

FLEMISH PAINTINGS IN THE RIJKSMUSEUM

Preface and acknowledgements

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Rijksmuseum collection catalogues

Missing works

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first debt of gratitude is to the General Director Taco Dibbits for having asked me – so many moons ago – to undertake the task. Many people have helped me over the years and they are thanked in the relevant place, but a particular mention should be made of the then Senior Curator of International Painting Duncan Bull who made the selection of paintings and assisted me in my progress. Apart from paintings stored in Lelystad, others were in institutions scattered over the Netherlands, and I should thank those who organised the visits and my hosts in the various locations. I was always accompanied by a member of the Conservation Department and I should thank these experts for their guidance and insights, of whom I should mention Painting Conservators Gwen Tauber and in particular Ige Verslype. Among other members of the Rijksmuseum staff, special gratitude is due to Information Specialist Caroline Wittop Koning, a cheerful and ever willing provider of facts, and to Scientific Editor Anne-Maria van Egmond, a fine copy editor indeed, who has corrected and pulled my texts together to create a workmanlike document. Scientific Staff Member Eddy Schavemaker kindly made some corrections to the provenances. In England, I should thank Deborah Reynolds who typed the entries and created the very substantial draft of the bibliography.

It seems hardly credible that work on this catalogue began some fifteen years ago. There have been many delays in publishing it online; they are to be regretted and not only because relevant, recent scholarly publications may have been overlooked. I am of the generation that would have preferred the catalogue to have been published between hard covers, but I see the advantage of its being online – one being the facility of correcting mistakes, of which all should be ascribed to me and laid at my door.

Gregory Martin
London, November 2021

NOTES ON THE USE OF THIS CATALOGUE

The artist

Attribution

Works that are neither signed nor otherwise secure are accompanied by the following qualifications:

‘attributed to’	The painting is not signed or is falsely signed and a degree of uncertainty surrounds the authorship
‘workshop of’	The painting was probably executed by a pupil or studio assistant in the workshop of the named artist, possibly with the latter’s participation
‘copy after’	The painting is a copy after known prototypes
‘follower of’	The painting was executed by an unidentified artist working in the style of the named artist, who may or may not have been trained by the latter
‘circle of’	The painting was executed by an unidentified contemporary of the named artist, working in a similar style, who could be either a follower or an independent master who had contact with the named artist
‘manner of’	The painting was executed in a style to some extent similar to that of the named artist, not necessarily in the same period

Name, places and dates of birth and death

In most cases the spellings of artists’ names are those used by the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD). However, if an artist’s signature on his/her works differs from that on official documents, the former has been followed. The artist’s places of birth and death have been given, preceded by a question mark when this information is not documented. The following convention has been used for artists’ dates:

1625	born or died in 1625
c. 1625	born or died around 1625
in or after 1625	born or died in or after 1625
1625/27	born or died sometime between 1625 and 1627
c. 1625/27	born or died sometime around 1625 and 1627

If there is no information on an artist’s dates of birth and death, the period of his/her activity is specified.

Biography

A summary of the life and career of each artist is provided. The birth and death dates of pupils are given in order to indicate a possible time span for the apprenticeship.

References

The biographical references include all seventeenth and early eighteenth-century sources, as well as secondary literature that provides new information or insights into the painter’s life and career. Artist monographs and lexicons such as Thieme/Becker have been systematically cited except in cases where their content has been substantially superseded. The designation ‘(documents)’ after a reference alludes to articles and sections in monographs in which considerable archival documentation has been transcribed.

Object data

Inventory number

The inventory numbers begin with the abbreviation 'SK' for *schilderkunst* (painting). Works with A-numbers are owned by the Rijksmuseum, those with C-numbers are held on long-term loan. The abbreviation 'BK' for *Beeldhouwkunst en Kunstnijverheid* (sculpture and applied art) is used for *kunstkastjes* (cabinets) curated by the furniture department. 'NM' stands for a provenance in the Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst (see Provenance).

Date

The following convention has been followed for the dating of paintings:

1625	executed in 1625
c. 1625	executed around 1625
in or after 1625	executed in or after 1625
in or after c. 1625	executed in or after about 1625
1625/1626	the painting carries both the date 1625 and 1626
1625-50	executed between 1625 and 1650
c. 1625-50	executed between around 1625 and 1650

Support and dimensions

The dimensions refer to the current size of the support, including such non-original elements as added strips along the edges of panels. The outside dimensions of the present stretcher are given for paintings on canvas. The works in this catalogue have been remeasured wherever possible. It is technically not possible to give deviations in measurements, as in height 34.5-8 x width 63.3-6; here four different size are given. Sometimes, also other measurements are visible, such as that of the current frame.

Inscriptions

Signatures, dates and inscriptions have been transcribed as accurately as possible. A description is given when letters are written in ligature or accompanied by other signs.

Technical notes – not included

With the duration of this project, the technical notes produced over the years became obsolete, due to fast improving scientific methods that can now be implemented in technical analyses. In the coming years the paintings in this catalogue will be submitted to systematical technical research and this section will be added. It will then give a description of the support, preparatory layers, underdrawing and paint layers.

Scientific examination and reports

The technique of the paintings has been examined by one or more conservators, and recorded in a technical report. Some date back many decennia. Listed under this heading are: the researcher's name, the institution where the data are preserved (in most cases the Rijksmuseum), and the date the research took place. Publications with information on the painting's technique are in the footnotes.

In recent years, the dendrochronology of a large number of panels was investigated by Professor Peter Klein. Additional scientific research into the paintings is also summed up here.

Condition – not included

With the duration of this project, the notes on the condition of the paintings produced over the years became obsolete, due to fast improving scientific methods that can now be implemented in technical analyses. In the coming years the state of the paintings will be reviewed and this section will be added. It will then give a qualification, which is meant to give a very general indication of the condition:

‘good’	The work is in outstanding condition, for example a canvas that has not been lined and has little retouching
‘fair’	The work is in a fairly good state, but with the paint layer displaying abrasion, minor paint losses and retouching
‘poor’	The work suffers from significant paint loss, overpainting and/or other technical problems

Conservation

This heading lists all documented treatments of the paintings. The conservator’s name is given, when known, followed by a date and a brief description of the intervention. The term ‘Complete restoration’ is used if the ‘stripped state’ was reached, that is to say with the varnish, retouchings and fillings removed, and if the damaged areas were and a new varnish was applied. Some older restorations may have qualified as ‘complete restorations’, but the documentation is not always detailed enough to use this designation with certainty. Other treatments, such as the lining of a canvas and the removal of a cradle or extensive overpaint, are also listed.

Provenance

A semicolon between two names indicates a direct transfer of ownership. Three dots between semicolons (;...;) are used to indicate that the chain of ownership is not consecutive. If the original owner of a painting is not known the provenance begins with three dots and a semicolon (...;). Sources are given for each link in the chain of ownership unless the provenance is a reconstructed line of inheritance or a source has been given for the reconstruction of the entire provenance. Question marks have been used whenever a link in the provenance or information within the link cannot be fully substantiated by a source. If information is included from annotated catalogues the location of the catalogue is given (e.g. Copy RKD). If more than one annotated catalogue was consulted and the information in the annotations is at variance, more than one location or copy is indicated (e.g. Copy RKD1; Copy RKD2). The Rijksmuseum and its earlier incarnations (Nationale Konst-Gallery (1800-1807), Koninklijk Museum (1807-1814), and the Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst (1875-1885), which was incorporated in the new Rijksmuseum building in 1885, are referred to simply as ‘the museum’. References to correspondence preserved in the Rijksmuseum Archive (located in the Rijksarchief Noord-Holland, Haarlem) are given for acquisitions made before 1896. These references were kindly made available to us by Ellinoor Bergvelt.

Literature

Only the most important literature has been listed. References to handbooks, such as Hofstede de Groot, and artist monographs are always given.

Collection catalogues

The first collection catalogue to record the painting is given as well as a fixed set of other important catalogues, see the list of collection catalogues below.

Art historical analysis

Entry

The entries provide an interpretation of the subject and style, place within the artist's chronology, relationship to other known works, and arguments for the attribution if applicable.

Photographs

New photographs of the paintings in this catalogue were taken by the Image Department of the Rijksmuseum.

Key to abbreviations

AHM	Amsterdams Historisch Museum
ARM	Archief van 's Rijks Museum
ARS	Archief van het Rijksmuseum van schilderijen
BN	Biographie nationale
CBG	Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie (Central Bureau for Genealogy), The Hague
DRVK	Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen (National Service for State-Owned Works of Art), The Hague, 1949-75
DTB	Doop-, Trouw- en Begravenisboeken (baptism, marriage and burial books)
EBNP	Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
FLNY	Frick Art Reference Library, New York
GA	Gemeentearchief (Municipal Archive)
GAA	Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archive, now City Archive)
GAD	Gemeentearchief Delft
GAH	Gemeentearchief Haarlem
GAL	Gemeentearchief Leiden
GAR	Gemeentearchief Rotterdam
GPI	Getty Provenance Index
HNA	Het Nationaal Archief (The National Archive), The Hague
HS	Handschriftenverzameling (manuscript collection)
HUA	Het Utrechts Archief
IB	Iconografisch Bureau (part of the RKD), The Hague
ICN	Instituut Collectie Nederland (Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage), Rijswijk/Amsterdam
IS	Ingekomen stukken (received correspondence)
Kop	Kopieboek van uitgaande stukken (copy-books of out-going correspondence)
NA	Notarieel Archief (notary archive)
NAH	Notarieel Archief Haarlem
NNBW	<i>Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek</i>
ONA	Oud Notarieel Archief (old notary archive)
ORA	Oud-rechterlijk archief (old judicial archive)
PA	Particulier archief (private archive)
RAF	Rijksarchief Friesland, Leeuwarden
RANH	Rijksarchief Noord-Holland (part of the Noord-Hollands Archief)
RAU	Rijksarchief Utrecht (part of HUA)
RBK	Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague, 1984-92
RKD	Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (Netherlandish Institute for Art History), The Hague
RMA	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
RTD	Röntgen Technische Dienst, Beverwijk
SKRA	Restauratieatelier Amsterdam
SNK	Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit (Foundation for Dutch Art Holdings), The Hague, 1945-49
SRAL	Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg, Maastricht
TIB	The Illustrated Bartsch
WFA	Westfries Archief, Hoorn
ZA	Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg

RIJKSMUSEUM COLLECTION CATALOGUES

1801

C.S. Roos, 'Beknopte Beschryving van de Nationale Kunst-Gallery, benevens die der voortreffelyke Oranje-zaal, op het Huys in 't Bosch, bij den Haag', 1801; transcr. in E.W. Moes and E. van Biema, *De Nationale Konst-Gallery en het Koninklijk Museum*, Amsterdam 1909, pp. 47-53

1809

[C. Apostool], *Catalogus der schilderijen, oudheden, enz. op het Koninklijk Museum te Amsterdam*

1816, 1818, 1819, 1821, 1825

[C. Apostool], *Catalogus der schilderijen, oudheden, enz. op 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam berustende/Catalogue des tableaux exposés au Musée du Royaume des Pays-Bas, dans la ville d'Amsterdam*

1827, 1828, 1830, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837

[C. Apostool], *Aanwijzing der schilderijen, berustende op 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam/Notice des tableaux exposés au Musée du Royaume des Pays-Bas à Amsterdam*

1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1843, 1846

[C. Apostool], *Aanwijzing der schilderijen, berustende op 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam/Description des tableaux, qui constituent le Musée du Royaume des Pays-Bas à Amsterdam*

1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1853, 1855

[C. Apostool], *Aanwijzing der schilderijen, berustende op het Rijks Museum te Amsterdam/Description des tableaux déposés au Musée Royal des Pays-Bas, à Amsterdam*

1858, 1859, 1864, 1866, 1870, 1872, 1876

[P.L. Dubourcq], *Beschrijving der schilderijen op 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam met fac simile der naamteekens/Notice des tableaux du Musée d'Amsterdam, avec fac-simile des monogrammes*

1880

[J.W. Kaiser], *Beschrijving der schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam, met historische aantekeningen en facsimilés der naamteekens*

1881

[J.W. Kaiser], *Tweede vervolg van de Beschrijving der schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam, met historische aantekeningen en facsimilés der naamteekens*

1885, 1886

A. Bredius, *Catalogus van het Rijks-Museum van schilderijen te Amsterdam: Geïllustreerd met 50 platen geteekend door C.L. Dake/Catalogue des tableaux du 'Rijks-Museum': Illustré par 50 gravures, dessins de C.L. Dake*

1887, 1888, 1891, 1897, 1901

A. Bredius, *Catalogus van het Rijks-Museum van schilderijen/Catalogue des peintures du Musée de l'Etat à Amsterdam*

1903

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam*

1904

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogue des tableaux, miniatures, pastels, dessins encadrés, etc. du Musée de l'Etat à Amsterdam*

1905

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogue of the Pictures, Miniatures, Pastels, Framed Water Colour Drawings, etc. in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam*

1907

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam: Met supplementen*

1908

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam: Met drie supplementen*

1909

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam: Met supplement*

1910

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogue of the Pictures, Miniatures, Pastels, Framed [Water Colour] Drawings, etc. in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam: With Supplement*

1911

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogue des tableaux, miniatures, pastels, dessins encadrés, etc. du Musée de l'Etat à Amsterdam: Avec supplément*

1912

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam: Met supplement*

1914

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogue of the Pictures, Miniatures, Pastels, Framed Water Colour Drawings, etc. in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam: With 2 Supplements*

1918

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam: Met supplement*

1920

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Katalog der Gemälde, Miniaturen, Pastelle, eingerahmten Zeichnungen u.s.w. im Reichsmuseum zu Amsterdam*

1926

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen, enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam*

1927

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk], *Catalogue of the Pictures, Miniatures, Pastels, Framed Water Colour Drawings, etc. in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam*

1934

[B.W.F. van Riemsdijk, F. Schmidt-Degener and D.C. Röell], *Catalogus der schilderijen, pastels, miniaturen, aquarellen tentoongesteld in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*

1948

[D.C. Röell], *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*

1950

Abridged Catalogue of the Paintings Exhibited in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam/Catalogue sommaire des tableaux exposés dans le Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

1951

[A. van Schendel], *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen, pastels en aquarellen: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*

1955

Abridged Catalogue of the Paintings, Watercolours and Pastels Exhibited in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam/Catalogue sommaire des tableaux, aquarelles et pastels exposés dans le Rijksmuseum Amsterdam/Kurzes Verzeichnis der Gemälde, Aquarelle und Pastelle ausgestellt im Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

1956

[D.C. Röell], *Catalogus van de tentoongestelde schilderijen, pastels en aquarellen*

1960

[A. van Schendel], *Catalogue of Paintings Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*

1976

P.J.J. van Thiel et al., *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam: A Completely Illustrated Catalogue*

1992

P.J.J. van Thiel et al., *All the Paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam: First Supplement 1976-1991*

MISSING WORKS

Some paintings that were once part of the museum's collection of Flemish paintings, are no longer in the Rijksmuseum due to destruction or loss otherwise. Because our online catalogue is object-based, it is not possible to publish entries on works that are no longer physically present in our collection. However, the information on these missing works should remain part of the scholarly debate. These entries, written by Gregory Martin, are published below.

SK-A-2223

stolen

Circle of Pieter Bout

(active Brussels from 1670/71 - died Over-Heembeek, Brussels, 1689)

The Annunciation to the Shepherds, c. 1680

Oil on panel, 35.5 x 25.8 cm

INSCRIPTIONS

(?) Signed, bottom right, indistinctly¹

SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION AND REPORTS

None available

CONSERVATION

Unknown, after 1906: cleaned (old inventory card, RMA)

PROVENANCE

...; purchased from A.Th.V.A. Deckers, Amsterdam, with SK-A-2224, fl. 350, 1906; on loan to the Museum Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder, Amsterdam, 1956-93; stolen from there in 1993

LITERATURE

J. Nica, *Bijdrage tot de studie van het werk van Pieter Bout (-1689)*, 3 vols., Brussels 1994 (diss. Vrije Universiteit), I, (?) no. 71

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

1976, p. 139, no. A 2223

ENTRY

This painting, which was stolen in 1993, depicted the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* and is a pendant to the Rijksmuseum *Adoration of the Shepherds* (SK-A-2224); together they sequentially illustrated Luke, 2:8-16.² The inscription P. b[o]ut was removed at an undated and unrecorded cleaning in the Rijksmuseum,³ when the (?) signature as transcribed in note 1

¹ It was read as 'JwSchnt fc' on the old museum inventory card, RMA.

² L. Réau, *Iconography de l'Art Chrétien*, 3 vols., 1955-57 Paris, III, pp. 232-36.

³ As recorded on the old museum inventory card, RMA.

was revealed. Granted the dates of variants of the stolen painting, a date of circa 1680 seems acceptable. See SK-A-2224 for a more extensive commentary.

SK-A-2367

destroyed

Jacques Jordaens (Antwerp 1593 - Antwerp 1678)

Justice Accompanied by Truth Presides as Aaron Points to Judicial Injunctions Relayed by Moses, 1663

Oil on canvas, 176 x 242.5 cm

INSCRIPTIONS

(?) Signed and dated, lower centre: *J Jor fęc. et Inũe/1663*

Inscribed, left, on the tablets: *Deũt-i-V16;/Verhoort vwe/Broederen Ghy/Rechters/Eñ-Rechtet Rect (ct in monogram)/Tegens Eenen/ÿ [gelyk]en /[syn]en Broeder/En den VremdeLinck;* right: *Lev 19/[V.15] Ghy en sult/niet onrech[t]/Handelen/Aen den [Ger]ic[hte]/Ende en [Sult/niet voor [trekken]/Den Geringen/Nog den groot[en]/[Ee]ren*

SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION AND REPORTS

None available

CONSERVATION

H. Heydenryk, 1909: relined

PROVENANCE

Offered to the Magistrates of the region of Hulst, Zeeland, but retained by the artist, 1663;⁴ by descent to the widow of the artist's grandson, Hillegonda Maria van Heemskerck;⁵ her sale, The Hague (auction house not known), 22 March 1734, no. 73 ('Een dito [groot stuk door Jordaens] Vierschaer of Moses en Aaron van uts. h. 5 v. 7 en een half d., br. 8 v. [176.4 x 251.2 cm]'), fl. 30;⁶ ...; House of Correction, Prinsengracht, The Hague;⁷ transferred by the Department of Justice to the museum, September 1908; on loan to the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, 1930; on loan to the President of the Court of Justice, The Hague and placed in the Courtroom, 1937; there destroyed 6 March 1945

⁴ N. de Poorter, 'Seriewerk en recyclage. Doorgedreven efficiëntie in het geroutineerde atelier van Jacob Jordaens', in H. Vlieghe, A. Balis and C. Van de Velde (eds.), *Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, Turnhout 2000, pp. 213-32, esp. pp. 215-17.

⁵ De Poorter 2000 (note 4), p. 231, n. 8.

⁶ De Poorter 2000 (note 4), p. 217; G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen, met derzelver Pryzen Zedert een langen reeks van Jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere Plaatzten in het openbaar verkogt. Benevens een Verzameling van Lysten van Verscheyden nog in wezen zynde Cabinetten*, 3 vols., The Hague 1752-70, I, pp. 400, 404.

⁷ G. Knuttel, *Gemeentemuseum catalogus van de schilderijen aquarellen en teekeningen samengesteld*, The Hague 1935, p. 122 under no. 39-30.

LITERATURE

M. Rooses, *Jordaens: Sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris/Amsterdam/ *Jordaens' Leven en Werken*, Antwerp 1906, p. 211; G. Knuttel, *Gemeentemuseum catalogus van de schilderijen aquarellen en teekeningen samengesteld*, The Hague 1935, p. 122, no. 39; R.A. d'Hulst, *De Tekeningen van Jakob Jordaens. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe-eeuwse kunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Brussels 1956, p. 272; L. van Puyvelde, *Jordaens*, Paris/Brussels 1953, p. 57 (as in the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague); R.A. d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings*, translated by P.S. Falla, 4 vols., London/New York 1974, I, p. 70; N. de Poorter, 'Seriewerk en recyclage. Doorgedreven efficiëntie in het geroutineerde atelier van Jacob Jordaens', in H. Vlieghe, A. Balis and C. Van de Velde (eds.), *Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*, Turnhout 2000, pp. 213-32, esp. pp. 214-17, fig. 5 on p. 218 and Appendix 1(2), p. 229

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

1976, p. 309, no. A 2367

ENTRY

The measurements for this destroyed work are given in the museum inventory book. The 1976 museum catalogue and De Poorter⁸ provide slightly different readings of the inscriptions. Judging from the old black and white photograph in the museum dossier, the signature and date do not look above suspicion. For the longer inscription, the 1976 museum catalogue entry is here slightly amended by reference to the old photograph. It gives Deuteronomy 1,16: '[And I charged your judges at that time, saying] Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him'; and Leviticus 19,15: 'Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement: thou shall not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty: [but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour]'

As De Poorter has recently demonstrated this work was one of three versions provided by Jacques Jordaens, from which the magistrates of Hulst could make a choice for the chimneypiece of their courtroom in 1663.⁹ The painting that was selected, is still in the town hall of Hulst.¹⁰ The other is in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, having been given by Jordaens to the Antwerp Academy.¹¹ The city of Hulst was passed to the United Provinces in the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.

Jordaens sought both to express the characteristics of Justice in her personification – veiled (rather than blindfolded), holding scales, with her sword held by a nearby winged genius, accompanied by a lion¹² with the personification of Truth holding a mirror – and the

⁸ De Poorter 2000 (note 4), p. 229, Appendix 1(2).

⁹ De Poorter 2000 (note 4), pp. 215-17.

¹⁰ De Poorter 2000 (note 4), p. 228, Appendices, 1(1), and fig. 2 on p. 215.

¹¹ De Poorter 2000 (note 4), p. 218 and p. 229, Appendix 1 (3) and fig. 6 on p. 219; *Catalogus Schilderkunst, Oude Meesters*, Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1988, p. 206, no. 220.

¹² G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600; dictionnaire d'un langage perdu*, 2 vols., Genoa 1958, II, col. 244.

execution of Justice in the form of injunctions to judges relayed by Moses and recorded in the third Book of Moses (Leviticus) and fifth (Deuteronomy). These are set out on the tablets held by Moses and indicated by Aaron, his brother, the high priest.

SK-A-599

destroyed

After Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen 1577 - Antwerp 1640)

St Jerome in the Wilderness, (?) 1600-1700

Oil on canvas, 208 x 205 cm

INSCRIPTIONS

None recorded

SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION AND REFERENCES

None undertaken

CONSERVATION

Unknown, 1872: relined

PROVENANCE

...; on loan to the Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, April 1902, where destroyed, 12/13 December 1942

LITERATURE

Verlagen omtrent's Rijksverzamelingen van geschiedenis en kunst LXV, 1942, p. 6.

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

1976, p. 484, no. A 599 (as School of Rubens)

ENTRY

This painting seems not to have been listed in any printed document of or about the museum until the notification of its destruction in the *Annual Report* of 1942; nor was a photograph of it ever taken. Internal records refer to its treatment in 1872 and its loan to the University of Utrecht thirty years later. According to the 1942 *Annual Report* it was a copy of Rubens's painting in the Gemäldegalerie at Dresden,¹³ while the inventory book states that it was life-size and measured 208 x 205 cm. It was thus slightly smaller in height and greater in width than its prototype, which measures 231 x 163.5 cm. There is no means of telling whether the work under discussion was from Rubens's studio – as the inventory book states – or a later copy. Another lost work (SK-A-600, see below), similarly described, does indeed seem likely to have been executed contemporaneously with its prototype in the studio, which might

¹³ M. Rooses, *L'oeuvre de P.P. Rubens. Histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, 5 vols., Antwerp 1886-92, II, pp. 311-12, under no. 463.

indicate the same status for *St Jerome*. But it is noteworthy that complete copies are rare, in so far as Vlieghe in 1973 noted only one.¹⁴

It is possible that SK-A-599 shared the same immediate provenance as SK-A-600 and was bought from P.C. Huybrechts in The Hague in 1804.

St Jerome (c. 340-420), one of the four Latin Fathers of the Church, is shown in the Dresden painting as a hermit in the wilderness, alluding to the two years he spent in the Syrian desert.

SK-A-600

destroyed

(?) Studio of Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen 1577 - Antwerp 1640)

Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt, (?) 1616-18

Oil on canvas, 198 x 300 cm

INSCRIPTIONS

None recorded

SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION AND REPORTS

None undertaken

CONSERVATION

Unknown, 1902: canvas was lined, having been described as 'zeer dor' (very dry)

PROVENANCE

...; from the dealer P.C. Huybrechts, The Hague, fl. 3,300, to the museum, 24 April 1804;¹⁵ on loan to the Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, April 1902, where destroyed 12/13 December, 1942

LITERATURE

J. Immerzeel Jr., C.H. Immerzeel and C. Immerzeel, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1842-43, III, p. 98 (as Snyders); E.W. Moes and E. van Biema, *De Nationale Konst-Gallery en Het Koninklijk Museum*, Amsterdam 1909, pp. 67, 110, 116, 225; E. Bergvelt, *Pantheon der Gouden Eeuw. Van Nationale Konst-gallerij tot Rijksmuseum van Schilderijen (1798-1896)*, Zwolle 1998, pp. 40, 48, and n. 123, p. 298, and fig. 9, p. 40; A. Balis, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVIII: Landscapes and Hunting Scenes, 2: Hunting Scenes*, Oxford 1986, pp. 112, 119 and under Copies (1), fig. 47

¹⁴ H. Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VIII: Saints*, 2 vols., London/New York 1972-73, II, p. 101 under no. 121.

¹⁵ E.W. Moes and E. van Biema, *De Nationale Konst-Gallery en Het Koninklijk Museum*, Amsterdam 1909, pp. 67, 116 no. 34 of a receipt signed by Smissaert, 30 July 1808; E. Bergvelt, *Pantheon der Gouden Eeuw. Van Nationale Konst-gallerij tot Rijksmuseum van Schilderijen (1798-1896)*, Zwolle 1998, p. 40.

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

1808, p. 66, no. 286 (as Snyders); 1809, p. 286, no. 286 (as Snyders); 1976, p. 486, no. A 600

ENTRY

This painting, which was destroyed in 1942, connects closely with Peter Paul Rubens's original in the Munich Alte Pinakothek, showing a hunting party attacking exotic animals on the banks of the Nile.¹⁶ This was one of a set of four, the others depicting lion, wolf and boar hunts, painted for the Duke (later Elector) Maximilian I of Bavaria between 1616 and 1618. Listed as Copy (1) by Balis, the Rijksmuseum painting may, as he suggests, have been executed in Rubens's studio contemporaneously with the prototype.¹⁷ The set could already have been in Munich by 1619 when a payment by the court at Munich for paintings from Antwerp is recorded.¹⁸

Balis noted that the composition of the ex-Rijksmuseum picture was wider and that the dead huntsman's loincloth was more exiguous, i.e. had been pushed down from and thus left naked, his right thigh. The shape of the clouds also differed. Inconclusive corroboration for these two differences are found in a fictive version depicted on a wall in a painting of a *kunstkamer* in Brussels¹⁹ and in the print deriving from the Munich painting by Soutman.²⁰ Balis proposed that the Rijksmuseum copy was made during the execution of the Munich picture and that the loincloth was rendered fully in place in the latter painting for reasons of decency at the request of the duke's representative.²¹ Whether the exposed buttock was likely to have been deemed indecent is debatable; at all events the thesis could only be substantiated by technical analysis of the Munich picture. And now of course it is impossible to determine whether the ex-Rijksmuseum painting was in fact likely to have been a product of the studio. Examination of the only extant photographic print in the RKD suggests that it could have been. Burchard, who saw the painting in Utrecht in 1924, described it as a copy from the time of Rubens.²²

CITATION

G. Martin, 2021, 'Missing works', in *Flemish Paintings in the Rijksmuseum*, online coll. cat. supplement, inv. no. SK-A-2223/SK-A-2367/SK-A-599/SK-A-600

¹⁶ K. Renger with C. Denk, *Flämische Malerei des Barock in der Alten Pinakothek*, Munich/Cologne 2002, pp. 448-49, no. 4797; A. Balis, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, XVIII: *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes*, 2: *Hunting Scenes*, Oxford 1986, p. 111.

¹⁷ Balis 1986 (note 14), p. 121, under note 5.

¹⁸ Balis 1986 (note 14), p. 111.

¹⁹ Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 6853 (see A. Balis 1986 (note 14), fig. 45 and pp. 119-29 under Copy (10)). The partially obscured fictive copy shows the composition extended to the left as in the ex-Rijksmuseum picture, but the placement of the right edge follows the Munich picture.

²⁰ Balis 1986 (note 14), p. 120 Copy (14) and fig. 49; K. Barrett, *Pieter Soutman, Life and Oeuvre*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia (Phil.) 2012, cat. PR-54, pl. Pr 25. In fact, this area in the print differs slightly from both that in the Munich picture and in SK-A-600. It seems to make clear that the intention was to show that the crocodile's paw had pushed down part of the loincloth.

²¹ Balis 1986 (note 14), p. 121. He believed (see p. 112) that this putative alteration suggests that the painting may have been begun on Rubens's initiative.

²² His handwritten notes beneath no. 1161 of his copy of M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens* (Antwerp 1890, IV, p. 347), Rubenianum, Antwerp. A photocopy of the relevant page was kindly made available by Bert Schepers of the Rubenianum.