

Dancing with the Devil: Salvator Rosa's Manifestations of Witchcraft in Seventeenth Century

Italy

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Throughout the seventeenth century, ideas of the occult and mystique of witchcraft consumed public interest in artistic circles in Florence, Italy. Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), an Italian artist from Naples, participated in this movement from 1640 until his death. As interests in the occult heightened during his time in Florence, he participated in suspicions of witchcraft through his *Scenes of Witchcraft* (1645-1649)(Figures 1-4). Located at the Cleveland Museum of Art, the series consists of four tondi, each portraying a witch with harrowing spectators at different times of the day. However, to ensure his esteemed prominence, he returned to Rome and produced religious works. The macabre interests that captivated Rosa in *Scenes of Witchcraft* (1645-49) became a vehicle of undermining the church through *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul* (1668)(Figure 5) when the artist returned to Rome. In this paper I propose that through shared iconography, *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul* is a painting of witchcraft, and serves to undermine the authority of the church. Witches or other necromancing subjects were accepted solely to elevate the morality of biblical characters. By giving the witch of Endor agency, Rosa is offering an alternative subject that serves to rival the power of God.

In order to demonstrate this point, I will dissect established scholarships for Rosa including Helen Langdon, Linda Hults and Guy Tal. Helen Langdon writes an article explaining Rosa's intention behind the production of *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul* and the debates that circulated through the church and social circles at the time. I will then give historical and contextual background concerning the social and religious climate in Florence and Rome pertaining to witchcraft, Rosa's artistic training and the influences that led him to his grotesque, apocalyptic figures and his history of patronage. I will then give a visual analysis of *Scenes of Witchcraft* and *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul*, and define the iconography present in all compositions that make all five works, paintings of witchcraft.

A wide variety of scholarship has been published dissecting Rosa's works of witchcraft. The most prominent authors include Helen Langdon, Guy Tal and Linda C. Hulst whose literature I will review. Helen Langdon wrote an article titled "Saul and the Witch of Endor" where she attempts to trace and analyze the chain of thoughts that led to this choice of subject and how it reveals concerns that were on his mind. She focuses on Rome's lively scientific conversations during the 1660s, specifically following the condemnation of Galilei Galileo by the Roman Inquisition, when he revealed the solar system to be heliocentric rather than the geocentric claim from the Bible. She echoes the interest in the spirit world in regards to questions about apparitions and the soul. Further on, she recounts the bible story depicted in Rosa's painting and states that the story was famous, but rarely transferred to canvas before the last sixteenth century. Previously they had been seen in medieval illumination, prints and drawings in illustrated bibles where the witch of Endor and other necromancers captivated minds and witchcraft trials hit a peak. By the 1660s, these pictures had progressed into more fantastical, graveyard settings decorated with skulls, skeletons and spirits of the dead. Rosa closely references the biblical text that captures the fear of King Saul who frantically fled to the secret settlement of the witch of Endor. The altar is piled with bones and spells scratched into writing. Langdon highlights the accuracy of occult practices found in the composition that align with *De occulta philosophia* (1533), a study of occult philosophy. Langdon states that through Rosa's attempt to stun all of Rome at the 1668 Exhibition, he sought a subject that would be visually spectacular, yet provocative. There were debates about this biblical episode in terms of whether or not Samuel's true apparition was brought back or if it was a devilish farce. Could the devil act without permission from God? Or was the witch conjuring an illusionary spectre as a trick on

Saul? Protestants believed that a demonic apparition was more likely, but Catholics were more convinced that the real Samuel had returned.

In *Witches on Top*, Chapter One: (Stereo)Types of Witches: Gender, Age and Power in Salvator Rosa's Tondi Series, Guy Tal includes a section titled: "Painting Witches in the Age of the Inquisition," and examines the possible public response to these subjects during a precarious period and asks the question: Was it true that Rosa could paint witchcraft scenes only in Florence, far from the Roman Inquisition? She states that scholars verify the intolerance of the Inquisition towards witch paintings through the arrest of Rembrandt's teacher, Jacob van Swanenburgh in 1608 in Naples. They speculate that his arrest was a result of not only the subject matter, but were further irked by the choice of a sacred location in which to view said paintings that contained heretics. However, in the Papal city, Cardinal Francesco Barberini was moderate in these affairs from the 1640s and onwards. In the second half of the seventeenth century, charges of witchcraft disappeared. He had academic background in civil and canon law and collected paintings of witchcraft for his personal collection, which was not a forbidden practice in Rome for cardinals or members of a congregation.

In terms of the tondi paintings, whose opinion can pertain to all of Rosa's scenes of witchcraft, Tal claims that the tondi construct a vibrant network of iconography, analogies and allusions to explore multiple aspects of witchcraft such as the typology of witches, the assessment of their characteristic and power, the process of magic and the role of eyewitnesses. To place Rosa's scenes of witchcraft into the context of a more apathetic reception, the only matter that differentiates him from sharing the same fate as van Swanenburgh was mere timing and a lightening of pressure and threat of arrest. Hulst provides a great scope of Rosa's series, but does not mention *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul*, or the witch of Endor. In "Art and Witchcraft

in Early Modern Italy”, Tal centers a chapter on Rosa highlighting that the only witches seen in Italian art were Medea, a sorceress from Greek mythology who leads Jason and the Argonauts to success in their journey, and Circe, who turns Odysseus’s sailors into pigs on her island. the scenes of witchcraft, specifically the night tondo, as well as other works like *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (Figure 6) There is no mention of Saul or the witch of Endor, but he does write briefly about Medea, a sorceress from Greek mythology who leads Jason and the Argonauts to success in their journey. She is related to the infamous Circe, who turns Odysseus’s sailors into pigs on her island.

Linda C. Hults wrote *Witch as Muse*, which includes a chapter titled, “Rosa: Scenes of Witchcraft and the Fiery Painter” that provides a deep dive into Rosa’s entire life and career. She harps on his satirical nature and that the people intended to be on the receiving end of unsavory comments were rarely aware of it. She tells about his patronage in the Medici House, the lack of knowledge surrounding his dismissal, as well as a deep visual analysis on the tondi series, emphasizing Rosa’s knowledge of northern European witchcraft imagery. In a further section, she assesses *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul* and states that the witch of Endor was a symbol used by papal Rome to argue against magic that did not result in evident harm.

During the seventeenth century, Florence took great interest in the macabre, which translated into the occult. Witchcraft was a contemporary topic due to ongoing events such as the Scientific Revolution (1500-1700) which blurred the lines between magic and science, the recognition of the evil of witchcraft by the Protestant and Catholic Church, as well as episodes of the plague washing over towns in Italy and Western Europe. Living quarters were tight and the lack of medical knowledge created dire circumstances, which served as a catalyst in the interest in the occult. Witches consistently suffered the consequences of those accusations especially

during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as Europeans blamed witches and their black magic for causing the black death. To the public, the idea of witchcraft was very plausible. Some stories inch towards the more fantastical, whereas others insinuate the worship of the devil, where women's souls have been taken over by Satan and must act on his heinous requests of violence and wrongdoing. With new discoveries being unveiled regularly in the scientific community, the possibilities of the unimaginable were at the forefront of Florentine minds during a time when nothing seemed out of reach, just had yet to become explainable. So, he painted out the putrid processes to show them, drawing on those already established ideas in the occult and exploiting it for his own gain.

Within artistic and literary atmospheres, witches feature as grotesques, who are intended to make the flesh creep but are not to be taken seriously.¹ They are meant to serve as a burlesque, or parody, form for entertainment rather than a threat. The subject within art was not unfounded, but it was uncommon in Italian art. "The visual and literary culture of witches continued as a popular fascination, and their connections to magic, alchemy and new science and mythology captivated the fantasia of the ever-inquisitive Rosa."² Rosa was regarded as a man with an inflated ego and obsessed over marketing his works. The positive reviews he received from public opinion coerced him to turn to more grotesque or esoteric subjects to challenge his viewers. He always aimed to stimulate emotion from his audience, therefore chose witchcraft for its hard hitting result.³

By evaluating his behavior within his patron interactions, it is easy to assume that Rosa took part in the tradition for the financial benefits rather than a need for external artistic prompts. From his time in Rome as well as Florence, he was known to be quite apathetic and considered

¹ Scott, *Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times*, 50.

² Segrave, *The Novel and the Bizarre*.

³ Scott, *Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times*, 93-95.

any commissions a roadblock in his personal journey to hone his craft. In 1666 he wrote to a distinguished patron, Antonio Ruffo, “I do not paint to enrich myself but purely for my own satisfaction. I must allow myself to be carried away by the transports of enthusiasm and use my brushes only when I feel myself rapt.”⁴ This belief is anticlerical in itself as paintings for the church were an expression of personal devotion and faith. Although this letter postdates the tondi series by twenty years, the sentiment already had ground to it, reflecting his prior personal history with patrons.

Salvator Rosa’s career began with his artistic training under his brother in law and master, Francesco Francanzano. Following those years, he additionally trained under the exceptionally talented Spanish Baroque painter, Jusepe de Ribera in the early 1630s. The majority of his patrons in both Rome and Florence consisted of churchmen, ranging from preaching friars to cardinals of the papal entourage. His manner of living opened him to serious charges and he gave offence to many ecclesiastics by his abrupt refusal to accommodate their requests for pictures while the priestly targets of his satire bore strong grudges against him. He was well known for his satirical performances that took personal swings at his esteemed colleagues, most famously Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Rosa kept his fellow artists at arms length when he returned to Rome, which caused many of them to assume his withdrawal was due to pride and an inflated sense of self which resulted in unfavorable words being spread about him.⁵ However, fortune started to favor Rosa when he was invited to Florence at the request of Cardinal Giovanni Carlo de Medici, brother to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II de Medici.

The Medici family was the most notable and powerful entity in Florence whose influence loomed over every interaction, both religious and secular. Regardless of Rosa’s personal feelings

⁴ Langdon, Rosa, Salvator.

⁵ Scott, Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times, 102.

towards the shackles of patronage, his connection to Cardinal Gian Carlo provided him an artistic returning ground to express his interests apart from religious commissions, such as *Self Portrait* (1647) (Figure 7) and *Römerschlacht* (1645)(Figure 8). Giovanni Carlo was at the centre of literary and theatrical life in Florence, and Rosa soon became part of a circle of gifted virtuosi: poets, historians, scientists and philosophers, among them Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, the recipient of many of Rosa's letters. His house became a meeting-place of a learned society, L'accademia degli Afflitti ('Academy of the Afflicted'). The members read tributes to his pictures, and he took part in theatrical performances.

Following his dismissal from the Medici house, Rosa took advantage of his freedom and executed the interests he could not pursue earlier through *Scenes of Witchcraft*. The dates regarding Rosa's dismissal from the Medici house fluctuate between 1646 to 1648, but it is clear that in the years following, he would spend time with the Maffei, an aristocratic palace, in the neighborhood of Volterra. His success also led him to turn his home into a centre for literary, musical and artistic interests, called the Accademia dei Percossi, where he could enjoy his additional interests of acting, composing music and writing poetry. Two years without a patron to support his efforts, it is a wonder how Rosa made a living, but the answer lies within his close friendships. He was supported both financially and socially by his friends, most notably Giovanni Battista Ricciardi, through whom he created a system of self promotion and networking for circulating his work. He also called on Cordini, a member of the Academy of the Percossi, to act as his agent through selling Rosa's paintings in Florence. In addition to monetary support, Rosa threw himself into the public eye through relentless attendance in public exhibitions, theatrical performances and maintaining a central position in academies.

Rosa's interest in the macabre was a slow ascent during the years of his patronage in Florence. The catalyst for Rosa's interest were the etchings in Cardinal Gian Carlo's collection, crafted by Filippo Napoletano. The artist had worked for Cosimo II, the father of Gian Carlo for many years, and had created several scientific prints of skeletons, mainly from birds and animals. These details inspired the forms seen in the *Scenes of Witchcraft* and *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul*. Rosa then composed his own etchings of witches with skeletal figures encroaching on the subject as well as blurred compositions that incite chaos-ridden rituals.

These images are certainly frightening, yet to play them out in the mind, let alone see them represented in physical form, is intriguing and calls the reader or viewer to recognize the darker side of their mind and have fun with subjects labelled as morbid or grotesque. The Florentine audience recognized the witch as a burlesque topic but Florence was also a very Catholic area. Florence was the safe place to execute these scenes. Rome was absolutely intolerant to the representation of witchcraft unless the demons were necessary characters in a scene like the *The Temptations of St. Anthony* or *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul*.

Rosa was very anticlerical and used the macabre dreamscapes of devils and witches as an act of rebellion against the Roman Court as well as to separate himself from the baroque courtesan art. His history with the church can be defined as turbulent at least. As a young man of sixteen, he became a novice in a local monastery, where he acquired the classical learning later manifested in his paintings and poems, but earned the enmity of the priests. He abandoned his novitiate and wrote: "If there is no other religion than this of popes and cardinals, let us to the dragon's ambush and the dragon's den."⁶ He was not religious in his personal life and considered the bible to be a source of artistic subjects and the language in which he speaks about religion

⁶ Langdon, "Rosa, Salvator."

tells viewers that his works about religion are conventional or positional anticlerical.⁷ In his tradition, he infused his sacred or classical history paintings with coded messages and aligned himself with many of the subjects of his works. In *Diogenes and Alexander* (1662)(Figure 9), he identified with the adverse opinion of patronage and personal misanthropy. He also fashioned himself as a moral man in *Self Portrait as a Philosopher* (1645)(Figure 10). During his Roman years, the papacy's prestige was declining and Roman patronage was unreliable, so he aimed to acquire the interest of the middle class.

Rosa had his heart set on academics purchasing his works, so to support this dream he became a machine of self promotion in manners that could be considered exuberant. He exhibited his works at annual art exhibitions held in Rome on saint's feast days. He knew that the audience would be full of academics or participants of literary circles and news of his work would circulate through the attendees. At the time, the papacy's prestige was declining in his lifetime and Roman patronage was unreliable. Failing in his effort to curate powerful patrons to rely on, he popularised his work by selling pictures to what would now be called the middle classes. Following the disruption of the dismissal of Medici house, Rosa avoided a sole patron and thought it best to keep his options open. The market of Rome was mainly concentrated on the motives of the Counter Reformation encouraged by the Papacy from the sixteenth to seventeenth century. Compositions produced in Rome typically consisted of biblical stories and demons, Satanic entities and witches were only permissible in art if their sole purpose was to elevate the role of the good, moralistic biblical characters. Therefore, in order to align his style with the Roman preferences, Rosa includes spiritual entities where he is allowed, and a perfect place to execute this interest is the Bible story of King Saul and the Witch of Endor.

⁷ Scott, Salvator Rosa: His Life and Times, 145.

The story follows the Old Testament account of King Saul. This story has been repeatedly depicted during the 1650s in Rome. For example, *The Shade of Samuel Invoked by Saul* (Figure 11) by Bernardo Cavallino in 1656 is an adjacent composition to Rosa's. As written by the Getty Museum about Cavallino's version, "...an episode from the Bible in which King Saul, about to enter into battle with the Philistines, asked the Witch of Endor to summon the spirit of the recently deceased prophet Samuel, the last Judge of the Israelites." Where Cavallino's rendition of the witch is shrouded in darkness and physically restrained in the scene, Rosa's version shows the witch as an active conjurer rather than a passive figure, therefore giving her agency in her craft. Her muscles are tensed and wrangling with force and is just as lit up as Saul. She is not hidden or bypassed, but shown as the cataclysmic person she is. Not only did he choose a bible story that contains a worker of magic, he chose to portray her as an illuminated character who is the main character of the scene. The story originates with Saul expelling all mediums and magic workers from Israel to follow the commandment that there is one, true God who is the ultimate authority and was a motion to maintain spiritual purity and Israel's law. Soon after, God abandons Saul and desperate to seek help, he wishes to speak to his old mentor, Samuel. He calls out to God only to hear no response, neither in dreams or in voice. Saul tells his servants to find a woman who can call up the spirits of the dead. Disguised, he consults the witch of Endor and she evokes the ghost of Samuel. The witch and the skeletal spectators are a familiar component of Rosa's work and shows that they are not exclusive to *Scenes of Witchcraft*.

In *Scenes of Witchcraft: Morning* (Figure 1), a witch, portrayed as a beautiful, full figured woman, sits on a rock placed in front of a pond. She holds a sword and punctures with it, the mouth of an improbably large frog. The frog throws its hands up in agony while blood drips

down its chest and into the water nearby. Two enlarged birds stretch behind the figures to encircle the grotesque scene, serving almost as guards to ward off potential distractions or meddling participants. Two additional entities loom over the witch, but they are unlike the previous figures because they are purely skeletal. The middle ground is consumed by an immense mountain formation with another spindly skeleton lingering in the sky, seemingly watching the scene from above.

Following with *Scenes of Witchcraft: Day* (Figure 2), features the idea of the old hag, adorned with scraggled hair, veiny arms, dripping a sponge over sprawled lizards. She is mounted on an augmented owl and holds an upturned broom in her left hand. A mustard yellow cloth, similar to the one around the young sorceress in the previous composition flows over the woman's lap and lifts up around her right hand. The enlarged lizards, included in *Morning*, are being split open with open mouths and outstretched limbs by an adjoining witch who is almost identical to the centered figure. Their tails lay limp in the small pond situated in the more forefront space of the painting. There are two more witches in the middle ground holding skulls in the air and watching the action take place. The sky is a bright, clear blue framed by craggy rocks and abundant trees.

In the foreground of *Scenes of Witchcraft: Evening* (Figure 3), three haggard women surround a cauldron resting over fire. The most forefront one wears a wreath around her head, hair obscuring her face as her clothing hangs off of her waist. She kneels as she holds a large candle over the cauldron, allowing the wax to drip. A nude woman stands over her, holding a mirror in front of her chest, reflecting the potion's glass like consistency. At the central figure's left foot, a reflective sphere is set, coins scatter the ground and a paper with a pentagram positioned flat with crinkled, angular edges. There is a wax figurine, illuminated by the firelight

that stands with its arms raised up between the mirrored sphere and fire. In the middleground, colossal skeletons of an unknown species hang over the incantation. The creatures are fragmentary, consisting of bones from animals, humans and tree branches. The large one, positioned right of the scene, is draped in an ochre red garment thrown over its shoulder and cascades down its back. It holds an A-frame object with a plumb line in its left hand and a wooden framed hourglass in its right. Although the eyes are quite impossible to locate, the figure appears to be looking over its right shoulder towards a tree engulfed into flames. An additional figure looms behind it, obscured in the darkness. They share the ambiguity of form, but this entity is much smaller, and feels accessory.

In *Scenes of Witchcraft: Night* (Figure 4), an older man is the central figure. He stands in the foreground with a wand raised above his head, interacting with a monstrous, reptilian being with a human face, elongated neck and string like arms. Two men kneel at the man's feet, cowering in fear. Under the creature, there is a cauldron with another fiendish figure bends over, mouth agape, skin illuminated by the fire. To the left of the spectacle, two other men in armor are on horseback and seem to be in hesitant conversation. An unidentifiable object is smoking in the center of the scene and a shovel stands upright at the feet of one of the cowering men. Under the light of the full moon a large pillar stands tall looming above the scene, displaced in this forest setting. Within all of them, as Luigi Salerno wrote, "We can see the skeletons of fish and birds with sharply pointed beaks, and birds are present in all of Rosa's paintings of the occult."⁸

In Rosa's later work, *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul* (Figure 5), the two central figures are the witch of Endor and the ghost of Samuel. King Saul, on his hands and knees, bows in amazement in front of the ghost of Samuel. His eyes look up in horror at the apparition of his old mentor. The witch of Endor holds a cup with her right hand and black balsam with her left,

⁸ Salerno and Kohn. "Four Witchcraft Scenes by Salvator Rosa." 225–31.

arms stretched out and twisted with great tension. She is nude apart from a flowing blue garment that covers her midsection and frames the skeletal figures of Hell that lurk behind her. In the uppermost space of the painting a large owl looms over the scene. The witch's hair blows skyward and her face is strained in the art of her craft. A steaming cauldron on a tripod stands between the witch and the ghost of Samuel, with the steam transforming into the smoky appearance of Samuel. Samuel's face is shrouded in disappointment and darkness as he wraps himself in a white robe covering the whole of his body. Two men positioned behind Samuel's legs look in confusion and shock at the scene as one puts their hands up in surrender.

Although these paintings are separated by twenty years and market preferences, there are shared iconographies found in all five works: enlarged birds, skeletal figures, flowing drapery, black balsam, cauldrons, spectators, both human and creature. The elements that decorate the scenes of witchcraft are the defining factors present in Rosa's occult compositions, therefore *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul* is a scene of witchcraft. The bible states that Saul had disguised himself, however in Rosa's version, the King is adorned in fine armor which would have revealed his identity if seen by anyone. This scene shows God's abandonment of his follower and leader of the most important city in biblical history and shows alternative powers that could be considered equal to those of God. "Saul's reliance on a medium underscores a direct violation of the Torah's clear prohibitions in passages such as Leviticus 19:31: 'You must not turn to mediums or spiritists; do not seek them out, or you will be defiled by them.'"⁹ A scene of rebellion against God is a bold choice to market for Roman audiences, but not altogether unfounded. However, in the setting this art is being sold, the display could be an act of anticlerical nature or even heresy. This display is an undermining vehicle against the Catholic Church because by displaying it in a religious setting, witches could be received as an alternative

⁹ Holy Bible, New International Version. Leviticus 19:31.

power, maybe even one to consider when the god of Catholicism has left one feeling abandoned. Saul felt abandoned and sought out the advice of a trusted friend. He did go against the will and rule of God stated in the Torah, but under the circumstances, the witch of Endor gave him the clarity he needed. Even though Saul was punished, he gained truth about the fate of his family that was otherwise being held from him. The witch offered kindness and welcomed Saul in, and fostered a connection to Samuel, helping Saul in every way she could. If Rosa was a true believer, there is the question of suffering in the afterlife as atonement for his debauchery. Just as Saul was condemned for his trust in another power, Rosa could share the same fate, but faith is only faith if one believes in a divine power.

Salvator Rosa took a mass well of knowledge about witches, their practices and their stigmas and used them for his financial gain, leading him to gather a notorious reputation and strained relationships with other artists. Known for taking risks and not shying away from his personal beliefs, he put a display of magical power in the most religious city in the world, asking viewers the question: Will you seek other powers when God inevitably leaves you? Or would you stay with the mere hope that He knows best? Rosa calls viewers to crawl into the grotesque recesses of the mind and makes heretical ideas fascinating to the eye, causing a new wave of inquisitiveness during the time of great evolution in science, religion and magic.

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Figures



Figure 1. Salvator Rosa, *Scenes of Witchcraft: Morning*, 1645-49, oil on canvas, 54.5 cm (21 7/16 in.), Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 2. Salvator Rosa, *Scenes of Witchcraft: Day*, 1645-49, oil on canvas, 54.5 cm (21 7/16 in.), Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 3. Salvator Rosa, *Scenes of Witchcraft: Evening*, 1645-49, oil on canvas, 54.5 cm (21 7/16 in.), Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 4. Salvator Rosa, *Scenes of Witchcraft: Night*, 1645-49, oil on canvas, 54.5 cm (21 7/16 in.), Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 5. Salvator Rosa, *The Shade of Samuel Appears to Saul*, 1668, oil on canvas, 275 x 191 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 6. Salvator Rosa, *The Temptations of St. Anthony*, 1645, oil on canvas, Galleria Pitti, Florence.



Figure 7. Salvator Rosa, *Self Portrait*, 1647, oil on canvas, 39 x 31 1/4 in. (99.1 x 79.4 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 8. Salvator Rosa, *Römerschlacht*, 1645, oil on canvas, 229 × 345 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Figure 9. Salvator Rosa, *Diogenes and Alexander*, 1662, etching and drypoint, 18 1/16 x 10 7/8 in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 10. Salvator Rosa, *Self Portrait as a Philosopher*, 1645, oil on canvas, 94 x 116.3 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 11. Bernardo Cavallino, *The Shade of Samuel Invoked by Saul*, 1650-56, oil on copper, 61 × 86.4 cm (24 × 34 in.), The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.