of his pictorial works, see Hoare 2018, 103–106 (note 237), 139–142, 272 and 274. On Rosa's interest in Pythagoras's comments concerning silence, in particular, see Leuschner 1994 and Hoare 2013. Pythagoras makes an appearance in Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*, v. 839 (Romei 1995, 163), in reference to his suffering at the hands of envy; as noted by Romei (317), Pythagoras was believed to have died in Croton in the midst of a confrontation between his supporters and their enemies, led by the "envious" Cylon of Croton (purportedly irritated by his exclusion from the group of Pythagoras's followers), during which the meeting place of Pythagoras and his followers was set on fire and a number of the group lost their lives. See Diogenes, VIII 39. The expression "avere faccia" means to dare, or to compose oneself with audacity and impudence: Battaglia, 5:556.

8. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

9. The term "contrada" refers to streets or roads in populated areas or towns; in Florence, it refers in particular to the secondary streets that branch off from main roads. The term can also refer to a district or neighbourhood. See Battaglia, 3:669. For "praticare" as visiting or frequenting a place, see Battaglia, 14:19. On Cosimo Brunetti's illness, see also letters 96, 99 and 156.

10. Rosa's reference to Signor Bardi's "too-showy face" can be understood in a number of ways: either he was "physically beautiful," or he was "too direct" or forthright in his actions. Both qualities (beauty and forthrightness) are subject to the distortions of time, however the first of the two options seems more likely to be Rosa's intended meaning, particularly in view of his subsequent comment regarding the "deforming" effects of time. On the possible identification of this "Signor Bardi," see also letter 99, note 24.

11. On this "Signor Dini," see also letter 99, note 23.

12. The painting to which Rosa here refers seems to be the "picture of Envy" ("quadro dell'Invidia") mentioned in letter 176. Rosa frequently solicited Ricciardi for ideas for his pictorial works, on the subject of which see further Hoare 2018, 279–282. The earlier comment to which Rosa here refers must appear in a now-lost letter.

13. The expressions "bastar l'animo," "darsi animo," or "avere animo" mean to feel oneself capable of doing something, or to have courage: Battaglia, 1:496.

14. The word "commedianti" refers to comedic or tragic actors. It is often used with a pejorative connotation. See Battaglia, 3:359.

15. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

16. By "age of Saturn" Rosa is probably referring to the association of Saturn with a Golden Age of peace and prosperity. He could also be alluding to Giulio's age, as Saturn was also linked to the lapse of time and to old age itself. Less likely to be meaningful in the present context, but still important for Rosa, is the connection between Saturn and the melancholic humour, on which see Hoare 2018, 223–226.

17. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

18. Rosa had recently commented on Bonaventura Cavalli's professional situation, and his various movements, in letters 153, 163, 167, 168 and 170.

19. The "Signor Cosimo" to whom Rosa refers must be Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. The details of this lawsuit are not known. Earlier in 1651, Fabretti seems to have become embroiled in another debacle, to which Cosimo Brunetti refers in a letter to Ricciardi. See letter 114, note 16.

Letter 176:

1. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 63, note 1, this libellous text against Rosa has not been found. See also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 25.

2. On Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*, see letter 146, note 4. See also Rosa's comments about this satire in letter 175.

3. The word "letteratuzzo" appears to be a variation on the term "letteruccia" (in an older spelling, "letteruzza," or "lettruzza"), which refers to epistolary correspondence of little value or importance, or to a second-rate, slipshod literary work: Battaglia, 8:989. Alternatively, Rosa could be constructing a pejorative form of "letterato," meaning a well-read person or man of letters, for which see Battaglia, 8:986.

4. De Rinaldis 1939, 63, note 2, considered this to suggest that Ricciardi had not yet read Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*.

5. The phrase "cavarci le risa insin da calcagni" figuratively means to "laugh out loud"; literally, it means to laugh deeply as if all the way from the heels.

6. The word "accreditato" means reliable, honest or trustworthy.

7. That is, Rosa's enemies or detractors.

8. The expression "essere (or stare) in cervello" means to be in complete understanding, to have judgment; to be prudent and competent; or to act with wisdom: Battaglia, 3:8.

9. On the various definitions and uses of the term "genio," see letter 19, note 1.

10. The phrase "vederne il fondo" literally means "to see the bottom of it"—that is, in the present context, in regard to the friar's desire to see the bottom of his bowl, and therefore have eaten whatever is in it. Here, Rosa uses the expression to mean "to see the end" of the situation at hand. Rosa seems to be alluding to a particular tale or parable, concerning a friar and his bowl, which it has not been possible to identify.

11. Rosa seems here to intend the term "satireo" in a derogatory sense, perhaps as a variation on "satiro" (satyr) or "satirico," used figuratively to refer to an ignorant or depraved man (that is, someone displaying the characteristics of a satyr), or an actor who plays a satyr: Battaglia, 17:597. The variant "satiresco" can mean malicious, sneering or sarcastic, as well as obscene and licentious: Battaglia, 17:595. The term "satiro" was also historically used to refer to the group of primates to which the orangutan belongs (*satyrus rufus*): Battaglia, 17:597.

12. The verb "cospargersi" means to be covered with: Battaglia, 3:615.

13. A reference to the illegality of Rosa's relationship with Lucrezia, who was still married to another man. On this matter, see also letters 151 (note 7), 178 (note 13), 193 (note 3), 208, 209 and 212. Rosa's comment here, concerning the "writings" in his house, has been interpreted as evidence that he may have destroyed personal letters that make mention of the matter: Meroni 1978b, 69 (see also on this subject the Introduction).

14. An "archibugiata" is a shot from an archebus; a gunshot: Battaglia, 1:620.

15. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

16. Rosa here (and later in the same sentence) uses the term "personaggi" in reference to "personalities," in the sense of celebrities or people of renown.

17. A "spauracchio" is a scarecrow; a monster, or imaginary and frightening creature evoked in order to scare children. Figuratively, the term refers to a situation or circumstance that invokes fear; a nightmare: Battaglia, 19:740.

18. This "Partenio" is generally believed to be the academic epithet of the scholar Giovanni Francesco Savaro del Pizzo (1610–1682), a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi, originally from Pizzo, and the author of *Il Parthenio*, a libellous pamphlet written against Giovan Filippo Ghirardelli's *Il Costantino* (1652). On this matter, see also Rosa's comments in letter 177. Rosa had provided the frontispiece for the publication of Ghirardelli's tragedy, on which see letter 179, note 26. As noted by Limentani 1950, 109, note 4, "Partenio" was a fairly common academic name. This "Partenio," who is not further identified by Rosa in his letters or satires, belonged to the circle of Agostino Favoriti (known as "Sciribandolo"), and is so named in v. 447 of Rosa's fifth satire, *L'Invidia*. ("Partenio" was first transcribed correctly by Cesareo 1892, 1:301, while preceding editions of Rosa's satires record "Possenio"). Identification of the individual in question, however, is complicated by the possibility—as suggested by Rosa's comments in letter 212—that he intends the epithet "Partenio" to refer to a different academic rival: Emilio Sibonio, secretary of Cardinal Carlo Francesco Pio and Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino; Sibonio was also a friend of Agostino Favoriti and was the author of the *Purgatorio. Satira sesta* written against Rosa, on which see letter 153, note 12, and letters 177, 178 and 212. In the present letter, Rosa says he "gave a slap this past summer" to "Partenio"; in letter 193, it is again "Partenio" whom Rosa "slapped in the face"; and in letter 212, Rosa says that Sibonio is the recipient of his "slapping and punching". Rosa also seems to identify Sibonio as "Partenio" in letter 183 (see notes 4 and 6). Conte 2014, 289, however, considers Giovanni Francesco Savaro (as Limentani proposed) to be a plausible candidate for "Partenio". Further evidence for this identification is offered by Rosa's reference in letter 193 to "Partenio's" impending imprisonment, likely a reference to Savaro who was reportedly imprisoned in the Castello di Pizzo. It may be the case that Rosa confused the academic pseudonyms of Savaro and Sibonio, the latter of whom Limentani 1961, 208–209, suggested used the name "Temistio" (mentioned by Rosa in letter 183). On Rosa and Sibonio, see Limentani 1953, 44–45, who notes that Borzelli 1910 identified Sibonio as the secretary of Luigi Pio, brother of Cardinal Carlo Francesco Pio; Borzelli himself, however, also notes that in the *Mandosii Bibliotheca Romana*, Centuria Septima, 96, Sibonio is referred to as the secretary of Cardinal Carlo Francesco Pio himself, and this is what Rosa also seems to confirm in letter 212. De Rinaldis 1939 proposed that Sibonio could be that "certo gentil'uomo poeta" in whose house one of the more dogged enemies of Rosa (Partenio) "recitò una lezione" against him (see letter 177). It seems, notes Limentani, that Rosa had neither offended Sibonio nor knew him well, but that the two men could have encountered each other on certain occasions. Sibonio, without being particularly offended himself, could have been chosen as a champion of those who had been, and his poetic satire could have been written to

satisfy other people. Rosa's comment concerning having "hit" Partenio, Limentani adds, was probably in reference to an attack launched with the tongue and pen rather than with the hands, as Rosa was not himself a violent person.

19. The work in question has not yet been identified, and it is possible that Rosa is here referring only to a projected painting that he planned to paint, inspired by the events surrounding his dispute with the Accademia degli Umoristi. A painting in a private collection, attributed by certain scholars to Rosa, has been thematically linked to Rosa's satire *L'Invidia* (on which see letter 146, note 4) and the "painting" he alludes to therein: for the painting in a private collection, which depicts a half-length portrait of Megaera—the Greek allegorical personification of Envy—in accordance with Cesare Ripa's description of "Invidia" in the *Iconologia*, see Naples 2008, 132, cat. 21, and Volpi 2014, 600, cat. 19, who rejects the work's attribution to Rosa and includes it in a list of non-autograph works. Aurora Spinosa, in Naples 2008, 132, suggested the possibility that this painting might be considered a portrait of Rosa's academic enemy, Agostino Favoriti. For another painting representing a half-length personification of Envy or Anger, ascribed to an anonymous imitator of Rosa, and now in the Palazzo Spada, Rome, see: Zeri 1954, 122, number 25 (who identifies the painting as by "a student of the painter, perhaps in his workshop"), and Conte 2014, 286 (fig. 116) and 344, note 138. The painting that Rosa describes in his satire *L'Invidia* seems to have been of a different kind: intended as a retaliation against his critics, who were consumed by envy in their frequent attacks on his paintings, Rosa says he will exhibit a painting of a large rock at the Pantheon, upon which he hopes Envy will break her teeth. No such painting has survived, and Rosa may simply have intended it as a poetic conceit. See Roworth 1978, 173–174, who notes further that the story appears to have originated with the biography of the artist by Bernardo De Dominici, 1:424, who claimed to have seen a painting of a "sasso bianco" ("white rock") by Rosa in the Casa Laviano, Naples; this sighting, however—as Roworth notes—took place a century after Rosa would have executed the purported painting, and the term "sasso" could refer to a mountain and not a large rock. Daprà, in Naples 2008, 214–215, cat. 69, notes the thematic affinity between the *Soldier Hiding in a Rocky Cavern* (private collection, Naples) and the painting described by Rosa in his satire: the painting depicts a conspicuously large, menacing rock formation, dwarfing a tiny soldier below; more recently, however, this painting has been rejected by Volpi 2014, 599, cat. 15, as non-autograph. On Rosa's "painting of *Invidia*," see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 26.

20. On this certain "Bardi," see letter 99, note 24.

21. On Ricciardi's comedies, see letter 126, note 6.

22. Giulio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

23. The phrase "così va il mondo," or "come va il mondo," is used to express, in a more or less veiled manner and with a sense of resignation, a negative course of events that are blameworthy or detrimental to mankind: Battaglia, 10:794.

Letter 177:

1. The phrase "val selapiglia" is considered to refer to an as-yet undiscovered, libellous text, to which Rosa also refers in letter 176. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 58, note 1, it undoubtedly refers to the first accusations directed against Rosa in regard to the authorship of his satires. The phrase might be comparable to the expression "va te lo piglia" (which has numerous variants, still in modern usage in Italian, including: "vattela a pigliare in culo," or "va a pigliartelo in culo"), analogous to the expression "vaffanculo," literally, "go take it in your ass". It seems to be a phrase of Rosa's own invention (or that of his detractors), and probably alludes to some insult or injury, perhaps expressed within the now-lost text itself.

2. The Pantheon, which was converted into a church (Santa Maria dei Martiri) in 609 CE, and which is also commonly known as "Santa Maria della Rotonda".

3. A reference to the annual art exhibition held at the Pantheon on the feast day of Saint Joseph, 19 March. The observation of Cesareo 1892, 1:72, and De Rinaldis 1939, 58, note 3, that Rosa had just that year exhibited his satirical painting "il sasso," is incorrect. On this matter, see letter 176, note 19. On Rosa's participation in the Roman art exhibitions, see the sources cited in letter 86, note 16. On the probability that Rosa's exhibition strategy—in particular his display of the *Democritus in Meditation* at the Pantheon in 1651—provoked his academic rivals and the libellous texts they wrote against him, see Langdon, in Langdon 2010a, 34, and Hoare 2018, 101 and note 224. Sibonio's *Purgatorio* (on which see note 4, below) refers specifically to Rosa's group of supporters at the Pantheon exhibition.

4. By "my last satire" Rosa means the *L'Invidia*. The present letter indicates that the satire was for the most part already complete by March 1653. De Rinaldis 1939, 58, note 4, considered this "Partenio" to be Emilio Sibonio, the author of a satire against Rosa set in Purgatory (the "Satira in versi" to which Rosa refers here; on the satire, known as the *Purgatorio. Satira sesta*, see letter 153, note 12), however "Partenio" was also the pseudonym adopted by another satirist, Giovanni Francesco Savaro, on whom see letter 176, note 18. It is significant here that Rosa does not explicitly name the "Partenio" in question as the author of the *Purgatorio. Satira sesta*; this individual is the reciter (and perhaps author) of the lecture against Rosa, and is presumably to be identified with Savaro. The *Purgatorio* is here referred to as a subsequent work by another author—that is, Emilio Sibonio. For a discussion of Rosa's detractors, three of whom are named in his satire *L'Invidia* as "Sciribandolo" (Agostino Favoriti), "Partenio" (Giovanni Francesco Savaro del Pizzo) and "Temistio" (not yet securely identifiable, but perhaps, as suggested by Limentani 1961, 208–209, Emilio Sibonio), see Roworth 1978, 159–160 and 168–175.

5. It is interesting to note here that Rosa considered "Friendship" and "Nobility" to be potential subjects for satires. The subject of friendship also seems to have been the theme that Rosa intuited from one of the *canzoni* that Ricciardi dedicated to him: in letter 99 Rosa referred to this particular composition as "the poem on friendship," and it could well be the *Sotto rigida stella*, on which see letter 99, note 8. On Rosa's friend Reginaldo Sgambati, see letter 10, note 3.

6. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. The identity of the "certain priest" to whom Rosa here refers is not known.

7. Agostino Favoriti, on whom see letter 129, note 23. Favoriti adopted the pseudonym "Ippolito Sciribandolo," under which he circulated a libellous pamphlet against Giovan Filippo Ghirardelli's tragedy, *Il Costantino*, written in 1652 and presented in February of the following year. On the event, see further Limentani 1957 and Langdon 1976.

8. The implication here is that this "certain priest" is plagiarising the works (presumably sermons) composed by Reginaldo Sgambati, and encountering trouble as a result.

9. A "catone" is a person with very rigid habits or a rigorously austere way of living, or someone who possesses an unyielding morality: Battaglia, 2:884.

10. Rosa here alludes to the circumstances of three historical figures by way of analogy to his own experience of unwarranted criticism: the accusations of corruption levelled against the philosopher Socrates (whose death Rosa treated in a painting of *c.* 1655); the criticism and libel suffered by the poet Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) (particularly at the court of Ferrara in the 1570s and 1580s, which made him suspicious, paranoid and ultimately landed him in a madhouse); and the critique of the Ferrarese poet, dramatist and diplomat, Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538–1612). A member of the Accademia degli Umoristi, Guarini was best known for his composition *Il Pastor Fido* (*The Faithful Shepherd*), first performed in 1585 and published in 1590; like Tasso, Guarini was forced to defend the innovations of his tragicomedy against the criticisms and censure of purists, such as Jason de Nores (*c.* 1530–1590). On Guarini, see Picichè, in *EILS*, 1:901–903. Rosa cites from Guarini's *Pastor Fido* in letter 48.

11. A "latratore" is someone who barks or shouts; figuratively, someone who conducts unseemly shouting, protestation, or senseless threats; one who makes an uproar; a person who gossips, badmouths or slanders; a gossip or detractor: Battaglia, 8:821.

12. With the term "letteratura" Rosa seems to mean "the writers of the writings".

13. On Rosa's perennial concern over his reputation, see letter 32, note 9.

14. A "poestronzolo" is a bad poet, or "bastard" poet. See letter 153, note 14.

15. On the Accademia degli Umoristi, see letter 47, note 1.

16. Giovan Filippo Ghirardelli (1623–1653), a poet and playwright from Rome. He wrote a tragedy, *Il Costantino* (for which Rosa provided the pictorial frontispiece), which came under attack by Agostino Favoriti and Giovanni Francesco Savaro del Pizzo. See letter 176, note 18, and letter 179, note 26. On the polemic regarding Ghirardelli, see Limentani 1957.

17. The verb "ingrassare" can also mean, figuratively, to get excited, to get carried away, or to boast about or be proud of: Battaglia, 7:1070.

18. See also Rosa's comment in this regard in letter 176.

19. A reference to the philosopher Boethius (Anicius Manlius Severinus Boëthius, *c.* 480–524/25 CE), who was imprisoned and eventually executed by Theodoric the Great, King of the Ostrogoths, on suspicion of conspiring with the Eastern Roman Empire. In jail, he composed his *Consolation of Philosophy*, musings on morality, fortune, death and other subjects, which became highly popular and influential in the middle ages. On Rosa's interest in Boethius, see also Hoare 2018, 221.

20. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

21. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

22. The painting to which Rosa here refers is not known. Rosa's reference to Ricciardi's "sala" is perhaps meaningful, however, and a number of paintings are recorded in the room identified with this name in the inventory of Ricciardi's house on the Lungarno Gambacorti in Pisa, for which see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI. See also letter 174, which suggests that Rosa was acting as an intermediary between Francesco Cordini and Ricciardi, in assisting Ricciardi with the purchase of some paintings by another artist.

Letter 178:

1. The term "terribilio," no longer in use, means the maximum degree or excess of a thing or situation deemed inferior: Battaglia, 20:957.

2. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 65, note 1, this "text" is probably the same, now-lost, "scrittura" to which Rosa refers in letters 176 and 177.

3. A satire written against Rosa by Emilio Sibonio, known as the *Purgatorio. Satira sesta*. See letter 153, note 12, and letter 177, note 4. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 65, note 2, this is the only one of the numerous libellous compositions written against Rosa that has survived. For the text of the satire, see Borzelli 1910.

4. That is, the "text in prose" that Rosa mentions earlier in the letter (see note 2).

5. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 65, note 3, this satire has not yet been found. Conte 2010b, 61, suggests that the composition, on account of its metric form and its contents, may be identifiable with the denigratory satirical text spread about by Agostino Favoriti's supporters before the middle of 1654: the *Memoriale di Salvator Rosa alla Sacra Congregazione perché non proibisca le sue satire stampate. IX* (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Panciatichiano 322, cc. 57r–68r). This text presents an anonymous defender of Rosa applying to the Holy Office to intercede in regard to the publication of Rosa's satires, fortelling that "che s'alzi in qualche luogo una campana/ e che suoni ad ogn'ora stabilita/ come per la dottrina christiana/ e che colà la gioventude unita/ del Rosa oda ogni dì una lettione/ e questo sotto pena della vita". On this poem, see Cesareo 1893, 192–199 (who incorrectly attributed it to Rosa himself), and Limentani 1961, 240–241, who rightly maintained that the composition was not by Rosa and noted that it was datable to "more than twenty years after the painter's death". See also Conte 2014, 290–291 and 606–623, Appendix VI.2, who notes the significant fact that Rosa does not explicitly mention the *Memoriale* in his letters, and that the composition itself makes numerous vague allusions to specific persons via pseudonyms such as "Brigliadoro" (vv. 357–358) and "Anchise" (vv. 356 and 365), probably in an effort to evade denunciation. The text of the *Memoriale* also appears in Ms. Ferrajoli 400, ff. 237–239 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City), with the name "Lambertj" written in the upper right-hand corner of the first page (f. 237).

6. The "confortatori" were comforters, usually lay members of religious institutions, responsible for comforting and tending to criminals during executions.

7. Here Rosa uses the Latin phrase "in primis" in order to evoke the formal opening of a legal document, proceeding to enumerate the charges levelled against him by his detractors.

8. A "pittore da scabelli" is, literally, a painter of stools; figuratively, the term refers to a bad or poorly-skilled painter: Battaglia, 18:963. See also Baldinucci 1985, 125, who notes that a "pittore da scabelli" (an especially Tuscan expression) is a poorly-skilled painter who lacks ability in drawing. Baldinucci says the expression is similar to "pittore di mazzocchi o candele" (painters of mouldings or candles). (For "mazzocchi" as the mouldings ornamenting the bases of columns, also known as the torus, see Battaglia, 9:986). As noted by Conte 2014,

290, it is interesting that certain elements of this libellous text against Rosa, although exaggerations, find their basis in the known facts about Rosa's life: his rather meagre beginnings (Rosa's grandfather, Vito Greco, was a painter of *intempiature* or framework; see Prota-Giurleo 1929b, 8, 22, 41, 43 and 50, and Strazzullo 1955, 33–34); Rosa's studies and his year of religious training with the Scolopi; and Rosa's activities as an actor, for example. Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 20–21, notes that Rosa does not in the present letter refute these accusations, "perhaps because his teachers were unimportant, or other reasons associated with his past, or the difficult relationship he had with Naples." Rosa's reference here to the rumours about his humble beginnings may suggest their significance for his career, more generally: Hults 2005, 177, proposed that Rosa's "humble origins help to explain the vehemence of his later assertions of status and honor […]. His grandfather built houses; his father was a builder and surveyor. His mother, the daughter of an insignificant artist, bore two other children, Giuseppe and Giovanna. During his father's long illness before his death in 1621, the family was in such bad financial straits that Rosa's mother pawned her best dress and her jewelry. When she remarried, she entrusted her children to her father, who sent the two boys to a crowded school for the Neapolitan poor, characterized more by strict religious discipline than by a good education."

9. On Rosa's later reputation as a thief or brigand, an image propagated by his Romantic admirers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Hoare 2018, Introduction, note 17. The rumour regarding Rosa's theft of silverware seems to have circulated more widely, as it also featured in Ottaviano Castelli's counter-attack against Rosa following the events of 1639 (involving Rosa's theatrical critique of Bernini, on which see Hoare 2018, 58–66): Passeri, 390, records that Castelli's response included spreading lies about Rosa having "stolen under-pans and silver candlesticks" and "[aiding] in robberies, infamies, and dishonourable actions," all of which Passeri dismissed as false.

10. This claim may have some truth to it. It is possible that Rosa (and his critics) is here referring to his rivalry with Gian Lorenzo Bernini in Rome in 1639, recorded by Rosa's biographers and described as the impetus for his move to Florence in 1640. On the episode, see Hoare 2018, 58–66.

11. This, too, has an element of truth to it, as we know that Rosa based his favoured theatrical characters upon the *zanni* (or "witty servant") roles of the *commedia dell'arte*. On Rosa's performances in Rome and Florence, see Hoare 2018, chapter one.

12. Rosa also mentions this accusation in letter 177.

13. A "concubinario" is someone who lives in concubinage, or lives with a woman who is not his wife: Battaglia, 3:489. On Lucrezia's situation (she was still legally married to another man), see letters 151 (note 7), 176 (note 13), 193 (note 3), 208, 209 and 212. See also Passeri, 391, note 2. In letter 138 Rosa uses the term "concubinario" in a rather different and probably humorous context, in reference to his affection for Ricciardi. On the subject of the nature and degree of Rosa's religious faith, see Conte 2010b, 62, who notes the significance in this regard of the artist's many personal and professional relationships with cardinals and prelates upon whom he could rely for aid and for commissions: as noted by Baldinucci, 5:446–447, these included Brancaccio, Omodei, Nerli, Sgambati, Cesti, Bandinelli, Mercuri and Salvetti. Most of Rosa's ecclesiastical friends were themselves far from any heterodox controversy, as Conte notes. Rosa frequented the library of the Collegio Romano, was admired by the Jesuit Daniello Bartoli, and befriended the Jansenist Cosimo Brunetti. The evidence, Conte argues, suggests that any theories about Rosa's heterodoxy can be definitively abandoned. See also in this regard the Latin elegy of the Lucchese priest Bartolomeo Beverini, written on the occasion of Rosa's death and published in the *Carminum libri septem* (1674), later republished by Borzelli 1910, 4, note 1. Volpi 2014, 370, considers as further evidence of Rosa's faith the presence of a priest at the artist's deathbed, as recounted by Francesco Baldovini in Baldinucci, 5:475. On the matter of Rosa and quietism, see also Conte 2010a, 186–187, who notes that Bartoli wrote at least two sonnets against the philosophy. Rosa also formed close friendships with a number of individuals who distanced themselves from quietism, such as Brancaccio, Sgambati, Cesti, Bandinelli, Rasponi, Mercuri and Scorno. The degree of Rosa's religiosity however, is difficult to gauge. Hults 2005, 201, considers that Rosa "was not a religious man; he utterly lacked the intense religiosity of many of his artistic contemporaries such as Bernini or Reni. And, although he had friends and patrons from the clergy, Rosa had an anticlerical streak that we have seen in the preparatory drawing for the Corsini picture [the *Scene of Witchcraft*, Galleria Corsini, Florence, for which see Naples 2008, 174–175, cat. 44, and Volpi 2014, 504, cat. 190; for the drawing, which includes a priest holding a chalice, suggestive of a black mass, see Mahoney 1977, 1:334, cat. 28.2] and that also emerges in his letters." To this line of argumentation can also be added Rosa's caricature, the *Self-Portrait in a Gallery with a Prelate*, on which see Hoare 2018, 234 and note 42.

14. Rosa's parish father was likely a priest connected to the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, Rome, the parish church to which Rosa belonged at the time.

15. This must be Alessandro Argoli, who was made vice-regent (or vicegerent) of Rome in 1653 and died on 26 April 1654. The individual who took his place in that year, and who apparently favoured Rosa, was Marcello Anania da Taverna (Calabria), who was vice-regent of Rome from 1654 to 1655. The Viceregente del Vicariato di Roma (vicegerent of the vicariate of Rome) was required to take up the duties of his superior, the Vicario Generale, when the latter was absent from Rome, or on the occasion of his death, in the period leading up to the appointment of his successor. On the term *vicereggente* (or *vicegerente*), a person who can act in the name of, or stand in for, a military or political ruler, see Battaglia, 21:848 and 850. For both Argoli and Anania, see Moroni 1840–1861, 99:175. On the meaning of the term *vicegerente*, see also Conte 2014, 342, note 112. On the position itself, see Del Re 1976.

16. The term "parrocchiano," no longer in use, refers to a parish priest or curate; in modern usage, it refers to a parishioner, or a believer who belongs to a specific parish: Battaglia, 12:641. The individual to whom Rosa here refers as a "parish priest" is presumably the "prelate" mentioned in the line above, and not the "parish father" referred to earlier in the letter. His identity is not known. As noted by Conte 2010b, 60, the parish in question was likely that of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, Rome, with which Rosa was connected at the time.

17. The verb "rattenersi" means to stop, or to try to stop, oneself; to contain, to repress or restrain oneself: Battaglia, 15:544.

18. On Rosa and Stoicism, see letter 101, note 6. On the metaphor of the mask in relation to court culture, see Hoare 2018, 40–41 and notes 11 and 12.

19. Rosa intends the word "Dominadio" for "Domineddio," the Lord God, or Almighty God: Battaglia, 4:938.

20. The expression "fare faccia" means to have a determined attitude: Battaglia, 5:556.

21. The word "seme" literally means "seed"; in a figurative sense, it refers to progeny: Battaglia, 18:550–551. Rosa also uses the term similarly in letter 118.

22. Camillo Rubiera was a poet from Modena about whom very little is known. Rubiera is recorded by Crescimbeni 1730–1731, 4:270, as the author of certain *rime* that circulated in manuscript form: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 200, note 1. Rosa mentions Rubiera again in letters 179 and 200. The circumstances concerning Rubiera's "imprisonment" are not known.

23. On the Accademia degli Umoristi, see letter 47, note 1.

24. The phrase "di garbo" means polite, well-educated, honest, honourable; skilled in one's own art, endowed with amiable culture, having good taste: Battaglia, 6:588.

25. There are in fact two options here, in regard to the correct interpretation of the phrase "fatto casare il proposito": Rubiera has either dropped his current topic of discussion, or has introduced a new topic.

26. An analogy is here drawn between Rosa's name and the "Saviour" ("Salvatore"), Christ. For other instances of this analogy, see letters 117, 134, 155 and 326.

27. This is perhaps Cardinal Lorenzo Imperiali (1612–1673), from Genoa, who was appointed by Pope Innocent X as Governor of Rome for the years 1653–1654. As noted by Conte 2014, 342, note 116, this identification should be made with caution, however, as Imperiali's tenure of the position ended in April 1654, and therefore shortly prior to the date of the present letter. On Imperiali, see Tabacchi, in *DBI* 62 (2004):312–315.

28. The verb "poetizzare" means to put into poetry, or to transform into poetry; to speak, express or represent in poetic form, also in the realm of the figurative arts: Battaglia, 13:715. Rosa probably also intends the term in its figurative sense—that is, to embellish an account with fantastical additions.

29. The expression "stare in mezzo" means to remain neutral during a conflict; to not get involved; to not take sides with any rival: Battaglia, 10:332.

30. On this unidentified comedy, see also letters 176 and 177.

31. Giulio Maffei, who may have been ill at the time, as he died on 9 December 1654. Rosa had earlier complained (letter 176) that he had not heard from Giulio. He reports that Giulio is doing well in letter 183.

32. On Rosa's concern over his letters at this moment, particularly those that make reference to the matter of his current and dangerous situation in Rome, see letter 151, note 7.

Letter 179:

1. Cosimo Fabretti, who wrote letters for Ricciardi during the latter's bouts of illness. On Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

2. As noted by Bottari 1754, 1:321, note 1, this is a reference to Ricciardi's activity in composing comedies, on which see also letters 176, 177 and 178.

3. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

4. See letter 178.

5. Cosimo Fabretti. See note 1, above.

6. On Rosa's concern over his letters at this moment, particularly those that make reference to the matter of his current and dangerous situation in Rome, see letter 151, note 7.

7. On Rosa's interest in the melancholic humour, and his cultivation of the Platonic theory of inspiration, see Hoare 2018, 121–122 and note 332.

8. On Rosa and the trope of the mask, which he frequently invokes in his writing as well as (on occasion) in his pictorial works, see letter 178, note 18. Rosa makes a similar reference, to his "stoic mask," in letter 178.

9. Bottari 1754, 1:322, note 1, considered that Rosa's comment referred to the fact that asbestos does not smolder, even though it burns. More specifically, however, Rosa appears to be referring to the resilience of asbestos, which is resistant to fire, in connection with his own endurance and fortitude in the face of his enemies' "infamies". The figurative expression "fuoco di paglia" refers to something that is short-lived, or something that seems like trouble but is not: Battaglia, 6:474. Limentani 1950, 110, note 1, considers that the "disgrace" to which Rosa here refers could be the problem he and Lucrezia encountered with the Holy Office in Rome, on account of their illegal relationship, on which see also letters 151 (note 7), 176, 178, 193 (note 3), 194, 195, 196 and 208.

10. On Rubiera, and his defence of Rosa, see letter 178 (and note 22).

11. Drawings for scenery backdrops, intended for one of Ricciardi's theatrical productions. These drawings have not yet been identified, and may not have survived. As noted by Morgan 1824, 2:265, "[i]f those were scenes for Ricciardi's private theatre, how precious they would now be." Ricciardi's 1687 inventory lists, in the "salone non finito" of his house on the Lungarno Gambacorti in Pisa, "[p]iù scene e proscenii dipinti che sono de SS.ri Accademici di Pisa," that is, backdrop scenery belonging to Ricciardi and his fellow academicians of Pisa. See Paliaga 2009, 229, Appendix XXVI. On Rosa's collaboration with the painter Giovanni Ghisolfi on theatrical scenery for Ricciardi, see note 14, below. On the sets used by members of the Pisan Accademia degli Stravaganti on the stage of the public theatre in Pisa—the same stage for which the scenery backdrops mentioned in the present letter were perhaps intended—see Paliaga 2009, 143.

12. The term "boscareccie" refers to the woods or woodlands: Battaglia, 2:322. This "scenery" probably depicted a forest backdrop.

13. It is worth remembering here that Rosa excelled in landscape painting, and would have been the best possible person to ask to produce the design for a backdrop of forest scenery.

14. Giovanni Ghisolfi (1623–1683), a painter from Milan celebrated for his large-scale paintings of landscape and architecture. His scenographic talents seem in particular to have been the basis of his attraction for Rosa. Specializing in the depiction of Roman ruins, Ghisolfi frequently painted historical, mythological or biblical events, or generic "scenes" of daily life, dwarfed by the architectural structures (often fantastical in their combinations) and landscapes that surround them. Ghisolfi's working relationship with Rosa was recorded by Baldinucci, 5:502–503. On Ghisolfi, and on his ties to Rosa, see: Luckevič 1978; Busiri Vici 1992, esp. (in regard to his relationship with Rosa) 4–9, 11, 12, 14, 22, 28, 30, 32, 35, 38, 40, 44, 50, 51, 59, 61, 68, 69, 72, 74, 76, 77, 79–81, 87, 90, 93, 94, 101, 102, 107, 108, 114, 115, 120, 131, 134–138 and 141; Marshall 2000; Capitelli, in Trezzani 2004, 285–287 (on Ghisolfi's landscape paintings); Spiriti 2005; Volpi, in Naples 2008, 38 and 45, note 88; Spiriti 2010; and Volpi 2014, 270–

273. Spiriti 2010, 98–101, notes the significance of Ghisolfi's presence in Milan in the summer of 1659, in connection with the commission Rosa received from the Milanese Cardinal Luigi Alessandro Omodei for two paintings, the *Madonna del Suffragio* (1661) and the *Assumption* (a work formerly dated to 1662, and now dated to 1652; although the *Assumption* has now been dated to an earlier moment in Rosa's career, it is nonetheless likely that Ghisolfi played an important role in helping to cultivate Rosa's connection with Omodei and other potential patrons in Milan, as Ghisolfi—as Spiriti notes—had established a long-standing working relationship with Omodei in both Milan and Rome). Ghisolfi's residence in Rome was located in the same neighbourhood as Rosa's, on which see Bartoni 2010, 412. On Ghisolfi's role as mediator between Rosa and his prospective Milanese patrons, see also letter 260, note 13. In April 1662, Ghisolfi travelled to Ancona with Rosa (see letter 272).

15. That is, Rosa will have to wait to receive the design for the "civile" (city) backdrop from Ghisolfi, before sending all the designs onward to Ricciardi. Rosa further refers to the "civile" backdrop in letter 181, where he also seems to refer to this backdrop as "tragica" (tragic), suggesting that it contained some sort of figural narrative scene in addition to a (probably) architectural setting. For examples of this type from within Ghisolfi's own pictorial oeuvre, see for example the *Murder of Cicero* (formerly Finarte, Milan) or the *Classical Scene with Arch and Figures* (private collection, Piacenza): Busiri Vici 1992, 57 (cat. 10) and 92 (cat. 49). For the meaning of the term "civile" in reference to theatrical scenery representing city dwellings, to be contrasted with those representing views of the countryside, see Battaglia, 3:212, no. 30.

16. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

17. Quotation marks have been added here for clarity of meaning.

18. The verb "ingrassare" can mean to get excited, to get carried away, or to boast about or be proud of: Battaglia, 7:1070.

19. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

20. Volunnio Bandinelli, on whom see letter 48, note 24.

21. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 70, note 1, Rosa is here referring to the edition of his satires desired by Volunnio Bandinelli. See further De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 16. Rosa's satires were first published posthumously in Rome, *c.* 1694 (with a false date and place of publication, given as Amsterdam). On this matter, see letter 4, note 7. Conte 2010a, 180, notes the support offered to Rosa by various members of the Florentine Accademia della Crusca—to which Bandinelli also belonged (with the academic name "Lacero")—during the period of scandal instigated by the artist's satires. Rosa's comments in the present letter suggest Bandinelli was the only one among them, however, to encourage Rosa to publish the satires, apparently with certain revisions.

22. This is a reference to the "Sacra Rota" or "Romana Rota," a tribunal of the Holy Seat in Rome, composed of various ecclesiastical judges and authorities. The Rota held particular jurisdiction in matrimonial cases, especially matters of annulment: Battaglia, 17:125. Rosa seems here to refer to the precariousness of his living situation with Lucrezia, who was still married to another man.

23. Previously unidentified, this is perhaps Giulio Cesare Serroni, named among a list of lawyers and attorneys in Franchi 2002, 224. A prominent lawyer in Rome, he seems to be the individual named in a legal document dated 25 September 1659 ("Avvocato Serroni"), pertaining to the Apostolic Datary, for which see Degubernatis, 146. Serroni is also mentioned as a correspondent in Claretta 1877–1878, 1:352. He appears to have been an associate of the lawyer Marcantonio Eugeni (himself a friend of Rosa and Cosimo Brunetti, and on whom see letter 84, note 4), as is suggested by a legal document in the papers of the Orsini family, dated 13 September 1654, which bears both Serroni's and Eugeni's names: "Laudo originale di Marco Antonio Eugenii e Giulio Cesare Serroni sopra l'eredità di D. Virginio Orsini seniore" ("Original report of Marco Antonio Eugeni and Giulio Cesare Serroni, regarding the inheritance of Don Virginio Orsini senior"): Special Collections of the Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA (Varie Legali 10, Box 247, Folder 2, Vecchia Segnatura: I.A.XV.13). Conte 2014, 342, note 118, suggested that the "Serroni" mentioned in the present letter should be identified with an individual of the same name cited in the *Lettere dei ministri*, Archivio di Stato, Turin, 1666–1667, bundle 85, 172/3–4. On lawyers in seventeenth-century Rome, see also letter 84, note 4.

24. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 70, note 2, this must refer to the painting of "Invidia," on which see also letters 175 (note 12) and 176 (note 19).

25. This is presumably a reference to the feast day commemorating the beheading of Saint John the Baptist (San Giovanni), 29 August, on the occasion of which the church of San Giovanni Decollato—where Rosa frequently showed his paintings—hosted their annual exhibition. See Hoare 2018, 256–258.

26. The frontispiece for Giovan Filippo Ghirardelli's *Il Costantino* (the "tragedy" to which Rosa here refers), which does not bear any indication of its author, is reproduced by: Rotili 1974, 242, no. 111; Langdon 1976, fig. 36; Volpi 2010b, 67, fig. 30; and Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 40–42. See also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 19. Rotili 1974, 242, considered Rosa the author of the design for the frontispiece, on the basis of the artist's comments in the present letter. The print bears the inscription "*f. p. Sc.*," the customary signature of Federico Pesche, a draughtsman and printmaker of French origin, active in Naples from 1660 to 1694. It is possible, as suggested by Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 44, that "Rosa decided to remain anonymous so that he could tackle a hot topic in a milieu in which the tragedy was bound to trigger the violent debate which did indeed engulf the author." On the frontispiece, see in particular Langdon 1976, who discusses the mutual involvement of Ghirardelli and Rosa in a series of disputes involving members of the Roman Accademia degli Umoristi. In 1653, Ghirardelli's *Il Costantino* (or *Constantine*) had been, as Langdon (698) notes, "attacked by Agostino Favoriti [known as "Sciribandolo"], secretary to Flavio Chigi and to Giulio Rospigliosi, and by Giovanni Francesco Savaro. Ghirardelli replied to Favoriti with the lengthy *Difesa* [to which Rosa refers in the present letter]; he died shortly afterwards, at the age of thirty, and Rosa thought the criticism had killed him." On the attacks that Rosa levelled against his detractors—who wrote under the pseudonyms Sciribandolo and Partenio (both of whom had accused Rosa of plagiarising his satires)—in his satire *L'Invidia*, see letter 129 (note 23), letter 176 (note 18) and letter 177 (note 4). De Rinaldis 1939, 70, note 3, was unable to identify this frontispiece, which, appearing in the two editions of Ghirardelli's play (1653 and 1660), was first identified by Langdon as by Rosa. On the attack against Ghirardelli, see also Limentani 1957 and Volpi 2010b, 67, the latter of whom notes that Favoriti, "with the official consent of the academy [the Intrecciati] and under papal protection, published an *Opposizione al Costantino*, to which Ghirardelli replied first with a *Difesa* and then with his death, occasioned, according to Rosa,

by this harsh treatment." Favoriti's primary criticism seems to have been that Ghirardelli should have written his tragedy in prose form. Volpi (73, note 130) notes further the particularly interesting element of this Favoriti-Ghirardelli debate, which centred upon whether or not it was possible to fall in love with someone via a painted portrait.

27. A reference to Agostino Favoriti, on whom see note 26, above, letter 129 (note 23) and letter 177 (note 4).

28. On the postal routes in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 27, note 2.

Letter 180:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

3. The verb "abiurare" means to solemnly retract or recant a heretical doctrine; to abjure: Battaglia, 1:47. On the two "recanters" in question, see Rosa's comments in letter 183.

4. This is presumably a reference to Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*, on which see letter 146, note 4.

5. Morgan 1824, 2:269, considered this "canonico Errera" to be a "Canon of Pisa". Rosa again indicates that this Errera is a relative of Giovanni Battista da Scorno in letter 182. On Scorno, see letter 57, note 5.

6. Rosa here uses the term "genio" to refer to "unique talents," by which he also means the particular style or manner that Ricciardi uses in composing his works.

7. This comment presumably concerns the lingering suspicions among Rosa's critics that Rosa had plagiarised his satires from Ricciardi or another writer.

8. As noted by Morgan 1824, 2:269, this is an "allusion to the persecutions [Rosa] was undergoing on account of his Satires."

9. On these "scenes" that Rosa and Giovanni Ghisolfi were designing for Ricciardi, see also letter 179.

10. That is, Ghisolfi, on whom see letter 179, note 14.

11.This is presumably another reference to the painting of "Invidia," for which Rosa had earlier solicited ideas from Ricciardi. See also letter 175 (note 3), letter 176 (note 19) and letter 179 (note 24).

12. After the rediscovery of the autograph ms. of the present letter, Limentani 1953, 47–49, published the attached *Capitolo* by Francesco Melosi, on which see also letter 129, note 21. For a discussion of the *Capitolo* and its significance, see Limentani 1953, 47–49, and Hoare 2018, 162 and 167–168.

13. Giulio Maffei was perhaps ill at the time. He died on 9 December 1654. Rosa reports in letter 183 that Giulio is doing well.

Letter 181:

1. Set designs to which Rosa refers in letters 179 and 180. The painter to whom Rosa here refers is Giovanni Ghisolfi, on whom see letter 179, note 14. On the term "artefice" as a reference to a painter or craftsman, see Battaglia, 1:708–709. On the matter of the "tragica o civile" backdrop, see letter 179, note 15.

2. Probably a design for a theatrical backdrop depicting an interior room. See also letter 182.

3. It is not entirely clear what Rosa intends with the word "prospetto," since the term can be used to describe panoramas, views, or perspectives, as well as architectural facades and elevations. In the context of the theatre, however, the term "prospetto" specifically refers to a structure that divides the stage from the rest of the space (as in a *prospetto scenico*), constituting the proscenium, orchestra, or *arco scenico*: Battaglia, 14:714, esp. no. 6.

4. Ricciardi apparently intended to hire another painter to execute the designs provided by Rosa and Ghisolfi. It is not clear here whether or not the drawings executed by Rosa and Ghisolfi were to scale, or were intended to be scaled-up by the painters who executed the final scenery on their basis.

5. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

Letter 182:

1. Drawings for set designs, on which see also letters 179, 180 and 181.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. This is presumably a backdrop depicting a room interior, one of the set designs that Giovanni Ghisolfi was executing for Ricciardi. See also letter 181. On the various postal routes in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 27, note 2.

4. On the identity of this "Errera," see letter 180, note 5, where Rosa first mentions Errera in connection with a defence of Rosa's authorship of his satires.

5. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 73, note 2, this is a clear allusion to the suspicion, then circulating, that Ricciardi was the author of Rosa's satires. On Rosa's attempts to clear his name, in response to accusations of plagiarism levelled against him by members of the Roman academic community, see also letters 153 (and note 12), 162, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180 and 183.

6. On the paintings by Rosa in Ricciardi's collection, see Paliaga 2009, 229–230 (Appendix XXVI), and Hoare 2018, 292 and note 611. Works by Rosa present in Ricciardi's inventory included: the *Poet-Philosopher* (*c.* 1647, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); the *Marina delle Torri* (*Seascape with Towers*) (*c.* 1645–1649, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence); the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (*c.* 1650–1655, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence); the *Plautus and Terence* (*c.* 1650–1655, Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence); two still life flower paintings, on which see letter 138, note 9; and a *Saint Hyacinth* (now lost; see letter 46, note 10, and letter 51, note 7).

7. The defence written for Rosa by Francesco Melosi, on which see letter 129 (note 21) and letter 180 (note 12).

8. A "cassatura" is a deletion or cancellation: Battaglia, 2:847.

9. Rosa is here referring to letter 180, in which he says he will "transcribe the text by Melosi" on the back of the page. The popular proverb "tutte le palle non riescono tonde" means "not everything one does turns out as one hopes": Battaglia, 12:410. A "tornitore" is someone who works with a lathe, or a wood-turner. Here, however, Rosa seems to use the term "tornitore" in the figurative sense of a poet who elaborates or puts the finishing touches on verses (see Battaglia, 21:61)—in this case, the author of the proverb that Rosa here cites. The particular poet to whom Rosa here refers is not known.

10. See also Rosa's comments in this regard in letter 181.

11. The expression "mandare in lunga" means to procrastinate, or to put off.

12. The expression "va in buon'ora" means "Godspeed to you," or "may God grant you prosperity". Giulio Maffei may have been ill at the time, as he died on 9 December 1654. Rosa reports that Giulio is doing well in letter 183.

13. On Bonaventura Cavalli, see letter 134, note 8.

14. The feast day of Saint Peter is 29 June.

Letter 183:

1. Drawings for set designs, on which see also letters 179, 180, 181 and 182. On the "tragic" design, see in particular letter 179 (note 15) and letter 181; on the "one with the room," see in particular letters 181 and 182.

2. The word "artificio" refers to the actual practice of an art or craft: Battaglia, 1:713–714.

3. A reference to Geronimo Carafe, from Ferrara, who recited "alla Stanza della Duchesca" in Naples as one of the *zanni* or witty servant characters of the *commedia dell'arte*: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 206, note 1, citing Prota-Giurleo 1962, 34, 49 and 51. Molinari 1999, 210, suggested that, on account of his time as a novitiate with the Scolopi in Naples, Rosa likely "came into contact with the comedians of one of the oldest *stanze* of comedy in Naples, the *Stanza della Duchesca*, where—via the same fathers and in those same years—the *Oratorio della Congregazione degli Artisti* was founded." "Gonnella" is one of the stock buffoon characters in the *commedia*. Rosa refers to the character in his satire *La Pittura*, v. 660 (Romei 1995, 114): "di Gonnelli, d'Arlotti e di Bertoldi". As noted by Romei (274), the three characters named here by Rosa are among the particularly cunning low-life characters of the popular theatre, Gonnella featuring as the protagonist of Franco Sacchetti's *Trecentonovelle* (*c.* 1392) and Matteo Bandello's *Novelle* (published 1554 and 1573).

4. Limentani 1961, 208–209, considers the name "Temistio" to be a reference to Emilio Sibonio, who "in Roman circles was given the name 'Themistius', the fourth-century commentator of Aristotle." Rather confusingly, however, Rosa appears to identify Sibonio as "Partenio," on the subject of which see letter 176, note 18. "Partenio" is generally agreed by scholars, instead, to be Giovanni Francesco Savaro del Pizzo (on whom see also letter 176, note 18). De Rinaldis 1939, 75, note 1, considered "Temistio" to perhaps refer to an as-yet unidentified third person belonging to the circle of "Partenio" and "Sciribandolo," all three of whom Rosa mocks as his academic critics in his satire *L'Invidia*, vv. 435 and 447 (Romei 1995, 151). Rosa also refers to these "recanters" in letter 180. As noted by Conte 2010b, 60, Rosa's comments in the present letter, in regard to "recanters" among the Umoristi, imply that this was a moment of formal reconciliation with the academy, perhaps a concession on Rosa's part (as Rosa himself seems to suggest) during the same moment that Agostino Favoriti seems to have fallen from favour.

5. Agostino Favoriti, on whom see letter 129, note 23.

6. On the identification of this academic nickname with Giovanni Francesco Savaro del Pizzo, see letter 176, note 18.

7. Rosa here cites a verse (v. 954) from his own satire, *L'Invidia*, vv. 949–954 (Romei 1995, 166): "Invidia, che tu fussi uguale a i sorci,/ rodendo il tutto, fòra un mal felice,/ ma tu l'onor con la calunnia accorci;/ onde Medio dicea che, se pur lice/ de la calunnia risanar la piaga,/ non se ne va giammai la cicatrice".

8. Rosa's reference here to Saint Francis is presumably in connection with the saint's particular association with the pursuit of repentance, and with the preaching of its virtues.

9. Rosa here cites v. 46 from the *Capitolo* dedicated to him by Francesco Melosi. See letter 129, note 21, and letter 180, note 12. For the text of Melosi's *Capitolo*, see Limentani 1953, 47–49.

10. The term "rinfrescata" refers, in this instance, not to a general "freshness" but to the specific season or time of year in which the summer heat diminishes and the first "freschi" or cooler, fresher temperatures of the autumn begin: Battaglia, 16:540.

11. See also letters 181 and 182, where Rosa mentions Francesco Cordini's disappointment that Ricciardi had only stayed with him in Florence for a brief time. Ricciardi and Cordini had perhaps had some sort of disagreement.

12. The term "pondo" means weight or burden. The expression "mal di pondi" refers to dysentery: Battaglia, 13:849–50, esp. no. 11.

13. Rosa had been inquiring after Giulio Maffei's health in numerous preceding letters. Giulio died on 9 December 1654.

Letter 184:

1. The term "diavoleria" refers to diabolical manifestations, or actions that have or are suspected of having a demonic source, such as magic, potions, incantations, or spells: Battaglia, 4:333. In letter 186, Rosa indicates Ricciardi's suspicion that he was suffering from a "mal di pietra," meaning *bilious calculosis* or gallstones.

2. On this matter, see also letters 181, 182 and 183.

3. Francesco Redi (1626–1697/1698), originally from Arezzo, was a scientist, man of letters and physician, who held a central position within Florentine literary circles. His most well-known poetic composition is the *Bacco in Toscana* (1685), a history of wine in the Tuscan region. In 1654, Redi became court physician to the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici. In 1655, he joined the Accademia della Crusca. Redi also became a member of the scientific academy in Florence, the Accademia del Cimento, and is perhaps most well known in this context for his influential work on the subject of spontaneous generation, the *Esperienze intorno alla generazione degl'insetti* (*Experiments on the Generation of Insects*) (1668). Redi shared numerous friends in common with Rosa. On Redi, see further Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 345–349 and 708–710, and Hoare 2018, 76, 77, 80, 132 and 158. Rosa mentions him again in letters 185 and 187. On Redi, see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 20. The particular composition by Redi to which Rosa here refers, as well as the academy in which it was recited (perhaps the Accademia degli Umoristi, as suggested by Conte 2014, 108), is not known.

4. The word in the ms. is difficult to decipher with certainty. Previous transcribers suggested "Traglia," however examination of the ms. suggests the word might be "Truglio," also logical in view of Rosa's use of the definite article "il" and his capitalization of the word in question. The term "traglia," which has a number of meanings, is a feminine noun. It is an old word for "treggia," for example, a type of sled or rudimentary wagon lacking wheels, pulled by oxen or other animals, used particularly in

steep or difficult terrain to transport wood, fodder and people: Battaglia, 21:136 and 298. Conte 2014, 342, note 117, who also interpreted the word in Rosa's letter as "Traglia," suggested the term be understood according to the definition in Rohlfs 1956–1959, as a rudimentary harrow, a tool used in agriculture to break up clods of soil, noting further that in Rosa's present usage the term could stand for the more traditional instrument of death, the sickle, and perhaps, following that line of reasoning, the personification of Death itself. Conte here cites a revealing passage from the *Dispregio della vanità del mondo composto dal molto R. P. F. Diego Stella* (Venice, 1604), 124–125: "Quando verrà la morte (dice Giob[be]) [i grandi e i potenti] come spiche saranno fracassati. Passando la traglia della morte, il grano ch'è buono restarà intiero conservato nel granaro del cielo et caderanno nel forno dell'inferno con la paglia vana, doppo essere tormentata et sminuzzata." Conte's suggestion is certainly plausible, however the formulation "Il Traglia" would be unusual if the word is to be interpreted as a feminine noun ("*la* traglia"). Also working on the assumption that Rosa is using the term "traglia," he could perhaps intend "draglia" (of which "traglia" is a variant), a naval term used in the context of sailing ships, which refers to the false or flying forestay (the rope supporting the ship's foremast); according to Battaglia, 4:996 (citing Tramater), "draglia" can also refer more generally to a rope or cord tied at either end, and stretched, onto which items can be hung, such as a curtain. This word too, however, would require a feminine definite article, and seems unlikely to be a cause of death (if Rosa here intends "ammazzare" in a literal sense). Alternatively, the term used by Rosa could be "Truglio," a masculine noun, frequently capitalized (as Rosa does here), which refers to a Neapolitan judicial procedure ("trial by Truglio"). As summarized by Colletta 1860, 2:3, "Truglio" was a "mode of trial by which prisoners were judged and condemned *en masse*, without any separate examination"; the process consisted of "a kind of compromise between the Government and the officer appointed by the king to plead in defence of the accused, by which these last were suddenly, without a hearing or defence, and before their trial was concluded, transported from the dungeon to the galleys. The prisoners were counted off and sentenced without distinction; the only object being to empty the dungeons as expeditiously as possible, and avoid the trouble of passing sentence on each separately." See also Battaglia, 21:425, who notes that the term "truglio" can refer, more generally, to an act of maliciousness or deception; the phrase "a truglio" means "without due process". If Rosa is here using the term "truglio," he could intend it in reference to an actual trial, or perhaps in the latter, more metaphorical sense, to some sort of betrayal.

5. It has not been possible to identify the individual in question.

6. On the "laws of friendship," a recurring refrain in Rosa's letters, see letter 29, note 8.

7. It is not clear whether Rosa is here referring to a portrait of him by another artist (as in the case of the portrait executed by Lorenzo Lippi, or the portrait print by Giovanni Battista Bonacina, on both of which see respectively letter 58, note 10, and letter 289, note 4) or a self-portrait, many of which he gave to close friends (on the subject of which see Hoare 2018, 292–294).

8. A "cocomero" is a watermelon or cucumber. When used in the figurative sense, as Rosa does here, the word means fool, idiot or twit: Battaglia, 3: 249.

9. On Bonaventura Cavalli, see letter 134, note 8. On Giuseppe Compagno, see letter 136, notes 13 and 15.

10. Rosa had been inquiring after Giulio Maffei's health. See in particular letter 173.

11. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

12. Rosa's meaning here, with regard to Scorno "deserv[ing] a city for every tercet," is not entirely clear. It has not been possible to identify a colloquial expression along these lines. Rosa could perhaps be alluding to the content of one of Scorno's own poetic compositions, or he could simply be constructing a pun on their particular length and prolixity.

Letter 185:

1. The word "anniversario" can be used in reference to a birthday or another annually recurring event of significance: Battaglia, 1:495. On Rosalvo's birthdate, presumed to be 18 June 1641 (and therefore two months prior to the date of the present letter), see letter 2, note 9. By "anniversario" Rosa could be referring perhaps to another occasion, such as a name day, usually associated with one's patron or name saint. It is perhaps significant that 15 August, the date of the present letter, is also the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin. Alternatively, if Rosa here intends "anniversario" to refer to Rosalvo's birthday, then the date (18 June) to which Rosa alludes in letter 31 is incorrect. Given Rosa's self-acknowledged incompetence in regard to remembering dates (see letters 266 and 280), either alternative is certainly possible.

2. By "persona" Rosa here means "your body," in regard to the physical afflictions that Ricciardi is suffering.

3. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

4. Francesco Redi, on whom see letter 184, note 3.

5. These could be the same "two arias" that Rosa had copied for Francesco Lanfreducci (see letters 137 and 138). Rosa refers to these compositions again in letter 187.

Letter 186:

1. Lazarus of Bethany, the recipient of a miracle attributed to Christ who, according to the Gospel of Saint John, 11:1–44, restored Lazarus to life four days after his death.

2. The term "mal di pietra" means *bilious calculosis*, or gallstones: Battaglia, 9:521.

3. With the word "efimera" Rosa probably intends the medical term "effimero" (also spelled "effimera"), which refers to an illness that lasts only a day, in particular a bout of fever that lasts for a day or so: Battaglia, 5:60. Alternatively, Rosa could also be using the word more figuratively to suggest that Rosalvo seems to be feigning his illness.

4. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

Letter 187:

1. The identity of this "Signor Ruosoli" is not known. The word in the ms. is clearly "Ruosoli," however Rosa could have misspelled the name. As an acquaintance of Raffaello Landini, he is perhaps a resident of Florence or Vallombrosa.

2. On Landini, a Florentine gentleman and dilettante painter who frequently hosted Rosa at his villa in Vallombrosa, see letter 5, note 6.

3. The *Capitolo* that Francesco Melosi had dedicated to Rosa, written in defence of the artist against his academic detractors, on which see letter 129 (note 21), letter 180 (note 12) and letter 183. Rosa's comment here, as noted by Conte 2014, 341, note 106, suggests that Ricciardi had been reminded of Melosi's composition.

4. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 210, note 1, these lines are a variation on a quatrain from Rosa's *Sonetto contro quelli che non lo credevano autore delle Satire*, composed in response to the attacks on Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*, and included in the first publication of Rosa's satires (on which see letter 4, note 7). Conte 2014, 209, note 87, adds that the quatrain to which Rosa here refers was probably a suggestion supplied by Ricciardi for the first version of the second quatrain of Rosa's *Sonetto* (referred to as a "sonnetto satirico" by Cosimo Brunetti in a letter to Ricciardi of 4 May 1652, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 110). For the text of this sonnet, see Salvini, 28, and Romei 1995, 49. Rosa here refers to Cirra (or Cirrea), an ancient port town near Parnassus, and to Mount Helicon, the mythological dwelling place of the Muses. Rosa also refers to Saint Thomas (the disciple of Christ, who doubted Christ's resurrection and prodded his wounds in order to be convinced), and to Saint Peter (who three times denied his knowledge of Jesus after the latter's arrest).

5. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear, and can be interpreted in a number of ways. He could mean, for example, "I wouldn't have remembered the lines of the poem"; "I wouldn't have remembered it, for sure"; "if I had it in mind, I wasn't thinking of it"; or "if I had remembered it, I wouldn't have needed to write this draft". More than likely, however, Rosa means to say: "if I'd remembered those lines from Melosi's *Capitolo*, which was written in my defence and against my detractors, I wouldn't have thought of or needed to write my own."

6. Giulio Maffei, about whom Rosa had been inquiring in previous letters. Giulio may have been ill at the time, as he died on 9 December 1654.

7. Francesco Redi, on whom see letter 184, note 3.

8. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

9. Rosa also mentions these "little arias" in letter 185. They could be the same as those mentioned earlier in letters 137 and 138, on which occasion Rosa was also having copies made of the compositions in question.

Letter 188:

1. The term "commentazione" is an old, now disused, alternative of "commento," meaning comments, commentary, remarks, notes or annotation: Battaglia, 3:364.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. This is probably a reference to the young painter and copyist known only as "Pasquale," on whom see also letters 128 (note 10), 190, 232, 242 and 312. On the subject of the copies by young artists (perhaps among them this "Pasquale") that Ricciardi had been seeking to purchase, either for his own collection or perhaps to sell onward, see also letter 160, note 5.

4. Presumably a reference to Albano Laziale, on which see letter 112, note 14.

Letter 189:

1. On the topos of the friend as a second self, which Rosa invokes more than once in the present letter, see letter 50, note 1.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. Here it is worth noting that the death of one of Rosa's closest friends, Giulio Maffei, occurred on 9 December 1654, just days after the present letter was written. No notice of his death, however, appears in Rosa's extant correspondence, and the next extant letter in the chronology (letter 190) dates to 5 June 1655.

Letter 190:

1. The Forty Hours Devotion, which includes the display of the Holy Sacrament to the congregation during Mass and other forms of devotional ritual, accompanied by sacred music, for forty hours over a period of three days. It frequently takes place on the first Sunday of Advent, and the two days that follow, but does not have a fixed date in every Church calendar.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

3. The verb "imbarcarsi" can mean to involve oneself in something, or to undertake or engage oneself in a matter: Battaglia, 7:278.

4. On Lucrezia's pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 28, note 4, Rosa's reference to Lucrezia being "free of it" perhaps implies that, once again, the child will be taken to the foundling hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome.

5. A young painter about whom nothing is known. See letter 128, note 10. Rosa here refers to him as "poor Pasquale" on account of the fact that he had reportedly died in the autumn of 1654 (see letter 188). On the copies that Pasquale executed for Ricciardi, see also letter 188.

6. The particular subjects of these paintings are not known, nor is it entirely clear from Rosa's letter whether the paintings in question were executed by himself, the copyist Pasquale, or another artist. Ricciardi's 1687 inventory (for which see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI) contains numerous "teste" or portrait-heads, and paintings depicting unidentified "figures," which could be among the paintings Rosa mentions here. Rosa seems to refer to these two "half-figures" again in letter 232. As suggested by Conte 2014, 257, it is noteworthy, in connection with the paintings Rosa was producing at this date, that a record of payment dated 5 June 1655—the same date as the present letter—reveals that 60 *scudi* was paid to Rosa by Bartolomeo Corsini for the purchase of a painting depicting a scene of witchcraft with various figures ("Scudi 60 pagati [da Bartolomeo Corsini] a Salvatore Rosa pittore, per prezzo di un quadro in tela dipintovi un incantesimo con diverse figure"). For the record of payment, see Fumagalli, in Fumagalli 2007, 74 and 131, note 194; the painting in question is identifiable with the *Scene of Witchcraft* of 1655 (Galleria Corsini, Florence), for which see Volpi 2014, 504, cat. 190.

Letter 191:

1. Rosa first reports this new pregnancy in letter 190. On Lucrezia's various pregnancies, see letter 17, note 3.

2. The specific nature of Rosalvo's illness on this occasion is not

known. See also letter 186, where Rosa gives earlier mention of Rosalvo's ailment. For the figurative meaning of "naufragio" as impairment, defeat, danger, or physical collapse or loss of health, see Battaglia, 11:247.

3. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 192:

1. Rosa first reports this particular pregnancy in letter 190. His words here suggest the child has been born. It was presumably taken to the foundling hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome. De Rinaldis 1939, 82, note 2, incorrectly identified this child as Rosa's son Augusto, who was kept by Lucrezia and Rosa and trained as a painter. Augusto was in fact born in 1657. On Augusto see further letter 250, note 6.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

Letter 193:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. Volunnio Bandinelli, on whom see letter 48, note 24.

3. A reference to the fact that Lucrezia was still married to another man. This seems to be Rosa's first explicit epistolary reference to the problems brought about by his illegal relationship with Lucrezia, alluded to only cryptically in previous letters. Lucrezia was not married to Rosa, as she was in fact still married to another man who had apparently vanished. In the manuscript of his biography of Rosa, written in the 1670s, Passeri notes that: "When [Rosa] brought with him that woman [Lucrezia], her husband, either because of disgust, or because he was a man of little reputation, suddenly left Florence, in such a way that it was never again possible to find any news of him" ("Quando condusse seco quella Donna, il Marito di lei, o per lo disgusto, o perché fusse uomo di poca riputazione, s'allontanò all'improviso di Fiorenza, in guisa tale, che non lasciò mai più pervenire alcuna nuova di lui"): Passeri, 391, note 2. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 214, note 1, it seems that after many years Rosa had decided (probably as a result of pressure on their living situation in Rome, as suggested by Rosa's comments in letter 194) to settle the situation and make his relationship with Lucrezia legal. As noted by Limentani 1950, 108, note 2, Rosa's discussion of such private matters in this instance, as in others, is intentionally obscure and elusive. Rosa's use of the term "offitio" (*ufficio*) probably refers to a matter concerning the Holy Office (Sant'Uffizio), as it does elsewhere (see letters 195 and 196), and as is further suggested by Rosa's use of the same word again a few lines later in the present letter ("ho in culo Fiorenza, l'ufficio"). These references can also be connected to the first, enigmatic sentence of the subsequent letter (letter 194), in which Rosa refers to a "coglionissimo tribunale," suggesting an actual legal action has been taken (or threatened) against Rosa and Lucrezia by the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome. The present letter also affirms Rosa's diligent affection toward Lucrezia, and his concern for the serious threat against their relationship—one that seems to have forced Lucrezia (and their son Rosalvo) to go to Naples only two or three months later, in late January or early February 1656 (see letters 195 and 196). In letter 208, Rosa asks Ricciardi to help him confirm whether Lucrezia's husband is "dead or alive," probably in an attempt, as noted by Hults 2010, 27, to legitimize his relationship with Lucrezia. On the matter, see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 8. On the Inquisition's harassment of Rosa and Lucrezia in 1655, and again between 1664 and 1665, see also Hults 2005, 205–206. On the subject of adultery in seventeenth-century Rome, see McPhee 2012, 53–54, who notes that "[t]he laws regarding adultery in Rome were severe, especially for women. In his efforts to eradicate corruption in the city, Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) had made the offence punishable by death. Under Urban VIII, execution had softened to exile, and the legal reasoning was a good deal more elastic. Prospero Farinacci, writing in his *Praxis et theorica criminalis amplissimae pars quarta* in 1610, defines the crime in civil law as the 'sexual union of a married woman with a person other than her husband.' Canon law is more even-handed: adultery was also a crime for a married man, as it violated the sacrament of marriage." Volpi, in Langdon 2010a, 120, adds that "[t]he phenomenon of couples living together out of wedlock or adultery was not in fact that rare in the first half of the seventeenth century in Italy, but thereafter the Church resolved to take more of a grip on such laxity and instituted a 'congregazione' or committee for the control of extramarital cohabitation." See further on this subject: Brundage 1987; Marchiselo 2004; and Romeo 2008. See also McPhee 2012, 117, on the subject of women considered to be "malavita," or living in sin. An undated letter attributed to Rosa (Appendix 2), first published by Mariani 1943, may belong to this particular moment in Rosa's life, during which he experienced the threat of punishment from religious authorities in Rome.

4. The individual referred to here cannot be Volunnio Bandinelli, as he is mentioned by name two lines above, and was only made a cardinal in 1658. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 214, note 2, suggest that this is a reference to Francesco Nerli senior (1594–1670), who was archbishop of Florence from 1653 to 1670. Nerli was also Grand Master of the Order of Santo Stefano. In reality, however, he seems only to have received the title of "Cardinal" in Rome in 1669, under Clement IX. See also in this regard Salomon 2010a, 189.

5. This is presumably a reference to Gian Carlo de' Medici (1611–1663), on whom see letter 1, note 6. Rosa's relationship with his Medici patrons, including Gian Carlo, seem to have soured during his time in Florence (on which see letter 13, note 2), but Rosa's presumed reference to Gian Carlo here seems to be evidence of an enduring relationship, or at the very least indicates Rosa's confidence that he could turn to his former patron in a time of need. As noted by Volpi, in Langdon 2010a, 120, Rosa could have sought aid in this matter from friends like Girolamo Mercuri, who was *guardaroba* of the Pamphilj, or other powerful members of the clergy such as Cardinal Brancaccio and Volunnio Bandinelli.

6. As in the case of Rosa's use of the term "offitio" earlier in the present letter (see note 3, above), Rosa here intends to refer to the Holy Office and the situation concerning his relationship with Lucrezia. The term "offitio" can also refer to a "public charge". See also Rosa's comment in letter 196, in which he refers again with disdain to a certain "spy" of the Holy Office.

7. Rosa here uses the term "eregere" to refer to the founding of the Holy Office itself. With his reference to "moral scandal" Rosa could also mean to suggest that the matter at hand has been "amplified" or "blown up" in the sense of being spread about in public.

8. This is presumably a reference to one of Rosa's academic detractors, to whom he refers in letter 178 (as the author of a now-lost composition). See also letter 176.

9. "Partenio" seems to have been the academic pseudonym of Giovanni Francesco Savaro del Pizzo. Confusingly, however,

Rosa seems on a couple of occasions to use the name in the letters in reference to another of his academic detractors, Emilio Sibonio. On this matter of identification, see letter 176, note 18. Limentani 1950, 109, note 4, interprets the "slap" that Rosa successively gave to his enemy in the literal sense of the word, noting that it was perhaps the only time that Rosa—ready to strike out, but unable to resort to violence—let himself force his hand. The episode goes back to the summer of 1653 (see letter 176, dated 21 February 1654, where Rosa says he gave Partenio "a slap this past summer"). It is possible, however, that Rosa is referring to a proverbial slap, in the form of his reference to Partenio in his satire *L'Invidia*, on which he was still at work in the summer of 1653 and completed in early 1654 (see letter 175).

10. Pope Alexander VII. Rosa's comment concerning the transgression of Giovanni Francesco Savaro (known as "Partenio") is somewhat ironic, in view of Rosa's own production of literary and pictorial critiques of the papacy. For example, Rosa got into trouble with the authorities in Rome over his *Allegory of Fortune* (1658–1659, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), a thinly-veiled pictorial allegorical lampoon of papal patronage; in a further twist, it was two members of the papal court who came to his rescue, along with Don Mario Chigi, the brother of Alexander VII, and saved Rosa from imprisonment. See Baldinucci, 5:447–448, and Roworth 1978, 197. See also letters 217, 218 and 224 (note 7). The circumstances of Savaro's impending incarceration presumably concern either his initial imprisonment in the Castello di Pizzo, on the order of the Bishop of Miletus, in Calabria, or his subsequent transfer to a prison in Rome. Savaro had written a scathing satire entitled "La nobiltà del Pizzo" (1640). It seems that his literary vitriol may also have brought him to an unfortunate end, as he was stabbed to death in 1682 after returning to Miletus later in life. On Savaro, see Accattatis 1869, 1:236–237.

11. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 214, note 4, "Renato" is René Descartes. The book in question is the *Geometry*, one of three appendices to Descartes's *Discourse on Method* (1637), which focused on mathematics. Rosa refers to it again in letters 194, 197, 200 and (possibly) 201. Presumably, Ricciardi had asked Rosa to find him a copy in Rome.

Letter 194:

1. A reference to Masaniello (Tommaso Aniello, 1622–1647), the leader of a Neapolitan revolt in 1647 against Spanish Habsburg rule, protesting in particular a new tax levied on fruit and the food staples of the poor. He was popularly known as the "fishmonger of Amalfi," until it was more recently discovered that he was born in Naples. On the revolt, see Musi 1989. On the assumed participation of Rosa and other Neapolitan painters in the revolt, a myth (in Rosa's case) largely propagated by De Dominici, 1:425–428, see: Roworth 1993; Nappi 2002; and Borrelli, in Nappi 2014, 98–102. Rosa's reference here to the "tribunal" is probably in connection with the problem facing him and Lucrezia in Rome, with regard to the illegality of their relationship, on which see letter 193, note 3. Lofano 2014, 162–163, considers Rosa's comment in the present letter in the context of the culture of "political dissent" into which Salerno 1970 placed Rosa and a number of his contemporaries: Rosa's words here suggest the possibility of a strong anti-Spanish sentiment (also conveyed by his comments in letter 201), if not direct involvement on his part in Masaniello's revolt. Here, notes Lofano, Rosa's use of the term "fascine" could be an allusion to the frequent fires started by the rebels during the first phase of the revolt. Rosa must certainly have been aware that the start of the revolt was linked to the burning of the office responsible for administering the duty on fruit.

2. A reference to the respective biblical "judgments" of Herod and Caiaphas, both of which mark key moments of threat against Jesus's life. Herod, the client king of Judea, fearing the power of the new born Jesus, ordered the execution of all male children under the age of two, an event known as the Massacre of the Innocents (see Matthew 2:1–23). The Jewish high priest Caiaphas is believed to have organized the plot to kill Jesus that ultimately led to his capture and death (see Matthew 26:57–67). Rosa could also here be alluding, as he did on numerous other occasions, to his own association (as "Salvator") with Christ.

3. If the word in the ms. is to be read as "frittata," then Rosa could intend a "mess" or "massacre" of nonsense. See Battaglia, 6:368–369. The term "fica" figuratively refers to female genitalia, and is also the name of an obscene gesture of insult ("fare la fica"): Battaglia, 5:930.

4. René Descartes's *Geometry*, on which see letter 193, note 11.

5. Nettuno is a seaside town and *comune* of Rome where the Pamphilj family had a palace. See letter 30, note 13. Rosa's presence there may have been in the company of Niccolò Simonelli, who worked in the service of the Pamphilj family, on which see letter 27, note 23.

6. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

7. The term "caparra" refers to a form of deposit or guarantee; a sum of money or quantity of fungible goods that, with the conclusion of a contract, is anticipated by one party from another as a form of guarantee of action, and that in the case of default is not returned and is used to compensate for the damage: Battaglia, 2:677. This matter (the "business" to which Rosa refers) is probably to be connected with the negotiations underway between Rosa, Ricciardi and Cordini over certain paintings, on which see also letters 160, 188 and 190.

8. Rosa may alternatively intend the term "ostinato" not in its literal sense as obstinate or headstrong, but according to one of its alternative meanings as spiteful, annoyed or maintaining a position of denial or refusal toward a situation. See Battaglia, 12:260. With the term "rigore" Rosa could be referring to the situation at hand, and not his own attitude toward it.

9. This is perhaps the "Signor Marchi" to whom Rosa refers in earlier letters (see letter 95, note 12, and letter 167, note 4, where he is identified as a friend of Ricciardi's).

10. Volunnio Bandinelli, on whom see letter 48, note 24. Rosa was probably thanking Bandinelli and this "Signor Marchi" for their efforts in regard to Lucrezia's situation, on which see also letter 193.

Letter 195:

1. The phrase "per le poste" means, figuratively, to do something in haste, quickly or immediately: Battaglia, 13:1063. "Mettere per le poste" is comparable to "correre le poste," which means to make a journey with haste or diligence, or to proceed quickly: Battaglia, 13:1062.

2. This is the first explicit mention Rosa makes in his extant letters of his plan to send Lucrezia and Rosalvo to Naples, in order to evade the persecution of the Holy Office for his and Lucrezia's unlawful relationship. See also on this matter letters 151 (note 7), 196, 200, 201 and 202. On Rosa's brother, Giuseppe, see letter 91, note 22. Rosa's sister Giovanna (1617–

after 1673) had married the painter Francesco Fracanzano (1612–*c.* 1656) in 1632. On Giovanna, see: Prota-Giurleo 1929b, 11–15; Farina 2010, 17; and Volpi 2010a, 17. On Fracanzano, see letter 201, note 9.

3. On Rosa's desire for secrecy in regard to the private matters discussed in his letters (in particular, in this case, the matter concerning his relationship with Lucrezia), a desire he voices again later on in the present letter, see also letter 33, note 7.

4. Rosa's formulation here is rather strange; translated literally, his phrasing can be interpreted as "to be able to correspond my patience to you".

5. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

6. The paintings in question could be those to which Rosa refers in letter 160. See also letters 188 (note 3), 190 (notes 5 and 6) and 194 (note 7).

7. The particular wedding to which Rosa here refers is not easily identified. His comment could pertain to plans for Cosimo Fabretti's marriage to Ricciardi's sister, Caterina, however their wedding seems to have taken place two years later, in February 1658 (see letter 219). On Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2.

8. The term "prescia" ("pressa") means haste, urgency, solicitude or concern: Battaglia, 14:213.

9. That is, the paintings in question.

10. That is, the wedding to which Rosa refers above.

11. That is, in Florence (as Rosa indicates in letter 193).

12. As in letter 193, Rosa here uses the term "offitio" in reference to the Holy Office and the charges levelled against Rosa and Lucrezia on account of their illegal relationship. See also Rosa's comment in letter 196, in which he refers again with disdain to a certain "spy" of the Holy Office.

13. This seems to be an improvised motto. It does not correspond to any particular passage in Rosa's satires or his collection of maxims, the *Teatro della Politica*, on which see Rosa-*Il Teatro* and Festa 1971.

14. On the meaning of the term "terribilio," see letter 178, note 1.

15. An ironic reference to Rosa's illegal relationship with Lucrezia, perhaps intended to echo the comments of his academic detractors, mentioned in letter 178 (see note 13).

Letter 196:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 110, note 1, this letter makes an important contribution toward understanding the events of Rosa's life, filling a lacuna in the correspondence published by De Rinaldis 1939, in which there are no letters between 11 December 1655 and 12 August 1656—a gap that has been subsequently further filled by the publication of letters 195 (published in the present volume for the first time), 197, 198, 199, 200 (also published here for the first time) and 201. From the present letter (to paraphrase Limentani), it is clear that: 1) Rosa's enemies (Agostino Favoriti and other academics in Rome), who received censure in Rosa's satire *L'Invidia*, were successful in creating a significant problem for Rosa, setting the Holy Office in motion; the problem itself must have begun two years earlier, if, as is probable, the "disgrazie" mentioned in May 1654 (letter 179) were motivated by the same circumstance that Rosa mentions here. Moreover, it is likely that the "negozio" Rosa wrote about to Ricciardi three months earlier (see letter 193) was connected with these new adversities and threats: this "negozio" refers, it seems, to an action on the part of the Holy Office that Ricciardi must have applied himself to repealing; 2) Lucrezia went to Naples with Rosalvo, and the reason for their departure was not the plague but the threat of the Inquisition, spurred by the fact that Rosa was living with a married woman; the plague arrived in Rome later that same year (see letter 201, note 15) and it continued into the following year (see letter 216); and 3) the date of Lucrezia's and Rosalvo's departure to Naples can be placed in late January or early February 1656, based upon Rosa's claim in the present letter to have been tormented (presumably by their absence) for "twenty-two days". Cesareo 1892, 1:109, charges Rosa with displaying coldness toward his separation from his son Rosalvo, "infuriando per tutta Italia la peste, con tanta leggerezza di cuore". While this accusation of "coldness" can perhaps not be denied when it comes to the various newborns that Rosa sent to the foundling hospitals, the present letter and subsequent ones (letters 201 and 202), which bear sincere expressions of affection for Rosalvo, excuse Rosa from this charge. There are also throughout Rosa's correspondence frequent expressions of paternal affection on Rosa's part toward Rosalvo, and later Augusto, and expressions of concern for their health and their progress in painting. The nuisance of the Holy Office re-emerged later on in 1666 (see letter 336).

2. That is, presumably, Ricciardi's severity in not writing to him.

3. The phrase "ti verebbe la pietà dalle calcagne" literally means "mercy would rise up from your very heels"—that is, you would feel mercy in the deepest possible way. Rosa uses the term "calcagni," or heels, in a similar expression in letter 176.

4. Rosa has sent Lucrezia and Rosalvo to Naples, on which see letter 195.

5. "Bertoldino" is one of the characters from the popular collection of plays, first published in 1620, under the title *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno*: the first two plays were by Giulio Cesare Croce (1550–1609) (*Le sottilissime astutie di Bertoldo* and *Le piacevoli et ridicolose simplicità di Bertoldino*), and the third by Adriano Banchieri (1568–1634) (*Novella di Cacasenno, figliuolo del semplice Bertoldino*). Bertoldino is the son of Bertoldo, the simpleton protagonist of each of these plays. Both the names "Bertoldo" and "Bertoldino" gained currency as terms for describing someone's foolish character or idiotic behaviour: Battaglia, 2:191. Rosa frequently uses the term "Bertoldino" and its variants to express this trait, throughout his letters: see letters 222, 224, 248, 281, 356 and 394.

6. Here Rosa seems to intend the term "carriera" in its figurative sense, in reference to an occurrence, event, vicissitude, matter, or course of action: Battaglia, 2:801.

7. The word "babbuasso" means idiot or fool: Battaglia, 1:919.

8. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

9. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear. Limentani 1984, 237, note 1, interpreted the term "canterina" as "singer," linking it to the rumours concerning the "puttana cantatrice" mentioned in the following lines (on which see note 11, below), an apparent reference to Rosa's illegal relationship with Lucrezia. The term "canterina," however, also has various figurative meanings that may be intended here: in addition to referring to a person (or animal) who sings, the word also refers to the quality of a shrill or loud voice, or to a monotonous or boring voice: Battaglia, 2:656. Rosa perhaps intends here to refer to the "squawking" or "jabbering" entailed in conversation with his friends.

10. The word "pulcinellaggine," which refers to Pulcinella, the popular Neapolitan mask of the *commedia dell'arte*, means foolishness, stupidity or carelessness: Battaglia, 14:916.

11. Limentani 1984, 237, note 1, links Rosa's reference above to the "canterina"—and the rumours, presumably being circulated by his detractors, that he wanted to marry a "puttana cantatrice"—with Rosa's reference in a letter of 18 March 1656 (letter 198) to the "love" of the sorceress Armida from Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata*.

12. That is, Lucrezia and Rosalvo.

13. On Rosa's desire for Rosalvo to be a painter, see also his comments in letters 155, 158 and 161.

14. On the threat of the Holy Office against Rosa and Lucrezia for their illegal relationship, see also letter 193, note 3. As noted by Hudson 2011, 31, note 13, Rosa's "use of the phrase 'damned cuckold' (*becco fottuto*) to describe a potential spy of the Church who might catch Rosa out seems to be a discreet allusion to the nature of Rosa's transgression, adultery." The person in question could perhaps be the same one referred to in letters 178 (the author of, or source of information for, one of the as-yet undiscovered libellous texts against Rosa) and 193.

15. Here it is interesting to note Cosimo Brunetti's use of a similar conceit, in a rather different context, in a letter to Ricciardi of 7 October 1651. See letter 114, note 16.

16. On Rosa's sister Giovanna, see letter 195, note 2. On his brother Giuseppe, see letter 91, note 22.

17. The expression "viso di fava" means silly, foolish or stupid: Battaglia, 5:742. It is comparable to the phrase "viso di cotale," which Rosa uses in letters 46 (see note 13), 91 and 163.

18. The word "insolidito" means immobile or inert: Battaglia, 8:130, who cites Rosa's use of the term in the present letter by way of example.

19. This is probably another reference to the Holy Office and its laws. Rosa had earlier denounced the founder of the Holy Office in letter 193.

20. With the term "sbirri" Rosa could be referring to exponents of the Governor of Rome, or legislators within the Holy Office. See letter 94, notes 4 and 7. According to Limentani 1950, 112, note 2, the term "borricelli" means "asinelli" ("asses"), and derives from the Neapolitan term "boricco" (meaning "asino" or "ass").

Letter 197:

1. The Franciscan Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

2. The year, which is missing in the ms., was proposed by Limentani 1972, 265, as 1655 or 1656, on account of Rosa's mention of the "*Geometria*," a text Rosa was trying to acquire for Ricciardi and to which he also refers in letters 193, 194 and 201. The letter of 5 June 1655 (letter 190), in which Rosa indicates he has finally received a letter from Ricciardi after a long period of silence, could—Limentani suggests—have been written immediately after the letter in question, which would require an alternative dating of the present letter to 1655. Rosa's continued reference to the "*Geometria*" (here, as "*Cartes*") in letter 201, however, also argues strongly for a date of 1656. The month of May is indicated in the ms., however Borrelli and Festa 2003 suggest it should instead be dated to March, since Lent (which is mentioned in the letter), in 1656, began on 2 March.

3. René Descartes's *Geometry*, one of three appendices to the *Discourse on Method* (1637). See also letter 193, note 11.

Letter 198:

1. On the term *viscere*, literally "viscera," and figuratively, profound sentiment or love, see letter 46, note 2.

2. Rosa's reference here to the "Armidas," together with his reference to "Carlo" and "Ubaldo" in the line below, is in connection with characters who appear in canto XVI of Torquato Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata*. In this part of the tale, the two warriors Carlo and Ubaldo inform the hero Rinaldo, who has been enchanted by the witch Armida, of the state of degradation into which he has fallen, so that he can free himself from the witch's spells and return to fight. Limentani 1984, 237, note 1, considers that the allusion Rosa makes to Armida can perhaps be connected to what Rosa wrote in a letter of February 1656 regarding the "puttana cantatrice" ("singing whore") and the rumours, apparently circulated by his academic detractors, that Rosa wanted to marry her (see letter 196, notes 9 and 11).

3. See note 2, above.

Letter 199:

1. This seems to be a different box to the one referred to in the body of the letter, which Rosa says he has sent to Francesco Cordini on Lodovico's behalf; it could be the package to which Rosa refers in letter 200, containing items that were requested by one of Lodovico's children.

2. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

3. The word "bracherini" must be a variation on the old term "brachiero," or "braghiere" (now replaced by the modern word "brachiere"), which refers to a leather band or belt used to restrain an intestinal or inguinal hernia: Battaglia, 2:348. The items were presumably sent in the box ("scatola") that Rosa refers to as accompanying the letter.

4. Rosa here reports the death of Lodovico's mother, Caterina Gotti. He mentions the loss again in letter 200.

5. With the word "buscio" Rosa probably intends "buco," meaning hole. Alternatively, the term "buscio" seems to be a variant of the old Italian word "busco" (also "busca" or "buschia"), meaning a small or little thing (see *Dizionario delle Origini*, 490–491).

Letter 200:

1. This is presumably the *Geometry*, by René Descartes, a copy of which Rosa was trying to find for Ricciardi. See letter 193, note 11.

2. Rosa here uses the term "pani" in a figurative sense, in reference to a person's experiences or affairs, which in the instance of Rosa's present usage are shared by another person. There is an interesting analogy between Rosa's construction and a passage from Dante's *Paradiso*, Canto XVII, lines 58–60: "Thou shalt have proof how savoureth of salt/ The bread of others, and how hard a road/ The going down and up another's

stairs" ("Tu proverai sì come sa di sale/ lo pane altrui, e come è duro calle/ lo scendere e 'l salir per l'altrui scale"). The sentiment is comparable to that of the English expression "walking in someone else's shoes". On the meaning of the term "pane" as an experience or affair, see Battaglia, 12:469–471.

3. This seems to be a reference to the troubles Rosa had been experiencing in Rome on account of his relationship with Lucrezia. It is possible that Lucrezia had returned from Naples to Rome at this point, and she seems to have been back in the city at least as of 19 June 1656 (see letter 201), when, together with Rosa, she sends her greetings to Ricciardi.

4. Rosa seems to be using the phrase "al deserto" literally. However, he could also intend it in a figurative sense (as in the expression "parlare al deserto," which means to speak to deaf ears). Rosa's expression could also be a reference to one of a number of examples of philosophers who sought solace in a literal or metaphorical desert isolation, or perhaps more generally a reference to the Biblical story of the Flight into Egypt (Matthew 2:13–23), during which Mary and Joseph fled to Egypt with the infant Jesus in order to find refuge and escape the infanticide ordered by King Herod.

5. Rosa here uses the term "continenza" in its now disused sense, meaning reserve, restraint, moderation or coldness: Battaglia, 3:655. Rosa frequently complained about Ricciardi's "coldness" toward him, particularly in regard to his inability or unwillingness to reciprocate Rosa's letters.

6. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

7. Camillo Rubiera, on whom see letter 178, note 22.

8. With the phrase "apostolic greeting" Rosa means the opening greetings addressed to the reader in the Apostles' letters, most commonly those of Saint Paul, who opens his first letter with the line: "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ". Rosa is clearly alluding to Giuseppe Compagno's status as a friar.

9. Giuseppe Compagno, on whom see letter 136, notes 13 and 15.

10. Lodovico Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

11. Rosa earlier reported the death of the Maffei brothers' mother, Caterina Gotti, in letter 199.

12. The items in question may have arrived in the box that Rosa indicated having sent to Lodovico Maffei with letter 199. The term "creaturina," the diminutive of "creatura," means an especially young child, and is used with a particularly affectionate connotation, often indicating the subject's weakness or fragility: Battaglia, 3:940. The term is also a popular Neapolitanism, still commonly used in reference to children.

13. The term "stimazione," no longer in use, refers to an opinion, judgment or decision: Battaglia, 20:186.

14. On the figurative meaning of "incacare" as to outdo, surpass or render insignificant, see letter 93, note 11.

Letter 201:

1. The plague that was then threatening Naples, on which see: Bertolaso 1969; Wells 1973; Galasso 1982, 41–50; Porzio, in Cassani 1984, 51–57; Barker 2004; Bailey and Barker 2005; and the essays in Fosi 2006.

2. The verb "serpire" (or "serpere") means to move along the ground like a snake. In reference to an illness, the term can mean to gradually spread, diffuse or penetrate: Battaglia, 18:743.

3. Rosa here reports "four hundred thousand" inhabitants, and, later on in the letter, "five hundred thousand". In 1656, Naples lost almost two-thirds of its inhabitants, or approximately 250,000–270,000 out of 400,000 to 450,000 people. See Marino 2011, 9 and 84. Indeed, in letter 205, dated 9 September 1656, Rosa reports that "two hundred and fifty thousand people have died" in Naples. By 1606 the population of Naples had reached 270,000 and, just prior to the plague of 1656, it was 360,000, making it approximately the same size as Paris and the largest city in western Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century.

4. On the figurative significance of the term "viscere" as "love," see letter 46, note 2. The word can also refer, in tender expressions of affection, to a child: Battaglia, 21:914. Rosa here intends the plural "viscere" in reference to one individual, his son Rosalvo.

5. Giuseppe Rosa, who died as a result of the plague a few weeks later: Limentani 1984, 238, note 1. On Giuseppe, see letter 91, note 22.

6. With the term "buggerona," Rosa likely intends the female version of "buggerone," a deceiver, swindler or cheat: Battaglia, 2:432. The word derives from the verb "buggerare," which in its literal usage (as in the case of the English "bugger") refers to the practice of sodomy; figuratively, it means to steal, cheat or swindle, or to deceive or trick. Here, then, Rosa is characterizing his subject—the female personification of Fortune—with a particularly derogatory epithet.

7. The expression "ordire una tela contro qualcuno" means to plot against someone.

8. The Greek painter Antiphilus, a contemporary of Apelles, Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I. As noted by Limentani 1984, 238, note 2, Antiphilus is recorded in Lucian's *Dialogues* ("Calumniae non temere credendum, 2") as having been so jealous of Apelles's art that he vilified him to King Ptolemy, denouncing him as a criminal who took part in a conspiracy. The tale (the facts must have turned out differently for chronological reasons) has it that Apelles painted his famous "Calumny" on the occasion, and that Antiphilus, his deception coming to light, was handed over to Apelles as a slave.

9. Rosa is here referring to the predicament of his brother-in-law, the painter Francesco Fracanzano (1612–*c.* 1656), who was married to Rosa's sister Giovanna. As noted by Limentani 1984, 238, note 3, the parallel Rosa constructs here between the story of Antiphilus and Fracanzano is apt. According to what Rosa says in the present letter, there was a jealous painter who denounced Fracanzano to the Spanish authorities in Naples, accusing him falsely (as the sources of the period affirm) of having spread the rumour that the Viceroy had let the plague spread. See also Limentani 1973, 257–258. On Fracanzano's role as one of Rosa's important early teachers and artistic influences, see: Prota-Giurleo 1929b, 13–14; Scott 1995, 3, 5–7, 14 and 110; Spinosa, in Naples 2008, 15–21; Farina 2010, 15–18, 38, 46, 53, 59, 64, 68, 71 and 78; Langdon 2010b, 12; and Volpi 2010a. On Fracanzano more generally, see Romano, in *DBI* 49 (1997):527–529, and Della Ragione 2011. On the Fracanzano family of painters, including Cesare, Francesco and Michelangelo, see the biographies by De Dominici, 1:149–162. The event that Rosa recounts in the present letter, concerning Francesco Fracanzano, was also recorded by De Dominici, 1:160. Lofano 2014, 162–163, considers Rosa's denigratory comments in the present letter, concerning the Spanish and their responsibility for spreading the plague, as evidence of an anti-Spanish sentiment on the artist's part (also voiced perhaps in letter 194), a sentiment also echoed in Rosa's satire

La Guerra, vv. 61–78 (Romei 1995, 123): "Mira che del morir nulla paventa […] Se per giovare altrui svena se stesso." The last of these verses, argues Lofano, could allude to the killing of Masaniello, here perhaps being compared to a pelican (a clear Christological allusion), which, according to tradition, cared for its children by stripping feathers from its own chest.

10. This comment is probably intended to refer to Rosa's own recent experience of persecution at the hands of his academic enemies and the Roman religious authorities.

11. The expression "fare castelli in aria" means to engage in pointless or groundless fantasy. A "castello in aria" is a figment of the imagination, a daydream or fantasy without foundation: Battaglia 1:653.

12. Rosa here intimates, unequivocally, that the Spanish (to whom he refers as "dogs" later in the present letter) are to be blamed for bringing the plague to Italy. On Rosa's attitude toward Spanish rule in Naples, see also note 9, above. See further on this subject Tomory 1990, who proposed that Rosa's enigmatic *Figurine* etchings (on which see letter 207, note 4) depicted Spanish soldiers. On Naples and the cultivation of Neapolitan identity under Spanish rule, see Marino 2011, who notes (62) that "[i]n Spanish Naples, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century historians mined classical sources to trace the origins of the city, rationalize Spanish rule, and promote *napoletanità*—the distinctiveness, priority and preeminence of Naples—in order to link the ancient republic to the present under Spanish Habsburg rule."

13. These lines are from the first draft of the opening of Rosa's satire, *Il Tirreno*, for which see Festa 1979. For the satire *Il Tirreno*, see also Romei 1995, 196–213 (esp. vv. 349–351), and Roworth 1978, 7–9, 61, 74, 88, 90, 255, 262 and 370–372. Rosa's satire *Il Tirreno*, traditionally considered the last of the group (but perhaps chronologically the second-to-last; see letter 216, note 4), was not published along with the first six (these six were first published *c.* 1694; see letter 4, note 7); the *Il Tirreno* was in fact first published in Filippo Palizzi, *Salvator Rosa: Abbozzi di Poesie* (Naples, 1876), from a manuscript then owned by Count Gilberto Borromeo, on the occasion of a dedication of a plaque at the house where Rosa was born: see Limentani 1961, 234–240, and Roworth 1978, 14, note 18. Tirreno (Tyrsenus, or Tyrrhenus, in English) was a son of the Lydian king Atys and Callithea, and brother of Lydus, who was believed to have led a Pelasgian colony from Lydia into Italy, in what is now the region of Umbria, lending the colonists the name "Tyrrhenians": see Herod 4:94, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus I. 27. Tyrrhenus has also been identified as the son of Heracles and Omphale: see Dionysius of Halicarnassus I. 28. Rosa's satire centres upon the character Tirreno (a stand-in for Rosa himself), who earlier featured as one of the two protagonists of Rosa's satire *La Babilonia*. *Il Tirreno* is a long, pessimistic composition on the subject of satire itself.

14. As noted by Limentani 1984, 239, note 4, "Cyniscus" features in two dialogues by Lucian: *The Tyrannicide* and *Zeus confutato* (or *Jupiter confutatus*). Rosa here alludes to the second of the two. In Lucian's *Jupiter tragoedus*, the Stoic philosopher Timocles (who is also fictional) is contrasted with Damis, an Epicurean philosopher.

15. Rosa is here referring to the arrival of the plague in Rome, which reached the city from Naples by the spring of 1656. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, letter 202, note 1, the warning about the plague's presence in Rome was spread on 19 June 1656, but only in the month of July had certain people been struck by the disease in the Parione quarter, in Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, in Trastevere, and in the Jewish Ghetto. The plague seems to have lasted from April 1656 to the end of the spring of 1657, with estimates indicating approximately 2,700 cases (see Di Tucci 1935). In January of 1657, the contagion was still spreading (see letter 212). The plague of 1656 began in Naples, where it purportedly took more than 3000 lives a day. On the situation in Naples, see note 3, above. The plague then spread north to Rome, entering the city via Trastevere in the spring of that same year. In Rome, the death toll reached more than 900 a week in November. On the situation in Rome, see also McPhee 2012, 85–86, who notes the horrific observations of the Roman diarist Giacinto Gigli (see Gigli 1994, 2:769) upon his return to Rome from the countryside in the autumn of 1656, writing of carts piled with bodies covered by waxed canvas, their drivers ringing bells.

16. Rosa uses the term "mosca" in reference to a "fly," perhaps alluding to one of the carriers of disease. Rosa uses the same analogy in letter 216.

17. That is, in Rome.

18. With the word "terriache" Rosa intends "teriaca" (or "triaca"), a medicine of alchemical origins consisting of various ingredients, among which the meat of the viper was considered essential as it was believed to have particular powers—especially as an antidote to snake bites, but also as a cure for a variety of maladies and ailments. In widespread use during the middle ages and the Renaissance, it endured in popular medicine until the start of the nineteenth century: Battaglia, 21:320. The term can also be used more generally to refer to an antidote, remedy, medicine or drug.

19. The term "acceti" likely refers to an old form of popular medicine composed of vinegar and other ingredients, perhaps similar to the "aceto dei sette (o quattro) ladri," which consisted of vinegar, garlic extract, rue and camphor: Battaglia, 1:120, no. 2.

20. Rosa's reference here to the "baths" could be in connection with the thermal spas at San Casciano or San Filippo, to which Ricciardi frequently travelled to take the therapeutic waters, and on which see letter 106, note 6, and letter 129, note 1. Alternatively, Rosa could be referring, more simply, to a home-remedy involving bathing.

21. Rosa may here intend to refer to two poisonous plants in particular, hemlock and aconite aloe, used variously in the early modern period for medicinal purposes or more nefarious activities, such as witchcraft and sorcery. See Grieve 1992, Dyer 1994, and Culpeper 1995.

22. On the art dealer Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2. The *canzone* to which Rosa here refers is Ricciardi's *L'Iddio*, dedicated to Bonaventura Cavalli (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Magl. VII. 868, Var: Poesie diversi, 540r–543r), on which see letter 134, note 8. For the text of the poem, see Hoare 2010a, Appendix II.3.

23. Bonaventura Cavalli, a Franciscan preacher, and friend of both Rosa and Ricciardi, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

24. The word "misurate" here functions as a verb. Rosa seems to be employing the term "segni" in connection with the definition of "segno" as the authentication of a unit of measurement, as in the case of the Florentine "Ufficio del segno," dedicated to authenticating weights and measurements (Battaglia, 18:481). Hence "con certi segni, misurate" can be interpreted as "with certain/definite criteria, make your evaluation/judgment".

25. An ironic reference on Rosa's part to Ricciardi's poem *L'Iddio*, which had been dedicated to Bonaventura Cavalli. See letter 134, note 8.

26. Rosa's reference here to Cosimo Brunetti (on whom see letter 67, note 13) probably concerns Brunetti's aid in acquiring books for Ricciardi, including the *Geometry* by René Descartes (mentioned later in the present letter), on which see letter 193, note 11.

27. On Signor Bardi, a mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi, see letter 99, note 24.

28. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

29. Lodovico Maffei, one of Giulio Maffei's brothers, had apparently extended an invitation to Rosa to come to Volterra, an impossible journey in view of the ongoing plagues. On Lodovico Maffei, see letter 1, note 5.

30. Lucrezia had returned to Rome from Naples by this point, and may have been back there at an earlier date, as Rosa's reference to Lucrezia in letter 200 suggests (see letter 200, note 3).

31. This is probably a reference to René Descartes's *Geometry*, a copy of which Rosa was trying to obtain for Ricciardi. See letter 193, note 11.

Letter 202:

1. Here Rosa reports the devastating news of the death of his brother, Giuseppe (on whom see letter 91, note 22), and Rosa's fifteen-year-old son Rosalvo, on account of the plague in Naples. Their deaths—Rosalvo's in particular—have been linked to the iconography of Rosa's large allegorical painting known as *Umana Fragilità* (*c.* 1656, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) (on which see Hoare 2018, 106 (note 239) 142, 167 and 212–213), and to the mournful *Portrait of Lucrezia Paolini* (*c.* 1650–1656, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome), on which see Hoare 2018, 179 and note 29, and Hults 2010, 28, who notes, interestingly, that the portrait's "intimacy and domestic setting may […] reflect the early modern construction of maternal mourning as disruptive and appropriately kept private, in contrast to the public rituals of *parental* grief: more moderate, distanced, and focused on the socio-cultural meanings of the child's death rather than on specific, somatic loss. […] With Rosa as its primary audience, [the painting] may also have provided self-reproof." The *Umana Fragilità*, writes Hults (29), could be considered the "masculine, public counterpart to the private mourning portrait."

2. The poem to which Rosa here refers is perhaps *L'Iddio*, which Ricciardi had sent to Rosa, via Francesco Cordini, back in June (see letter 201). Alternatively, it could be the poem entitled *Sotto rigida stella* that Ricciardi dedicated to Rosa, and which Baldinucci, 5:445, linked to Rosa's painting of *Umana Fragilità* (on which see note 1, above). The date of this poem is unknown, although it is possible that Rosa refers to it in a letter of 12 May 1651 (letter 99, where he mentions a "poem on friendship"), suggesting a date of *c.* 1651. The moral-philosophical content of the *Sotto rigida stella*, and in particular its musings on suffering and the whims of fortune, certainly correspond closely to the particular events of Rosa's life in the summer of 1656. On the poem, see letter 99, note 8. Rosa quotes directly from the *Sotto rigida stella* in various extant letters, beginning in January 1661 (see letter 250).

Letter 203:

1. Rosa's use of the phrase "con le braccia in croce," in combination with the verb "raccomandarsi," is a variation on the expression "pregare, supplicare con le braccia in croce," which means to seek favour or assistance humbly or with significant fervour or zeal: Battaglia, 2:343.

2. The term "amaritudine" means bitter, acrimonious or biting. In the figurative sense, it means bitter, sad or doleful: Battaglia, 1:375.

3. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

Letter 204:

1. Rosa has just lost his brother Giuseppe and his son Rosalvo to the plague in Naples, on which see letter 202.

2. Rosa's formulation in Italian here is a little strange, and suggests he intends "everyone hates me" rather than "I hate . . . everyone". He presumably intends to express a sentiment similar to that voiced in letter 203, where he laments that the friends to whom he has displayed kindnesses neglect to console him in his own time of need.

Letter 205:

1. The first "catastrophe," of course, was the death of Rosa's son Rosalvo and his brother Giuseppe, during the plague in Naples. See letter 202. As noted by Limentani 1972, the news of the death of Rosa's sister Giovanna and her children would later turn out to be false. Giovanna Fracanzano appears, together with her son Michelangelo Fracanzano, in an act of 26 June 1673 (Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome, *Fondo Vittorio Emanuele*, 1490, c. 5) in which she agrees, in exchange for 270 ducats, to recognize the legitimacy of the inheritance assigned to Augusto Rosa after Salvator Rosa's death that year. See: Prota-Giurleo 1929a, 41; Prota-Giurleo 1929b, 13; and Prota-Giurleo 1962, 243–245. From the documents, we learn that Giovanna was still alive in 1674, and was living in the house of her son Michelangelo in Naples. The date and circumstances of Francesco Fracanzano's death, however, are less certain: no document has yet emerged, and he seems to have died in the plague of 1656. See Della Ragione 2011, 1. Two early accounts, which likely draw from the problematic and unreliable biography of De Dominici, suggest Fracanzano died soon after his arrest, during the plague, in 1656: see Limentani 1972, 257–258, and Rosa's report in letter 201. On Fracanzano, see letter 201, note 9. In a letter of 9 October 1656 (letter 206), Rosa wrote optimistically that "we hope that by the end of this month the disease will have diminished, and entirely come to an end," and in November (letter 209), he wrote to Ricciardi that "the plague is getting worse, so we live with an extraordinary fear".

2. A reference to a passage in the Book of Job 3:1–3, in which Job, tested at the hands of Satan and consulting with his friends about the origins of his suffering and God's challenge, curses the day of his birth. Rosa painted a large canvas representing the subject of *Job and his Comforters* (1666, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), on which see: Scott 1995, 176–177; Naples 2008, 241, cat. 83; and Volpi 2014, 580, cat. 303.

3. Limentani 1972, 266, note 3, identified the first part of this line as a possible paraphrase of a passage from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Book XII, chapter 9, 1074b, 30–35, which deals with the subjects of divine (or "supernatural") thought. Aristotle writes: "Mind is held to be of all phenomena the most supernatural; but the question of how we must regard it if it is to be of this nature involves certain difficulties. If Mind

thinks nothing, where is its dignity? […] Mind is not thinking but a potentiality […] Mind thinks itself, if it is that which is best; and its thinking is a thinking of thinking." Aristotle-*Metaphysics*, 163–165.

4. On Rosa's conflicted attitude toward Stoicism and its merits, see also his comment in letter 101 (and note 6). Rosa was not alone in expressing scepticism over the merits or tenability of Stoicism, particularly in the face of death: Rubens also voiced his frustration with Stoic philosophy—in a manner very similar to Rosa—when he lost his first wife, in a letter to his friend Pierre Dupuy of 1626: Magurn 1955, 135–136, letter 84.

5. A paraphrased reference to Seneca the Younger's *De vita beata* and *De tranquillitate animi*: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 225, note 3.

6. Rosa here refers to the flagrant discrepancy between Seneca's principles concerning wealth and poverty and the reality of his accumulation of riches (his "two million," as Rosa puts it), a wealth that was ultimately rendered worthless at his death. The object of the final sentence, which also reads as a rhyme ("fanne di meno, se si può"), seems to be the money rather than the principles under discussion (concerning the blessed life and the tranquillity of the soul). Publius Suillius reputedly claimed that Seneca had acquired "three hundred million sesterces within the space of four years," through Emperor Nero's favour: Campbell 1998, 11. On Seneca's wealth, see also Wedeck 1955. Rosa's intended meaning with his use of the phrase "farne di meno" is not entirely clear: the expression "farne a meno" is a modern one, but the phrase "farne di meno" may have had the same meaning in seventeenth-century usage. The phrase "farne di meno a qualcosa" means to dispense with something, or to not need something. Hence, Rosa's expression here could be interpreted as: "if you can do so, then dispense with it [the money]".

7. The Compagnia dei Confortatori is the religious order responsible for comforting criminals condemned to execution, on which see also letter 178, note 6. Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 172, suggests that Rosa's words in the present letter can also be connected to the sentiment expressed in his etching of the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* (1662), dedicated to Ricciardi. Rosa's comments here "reveal his admiration for the contempt for death displayed by Regulus and a Neapolitan executed by the viceroyal government when, in 1656, it severely repressed the populace, with the excuse that it wanted to punish the alleged propagators of the epidemic that was killing the population." Rosa's comment here concerning the slashing of veins is a reference to Seneca's suicide: ordered by the Emperor Nero in 65 CE to kill himself, for his part in a conspiracy to murder the Emperor, Seneca cut his veins in order to bleed to death.

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 226, note 4, Rosa here refers to various philosophers: Zeno of Citium (*c.* 334–262 BCE), the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy; Aristippus of Cyrene (*c.* 435–*c.* 356 BCE), the founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy; and Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (95–46 BCE), also known as Cato the Younger, a proponent of the Stoic school in Rome.

9. The word "sbardellatissima" is the superlative of the adjective "sbardellato," which refers to something with exceptional or enormous dimensions, or something excessive or larger than usual; an abnormal or exaggerated quantity; something vast or widespread: Battaglia, 17:649.

10. The expression "farla vedere ad alcuno in candela" means to show someone that he or she is wrong; it also means to overpower or overcome, or to succeed in doing something to another person's vexation: Battaglia, 2:622.

11. That is, in regard to the fact that Rosa had only one son, Rosalvo.

12. For the seventeenth-century game of *pilotta*, comparable to handball or the Spanish ball-game of "pelota vasca," see Battaglia, 13:479. "Pallacorda" was a similar game, played in Italy since the end of the fifteenth century, which consisted of throwing a ball into the opponent's court beyond a tightrope strung across the middle of the pitch. In an earlier form of the game, the ball had to be struck with the hand; later iterations introduced different types of rackets, hence the game is considered a precursor of tennis: Battaglia, 12:410.

13. As noted by Limentani 1972, 266, note 4, this line is a variation of the opening lines of Petrarch's sonnet CCXC, written to his love Laura in death, vv. 1–2: "Come va 'l mondo! or mi diletta et piace/ quel che più mi dispiaque; or veggio et sento". Rosa here incorporates the end of v. 2, which leads into the beginning of the next line (v. 3): "che per aver salute ebbi tormento,/ et breve guerra per eterna pace." ("now I see and feel my pain was my salvation,/ I warred a while for my eternal rest"). Rosa also cites from Petrarch's compositions in letters 253, 260, 271, 305, 320, 367, 375 and 394. On the importance of Petrarch for Rosa's work, see Hoare 2018, 123 and 125.

14. On Rosa's professional difficulties at this moment, see Hoare 2018, 236 (and note 53), 259, and 283–284.

15. The word "notare" here stands for "nuotare," to swim. Rosa's expression could be derived from the popular proverb (or one of its variants) "Chi corre in mare e non sa notare corre rischio d'affogare," meaning "He who runs into the sea and cannot swim runs the risk of drowning".

16. On the plague in Naples, in 1656, see letter 201, notes 1 and 3.

Letter 206:

1. Rosa's use of the term "malinconia" here is in reference to a more general feeling of malaise and sadness, however there are occasions in the letters in which he intends the term more explicitly in reference to his humorological proclivities as a melancholic. On Rosa and the humour of melancholia, see letter 119, note 16, and letter 132, note 1.

2. On the spread of the plague in Rome, see letter 201, note 15. In January of 1657 the contagion was still spreading (see letter 212).

3. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

4. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 207:

1. Rosa once again invokes the legislative dimension of friendship. On the concept of the "laws of friendship," see letter 29, note 8.

2. Rosa here intends the word "indisposizione" in reference to the ongoing plague in Naples and Rome, on which see letter 201, notes 1, 3 and 15.

3. On Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13. As noted by Limentani 1953, 53, note 106, Ricciardi seems to have

recommended Brunetti to Rosa's protection during his stay in Rome (see letters 108, 162 and 297). Brunetti travelled to Europe, and in March 1657 was in Paris (see letter 213). It is not known whether Brunetti, who Rosa says in the present letter left Italy "in the company of some Englishmen," actually went to England on this occasion; he was certainly there in January 1662 (see letter 266, where Rosa says that Brunetti is "once again" in England, suggesting an earlier trip did in fact take place). It is impossible to guess at the identity of the "Englishmen" who accompanied Brunetti. Few were the travellers who risked taking a "tour" during an epidemic.

4. Rosa here refers to an enigmatic set of etchings, known (on account of his reference to them here) as the "Figurine". Rotili 1974, 74–84, first identified a homogenous group of twenty-one unsigned etchings (Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome), with a frontispiece that bears the inscription "Salvator Rosa/has ludentis otij/Carl Rubeo/singularis amicitiae pignus/ D.D.D." ("Salvator Rosa dedicates these prints of playful leisure to Carlo de' Rossi as a pledge of outstanding friendship"), corresponding to the album that Rosa describes in this letter. The subjects are predominantly studies of male figures, many of them soldiers, represented at rest and engaged in conversation. On the *Figurine*, see: Wallace 1979, 12–36 and 135–229, cat. 6–90; Von Heusinger 1984; Wallace 1989; Tomory 1990; Salamon 1993, cat. 10–75; *Figurine* 2001; and Nappi 2014, 69–75, 129–133 and 155–161, cat. 8–79. For the preparatory drawings that Rosa executed for the etchings, see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 45.1–46.22. As noted by Limentani 1953, 38, note 22, the verso of the present letter bears an inscription in Ricciardi's hand—a response to Rosa's request in the present letter for a dedication—that reads: "Adi I. nov.re 1656 in Pisa/ Habet et tabulas legum suarum amicitia,/ illasq. sculptura plusquam aenea/ in animis celat./ SALVATOR ROSA/ has aeris tabulas/ CAROLO RUBEO/ amicorum suavissimo/ D.D.D./ ut istae quas ludens incidit manus/ serio testentur illas quas unus Genius/ genuino scripsit in corde." On this dedicatory inscription, see further Hoare 2018, 261–262 and 299–300.

5. Carlo de' Rossi (died 1683), probably from Rome, a banker and prolific collector of Rosa's paintings in Rome. At his death, De' Rossi owned fifty-five of Rosa's most famous and important paintings. On Rosa and De' Rossi, see Volpi 1998. For De' Rossi's inventory, see Volpi 1998, 364–371, Appendix I. Baldinucci, 5:483–484, relates that De' Rossi was always ready to acquire Rosa's unsold pictures, without any conditions on the price. On Rosa and De' Rossi, and the significance of Rosa's dedication of the *Figurine* to his friend, see Hoare 2018, 299–300.

Letter 208:

1. Rosa once again raises the issue of Lucrezia's marriage to another man. On the predicament of Rosa's relationship with Lucrezia, see in particular letter 193, note 3.

2. Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13.

3. In regard to Rosa's reference here to Francesco Cordini, it is significant that at this very same moment we find clear evidence of his working procedure as Rosa's dealer: a payment document dated 30 October 1656, and therefore a few days after the present letter, records that Cordini collected the sale deposit of thirty *scudi* from the Marchese Pier Antonio Guadagni, on behalf of Rosa, who received the final payment of two hundred *scudi* himself almost a year later. The initial thirty *scudi* was likely the fee that Rosa paid to Cordini for his services. This was one of a number of payments made by members of the Guadagni family in connection with Rosa's paired landscapes representing the *Landscape with Saint John the Baptist* and *Landscape with the Baptism in the River Jordan* (both 1656–1657, Glasgow Museums Resource Centre), on which see Volpi 2014, 514, cat. 205 and 206. For the payments, see Spinelli 1996, 37–65. On the matter of Cordini's activities as a dealer, see Fumagalli, in Fumagalli 2007, 74–75. On Cordini, see letter 21, note 2.

4. The plague in Rome, on which see letter 201, note 15.

Letter 209:

1. This "matter" probably has something to do with Rosa's earlier request (see letters 193 and 208) that Ricciardi try and find out some information about Lucrezia's husband in Florence. As in letter 193, Rosa's vague use of the term "negozio," without further explanation, suggests it refers to a subject he would rather keep secret. Ricciardi is perhaps still searching for Lucrezia's husband's whereabouts, as Rosa here goes on to ask him to make continued efforts ("diligenza") on his behalf. It is also possible that the matter in question concerned a possible inheritance, which would perhaps have been owed to Lucrezia in the case of her husband's death.

2. On the plague in Rome, see letter 201, note 15.

3. Rosa's formulation in Italian here is unusual. He seems to be saying "in case you forgot about it," but probably intends (as rendered here in the translation) "so you don't forget about it".

Letter 210:

1. Limentani 1972, 267, note 1, indicates that this first sentence was added as a postscript. Only one word is illegible on account of a tear in the page. The report concerning Cosimo Brunetti's death will in fact be refuted in March of the following year (see letter 213), and Rosa had also expressed his doubts about it a couple of months prior (see letter 212). "Marsiglia" (Rosa writes "Marsilia" in the ms.) is presumably Marseille, France. On Brunetti's time in France, and the predicament he encountered by virtue of his association with the Jansenist community at this moment, see letter 67, note 13.

2. As noted by Limentani 1972, 267, note 2, this is probably an allusion not only to the grief and distress caused by the plague, but above all to the continual persecutions Rosa was suffering at the hands of his enemies in Rome, and in particular the situation concerning the whereabouts of Lucrezia's husband. On this matter see also letters 193 and 208.

3. Rosa makes a similar comment about Ricciardi's "barbaric" behaviour in letter 211.

Letter 211:

1. The Scythians were Iranian equestrian tribes who flourished from the 7th to the 4th century BCE. The term "Scythian" was historically also used to refer to a variety of peoples deemed "uncivilized," as in the case of the Biblical reference (Colossians 3:11) in which "Scythians" are mentioned alongside the barbarians, implying an association with an extreme form of barbarism. See also Rosa's similar complaint about Ricciardi's "barbaric" behaviour in letter 210, in regard to his lack of

response to Rosa's request for help with finding out information about the whereabouts of Lucrezia's husband.

Letter 212:

1. A reference to the tribulations of the ongoing plague, on which see letter 201, note 15.

2. Rosa had earlier complained in two prior letters to Ricciardi about his friend's lack of response (see letters 210 and 211).

3. Rosa's reference to this poisonous plant is probably intended as an allusion to Socrates's death. On the alternative association of hemlock with witchcraft, see letter 201, note 21.

4. Viareggio is a city on the coast of northern Tuscany, about twelve miles from Pisa. As noted by Limentani 1953, 54, note 109, the "diligenza di Viareggio" seems to refer to the delicate matter of ascertaining the whereabouts of Lucrezia's husband, to which Rosa refers in letter 208.

5. With the term "influenza" Rosa here intends the plague in Rome, on which see letter 201, note 15.

6. Secretary to Cardinal Carlo Francesco Pio and Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, Emilio Sibonio was a member of the Accademia degli Intrecciati (as was Rosa), and both recited compositions at one of the academy's meetings on 5 April 1645: Sibonio, an epigram "sopra il bacio di Giuda" ("on the kiss of Judas"), and Rosa—apparently during a visit to Rome from Florence, where he was then living—a sonnet "sopra il luogo ove morì Giuda" ("on the place where Judas died"). See Borzelli 1910, 19–20, and Volpi 2005, 128. Sibonio wrote the slanderous composition against Rosa entitled *Purgatorio. Satira sesta*, on which see letter 153, note 12. Both Sibonio and Agostino Favoriti also contributed to the encomiastic poetry surrounding Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and Sibonio wrote poems in connection with the Intrecciati. See Montanari 1998, 155–159.

7. Emilio Sibonio worked as secretary for both Cardinal Carlo Francesco Pio and Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino. As noted by Conte 2014, 343, note 127, the text drawn up by Alfonso Gioia—a commentary on and paraphrase of Sibonio's satire *Purgatorio*, which was directed against Rosa—reveals that the particular cardinal to whom Rosa here refers is Carlo Francesco Pio, the nephew of Carlo Emanuele. For this passage in Gioia's text, see Conte 2014, 573, Appendix VI.1.1. On Carlo Francesco Pio, see Fiorina 1980, 81, 84 and 167.

8. Rosa here refers to the satire *Purgatorio*, written against him by Emilio Sibonio, on which see letter 153 (note 12), letter 176 (note 18), letter 177 (note 4) and letter 178 (note 3).

9. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 231, note 2, considered Rosa's use of the phrase "ammettermi alla pace" to be a reference to the Roman monastery of Santa Maria della Pace, where an "unidentified society" resided. It has not been possible to identify any such society. Rosa's phrasing is unusual, but seems instead to be an especially poetic or erudite way of saying "he didn't accept my offer of peace" or, perhaps, "he had no intention of allowing me peace."

10. A reference to the closing of the roads on account of the ongoing plague.

11. Agostino Favoriti, another of Rosa's academic detractors, on whom see letter 129, note 23.

12. Favoriti was made secretary to Cardinal Flavio Chigi, nephew of the reigning Pope Alexander VII.

13. As noted by Limentani 1953, 54, note 110, these are the comedies that were performed during Carnival. On the Accademia degli Stravaganti, the theatrical academy in Pisa to which Ricciardi belonged, see letter 56, note 2.

14. See letter 210, where Rosa reports the rumour that Cosimo Brunetti has died.

15. Caterina, who was also the wife of Cosimo Fabretti.

16. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 213:

1. Rosa here refutes the rumours that had been circulating about Cosimo Brunetti's death. See also letters 210 and 212. On Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

2. That is, Ricciardi's present engagement in writing comedies. For a list of his various published comedies, see letter 126, note 6.

3. A reference to the ongoing plague in Rome, on which see letter 201, note 15.

4. On Ricciardi's comedies, see letter 126, note 6. The "previous" comedy to which Rosa here refers, apparently longer in length, is perhaps the protracted composition that Rosa mentions in letter 179.

5. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 214:

1. On the plague in Rome, see letter 201, note 15.

2. The expression "darsi alle streghe" means to despair, give up hope; literally, to give oneself to the witches. On this expression, see also letter 147, note 11.

3. Volunnio Bandinelli, who was nominated as a cardinal by Pope Alexander VII in 1658. On Bandinelli, see letter 48, note 24.

4. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 232, note 1, this is probably a reference to Don Agostino Chigi (1634–1705), from Siena, the nephew of Pope Alexander VII and governor of Castel Sant'Angelo. Agostino owned numerous paintings by Rosa, including: the *Landscape with Mercury and Argus* (*c.* 1655–1658, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City), for which see Volpi 2014, 516, cat. 208; the *Pan and Pindar* (Palazzo Chigi, Ariccia, for which see letter 339, note 2); and the *Heroic Battle* (*c.* 1657, now lost), identifiable with a work listed in Agostino Chigi's 1658 inventory, for which see Volpi 2014, 524, cat. 222. Meroni 1981, 66 (fig. 8), identified Agostino as the subject of Rosa's so-called *Self-Portrait as a Soldier* (Palazzo Chigi Saracini, Siena). Salerno, in Cassani 1984, 1:428, does not share this hypothesis. On the painting see also: Scott 1995, 61, fig. 76; Daprà, in Naples 2008, 103, cat. 4; Spinelli 2005, 75–77 and 190–191, cat. 32; and Volpi 2014, 469, cat. 148. Two variations on the painting, consisting of half-length "portrait" representations of the same figure, dated variously to the 1640s or 1650s, are now in the Detroit Institute of Arts and a private collection in the UK. For the Detroit painting, see: Langdon, in Kitson 1973, 23, cat. 11; Salerno 1975, 87, cat. 35; Wallace 1979, 13–14, fig. 5; Salerno, in Cassani 1984, 1:428; Roworth 1988, 113 and 115; Bandes 2003, 8, 9, 34 and 35; Bissell et al. 2005, 10–11 (note 16), and 172–174, cat.

56; Langdon 2010a, 104, fig. 58; and Volpi 2014, 468–469, cat. 146. For the painting in a private collection, UK, see Volpi 2014, 469, cat. 147. On both the Siena and Detroit paintings, see also Hoare 2018, 49–50 (note 66), 181, 188 and 191. For another possible *Self-Portrait as a Soldier* by Rosa in the Chigi-Saracini collection, see Spinelli 2005, 74–75, cat. 31, and Volpi 2014, 430, cat. 86. On Rosa and the Chigi family, see also letter 280, note 14.

5. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 215:

1. This letter follows a string of missives in which Rosa complains to Ricciardi about his inability to correspond in kind. See letters 210, 211, 212, 213 and 214. The tone of the letter can also be connected to Rosa's experiences of 1657, more generally: his lack of major commissions (also reflected in his contemporary satire *La Babilonia*, and his *Allegory of Fortune*, both of which lament the lack of attention he was receiving as an artist), and his feelings of sadness at the recent loss of his son Rosalvo and brother Giuseppe, on which see letter 202, note 1.

2. The plague in Rome, on which see letter 201, note 15.

Letter 216:

1. Another invocation on Rosa's part of the topos of the "friend as a second self," on which see letter 50, note 1.

2. On the plague in Rome, see letter 201, note 15.

3. As noted by Limentani 1950, 115, note 1a, Rosa treats the same subject in his ode *Quare ergo impij vivunt* (a fragment of a passage from Job, 21:7: "quare ergo impii vivunt sublevati sunt confortatique divitiis"; "Why, then, do the lawless go on living? They are lifted up, and comforted by riches"), for which see Cesareo 1892, 1:155–159. Rosa uses the same analogy of "mosche" (flies or pests) in letter 201.

4. Limentani 1950, 115, note 2, considered this to be a reference to a now-lost satire, not identifiable with any of the seven surviving satires by Rosa, five of which were in fact already completed by 1653 (see Rosa's comment to this effect in letter 172). In 1984, however, Limentani seemed to reconsider his earlier proposal and suggested the satire in question could be *La Babilonia*: Limentani 1984, 241, note 1. Festa 1979, meanwhile, considered Rosa to be referring to what has commonly been understood as his seventh and final satire, *Il Tirreno*. *La Babilonia*, traditionally thought to be the sixth of Rosa's satires, is generally believed to have been composed between 1657 and 1658, and the seventh, *Il Tirreno*, has usually been assigned to the final years of Rosa's life. Rosa also mentions a satire in two letters written in the spring of 1658 (letters 220 and 221), however De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 16 (who first published these particular letters) was not sure whether or not these references concerned the same composition mentioned in the present letter. Given that Rosa affirmed (in letter 221) that the work in question consisted of "more than six hundred verses," De Rinaldis advanced the hypothesis that this composition was a first, incomplete draft of the sixth satire *La Babilonia*. See further in this regard Roworth 1978, 6, 90 and 200–212 (esp. 202), who proposed that *La Babilonia* was written in two parts and suggested for it a date of the 1650s through the early 1660s, its completion likely taking place between 1662 and 1664. In regard to the chronology of the satires, Manna, in Romei 1995, 321, has convincingly argued that the references in Rosa's letters upon which Limentani based the date for *La Babilonia*, to 1657–1658, refer not to this satire but to *Il Tirreno*, making this the sixth satire in the chronology and *La Babilonia* the seventh and last. As Conte 2014, 121, points out, Manna also noted that the principal theme of *La Babilonia* was treated by Rosa in his large *Allegory of Fortune*, exhibited in 1658 or 1659 at San Giovanni Decollato, signalling further that a passage in *La Babilonia*, vv. 364–366 (Romei 1995, 178), implies that Rosa had lived in Rome for "sei lustra" (or six 5-year periods), not counting the period of time he spent in Florence, which would suggest a date for the satire of 1665—that is thirty years after his first arrival in Rome. De Liso 2015, 43–44, argues that *La Babilonia* should be considered the sixth satire, but that chronologically it must be preceded by the *Il Tirreno*. De Liso also notes as evidence in this regard Rosa's earlier identification of Rome with "Babylon" in a letter to Ricciardi of 8 November 1659 (letter 237). *Il Tirreno*, summarizes De Liso, was written by Rosa in 1658, but may have been taken up again during Rosa's "prematura vecchiaia" (as argued by Limentani 1961, 237), as it forms the epilogue to the published satires. De Liso (43–44, note 49) also considers as evidence that the *Il Tirreno* be considered Rosa's final satire the comment that Rosa makes in letter 221 (dated 12 May 1658) in regard to his "ultima satira" and its possession of more than six hundred verses: the only one of Rosa's satires, notes De Liso, with 634 verses (and therefore closest to Rosa's approximation of "six hundred verses") is the *Il Tirreno*. The "satiretta" to which Rosa refers in the present letter, then, could well be a first version of the *Il Tirreno*, verses from which Rosa also cites in letter 201 (19 June 1656).

5. Francesco Maria Ceffini, on whom see letter 151, note 15. Paliaga 2009, 174, note 146, considers that the passages from Rosa's satires mentioned here must have been obtained via Ricciardi. Here, Rosa's reference to Ceffini as a "*certain* Signor Ceffini" suggests they must have had a rather erratic relationship, as Rosa appears here to have forgotten who Ceffini is, as well as the letter he had received from him back in 1652 (on which see letter 151).

6. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

7. As Limentani 1950, 115–116, note 3, points out, it is important to note that Rosa's satires were not published during his lifetime, hence his touchiness in learning that a stranger possessed a manuscript copy. On the publication of Rosa's satires, beginning in *c.* 1694, see letter 4, note 7.

8. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 217:

1. The plague in Rome, on which see letter 201, note 15.

2. Limentani 1984, 241, note 1, suggested that Rosa was here referring to working on his satire *La Babilonia*, although he may alternatively have been at work on the *Il Tirreno*. On this matter, see letter 216, note 4. Rosa may also have been at work on his painting of the *Allegory of Fortune* at this moment, on which see letter 224, note 7.

3. Literally, a "bronze chest," as in a cuirass or chest-plate for a suit of armour. The term "petto" also refers to the interior organs—the heart, lungs or stomach—or, figuratively, to steadfastness, courage or bravery. See Battaglia, 13:215–216. Rosa's phrase is comparable to the English expression "an iron constitution". Rosa uses a similar expression in letter 196.

Letter 218:

1. As noted by Limentani 1972, 268, both the painting and the events surrounding the payment received for it—to which Rosa refers in this letter—are difficult to identify, since the letters of the preceding weeks and months (to which this letter must relate) have not yet come to light. Rosa's allusion here to a certain misfortune could perhaps relate to the exhibition of his *Allegory of Fortune*, for which an exact date of execution and exhibition has yet to be fully clarified. On this matter, see letter 224, note 7. Rosa's comment here may be connected to the "theft" (of either a painting, or of money he was waiting to receive) mentioned in letter 219. Rosa's intention with the term "ricompensa" is not entirely clear: he either means "compensation" in the sense of monetary payment (expecting to receive more than just the one hundred *scudi* paid—perhaps considered by the payee to have been the total sum, rather than just a down payment, as Rosa regarded it), or he means to suggest "retribution" in regard to the apparent "theft" referred to in letter 219 (perhaps the painting itself had been stolen and Rosa was now required to make a new one). On Rosa's method of pricing his works, and his conception of the value of his paintings, see Hoare 2018, chapter five.

2. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

Letter 219:

1. Ricciardi's sister, Caterina, had married his friend and "secretary" Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

2. This "theft" probably relates to the matter of payment for a painting mentioned by Rosa in letter 218. It is not entirely clear what was stolen: either the painting itself, which Rosa would have had to remake, or funds intended in payment for it.

3. With the word "stronzio" Rosa likely intends "stronzo," literally a turd, or, in figurative terms, a bastard: Battaglia, 20:391–392. Rosa's expression here, "l'ho nelle viscere dello stronzio," is a rather more elaborate version of the more common "l'ho in culo" ("I don't give a shit about it").

Letter 220:

1. De Rinaldis 1939, 91, note 2, proposed that Rosa's "S." was probably intended for "Satira"—perhaps the one dedicated to the "Bacchettoni," included among Ricciardi's burlesque poems, for which see Toci 1881, 3–11. The initial could also refer to the "satiretta" that Rosa mentions in letter 216, however this was a composition written by Rosa himself.

2. See Rosa's reference to this wedding in letter 219.

3. On the plague in Rome, see letter 201, note 15.

4. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 238, note 1, who transcribe the word in Rosa's letter as "costì," rather than "Cesti," considered this a reference to Francesco Cavalli's *Ipermestra*, performed in Florence at the request of Gian Carlo de' Medici on 18 June 1658. Following a (probably incorrect) interpretation of the word as "Cesti," Testaverde 2003 noted that Marcantonio Cesti was in fact in Florence in the spring of 1658, and may on this occasion have participated in a performance at the Teatro del Cocomero which "in those years was under the management of the Accademia dei Sorgenti, having staged prose compositions with musical *intermedi* by Andrea Moniglia, including 'La Laurinda' and 'La forza del destino'." On Cesti, see letter 27, note 21.

5. As noted by Limentani 1950, 116, note 1, "muino" is a Neapolitanism synonymous with "stordito, confuso, scombussolato," or bewildered, confused, unsettled. See the definition of "ammoinare" (meaning bothered, disturbed, in a fury) in Galiani, 1:25, who notes the term's Spanish derivation.

6. Damage to the page has obscured part of this sentence. The satire to which Rosa here refers has been suggested as *La Babilonia*, but it could also be *Il Tirreno* (Manna, in Romei 1995, 344, and Conte 2014, 121), the latter option also a consideration in view of Rosa's reference here to beginning an entirely new satire, and his reference, in letter 221, to the number of verses in the composition. On the matter of the dating of these two satires, see letter 216, note 4.

7. De Rinaldis 1939, 92, note 4, considered that Rosa's reference to having not yet seen Ricciardi's poem, *Il Tempo*, contradicted his comment in letter 224 (formerly dated to 1658, but here redated to 1659), where Rosa says explicitly that he received the poem via Marcantonio Cesti. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 238, note 2, following this line of argument, considered that Rosa was in the present letter referring to the final "printed publication," and that the poem received from Cesti must have been a ms. copy. However, the redating of the letter of 4 January to 1659 allows for a correct chronology of events. See letter 224.

8. The day before Easter Sunday, which in 1658 fell on Sunday 21 April. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 238, note 3, proposed 17 April.

Letter 221:

1. By "ire d'Iddio" (literally, "wrath of God"), Rosa means a "problem".

2. See Rosa's comments regarding the physical and financial difficulties of travel at this moment in letters 154, 157, 212, 214 and 215. With the phrase "di procaccio" Rosa seems not to intend the actual "transport" (in reference to the postman or "procaccio") but one of the more figurative meanings of the term as "handling" or "bother," for which see Battaglia, 14:426–427. In this definition, the term "procaccio" means "prompt attention or assiduous haste, with the intention of achieving a determined goal, in regard to accomplishing a particularly important advantage or requirement for oneself or others."

3. The "matter" in question is not known. By "get anything out of it" Rosa presumably means financial gains, as is further implied by Rosa's subsequent request that Ricciardi treat him "like a Hebrew"—that is, as someone who prizes money, according to the cultural stereotype of Jewish miserliness—rather than a saint.

4. This has been suggested as Rosa's satire *La Babilonia*, on which see Roworth 1978, 202 (and letter 216, note 4), however it could also be *Il Tirreno*, in view of the number of verses to which Rosa here refers: as noted by Manna, in Romei 1995, 344, *La Babilonia* has 946 verses and *Il Tirreno* has 634. On this matter, see also Conte 2014, 121. See also Rosa's comments in letter 220, and, for considerations in regard to the dating of these two satires, letter 216, note 4.

5. An important comment in evidence of Rosa's consultation with Ricciardi in regard to the writing and assessment of his own poetic compositions. On the subject of Rosa availing himself of Ricciardi's expertise in matters of poetry, see further Hoare 2018, 279–282.

6. On a number of other occasions in the letters Rosa makes reference to purgatives (or laxatives) as a curative for his and Lucrezia's various afflictions. In this instance, however, the verb "purgare" seems to be used with an alternative meaning: to recover or get well again, or get over an illness (see Battaglia, 14:1023). In the context of giving birth, the term refers to the period of gradual physical recovery after the event, however there is no indication in the correspondence at this moment that Lucrezia was pregnant. Rosa earlier referred to an eye ailment on Lucrezia's part in letter 146.

Letter 222:

1. Rosa probably intends the term "ingegnoso" in one of its derogatory senses—among them "simpering" (a high-minded, literary usage of the term), or "crafty," in a devious, manipulative sense—and not as "ingenious" or "imaginative". See Battaglia, 7:1024. Alternatively, Rosa could have intended the word "ingeneroso," meaning uncharitable, petty or small-minded.

2. The verb "cinguettare" means, figuratively, to speak in a low voice, insistently, about various matters; to murmur; to speak frivolously; or to speak incorrectly or badly about something: Battaglia, 3:156–157.

3. Rosa's comment suggests that Ricciardi had refused a secretarial position in Rome, which Rosa had apparently encouraged him to consider: De Rinaldis 1939, 94, note 1.

4. On the comic character "Bertoldino," see letter 196, note 5.

Letter 223:

1. The word "esecrande" means abominable, detestable, something to be considered with profound horror, unjust, or worthy of divine condemnation; in combination with the term "bestemmie," or heresies, the term implies some sort of blasphemy or sacrilege: Battaglia, 5:319.

2. On the "laws of friendship" to which Rosa frequently refers in his letters, see also letter 29, note 8.

3. On the medical condition of hypochondria, see letter 132, note 1.

Letter 224:

1. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear. Cosimo Fabretti has perhaps done a particular favour for Rosa, or Rosa could be referring to the birth of a child to Cosimo and his wife Caterina, as is suggested by the happy wishes Rosa also extends to Caterina on this occasion. On Cosimo Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

2. On Cosimo Fabretti's marriage to Caterina Ricciardi, the sister of Giovan Battista Ricciardi, in 1658, see also letter 219.

3. It is not entirely clear as to what Rosa here refers. It could be Ricciardi's protracted uncertainty about his friendship with the Maffei family, on which see letter 36, note 6.

4. Rosa's meaning here is not entirely clear, and an interpretation of the ms. is also inflected by the two possible transcriptions of the word Rosa employs, "buttare" or "battere". The expression "battere la corda" refers to the marking of lines on a surface—a wall, block of marble, or canvas for painting, for example—with a cord or string: Battaglia, 2:113. If Rosa intends "battere," he perhaps means that one must "mark" (in the sense of adhering to, or abiding by) the path laid out by destiny. The term "buttare" can also mean to follow or dedicate oneself to: Battaglia, 2:468. Alternatively, and according to a more literal interpretation of the term "battere" (to beat, strike) or "buttare" (to throw away), Rosa's phrasing could be interpreted as "fight the pull (or cord) of destiny," however this seems less likely in view of the tone of resignation that characterizes this passage as a whole, and Rosa's comments of this sort, more generally.

5. Limentani 1950, 115, note 2, proposed this as a reference to the same "satiretta" Rosa was at work on in June 1657 (see letter 216, note 4). Alternatively, it could be a reference to the "satire" (either *La Babilonia* or *Il Tirreno*) to which Rosa refers in the next lines of the present letter.

6. The "satire" to which Rosa here refers is presumed to be his sixth satire, *La Babilonia* (see Roworth 1978, 202), but could also be the *Il Tirreno*. Limentani 1984, 241, note 1, considered that Rosa may here have been referring to the same satire in letters 216 and 217. From what Rosa says in the present letter, he appears to have already completed the satire in question, further suggesting it be identified with *La Babilonia*. On the question of the chronology of Rosa's two final satires, *La Babilonia* and *Il Tirreno*, see letter 216, note 4. As noted by Scott 1995, 90–91, Rosa's satires were intended to be recited, and to be performed by the author himself. On this matter, see also the assertion of Rosa's son, Augusto, in letter 250, note 6. On the liveliness of Rosa's poetic recitals at the meetings of the Accademia dei Percossi in Florence, see Baldinucci, 5:496–497, and Hoare 2018, 81–82.

7. Rosa's reference here to his "incarceration"—probably only the threat of it, however—is considered to relate to the events that followed the exhibition of his painting, the *Allegory of Fortune*, a pictorial lampoon of the papacy, in particular what Rosa regarded as their misdirected patronage in favour of his artistic rivals in Rome. As recorded by Baldinucci, 5:446–448, Rosa was threatened with imprisonment for having, with the painting in question, "intended to create a most solemn Pasquinade" ("voluto dar fuori una solennisima Pasquinata") of the papacy. The scandal turned out favourably for Rosa, who escaped prison thanks to the intervention of influential friends: he was saved by three prelates—who had earlier seen the painting in Rosa's studio, and whose praise of the painting had encouraged Rosa to exhibit it—among them Don Mario Chigi (brother of the reigning Pope Alexander VII, one of the targets of Rosa's painting). Rosa was required to produce a written apology (now lost), in which he explained away the iconography of the painting, a work that was subsequently purchased by Rosa's friend Carlo de' Rossi (on whom see letter 207, note 5). On the matter of the *Allegory*, see also letter 193, note 10. Scott 1995, 247, note 21, argued for a redating of Rosa's present letter to January 1659, noting that the incident described by Baldinucci, 5:446–448 (the encounter that the three prelates—Mario Chigi, Volunnio Bandinelli, and Cesare Rasponi—had with Rosa's *Allegory of Fortune* in the painter's studio) must have taken place in 1658, on the basis of Rosa's reference in the present letter to his "incarceration," which would have to have taken place after the production and display of the painting in question; the reference only makes sense, Scott notes, if the present letter is redated to January 1659 (instead of 1658), when the problems were still going on. As Scott notes further, in two letters of August and September 1659 (letters 231 and 232)—which have also been given in evidence of the painting's date—Rosa's reference to working on a painting in preparation for the exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato, which takes place in August, cannot allude to the

Allegory "because Baldinucci says that the picture had already been completed and Rosa was only induced to exhibit it because of the approval of Bandinelli and Rasponi"; in these two letters, then, according to Scott, Rosa is "simply describing the usual pressure to which he subjected himself in order to finish his work". Rosa's reference to his "incarceration" in the present letter could mean that the letter in fact dates to 1659 and not 1658. As noted by Scott, Rosa frequently made errors in dating his letters, a shortcoming Rosa himself acknowledged in letters 266 and 280. There is additional evidence for a redating of the present letter to 1659: Rosa here refers to Caterina as the "wife" of Cosimo Fabretti, and the occurrence of their wedding is first explicitly mentioned in letter 219, dated March 1658 (making it unlikely that the letter dates to January 1658, before the wedding had even taken place); Rosa also here implies that he has "completed" the satire presumed to be *La Babilonia* (which shares a thematic resonance with the *Allegory*) and that he wishes to send it to Ricciardi—a satire on which he may have been at work in 1658; Rosa also says in the present letter that he has received Ricciardi's poem *Il Tempo*, which Rosa was still waiting to receive in April 1658 (see letter 220); we also know that Marcantonio Cesti returned to Rome in 1659 (see letter 27, note 21), and Rosa in the present letter declares that he has "greeted him". If the present letter is redated to 1659, then this requires an additional redating of the *Allegory* itself to 1658—the date to which Scott assigns the painting—or perhaps earlier. In regard to the date of the painting, Nicolson 1957, 416, offered in evidence information pertinent to the cardinals who saw the painting at Rosa's house: "Cesareo [1892, 1:77ff] succeeded convincingly in dating it within a year on direct evidence provided by the sources. [For example, Baldinucci's reference to the prelates who saw it in Rosa's house, one of whom was Volunnio Bandinelli]. Now Bandinelli was made cardinal in April 1660, so that the picture must have been painted before that date. It must have been painted after 1656, when the pope's brother Don Mario Chigi, who took up Salvator's defence, came to Rome. But the plague broke out in Rome that summer and continued [until] 1657: as a consequence, the feast day celebrated at San Giovanni Decollato did not take place during those years, and Salvator's picture could not be exhibited then. This levels down the events described in the sources to the years 1658–9." Conte 2014, 316–317, considers further that the prelates' visit (if Baldinucci's account is to be trusted) must have taken place between 1656 and 1658: Bandinelli and Rasponi were not yet cardinals, the first receiving the title on 29 April 1658 and the second (*cardinale in pectore* on 14 Jan 1664) in 1666; Mario Chigi was called to Rome by his brother Fabio Chigi (then Pope Alexander VII) in May 1656, naming him judge of the Borgo and superintendent of the Annona. Conte also notes that, while the majority of scholars have dated the execution and exhibition of the *Allegory* to 1659, on the basis of letters 231 and 232 (dated 9 August 1659 and 1 September 1659), Rosa's references on these occasions to having exhibited a painting do not specify the work in question, meaning we cannot be certain whether the work exhibited in 1659 was the *Allegory*. The work could have been executed at an earlier date: if Rosa had exhibited something at San Giovanni Decollato in 1653, for example, there is no note of it as the letters are incomplete. It is also difficult to ascertain whether the painting was made and exhibited in 1656 or 1657, since from February 1656 to 15 June 1657 first-hand documents available to us suggest that Rosa produced only the *Figurine* and the paintings of two episodes from the life of *Saint John the Baptist* (on which see letter 208, note 3). If the present letter is indeed to be dated 1658 (and not 1659), which is Conte's contention, then between 23 December 1657 and 14 Jan 1658, Rosa seems to have suffered the aftereffects of his exhibition of the *Allegory*. The exact date of the creation of the *Allegory* therefore remains a mystery, as well as the circumstances of its presumed exhibition. Rosa's rather vague reference to his "misfortune" in letter 218, dated December 1657, may refer to the exhibition of the painting, which would also mean an even earlier date of 1657 for the work's completion. On the *Allegory of Fortune*, see: Scott 1995, 120–124; Langdon 2010a, 224–225, cat. 37; Volpi 2014, 334–342 and 531–532, cat. 231; and Conte 2014, 312–317.

8. The "Antipodes" are an ancient, mythological tribe believed to be living on the other side of the world; in the medieval tradition, they were thought to have feet growing out of their heads. See further the anecdote recounted by Baldinucci, 5:458–459, concerning a game played by Rosa and his friend Lorenzo Lippi in Florence, in which the two friends used to lay down beside the river Mugnone in order to witness the visual illusion of the figures walking on the other side, who appeared—like the Antipodes—to be walking upside down.

9. The term "vanaro" probably comes from "vanare," for "vaneggiare," to be delirious or raving: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 236, note 1, citing the *Vocabolario della Crusca*.

10. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5. The "activity" in question is perhaps the business concerning the threat of Rosa's imprisonment.

11. On the *commedia dell'arte* character "Bertoldino," see letter 196, note 5.

12. Rosa's expression here can be interpreted, more literally, as "this is the moment to take philosophy beyond the coat," that is, to put the principles of philosophy into actual practice and to go beyond simply "talking the talk," or just wearing the clothing of a philosopher.

13. That is, the satire Rosa wants to read him.

14. The individual to whom Rosa here refers is not known.

15. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

16. The poem *Il Tempo* by Ricciardi, dedicated to Francesco Cordini. On the poem, see letter 21, note 2. Rosa refers to the same poem in letter 220, and cites verses from it in letter 244.

17. With the phrase "cantare a due cori" Rosa likely intends "we don't see eye to eye" or "we aren't on the same page". The formulations "a coro" and "in coro" mean unitedly, all together, in agreement, or in a single voice, while "fare coro a qualcuno" means to confirm or to share someone's opinion. See Battaglia, 3:795.

18. This is perhaps a reference to the ideas Rosa was soliciting from Ricciardi, for the composition of the "satiretta" mentioned in letter 216.

19. On the matter of the date of this letter, see note 7, above.

Letter 225:

1. In the figurative sense, "chiarito" means informed, convinced or persuaded: Battaglia, 3:54.

2. Giovanni Filippo Apolloni (or Appolloni; Rosa uses both spellings in the letters) (*c.* 1635–1688), also known as Apollonio Apolloni, was a librettist and poet from Arezzo. Apolloni belonged to Rosa's Tuscan academic circle of the 1640s, and was a member of the Accademia dei Percossi (see Baldinucci, 5:561). In September 1653, Apolloni entered the service of the Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria (1628–1662)

and his court at Innsbruck, upon the recommendation of Gian Carlo de' Medici and perhaps that of Marcantonio Cesti (on whom see letter 27, note 21): for the Archduke, Apolloni served as court poet, counsellor, and "Truchsesse" (grand steward or master of the archducal kitchen). Apolloni wrote for the Archduke the libretti entitled *L'Argia* and *La Dori*, set to music by Cesti and performed in 1655 and 1657. In 1659, Apolloni returned to Italy and in 1660 entered the service of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, also working in the service of Cardinal Volunnio Bandinelli when the latter was nominated as legate of Romagna (Rosa alludes to this appointment in letter 244). In regard to the reference to Apolloni in the present letter, Limentani 1950, 118, note 6, argued that De Rinaldis (see De Rinaldis 1939) had confused this Apolloni with another person of the same name (an "Apollonio Apolloni," a *cavaliere* and librettist from Venice who—according to Limentani—was the author of the *La Dori* and *L'Argia* set to music by Cesti). It has not, however, been possible to find an "Apolloni" from Venice, nor any evidence that Giovanni Filippo Apolloni was not the author of these libretti. The confusion seems to have been set in motion by Leone Allacci (cited by Limentani as his source), who in his 1755 *Drammaturgia* identified the author of a production entitled *Astiage*, performed in Venice in 1677, as "Apollonio Apollonj, Veneziano" (Allacci, 123); this *Astiage*, however, was written by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni: see Pietropaolo and Parker 2011, 97–98. Apolloni was clearly living in Pisa at the time Rosa wrote the present letter. Rosa mentions having seen Apolloni again in Rome, in letter 335. On Apolloni and his relationships with Cesti and Ricciardi, see three letters written by Apolloni to Ricciardi, recently published in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 74–75, who note (12) in particular the significant admiration Apolloni held for Ricciardi and his work, and who refer to Apolloni's "desire to have compositions written by Ricciardi including the copy of the last comedy written and performed in the theatre at Pisa, of which an echo was heard even as far away as Innsbruck, Apolloni being expected to send it to the Archduke as well as to Cesti on the possibility of its performance in Austria." The fame of Ricciardi's compositions in Austria led to a commission: a comedy requested by Ferdinand Karl himself, and which finally reached Apolloni in February 1656. On this comedy, entitled *Per la gloria non per l'amore contendono i rivali* (or *La rivalità generosa*) see also Apolloni's letter to Ricciardi, reproduced in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 74, doc. 1. In a letter to Ricciardi of 13 February 1656, Apolloni mentions that he is at work on his musical composition *L'Orontea* (a work, he says, "already composed by the poor doctor Cicognino [Giacinto Andrea Cicognini] and set to music by our padre [Marcantonio] Cesti," which, he continues, "will succeed very well": Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 74, doc. 1. On Apolloni's collaboration with Marcantonio Cesti, see also Pestelli, in Basso 1996, 2:20–22. On Apolloni, see further: Mechelli 2003; Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 9–13, 16–19 and 74–75; and Volpi 2014, 284–285, who notes that the art dealer Francesco Cordini acted as a go-between for Ricciardi and Apolloni in their epistolary exchanges.

3. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

4. A "bicchiero" is a drinking glass, or a drink.

5. According to Limentani 1960, 247, Rosa might here be referring to Antonio Abati's *Il Consiglio degli Dei*, which he was then composing for the wedding of Louis XIV to Maria Theresa of Spain.

6. That is, Ricciardi has apparently mentioned something to Rosa about Abati's work in a previous letter, to which Rosa here responds.

7. On Trappolino, a character from the *commedia dell'arte*, see letter 51, note 9. For the definition of "coccia" as obstinate or hard-headed, see letter 93, note 2. Rosa here seems to declare that Abati has been discredited, and therefore will not be producing any poetry for a while.

8. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

9. A reference to members of the Pisan academic community, which included the Accademia degli Stravaganti and the Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

10. Rosa's intended meaning here is not entirely clear, however the correct interpretation of the phrase "di sopra" in this instance is "upstairs".

11. A probable reference to the *Adversus mathematicos* of Sextus Empiricus, on which see letter 115, note 4. If this is the text to which Rosa here refers, then it appears Rosa had been trying to find a copy for Ricciardi since 1651. Alternatively, Rosa had perhaps already found the text for Ricciardi, borrowed it back for his own use, and then planned to return it to his friend. Rosa mentions the text again in letters 259 and 260.

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 226:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 116, note 1, "ammuinato" is a Neapolitan term meaning "stordito, confuso, scombussolato" (stunned, bewildered, confused, upset). See also Galiani, 1:25, who notes the term's Spanish derivation.

2. Limentani 1950, 116, note 2, proposed that Rosa must have been separated from Lucrezia at this moment in time, as she is not mentioned in the closing of the letter. He supposes that the "troubles" that arose in 1654 and 1656 had returned, once again, in 1659. Also in the spring, summer and autumn of 1658 (see letters 221, 222 and 223), Rosa refers to suffering numerous unspecified health-related "afflictions," "disgraces," "woes," and the "wrath of God". These continued into later years (see for example letter 336). However, Rosa does not always send greetings to his correspondents on behalf of Lucrezia, and her absence on this occasion is not in itself necessarily evidence of their separation. Limentani's observation regarding the possible reason for Rosa's unspecified "misfortunes," however, may well hold true. If letter 227 (and the letter attributed to Lucrezia, for which see Appendix 4) are to be considered reliable evidence, then they suggest Lucrezia was still in Rome at this moment. It seems unlikely that Rosa would send Lucrezia away for only a month, as Lucrezia does in fact send her greetings to Ricciardi ("together" with Rosa) in letter 225, dated to 1 February 1659. Here, as in other instances in which Rosa complains about his "afflictions" without naming them specifically, Rosa could be alluding to his periodical separation from Lucrezia, more generally, during their tribulations on account of the surveillance of the Holy Office in Rome.

3. On the medical condition of hypochondria, see letter 132, note 1.

4. The term "venali" refers to a commercial enterprise, or something for sale: Battaglia, 21:724. Rosa uses the word here in a pejorative sense—that is, in reference to comic performers who pursue their profession solely for economic gain. The word can also be used, in this derogatory sense, in reference to prostitutes. This is another instance of Rosa's critique of the public comedies being performed in Rome during the Carnival season. On this matter, see also letter 9, note 2.

5. The word "incancherite" derives from an older form of the verb "incancrenire," which can mean to become gangrenous, or, more generally, to become chronic or ingrained: Battaglia, 7:603.

6. This is perhaps a reference to a particular episode in the life of Saint Francis, in which the saint, upon being battered with stones by a group of children, merely laughed and endured the beating, exclaiming: "Whoever throws one stone at me, may he be once blessed by God; whoever throws two stones at me, may he be twice blessed by God; whoever throws three stones at me, may he be thrice blessed by God".

7. Presumably a reference to Saint Macarius the Egyptian, an anchorite and famed ascetic of the fourth century (*c.* 300–391 CE). Considering the insufficient notoriety of this personage, it is possible that Rosa knew of him from the volume by Boetius Adamsz Bolswert, *Silva anachoretetica Aegypty et Palestinae* (Antwerp, ex typ. Henrici Aertssii, 1612), containing prints by Abraham Bloemaert, which provided a model for some of Luca Giordano's paintings in those years: see Nyerges 1999, as cited in Borrelli and Festa 2003, 243, note 1. Rosa's choice to refer to Macarius in this particular context—as being driven to spout blasphemies—might be in connection with Macarius's asceticism and self-isolation more generally, or perhaps with the story of the saint's silent acceptance of a false accusation of sexual assault on the part of a pregnant woman, more specifically. Interestingly, Rosa may have treated the subject of Macarius in a painting: a "San Macario" by Rosa is listed in the inventory of the Guidi collection, Florence, for which see Volpi 2014, 610, Appendix I.27.

8. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21. Rosa here refers to Cesti's position as a singer in the choir of the Sistine Chapel. On this matter, see also letter 238, note 4.

9. The "throwing of turnips" to which Rosa here refers is presumably analogous to the throwing of eggs or tomatoes, or other foodstuffs, as one would do in reaction to an unsatisfactory theatrical performance. Rosa is presumably also alluding here to his earlier reference in the letter to Saint Francis and the throwing of stones.

10. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

11. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2, married Ortensia Leoni in 1658. Ortensia, the descendant of a noble Bolognese family, was portrayed in the guise of Saint Dorothy in a portrait by Elisabetta Sirani, on which see Hoare 2018, 252 and note 205. On Ortensia, see also letter 86, note 2.

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

13. A reference to members of the Pisan academic community, which included the Accademia degli Stravaganti and the Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

14. Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, on whom see letter 225, note 2.

Letter 227:

1. As noted by Ozzola 1908, 245, note 1, this letter is thought to have been written by Rosa to Lucrezia from Florence, and can perhaps also be linked with another letter (for which see Appendix 4), believed to have been written by Lucrezia to Rosa, in which she laments the lack of news from him after his departure from Rome to spend time with friends in Tuscany. Both letters lack addresses and dates, but have been dated to 1659, during the period of Rosa's sojourn with Ricciardi in Tuscany (see letter 228, which indicates that Rosa has just been in Pisa with his friend); this date is suggested by Rosa's reference in the present letter to being in Florence—without Lucrezia, of course—to whom he is presumably writing his expressions of longing. See also on this matter Conte 2007, 194. The compiler of Ms. 77 (Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome) creates confusion as to the identity of the authors of both letters, each clearly written in a different hand. The first letter (letter 227) is clearly written in Rosa's hand, however the compiler of the ms. confusingly identifies it as "Altra che si presume scritta da Lucrezia" ("Another letter presumably written by Lucrezia"). In the same ms., however, a transcribed copy of this first letter contains the correct identification as a "Lettera scritta di proprio pugno ad una sua bella" ("Letter written by the same hand [Rosa's] to one of his sweethearts"). The second letter (Appendix 4), presumed to be by Lucrezia, also bears the misleading inscription of a later interpreter: "Lettera amorosa di Salvator Rosa che si suppone scritta a Lucrezia" ("Love letter by Rosa, believed to have been written to Lucrezia").

Letter 228:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 244, note 1, Rosa seems to have gone to Pisa to see Ricciardi, after nine years in which the two friends had been separated. The date of Rosa's departure from Rome, in the company of his friend Marcantonio Cesti, can be placed around 13 March. This is suggested by the letter attributed to Lucrezia (for which see Appendix 4), dated "29 March," in which she reports that Rosa has been gone from Rome for "sixteen days".

2. Girolamo Mercuri. In the present letter, Rosa makes the important declaration to have "known" Mercuri "for twenty-six years," suggesting a date of the 1630s for their first meeting in Naples. On Mercuri and his friendship with Rosa, see letter 23, note 2.

3. The word "goccia" refers to a very small amount of liquid. In medical usage, the term refers to a fulminating apoplexy, caused, according to popular belief, by a tiny amount of liquid separating from the head and moving down to the heart. The term can also refer to an ulcer of the face: Battaglia, 6:947.

4. The term "somaro" means a jackass, fool, or ignoramus. On Rosa's more general distrust of physicians, see letter 101, note 12.

5. Presumably a reference to Albano Laziale, on which see letter 112, note 14.

6. Giovanni Ghisolfi, on whom see letter 179, note 14. The circumstances regarding this loss of money are not known, nor is the identity of the particular Milanese bank that appears to have collapsed.

7. Strozzavolpe is the name of a castellated villa that was once owned by the Ricciardi family, located not far from Poggibonsi, in Tuscany. Baldinucci, 5:498, noted that the villa of Strozzavolpe was presided over by Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo (on whom see letter 144, note 15), however this appears to be somewhat inaccurate. In the years in which Rosa and Giovan Battista Ricciardi spent time at Strozzavolpe, the villa was in fact owned by the mother of Jacopo Ricciardi, Cassandra Ricciardi, whom Rosa mentions by name in letter 343. On this matter of ownership, see Arcangeli 1960. Cassandra was the daughter of Giovan Paolo Rinuccini, the previous owner of the property at Strozzavolpe; when Cassandra married Francesco Ricciardi in 1628 the villa effectively passed into the

possession of the Ricciardi family. The history of this ownership is rather complex. When Giovan Paolo Rinuccini died, his heirs (for reasons that are not entirely clear) had repudiated the inheritance, leaving the villa's ownership in limbo. In 1640, Cassandra was left a widow upon her husband Francesco Ricciardi's death, and decided to accept the inheritance of the villa. In turn, Cassandra's son (and Giovan Battista Ricciardi's half-brother) Jacopo subsequently renounced his inheritance of the villa, passed down by his mother at her death in 1669, also for unknown reasons. (On the matter of Jacopo's inheritance, see Rosa's comments in letters 392 and 393.) The villa then passed to Jacopo's nephews. Arcangeli proposes that the inheritance left by Giovan Paolo Rinuccini was perhaps significantly burdened with liabilities, and that Cassandra had accepted it in order to salvage the memory of her father, a memory subsequently refuted by her own son, Jacopo. In regard to Jacopo's refusal there is also, as Arcangeli notes, the evidence (offered by Rosa's own letters) of Jacopo's rather poor abilities as an administrator (see in particular letter 144). As noted further by Arcangeli (127), Giovan Battista Ricciardi often spent time at Strozzavolpe with friends, many of whom belonged to the circle of the Percossi in Florence; Giovan Battista was not himself the owner of the villa, but because his half-brother Jacopo had renounced its inheritance, the property was available to him to use. Giovan Battista, therefore, was in fact a beneficiary of the suspended inheritance of the property, over which he would not have been able to claim any rights of ownership, but where he could freely enjoy his friends' company. On the villa of Strozzavolpe, where Rosa spent time in 1659 (as is suggested by the present letter) and in 1661 (see letter 254, note 8, and letter 255, note 4), see: Rossi 1959; Arcangeli 1960; Rossi 1960 (primarily for a synopsis of Rosa's epistolary references to and comments about his time at the villa); and Antichi 1965, 193–196. See also Scott 1995, 129 and fig. 129. The villa is currently owned by the Arcangeli family, who have turned it into an agritourism hotel, and who have acquired a number of Rosa's letters to Ricciardi, presumably along with the estate. It was previously believed that Rosa painted his *Poet-Philosopher* during his stay at Strozzavolpe in 1659, however the discovery of a reference to the painting in 1648 (see Paliaga 2009, 152 and 219) places its date of completion at least ten years earlier. On the painting, see further Hoare 2018, chapter four. The Ricciardi family also owned various other properties, including the castle of Fabbrica, located in the hills of Pisa, three miles from Peccioli, near the river Era: Arcangeli 1960, 128. On the castle of Fabbrica, see also letter 273, note 3.

8. The term "licceto," in Florentine dialect, means a tangle, maze or jumble, and by extension, intricacy or complexity. Here, however, Rosa seems to intend "lecceti," from "lecceto," meaning a grove of holm-oaks, evergreen oaks, or ilex trees. See Battaglia, 9:42. Rosa uses the same word in letter 251. Rosa's request to "raise the bridge" ("alzare il ponte") is probably literal, in view of the fact that the castle of Strozzavolpe was at the time encircled by a moat.

9. Caterina Fabretti was Ricciardi's sister and the wife of Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. By "all of the gang" Rosa presumably means to refer to members of the Pisan academic community, including those of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana, on which see letter 56, note 2, and letter 2, note 6.

10. Paolo Minucci (1626–1695), from Florence, studied law at the University of Pisa and became closely involved in the Tuscan circle of academics, writers, artists and scientists to which Rosa also belonged. Minucci seems to have entered the secretarial service of Prince Mattias de' Medici in 1656, then governor of Siena, via the auspices of his distant relative Giovanni Minucci who was the prince's secretary and treasurer. In 1688, Minucci annotated (under the anagrammatic name "Puccio Lamoni") Lorenzo Lippi's *Il Malmantile Racquistato* (completed *c.* 1650), published posthumously in 1676 under the pseudonym "Perlone Zippoli". On Lippi's *Malmantile*, see Hoare 2018, 85 and note 126. Minucci also acted as a *letterato* of the Medici court, as well as an agent and merchant. He formed a close friendship with Rosa during the painter's Florentine sojourn, when together with Lorenzo Lippi they met for the gatherings of Rosa's private academy, the Percossi, as recounted by Baldinucci, 5:451. Minucci died in Radda, in the Val di Chianti, on 12 August 1695: De Rinaldis 1939, 98, note 3; see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 12. As noted by Limentani 1950, 117, note 5, two years after the date of the present letter, in May 1661 (see letter 254), Rosa returned to Tuscany, but this time it was not with Marcantonio Cesti, who had gone there a couple of months earlier with Lucrezia and Augusto. Rosa stayed at Strozzavolpe, after a brief trip to Pisa and Florence. It appears that Rosa and Ricciardi both stayed with Minucci during the painter's trip to Tuscany in 1661, on the occasion of the wedding of the Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici and Marguerite Louise d'Orléans (1645–1721): see letter 254, note 8. Baldinucci, 5:498–499, confirms this (even though he errs in noting that Rosa had travelled on this occasion with Cesti), and Rosa's presence at the wedding celebrations (during which he probably received another invitation to work at the court of Innsbruck) is suggested by letters 249, 253 and 254. Rosa refers to the events again in a much later letter to Ricciardi of 23 March 1669 (letter 377). As noted by Limentani 1950, 121–122, note 4, Cesti's presence in Florence is explained by his association with Ferdinand Karl of Austria, who had come to attend the royal wedding. Cesti had previously been present at Ferdinand's court for a number of years (1653–1657), and had directed there the performance of his opera *L'Argia*. In 1662, Cesti, leaving the Collegio Romano's papal choristers for the second and definitive time (which he had reentered in December 1659, after leaving at the start of the year), and resolving some serious difficulties he had encountered (see Cesti's letter to Ricciardi of 26 November 1661, published in Limentani 1950, 168–170, no. 3), accompanied the Archduke. The Archduke himself returned to Florence toward the end of the year, perhaps from Cascine (see the second postscript in Cesti's letter). On Minucci, see further Arrighi, in *DBI* 74 (2010):714–717, who notes further the details of Minucci's involvement as a sort of diplomatic aid to Mattias de' Medici, and subsequently to the Grand Duke Ferdinando II, with regard to the family's political interests in Poland. For two letters by Minucci to Ricciardi, in which Rosa and other mutual friends are mentioned, see Limentani 1950, 170–172. Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 124–127 (docs. 54–59) publish six of an extant nineteen letters that Minucci wrote to Ricciardi. The six letters date to between 1660 and 1673, and treat for the most part matters of painting, drawing and printmaking; they also offer important information about Rosa's final years. As noted by Volpi, Minucci's letters to Ricciardi make frequent affectionate mention of Rosa. Rosa sent greetings to Minucci via Ricciardi, throughout the 1660s—a sign of their close friendship—and Rosa also sent Minucci a small landscape, for which Minucci expressed his gratitude in a letter of July 1660: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 125, doc. 55. In the 1660s, in order to cultivate his friendship with Rosa, Ricciardi showed an interest in Rosa's paintings as a connoisseur and merchant, and Minucci sent periodic reports to Ricciardi about artists present in Florence, relating with sadness the death of the painter Felice Ficherelli in March 1660, sending greetings (also to Rosa) on

behalf of the painter Antonio Lancia, receiving information on possible prints requested by Ricciardi, perhaps on behalf of Rosa or for illustrating a certain book. See Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 59–60. The book, or "text," for which Ricciardi may have been soliciting prints is mentioned in Minucci's letter of 15 August 1671 (doc. 58). In another letter, Minucci suggested Anton Francesco Lucini (1610–1661) as a possible candidate—were it not for the subsequent death of the artist, also reported by Minucci—and the painter Valerio Spada (1613–1688), praised as "the best among our local painters," a student of Lorenzo Lippi and an engraver among the most highly-regarded in Florence. For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 126, doc. 58. Anton Francesco Lucini was the author of the first marine world atlas, and a student of Jacques Callot. He also collaborated with Stefano della Bella. On Valerio Spada, see letter 339, note 21. After Rosa's death, Minucci maintained close contact with Ricciardi, the painter Pier Dandini, and with Rosa's son Augusto, the latter of whom Minucci mentions in a letter of 1673, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 126–127, doc. 59.

11. On the administrative position of "provveditore" see letter 7, note 2.

12. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 244, note 4, this is perhaps a reference to Mariotto Lisci, a gentleman of Volterra identified by Baldinucci, 5:461, as a member of the theatrical branch of Rosa's Accademia dei Percossi; in their comedies, Lisci performed the role of a servant. See also on this matter Paliaga 2009, 174, note 147, who identifies another member of the Lisci family with close ties to Rosa: Benedetto Lisci (on whom see letter 38, note 4). Rosa refers to other members of the Lisci family in letters 38, 67 and 171.

13. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 244–245, note 5, Rosa's reference might be connected to an episode reported by Baldinucci, 5:455–456, in which Francesco Cordini had sold to the Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria, for eight hundred *scudi*, a set of paintings (appraised by Justus Sustermans and Mario Balassi) ("vendita a quella Altezza per prezzo di ottocento scudi, che tanto furono da Monsù Giusto Sustermans, e da Mario Balassi stimate") that included several canvases Rosa had given him, among them the *tondo* with half-figures of *Democritus and Heraclitus*, the *Arion on the Dolphin* and the *Pan and Syrinx*. The date of their sale to the Archduke is traditionally presumed to be 1659, on the basis of Rosa's comments in the present letter. See further on this matter De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 4, and Hoare 2018, 254. Rosa also expresses his disdain toward Cordini in letters 243, 244 and 246.

Letter 229:

1. The letter is undated, however its content (particularly Rosa's reference to having "just returned from seeing you") suggests it could date to one of the moments at which Rosa returned from visiting Ricciardi in Tuscany (as in the case of letter 227; the present letter also shares the tone of lament found in the following letter, letter 230, dated 5 June 1659), after having moved to Rome in 1649. The letter has been placed in the correspondence at this point, in 1659, however it could belong to an earlier or later date. The confident hand suggests that it is perhaps datable to the 1650s, instead of the 1660s, when Rosa's script becomes more erratic in nature, presumably on account of his failing eyesight.

Letter 230:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 131, note 3, Marcantonio Cesti had brought a suit against a certain "padre Perozzi" (also spelled Pierozzi, or Pierotti), identified in a letter of 14 October 1662 by Paolo Minucci to Ricciardi (published in Limentani 1950, 172) as an individual in correspondence with Minucci, Ricciardi, and Cosimo Fabretti. Rosa refers to the matter again in letters 299, 301, 302 and 319. Rosa also mentions his gratitude to Pierozzi, for his hospitality on a trip to Tuscany, in letter 243. Cesti sent his warm greetings to Pierozzi in a letter to Ricciardi of 1661, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75, doc. 4.

2. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

3. It has not been possible to further identify this "Signor Tomaso". He is not mentioned again in Rosa's extant correspondence. The term "dispensiero" (an older spelling of "dispensiere") denotes a distributor or dispenser, and can refer in particular to the person responsible for dispensing the provisions of the larder to the kitchen and dining table in manor houses, on ships, and in other such circumstances; in old usage, the term can also refer, more generally, to an administrator: Battaglia, 4:721.

4. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife, Caterina, Ricciardi's sister. On Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 231:

1. On Rosa's participation in the annual exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato, see letter 96, note 15. As noted by Scott 1995, 247, note 21, Rosa's reference here to the "usual occupations of the paintbrush" cannot allude to the *Allegory of Fortune* as it had already been painted (see letter 224, note 7); here, Scott contends, Rosa is "simply describing the usual pressure to which he subjected himself in order to finish his work." In the present letter, as in letter 232, Rosa is perhaps being deliberately secretive about the subjects of paintings he was planning for upcoming exhibitions. On Rosa's secrecy in regard to his exhibited works, prior to their public display, see also letter 86, notes 6 and 19.

2. The "twenty-fourth hour" is, roughly, the hour of sunset. On the measurement of time in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 31, note 7.

3. The verb "ingrassare" can mean, figuratively, to get excited, to get carried away, or to boast about or be proud of: Battaglia, 7:1070.

4. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 247, note 1 (citing the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, 4th edition, 1729–1738, 1:452), defines "bordato" as a type of canvas. The term "bordato," according to Battaglia, 2:309, can refer to any cloth decorated with a border or bearing a hem, or to a type of striped material (in this regard analogous to the terms "bordatino" and "rigatino"), definitions that would also make sense in view of Rosa's present comment distinguishing these from "ordinary ones".

5. If Rosa's preceding comment concerns "canvases" (see note 4, above), then it is interesting to note that a number of blank canvases are listed in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory of the belongings remaining in his house at his death. See Paliaga 2009, 229–230 (Appendix XXVI).

6. This could be the prior Niccolò Angeli da Barga (1607–1668), identified by Paliaga 2009, 93 and 142, as a dilettante artist and a member of the Pisan Accademia degli Stravaganti

to which Ricciardi, Rosa and many their friends also belonged. Angeli was *Operaio* of the Duomo in Pisa from 1658 to 1667, and commissioned works for the Cathedral. He also studied at the University of Pisa, and became a knight of the Order of Santo Stefano in 1650. His close involvement in the theatrical circle of Pisa is indicated by his request, together with Giovanni Battista da Scorno (the "Canonico" da Scorno, as Rosa called him), in 1654, to the Grand Duke for the use of the *stanzone delle commedie* in the Palazzo dei Consoli, on behalf of members of the Stravaganti: Paliaga 2009, 166, and 176, note 174. Paliaga 2009 (227, Appendix XXII) also reproduces Angeli's 1668 inventory, which includes a large number of paintings of various genres, including religious subjects, still lifes, seaports, battle scenes and landscapes. None of these works are explicitly identified as by Rosa, but it is worth noting that Angeli's inventory lists a "ritratto di Diogene" by an unidentified artist, a work that it is tempting (though not certain) to identify with one described by the Englishman Robert Finch in his 1815 account of the collection of Orazio Felice della Seta (1654–1716)—a "Portrait of Diogenes by Salvator Rosa [that] is also a noble work of art". See Paliaga 2009, 72 and 101, note 24. Orazio had married Leonora de Angeli, the niece of Niccolò, leaving his own collection of art to their son, Francesco Ranieri. It is possible that this "Portrait of Diogenes" found its way from the Angeli collection to Della Seta's. For other members of the Angeli family, see Paliaga 2009, 243. Rosa also mentions a certain "Signor Prini Angeli" in letter 319.

7. The identity of this "sculptor" is not known, nor is the specific commission to which Rosa refers. It may have been a project in connection with Angeli's involvement in organizing commissions for the Cathedral of Pisa. On Rosa's activities as a dealer, connoisseur and mediator in the acquisition of art (and, in this case, the services of other artists) for friends, see letter 54, note 8.

8. The expression "avere prescia" means to be in a hurry, or to act with urgency, solicitude or concern: Battaglia, 14:213–214.

9. It is not entirely clear whether Rosa here means "picture by Filippo," or "picture of Filippo"—the latter option also offering two possible interpretations as "picture belonging to Filippo" or "picture representing Filippo" (as in a painting in which "Filippo" is the subject depicted). De Rinaldis 1939, 100, note 1, considered the name a reference to the Dutch painter Philips Wouwerman (1619–1668), and noted that the painting to which Rosa refers must be the same one mentioned as "Flemish" in letter 311 (dated 30 May 1664). On Wouwerman, who began his career painting genre scenes in the vein of the Bamboccianti, and was later renowned for his landscapes, battles, and equestrian-themed scenes, see Schumacher 2006 and Duparc and Buvelot 2009. However, in another letter—closer in date to the present one (letter 266, dated 7 January 1662), and of which De Rinaldis was unaware in 1939—Rosa notifies Ricciardi that he has just received, in a small box, a "small painting by Filippo" that he apparently set himself to retouching. Paliaga 2009, 162, has suggested alternatively that the painting could be a work by Filippo Napoletano (*c.* 1587–1629), an artist whose work exerted a strong influence on Rosa's own, particularly his landscapes and macabre scenes of witchcraft; Paliaga proposes the work in question might be a small *pietre paesina*, a genre in which Napoletano worked, also popular among collectors and artists belonging to Rosa's circle in Tuscany. On Rosa and Filippo Napoletano, see Chiarini 2001. The painting was then returned to Ricciardi together with various drawings on 11 March 1662 (see letter 269). On Rosa's practice of restoring paintings for Ricciardi, and his practice of retouching paintings, more generally, see further De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 23, and letter 70, note 13.

10. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2. On his recent ailments, see Rosa's comments in letter 228.

11. The term "scossa" can refer, in a general sense, to a sudden change in physical or emotional state, or an upset or an attack of some kind. It can also refer to the event that induces this reaction. More specifically, in reference to physical ailments, the term can refer to a muscle sprain, or a physical state of shock induced by some powerful emotional experience: Battaglia, 18:268–270. In letter 228, Rosa refers to Mercuri suffering from a "goccia," or a form of apoplexy.

12. It has not been possible to further identify this "signor conte Ugozzoni".

13. Approximately three hours after sunset. In August, in Italy, sunset usually takes place around 8pm of the modern clock. On the measurement of time in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 31, note 7. The "mount" to which Rosa refers is the Trinità dei Monti.

14. The identity of this "poet friend" is not known.

15. For the various costs of postal services in seventeenth-century Rome, see letter 27, note 2.

16. On the medicinal application of this vinegar concoction, see also letter 201, note 19.

17. Saint Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584), cardinal archbishop of Milan from 1564 to 1584. Borromeo was a key figure in the Catholic counter-reform movement, and was beatified in 1602 by Pope Paul V. On Borromeo's *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* (1577), a treatise on church design and building inspired by new counter-reform tenets, see Voelker 1977. As noted by Besutti 2010, 168–169, Rosa's comment reflects his more general disapproval of Marcantonio Cesti's "uninhibited manifestation" of the otherwise incongruent roles of a monastic position and the professions of musician and singer, also voiced on other occasions (see letters 60, 69, 70, 299 and 301). The meaning of Rosa's reference here to Borromeo is not entirely clear; it could be an allusion to Borromeo's interest in reforming sacred music, or could simply mean that Cesti's simultaneous pursuit of the professions of friar and musician would suffice to "shame" Borromeo. Rosa makes a similar derogatory assessment of the combined identities of "friar" and "musician" in letter 299.

18. De Rinaldis 1939, 100, note 3, considered Rosa's statement to confirm that his journey back to Rome after a period of time spent in Tuscany (see letter 228) was conducted in the company of Marcantonio Cesti. Ricciardi expressed his jealousy toward Rosa's friendship with Cesti, and the prospect that Rosa might go with his musician friend to work at the court of Innsbruck. See letter 27 (note 21) and letters 253 and 254.

19. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

20. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

21. The present letter has been previously dated to 10 August. Although the feast day of San Lorenzo, or Saint Lawrence, is 10 August, Rosa's reference here to writing on the "eve" of the feast day suggests the letter be dated to 9 August.

Letter 232:

1. It has been presumed that Rosa is here referring (as has also been suggested in the case of letter 231) to the matter of the *Allegory of Fortune*, however Rosa's reference to the threat of "incarceration" over the painting, in letter 224, suggests that the painting was exhibited in August 1658. On this matter see letter 224, note 7.

2. This is perhaps an allusion to the scandal Rosa had created at an earlier date with his painting, the *Allegory of Fortune*, on which see letter 224, note 7.

3. This is probably a reference to the group of five paintings that Rosa presented at the feast day exhibition held at San Giovanni Decollato in 1662, commissioned by Carlo de' Rossi for his chapel in the church of Santa Maria in Montesanto, Rome. The paintings were later acquired in 1802 by Prince Leopoldo di Borbone, and are now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly. On the paintings (which were in fact kept in De' Rossi's house until he acquired the chapel long after Rosa's death; an inscription in the chapel records the placement of the paintings there in 1677), representing *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, *Jeremiah Freed from the Pit*, *The Resurrection of Lazarus*, *The Resurrection of Christ (Christ in Limbo)*, and *The Angel Leaving the House of Tobias*, see: Salerno 1975, 99, cat. 173–178; De Boissard and Lavergne-Durey 1988, 134–143; Volpi 1998; Borrelli and Festa 2003, 247–248, note 2; Brejon de Lavergnée, in Naples 2008, 85–86 (with notes on their provenance and eventual transferral to France); Langdon 2010b, 35–37; Leuschner 2010; Salomon 2010a, 186–187; Salomon 2010b, 88; and Volpi 2014, 544–548, cat. 248–252. Volpi notes that the *Resurrection of Christ (Christ in Limbo)* is the only one of the group that was painted in oil on wood panel. Rosa refers to the delay of "the Chapel" project, on account of a lack of finances again in letter 234. Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 58, and 62–63, note 57, notes that the paintings Rosa executed for De' Rossi, usually dated to 1660–1662 on the basis of the fact that the *Jeremiah Freed from the Pit* was exhibited at San Giovanni Decollato in 1662, may in reality have been made over a period of time that incorporated the second half of the 1650s, and that they were subsequently exhibited at a second moment, when they were already in De' Rossi's possession. Volpi 1998, 359, further suggested the possibility that Rosa's friend Reginaldo Sgambati may have assisted him with rendering the subjects of the paintings, however (as noted by Conte 2014, 344, note 141), in 1659, Sgambati had already been dead for eleven years. On Sgambati, see letter 10, note 3.

4. Rosa again wrote to Ricciardi on 18 October 1659 regarding his annoyance with Rome and his plan to come "hole myself up in one of the caves of Strozzavolpe" the following summer. See letter 236.

5. On the young painter Pasquale, see letter 128, note 10. The two "half-figures" mentioned here are presumably the same ones to which Rosa refers in letter 190.

6. The "other things" probably included the copy after Pieter van Laer (Il Bamboccio), to which Rosa refers in letter 242.

7. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 248, note 3, this is a reference to Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria, count of Tyrol, to whose retinue Marcantonio Cesti had belonged since 1652. See letter 27, note 21.

8. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

9. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 233:

1. By "current illnesses" Rosa seems to be referring to his and Lucrezia's maladies, on which see (in regard to Rosa) letters 226 and 231, and (in regard to Lucrezia) note 2, below.

2. On Lucrezia's illness at this particular moment, see also letters 221, 234 and 235.

3. Caterina, Ricciardi's sister.

4. Rosa's words here suggest that Lucrezia had perhaps not yet been to Strozzavolpe, a villa property owned by Cassandra Ricciardi, the mother of Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo. On the villa, see letter 228, note 7. In letter 234, Rosa clearly indicates his own previous experience of the villa's delights. Perhaps Rosa had also visited the villa during his trip earlier that year to see Ricciardi in Pisa, on which see letters 227 and 228.

5. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

6. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife, Caterina, Ricciardi's sister.

Letter 234:

1. By "la terzana" Rosa means *febbre terzana*, tertian fever or malaria.

2. With the comment "my share of the curse" Rosa could here be referring to his health (which Rosa had on other occasions told Ricciardi he would wait to tell him about in person), or to ongoing problems in connection with the situation concerning Lucrezia in Rome, the details of which Rosa frequently refrained from writing about in his letters.

3. "Merli," or merlons, are the upright sections of battlements, or crenellated parapets, often found in medieval fortified structures. They are a distinctive feature of the castellated villa of Strozzavolpe.

4. A reference to the paintings for Carlo de' Rossi's chapel in Santa Maria in Montesanto, Rome, on which see letter 232, note 3.

5. Jacopo Ricciardi, the half-brother of Giovan Battista Ricciardi. On Jacopo, see letter 144, note 15, and letter 228, note 7. The particular "illnesses" to which Rosa here refers are not known.

6. Ricciardi was apparently in need of funds to take care of daily expenses for a projected stay at Strozzavolpe, which Rosa later assured him he had saved up for this purpose, in letter 236. In regard to Rosa's use here of the term "panatica," the "di" preceding the term is unusual. He could intend the word in the literal sense of "money for board or supplies," which seems most likely, or could alternatively intend one of its more figurative meanings: "panatica" can also refer to a customary or usual condition. See Battaglia, 12:453.

7. The term "cacatoio," no longer in use, means toilet, lavatory, or (as Rosa probably intends it here), "shit-hole": Battaglia, 2:475.

8. This is perhaps the "signor Buonaiuti" mentioned in letter 59. Rosa's reference in the present letter to Buonaiuti's date of death, 1659, suggests the possibility that he be identified

with the priest Lorenzo Buonaiuti (died 1659), named in the *Istoria Fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani pubblicata, e di annotazioni, e di antichi munimenti accresciuta, ed illustrata da fr. Ildefonso di San Luigi Carmelitano Scalzo della provincia di Toscana Accademico della Crusca* (Florence: per Gaet. Cambiagi stampator granducali, 1776), 1:xlvii: "[…] il Sacerdote Lorenzo [Buonaiuti], […] addottorato in Medicina, e poi Spedalingo dello Spedale del Ceppo di Pistoia, ove morì nel 1659 […]." In his biography of Matteo Rosselli (1578–1650), Baldinucci, 4:161, refers to Lorenzo Buonaiuti's commission of an altarpiece from the artist for his chapel in the church of San Lorenzo, Pistoia: "Lorenzo Buonaiuti gli fece fare una tavola della Concezione con più figure di santi per una sua cappella in S. Lorenzo di Pistoia."

9. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

10. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

11. The painter Francesco Marzoli is recorded in 1655 as residing on the Strada Felice in Rome, in the house of Francesco Valenti, a resident of Modena, and was therefore living in the same neighbourhood as Rosa. See Bartoni 2010, 412, and Bartoni 2012, 478, who cites Rosa's present letter in evidence of Marzoli's identification. As noted by Conte 2014, 220–221, note 184, no other biographical information appears to survive in regard to Marzoli.

12. The "friend" in question could perhaps be Marcantonio Cesti, who in the autumn of 1659 travelled to Rome to receive the investiture of a knighthood at Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome, and to seek a position as a singer in the pontifical chapel. See Bianconi, in *DBI* 24 (1980):281–297. On Cesti, see letter 27, note 21. See also Rosa's comments regarding Cesti's various positions in Rome, and the generous income they afforded, in letter 238.

13. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

14. By "in spite of" Rosa may be referring to earlier events concerning Signoretti that elicited Rosa's mockery and scorn. See Rosa's comments in letters 17 and 159.

15. This seems to be another reference to the legal battles in which Ricciardi and his half-brother Jacopo were involved, on which see letter 147, note 1.

16. Rosa may here be playing upon the double meaning of the word "corrispondenza," intending both the "harmony" of his and Ricciardi's spirits and "correspondence" as the act of letter writing.

Letter 235:

1. With the term "Constantinople" Rosa probably means here to invoke the cultural spectacles and delights of the ancient city, by way of analogy to the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe.

2. The word "assenzio" refers to a herbal plant known as Artemisia absinthium, used in the making of absinthe and other liquors; figuratively, the term can also mean bitterness, sourness, sadness, torment, or something that brings about feelings of acrimony, resentment, devastation or vexation: Battaglia, 1:759.

Letter 236:

1. The word "muinato" is a Neapolitanism meaning bewildered, confused, unsettled. See letter 220, note 5 (for "ammoinare").

2. See letter 235.

3. On Ricciardi's apparently continued involvement in a series of litigations, see letter 147, note 1. Rosa also refers to these more recent lawsuits in letter 234.

Letter 237:

1. Another instance of Rosa's appeal to the "legislative" dimension of friendship, on which see letter 29, note 8.

2. "Babylon" is a reference to Rome, according to a well-established literary tradition traceable to various passages in the Bible, conventionally understood as references to Rome, including Revelation 14:8 ("Babylon is fallen—that great city is fallen, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication") and the First Epistle of Peter (1 Peter) 5:13 (in which Peter refers to Rome as Babylon: "The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Marcus my son"). Rome is also the subject of Rosa's satire, *La Babilonia*, on which see Roworth 1978, 6, 90, and 200–212; on the question of the date of this satire, see letter 216, note 4.

3. This is the first line of Ricciardi's *canzone* entitled *Che la forza del dolore eccede la capacità dell'umano intendimento*, dedicated to Volunnio Bandinelli, on which see letter 137, note 7. Hence, the "friend" to whom Rosa here refers is presumably Bandinelli. Bandinelli's particular offence on this occasion is not known, but may perhaps have had something to do with Francesco Cordini's transgression in selling Rosa's paintings to the Archduke of Austria, reported by Baldinucci, on which see letter 228, note 13. Rosa mentions his anger with Bandinelli (identified with the epithet "Saturn") and Cordini, in tandem, in letter 246. See also Rosa's comments in letters 243, 244, 253 and 263 (see note 5).

4. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1). Rosa's comments here suggest that there was some friction between himself and Jacopo, perhaps a factor in the ongoing difficulties Rosa and Ricciardi seem to have encountered in making plans to spend time at Strozzavolpe, which belonged to Jacopo's mother, Cassandra Ricciardi.

5. It is possible that this letter belongs to 1660, rather than 1659, as its contents seem to relate more closely to letters of that date. Rosa's confirmation here, for example, of having heard from Ricciardi his opinion on "solitude," likely follows (rather than precedes) Rosa's complaint about this matter in letter 242. In the present letter, Rosa also greets Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo, as he does in letter 247, where he also greets Paolo Minucci. Furthermore, Rosa mentions in letter 247 his inquiry about Ricciardi's letters at the post office for mail from Florence. The unidentified matter concerning Volunnio Bandinelli also resurfaces in letter 253 (dated 16 April 1661), suggesting a closer proximity of the present letter to that date. On the matter of Rosa's frequent error in remembering dates, see letters 266 and 280.

6. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10. In regard to Rosa's activities at this moment, a payment dated 29 November 1659 (and therefore not long after the date of the present letter) in the accounts of Cardinal Flavio Chigi records the gift of a

silver basin to Rosa, which is perhaps one and the same as the basin mentioned by Baldinucci, 5:510, an object that elicited mockery from Ricciardi when he encountered it in Rosa's house. On this matter, see letter 26, note 5.

Letter 238:

1. De Rinaldis 1939, 106, note 1 (and Note Liminari 26) considers this another reference on Rosa's part to the "persecutions of his enemies," although the particular target (his satires? his paintings? an illness? his living situation with Lucrezia?) is not entirely clear. Limentani 1950, 119–120, note 5, conjectured that Rosa might be referring to the scandal raised by his enemies in regard to his *Allegory of Fortune*. Cesareo 1892, 1:79, had proposed that the events concerning the *Allegory* took place between the end of 1659 and the start of 1660. It is possible that the matter was still an ongoing concern, however there is no specific reference to the painting—or the circumstances surrounding its reception—in Rosa's letters of this period, making it difficult to know whether this is the (or one of the) "misfortunes" to which Rosa enigmatically refers. Rosa's repeated references to "fortune" in these letters could suggest the subject was on his mind. Fortune, however, features as a key protagonist throughout Rosa's entire correspondence. On the matter of the date of Rosa's *Allegory of Fortune*, see letter 224, note 7.

2. On Marcantonio Cesti, see letter 27, note 21.

3. Rosa here intends the word "razza" in the sense of "race" or "type" of person, but he could also be playing on the alternative meaning of the word "razza" as "spoke" in a wheel (in connection with the fortune allegory he constructs), as well as drawing a link to his subsequent use of the term in a line from his satire, *La Musica*. See further note 7, below.

4. A reference to the Sistine Chapel (Cappella Sistina), in the choir of which Marcantonio Cesti aspired to sing and that he joined as a tenor: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 252, note 1. See also letter 226. On the musical establishment at the Cappella Sistina, its structure, rituals, and musical and liturgical services, see Hammond 1988, 64–65, who notes that by 1630, the membership of the Cappella Sistina comprised thirty-six singers; by the seventeenth century, all of the singers were clerics, "chosen by competition in which the pope sometimes intervened, or imposed on the Cappella by the will of the pope or a powerful cleric." The annual salary of a singer, according to Hammond (64), was two hundred *scudi* "plus a bonus four times a year when the singers performed at the pope's table" for New Year's, Easter, the feast day of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June), and the anniversary of the pope's coronation.

5. Cardinal Flavio Chigi, as noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 252, note 2. On Flavio Chigi, see Stumpo, in *DBI* 24 (1980):747–751.

6. A reference to Santo Spirito in Sassia, as noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 252, note 3. During his time in the service of the Archduke of Austria at Innsbruck (from 1652; see letter 27, note 21), the five-year licence that Cesti had been granted by the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor Conventual had expired, and, deciding to leave the religious order (which he did in 1659), Cesti had sought access to a secular order instead—the Knights Hospitaller of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome—which would allow him greater freedom of movement and activity. Cesti used the annual income of his property in Innsbruck (given to him as a gift by the Archduke in 1659) in order to re-establish his position in Italy and to secure a commendation to receive the investiture of chivalry, returning to Rome in 1659 for two years for this very purpose, after which he returned again to the court at Innsbruck. See Bianconi, in *DBI* 24 (1980):285–287.

7. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 225, note 4, this is a line from Rosa's first satire, *La Musica*, vv. 280–285 (Romei 1995, 58): "In questi tempi muteria consigli l'ape,/ qual disse al culice una volta/ ch'insegnar non volea musica a i figli,/ poi ch'altro non si stima e non s'ascolta/ fuor d'un cantor o un sonator di tasti,/ e questa razza è sol ben vista e accolta." As noted by Besutti 2010, 165, Rosa's comments in regard to Cesti's achievements, and in particular Rosa's resentment of Cesti's financial rewards, reflect a more general attitude of disgust on Rosa's part toward the "corruption" of contemporary musicians and their courtly patrons, also voiced in his satire *La Musica*.

8. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

9. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

10. Caterina, the wife of Cosimo Fabretti and sister of Ricciardi.

Letter 239:

1. That is, in the sense that it has become an overinflated matter, or one of the utmost importance.

2. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

3. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 240:

1. On the meaning of "genio" as a wish or desire, see Battaglia, 6:665.

2. That is, Rosa's letters.

3. Presumably a reference to Ricciardi's involvement in the theatrical activities of the Accademia degli Stravaganti, on which see letter 56, note 2.

4. A reference to the actor Tiberio Fiorilli, on whom see letter 162, note 11. Rosa's comment here suggests a personal acquaintance on his part with Fiorilli, whom he may have known from the period of his youth in Naples.

5. The expression "da galera" literally means "worthy of jail"; figuratively, it means delinquent or villainous: Battaglia, 6:549.

6. The word "turaccio," no longer in common usage, means a bottle cap, seal or cork: Battaglia, 21:448–449.

7. The Franciscan friar and writer Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

8. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

9. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

10. Caterina, the wife of Cosimo Fabretti and sister of Ricciardi.

Letter 241:

1. Rosa must have included the text (sent to him by Lukas Holste) on a separate sheet, now lost.

2. As noted by Limentani 1950, 120, note 8, Rosa's reference to "Luca Custeri" must be to Lukas Holste, custodian of the Vatican Library. On Holste, see further letter 115, note 6. Brunetti had referred to Holste as "Olstenio" (see letter 119). See also letter 246, in which Rosa again refers to "the book of Archimedes".

3. This is probably Carlo Rinaldini (or Renaldini) (1615–last recorded 1698), originally from Ancona, a physicist, natural philosopher, and professor of mathematics and philosophy at the University of Pisa. He was closely involved in Tuscan and Roman scientific circles, conducting numerous important thermological experiments and publishing various texts on physics, mathematics and natural philosophy. Rinaldini was also a member of the Accademia del Cimento. On Rinaldini, see further: Poggendorff 1863, 2:603; Pighetti 2005; Boschiero 2007, 98; and "Carlo Rinaldini," in *Francesco Redi scienziato e poeta alla corte dei Medici* (www.francescoredi.it).

4. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

5. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

6. Caterina, the wife of Cosimo Fabretti, and sister of Ricciardi.

Letter 242:

1. Presumably a reference to Rosa's efforts to obtain for Ricciardi a copy of the writings of Archimedes, with the help of Lukas Holste, the custodian of the Vatican Library. See also letter 241, note 2.

2. Rosa's construction "per un di più" is unusual. It could be analogous to the expression "essere uno dei più," defined by Battaglia, 13:601, as an expression of disapproval, declared upon hearing the news that someone has dedicated themselves to poetry or to literature. The phrase "è un di più" indicates with irony an excessive or considerable quantity of something, or a long duration of time: Battaglia, 13:601.

3. On the painter Pasquale, see letter 128, note 10.

4. The Dutch painter Pieter van Laer (1599–*c.* 1642), also known as "Il Bamboccio". Originally from Haarlem, he was active in Rome from 1625. On the group of Northern artists working in Rome under his influence, known as the Bamboccianti, and on Rosa's criticism of their work and practices, see Hoare 2018, 25–28 (and note 8), 41, 45, 121, 243–244, 267, 276 and 285. On Rosa's activity in acquiring paintings for Ricciardi, see letters 138 (note 9), 287, 288, 289 and 290. See also Rosa's reference to the two paintings by Pasquale, in letter 232.

5. This presumably concerns Rosa's and Ricciardi's projected plan to spend time together at Strozzavolpe. See letters 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237 (in which Rosa mentions that Ricciardi had expressed his own desire for the same "solitude") and 239.

6. Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28.

7. Antonio Lancia (or Lanci), a landscape painter, poet and *letterato*, and an abbot belonging to the Order of the Filippini (founded by Saint Filippo Neri), who worked in the service of Gian Carlo and Leopoldo de' Medici: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 255, note 2. Rosa apparently held him in little esteem: see letters 244, 245, 248 and 283. Limentani 1950, 259, note 7, notes that Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Florence: Molini, 1812: tomo 8, 244) mentions an Antonio Lanci, master of Lorenzo Magalotti, as a "canonico regolare, uomo dottissimo, e dal Magalotti paragonato quasi col Galileo". Lancia sent his own greetings to Rosa via Paolo Minucci, in one of Minucci's letters to Ricciardi of 10 December 1660, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 125, doc. 56. On Lancia, see also: Targioni Tozzetti 1967, 1:493–494 (who refers to him as "famoso per i suoi grandi talenti, e per le sue stravaganze"); De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 18; and Barbolani Di Montauto 2010, 331–333, with reference to Caneva 1998, 132 (nos. 104–105) and 133 (nos. 107–108). Volpi, in Naples 2008, 31, cites an interesting letter of Lancia's to Gian Carlo de' Medici, written in November 1654, in which Lancia offers himself as a willing substitute for Rosa as court landscape painter, a little while after Rosa's departure for Rome, asserting his experience as a student and emulator of the Neapolitan painter. For the letter, see Barocchi and Bertelà 2002–2007, 3:510–512. On Lancia as a copyist of Rosa in the genres of landscape and battle painting, see also Barbolani Di Montauto 2010, 331–332, who notes that in his letter to Gian Carlo, cited above, Lancia also seems to imitate Rosa's literary inclinations: in the letter, written from his villa in Mugello, Lancia describes himself being in a solitary retreat, referring to natural scenery that is very "Rosa-like" in nature, where imagination "gives birth to the likeness of reality, here flowing with little streams, and there falling with torrents, now plummeting with precipices, then rising with mountains, casting down into valleys, and stretching out into plains, becoming dense with woods, and enthralling with forests […]" ("partorisce somiglianze del vero, scorre ora con fiumicelli, ora cade con torrenti, or precipita con rupi, or s'inalza con monti, or s'abbassa con valli, or si distende con piani, or rusticheggia con boschi, or s'inorridisce con selve […]".) The letter accompanied a painting that Lancia offered as a gift to Gian Carlo, affirming (with an artful pun on Rosa's name) that "the air of the landscape painting is rose-like, in expression of the shame I feel in creating such a rough thing" ("l'aria del dipinto paese roseggia per esprimere la vergogna che ho in mandar cosa sì rozza"), but declaring at the same time that his style was "close enough" ("assai confacente") to Rosa's, a semblance that "counters the usual malicious gossip, and brings applause beyond measure in granting me pride of place among landscape painters" ("il quale per tal simboleità contro il solito della sua maldicenza, gl'applaude oltre misura concedendomi il primato tra' paesisti"). Lancia stresses his ability to paint trees, the most difficult element of landscape painting, offering his services as a landscapist in the painting of large canvases or frescoes for the villa of Castello or other Medici residences. Little is known about Lancia and his work, although there are numerous paintings of large dimensions by his hand listed in Medici inventories (particularly those of Mattias and Leopoldo); the Gerini collection, too, attests that for a certain period Lancia attempted to establish himself as a landscape painter. Rosa's letters also suggest that Lancia was acquainted with the art dealer and antiquarian Niccolò Simonelli (see in particular letter 253). On the possibility that Lancia produced *pale* for members of the Accademia della Crusca, including one for Gian Carlo de' Medici that bears interesting iconographic and stylistic connections to Rosa's landscape works, see Conte 2014, 169–190.

8. It has not been possible to further identify this "conte Sozzi," apparently a member of the Sozzi family, nor the event to which Rosa here refers.

9. A "piattonata" is a blow delivered with the flat side of a blade, intended to bruise without injury: Battaglia, 13:322–323.

10. The term "segnalato" means outstanding, noteworthy or remarkable.

11. The particular comedy in question is not known. For a list of the published comedies by Ricciardi, see letter 126, note 6.

12. Caterina Fabretti, wife of Cosimo Fabretti and sister of Ricciardi. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 243:

1. See Rosa's earlier comments concerning the matter of finding a place to stay for the summer, and his longing in particular for Strozzavolpe, in letters 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239 and 244. On the Ricciardi family's ownership of the villa at Strozzavolpe, see letter 127, note 4. On Strozzavolpe, see also letter 228, note 7.

2. The phrase "in stampa d'alto" is difficult to translate, but appears to build upon the sentiment of the preceding "nuovo, nuovo," referring to something prominent, outstanding or particularly effectual (in the present context, perhaps, meaning "severe"). The phrase could alternatively be interpreted as "decreed from above". I wish to thank Caterina Volpi for her suggestions in attempting to clarify the meaning of this passage.

3. The term "scristianare" means to separate from or abandon the Christian faith: Battaglia, 18:296.

4. The term "scandascenze," no longer in use, means a sudden and spectacular manifestation of anger or indignation; an agitation or uneasiness of the spirit, or an explosion of warlike rage: Battaglia, 17:805. The particular "torment" to which Rosa here refers could be in connection with Francesco Cordini's apparent sale of paintings to the Archduke of Austria, on which see letter 228, note 13. Rosa's reference to the "monarchies of the universe" later in the present letter may also allude to this matter, as might Rosa's subsequent reference here to Cordini as "spiteful" and "corrupt". Alternatively, the "torment" could be a certain unidentified matter concerning Volunnio Bandinelli, to which Rosa also refers in letters 237 and 253.

5. On this Signor Bardi, a mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi, see letter 99, note 24.

6. Presumably, in the sense that Rosa had not yet had a chance to write and express his gratitude to Paolo Minucci because he was waiting for a response from Ricciardi. On Minucci, see letter 228, note 10.

7. Girolamo Signoretti, who apparently offered Rosa hospitality during his trip to Tuscany in 1659 (for which see also letters 227 and 228). On Signoretti, see letter 16, note 6.

8. On Pierozzi, against whom Marcantonio Cesti seems to have brought a lawsuit, see letter 230, note 1. The "someone" referred to in this line appears to be Ricciardi himself.

9. The phrase "con premura" can mean either "with haste," "with care" or "with consideration".

10. That is, the city of Rome.

11. For "precipitare" as to fall into ruin or despair, either physically or mentally, see Battaglia, 14:46–47.

12. This is presumably a reference to Santa Maria della Pietà dei Pazzarelli, Rome, a confraternity and hospital dedicated to aiding the recovery of the poor and mentally ill. Rosa mentions it again in letter 359. On the more figurative meanings of the term "pazzerello," see letter 359, note 3.

13. On the problematic relations between Rosa and Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2. See also letter 228, note 13, for Cordini's transgression in selling a number of Rosa's paintings to the Archduke of Austria, as reported by Baldinucci.

Letter 244:

1. The expression "perdere la lisciatura" means to lose the ideal moment to carry out an action or endeavour: Battaglia, 9:141.

2. Rosa here cites, with some variation, a few verses from Ricciardi's poem *Il Tempo* (stanzas 39 and 35), dedicated to Francesco Cordini. On the poem, see letter 21, note 2. Rosa's complaint regarding Cordini perhaps concerned his sale of paintings (executed by Rosa) to the Archduke of Austria, as reported by Baldinucci (see letter 228, note 13, and letter 243, note 4).

3. Timon of Athens, famed for his misanthropy. Timon is a recurring subject in Rosa's letters (see letter 39, note 4).

4. With his use here of the pronoun "suo," Rosa could be referring to Lucrezia's brother, about whom nothing is known. The individual in question might also be the "Signor Paolino" mentioned in letters 257 and 258. More likely, Rosa is referring to Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, to whom he had sent numerous greetings in recent letters.

5. Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, on whom see letter 225, note 2. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 257, note 2, Apolloni already held a position at the court of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, later entering the service of Cardinal Volunnio Bandinelli when the latter was nominated as legate of Romagna.

6. The epithet "Saturno" is presumably a reference to Volunnio Bandinelli himself. Rosa here uses a phrase from Ricciardi's *canzone*, dedicated to Volunnio Bandinelli, the *Che la forza del dolore*, vv. 175–176: "Da te rapito volgerassi indietro/ Il mio fiero Saturno". For the *canzone*, see letter 137, note 7. Rosa complained about something that Bandinelli had done to make him into a fool, in letter 237. See also letters 246 and 253.

7. The painter Antonio Lancia, on whom see letter 242, note 7.

8. This is presumably a reference to Giovanni Battista da Scorno, to whom Rosa usually referred as "Canonico da Scorno". On Scorno, see letter 57, note 5.

Letter 245:

1. See also Rosa's comments regarding plans to stay at Strozzavolpe in letters 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 243 and 244.

2. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

3. The painter Antonio Lancia, on whom see letter 242, note 7.

Letter 246:

1. As in letter 244, Rosa here identifies Volunnio Bandinelli with the epithet "Saturn". On the matter of Bandinelli's unidentified transgression against Rosa (which may have been connected with Francesco Cordini's sale of Rosa's paintings to the Archduke of Austria, an event Rosa also laments in the present letter with his complaint about Cordini), see letter 237,

note 3. For the episode concerning the Archduke, see letter 228, note 13.

2. There are various options for Rosa's intended meaning here with the term "soggetto," including for example "illustrious personage," "personality," and "character." See Battaglia, 19:280–282. Rosa likely intends the term in a derogatory sense.

3. Rosa's intended meaning with the phrase "metteria la lingua un po' più su del mio intendimento" is not entirely clear. If "intendimento" is here understood according to its meaning as "intention" (see Battaglia, 8:203), then Rosa appears to mean "I would say more than I intend/ than I should say".

4. That is, indulge Rosa in his desire to stay with Ricciardi at Strozzavolpe. See also on this matter letters 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 243, 244 and 245.

5. As noted by Limentani 1950, 258, note 3, this is a reference to the well-known legend, recounted by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, of King Midas and his barber, the latter of whom, incapable of keeping his patron's secret (the donkey's ears that Apollo had cursed him to wear) dug a hole in the ground and whispered his secret into it; over time, a few reeds eventually grew out of the hole, revealing Midas's secret on the wind.

6. On the lawsuits that seem to have preoccupied Ricciardi in these years, see letter 147, note 1. See also Rosa's more recent comments in letters 234 and 236.

7. The expression "togliere l'animo" means to distract the mind: Battaglia, 20:1103.

8. As noted by Limentani 1950, 258–259, note 5, it is not entirely clear as to which "misfortunes" Rosa here refers. They are most likely related to the transgressions of Francesco Cordini and Volunnio Bandinelli, on which see letters 228, 237, 243, 244 and 253.

9. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

10. The painter Antonio Lancia, on whom see letter 242, note 7. Rosa also asks after him in letters 244 and 245.

11. On this text, see also letters 241 and 242. The "friend" to whom Rosa here refers is probably Lukas Holste, on whom see letter 115, note 6.

12. As in letters 113 and 234, Rosa may here intend to play upon the double-meaning of the term "corrispondenza" as both harmony of spirit and the exchange of letters.

13. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

14. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 247:

1. As noted by Limentani 1972, 269, Rosa here vents his disappointment at not being able to go to Strozzavolpe, as he had promised to, during the course of the summer in order to meet Ricciardi there. See also Rosa's comments in letters 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 243, 244 and 245.

2. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 261, note 1, these lines are from Rosa's satire, *La Musica*, vv. 457–458 (Romei 1995, 63).

3. The phrase "dare alla testa nei muri" means to hurt or harm oneself out of desperation, or to be extremely desperate: Battaglia, 20:992.

4. The expression "in capo al mondo" (or "in capo alla terra") refers to an extreme point of the earth, and expresses a great distance or an out of reach, inaccessible place: Battaglia, 2:702.

5. The unspecified "afflictions" that Rosa complains of are presumably the same as those mentioned in previous letters. On this matter, see letter 246, note 8.

6. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

7. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

8. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

9. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

10. With the term "compagnia" Rosa could be referring either more generally to "our group of friends," or more specifically to the *compagnia* or "troupe" of Ricciardi's theatrical friends within the Pisan academic community—particularly members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti—to whom Rosa frequently extended greetings in the closing of his letters to Ricciardi.

Letter 248:

1. The *comune* of Castiglione di Garfagnana, located in the province of Lucca in northern Tuscany.

2. The word "selvaticume" derives from the term "selvatico," meaning wild, untamed, unsociable, or (in reference to a place) rustic or overgrown with vegetation: Battaglia, 18:537.

3. Gaspare Leoli (1627–1697), a knight of the Order of Santo Stefano from 1642 and a member of Rosa's and Ricciardi's academic circles. On Leoli, see letter 85, note 13. See also Paliaga 2009, 170, note 55, and Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 24, 93 and 98, for two letters of 1651 written by Cosimo Brunetti in Rome to Ricciardi (presumably in Pisa), in which Brunetti sends affectionate greetings to Leoli. As noted by Paliaga 2009, 170, note 55, the particular "misfortune" to which Rosa here refers is not known.

4. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

5. For Cesareo 1892, 1:81, and De Rinaldis 1939, 113, note 1, this is a reference to Agostino Favoriti, and is to be taken as evidence of the ongoing situation concerning the *Allegory of Fortune* (on which see letter 224, note 7). However, Borrelli and Festa 2003, 262, note 1 (following Ademollo 1969, 140), consider the more likely possibility that the "Canonico" in question is Rosa's close friend, Giovanni Battista da Scorno, to whom Rosa frequently refers in the letters as "Canonico da Scorno". On Scorno, see letter 57, note 5. Rosa also mentions Scorno's recent activities in letters 225, 226 and 244 (in the last of which Rosa again seems to intend to refer to Scorno, with the title "Signor Canonico"). The particular comedy to which Rosa here refers is not known.

6. On the comic character "Bertoldino," see letter 196, note 5.

7. The expression "che non le mandaria giù una balena" literally translates as "which even a whale couldn't swallow".

8. The expression "essere accomodato per le feste" means, figuratively, to stand no chance. For the ironic import of "accomodato" (and "accomodare") along these lines, see

Battaglia, 1:93–95. The expression is comparable to the phrase "conciare per le feste," which means to be mistreated, messed up, in disarray, or reduced to a bad state: Battaglia, 3:467. See letter 371 for Rosa's use of a similar expression. Morgan 1824, 2:272, intuited from Rosa's comment here that Antonio Lancia "was still a dramatic amateur, and occasionally performed in the private theatricals at Rome during the Carnival." On Lancia, see letter 242, note 7.

9. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 262, note 2, consider that the etchings in question could be those dated by Wallace to 1660–1661 (see Wallace 1979, 37–40 and 231–245, cat. 91–98), including the three versions of the *Fighting Tritons*, the two *River Allegories*, and *Pan with Two Satyrs*. On Rosa's early etchings depicting Tritons and Fauns, see most recently Nappi 2014, 154–155 and 181–182, cat. 1–7. Conte 2014, 233, note 299, suggests that Rosa may have been inspired to pursue his *Tritons* after perhaps reading that Bernardo Malpizzi had revived "l'aurea fama" ("the golden fame") of Andrea Mantegna (whose *Tritons* appeared in his *Zuffa degli dei marini* series of prints, *c.* 1458–1480) according to G. C. Gigli, *La pittura trionfante* (Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1615), 13; Malpizzi produced drawings that were then made into prints by Andrea Andreani, and Conte suggests that Rosa could also have read about the role played by Andreani in producing the prints; in addition, Rosa could have read Federico Zuccari's *Il lamento della Pittura* (Mantua: Osanna, 1605), for which see Zuccari, 122, in which Mantegna (praised specifically as a printmaker) is placed alongside Raphael, Titian, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Pordenone and Veronese, among others, at least four of whom made works of art that Rosa had engaged with in his own production since his youth. Cola 2010, 324, considers the prints to which Rosa refers in the present letter to be the *Saint William of Maleval*, *Saint Albert* and *Glaucus and Scylla*, all dated to between 1661 and 1662, for which see: Wallace 1979, 246–252, cat. 99, 100 and 101; Nappi 2014, 133–136 and 161–163, cat. 80, 81 and 82; and letter 259, note 8. On Rosa's technique as printmaker, and the predominance of etchings among his prints, see Wallace 1979, xix–xxi, and Bernini, in Nappi 2014, 120–123. On Rosa's practice of printmaking, and on the particular qualities and characteristics of his prints, see also: Petrucci 1934–1935; De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 14; Rotili 1974; Salamon 1993; Trassari Filippetto, in Nappi 2014, 216–223; and Ghedin and Zuccarello, in Nappi 2014, 224–231 and 232–239. On the process of acquaforte, or acid etching, see letter 250, note 3. Baldinucci, 5:479, affirms that Rosa set himself to making etchings after his paintings with his reputation in mind.

10. The phrase used by Rosa, literally translated as "when the dove returns to its resting place," is perhaps a reference to Genesis 8:11: "When the dove returned to him in the evening with a fresh olive leaf in its beak, Noah knew that the floodwaters had nearly receded." Rosa uses a similar metaphor in letter 250.

11. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 249:

1. On Ricciardi's comedies, see letter 126, note 6.

2. Rosa here uses the term "specie" in reference to thoughts or memories. See Battaglia, 19:773. Rosa uses the term again in letter 259.

3. The verb "inselvatichire" means to make or turn wild: Battaglia, 8:99.

4. On Rosa's self-identification with the misanthrope Timon of Athens, see letter 39, note 4. Timon features as one of the interlocutors of Rosa's fourth satire, *La Guerra*, which consists of an exchange between the author ("Autore") and Timon of Athens ("Timone Ateniese"). See Romei 1995, 121–138.

5. On these etchings, see letter 248, note 9.

6. The wedding of the Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici to Marguerite Louise d'Orléans, which actually took place by proxy, on 19 April 1661. On this union, see also letter 228, note 10.

7. It has not been possible to further identify this "young man". On the subject of male actors performing as women in seventeenth-century theatre, in French, Italian and English contexts, see: Günsberg 1997; Farrell and Puppa 2006; Beam 2007; Scott 2010; Day and Lynch 2015, 1:369; and Williams 2015. Parione is one of the *rioni* or districts of Rome, bordered by the *rioni* of Ponte, Regola and Sant'Eustachio.

8. On the subject of Rosa's general disdain toward the Carnival season, and its comedic performances, see letter 9, note 2. See also letter 1, note 6, for the proposal that comments such as this suggest a high-minded opinion of theatre on Rosa's part.

9. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6. Rosa's self-identification as the group's "Saint Paul" may allude to his role as their "convert," or to his having "preached" about the group's virtues in Rome. Rosa could also be implying that he is their second apostle, Ricciardi being the first (that is, Saint Peter).

10. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

11. The year is difficult to decipher in the ms. Ademollo 1969, 96, and Gerra 1937, 56, interpreted the number as "1667," however the content of the letter (particularly the reference to the forthcoming wedding of Cosimo III de' Medici) places it securely in 1661.

Letter 250:

1. See Rosa's similar reference to the "dove" in letter 248. The allusion here is to the dove as the symbol of the Holy Spirit.

2. Rosa cites the second verse from Ricciardi's poem, *Sotto rigida stella*, on which see letter 137, note 7, and letter 202, note 2.

3. The term "intaglio" refers to a set of incisory (rather than relief) printmaking techniques, including etching, engraving, drypoint and aquatint (or "acquaforte," acid etching, to which Rosa refers in letter 248). On these processes, see: Griffiths 1996; Lincoln 2000; and Stijnman 2012. On the presumed subjects of the prints that Rosa mentions in the present letter, see also letter 248 (note 9) and letter 249. On Rosa's practice of printmaking, see the scholarship cited in letter 248, note 9. In regard to Rosa's etching technique, a very useful and important document survives in the form of a "recipe" for etching, an illustrated handwritten sheet drawn up by the artist, now housed in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Palazzo Venezia, Rome. The sheet was first recorded by Ozzola 1908, 250, who considered it to have been produced by Rosa in order to aid a friend who wanted to learn how to engrave. The sheet contains detailed instructions for the etching technique as Rosa employed it. On this document, see most recently Bernini, in Nappi 2014, 120–123, who includes a photographic reproduction of the sheet, recto and verso, and a transcription

of the text. In addition to listing the necessary ingredients and their combinations and correct usage, "Rosa uses several drawings to explain how to prepare the plate with varnish; the drawings portray the pincers used to hold the copperplates over the fire, the plate smoked by the candles, the thin point used to scratch the varnish, and the biting system *per colata*." The same ingredients, notes Bernini, were used by Abraham Bosse (1604–1676), an engraver and disciple of Jacques Callot who wrote one of the first treatises on etching, the *Traité des manières de graver* (1645); three of Bosse's prints, interestingly, are also present in the so-called Codice Rosa, on which see Hoare 2018, chapter five, notes 307, 366 and 682. The recipe that Rosa outlines calls for walnut oil (which Rosa asked Giulio Maffei to help obtain for him in letter 74—in that instance to be used as a varnish for an oil painting), to be employed as an isolating varnish on the copperplates, comparable in this regard to the wax used in the modern etching process: the recipe for Rosa's varnish consists of "a mixture in equal parts of cooked walnut oil and *mastice in lagrime* (transparent resin from the lentisk tree collected directly from the tree trunk)." Rosa's recipe for the acid solution called for copper acetate or verdigris (another material Rosa had asked Giulio to help him find, in letter 74). In his recipe, Rosa also mentions using a soup ladle ("scodella da brodo") to scoop up the acid solution from a basin and pour it over the plate several times until the required depth and thickness are achieved. Analysis of Rosa's copperplates in the Calcografia of the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, however, suggests that Rosa used a slightly different recipe to prepare the plates, "which allowed him great freedom in drawing". The "recipe," then, Bernini suggests, could be "a note written while [Rosa] was studying the technique, or at a time when he was trying new methods to solve the numerous problems encountered during the etching [process] (documented by the presence of numerous plates damaged by acid corrosion), in other words a sheet collecting news and tips on ingredients and procedure found in Bosse's *Treatise*, or collected by other artists, engravers, perhaps in Florence, where Callot and his method had long been active."

4. Lelio Colista (1629–1680), a Roman musician, composer and lutenist whose instrumental compositions and activity as a music teacher exerted a significant influence in Rome. By the age of thirty, Colista, who was probably trained at the *Seminario Romano*, already held a prominent position as *custode delle pittore* at the papal chapel. With the support of Flavio Chigi, he performed in 1664 at the court of Versailles for Louis XIV. The Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher (1601/1602–1680) described him as "vere Romanae urbis Orpheus" ("truly the Orpheus of the city of Rome"): Keates 1996, 92. On Colista, see also: De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 31; Wessely 1961; and Wessely-Kropik 2002. See also Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 17, who notes that Rosa's present reference to Colista suggests a personal acquaintance of the two men. Rosa's reference here to the "correnti del Colista" is presumably to Colista's musical compositions for the "corrente," a type of dance traceable to antiquity, comparable to the *saltarello* and the *gagliarda*, originating in sixteenth-century France (where it was known as the "courante") and subsequently gaining popularity in Italy and Germany. In the seventeenth century, it became one of the movements of the *suite*. See Battaglia, 3:819.

5. Caterina Fabretti, the wife of Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

6. Rosa's son, Augusto. This is the first reference to Augusto in Rosa's extant letters. Augusto was born on 18 May 1657, in Rome, where he also died in 1737. His godfather was Rosa's close friend, Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2. On Augusto's life and career, see in particular Miarelli Mariani 2003, 282–294. After Rosa's death, Augusto continued to live in his father's house on the Via Gregoriana, with Lucrezia, who died in 1696. Augusto married Caterina Testa, with whom he had four children. They named their first child, a boy born 17 August 1677, Salvator Rosa; the godfather on this occasion was Carlo de' Rossi: see Festa 1982; Farina 2010, 12–13, 17–18 and 150; and Bartoni 2012, 508. On 20 May 1679, Augusto and Caterina had a second son, whom they touchingly named Rosalvo after Augusto's brother who had died in Naples in 1656 (see letter 202). On 1 September 1680, Augusto's daughter Francesca Savina was born; then, on 15 March 1683, another son, Francesco Giuseppe. For the records of these events, and on Augusto's various movements in Rome, see Bartoni 2012, 318–323 and 508. Except for a brief period during which Augusto lived at Porta Pinciana, he never left his father's house on the Via Gregoriana (on which see letter 26, note 3), where Augusto lived until his death in 1737. Miarelli Mariani 2003 published an important corpus of letters written by Augusto primarily to Giovan Battista Ricciardi, with whom he and his family maintained a close friendship after Rosa's death in 1673, and with whom Augusto stayed at Strozzavolpe in the summer of 1676. These letters are conserved in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. In the first three letters to Ricciardi, Augusto writes about his father's illness (Miarelli Mariani 2003, 296–298, letters I–III). One of the letters was written by Augusto to his mother Lucrezia, who was in Pisa at the time, staying with Ricciardi (300, letter V), an important indication of Lucrezia's own continued friendship with Ricciardi. Augusto's letters are valuable records of both his and his father's activities in painting, and of Augusto's various dealings with his father's friends and patrons, and offer evidence that Augusto was an amateur art dealer as well as a painter. One of the letters refers to paintings acquired in Rome for Ricciardi, and sent to Tuscany via Pier Filippo Tommaso Lasagnini, Rosa's good friend. Augusto informs Ricciardi of the death of the painter Francesco Martinotti, in a letter of 1679 (letter XIV), also revealing that Martinotti had continued to live in Rome and had taken a wife there. On Martinotti, see letter 359, note 5. Augusto also writes a number of interesting notices on the collections of two of Rosa's most important friends: Carlo de' Rossi and Girolamo Mercuri. De' Rossi died in 1683, and Ricciardi had evidently asked Augusto for information about the paintings by Rosa in De' Rossi's collection, which he hoped to acquire (290, and letters XV and XVI)—an interest he had expressed years earlier, when in 1666 he had asked Rosa for a copy of his *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, then in De' Rossi's collection (see letters 342, 343, 344 and 346). Girolamo Mercuri died in June 1682, and Augusto noted in one of his letters to Ricciardi that the paintings by Rosa in Mercuri's collection had been bequeathed to Cardinal Stefano Brancaccio, who died later that same year (September 1682), after which they were dispersed to various owners. Mercuri also left to Cardinal Flavio Chigi a "marvellous painting of some sheep," executed jointly by Rosa and Pier Francesco Mola, who had painted the sheep (as indicated by Mercuri's inventory), on which see further Spezzaferro 1989, 50. Another painting in Mercuri's collection was painted (as suggested by Mercuri's inventory) by Rosa in collaboration with Paolo Porpora, the Neapolitan specialist in still life ("il quadro grande de fiori originale del S.r Paoluccio Napolitano, nella quale pittura vi è il vaso d'un gruppo di satiretti, dipinto dal Sig. re Salvator Rosa […]". Augusto also tells Ricciardi that Mercuri has left Augusto a painting. Some interesting information can also be gleaned from Augusto's letters in regard to the publication of Rosa's satires, the manuscripts of which Augusto apparently owned (letter XV, dated 26 October 1683). A number of people

seem to have been interested in publishing the satires after Rosa's death. Augusto had sent a copy of the satires to Ricciardi, hoping he would take charge of their publication—a task that Ricciardi seems to have declined, to judge from Augusto's comments to him. Augusto was fearful that the publication of the satires would not have the same effect as did their lively recitation by his father, an important confirmation and reassertion of their original intention, as voiced by Rosa himself (see letter 224, and note 6). Augusto is among a number of Rosa's heirs who continued to work in an artistic profession, and his activity and production as a landscape painter and imitator of his father's style has yet to be fully reconstructed. Among the few secure surviving works by Augusto are the landscape lunettes he painted in the cloister of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, Rome. The 1673 inventory of Rosa's possessions, for which see Volpi 2008, 96–97, records two small seascapes by Augusto as present in Rosa's house at the time of his death. On Augusto's work as a painter, and for recent attributions to his *oeuvre*, see: Passeri, 398 (who records that Augusto "vive al presente, ed attende alla pittura"); Miarelli Mariani 2003, 284–286; Miarelli Mariani 2010; and Volpi 2011. The letters that Ricciardi wrote to the painter Pier Dandini (1646–1712) indicate his own interest in promoting Augusto's talents and career as a painter (see Miarelli Mariani 2003, 287–288). In a letter to Ricciardi (dated 10 February 1676; see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 85, doc. 15) Pier Dandini expressed his pleasure that Augusto was making progress in the profession of painting. For Rosa's various epistolary comments in regard to Augusto's training as an artist, and Rosa's expectations in this regard, see letters 325, 336 and 368.

7. Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo (or Giacomo), on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

Letter 251:

1. Rosa here repeats a refrain he attributes to the Neapolitan character of the *commedia dell'arte*, Pulcinella. See also letters 86, 314 and 391.

2. The verb "stivalarsi" means to put on boots. See letter 98, note 3. The verb can also mean to march with a certain heavy and self-important stride, as one might typically do in a pair of boots: Battaglia, 20:205.

3. On the meaning of the term "lecceto," see letter 228, note 8.

4. "Commedianti" are comedic or tragic actors. The term is also often used with a pejorative connotation. See Battaglia, 3:359. On Rosa's distaste for the Roman Carnival season and its comedies, see letter 9, note 2.

5. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 265, note 1, "Fabrizio" was the stage name of the Neapolitan actor Mattia Sacco (1610–1667), on whom see Prota-Giurleo 1962, 207–209. On the important influence of Neapolitan theatre on Rosa in his youth, see Hoare 2018, 45.

6. A reference to compositions by the Roman musician and composer Lelio Colista, copies of which Ricciardi had apparently asked Rosa to find for him. See also letter 250, note 4.

7. Caterina Fabretti, the wife of Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 252:

1. On Ricciardi's comedies, see letter 126, note 6. On the members of the literary academies in Pisa who participated in and attended performances of Ricciardi's comedies, see the sources cited in letter 121, note 3.

2. On Marcantonio Cesti, see letter 27, note 21. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 265, note 1, Cesti had been summoned to Florence by Ferdinando II de' Medici in order to compose music for the wedding ceremony of his son Cosimo III, on which see letter 27 (note 21), letter 228 (note 10) and letter 249 (note 6). On that occasion, *Le Dori* (or *La schiava fedele*) was performed for the first time.

Letter 253:

1. The word "stralunamento" literally means rolling the eyes: Battaglia, 20:273.

2. With the word "bile" Rosa intends "anger".

3. A "scandascenze" is a sudden and spectacular manifestation of anger or indignation, an agitation or uneasiness of the spirit, or an explosion of warlike rage. See letter 243, note 4.

4. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

5. On the various meanings of the term "geniale," see letter 147, note 8. Here, Rosa seems to intend the term in reference to friendship, in view of his attempt to dispel Ricciardi's suspicions in this regard.

6. In regard to the "matter" concerning Volunnio Bandinelli, see letter 237, note 3.

7. Rosa is here referring to two of his paintings, apparently purchased by King Frederick III of Denmark (1609–1670), as Rosa reports in the present letter, for six hundred *scudi*: *The Legend of the Foundation of Thebes* and *Jonah Admonishing the Ninevites*, both now in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. On the paintings, see: Salerno 1975, 97, cat. 152 and 155; Scott 1995, 129–132, figs 133 and 134 (and fig. 135, for a preparatory drawing for the *Jonah*); Swoboda, in Naples 2008, 154–155, cat. 33 (the *Foundation of Thebes*); and Volpi 2014, 534 (cat. 234) and 542 (cat. 246). Volpi suggests that the paintings were acquired by the king for the Royal Chapel at Frederiksborg Castle. The story of the Foundation of Thebes, Volpi notes, may have held particular appeal for Rosa as an opportunity to display his pictorial virtuosity in representing the soldiers emerging from the ground, as well as the dragon in the foreground, a subject to which Rosa returned in subsequent paintings like the *Jason and the Dragon* (*c.* 1665–1670, Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal) and the *Landscape with a Hermit Reading* (*c.* 1665–1670, Museo Dipartimentale d'Arte Antica e Contemporanea, Épinal), which includes a dragon sitting on a rock. Baldinucci, 5:443–444, also refers to the *Thebes* and *Jonah*, and to their acquisition by the king of Denmark. Scott 1995, 132, on the basis of extant preparatory drawings for the work and Rosa's epistolary references to Jonah, dated the *Jonah Admonishing the Ninevites* to the second half of the 1650s, linking it to the problems experienced by Rosa after the publicization of his satire *La Babilonia*.

8. Niccolò Simonelli, on whom see letter 27, note 23.

9. The landscape painter Antonio Lancia, on whom see letter 242, note 7. Niccolò Simonelli had apparently written to Lancia about the sale of the paintings to the king of Denmark.

10. A reference to the English monk Saint Bede (672/673–735

CE), popularly known as the "Venerable Bede" and famous as the author of the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*).

11. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

12. Rosa had been invited by the Austrian court (probably the Archduke Ferdinand Karl (1628–1662), who was also Cesti's patron) to work as a court artist in Innsbruck. The invitation was first extended in 1659, as evidenced by an *avviso* of that year that has Rosa already departing from Rome, in the company of Cesti, in the direction of the Alps: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 19, note 19, citing Mamone 2003a, 230. On Rosa's refusal to go to Innsbruck, see also Volpi, in Naples 2008, 42. In a letter written by Cesti (in Florence) to Ricciardi, dated 16 April 1661 (the same date as Rosa's present letter), Cesti inquired on behalf of Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo about a letter of Rosa's that he was waiting for, also sending notice of having received greetings from Lucrezia: see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 75, doc. 4. Cesti had apparently been trying to convince Rosa to return with him to the Archduke's court, and a second invitation may have been extended to him on the occasion of the Florentine wedding of Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici and Marguerite Louise d'Orléans (see letter 228, note 10). Rosa's comment to Ricciardi in the present letter, regarding his refusal of the position with the Archduke, is also interesting in view of Ricciardi's own apparent aspirations toward court patronage: Ricciardi wrote an *opera regia* for Archduke Ferdinand Karl, entitled *Per la gloria non per l'amore contendono i rivali ovvero La rivalità generosa*, on which see Di Muro 1999, 164–165. As noted by Regel and Regel 2011, 125, Giovanni Cosimo Villifranchi composed the libretto for the opera on the basis of Ricciardi's comedy, *Trespolo tutore*, introducing a few alterations; the operatic versions of the piece, note Regel and Regel, written by Bernardo Pasquini and Alessandro Stradella, "are considered milestones in the development of *opera buffa*." Conte 2014, 375, notes that on this occasion, in 1661, Rosa would have been going to Innsbruck to assist the painter Cecco Bravo (Francesco Montelatici; 1601–1661), called to court in June the year prior by Anna de' Medici (wife of Ferdinand Karl of Austria) via her brother Leopoldo de' Medici. Cecco, who was becoming increasingly ill at this point, died in Innsbruck on 11 December 1661, the same year that Rosa would have arrived in the city had he accepted the invitation. Prior to Cecco, another Florentine artist had worked at the Austrian court: Rosa's friend Lorenzo Lippi. Anna de' Medici's invitation to Rosa must have been made on account of Rosa's rapport with Leopoldo, and probably also due to the fact that the painter, after his Tuscan sojourn and the rise of his fame in the 1650s, had gained a reputation for paintings of literary subjects, and had secured a place among the most celebrated artists in Rome. On Cecco Bravo's time in Innsbruck, see Barsanti 1999.

13. Rosa here cites a line from one of Petrarch's *Rime*, the "Triumph of Love," chapter II, v. 83: "S'Africa pianse, Italia non ne rise" ("If Africa weeps, Italy has little cause for laughter"). For "zoccolanti," a term used in reference to observant friars, often in the context of the Franciscan order, see letter 5, note 3 ("zoccolo"), and letter 38, note 21. Rosa's meaning here in reference to the "friars' cook" is not clear.

14. The verb "coglionare" means to joke around, mock, or make fun of in a boorish, vulgar manner: Battaglia, 3:264.

15. The expression "di culo" can refer to luck, as in the phrase "Hai proprio culo!" ("You're a lucky bastard!"). The phrase "avere culo" can also mean to have a shameless fortune or wealth, or to succeed well in everything you set out to do: Battaglia, 3:1042.

16. By "le mie stelle" ("my stars") Rosa means "my fortune" or "my fate".

17. Here it is perhaps worth noting that Rosa had claimed to have received six hundred *scudi* for a single painting: the *Heroic Battle Scene* that he painted for Louis XIV in 1652, on which see letter 143 (note 3) and letter 148.

Letter 254:

1. Rosa here refers to his previous letter (see letter 253), a "Bible" both on account of its long length and its testimony to the truth of his situation, hence Rosa's reference to Ricciardi's "heresy".

2. An important example of Rosa's frequent appeal to the popular topos of the "friend as a second self," on which see letter 50, note 1.

3. See Rosa's comments in letter 253, concerning his desire to discuss recent events with Ricciardi in person, rather than to write about them in his letters.

4. Rosa here uses the archaic term "Germania"—perhaps in part with an overtly poetic and erudite intent—which refers wholesale to the "Germanic" peoples of the regions east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. The word was also the title of Tacitus's ethnographic treatise on the Germanic peoples. Rosa here means "Austria," and more specifically the city of Innsbruck and the court of the Archduke Ferdinand Karl, who, as Rosa indicates in letter 253, had invited Rosa to Austria to work as a court artist.

5. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

6. Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13. See also letter 256, where Rosa asks Ricciardi to see if he might be able to obtain some medicine for Lucrezia's mother.

7. That is, Rosa himself.

8. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 122, note 2, Rosa left in the company of Lucrezia and Augusto, but not with Marcantonio Cesti, who was already in Florence. See also letter 228 (note 10) and letter 252. After staying in Pisa and Florence, Rosa returned with Ricciardi to Strozzavolpe, and he remained there from the beginning of July through to November 1661 (see letters 255 through 258). It seems that both Rosa and Ricciardi stayed with Paolo Minucci in Florence on this occasion, as is clear from a letter (written by Minucci to Ricciardi on 7 May 1661, the same date as Rosa's present letter) recently published by Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 126, doc. 57, in which Minucci expresses his joyful anticipation of Rosa's and Ricciardi's company, noting his expectation of Rosa's imminent arrival in the city and offering his hospitality (including available beds and a servant, if Ricciardi should so require) for whatever length of time was needed. On Cesti's sojourns in Tuscany, in 1659 and 1661, see also Schlitzer 1953, who publishes a letter by Cesti to Rosa, dated 22 October 1661, written in connection with the latter sojourn—Rosa's stay in Florence with Minucci, and in Pisa with Ricciardi, followed by a longer stay at Strozzavolpe. See also Schlitzer 1954, for a report on the same letter, in English.

9. The term "polizza" can refer to a brief, private written communication, as in a letter or note, but in the context of money refers to a "ricevuta di pagamento," which is either a receipt recording a previous payment or (as it seems to be in the case of the present letter) an order or promise for future payment (a bill of exchange, or a "money wire"). See Battaglia,

13:775. See also letter 167, note 1. Rosa refers to this money again in letters 259 and 260.

10. Ten *paoli* are equivalent to the value of one *scudo*. See the equivalencies explained in letter 4, note 4, and letter 151, note 1 (1 *scudo* = 10 *giuli*, or 100 *baiocchi*; 1 *paolo* = 10 *baiocchi*; therefore 10 *paoli* = 100 *baiocchi*, or 1 *scudo*).

11. A mocking reference to the "fortune" Ricciardi had apparently credited Rosa with, and that Rosa laments in letter 253.

12. Ricciardi's sister Caterina, the wife of Cosimo Fabretti.

13. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 255:

1. A "guardacore" is a garment similar to a corset or waistcoat. The term originally described a type of long doublet or jerkin ("giustacore"), with or without sleeves, worn predominantly by men in the middle ages. It also describes the part of the armour worn over the cuirass, or chest-plate, intended to protect the heart: Battaglia, 7:108.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

3. This is probably the same person identified as "Simone da Cascina" in letter 76. He is also mentioned in letters 77 and 78.

4. Here we learn that Rosa has finally managed to make the journey to Strozzavolpe, after at least two years of planning to do so. See letters 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 251 and 254.

5. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

6. Antonio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

7. On Signor Polei, a doctor from Volterra, see letter 6, note 2.

Letter 256:

1. "In sua mano" is a conventional declaration in letter writing, comparable to the more common formula "sue proprie mani," often abbreviated as "S. P. M.," meaning "to be opened by addressee only"; the letter is intended to be delivered directly to the recipient and should be considered private and confidential. See also the example in letter 79. Rosa was presumably writing to Ricciardi in Florence or Pisa, and was awaiting his friend's return to Strozzavolpe. For a letter by Ricciardi, presumed to be addressed to Rosa, dated "August 1661," see Appendix 3, letter B.

2. This "Pino" was a labourer on the estate at Strozzavolpe, as we learn in letter 336. Rosa also mentions him in letters 338, 341, 343, 392, 393 and 395.

3. As suggested by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 271, note 1, this perhaps refers to a herbal remedy comprised of melitose (called "schivamas" in the seventeenth century) and the herb celandine (also called "lazzara"), used as an antispasmodic and sedative. It was thought that the celandine, if not measured properly, was potentially poisonous. Melitose is extracted from cotton seeds and a species of eucalyptus. The difficulty of obtaining the remedy from apothecaries in Rome, to which Rosa refers in the present letter, was presumably on account of the risk of poison.

4. Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13.

5. That is, waiting for Ricciardi's return to Strozzavolpe.

6. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15), letter 147 (note 1) and letter 228 (note 7). On Paolo Minucci, see letter 228, note 10.

Letter 257:

1. A "pastrano" is an overcoat. Rosa must here intend the same item he mentions in a previous letter to Lodovico Maffei (letter 255), referred to there as a "guardacore". The "pastrano" could have been intended as a suitable substitute for the item he was trying to find.

2. This "Signor Paolino" is also mentioned in letter 258. He could be a member of Lucrezia's family, or a mutual acquaintance of Rosa and Lodovico Maffei, as he is only mentioned in Rosa's extant letters to Lodovico.

3. The town of Poggibonsi, located in the province of Siena, which is indeed only a short distance from the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe.

4. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

Letter 258:

1. A "concistoro," or consistory, is a governmental or ecclesiastical assembly of officials. A papal consistory was (and remains) a formal meeting of the Sacred College of Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church, which assembled for the purpose of managing administrative and judicial matters. Rosa seems to be constructing a pun on the group at Strozzavolpe forming a kind of official "consistory" in their decision to keep and raise the cow as a pet.

2. The term "cagnolo" (or "cagnuolo") refers to a little dog or a puppy. The word can also refer to other animals that exhibit dog-like characteristics of movement, such as a horse that walks with its front hooves turned inward. See Battaglia, 2:507.

3. It has not been possible to further identify either this "Nencino" or his son, presumably mutual acquaintances of Rosa and the Maffei family.

4. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13.

5. Antonio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5.

6. This "Signor Paolino" is also mentioned in letter 257. He could be a relative of Lucrezia's, or a mutual acquaintance of Rosa and Lodovico Maffei.

Letter 259:

1. The word "muino" is a Neapolitanism meaning bewildered, confused or unsettled. See letter 220, note 5 (for "ammoinare").

2. Radicofani is a *comune* in the province of Siena, located in the park of Valdorcia, about 110 km southeast of Florence. Radicofani is approximately halfway between Poggibonsi (the town nearest to the Ricciardi family's villa of Strozzavolpe) and Rome. There is evidence that Rosa also journeyed to Venice at this point in time, presumably travelling there after his time at Strozzavolpe and before returning to Rome. As noted by Volpi 2014, 541, a letter from Ippolito Falconieri to Carlo Dati, dated 29 October 1661 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Ms. Baldov. 258 IV, 190v), indicates that Rosa was at that time returning to Rome from Venice, on which occasion he perhaps

brought back with him the two copies after Titian and Veronese that were present in his house at his death and are listed in his inventory of 1673, for which see Volpi 2008, 96–97. On Rosa's purported journeys to Venice, see letter 13 (note 5), and letter 23 (note 1).

3. It has not been possible to locate the origin of the expression "per sigillo e confettura". The literal sentiment is essentially "to pack something and stamp it," figuratively akin to the English expression "the last straw"—that is, the last in a line of problematic or unacceptable occurrences.

4. Baccano is a locality within Poggio dell'Ellera, in the *comune* of Campagnano, about 25 km north of Rome. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 123, note 1, Baccano was the final stop for travellers coming to Rome via the northern interior road. Rosa, in fact, returned to Tuscany via Siena and Radicofani, which is still today an inconvenient route on account of its narrow turns and steep slopes.

5. By "i rami" (literally, "the coppers") Rosa means the copper plates for his etchings. Rosa had stated his wish to work on a few etchings at Strozzavolpe, in letter 248. On the particular etchings in question, see note 8, below. On the importance of copper plates for printmakers, and Rosa's desire to retain control over them, see letter 117, note 11.

6. The expression "all'imprescia" means in haste, hurriedly, quickly: Battaglia, 7:516.

7. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 124, note 3, it appears that Ricciardi had sent back to Rosa the money that Rosa had sent to him in advance of his journey from Rome, in order to cover the expenses of his stay in Tuscany (see letters 236 and 254). Ricciardi seems to have waited until Rosa was on his way back to Rome before sending this repayment.

8. The phrase "dar l'acqua ai rami" means, literally, "apply water to the coppers". The procedure to which Rosa presumably refers is the stage in the process of etching (*acquaforte*, or aquatint) in which the prepared copper plates are immersed in an acid bath. The acid eats away at any of the (intentionally) fully or partially exposed surfaces of the plate, certain parts of the design being protected by an applied ground that resists the acid. The acid bath "etches" the design in preparation for the application of ink to the plate, and the subsequent printing onto the page. Wallace 1979, 52–54, considers the particular prints in question to be the figurative prints of *Saint William of Maleval, Saint Albert, Glaucus and Scylla,* and *Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl*, for which see: Wallace 1979, 246–255, cat. 99–102; Salamon 1993, cat. 85–88; and Nappi 2014, 133–137 and 161–164, cat. 80, 81, 82 and 84. Rosa also executed a painted version of the *Saint William of Maleval* (*c.* 1655–1660, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), on which the print was based, which was among the paintings by Rosa owned by the Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria (it is listed in his inventory of 1663); for the painting, see: Salerno 1975, 98, cat. 171; Swoboda, in Naples 2008, 244–245, cat. 85; and Volpi 2014, 521, cat. 217, who dates it to *c.* 1655–1660. The story of William of Maleval, a soldier who moved to Tuscany and converted to a life of asceticism, seems to have been of particular interest to Rosa's Tuscan patrons, as Rosa made a number of paintings of the subject, recorded in the inventories of Cardinal Brancaccio (1675) and Girolamo Mercuri (1682). Rosa mentions various drawings for prints in letter 269, which may be the designs in question—certainly the *Crucifixion of Polycrates*, which Rosa explicitly states he "designed at Strozzavolpe," on which see letter 269, note 4.

9. The writings of the ancient philosopher, Sextus Empiricus—presumably the *Adversus mathematicos*, on which see letter 115, note 4. Rosa refers to the same author in letters of 1651, 1652 and 1659 (see letters 115, 117, 118, 119, 120 and 225), however it is unclear whether or not in this instance he is referring to the same text. Perhaps the book was being sent back and forth between the two friends.

10. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 260:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 276, note 1, Rosa is here citing a variation on a line from Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte* (*Triumph of Death*), v. 135: "Come Fortuna va cangiando stile!" ("Changing her copy, thus doth fortune pass.")

2. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. The word derives from "farfaro," meaning "grass that rises a little from the ground": Borrelli and Festa 2003, 276, note 2, citing the *Vocabolario della Crusca*. Rosa also uses the nickname, which in colloquial usage simply translates as "the kid," in letters 262, 265, 266, 269, 271, 279, 281, 282, 283, 287, 290, 291 and 309.

3. By "terzana" Rosa means *febbre terzana*, tertian fever or malaria.

4. The term "serviziale" refers to a medicinal liquid used as a laxative; an enema. In ancient medicine, the cure was thought to purify the humours: Battaglia, 18:781.

5. The term "sanguine," for "sanguigna," is synonymous with "salasso," a blood-letting, conducted (in particular) with the application of leeches: Battaglia, 17:508. On the practice of blood-letting, see also letter 93 (note 13) and letter 100 (note 2).

6. As noted by Limentani 1953, 55, note 114, Rosa had a grim opinion about the "malignity of the change of the air," ascribing to this the premature demise of the young painter "Pasquale" who had made paintings for Ricciardi and who, at the age of twenty-four, had "died because of the change of air between Albano and Rome". See letter 188. On the more general concern about the "air" in this period, see also letter 19, note 4.

7. As noted by Limentani 1953, 55, note 115, Rosa had just spent the summer in Tuscany, and for the most part (from around 29 July onward; see letter 255) at the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe. Rosa returned to Rome at the start of November (see letter 259), and endured a difficult journey.

8. The word "medicante" is an old term for healer or medical physician: Battaglia, 9:1027.

9. Rosa seems here to be playing upon the idea of two voices in harmony, repeating the same refrain—Lucrezia in an upper register, and Rosa in a lower one, as "voce basso".

10. This is probably Tommaso Fantacci, a mutual friend of Rosa and Ricciardi. He is identified by name in a letter written by the painter Pier Dandini to Ricciardi in 1676, in which Dandini reports that he has sent Ricciardi a portrait via Fantacci. For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 85–86, doc. 16.

11. Verdea is a white wine that owes its name to its particular green tonality: Limentani 1953, 55, note 116, and Borrelli and Festa 2003, 276, note 3.

12. The painter Giovanni Ghisolfi, on whom see letter 179, note 14. The painting to which Rosa here refers is not known.

13. The *Madonna del Suffragio* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan;

formerly San Giovanni Decollato alle Case Rotte, Milan), commissioned from Rosa around 1661 by Cardinal Luigi Alessandro Omodei (1607–1685) for the church of San Giovanni Decollato alle Case Rotte, Milan, and in particular for the Confraternità per l'Assistenza dei Condannati a Morte that was housed there, dedicated to caring for those condemned to death. On the painting, see: Passeri, 395; Ozzola 1908, 144; Voss 1924, 570; Salerno 1975, 97–98, cat. 158; Scott 1995, 143–144, 221, and fig. 146; Salomon 2010a, 184–185; Spiriti 2010; Conte 2014, 401–428; and Volpi 2014, 367 and 550, cat. 255. Rosa seems to have worked on the painting for another two months in the following year, for which see letter 280 (and note 6). As noted by Volpi 2014, 367, it is usually argued that Rosa obtained the commission through Luigi Alessandro Omodei, who had commissioned the *Assumption* altarpiece from Rosa for Santa Maria della Vittoria, Milan (on which see letter 146, note 7), but it is probable that in 1661, upon finishing the paintings for Carlo de' Rossi's chapel in Santa Maria in Montesanto, Rome (on which see letter 232, note 3), Rosa had affirmed his talents as a painter of altarpieces, and received the commission for the *Madonna del Suffragio* through the auspices of colleagues in Milan (Cardinal Omodei, but even more importantly the painter Giovanni Ghisolfi), or perhaps, even more likely, via the Confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome (which also housed a Confraternità per l'Assistenza dei Condannati a Morte, and was one of the venues in the city where Rosa had exhibited many of his paintings). See also in this regard Salomon, in Langdon 2010a, 175 and 184–186, and Spiriti 2010, 93, who notes that Rosa received 100 *doble* for the *Madonna del Suffragio*, much higher than the amount customarily paid for an altarpiece on the Milanese market. Spiriti proposes that Rosa was overpaid because of his reputation, self-awareness, and ability to promote himself, and also because he represented a breath of fresh air to Milan, at the time dominated by a reigning "Romanism". Importantly, notes Spiriti, Omodei had visited Rosa in 1652, together with two other cardinals, on which occasion he had seen Rosa's *Democritus* and *Diogenes*. On this visit, see letter 136. Conte 2014, 401, notes that the first public notice of the *Madonna del Suffragio* appears in 1666, four years after its arrival in Milan: Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato refers to the painting in his 1666 *Relatione della Città e Stato di Milano* (pp. 92–94). Other notices are made by Luigi Scaramuccia (who refers to the painting in his *Le Finezze de pennelli italiani* of 1674) and Carlo Torre (who mentions it in his guide to Milan of 1674, on which see also letter 146, note 7, and letter 318, note 3). As Conte notes, Passeri's comments on the reception of Rosa's painting in Milan (Passeri, 395) have traditionally been taken as evidence for identifying Cardinal Luigi Omodei as the patron of Rosa's Milanese works, however there are no extant documents in evidence of his intervention in the decoration of the church of San Giovanni Decollato alle Case Rotte, Milan (even if one of Luigi's brothers was a member of the confraternity housed there); in regard to the *Assumption*, we do have the attestation of Cosimo Brunetti who refers specifically to Omodei's involvement in its commission (see letter 146, note 7). Conte 2011, 90–92, cites in evidence of the prospect of an alternative patron for the *Madonna del Suffragio* a letter written to Rosa by Francesco Fabri Bremondani, who worked in the service of Girolamo Talenti Fiorenza, Marchese di Conturbia e Teves de la Fuente, who was himself closely tied to the church of San Giovanni Decollato alle Case Rotte in Milan, for which Rosa's *Madonna del Suffragio* altarpiece was executed. On Bremondani and Talenti Fiorenza, see letter 278 (note 1)—a letter addressed by Rosa to an otherwise unidentified "signor marchese" of Milan, who may well be connected to the commission for the *Madonna del Suffragio*. For two documents relevant to Bremondani and Rosa's altarpiece, including the letter Bremondani addressed to Rosa, see Conte 2014, 627–628 and 629–630, Appendices VII.1, VII.2 and VII.4. Bremondani here praises at length the painter's "marvellous works" ("sue mirabili opere"), and announces his great esteem for Rosa, "in keeping with universal opinion" ("come nell'opinione universale"), lamenting his inability to do Rosa's merits justice with his own words and declaring he will have to resign himself to remain "amongst those satisfied with revering you with a mute admiration, if our Signor Giovanni Ghisolfi had not assured me that Your Lordship's courtesy matched your excellence in pen and paintbrush, which have brought you nothing more than their glory" ("havrei risoluto trattenermi fra coloro che si contentano di riverirla con una muta ammirazione, se 'l sig[nor] Gio[vanni] Ghisolfi nostro non mi havesse accertato che la cortesia di V[ostra] S[ignoria] agguaglia in lei l'eccellenza della penna e del pennello che l'hanno portata al non più oltre della gloria loro"), a testimony he considered to be "entirely sincere" ("ch'è tutto sincerità"). Bremondani's comment concerning Ghisolfi is important testimony of the painter's involvement as a mediator on Rosa's behalf with his prospective Milanese patrons. In regard to Bremondani, Conte (407) notes further the evidence for his close ties to various academic circles (he belonged to the Milanese Accademia dei Faticosi, as did his patron the marchese Girolamo Talenti Fiorenza, and was the author of the short treatise entitled *Il Tullio moderno, overo Idea dell'eloquenza sublime*, in which he refers to himself as "accademico Incognito," thereby signalling his membership in the Accademia degli Incogniti).

14. Rosa's reference to "Germania" here, as elsewhere (see letter 254, note 4), suggests that he is referring to Austria, and perhaps to a commission from the Archduke Ferdinand Karl. According to Baldinucci, 5:455–456, in 1659 the Archduke acquired (via Francesco Cordini) a number of Rosa's paintings, including the *Moral Philosophy*, *Arion on the Dolphin*, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, two seascapes, a few landscapes, and various portrait heads. The *Pan and Syrinx* also seems to have been sold to the Archduke by Cordini. The Archduke also acquired Rosa's *Saint William of Maleval*, on which see letter 259, note 8. The Archduke's inventory of 1663 records at least four paintings by Rosa: in addition to the *Democritus and Heraclitus* and the *Saint William of Maleval*, there are two landscapes now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. For all four paintings, see Swoboda 2004–2005, 289–290 (nos. 181, 188 and 193) and 291 (no. 195). On the paintings by Rosa in the Archduke's collection, see also Volpi 2014, 470 (cat. 149), 471 (cat. 150), 472 (cat. 152), 477 (cat. 159), 521 (cat. 217) and 603. Volpi 2014, 440, cat. 97 and 98, does not connect the two landscapes now in Budapest with the Archduke's collection. Rosa's astronomical estimation of 1000 *scudi* for the unidentified painting he mentions in the present letter is significant, indicative of the high value he places on his professional work and, perhaps, his unwillingness to paint for a collector who obtained works of his (via Cordini) for what he presumably considered a lower than acceptable price. As noted by Conte 2014, 401, if this painting was indeed executed, and Rosa received the 1000 *scudi* for it, then the painting would be—together with the *Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian* (on which see letter 382, note 4)—the work for which he received the highest known payment of his career. On the matter concerning Cordini, see letter 228, note 13. On the various prices fetched by large-scale, multi-figure paintings in the seventeenth century, see letter 91, note 8. On the issue of Rosa's popularity, or lack thereof, in northern Europe (Germany and Flanders, in particular), see Scott 1995, 220, who notes the scarcity of evidence for the claim made by Baldinucci, 5:443, that Rosa's paintings were sold in Flanders.

See also Von Heusinger 1984, 119, on the absence of Rosa's prints in early German collections, except for Leipzig.

15. A reference to Rosa's son, Augusto.

16. As noted by Limentani 1953, 56, note 120, Rosa is here referring to the copper plates and drawings that he executed in Strozzavolpe over the summer. See letter 259, notes 5 and 8, and letter 269, notes 4–9.

17. The writings of Sextus Empiricus, to which Rosa also refers in letter 259.

18. As noted by Limentani 1953, 56, note 122, on 7 May 1661 (letter 254), Rosa wrote to Ricciardi that he was sending to him, in advance of his journey to Tuscany, a sum of money to cover the cost of his stay. Ricciardi had apparently waited until Rosa was on the road back home and returned the money (see letter 259) to him in Rome, so that it was waiting for Rosa when he arrived there. Evidently, Ricciardi intended to free himself of his debts to Rosa and offer him hospitality, perhaps in repayment of certain monetary debts he had previously contracted. On the meaning of the term "poliza" (or "polizza") as a private written communication, a receipt, or a bill, see letter 167, note 1.

19. With the phrase "questo carnevale" Rosa presumably means "next" Carnival, as the present letter is dated "November".

20. As noted by Limentani 1953, 56, note 123, this is probably a reference to Ricciardi's comedy *La ruota della fortuna* (*The Wheel of Fortune*), published in Bologna at an unknown date, in which various scenes take place in a tavern. See Toci 1881, XIVff, for the appearance of a hostess named "Simona". The comedy was actually performed during Carnival of 1662 (see letter 267), on which occasion a certain "Abate Ducci" and "conte Marciani" took part in the performance; Rosa describes their roles in letter 271. For Ricciardi's comedies, see letter 126, note 6. On the basis of Rosa's correspondence with Ricciardi, the assertion of Sanesi 1944, 2:199, that Ricciardi's comedies "seem to have been for the most part composed during the period he was employed as a teacher of moral philosophy at the University of Pisa, between 1673 and 1686" appears to be completely unfounded. Certainly Ricciardi had begun to write his comedies at least as early as the end of 1652. On Ricciardi's activities in this regard, see also Paliaga 2009, esp. 146–162, and Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 24–25 and 36–37.

21. A reference to Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (1606–*c.* 1651), from Florence, who was considered by his contemporaries to be the greatest dramatist of the century. See Sanesi 1944, 2:172, who describes him as "the greatest writer of comedies in their century and perhaps even in the centuries before" ("il più grande commediografo del loro secolo e, fors'anche, dei secoli precedenti"). Cicognini was granted a degree in law from the University of Pisa in 1627, and was involved in a number of academic circles in Florence, including the Accademia degli Instancabili and the Accademia degli Infiammati. He then took up a career in theatrical writing, producing a vast repertoire of comedies, melodramas, tragedies and sacred dramas. As noted by Limentani 1953, 56, note 124, although Ricciardi was not to reach the same level of fame as the "idolized" Cicognini, his comedies were frequently performed, and often without the author's knowledge (see letter 267, note 1). On Cicognini, see further Vigilante, in *DBI* 25 (1981):428–431, and Torselli 2003. On Cicognini's contributions to the public theatre in mid-seventeenth-century Florence, see also Michelassi 2010, 145–148.

22. In this instance, Rosa appears to be using the term "licenza" in the figurative sense of "to take license". It is worth noting in this context, too, that the term "licenza" can also refer to a licence permitting a temporary or permanent leave of absence from the court of a ruler, or from a ruler's residence, employ or control: Battaglia, 9:44.

23. The phrase "buttarsi al partito del disperato" is perhaps analogous to the expression "buttarsi al matto," meaning to act crazily in a sudden or unexpected way: Battaglia, 2:469. It could also be comparable to "darsi, gettarsi, mettersi al disperato," meaning to give oneself over to desperation, to let oneself despair or to lose heart: Battaglia, 4:726. The term "disperato" can refer to a "wretch" or "madman," but can also mean "layabout," "rebel" or "reckless, rash person" (Battaglia, 4:724), another possibility for Rosa's intended meaning.

24. The verb "sfratarsi" means to leave a monastic order: Battaglia, 18:934.

25. According to Bianconi, in *DBI* 24 (1980):285–287, Marcantonio Cesti had returned to Rome in 1659 (see letter 238, notes 4 and 6), and, after a year spent in the service of the Chigi and Colonna families, travelled to Florence (in March 1661) to participate in the theatrical events staged in celebration of the wedding of Duke Cosimo III and Marguerite Louise d'Orléans. Cesti had been given papal authorization to leave Rome for this purpose alone, however, under the patronage of Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria, Cesti had pursued two further theatrical productions for the Medici: *L'Orontea* and *Dori overo La schiava fedele*. In doing so, Cesti transgressed the papal licence granted to him, and Rosa's letters make clear the threat against Cesti if he did not return to Rome to take up his position in the papal chapel, including the possible revocation of his knighthood (see letter 238, note 6) and a consequent excommunication. Cesti was saved by the protection of the Emperor, together with the support of the Archduke and the Medici, and his papal post was given to two other singers from the Chigi and Spada families. In February 1662, Cesti returned to Innsbruck to work for the Archduke, failing in his attempt to lure Rosa to come along with him (see letters 253 and 254). On the matter concerning Cesti, see also Limentani 1950, 168–170, who transcribes a letter written by Cesti to Ricciardi, dated 29 November 1661, in which Cesti explains his situation in detail. For this letter, see also Pirrotta 1953, 71. Rosa's letter of 10 December 1661 (letter 263) appears to be a response to a letter from Ricciardi, in which the latter had informed Rosa of the content of the communication he had received from Cesti. On Rosa's present letter of 16 November, and his comments regarding Cesti, see also Schlitzer 1953, 97–98, who notes that Ricciardi must have subsequently reported to Cesti what Rosa had written, Cesti reporting back to him in his own letter of 29 November.

26. The meaning of Rosa's construction "ci fanno stare qualsivoglia persona" is not entirely clear, but he seems to intend "they keep up with/compete with/surpass everyone".

27. As noted by Limentani 1953, 57, note 126, this refers to empty frames in Ricciardi's possession, for which Rosa took it upon himself to find still life flower paintings, as well as landscape and animal paintings, at a reasonable price and with the appropriate measurements. See Rosa's comments on these paintings in letter 269.

28. That is, paintings in Rome, presumably available on the Roman art market.

29. Rosa here seems once again to be soliciting Ricciardi's advice about a subject for his own work.

Letter 261:

1. Rosa adopts a new opening address at this point in the extant letters, using the term "unico," which implies "singular," "special" or "one-of-a-kind". On the use of such epithets in early modern Italy, see the interesting discussion in Davis 2007. It is perhaps significant to note that Rosa uses the same address in the dedication to Ricciardi of his 1662 etching representing the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*. It is also perhaps meaningful that, at this point in their correspondence, Rosa was beginning to tire of the constant requirement to reassure Ricciardi of his friendship; he may have intended the phrase as a succinct summation of previously more elaborate reassurances.

2. See note 6, below.

3. On this matter see also letter 260, where Rosa indicates that Augusto has tertian fever, or malaria.

4. For "spogliare" as to undress or strip, see Battaglia, 19:978. The implication here is that neither Rosa nor Lucrezia has slept.

5. That is, she will go crazy. Rosa here refers to the tribulations of Orlando, the troubled protagonist of Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532). Rosa uses the same expression in letters 317 and 396.

6. Rosa has indicated "October" in the ms., but he surely means "November" as this letter without doubt follows those of 11 and 16 November (letters 259 and 260). As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 125, note 1, Rosa has in the present letter written "trentuno" (thirty-one) days instead of "ventuno" (twenty-one), which De Rinaldis suggests was either on account of an error of calculation or absentmindedness. See also letter 396, note 8, for Limentani's proposal that the present letter should instead be dated to 1671, on account of the close analogy between words and phrases used here and those in letter 396.

Letter 262:

1. Rosa here cites again from the *canzone* that Ricciardi had dedicated to him, *Sotto rigida stella* (vv. 2–3). Rosa cited the same passage in letter 250. On the poem, see letter 137 (note 7) and letter 202 (note 2). The term "influssi," or influences, is used here in an astrological or fatalist sense, in reference to the "influence of the stars".

2. With the terms "medaglia," "primo impronto" and "rovescio" Rosa allegorizes Ricciardi's letter as a two-sided coin, with an obverse and reverse. Apparently Ricciardi had expressed very different feelings on the "primo impronto" or first page of the letter than he had on the second ("rovescio").

3. That is, "alterations of mind". Rosa here uses the term "transiti" in reference to Ricciardi's "changed" state of mind, or his apparent shift from one line of argumentation to another: Battaglia, 21:173.

4. Rosa could here be using the term "cattività" in an older sense, no longer in use, in reference to "bad qualities," or defects: Battaglia, 2:888. Rosa had previously lamented the insalubrious air of Pisa in letters 127, 135 and 152.

5. A "tugurio" is a hovel or shanty. Rosa uses the term as an affectionate moniker for the Volterran and Tuscan villas of his friends. See letter 48, note 4. Here, Rosa uses the word either in reference to the villa of Strozzavolpe itself, or to the villa property that Ricciardi seems to have begun constructing, at the very least, from 1662 onward (on which see letter 269, note 14).

6. This is perhaps a reference to Ricciardi's apparent search for his own villa property, on which see letter 269, note 14.

7. The expression "fare i conti senza l'oste" means to count one's chickens before they are hatched, or to make plans or decisions without considering the consequences: Battaglia, 3:663.

8. A reference to Augusto's illness, on which see also letters 260 and 261.

9. The verb "sospirare" can mean to sigh or gasp, as well as to experience a feeling of impatience, anxiety or anguished suspense or affliction over some uncertainty: Battaglia, 19:533.

10. This must be the same "Prete Michele," apparently a priest with ties to the church of Strozzavolpe, to whom Rosa refers in letter 343. Arcangeli 1960, 130, cites him as the Canon of Luco, a village not far from Poggibonsi and Strozzavolpe. Don Michele is mentioned again in letter 384.

11. The verb "cinguettare" means to mutter. See letter 222, note 2.

12. Rosa is here responding to Ricciardi's apparent attempts to discharge his financial debts to Rosa. See also letters 259 and 260, where Rosa mentions Ricciardi's unsolicited return of money that Rosa had sent in order to compensate for the expense of his stay in Tuscany.

13. Another appeal on Rosa's part to the topos of the "laws of friendship," on which see letter 29, note 8.

14. On Marcantonio Cesti's recent activities, see Rosa's comments in letter 260.

15. The expression "sapere dove il Diavolo tien la code" means to be astute, sharp and cunning.

16. On the intervention of the Archduke of Austria and the Medici family, on behalf of Marcantonio Cesti and in connection with his recent transgressions against the papal court in Rome, see letter 260, note 25.

17. This must be a reference to the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici, who reigned 1621 to 1670, as Cosimo III did not become Grand Duke until 1670.

18. This seems to concern ideas that Rosa was soliciting from Ricciardi for his own work. See also letter 260, note 29.

19. Here Rosa seems to be playing upon the dual meaning of the term "motivo," in reference both to the reasons for Ricciardi's afflictions and to his devising of comic subjects.

20. With his use here of the terms "intermedi" and "campo dell'opera" Rosa constructs a musical metaphor. As with the word "minimo," above, Rosa is here using the term "opera" in a double sense: both in reference to Ricciardi's body of theatrical work, and his collection of ailments and complaints. The comedy to which Rosa here refers could be *La ruota della fortuna* (*The Wheel of Fortune*), to which Rosa refers in letters 260 and 267. Alternatively, it could be another composition on which Ricciardi was at work in preparation for the upcoming Carnival season. On Ricciardi's comedies, see letter 126, note 6.

21. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

22. Rosa here refers to two frames in Ricciardi's possession, for which Rosa was trying to find suitable paintings. See letter 260 (note 27) and letter 269.

23. This is presumably a reference to Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

24. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

25. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 263:

1. She is presumably a member of the household at Strozzavolpe. "Monna" is an abbreviated form of the appellation "Madonna," meaning "my lady". On Augusto's illness, see also letters 260, 261 and 262.

2. On the matter concerning this money, see Rosa's comments in letters 259, 260 and 262.

3. Rosa here refers to the measurements of two empty frames in Ricciardi's possession, for which Rosa was trying to find suitable paintings. See letters 260, 262 and 269. Rosa also seems once again to be mocking Ricciardi for his apparent pretentions toward a knowledge "superior" to Rosa, in regard to matters of painting, for which see also letter 104, note 5. With the term "intendomi" Rosa's meaning is not entirely clear; he appears to intend "I mean".

4. On Marcantonio Cesti's situation in Rome, and the aid he received from the Medici, see letter 260, note 25. See also Rosa's comments in letter 262. The "Grand Duke" in question is Ferdinando II de' Medici. On Cesti, see letter 27, note 21.

5. This comment is perhaps directed at acquaintances who had recently caused Rosa grief, on account of their unmitigated success, including Marcantonio Cesti, but also Volunnio Bandinelli and Francesco Cordini. See Rosa's comment in letter 246, regarding Bandinelli's and Cordini's "sudden achievements". As noted by Limentani 1950, 169, note 1, Rosa's present letter is assuredly a response to a letter from Ricciardi, in which he informed Rosa of the content of the letter he had received from Cesti, for which see the sources mentioned in letter 260, note 25; in his letter, Cesti refers explicitly to the protection he had received from the Grand Duke. The expression "di riffa o di raffa" means at any cost, by hook or by crook, or one way or another: Battaglia, 16:252.

6. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

7. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

8. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

9. The sentiment of the phrase "per ogni verso, è la medesima" is "it doesn't matter either way; whatever we do, we will die in the end". It is in keeping with many of the fatalistic statements Rosa offers up in the closing lines of his letters.

10. Gerra 1937, 43, transcribed the date as "16" December.

11. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

Letter 264:

1. That is, the Christmas holidays.

2. See also Rosa's comments concerning Augusto's illness in letters 260, 261, 262 and 263.

3. The prolific painter Giacinto Gimignani (1606–1681), originally from Pistoia, who was active in Rome from 1632, where he collaborated with Pietro da Cortona and Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Among his best known works are the lunette fresco depicting the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1632) in the chapel of the Palazzo Barberini, Rome, and a fresco representing *The Vision of Constantine*, in the baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano (*c.* 1640). Gimignani also worked with Cortona in 1648 on the decoration of the Palazzo Pamphilj in Rome. Gimignani, to whom Rosa here refers as his "neighbour," did indeed live very close to Rosa on the Trinità dei Monti (see letter 26, note 3). There is extensive scholarship on Gimignani; see in particular: Negro, in *DBI* 54 (2000):758–764; Fagiolo Dell'Arco 2001; Fischer Pace 2004; Cerretani 2007; Russell 2007; Baldassari 2010; Bartoni 2012, esp. 454–455; and Benassai 2012.

4. Francesco Berzighelli, Deacon of the Primaziale di Pisa (the complex of Pisa Cathedral, Baptistery, bell tower, and cemetery) and a member of the prominent Berzighelli family of Pisa, on whom see Casini 1986, 176–177. Francesco, a patron and collector of art, owned sections of Masaccio's famed *Pisa Altarpiece*, painted around 1425 for the chapel of Saint Julian in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Pisa, a polyptych that was broken up and dispersed from around 1612 onward. Berzighelli owned one of the smaller panels of the altarpiece, depicting *Saint Paul* (now Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa), presenting it in 1640 to a local antiquary and collector, Paolo Tronci (1585–1648). See on this matter Frosini 1980, 190, and Paliaga and Renzoni 1991, 127–131. Rowlands 2003, 86–87, notes that "[i]n all likelihood, Berzighelli's possession of the *Saint Paul* was due to his family connection with Santa Maria del Carmine. After all, an early Francesco Berzighelli and his brother Giovanni, both sons of the recently ennobled Bartolomeo Berzighelli, had established one of the new altars in the church, namely the second one on the right upon entering the building." Rosa's friend Francesco Redi mentions a "Signor Berzighelli" in his letters—in reference to Francesco's father, the abbot Cammillo Berzighelli of Pisa, himself the son of Giovanni Berzighelli and Lucrezia de' Medici—praising his *canzoni*: Redi, *Opere*, 6:184 and 186–187; letters dated 1686. On the Berzighelli family as collectors of art, see Gusella 2014 (esp. 14, note 7, in reference to Cammillo and Francesco). A certain "Gaban da Berzighella" appears in Lorenzo Lippi's *Il Malmantile Racquistato.* In regard to the Berzighelli family of Pisa, see also Fabbri 2009, 93, who discusses the family in connection with one of the witchcraft trials that took place in Tuscany in the seventeenth century: on this particular occasion, the doctor Pietro Ruschi levelled an accusation of witchcraft against the nanny working for the Berzighelli family in Pisa, owners of the ancient castle of Camugliano (on which see the entry under "Camugliano" in Repetti 1972). On the prevalence of, and fascination with, witchcraft trials in seventeenth-century Tuscany, and their connection in particular to several of Rosa's friends and patrons, see Hoare 2018, 80 and 108–109.

5. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando II de' Medici.

6. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

7. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

8. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

9. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

Letter 265:

1. "Farfaricchio" (also spelled "Farfanicchio" in the letters) is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. See letter 260, note 2. On his illness, see letters 260, 261, 262, 263 and 264.

2. By "la mutazione" Rosa clearly means a "change in the weather" or a "change of air". See also Rosa's comments concerning the "movements of the air" in letter 262.

3. Rosa mentions this "small box" again in letter 266, noting that it contained a small painting by "Filippo," which Ricciardi had apparently sent to Rosa for retouching. On the identity of this "Filippo," see letter 231 (note 9) and letter 266 (note 6). The painting, which is also mentioned in letter 231, was later returned to Ricciardi along with a number of drawings by Rosa (see letter 269).

Letter 266:

1. Rosa's comment is an important acknowledgement on his part of his frequent misdating of the letters. On this matter see also letter 23 (note 6), letter 24 (note 6) and letter 280.

2. The phrase "intendere per discrezione" means to understand or interpret via conjecture (or on the basis of one's own judgment) something that someone else has said or written in an unclear manner: Battaglia, 4:640.

3. The Villa Borghese, located on the Pincian Hill not far from the Trinità dei Monti (where Rosa lived), and surrounded by extensive parks and gardens. On the villa, its grounds, and its important art collection, see: Guadalupi et al. 2002; Campitelli 2003; and Campitelli 2005.

4. The location of a forest near Strozzavolpe, as suggested by Rosa in letter 284. The word "Camberaia" is Latin for Capraia, one of two centres that make up the *comune* of "Capraia e Limite" (Capraia Fiorentina and Limite sull'Arno), located about 38 km north of Poggibonsi and Strozzavolpe, and 20 km west of Florence.

5. On Rosa and his desire for solitude among close friends, see Hoare 2018, esp. 123–125. The term "solitudine" refers to solitude, but can also indicate a solitary place (a desert, for example), the wilderness, or any location devoid of inhabitants or human life: Battaglia, 19:337–338.

6. As noted by Limentani 1950, 121, note 3, this is evidently a small painting that Ricciardi had sent to Rosa for retouching. See also letters 265 and 269. On Rosa's practice of retouching paintings, see letter 70, note 13. The same painting is mentioned in letter 231. De Rinaldis 1939, 100, note 1, proposed the painter in question as Philips Wouwerman, while Paliaga 2009, 162, suggested it could be the work of Filippo Napoletano—a particularly significant identification in view of the apparent influence that Napoletano's work exerted on Rosa. See letter 231, note 9. The painting was returned to Ricciardi, together with some drawings, on 11 March 1662 (see letter 269).

7. The Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria, who had come to Florence the previous year for the wedding of Cosimo III de' Medici and Marguerite Louise d'Orléans.

8. As noted by Limentani 1950, 122, note 5, Rosa's words here suggest his desire to respond to the jealous comments Ricciardi had voiced two years prior, in 1659 (see letter 231), when Rosa had spent time with Marcantonio Cesti, who was then living in Rome. On Cesti's position at the court of Innsbruck, see letters 27 (note 21), 253, 254, 260 (note 25) and 262.

9. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

10. Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

11. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13.

12. This is presumably a reference to King Charles II (1630–1685). On Cosimo Brunetti's time in England, see Pignatelli, in *DBI* 14 (1972):573, who notes Brunetti's acquaintance with the English mathematician John Wallis (1616–1703), chair of geometry at Oxford University from 1649 and chief cryptographer for Parliament from 1643 to 1689, and, subsequently, for the royal court. On Wallis, see further Scott 1960. On the possibility that Brunetti had made another trip to England, at an earlier date, see letter 207.

13. On the matter concerning the painter Giacinto Gimignani, see letter 264, note 3.

14. The term "figurino," in the pejorative colloquial sense, means a feeble, insipid, weak person, in both body and mind: Battaglia, 5:979.

15. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

16. Caterina, the wife of Cosimo Fabretti and sister of Ricciardi.

Letter 267:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 123, note 2, this is probably *La ruota della fortuna* (*The Wheel of Fortune*), written at an unknown date, various scenes of which took place in a tavern. See letter 260, note 20. Ricciardi's comedy entitled *La forza del sospetto* was also performed in Rome in 1664. As to how one of Ricciardi's comedies could be performed in Rome without the author's knowledge (despite Ricciardi's significant renown during his own lifetime) is suggested by Angelo Fabroni, in his *Historia Academiae Pisanae*, Pisa, 1795, vol. 3, 130, as cited by Toci 1881, XIII: "Writing this was an amusement for Ricciardi. His friends, Gaspare Leoli and Cavaliere Pesciolini, went to see him morning and night, and he dictated to them for hours everything that flew out of his mouth, either lying in his bed or walking about his room, doing so with the sole intention that studious youth had something honest to delight themselves in during those Saturnalian festivities [probably those of Carnival season]. These comedies were later released to the public, against Ricciardi's will." ("Haec scribere ludus erat Ricciardio. Veniebant ad eum mane et vesperi ejus familiares Gaspar Leolius et Pesciolinius eques, quibus vel in lecto recubans, vel in cubiculo inambulans, per horae spatium dictabat quidquid ferme in buccam veniebat. Neque alia mente haec dictabat, nisi ut studiosi adolescentes haberent quo se honeste oblectarent in illis Saturnalium dierum feriis. Fuere postea qui has ipsas comoedias in vulgus emitterent, invito sane Ricciardio.") Rosa reports on the presentation of Ricciardi's comedy in letter 271, where he further notes the circumstances of its unauthorized performance.

2. Louis of France (1661–1711), called the Grand Dauphin, was the first-born of King Louis XIV and Maria Theresa of Spain. He was born on 1 November 1661. On the festival apparatus designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini for the occasion, celebrated on the Trinità dei Monti, see Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, 407–412, and Guarino, Tittoni and Tozzi 2005, 90, cat. 26.

3. The Trinità dei Monti, the location of Rosa's house in Rome, on which see letter 26, note 3.

4. With the phrase "fossero di stoppa," Rosa seems to be referring to the "people" ("uomini"), however his meaning is not entirely clear. He appears to be using the phrase "essere di stoppa" (in a manner analogous to a number of expressions cited by Battaglia, 20:223) to mean either "worthless" or "stupid". The term "stoppa" can refer to something worthless or of no value, or to a foolish person or simpleton. The phrase "di stoppa" literally refers to someone with blonde or prickly

hair, comparable to tow in colour or texture. Rosa's reference to "stoppa" (tow) could also be intentionally meaningful in connection with the apparatuses comprising the firework displays that featured as part of the celebrations on the Trinità dei Monti. Another connotation, also perhaps at work in Rosa's analogy, results from the implicit contrast he constructs between the great expense of the event and the "worthlessness" of tow (or, by extension, of the common people on the street with whom Rosa here suggests one might discuss the event).

5. As noted by Limentani 1950, 123, note 1, the letter can be dated with certainty to the period of Carnival 1662 (hence the present placement of the letter in February), during which Ricciardi's comedy *La ruota della fortuna* (*The Wheel of Fortune*)—much of which takes place in a tavern, or *osteria*—was performed. On the comedy, see letter 260, note 20. The Dauphin (Louis of France, on whom see note 2, above), who is also mentioned in this letter, had only been born some months earlier, on 1 November 1661.

Letter 268:

1. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 269:

1. This is presumably the box containing the "painting by Filippo" to which Rosa refers in letter 266, which Ricciardi had sent to Rosa for retouching. On this painting, see also letters 231 and 265.

2. Perhaps a member of the ancient Torrigiani family of Florence, he could be the same "Simone Torrigiani" mentioned twenty years earlier by the mathematician and astronomer Vincenzo Renieri (1606–1647) in a letter of 28 April 1640, written from Genoa to Galileo Galilei, who was then at his villa in Arcetri (located in the hills just south of Florence), in which Renieri refers to Torrigiani as a "giovine della posta": "in order to find out something about the book that was sent to Paris, I think that we can ask that young man at the post house, Signor Simone Torrigiani, who had the *doppia* and the book, and who can easily remember which courier he gave it to" ("per saper qualche nuova del libro che si mandava a Parigi, stimo che si possa far motto al giovine della posta, Sig. Simone Torrigiani, il quale ebbe la doppia e il libro, che facilmente si ricorderà del corriero a cui lo diede"): Galileo, 18:184–185, letter 3999. Rosa mentions sending the "small box," again, in letter 270, in which he enquires after its safe arrival.

3. The "little painting" is presumably the "small painting by Filippo" to which Rosa refers in letter 266. See also on this painting letter 231, note 9.

4. A reference to the preparatory drawing for Rosa's large etching of the *Crucifixion of Polycrates*, executed on two separate sheets on account of its large size (see Mahoney 1977, 1:557–562, and 2: cat. 65.1–7; for the print see Wallace 1979, 281–286, cat. 111, and Nappi 2014, 146–147 and 172–173, cat. 92). Some years later Rosa made a painting of the same subject, simplifying the scene, perhaps in order to be paired with another picture of the same dimensions, *Polycrates Receiving the Fish*, which it joined as a pendant. For both paintings, dated *c.* 1663–1665, and now in the Art Institute, Chicago, see: Salerno 1975, 101–102, cat. 213 and 214; Scott 1995, 181–185, figs 193 and 194; Langdon 2010a, 208–209, cat. 32a and 32b; and Volpi 2014, 525–526, cat. 223 and 224. See also De Rinaldis 1939, 132, note 1. On Rosa's time at Strozzavolpe in the summer and early autumn of 1661, see letters 255 through 258.

5. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 285, note 2, the drawing for Rosa's etching representing *Alexander and Diogenes*, which depicts the philosopher seated outside his barrel, is perhaps the one now in the British Museum, London (see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 65.10). On the print, see Wallace 1979, 267–271, cat. 108, and Nappi 2014, 142 and 168–169, cat. 88. On Rosa's painting of the same subject (*c.* 1643, Althorp House), see: Salerno 1975, 89, cat. 68; Scott 1995, 32–33, fig. 36; Langdon 2010b, 23, fig. 10; and Volpi 2014, 438–439, cat. 96.

6. For Rosa's print depicting *Ceres and Phytalus*, see Wallace 1979, 287–288, cat. 112, and Nappi 2014, 137 and 164, cat. 85.

7. For Rosa's etching of *Democritus in Meditation*, see Wallace 1979, 261–263, cat. 104, and Nappi 2014, 143–145 and 170–171, cat. 90. For a series of etchings executed in 1662 and linked to the *Democritus* print, see Wallace 1979, 264–266, cat. 105–107.

8. Rosa here intends the term "dito" ("un dito di disegno") in the sense of "small," or perhaps "part" (a "small drawing" or "part of a drawing"). As noted by Battaglia, 4:844, the term "dito" can refer to a very small measure or quantity of something, either literally corresponding to the width of a finger or, more figuratively, being very small in size or limited in quantity; the phrase "un dito" means "very small or minute".

9. For Rosa's etching of *Diogenes Casting Away his Bowl*, designed as a pendant to the *Democritus in Meditation*, see Wallace 1979, 257–259, cat. 103, and Nappi 2014, 142–143 and 169–170, cat. 89. For the paired paintings from which these two prints are derived, see letter 86, note 15, and letter 137, note 4. For related drawings, see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 33.1–33.6, and Wallace 1979, 258.

10. In an earlier letter of 31 December 1661 (letter 265), Rosa reported to Ricciardi that he had just been able to retrieve from customs the "small case," which presumably contained the little painting by "Filippo" (on which see note 1, above) and perhaps these drawings as well.

11. See also letters 260 and 262, in which Rosa asks Ricciardi to send him the measurements of two frames in his possession, for which Rosa was trying to find suitable paintings.

12. By "tall" and "wide" Rosa means oriented vertically and horizontally.

13. The word in the ms. could be "casa" or "cosa," however the former of the two options makes more sense in the context of Rosa's comment.

14. A "tugurio" is a hovel. See letter 48, note 4. Ricciardi seems to have been carrying out renovations at a new villa property, perhaps acquired earlier in 1661 (see letter 262). Rosa mentions these "repairs" again in letters 321, 322, 323 and 325. Ricciardi's 1687 inventory records properties in Pisa, including his house on the Lungarno Gambacorti, in addition to a vineyard and attendant "casetta" in the *comune* of Filettole, which could perhaps be the "hovel" in question. Filettole is located on the border between the provinces of Pisa and Lucca. For the inventory entry, see Paliaga 2009, 230, Appendix XXVI. For a map drawn on the verso of one of Rosa's letters, which may

depict the region surrounding Ricciardi's villa, see letter 297 and Fig. **34**.

15. The term "flussione," no longer in use, refers to an "influx" or "fluxion" of the humours, or a negative change in physical health. It frequently refers to the influx of catarrh or phlegm in some part of the body. The term can refer to any number of afflictions, including constipation, congestion, hyperaemia, hyperuricaemia or rheumatism: Battaglia, 6:80–81.

16. Alternatively, Rosa could intend the phrase "non applicare" in reference to the avoidance of "applicazione" or the use of medicine, in connection with Ricciardi's illness. For "applicazione" as the use or administration of medicine or a cure, see Battaglia, 1:574.

17. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

18. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

19. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. On this nickname, see letter 260, note 2.

Letter 270:

1. The small box presumably containing the little painting by "Filippo," which Ricciardi had sent to Rosa to be retouched. See also letters 231, 265, 266 and 269.

2. On Simone Torrigiani, see letter 269, note 2.

3. This is presumably a reference to the new villa property that Ricciardi was in the process of renovating, on which see letter 269, note 14. Alternatively, Rosa could be referring to Strozzavolpe, on which see letter 228, note 7. Ricciardi may have gone to Strozzavolpe in the summer of this year, as is suggested by Rosa's comment in letter 276.

4. An interesting comment that may self-consciously allude to contemporary theories and debates about the intellectual dimension of painting, in which the concept of the "idea" held pride of place and would go on to receive extensive treatment—most famously—by the art theorist and painter Giovan Pietro Bellori (1613–1696). On Bellori and the seventeenth-century discourse on the Idea, see Borea and Gasparri 2000, and Wohl 2005, 1–39 and 55–67. Langdon 2010b, 39, suggested that Bellori's academic and classicizing definition of painting, codified in his *Idea* lecture of 1664, had a decisive impact upon Rosa's increasingly "stiffly classical works" of the late 1650s and 1660s.

5. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

6. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 271:

1. A "tugurio" is a "hovel". See letter 48, note 4. Rosa uses the term here in reference to a new villa property that Ricciardi was restoring, on which see letter 269, note 14.

2. The term "forno" can refer to a hearth, as well as an oven or bakery: Battaglia, 6:203–204.

3. The word "pretismo" means priest-like or clerical in one's habits; ostentatious piety: Battaglia, 14:299.

4. It has not been possible to further identify this "Abate Ducci," perhaps a member of the Ducci family of Florence, on which see also Paliaga 2009, 79. For "pretazzuolo," one of a number of derogatory variations on "prete," or priest, see Battaglia, 14:288.

5. Limentani 1953, 56, note 123, considered this to be Ricciardi's comedy entitled *La ruota della fortuna* (*The Wheel of Fortune*), published in Bologna at an unknown date, in which various scenes take place in a tavern. In the comedy, the character Trespolo features as an innkeeper who wants to free himself from his old wife Simona so that he can marry his goddaughter. See further Di Muro 1999, 168 (note 58), and 184. On the play, see also letter 260 (note 20) and letter 267 (note 1). On the character Trespolo, who appeared in all of Ricciardi's plays, see note 7, below.

6. This "Count Marciani" is perhaps one and the same as the Conte Marciano who staged at his house in Rome, in 1643, the performance of a musical drama by Francesco Buti, set to music by Marco Marazzoli, entitled "Il giuditio della Ragione tra la Beltà e l'Affetto," on which see Daolmi 2000–2001.

7. Trespolo is a character that features in all of Ricciardi's extant plays. In letter 374, Rosa refers to Ricciardi as "Signor Trespolo". On Rosa's own adoption of characters associable with the *zanni* in his comic theatrical performances, and on the particular characteristics of the "second" *zanni*, see Hoare 2018, 48–57. On Rosa's adoption of the role of Trespolo, in particular, see Gozzano 2010, 106. See also letter 310 (note 5) and Hoare 2018, 57 and note 106. Molinari 1999, 246–247, makes use of Baldinucci's references to the types of roles usually performed by the members of Rosa's academy, the Percossi, in an attempt to reconstruct the dramatic roster of players for a hypothetical performance of Ricciardi's *Il Trespolo Hoste.* The collaboration implicit in the formation of Rosa's portrayal of Trespolo, a joint product of Rosa as actor and Ricciardi as author, as Molinari (197) suggests, also reveals the significant contributions made to Rosa's theatrical identity by academic theatrical enterprise. On the character of Trespolo, see also Regel and Regel 2011, 123–124, who note that he is portrayed as "sometimes a first, sometimes a second *zanni*. Hence he belongs to the group of figures embodied by Rosa because they came closest to his essence and temperament. In his letter of 8 April 1662 [the present letter], Rosa actually characterizes Trespolo as a second *zanni*."

8. The term "distendere" can mean to raise, enlarge, increase, expand or extend, and in the figurative sense can mean to spread, publicize or promote, which seems to be Rosa's intended meaning here. See Battaglia, 4:795.

9. The word "spagliocca" stands for "pagliuzza," meaning a very small quantity, or nothing, in the Neapolitan dialect. See Galiani, 2:131.

10. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

11. The church of Il Gesù, in Rome, the mother church of the Jesuit order and the former primary home of the Superior General of the Jesuits. The particular preachers to whom Rosa here refers are not known.

12. Rosa here cites from Petrarch's sonnet *Il Trionfo del Tempo* (*The Triumph of Time*), v. 87: "Infenita è la schiera degli sciocchi" ("Infinite, truly, is the throng of fools").

13. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

14. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

15. On the recent events concerning Marcantonio Cesti, see letters 260, 262 and 263. On Cesti more generally, see letter 27, note 21.

16. Holy Saturday fell on 8 April in the year 1662. Cesareo 1893, 192, note 2, notes the presence of the word "luglio" in the ms.

Letter 272:

1. As suggested by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 287, note 1, this is perhaps the chapel of San Benedetto in the Certosa at Pavia, which Giovanni Ghisolfi had decorated in 1661 with a fresco cycle of scenes from the life of Saint Benedict. On the cycle, Ghisolfi's most important work after his period in Rome, see Busiri Vici 1992, 8, 9, 40, 115–117 (cat. 71a–71f) and 142. On Rosa and Ghisolfi, see letter 179, note 14.

2. Rosa uses the term "conversazione" here, as in the following sentence, to refer to a group of friends. On the meaning of the term, particularly in the academic context, see letter 1, note 7.

3. The shrine of the Holy House of Loreto, located in the Basilica della Santa Casa, Loreto, traditionally believed to contain the house in which the Virgin Mary lived. According to the well-known legend, the house was carried in 1294 from its original site in Nazareth by angels across the Adriatic sea to Recanati (in Latin, *lauretum*), located just southwest of the town of Loreto. On the Santa Casa, see Grimaldi 2005.

4. The seaport town of Ancona, located about 35 km north of Loreto. On Rosa's journey back from the region, which he recounts in letter 273, see Limentani 1972, 258–259.

5. "Smorfire" is a colloquial term meaning to eat greedily or eagerly: Battaglia, 19:187.

6. Limentani 1972, 270, note 2, identifies this "Canon Maffei" as the son of Lodovico Maffei, according to Rosa's comment in letter 399. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 406, note 1, further identify him as Paolo Maffei, the "page" of Gasparo Altieri, Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, and son of Lodovico Maffei; Paolo is recorded in a letter written by his uncle Ugo Maffei to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Correspondence of Cardinal Leopoldo, file 46, v. 5543). The Maffei had another ecclesiastical canon in the family, however: Antonio Maffei, one of Giulio Maffei's brothers, who was canon of the Cathedral of Volterra. See letter 29, note 7. The same "Signor Canonico Maffei" is also mentioned in letter 379.

Letter 273:

1. On the term "pittoresco" and its significance for Rosa's artistic identity, see letter 138 (note 9) and letter 393 (note 4).

2. Rosa uses the terms "orrido" and "orridezza" to refer to the emotion of terror and awe provoked by the savage, untamed beauty of the landscape (see Battaglia, 12:153–155), a notion that anticipates the "sublime" aesthetic of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romantics, but has much earlier roots in the writings ascribed to Longinus. On Rosa, Romanticism, and the concept of the sublime, see further: Schmidt 1930; Salerno 1963, 9–17; Manwaring 1965; Wallace 1965, 3–6; Sunderland 1970; Likos 1988; Barryte 1989; Scott 1995, esp. 227–231; Langdon 2004 (for a discussion of Longinus); Schnitzler 2004; Compton Verney 2005; Patty 2005; Aurnhammer et al. 2008; Langdon 2010a, esp. 182–184; Langdon 2012; and Hoare 2018, 27–30. On the concept of "bizzarria," see letter 280, note 15. Volpi 2014, 538–539, cat. 242, suggests that Rosa's *Finding of Moses* (National Gallery, London), painted *c.* 1663 and purchased by Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, is perhaps the best illustration of Rosa's description to Ricciardi of the "horrida bellezza" he saw on his voyage to Loreto in 1662, and suggests that it may even be possible to discern in the extraordinary perspective view of a lake in the background of the painting a reference to the lake of Bolsena, which Rosa and his travel companions would have seen on the road between Rome and Loreto.

3. Verrucola di Fivizzano is a small hill-top town located in the Lunigiana region of Tuscany, not far from Pisa, where there are the remains of a medieval fortress. As noted by Paliaga 2009, 150, Ricciardi—and perhaps Rosa, too—often stayed in the villa owned by Francesco Lanfreducci at Noce, located near Verrucola, an area characterized by a landscape very similar to that surrounding Barbaiano and Monterufoli. As noted by Arcangeli 1960, 128, the Ricciardi family owned—among various other properties—the castle of Fabbrica, located in the hills of Pisa and three miles from Peccioli, near the river Era. It may well have been from Fabbrica, Arcangeli suggests, that Rosa made a tour of the Verruca, upon his return from Loreto. Targioni Tozzetti, 6:321, noted the presence in the castle of two poetic inscriptions authored by Ricciardi.

4. Rosa here uses the word "alpi", however he is referring to the Appenines.

5. On Ancona, see letter 272, note 4.

6. Sirolo is a *comune* in the province of Ancona, located 12 km south of the city of Ancona.

7. In regard to Assisi, Rosa is assuredly referring to the paintings in the Basilica of Saint Francis, attributed to Giotto.

8. The river Velino begins at Monte Pozzoni (near Cittareale, in Rieti) and passes through Marmore (in the *comune* of Terni) where it meets the river Nera and falls in a spectacular waterfall, 165 m in height, known as the *cascata delle Marmore*, comprised of three successive falls. Terni is approximately 100 km northeast of Rome, and would therefore be located a little under halfway along Rosa's journey from Rome to Loreto and Ancona. On Rosa's account of his journey back from the region, see also Limentani 1972, 258–259.

9. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

10. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 274:

1. See also letter 273, where Rosa recounts in vivid detail his journey back from Loreto.

2. This is presumably a reference to the castellated villa of Strozzavolpe, owned by Cassandra Ricciardi, the mother of Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo. For Rosa's stay at the villa in 1661, see letters 255 through 258.

3. The phrase "fare da cena" means to prepare food for an evening meal: Battaglia, 2:957.

4. On the meaning of the expression "viso di fava," see letter 196, note 17.

5. This is perhaps a reference to the comedies performed during the preceding Carnival season in Rome. Such comedies frequently elicited Rosa's scorn.

6. The word "pretismo" refers to priest-like or clerical habits, or ostentatious piety: Battaglia, 14:299. Rosa is probably referring to the papal court of Rome.

7. Rosa is presumably here referring to the Villa Il Casale, located in the Florentine *comune* of Sesto Fiorentino. First recorded in the fourteenth century, the villa was owned by various families with ties to the Medici court, including the Carlini family, who purchased the villa in the later sixteenth century, introducing significant additions to the building—including a theatre—and expanding its elaborate gardens. On the villa, which also boasts interior decorations by the early seventeenth-century painter Giovanni da San Giovanni, see: Cenci 1990; Carrara Screti 2007; and Gobbi Sica 2007, 179–180.

8. The formulation "stare in mano di qualcuno" means to be under someone's control, guidance, tutelage or care, or to be at someone's mercy: Battaglia, 9:717. The phrase "visaccio di scimitarra turchesca" is presumably a reference to the owner of the Villa Il Casale, here unidentified. With his reference to a "Turkish scimitar" Rosa could be alluding to a passage from a literary source, difficult to identify with certainty, such as Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532) (to which Rosa makes frequent allusion throughout the letters; see in particular letters 93, 261, 317 and 396) or Luigi Pulci's *Morgante* (1483). In the *Orlando Furioso*, Ariosto makes reference to the Turkish scimitar in a number of instances, as in Canto XXX. 39: "Have you forgotten when without a sword/ or scimitar, with broken lance, alone/ I entered into combat with a horde/ of *cavalieri* (they were all armed), and won?," or Canto XXVII. 63–64 (in which Ariosto refers in particular to the facial contortions of the Saracen ruler, Gradasso, engaged in battle with the Tartar king): "The blow he struck him was so terrible/ Gradasso's hand was numbed, as though of wood,/ and from its lifeless grasp the weapon fell./ He little dreamt that such mad frenzy would/ to such an act the Tartar king impel./ Taken thus unawares and off his guard,/ he saw, dismayed, that he had lost his sword./ Vexed and discountenanced, with wrath and shame,/ the colour mounts like fire to his face,/ so violent he seems to shoot forth flame,/ […] Thirsting for vengeance, he steps back a pace/ and draws his scimitar, but nothing loath/ the Tartar is prepared to fight them both." In Pulci's *Morgante*, the scimitar also features prominently, however none of the passages appear to correspond directly to Rosa's words in the present letter. Rosa's comment also brings to mind his *Battle between the Christians and Turks*, executed for the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici in 1642, in which the artist juxtaposes a witness self-portrait, in the guise of a Christian soldier, with representations of Turkish soldiers who exhibit particularly pronounced grimaces and facial contortions, in demonstration of Rosa's rhetorical-pictorial prowess. Volpi 2014, 423, cat. 76, has pointed out Rosa's inclusion of a screaming, crazed face of a Turk at the far right side of the painting, in a position directly opposite to Rosa's self-portrait; the Turk seems to be staring out of the painting as if petrified, perhaps completing the metaphor of Medusa alluded to by Rosa's self-portrait (on which see further Hoare 2018, chapter one, note 84).

9. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

10. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 144, note 15.

11. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

12. Antonio Lancia, on whom see letter 242, note 7.

13. This seems to be a reference to Sebastiano Cefali (1624–1666), a Sicilian *letterato*, active in Poland as secretary to Marshal Jerzy Lubomirski. In 1658, Cefali also came into contact with the diplomat Paolo Minucci, invited by the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici for the purpose of negotiations between Mattias de' Medici and the Polish throne. Cefali subsequently maintained ties to the Medici court. On Cefali, see Caccamo, in *DBI* 23 (1979):315–316. In letter 343, dated 1666, Rosa expresses sorrow at hearing the news of Cefali's death.

14. The amateur poet Francesco Melosi (or Melosio), who had been governor of Ronciglione before being ordained a clergyman. On Melosi, see letter 129, note 21. Melosi held various unimportant but lucrative government posts in his later years, eventually retiring to his native Città della Pieve, near Perugia, where he composed Latin verses. He died in 1670. See Catucci, in *DBI* 73 (2009):376–379.

15. Ronciglione (apparently one of the various localities where Melosi held a governing position) is a city and *comune* in Lazio, located about 20 km southeast of Viterbo.

16. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 275:

1. This seems to be a reference to the diversions of Strozzavolpe, as Rosa appears to indicate Ricciardi's presence there in letter 276.

2. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 276:

1. Presumably the day of the week on which Rosa went to the post office, or the day when mail was delivered from Tuscany.

2. A reference to the theatrical performances staged by the Accademia degli Stravaganti, on which see letter 56, note 2.

3. On the punishment of the mythological figure, Tantalus, see letter 106, note 8.

4. This must be the same heifer that Lodovico Maffei had sent as a gift during Rosa's stay at Strozzavolpe, for which see letter 258. At the moment of the present letter, Ricciardi may have been staying at Strozzavolpe.

5. It is not entirely clear as to whom Rosa is here referring. He could be speaking about the impending birth of the child—a boy, born to Cosimo and Caterina Fabretti—that Rosa mentions in letter 279. Caterina was Giovan Battista Ricciardi's sister, hence Rosa's reference to the "hovel's" (that is, Ricciardi's) family. The child seems to have been named Salvatore, presumably after Rosa. On the meaning of the term "tugurio", see letter 48, note 4.

Letter 277:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 291, note 1, Rosa is probably here referring to one of the texts on the "glorie del Niente," part of a popular early modern series of intellectual musings on "the paradoxes of Nothing". The text to which Rosa refers is probably one of two that were published in 1634

and 1635 by members of the Accademia degli Incogniti in Venice: the first, by Luigi Manzini (1604–1657), was entitled *Il Niente*, and the second, by Marino dall'Angelo (active in the seventeenth century), was the *Glorie del Niente*. As noted by Calcagno 2012, 240–241, these texts stirred up a heated debate, and elicited sharp critique from detractors of the philosophy of Nothingness. Calgagno (241) summarizes: "the main thesis of Manzini's *Il Niente*—one that was certainly inflammatory, to judge from the subsequent reactions—is 'that no thing, outside of God, is more noble and perfect than Nothing'. The author begins his essay by praising novelty over authority, and the 'new' over the 'old,' claiming for himself a new freedom (*nuova libertà*) of judgment." It is not difficult to imagine that Rosa may have had his own interest in both the text (which was controversial) and its subject. On the subject of the "glorie del Niente," see also Ossola 2007.

2. This is presumably a reference to the library of the Jesuit school in Rome, or the Collegio Romano, founded in 1551 by Ignatius Loyola. Rosa had important and close ties to various members of the Sacred College, including Athanasius Kircher, James Alban Gibbes, Cardinal Jacopo Nini, Francesco Baldovini (Cardinal Nini's secretary, who provided Baldinucci with the important report on Rosa's death, for which see Baldinucci, 5:467–468), and Giovanni Michele Silos, who in his *Pinacotheca Sive Romana Pictura et Sculptura* included a series of epigrams about paintings by Rosa in Cardinal Nini's collection: Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 48–50. For Silos's epigrams, see Silos.

3. Limentani 1950, 127, note 10, suggested that this "Giovan Battista Conti" was probably a friend of Marcantonio Maffei, who was living in Rome at the time and was involved in one of the Maffei family's litigations. Rosa had been asked to pay him a sum of money, which he indeed did. See letters 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286 and 289.

4. The term "quartiere" can mean neighbourhood, area or district, but can also refer to an apartment, set of rooms or "quarters": Battaglia, 15:81–82.

5. This is perhaps Domenico Corsi (1633–1696), from Florence, who was an apostolic protonotary: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 291, note 2.

6. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 1, note 5, and letter 27, note 13.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

8. On the unidentified comedy that Ricciardi was apparently at work on at this moment, see also letters 268 and 276 (in the latter of which Rosa refers to the theatrical activities of the Accademia degli Stravaganti). On Ricciardi's comedies more generally, see letter 126, note 6.

Letter 278:

1. As noted by Conte 2007, 194, Rosa's reference here to "cavalieri di Milano"—among them the addressee—suggests that the letter may have something to do with the commission for Rosa's altarpiece representing the *Madonna del Suffragio*, first mentioned in Rosa's correspondence in letter 260 (dated 16 November 1661). In another letter of July 1662 (letter 280), Rosa mentions the painting again and refers to a certain "cavaliere Rondini" (whom it has not been possible to further identify) and his particular satisfaction with the painting. The addressee of the present letter is unknown, however, if he is not Rondini, he could well be—as Conte further suggests—a close associate or friend. On the present letter, see also Conte 2011, 90–92, who notes further the possibility that this "Rondini" is another personage, as-yet unknown to us, involved in the commission for the altarpiece. Conte 2011, 92, also notes the possible allusion on Rosa's part, with his reference to "talenti," to the Milanese surname Talenti Fiorenza—a further possible candidate for the letter's addressee; in the finished version of the letter that was actually sent to the "marchese," now lost, the characters of the word "talenti" could have been written in upper case, as was common practice in the word games practised by Rosa and his academic friends (see for example the poem by Francesco Rovai dedicated to the "Improvvisi," in Hoare 2018, 77–79, 111, 117, 125–126 and 128). The name "Talenti" would be meaningful, since Conte (92) also offers in connection with Rosa's altarpiece commission a letter written to Rosa by Francesco Fabri Bremondani, who worked in the service of Girolamo Talenti Fiorenza, Marchese di Conturbia e Teves de la Fuente—a senator and member of the 60th Decurioni di Milano (1648–1675), and therefore, as Conte notes, an occupant of one of the most important offices of the Milanese state, and a figure who, as Conte demonstrates (93–94), was closely connected to the church of San Giovanni Decollato alle Case Rotte in Milan, for which Rosa's altarpiece was executed. As noted further by Conte 2014, 407, no documents survive that can attest to the marchese Girolamo Talenti's role in the confraternity when the altarpiece was made, however the physical proximity of Talenti's house to the confraternity, to which he belonged, suggests an incentive for his participation in the decoration of the church. The prefect of the confraternity (the Nobili della Consolazione), Giacomo Legnani, referred to the brothers as "cavalieri" in the *Capitolo ed ordini* (1654) dedicated to Philip IV—indicative, perhaps, of the individuals (the "signori cavalieri di Milano") to whom Rosa refers in the present letter: Conte 2011, 93. In the confraternity's list of members, Diego Gera's name appears after that of Girolamo Talenti Fiorenza: Gera was the count to whom Antonio Abati had written an encomiastic letter in praise of one of Rosa's paintings (on which see letter 1, note 4), and Conte 2011, 94, elaborates, too, upon the meaningful connection between Gera and Rosa's Milanese commission. On Bremondani and Talenti Fiorenza, and the possible circumstances of the commission of Rosa's *Madonna del Suffragio*, see also letter 260, note 13. On the alternative meaning of the term "cavaliere" as "gentleman," see letter 31, note 3.

Letter 279:

1. Brugiotti seems to have been a lawyer (see letter 283) involved in the litigation concerning Marcantonio Maffei (on which see letters 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285 and 286); Rosa did not seem to trust him (see letter 281).

2. Giovan Battista Conti, on whom see letter 277, note 3.

3. This could be a reference to Domenico Corsi, from Florence, to whom Rosa refers in letter 277.

4. Conte 2007, 196, suggests that the expression "concorde fatalità" alludes to the harmony of intentions that exists between Rosa and Ricciardi. Battaglia, 5:714–715, defines "fatalità" as fate, destiny, inevitability; adverse fate, unfavourable destiny, misfortune; the will of fate, an unfortunate or ruinous event. The term generally has a negative connotation.

5. It appears that Cosimo and Caterina Fabretti (Ricciardi's sister) had a baby that they named "Salvatore," after Rosa. Morgan 1824, 2:280, proposed that Rosa was the child's

godfather, however the name could also have been chosen simply in honour of Rosa.

6. Gaspare Leoli, a gentleman from Pisa and knight of the Order of Santo Stefano, on whom see letter 85, note 13. The particular appointment that Leoli received on this occasion is not known.

7. On the unidentified comedy that Ricciardi was apparently at work on at this moment, see also letters 268, 276 and 277.

8. For the definition of the Neapolitanism "muino," see letter 220, note 5 (for "ammoinare").

9. "Zampana" is an old term, no longer in use, for a type of mosquito: Battaglia, 21:1050.

10. The "people" in question must be Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo (whose mother Cassandra Ricciardi was the owner of the villa at Strozzavolpe) and his family. On Jacopo, see note 13, below.

11. Rosa here refers to the time he spent working on designs for etchings at Strozzavolpe in the summer of 1661. See letters 255 (for Rosa's presence at the villa in that year), 259 (notes 5 and 8) and 269. The most likely candidates for the two large prints to which Rosa here refers are the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* and the *Crucifixion of Polycrates*, on which see: Wallace 1979, 275–286, cat. 110 and 111; Salamon 1993, cat. 96 and 97; and Nappi 2014, 171–173 and 213–214, cat. 91 and 92. In letter 280, Rosa again refers to these "two large copper plates," and mentions the *Atilius* by name, suggesting the likelihood that it is one of the large prints in question. The *Polycrates*, as we know from letter 269, was designed (if not yet necessarily turned into a print) at Strozzavolpe in 1661. Alternatively, the two plates to which Rosa here refers might be the same ones used for the prints he mentions having finished in letter 297: the *Fall of the Giants* and the *Rescue of the Infant Oedipus*. See letter 297, note 6. For another possible candidate—a "Judgment of Paris" that was probably executed by Rosa at Strozzavolpe as a design for a print (not ultimately executed), see Appendix 3, letter B, note 1.

12. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

13. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

14. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

15. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

Letter 280:

1. The expression "stare col capo a bottega" means to pay close attention, to be cautious, judicious, or prudent: Battaglia, 2:331.

2. The expression "a pennello" (or "di pennello") means in an exact, suitable, correct or satisfactory manner; perfectly: Battaglia, 12:1028.

3. On the medical condition of hypochondria, see letter 132, note 1.

4. The Trinità dei Monti in Rome, where Rosa lived.

5. The term "esanimazione" means discouragement, disheartenment, dismay or bewilderment: Battaglia, 5:293.

6. The "Anime del Purgatorio" is the painting also known as the *Madonna del Suffragio*, on which see letter 260, note 13. As noted by Limentani 1953, 55, note 119, the pride Rosa expresses here in regard to the painting's success in Milan is reflected, although with slightly more scepticism, in the comments of Passeri, 395, who observed: "The cardinal was satisfied with it. As for whether or not it pleased Milan, there was no news in Rome. But this should not concern us, since that city—consisting as it does of foreigners—doesn't desire even the slightest whiff of the work of other artists; and so, an apparent lack of any criticism of the painting could be considered evidence that it was not deemed praiseworthy—however, with their silence, they conceded that it was worthy of praise." ("Quel Cardinale ne restò sodisfatto; del resto, se piacesse a Milano, o nò, non ne venne in Roma avviso nessuno; ma di questo non bisogna maravigliarsi perché quella città, trattandosi di forestieri, e d'opere d'altri, che di quelli del paese, non ne vogliono sentire odore, e così non essendosene sentiti biasimi, è un argomento, che il quadro non ne fusse meritevole, e col silenzio il confessarono degno di lode.") Cardinal Omodei had earlier commissioned two paintings from Rosa for his family chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria: the *Assumption of the Virgin* (*c.* 1652, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Paris) and the *Saint Paul the Hermit* (*c.* 1652, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), the latter originally paired with a *Saint John the Baptist* by Gaspard Dughet and Pier Francesco Mola (also now in the Brera). On these paintings, see: Spiriti 1994, 109 (for their former dating to 1661); Salomon 2010a, 184–186; Langdon 2010b, 41–42 and fig. 18; Spiriti 2010 (also on the painting by Dughet and Mola); and Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 58, who notes that both of Rosa's paintings, formerly dated to 1661–1663, can now—on the basis of a letter by Cosimo Brunetti (see letter 146, note 7)—be dated to the early 1650s, and that they were probably acquired by Omodei along with Dughet's and Mola's *Saint John the Baptist*, given the large sum that Brunetti reports Omodei paid for the paintings. On the *Saint Paul the Hermit*, see also Volpi 2014, 273 and 485, cat. 166.

7. During this later phase of his career, Rosa preferred to paint large scale, figurative paintings depicting historical or philosophical subjects. Here, he refers to his detractors, who considered him skilled only in landscape painting or the production of small genre scenes. In 1666 (see letter 345), Rosa confessed a desire to erase the memory that he had ever painted landscapes. As noted by Limentani 1950, 125, note 3, Rosa's attitude toward the subjects of his paintings finds reflection in his third satire, *La Pittura*, vv. 175–177 (Romei 1995, 101): "Painters must be erudite, familiar with the sciences, and should know well the myths, histories, periods of time, and their customs." ("Bisogna che i pittori siano eruditi/ nelle scienze introdotti, e sappian bene/ le favole, l'istorie, i tempi, e i riti.") On Rosa's inclinations in this regard, see Baldinucci, 5:479–480 and 485. As noted by Volpi 2014, 367, Rosa's comments in the present letter, regarding his achievements with the *Madonna del Suffraggio*, also point to his frustrated desire for altarpiece commissions, the few of these that he did receive generally coming to him via wealthy and prominent friends such as the cardinals Omodei and Brancaccio. In 1669, Rosa finally won the commission for a prominent altarpiece in Rome, the *Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, expressing his delight at this achievement in letter 382 (on the painting, see letter 382, note 4).

8. A Milanese nobleman, on whom see also letter 278, note 1. It is possible that he is the addressee, or a close associate of the addressee, of letter 278, which may also concern the *Madonna del Suffragio*.

9. Rosa mentions the preparation of these plates in letter 279.

They are mentioned again in letter 286 (and note 12). On the identification of their possible subjects, see letter 279, note 11.

10. That is, the prints and not the plates themselves.

11. The verb "sbaioccare" is a Tuscanism meaning to be able to spend money with a certain prodigality, or, more figuratively, to capitalize on or take advantage of a profitable or favourable situation: Battaglia, 17:626.

12. Rosa's comment regarding the sale of his prints is of great significance for the study of the seventeenth-century print market. On Rosa's sale of prints abroad, see Wallace 1979, xix and 53 (who notes that the six *giuli* to which Rosa here refers is a relatively high price for a print), and Rotili 1974, 7–19 (on the contemporary and posthumous demand for and critical fortune of Rosa's prints). In the present letter, Rosa is perhaps referring in particular to the sale of his large prints, such as the *Atilius Regulus*. Alternatively, he could be referring to his *Figurine* on which see letter 207, note 4. As noted by Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 160, the physical state of the copper plates for the *Figurine* "show they were used more extensively than the larger ones." On the foreign interest in Rosa's prints, and their influence, see also: Wallace 1979, 107–120; Von Heusinger 1984; Mormone, in Naples 2008, 270–289; Cola 2010; and Mazzetti di Pietralata 2010. See also Griffiths 1992, 250, who notes the particular trend among buyers of purchasing complete sets of prints (both from Rosa and from his heirs) instead of individual impressions, most of which were bound and mounted together in albums of prints. (This seems to have been a habit of Rosa's own, to circulate his prints in albums or bound collections, the standard of which consisted of thirty-six prints "in folio," of which the first sixteen have sixty-two small *Figurine*, organized four per page, while the others are comprised of larger etchings: Bernini Pezzini, in Nappi 2014, 70; citing Griffiths 1992. The Chambers Hall volume of Rosa's prints in the British Museum, London, is considered to have the best editions of the *Figurine* series. On the various surviving copies of these bound books, see also Bernini, in Nappi 2014, 112–114. The comments of Giuseppe de Rosis to the Messinese collector Antonio Ruffo (for which see Hoare 2018, 252 and note 202) also suggest that Rosa sold his prints in bound books. De Rosis's comments further highlight the fact that this was a more lucrative practice than selling individual sheets, an approach "based on criteria of economic convenience still valid today in the publishing business," as Bernini points out. Griffiths 1992, 258–260, suggests further that Rosa's comment in the present letter—together with the evidence offered by the rest of his correspondence—reveals a particularly lucrative marketing strategy on the artist's part to promote the sale of his prints as complete sets (suggested in part by Rosa's comment that his prints are going abroad "together with all the rest"). Here, Rosa is referring to the sale of impressions, rather than the plates themselves; these impressions, Griffiths suggests, were probably intended to join sets of his prints that collectors had begun to acquire. Rosa was making use of certain unidentified art dealers, who appear to have been marking up the prices by about twenty or thirty percent. Griffiths suggests that Rosa was conducting sales through the De' Rossi firm in Rome, at the time the preeminent print publishers in the city. The concentrated period of time in which Rosa produced his prints (the *Figurine* in 1656, and all the other prints between 1660–1663), together with his insistence on keeping his copper plates (on which see letter 117, note 11)—which meant he could closely control their production—also suggest a carefully calculated business strategy on Rosa's part with regard to marketing his prints, and, of course, in the promotion of his artistic identity.

13. Rosa dedicated his print of the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* to Ricciardi. The etching bears the inscription: "Io. Bapte. Ricciardo Amico Singular.^{mo}/ Attilium Regulum in praecipitis Fortunae vertigine tot inter clavos firmioris constantiae centrum./ Salvator Rosa Inv. pinx. Scul." ("To Giovan Battista Ricciardi, special friend. Atilius Regulus in the change of headlong Fortune remains a firm centre in the midst of so many nails. Designed, painted and engraved by Salvator Rosa.") On the print, see: Wallace 1967; Wallace 1979, 275–279, cat. 110; and Nappi 2014, 145–146 and 171–172, cat. 91. The print, datable to *c.* 1662 on account of the present letter, was made after the painting of *c.* 1652, which was purchased by the banker Carlo de' Rossi. Ricciardi's apparent interest in the subject—as suggested by Rosa's dedication of the print to him—resurfaced in 1666 and 1667, when he solicited a copy of the earlier painting from Rosa: see letters 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347 and 355 (note 1). On the significance of this print dedication for Rosa's friendship with Ricciardi, see Hoare 2018, 296–297. The painting was not known to De Rinaldis in 1939, nor to Limentani in 1950, however Bottari had in the eighteenth century reported it as being "in the house of the Contestabile [Colonna]" (Bottari 1757, 2:25, note 1) and Lady Sydney Morgan, who in 1824 (see Morgan 1824) reported it as belonging to the collection of Count Darnley, also noted its provenance in connection with the Palazzo Colonna. On the painting, see most recently Volpi 2014, 489, cat. 170. For the drawings associated with the painting, see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 42.1–42.2, and 65.8–65.9.

14. Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi), who reigned from 1655 to 1667. As noted by Salerno 1963, 97, the Chigi archives record a payment on 16 September 1662 for the purchase of a series of Rosa's prints. The prints in question, as noted by Mahoney 1977, 1:111, were probably the *Figurine*. Rosa's relationship with the Chigi family had been a fraught one: the painter's frustration over being excluded from papal patronage is reflected in his scathing *Allegory of Fortune* (1658–1659), a thinly-veiled critique of Chigi patronage and Rosa's own fortunes under their rule. The painting provoked a threat of imprisonment, which Rosa escaped via the interventions of the pope's brother, Don Mario Chigi. Other members of the family—Alexander VII's nephews, Agostino Chigi (1634–1705) and Flavio Chigi (1631–1693)—owned a number of Rosa's works. The inventory of Agostino Chigi's collection lists: a *Mercury and Argus* (identified by Salerno 1975, 96, cat. 143, as the painting now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, for which see Volpi 2014, 516, cat. 208; see also Pacelli 2009, for another painting of the same subject in Chigi's collection, attributed to Rosa, now in a private collection in England); a *Heroic Battle* (formerly Cleveland Museum of Art; see Salerno 1975, 97, cat. 154, and Volpi 2014, 524, cat. 222); and the large *Pan and Pindar* (now in the Palazzo Chigi, Ariccia, for which see letter 339, note 2). Among the paintings by Rosa in Flavio Chigi's collection were: the magnificent *Umana Fragilità* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Volpi 2014, 527–528, cat. 226) and the two paintings of *Christ Casting Out Demons* and *Christ Preaching to the Apostles* (both now in a private collection in Rome; Volpi, in Naples 2008, 238–240, cat. 81 and 82, and Volpi 2014, 536, cat. 238 and 239). See also Spinelli 2005, 13, 74–77 and 189–191, cat. 31 and 32, on Rosa's works in the Chigi collection at Palazzo Chigi-Saracini, Siena. On Rosa and the Chigi, see further: Tantillo Mignosi 1990; Fredericksen 1991; Spinelli 2005; Pacelli 2009; Petrucci 2010; Simone 2010; and Volpi 2012. On Alexander VII's own patronage of the arts, see in particular: Krautheimer 1985; Garín Llombart 2002; Franchi 2004; and Lavin 2004.

15. Within the context of early modern art, the term "bizzarria" refers to a quality of fantasy, invention and originality, as well

as the idea of something "strange" or outlandish. See Battaglia, 2:263.

16. On the meaning of the term "spienne", see letter 136, note 20. Unlike the instance in that earlier letter, here Rosa seems to employ the expression with sincerity and pride at the compliments he has received, as if to say "now I can have a good time spending the rewards gained from my efforts"—monetary or otherwise. The imperative tense Rosa employs ("spienne") could apply to himself, as in "way to go!" or "enjoy what you've achieved," or it could be directed at Ricciardi, as in, "you see what I've achieved?". Conte 2014, 231, note 289, offers a similar explanation for Rosa's use of the word "spienne" in the present letter: the form that Rosa uses could be the second person of the indicative of *spènnere*, for "spendere," which may not require a subject within the sentence itself, being comparable in this regard to the expressions "E vai!" or "E dai!," or "Dacci dentro con le spese!," and thereby emphasizing Rosa's particular satisfaction in learning that the pope enjoyed his work; Conte also cites an alternative usage of the term "spienne" in Galiani, who records the proverb "Spienne e friie," that is "spendi e friggi," used in reference to one person deceiving another, both being deceived in the process.

17. As noted by Limentani 1950, 126, note 8, the two paintings, which treat two scenes from the life of Pythagoras, were destined to be shown at the exhibition of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome. Rosa describes them in a letter of 29 July (see letter 281).

18. If the word in the ms. is instead "agarbatissimo," then this would render the alternative (and presumably ironical) translation "most courteous". For "agarbato" (or "aggarbato") as an older spelling of "garbato," see letter 65.

19. On the meaning of the term "coccia," see letter 93, note 2.

20. On the "verses of Niente," which Ricciardi had asked Rosa to copy for him, see letter 277, note 1. Rosa here constructs a pun on the name of the text ("niente") and the concept of "nothing" ("Niente"), inverting the relevant capitalization of the two words in the ms.

21. Giovan Battista Conti, on whom see letter 277, note 3. Rosa referred to this matter of payment earlier, in letter 279.

22. Marcantonio Maffei, on whom see letter 27, note 13. He was at this moment involved in some kind of lawsuit, on which see also letters 277, 281, 282, 283, 285 and 286.

23. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

24. Another important acknowledgement on Rosa's part of his frequent error in recording the date in his letters (see also letter 266). Limentani 1950, 124, note 1, considered that the letter should be placed after 15 July. It may indeed follow the letter of 15 July (letter 279), in consideration of Rosa's reference there to the two large copper plates he had begun, also mentioned in the present letter, which Rosa presumably wrote soon afterward.

Letter 281:

1. On Giovan Battista Conti and the matter of money referred to here, see letter 277 (note 3) and letters 279 and 280.

2. Marcantonio Maffei was apparently involved in some sort of litigation. See also letter 277.

3. On Brugiotti, see letter 279, note 1.

4. On the comic character Bertoldino, see letter 196, note 5.

5. On Rosa's two pendant paintings representing *Pythagoras Emerging from the Underworld* (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth) and *Pythagoras and the Fishermen* (Staatliche Museen, Berlin), see: Salerno 1975, 98, cat. 164 and 165; Scott 1995, 139–141, figs 139 and 140; Langdon 2010a, 206–207, cat. 31, and 87, fig. 50; and Volpi 2014, 551–552, cat. 256 and 257. Another painting by Rosa that treats the subject of *Pythagoras and the Fishermen* (formerly in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth) was dated by Salerno to the same period; for this painting, see: Salerno 1975, 98, cat. 166, and Volpi 2014, 500, cat. 185. See also letter 286, note 5. Rosa briefly mentions the two pendant paintings in letter 280. On the significance of Rosa's statement regarding the novelty of their subjects, see Hoare 2018, 272–279. A note in Antonio Ruffo's inventory records that the paintings were made "ad istanza della regina di Svetia" ("on the request of the queen of Sweden"), a detail that has been interpreted as possible evidence that Queen Christina of Sweden herself suggested the subjects to Rosa, and that it was to her that Rosa first proposed to sell the paintings, for the price of one thousand *scudi* each; failing in this, he later sold them in 1663 to Ruffo through the collector's agent, Giuseppe de Rosis, for 120 Spanish *doppie*, equivalent to about 360 *scudi*: De Gennaro 2003, 140. Queen Christina's interest in the subject of Pythagoras is apparent from her commission of Johannes Schaeffer's *De natura et constitutione philosophiae italicae seu pythagoricae* in 1664. Ruffo had initially objected to the high price Rosa was demanding for the two paintings (see Langdon 2010a, 206). See also Rosa's two surviving letters to Ruffo: letters 298 and 331.

6. As noted by Langdon 2010a, 206, in devising the iconography of his two paintings, Rosa has closely followed the account of Pythagoras given by Plutarch in the *Moralia*. Rosa's account of the subjects of his paintings in the present letter, Langdon notes, "puts together Pythagoras's account of his descent to Hades, where he saw the tormented souls of Homer and Hesiod punished for what they had said about the gods (*Moralia*, VIII, 21) with the description, later in the text, of the trick Pythagoras played on his followers (VIII, 40)." Conte 2014, 379, notes that Rosa's words in the present letter suggest his likely source was the *Opuscoli morali di Plutarco volgarizzati da Marcello Adriani il giovane*, a work extant in manuscript form in Rosa's time but only published in the nineteenth century. On Rosa's interest in adhering with accuracy to historical and textual accounts, see letters 300 (note 2), 314 (note 11), 339 (note 2), 341 (note 5), 380 (notes 13 and 15) and 381 (notes 1 and 2).

7. The term "appettatorie" is a nominal derivation of the verb "appettare," meaning to attribute or apply; to deal with, or be in regard to: Battaglia, 1:564.

8. On Rosa's participation in the Roman exhibitions, see letter 86 (notes 15 and 16) and letter 96 (note 15).

9. On Rosa's solicitation of ideas for his work from Ricciardi, see letter 96, note 15. Rosa's comment here, concerning the "success" of subjects like the philosopher Pythagoras, could pertain to their reception at the exhibitions or more generally, among prospective clients on the Roman art market. On Rosa's continual search for obscure philosophical subjects for his paintings, and on their audiences, see Hoare 2018, 272–279.

10. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife, Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

11. Salvatore Fabretti, the infant son of Ricciardi's sister, Caterina, and Cosimo Fabretti. See letter 279.

12. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son, Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

13. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti

and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 282:

1. On the matter concerning Giovan Battista Conti, see letter 277, note 3.

2. The newborn son of Cosimo and Caterina Fabretti, on whom see also letter 279.

3. Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

4. On Rosa's stay at Strozzavolpe in the summer and early autumn of 1661, see letters 255 through 258.

Letter 283:

1. On the matter concerning Giovan Battista Conti, see letter 277, note 3.

2. This must be the "Signor Brugiotti" to whom Rosa first refers in letter 279, who was involved in the legal matter concerning Signor Conti and Marcantonio Maffei. Rosa indicated his concerns about Brugiotti's reputation in letter 281.

3. Marcantonio Maffei seems to have been involved in some sort of litigation, with which Conti and Brugiotti were both assisting him.

4. See letter 282.

5. Rosa also mentions this unidentified priest, and the matter of the "ten *scudi*," in letter 281.

6. Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

7. On Rosa's sojourn at Strozzavolpe in 1661, see letters 255 through 258.

8. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

9. On the painter Antonio Lancia, see letter 242, note 7. Rosa's derogatory comments here contradict Lancia's own high opinion of his artistic talents, particularly as a landscapist, as Lancia declared in his 1654 letter to Gian Carlo de' Medici, on which see letter 242, note 7.

10. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

11. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

Letter 284:

1. The location of a forest near Strozzavolpe, on which see letter 266, note 4. On Rosa's previous stay at Strozzavolpe, see letters 255 through 258.

2. As noted by Limentani 1950, 127, note 1, Rosa is likely referring to the unrest in Rome on account of the prospect of a papal war with France. The events were set in motion by the hostile acts of the papal *guardia corsa*, instigated by the pope's relatives (members of the Chigi family) against the recently-nominated French ambassador to Rome, Charles III de Blanchefort, Duc de Créquy (1624–1687; ambassador to Rome 1662–1665), who withdrew from the papal court, asking for reparation. More profound, however, was the threat of open war between France and the papacy, which for eighteen successive months loomed over Italy, resulting from the rival interests of the ruling powers and from France's persistent attempt to interfere in Italy's affairs. One of the most harshly fought-over issues was the domain of Castro, which the pope attempted to appropriate and the Farnese family of Parma (assisted by France and certain Italian princes) tried to keep. Rosa followed through on his intention "not to speak" about the subject, only making mild allusion to it and the frustrations it caused: see letters 286, 288 and 290. On the episode, see further: Salvetti; Haskell 1980, 152–153; and Scott 1995, 146–147. On the conflict between Rome and France in the seventeenth century, more generally, see Petrocchi 1970, 11–17.

3. A "fico brogiotto" is a type of black fig with a large rind: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 297, note 2. See also Battaglia, 2:390, who defines it as a type of fig with a violet or purple skin and a bright red pulp, which generally ripens in the autumn. On Rosa's particular penchant for figs, see letter 45 (note 5) and letter 66 (note 2). In letter 279, Rosa had expressed his desire for the "delicate figs of Strozzavolpe," which Ricciardi had perhaps sent him on this occasion.

4. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 285:

1. On the medical condition of hypochondria, and its close link to melancholia, see letter 132, note 1.

2. On the lawsuit involving Giovan Battista Conti and Marcantonio Maffei, see letters 277, 279, 281, 282 and 283.

3. This is perhaps a reference to the ongoing unrest in Rome on account of the threat of papal war with France, on which see letter 284, note 2.

4. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 286:

1. On Rosa's previous stay at Strozzavolpe, in 1661, see letters 255 through 258.

2. On Pietro da Cortona and Rosa, see also letter 163, note 10. On Cortona's position as the "favourite" of the Sacchetti family, the wealthy brothers Marcello and Giulio Cesare Sacchetti in particular, see Haskell 1980, 38–39. On the Sacchetti's involvement in the exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato, and their involvement in subsequent art exhibitions in Rome, see Zirpolo 2005, 139–140. See also Salomon 2010b, 78–79, who notes that Rosa's comments in the present letter have misled scholars (beginning with Haskell 1960, 113–116 and Haskell 1980, 127) into believing that the event at San Giovanni Decollato was presided over every year by aristocratic families; it was instead organized by the confraternity attached to the church (the Archconfraternity of San Giovanni Decollato, called the Misericordia of the Florentine Nation). The wavering financial situation of the confraternity, as Salomon notes, suggests the likelihood that the exhibitions did not take place every year. Rosa's reference to the Sacchetti's sponsorship is in connection with one of the two most important of these exhibitions: the first in 1662, sponsored by the Sacchetti, and the second in 1668, sponsored by the Rospigliosi—events that were, on account of this sponsorship, probably more

elaborate than those held in other years. In regard to the Sacchetti's decision to give primacy of place to Cortona's works at the exhibition of 1662, Salomon (88) considers that "[f]or expensive events such as these it made sense for the Sacchetti to fill the display with paintings from their own palace."

3. On these two paintings, see letters 280 and 281 (note 5).

4. The painting Rosa here describes is the *Jeremiah Freed from the Pit*, subsequently purchased by Carlo de' Rossi for his chapel in Santa Maria in Montesanto, Rome (see letter 232, note 3). On the painting, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, see: Salerno 1975, 99, cat. 173; De Boissard and Lavergne-Durey 1988; Scott 1995, 143, fig. 141; Salomon 2010b, 88, and fig. 51; and Volpi 2014, 546, cat. 250.

5. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 299, note 3, considered that these two paintings might be identified with Rosa's *Landscape with Pythagoras and the Fishermen* (formerly Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; sold at Christie's 27 June 1958; see Salerno 1975, 98, cat. 166, and Volpi 2014, 500, cat. 185) and the *Landscape with Tobias and the Angel* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford; see Salerno 1975, 103, cat. 238; on the relationship of this painting to other versions of the same subject by Rosa, see Langdon 2010a, 162, and Volpi 2014, 577, cat. 298). The two paintings have identical measurements (123 x 198 cm) and can also stylistically be considered pendants. Salomon 2010b, 89, however, rightly points out that "even though the two paintings may have been intended as pendants, we have no proof that Rosa would have shown landscapes at exhibitions, and it seems unlikely that he would have displayed on the same occasion two canvases of exactly the same subject."

6. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 299, note 4, the Greek sophist Philostratus (or Lucius Flavius Philostratus) (*c.* 170/172–247/250) wrote an apologetic and fictional *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the neo-Pythagorean philosopher and teacher of the first century CE. This was the earliest of his written works, composed between 217 and 238 CE. As noted by Scott 1995, 248, note 20, Rosa's continued reliance on Ricciardi for iconographic suggestions at this point in his career is perhaps surprising. The suggestion of Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* may have been in connection with Rosa's search for a subject for a painting with small figures requested by Antonio Ruffo (see letter 298, note 1).

7. On Rosa's solicitation of Ricciardi for ideas for his work, see letter 96, note 15. On Rosa's preference for unique, novel subjects, see Hoare 2018, 272–279. Rosa had asked Ricciardi to make note of any new ideas in letter 281—in particular, he asked for a motif comparable to that of the two stories of the life of Pythagoras, the subject of two of his recent paintings. The life of Apollonius, however, did not prove in Rosa's opinion to offer up an event original enough for a painting.

8. This could be one of the paintings that Rosa was supplying Ricciardi with, for his own collection. See letters 287, 288 and 289.

9. A reference to the threat of war between the papacy and France, on which see letter 284, note 2.

10. On this matter concerning Giovan Battista Conti and Marcantonio Maffei, see letters 277, 279, 281, 282, 283 and 285.

11. Rosa here uses the term "pellegrinare" (for "peregrinare"), which literally means to go on a pilgrimage. The implication, in connection with his comments in letter 280, regarding the success of his prints in Flanders and Paris, is that they have spread throughout Europe. On the success of Rosa's prints abroad, see letter 280, note 12.

12. The plates to which Rosa here refers are likely the same ones he mentions preparing in letter 279. See also letter 280. On their possible subjects, see letter 279, note 11. On the prints "of last year" to which Rosa here refers, see letters 259 and 269. Cola 2010, 324, considers the prints in question to be the *Saint William of Maleval*, *Saint Albert* and *Glaucus and Scylla*, dated to between 1661 and 1662, on which see also letter 248, note 9.

13. This must be the newborn son of Cosimo and Caterina Fabretti, who was named after Rosa. The child is first mentioned in letter 279, and perhaps letter 276.

14. Here Rosa uses the curious term "stampe," probably by way of analogy to the prints he has just mentioned in the previous lines. Perhaps he intends that the parents of the child, Cosimo and Caterina, who are akin to the "presses" ("stampe"), or "sources" of the child in question, are still alive and well, even though the fruits of their labours—the child (or "print")—has died. For that matter, the "stampe" could also refer to Rosa, as he was the source of the child's name.

15. Rosa seems to be remembering a line from the final stanza of a sonnet by the Neapolitan poet and epigrammist Jacopo Sanazzaro (1458–1530), Sonnet XLIX, which begins: "Senza il mio sole, in tenebre e martiri". The final stanza reads: "O ben nati color, ch'avvolti in fasce/ Chiuser le luci in sempiterno sonno,/ Poiché sol per languir qua giù si nasce!" See Sanazzaro, 2:56.

16. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

17. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

18. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 287:

1. See Rosa's complaint about a similar ailment in letter 280.

2. These must be the two frames in Ricciardi's possession for which Rosa had been searching for appropriate paintings from November 1661 onward. See letter 260, note 27, and letters 262, 263, 269 and 286. The subjects are impossible to identify, but may well number among those listed in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory, for which see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI. One of them may be the "pastiche" to which Rosa refers in letter 286. Rosa further elaborates on these two paintings in letter 289.

3. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

4. Rosa's nickname for his son, Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

Letter 288:

1. With the term "procaccio," Rosa could here mean the post office, or the postal carrier himself. For "procaccio," see letter 73, note 13.

2. Rosa refers to these two paintings in letter 287. They were intended for two frames in Ricciardi's possession, on which see letter 287, note 2.

3. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

4. This is presumably a reference to the ongoing troubles between the papacy and France. See letter 284, note 2.

5. Rosa's print of the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, which bears a dedication to Ricciardi. See letter 280, note 13. As noted by Conte 2014, 337, note 54, Rosa's reference here to having only a few copies of the print to hand suggests two possibilities: either the print was not circulating with much success, or, conversely, it was selling extremely well. Here, as in other instances in which Rosa refers to his prints, the term "carta" indicates the print itself, not the paper on which it is printed.

Letter 289:

1. The "small box" containing two paintings that Rosa had found for Ricciardi, in order to fill two frames in his possession. See letters 287 and 288.

2. The expression "fare l'indiano" means to pretend not to understand or turn a deaf ear. See letter 132, note 8.

3. Rosa appears to be expressing frustration at Ricciardi's lack of appreciation for his efforts in finding and retouching paintings for him. On Rosa's practice of retouching, see letter 70, note 13. On Rosa's conception of his own hand as unique and inimitable, see Hoare 2018, 260, 271–272 and 277. The particular "young men" in question are not known. Rosa's admission here to have had such individuals in his employ, probably as assistants, complicates somewhat his claim in letter 360 to have "never wanted" to take on pupils.

4. As noted by Limentani 1950, 129, notes 1a and 2, this is probably the portrait print of Rosa, executed by the Milanese printmaker Giovanni Battista Bonacina (*c.* 1620–1670), in which Rosa appears in profile in an oval frame. On Bonacina, see in particular Compostella 1994. Bonacina was active in Rome from 1650 to 1670 (Compostella records Bonacina's dates as "active 1645–1664," the years of his first and last known works). Bonacina imitated the style of Cornelius Bloemart and took as a model for his engravings the works of Pietro da Cortona, Andrea del Sarto and Gian Lorenzo Bernini, among others: Thieme-Becker, 4:266–267. Rosa's comments in the present letter are significant as they imply that he knew Bonacina personally, suggesting that Bonacina's portrayal of the artist was perhaps physiognomically accurate—despite Rosa's dissatisfaction with the rendering. Rosa here refers to the "bollino" (for "bulino" or "bolino"), or burin, the instrument used for carving into the plate in the printmaking process: see Battaglia, 2:439. Rosa's dissatisfaction, then, could have been as much with the quality of the print as with its accuracy (or flattery) in rendering his visage. On the subject of Rosa and portraiture, and the possible significance of Rosa's present comments in this regard, see Hoare 2018, 179–182, and notes 29 and 47.

5. The printmaker Giovanni Battista Bonacina, on whom see note 4, above.

6. By "l'altro" Rosa presumably means another print by Bonacina. As noted by Conte 2014, 186, the particular print to which Rosa here refers is not known. Compostella 1994, 7–9, who identifies Bonacina as active from 1645, notes that in that year (and again in 1647) Bonacina executed a frontispiece for various books published in Naples, one of which was the *Breve discorso genealogico della famiglia Ohmuchievich Gargurich* by "F. de Petris," that is Francesco de Pietri, a member of the Accademia degli Oziosi.

7. As noted by Conte 2014, 289, Ricciardi seems here to have advised Rosa to model himself—or at least, to model his printmaking—on Bonacina's production and methods.

8. On this lawsuit (the details of which are never fully divulged in Rosa's letters) involving Marcantonio Maffei, Giovan Battista Conti, and a number of other acquaintances of Rosa, see in particular letter 281. On this matter, and the two "idiots" in question (presumably Conti and a certain "Signor Brugiotti"), see letters 277, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285 and 286.

9. A nickname for Rosa's son Augusto. The term "leccapestelli" literally means "pestle-licker," and figuratively refers to a lazy, greedy, slovenly or wretched person: Battaglia, 8:874. Rosa here probably intends the term in reference to Augusto's poorly state. The "malady of the neck" may be related to an ailment that arose again in 1667 and 1668: see letters 350 through 371.

10. Paolo Minucci, secretary to Prince Mattias de' Medici. On Minucci, see letter 228, note 10.

11. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 290:

1. A reference to two paintings Rosa had acquired and retouched for Ricciardi. See letters 287, 288 and 289.

2. On Rosa's practice of retouching, see letter 70, note 13.

3. That is, "you can enjoy not only the fruits of my efforts, but you can rely on me, myself".

4. See Rosa's comments on their poorly state in letter 289. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto (see letter 260, note 2).

5. On Ricciardi's eye ailment, which seems to have bothered him continually for years, see letter 85, note 1.

6. A reference to a poem that Rosa was soliciting from Ricciardi. Rosa also mentions it in letters 301, 302 and 304. As noted by Limentani 1950, 132, note 3, it is difficult to determine exactly which poem this is. As noted by Toci 1881, xvi, Ricciardi wrote "more than forty poems, among them sacred, moral, love poems and epithalamic poems, which we keep in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence" ("meglio di quaranta poesie, tra sacre morali amatori ed epitalamiche, si conservano del nostro nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze"). Toci himself published many of these poems, or *rime burlesche*, with an introduction and notes: see Toci 1881. On Ricciardi's poetry, see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 24.

7. By "carta" Rosa could mean a "page" or a "print"; he uses the term to refer alternatively to each throughout his letters. The item in question is probably an excerpt from a textual source, intended as a suggestion for a subject for a painting, as Rosa had asked Ricciardi to send him a new (and especially novel) idea in letters 281 and 286.

8. A reference to the ongoing troubles between the papacy and France, on which see letter 284, note 2. On Rosa's disdain toward "monarchs," particularly in regard to his profession as a painter, see letter 45 (note 5) and letter 107 (note 1).

9. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 303, note 1, this line is taken from Rosa's satire *La Guerra*, v. 609: "E più direi, ma il ver di falso ha faccia." It seems to echo a line from Dante's *Inferno* (Canto XVI, v. 124): "Sempre a quel ver c'ha faccia di menzogna, de' l'uom chiuder le labbra fin ch'el puote" ("Aye to that truth which has the face of falsehood, A man should close his lips as much as possible").

10. Rosa's comments here bring to mind a number of his paintings of self-consciously erudite and meditative subjects, including the *Democritus in Meditation*, the *Umana Fragilità*, and—perhaps especially apt in this instance—the *Marius Meditating among the Ruins of Carthage*, on which see Conte 2012.

11. The figurative expression "aggiustare qualcuno per le feste" means to fix someone, to treat someone badly, or to threaten someone. See the analogous expressions (for example, "conciare, accomodare uno per le feste") in Battaglia, 5:881.

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

13. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

14. The feast day of Epiphany is 6 January.

Letter 291:

1. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

2. On Ricciardi's ongoing eye ailment, see also letter 85 (note 1) and letter 290 (note 5).

3. The term "cacarsi," in Neapolitan dialect, and in figurative usage in Italian more generally, can mean to be afraid. See Battaglia, 2:475.

4. The further implication of Rosa's comment, perhaps, is that crucifixes are all that anyone wants to commission.

5. Rosa seems here to be commenting on the current state of affairs in Rome, on account of the threat of a papal war with France, on which see letter 284, note 2. On Sardanapalus, famed for his hedonistic lifestyle and a subject Rosa used on at least one other occasion in mockery of a member of the papal court, see letter 34 (note 3).

6. For the Neapolitan term "strilla," derived from the verb "strellare," to scream or shout at the top of your voice, see Galiani, 2:151. For "strillare," to scream or shout, usually in anger, grief or lamentation, see Battaglia, 20:361. For "strillo," a scream or shout ("le strilla" in the plural), see Battaglia, 20:362.

7. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

8. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

Letter 292:

1. Ricciardi was apparently asking Rosa to find him more paintings for his collection. See letter 290, where Rosa offers to help him with any future requests in this regard. With the word "tele" Rosa probably means the canvas linings or "telette" that he mentions in letter 293 (see note 1).

2. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 293:

1. The term "teletta" refers to a thin cloth, made of linen or cotton, loosely woven but strong, still used today by tailors to make patterns or to reinforce other materials: Battaglia, 20:818. Rosa seems here to be referring to cloth material or canvas for paintings. See also Rosa's comment in letter 292.

2. The word "sensualità" means longing or desire, in either a physical or spiritual sense; an excessive manifestation of a state of mind: Battaglia, 18:647.

3. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

4. On the art dealer Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2. Cordini appears to have become embroiled in a legal situation, the details of which are unknown. On this matter, see also letters 301 and 302. On the lawyer Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

Letter 294:

1. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

2. The Trinità dei Monti, on the Pincian Hill, the neighbourhood in Rome where Rosa lived.

3. On Rosa's melancholia, and the connected condition of hypochondria, see letter 132, note 1. On rhubarb as a curative for hypochondriasis and melancholia, and its related prescription as a purgative, see Wallace and Gach 2008, 267.

4. The term "ottusità" has a range of figurative meanings, including: physical numbness or lack of sensitivity; a state of distress, anguish or anxiety; reluctance; and stubbornness or obstinacy. In medical semiotics (the art of interpreting clinical signs and symptoms), which has its origins in the late seventeenth century, the term "ottusità" ("dullness" in English medical terminology) can refer more specifically to the decrease or absence of resonance revealed during percussive examination of the fleshy parts of the body, as in the case of a cavity filled with liquid or that of congested and hardened organs. See Battaglia, 12:292.

5. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

6. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

7. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 152, the date in the ms. reads "3 May 1663," the same date as the preceding letter to Ricciardi (letter 293). Rosa may here have recorded the date (as he sometimes did) absentmindedly.

Letter 295:

No notes.

Letter 296:

1. Rosa is here playing upon the double meaning of the terms "flemma" and "bile", in reference to emotional states and the physical constituents of the four humours, of which the "phlegmatic" (phlegm), "melancholic" (black bile) and

"choleric" (yellow bile) were integral to Rosa's own humoral makeup.

2. By "as the Lombards say" Rosa is probably referring to his spelling here of the word "diavol," from which—true to Lombard linguistic form—he has dropped the final vowel ("diavol[o]").

Letter 297:

1. On Ricciardi's ongoing eye ailment, see also letter 85, note 1.

2. The word "cogitabondo" means to be absorbed in thought, pensive, reflective or meditative: Battaglia, 3:261.

3. The Trinità dei Monti, the neighbourhood in Rome where Rosa lived.

4. On Cosimo Brunetti and his travels, see letter 67, note 13.

5. Rosa's phrasing at this point is not entirely clear, and his intended meaning is difficult to understand. The implication—if the present interpretation of Rosa's sentence is correct—is that Brunetti was travelling from England on the ship carrying the mail.

6. For these two prints, representing the *Fall of the Giants* and the *Rescue of the Infant Oedipus*, see: Wallace 1979, 297–306, cat. 115 and 116, and Nappi 2014, 147–149 and 173–176, cat. 93 and 94. For the preparatory drawings for the two prints, see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 70.1–13 and Wallace 1979, 302–303 and 307. Rosa dedicated the *Giants* print to Orazio Quaranta, and the *Oedipus* to Giulio Martinelli. On these dedications, and on the significance of Rosa's practice of dedicating prints more generally, see Hoare 2018, 295–300. Rosa's reference to the preparation of two large copper plates, in letters 279, 280 and 286, may be in connection with these prints.

7. On Rosa and melancholy, see letter 119 (note 16), letter 132 (note 1) and letter 147 (note 2).

8. The word "pretismo" means priest-like habits, or ostentatious piety. See letter 271, note 3. For Signor Bardi, see letter 99, note 24.

9. A drawing on the verso of the final page of the letter, c. 2v (Fig. **34**), appears to depict an aerial view of a series of properties or plots of land, with names referring to locations in the region between Pisa and Lucca. The handwriting could be either Rosa's or Ricciardi's. These names include: "Ceciale" (presumably a reference to the river Ceciale, or Fosso del Ceciale) and "Cugnolo" (presumably the hill or pass of Cugnolo, or Colle del Cugnolo), both of which appear in a map of the region dating to 1628 (Archivio di Stato di Lucca: http://www.archiviodistatoinlucca.beniculturali.it/ips/nodes/824345?open=%2F&tab=Albero); "Radicata," probably in reference to Foce di Radicata, an area in the *comune* of Vecchiano, Pisa; and "Marsiglione," another locality in the region of Vecchiano. Two words written at the far right of the drawing, difficult to decipher with certainty (perhaps "cave/cava/cavi" and "numi"?), may refer to the *cave* or limestone quarries of the area, to which the names "Marsiglione" and "Radicata" are themselves in fact applicable (http://www.provincia.pisa.it/uploads/2013_09_16_10_05_46.pdf). The name "Radicata" also refers to a road in the region. None of the locations named in the drawing are mentioned elsewhere in Rosa's letters, however the region represented in the drawing is also in the environs of the property that Ricciardi owned in Filettole, a small *comune* of the province of Pisa that is located north of what is now the Via di Radicata in Vecchiano, and south of the town of Lucca. Rosa and Ricciardi had been discussing the matter of the property (perhaps that in Filettole) that Ricciardi was repairing, in letters contemporaneous to the present one, dating between 1661 and 1665: see letters 262, 269 (note 14), 321, 322, 323 and 325.

Letter 298:

1. This is the first of two extant letters written by Rosa to Antonio Ruffo (1610–1678), a wealthy and prolific art collector in Messina. For the second letter, dated 1 April 1666, see letter 331. Among the works by Rosa in Ruffo's collection are the paired paintings of *Pythagoras Emerging from the Underworld* and *Pythagoras and the Fishermen* (for which see letter 281, note 5), and a *Satyrs and Nymphs* (now in a private collection; see Volpi 2014, 553, cat. 258). Ruffo also owned three landscapes by Rosa, and a "quadro con molti bambocci". See the list of paintings in Ruffo 1916, 318. These purchases were not, however, commissions. The only work that seems to have been directly commissioned by Ruffo from Rosa was the portrait of the Pythagorean philosopher *Archytas of Tarentum* (1668, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) for which see Langdon and Salomon, in Langdon 2010a, 123–125, cat. 8. This painting was intended to join a series of half-length portraits of philosophers, three of which were by Rembrandt (*Aristotle with the Bust of Homer*, *Alexander the Great* and *Homer Lecturing to Two Disciples*), one by Mattia Preti (*Dionysius as Schoolmaster*), one by Guercino (*Cosmographer*), and two by Giacinto Brandi (*Saint Jerome* and *A Painter Depicting Tityus*). The epistolary identity that characterizes Rosa's letters to Giovan Battista Ricciardi and Giulio Maffei changes significantly in the present letter to Ruffo, in which Rosa adopts a language of deference and sycophancy—one that seems at odds with the defiant persona that rails against noble authority in Rosa's letters to friends, in his satires, and in the episodes recounted by his biographers. On this matter, see further Hoare 2018, 155–156. In the letter of 1 April 1666 (letter 331), however, Rosa expressed an element of his disdain (in an expression couched in the terms of artistic inspiration) toward the control or interference of patrons in his creative process. Rosa is also mentioned in letters addressed to Ruffo by other correspondents, including Mattia Preti, who in a letter of February 1665 referred to Rosa as "the original one in his manner, in which he is a great master [*valentuomo*]" ("Salvator Rosa è originale della sua maniera e in quella è valentuomo"), and Abraham Breughel, who noted—misguidedly—in a letter of July 1665, that "Signor Salvator Rosa paints large and small pictures, but mostly small landscapes because everyone wants small pictures" ("Il Signore Salvator Rosa seguita a lavorare in piccolo et in grande et per la più parte Paesi piccoli per che tutti inclinano a quadri piccoli"): Ruffo 1916, 256 and 176–177, and Scott 1995, 248, note 20. Ruffo's agent, Giuseppe de Rosis, wrote to Ruffo on 2 June 1663 that Rosa was refusing to paint small figures: Ruffo 1916, 168. On Antonio Ruffo and his collection, see: Ruffo 1916; Haskell 1980, esp. 209–210; and De Gennaro 1997. On the prices that Ruffo paid for paintings, and his notorious stinginess in this regard, see also Marshall, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 137–139.

2. Giuseppe de Rosis, Antonio Ruffo's agent in Rome. On De Rosis, see Ruffo 1916, who transcribes many of the agent's letters to Ruffo.

3. By "con la mano" ("with the hand") Rosa means "with money". Rosa is probably writing to express his thanks for Ruffo's purchase of a painting, perhaps the *Satyrs and Nymphs* (on which see note 1, above).

4. It is interesting to note that Rosa here signs his name in full, rather than the abbreviated version he habitually employs in letters to close friends.

Letter 299:

1. On Rosa's general disdain toward medical physicians, see letter 101, note 12.

2. Rosa is here citing from vv. 4–5 of the *canzone* that Ricciardi dedicated to him, the *Sotto rigida stella*: "Stà la sorte rubella/ Immortale il martire." On the poem, see also letter 99, note 8, and letter 202, note 2.

3. The lawyer Cosimo Brunetti and the papal nuncio in whose service he worked. On Brunetti, and the matter of the identity of the papal nuncio in question, see letter 67, note 13. Rosa also reports on Brunetti's presence in Venice in letter 293.

4. Another instance in which Rosa refers to himself in the third person. See also letter 31, note 1.

5. The term "manifesto" can refer to a propagandistic or publicizing text, usually political in nature, or, in an older usage, can refer more generally to a declaration, assessment or report, which seems to be Rosa's intended meaning here. See Battaglia, 9:692–693.

6. Marcantonio Cesti, on whom see letter 27, note 21.

7. On this "Perozzi" (also spelled "Pierozzi)," an otherwise unidentifiable individual, see letter 230, note 1.

8. Rosa makes a similarly derogatory assessment of Cesti's attempt to reconcile these seemingly opposed professions in letter 231.

9. On the print representing the *Fall of the Giants*, see also letter 297, note 6. On the drawings for the print, see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 70.2, 70.2A, 70.3, 70.5 and 70.6, and Wallace 1979, 298–299. Rosa repeats his sentiment about the drawing (or "sketch") in letter 302.

10. On the print of the *Rescue of the Infant Oedipus*, see letter 297, note 6. For a drawing associated with the print, see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 70.1. On Rosa's practice of using the same plates for multiple designs for prints, see Wallace 1979, 19 and 127, who discusses in particular various examples of *rovesci*, or etchings executed on the reverse sides of plates used for other etchings. Noting the presence in the Calcografia Nazionale, Rome, of the plates for all of Rosa's prints listed by Bartsch, Wallace mentions that "[i]n several cases prints of the Bartsch listing were done on both sides of a plate, but more frequently variant, cancelled impressions are found on the *rovesci*, the reverse sides of plates for the Bartsch listing prints." On Rosa's use of both sides of the plates, see also Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 160 (in regard to the *Figurine*).

11. By "choices" Rosa perhaps means his "choice of friends".

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 300:

1. See Rosa's comments concerning Cosimo Brunetti in letter 299.

2. Rosa's painting of *The Conspiracy of Catiline* (Casa Martelli, Florence), on which see: Salerno 1975, 99, cat. 180; Fumagalli 2007, 200–201, cat. 29; Romano, in Naples 2008, 146–147, cat. 29; Salomon 2010b, 89, and fig. 52; Langdon 2012, 178 (on the connections between the subject of the painting and the tradition of the sublime, in the vein of Longinus); and Volpi 2014, 361–362 and 555, cat. 262. Bottari 1754, 1:332, note 2, was the first to correctly identify the painting in the Casa Martelli with the work mentioned by Rosa in the present letter: "Questo quadro bellissimo è nel Palazzo del Sig. Balì Martelli in Firenze" ("this beautiful painting is in the palace of Signor Balì Martelli in Florence.") A copy of the painting, attributed to Niccolò Cassana, is in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence (for which see Scott 1995, 176, fig. 183). Rosa's source for the story was the *Bellum Catilinae* (*War with Catiline*) by Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus), a subject, as noted by Salomon 2010b, 89, that was also new to painting. The moment Rosa chose to depict is the swearing of the oath between the members of a conspiracy, comprised of Lucius Catilina and his adherents, to overthrow the republican government of ancient Rome; they collected their blood in a cup and drank from it to seal their pact. Baldinucci, 5:444, records that the painting was acquired by Cristofano Catellini da Castiglione, a Florentine abbot who was then living in Rome. Cristofano probably bought the painting not long after it was exhibited at San Giovanni Decollato. In 1667, after Cristofano's death, the painting was purchased at auction at the Monte di Pietà in Rome by Niccolò Martelli, who subsequently sent it to Florence in 1669, where it hung in a room of the Palazzo Martelli, in front of a painting representing *The Oath of Brutus against Tarquin for the Death of Lucrezia* (1685) that Martelli had commissioned from Luca Giordano (see Goldenberg Stoppato, in Fumagalli 2007, 200–201). On the Martelli collection, see Civai 1990. For Lorenzo Magalotti's poem in praise of Rosa's *Conspiracy of Catiline*, in which he calls attention in particular to Rosa's "profound judgment and tremendous imagination" ("il profondo giudizio e la tremenda fantasia del pittore"), see Hoare 2018, 169–170 and note 269. On the painting and its iconography, see also Hoare 2018, 135–136 and note 38. On Rosa's desire to adhere to the text of historical accounts in the rendering of his pictorial subjects, see the letters cited in letter 281, note 6. On Rosa's exhibition of the *Conspiracy of Catiline* in 1663, see Salomon 2010b, 89, who notes the rather rigid *all'antica* qualities of the painting, "with stiff postures and profile heads which echoed ancient sarcophagi and coins as well as Titian's series of Roman emperors in Mantua," an instance of Rosa's occasional over-compensation in his endeavour to establish himself as a classicist painter. As noted by Volpi 2014, 362–363, Rosa clearly sought with the *Catiline* to prove to a Roman audience his talents in painting "all'antica," turning in this regard to friends knowledgeable in the field of archaeology such as Carlo Dati (who in 1663 dedicated to Rosa his *Vite dei pittori antichi*, on which see letter 114, note 9) and Francesco Cameli, whom Rosa probably met in Florence and had become antiquarian to Christina of Sweden and custodian of her medal collection. On Cameli, see Parise, in *DBI* 17 (1974):163–164. Volpi 2014 also sees in Rosa's painting the influence of Nicolas Poussin's Cartesian and tragic mature works, noting (555) its inherent theatricality, enhanced by Rosa's particularly "scenic" representation of the protagonists.

3. In regard to the "intendenti" that Rosa mentions impressing with his painting, Volpi 2014, 555, identifies them as the circle of erudites, art lovers and *letterati* who, once Rosa had left Florence in 1649, were not identifiable with any particular theatrical or literary academy, but represented the broader context of the *respublica literaria*.

4. One of a number of acknowledgements on Rosa's part of the significant role played in his own success by Ricciardi's contributions. See further Hoare 2018, 279–282. It is possible

that Ricciardi had provided Rosa with the idea for the painting, as Rosa had asked him for suggestions in this regard in letters 281, 286 and 290.

Letter 301:

1. On this matter concerning Cosimo Brunetti, see letters 299 and 300.

2. On this matter concerning Francesco Cordini, who seems to have been involved in some legal dispute, see letters 293 and 302. Rosa's comments in the present letter, in which he likens Cordini to Cesti—the latter of whom committed a transgression that seems to have been related to his apparent homosexual proclivities—suggests the matter concerning Cordini may have been of a similar sort.

3. On Marcantonio Cesti, see letter 27, note 21. Rosa makes similar comments about Cesti's occupations as musician and friar in letters 60, 69, 70 and 231. On the matter of Cesti's professional transgressions, and the possible meaning of Rosa's reference here to the "sin" that Cesti has committed, see letter 69, note 4. In the present letter, Rosa once again distinguishes himself and Ricciardi from Cesti, and Cordini, a few lines below.

4. Rosa here refers to a drawing for his *Fall of the Giants* print, which Ricciardi had apparently asked Rosa to send him. See also letter 299. For drawings associated with the print, see Mahoney 1977, 2: cat. 70.2–70.13.

5. Presumably a reference to Ricciardi's and Rosa's friends among the Accademia degli Stravaganti and the Accademia Pisana, on which see letter 56 (note 2) and letter 2 (note 6).

6. Orazio Quaranta (1604–?), "a gentleman from Salerno, who worked for the space of ten years in Madrid in the service of the crown as legate of the king of Poland, returning to Italy to live in Rome": Toppi, 229; as cited in Borrelli and Festa 2003, 312, note 1. In a history of the Quaranta family of Naples (www.nobili-napoletani.it/Quaranta-Rami.htm), Orazio is recorded as Orazio Quaranta de Candida, "a nobleman of the Barons of Fusara, Lords of Fossalopara and the House Quaranta, a learned Jesuit and celebrated and acclaimed historian. […] In 1639, the Neapolitan nobility asked him to write a history of Naples. […] He was plenipotentiary to Madrid, on behalf of the city of Salerno, where he pleaded that state's case to Philip IV of Spain" ("nobile dei Baroni di Fusara, Signori di Fossalopara e Casa Quaranta fu gesuita Consultore dell'Indice dottissimo ed insigne predicatore e storico di grido. […] nel 1639 gli Eletti di Napoli chiamando Orazio storico Napoletano lo pregano di scrivere la storia di Napoli. […] Fu plenipotenziario a Madrid per la città di Salerno a perorare la causa demaniale presso Sua Maestà Cattolicissima Filippo IV di Spagna"). A poet, writer and Jesuit priest, Quaranta was involved with the Inquisition as a Consultore della Sacra Congregazione Indice. Among his religious writings are: the *Vita del Beato Giovanni di San Facondo dell'Ordine di Sant'Agostino* (1673); the *Relatione della solenne processione fatta dall'archiconfraternita del Santissimo Rosario nell'Anno Santo 1675* (1675); and the *Vita di San Genesio, notaro e martire* (1682). Quaranta was also a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi in Rome. Baldinucci includes Quaranta in his list of Rosa's friends—the Roman "men of letters and persons of high affairs"—who supplied the biographer with information for his *vita* of the artist. In the present letter, Rosa cites with irony Quaranta's authority as a poet. Rosa dedicated his print of the *Fall of the Giants* to Quaranta, with the inscription: "Horatio Quaranta Amico Homogeneo/ Tolluntur in altum,/ Ut lapsu graviore ruant./ Salvator Rosa Inv. pinx. Scul." ("Oratio Quaranta, Harmonious Friend. They are raised aloft that may be hurled down in more headlong ruin. Salvator Rosa, designed, painted, engraved"). On this dedication, and its possible significance, see further Hoare 2018, 298. Quaranta seems to have been an admirer—and perhaps friend—of Giovan Battista Ricciardi, as is suggested by Rosa's comments in a letter of 1670 (see Appendix 1).

7. The phrase "mentire (mentirsi, mentirsene) per la gola" means to tell enormous lies, to make a false statement, or to shamelessly deceive: Battaglia, 10:102. The expression "Tu ne menti per la gola" means, literally, "you tell a lie in your throat". Rosa also equates poets with "liars" in letter 310. In the present letter, Rosa could be referring to an opinion expressed to him by Quaranta or Melosi in person, or he could be alluding to the contents of the *Capitolo* written by Melosi in defence of Rosa (on which see letter 129, note 21), which plays upon both the conceit of naming (particularly in reference to Rosa's own name) and the question of what constitutes good practice in poetry. Melosi writes: "Hor chi non sa quant'è maggior lavoro/ Poetar coi color che con l'inchiostro?/ Ma dicono così forse costoro/ Però che de le Satire il soggetto/ Ch'è il vitio, non è vostro, è tutto loro./ Ed in ciò 'l vostro nome co l'effetto/ S'accorda ben, poiché, dando qual rosa/ Aspre ponture, havete odor perfetto./ Sentire che raggion ridicolosa/ Portan del lor non credere ostinato/ Che tali poesie sian vostra cosa./ Egli, dicon, fin hor non s'è spacciato/ Mai per poeta; hor dunque, è principiante;/ Ma s'egli è tal, come ha sì ben poetato? […]".

8. Rosa here refers to Francesco Melosi's position as governor (*governatore*) of Capranica, a lucrative appointment that Melosi received in 1659 and to which he subsequently devoted most of his energy. See Catucci, in *DBI* 73 (2009):378. Rosa refers to this particular administrative position again in letter 319. On Melosi, see also letter 129, note 21.

9. The term "serbatoio" refers, literally, to a tank or reservoir, or, more figuratively, to a place in which to accumulate or stuff a large quantity of something: Battaglia, 18:715.

10. As noted by Conte 2014, 380, it is not clear whether Rosa's words here indicate an implicit declaration on his part to have given up writing poetry. In his satire *La Babilonia*, he says he has been in Rome for "sei lustri" (a "lustrum" is a five-year period), meaning thirty years, a comment that suggests he wrote the satire in 1665.

11. On Marcantonio Cesti, who had provoked Rosa's wrath in 1659, see letter 238. On Cesti more generally, see letter 27, note 21.

12. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2. Rosa's comment here, concerning the difference between himself (and Ricciardi) and the likes of Cesti and Cordini, may have been in reference to their apparent sexual predilections and escapades, in which we know that Rosa in particular was careful not to embroil himself. On Cesti in this regard, see letter 27, note 21.

13. This must be the same poem that Rosa had asked Ricciardi for in letter 290 (see note 6). Rosa mentions it again in letters 302 and 304.

14. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

15. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 302:

1. On the subject of scabies, see letter 90, note 6.

2. Rosa here employs a variation on the popular Italian proverb, "chi ha la tosse o la rogna, altro mal no gli bisogna" ("Whoever has a cold or the scabies, has no need of any other malady").

3. The idea being that princes will therefore find it easier to scratch their itchy scabs.

4. Rosa uses the term "bile" to refer to anger, although it also has a specifically medical and humorological significance in relation to the choleric and melancholic humours. On bile and melancholia, in particular (which Rosa also mentions later on in this letter), see letter 175, note 6.

5. The word "spegazzo" is a Venetianism meaning a scribble, sketch or a mark made with ink: Contarini 1852, 303. Volpi 2014, 300, notes that Rosa's use of the term seems to foreshadow Marco Boschini (1613–1678) and his aesthetic of *pittoresco*, in which the term "spegazzone" was used to describe the unfinished parts of a painting by Tintoretto, in reference to the sections where the paint was applied in a more "furioso" or hasty manner. Volpi links the sentiment of Rosa's conceit in the present letter to Emanuele Tesauro's conception of "furia poetica," and to Daniello Bartoli's ideas concerning the dashing speed of thought, noting in this regard Rosa's reference in his letter to Antonio Ruffo (letter 331) to his being "subject to enthusiasms," an allusion perhaps to the rapid working method Rosa adopted in his mature and later years, particularly his large picturesque landscapes of the 1650s. On Boschini and the term "spegazzone," see Sohm 1991, 140–149. On Rosa and *pittoresco*, see letter 138, note 9.

6. The drawing to which Rosa refers is for his print representing the *Fall of the Giants*. Rosa had indicated the same opinion about the drawing in an earlier letter to Ricciardi (letter 299; see note 9 for possible candidates for the drawing in question). In letter 305, Rosa mentions that he has forgotten to include another work—either a drawing or a print—in the package.

7. The "prints" probably included the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, to which Rosa refers in letter 288, as well as other prints bearing the inscription "Pinx," as Rosa explains in letter 305. The identity of the paintings to which Rosa here refers is not known.

8. With the term "franca" Rosa could alternatively mean "postage paid". See letter 56, note 6.

9. The literal meaning of Rosa's construction here, rather awkward to express in English, is that the package will be carried "such that it follows its journey in that direction".

10. On these matters concerning Francesco Cordini, Marcantonio Cesti and a certain "padre Perozzi" (or Pierozzi), see letters 293, 299, 301 and 319. On Pierozzi, see also letter 230, note 1. Limentani 1950, 119, note 1, considered this matter to relate to the "cooling off" of relations between Cordini and Rosa, which in fact took place many years earlier, in 1659 (see letter 228, note 13).

11. One of Rosa's nicknames for his son Augusto. See letter 289, note 9.

12. As noted by Limentani 1950, 131, note 4, the young heifer that Augusto was inquiring about had been given two years prior to Rosa and Ricciardi by Lodovico Maffei, during Rosa's stay at Strozzavolpe in 1661: see letter 258.

13. As noted by Limentani 1950, 131, note 5, Brunetti had returned from England to Rome, after which he travelled to Venice, stopping in Florence on the way. See letters 297, 299 and 300.

14. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

15. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

16. Gaspare Leoli, on whom see letter 85, note 13, and Giulio Venerosi Pesciolini, on whom see letter 85, note 14.

17. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

18. Rosa refers to this poem in letters 290, 301 and 304.

Letter 303:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 132, note 2, the composer Pietro Paolo Vannini (active from 1640) set to music the *Il Pastor Fido* by Giovanni Battista Guarini. Rosa also discusses the matter of his and Ricciardi's efforts on Vannini's behalf in letters 304, 306, 307 and 310. From these letters we learn that their endeavours apparently came to nothing, and that Rosa eventually lost touch with Vannini. See also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 31.

2. The "Teatro di Livorno" to which Rosa refers must be the Teatro delle Commedie, opened in 1658 and later converted into housing in 1785. (Another theatre of the same name was opened in the city in the nineteenth century). Located near the church of San Sebastiano, the theatre opened in 1658 was also known as the Theatre of San Sebastiano, or the "Stanzone delle commedie," and became a very successful and popular venue that brought fame to the city. An elliptical theatre with a stage on its south side, it originally had three levels of forty-one theatre boxes, with the three central boxes on the second level reserved for the Grand Ducal family. Twenty-four more boxes were added to create a fourth level. From 1662, the theatre was also home to the Accademia dei Dubbiosi, frequented by the famous writer of comedies Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793), whose name was given to yet another theatre in the city, the Teatro Goldoni, founded in 1842. On the Teatro delle Commedie, see Goldoni 1989 and Venturi 2004. The "Francesco Soldani" to whom Rosa here refers is perhaps identifiable with Capitano Francesco Soldani di Poppi, an elite member of the community of Poppi, near Vallombrosa, whose countryman Annibale di Costantino Rilli was a patron of Rosa's friend Lorenzo Lippi in Florence: Nesi 2011, 79. Soldani is also named in a treatise on the thirteenth-century Saint Torello of Poppi, where he is identified as having assisted with the transferal in 1651 of the saint's remains to a new location, providing a new reliquary for their display: Soldani, 76 and 120. He may have been related to the more well-known Florentine senator and satirist Jacopo Soldani (1579–1641), on whom see Jannaco and Capucci 1986, 500–504. A "Francesco Soldani" is also identified as the Commissario dell'Abbondanza (Commissioner of the Food Administration) of Florence: Nardini and Gigli 1912, 2:319. The person in question, difficult to identify with certainty, must nonetheless have had ties to either the Medici court and its sponsorship of theatrical performances, or to the academic circles of Rosa and Ricciardi.

3. Rosa's comment here, concerning the best "women," is likely in reference to the men considered most skilled at performing the female roles, a task taken up by a number of Rosa's own male friends among the Percossi in Florence (on which see Hoare 2018, 84, and chapter three, note 57). Women were, however, beginning to make an appearance on the stage in the latter part of the century. Gozzano 2010, 115, notes that during the

Carnival season of 1670, in which three ballets were performed in addition to the usual comedies "all'improvviso" staged by the Colonna family (in which Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna and friends of his from among the Roman aristocracy performed), the Contestabilessa Anna Maria Mancini (the wife of Lorenzo Onofrio), her sister and other women performed some of the roles; an *avviso* of 1 February of that year, however, noted that it was "an unusual thing in Rome to see women on the stage" ("cosa a Roma inusitata di veder dame su le scene").

4. The identity of the individual in question is not known.

5. In music, the term "imitazione" (imitation) refers to the contrapuntal repetition of a phrase (or melody, motif) in a polyphonic texture, shortly after its first appearance, in a different voice and usually at a different pitch ("counterpoint"), a type of composition that was very popular in early modern music. See Battaglia, 7:336. The term "costume" seems here to be intended in the sense of "quality of expression": Battaglia, 3:913–914, who defines "costume" as quality, nature or character; in an older usage, the term can refer to the "appropriate expression" of something.

6. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

7. Rosa has written the date "1662" in the ms., but the actual date of 1663 is proposed by Limentani 1950, 132, note 2, on the basis of Rosa's discussion of the matter concerning the composer Pietro Paolo Vannini (a topic that appears in Rosa's extant correspondence only in letters dated to 1663; see letters 304, 306, 307 and 310).

Letter 304:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 132, note 1, this is probably the secretary of a certain congregation or confraternity.

2. The unidentified "negozio" in question probably concerns the "licence" to which Rosa refers in letters 305, 306, 307 and 308.

3. The composer Pietro Paolo Vannini, on whom see letter 303, note 1.

4. Rosa had earlier solicited this poem from Ricciardi. See letters 290, 301 and 302.

Letter 305:

1. A reference to Rosa's print representing *Ceres and Phytalus*, on which see letter 269, note 6. With the term "carta" Rosa probably intends "print," however he could alternatively be referring to a preparatory drawing for the print. Rosa had earlier sent Ricciardi a package containing numerous prints, three paintings and a preparatory drawing for *The Fall of the Giants* (see letter 302).

2. The phrase "avere sotto gli occhi" can mean literally "to have in front of one's eyes" or, more figuratively, to have present in one's thoughts, to remember, to propose oneself as an object of reflection or contemplation or as a final goal; or, to imagine oneself, to long for: Battaglia, 11:771.

3. Rosa includes the word "Pinx." (an abbreviation of "Pinxit", meaning "painted by") on a select number of his prints: the *Crucifixion of Polycrates*, the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, the *Fall of the Giants* and the *Finding of the Infant Oedipus*, which collectively comprise the group that Rosa refers to as his "large" prints. Rosa treated the subject of the crucifixion of Polycrates in a painting (Art Institute, Chicago), which is a reversal of the print's composition. On the print, see Wallace 1979, 281–286, cat. 111, and Nappi 2014, 146–147 and 172–173, cat. 92; on the painting, see Volpi 2014, 525–526, cat. 224. Rosa also painted the subject of the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, however in this instance the painting was executed ten years before the print, and was purchased by Carlo de' Rossi (see letters 342, 343, 344, 345, 346 and 347). From Rosa's words in the present letter, it is clear that he hoped with the label "Pinx." to obtain new painting commissions from his prints. On this rather cunning strategy, see Hoare 2018, 262–263.

4. The word "colorita'" literally means "coloured" but can also refer to the colours or pigments of a painting, or the quality of being "coloured" or "tinted," as if in a painting: Battaglia, 3:318. Rosa seems to use the term here in its figurative sense, that is, of "feigning" or giving the appearance of being something it is not. As noted by Volpi 2014, 533, Rosa's meaning is not entirely clear, and could refer either to the production of paintings or to the practice of colouring prints.

5. In regard to Rosa's comment here—that the *Fall of the Giants* etching was not sufficiently inventive to inspire anyone to commission a painting from him—Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 175, notes that Rosa clearly thought the subject "would have won him a profitable commission, but he was disappointed, even if he was right in thinking that someone might have been interested in the subject. In fact, the fall of the giants was a cliché for the representation of the punishment of presumption used, for example, by Daniello Bartoli in several passages of his *Dell'huomo di lettere*." Volpi 2014, 533, cat. 233, suggested that Rosa's *Dream of Aeneas* (*c.* 1658–1663, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) could be one of the paintings that Rosa refers to in the present letter, as having been produced in an etching but not yet painted ("I've not painted any of the other printed subjects"): Rosa made a print of the same subject (for which see Wallace 1979, 307–311, cat. 117, and Nappi 2014, 149–150 and 176, cat. 95), although its date (preceding or following the painting) is not certain. See further on this matter Hoare 2018, chapter five, note 318.

6. Rosa here makes another disparaging remark about the Stoics, echoing the sentiment expressed in letter 205. On Rosa's conflicted attitude toward Stoicism, see letter 101, note 6.

7. The "dedications" to which Rosa here refers are perhaps among the texts that Rosa appended to his large prints. Rosa's comment suggests that he solicited Ricciardi's aid with their composition, as he had done in the case of the dedicatory text for the *Figurine* (on which see letter 207). Rosa's comment here, concerning the "dedicatorie," may also have something to do with the poetic composition that Rosa had been waiting for Ricciardi to send him, on which see letter 304 (and note 4).

8. This is perhaps the same "licence" to which Rosa refers in letters 304, 306, 307 and 308, in the last of which we learn that it concerns the matter of a certain unidentified woman entering into a convent.

9. Rosa had also asked after the calf in letter 302.

10. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 317, note 2, this line is taken from Petrarch's *Di pensier in pensier, di monte in monte*, vv. 15–16: "[…] ogni habitato loco/ è nemico mortal degli occhi miei."

11. The emphasis that Rosa places here upon the phrase "castelli in aria," capitalized in the ms. (the phrase "fare castelli in aria" colloquially means to daydream or fantasize; see letter 201, note 11), suggests that he also intends to allude to the Ricciardi family's villa at Strozzavolpe, a castle with a tower

and crenellations. See also letter 307, where Rosa constructs a similar metaphor.

12. Bottari 1754, 1:337, erroneously transcribed the date as "1665," followed in this by Morgan 1824, 2:295 (who also gives the date as "11" October) and Cesareo 1892, 2:125.

Letter 306:

1. On the matter concerning the composer Pietro Paolo Vannini, see also letters 303 and 304.

2. This is presumably the same document referred to in letters 304, 305, 307 and 308. The "licence" seems to concern the matter of an unidentified woman entering into a convent.

3. A humorous reference to the frequent travels of Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

4. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

5. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 307:

1. On this licence, which seems to concern the matter of an unidentified woman entering into a convent, see also letters 304, 305, 306 and 308. In letter 305, dated 21 October, Rosa informed Ricciardi that he had sent the licence to him in the post, and asked for confirmation of its receipt; it seems to have gone missing, however, as Rosa says in letter 306 (3 November) that he will "send the licence soon," and, in the present letter, he indicates that he is sending it once again "in altro modo," or "by other means" (for this expression, see Battaglia, 10:675). In letter 308 (15 December), Rosa confirms that he has sent Ricciardi the licence a second time.

2. The composer Pietro Paolo Vannini, on whom see also letters 303, 304 and 306.

3. A "tugurio" is a hovel.

4. Rosa is here playing upon the expression "castelli in aria," which means fantasies or daydreams, in connection with the castellated villa of Strozzavolpe, which Rosa deems a "fantasy" in his longing to return there. Rosa uses a similar conceit in letter 305. He could also be referring to Ricciardi's own new villa property, on which see letter 269, note 14. For the mythological figure of Tantalus, famous for his eternal punishment in the Underworld, see letter 106, note 8.

5. The phrase "stare a disagio" means to be ill at ease, uncomfortable; to feel troubled, bothered or embarrassed: Battaglia, 4:566.

6. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

7. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 308:

1. By "hovel" Rosa could be referring either to the Ricciardi family's property at Strozzavolpe or to Ricciardi's own villa property, on which see letter 269, note 14. See also Rosa's similar comment in letter 307.

2. On the matter concerning Francesco Cordini, see also letters 293, 301 and 302. On Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

3. Rosa's intended meaning with the phrase "lo rimettevo al solito" is not entirely clear.

4. The word "rompimento" means a nuisance, bother or hassle; a din or roar; or, particularly in the context of warfare, the shattering of lances in combat: Battaglia, 17:74–75.

5. A reference to the troops engaged in the ongoing confrontation between the papacy and France, on which see letter 284, note 2.

6. Here Rosa seems to be alluding to the economic hardships of this period, in Rome. As noted by Conte 2014, 375, Rosa could perhaps be referring to his own occasional failures in regard to his financial situation: Rosa refers, throughout the 1660s, to his obligation to fall back on savings (in this regard, see in particular letters 291 and 380).

7. By "buskins rather than clogs" Rosa means "tragedy rather than comedy". As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 319, note 1, Rosa here refers to two types of footwear worn by actors on the stage: "socchi," a low and lightweight shoe, similar to *zoccoli* (or clogs), worn by ancient actors in comedies, and "coturni" or buskins, a shoe fastened at the calf, with a tall cork sole intended to provide additional height and stature, worn by actors in tragedies. For "coturno," see Battaglia, 3:924. For "socco," see Battaglia, 19:221. On the term "zoccolo," see also letter 5, note 3.

8. This is presumably the same licence to which Rosa refers in letters 304, 305, 306 and 307. A "zitella" is an unmarried girl or an old spinster. See letter 57, note 13.

9. Presumably a reference to Albano Laziale, not far from Rome, on which see letter 112, note 14. On Giovanni Battista da Scorno, see letter 57, note 5.

10. The verb "imbertonirsi" is analogous to "innamorarsi," to fall in love with, or to be captivated or enchanted by: Battaglia, 7:290.

11. A reference to members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6.

Letter 309:

1. With the expression "fa sei nodi ad un testone" Rosa seems to mean that everyone is so poor that they go out of their way to secure what little pocket change they have; that is, tying "six knots" on their purses to safeguard even a single *testone*. On the value of the *testone*, see letter 27, note 9. Rosa might also be constructing a humorous pun on the word "testone" as both a coin and a "big head," perhaps a derogatory reference to the "poor"—among whom he apparently includes himself—who are forced to scrimp and save every penny. The term "cristiano," in colloquial or informal usage (and in the Neapolitan dialect), can refer simply to "man" in the sense of "everyone": *Vocabolario della Crusca*, and Battaglia, 3:984.

2. Rosa is here referring, again, to the ongoing prospect of war between the French and the papacy in Rome, on which see letter 284, note 2. In regard to Rosa's comments here, and in letter 310, which point to the economic difficulties of the period and the impact that these—together with the political situation in Rome—had on Rosa's career at this moment, Conte 2014, 380, cites the useful summary of the situation by Osbat, in *DBI* 26 (1982):282–290, esp. 287, who lists a number of problems to which Rosa may be alluding in his letters: the serious tensions

that characterized the rapport between Rome and Paris in the final years of the papacy of Alexander VII (the incidents that occurred in Rome between the pope's guards and the French ambassador, the Duc de Créquy, in 1662, on which see also letter 284, note 2); the occupation of Avignon and Contado Venassino; the vote of the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris against the Gallican Church, condemned in 1665; the 1664 treaty of Pisa, which amplified the French influence in Italy; and Flavio Chigi's offer of solemn reparation to Louis XIV, also in 1664, which only ended with the subjection of the Holy Apostolic Seat to the political directives of the French king, as demonstrated by the Bull *Regiminis apostolici* of 15 February 1665, with which Louis sought to bring back under his control the entire French episcopate that had been torn apart on account of various positions on the problem of Jansenism.

3. In regard to Rosa's comment concerning his investment in the wool trade, Conte 2014, 309–312, has made an important discovery that suggests a close link between the artist and the wool guild, or Pannilana, to which a painting by Rosa (often overlooked in the scholarship on the artist) may be connected: the *Saint Onofrius* (or *Saint Humfrey*) (*c.* 1666, Pinacoteca Comunale Raffaele Fidanza, Matelica), on which see Volpi 2014, 588, cat. 313, who notes that the painting was executed for the altar of the Università dei Pannilana, in the church of San Filippo a Matelica, built between 1655 and 1660. As noted by Conte, the involvement of Rosa—a Neapolitan residing in Rome—in the wool trade is not surprising, considering the continual rapport between commercial activity and artistic patronage, linking Rome with Naples via the Abruzzi mountain passes which go through Pescocostanzo. It is to this context, as well, that the visit made to Rosa by a certain "Signor Pitassi" in January of 1654 (see letter 175) might be connected: Conte suggests he could perhaps be the lawyer and wealthy wool producer and merchant Lorito Giuseppe Pitassi. Among the most noteworthy citizens of Pescocostanzo, Pitassi became "essaminatore sinodale cassinense" in the year 1652 and was also active as a merchant in Naples between 1635 and 1660. His second wife was Finisdea d'Amata, daughter of Tommaso d'Amata and Pompa de Matteis, the patrons of Tanzio da Varallo's *Madonna of Constantinople* (1614, Collegiata di Santa Maria in Colle, Pescocostanzo). Pitassi was also a member of the family who, on 30 May 1643, paid Massimo Stanzione an advance on the price of 100 ducats for his *Immaculate Conception*, destined for the Pitassi altar in the church of Gesù e Maria di Costantinopoli, Pescocostanzo. Conte also notes that there is another relative, with the same name as Lorito, who was born in 1604 and died in 1656 after the plague, although nothing is known about him. Pitassi is not mentioned anywhere else in the documents on Rosa. The circumstances of the commission of Rosa's *Saint Onofrius* are not known, but it could well have been painted in the mid-1660s, to judge from its style. Conte notes further that it is impossible to establish whether or not the abbot Domenico Federici, who on 24 January 1681 became minister of the Congregazione dell'Oratorio in Fano, played a role in the commission.

4. On Rosa's financial situation, throughout his career, see Hoare 2018, chapter five. On Rosa's finances and commercial strategies more generally, in connection with the Roman art market, see Lorizzo 2010a. As noted by Conte 2014, 430, note 22, the paintings with which Rosa earned the "one thousand *scudi*" he cites here cannot be many in number, in view of what we know about the relatively limited nature of Rosa's production from the 1650s onward.

5. On Rosa's success in the sale of his prints, see letter 280, note 12. Rosa appears to be referring here to a decree of 20 December 1663, instituted by Monsignor Neri Corsini (1614–1678), treasurer of the Camera Apostolica (a position to which he was elected in 1660), to impose a tax on writing paper in order to help fund provisions for the papal war with France. See *Regesti di bandi*, 6–7:245. Rosa's comment here suggests that the tax was also to be applied to prints.

6. The term "libare" means to taste or sip a liquid or drink, or to savour or taste a small amount of food or drink. It can also mean to toast (analogous in this respect to the verb "brindare"): Battaglia, 8:1036. With his use here of the two verbs "libare" and "ingoiare", Rosa could alternatively intend a contrast between "drinking" and "eating".

7. Croesus is an ancient Greek king who was renowned for his wealth. Rosa refers to him also in a letter of 1652 (see letter 144, and note 16). Rosa made him the subject of a painting: *Croesus Dissuading the Persians from Killing his Father* (*c.* 1663–1665, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide), on which see letter 144, note 16.

8. This is probably a reference to Ricciardi's penchant for wine, traditionally associated with the inspiration of writers and poets, which Rosa was frequently reminding Ricciardi to steer clear of for the sake of his health. See letters 114 and 160. Ricciardi's 1687 inventory reveals that he owned a vineyard in Filettole, not far from Pisa, for which see letter 269, note 14.

9. "Farfaricchio" is Rosa's nickname for his son Augusto. See letter 260, note 2.

10. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

11. Presumably, Jacopo was wishing Rosa a happy New Year.

Letter 310:

1. The construction of Rosa's sentence is somewhat confusing. He seems to imply "Così non ho fatto *niente* per veder voi" (that is, "because you're a liar, I've done nothing in order to see you"). Rosa frequently uses a single negation within a sentence (in this instance, the "non"), applying it to multiple subjects. The painting to which Rosa here refers is presumably one that he was keeping aside for Ricciardi.

2. Rosa here uses the term "pezzetti," meaning "pieces," however he assuredly intends this as a reference to paintings. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 162, note 2, Ricciardi seems to have acquired some small paintings via another acquaintance. See also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 23. One of the paintings to which Rosa here refers, as well as the one above, are perhaps among those that Ricciardi subsequently sent to Rosa for retouching, mentioned in letter 311.

3. Rosa once again refers to the "laws" of friendship, on which see letter 29, note 8.

4. It has not been possible to further identify this "man from Perugia".

5. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 321, note 1, Ricciardi had written this comedy—*La Forza del Sospetto*—twenty years earlier, and performed it successfully in Rome between 1662 and 1664. In the original text of the comedy, the line, directed at the jealous host Trespolo by the young lover Clearco, reads: "Felice te che hai sì bella moglie" ("Happy you, who have such a beautiful wife"). See Ricciardi, 18. Rosa's comments in the present letter suggest that he and Ricciardi performed the two roles together, Ricciardi as the young lover, Clearco, and Rosa as the innkeeper Trespolo, who was "morbidly jealous

of his young wife": Molinari 1999, 243–247, and Langdon 2010a, 28. In a much earlier letter of 2 February 1650 (letter 51), Rosa seems to allude to Ricciardi's role as the "lover" in the comedy *Lo Sposalizio tra' Sepolcri*. On Rosa's adoption of the role of Trespolo, see also Molinari 1999. Regel and Regel 2011, 123, consider Rosa's reference to his taking part in the *Forza del Sospetto* as evidence that "Rosa's participation in theatrical performances with his friends were [sic] not limited to the *commedia dell'arte*, the *commedia dell'improvviso*"; Rosa's comment here suggests that "he also appeared in the *commedia distesa*—that is plays performed on the basis of completed texts." Michelassi 2010, 140, interpreted Rosa's comment in the present letter to suggest that this play was performed by the Accademia dei Percossi in Florence, thereby offering important testimony of the only specific dramatic composition that Rosa's Florentine academy is known to have performed. For a synopsis and analysis of Ricciardi's *La Forza del Sospetto, overo Trespolo hoste*, see Regel and Regel 2011, 124–125, who argue, in regard to the modest presence of Trespolo in this particular play, that "it is difficult to imagine that Salvator Rosa recognized himself in the role of *this* Trespolo".

6. On the matter concerning Francesco Cordini, see letter 293, note 4.

7. A reference to the composer Pietro Paolo Vannini, whom Rosa and Ricciardi had endeavoured to recommend to prospective patrons in Livorno. See letter 303, note 1.

8. A nickname for Rosa's son Augusto. See letter 289, note 9.

9. Rosa also complained about his lack of commissions and sales in letter 309.

Letter 311:

1. With the term "scarpinello" Rosa likely intends "scalpellino," or mason. The term "scalpellino" (also spelled "scarpellino") refers to a stone-carver or mason—in particular, one specialized in the squaring of stone or marble, in the execution of cornices with decorations or friezes, and in the engraving of inscriptions. The term also refers to a sculptor of base or limited talents. See Battaglia, 17:771.

2. The term "vuotacessi" refers to a cleaner of toilets or sewers: Battaglia, 21:1029.

3. These are perhaps portrait "heads" that Rosa was painting for Ricciardi, comparable to those he had painted for other friends in 1651, for which see letters 48 and 84. For possible candidates, see the various "teste" listed in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory, in Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI.

4. Rosa seems here to be using the verb "impasticciare" in the sense of "imbastire," to improvise, slap together, or whip something up: Battaglia, 7:410. The verb "impasticciare" can also mean to mix, bungle or botch something. The term "impastare," as defined by Baldinucci 1985, 73, refers to the *impasto* application of paint—the blended, smeared, and generally thick application of paint, derived from the verb *impastare*, meaning to knead or paste. On the word "impasto," see also Sohm 1991, 4, 6–8, 13–14, 87, 150, 153, 188, 194, 214 and 219, and Sohm 2001, 146–147. It is not entirely clear from what Rosa says whether or not the two "heads" he mentions were painted by himself or by another artist; in the latter case (which nonetheless seems unlikely), his use of the term "impasticieranno" could refer to a process of retouching on his part.

5. Ricciardi seems to have asked Rosa to complete two paintings, one with "soldiers" and another with "a sacred subject," according to his own specifications. The paintings may be among those listed in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory, although none are expressly given there to Rosa. See Paliaga 2009, 229–230, Appendix XXVI. Rosa's stipulation, concerning the number of figures, related not only to his predilection for large-scale history subjects in place of genre scenes populated with numerous small figures, but to his already failing eyesight and sense of fatigue (as he further explains in letter 312).

6. De Rinaldis 1939, 100, note 1, proposed that the painting to which Rosa here refers as "Flemish" be connected to the "painting by Filippo" (suggested by De Rinaldis as Philips Wouwerman) that Rosa mentions in letters 231 and 266. This seems unlikely, however, as Rosa appears to have promptly returned to Ricciardi, in 1662, the painting mentioned in these two letters (see letter 269), proposed alternatively by Paliaga 2009, 162, as a work by Filippo Napoletano. See letter 231, note 9.

7. The term "macchie" has a number of different meanings, and is difficult to interpret here with absolute certainty. It can mean marks, spots or imperfections, but also—and particularly in the context of the visual arts—a painting or drawing, typically of small dimensions, executed with rapid and cursory strokes that give the work a unified character (a sketch or draft; an *abbozzo* or *schizzo*); the term also refers to the marks produced by these strokes in order to achieve this effect. See Battaglia, 9:350. Particularly meaningful in connection with Rosa's use of the term in the present context, however, is the definition of "macchie" as certain of the figurative elements (people or animals) within a painting that are "sketched" and of secondary importance to the principal subject of the image. See Battaglia, 9:350, who cites from Vasari's life of Benvenuto Garofalo and Girolamo da Carpi: "Dipinse a fresco sotto l'arco di porta Brusciata la Traslazione de' corpi di S. Faustino e Iovita con alcune macchie di figure, che accompagnano que' corpi molto bene." That this is Rosa's likely intended meaning with the term is further suggested by his use here of the word "campo," which can mean "countryside" (Battaglia, 2:605) or more generally the space occupied by the figures or the background register of the image, in certain instances the "landscape background" (Battaglia, 2:606), which seems to signal that Rosa is referring to a landscape painting. An additional alternative along these lines could be that "campo" here refers to a landscape and "macchie" to the foliage of the trees. On the significance of the term "macchia" in the context of seventeenth-century painting, and in connection with Rosa's own "pittoresco" style of painting (on which see letter 138, note 9), see: Baldinucci 1985, 86; Sohm 1991, esp. 36–43 and 95–96; and Sohm 2001, 146–153, 158–159, 163–164 and 188–189. See also letter 138, note 9. Sohm considers the possibility that Rosa's use of the term—and his convictions about his own artistic style as "pittoresco"—may have originated in a possible encounter with Marco Boschini during Rosa's visit to Venice in 1649. Loh 2006, 245, cites Luigi Scaramuccia's fictional anecdote about Boschini offering tours of Venice to visiting artists like Rosa and Pietro da Cortona: Scaramuccia, 107–108.

8. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 164, note 1, this "quadretto" is probably one of the "pezzetti" or small paintings to which Rosa refers in letter 310. Ricciardi had apparently sent Rosa the painting in question (along with the others mentioned above) for him to retouch. See also in this regard the paintings mentioned in letter 310. On Rosa's practice of retouching, see letter 70, note 13.

9. The phrase "là fu, là stette" literally means "it was there; it stood [or remained] there". The expression is difficult to translate

into English, but in combination with what Rosa has just said above, it implies recrimination, making counteraccusations, or making a claim after the fact.

Letter 312:

1. One of a number of instances in the correspondence in which Rosa refers to himself in the third person. For other examples, see letter 31, note 1.

2. A "cetriolo" is a cucumber. The Neapolitanism "cetrulo," or "cetriuolo," with negative connotations in colloquial usage, denotes an "utterly stupid person": Galiani, 1:96–97, and Battaglia, 3:22.

3. Ricciardi had apparently asked Rosa to paint two canvases for him, one with soldiers and another with a sacred subject. Rosa had given his conditions to Ricciardi, regarding the number of figures to be included in the paintings, in letter 311.

4. Ricciardi may have been bickering with Rosa over some detail concerning the maritime exploits of Xerxes I, King of Persia (519–465 BCE), perhaps in connection with the subject for one of the paintings Ricciardi had requested from Rosa (see letter 311), although Rosa does not mention the subject anywhere else in his extant correspondence. Alternatively—but admittedly a far-fetched proposal—Ricciardi could have been constructing a metaphor involving the "sails of Xerxes," perhaps an allusion to friendship that invoked the story of Xerxes's attempts to avoid sailing across the Hellespont by building a bridge that was soon after destroyed in a violent storm.

5. This is probably a reference to the young painter, known only to us as "Pasquale," who worked as a copyist. See letter 128, note 10.

6. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 165, note 1, the repeated "chiano, chiano" is a Neapolitanism meaning "piano piano, senza tanta avventatezza," or "calmly, calmly—not so rashly". See also Galiani, 1:100, who defines "chiano chiano" as "pian piano, adagio adagio" ("softly softly, gently gently"). The term "frusciamento" (spelled "frusciamiento" in the ms.) derives from the verb "frusciarsi," which means, in a figurative sense, to be bothered, annoyed or irritated: Battaglia, 6:401.

7. This is probably a reference to a painting in Ricciardi's collection by one of the Bamboccianti, or perhaps by "Il Bamboccio" himself, Pieter van Laer. On Rosa's attitude toward, and artistic debts to, the Bamboccianti, see letter 242, note 4. There are a number of paintings listed in Ricciardi's 1687 inventory (Paliaga 2009, 229–230) that could be candidates for the painting in question, including numerous landscapes with figures and "bacchanals," however none are identified explicitly as by the Bamboccianti or Pieter van Laer.

8. Rosa's eyesight was beginning to fail at this stage of his career, and his decision to paint simpler compositions with fewer figures is evidenced by the paintings he produced from the mid-1660s onward.

9. Rosa could here be referring to himself or to the truth of the matter at hand. Rosa's comments in the present letter, as in other instances (for example, in letter 341, regarding the *Aethra and Theseus*), recall the well-known story recounted by Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXV, 85, concerning the encounter between Apelles and the shoemaker—a story that hinges upon the notion of the artist as the rightful expert in matters of art. When the shoemaker found fault with Apelles's rendering of a sandal, the painter corrected his mistake; when the shoemaker then proceeded to critique an element of the figure itself, Apelles told him that "a cobbler should not judge beyond the shoe" ("ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret"). I wish to thank Robert La France for drawing my attention to the resonance of Rosa's comment with Pliny's tale.

10. On the significance of the term "stravagante," and the concept of *stravaganza*, in connection with Rosa's work and his identity, see letter 50, note 11.

11. As with his usage of this term elsewhere, Rosa here intends the word "genio" to mean not only "spirit," but "individual character," "talent," "genius" and the artist's unique, self-determined prerogative. Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 165, translates the word in the present instance as "inspiration". On the variable meanings of the term "genio" in Rosa's letters, see letter 19, note 1. This entire paragraph is important as an expression of Rosa's attitude toward his professional freedom. Rosa's comments here are also meaningful in connection with the statement he makes in his well-known and oft-cited letter to Antonio Ruffo (letter 331).

12. The term "classico" is probably intended here in the sense of optimal, excellent or exemplary. See Battaglia, 3:220–221. The application of the term to the notion of "classicism," as a set of ideas and precepts associated with the ancient Greco-Roman tradition, is really an eighteenth-century innovation, meaning that any connotation on Rosa's part along these lines—associating himself perhaps with the "classicist" camp of seventeenth-century painters, represented by Nicolas Poussin and defined by its devotion to an intellectual brand of history painting—would be quite revolutionary at this point in time.

13. That is, someone who understands matters of painting; a "connoisseur". For other instances of Rosa's mockery and criticism of Ricciardi's lack of knowledge in matters of painting, see letter 104, note 5.

14. De Rinaldis 1939, 165, note 2, and Borrelli and Festa 2003, 324, note 1, identified this "Choerilus" as Choerilus of Samos (late fifth century BCE), whose sole surviving work is a poem on the Persian Wars; praised in its own time, it was believed to have been read, together with Homer's poems, at the Panathenaea in Athens. Instead, Rosa seems to be referring to another poet of the same name: Choerilus of Iasus, an ancient Greek epic poet from Iasus, in Caria, who lived in the fourth century BCE and was court poet to Alexander the Great. Horace records that Choerilus received a piece of gold for every good verse he composed in honour of Alexander's exploits: Horace, *Epistles*, ii. 1, 232; and *Ars Poetica*, 357. Alexander is himself said to have exclaimed that he would rather be the "Thersites of Homer" than the "Achilles of Choerilus".

Letter 313:

1. The word "flussione" refers to a negative change in physical health, under the influence of the humours. See letter 269, note 15.

2. On the effects of Rosa's failing eyesight, see also letter 312, note 8. On the implications of this problem for artists in general, particularly in old age, see Sohm 2007, 4–5, 8, 61–82, 92, 101–102, 139 and 164, and Sohm, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 28, who notes a relevant passage from Rosa's satire, *La Pittura*, vv. 424–438 (Romei 1995, 108): "those certain foolish painters who act like Raphaels and put on airs [… and] catching sight of old age see themselves between prison and hospital notwithstanding their vain pretences and genius." ("[…] certi pittor coglioni,/ che fanno i Raffaelli e se l'allacciano […]/ ma,

scorsi i più begli anni e giunti al senio,/ fra la prigione e lo spedal si mirano,/ non ostante il lor fumo e 'l loro ingenio.") Among the artists who depict themselves wearing eyeglasses in self-portraits are Carlo Dolci (1616–1686) (see Sohm 2007, 78, fig. 20) and Luca Giordano (1634–1705), who proudly displays eyeglasses in at least two of his many self-portraits, for which see Ferrari 2001, 310–313, cat. 103 and 104. On painters and eyeglasses, see also Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 69.

3. The expression "febbre da cavallo" means a very high or violent fever: Battaglia, 2:917.

4. Ricciardi had asked Rosa to make him a number of paintings, as well as to execute retouchings in other works, on which see letters 310, 311 and 312.

5. With his use of the verb "contenere," Rosa could be referring alternatively to his manner of governing himself in the matter at hand, or to the steps he should take in order to receive suitable payment or recompense for his efforts.

6. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 167, note 1, this is probably an allusion to the circumstances that led to Rosa's temporary separation from Lucrezia, for which see letters 314 (note 15) and 315.

Letter 314:

1. By "character" Rosa means handwriting, although the simultaneous connotation of "nature" or "spirit" is probably also intended. See letters 26 (note 8) and 147 (note 3).

2. The word "collyrium" is an old term for a lotion or liquid wash used to clean the eyes, particularly in connection with disease. On Rosa's failing eyesight, see also letters 312 and 313.

3. This is presumably a reference to the Via dei Banchi Vecchi, a road in central Rome. It would probably take at least thirty or forty minutes to "run" (or "fly," as Rosa puts it) from the Banchi Vecchi to the Trinità dei Monti.

4. Rosa also complains about this ailment in letter 313 (see note 1).

5. The "Signor Imbasciatore di Francia" is the French ambassador, Charles III de Blanchefort, Duc de Créquy (1624–1687). As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, note 1, after the incidents of autumn 1662 (see letter 284, note 2), there was an improvement in diplomatic relations between France and the papacy in Rome, sealed by an accord drawn up in Pisa in February 1664, when the Duc de Créquy took up his office again as ambassador (see Galluzzi, 4:149–164). In 1665, the Duc de Créquy extended the invitation to Rosa to work at the court of Louis XIV, which Rosa declined (see letter 315). On the Duke's possible connection to the commission of Rosa's painting of *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, see letter 370, note 7. As noted by Brejon de Lavergnée, in Naples 2008, 84–85, the Duke was an "eminent personality in the Roman art world of the mid-seventeenth century. He was the ambassador to Rome in the 1660s; his posthumous inventory (Archives nationales, Minutier central: CXIII, 135, dated 21 March 1687, for which see Courtin 2011, 220–224) lists paintings by Veronese, Titian, Tintoretto, Annibale Carracci, Lodovico ("Luigi") Carrracci, Agostino Carracci, Correggio, Nicolas Poussin, Anthony van Dyck, Guido Reni, Peter Paul Rubens, Francesco Albani, Alessandro Turchi, Guercino, Jacopo Bassano, Domenichino, Daniele da Volterra, Pietro da Cortona, and four paintings by Rosa. The paintings by Rosa—one of which may be the work mentioned by the artist in the present letter—included: "a painting representing the story of Titus, valued at four hundred *lire*, and another painting portraying a philosopher and various figures, valued at four hundred *lire*; two countryside landscapes, vertically oriented, valued at five hundred *lire*; another painting representing Justice flying up to the sky, with various figures, valued at five hundred *lire*" ("un dipinto rappresenta la favola di *Titone* stimata quattrocento lire, un altro ritrae un filosofo e svariate figure stimato a quattrocento lire; Due paesaggi campestri in altezza stimato a cinquanta lire; un altro ancora rappresentante la giustizia che s'involа nel cielo e svariate figure stimato a cinquecento lire"). The last painting, probably representing *Astrea Abandoning the Earth* (dated *c.* 1655–1660 and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) could be the one reported by Baldinucci, 5:444, as the painting of the same subject that was "sent to France" together with Rosa's *Saul and the Witch of Endor*.

6. Rosa's delight at receiving this visit stands in sharp contrast to his frequent expressions of disdain toward monarchs and their patronage of the arts.

7. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

8. "Tartaglia" (a name that means "stutterer") is one of the stock characters of the *commedia dell'arte*. Tartaglia was portrayed as farsighted (and therefore bespectacled), and is one of the older ("vecchi") characters, who often stood in for one of the lovers.

9. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 327, note 2, Cardinal Flavio Chigi was named ambassador to France on 3 April 1664.

10. The particular painting in question is not known. As suggested by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 327, note 3, it could have been by a follower of Leonardo. A "Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist as a Child" attributed to Leonardo is listed in the inventories of the Chigi family (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome; Archivio Chigi, 7388, c. 1690), described therein as "Un Quadro in Tavola di pmi 5, e 4. dentrovi la Madonna con Christo in braccio, S. Gio e due Angeli, mano di Leonardo da Vinci": Getty Provenance Index, Archival Inventory I-241. A number of possible candidates for the painting that Rosa describes appear in the Boncompagni family inventories (see the Getty Provenance Index), however none with an attribution to Leonardo. A "quadro con tre figure" attributed to Leonardo appears in the 1684 inventory of Girolamo Boncompagni: Getty Provenance Index, Archival Inventory I-1231. Pope Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni) was pope from 1572 to 1585.

11. This is Rosa's painting of *Democritus and Protagoras* (also known as *The Calling of Protagoras to Philosophy*) now in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. On the painting, see: Salerno 1975, 99–100, cat. 184; Langdon 2010a, 199–200, fig. 76; and Volpi 2014, 567, cat. 281. As Rosa's present letter indicates, the painting was presented by Flavio Chigi to Louis XIV in 1664, together with the *Heroic Battle Scene*, however it may have been executed (like the *Heroic Battle*) a few years earlier. It is not clear whether the painting was commissioned by Chigi to give as a gift to the king, as in the case of the *Heroic Battle Scene*, or whether it had already been executed by Rosa for another purpose. The subject is a particularly obscure episode from the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius (5. III), and Rosa's painting—as noted by Langdon 2010a, 199—seems to have been especially admired by Daniello Bartoli, who began his treatise *La Tensione e la Pressione disputanti qual di loro sostenga l'argento vivo ne' cannelli doppo fattone il vuoto* (Bologna, 1677, 5) (presented to the king of France by Flavio Chigi in 1664, along with the painting by Leonardo) with a description of a painting of this subject, not naming its author outright, but presumably referring to the work by Rosa. Bartoli's description of the painting, notes Langdon 2011, 5–6, "makes it clear

that it was read as a celebration of empirical science, a science rooted, like that of Galileo, in the sensible world." Here, Bartoli "tells the story of Democritus inviting Protagoras to be his follower. This, he concludes, is the history of that action, and draws this meaning from it; 'Here I have shown to you what Nature is, and what it means to be a natural philosopher'." As noted by Volpi 2014, 567, Bartoli's apparent reference to Rosa's painting indicates the profound tie between Rosa's works and contemporary scientific research being conducted in Florence, by Evangelista Torricelli and Galileo's followers (for example the experiments with mercury carried out by Torricelli, to which the title of Bartoli's treatise likely refers), and in Rome, by Bartoli's Jesuit colleague, Athanasius Kircher. On Bartoli's ekphrasis on Rosa's *Democritus and Protagoras*, see also Conte 2010b, 63. The painting was not known by De Rinaldis in 1939, who considered the possibility that Rosa had never even painted it. Rosa's reference to Aulus Gellius signals his desire to create pictorial *istorie* that adhere to literary and historical accounts. On this aspect of Rosa's practice, see the letters cited in letter 281, note 6.

12. This is presumably the *Heroic Battle Scene* that Rosa had painted in 1652 for Neri Corsini, on which see letter 143, note 3. By "the same purpose" Rosa means that the painting was taken to be given (as was previously intended) to the king of France. The *Journal* of Olivier Lefevre d'Ormesson (1616–1686) records that Rosa's painting was given to Louis XIV by Cardinal Flavio Chigi at Fontainebleau on 3 August 1664: Loire 2006, 322 and 324, note 5. As noted by Conte 2014, 307, Neri Corsini was back in Italy at this moment and, ruling out the personal intervention of Rosa, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the expensive diplomatic gift was taken over by Fabio Chigi or another of his relatives. Nine years after being elected as Pope Alexander VII, Fabio Chigi had intended Rosa's painting for the same purpose as had Corsini, the unfortunate predecessor of Chigi's nephew, Flavio, as ambassador to France. On this particular occasion, at least one of the paintings that Flavio brought as gifts for Louis XIV had not been painted expressly for the king. This can probably be explained by the events that led to Chigi's departure, having been called to court to offer the formal excuses of his uncle, following the break with France after the incidents that occurred in Rome in August 1662, in connection with the Duc de Créquy (on which see letter 284, note 2). France's violent reaction induced the pope to withdraw, restrained to various gestures of reparation.

13. A battle scene by the painter Jacques Courtois (Il Borgognone) (1621–1676), who specialized in battle painting. Courtois's picture has been identified as the *Alexander the Great Defeating Darius at the Battle of Gaugamela (Arbela) in 331 BCE* (now Chateaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles). On the presentation in 1664 of both Rosa's and Courtois's paintings to Louis XIV, see Bajou 1998, 70–71, where the painting by Courtois is attributed to Jacques Courtois's younger brother, Guillaume Courtois (1628–1679). On Jacques Courtois and Rosa, see further Lallemand-Buyssens 2010. On Courtois as a battle painter, see: Ozzola 1951; Holt 1969; Rudolph 1972; De Sarno Prignano 2002; Lallemand-Buyssens 2007; and Lallemand-Buyssens 2013. Conte 2014, 307, considers the identity of the painting by Courtois to which Rosa here refers to be unknown, but suggests that it could well have been intended as a pendant to the *Heroic Battle Scene* that Rosa painted for Louis XIV in 1652.

14. On Pulcinella, a stock character of the *commedia dell'arte*—and one that inspired the roles that Rosa adopted in his own comedic performances—see letter 153, note 20. Rosa also uses this refrain in letters 86, 251 and 391.

15. These "misfortunes," which Rosa does not wish to disclose in writing, probably relate to the circumstances that led to his temporary separation from Lucrezia at this moment. See also letters 313 and 315.

16. Rosa had invested some money with his friend, the banker Carlo de' Rossi, on whom see letter 207, note 5. De Rinaldis 1939, 168, note 3, intuited that De' Rossi had arranged for the painter to receive a fixed monthly return in exchange for paintings. However, as is apparent from Rosa's comments in letter 339, Rosa had instead invested money with De' Rossi in expectation of a return (see letter 339, note 13). On Rosa and De' Rossi, see further Volpi 1998. On the various forms of investments undertaken by painters in seventeenth-century Rome, together with other forms of income (including rental and ownership of land and properties, collecting, art dealing and appraisal, restoration, teaching—only among the highest ranking masters—and the designing of household items and furnishings), see Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 110–112, who notes that "[g]enerally they were safe investments, more so than the unfortunate Giovanni Ghisolfi's." (Rosa expressed sympathy toward Ghisolfi for his loss of 600 *scudi* in savings when his bank in Milan collapsed: see letter 228.) For interesting considerations in regard to artists' properties in Bologna, see Marshall, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 155–157. On artists' property-ownership and investments in the seventeenth century more generally, see also Ago, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 267–268.

17. Cosimo Fabretti and his wife Caterina, who was also Ricciardi's sister. On Cosimo, see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 315:

1. On the basis of Rosa's comments here, and in the letters that follow, it has been speculated that he and Lucrezia were required by a ruling (perhaps the "precetto" to which Rosa here refers) of the papal authorities to separate from one another, on account of their illegal relationship—Lucrezia was still married to another man whose whereabouts were unknown (see letter 193, note 3, and letters 208 and 209). Alternatively, the term "precetto" could simply refer to the "agreement" on Rosa's and Lucrezia's own part to separate. Their separation seems to have lasted for almost two years (if at intervals), and coincided with (and only seems to have exacerbated) a period of physical illness for them both. See further on this matter letter 336, note 5.

2. On Rosa's concern for the security of his letters, and the secrecy of their contents, see letter 33, note 7. The letter in question, which may have mentioned Rosa's precarious situation with Lucrezia in Rome, does not seem to have survived, and perhaps could have been destroyed (if it was ever received).

3. Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

4. By "Thebaid" Rosa could be referring in general to a hermitage, or in particular to one of his friend's villa retreats, such as Monterufoli, which he described with this term in letter 32.

5. A "secca" is, literally, the sandbar or shoal along the edge of a river or body of water; figuratively, the term refers to a difficulty, impediment, or a dried-up arid place. The expression "lasciare qualcuno nelle secche di Barberia" means to suddenly abandon something, particularly in a moment of difficulty: Battaglia, 18:387–388. Here, Rosa seems to construct an analogy between the pen abandoned in its pot and the squid (which produces ink), dried up on the sandbar.

6. The verb "trabalzarsi" means to move back and forth abruptly or suddenly between two different places, or to jostle about in different directions; figuratively, to take one's chances, or to be confused or in a state of disruption or chaos. The term can also mean to throw far away, to alter a situation, to conceal or hide, to carry away or abduct, or to move from one state of mind or condition into another. See Battaglia, 21:100.

7. Rosa's letters from this point onward are filled with complaints to Ricciardi about his apparent unwillingness to write a response. Rosa becomes increasingly exasperated by his friend's silence. See for example letters 351 and 353.

8. Charles III de Blanchefort, Duc de Créquy, on whom see letter 284 (note 2) and letter 314 (note 5). Patty 2005, 7, argues that the invitation was more likely to have come from Cardinal Neri Corsini, who had purchased (or perhaps directly commissioned) the *Heroic Battle Scene* from Rosa as a gift for Louis XIV in 1652, on which see letters 143, 144, 148, 149, 150 and 151.

9. Here, Rosa is perhaps referring to his illness as a reason for turning down the ambassador's invitation.

10. A reference to the topos of the "secolo d'oro," or the Golden Age, frequently invoked in reference to the reigns of various rulers during the *ancien régime*.

11. Rosa's comment here is significant in connection with his more general attitude toward the professional freedom of artists. For Rosa's earlier refusals of invitations from various other heads of state, see letter 45, note 5. As noted by Conte 2014, 376, if Rosa had accepted the invitation, he would perhaps have been working alongside Gian Lorenzo Bernini, whose stay in Paris began 2 June 1665 and ended five months later: Bernini had been invited to Paris to execute designs for the reconstruction of the Louvre Palace, but also on that occasion sculpted the portrait bust of Louis XIV (on which see: Chantelou; Wittkower 1951; Warwick 2012; and Delbeke 2015).

12. This is probably the same case in which Ricciardi had sent Rosa paintings for retouching, and some designs for paintings he wanted to commission from Rosa, for which see letter 311.

13. The "nuncio" in question is presumably Stefano Brancaccio (1619–1682), nephew of Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio, the latter of whom had close ties to Rosa's friend Girolamo Mercuri (see letter 23, note 2). Stefano pursued an ecclesiastical career under the tutelage of his uncle, through the aegis of whom he gained numerous successive positions as governor of various cities, including Cesena, Spoleto, Camerino, Iesi and Perugia. In 1660, he was made archbishop of Adrianopoli, and on 6 June of the same year, was granted the position of apostolic nuncio to Florence, where he lived until 1666, subsequently taking up the post of nuncio to Venice. On Stefano Brancaccio, see Lutz, in *DBI* 13 (1971):799–800.

14. On Carlo De' Rossi, see letter 207, note 5.

15. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5.

Letter 316:

1. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 317:

1. On Rosa's Florentine friend Giulio Martinelli, see letter 26, note 11. Rosa mentions this same letter of "a page and a half" in letter 315, which perhaps dealt with the matter concerning his and Lucrezia's separation—content that may explain its loss (and perhaps destruction by the recipient, if it was ever received).

2. The word "cacatoio" is an old term for a toilet: Battaglia, 2:475.

3. The expression "darci nelle girelle" means to revel, rage or become delirious. See the definition in the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, 4th edition (1729–1738), 2:616 ("Dar nelle girelle, vale Impazzare; modo basso. Lat. insanire, delirare.")

4. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

5. A reference to the tribulations of Orlando, the troubled protagonist of Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532). See also letters 261 and 396.

6. Charles III de Blanchefort, Duc de Créquy, on whom see letter 284 (note 2) and letter 314 (note 5). In letter 315, Rosa mentions the Duke's efforts to convince him to come and work at the court of Louis XIV.

Letter 318:

1. See Rosa's comments about this letter in letters 315 and 317.

2. The expression "dare in escandescenze" means to fly into a rage, fly off the handle, or blow one's top. Rosa here writes "scandescenze" for "escandescenze," meaning outbursts of rage.

3. A reference to the painter Pier Francesco Mola (1612–1666), from Colderio, who gained particular success as a fresco painter and portraitist. Mola spent the majority of his life and career in Rome. On Mola and his artistic and professional affinities with Rosa—particularly their shared interest in caricature and a mutual association with Niccolò Simonelli—see: Kahn-Rossi 1989; Spezzaferro 1989; and Volpi 2010b, 63–65. Mola and Rosa both depended heavily upon the art market, via Simonelli, and shared many of the same prominent patrons, including Nicolò Sagredo, Luigi Alessandro Omodei, Giovanni Battista Costaguti, and the singer Bonaventura Argenti. They also shared literary and theatrical interests, and mutual friends such as the librettists Francesco Melosi and Sebastiano Baldini. Volpi 2014, 253–255, notes that Mola's contact with Rosa's Neapolitan style (as well as that of Mattia Preti) seems to have inspired some of his own paintings, such as the *Sleeping Turk* (*Allegory of the Phlegmatic Temperament*) (*c.* 1650, Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice). Rosa's *Democritus* and *Diogenes*, Volpi suggests, inspired Mola to adopt a tenebristic style in the 1650s. Rosa, in turn, was influenced at that moment by Mola's own mythological landscapes, characterized by bucolic and sensual qualities. See also Volpi, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 62, note 55, who notes that Rosa's close contact with Mola must have re-emerged again in the 1650s, or during the period of the Pamphilj pontificate, when the two artists seem to be watching each other with great interest and sharing friendships with people like Simonelli as well as patrons. Mola may also have collaborated directly with Rosa, as is suggested by a comment in Augusto Rosa's correspondence with Ricciardi and a record in the inventory of Girolamo Mercuri's art collection (see letter 250, note 6). On Mola, see further: Cocke 1972; Briganti 1989; Tantillo Mignosi 1989; Davis 1991; Petrucci 2005; and Petrucci 2012. Conte 2014, 382 and 395, notes the significance of Rosa's comment on Mola in the present letter, in connection with the chronology of the altarpiece representing *Saint John the Baptist* that Mola and Gaspard Dughet jointly executed for the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, Milan: the painting must

precede the date of the present letter, as Rosa here reports on Mola's illness and his difficulties in working. On the painting, see the elogium written by Carlo Torre in his guidebook to Milan (*Il ritratto di Milano*, 1674, 103; the first edition of which was completed by 15 November 1672), which offers a *terminus ante quem* for the painting's placement in the church. On the paintings that Rosa executed for this church (perhaps purchased by Cardinal Omodei along with Mola's and Dughet's *Saint John*)—the *Assumption* and *Saint Paul the Hermit*—see letter 146, note 7. On the significance of Rosa's comment concerning Mola in the present letter, see also Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 2014, 123, who notes that Mola's illness, perceived as the reason for the breakdown of his career, is a leitmotif of the artist's later years.

4. Hypoplasia (or *ipoplasia*, in Italian) refers to the underdevelopment or incomplete development of a tissue or organ, and encompasses a wide variety of specific medical conditions. See Battaglia, 8:510. On Mola's illness and death, which took place on 13 May the following year, see Passeri, 372, who also noted the limitations that the painter's final illness imposed on his work, forcing him to rely increasingly on studio assistants and copyists. See further in this regard Briganti 1989, 26.

5. Bernardino della Penna, the art collector and teacher of law, and brother of Ascanio della Penna, on whom see letter 46, note 28. On Bernardino and Ascanio, see also Paliaga 2009, 86, 93–96, 123, 130–134, 146, 151, 158–159 and 166, and Volpi and Paliaga 2012, esp. 24–28, 51–53 and 75–83, docs. 5–11.

6. On the recent matter concerning Francesco Cordini, which seems to have involved a lawsuit of some kind, see letter 293.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 319:

1. The expression "andare in precipizio" means to fall or drop vertically; figuratively, it means to fall violently or into ruin, to be destroyed, to get lost, or to sink or be swallowed up: Battaglia, 14:56.

2. With the phrase "interesse di pegni" Rosa appears to be referring to "interests" or money made on loans or pawns. The term "pegno" has various definitions (including pawn, lien, security or collateral), however here it seems most likely to refer to a contract or guarantee, drawn up between two parties (usually a creditor and debtor) in agreement over a certain matter, such as the right of possession. See Battaglia, 12:941.

3. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

4. See Rosa's earlier comments in this regard in letters 313 and 314.

5. A "Signor Prini" is mentioned by Paolo Minucci in a letter to Ricciardi dated 14 October 1662, for which see Limentani 1950, 172, note 2. Minucci writes: "I've written to Signor Cosimo [Fabretti] to tell him I've paid the *doble* 9. 5. 5. 4. to Signor Alessandro Pelli, as he asked me to do, and that he [Pelli] will be paid the *doble* through Signor Prini; I don't know if he's received the letter, in which case I ask you to kindly let him know, as well as to thank him for the tobacco." ("Scrissi al Signor Cosimo, che avevo pagato le doble 9. 5. 5. 4. al Signor Alessandro Pelli come mi commando, e però che se le facesse pagare a cotesto signor Prinj; non so se habbia havuto la lettera, che in ogni caso la prego a farglielo sapere, sì come a ringraziarlo del tabacco.") For various members of the Angeli family of Pisa, including Niccolò Angeli da Barga (1607–1668) (who may be the "Signor Angeli" Rosa mentions in letter 231, and who was a member of the Pisan Accademia degli Stravaganti), see Paliaga 2009, 72, 86, 93, 127, 131, 142 and 165–166; for members of the Prini family of Pisa, see Paliaga 2009, 53, 54 and 98. On Niccolò Angeli da Barga, see also Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 24.

6. Rosa is here citing from his satire, *La Guerra*, v. 366 (Romei 1995, 131): "Io il testo dissi, or fate voi la glosa," requiring his reader in this instance—as he does Ricciardi in the present letter—to "comment on it" ("fate voi la glosa"). Rosa's construction can also be interpreted as "I'll tell you the story, and you can tell me what its moral is".

7. A reference to Rosa's Tuscan friends among the members of the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6. As noted by Paliaga 2009, 152, Rosa's comments here offer further evidence of his involvement in discussions with his Pisan friends, held at Ricciardi's house, on the subjects of drawing and painting. On this topic, and on the lesson Rosa gave to his Pisan colleagues on Ribera's painting technique, see Hoare 2018, 91. See also Rosa's comments to this effect (sending his greetings to the "virtuosa conversazione di cotesti signori studiosi dell'arte del disegno" and "cotesti signori accademici della pittura") in letters 320 and 321. With the term "conversazione" Rosa could also mean, more simply, "conversation".

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 333, note 2, this is a reference to the *Poesie* of Giovan Battista Teodoro, published in Naples by Novello di Bonis in 1661.

9. Giovanni Battista da Scorno, on whom see letter 57, note 5. Rosa reported in letter 308, that Scorno owned property near "Albano," presumably Albano Laziale.

10. On Francesco Melosi's lucrative position as governor, see letter 301, note 8.

11. With his reference to "historical" and "poetic" flatteries, it appears that Rosa here intends the term "nemesi" ("Nemesis") in the sense of the rhetorical concept of *Nemesi storica*. The concept, which borrows the name of the Greek goddess of revenge ("Nemesis")—the spirit of divine retribution against those who transgress natural laws—refers to "poetic justice," or the phenomenon in which a series of historical events, considered to be negative, concludes with unexpected compensatory results, Fate dolling out vengeance on behalf of those who have suffered a misconduct. See Battaglia, 11:338. The conceit in regard to Melosi is that he has failed to spur Nemesis to avenge his good name, even in his new government position; his new position has failed to imrove the poor reputation Melosi had as a poet. In English, the word "name" permits an application of the sentiment alternatively to Melosi's role as poet or governor. By contrasting "historical" and "poetic" flatteries, Rosa perhaps intends that Melosi has been flattered more in regard to his "historical" role (his government position) than his "poetic" one (his activities as a poet).

12. On the "General Chapter" of a religious order, see letter 102, note 5. Rosa mentioned another General Chapter—that of San Pietro in Montorio, Rome—in a much earlier letter of May 1651 (letter 102), however there is no clear indication as to which religious order or institution this "padre Pierozzi" belongs, nor to which one Rosa is referring in the present letter.

13. On the lawsuit that Marcantonio Cesti had brought against this Father Perozzi (also "Pierozzi"), see letter 299. On Perozzi, see also letter 230, note 1.

14. On Cosimo Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13. On Francesco Cordini, see letter 21, note 2.

15. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

16. De Rinaldis 1939, 175, note 3, considered this to signal that Rosa's temporary separation from Lucrezia and Augusto, which began in February 1665 (see letter 315, note 1) had come to an end. Their time apart, however, seems to have gone on for significantly longer (see letter 336, note 5).

Letter 320:

1. Here, Rosa seems to mean that the explanation is so far from the Gospel (that is, common knowledge, or truth) that he cannot grasp or understand it. On the figurative meaning of the term "vangelo" as irrefutable affirmation, honesty or absolute truth, see Battaglia, 21:656.

2. The identity of this individual is not known.

3. The "sopraccarta," which can consist of either an entire sheet or only a small band of paper, pasted or sealed, is the "envelope" into which a letter is inserted and onto which the address and recipient's name are written: Battaglia, 19:431. This precursor to the modern envelope was also termed a "sopraccoperta," or "sopracoperta": Battaglia, 19:434. This was the outer sheet within which one or more letters were gathered, and upon which the address of the recipient was written and the seal of the sender placed. This page can also be referred to as a *piego* (the old form of *plico*), alternatively understood as the "envelope" or the set of pages of correspondence themselves, folded together and wrapped up in the covering page (*sopracoperta*) and attached with a seal: Battaglia, 13:400. For "plico" as a set of pages refolded or rolled, with or without a cover, and tied or sealed in order to be mailed or conserved in an archive, see Battaglia, 13:671. As noted by Hammond 1988, 73–74, seventeenth-century letters were "written on one or more sheets of paper folded double, usually covered in consecutive order. They were then folded and sealed with the writer's seal (red sealing wax or a wafer) and addressed on the outside. When received, they could be filed by being pierced with a pin and strung together or tied up. Files of letters were known as *filze*, larger bunches as *mazze*."

4. With the phrase "l'ho dove voi sapete" Rosa presumably intends "l'ho in culo," meaning "I'm screwed."

5. The line here that reads "vorrei che avesse a leggere delle belle novelette," difficult to translate directly into English, is comparable to the Italian phrase "gli farei vedere io," or "I'll make him see," as in "I'll punish him". The phrase "belle novellette" can here be interpreted as "good news". Rosa intends this ironically—that is, the "good" news that Rosa will deliver to the thief about his impending punishment (or, perhaps, the "fine stories" he will write on the subject and force the thief to read).

6. By "mia polve" (literally "my dust" or "my remains") Rosa means his ultimate corporeal fate.

7. On the meaning of the term "muino," see letter 220, note 5 (for "ammoinare").

8. Rosa makes a similar analogy in letter 217, where he refers to the need for a "petto di bronzo" in order to deflect fortune's vicissitudes, and his enemies' attacks. See also Rosa's comment in letter 196.

9. On Lucrezia's recent ailments, see also letters 314 and 325. Hults 2010, 32, considered that Lucrezia's hair loss might have been due to "hormonal changes, high fever, anemia from pregnancy or prolonged menstrual bleeding, or stress, which the separation [from Rosa] surely generated."

10. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 335, note 1, this line is taken from sonnet CLXX of Petrarch's *Più volte già del bel sembiante humano*, v. 14: "chi po dir com' egli arde, è in picciol foco" ("he who utters while he burns is only in slight fire").

11. The "Gloria Patri" ("Glory Be," or "Glory Be to the Father") is a doxology, a short hymn of praise to God delivered in various Christian liturgies.

12. Rosa's use here of the term "umano" ("human") seems to be intended as a point of contrast with his earlier comment about himself as a "wild man" ("imbestialito," in the sense of "unsociable").

13. Rosa's reference here to the "virtuous group of those learned gentlemen of the art of drawing" and their "entertainments" or diversions is probably in connection with the discussions of drawing and painting that Rosa also participated in during many of his sojourns in Pisa, at Ricciardi's house. See also letter 319, note 7, and Hoare 2018, 91–92.

14. A possible reference to the death of the singer Anna Maria Sardelli, with whom Marcantonio Cesti had a relationship. See letter 60, note 9.

Letter 321:

1. See Rosa's comments in letters 319 and 320, regarding his plans to send future letters via Cosimo Fabretti. On Fabretti, see letter 70, note 20.

2. A "tugurio" is a hovel. See letter 48, note 4. By "new hovel," Rosa likely means the new villa property that Ricciardi was building, on which see letter 262 (note 5) and letter 269 (note 14). Rosa refers to this new construction again in letters 322, 323 and 325.

3. Rosa's reference here to "those academic gentlemen of painting" is probably in connection with the discussions of drawing and painting in which Rosa also participated during many of his sojourns in Pisa, at Ricciardi's house. See letters 319 (note 7) and 320 (note 13).

4. On Francesco Cordini's recent troubles, see letter 293.

5. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

6. The sentiment here, difficult to translate directly into English, is more like "catapult". For the various meanings of the verb "trabalzarsi," see letter 315, note 6.

7. See also letter 335, where Rosa affirms in June 1666 that Marcantonio Cesti—who had set Giovanni Filippo Apolloni's dramas to music—had been in Austria, in the employ of the Archduke Ferdinand Karl, where he had moved (as indicated in the present letter) at the end of August 1665.

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 336, note 1, this is a reference to the abbot Antonio Malagonelli Amadori (also Antonio Amadori Malagonelli) (1646–1709), a poet who is listed among the members of the Accademia degli Umoristi. See Maylender 1926–1930, 5:380. Malagonelli appears in Moroni 1840–1861, 55–56 [1852]:147: "Per opera di Clemente IX fu scelto pel primo al godimento della prelatura Amadori, Antonio Malagonelli Amadori che recitò quelle due orazioni […] e stampate in Roma, la primo nel 1669, la secondo nel 1676 e sta ancora nelle sue *Oraziones*, Romae 1695. Egli morì a 9 settembre 1709 di anni 63." Malagonelli's oration of 1669 was delivered in honour of Pope Clement IX on the occasion of his death. One of the foremost Latinists of his time, Malagonelli was also the author of an *Orazione latina del secolo*

XVII pronunciata al cospetto di Cristina di Svezia, a nome della Repubblica di S. Marino, Tradotta ed annotata da Pietro Franciosi (published in 1895 by P. Angeli, San Marino), written for the occasion of Queen Christina of Sweden's confirmation at Saint Peter's in Rome and recited by Malagonelli in the presence of Pope Alexander VII. As he indicates in his oration, Malagonelli was made a Patrician of the Republic of San Marino (Patrizio Sammarinese). Pietro Franciosi, citing from Eugenio Gamurrini's *Istoria Genealogica delle famigile nobili Toscane ed Umbre*, reports in his biography of Malagonelli: "Our Republic [of San Marino] did well in its choice of its legate-orator for such a ceremony. It is true that an entire committee of [the Republic of] San Marino commissioned homages and gifts for the great Queen [Christina of Sweden], but the most important assignment was entrusted to Malagonelli, as the one who—at that time—enjoyed the greatest reputation in letters" ("La nostra Repubblica non s'appigliò a mal partito nella scelta del suo legato-oratore in tanta cerimonia. Incaricò, è vero, una intera commissione di sammarinesi per portare gli omaggi e gli auguri alla grande Regina, ma il compito principale lo affidò al Malagonelli, come a colui che godeva, in quel tempo, la maggior riputazione nelle lettere"). Franciosi closely examines Malagonelli's orations, which were published in three editions—in 1688 (Naples), 1694 (Venice) and 1695 (Rome). See Montalbo et al. 1898, 153–154.

9. Rosa could here intend the term "sbarbato" in one of a number of different ways. In the literal sense, it means "clean-shaven," which could be applicable in reference to Malagonelli's status as an abbot. In a figurative sense, the term can also mean young, inexperienced and naïve, or affected, simpering and lacking vigour: Battaglia, 17:646.

10. Cosimo Fabretti. See note 1, above.

Letter 322:

1. This is presumably a reference to the new villa that Ricciardi was building. See also letters 262, 269 (note 14), 321, 323 and 325.

2. Rosa is here constructing a pun on the words "capo," meaning head, and "capitale," meaning fortune or monetary assets, which is difficult to replicate in English.

Letter 323:

1. Rosa's handwriting here is more delicate in nature, and is in keeping with the generally weaker quality of his handwriting in these later years, perhaps a sign of his increasing physical ailments and failing eyesight, the latter of which Rosa again laments in letter 325.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. In regard to Rosa's decision to send letters via Cordini, see also his comments in letters 320 and 321.

3. A "tugurio" is a hovel. Ricciardi was apparently undertaking a new villa construction project, on which see also letters 262, 269 (note 14), 321, 322 and 325.

4. The year is difficult to discern with certainty in the ms., but appears to be "1665". The content of the letter—in particular Rosa's reference to having written four letters to Ricciardi, and his mention of Ricciardi's new construction project—strongly suggests 1665 as the correct year (see letter 324, where Rosa says he is writing his "fifth" letter to Ricciardi), rather than the year of 1661 (recorded by the Morgan Library and Museum).

Letter 324:

No notes.

Letter 325:

1. Ricciardi appears to have been engaged in a new villa construction project. See also letters 262, 269 (note 14), 321, 322 and 323.

2. A "palmo" is a unit of measurement that varied throughout Italy, with approximate equivalencies to a range of between 22 and 30 cm. See letter 43, note 2.

3. The term "spensierataggine" means absence of thought, but can also refer to leisure, as in "a lack of preoccupations". See Battaglia, 19:812–813.

4. See letter 314 (and note 16), where Rosa mentions that Carlo de' Rossi had arranged for him to receive a fixed return of twenty *scudi* a month on an investment. See also letter 326.

5. As argued by Conte 2007, 197, the "half-eye" that Rosa mentions here is probably in reference to the most basic element of drawing, the eye, rather than a figure represented in three-quarter or profile view, or some other technical device (for which see Battaglia, 11:769). Augusto was a young apprentice, and—as Conte points out—artists frequently learn to draw by starting with a representation of their own eyes. On Augusto's eventual career as a copyist of Rosa's works, and a painter in his own right, see the sources cited in letter 250, note 6.

6. See Rosa's earlier comments regarding Lucrezia's ailments, in letters 314 and 320.

7. The French painter Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), who spent the majority of his career in Rome, on which see the essays in Bonfait et al. 1996. Poussin died on 18 November 1665, and was buried in San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome. He first lived on the Via del Babuino, and then moved to a house atop the Trinità dei Monti, on the Via Gregoriana, not far from Rosa. On Poussin's residences in Rome, see Sparti 1996, and Bartoni 2012, 71. The nature and extent of Rosa's friendship with Poussin remains a matter of speculation. In his extant letters, Rosa only mentions Poussin on this one occasion, in reference to his ailing health. The idea of a "friendship" between Rosa and Poussin was first suggested by the Earl of Shaftesbury (Anthony Ashley Cooper; 1671–1713), in his *Second Characters; or, the Language of Forms* (written in 1712, published in 1914), in which he described the two artists as "honest moral men" who came to be good friends in Rome: Sunderland 1973, 789, citing Shaftesbury, 15. A friendship between the two artists has also been proposed on the basis of their proximity as neighbours in the vicinity of the Trinità dei Monti, an area of Rome occupied by a larger community of foreign artists. The two men also had a number of close friends in common, including Carlo Dati, the connoisseur Abbè Nicaise (who was also a friend of Gian Pietro Bellori), and Niccolò Simonelli: Volpi, in Naples 2008, 45 and note 80. See also Manwaring 1965, 35, and Sunderland 1973, 787. Volpi, in Langdon 2010a, 202, suggested that Rosa "was surely brought into the artistic sphere of Poussin in his maturity and of Cassiano dal Pozzo, once he had arrived in Rome, by their common friend Carlo Dati". In his *Journal des voyages*, published 1665–1666, the French traveller, diplomat

and physicist Balthasar de Monconys (1611–1665) declared that he had met Poussin and Claude Lorrain through Niccolò Simonelli, a close friend of Rosa: Monconys, 457–458. Volpi 2014, 310–311, suggests that an encounter between the two artists took place during Rosa's first Roman period, *c.* 1635–1637, or perhaps even earlier, during the period of Rosa's involvement in the commission for the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid (on which see letter 144, note 10). After returning to Rome in 1649, Rosa could have resumed his association with Poussin once more. Thanks to the visits paid to Rosa's house by the cardinals Sacchetti and Omodei, and to his friendship with Simonelli, Rosa may have been exposed to Poussin's history paintings and landscapes. A drawing of four heads attributed to Rosa (*c.* 1638–1640, private collection) bears an inscription on its verso (considered to be written in Rosa's own hand) that reads: "C' . . . Se pure queste Monsù Pusin/ Mi favorisca farli vedere questa testa d'arte"; see Farina 2015, 242–245, cat. 27, who notes in regard to the inscription that Rosa perhaps wanted to show Poussin his work, via an unnamed mediator.

8. Giulio Martinelli, on whom see letter 26, note 11.

9. With the term "impiagate" Rosa might intend injured, damaged or wounded; the word is also used to refer to a state of disfigurement on account of ulcers or bedsores: Battaglia, 7:464.

10. Rosa repeated the word "cinque" in the ms., probably in error, intending only "75 anni".

Letter 326:

1. This is presumably one of the paintings that Ricciardi had sent to Rosa for retouching, most likely the same "small painting" mentioned in letter 311. The "rest" are likely the other paintings mentioned in letter 311, which Ricciardi had commissioned from Rosa himself.

2. On Girolamo Signoretti, see letter 16, note 6.

3. By "Salvatore" Rosa means to refer to Christ as Saviour, however the additional association with his own name was probably also intended. For other such instances, see letter 155, note 6.

4. With the word "cornutiata" Rosa presumably intends a variation on "cornuto," or the sign of the horns, an offensive hand gesture implying cuckoldry, employed with either an injurious or scolding intent. See Battaglia, 3:793.

5. With the word "indulgenza"—a papal indulgence or "pardon," granted in forgiveness of sins—Rosa presumably intends to further elaborate his protracted metaphor of religious accusation and pardon.

6. Paliaga 2009, 170, note 66, suggested that Rosa was here referring to Agostino Agostini, a relative of Francesco Agostini, himself an exponent of the Pisan literary circle close to Ricciardi and Rosa. Cosimo Brunetti sent greetings to "Agostini" (probably Francesco Agostini) in a letter to Ricciardi (presumably in Pisa) of 1651, for which see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 98, doc. 35.

7. On Rosa's investment with Carlo de' Rossi, see letter 314 (note 16) and letter 339.

Letter 327:

1. That is, presumably, the boxes containing some of the paintings mentioned in letter 311. See also letter 326.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. For Rosa's recent decision to send his mail via Fabretti, see letters 319 and 320.

3. On the meaning of the term "franca" in reference to postage, see letter 56, note 6.

4. That is, "Giovan Battista" Ricciardi, here aligned with his namesake Saint John the Baptist, has become the doubting Saint Thomas.

5. As noted by Langdon, in Naples 2008, 140–141 (see also Langdon 2010a, 212–213), Rosa had executed a monochrome version of the *Death of Empedocles* (Galleria Palatina di Palazzo Pitti, Florence), drawn on a panel from a packing case, perhaps intending it as a preparatory study for a painting now in a private collection (Eastnor Castle), datable to *c.* 1665–1670 on stylistic bases and the circumstantial evidence offered by the present letter. The version in the Palazzo Pitti bears an inscription on its verso: "Al Sig. Salvatore Rosa. Al Sig. Cosimo Fabretti fiorentino. Pisa/ franca". As we know that Rosa had begun forwarding his letters to Ricciardi in the care of Cosimo Fabretti from at least 1665 (see letter 319), this suggests a possible date for both the monochrome in the Palazzo Pitti and the Eastnor Castle painting. Langdon suggests that the "una sola tela dipinta" to which Rosa here refers may be the painting now at Eastnor. On the panel in the Palazzo Pitti, which belonged to Ricciardi, see also Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 35.

Letter 328:

1. On the "laws of friendship," frequently invoked by Rosa in his letters, see letter 29, note 8.

2. On the urban transformations of the city of Rome in these years under Pope Alexander VII, which included the creation of new thoroughfares and the enlargement and embellishment of various *piazze*, see: Krautheimer 1985; Habel 2002; and Habel 2013.

3. As noted by Limentani 1972, 272, note 3, this is probably a reference to Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1596–1666), the brother of Cosimo II, who was at the time of his death Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals.

4. The day is missing in the ms. As noted by Limentani 1972, 272, the letter probably dates to the beginning of the month. The "lettera fulminatoria" that Rosa was waiting for must have concerned certain paintings that had perhaps not entirely corresponded to the ones Ricciardi had requested (see letters 311 and 327). In two letters of 13 February and 6 March (letters 329 and 330) Rosa expressed his condolences to Ricciardi for the loss of his sister, Caterina, which suggests that the present letter must precede these.

Letter 329:

1. Rosa had apparently heard news of the death of Caterina Fabretti (*c.* 1625–1666), sister of Ricciardi and wife of Cosimo Fabretti. See also De Rinaldis 1939, 183, note 1.

2. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

3. On the connection between friendship and consolation, see Hoare 2018, 219–221.

Letter 330:

1. On the topos of the friend as a "second self," see letter 50, note 1. The afflictions to which Rosa here refers presumably concern the recent death of Ricciardi's sister, Caterina. See also letter 329.

2. Rosa here cites vv. 2–3 of Ricciardi's *canzone* known as the *Sotto rigida stella*, which he dedicated to Rosa and probably wrote on the occasion of Rosa's own significant experience of loss during the summer of 1656. Rosa cites the same passage in letters 250 and 262.

3. On Rosa's attitude of disdain toward the Carnival season and its comedies, see letter 9, note 2.

4. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 331:

1. Giuseppe de Rosis, on whom see letter 298, notes 1 and 2.

2. This passage is often cited in evidence of Rosa's attitude toward his profession and the autonomous agency of the artist. See Hoare 2018, 25, 29, 121, 127, 237, 238, 240 and 287. For the suggestion that Rosa's comment can also be related to the physical illness he was suffering at this moment, aimed toward deflecting his patron's expectations, and that it can be interpreted in this regard as part of a careful self-marketing strategy, see Hoare 2018, 156. For a similar statement by Rosa, in regard to his "extravagant spirit" as his sole guide in the production of paintings, and in connection with his conviction about the artist's self-guided agency and prerogative in matters of painting more generally, see also letter 312 (and notes 10 and 11). On the paintings that Antonio Ruffo acquired from Rosa, see letter 298, note 1. Letter 298 is the only other extant letter by Rosa addressed to Ruffo.

Letter 332:

1. That is, "go missing," as Rosa feared a number of his letters had recently done. See for instance Rosa's comments in letters 315, 317, 319, 320 and 325.

Letter 333:

No notes.

Letter 334:

1. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. On Rosa's recent decision to communicate with Ricciardi via Fabretti, see letters 319 and 320.

2. With the phrase "non siete morto per me" Rosa intends "you're still alive for me", in the sense of "you still care about me".

3. See also Rosa's earlier comments in this regard, in letters 313, 314 and 319.

Letter 335:

1. A "pancaccia" is a rough-hewn wooden bench, particularly the sort found in public spaces or shops, historically reserved as a place for men to talk or gossip. The term usually has a pejorative connotation suggesting idlers, layabouts or gossips. See Battaglia, 12:455. Rosa seems to be responding to yet another (erroneous, in his opinion) presumption on the part of his detractors concerning his professional intentions and consequent "fortune".

2. There were apparently rumours circulating in Florence that Rosa was making a great deal of money. See also letter 309, in which Rosa contemptuously denies the rumours that he has "applied myself to accumulating money".

3. The meaning of Rosa's sentence ("Ora qui sì che ci va quel povero mondo mio viso di cazzo") is not entirely clear. If "mondo" is interpreted here as an adjective (with the figurative meanings of innocent and blameless, or poor and deprived: Battaglia, 10:785), rather than a noun, then it appears to accompany "povero," both of these adjectives inflecting "mio viso di cazzo" and requiring the introduction of a comma after "povero".

4. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20. On Rosa's recent decision to communicate with Ricciardi via Fabretti, see letters 319 and 320.

5. Marcantonio Cesti (who had set to music Giovanni Filippo Apolloni's libretti), was in Vienna in June 1666, where he had moved toward the end of August in the previous year (see letter 321). On Cesti and Apolloni, and on Apolloni's earlier service at the Austrian court, see letter 225, note 2.

6. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

7. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

8. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

Letter 336:

1. The Pincian Hill, the location of the Trinità dei Monti, the neighbourhood in which Rosa lived. On Giovanni Battista da Scorno, see letter 57, note 5.

2. As noted by Limentani 1950, 134, note 1, Rosa's inactivity in regard to painting had begun at the start of the year, as Rosa relates in letter 334. Rosa had also begun to complain about the hindrances of his failing eyesight two years earlier, in 1664 (see letter 312).

3. For the paintings that Rosa was preparing for the exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato, see letter 339.

4. This "Pino" was a labourer on the estate at Strozzavolpe. See also letter 256, note 2.

5. As noted by Limentani 1950, 135, note 4, this paragraph is of particular importance in understanding the events of Rosa's life. Here Rosa refers to "past misfortunes" that forced Lucrezia to live—for the sake of appearances—in a house other than Rosa's. Problems with the Holy Office had arisen before in 1656 (see letter 196), when Lucrezia and Rosalvo had been forced to stay with Rosa's relatives in Naples. On this new occasion, it seems that Rosa's old friend Girolamo Mercuri (on whom see letter 23, note 2) had come to his aid. By 7 February 1665 (see letter 315), Lucrezia had already spent four months at Mercuri's house. De Rinaldis 1939, 175, note 3, intuited that their separation lasted eight months, considering that in a letter

of 3 June 1665 (see letter 319) Rosa sent greetings to Ricciardi also in Lucrezia's name. It appears clear now, however, that their separation lasted, even if only at intervals, for at least twenty-one months. Evidently, even if "nothing more has happened" as far as their misfortunes were concerned, their fear must have been significant.

6. For the papal ruling imposed upon Rosa to separate from Lucrezia, necessitating her move to the house of Girolamo Mercuri, see letter 315.

7. This is perhaps another of Rosa's Roman academic detractors, as seems to have been the case in the earlier instance of Rosa's enforced separation from Lucrezia in 1656 (see letter 193). The person in question could alternatively be another "spy from the Holy Office," as Rosa indicated in letter 196.

8. On Augusto's early forays into drawing, see also letter 325.

9. As we learn in letter 337, Rosa was apparently seeking a favour from Bonaventura Cavalli on behalf of Ricciardi, which seems to have concerned the delivery of a package. On Cavalli, the general commissioner of the Franciscan order, see letter 134, note 8. The monastery in question is not identified, but could perhaps be the Franciscan complex of Sant'Isidoro a Capo le Case, located not far from Rosa's house on the Trinità dei Monti, on which see also letter 38, note 15.

10. On Francesco Cordini's recent problems, see letter 293. On Girolamo Signoretti, see letter 16, note 6. The particular matter to which Rosa here refers, concerning Signoretti, is not known.

11. Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13. The appellation "Madonna" means "my lady". Rosa asked Ricciardi for news about her condition in letter 337. In letter 339, we learn that she is still alive. She is mentioned again in letter 348, dated 1667, where Rosa's comments indicate that she was still alive at that time.

12. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

13. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

14. This enclosure is now lost.

Letter 337:

1. See also letter 336, where Rosa mentions a certain favour he was seeking from Bonaventura Cavalli. See also letters 338, 344 and 345. On Cavalli, see letter 134, note 8.

2. Francesca Paolini, the mother of Lucrezia Paolini. In letter 339, we learn that Francesca is still alive. She is mentioned again in letter 348, indicating that she was still alive in 1667.

3. The verb "proverbiare" means to scold, reproach, reprimand, warn or complain about, or to mock, ridicule or make fun of: Battaglia, 14:783–784.

Letter 338:

1. That is, Ricciardi's "will".

2. Bonaventura Cavalli, of whom Rosa and Ricciardi had asked a certain favour. See letters 336 and 337.

3. See also Rosa's queries in regard to Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, in letters 336 and 337. In letter 339, we learn that Francesca is still alive. She is mentioned again in letter 348, indicating that she was still alive in 1667.

4. This "Pino" was a labourer on the estate at Strozzavolpe. See letter 256, note 2.

5. Gerra 1937, 50, included the present letter in his list but gave it the incorrect date of 25 September 1664.

Letter 339:

1. See also letters 336 and 337, in which Rosa asks Ricciardi to inquire after Lucrezia's mother, Francesca.

2. This is Rosa's large painting representing *Pan and Pindar* (Palazzo Chigi, Ariccia), on which see: Salerno 1975, 101, cat. 208; Langdon, in Naples 2008, 54–55 and 164–165, cat. 39; Pacelli 2009, 2–3, fig. 1; Salomon 2010b, 90–91 and fig. 53; and Volpi 2014, 365–367 and 581, cat. 304, who also records the *bozzetto* (now lost) for the painting (cat. 305). Baldinucci, 5:444, noted that the painting was owned by Agostino Chigi, on whose interest in Rosa's works, more generally, see letter 214 (note 4) and letter 280 (note 14). Langdon 2008, 54, suggested that Agostino may also have been involved in the choice of subject, as his predecessor and namesake Agostino Chigi "il Magnifico" (1466–1520) had published a book of Pindar's verse poetry in 1515. Rosa's biographer Lione Pascoli had assigned the painting to Rosa's youth, in particular to his period in Rome preceding the sojourn in Florence: Pascoli, 136. Ozzola 1908, 153, refuting the opinion of Lady Sydney Morgan (according to whom the painting was of dubious authenticity), attributed it to Rosa, and assigned it to the final period of his activity; the present letter affirms Ozzola's judgment. Here, as on other occasions—and as Rosa does in the next line, concerning the *Aethra and Theseus*—Rosa makes special note of the fact that his pictorial rendering adheres to its historical or literary source. Rosa followed Plutarch, who wrote in his *Life of Numa*, 4, 4–6: "that a god should have affection for a man, and a so-called love which is based upon affection, and takes the form of solicitude for his character and his virtue, is fit and proper. And therefore it is no mistake when the ancient poets tell their tales of the love Apollo bore Phorbas, Hyacinthus, and Admetus […]. There is a legend, too, that Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verses." On Rosa's concern with historical accuracy and the need for adherence to his textual source, see the letters cited in letter 281, note 6, and Hoare 2018, 135–136. On Rosa's exhibition of the *Pan and Pindar* at San Giovanni Decollato, Rome, see Salomon 2010b, 90–91.

3. On the primacy that Rosa gave to novelty of invention, see Hoare 2018, 272–279. Rosa makes a similar statement in letter 281.

4. *Chiron the Centaur Teaching Music to Achilles*, previously considered a lost work, has been identified by Volpi 2014, 365–367 and 582, cat. 306, as a painting now in a private collection. On the painting mentioned by Rosa, see also Salomon 2010b, 90.

5. Rosa's *Aethra and Theseus* (Earl of Verulam collection, Gorhambury), like the *Chiron* mentioned above, is another particularly rare pictorial subject. On the *Aethra and Theseus*, see: Salerno 1975, 101, cat. 205; Scott 1995, 134 and 177; Langdon, in Naples 2008, 54; Salomon 2010b, 90–91 and fig. 54; and Volpi 2014, 365–367 and 580, cat. 302. The painting was already in the Verulam collection in the early nineteenth century, when Lady Sydney Morgan saw it (see Morgan 1824, 2:371). Rosa took his inspiration from a passage in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, Life of Theseus, 6.1–3, which reads: "Aethra kept his true birth concealed from Theseus […]. But when, in his young manhood, Theseus displayed, along with his vigour of

body, prowess also, and a firm spirit united with intelligence and sagacity, then Aethra brought him to the rock, told him the truth about his birth, and bade him take away his father's tokens and go by sea to Athens. Theseus put his shoulder to the rock and easily raised it up, but he refused to make his journey by sea, although safety lay in that course, and his grandfather and his mother begged him to take it. […]". As noted by Salomon (91), Rosa's 1673 inventory reveals that both the *Chiron* (on which see note 4, above) and the *Aethra and Theseus* (together with Rosa's *Job and his Comforters*, on which see letter 205, note 2) never managed to find a buyer: both are listed in the inventory as still present "in the room above the *sala*" ("[n] ella stanza sopra la sala"): see Volpi 2008, 97, and Volpi 2014, Appendix II.2. In the ms., the word "Egeo" has been substituted for "Pitteo," suggesting that Rosa initially confused the figure of Aegeus with that of Pittheus: King Pittheus was the son of Pelops, father to Aethra and grandfather to Theseus. (Rosa refers to this matter of confusion again in letter 341, where he also defends his error on account of the rhyming similarity of the two names.) Limentani 1950, 138, note 4a, suggested it was Ricciardi who cancelled the word and replaced it with "Egeo"—an intriguing proposal in view of Ricciardi's frequent role as Rosa's advisor in matters of historical and literary iconography. Further evidence that Ricciardi, rather than Rosa, made the correction to the ms. is offered by Rosa's comment in letter 341 (see also letter 341, note 3).

6. The term "emulo" refers to someone who attempts to equal or surpass someone else; a competitor, a rival; in a pejorative context, an envious or spiteful competitor or rival: Battaglia, 5:144.

7. One of a number of occasions in the letters in which Rosa gives credit to Ricciardi, on account of their friendship. On the significance of Ricciardi's contribution to Rosa's professional success, see Hoare 2018, 279–282.

8. This is presumably the Duchess de Créquy, Anne Armande de Saint-Gelais (died 1709), the wife of the Duc de Créquy. She had not been spared from the problems brought about by the Duke's earlier embroilments with the papacy in Rome: in August 1662—in the midst of various scuffles between the French, the Roman *sbirri* (the Governor's police) and the pope's Corsican guard—the ambassadress's carriage was fired upon during an attack by the Corsican guard on the Palazzo Farnese, where the Duke and his wife were then staying. See Magnuson 1982–1986, 2:136.

9. The Duc de Créquy, Charles III de Blanchefort, who in 1662 had been a key protagonist in the troubles between France and the papacy. See letter 284, note 2, and letter 314, note 5. In 1664, Rosa had made a painting for the ambassador (see letter 314), who had visited Rosa also on that occasion with his entire cortege. In February 1665, he was trying to convince Rosa to come and work as court painter to the king of France (see letter 315). The ambassadorship to Rome of the Duc de Créquy came to an end in 1665, however Rosa's comment indicates that he and his wife were still present in Rome the following year. In view of what we know of the Duc de Créquy's interest in collecting art (see also letter 343, note 5), it seems unlikely that Rosa is in the present letter referring to the Duke's successor as ambassador to Rome, Charles d'Albert d'Ailly (1625–1698), Duke of Chaulnes and peer of the realm, who held the post from 1666 to 1668, and was sent by Louis XIV as ambassador to Rome to promote French interests during the elections of popes Clement IX, Clement X and Alexander VIII. Perhaps, in view of the fact that the Duc de Créquy had officially vacated the post of "ambassador" by this date, Rosa was here using the epithet only by way of convenient reference, as he had already established a tie with Créquy during the latter's role in that capacity.

10. With the term "francesaria" Rosa seems to be referring to both the French living in Rome, and the French-speaking Italian supporters of the French ambassador. The term "francesaria" is a variation of "francioseria," meaning something French, or something made in the French manner. The term is usually intended in a pejorative manner. See Battaglia, 6:287.

11. With the term "vedere," Rosa could intend either that the ambassador was "watching" him at work or that he was "looking at paintings" he was interested in purchasing.

12. Rosa here acknowledges the irony of his desire for recognition by the same "great men" that his Stoic precepts required him to disdain. On Rosa's conflicted attitude toward Stoicism, see letter 101, note 6.

13. On Rosa's initial investment of money with Carlo de' Rossi, see letters 314 and 325. As noted by Limentani 1950, 139, note 8, De' Rossi had been a good friend to Rosa for many years: he had helped him put his finances in order, after the painter's return to Rome from Tuscany; he was always generous with his counsel and help; and he bought various paintings from Rosa, including the scandalous *Allegory of Fortune* (on which see Baldinucci, 5:447–448, and letter 224, note 7). Rosa had also dedicated to De' Rossi his group of etchings known as the *Figurine* (see letter 207). In 1667, Rosa became disgusted with De' Rossi (see letter 355). De Rinaldis 1939, 169, among other scholars, had been under the impression that De' Rossi had promised a monthly profit of interest of twenty *scudi* as payment for works Rosa made for him, and not as interest on a sum that Rosa had given him on deposit. The present letter, argues Limentani, overturns this unlikely theory, since Rosa coveted his freedom too much to engage his artistic activities in the service of even a generous client. This letter also reveals that Rosa had put aside the respectable sum of 4000 *scudi* (the capital necessary to turn a profit of 240 *scudi* a year at 6 percent), yet he lamented that he had been "returned to my usual poverty". As noted by Lorizzo 2010a, 378, De' Rossi may have been forced to close the account because he was no longer permitted to pay the artist such a high interest. It is also worth noting that Rosa opened a bank account with the Banco di Santo Spirito in Rome, shortly after the failure of this investment in 1666, as recently discovered by Natalia Gozzano (see Gozzano 2010, 111–112). It is clear from the deposits Rosa made into this account, from 1666 until his death in 1673, that his relationship with De' Rossi continued, even if we do not know on exactly what terms. Other persons mentioned in the record of the account are the bankers Simone, Luca and Bartolomeo Lucatelli. In connection with the Lucatelli, Gozzano (121, note 25) notes further the possible relevance of a certain Giovanni Battista Lucatelli, an art dealer (cited in Bartoloni 1992, 31), together with the presence of some paintings by Rosa among the possessions of a "cavalier Lucatelli" (see Borghese 1995). In the year 1669, we find a payment to Rosa of 300 *scudi*, perhaps identifiable with the payment made by the abbot Filippo Colonna (brother of Prince Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna) to Rosa that year "for a painting" ("per un quadro") that is not further specified. Additional documents discovered and cited by Loredana Lorizzo (see Lorizzo 2010a, 379–380) offer further information in regard to De' Rossi's continued aid of Lucrezia and Augusto, after the artist's death. On Rosa's economic situation more generally, see Hoare 2018, chapter five. Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, 75, notes Pascoli's claim (Pascoli 1965, 1:81) that Carlo de' Rossi owed Rosa 6,000 *scudi*.

14. A variant of the Venetian expression "le nozze dei baroni

le dura poco" (Pasqualigo, 105), which means that prosperity for the poor is short-lived, since the only occasion upon which to enjoy the riches of the wealthy is during their wedding festivities. The phrase also appears, interestingly, in the title of a Roman comedy (a "comedia ridicola," by an anonymous author, listed among a number of "Opere sceniche diverse in prosa" in a manuscript in the archives of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu): "Le Nozze dei Baroni durano poco overo Le fortunate Prosperità infelici di Pulcinella ò le Allegrezze sognate a Luci aperte". See Ciancarelli 1994, 401.

15. The term "mercadanti" (or "mercatanti") means merchants or tradesmen: Battaglia, 10:129.

16. With the term "stabile" Rosa could be referring to one of a number of "stable" investments, which included property (or real estate) and "stock" or "securities," each of which are possible alternatives according to Battaglia, 20:14–15.

17. The location of a forest near Strozzavolpe. See letter 266, note 4.

18. Rosa's comment implies that he had been to Venice before. In letter 13, Rosa had mentioned Reginaldo Sgambati's invitation to Rosa to join him on a trip to the city, implying on this occasion that he had travelled there with him at an earlier date. In letter 46, as well, Rosa mentions having encountered the poet Carlo Dottori "in Venice," although the date of that journey is unknown. See further letter 46, note 24. On Rosa and Venice, see letter 13, note 5.

19. On this matter, see also letters 315, 317, 319, 320, 325 and 332.

20. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

21. Valerio Spada (1613–1688), a painter, calligrapher and etcher, originally from Colle Val d'Elsa but active in Florence, where he was employed by the Medici for the majority of his career on various projects, including the production of illustrated manuscripts of poetry and art instruction. See for example the illustrations, signed by Spada, to a volume published in Florence in 1647: F. Arrighius, *Sapientiae pignus amabile* (typis Amatoris Massae Forliuien). Spada was a student of Rosa's friend Lorenzo Lippi, and he illustrated Lippi's *Il Malmantile Racquistato*. In 1655, Spada travelled to Innsbruck in order to illustrate Giovanni Filippo Apolloni's (and Marcantonio Cesti's) libretto, *L'Argia*. In 1688, when Spada was more than seventy years old, Paolo Minucci described him as "working indefatigably to perpetuate his name": Massar 1981, 251. As noted by Limentani 1950, 140, note 10, Spada became involved in Rosa's circle in Florence, where he was also a member of a number of other intellectual and artistic networks in the city, including the Accademia degli Apatisti. On Spada, see: Massar 1981; Guidi Bruscoli 1986; and Marçais 2009. In a letter written by Paolo Minucci to Ricciardi of 15 August 1671 (which suggests Ricciardi was searching for some prints to illustrate a certain "text") Minucci proposed Valerio Spada as a possible candidate to supply them, praising him as "the best among our local painters" ("[n]el resto di nostrali il meglio è lo Spada"). For the letter, see Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 126, doc. 58.

22. Pietro Susini (1629–1670), a Florentine actor, playwright and connoisseur of dramatic poetry. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 350, note 5, Susini was *aiutante di camera* to Leopoldo de' Medici (see Michelassi 1999, 167, note 75). Susini was also a great friend of the Florentine priest and *letterato* Lorenzo Panciatichi (on whom see letter 361, note 4): Limentani 1950, 140, note 11. De Rinaldis 1939, 190, note 2, suggested that Susini might have been the brother-in-law of Lorenzo Lippi, who in 1646 had married an "Elisabetta Susini". Susini's name appears elsewhere in Rosa's letters of these later years (see letters 343, 349, 361, 364 and 390). Susini probably met Rosa in Florence, and visited him in Rome (along with Panciatichi) in 1668 and between 1669 and 1670.

23. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

24. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 340:

1. This is presumed to be a reference to the Farnese Gallery in the Palazzo Farnese, Rome. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 351, note 1, Rosa's reference to the great Bolognese painter Annibale Carracci (1560–1609)—commissioned between 1597 and 1608 by Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626) to fresco the gallery with a cycle of paintings representing the Loves of the Gods—suggests that Rosa is referring to the Farnese Gallery, in which case the "prince" at the moment of Rosa's writing would have been Ranuccio II Farnese, the Duke of Parma (1630–1694). The identity of the particular "vault", or ceiling, in question is unclear. Ricciardi ultimately advised Rosa against undertaking the project (see letters 341 and 342), and Rosa did not carry it out. As noted by Conte 2014, 382, Rosa here confesses his inability to emulate the Carracci, whose frescoes in the Farnese Gallery would naturally be considered a point of competition for Rosa's own projected contribution to the decoration of the palace. Conte suggests that Rosa's use of the term "luogo"—translated here as "place"—stands instead for "situation" or "circumstance," and not for the "location" where the fresco was to be painted, the latter of which is the more traditional and frequent interpretation of Rosa's meaning. Here it is also worth noting that the praise Rosa gives to the Carracci in the present letter stands in marked contrast to the disdain he directs toward them, for the "profanity" of their figures, in his satire *La Pittura*, vv. 703–705 (Romei 1995, 116). Rosa refers to his own critique of these artists in the *La Pittura* in letter 341 (see also note 7).

2. Annibale Carracci. See note 1, above.

3. Rosa did in fact have a "little" experience with fresco, having painted four lunettes with biblical scenes (including two lunettes with scenes from the life of Moses, one on the subject of *Hagar in the Wilderness*, and a fourth depicting *Tobias and the Angel*) in the Mezzanino della Muletta, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. On this project, see: Chiarini and Noehles 1967; Preti, in *Seicento fiorentino* 1986, 396–397; Scott 1995, 34–35 and figs 38 and 39; Fumagalli 2007, 48–53 and figs 14 and 15; and Langdon 2010b, 21–22. As noted by Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 22, Rosa's family—the Greco—were "painters of ceilings" (*intempiatori*), a fact that seems to have impacted on Rosa's later work as an artist: Baldinucci, 5:439 and 462, recounts various instances of Rosa drawing and producing frescoes on walls, including the frescoes with marine subjects (now lost) that he painted for Cardinal Brancaccio in Viterbo, and the drawings (also now lost) that he executed on the walls of the Maffei family's villa at Barbaiano.

4. With the word "testa" Rosa could alternatively mean "head". He makes a distinction here, in the same line, between the two terms "testa" and "capo," suggesting that the former be interpreted (perhaps) as "mind". Rosa employs the same contrast in letter 341.

5. Rosa's comment brings to mind Michelangelo's well-known sonnet and drawing, in which the artist laments—and provides

a visual account of—his experience of physical suffering occasioned by the contortions required to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. See Saslow 1991, 70–72, no. 5.

6. These are, not incidentally, the two "motivations" that dominated and defined much of Rosa's career, as they did the careers of his contemporaries.

7. Rosa's consultation with Ricciardi about a matter pertaining to his profession as a painter is somewhat ironic, in view of his more frequent mockery of his friend for a lack of knowledge in such things. See letter 104, note 5.

Letter 341:

1. See letter 340. Here, Rosa's comment suggests that the "infirmity" may also be connected to his failing eyesight.

2. A reference to the twelve labours or *dodecathlon* of Hercules, the famed series of tasks and trials undertaken by Hercules in penance for killing his six sons.

3. Rosa here refers to the subject of his painting of *Aethra and Theseus*, taken from Plutarch, on which see letter 339, note 5. King Pittheus was the father of Aethra and grandfather to Theseus. In letter 339, Ricciardi appears to have corrected Rosa's apparent confusion of Pittheus with Aegeus, the father of Theseus. In the present letter, Rosa defends his error on account of the rhyming similarity of the two names.

4. The term "coonestare," which derives from the Latin "cohonestare," means to justify an action (of one's own or of another person) without giving the real reason, in order to appear to be fair or honest; to give the appearance of honesty to what is, in reality, dishonest, making use of false or equivocal arguments. See Battaglia, 3:738.

5. Rosa is here referring to his painting of *Pan and Pindar*, on which see letter 339, note 2. On Rosa's desire to adhere to his textual source, see the letters cited in letter 281, note 6. As noted by Salomon 2010b, 90, Rosa here expressed anxiety about the subject. As it "could easily have been interpreted as an open celebration of homosexual love," this made it "a daring subject to undertake in a large canvas and display at a public exhibition." Hence Rosa decided to paint a beard on Pindar "so as to pre-empt any criticism to do with public morality and decency". Limentani 1950, 141, note 3, observed that Rosa's comment in the present letter reflected his more general adherence to moral propriety in his paintings, a principle that Rosa discusses in his satires *La Pittura*, vv. 682ff (Romei 1995, 115) and *L'Invidia*, vv. 530–534 (Romei 1995, 154), in the latter of which he writes: "But instead of making obscene paintings/ I remain deprived and forgotten on the Euboean shore./ I paint what honesty requires;/ since with sordid works a decent man/ does not win applause for himself". ("[M]a più tosto che far pitture oscene/ schiavo e oscuro starei nel lido euboico./ Dipingo ciò che all'onestà conviene;/ ché con opere sordide non merca/ a sé stesso gli applausi un uom da bene"). On Rosa and decorum, see further Cesareo 1892, 1:113–116, and Hoare 2013. Volpi 2014, 365, suggested the possibility that in painting the unusual subject of Pan and Pindar, Rosa was also thinking about his friendship with Ricciardi, identifying himself—as the author of satires—with Pan, and his friend with the great Greek poet Pindar. Tomory 1971 noted that Morgan 1824, 1:356–357, had suggested that Pindar here looked like a self-portrait of Rosa. The sudden appearance of the god Pan to Pindar, who in Rosa's painting has a look of surprise, could allude to the concept of artistic inspiration as "furore," an idea that—as Volpi notes—was particularly meaningful to Rosa, who even in these years wrote (probably with various motivations, on which see letter 331, note 2) that he only put his hand to painting when he felt moved by inspiration: see Rosa's letter to Antonio Ruffo of 1 April 1666 (letter 331).

6. Rosa here cites from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, Life of Numa, on the subject of Pan and Pindar. See letter 339, note 2, for Plutarch's statement: "Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verses."

7. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 352, note 2, years earlier Rosa had judged Annibale Carracci harshly in his satire *La Pittura*, vv. 703–705 (Romei 1995, 116): "Gl'impudichi Caracci e i Tizziani/ con figure di chiassi han profanati/ i palazzi de' prencipi cristiani" ("The indecent Carraccis and Titians/ with figures from the bordello have profaned/ the Christian palaces of princes". As noted by Salomon 2010b, 90, Rosa might have been uneasy about the possibility that his painting—which depicted Pan's love for Pindar on account of the latter's poetry—could be construed as a celebration of homosexual love, put on public display at an exhibition, choosing to give his protagonist a beard "so as to pre-empt any criticism to do with public morality and decency" (as Rosa says, "per contestare l'offesa del buon costume e della modestia"). The words of Plutarch, says Rosa, could also be used in his defence. In the present sentence, Rosa does not indicate Pan or Pindar by name, however the implication is that the subject ("rappresentarlo") is Pan, and the object of admiration is Pindar.

8. With the term "pericolo" Rosa is perhaps also alluding to his present physical ailments. See also his comments in this regard in letter 343.

9. The invitation to Naples must have been extended by Michelangelo Fracanzano (1633?–post 1688), the son of Rosa's sister Giovanna and her husband, the painter Francesco Fracanzano (on whom see letter 201, note 9). As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 352, note 3, Michelangelo was a painter and actor, and became famous for his performance as Pulcinella. On Michelangelo, see De Dominici, 1:160–162 (who incorrectly identifies him as the son of Cesare Fracanzano). Rosa's plan to travel to Naples did not, in the end, come to fruition: see letter 343.

10. Rosa first wrote the number "32" in the ms. and then corrected it to "31". As noted by Limentani 1950, 142–143, note 4, this is an important declaration on Rosa's part, as it corroborates and clarifies the date (of 1635) proposed by Cesareo 1892, 1:11ff, for Rosa's transfer from Naples to Rome. Passeri, 386, had given the date as 1635, while Baldinucci, 5:439–441 had recorded it as 1637 (Baldinucci records that Rosa first went to Rome "at the age of twenty-two," then fell ill and returned to Naples, and returned again to Rome two years later at age twenty-four; he claims that Rosa returned again to Naples after a period of time in Rome, after the fiasco with Bernini, with the sole object of seeing whether it had changed at all, staying there for "a little time" and making paintings to send back to Rome, and then returning once more to Rome, himself; the biographer claims that Rosa "never saw his native land again," although he likely did return to Naples at some point). Another date was proposed by De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 11, who placed emphasis on Rosa's declaration in 1659 (see letter 228) that he had known Girolamo Mercuri for "twenty-six years," suggesting that Rosa's first period in Rome must have begun in 1633, and not 1635. Just as plausible, however, is that Rosa knew Mercuri in Naples before leaving the city in 1635. See Cesareo 1892, 1:10. The present letter also removes any doubt about Passeri's date of 1635, and also

corroborates Cesareo's thesis (1:47–57) that Rosa's participation in Masaniello's revolt (accepted by Morgan and Carducci) is an invention of De Dominici. Baldinucci, however (followed by Pascoli and all successive biographers until Morgan, Carducci and Cesareo), affirms that Rosa returned to Naples twice; Cesareo placed the first of the two journeys (occasioned by illness) between the end of 1635 and the start of 1637, and the second between the end of 1637 and the start of 1638. (Ozzola 1908, 29, argued that Rosa returned to Naples only once, and, on the basis of Baldinucci, that the visit lasted for two years.) Passeri says nothing about Rosa's first voyage, and he knew Rosa intimately at this point in time; therefore, on the basis of the present letter, one can argue that Baldinucci and all the successive biographers were misinformed. The second voyage is more difficult to eliminate, since all the biographers—including Passeri ("gli venne capriccio di tornarsene alla patria, prurito che sollecita sempre ciascheduno quando se ne trova lontano")—refer to it. Unless we wish to reject the united account of Rosa's contemporary biographers, and accept Rosa's own affirmation that he never again returned to his native *patria*, we can surmise that, in the haste of writing, Rosa would only have had in mind the date—crucial for him—of his first departure for Rome, and neglected to acknowledge a fleeting, later trip to Naples. Cesareo's chronology errs in another detail: Rosa's journey to Viterbo as part of Cardinal Brancaccio's retinue could not have taken place "in the first months of 1637" (Cesareo 1892, 1:15); in fact, Brancaccio did not take up his diocese as the new Bishop of Viterbo until 25 November 1638: see Ciacone, *Vitae et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium*, Romae, MDCLXXVII, ed. Philippi et Ant. de Rubeis, 4:591: "Viterbensi praeponitur Ecclesaie: Urbem sibi commissam solemni pompa, omniumque laetitia ingressus Die 25 Novembris anni 1638". See also Cardella, 6:309, and Moroni 1840–1861, 6 [1840]:90. The plan Rosa announces in the present letter, to travel to Naples, apparently fell through (see letter 343). Bartoni 2010, 410 and 415 (note 2), noting the likelihood of Rosa's first invitation to Rome in 1635—via Girolamo Mercuri, as a guest of Cardinal Brancaccio—has helped to reconstruct Rosa's movements. She notes the evidence of a record of Rosa's name in the Roman *Stati delle Anime* of Easter 1637, for the parish of Santa Maria in Via: "casa no. 171 Salvatore de Rosa napoletano anni 22," the earliest surviving record of Rosa's presence in Rome. In September of 1637, there is documentary evidence of Rosa's return to Naples: a payment order for 10 ducats, dated 25 September 1637, is recorded in return for funds paid by Niccolò Simonelli (see Delfino 1985, 104). Rosa remained in Naples until the end of October 1638: on 13 October of that year, he received payment from the Jesuit Flaminio Magnati for a painting of Saint Lucy (see D'Addosio 1991, 104). Shortly afterward, Rosa left Naples to join Brancaccio first in Viterbo, and then in Rome, where he was present for the Carnival of 1639. Rosa again appears in the Roman *Stati delle Anime* records of 1640, as residing in a house on the Via del Babuino "a mano manca, uscendo da via Margutta" in the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo, with Girolamo Mercuri and a servant named "Giuseppe" (see Bartoni 2010, 410 and 415, note 5), where he remained until he left for Florence at the end of that year. After almost ten years in Florence, Rosa once again returned to Rome in February 1649 (see letter 23), and his extant letters record his frustration in searching for a house in the city, both on account of rental prices and the approaching Holy Year. On Rosa's early years in Naples, and the chronology of his early career, see: Farina 2010; Langdon 2010b, 11–16; Volpi 2010a; Conte 2014, 18–21; Nappi, in Nappi 2014, 20–61; and Volpi 2014, 2–63. See also Hoare 2018, chapter one, note 1.

11. See Rosa's comments regarding a trip to Venice in letter 339 (and note 18).

12. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

13. This "Pino" was a labourer at Strozzavolpe. See letter 256, note 2.

14. As suggested by Limentani 1950, 143, note 6, this "friend" is probably Carlo de' Rossi, with whom Rosa had recently fallen out over a failed investment. See letter 339, note 13.

15. Rosa's comment here, in regard to his friend's wish that he not "put myself into someone else's hands" ("non ha voluto ch'io passi per altre mani"), presumably refers to De' Rossi's desire that Rosa not entrust himself or his money to someone else. The meaning of the rest of the sentence ("dopo avermeli con più cautele assicurati") is not entirely clear, and Rosa's ambiguity here is perhaps deliberate. He is clearly talking about money, although he does not refer to it outright. Two alternative interpretations of the latter part of the sentence could be either that De' Rossi undertook "many precautions" in order to secure the money, or that he gave Rosa the money along with "many cautions".

Letter 342:

1. On the invitation Rosa received to return to Naples for the wedding of his nephew, Michelangelo Fracanzano, see letter 341.

2. Ricciardi had apparently asked for a copy of Rosa's painting, the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, which was owned by Carlo de' Rossi. See letters 343, 344, 345 and 346. De' Rossi ultimately refused his consent (see letter 355). On the painting, see letter 280, note 13. Ricciardi's interest in the painting may have been further piqued by the print of *c.* 1662, which Rosa had inscribed with a dedication to Ricciardi. Interestingly, the inventories of the Ricciardi family collection of 1729 and 1767 list a number of paintings with titles that suggest them as possible copies executed after Rosa's paintings: "Incantesimo," "Stregheria," and an "Istoria di Attilio Regolo." Ricciardi seems also to have solicited a copy after Rosa's *Scene of Witchcraft* (National Gallery, London), also in De' Rossi's collection (see letter 346), however, as noted by Paliaga, in Volpi and Paliaga 2012, 39, the lack of any description of individual works (their titles or authors) in the 1687 inventory of Ricciardi's own collection makes it impossible to identify there any of the works recorded in 1729 and 1767. Conte 2014, 271, suggested Francesco Martinotti as the author of these possible copies. On the subject of copies executed after Rosa's works, see also Hoare 2018, 265–272. A copy of Rosa's *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* was executed much later by Claude-Joseph Vernet, around 1745 (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin), on which see Wynne 1971.

3. On Rosa's practice of making copies, and his opinions concerning intellectual property and the uniqueness of his hand, see Hoare 2018, 265–272 and 277–279.

4. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

5. The term "sano," in addition to meaning sane, healthy and sound, can also refer to an entirety or full quantity of something.

Letter 343:

1. On the invitation Rosa had received to return to Naples, see letters 341 and 342.

2. The *letterato* and secretary Sebastiano Cefali, on whom see letter 274, note 13.

3. Ricciardi had asked Rosa for a copy of his large painting of the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*. See letter 342.

4. The term "scarpinello" means an artist with little talent: Battaglia, 17:867.

5. The copies commissioned by the ambassador of France, Charles III de Blanchefort, Duc de Créquy (on whom see letter 284, note 2, and letter 314, note 5) were probably for the most part those made after sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings, as is suggested by the inventory of his collection (Archives nationales, Minutier central: CXIII, 135, dated 21 March 1687) for which see Courtin 2011, 220–224. A number of painted copies after great early modern masters, including Guercino, Mola and Poussin, are identified as such in the inventory. Many foreign collectors were also in Rome seeking copies of antiquities, as in the case of Philip IV of Spain, who employed Diego Velázquez to commission casts of famous sculptures and ornamental bronzes, on which see: Harris 1960; Brown 1986, 68–105 and 195–213; Brown 2002; and Noguè 2007. On the practice of making copies of paintings, and on the market demand for these copies, see: Spezzaferro 1989; Cavazzini 2008, 111–114, 120–121 and 132–136; Cavazzini 2010; and Spear, in Spear and Sohm 2010, esp. 47–50. Among the agents working to acquire paintings for the Duc de Créquy in Rome was the banker and silk merchant Jean Pointel, best known as a close friend of Nicolas Poussin.

6. He is probably to be identified with the "Don Michele," Canon of Luco, mentioned in letter 262. He is also mentioned in letter 384.

7. This "Pino" is a labourer at Strozzavolpe. See letter 256, note 2.

8. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 354, note 1, Cassandra Rinuccini was the widow of Francesco Ricciardi, the father of Giovan Battista Ricciardi. Cassandra was mother to Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo Ricciardi. It was Cassandra's marriage to Francesco that brought the villa of Strozzavolpe (owned by the Rinuccini family) into the possession of the Ricciardi family. On this matter, see further Arcangeli 1960, 106–110, and letter 228, note 7.

9. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

10. The term "prosapia" refers to a group of people who all descend from the same ancestor; a house, lineage, descent or progeny: Battaglia, 14:686. Perhaps Rosa is here referring to Paolo Minucci's efforts to have children. On Minucci, see letter 228, note 10.

11. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

12. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

13. The painter and printmaker Valerio Spada, on whom see letter 339, note 21.

14. The actor and playwright Pietro Susini, on whom see letter 339, note 22.

15. Rosa had inquired after Lucrezia's mother, Francesca, in letters 336, 337 and 339.

16. Rosa also informed Ricciardi of the painting's size, with varying measurements, in letters 344 and 346.

Letter 344:

1. The Franciscan preacher, Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8. On the favour that Rosa and Ricciardi had been asking of him, see also letters 336, 337 and 338.

2. Rosa had informed Ricciardi of the measurements of his painting, the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, which belonged to Carlo de' Rossi and of which Ricciardi was soliciting a copy. See letters 342, 343, 345 and 346.

3. Rosa was searching for an appropriate copyist to execute the copy of his *Atilius Regulus* for Ricciardi. See also his comments in letters 342 and 343.

4. Lucrezia's mother Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13. Rosa had asked after her again in letters 336, 337, 339 and 343.

5. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

Letter 345:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 356, note 1, Burchiello was the nickname of Domenico di Giovanni (1404–1449), a Florentine author of sonnets comprised of rhymes that derive from juxtapositions of words that today have no logical connection, but that must have been comical to his contemporaries, such that the expression "rimare alla burchia" ("to rhyme like Burchiello") has become a way of saying "a caso," haphazardly, or at random.

2. A reference to Antonio Abati, perhaps in particular to the opening line of his *Frascherie* of 1651 (on which see letter 1, note 4), which reads: "Già spunta la tua luce, o Libro. Sorgi homai, e stimola le sonnacchiose pigritie al camino." ("Your light has already dawned, oh Book. Rise up forthwith, and stir the sleepy laziness of the fireplace.") Here, Rosa plays upon the homophonic relationship between the words "camino" (fireplace or hearth) and "cammino" (a walk, journey, or, in this instance, path of life). The sentiment of his expression here, which in English translation loses its linguistic pun, is "I will turn the hearth into my habitual place" (or, perhaps, "into my saving grace"). Rosa could also intend "I will make a hearth within a hearth".

3. Rosa was trying to find a copyist to paint a copy of his *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* for Ricciardi. See also on this matter letters 342, 343, 344 and 346.

4. On Rosa's contemporary reputation as a landscapist, and his own dissatisfaction with this reputation, see Hoare 2018, 27–28 (and note 14), 99 (and note 214), 166 (and note 251), 243, 249, 284 and 285.

5. The term "mestica" can refer either to the priming (or "imprimatura") of the canvas (the application of the "mix" of white lead, gesso, ground and other diluted colours with glue and the drying agent, or oil, to the canvas or other support prior to the process of painting, as in the phrase "dare la mestica," which means to apply the primer), or it can refer to the mixing of the colours, applied to the painting after the primed layer. The term can also refer, more generally, to a harmonious fusion of light and colour. See Battaglia, 10:225. Baldinucci 1985, 97, defines "mestica" as the priming layer, and—in view of Rosa's complaint about the quality of his early landscape paintings—this seems to be the meaning that Rosa here intends.

6. The term "polizzotto" is the diminutive of "polizza," a word that refers to various different types of document, including a bill of exchange. See letter 167 (note 1) and letter 254 (note 9).

7. Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13. Rosa had also asked after her in letters 336, 337, 339, 343 and 344.

8. On the favour that Ricciardi had apparently asked of Bonaventura Cavalli, see also letters 336, 337, 338 and 344.

9. See letter 344.

Letter 346:

1. On the favour that Ricciardi was apparently seeking from Bonaventura Cavalli, see also letters 336, 337, 338, 344 and 345.

2. Rosa had given two different sets of measurements for the same painting in two previous letters: see letters 343 and 344.

3. This "gift" was presumably given by Carlo de' Rossi, who bought the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* from Rosa. On Rosa's practice of exchanging paintings for gifts as well as for monetary recompense, and on his intention to "give away" his paintings as gifts, see Hoare 2018, 287–300. On the value of the *piastra*, see letter 48, note 12.

4. On Rosa's valuation of his work, and his conception of the "added value" warranted by his reputation, see Hoare 2018, 230, 271–272, 283–288 and 305. Rosa's comments here, regarding the high value of his originals, may also be directed at Ricciardi and his (in Rosa's estimation, rather impertinent) request for a copy of the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*.

5. The *Scene of Witchcraft* (*c.* 1645–1646, National Gallery, London), owned by Carlo de' Rossi. On the painting, see: Salerno 1975, 90, cat. 78; Scott 1995, 52 and fig. 69; Ebert-Schifferer, in Naples 2008, 170–171, cat. 42; Volpi 2010b, 174–177, cat. 22; and Volpi 2014, 476, cat. 157. As various scholars have noted, Rosa's ode *La Strega* (*The Witch*) was written at the same moment the painting was made, and was set to music by his friend Marcantonio Cesti.

6. Rosa here intends a derivation of "profettizare," or "profezia," meaning prophesy or prediction: Battaglia, 14:512–513.

7. Rosa's construction here ("trapassa i segni della curiosità") could alternatively be interpreted as "it transcends the expectations (or limits) of amateurs," as the term "curiosità" can function as an analogue of "curioso" (dilettante). See Battaglia, 3:1073–1075.

8. Rosa's *Scene of Witchcraft*, a particularly ominous example of the genre, was apparently revealed to visitors by Carlo de' Rossi toward the end of their tour of his collection, from behind a taffeta curtain. On Rosa's paintings of witchcraft and their relation to the broader seventeenth-century interest in the subject and its popularity as a pictorial theme, see: Scott 1995, 47–54; Zika 2004; Hults 2005, 176–213; Ebert-Schifferer, in Naples 2008, 74–77; Fabbri 2010; Langdon 2010a, 164–181; and Macioce and De Nile 2010. De' Rossi's concealed display of such a painting reflects a contemporary attitude toward witchcraft as both a point of fascination and the object of censure, a perception that meant visual representations of the subject were frequently aligned with *vanitas* or *memento mori* images.

9. It seems that Ricciardi had been inquiring about paintings by Rosa in Carlo de' Rossi's collection in order to obtain copies of them. Certainly, this was his intention in regard to the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus*, as the present letter suggests. See also letters 342, 343, 344 and 345.

10. Rosa had explained earlier, in letter 305, that although he had included the term "pinx" (for "pinxit") on his etchings of these two subjects—in expectation of commissions for paintings—he had not yet received the opportunity to paint them. Morgan 1824, 2:366 and 375, cited paintings by Rosa of both subjects, locating (probably erroneously) a *Giants* in the Palazzo Pitti and an *Oedipus* in an unnamed private collection.

11. The "rest" must be prints that Ricciardi mentions in his own (now lost) letter, to which Rosa here responds.

12. The French ambassador, Charles III de Blanchefort, Duc de Créquy, who purchased a number of paintings from Rosa. Rosa refers to the ambassador's interest in his work in letters 315 and 339. Bottari 1757, 2:25, erroneously transcribed the ambassador's name here as "Priuli". For the paintings by Rosa that the ambassador took with him, see letter 314, note 5. On the Duc de Créquy, see also letter 284, note 2.

13. Here, Rosa perhaps means "intended for the crown"—that is, King Louis XIV.

14. As noted by Conte 2014, 376, Rosa's fame in France grew in particular after 1664, when his *Heroic Battle Scene* finally arrived in the city (see letter 314, notes 11 and 12). On 26 June 1670, a certain "personaggio francese" acquired Rosa's *Saul and the Witch of Endor* (see letter 370, note 7), which had remained unsold after its exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato in Rome, two years prior; the painting was sold together with a landscape, for 300 *doble*.

15. Rosa also mentions his desire to go to Venice in letters 339 and 341.

16. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

17. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

18. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

Letter 347:

1. The word in the ms. appears to be "cambiolato," however Rosa may here intend two individual words ("cambio lato") or, perhaps, a variant of the word "scambiato," from "scambiare," which means to mistake something (or someone) for something else. The sentiment of Rosa's comment seems to be "swapped in the cradle" (or "swapped at birth," as the term "culla" refers not only to a "cradle" but to infancy or a place of birth: Battaglia, 3:1040), which in Italian is expressed "scambiato nella culla". Battaglia, 17:782, also notes that the verb "scambiare" can refer to changing the position of an object, or turning from one side to the other. Rosa's construction can be interpreted in a number of different ways: either "I'm afraid that you swapped me in the cradle," "I'm afraid that I've been swapped with you in the cradle," or "I'm afraid that you've changed sides in the cradle," perhaps alluding to a connection between the side of the cradle and the sex of the infant, a notion further suggested by the gender contrast between the two terms "matrigna" (female) and "amico" (male).

2. On the meaning of the term "polizza," see letter 167 (note 1) and letter 254 (note 9). Rosa mentions the same document in letter 345, intended as a favour for Lucrezia's mother, Francesca Paolini.

3. Rosa reported the payments he had received for these

paintings in letter 346, the same letter that seems to have not yet reached Ricciardi (as Rosa here suggests).

4. Rosa here continues his mockery of Ricciardi as "stepmother," an analogy he constructs in the opening lines of the letter.

Letter 348:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 144, note 1, it appears from Rosa's letter of 1 January (letter 347) that Ricciardi had taken offence because Rosa had sent money for Lucrezia's mother, Francesca, instead of offering money to him, and also because Rosa had not given him the information he had requested regarding the measurements and payment received for two of his paintings—the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* and the *Scene of Witchcraft*—purchased many years prior by Carlo de' Rossi. 1667 seems to have been a difficult year for Rosa's and Ricciardi's friendship. See also in this regard letters 354, 355 and 356.

2. Lucrezia's mother Francesca Paolini, on whom see letter 58, note 13.

3. Rosa seems to have sent another "polizza" with a payment intended for Lucrezia's mother, Francesca. Rosa had earlier sent a document of this kind to Ricciardi, with the same intention, for which see letters 345 and 347. On the meaning of the term "polizza" see letter 167 (note 1) and letter 254 (note 9). For the value of a *piastra*, see letter 48, note 12.

4. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

5. Rosa's comment here is an important indication that Lucrezia's mother was still alive at this point in time.

6. See Rosa's comment in letter 344.

7. The word "postema" is a medical term, no longer in use, which refers to an abscess or tumour, and can refer in particular to the condition of *purulent otitis media*, an inflammation or infection of the ear: Battaglia, 13:1068.

8. On the meaning of the expression "un fico secco," see letter 107, note 12.

9. For Rosa's recent complaints against Carlo de' Rossi on account of the failure of one of his investments, see letter 339. On Niccolò Simonelli, see letter 27, note 23.

10. Rosa must here be referring to his attempt to find Bonaventura Cavalli at the monastery (perhaps Sant'Isidoro a Capo le Case), to which he refers in letter 336. On the favour that Ricciardi had apparently asked of Cavalli, see letters 336, 337, 338, 344, 345 and 346.

Letter 349:

1. The term "pidocchiosa" literally means infested with "pidocchi," or lice; figuratively, in reference to a person, it can mean poor, ragged or miserly, and in reference to a work of art or literature, it means something of little or inadequate value or importance: Battaglia, 13:372. On Rosa's general disdain toward the Carnival season in Rome and its comedies, see letter 9, note 2.

2. That is, "we'll wait to see if the preachers can entertain us, later on," during the Holy Week of the Lenten and Carnival season. For the term "pergamo" as "pulpit," and the related concept of "eloquenza del pergamo," the rhetoric of preaching or sacred oratory, see Battaglia, 13:21.

3. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

4. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

5. Pietro Susini, on whom see letter 339, note 22.

Letter 350:

1. The term "attrattura" (or "attratto") refers to a contraction or cramp, or a feeling of numbness, stiffness or tension, often in connection with nerves or muscles: Battaglia, 1:831. See also letter 371, where Rosa reports on another, perhaps related, problem with Augusto's neck. The problem could also be related to an earlier "malady of the neck" that Rosa reported in letter 289.

2. For "mettersi in purga" as to begin a depurative cure, by taking a purgative or laxative, see Battaglia, 14:1019. The phrase can also refer to quarantine, disinfection and drainage, among a number of other sorts of purgative medical treatments and scenarios, however Rosa's reference here to Lucrezia's "repugnance" suggests a rather unpleasant remedy.

3. On the flexible meaning of the term "flussione," which can refer to a variety of physical afflictions, see letter 269, note 15. On Lucrezia's particular leg malady, which—along with a number of related problems—seems to have caused a great deal of consternation for her and for Rosa over the next few years, see also letters 361, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 371, 372, 373, 374 and 397. The vagueness of the term "flussione" makes it difficult to determine the exact nature of Lucrezia's illness. As noted by Hults 2010, 32, it implies bleeding or discharge of some kind, however "her painful, chronic symptoms and her relatively high parity (five or more pregnancies brought to term) suggest leg ulcers from venous insufficiency. Treatments mentioned by Rosa—baths, medicinal decoctions, and purgation—were intended to cleanse her body, a common early modern approach to many illnesses. It would have been assumed that her menopause had allowed poisonous substances […] to accumulate."

4. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

Letter 351:

1. On the unspecified "malady of the leg" from which Lucrezia was suffering during this period, see letter 350, note 3.

2. The word "limosina" (by which Rosa intends "elemosina") refers to a work of charity, or almsgiving; a good deed. See also letter 147, note 6.

3. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

4. Gerra 1937 included the present letter out of chronological sequence, with an incorrect date of 1662.

Letter 352:

1. The phrase "stare con le mani alla cintola" means to be inactive or idle: Battaglia, 3:163.

2. That is, the passage in Ricciardi's letter.

3. This is perhaps a reference to Rosa's illegal relationship with Lucrezia, for which the couple were threatened with punishment by the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome. See letter 151, note 7, and letter 176, note 13.

4. On the "laws of friendship," frequently invoked by Rosa in his letters, see letter 29, note 8.

Letter 353:

1. See letter 352.

2. With his protracted courtroom analogy, Rosa once again invokes the "laws of friendship," mentioned in his previous letter to Ricciardi (letter 352). On this subject, see letter 29, note 8.

3. Rosa's intended meaning here with the expression "alla sua stagione" is not entirely clear. He could intend it in reference to a period of particular fortune, or an opportune, favourable or suitable moment in which to carry out an action (Battaglia, 20:41), or in reference to an environmental or ambient condition suited to the personality of an individual (Battaglia, 20:42). Also a possibility here is a resonance with the expression "alla stagione," which means sometimes or occasionally (Battaglia, 20:42).

Letter 354:

1. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

2. That is, in the sense of being "unclear."

3. On Rosa's recent falling-out with Ricciardi, see letter 347 (and successive letters).

4. As noted by Limentani 1950, 146, note 2, at the beginning of the summer of 1667, Ricciardi had declared that he no longer wished to write to Rosa (letter 352) and, in fact, for the entirety of July and August there is no news from him; Rosa was still asking him to write in a letter of 9 September 1667 (letter 353). Rosa believed Ricciardi was offended since he was not able to have copies made for him of certain of Rosa's paintings owned by Carlo de' Rossi, on account of the owner's objection (see letter 355). However, the reason for Ricciardi's anger seems to have consisted instead in a suspicion, not entirely clear to us (see letters 357, 358 and, in particular, 359), deriving from something (as Ricciardi believed) that Rosa had said to Giovanni Battista da Scorno. See also letter 363, where Rosa refers to Ricciardi's "suspicion" about "the mishap with Scorno," and protests his own innocence in regard to certain "discussions with the aforementioned canon". Scorno, however, must have subsequently, via his own letters, lifted the suspicion, disproving Ricciardi's claims (see letter 359) and confirming that Rosa had done nothing to offend his friend. On Ricciardi's touchiness at this moment, see also letter 348. On Giovanni Battista da Scorno, see letter 57, note 5.

Letter 355:

1. Rosa had fallen out with Carlo de' Rossi on account of the failure of an investment he had made on Rosa's behalf, and in connection with his refusal (indicated here; see note 2, below) to allow Ricciardi to have copies made of two paintings by Rosa in his possession (the *Martyrdom of Atilius Regulus* and the *Scene of Witchcraft*, on which see letters 339, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346 and 347). See also in this regard letter 348, note 1, and letter 354, note 4.

2. Rosa here provides clear evidence of Carlo de' Rossi's refusal to permit Ricciardi to have copies made of paintings by Rosa in his collection.

3. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

Letter 356:

1. Rosa here compares Ricciardi to the Roman emperor Tiberius, known for (among other things) his equivocation and erratic behaviour as a ruler, his involvement in various conspiracies, and his eventual descent into paranoia. See Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 32–65, and Suetonius, *The Lives of Twelve Caesars*, Life of Tiberius, 60–64. The term "barbagianno" literally means barn-owl; figuratively, it means "fool": see letter 5, note 2.

2. On this matter, see letter 354, note 4, and letter 355, note 1. On De' Rossi, see letter 207, note 5.

3. That is, Carlo de' Rossi.

4. A reference to Rosa's dedication of his *Figurine* prints to Carlo de' Rossi, on which see letter 207.

5. "Amici di bacialamano" are friends who "kiss hands," or friends who exchange formalities rather than intimacies.

6. Rosa here refers to the story of Alexander the Great and the Gordian knot (frequently invoked in the context of an unsolvable or enigmatic problem), and to a particular moment in the story of Oedipus, who managed to solve the riddle of the Sphinx, thereby winning the throne of Laius, the dead king of Thebes, and taking the king's widow Jacosta (who was also, in a key plot twist, Oedipus's mother) as his bride.

7. On the comic character "Bertoldino," see letter 196, note 5.

8. Gerra 1937, 62, incorrectly transcribed the date as "1669".

Letter 357:

1. The particular "box" and "painting" in question are not readily identifiable. Rosa occasionally sent Ricciardi copies of paintings, canvases that he had himself retouched, and prints and drawings that his friend had requested. Here, Rosa's comment could pertain to the offence Ricciardi took at Carlo de' Rossi's refusal to permit the making of copies after paintings by Rosa in his collection (on which see letters 339, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 355 and 356; see also letter 348, note 1, and letter 354, note 4). The "box" to which Rosa here refers is not mentioned in any of the previous or subsequent letters, suggesting that Rosa's comment pertains to a specific package—containing a painting—that Rosa had sent to Ricciardi; Rosa's comments in the preceding letter (letter 356) also suggest that the reason for Ricciardi's complaints was not connected to the matter concerning De' Rossi.

2. Rosa's meaning here is difficult to decipher. By "piegarsi le spalle," literally to bend or buckle the shoulders, Rosa seems to mean to cow down, submit or surrender. The term "fallo," which means fault, can also refer figuratively to the male member, and could be part of a pun that is here implied by Rosa's apparent distinction between "moral" and "physical" faults or weaknesses. By "fisico" Rosa seems to mean real, concrete or substantial. See Battaglia, 6:30.

3. As noted by Limentani 1950, 148, note 2, Rosa was in reality about to turn fifty-three. It is not entirely clear as to why he

would lie about his age. On the matter of Rosa's birthdate, see also letter 49, note 1.

4. The verb "discioglіersi" is a variant, no longer in use, of "scioglіersi," meaning to release or free oneself.

Letter 358:

1. This letter, in which Rosa seems to have offered Ricciardi money, does not appear to have survived. Indeed, there is a significant gap in Rosa's extant letters between January 1668 (letter 357) and March 1668 (the present letter).

Letter 359:

1. As noted by Limentani 1950, 149, note 1, with the word "pensione" Rosa here intends a burden, or weight.

2. The content of these letters, which seem to pertain to the reason for Ricciardi's anger with Rosa, is unknown. See in this regard also letter 354, note 4. On Giovanni Battista da Scorno, see letter 57, note 5.

3. The term "pazzerello" (also "pazzarello" or "pazarello," in older usage) has various meanings, including careless, irrational, reckless, extravagant and crazy. The expression "mandare ai pazzerelli qualcuno" means to consider someone to be crazy, deranged or insane: Battaglia, 12:885. The word "pazzerelli" was also used in reference to asylums or institutions devoted to the care of the mentally ill, such as the confraternity and hospital of Santa Maria della Pietà dei Pazzarelli, Rome (on which see also letter 243, note 12).

4. The verb "tramischiare" means to mix or mingle, to merge together the same ideas, conceptions or attitudes; to insert incongruent elements into a particular context; to intermingle: Battaglia, 21:152.

5. Francesco Martinotti (1642–1679), originally from Casale Monferrato, was a painter and printmaker active in Rome from 1663, who worked as a copyist of and collaborator with Rosa: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 370, note 1. Martinotti worked with Rosa from 1669 to 1672. Recommended to Rosa by Ricciardi, Martinotti was taken under Rosa's wing and entrusted with painting copies of his works for Ricciardi. He is also mentioned in letters 360, 372, 374, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390, 391, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 400 and 401. His brother, the painter Evangelista Giovanni Martinotti (1634–1694), was (according to Thieme-Becker, XXIV:183) a student of Rosa's who gained fame as a painter of historical subjects. Noting the scarcity of documentary evidence about, or of surviving works by, Francesco Martinotti, Bartoni 2010, 413, cites a number of documents that provide some important information about the artist. A baptismal document included in a matrimonial record (which also contains documents pertaining to a wedding) indicates Martinotti's birth in Casale Monferrato on 20 January 1642. Martinotti subsequently left his homeland in 1669, heading for Rome (and Rosa provides the first indication of the young painter's arrival on 30 November 1669, in letter 385). In Rome, Martinotti lived in a house near Rosa's (as Rosa indicates in letter 397), but remained there for only a few months. In the Easter *Stati delle Anime* of 1672, for the parish of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, Martinotti is recorded at the age of 30 as living on the Via Gregoriana, on the left-hand side, almost exactly opposite Rosa. On 30 January 1673, Martinotti married a young woman from the area, Laura Benedetta, the daughter of Francesco Murgia, a painter from Sardinia who had lived for many years in Rome; it is certainly possible that there was some professional connection between Martinotti and Murgia, although there is no documentary evidence one way or the other. In the summer of 1679, Augusto Rosa referred to Martinotti's death in a letter to Ricciardi (see Miarelli Mariani 2003, 308–309); the event is corroborated by a document recording the date of his death as 22 July 1679, in the parish of Santa Susanna, where he had moved with his family. Notwithstanding our limited information about Martinotti's career, Bartoni 2010, 417, note 43, speculates further that he was probably a specialist in landscape painting, who also found employment in designing decorative *imprese* and as a painter of stage scenery (as suggested by Rosa in letter 394). Rosa also records Martinotti's participation in the painting of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (Gallery of Maps) at the Palazzo Colonna, Rome, on which see letter 396, note 6.

Letter 360:

1. The term "moda" is here presumably intended in reference to a "mode" or "manner" of friendship.

2. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

3. Here, Rosa is perhaps recalling a line from Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo d'amore* (1542), 547–548, in praise of Titian's colours: "Titian is not a painter, and his virtue is not art but a miracle […] just as heaven is the paradise of the soul, so God has transfused into Titian's colours the paradise of our bodies" ("Tiziano non è dipintore e non è arte la virtù sua ma miracolo […] come in cielo è il paradiso dell'anime, così pare che ne' suoi colori Dio abbia riposto il paradiso d'i nostri corpi"). See Pignatti 2008, 298.

4. In connection with Rosa's "pupils," see Baldinucci, 5:502, who asserts that "there remain no other students of Rosa's than Bartolomeo del Rosa" who was of no particular talent, and his "so-called disciple" Giovanni Ghisolfi ("[d]i Salvator Rosa non rimase altro allievo, che un tale Bartolommeo, che fu detto Bartolommeo del Rosa […] anche Giovanni Ghisolfi Milanese, altre volte nominato, potesse chiamarsi suo discepolo […]"). On the Neapolitan landscapist Bartolomeo Torreggiani, who worked for most of his career in Rome, in the style of Rosa and Claude Lorrain, see also: Passeri, 398; Chiarini 1965; and Bartoni 2010, 412 (on his residence in Rome, located in the same neighbourhood as Rosa's). On Rosa and Ghisolfi, see letter 179, note 14. Bartoni 2010 suggested the intriguing possibility of a professional relationship between Rosa and the Neapolitan painter Mattia Musculiati, who is registered as living in a house on the Via Gregoriana, together with a number of Spanish ecclesiastics, between 1662 and 1665; in 1666, Musculiati moved to the Strada Felice, just a few steps from Rosa, and from 1667 to 1668 he was once again on the Via Gregoriana, during the period in which Rosa is recorded on the same street, on the opposite side. A landscapist, Musculiati's name appears in numerous inventories of Neapolitan collections, including that of Ottaviano Orsini, Prince of Frasso, who died in 1704 (the inventory records Musculiati as Rosa's "disciple": "Due quadri paesi di palmi 5, e $2^{1/2}$ cornice Dorata mano di Mattia Moscoliato discepolo di Salvatore Rosa"). See Bartoni 2010, 414–415. Perhaps, as Bartoni suggests, Musculiati was among the many acquaintances and friends belonging to the circle of *letterati*, as recorded by Passeri, 395, whom Rosa frequently met on the Trinità dei Monti. On the matter of Rosa and his

"students," see also letter 289, note 3, and Hoare 2018, 90 and 268.

5. 31 March.

Letter 361:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 371, note 1, "Mezzettino" is the name of a clever, scheming and trouble-making character from the *commedia dell'arte*. Originating in Bergamo, the part was made famous by Angelo Costantini (*c.* 1654–1729), from Verona.

2. The term "flussione" refers to a "fluxion" or influx of fluid in the body. On the meaning of this term, see letter 269, note 15. Rosa first reported Lucrezia's ailment, which had apparently "tormented her for nearly a year," in an earlier letter of 14 March 1667: see letter 350 (and note 3).

3. With the term "rotta" Rosa intends the verb "rompersi," in the sense of being aggravated or annoyed by something.

4. Lorenzo Panciatichi (1635–last recorded 1676), a Florentine priest, writer and courtier of the Medici. Panciatichi was also a member of the Accademia della Crusca, from 1654, with the members of which he collaborated on the *Vocabolario*. From 1661, he was a canon of the Cathedral of Florence: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 371, note 2. Panciatichi apparently died in a suicidal fit of madness, hurling himself into a well, "carried away by more than poetic madness". See Negri, 378–379. Among Panciatichi's many literary works are prayers, diatribes, jokes and scholarly compositions, which testify to both his eccentricity and success as a writer in his own time. These works included the *Cicalata in lode della padella e della frittura* (1656), the *Ditirambo d'uno che per febbre deliri* (1659), and the *Contraccicalata alla cicalata dell'Imperfetto* [the academic name of Orazio Ricasoli Rucellai] *sopra la lingua ionadattica* (1662). On Panciatichi, see also Guasti 1856, i–lxv, and De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 17, who suggests that Rosa probably met Panciatichi in 1659 on the occasion of the artist's visit to Tuscany (see letters 227 and 228). In letter 390, Rosa refers to Panciatichi again, calling him "Mercurio": this could have been an academic name, a reference to one of his literary compositions, or, as De Rinaldis suggests, simply a reference to Panciatichi's "quicksilver" wit as a writer (Rosa also refers to him as "vivo argento" in letter 393). De Rinaldis records that Panciatichi travelled to Rome in 1668 to participate in the investiture of Prince Leopoldo de' Medici as cardinal (see letter 364, note 1). Panciatichi returned to Rome again in early December 1669 as a canon in the service of Cardinal Leopoldo, on the occasion of the conclave that ultimately elected pope Clement X in April of the following year. During this long conclave, Panciatichi circulated numerous copies of an anonymous satire, in Florence and Rome, entitled *L'esclusione di San Pietro* (conserved in two copies in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence), writing about it to the scholar Antonio Magliabecchi (1633–1714) in Florence. In their epistolary exchange (for which see De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 17), both Panciatichi and Magliabecchi mention Rosa and his possible authorship of the composition. Panciatichi writes: "Salvator Rosa recited it by heart with great grandiloquence, and it's thought that it might be by him" ("Salvator Rosa la recita a mente con grand'enfasi, e si crede che possa esser sua"); to which Magliabecchi replied, "this court has decided that the composition has some of your most illustrious Lordship's flavour to it, as well as something of Rosa; and this is the current common opinion" ("la Corte comunemente diceva, che quella composizione fosse parto di Vostra Signoria illustrissima […] si dice, che parte sia di Vostra Signoria illustrissima, e parte del Signor Rosa: e questa in oggi è l'opinion comune"). Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli, in his *Toscana letterata*, claimed that the satire had in fact been a collaborative enterprise by Rosa, Panciatichi, and Pietro Susini, a theory borne out—as De Rinaldis suggests—by the fact that these friends were in close contact between 1668 and 1670. On this satire, see also Maffeo 1975, 250–251.

5. The word "scontornatamente" means lacking clear and precise contours; vaguely, indistinctly: Battaglia, 18:186. The term "ingrassato" is probably intended here in its literal sense (to get fat); alternatively, though less likely in the present context, Rosa could intend the term in its more figurative sense (in keeping with his more habitual use of the word, as in letters 177, 179 and 231): to get excited, get carried away, boast or be proud.

6. The actor and playwright Pietro Susini, on whom see letter 339, note 22.

7. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 371, note 3, the day is missing in the ms. It can be reconstructed through a comparison of the present letter's content with that of two subsequent letters (letters 362 and 363), in the second of which Rosa mentions that Lucrezia "took her medicine a second time," and reports that her leg is feeling better.

Letter 362:

1. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

Letter 363:

1. Rosa had recently sent Ricciardi a number of the Canon da Scorno's letters, hoping to prove his innocence in regard to an unspecified quarrel between the two friends. See letter 359, and letter 354, note 4.

2. See letter 362. On the mail routes from Rome, which included Lyon, see letter 27, note 2.

3. On Lucrezia's malady, see letter 350, note 3.

Letter 364:

1. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 205, note 1, this is likely a reference to Prince Leopoldo de' Medici, who had gone to Rome that year in order to undergo investiture as cardinal. On 12 December 1667, Pope Clement IX had named Leopoldo cardinal of the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano, after which he made frequent trips to Rome—in part to expand his ever-growing collection of books and works of art.

2. The term "impertinente," in an older usage, means strange or odd (in reference to a person), untimely or inconvenient, eccentric or bizarre, unusual, or inappropriate; urgent or excessive: Battaglia, 7:456.

3. Lucrezia was eager, as was Rosa, for Ricciardi to come and visit them in Rome. See, for example, her request as reported by Rosa in letter 361.

4. Rosa seems here to be using the term "ritoccata" as a variation on the term "ritocco," which refers to the reappearance of a past illness or injury: Battaglia, 16:959.

5. On Rosa and melancholy, which is here also described as

Lucrezia's affliction, see letter 119 (note 16), letter 132 (note 1) and letter 147 (note 2). On Lucrezia's malady, see letter 350, note 3.

6. Lorenzo Panciatichi (on whom see letter 361, note 4) and Pietro Susini, on whom see letter 339, note 22.

7. On the matter concerning Giovanni Battista da Scorno, see letter 354, note 4.

Letter 365:

1. By emphasizing the word "Scorno," Rosa likely intends a play on the word's meaning as "disgrace," or "shame". On the matter concerning Giovanni Battista da Scorno and Ricciardi, see letter 354, note 4.

2. Bonaventura Cavalli, on whom see letter 134, note 8.

3. On Lucrezia's malady, see letter 350, note 3.

Letter 366:

1. The intended subject here is unclear; it could be "I" or "we".

2. Rosa's intended meaning with the term "fabbrica" is unclear. He could mean "discuss," "work on," or "devise".

3. This letter is an important record of the kinds of activities engaged in by Rosa and his Tuscan friends, among the Accademia dei Percossi in Florence and the Accademia degli Stravaganti in Pisa, in connection with their theatrical productions. See further on this subject Hoare 2018, chapter two.

4. A "doccia de' bagni" is probably a medicinal wash or liquid, for use in the bath, intended for application to the afflicted part of the body. See the definition for "doccia" (no. 8) in Tommaseo and Bellini. The term "doccia" refers in particular to a tube or pipe (see Battaglia, 4:891), and may pertain to the purgative treatment that Lucrezia was planning to undergo. See also Rosa's references to the same treatment in letters 367 and 368.

Letter 367:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 376, note 1, Rosa is here citing the final line of Petrarch's sonnet CL, *Che fai alma? che pensi? avrem mai pace?*, vv. 12–14: "Per tutto ciò la mente non s'acqueta,/ rompendo il duol che 'n lei s'accoglie et stagna,/ ch'a gran speranza huom misero non crede." ("For all that my mind is not at peace,/ aching with grief that gathers there and stays,/ an unhappy man has no faith in wild hopes.") Rosa also cites from Petrarch's compositions in letters 205, 253, 260, 271, 305, 320, 375 and 394. On the importance of Petrarch for Rosa's work, see Hoare 2018, 123–125.

2. A "decotto" is a type of medicinal drink produced by boiling mashed plant-matter (typically herbs, roots, bark or seeds) in water, and then filtering the resulting liquid, in order to extract the plants' beneficial nutrients: Battaglia, 4:98–99. See also Rosa's comment regarding Lucrezia's treatment in letter 366.

3. This is presumably a reference to Lucrezia's desire for Ricciardi to visit them in Rome.

4. On the medical condition of hypochondria, see letter 132, note 1.

Letter 368:

1. On the meaning of the term "flussione," see letter 269, note 15.

2. The word "scimunito" refers to a person who lacks the ability to reason, has limited intellect, or is lacking in culture, either due to old age or a mental condition; someone who conducts himself impulsively, inconsiderately, wretchedly; stupid, foolish or crazy: Battaglia, 18:45.

3. The term "puntura" has various meanings, however in the context of early modern medicine it referred specifically to pleurisy, the inflammation of the pleura (the membrane surrounding the lungs and lining the chest cavity), usually brought on by a respiratory disease such as pneumonia or tuberculosis, that produces an accumulation of fluid in the pleura as well as chills, fever and painful breathing and coughing. See Battaglia, 14:1006–1007.

4. A "bagnolo" is a form of bathing that involves applying to the body scraps of cloth soaked in either hot or cold water: Battaglia, 1:946. Rosa may be referring to an element of this medicinal treatment in letters 366 ("doccia de' bagni") and 367. For "purga" as a purgative or laxative, among other similar types of medical treatments, see letter 350, note 2.

5. Rosa here uses the term "genio" in the double sense of "spirit" and "ingenuity".

6. The expression "cavarne il pane" is equivalent to "guadagnarsi il pane," that is, to make money, or "earn one's daily bread". By "lettere" Rosa means the humanist course of study—in particular, the study of texts and theory, which are here contrasted with drawing as a practical pursuit. This is an interesting comment on Rosa's part, in view of his oft-voiced opinions about the purely intellectual value of his practice as a painter, most famously expressed in his declaration to Antonio Ruffo (see letter 331). On Augusto's talents and eventual career as a painter, see letter 250 (note 6), letter 325 (note 5) and letter 336 (note 8). Volpi 2011, 411, proposed that although Augusto was only eleven years old in 1668, Rosa may well have begun teaching him to paint; in 1673, moreover, Augusto wrote to his mother Lucrezia to inform her of the progress he was making in the art of landscape painting, declaring himself a master in his own right (for Augusto's letter, see Miarelli Mariani 2003, 300, doc. V).

7. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

8. The identity of this individual is not known. See also in this regard letter 369, note 7.

9. A reference to the protagonists of Miguel de Cervantes's novel, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (*The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*) (1605 and 1615), and to the various absurdities and delusions they experience on their adventures—beginning, at the outset, with Don Quixote's initial delusional undertaking in which he placed his unwavering faith in fictional books of chivalry. Rosa may be referring to Cervantes's novel again in letter 369. On the possibility that Rosa read or owned a copy of *Don Quixote*, see Conte 2014, 197–198, who notes that the book was translated into Italian by Lorenzo Franciosini, and published by Andrea Baba in Venice in 1622 and 1625.

Letter 369:

1. That is, either in regard to the request that Ricciardi had made in his letter, or in regard to the retrieval of letters from the post office.

2. As pointed out by Limentani 1953, 58, note 128, it was, however, during this summer that Rosa was seeking to exhibit two paintings at San Giovanni Decollato (on 29 August), executed expressly for that occasion: in letter 370, Rosa comments in particular on his ambition to be the only living painter included in the exhibition, an opportunity with which to measure his talents against those of the great masters, whose works the exhibition was primarily intended to showcase.

3. A "libro di cavalleria" is, literally, a book treating the subject of medieval chivalric romance: Battaglia, 2:911. In his own note on Rosa's comment, Limentani 1953, 58, note 129, cited the observation of Belloni 1943, 79, that the number of such romance novels were, in the seventeenth century, "superiore perfino a quello de' poemi epici, che […] diluviarono" ("even greater than epic poems, which […] were ubiquitous"). Rosa may have been referring here to Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, which he also mentions in letter 368.

4. The word in the ms. is uncertain. If it is "delignarmi," then Rosa may have intended the verb "delineare," as in to delineate or outline, or to sketch. If it is "designare," Rosa could mean to designate or point out; however, he could also intend "disegnare," to draw or outline.

5. That is, the chiming of the evening Ave Maria or Angelus bell, marking sunset and the end of the 24-hour cycle. On the measurement of time in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 31, note 7.

6. It has not been possible to further identify this "Signor Guazzaini," perhaps a member of the Guazzini family of Lucca.

7. Limentani 1953, 58, note 130, suggested this "Signor Pittore" could perhaps be the same individual to whom Rosa refers in letter 368, as the "Roman or Lucchese person who bad-mouthed me".

8. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 370:

1. The Valley of Josaphat (or Jehoshaphat), traditionally understood as a place of Divine Judgment. It appears in Joel 3:2 and 3:12: "I will gather together all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Josaphat: and I will plead with them there for my people, and for my inheritance Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations"; "Let the nations be roused; let them advance into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, for there I will sit to judge all the nations on every side". According to two different interpretations, the Valley of Josaphat is considered either the historical location of Yahweh's destruction of the Gentile coalition of Moab, Ammon and Edom, or, more generally a "valley of judgment," on account of the meaning of "Josaphat" as "Yahweh judges". In Joel 3:14, the same valley is referred to as the "valley of destruction" (or "valley of decision"). See Abel 1910. As noted by Salomon 2010b, 91, "[f]or Rosa the 1668 exhibition was his own 'last judgment' against Old Masters," as Rosa's comments in the present letter suggest.

2. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 379, note 1, on 20 June 1667, Giulio Rospigliosi had been elected as Pope Clement IX. His brother, Camillo—to whom Rosa here refers as the primary sponsor of the exhibition—was named general of the Church. Among his sons, Giacomo was created cardinal in 1667 and Felice in 1673, Vincenzo was general of the Christian army in the war of Candia, and Giovan Battista was given the title of Duke of Zagarolo in 1668. On the role of the Rospigliosi in the sponsorship of the exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato in 1668, see Salomon 2010b, 79.

3. There is extensive scholarship on the large and influential art collection of Queen Christina of Sweden, housed at her palace (now Palazzo Corsini) in Rome, which included the most important contemporary collection of paintings by Venetian Renaissance masters, as well as sculpture, medals, drawings and books. On Christina's collection, see in particular: *Christina Queen* 1966; Masson 1968; *Cristina di Svezia* 1989; Borsellino 1994; Magnusson 1999; *Cristina di Svezia* 2003; and Uelsberg 2006. For the 1689 inventory of her Roman collection, see Campori 1870, 336–376, and Granberg 1896. As noted by Salomon 2010b, 91–92, it is not known exactly which paintings from the collection were chosen for display at the 1668 exhibition at San Giovanni Decollato, "but it would be tempting to suggest that amongst them was at least one of the four large allegorical paintings by Paolo Veronese that had been brought to Sweden after the Sack of Prague in 1648, and then to Rome in 1659 [on which see Salomon 2006]." Rosa seems to have taken a trip to Venice with Ricciardi in 1648 (on which see letter 23, note 1) and would have also encountered Veronese's work on that occasion. The paintings by Veronese in Christina's collection, notes Salomon, "were the most remarkable paintings by the artist in Rome, and it would be reasonable to assume that Rosa's intention was that his exhibition pictures should rival Old Master paintings precisely like Veronese's." Rosa's *Saul and the Witch of Endor* (on which see note 7, below) is slightly larger than the Veronese canvases, while paintings like the *Pan and Pindar* (mentioned in letter 339) also "followed the same format" as the *Saul*. Thus, contends Salomon, "it is reasonable to argue that [Rosa] was trying to depict grand, historical, mythological and philosophical subjects in the fashion of painters like Veronese, precisely because a direct comparison was possible in venues like the San Giovanni Decollato exhibitions." Christina enjoyed the particular favour of the Rospigliosi family, especially Pope Clement IX (Giulio Rospigliosi). On her role in the exhibitions in Rome, at San Giovanni Decollato and San Salvatore in Lauro, see: Haskell 1980, 127; Haskell 2000, 9–10; De Marchi and Ghezzi 1987; and Zirpolo 2005, 139–140. On Christina's interest in Rosa's own works, and their presence in her collection, see also Mahoney 1965. In 1652, Rosa had turned down the invitation to work at Christina's court, on which see letter 128.

4. It appears from Rosa's comment that he was the only modern artist chosen to exhibit his works on this occasion, the rest of the works on display being by "old masters". As noted by Salomon 2010b, 88, Rosa's comment offers the first "precise evidence of Old Master paintings (presumably the work of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Paolo Veronese and others) being displayed in this kind of exhibition," a fact, too, that probably impacted upon the iconographic and stylistic choices that Rosa made in this period, infusing his paintings with references to works by Renaissance masters. Rosa's high opinion of his work, in relation to that of the "old masters" of the previous generations, is expressed on other occasions. See for example letter 144, where he effectively appraises his work as being on a par with Raphael and Titian. See also the anecdotes related by Rosa's biographers, such as the story recounted by Passeri concerning Michelangelo (for which see letter 93, note 12). On this kind of comparison as a more general topos in the construction of early modern artistic identity, see for example Ames-Lewis 2000, 189–207, and Goffen 2002, esp. 3–66.

5. On Rosa's perennial concern with his reputation, see letter 32, note 9.

6. By referring to his artistic rivals as the "Achilleses" of the art

of painting, Rosa seems to suggest that he can conquer these so-called "demi-gods" of old, on account of some secret flaw or vulnerability on their part.

7. This is Rosa's painting of *Saul and the Witch of Endor* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), on which see: Salerno 1975, 101, cat. 210; Scott 1995, 182, fig. 192; Loire 2006, 315–319; Brejon de Lavergnée, in Naples 2008, 83–87; and Volpi 2014, 583, cat. 307. The painting was acquired by King Louis XIV between 1670 and 1682, although the specific circumstances of this acquisition are unknown. As noted by Brejon de Lavergnée (84), the acquisition could have been in connection with the invitation Rosa received to work at the French court in 1665, via the Duc de Créquy, for which see letter 315. Brejon de Lavergnée (84) also published a transcription and photograph of the final page of a letter addressed by Rosa to Ricciardi, dated 26 June 1670, which appeared on the Paris market in 2002 (its current location is unknown); the letter mentions the *Saul and the Witch of Endor* and suggests a possible patron for the painting. See Appendix 1.

8. This is considered to be a reference to Rosa's painting of *Saint George and the Dragon* (private collection, Pordenone), for which see: Ozzola 1925–1926, 29; Salerno 1963, 148; Salerno 1975, 101, cat. 212; Mahoney 1977, 1:708–710, cat. 84.2–84.3; Scott 1995, 181; Langdon, in Naples 2008, 56; Salomon 2010b, 93 and fig. 57; and Volpi 2014, 584, cat. 308. On Rosa's exhibition of the *Saint George and the Dragon*, see also Salomon 2010b, 91–94.

9. This seems to be a reference to another episode in Marcantonio Cesti's turbulent life, which took place in Venice in 1659. As summarized by Bianconi, in *DBI* 24 (1980):285, Cesti was involved in an incident in Venice (about which relatively little is known) that would give rise to a deadly hostility between the abbot G. Grimani Calergi, one of the proprietors of the theatre of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, and the Querini family. The incident involved a theatre box, from which Cesti was forcibly removed by one of the members of the Querini family so that a member of the Grimani could have his seat. On 15 January 1659 (1658 in the Venetian calendar), the Grimani brothers—Vittore, Giovanni and Pietro—murdered Francesco Querini as he exited Santi Giovanni e Paolo after a performance, and were then banished from the city. The criminal acts of the Council of Ten, however, are elusive, and it is impossible to determine whether the episode concerning Cesti took place on that particular night, or on another occasion.

10. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 371:

1. On Lucrezia's leg ailment, see letter 350, note 3.

2. On the meaning of the term "cicolino," see letter 155, note 8. The ailment may be connected to problems Rosa had reported earlier, concerning Augusto's neck, in letters 289 and 350.

3. That is, behave with a certain rigidity of constitution. Rosa's comment appears to concern in particular the requirement, outlined in the "Fifteenth Annotation" of *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, that "he who is giving the Exercises should not turn or incline to one side or the other, but standing in the centre like a balance, leave the Creator to act immediately with the creature, and the creature with its Creator and the Lord." See Mullan 1914, n. p.

4. The term "cocchiumato" means mocked, teased or made a fool of: Battaglia, 3:242. Here, however, Rosa uses the term in combination with a phrase (*m'ha cocchiumato per le feste*) comparable to "conciare per le feste," which, in reference to a person, means to be mistreated, messed up, in disarray, or reduced to a bad state: Battaglia, 3:467. Rosa uses a similar expression in letter 248.

5. Rosa is here referring to the church of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice, erected as an ex-voto for the plague of 1628, and begun in 1631 according to the designs of Baldassare Longhena (1598–1682). On the church, see: Hopkins 2000; Langé 2006; and Santamaria 2007. The subject of the painting requested from Rosa is unknown, as is the specific altar to which Rosa here refers. As noted by Salomon 2010a, 190, it is strange that Rosa would turn down the invitation to paint a significant public altarpiece in such a prominent church, only to accept a far less grand commission—the *Saint Torpes* executed for the Duomo, Pisa (on which see letter 376, note 3)—a year later. Conte 2014, 130, observed that the projected altarpiece for Santa Maria della Salute is most likely the same commission that was subsequently granted by the Republic of Venice to Rosa's friend, Baldassarre Franceschini (Il Volterrano), perhaps at the suggestion of Rosa himself: Franceschini, in turn, did not honour the commission and it went to Luca Giordano. In evidence of this possible link between Rosa and Franceschini at this moment, Conte (213, note 129) notes the significance of another exchange, only two months later, in January 1669 (see letter 374), when Franceschini lavished praise on the prints by Rosa that he had seen, probably in Florence, with Cordini.

6. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

7. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

8. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 372:

1. On Augusto's neck ailment, see letter 371, note 2.

2. The librettist and poet Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, on whom see letter 225, note 2.

3. See Rosa's comment concerning Marcantonio Cesti in letter 370 (note 9). On Cesti, see also letter 27, note 21.

4. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

5. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

6. On Lucrezia's leg ailment, see letter 350 (note 3) and letter 371 (note 1).

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

8. This is presumably a reference to the painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

Letter 373:

1. See Rosa's comments in letters 366, 367 and 368, regarding the medicinal treatment prescribed to Lucrezia. On her malady of the leg, see also letter 350, note 3.

Letter 374:

1. As suggested by De Rinaldis 1939, 214, note 1, Rosa is probably here referring to Ricciardi's ambition to be elected a Reader in moral philosophy at the University of Pisa, a position

that he would only obtain in 1673—the year of Rosa's death—and would keep until his own death in 1686.

2. The expression "tagliarsi i coglioni per far dispetto alla moglie" is comparable to (though rather more colourful than) the English saying: "to cut off your nose to spite your face".

3. The expression "Caesar or nothing," of unknown origins, means "all or nothing". Rosa could here be thinking of Ladislao I, King of Naples (also known as Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo) (1376–1414), who adopted the maxim. In regard to the tomb inscription, however, Rosa could perhaps have in mind Cesare Borgia (1475–1507), who had the motto ("Aut Caesar aut nihil") inscribed on his sword and whose requiem mass, celebrated on the occasion of his death (and held in the church of Santa Maria, Viana, Spain), also incorporated the dictum in its title ("Aut Caesar aut nihil et nihil fuit," "Either Caesar or nothing and nothing came of it"). See Breverton 2012, n. p.

4. On Lucrezia's leg ailment, see letter 350, note 3.

5. A reference to the painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5. Rosa had asked after him in letter 372.

6. Rosa's use of the term "coachman" here is presumably intended in mockery of Cosimo Brunetti for his never-ending travels. On Brunetti, see letter 67, note 13.

7. With the term "inpegno" Rosa could intend either the noun "impegno" (a commitment or obligation) or the construction "essere in pegno" (in which the term "pegno" can refer to a pledge, collateral or pawn; see Battaglia, 12:941), presumably intended here with the same general meaning of "obligation."

8. The verb "sbalzare" means to jump or explode. It can also mean to move about or travel ("spostare") in a sudden or unexpected manner, or to jostle about. See Battaglia, 17:631.

9. This is presumably a reference to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando II de' Medici, who reigned from 1621 to 1670.

10. Rosa is here being ironical, intending the opposite.

11. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 383, note 3, the "Convitato di Pietra" is a reference to the first Italian version (1648, by Onofrio Giliberto) of one of two Spanish plays, entitled *El Burlador de Sevilla y Conbidado de pietra* (*The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest*) (1630), by Tirso de Molina. On these plays, the first significant dramatizations of the Don Juan legend, see Macchia 1978. Rosa's complaint here over the lack of "novelty" could refer to the habit of the famous actor, Tiberio Fiorilli, of making his debut with this comedy in every new city on his tour. On the "Convitato di Pietra", see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 2. The revival production to which Rosa refers in the present letter, called *L'empio punito*, was jointly composed by an anonymous author—perhaps the librettist and scenographer Filippo Acciaiuoli (the involvement of Giovanni Filippo Apolloni has also been proposed)—and Alessandro Melani, who set it to music. It was performed during Carnival on 17 February 1669 at the Palazzo Colonna in Borgo, Rome, in the presence of Queen Christina of Sweden. On this performance, see Besutti 2010, 165 and note 4, and Gozzano 2010, 113–114, who notes the Colonna family's sponsorship of the performance, and suggests that the "cavalieri" involved probably included Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Filippo Acciaiuoli, members of the Rospigliosi family, and the cardinals Flavio and Agostino Chigi. On the influence of the Spanish theatre on Florentine academies of the seventeenth century, see Vuelta García 2005, 495. On the influence of this tradition on Ricciardi's dramatic compositions, in particular, see Profeti 2009, 39–54.

12. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 215, note 1, this is a reference to Ricciardi's comedy, *Il Trespolo tutore*, published in Bologna (G. Longhi, undated, but *c.* 1665).

13. Rosa has written the word "Avidio" in the ms., a variation of the word for "Ovid" in the Neapolitan dialect. In Giovan Battista Basile's *Lo cunto de li cunti* (*Il Pentamerone*) (Naples, 1634–1636), a text with which Rosa was intimately familiar, Ovid appears as "Avidio": Basile 1925, 2:247. Hence Rosa's specification here, "as the Neapolitan says".

14. Filippo Acciaiuoli (1637–1700), the Roman librettist and composer, who also organized performances in the city. He was famous for the *Girello* performed in Rome in 1668, set to music by Jacopo Melani: Borrelli and Festa 2003, 383, note 4. See also De Rinaldis 1939, 215, note 2, and Note Liminari 2.

15. That is, a person capable of instituting severe strictures even in a place such as the "Land of Cockaigne," an imaginary land of plenty and place of extreme luxury, leisure and pleasure, devoid of the unpleasantries of everyday life.

16. A reference to the librettist and poet Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, on whom see letter 225, note 2. As Rosa indicates in the present letter, Apolloni wrote the verses after Acciaiuoli's libretto (the *L'empio punito*). With the phrase "Ebreo rappezzatore" Rosa seems to be drawing an analogy between Apolloni's correction of Acciaiuoli's work and the traditionally Jewish trade in textiles and tailoring; a "rappezzatore" is a patcher or mender. There does not appear to be any evidence that Apolloni was himself Jewish. In regard to Rosa's dissatisfaction with the performance of the *L'empio punito*, see also Regel and Regel 2011, 128–129: "[t]he fact that [Rosa] does not mention the title of the work in his letters but refers to the sources is significant: not only his contemporaries but subsequent generations were also astonished at the extraordinary success achieved by Tirso de Molina's *comedia nueva*: *El Burlador de Sivilla y Convidado de piedra*, which was premiered in Madrid in 1624 and appeared in print in 1630."

17. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 383, note 5, Alessandro Melani (1639–1703), from Pistoia, was the brother of the musician Jacopo Melani. Alessandro was *maestro di cappella* of the Duomo of Pistoia, and subsequently of San Petronio in Bologna (in 1660). After moving to Rome, he held the same position at the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (1667–1672) and at the church of San Luigi dei Francesi (1672–1698). He composed *L'empio punito* (first performed in Rome on 17 February 1669, at the Palazzo Colonna) on the basis of the libretto by Filippo Acciaiuoli, the first version of the *Convitato di Pietra* set to music. This is the production to which Rosa here refers. On Melani, see Morelli, in *DBI* 73 (2009):232–236.

18. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

19. De Rinaldis 1939, 215, note 5, called him an "unknown painter," but he is clearly Baldassarre Franceschini, otherwise known as "Il Volterrano," the famous painter from Volterra to whom Rosa refers in earlier letters. On Franceschini, see letter 58, note 11.

20. Rosa's meaning with the term "carte" is not entirely clear: he could be referring to pages of drawings, or to prints (to which the term clearly refers on various occasions in Rosa's letters). Volpi 2010c, 132, interprets it as a reference to drawings, noting that Baldassarre Franceschini—as suggested by Rosa's words in the present letter—appears to be among those to whom Rosa sold, before his death, the remainder of the drawings he had not given as gifts to friends. No books of sketches are recorded in Rosa's inventory of 1673. On Cosimo III de' Medici's interest in acquiring Rosa's drawings after the artist's death, see letter 86, note 17.

Letter 375:

1. Rosa is here referring to one of the theatrical productions performed at the Collegio Romano, the Jesuit seminary in Rome. On Rosa's general distaste for the comedic performances of the Carnival season in Rome, see letter 9, note 2.

2. The location of a forest near Strozzavolpe, on which see letter 266, note 4. Rosa's comment in the present letter—particularly his reference to "sitting on a rock" in the forest—brings to mind a drawing he executed on the verso of a letter attributed to Ricciardi, addressed to Ascanio della Penna, for which see Appendix 3, letter C.

3. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 384, note 1, this line is taken from Petrarch's sonnet CCXV, *La sera desiare, odiar l'aurora* (*Desire the evening, and hate the dawn*, v. 1).

4. On the publication of Ricciardi's comedies, see letter 126, note 6.

5. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

6. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

Letter 376:

1. On this play, see letter 374, note 11. The first Roman performance of *Il Convitato di Pietra*, adapted by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni and set to music by Alessandro Melani, at which Queen Christina of Sweden was also present, was given on 19 February 1669 at the Palazzo Colonna in Borgo, Rome.

2. Rosa here constructs a game of words between Apollonius of Tyana, the Neo-Pythagorean Greek philosopher of the first century CE, and Giovanni Filippo Apolloni: De Rinaldis 1939, 217, note 1. On Apolloni's involvement in the production of the "Convitato di Pietra," see letter 374.

3. A reference to Rosa's *Saint Torpes* (Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa), executed for an altar in the Duomo, Pisa, and moved during the restorations of 1829 to the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa. On the painting, see: Salerno 1975, 104, cat. 254; Mahoney 1977, 1:711, cat. 84.4–84.5 (for preparatory drawings for the painting); Ciardi 1992, 101–102 and fig. 100; Scott 1995, 195–196; Ambrosini, in Peroni 1995, 1:655–656; Milone 2004, 36, note 11; Paliaga 2009, 160; Salomon 2010a, 187–188; and Volpi 2014, 591, cat. 318. The painting was commissioned by Marcantonio Venerosi, the *operaio* of the Duomo, Pisa, and a friend of Ricciardi who belonged to the Pisan academies of the Disuniti and the Stravaganti, the latter from at least 1664. (Conte 2014, 227, note 256, records a sonnet by Marcantonio Venerosi: "Trasse da Patria illustre alti natali," composed by Venerosi "nell'accademia fatta per San Ranieri dalli accademici Stravaganti di Pisa l'anno 1664, sonnetti coronari," held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, together with poems by other members of the Percossi, including Ricciardi's *Il Tempo* and *Sotto rigida stella*, Vendramin's sonnet *Il letto*, and Jacopo Salviati's *Giuoco di scacchi, allude alla morte del Re d'Inghilterra*.) Rosa's *Saint Torpes* was intended for a pilaster under the dome, to be placed opposite Andrea del Sarto's *Saint Agnes* (1529–1530) (for which see: Freedberg 1963, 1:92–93 and figs 221–228, and 2:190–193, cat. 86; Shearman 1965, 1:106–107, who dates the polyptych to 1527–1530; and Natali 1998, 179–182). One of Rosa's last paintings, the *Saint Torpes* is also among the most thoroughly documented. Begun at the end of August 1669 (see letter 381), the painting progressed slowly because of Rosa's precarious health, and it was finished only in May of the following year (see letter 391). Both Baldinucci, 5:464 (dating it incorrectly to 1671) and De Dominici, 1:450, refer to the painting in their biographies of Rosa. In its current state, the painting appears to be quite damaged, particularly in the upper register. In regard to the commission for the painting, Paliaga 2009, 174, note 149, mentions a record of payment on 21 July 1670 (Archivio di Stato, Pisa, *Op. Duomo*, 294, c. 18r) for 673 *lire*, settled with Antonio Sanminiatelli to give to Rosa in Rome "per valuta di un quadro raffigurante S. Torpè pisano".

4. Marcantonio Venerosi. See note 3, above. Rosa refers to him and to the commission of the *Saint Torpes* (although not in detail) in a later letter to Ricciardi of 8 June 1669 (letter 380). On Venerosi, see Caleca 1990, 255, no. 69.

Letter 377:

1. Rosa's plan to come to Pisa was presumably in connection with the commission of the *Saint Torpes*, destined for a chapel in the Duomo, Pisa, on which see letter 376, note 3. For Rosa's previous trips from Rome to Tuscany, with Marcantonio Cesti in 1659 and on the occasion of the wedding of Duke Cosimo III and Marguerite Louise d'Orléans in 1661, see letters 228 (notes 1 and 10), 249 (note 6) and 254 (note 8).

2. On the matter concerning Giovanni Battista da Scorno, see letter 354, note 4.

3. The number in the ms. looks like it could be "1667," however the content of the letter (in particular, Rosa's reference to his "coming to Pisa" which must concern the painting of *Saint Torpes*, and his mention of the matter concerning the Canon da Scorno) strongly suggests a date of 1669.

Letter 378:

1. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 219, note 1, the calculation of "seven years" is not accurate, since Rosa had been at Strozzavolpe in the summer and autumn months of 1661 (see letters 255 through 258). He did not return there in 1662, as is clear from his letters of that year.

2. The *Saint Torpes*, on which see letter 376, note 3.

3. Rosa's reference here to the presence in Rome of the ambassadors of Lucca is perhaps in connection with preparations for the conclave of December 1669 to January 1670, assembled for the election of the new pope (ultimately resulting in the election of Clement X), for which the Lucchese cardinal Girolamo Buonvisi (1607–1677) was one of the candidates. See De Caro, in *DBI* 15 (1972):319–325 ("Francesco Buonvisi"), and Trigari, in *DBI* 15 (1972):331–332 ("Girolamo Buonvisi"). On the subject of the ambassadors of Lucca, see Pellegrini 1901.

4. Previously unidentified, this "Zabata" appears to be the well-known preacher, Francesco Zappata (or Zapata) (died 1672), whose life and career are summarized by Lorenzo Marchesini in the preface to his publication of Zappata's orations, *Prediche quaresimali di Francesco Zappata canonico in S. Lorenzo di Firenze, Cavalier di S. Spirito, e Predicator, del Gran Duca* (Venice, 1689). Marchesini makes special note of Zappata's preaching during two Lenten seasons (one of which was perhaps that of 1669, as Rosa suggests in the present letter) at the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, which is located within the complex of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome. Marchesini writes: "Don Francesco Zappata was made a knight of Santo Spirito by the Most Eminent House of Colonna. He preached in Vienna for their Imperial Court, called there by the Empress Eleonora.

He preached to the Supreme Pontiff at Saint Peter's: [he was] admired by the most famous audiences of Italy, and especially in this Illustrious City, where he conducted two seasons of Lent at San Lorenzo, and a year-long term at San Silvestro. He was beloved by the Most Serene Grand Duke Ferdinando II, who granted him a Canonicate at San Lorenzo in Florence, and also named him as his preacher; and [he was] no less dear to the Most Serene Highness of the now-reigning Grand Duke [Cosimo III de' Medici]. All of this was due to an uncommon and truly rare eloquence, which never lacked the opportunity, study, character, practice, or occasion to excel. He ended his days at the age of sixty-three, and in the seventy-second year of the current century […]." ("D.[on] Francesco Zappata. Fù egli fatto Cavalier di S. Spirito dall'Eminentissima Casa Colonna. Predicò in Vienna alle Maestà Imperiali, chiamatovi dall'Imperatrice Eleonora. Predicò al Sommo Pontefice in S. Pietro: ammirato dalle più famose Udienze dell'Italia, e specialmente in quest'Inclita Città, dove fece due quaresime a S. Lorenzo, ed un annuale a S. Silvestro. Caro al Serenissimo Gran Duca Ferdinando Secondo, da cui ricevette un Canonicato in S. Lorenzo di Firenze, con esser anche da lui dichiarato suo Predicatore; e non men caro alla Serenissima Altezza del Gran Duca Regnante. Tutto questo in merito d'una inusitata, e veramente rara eloquenza, cui non mancò l'occasione, lo studio, la natura, l'esercizio, e il tempo per poter giugnere [sic] al colmo. Terminò i suoi giorni l'anno LXIII di Sua età, e LXXII del corrente secolo […]."). Zappata is also mentioned in an *avviso* of 1 June 1669 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 6371, c. 175r): "In detta mattina [il venderdi della settimana passata] il Signor Cardinale Barberino Decano fece la funtione di consecrare la nuova Chiesa dell'Incarnatione del Verbo delle monache Carmelitane alle quatre fontane, che con ricco apparato hanno per otto giorni celebrate la festa di Santa Maria Madalena de Pazzi (che si prepara anco di fare con grand'apparato della natione fiorentina nella Chiesa di S. Giovanni) e vi fece sabato mattina il Panegirico in lode della Santa il Signor Don Francesco Zapata da Taranto famoso Predicatore, che viene trattenuto in Roma dal medesimo Signor Cardinale Barberino": Roberto 2004, 317, Appendix I. It is plausible that Rosa, Ricciardi or other members of their circle in Tuscany knew Zappata personally. A mutual acquaintance of Rosa and Ricciardi, Giovanni Cinelli Calvoli refers to "Signor Canonico Francesco Zapata" in his *Biblioteca Volante* (Parma, 1692), Scanzia 8, 86, as his own "dear friend" ("mio caro Amico").

Letter 379:

1. As in letter 272 (see note 6), this is perhaps Paolo Maffei, the son of Lodovico Maffei (as suggested by Limentani 1972). He is also mentioned in letter 399 (see note 2). A less likely candidate is Antonio Maffei, who was canon of the Cathedral of Volterra, on whom see letter 29, note 7.

2. The identity of the "nephew" in question is not known.

3. The expression "stare col piede sulle staffe" means to be ready to leave, or be on the verge of leaving. See also letter 173, note 2.

4. On Lucrezia's leg ailment, see letter 350, note 3.

Letter 380:

1. With the term "mandaia" Rosa intends "mannaia," a large axe with a wedge-shaped blade, held in both hands, used in antiquity in battle and—in particular—in carrying out executions of the condemned. The word is also used to refer, in general, to the death sentence, or sentence of execution. It was also later used to describe the blade of the guillotine: Battaglia, 9:701.

2. Rosa is here employing the metaphor of a "chromatic tone" (*tuono cromatico*), which in the context of musical composition refers to the chromatic scale, consisting of twelve pitches, each divided by a semitone.

3. The word "contentezze" refers to contentments, or happinesses. Rosa's phrase here means "I'm not destined to be happy".

4. The "next three holidays" to which Rosa refers are not easily identifiable, given that the length of time in question is variable. In the Catholic calendar of Holy Days, the "next three" at this particular time of year could be Pentecost Sunday, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi.

5. Rosa makes the same miscalculation, of the number of years that have elapsed since he last saw Ricciardi, in letters 378, 389 and 391.

6. The word "annevate" means frozen. On this Neapolitanism, see letter 66, note 3.

7. A reference to the Ricciardi family's castellated villa at Strozzavolpe.

8. In regard to the landscape surrounding Strozzavolpe, Arcangeli 1960, 126–127, notes that the Ricciardi family is known to have planted near the villa a forest of pistachio trees, and that these plants also appeared spontaneously at the nearby castle of Paolo Guicciardini (perhaps the "villa not very far from yours" to which Rosa here refers), an area where saffron was also being cultivated. See Targioni Tozzetti, 5:147.

9. Rosa is here referring to his painting of *Saint Torpes*, commissioned by Marcantonio Venerosi. See letter 376, notes 3 and 4.

10. Festa 1971, 71, suggested the possibility that Rosa was here referring to the maxims he compiled in his *Il Teatro della Politica*, on which see Rosa-*Il Teatro*.

11. Rosa's comment here, concerning the "torments" ("passioni") that elicit "irritability" ("l'irascibile") recall the Platonic principle of the "irascible," one of two sub-categories of the movements of the soul according to scholastic philosophy: the "irascible" and "concupiscible," the former of which was related to the emotions of fear, hope, anger and despair, and the latter to joy, love and desire. See Diderot, 8:902.

12. See note 5, above.

13. Rosa was clearly relying upon Ricciardi to help him determine the most historically-appropriate rendering of his subject, including the detail of the saint's flag standard. Saint Torpes of Pisa was a first-century CE Christian martyr, believed to have been martyred during the persecutions of Emperor Nero. Very little is known about him, hence the difficulty that Rosa seems to have encountered in attempting to clarify the details of his life or the best way in which to represent him. According to legend, Saint Torpes was a gladiator or knight in the service of the Emperor Nero, or perhaps the emperor's personal bodyguard, converted to Christianity by Saint Paul. After his martyrdom, his head was thrown into the Arno river and was later claimed by Pisa as a relic. His miraculously preserved body is said to have floated all the way to what is now Saint-Tropez (named after the saint) in France. In his painting,

Rosa portrays the saint as a knight, outfitted in armour and holding a standard with a flag.

14. In Rosa's painting, Saint Torpes leans against a plinth on the vertical diagonal. Rosa's comment concerning the size of the figure pertains to the relative size of the canvas. He may have wanted to lend the figure greater monumentality by depicting the saint seated, rather than standing. Rosa's preference to paint a larger figure was perhaps also prompted by his failing eyesight: he had much earlier informed Ricciardi of his decision to stop painting too many, or too small, figures, in letters 311 and 312, and (as noted by Volpi 2014, 591, cat. 318) representing the figure on the diagonal also reduced the need for background details and scenographic elements. Volpi also notes the compositional and iconographic similarity of the *Saint Torpes* to Rosa's *Saint George and the Dragon* (1668, private collection, Pordenone; see Volpi 2014, 584, cat. 308), which represents a seated legionary and recalls Rosa's images of soldiers of the 1650s. On the subject of *positura*, or "techniques used to lend a standing figure a certain elegance, to endow it with the suggestion of movement," see Roodenburg 2004, 114, who notes its importance as a skill to be developed in the education of early modern artists. See also Tikkanen 1912, and Bolten 1991.

15. On Rosa's concern for historical accuracy in his paintings, see the letters cited in letter 281, note 6.

Letter 381:

1. On Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes*, see letter 376, note 3. Rosa had been consulting with Ricciardi as to the most historically accurate way in which to depict his subject. See also letter 380 (and note 13).

2. The *Discorso sopra la castrametatione et disciplina militare de' Romani*, by Guillaume du Choul, first printed in Lyon in 1556 by Guillaume Roville. The term "castrametazione" (castrametation) refers to the planning or laying-out of military camps. The armour worn by the figure of Saint Torpes in Rosa's painting is derived from the images of Roman soldiers in Choul's *Discorso*. See further on this matter Salomon 2010a, 187–188, who also reproduces a relevant illustration from Choul's text.

3. The Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome. "Monte Cavallo" is another name for the Quirinal Hill in Rome, so-called on account of the *Fontana dei Dioscuri* erected in 1588 in the centre of Piazza del Quirinale, which incorporates two ancient marble statues of the Dioscuri, the twins Castor and Pollux, accompanied by their horses. The fountain no longer survives, but the statues remain at the site, together with the ancient Egyptian obelisk moved there from the Campus Martius.

4. The spelling of the word in the ms. is not entirely clear, however Rosa seems to intend "inquietudine". He perhaps meant to write "inquietitudine," which is an old variant of "inquietudine": Battaglia, 8:69.

5. The term "tavoliero" is a variant of "tavoliere": Battaglia, 20:776. For "essere per il tavoliere/ essere sul tavoliere" as "to be the subject of discussion," see Battaglia, 20:777.

6. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 382:

1. On Rosa's perennial concern with his reputation, particularly in Rome, and on the significance of receiving a commission for an altarpiece in a prominent Roman church, see letter 32, note 9, and Hoare 2018, 242–243. See also Rosa's comment in letter 101 (note 14), in regard to the prices desired, and paid, for altarpieces executed by Rosa and his contemporaries.

2. The Florentine marchese, Filippo Nerli (1639–1712), who held the position of Conservator of Rome in 1662 and 1682.

3. Filippo Nerli held the position of Depositario Generale della Camera Apostolica, or Chamber cashier, on which see Limberger 2015, 20. The term "depositario" (which generally means "custodian") historically refers to the treasurer, or the custodian of the public treasury: Battaglia, 4:207.

4. The painting to which Rosa here refers is his large canvas of the *Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, still in situ in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, the church of the Florentine community in Rome. The altarpiece was commissioned by the marchese Filippo Nerli, a very important figure during the years of the Albani pontificate. Nerli was known above all for his cultural patronage and his aesthetic tastes, which led him to acquire in 1679 the Palazzo Massimo alle Quattro Fontane. He probably met Rosa through the artist's Florentine network of friends and patrons. The altarpiece depicts two saints of particular significance to Florence: both saints had been doctors, and were therefore appropriated as patron saints by the Medici on account of their historical association with the medical and pharmaceutical guild. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 390, note 1, the altarpiece can be considered Rosa's last great work, despite being generally criticized for presumed "errors" of design. For this contemporary criticism, recorded in particular by Passeri, see Salomon 2010a, 189. On the painting, see also: Ozzola 1908, 151–152; De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 11; Salerno 1975, 104, cat. 252; Scott 1995, 194–195; Langdon, in Naples 2008, 56; Salomon 2010a, 189 and 196–197; and Volpi 2014, 590–591, cat. 317. Rosa's delight at receiving a commission for a relatively major altar in a prominent church in Rome reflects a more general desire among his contemporaries for such an honour. Passeri, 394–395, recounts Rosa's joy at receiving the commission, also evident from Rosa's comments in the present letter; upon completing the painting (and to Passeri's great embarrassment), Rosa declared that he had now equalled the great Michelangelo. Volpi notes in this regard the interesting fact that one of the nude figures in Rosa's painting, depicted in flight, recalls the figure of Christ in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* fresco, as well as his sculpture of *Christ the Redeemer* (1519–1521, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome), noting further that Michelangelo as a model must have been very much on Rosa's mind while painting the altarpiece, as Baldinucci suggests, in regard to the judgment given by the artist on his own altarpiece (see Gamba 1830, 122). Rosa seems also to have taken inspiration from his own battle scenes in rendering the action of the figures. On Rosa and the legacy of Michelangelo see also Conte 2014, 108–110. For the payment Rosa received from Nerli for the painting, see: Passeri, 394–395; Baldinucci, 5:484–485; Pascoli, 71; De Dominici 2008, 3:474; and Hoare 2018, 286.

5. On the festivities that marked the canonization of the Florentine Saint Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi (1579–1607), conducted by Pope Clement IX and celebrated on 28 April 1669 at the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Rome, see Fagiolo dell'Arco 1997, 470–472. On Saint Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, see Scattigno, in *DBI* 70 (2007):264–268.

6. On Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes*, executed for the Duomo in Pisa, see letter 376, note 3.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

8. Previously unidentified, this is perhaps Antonio Oliva (1623/1624–1691), an abbot from Calabria, on whom see Lavenia, in *DBI* 79 (2013):210–212. Oliva was in Rome by the age of nineteen, working as the theologian of Francesco Barberini. He subsequently left the city for Florence for unknown reasons (perhaps on account of the disgraced Barberini family, or because of an unnamed offence he had himself committed). Imprisoned until 1652 in Reggio Calabria, after taking part in the anti-Spanish revolt, Oliva lived in exile in Florence where he became a member of the Accademia del Cimento and enjoyed the protection and favour of Leopoldo and Ferdinando II de' Medici as an exponent of the Galilean scientific community, befriending various of its members (many with ties to Rosa), including Lorenzo Magalotti and Francesco Redi. Oliva also obtained a position at the University of Pisa, from 1663 to 1667, where he would have come into contact with members of Ricciardi's circle, if not before or via other channels. Oliva seems in many ways a suitable companion for Rosa: he elicited criticism from his colleagues for his audacity, including the art collector Pietro Gabrielli (1660–1734) who referred to Oliva as "an ambiguous personage with an adventurous life, toying between libertinism and political and scientific rebellion" ("ambiguo personaggio dall'esisteva avventurosa, giocata tra libertinismo, ribellione politica e scienza"): Frascarelli and Testa 2004, 31. The Florentine scientist Francesco Redi (on whom see letter 184, note 3)—with whom Oliva became embroiled in an intellectual argument over the theory of spontaneous generation, and who gave his support to Oliva's enemies, including Vincenzo Viviani and Vittoria della Rovere—wrote in a letter of 9 May 1660 to Carlo Dati that Oliva was "più bizzarro che mai, e più virtuoso che mai": Redi, 5:55. Oliva's position within the academic community of Florence became increasingly tenuous, and he returned to Rome in 1667 after the election of Giulio Rospigliosi as Pope Clement IX. Back in Rome, Oliva took up the profession of medical physician for a period of time (which would explain Rosa's use in the present letter of the title "dottor"). In the summer of 1669—not long before the date of the present letter—on the occasion of the death of the pope's nephew, Tommaso Rospigliosi (who had also been Oliva's student in Pisa), Oliva was accused of bringing about Tommaso's demise with his administration of antimony, a metallic chemical historically used in both cosmetics and medicinal treatments. That same year, the pope granted Oliva his support and a new protector, Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (on whom see letter 386, note 14), also an important patron of Rosa. In 1689, Oliva's fortunes once again took a turn for the worse. A central figure within the Accademia dei Bianchi—a circle with libertine associations composed of doctors, intellectuals and noblemen, which held evening meetings at the home of the aforementioned Pietro Gabrielli in order to listen to music and discuss various matters, including those of faith—Oliva came under scrutiny by the Holy Office, and was arrested in 1690 and subjected to interrogation and torture. Imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo, he committed suicide by jumping from one of its windows. What is known of Oliva's life suggests various points of connection with Rosa, both in terms of academic and intellectual interests and shared acquaintances. However, the rather cursory reference that Rosa here makes to "dottor Oliva"—if he is indeed Antonio—might suggest a certain caution on Rosa's part, leaving out his Christian name and relegating his mention to a short line at the end of the letter. Oliva, who also appears only this once in Rosa's extant correspondence, was clearly a provocative figure with whom even Rosa may have been careful to associate himself. On Oliva, see also Baldini 1977 and Frascarelli 2014, 156–157.

Letter 383:

1. Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

2. Marcantonio Cesti died in Florence on 14 October 1669, at the age of forty-six. See also on this matter De Rinaldis 1939, 224, note 2, and Note Liminari 3. On Cesti, see letter 27, note 21.

3. Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, whose libretti were set to music by Cesti. On Apolloni, see letter 225, note 2.

4. Rosa's son Augusto.

Letter 384:

1. The term "abituazione," no longer in use, refers to one's usual habit, custom or way of doing something: Battaglia, 1:46.

2. Rosa might here be remembering a line from the poem *L'Eneide Travestita*, by Giovanni Battista Lalli (1572–1637): "E chi di dietro vien, serri la porta." See *Raccolta dei più celebri poemi*, 2:317.

3. On the subject of Rosa and money, see Hoare 2018, chapter five.

4. On sincerity and true friendship, see letter 153, note 4.

5. As noted by Conte 2014, 383, the shoemaker Mecillo features in two of Lucian's *Dialogues*, the "Viaggio agli inferi ovvero il tiranno" and "Il gallo". Mecillo is here mentioned by Rosa in connection with the death of a shoemaker acquaintance of his and Ricciardi. Mecillo may also have been the subject of Rosa's final painting: in a letter of 30 August 1670 (letter 393), Rosa mentions a painting "of the shoemaker Mecillo" that Ricciardi had apparently requested from him; Rosa seems to have responded to Ricciardi about the painting again in December 1670 (letter 394), and perhaps again in September 1671 (letter 395). While there is no surviving evidence that Rosa completed such a painting, one conjectures (as Conte notes) that it would likely have represented the most salient features of Lucian's two dialogues: a poorly-dressed man in conversation with a rooster (*gallo*), perhaps, or the same individual in Hades, accompanied by a large number of other figures. Rosa's letters, however, offer no significant clue as to whether Lucian's texts themselves would have provided him with a source for this prospective painting.

6. It has not been possible to securely identify this "cavaliere Spinola". He is probably a member of the prominent Spinola family of Genoa, who owned a palace in Rome—the Palazzo Spinola, built by the Genoese banker Leonardo Spinola between 1580 and 1597. The "cavaliere" could be a certain "Cavaliere Bartolomeo Spinola, Genovese," identified in a manifesto of 1678 (see Morbio 1876, 38). He could also (and is perhaps more likely to) be one of two members of the Spinola family of Genoa, whose birth and death dates appear to be unknown, but whose positions in the family tree suggest them as candidates: Raffaele, brother of Napoleone Spinola (1607–1683), or Napoleone's son, Gregorio Spinola. Both Raffaele and Gregorio belonged to the Order of the Knights of Malta, with whom the family had historic ties (Gregorio was admitted to the Order in 1668). See Patrone 2004. Rosa mentions this "cavaliere Spinola" again in letter 385.

7. Here Rosa seems to be alluding to the reputation of the

Genoese for miserliness ("avarizia Genovese," or the greed of the Genoese).

8. On this "Don Michele," the Canon of Luco, a village not far from Strozzavolpe, see also letters 262 and 343.

9. Lorenzo Panciatichi, on whom see letter 361, note 4. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 225, note 1, Panciatichi was perhaps informing Rosa of his return to Rome; he returned, in fact, in early December.

10. It is not entirely clear as to which "Buonaroti" (or "Buonarroti") Rosa here refers, nor who the "ragazzi" are, one of whom wished to train as a Jesuit. With "Buonaroti" Rosa could be referring to Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (1568–1647), and the "ragazzi" could be some of his poetic disciples, as Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger had no children of his own. Alternatively, the "Buonaroti" in question could be Michelangelo the Younger's nephew, Lionardo Buonarroti the Younger (1602–1684), who married Ginevra di Esaù in 1645, and whose children inherited the Casa Buonarroti in Florence. Lionardo's son Francesco (died 1709) was a Jesuit priest. On the Buonarroti family, see most recently Cole 2011. The individual in question could also be another "Buonaroti," unknown to us. As suggested by Conte 2014, 109, Rosa probably knew Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger in Florence, given that Buonarroti was close to many of the members of the Accademia dei Percossi. Conte notes Rosa's probable knowledge of Baccio del Bianco's portrait of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger (1637–1638, fresco, Casa Buonarroti, Florence), which bears a close compositional and iconographical resemblance to Rosa's *Portrait of a Poet (Allegory of Study)* (*c.* 1650–1655, Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota), a painting about which we know very little. On the *Portrait of a Poet*, see Volpi 2014, 509, cat. 197; for Baccio del Bianco's portrait of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger see: Procacci 1965, 57; Madiai 2002–2005; and (for an image of the painting) Conte 2014, 109, fig. 50, and *Grande Enciclopedia Multimediale dell'Arte*, "Opera Omnia Baccio del Bianco," scheda no. 00006374/68 (www.arteantica.eu). The draft of a biography of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, attributable to Andrea Cavalcanti, and composed on the occasion of Buonarroti's death (for which see Conte 2014, 560–561, Appendix V.6) records Buonarroti's date of death as 11 January 1646, at "about age 80". Cavalcanti records that Buonarroti never married, and he does not mention any children, which would discount him as the person to whom Rosa here refers, if by "boys" Rosa means "children".

11. Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

12. On Augusto's recent illness, see also letters 371 (note 2), 372 and 383.

13. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 385:

1. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, to whom Rosa pledged his support, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

2. On Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes*, executed for the Duomo of Pisa, see letter 376, note 3.

3. On this "cavaliere Spinola," difficult to identify with certainty, see also letter 384, note 6.

4. As in letter 384, Rosa is here alluding to the miserliness of the Genoese. See letter 384, note 7.

Letter 386:

1. The term "distemperare" is analogous to "stemperare, scogliere"; figuratively, it can mean to lose strength, to become soft or weak: Battaglia, 4:793.

2. The shores of the Acheron, one of the five rivers of the ancient Greek Underworld. The Acheron was also described as a river of Hades, and was known as the "river of pain". Morgan 1824, 2:300, confusingly translated this as the "pit" of Acheron, instead of the "shores". In the *Aeneid* (6. 323), Virgil described how the newly dead were ferried across the Acheron to the Underworld by Charon in his boat, an event given perhaps its most well-known pictorial rendering by Michelangelo in his *Last Judgment* fresco in the Sistine Chapel (1536–1541).

3. The phrase "regolarsi da gallina" literally means to regulate oneself like a hen, in reference to the bird's habit of rising at dawn. The sentiment requires a slightly different expression in English.

4. The term "scalferotto" (or "scalfaretto") refers to a type of woollen footwear or stocking, sometimes given a sole, worn at home like slippers; a type of slipper made of heavy cloth, occasionally stuffed with hair, and typically worn during the winter: Battaglia, 17:764.

5. This is perhaps a reference to Marcantonio Maffei, identifiable on the basis of an earlier reference by Rosa to a "signor Sigoli Politico" (see letter 141, note 14). Bottari 1757, 2:26, incorrectly transcribed the name as "Cavagliere Cigoli," noting that it was a reference to the "highly celebrated painter," that is, the Florentine painter Lodovico Cardi (also known as "Il Cigoli") (1559–1613). Morgan 1824, Carducci 1860, Cesareo 1892, and De Rinaldis 1939 also made the same identification. That Rosa was referring to a painter who was by that time long dead (Cigoli died in 1613), however, seems highly unlikely, particularly in view of Rosa's earlier reference to a "signor Sigoli Politico".

6. Phryne was a famous ancient Greek courtesan of the fourth century BCE. Rosa treated the subject of Phryne's attempt to seduce the philosopher Xenocrates, recounted by Diogenes Laertius, in a painting datable to 1668. On the painting, see further: Salerno 1975, 99, cat. 179; Scott 1995, 146 and fig. 149; Langdon, in Naples 2008, 144–145, cat. 28; and Volpi 2014, 586, cat. 310. With his allusion in the present letter to the episode of Phryne's attempted seduction of Xenocrates, Rosa aligns himself (as he does on other occasions) with an ancient philosopher renowned for his morality. Passeri, 399, had in fact singled out Rosa's painting of *Phryne and Xenocrates*, in which Rosa opts for a decorous representation of an otherwise lascivious subject (depicting the seductive Phryne fully clothed, for instance), as an example of the artist's typically prudent approach to his iconography.

7. With the term "calore," Rosa intends the natural "heat" of the body in the sense of vigour, energy, enthusiasm or passion. See Battaglia, 2:555.

8. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5. Rosa's comment here regarding "my neighbourhood" concerns the Trinità dei Monti, on which see letter 26, notes 2 and 3.

9. The term "quartiere" can mean neighbourhood, area or district, but can also refer to an apartment, set of rooms or "quarters": Battaglia, 15:81–82.

10. Rosa seems also to refer to this painting in letter 385.

11. It is significant to note here that Rosa was assisting the

young Martinotti with a landscape painting, a genre that Rosa had elsewhere claimed to despise. See letter 280 (note 7) and letter 345 (note 4).

12. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 395, note 3, this is perhaps a reference to Francesco Fabroni, author of *Il Tebro consolatore della Chiesa* (Pistoia: Fortunati, 1667), which was dedicated to Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi. Fabroni seems to have been the dedicatee and recipient of a painting attributed to Rosa, a *Portrait of a Saint Writing* (Pinacoteca Rambaldi, Museo di Villa Luca, Coldirodi (Sanremo)), which bears an inscription "Salva/ Rosa/ per l'Ill./ Sig. Cav./ Fabbroni/ questo quad/ ro/ rappresenta/ san". On the painting, see Conte 2014, 228–229, note 272, fig. 84. See also Hoare 2018, chapter four, note 120.

13. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 395, note 4, "Pasquella" was the Florentine name for a stock character—an old female servant—of the *commedia dell'arte*. See Prota-Giurleo 1962, 190. On Rosa and the *commedia dell'arte*, see Hoare 2018, chapter one.

14. Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637–1689), the eighth Duke and Prince of Paliano, and Grand Constable ("Connestabile") of the Kingdom of Naples. Lorenzo Onofrio and his wife Anna Maria Mancini (1639–1715) were ardent collectors of art, who made important contributions to the family's collection in the Palazzo Colonna, Rome. On the collection, which included works by major early modern Italian masters, from Domenico Ghirlandaio, Bronzino and Tintoretto to Pietro da Cortona, Annibale Carracci, Guercino, Francesco Albani and Guido Reni, see Safarik, Pujia and Sones 1996. On Lorenzo Onofrio's interest in *commedia* performances, a subject that also features in a number of works of art in the Colonna collection (some of which are attributed to Rosa), see Gozzano 2004 and Gozzano 2010. On the subject of improvised ("all'improvviso") performances, the sort preferred by Rosa and his friends, see Hoare 2018, chapter one. On Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's patronage of theatrical productions, many of them with close ties to Rosa, see Gozzano 2010, 113–114, who notes that among them was the *L'Orontea*, a drama by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, performed in 1661 in the ephemeral theatre at Palazzo Colonna in Borgo, set to music by Marcantonio Cesti. In addition to the *L'Orontea*, Cesti also arranged other compositions for the Colonna family: *Il Tito* (based on a text by Nicolo Bergani and staged for the Carnival in Venice, 1666), *La Dori* (based on a text by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni, staged for Carnival in Venice, 1667, and dedicated to Anna Maria Mancini Colonna, wife of Lorenzo Onofrio), and *L'Empio punito* (a musical drama by an anonymous author, perhaps Filippo Acciaiuoli, with music by Alessandro Melani, performed at Palazzo Colonna in Borgo, Rome, for Carnival in 1669). This last work was financed, as Rosa wrote to Ricciardi in 1669 (letter 374), by a "conversazione di cavalieri," who spent between 5000 and 6000 *scudi* on the production. On Rosa's own interest in another comedy—*Il trespolo tutore*—performed at the Palazzo Colonna, and subsequently staged by Bernini, see Tamburini 1989.

15. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

16. Limentani 1953 notes that Rosa has written "1666" in the ms., but probably intended 1670. The date of 1666 is particularly problematic on account of the fact that the young painter Francesco Martinotti was neither in Rome nor in close rapport with Rosa prior to 1669.

Letter 387:

1. Rosa here constructs a humorous personification with the term "chiragra," a type of gout that afflicts the hands, characterized by a painful swelling of the joints: Battaglia, 3:90.

2. Rosa's comment here, which implies that the affliction of his right arm and hand interferes with his practice as a painter, offers (in addition to the handwriting of his letters) further evidence that he was right-handed. See also in this regard Hoare 2013, 953.

3. Rosa is perhaps being ironical here.

4. As noted by Limentani 1972, 272, note 2, this seems to be yet another reference to the "litigations" in which Ricciardi was involved, and to which Rosa refers throughout his letters. See letter 147, note 1.

Letter 388:

1. On Francesco Martinotti, the young painter Rosa had taken under his wing, see letter 359, note 5.

2. The term "quartiere" can mean neighbourhood, area or district, but can also refer to an apartment, set of rooms or "quarters": Battaglia, 15:81–82.

3. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 229, note 1, Rosa here refers to the conclave for the election of Pope Clement X (Emilio Altieri, 1590–1676), which lasted from the start of December 1669 to the end of April 1670.

4. That is, at sunset. On the measurement of time in seventeenth-century Italy, see letter 31, note 7.

5. Rosa's use of the phrase "come alle galline" is probably intended to mean "like a homebody"—that is, like the hens who go to bed early in order to wake up early with the rooster; figuratively, the phrase refers to someone who prefers to stay at home and habitually goes to bed early. The term "galline" could also be intended in its figurative sense as a pejorative reference to the "silly women" and their inane chatter. For this meaning of the term, see Battaglia, 6:557.

6. By "pittura" Rosa seems to mean a specific painting (either the possible "painting of the shoemaker Mecillo," on which see letters 384, 393, 394 and 395, or the *Saint Torpes*, which he mentions by name in letter 389). On the *Saint Torpes*, see letter 376, note 3.

7. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

8. A reference to Ricciardi's and Rosa's friends among the Accademia degli Stravaganti and Accademia Pisana. On the Stravaganti, see letter 56, note 2. On the Pisana, see letter 2, note 6. On the meaning of the term "conversazione," see letter 1, note 7.

9. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 397, note 2, the present letter confirms the errors of dating found in many others: the ms. records the year "1660," which Rosa has then himself corrected to "1670". The last day of February in 1670 was the 28th of the month.

Letter 389:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 398, note 1, the term "pincerna" stands for "cup-bearer". See also Battaglia, 13:488.

2. On Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes* see letter 376, note 3.

3. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

4. The verb "addimandare" (or "addomandare") is an older, now disused form of "dimandare" (or "domandare"), to ask, to implore, to inquire or to request. See Battaglia, 1:152.

5. Rosa had earlier mentioned the difficulty he was having in trying to find Francesco Martinotti, in letter 388, where he also refers to this "quarrel".

6. Battaglia, 21:211–213, does not appear to include a definition for "trascurazione," however the word is probably a variation on "trascurataggine" or "trascuratezza," meaning carelessness or negligence.

7. Rosa repeats an incorrect calculation of the number of years that had passed since he last saw Ricciardi, an error he first makes in letter 378 (see note 1).

Letter 390:

1. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5. Rosa had been trying to ascertain Martinotti's whereabouts in Rome. See letters 388 and 389.

2. The area of Rome traditionally known as the "Borgo" is located in the heart of the city, bordered by the Vatican (to the west), the Tiber river (to the east), the neighbourhood of Prati (to the north), and Trastevere (to the south). In the sixteenth century, the Borgo was populated by high-ranking prelates, cardinals, and members of the aristocracy, alongside a number of artists, including Raphael. On the Borgo in the seventeenth century, see D'Onofrio 1978 and Krautheimer 1985.

3. Pietro Susini, on whom see letter 339, note 22.

4. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 231, note 3, this is a reference to Rosa's Florentine friend Lorenzo Panciatichi, on whom see letter 361, note 4. On the nickname "Mercurio," see letter 393, where Rosa also refers to Panciatichi as "vivo argento" ("quicksilver").

5. The term "podagra" refers to gout, especially gout of the foot. Figuratively, and as an adjective ("podagroso"), it can mean politically or socially ultra-conservative or traditional: Battaglia, 13:698–699. The former of the two options (gout) seems more likely to be Rosa's intended meaning here.

6. A "padre provinciale" (provincial priest) is the leader of an ecclesiastical district or "province," or the leader of a particular congregation; a provincial superior. See Battaglia, 14:789–790.

7. The noun "torzone" refers to a lay friar or brother, who has taken religious vows but is not officially ordained; figuratively, the term refers to a simpleton or a fool: Battaglia, 21:80. The word in the ms. could be either "torzone" (in reference to the provincial superior himself) or "torzoni" (in reference to his servants). The former option seems more likely.

8. Reginaldo Sgambati, on whom see letter 10, note 3.

9. Rosa frequently invokes the "Sacrament" and "Laws" of friendship in his letters. On this subject, see letter 29, note 8.

10. On Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes*, see letter 376, note 3.

11. The term "baiocchi" can be used colloquially to mean "small change" or "peanuts": Battaglia, 1:948–949. The expression "non valere un baiocco" means to be of little or no value.

12. Cosimo Fabretti, on whom see letter 70, note 20.

Letter 391:

1. Francesco Cordini, on whom see letter 21, note 2.

2. The term "India," or the phrase "venire dalle Indie," can refer figuratively to a place far away: Battaglia, 7:795. At this time, the term "Indies" referred to a number of distant locales, including the East Indies, the West Indies, and the New World.

3. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

4. Rosa makes the same incorrect calculation of the time that has elapsed since he last saw Ricciardi in letters 378 (see also note 1), 380 and 389.

5. Lorenzo Panciatichi, on whom see letter 361 (note 4) and letter 390 (note 4).

6. The villa in question could be Strozzavolpe, or the new villa property that Ricciardi was having constructed, beginning in 1662, on which see letter 262 (note 5) and letter 269 (note 14).

7. On the *commedia dell'arte* character Pulcinella, see letter 153, note 20. Rosa repeats the same "line" of Pulcinella's, in Neapolitan dialect, in letters 86, 251 and 314.

8. On Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes*, see letter 376, note 3.

Letter 392:

1. On Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes*, commissioned by Marcantonio Venerosi for the Duomo in Pisa, see letter 376, note 3.

2. This payment was probably an "ordine di banca" or "ordine di pagamento," a written order or authorization of payment. On the meaning of the term "ordine," see also letter 48, note 11. In view of the prices Rosa customarily received for his paintings (on which see Hoare 2018, chapter five, esp. 302–303), the hundred *scudi* mentioned here was perhaps only a partial, final payment.

3. A "cedola" is a type of check, or a brief note recording an obligation, promise or contract; a bill of exchange ("cambiale"); or a policy ("polizza"): Battaglia, 2:941.

4. The expression "entrare in valigia" means, figuratively, to get angry, lose one's temper, or take offence: Battaglia, 21:638.

5. This is presumably a reference to the Ricciardi family's castellated villa at Strozzavolpe, on which see letter 228, note 7.

6. This "Pino" was a labourer on the estate at Strozzavolpe. See letter 256 (note 2) and letter 336.

7. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1). On the matter of the ownership of the villa of Strozzavolpe, and Jacopo's apparent renunciation of his inheritance of the property, see letter 228, note 7. Rosa also refers to the matter of Jacopo's inheritance in letter 393.

8. For the meaning of the term "sbardellato," see letter 205, note 9.

9. The term "pertica" means pole or rod; figuratively, in reference to a person, it means to be as thin and tall as a beanpole: Battaglia, 13:124–125.

Letter 393:

1. Rosa's painting of *Saint Torpes*, on which see letter 376, note 3.

2. This is presumably a reference to Marcantonio Venerosi, the *operaio* of the Duomo, Pisa, who commissioned from Rosa the painting of *Saint Torpes*. See letter 376, notes 3 and 4.

3. On the matter of "Mecillo" and this painting, perhaps Rosa's last, see letter 384, note 5.

4. As noted by Conte 2007, 196, Rosa's use of the term "pittoresco" in this instance is probably intended "in the more common sense usage of a particularly suggestive and fantastical pictorial subject, according to the more widespread use of the term in the period," for which see Battaglia, 13:590. On the term "pittoresco" and its significance for Rosa's artistic identity, see also letter 138, note 9. The particular painting to which Rosa here refers, if it was executed, is unknown.

5. The villa at Strozzavolpe was in fact owned by Cassandra Ricciardi, mother of Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo. See letter 144 (note 15) and letter 228 (note 7). For Pino, a labourer at Strozzavolpe, see letter 256, note 2.

6. The "promise" to which Rosa here refers presumably concerns either Jacopo's coming to Rome or the opportunity for Rosa and Ricciardi to go to Strozzavolpe.

7. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

8. Lorenzo Panciatichi, on whom see letter 361, note 4. The term "vivo argento" refers to quicksilver, or mercury—the name ("Mercurio") by which Panciatichi was apparently known (see letters 390 and 391), or that was perhaps simply a moniker that Rosa had applied to him in reference to his character.

9. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

10. As noted by De Rinaldis 1939, 235, note 2, Rosa first wrote the year "1660," correcting the second "6" into a "7". The content of the letter, too, clearly places it in the year 1670. Gerra 1937, 40, incorrectly dated the present letter to 1660.

Letter 394:

1. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 402, note 1, this phrase comes from Petrarch's sonnet CL, *Che fai alma? che pensi? avrem mai pace?*, v. 14. Rosa quotes the same line in letter 367.

2. On the meaning of the term "esclusiva" as refusal or denial, see Battaglia, 5:309.

3. The name "Bertoldina" is a variation on the comic character "Bertoldino," on which see letter 196, note 5.

4. Rosa is here using the term "pane" figuratively, in reference to "goodness" or "good-heartedness," as in the expression "buono come il pane," which means good-hearted, or to have a heart of gold. The sentiment, then, is that Ricciardi's suspicions are directed at someone (Rosa) undeserving of them, because he is inherently honest or good.

5. On Ricciardi's involvement in a number of litigations, see letter 147, note 1.

6. The term "companatico" literally means "something to go with the bread," for which there is not really a comparable equivalent in English.

7. This is presumably a reference to the painting of "Mecillo," on which see letter 384, note 5. See also letter 393, note 3.

8. Rosa's words here clearly indicate that he does not want to execute the painting in question.

9. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

10. Paolo Minucci, on whom see letter 228, note 10.

11. Ludovico Serenai, on whom see letter 58, note 10.

12. Girolamo Signoretti, on whom see letter 16, note 6.

Letter 395:

1. This could perhaps be a reference to the painting of "Mecillo" that Ricciardi had apparently requested from Rosa. See letter 384, note 5. See also letters 393 (note 3) and 394 (note 7).

2. The term "calcolo" (or "cancolo") refers to a kidney stone or gallstone: Battaglia, 2:531.

3. The young painter Francesco Martinotti had apparently been commissioned to paint a copy (presumably for Ricciardi, as suggested by De Rinaldis 1939, 236, note 1; however Ricciardi's 1687 inventory, for which see Paliaga 2009, 229–230, does not record a painting of this subject) of Rosa's painting of *Hagar and the Angel*, then in the collection of Rosa's friend Girolamo Mercuri. The painting that is perhaps identifiable with the one in Mercuri's collection is the canvas now in the Hospital de Tavera, Toledo, dated by Volpi 2014, 563, to *c.* 1662–1665. Volpi, however, also notes the uncertainty as to whether or not the work recorded in Mercuri's collection at his death was the Toledo painting or the copy executed by Martinotti in 1671. Mercuri's collection was in fact full of copies of Rosa's paintings, possibly executed by Martinotti or Rosa's son Augusto. See further on this matter Volpi 2005, 125 and 134, note 46, and Hoare 2018, 249 (and note 172), and 265. Rosa again refers to the "Hagar" by Martinotti in letter 396 (where Rosa mentions that other paintings in Mercuri's collection are being copied). As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 403, note 1, a version of Rosa's *Hagar and the Angel*, which is not considered autograph and therefore is perhaps attributable to a copyist like Martinotti, is now in the National Gallery, London (see Levey 1971, 203, cat. 2107, where it is described as "after Rosa"). This copy was once incorrectly attributed to Pietro Testa (see Levey 1971, 203). For the two paintings in Toledo and London, see also Salerno 1975, 86, cat. 20 (who dated the Toledo painting to *c.* 1639); Scott 1995, 6 and 235, note 13; Langdon 2010b, 14; and Volpi 2014, 563, cat. 274. For a third *Hagar and the Angel* attributed to Rosa (*c.* 1639–1640, Museum of Art, Santa Barbara), see Salerno 1975, 86, cat. 21, and Volpi 2014, 418, cat. 69. Farina 2010, 27, proposed the Santa Barbara painting could be the one that Passeri, 386, mentioned as being purchased from Rosa by Giovanni Lanfranco in Naples, identified by the biographer as a small landscape painting representing the story of Hagar and her son Ishmael languishing of thirst in the desert: Passeri, who described the work as "tocco con gran gusto pittoresco," noted that the young Rosa had first captured the attention of Lanfranco when the latter was in Naples in 1634 to work on the dome of the Gesù Nuovo. See also on this matter Baldinucci, 5:438–439. Volpi 2005, 134, note 46, considered that the Toledo painting is likely the original painting by Rosa, once owned by Mercuri, and the London painting the probable copy by Martinotti. See also in this regard Miarelli Mariani 2003 and Capitelli 2004, 398, note 36. Rosa also treated the subject as part of his fresco cycle in the Palazzo Pitti, for which see Volpi 2014, 446, cat. 110.

4. Rosa also mentions these unspecified "litigations" in letter 394.

5. On the vineyard that Ricciardi owned, see letter 269 (note 14) and letter 309 (note 8). The particular "harvest" to which Rosa here refers could also pertain to Strozzavolpe, the villa owned by Cassandra Ricciardi, the mother of Ricciardi's half-brother Jacopo.

6. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

Letter 396:

1. A reference to the tribulations of Orlando, the protagonist of Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Rosa uses the same expression in letters 261 and 317.

2. This "Monsù Pietro" is presumably a doctor responsible for Augusto's care.

3. For "spogliare" as to undress or strip, see Battaglia, 19:978. The implication here is that the doctor has not slept.

4. Rosa refers to these unspecified "litigations" in letters 394 and 395.

5. Rosa's comment here regarding the decoration "in gouache" of a gallery (the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche) in the Palazzo Colonna (on which see further note 6, below) appears to have been made in error, as there is no evidence that this medium was employed in the gallery's decorative scheme. I wish to thank Dott.ssa Patrizia Piergiovanni, Director of the Galleria Colonna, for helping to clarify this point. The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche is decorated only in fresco, and there is no evidence of the use of gouache in any of the decorative schemes throughout the palace.

6. As noted by Borrelli and Festa 2003, 404, note 1, this is a reference to the decoration of the so-called "Galleriola delle Atlante" (Gallery of Maps), also known as the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, in the home of the Grand Constable Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, the Palazzo Colonna, Rome. The gallery was completed by 1672, and was painted by the *quadratura* specialist Enrico Haffner (1640–1702), the Bolognese painter Domenico Maria Canuti (1625–1684) (who executed the figures), Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi (1606–1680) (who was probably responsible for painting the birds in the vault), and Crescenzio Onofri (*c.* 1632–*c.* 1712), who painted, between January and April 1672 and with the help of ten assistants, the geographic maps, and probably also the various Italian and European city views that decorate the panels in the upper register of the walls and the niches of the windows. On the paintings, see Safarik 1999, 125–127, and Lepri 2011. On Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, see letter 386, note 14. On the works by Rosa in Colonna's collection, see: Safarik, Pujia and Sones 1996; Gozzano 2004; and Gozzano 2010. On the Colonna collection more generally, see also Gozzano 2003 (esp. 180, on the "Galleria di Cosmografia"). It has not been possible to trace Francesco Martinotti's specific contributions to the decorative programme. On Martinotti, see letter 359, note 5.

7. On the painting of *Hagar and the Angel* owned by Girolamo Mercuri, and the copy executed by Francesco Martinotti, see letter 395, note 3. On Rosa's friend Girolamo Mercuri, see letter 23, note 2. On Mercuri's collection, see Volpi 2005 and Hoare 2018, 249 and note 172. See also Volpi 2014, 629 (Appendix I, no. 118), and 309, note 913, who notes the various copies of paintings by Rosa—battles, landscapes, and figurative works—in Mercuri's collection, probably executed under the auspices of Rosa himself. As we know from the letters regarding the copies made for Mercuri, these paintings were produced by the same collaborators who made duplicate versions of Rosa's own compositions, including Martinotti. For examples of Rosa's paintings that are extant in more than one version, see Hoare 2018, 267 and note 355.

8. As noted by Limentani 1950, 152, note 1, the present letter has been dated to 1671, instead of 1661 (the year that Rosa clearly writes in the ms.) for the following reasons: 1) the tentative penmanship—different in kind to Rosa's usual hand—is small and deprived of its usual ornaments, suggesting a later date; 2) Augusto was fighting an illness at the start of October; he could not have been ill in Rome at the start of October 1661, since Rosa's return (with Lucrezia and Augusto) did not take place until around 10 November (see letter 259), and, in a letter of 11 November (letter 259), Rosa makes no further mention of Augusto's illness. Rosa had spent the summer of 1661 at Strozzavolpe, after having rested at Pisa and Florence, where he stayed with Minucci—"godè giorni felicissimi," says Baldinucci, 5:499—and at a moment in which the Archduke of Austria had renewed his invitation to the artist to join his court in Vienna. Augusto had indeed caught a fever in November 1661 (see letter 262), but the same thing happened again in the winter of 1671 (see letter 397). In letter 261, dated "l'ultimo d'octobre" 1661, we learn that Augusto fought with death for thirty-one days; this letter, which bears the date "1661," seems however to belong to the same date as the present letter, also on account of its various analogous words and phrases. De Rinaldis 1939, 125, in order to reconcile the date of letter 261, proposed that Rosa intended "21 days" (instead of "31", as Rosa writes), and that—due to distraction—Rosa wrote "ultimo d'octobre" instead of "ultimo di novembre". Two distractions, however, are a lot in a single letter, even for someone like Rosa who writes as things come to him, and does not split hairs with dates. It is possible, then, that Augusto was ill from the first of October 1671, and not 1661, and that—both in writing the date of the letter of "ultimo d'octobre 1661" (letter 261), and the date of the present letter—Rosa, who did not "know where my mind is," had written "1661" instead of "1671"; 3) the present letter refers to "Signor Francesco" (that is, Francesco Martinotti), who was working for the Constable Colonna, and had just finished a painting assigned to him that treated the subject of Hagar: it was precisely in 1671 that Martinotti was working on the painting of "Hagar" (see letter 395), and in which he was working for the Constable Colonna (see also letter 397). Martinotti did not arrive in Rome until the end of November 1669 (see letter 385); 4) it is unlikely that a child of only a few years, as Augusto would have been in 1661, would have sent greetings to Ricciardi on his own behalf. To add to Limentani's argument, with regard to the date of letter 261, however, it is also apparent that Augusto was ill in 1661, as the preceding letter (letter 260) makes clear, and which itself must date to 1661 on account of Rosa's discussion of the documented events concerning Marcantonio Cesti. Rosa also expresses his concerns about the nature of Augusto's illness in letters 262 through 265. Rosa also appears to have incorrectly dated letter 400 (see letter 400, note 11).

Letter 397:

1. This "purgation" could be a laxative, or some other form of purgative. For the various definitions of "purga" and "purgazione" see Battaglia, 14:1019–1020 and 1033–1035. See also letter 350, notes 2 and 3, on Lucrezia's persistent leg ailment.

2. Rosa's construction here is somewhat difficult to follow. With the term "mestione," he seems to intend that Lucrezia is afflicted both by the cold she contracted from Augusto, and by her concern for her son and his own health.

3. See Rosa's comments concerning these unspecified "litigations" in letters 394, 395 and 396.

4. On Francesco Martinotti and his work for Colonna, see also letter 396.

5. On Martinotti's living arrangements on the Strada Felice, see also letter 26 (note 3) and letter 359 (note 5).

6. The Grand Duke, Cosimo III de' Medici.

7. Presumably, Florence or Pisa.

8. This is probably a reference to Giovanni Battista da Scorno, frequently referred to in Rosa's letters as the "Canonico da Scorno". On Scorno, see letter 57, note 5.

9. The day is missing from the ms., however the content of the letter clearly places it after letter 396.

Letter 398:

1. On the topos of the friend as a "second self," see letter 50, note 1.

2. The term "intirizzito" (or "intirizzato") refers to a state of partial or total loss of the ability to move, bend, or feel sensation, on account of intense cold, illness or some sort of shock; to be paralyzed or dumbfounded by an intense emotion: Battaglia, 8:301–302.

3. These "tribulations" could be matters of health (as suggested by Rosa's comment in letter 399) or perhaps the unspecified "litigations" to which Rosa refers in letters 394 through 397. The matter regarding Giacomo (or Jacopo) appears to concern his health, as is suggested by Rosa's comments in letter 399.

4. On the young painter Francesco Martinotti, see letter 359, note 5. The money referred to here could perhaps have been given in connection with the commission for the *Hagar and the Angel*, on which see letter 395, note 3.

Letter 399:

1. Ricciardi's half-brother, Jacopo, on whom see letter 127 (note 4), letter 144 (note 15) and letter 147 (note 1).

2. Borrelli and Festa 2003, 406, note 1, propose that this is Paolo Maffei, the "page" of Gasparo Altieri, Grand Master of the Knights of Malta. He is recorded in a letter by his uncle Ugo Maffei to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Correspondence of Cardinal Leopoldo, filza 46, v. 5543). Paolo also seems to be the individual mentioned in letters 272 and 379.

3. This is perhaps a reference to Marcantonio Maffei (see letter 95, note 12). The individual in question could also perhaps be the "Signor Marchi" referred to in letters 95, 167, 168 and 194.

Letter 400:

1. On the meaning of the term "flussione," see letter 269, note 15.

2. On Rosa's particular love of figs, see letter 66, note 2.

3. With the word "timonagini" Rosa seems to be referring to the sentiments or actions of Timon of Athens, the famous misanthrope, to whom Rosa frequently compared himself. See letter 39, note 4.

4. With the word "taverlino," Rosa probably intends "tabellino," the diminutive of "tabella" ("tabellino"), a small tablet made of wood (or, in antiquity, of wax) used for writing or drawing: Battaglia, 20:647–649. The apparent meaning of Rosa's comment is that he is so taciturn that he can be compared to a writing tablet, or that he would prefer to use one to communicate rather than speak or socialize with others. The sentiment brings to mind Rosa's *Allegory of Philosophy* (or "Self-Portrait") (1641, National Gallery, London), an ode to the virtue of philosophical silence and oratorical decorum and restraint in which the figure (an allegorical self-portrait) displays an inscribed tablet. On this painting, see further Hoare 2013, and Hoare 2018, 139–142.

5. The particular painting in question is not known. The *Saint Torpes* is the last securely recorded painting in Rosa's oeuvre, completed in 1670, on which see letter 376, note 3. For other paintings dated primarily on stylistic grounds to Rosa's final years, see Volpi 2014, 568 (cat. 283), 571–572 (cat. 289), 572 (cat. 290), 574–575 (cat. 294), 576–577 (cat. 296–298), 587 (cat. 311 and 312), 589–590 (cat. 314–316) and 592–594 (cat. 320–324).

6. Paolo Minucci, who was the secretary of Prince Mattias de' Medici. See letter 228, note 10. On the subject of Minucci's "consuetudini tabernarie" ("frequenting of taverns"), see De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 12.

7. See note 6, above.

8. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, on whom see letter 359, note 5.

9. On Martinotti's work in the "Galleriola delle Atlante" of the Palazzo Colonna, see letter 396, note 6.

10. Cosimo Brunetti, on whom see letter 67, note 13.

11. As noted by Limentani 1950, 154, note 1, Rosa seems to have given this letter (as in the case of letter 396) the wrong date. Despite the fact that Rosa has clearly written "1662" in the ms., the letter undoubtedly belongs to 1672, for the following reasons: 1) its arguments bear not even a slight connection to the contents of the letter dated 15 July 1662 (letter 279), and it is unlikely that over the course of only two days Rosa would write again in an entirely different tone, without any reference to the preceding letter; 2) the "mal d'occhi" mentioned in this letter was not manifest in 1662 but began in 1664 (see letter 313); 3) in the present letter Rosa calls himself listless and apathetic, while in 1662 he was in the full flourish of activity; 4) Rosa here refers to Francesco Martinotti and his engagement in the decoration of Colonna's "Galleria delle Atlante" (on which see also letters 396 and 397). Martinotti was also present in Rome only between 1669 and 1672.

Letter 401:

1. The young painter Francesco Martinotti, who was apparently making copies of paintings for Ricciardi. See letter 395 (note 3) and letter 396 (note 7). On Martinotti, see also letter 359, note 5.

2. Rosa seems to be referring to his intention to go to the post office in order to send the copies to Ricciardi, rather than to the location of Martinotti's residence, as Martinotti was living on

the Via Gregoriana at the time (see letter 359, note 5). It has not been possible, however, to identify with certainty to which "San Giovanni" Rosa is here referring, as there are a number of candidates (most probably either San Giovanni in Laterano, San Giovanni Decollato or San Giovanni dei Fiorentini). It could be the location of a postal service, or perhaps (though less likely, in view of the distance) the location of one of the friends upon whom Rosa relied for assistance with delivering and retrieving his mail (see for example Rosa's comments in letters 41, 99, 231, 234, 239 and 388); in letter 388, Rosa informed Ricciardi that he was now relying upon a friend to gather his mail from the post office. Rosa frequently complained about the distance of the post office from his house (see letters 231, 234, 239, 240, 245 and 264), as did his son Augusto (letter 402). In letters 231 (1659) and 264 (1661), Rosa complained that the post office for the mail from Florence was "a mile" from his house"; in letter 234 (1659), he complained that it was "two miles" away. Rosa may have been speaking in general terms, however the distance from both his residences on the Via Sistina (where he lived from 1649 to 1667) and Via Gregoriana (1668 to 1673) to San Giovanni in Laterano, in particular, is indeed almost exactly two miles and about a forty-minute walk. This seems a problematic proposal, however, considering that the mail for Tuscany surely left from the north, rather than the south, of the city, where San Giovanni in Laterano is located.

3. As noted by Limentani 1972, 273, note 2, Lucrezia was suffering from gallstones. See letter 395. On Lucrezia's illnesses, see also De Rinaldis 1939, Note Liminari 8 and 9.

4. As noted by Limentani 1972, 273, this letter was written less than seven months before Rosa's death. The last extant letter is dated 18 February 1673 (see letter 403).

Letter 402:

1. The subsequent paragraph, and the signature that follows, are in Rosa's own hand.

2. The term "idropisia" (dropsy, or hydropsy) generally refers to a condition of congestive heart failure brought on by kidney or heart disease. The term, no longer in use, describes in particular an effusion of fluid (also known as anasarca), provoked by non-inflammatory causes, in the serous cavities of the body and in the subcutaneous cells. It affects in particular the abdominal cavity, also known as ascites, which leads to the swelling of the abdomen, which tends to appear globular, and brings on an unbearable sensation of thirst: Battagila, 7:227. This was Rosa's final illness, which would ultimately lead to his death on 15 March 1673, at the age of fifty-nine. Rosa's biographers offer further insights into the specific cause and nature of Rosa's final illness. Passeri, 398, reports briefly that Rosa had suffered "an illness of five to six months," after which he was somewhat calmed by his marriage to Lucrezia on his death bed, eventually passing away on 15 March "at the fifteenth hour" ("[s]posatala si tranquillò in lui la torbidezza dell'animo, parendogli restar sodisfatta la sua coscienza, in fine abbandonato del tutto di ogni speranza di vita, dopo un infermità di cinque in sei mesi, il dì 15. di Marzo a ore 15. nell'anno 1673"). Baldinucci, 5:466–476, was far more thorough in his account of the event, publishing in his biography of Rosa a long letter he solicited from the doctor Francesco Baldovini, which confirms that Rosa suffered from dropsy and enumerates the various treatments and medicines he took in the care of the Bolognese doctor, Francesco Penna. Baldovini offers a moving account of Rosa's illness, recounting his final days in minute detail. At one point, when Baldovini was at Rosa's bedside and expressed to him how amazing it was that Rosa, as someone who had always disregarded fortune, managed to succeed in everything, Rosa responded, characteristically, "Make yourself another Salvator, because this one wants to be miserable" ("Fa'un altro Salvatore, che questo se vo' dolere"). Rosa's treatments, according to Baldovini, included various stomach-turning concoctions, including a drink—administered every morning—of "six to eight ounces of distilled urine" ("sei o ott'once […] di orina d'uomo stillata") and "the application of a number of frogs, divided in half, to the kidneys" ("gli applicò alle reni quantita di ranocchie divise in mezzo"). The doctor Penna concluded that the root of the problem—a hardening or tumour ("durezza")—lay in the spleen or the liver. On the day of his death, Rosa's son Augusto reported to Baldovini that his father was suffering from a tumor ("postema") in his chest; attempts were made to remove it, but Rosa was in too much pain. After Rosa died, an autopsy was performed by Penna that confirmed his suspicions regarding a blood illness and a type of tumor ("durezza") in the liver. The tumor was apparently so hard that surgical tools could not cut it. Pascoli, 141, also makes brief mention of Rosa's fever and dropsy, as does De Dominici, 1:455–457, who borrows from Baldinucci's account according to Baldovini's letter. Rosa was buried in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome, his tomb placed just inside the entrance. On the tomb, see Scott 1995, 198–199, and Curzietti 2010. On the identification of tumours in early modern medicine, considered an external manifestation of an internal disorder and linked directly to the four humours, see Cavallo 2007, 22.

Letter 403:

1. This is Rosa's last extant letter. The script has a much lighter and finer quality than that of previous letters, and lacks the resolute bravura of Rosa's earlier handwriting, revealing the precarious condition of his health. As Limentani 1950 (156, note 1), pointed out, this letter was written during Rosa's final illness, a few weeks before his death, which took place on 15 March 1673. Rosa had not seen Ricciardi for twelve years, since their last time together in Tuscany in 1661.

2. Evidence that Ricciardi did, in fact, visit Rosa during the artist's final illness is offered by a letter of 25 March 1673, written by Monsignor Domenico Maria Corsi to the Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici, in regard to the matter of the acquisition of the manuscripts of Rosa's satires and some of his drawings, after the artist's death. Corsi writes: "In regard to the satires, I understand from many people that, according to what their author has said many times, they are in the possession of Signor Giovan Battista Ricciardi, who in coming to Rome and finding himself paying final respects to his friend, is shortly returning to Florence or Pisa […]" ("In quanto alle satire, intendendo da molti che per dichiaratione fatta più volte dall'autore saranno in potere del Sig. Gio. Batista Ricciardi, il quale essendo venuto a Roma per trovarsi a gl'ultimi offiti del suo amico, presto sarà di ritorno a Firenze o a Pisa […]"): Meroni 1978a, 67, no. CLXIII.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Fragment of a Letter by Salvator Rosa

1. Rosa's friend Girolamo Mercuri, on whom see letter 23, note 2.

2. With the rather unusual formulation "mi son stato contate," Rosa here seems to mean that he was "accounted for" (as in