

Dirck van Baburen

(Wijk bij Duurstede ca. 1592/93 - 1624 Utrecht)

Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple, ca. 1618

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Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple (Fig. 1), by the early seventeenth-century Utrecht Caravaggist, Dirck van Baburen (ca. 1592/93-1624), surely ranks among the artist's most impressive creations. This imposing canvas depicts an episode from Christ's life that is told in all four gospel books.¹ In these accounts, we learn that Christ had traveled to Jerusalem during Passover and after having entered the Jewish Temple, he became enraged at the presence of money changers and merchants selling cattle, sheep, and doves. Accusing them of turning the Temple into a "den of robbers" because of their iniquitous activities, Christ proceeded to drive these men and their animals out the sacred space with a whip of cords, overturning their money-changing tables in the process.

Baburen deftly focuses on the climax of the biblical tale: an energetic, furious Christ points upward (presumably to heaven) with one hand while wielding a whip with his other. He is about to strike a screaming, fleeing man, who has secured one of the animals for sale under his arm. Below, to this man's right, another recoils in terror, grasping his money bag but sensibly raising his other arm to protect himself in anticipation of receiving the next blows. His fellow merchants react as well, with one adjusting his pince-nez to get a better look at the violence unfolding before him. Any seventeenth-century viewer would have recognized the motif of the pince-nez as a cogent symbol of his (and his mercantile comrades') moral blindness.² Only one figure in Baburen's scene stands passively aloof: a woman at the right edge of the painting with a basket of doves on her head, who gazes directly at the viewer.

Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple was painted around 1618, during one of the busiest periods of Baburen's approximately eight-year sojourn in Rome. For centuries its whereabouts had been unknown, until it suddenly surfaced on the art market in 1987. This striking picture has now reemerged for only the second time in thirty-three years.

BABUREN'S BIOGRAPHY: FROM UTRECHT TO ROME AND BACK

Dirck van Baburen was born around 1592/93 in Wijk bij Duurstede, a small town lying on the Kromme Rijn River in close proximity to Utrecht.³ His parents, Jaspar van Baburen and Margareta van Doyenburch, were relatively affluent. In 1592, his father secured an official position to collect tolls from commercial traffic on the river in Wijk bij Duurstede. This lucrative and honorable post was followed in 1594 by Jasper van Baburen's appointment as financial administrator for ecclesiastical property seized by the town, a common occurrence throughout the Dutch Republic as Protestants solidified their hold on political power. Naturally, the nature of just such a position that required the titleholder to oversee confiscated Catholic property would not have been awarded to a Catholic. It therefore seems reasonable to surmise that the Baburen family were Protestants

The next archival record of note concerning Dirck van Baburen dates to 1611, in the form of a receipt from the Guild of St. Luke stating that he had paid his tuition for the year. We can only speculate about what transpired during the intervening time. Judging from the erudite literary content of some of Baburen's later history paintings, such as the Kassel *Achilles before the Dead Body of Patroclus*,⁴ there is a good chance that he attended grammar school, followed by Latin school, the latter institution generally reserved for the sons of the well-to-do. If our painter did indeed attend Latin school, he would have completed his studies by roughly the age of fourteen. In an era when well-educated and well-connected young men went on to university, Baburen's parents, perchance recognizing some nascent artistic talent on his part, probably decided to send him to a recognized master (or masters) for training. We do not know the precise year in which this occurred but a good guess would be 1607 or 1608. Unfortunately, this cannot be verified because the pre-1611 records of Utrecht's saddler's guild (to which the city's painters belonged until they founded their own guild in 1611) have been lost.

The aforementioned document from 1611 does not state that Baburen began his training that year, as some scholars have inferred, but only that he had paid his tuition fee. He had been studying in Utrecht with Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638), a talented and prolific portraitist and occasional composer of history paintings.⁵ Baburen does not appear among the names of Moreelse's listed pupils between 1612 and 1615, so 1611 was likely the last year he spent under his master's tutelage. At some point during the following year, 1612, he must have departed for Italy, at the age of about nineteen. In deciding to supplement his education by traveling there Baburen was certainly not alone, for many Northern European artists made their way south throughout the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The opportunities in Italy, especially in Rome, were simply irresistible, what with its sizeable collections of antiquities, Renaissance art, and during the opening decades of the seventeenth century, the powerful lure of paintings by the internationally renowned Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610) and his immediate followers. There were also potential prospects for patronage from members of the enormous Roman Curia.⁶ Italy also held special attraction for artists from Utrecht, who flocked there in large numbers for both artistic and spiritual reasons: in the early seventeenth century, the Dutch city continued to maintain its reputation as the principal

Catholic center in The Netherlands and as a major site for the production of conventional Catholic art.

Baburen probably arrived in Italy in the summer or fall of 1612, if not in early 1613. He would spend most of his Italian years in Rome and establish a solid reputation there relatively quickly.⁷ He could not have arrived at a more fortuitous time. By 1612-1613, the Eternal City's population exceeded 100,000 inhabitants. It was a truly bustling cosmopolitan metropolis, whose surging commerce and wealth owed much to the rejuvenated Catholic Church in general, and to ambitious papal campaigns to renovate existing churches and initiate new construction projects. The decade in which Baburen arrived in Rome was also a decisive one artistically. Caravaggio's death in 1610 had paradoxically facilitated the formation of a "school" of followers of many different nationalities. In some respects, this school (for lack of a better term) centered on the achievements of the Spanish émigré, Jusepe de Ribera (1591-1652), who was living in Rome by 1606 (though he departed for Naples in 1616) and the Ostianese painter, Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622), who resettled there around 1600. The period 1610 to 1620 therefore witnessed the apogee of Caravaggism in Rome, owing to the sheer popularity of the style, both among collectors and the vast influx of foreign artists who practiced it, including Baburen.

Baburen's tenure in Rome provided ample opportunities for professional growth and development. The Dutchman absorbed all the city had to offer artistically. He was particularly drawn to the art of Caravaggio and his followers, none more so than Ribera and Manfredi, whose influential interpretations of the older Italian's art mesmerized a younger generation of painters and collectors. Fortunately for Baburen, he successfully secured all-important patronage, for at least two of his patrons are known (and there certainly could have been more): Pietro Cussida (d. 1622), a Spanish diplomat, art agent, and collector, whose family chapel was furnished with paintings by the artist and his colleague, David de Haen (ca. 1595-1622), and Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1637), one of the great maecenases and connoisseurs of the entire era who commissioned *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples*.⁸ After an absence of some eight or nine years, Baburen returned to his native town, Utrecht, in either the fall of 1620 or, more likely, in the winter of 1621.

Our artist's career in Utrecht was as successful as it was brief, as he would die in February 1624, a scant three years after he had resettled there. Interestingly, he was still a bachelor at the time of his death, so his mother and sister, with whom he had been living, were named the heirs to his estate.⁹ Owing to the sheer paucity of documentary evidence, we cannot say for certain how he died. Since Baburen was in his very early thirties by 1624, it is logical to assume that he continued to enjoy a reasonable state of health because of his relative youth, despite living in an age without adequate medical care. One therefore wonders whether he was taken by the dreaded plague that bedeviled Utrecht on and off throughout the early seventeenth century.¹⁰ Regardless of the cause of Baburen's death, it cut short an already well-established career.

VAN BABUREN'S DEVELOPMENT AS A PAINTER

Baburen's earliest surviving work, *The Capture of Christ* (Fig. 2), was painted circa 1615-16 for Pietro Cussida, a wealthy Spanish aesthete from Zaragoza, the capitol of Aragon.¹¹ The Spaniard had arrived in Rome by 1602 to serve as a diplomatic agent for Philip III (ruled 1598-1621) and then, briefly, for Philip IV (ruled 1621-65). In this capacity, he was also charged with procuring works of art for their majesties.¹² This thinly and loosely painted picture, featuring the strokes of an impasto-laden brush, is ungainly in certain passages and compellingly beautiful in others. The right side of the canvas is quite striking and, fortunately, well preserved. Peter, sword in hand, grips the wrist of the prostrate Malchus, the servant of the Jewish high priests, as he turns to exchange glances with the apprehended Christ. The motif of Peter grasping Malchus owes much to Caravaggio's depiction of an executioner and St. Matthew in his *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew* in the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi Francesi (Fig. 3).¹³ Both Baburen and his patron, Cussida were undoubtedly familiar with the Italian master's three canvases in that chapel because they ranked among the most celebrated pictures produced in the early seventeenth century.

Cussida must have responded quite positively to *The Capture of Christ*, for he would soon offer Baburen a far larger and more important commission, one for which our artist is perhaps best known today.¹⁴ The Spanish diplomat charged Baburen and his colleague, David de Haen, with furnishing five canvases for his family's chapel (known as the Pietà Chapel) in San Pietro in Montorio, perched high on the Janiculum Hill in western Rome.¹⁵ Baburen was responsible for a large altarpiece of *The Entombment*, an equally large *Way to Calvary* on a lateral wall, and on the opposite wall, a now-lost *The Raising of the Cross*.¹⁶

Baburen's ongoing appropriations from Caravaggio for this commission are most obvious in the principle altarpiece of the Pietà Chapel, *The Entombment* (Fig. 4), which, in the late nineteenth century, still carried the monogram, 'T.R.', and the date, 1617.¹⁷ The Dutch artist has adopted the chiaroscuro effects (enhanced by natural light) and volumetric forms of the Italian's own famous *Entombment* (Fig. 5) that hung at that time in the Vittrice Chapel in the Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella). Baburen seems to have understood that strongly illuminated figures set against a dark background literally stood out forcefully within dusky seventeenth-century chapels. The visually arresting, physically assertive figures who emphatically protrude from Caravaggist paintings must have struck contemporaries as quite extraordinary, particularly compared to more evenly lit altarpieces whose figures tended to fade into the heavy shadows of the interior spaces in which they were displayed. Baburen also deploys the same basic compositional structure as Caravaggio, with its wedge-like arrangement of figures set at a diagonal, cascading downward toward the body of the dead Christ. In the Dutchman's *Entombment*, however, the stone of the tomb, which, like the Italian's, also serves as the stone of unction (with its Eucharistic implications), is more table-like while the body of Christ has been rendered in an upright, almost seated position. Perhaps when Baburen visited the Vittrice Chapel in the Chiesa Nuova to examine Caravaggio's famed picture,

he also studied Angelo Caroselli's *Pietà* of circa 1611-12 in the apse directly above it, which shows Christ in this very same position.¹⁸

Versus the Italian's prototype, we encounter here such emphatically natural motifs as the physiognomies of the individual figures and the grayish green extremities of Christ to communicate effectively the pungent decay of death, all rarely seen in Caravaggio's art (with the notable exception of the Virgin Mary in his *Death of the Virgin* [Paris, Musée du Louvre]). Lastly, Baburen's brushwork is looser and more varied than Caravaggio's. In certain passages, like the lifeless, puckered flesh of Christ, he employs a wet-on-wet technique while other passages witness his practice of applying paint with an impasto-laden brush; anatomical details, among them the hair and lips, are rendered quite broadly

We have documentation that Baburen enjoyed the patronage of at least one other *cognoscente* besides Pietro Cussida during his Roman period. Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani commissioned his large-scale, masterful canvas of *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* (Fig. 6).¹⁹ Baburen must have painted *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* around the time he was working in the *Pietà* Chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, that is, roughly 1617-18. The sophisticated monochromatic palette in this canvas, offset by the brilliant scarlet of Christ's cloak, the expressive gestures and faces of the figures that effectively convey the narrative, and the skillful brushwork with which they are rendered bespeak a painting by a more mature artist than the one who had executed the Longhi Foundation *Capture of Christ* (Fig. 2) just two years prior.

Baburen's most productive years in Rome, occurred around 1618-19. Our *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* belongs to this period of his activity. As will be explained in detail below, our painting reveals the Dutch master detailed knowledge of a picture by Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622), who is usually hailed as the Caravaggisti proponent and innovator *par excellence*. In essence, Manfredi successfully appropriated specific stylistic and thematic devices from Caravaggio's art and, in the process, created new pictorial paradigms that were eagerly adopted by a younger generation of artists, including Baburen.²⁰

At this time, 1618-19, Baburen also painted a particularly vivacious image of *St. Francis* (Fig. 7). The positioning in an unarticulated space of the physically assertive, highly plastic saint behind a wooden ledge, torqued ever so slightly toward his right and enlivened by cool light entering in from the left, is strongly reminiscent of single-figure paintings by the highly influential Spanish master, Jusepe de Ribera (Fig. 8). Recent research has established the Spaniard's seminal yet often underestimated role (in comparison to that of Manfredi) among the first generation of Caravaggio's followers., Ribera placed his protean adaptations of the Italian master's remarkable pictorial devices and motifs at the service of fresh conceptions of traditional subject matter. He even made decisive contributions to the development of new subjects altogether.²¹ The naturalism of Ribera's figures certainly exceeds that of Baburen's more physically refined *St. Francis*, who harks back to Bolgonese prototypes, and the latter canvas also exhibits a more fluid and painterly application but the connections are undeniable.²²

The demonstrable ties between Baburen's and Ribera's work might also explain the occasional confusion concerning the attribution of paintings to one or the other artist,

both in scholarly publications and on the art market, including the Dutch painter's magnificent *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* (Fig. 9), a painting once attributed to the Spanish master.²³ This canvas's brushwork and naturalism recall very early depictions by Ribera of saints, and it ranks among the most virtuosic of the Baburen's entire Roman period.²⁴ Its deft painterliness reveals a hitherto unseen level of competence and sureness of touch. The hoary headed, bearded saint harks back to the depiction of St. Peter in such earlier works as the Longhi Foundation *Capture of Christ* (Fig. 2) and the Berlin *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* (Fig. 6), but his features have been rendered quite subtly and accentuated by softened light effects. The technical mastery of *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* places it toward the very end of Baburen's residence in Rome, namely, circa 1620. The simplified, broadly brushed physiognomy of the cold-hearted executioner with ruddy cheeks and nose, who grasps the doomed saint's wrist, likewise anticipates pictures that the artist would paint during his final years in Utrecht.

After an absence of some eight or nine years, Baburen returned to his native town, Utrecht, in either the fall of 1620 or, more likely, in the winter of 1621. At less than one-third the size of Rome, there were certainly fewer collectors and connoisseurs in this Dutch town than in the Eternal City. Nevertheless, our painter and his colleagues still had ready opportunities to work there for an elite clientele (and for patrons in other Dutch cities as well). It is fascinating that an overwhelming percentage of Baburen's Utrecht period paintings are signed and dated versus those he made during his formative period in Rome, where he had purportedly monogrammed and dated only one picture: *The Entombment* (Fig. 4).²⁵ Furthermore, in those scattered instances in which he now included his Christian name in the signature it usually appeared as, 'Theodor,' or 'Teodoor' or in some related spelling, all variations upon 'Teodoro,' his name in Italy.²⁶ For our painter's clients, his signature must have served as an imprimatur, signaling any number of qualities beyond the authenticity of the work in question (as a product of the master and/or his workshop), among them, his erudition, sophistication, and his international status gained from years of experience working in Rome, the greatest art center in seventeenth-century Europe. Baburen's stylistic innovations complement his distinctive signature. Indeed, his Utrecht period work generally features monumental, sturdy figures rendered with cool and brighter tonalities. Simplified, almost schematic brushwork enhanced these new components of his style, which were placed at the service of altogether new themes in Baburen's art.

Manfredi's sway still held strong during the artist's first year or two back in the Netherlands, perhaps nowhere more obvious than in his two related versions of *The Crowning with Thorns*.²⁷ The version today in The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City [Missouri] was painted first (Fig. 10), probably in late 1621 or early 1622, while the slightly smaller version, presently in Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht, followed shortly thereafter (Fig. 11). Baburen's two versions of this subject clearly relate to several pictures by Manfredi that, in turn, recall a painting by Caravaggio formerly in the Giustiniani Collection and so familiar to both the Dutch and Italian masters.²⁸ Among Manfredi's multiple renditions of this subject is one that seems to have made an abiding impression upon Baburen; it hangs today in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence (Fig.

12).²⁹ The most striking similarity between their respective works is the pose of the submissive Christ, whose lowered head suggests his graceful acquiescence to the dreadful fate that awaits him. The same rakish angle of his semi-nude torso appears in both canvases. Baburen has also crossed Christ's hands in the same manner but with his left hand now on top, clutching the reed that serves mockingly as his scepter.

Baburen likewise appropriated the Italian master's closely cropped composition wherein the voluminous forms of the half to three-quarter-length figures are extended to the outer perimeter of the canvas. Yet, in some ways, Baburen's two renditions of *The Crowning with Thorns* are more visually arresting and brutal than Manfredi's painting with its gentle penumbra that envelops the slightly more idealized protagonists, thereby mitigating any potential barbarity. What further separates the Italian and Dutch artists' approaches is the powerful and vigorous application of paint in the latter's work. By the time he had returned home, Baburen had mastered a technique foreshadowed in what was perhaps his very last Roman period picture, *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* (Fig. 9). His paint application had always been markedly broad. Nevertheless, in the final years of his career, Baburen's painterly strokes grew ever more simplified, almost schematic in the expedient yet paradoxically premeditated manner in which they were applied to his canvases. Impasto highlights underwent the same transformation. The countenances of Christ and the ruffian in the upper right are prototypical in this respect. They are constructed of broad, somewhat flat and angular planes of color with extended dashes of reddish-pink deployed to articulate ruddy cheeks and bulbous noses. At times, this technique imparts an emphatic earthiness to Baburen's figures, in some instances quite deliberately to enhance the subject matter.

If Baburen's Caravaggesque-infused religious art was influential in his native town, his genre paintings—unique to his Utrecht period-- were all the more so. His *Youth Playing a Mouth Harp*, for example, was probably painted (with some assistance from his workshop) within months of his return because it is signed and dated 1621 (Fig. 13).³⁰ This picture and its pendant, a now-lost *Flute Player*, the latter known today only from workshop replicas, rank among the earliest—if not, the earliest—single-figured musicians in Utrecht painting.³¹ The seeming novelty of these canvases belie their rather complicated pictorial genesis. Baburen's presentation here of music-playing *bravi*--and, elsewhere in his oeuvre, of similar figures engaged in other activities--in half-length donning outlandish dress and posed before unarticulated backgrounds, is indebted to Ribera, Manfredi, and, ultimately, to Caravaggio (Fig. 14).³² However, they simultaneously signal his awareness of even older prototypes, the very same prototypes that Caravaggio found so intriguing, namely, musicians in Northern Italian and in Northern European art of the sixteenth century.³³

In the *Youth Playing a Mouth Harp*, a flickering flame of a smoking candle can be seen near the lower right edge of the canvas, rising from behind the sheet of music. The young man thus performs at night by candlelight in this the only surviving example of artificial lighting in our artist's entire oeuvre. In view of Gerrit van Honthorst's (1592-1656) return to Utrecht from Italy in 1620, Baburen was likely attempting here to emulate the widely admired candlelight pictures of that celebrated artist. Honthorst had become

known by the apt sobriquet, '*Gherardo delle notti*' (Gerard of the Nights), in testimony to his superb candlelit paintings (Fig. 15). He would continue to make them for several years after he resettled in his native town. Baburen was certainly familiar with Honthorst's night scenes. In a likely effort to demonstrate alternative methods of rendering illumination, he substituted cooler and lighter tones for Honthorst's typical manner of capturing a candle's glow by deploying golden yellow gradations of decreasing intensity.

Baburen's appropriation of stylistic devices and motifs from Honthorst's paintings could cut both ways: from Honthorst's hand at this time one finds representations of half-length musicians possibly inspired by Baburen's work.³⁴ A telling example of the complicated give-and-take artistic relationship between these two masters involves Baburen's *Woman Playing a Lute* (Fig. 16) and Honthorst's depictions of musicians posed before ledges, among them, his *Singing Elder with a Flute* (Fig. 17) and his *Merry Violinist with a Wineglass* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), both dated 1623.³⁵ Exchanges between Baburen, Honthorst and their third talented colleague, Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629), who likewise painted musical imagery, pay testimony to Utrecht's flourishing artistic scene in Utrecht, which functioned something like a laboratory in that it fostered creative rivalries and competition.³⁶

Besides introducing new subjects into Dutch genre painting, Baburen also played a significant role in 'modernizing' older, Northern European themes by recasting them in a Caravaggesque mode. His *Backgammon Players* of circa 1622 (Fig. 18) –tragically destroyed in a fire in 2018–is likely the earliest painting by any Utrecht artist of the theme of gambling.³⁷ Outlandishly dressed, heavily armed men are engaged in a dispute over a backgammon game while behind them, a wizened procuress drinks, a figure whose presence alludes to the disreputable location at which these activities take place. The pictorial roots of this image of gambling can be found in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art. Still, Baburen has updated these older images by bestowing a Caravaggesque veneer upon this scene of colorfully clothed, half-length figures posed before an unarticulated background enlivened by raking light effects. A backgammon board lies on the table in an early painting of *Cardsharps* by Caravaggio (Fig. 14) but by comparison, the Italian's representation is much more benign, regardless of the similarities. Thematically, Baburen's painting perhaps owes more to the prototypes of Manfredi (Fig. 19) and other practitioners of his style, whose gaming spectacles frequently feature vehement arguments and potential violence between well-armed gamblers sporting assorted pieces of armor.³⁸

Most of Baburen's paintings of subjects drawn from mythology and ancient history date from the last years of his life, that is, between 1622 and 1624. At least two of these Utrecht-period paintings were commissioned by august clients,³⁹ and all manifest the artist's preoccupation with stories of weighty literary content, reflective, no doubt, of his own education, cultivation, and concomitant social standing. Our artist's painting of *Cimon and Pero*, also known as *Roman Charity* (Fig. 20), proffers erudite and sophisticated meditations on the function and meaning of painting as an art since it literally and deliberately recreates a lost work from antiquity.⁴⁰ The physical resemblance

of the turbaned moon-faced Pero recalls the musician in the *Woman Playing a Lute* (Fig. 16) of circa 1622, while the spirited painterly execution of this bright canvas is reminiscent of the Amsterdam *Chaining of Prometheus* of 1623, thus suggesting a date of roughly 1622-23.⁴¹ It is clear that Baburen's more or less schematic approach to applying paint during his Utrecht period extended to all sorts of subjects, though, as we have seen, the figures contained therein were rendered with varying degrees of refinement or coarseness.

What little we know about our artist's patrons indicates that he was able to secure commissions for literary and historical pictures from the upper echelons of Dutch society. His rough-hewn *Emperor Titus* (Fig. 21), for example, was one of twelve imaginary portraits of *Roman Emperors* likely commissioned between roughly 1616 and 1625 by the Stadholder Maurits (1567-1625), who assumed the title of Prince of Orange in 1618.⁴² Painted series representing these emperors, based on the ancient Roman historian, Seutonius's *De Vita Caesarum* (written about A.D.120), had been fairly common in Italian princely collections since the Renaissance.⁴³ Maurits was surely aware of the illustrious pictorial traditions underlying this series as well as its imperial implications, which likely explains his decision to engage leading Flemish and Dutch masters of the day to the paint the other eleven pictures, including Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Gerard Seghers (1591-1651), Abraham Janssens (ca. 1575-1632), Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617), Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651), Baburen's former teacher Moreelse, and Terbrugghen. Baburen was thus in very good company, a reflection, no doubt, of the esteem in which he was held by contemporary connoisseurs. Happily, his talent in making compelling art works depicting a variety of subject matter continues to be appreciated today.

CHRIST DRIVING THE MONEY CHANGERS AND PAINTING IN CONTEMPORARY ROME

Baburen's *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* of circa 1618 (fig. 1), which first surfaced on the art market in the late 1980's, can be considered a major achievement within the master's Italian-period oeuvre. Perhaps more than any other of his pictures from this period, it has rich ties to the complex artistic milieu of early seventeenth-century Rome. Specifically, it reveals the Dutchman's familiarity with an earlier version of the same subject by Manfredi (Fig. 22), painted circa 1616-17.⁴⁴ That picture's presumed original location likewise offers some tantalizing clues concerning our artist's familiarity with it. In the late seventeenth-century, the Italian antiquarian and art critic, Giovan Pietro Bellori (1613-96), described Manfredi's *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple*, a picture he had seen hanging in the palace of the 'Signori Verospi.'⁴⁵

Bellori does not specify which members of this eminent family he was referring to but rest assured, they were descendants of Ferdinando (Ferrante) Verospi, a wealthy

merchant from Spain who had emigrated to Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ Moreover, it is very likely that the painting (along with one other by the artist) had already been hanging in the Verospi Collection for an extended time before Bellori saw it.⁴⁷ Although no inventory of the family collection survives, two grandsons of the *pater familias* were sophisticated art collectors, who lived together in the family palace during the second decade of the seventeenth-century: Ferdinando (Ferrante) Verospi III and Cardinal Fabrizio Verospi (1571-1639). Perhaps Bellori was referring to these two gentlemen, who, interestingly enough, were both likely deceased before he actually saw the collection. More is known about the collecting activities of the former, Ferdinando, than those of his brother, Cardinal Fabrizio. His tastes appear to have been oriented toward classicism. For example, around 1611, he commissioned the Bolognese classicist, Francesco Albani (1578-1660) to decorate one of the galleries of the newly renovated family palace with frescos.⁴⁸ The German painter, Joachim von Sandrart (1606-88), who lived in Rome between 1629 and 1635, mentions Cardinal Fabrizio's possession of several Manfredi paintings, though, unlike Bellori, he makes no reference to *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple*.⁴⁹

What makes these scattered tidbits of information all the more fascinating is that the Palazzo Verospi, where both Bellori and Sandrart had encountered Manfredi's work, was situated on the Via del Corso. During the second decade of the seventeenth century, that is, during Baburen's tenure in Rome, two wealthy collectors who were the grandsons of a wealthy Spanish merchant resided in this palace. They lived on the very same street as Baburen's important patron, the Spanish collector, Pietro Cussida. Cussida's palace once stood at the corner of the Via del Corso and the present-day Via Frattina while Palazzo Verospi, which still stands, is located about three blocks away, across the street from the Largo Chigi.⁵⁰ It is highly likely that Cussida and the Verospi were acquainted, given their nationalities, wealth, and social status, their mutual interest in art, and the proximity of their respective palaces. Consequently, it does not take a great leap of faith to imagine that under Cussida's aegis, Baburen had toured the Verospi Collection.

Baburen must have studied the composition of the Italian master's painting rather closely (and recognized its derivation from Caravaggio's famous *Calling of St. Matthew* [Fig. 23], which he also most assuredly knew). In essence his picture constitutes a variation upon Manfredi's. Although the agitated figures seated at the table are similar, Baburen has turned Christ in space and placed his arm in a poised position, poised that is, to release his whip on the greedy merchants. Even more significant, in terms of his having imbued his rendition of the subject with more drama than Manfredi had conveyed, is his replacement of the latter's seated and hunched over figure in the foreground with one standing, who screams and recoils in terror. Baburen has also adapted Manfredi's lighting effects to enhance the overall air of alarm and dread.

A third version of *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* (Fig. 24), by the noted French Caravaggist, Valentin de Boulogne (1591-1632), is germane in this context. Valentin is only documented in Rome for the first time in 1620.⁵¹ Nevertheless, he must have arrived years earlier. Sandrart declares that Valentin had come to Rome before his French colleague, Simon Vouet (1590-1649); the latter painter had arrived

there in 1613.⁵² Like Baburen, Valentin was also captivated by Manfredi's art during his initial years in the Eternal City.⁵³ In its architectural setting, general compositional structure, and such specific motifs as the table grouping and the seated recoiling figure immediately across from Christ, Valentin's *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* evinces his knowledge of Manfredi's picture.⁵⁴ And like Baburen, the Frenchman has altered what he saw in the painting by Manfredi: an additional panicked figure appears at the lower left of the canvas and, quite wonderfully, he includes a pair of legs jutting out from beneath the table, along with an arm and shoulder, to intimate the presence of a merchant desperately seeking shelter from the raging Christ's forceful blows.

These dramatic adjustments on Valentin's part to Manfredi's prototype parallel what Baburen was trying to achieve with his own rendition of the subject.⁵⁵ For example, both painters substitute the figure of Christ rendered in profile in the canvas by Manfredi with a figure who is torqued in space and hence more animated and vehement in dispensing the lash. And both introduce startled, recoiling merchants to augment the overall histrionics of the scene. Lastly, Baburen and Valentin changed the pose of the young woman holding a basket of doves on her head. Instead of depicting her in profile, as Manfredi had done, the two younger masters render her frontally; in the Frenchman's canvas, she actually gazes quizzically at Christ. In her monograph on Valentin, Marina Mojana dates his *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* to circa 1618, which accords with the approximate dating of Baburen's rendition of the subject.⁵⁶ One wonders whether Baburen and Valentin were responding to each other's canvases in addition to Manfredi's earlier portrayal of the biblical story. This might possibly explain why Baburen's painting was once attributed to the French master.⁵⁷

Interestingly, Baburen returned to the subject of Christ driving the money changers shortly after he resettled in Utrecht, in a canvas signed and dated 1621 (Fig. 25). Its derivation from our version is most obvious in the pose and position of the energetic Christ wielding the lash and that of the fleeing merchant immediately in front of him, with his left arm outstretched in terror. The emotive group of money changers seated at the table also relates to our picture though in this instance the young woman with the basket on her head has been omitted. Furthermore, Manfredi's depiction of this subject (Fig. 22) continued to inform Baburen's own representation, as did, to a lesser extent, Caravaggio's *Calling of St. Matthew* (Fig. 23); both canvases had clearly made an indelible impression upon him. This second, Utrecht-period version likewise includes the monumental fluted columns of the Jewish temple, thus echoing Manfredi's setting for the story while the men at the table, particularly the armed *bravo* at the far right, are quite Caravaggio-like. A similar ruffian appears in our earlier version of this subject though in the present one Baburen's figure is larger in proportion to the canvas, thereby imparting to him a certain monumentality.

In sum, *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple*, is one of Baburen's most significant pictures because of its demonstrable links to the art of Manfredi and prominent collectors in early seventeenth-century Rome as well as its importance for the Dutchman's second version of this subject.

DIRCK VAN BABUREN (Wijk bij Duurstede 1588- 1629 Utrecht)

Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple, ca. 1618

Oil on canvas, 170 x 217 cm

PROVENANCE:

Possibly Manzitti Collection, Genoa.⁵⁸

Sale, Christie's, Rome, 7 April 1987, lot 130, illus. in color, as by Nicolas Tournier; as measuring 176 x 220 mm [*sic*].

Art market, Spoleto, 1987.

Private Collection, Turin.

Acquired by Robilant & Voena, London and Milan, 2019.

LITERATURE:

Benedict Nicolson, *Caravaggism in Europe*, revised ed., 3 vols., ed. by Luisa Vertova, Turin 1989., vol. 1, p. 93; vol. 3, fig. 1029, as by an unknown South Netherlandish Caravaggist (between Theodoor Rombouts and Van Baburen).

New York, Newhouse Galleries - London, Verner Amell Gallery, *Old Master Paintings: An Exhibition of European Paintings from the 16th to the 19th Century*, 1991, n. p., illus. on n. p., as dating ca. 1617-1618.

Leonard J. Slatkes, 'Bringing Ter Brugghen and Baburen Up-To-Date,' *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 37 (1996), pp. 204 n. 29, 204-205, as relating to a picture by Bartolomeo Manfredi of the same subject, now in Libourne, Musée des Beaux-Arts et Archéologie (Fig. 22 in this essay).

Nicole Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622); Ein Nachfolger Caravaggios und seine europäische Wirkung. Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*, Weimar 2004, p. 153 n. 582.

Leonard J. Slatkes and Wayne Franits, *The Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen 1588-1629*, Amsterdam - Philadelphia 2007, p. 165.

Wayne Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen ca. 1592/93-1624: Catalogue Raisonné*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2013, pp. 28-31; 95-96 cat. no. A5, plate 5; 97; 105 n.7; 111.

G. Capitelli, 'Dutch Caravaggists in Rome', in Madrid, *Caravaggio and the Painters of the North* (cat. by Gert Jan Van der Sman 2016 *et al.*), 2016, p. 37, as possibly a "mélange" drawn from the oeuvre of Baburen and Ribera.

Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Utrecht Caravaggio and Europe* (cat. By Liesbeth M. Helmus *et al.*), 2018-19, p. 184.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

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1. Matthew 21:12–17; Mark 11:15–19; Luke 19:45–48; and John 2:13–16.
 2. Alison Stewart, *Unequal Lovers; A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art*, New York 1977, pp. 60-61, discusses the motif of glasses as a metaphor of moral deception.
 3. The following remarks concerning Baburen's biography, are largely drawn from Marten Jan Bok, "Dirck Jaspersz. van Baburen," in: Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Nieuw licht op de Gouden Eeuw; Hendrick ter Brugghen en tijdgenoten* (cat. by Albert Blankert *et al.*), 1986-87, pp. 173-75; *Idem*, "De verwanten van de kunstschilder Dirck van Baburen (Wijk bij Duurstede ca. 1595 - 1624 Utrecht)," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 115 nos. 1-3 (1998), cols. 52-65. A reassessment of the extant archival documents concerning Baburen and his family has led me to conclude that the artist was not born around 1595, as is customarily claimed, but two or three years earlier, that is, circa 1592/93; see Wayne Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen, ca. 1592/93-1624: Catalogue Raisonné*, Amsterdam - Philadelphia 2013, pp. 2-4.
 4. For the Kassel painting, see Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A36, plate 36. For other paintings by the artist of this sort, see also Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cats. A31, A34—this latter canvas is now in the collection of The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
 5. For Moreelse, see Eric Domela Nieuwenhuis, *Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638)*, Proefschrift, University of Leiden, 2001. Moreelse was also an accomplished architect and a member of Utrecht's town council.
 6. For Rome in the seventeenth century, see Peter van Kessel & Elisja Schulte, eds., *Rome * Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Amsterdam 1997. For the Roman art market, see Patrizia Cavazzini, *Painting as Business in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome*, University Park 2008; and Richard E. Spear, "Rome: Setting the Stage," in: *Painting for Profit. The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters*, ed. by Richard E. Spear and Philip Sohm, New Haven - London 2010, pp. 33-113.
 7. In the mid-1980's, Carel van Tuyll discovered a reference in a late eighteenth-century manuscript to an altarpiece of the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* that Baburen painted for the Church of Santa Maria dei Servi in Parma in 1615; see Bok, "Dirck Jaspersz. van Baburen," p. 175 n. 25. See further Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. L7.
 8. For the paintings that Baburen made for Cussida and Giustiniani, see further Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cats. A3, A4, A7, plates 4, 7.

9. See Bok, “De verwanten van de kunstschilder Dirck van Baburen,” col 65; Bok, “Dirck Jaspersz. van Baburen,” pp. 174, 175 n. 38, for the relevant documents.

10. For the plague in Utrecht, see Ronald Rommes, “De pest in en rond Utrecht,” *Jaarboek Oud Utrecht* (1991), pp. 93-120. Recently, Marten Jan Bok, “Utrecht, a Libertine City,” in: Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Utrecht Caravaggio and Europe* (cat. By Liesbeth M. Helmus *et al.*), 2018-19, p. 32, has suggested that Baburen may not have died of the plague after all. Rather he might have fallen ill as a result of having to defend Utrecht (along with members of his civic guard company) from a potential Spanish siege during the bitter winter of 1624

11. See further, Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A1. Several other paintings by Baburen could have conceivably come from this collection: *A Doctor of the Church, St. Augustine?* (cat. A11), and additional attempts have been made to identify still other pictures that might have belonged to it, for example, *Penitent St. Peter* (cat. A8), *St. Francis* (cat. A10), *Archimedes* (cat. A2), and *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* (cat. A 14).

12. For Cussida, see Cecilia Grilli, “Il committente della Cappella della Pietà in San Pietro in Montorio in Roma,” *Bollettino d’Arte* 84-85 (March-June 1994), p. 157; *Idem*, “Il collezionismo di Pietro Cussida a Roma e una seconda cappella della Pietà di San Pietro in Montorio,” in: Milan, Palazzo Reale, *Caravaggio e l’Europa; il movimento caravaggesco internazionale da Caravaggio a Mattia Preti* (cat. by Vittorio Sgarbi *et al.*), 2005-06, p. 57.

13. The eminent Baburen specialist, Leonard J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen (c. 1595 - 1624); A Dutch Painter in Utrecht and Rome*, Utrecht 1965, p. 48, first pointed out the connections between *The Capture of Christ* and *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew*, and even suspected that Baburen’s Malchus derived in part from Caravaggio’s *Conversion of St. Paul* (Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo).

14. Leonard J. Slatkes, writing in London, Royal Academy of Arts, *The Genius of Rome, 1592-1623* (cat. by Beverly Louise Brown *et al.*), 2001, p. 333, rightly wondered whether the Longhi Foundation *Capture of Christ* had served as a kind of trial work in Baburen’s quest to receive more commissions from Cussida.

15. For the history of this church and its surrounding complex, which also houses Bramante’s famed *Tempietto*, see most recently, Alessandro Zuccari, ed., *La Spagna sul Gianicolo*, 3 vols., Rome 2004.

16. *The Raising of the Cross* was removed from the chapel in 1757 and replaced with a rather mediocre representation of *Young Christ among the Doctors* that hangs there today. Fortunately, thanks to a replica drawing that surfaced on the Parisian art market in 2009 we now have insights into the original appearance of the lost painting. The eighteenth-century French master, Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-90), sketched the *Raising of the Cross* in 1750, in other words, seven years before it was taken out the chapel. See further Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cats. L3, R9, fig. 2.

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17. Theodore Gsell-Fels, *Rom und Mittel-Italien*, Leipzig 1875, p. 922, noted a monogram of "T.R." and a date of 1617. Fels believed that this was the monogram of Theodoor Rombouts (1597-1637). Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, p. 32, accepted this date, maintaining that stylistically speaking, there is no reason to doubt it; he also plausibly believed (p. 32) that Fels misread the monogram. One could well imagine that he mistook a "B" for an "R."
18. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, pp. 11-12, fig. 5. See also Wayne Franits, "Dirck van Baburen and the "Self-Taught" Master, Angelo Caroselli," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5 no. 2 (2013), posted electronically
19. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. 4. For this picture and others in this impressive collection, along with the collection's history (including the pictures Vincenzo inherited from his brother, Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, who died in 1621), see the monumental study by Silvia Danesi Squarzina, *La collezione Giustiniani*, 3 vols., Turin 2003.
20. For Manfredi, see Nicole Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi (1582-1622); Ein Nachfolger Caravaggios und seine europäische Wirkung. Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*, Weimar 2004; Gianni Papi, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, Soncino 2013
21. For Ribera, and especially his critical early period of activity, see, among others, Justus Lange, *Opere veramente di rara naturalezza. Studien zum Frühwerk Jusepe de Riberas, mit Katalog der Gemälde bis 1626*, Würzburg 2003; Nicola Spinosa, *Ribera. L'opera completa*, 2nd ed., Naples 2006; Gianni Papi, *Ribera a Roma*, Soncino 2007; Xavier F. Salomon, "The Young Ribera," *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011), pp. 475-478; and Giuseppe Porzio and Domenico Antonio d'Alessandro, "Ribera between Rome and Naples: New Documentary Evidence," *The Burlington Magazine* 157 (2015), pp. 682-83.
22. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, p. 50, linked the figure of the saint to the work of Guido Reni (1575-1642), and noted its striking resemblance to Christ in Baburen's roughly contemporary *Way to Calvary* (Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A7).
23. For *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*, which was possibly owned by Cussida, see Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A14.
24. Gianni Papi, writing in London, Robilant & Voena, *The International Caravaggesque Movement: French Dutch and Flemish Caravaggesque Paintings from the Koelliker Collection* (cat. by Gianni Papi *et al.*), 2005, p. 10, discusses the painting's links to early representations of saints by Ribera.
25. This monogram and signature, first recorded by a nineteenth-century writer, are no longer visible; see note 17 above and Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A3.
26. Baburen also employed a Latin spelling of his name: the Utrecht *Lute Player* (Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A25) is signed, "Teodorus."

27. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cats. A17, A18.

28. For Baburen and Manfredi in this context, see Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, pp. 152-56; Utrecht, *Utrecht Caravaggio and Europe*, pp. 190-97. For Caravaggio's *Crowning with Thorns* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), see Wolfgang Prohaska and Gudrun Swoboda, *Caravaggio und der internationale Caravaggismus*, Vienna - Milan 2010, pp. 60-69, with references to earlier scholarly literature.

29. Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, cat. A13 (who, pp. 152-58, also discusses the influence of Manfredi's various versions of *The Crowning with Thorns* in general upon the Utrecht Caravaggisti.); Papi, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, cat. 36.

30. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. BW1. See also Utrecht, *Utrecht Caravaggio and Europe*, pp. 168-77.

31. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cats. W5W1, W5W2. For the complicated status of autograph replicas and copies of original paintings in the Dutch Republic, see Jaap van der Veen, "By His Own Hand. The Valuation of Autograph Paintings in the 17th Century," in: *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 4, ed. by Ernst van de Wetering, Dordrecht 2005, pp. 3-43; Anna Tummers, *The Eye of the Connoisseur: Authenticating Paintings by Rembrandt and His Contemporaries*, Amsterdam 2011. Musical imagery was quite popular in Utrecht art; see Marcus Dekiert, *Musikanten in der Malerei der niederländischen Caravaggio-Nachfolge...*, Münster 2003.

32. Among the many publications examining music and the art of Caravaggio himself, see New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player* (cat. by Keith Christensen *et al.*), 1990; Rosella Vodret & Claudio Strinati, "Painted Music: 'A New and Affecting Manner'," in: London, *The Genius of Rome*, pp. 90-115; Dekiert, *Musikanten in der Malerei*, pp. 16-66; Bastian Eclercy, "Erfahrungshorizont Rom. Die Musikantenbilder Caravaggios und der italienischen Caravaggisten," in: Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, *Caravaggio in Holland: Musik und Genre bei Caravaggio und den Utrechter Caravaggisten* (cat. by Jochen Sander *et al.*), 2009, pp. 19-35, all with further references to the voluminous literature on this topic.

33. Two examples, representing a singer and flautist, by a late sixteenth-century anonymous Italian master, are rather interesting in this context because they were hanging in the Borghese Collection in Rome early on; Cardinal Scipione Borghese purchased them as paintings by Giorgione (ca. 1477/1478-1510). See Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica - Sienna Santa Maria della Scala, *Colori della Musica; Dipinti, strumenti e concerti tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (cat. by Annalisa Bini *et al.*), 2000-01, pp. 130-33 cat. nos. 11, 12, illus. in color. Marten Jan Bok, "On the Origins of the Flute Player in Utrecht Caravaggesque Painting," in: Rüdiger Klessmann, ed., *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland*, Braunschweig 1988, pp. 135-41, published an archival document dated 1623 concerning the disputed sale in Utrecht of an Italian picture of a flute player, attributed alternatively to the

Italian Renaissance masters Correggio (1489?-1534) and Giorgione. This document proves the presence of at least one Italian Renaissance painting of a flute player in Utrecht during this period.

34. Wayne Franits, “Laboratorium Utrecht. Baburen, Honthorst und Terbrugghen im künstlerischen Austausch,” in Frankfurt am Main, *Caravaggio in Holland*, pp. 37-53, explores issues of appropriation and emulation among Utrecht Caravaggist painters.

35. For the *Woman Playing a Lute*, who is probably a prostitute, see Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A27. For Honthorst’s *Singing Elder with a Flute*, see J. Richard Judson and Rudolf E. O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656*, Doornspijk 1999, cat. 244; for his *Merry Violinist with a Wineglass*, cat. no. 241, plate 138.

36. Wayne Franits, “Laboratorium Utrecht,” pp. 37-53.

37. See further, Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A28.

38. Leonard J. Slatkes, “Hendrick ter Brugghen's *The Gamblers*,” *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 67 (1995), p. 9, made this observation. See also Francesca Bottacin, “Giochi di carte, inganni e cortigiane,” *Critica d’Arte* 65 no. 15 (September 2002), pp. 75-76; Michela Gianfranceschi, *Le incisioni da Caravaggio e caravaggeschi: musici, giocatori e indovine nelle scene di genere*, Rome 2011, pp. 78-93; Utrecht, *Utrecht Caravaggio and Europe*, pp. 208-15.

40. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, pp. 53-54, cat. A29.

41. For the Amsterdam *Chaining of Prometheus*, see Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A30.

42. Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, cat. A26. For Maurits, see Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (cat. by Kees Zandvliet *et al.*), 2000-01.

43. Perhaps the best known series was the one executed by Titian between 1536-38, also for the Duke of Mantua; see Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 3 vols., London - New York 1975, vol. 3, pp. 43-47, 235-240 cat. L12, figs. 31, 34-38, 40-45. Although lost, the paintings comprising the series are known through engravings of circa 1593 by Aegidius Sadeler (ca. 1570-1629). Indeed, it has sometimes been suggested that Sadeler's prints were models for several emperors in the series now in Berlin.

44. Leonard J. Slatkes, “Bringing Ter Brugghen and Baburen Up-To-Date,” *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 37 (1996), pp. 204 n. 29, 204-205, was the first scholar to relate the picture to the one by Manfredi. See also Utrecht, *Utrecht Caravaggio and Europe*, pp. 182-89.

45. Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de’ pittori scultori e architetti moderni* (1672), 2 vols., 2nd ed., ed. by Evelina Borea, Torino 2009, vol. 1, p. 234. For this picture, then in the Verospi Collection and now in Libourne, Musée des Beaux-Arts et Archéologie, see further, Hartje, *Bartolomeo*

Manfredi, cat. A8, who dates it ca. 1610-12; and Papi, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, cat. 33, who dates it, more accurately in my view, ca. 1616-17. For Bellori, see Janis Bell & Thomas Willette, eds., *Art History in the Age of Bellori; Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, Cambridge-New York 2002; and the monumental exhibition catalogue, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni ed ex Teatro dei Dioscouri, *L'idea del bello. Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, 2 vols. (cat. by Evelina Borea *et al.*), 2003.

46. Very little is known about the earliest members of the Verospi family. Catherine R. Puglisi, *Francesco Albani*, New Haven-London 1999, p. 11, points out that the Verospi were ennobled in 1572; see also her additional references to the family on p. 125.

47. The other picture by Manfredi in the Verospi collection was *The Denial of Peter* (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum): Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, cat. A23; Papi, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, cat. 39.

48. For these frescos, see Puglisi, *Francesco Albani*, pp. 11-12, 125-127 cat. 38, plates 99-103, color plate VI. Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Nota delli musei, librerie, gallerie & ornamenti di statue e pitture*, Rome 1664, p. 55, briefly mentions the palace and its collection of antique statuary as well as Albani's frescos.

49. Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau- Bild- und Mahlereykünste*, 3 vols., Nuremberg (1675-1680), intro. by Christian Klemm, Nördlingen 1994, vol. 1, p. 190. Hartje, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*, p. 75, errs in stating that the German biographer noted seeing *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* and *The Denial of Peter* in the collection.

50. The address is: Via del Corso, 374. The building survives today and now houses the Bank of Credito Italiano, now Unicredit. Grilli, "Il committente della Cappella della Pietà," p. 157, provides the location of the Palazzo Cussida.

51. For Valentin, see Paris, Grand Palais, *Valentin et les caravagesques français* (cat. by Jean Pierre Cuzin and Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée), 1974; Marina Mojana, *Valentin de Boulogne*, Milan 1989; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Valentin de Boulogne; Beyond Caravaggio* (cat. by Annick Lemoine *et al.*), 2016-17.

52. Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, vol. 1, p. 367. For Vouet's Roman period, see Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Simon Vouet: les années italiennes, 1613-1627* (cat. by Dominique Jacquot *et al.*), 2008-09.

53. In her monograph on the artist, Mojana, *Valentin de Boulogne*, pp.18-35, argues that Valentin gradually distanced himself from Manfredi's achievements, even if his later work was still indebted indirectly to the Italian master. To the contrary, Gianni Papi, "Valentin and His Artistic Formation in Rome," in: New York, *Valentin de Boulogne*, pp. 33-34, believes that Manfredi's influence upon Valentin was secondary to that of such masters as Ribera and Cecco del Caravaggio (ca. 1588/89-after 1620) and that it was "more important from the point of view of iconography than of style."

54. See New York, *Valentin de Boulogne*, cat. 17, which, like most earlier studies of the picture (see the selected bibliography on p. 168), argues for Valentin's primary attention to Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* in the Contarelli Chapel (Fig. 3 in the present essay).

55. The claim by Mojana, *Valentin de Boulogne*, p. 68, that Valentin also studied pictures of *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* by Cecco del Caravaggio (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) and Theodoor Rombouts (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) is confusing; the painting by Rombouts clearly postdates that by the Frenchman.

56. Mojana, *Valentin de Boulogne*, p. 68. However, Annick Lemoine, writing in New York, *Valentin de Boulogne*, p. 126, dates the picture to ca. 1618-22.

57. See further, Franits, *The Paintings of Dirck van Baburen*, p. 96 n.1.

58. Slatkes, "Bringing Ter Brugghen and Baburen Up-To-Date," p. 204 n. 29, "According to a note on the back of an old photograph in the Roberto Longhi Foundation archives, Florence, once in the Manzitti (?) Collection, Genoa." In Slatkes's files, I also came across two, frustratingly incomplete references that have potential bearing upon the provenance of this picture: 1. Mario Bonzi, "Un quadro del Palazzo Mari," ?, 30 April 1934, p. 1, illus., as perhaps by Valentin de Boulogne. 2. *Il Raccoglitore Ligure* vol 3 no. 4, pp. 1-2, as by the school of Caravaggio. So far as I was able to determine, the title of this latter publication refers to a series of travel guides issued by the Touring Club *Italiano*. The guide for Liguria was published in Milan in 1933. However, it contains no reference to the painting.