

# A Note on Ribera's Drawing of Niccolò Simonelli

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SOME OF THE FINEST DRAWINGS by Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) have persistently resisted interpretation. This is particularly true of those that are genre scenes or caricatures or that appear to illustrate literary themes. In each a fully described world seems represented, but it is one that scholars have been able to penetrate only partially.

Among the more enigmatic of these works is a pen and brown-wash drawing owned by the Metropolitan Museum entitled *Man in a Toga, a Small Man Holding a Banner Is Seated on His Head* (Figure 1). Jonathan Brown, the dean of Ribera drawing studies, first published this sheet in 1982, pointing out the significance of the inscription “Niccolò Simonelli” on the banner held by the small figure.<sup>1</sup> Niccolò Simonelli (d. 1671), a fixture in the Roman art world of the mid-seventeenth century, was, as Brown noted, an important early patron of Salvator Rosa (1615–1673). It was through Rosa that Ribera probably came into contact with Simonelli. Brown suggests that this introduction may have led Ribera to present Simonelli with the drawing. In the 1992 Ribera exhibition catalogue, Manuela Mena conjectured that the drawing may have been a study for a book illustration, rather than an independent work, and noted that this hypothetical aspect of Ribera's activity has been little studied.<sup>2</sup> She also suggested a date of about 1640, both on stylistic grounds and because of a documented exchange that took place between Rosa and Simonelli at this time. Most recently it has been suggested that the drawing has nothing to do with Simonelli but was, instead, meant to illustrate a scientific book or treatise. There it would have served to visualize the metaphor (attributed to Bernard of Chartres and quoted by Isaac Newton, among others) that modern men are like dwarfs on the shoulders of giants.<sup>3</sup>

What has not been investigated is the possibility that the drawing is, in fact, a portrait of Simonelli,

done in the caricatural vein he seems to have inspired in his artist friends, but recognizable all the same. If so, it would be the earliest such depiction of Simonelli: later he appeared in much more schematic guise—all nose and shadowed eyes—in some thirteen caricatures by Pier Francesco Mola (Figure 2)<sup>4</sup> and in a painted portrait attributed to Giovanni Maria Morandi (Figure 3).<sup>5</sup> Simonelli is almost certainly the black-cloaked and hatted figure on the left in the portrayal of a circle of artistic friends, the *Conversation in the Garden* by the Roman artist Michelangelo Cerquozzi (1602–1660) (Figure 4).<sup>6</sup>

A visual comparison of the drawing with the painting by Morandi from the Chigi collection must make due allowance for the license of the caricaturist (evident also in Mola's drawings), but the similarities are nonetheless striking. Although stripped of his hair and mustache, Ribera's toga-draped figure has a broad forehead, somewhat protruding ears, and a long nose with a distinct curve and pendulous septum, all characteristic of the official portrait. It is a face that is broad at the cheekbones, tapering to a distinctly rounded chin. The suggestion that the two figures are indeed identical is given further weight by an understanding of Simonelli's character, his reputation, and the role he played in various artists' lives, all of which Ribera seems to capture in this drawing.

Simonelli's career and exploits are rather well documented from the mid-1640s, and they are outlined in a recent illuminating essay by Luigi Spezzaferro.<sup>7</sup> From a post with Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio, Simonelli went on to join the household of Camillo Pamphilj, a nephew of Innocent X. In the 1650s, often at the Pamphilj palace in Nettuno, Simonelli was in almost constant contact with Mola and Rosa. By this time he had a rather widespread reputation as a connoisseur and was buying paintings for Camillo's collection. Simonelli's career reached its peak when he became *Guardaroba* of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the *nipote* of Alexander VII. By 1656 he was undertaking small commissions for

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Figure 1. Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, 1591–1652), *Man in a Toga, a Small Man Holding a Banner Is Seated on His Head*, ca. 1640. Pen and brown wash, 212 x 102 mm. Inscribed in pen: Nicolò Simonelli; on the back, in another hand(?) Simonelli. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1981, 1981.395

the pope himself, and by 1660 he was counseling Alexander on important artistic and architectural matters.

All of the evidence indicates that he was by turns a good friend and a terror to the artists in his circle. In 1638/39 he helped to launch Rosa's career in Rome,<sup>8</sup> but just a few years earlier, in 1636, he had been involved in a disgraceful incident in which he received, for purposes of resale, paintings by Pieter van Laer (1599–after 1642) known to be stolen from the Dutch artist Herman van Swanevelt.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, in a portrayal of surprising camaraderie, Mola and Simonelli drew each other from the rear while urinating on the grounds of the villa Pamphili in Rome in 1649 (Figure 5). Spezzaferro has suggested that Simonelli materially assisted Mola after his return to Rome in 1647.<sup>10</sup> In the painting in Kassel (see note 6), Simonelli hobnobs familiarly with Cerquozzi, and, in Baldinucci's words, "molti pittori suoi amici"; these may have included Gaspard Dughet, Alessandro Salucci, Giacinto Brandi, or Domenico Viola.<sup>11</sup>

The Lucchese artist Pietro Testa (1612–1650) seems to have had very mixed feelings about Simonelli. In a satirical drawing of *Midas*, accompanied by a long letter written about 1643–45, Testa expressed his friendship for Simonelli while making pointed and scathing remarks about avarice and the modern love of gold.<sup>12</sup> Simonelli's wheelings and dealings were apparently notorious. Salvator Rosa, who probably knew him as well as Mola did, and who considered him one of his closest friends, wrote in a letter of 1650 that Simonelli was never seen without "una faccia di Tantalò, tutto biancato nelle speranze, et asciutto affatto nella saccoccia. Ma perche merita legnate non che compassione, ne fo risate da satiro" (a face like Tantalus, completely white from hope, but dry [empty], in fact, in his pockets. But because he merits a whipping rather than compassion, I burst out laughing like a satyr).<sup>13</sup>

It is above all in Mola's drawings involving Simonelli that we get a strong sense of his personality. In these superb caricatures, an ideal view of Simonelli—serious, helpful, devout, a connoisseur—is subverted. A drawing now in the Pierpont Morgan Library shows Simonelli in bed, ill, and dictating his last testament (Figure 6).<sup>14</sup> He is surrounded by numerous irreproachable objects in his collection, including a drawing or painting of the *Pietà*, a classical head, and a rosary hanging over the bed. Enshrined in the center of the room, however, on a wall console, is an enormous phallus, and one of the participants in the scene is Simonelli's faithful donkey,



Figure 2. Pier Francesco Mola (Italian, 1612–1666), *Caricature of a Man Carving a Capon*. Pen and brown ink, 255 x 195 mm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)



Figure 3. Attributed to Giovanni Maria Morandi (Italian, 1622–1717), *Portrait of Niccolò Simonelli*. Oil on canvas. Rome, private collection



Figure 4. Michelangelo Cerquozzi (Italian, 1602–1660), *Conversation in the Garden* (or *Gartenfest im Kreis Römischer Künstler*), ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 97.5 x 132.5 cm. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie (photo: Ute Brunzel)



Figure 5. Pier Francesco Mola, *Two Men Seen from Behind in the Park of the Villa Pamphilj in Rome*, 1649. Pen and red wash, partially gone over in brown ink, 220 x 156 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. 1973:18 (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)



Figure 6. Pier Francesco Mola, *A Man Declaiming from Bed Toward an Ecclesiastic(?) and His Secretary*. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black pencil, 254 x 391 mm. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, The Janos Scholz Collection, 1981.97 (photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library)

while another is a very dubious-looking ecclesiastic. Likewise, in another drawing, also in the Morgan Library, Mola himself beseeches Simonelli, in the guise of an angel with wings floating on clouds, but the “angel” makes a rather rude gesture toward him.<sup>15</sup> In these drawings a statement certainly is made by Mola about the darker sides of Simonelli’s character.

In others, a “disproportionality” between actor and action, or between actions and object, are typical strategies of the caricaturist and comment further on Simonelli’s pretensions and aspirations. There is an edge of cruelty to a drawing in which Simonelli is shown carving a fowl with enormous utensils, including an ax (Figure 2); the protagonist seems to be trying too hard.<sup>16</sup> As Manuela Kahn-Rossi has noted, the animal character of this scene is in strong contrast to the intellectual profile Simonelli wished to present to the world. In a drawing in a private collection Simonelli is shown on his donkey as he returns from the hunt to the Pamphilj palace at Nettuno, where the cannons are being set off at his arrival.<sup>17</sup> As this was done only for the visits of the most important guests, and as the explosions have frightened the donkey into an erection and urination (partially effaced by a later collector), the satirical point is clear.

Niccolò Simonelli’s official reputation was of a different nature.<sup>18</sup> Following a visit with him to one of the principal galleries of Rome, probably in 1654, Francesco Scannelli wrote admiringly that he was “un de’ maggiori intelligenti di pittura e buona antichità. . . .”<sup>19</sup> G. P. Bellori described Simonelli’s own collection, stressing the excellence of its drawings, paintings, and what Bellori called its “museo” of “intagli, gemme antichità, e cose peregrine.”<sup>20</sup> In the portrait belonging to the Chigi family Simonelli is represented surrounded by objects of antiquarian interest as well as of exotic natural wonder; indeed these objects are probably part of Flavio Chigi’s own “Museo di Curiosità,” the nucleus of which Simonelli put together from 1663 to 1665.

It was during his time with the Chigi that Simonelli’s career reached its apogee. As *Guardaroba* for Cardinal Flavio Chigi, he was responsible for the purchase of many important works of art and antiquities, such as antique marble busts, statuettes, and valuable statues, including a Mercury found at the villa of the Vaini family in Frascati.<sup>21</sup> In 1660 Pope Alexander VII examined two ancient portrait busts found by Simonelli for the cardinal in Siena.<sup>22</sup> The paintings purchased were diverse but included numerous works by Neapolitan artists, such as Aniello Falcone. Interestingly, in 1659 the pope noted in his

diary that he had gone to see four paintings by Ribera that the cardinal had purchased.<sup>23</sup> These may have been recommended to him by Simonelli, who, in 1664, authorized the purchase of a St. Jerome by “Lo Spagnoletto.”<sup>24</sup>

The flattering dedication to Simonelli of the second edition of a print by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione published by Giovanni Domenico Rossi in Rome suggests the power he must have wielded within the artistic community by the mid-1650s.<sup>25</sup> Simonelli is compared to the subject of the print *Diogenes Seeking a Man* (B.20.21; Percy E15) “in his virtuous habits and particularly in seeking [honest] men with his lantern . . .” and it is not difficult to imagine Simonelli’s delight in this “accoppiamento felicissimo” with a philosopher and great man of antiquity.

Simonelli was far less well known about 1640, when Ribera drew him, but both the pleasant and unpleasant aspects of his character seem to have been thoroughly grasped by the artist. Ribera’s acquaintance with Simonelli must have been due to Salvator Rosa, who was associated with Ribera in Naples in the mid-1630s.<sup>26</sup> Rosa may have known Simonelli from 1635, when Rosa made his first trip to Rome, although his precise movements in these early years of his career are not altogether clear. They probably met through Girolamo Mercurio, Rosa’s Neapolitan friend. Mercurio was the *maestro di casa* of Cardinal Brancaccio, bishop of Viterbo from 1638, and helped procure work for Rosa in Viterbo.<sup>27</sup> At this same time Simonelli was also in the Brancaccio household, and a charming early sketch—probably a caricature—by Rosa and dedicated to Simonelli, demonstrates that they knew each other at the latest by 1638 or 1639.<sup>28</sup>

Rosa returned to Naples for some months in 1638, but he always hoped to make his way back to Rome.<sup>29</sup> Simonelli was instrumental in helping him do so, having clearly committed himself to the promotion of this young artist. From Naples Rosa sent Simonelli in Rome a painting of *Tityus*, which, according to Giovanni Battista Passeri, Simonelli then exhibited at the Pantheon in March 1639 to clamorous applause. Passeri also claims that Simonelli’s advocacy was the key to Rosa’s success and was critical in convincing Rosa to leave Naples definitively.<sup>30</sup> This developing relationship goes beyond the scope of this note, but it is relevant that Simonelli was one of Rosa’s proven friends when he returned to Rome from Tuscany in 1649, as well as one of the great admirers of the artist’s *Democritus* when it was un-

veiled in 1651.<sup>31</sup> How and when Simonelli and Ribera came together cannot, at this time, be determined more precisely, but the general context for their meeting is clear, and it is almost certain that it must have occurred between 1635 and 1639.

In Ribera’s drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, the stately bald man stands alone, wrapped in a voluminous toga, with the general demeanor of a philosopher or Roman orator. The figure is strongly reminiscent of a piece of antique sculpture, although Ribera seems to have had no specific prototype in mind. Both the stance and drapery, especially as the latter loops behind at the right as if falling over a supporting block, contribute to its sculptural quality.<sup>32</sup> A fine pen-and-ink drawing of the mid-1620s, usually called the *Orator*, shows that the subject and figure type were not new to the artist (Figure 7). Here too ancient sculpture comes to mind, notably *L’Arringatore* (*The Orator*), who raises his arm in the air as if addressing a crowd. Discov-



Figure 7. Jusepe de Ribera, *Study of a Man with Upraised Hand (Orator)*. Pen and ink, 195 x 140 mm. San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, acc. no. 1963.24.615 (photo: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

ered outside Perugia, this great bronze became part of the Medici collection in 1556.<sup>33</sup>

Yet in both drawings, in a daring twist of the original imagery, the potential seriousness of the figure is undermined.<sup>34</sup> In the *Orator* this is achieved by the exaggerated features of the profile and the skeletal quality of the pointing fingers.<sup>35</sup> In the depiction of Simonelli, the air of antique *dignitas* is likewise disrupted, now by the placement of a small nude figure who plants a banner, as if in victory, on his head. This is a device used by Ribera in other drawings of an even more pronounced satirical nature, such as the so-called *Fantastic Scene* (Figure 8) in which numerous small men clamber over a nobleman in contemporary dress with a punchinello's mask.



Figure 8. Jusepe de Ribera, *Fantastic Scene*. Pen and ink, 184 x 110 mm. Madrid, private collection

Manuela Mena has tentatively suggested that these may be Gulliver-like themes *avant la lettre*, and in fact their explanation may lie in the long—indeed, classical—tradition of pygmies that goes back to the writings of Homer and Aristotle, among others, and was perfectly current before Swift's time.<sup>36</sup> The most pertinent of these legends is that of the Sleeping Hercules Captured by Pygmies, as described in Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines* and depicted in, for example, a painting by Dosso or Battista Dossi (Graz, Landesmuseum).<sup>37</sup> The pygmy attack against the giant Hercules culminates in the attempt to lay siege to his head, described by Philostratus in tongue-in-cheek military terms: "as for those who advance against his head, the Pygmy king has assumed the command at this point, which they

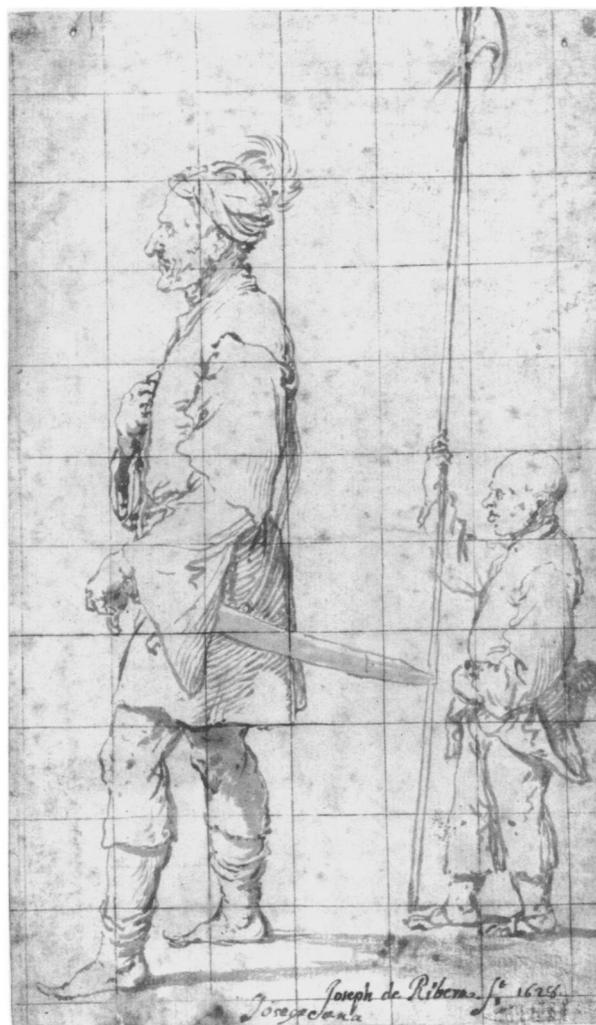


Figure 9. Jusepe de Ribera, *A Noble and His Page*, 1628. Brush and red wash, 230 x 133 mm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum)

think will offer the stoutest resistance, and they bring engines of war to bear against it as if it were a citadel.”<sup>38</sup>

Goldoni’s mention in his *Memoirs* of a puppet show by P. J. Martelli called the *Sneezing of Hercules*, based on the same subject, implies that the humorous connotations of these contests of unequal strength continued to be appreciated.<sup>39</sup> Also inherently satirical in content is the contrast between the very tall and the very short, a staple topos of the genre,<sup>40</sup> which is further exploited by Ribera in several drawings, including the beautiful brush and red-wash drawing of *A Noble and His Page* from the late 1620s (Figure 9).

In the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum the satire can be seen as more pointed due to our knowledge of Simonelli and his complex relations with contemporary artists. His dignity and authority, both as connoisseur and lover of painting and antiquities, as well as the moral qualities implied in his guise as ancient philosopher, are undermined and questioned by the indignity of his capture by the pygmy atop his head. What Mola and Rosa might have thought privately of Rossi’s earnest dedication of Castiglione’s print, with its obsequious comparison of Simonelli to the ascetic and punctiliously honest philosopher Diogenes, seems to have been given visual form in Ribera’s conquered, and thus satirized, portrayal of their not-altogether wholesome comrade.

## NOTES

1. Jonathan Brown, “The Prints and Drawings of Ribera,” in *Jusepe de Ribera: lo Spagnoletto 1591–1652*, exh. cat., Craig Felton and William Jordan, eds., Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth, 1982) pp. 85, 89–90 n.57, fig. 102.

2. Manuela Mena in *Ribera: 1591–1652*, exh. cat., Museo del Prado (Madrid, 1992) pp. 456–457, cat. no. D.43; idem, in *Jusepe de Ribera: 1591–1652*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1992) pp. 224–225, cat. no. 114. Letters from the third duke of Alcalá de Gazules (Fernando Afán de Ribera Enriquez Girón Cortés y Guzmán) to his Neapolitan agent in 1634 and 1635 concerning a print to be made as a frontispiece to a book of decrees demonstrate that the artist must have been involved in this activity, at least in a limited way. For a review of the scholarship concerning the print often associated with this correspondence, see Andrea Bayer, in *Jusepe de Ribera*, MMA, p. 188.

3. Lubomír Konečný, “An unexpected source for Jusepe de Ribera,” *Sources* XIII, no. 2 (Winter 1994) pp. 21–24. Konečný’s intriguing thesis is flawed in that it overlooks the numerous connections between this drawing and others of an overtly satirical

nature, as discussed below, and because his suggestion that the drawing “could have been given to or acquired by Simonelli at a later date” (p. 23) is contradicted by the inscription, which is original and in the same ink as the rest of the drawing. (I thank Lee Hendrix and Calvin Brown of the Department of Drawings and Prints, for examining the drawing.)

4. See Nicholas Turner in *Pier Francesco Mola: 1612–1666*, exh. cat., Museo Cantonale d’Arte, Lugano (Milan, 1989) cats. III.92, III.104–115.

5. Luigi Spezzaferro, “Pier Francesco Mola e il mercato artistico romano: atteggiamenti e valutazioni,” in *Pier Francesco Mola*, pp. 46–47, fig. 2.

6. This suggestion was first made by Giuliano Briganti and reported by Spezzaferro, “Pier Francesco Mola,” p. 51, no. 16. The idea has been taken up by Laura Laureati in *I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock*, exh. cat., Wallraf-Richartz Museum der Stadt Köln, David A. Levine and Ekkehard Mai, eds. (Milan, 1991) p. 150, cat. 9.1. For the history and an interpretation of the painting, see Jürgen M. Lehmann, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Italienische, französische und spanische Gemälde des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Fridingen, 1980) pp. 92–93.

7. Spezzaferro, “Pier Francesco Mola,” pp. 43–49.

8. G. A. Cesario, *Poesie e lettere edite e inedite di Salvator Rosa* (Naples, 1892) p. 16; for Simonelli’s presentation of Rosa’s *Tityus*, which made a huge impression when exhibited in Rome, probably at the Pantheon on March 19, 1639, see [p. 77].

9. A. Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi e olandesi a Roma nei secoli XV–XVII* (Milan, 1880–85) pp. 130–135; the two paintings had been stolen by Francesco Catalano, Swanevelt’s former pupil. Pietro Testa had reported that he had seen them in Catalano’s house, but others, including Swanevelt, said that they were with Simonelli, who, indeed, later passed them on to the dealer Casimiro Roggeri; this despite the fact that, as Elizabeth Cropper (*Pietro Testa: 1612–1650: Prints and Drawings*, exh. cat. [Philadelphia, 1989] p. 220) put it, “the whole neighborhood knew they were stolen.”

10. Spezzaferro, “Pier Francesco Mola,” p. 49. L. Grassi, “Alcuni disegni di Pier Francesco Mola e il curioso precedente di una tormentosa vicenda,” in *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Briganti* (Milan, 1990) pp. 205–207, suggests that this drawing may have been done following one of Mola’s many disappointments in his negotiations with his Pamphilj patrons.

11. The possible participants were suggested in a letter (1994) by Jürgen Lehmann; for the passage in Baldinucci relating to this work, see Lehmann, *Italienische . . . Gemälde*, p. 92.

12. Cropper, *Pietro Testa*, cat. nos. 99, 100, pp. 216–220, figs. 99 (1–3), 100.

13. A. De Rinaldis, *Lettere inedite di Salvator Rosa a G. B. Ricciardi* (Rome, 1939) p. 22.

14. Turner, *Pier Francesco Mola*, cat. no. III.114, pp. 289–290.

15. *Ibid.*, cat. no. III.107, pp. 286–287.

16. The term “disproportionality” is used by Manuela Kahn-Rossi, “Pier Francesco Mola e la caricatura,” in *Pier Francesco Mola*, pp. 128–129; the brutality of the image was rightly noted by Turner, *Pier Francesco Mola*, cat. no. III.110, p. 288.

17. Turner, *Pier Francesco Mola*, cat. no. III.111, pp. 288–289.

18. Spezzaferro, “Pier Francesco Mola,” p. 44, interestingly

suggests that the disagreeable and/or ridiculous side of Simonelli, which is emphasized in these drawings, was gradually forgotten or minimized as his position became more influential.

19. Francesco Scannelli, *Il microcosmo della pittura* (Cesena, 1657) pp. 307–308, said in the context of Simonelli's admiration for Correggio.

20. G. P. Bellori (attrib.), *Nota delli musei, librerie, gallerie . . . di Roma* (1664), E. Zocca, ed. (Rome, 1976) p. 114.

21. V. Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul seicento nell'archivio Chigi* (Rome, 1939) pp. 315–316, no. 219; pp. 317–318, no. 1286. The restoration of the three statues found at Frascati is noted, p. 318, no. 1688.

22. Richard Krautheimer and Roger Jones, "The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings," in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975) p. 214.

23. Krautheimer and Jones, "Diary of Alexander VII," p. 211.

24. Golzio, *Documenti artistici*, pp. 286–287.

25. For the full text of the dedication, see Ann Percy, *Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione: Master Draughtsman of the Italian Baroque*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia, 1971) cat. no. E.151, p. 142. Paolo Bellini, *L'opera incisa di Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione* (Milan, 1982) cat. no. 10, pp. 89–91, shows that this is the second state of two, the first being inscribed by the artist only. The print is usually dated to about 1647, either immediately before or after Castiglione's return to Rome, but Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola," pp. 44–45, speculates that, given the reference to 'Alessandro' in the dedication (almost certainly meaning the Chigi pope), this second edition probably appeared about the beginning of his pontificate in 1655, when Simonelli's position would have been considerably enhanced.

26. For a discussion of whether Rosa actually studied with Ribera, as stated by most of the early sources, see Michael Mahoney, *The Drawings of Salvator Rosa* (New York/London, 1977) I, pp. 40–42.

27. For Rosa's earliest trips to Rome and his friendship with Girolamo Mercurio, see Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere*, pp. 11ff., and De Rinaldis, *Lettere inedite*, pp. xxii–xxiv.

28. Luigi Grassi, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini e Fréart de Chantelou, Salvator Rosa e Nicolò Simonelli: due accademie e una caricatura," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri* (Venice, 1984) I, pp. 633–637, figs. 622, 623.

29. Rosa is documented in Naples both in May and Oct. 1638; the evidence is summarized by Luigi Salerno, *Salvator Rosa* (Milan, 1963) p. 92.

30. Jacob Hess, ed., *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista*

*Passeri* (Leipzig/Vienna, 1934) p. 388, and n.4: "stava in credito d'intendente, et era assai valido con le sue prediche, ne procurò un grido universale et un rimbombo strepitoso al nome di Salvator Rosa . . ."; Hess points out that Passeri may have erred in his report of the exhibition of the *Tityus* in March 1639, when Rosa was probably already in Rome, and suggests that it may have been first shown in the cloister of S. Giovanni Decollato in Aug. 1638.

31. Cesareo, *Poesie e lettere*, pp. 57, 63.

32. I would like to thank Joan Mertens, curator of Greek and Roman Art, for her stimulating suggestions on a number of points involving possible ancient prototypes of aspects of this drawing.

33. Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, *Les Étrusques et l'Europe* (Paris, 1992) p. 155, no. 240.

34. Mola also probably approached ancient sources in as inventive, even witty, a way. As noted by Joan Mertens, the phallus displayed on a console in the caricature of a *Man Declaiming from His Bed* (Figure 6) may have been inspired by antique sculpture.

35. Mena, in *Jusepe de Ribera*, MMA, cat. no. 102, p. 215, calls this drawing "somewhere between reality and a caricature."

36. Mena, in *Jusepe de Ribera*, MMA, cat. no. 99b, p. 213. On the literary tradition regarding pygmies, see W. A. Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels: A Critical Study* (New York 1923; reissued, 1963) pp. 75–76.

37. Konečný, "An unexpected source," p. 24, no. 6, also recognized that this *ekphrasis* may have inspired Ribera's imagery.

38. *Philostratus Imagines. Callistratus Descriptions*, A. Fairbanks, trans. (London, 1931) pp. 229–231: Heracles among the Pygmies. For the Dossi, see Felton Gibbons, *Dosso and Battista Dossi: Court Painters at Ferrara* (Princeton, 1968) cat. no. 98, p. 226 and fig. 139.

39. Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. 80–81.

40. Kahn-Rossi, "Pier Francesco Mola e la caricatura," p. 126. It is important to note that other drawings by Ribera draw on established topoi of 17th-century caricature, an example being the enema. His *Man with a Syringe* (private coll., Munich/Vienna), in which one man is being forcibly administered an enema by another, joins ranks with numerous works by Baccio del Bianco, Anton Domenico Gabbiani, Mola, and many anonymous "lazzi zanneschi." For an interpretation of this frequent motif as one successfully combining scatological and medical themes, pushing the body to an extreme, see idem, "Pier Francesco Mola e la caricatura," p. 129, and idem, *Ritratti in Barocco: La festa nella caricatura toscana del Seicento* (Locarno, 1985) pp. 81ff.