

Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck and Venice

According to Karel van Mander, it was around 1588 that Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck (Delft 1567/68 – Italy? after 17 February 1635) left his native city for Italy in the company of his second master, Huybrecht Jacobsz. Immediately prior to his departure he had enjoyed a two-month apprenticeship with Jacob 1 Willemsz. Delft. He remained in Italy for fifteen years, working in both oil and fresco, “with many Masters, also for many princes, great *signori*, prelates, monks and nuns and others in nearly every place in Italy”.¹ In 1603/4, at the age of 36, Van Rijck was back in Holland and living in Haarlem. On the basis of large and smaller kitchen pieces with subjects such as *The Rich Man and the Poor Lazarus* which Van Rijck painted shortly after his return, Van Mander concluded that the master “... had done many things after Bassano”.² This, as we shall see, is confirmed by several works, among them a *Kitchen piece* in Braunschweig, signed and dated 1604 (fig. 6). Sometime after September 1, 1605, Van Rijck left Haarlem and returned to Italy. Before leaving, he requested his cousin, the painter Floris Claesz. van Dijck, to take care of his offspring, and in case of his death, to act as their guardian.³ There is no information about Van Rijck’s whereabouts for the next 27 years, but in 1632 Van Dijck represented the absent Van Rijck in the matter of an inheritance.⁴ On February 17, 1635, Van Dijck acted again on behalf of Van Rijck, who, according to the document, “was at that moment in Naples”, but the name of the city has been crossed out and replaced with “Italy”.⁵

Although undocumented, a stay in Venice before 1604 is highly likely, as other data and works to be discussed here will indicate. However, before going to Venice, Van Rijck must have been in Rome and Prague. In the Eternal City he may have assisted the Jesuit painter-monk Giambattista Fiammeri (possibly one of the monks to whom Van Mander refers) in the Trinity chapel – the third on the left – in the Gesù. In 1588 Fiammeri had designed the ceiling decoration, and painted God the Father and angels in the scene of the *Creation* on the vault (fig. 1). In this scene, the landscape and the animals below Adam and Eve seem to be distantly related to prints in two series of the *Creation* engraved by Johannes Sadeler 1: one after Crispijn van den Broeck in 1575, the other after Maarten de Vos.⁶ According to the documents, the landscape in the Trinity chapel – but probably this is also true of the animals in the landscape – was painted by a certain Pietro Fiammingo.⁷

As I have recently suggested, this Pietro may have been Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck.⁸ In some of the works discussed below which can be attributed to the artist, a comparable treatment of animal forms can be observed.⁹ More research needs to be done in this area, but if the identification is correct, then his involvement with the Trinity chapel of the Gesù would be Van Rijck’s earliest known documented activity in Italy.

At some point in his career Van Rijck visited Prague, as is indicated by the inscrip-



1
Giambattista Fiammeri and Pieter
Cornelisz. Van Rijck (?), *The Creation*,
fresco (detail), Rome, Il Gesù.

tion on a signed sheet in Budapest representing an allegorical figure of *Peace* (fig. 2).¹⁰ This drawing – the most Rudolphine of his known works – is executed with a rather mannerist elegance, the solid, compact forms of the figure notwithstanding, which seems to stand halfway between the works of the followers of Hans Speckaert in Rome in the 1580s, and Bartholomeus Spranger’s style in Prague. In view of this circumstance and of the fact that the sheet exhibits no traces of Venetian influence, it may well have been drawn before Van Rijck went to the Serenissima.

Less clear is where Van Rijck painted another Italianate work in a vein similar to Leonardo da Vinci and his followers: the *Salome* now in the Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, which is signed, but not dated (fig. 3).¹¹ Although it was believed to be a copy after Leonardo himself, it is more likely to be an interpretation of a Bernardino Luini composition.¹² This and the other aforementioned signed works – and also those to be discussed below – display a variety of styles which are not easily reconcilable but may well indicate the artist’s elaboration of diverse influences to which he was exposed in his various places of residence in Italy and elsewhere.

As we shall see, Van Rijck’s activity in Venice is linked – at least to some extent – with that of his master, Huybrecht Jacobsz. According to Houbraken, Huybrecht or Hubertus Jacobsz. was in Venice “nine or ten years at the service of the Doge’s court as a portrait painter and took the name Grimani of his patron there.”¹³ It is usually supposed that the latter was Doge Marino Grimani, who reigned from 1595



2
Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *Peace*, signed, pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 290 × 199 mm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.



3
Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *Salome*, signed, panel, 79 × 62 cm. Lawrence, Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas.

until 1605,¹⁴ although there are no documents to confirm or refute this. Jacobsz. was back in Delft before 1600. However, the Paduan sculptor Tiziano Aspetti and a certain “Uberto Fiandrese pittore” – undoubtedly the same man as our Huybrecht – are mentioned in the testament dated August 28 1592 of Giovanni Grimani (1506-93), Patriarch of Aquileia, as the latter’s friends and guests who were living in the splendidly decorated Grimani family palace at Santa Maria Formosa in Venice. Both artists received a legacy of 100 ducats from Giovanni Grimani, one of the foremost art patrons in Venice. Grimani had collected not only Venetian and Northern art, but also antique sculpture; and he had brought to Venice central Italian artists of the calibre of Francesco Salviati and Federico Zuccaro. In his will he commended Aspetti and Uberto – the only artists to receive legacies – to the attention of his principal heirs.¹⁵ Whether Huybrecht actually went to work for Doge Marino Grimani subsequently is not documented. Marino belonged to another branch of the Grimani family, who lived in the palace built by Michele Sanmicheli at San Luca.¹⁶

In his testament of 1592, Giovanni also bequeathed three paintings to three different heirs: Alvise Venier was to have “il mio quadro dei tre Magi fatto per mano di Pietro Fiandra secondo la Historia della palla della Cappella di S. Francesco della Vigna”; to a certain Comendator Rimondo he left “il quadretto” painted by “Uberto di Fiandra mio pittore secondo il disegno di Ferigo Zuccaro, qual é il Giudizio”;¹⁷ and “la Historia... Jesu Cristo siede et predica al populo et alla Madalena... per mano di Pietro di Fiandra” went to “Comendator Lippomano”.¹⁸

The first and third paintings mentioned in Grimani’s will were copies after the decoration, still preserved in part, carried out for Grimani by the young Federico



4
Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck (?) after Federico Zuccaro, *The Conversion of the Magdalen*, panel, 29,8 × 58,5 cm. London, National Gallery.

5
Jacob Matham after Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *The Nativity or Adoration of the Shepherds with Saints Peter and Paul*, inscribed and dated: *Petrus van Rijck inventor. J. Matham sculptor et excudit*, 1604, engraving, 449 × 298 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet.





6
Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *Kitchenpiece*, signed and dated 1604, canvas, 189 × 288 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.

Zuccaro in 1563-64 in the family chapel in San Francesco della Vigna, Venice. Zuccaro's *Adoration of the Magi*, painted in oil on marble, is still on the altar of the chapel, the first chapel on the left side of the church.¹⁹ The "Jesu Cristo siede et predica al populo et alla Maddalena", refers to Zuccaro's *Conversion of the Magdalen*, originally on the left wall of the chapel, i.e. the interior façade wall. Though the fresco had already perished by the early eighteenth century, it is known from preparatory drawings.²⁰ The copy has been identified with a small painting now in the National Gallery, London (fig. 4).²¹ Lanzi believed the author of this painting to be Pietro 'Campanna', the Peter de Kempeneer (Brussels 1503 – Brussels 1580), who is documented in Bologna in 1529-30, and in Seville from 1537 until he returned home to Brussels in 1563. A second trip to Italy by Kempeneer is not documented, however, and in all probability he never had the opportunity to see Zuccaro's fresco in Venice.²² A much more likely candidate for the identification of the Pietro di Fiandra mentioned in Grimani's will – and one who could have executed the copies for Giovanni himself – is Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck. The latter travelled to Italy with Jacobsz., and was clearly familiar with Venetian painting, as we know from Van Mander,²³ as well as from several works by Van Rijck to be discussed below.

Stylistic features of Venetian origin are discernable in signed and dated works made by Van Rijck from around the time of his temporary return to the North.

In Jacob Matham's engraving of 1604 after a Van Rijck composition representing *The Nativity with Saints Peter and Paul*, St Peter, in the left foreground, indicates the Birth of Christ as the beginning of the story of the Redemption, which finds its fulfilment in Christ's Sacrifice on the Cross, represented in the cartouche at the top, and referred to also by the instruments of the Passion on three sides of the

Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *The Supper at Emmaus*, signed and dated 1605, pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 267 × 410 mm. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum.



illusionistically sculpted frame of the altarpiece-like design (fig. 5).²⁴ There are Venetian traces in the forms, folds and volume of the garments of St Peter, St Paul and of other figures, recalling the styles of artists such as Tintoretto and Palma Giovane. Moreover, the composition of *The Nativity* is inspired by Venetian models, particularly by one or more of the scenes on the same subject produced by Paolo Veronese and by the Bassano workshop.²⁵ Typical elements *à la* Bassano are the diagonally placed kneeling shepherd – seen from the back – on the right side, Mary raising a cloth, and the somewhat intense chiaroscuro effects.²⁶ The Christ Child cradled in a basket is a recurrent element in the work of Paolo Veronese and other Venetian artists.²⁷

Van Rijck's monumental *Kitchen piece* in Braunschweig (fig. 6)²⁸ – signed and dated 1604 – with its typical abundance of live animals and game, is indebted to Aertsen and his Italian followers like Vincenzo Campi, whose kitchen pieces with similar young kitchen-maids were already being seen in Venice around 1580.²⁹ From the Bassano, Van Rijck borrowed the boy in the background and the youngster with a beret and feather.³⁰ But at the same time the painting has a Northern air, and this may indicate perhaps a temporary turning point in the Venetian influences on Van Rijck. As Hymans observed in his commentary on *Het Schilder-boeck*, Van Mander may well be referring to this painting when describing Van Rijck's most recent work after his return to Haerlem “ghedaen op een seer grooten doeck een keucken / met veelderley ghevoghelte / en ander dinghen / met oock verscheyden beeldekens / beesten en ghedierten”.³¹

A pen drawing of *The Supper at Emmaus* in St. Petersburg, signed and dated 1605 (fig. 7),³² while continuing the tradition of Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer, also contains many Bassanesque elements, such as the sturdy forms and the typical attitude of the young boy playing on his knees at the left, the cook busy at a fireplace, the domestic animals – dogs and cats – and still-life objects such as copper vessels, and game and fish distributed throughout the drawing. In addition to these genre details, the general layout of the scene and the arrangement of the various elements also recall kitchen pieces by Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, such as *The Supper at Emmaus* in Crom Castle³³ and *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* in the collection of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston,³⁴ both painted in 1576–77. On the other hand, the Bassano paintings lack the profusion of objects

Jacob Matham after Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *The Prodigal Son Dissipates his Wealth at the Pleasures of the Table*, inscribed: Pl. R. pinxit; J. Matham sculp. et excud., engraving, 243 × 313 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet.



and comestibles and their seemingly chaotic presentation as seen in Van Rijck's work. At the same time, the more or less rectangular architectural space and the general arrangement of the figures recall kitchen pieces executed by another Northerner in Venice, Goltzius' acquaintance Dirck de Vries, who worked in the Srenissima from before 1590 until his death in 1609.³⁵

After his return to Holland, Van Rijck seems to have discarded certain features of his Italianate manner in order to revert, at least for a while, to a more indigenously oriented style. A return to one's roots is a far from exceptional development in the work of Northern artists who left Italy to come back to their homeland.³⁶ The trend seems to be confirmed by a second print by the Haarlem engraver Jacob Matham after Van Rijck's lost painting of *The Prodigal Son Dissipates his Wealth at the Pleasures of the Table* (fig. 8).³⁷

Within the framework of the points of reference established by this nucleus of certain – and more or less certain – works, it is possible to attribute some others to Van Rijck, which he may have produced in Venice and the North.

A painting in Budapest, *The Miracle of the Bread and Fish* (fig. 9),³⁸ classified as belonging to the sixteenth-century Venetian school, shows Christ's blessing and multiplication of the bread and fish and the Apostles' distribution of them to the multitude, who are seated in groups which come nowhere near the five thousand mentioned in the Bible.³⁹ The composition is of a type then popular in Venice for this theme, and it is reminiscent of Tintoretto and Palma Giovane, although it also reminds us of Federigo Zuccaro's way of arranging the figures in such Venetian works as *The Conversion of the Magdalen* (fig. 4). In both the copy after Zuccaro's *The Conversion of the Magdalen* and *The Miracle of the Bread and Fish*, we see figures with strangely elongated, un-Zuccaresque fingers. At the same time, in *The Miracle of the Bread and Fish*, the not entirely successful distribution of the figures and groups in the picture space reveals an un-Italian, Northern approach that also characterizes the arrangement of the figures in Van Rijck's *Nativity*, as reproduced in Matham's print (fig. 5). The anatomical and typological features of St Peter in the print are similar to those of the Apostle on Christ's left and the Apostle distributing bread



9
Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *The Miracle of the Bread and Fish*, canvas, 59 × 137,5 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.

under the tree at the left of the painting. Also clearly related are the forms and folds of the draperies and mantles of the Apostles in the print, and those of the same Apostle on Christ's left, and some of the seated figures in the foreground of the painting. In the print, the somewhat awkward way in which St Paul is holding the book has its counterpart in the hands – unnaturally bent at the wrist – in the painting.⁴⁰

Typologically speaking, the Christ Child in the *Nativity* has its young brothers in the children in the right foreground of the painting. The rather plump boy kneeling in front of Christ, holding a plate with two fish waiting to be multiplied, is quite similar to the Bassanesque boy in Van Rijck's 1605 drawing of the *Supper at Emmaus* in St. Petersburg (fig. 7). Several of the figures in the Budapest *Miracle* painting resemble the small ones in the background of the *Kitchen piece* in Braunschweig. The size – 59 × 137,5 cm – and the form of the Budapest painting suggest that it may have been intended for a private destination. No precise model for this painting has yet been identified, and more research needs to be done in order to ascertain whether the composition is an invention of Van Rijck's or based on a Venetian prototype.

Two pen and ink drawings in Frankfurt come from a series of the months, each representing farmers engaged in the agricultural and rustic occupations of their respective seasons (figs. 10, 11).⁴¹ One drawing shows the pruning of a vineyard in winter and the gathering of firewood, tasks performed in February and March under the signs of *Pisces* and *Aries*. In the other drawing a shepherd is shearing his sheep, an activity which takes place in June/July under the signs of *Gemini*, *Cancer* and *Leo*. Here the principal figures are positioned at one side in the foreground, secondary figures being placed in a diagonally constructed landscape on the other side. The two Frankfurt sheets are attributed to Bassano but have a distinctly Northern air and should probably be added to Van Rijck's *oeuvre*. The forward-leaning poses and attitudes, and also the typical roundness and sturdiness of the figures, recall the figures in the print of *The Prodigal Son Dissipates his Wealth at the Pleasures of the Table* (fig. 8), in the drawing of *The Supper at Emmaus* in St. Petersburg (fig. 7), and in another Van Rijck drawing (formerly with Mrs. Alice Kaplan) representing a kitchen with *Christ and His Disciples Entering the Inn at Emmaus* in the background (fig. 12).⁴² In the June/July drawing the sheep have forms and somewhat sullen expressions resembling those of the animals in these last two sheets.

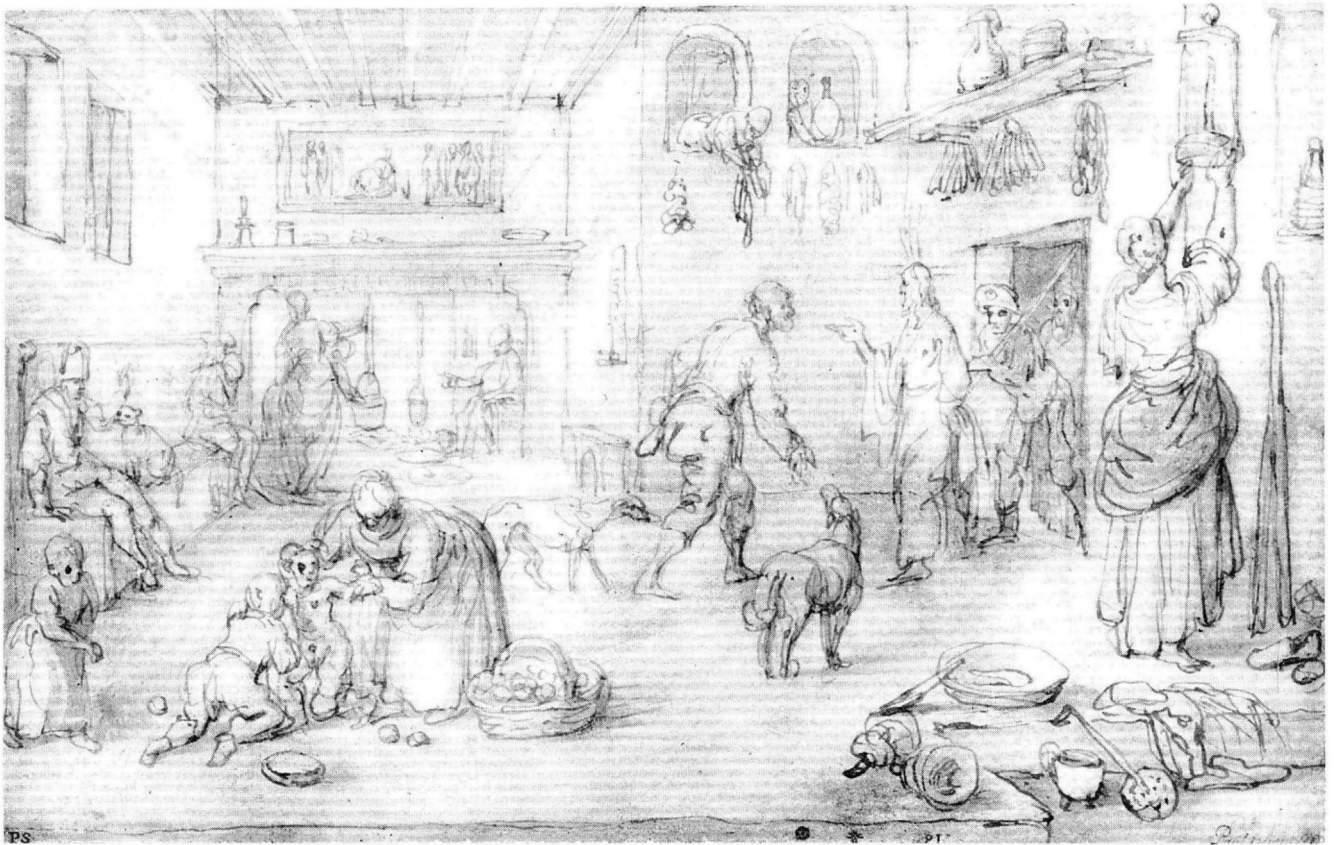
10

Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *February/March*, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 50 x 172 mm. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.



11

Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *June/July*, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 43 x 171 mm. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.



12

Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *Christ and His Disciples Entering the Inn at Emmaus*, pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 195 x 209 mm. Formerly New York, Mrs. Alice Kaplan.



A drawing in Dresden of *Susanna and the Elders*, hitherto attributed to Lodewijk Toeput (fig. 13)⁴³ – the Northern painter who arrived in Venice before 1575, and who during Van Rijck’s Venetian period was living in nearby Treviso under the Italianized name Lodovico Pozzoserrato⁴⁴ – is again more likely to be a work by Van Rijck. Whereas the disposition of the figures does recall Jacopo Tintoretto’s painting of the same subject in Vienna, the style and handling of the medium is related to the rustic *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Rijksprentenkabinet at Amsterdam, which bears Van Rijck’s monogram (fig. 14).⁴⁵ This sheet has similarly round and sturdy, rather heavy figures, and shows a similar use of extensive wash. Being less Venetian in character, it should perhaps be dated later than the *Susanna* in Dresden.

The new attribution of the Dresden drawing requires us to reconsider the authorship of a sheet formerly with Janos Scholz, representing *Susanna Attacked by the Elders*; the setting is similar but the figures are more graphically constructed, and there is no wash. It has been associated with the Dresden drawing, and is also attributed to Pozzoserrato. There are, however, no evident clues to support an attribution to either Toeput or Van Rijck.⁴⁶

A drawing in the Frits Lugt collection, which is presently attributed to Toeput, may well be a work of Van Rijck instead (fig. 15).⁴⁷ The subject, *Banquet in a Portico*, belongs to the genre of the Venetian aristocracy’s pastimes, which were in fact among the principal themes of works not only by Toeput but also by other Northern contemporaries active in Venice – Pauwels Franck called Paolo Fiammingo, for instance.⁴⁸ However, the penmanship is nothing like that found in drawings by Pozzoserrato.⁴⁹ The comparatively loose handling of the architecture and of the objects, drawn predominantly freehand, the rather sketchy rendering of dogs and children, the robust figures, the drawing of the faces and eyes, the curves of drapery folds at the back of the legs and knees, and the pointed feet of some of the figures – for instance, the man on the right in the Lugt drawing, and Christ and the man in front of Him in *Christ and His Disciples Entering the Inn at Emmaus* (fig. 12) – are among the similarities that justify an attribution of the latter kitchen scene, the one in St. Petersburg (fig. 7) and the sheet in the Lugt collection to the same hand. The fairly heavy washes in the architecture are not unlike those on the Dresden and Amsterdam sheets (figs. 13, 14).

14
 Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, signed, pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 224 × 337 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet.



15
 Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, *Banquet in a Partico*, pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 244 × 176 mm. Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Collection Frits Lugt.



Another drawing in the Frits Lugt collection, done in black chalk, of *The Three Angels Appearing to Abraham*, is at present attributed tentatively to Jacob Matham (fig. 16).⁵⁰ It is worth considering whether or not this may be a work by Van Rijck as well. In the middle ground, on the right, Abraham kneels to the angels; on the left the angels are seated at Abraham's table, where one of them announces Sarah's pregnancy.⁵¹ The distribution of a variety of animals in the foreground and middle

Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck (?), *The Three Angels Appearing to Abraham*, black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk, remnants of framing in red chalk, 310 × 463 mm. Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Collection Frits Lugt.



ground, and a predilection for children with round forms and short, pointed fingers are also seen in drawings such as *The Supper at Emmaus* (fig. 7) and *Christ and His Disciples Entering the Inn at Emmaus* (fig. 12). In these latter drawings, the principal figures are likewise located in the middle or background. Those in the foreground compare well with the stocky main figures of Matham's relatively late print after Van Rijck, *The Prodigal Son Dissipates his Wealth at the Pleasures of the Table* (fig. 8), and with those of the drawing in Frankfurt of the shepherd shearing his sheep (fig. 11) and other works.⁵² Like the figures in the Frankfurt drawing, those on the Lugt sheet have a rustic and pastoral character. The background figures in the Lugt drawing exhibit formal affinities with the couple in the right background of the same Matham engraving, and with several figures in the drawings in Frankfurt, St. Petersburg and elsewhere. The overly elongated forms of some of the dogs and sheep, the chickens' and hens' jaunty attitudes and the full, almost swollen shapes of some of the other, sullen-faced animals in the Lugt drawing recall their counterparts in the Frankfurt and St. Petersburg drawings, and are characteristic, too, of those in the landscape of the *Creation* in the Gesù discussed above. The fact that the drawing was executed about thirty years after the fresco in the Gesù might account for at least some of the differences between the two works. Moreover, the not entirely organic way in which the artist relates the foreground to the background is again rather similar in the drawings in Frankfurt.

Despite its similarities to the other drawings, the sheet with *The Three Angels Appearing to Abraham* displays relatively few traces of Italian influence. Its Northern quality indicates that it must have originated in the Netherlands. The fact that the drawing was tentatively attributed to Matham may have some significance in the light of Van Rijck's personal contacts with the latter, known from the two engravings mentioned above.

Unlike his Northern contemporaries Paolo Fiammingo, Lodewijck Toeput and Dirck de Vries who emigrated to Italy, Van Rijck received a brief biography in Van Mander, who considered him an asset to the artistic scene in Haarlem. Unlike Paolo Fiammingo and Lodewijck Toeput, though, Van Rijck does not figure in seventeenth-century Italian or Venetian literature on art. Although he remained in Italy for roughly a decade after Giovanni Grimani's death, one wonders whether

his temporary return to the North was prompted by inadequate success and insufficient commissions. After all, during Van Rijck's first period in Italy and Venice, Paolo Fiammingo (c. 1540-1596) and Lodewijck Toeput (c. 1550-c.1604) were there too, depicting the activities of *villeggiatura*, and so was Dirck de Vries (documented in Venice 1587-1617), who painted markets and kitchen pieces, and also – like the other two – landscapes. Both Paolo Fiammingo and Lodewijck Toeput – the latter particularly in Treviso and on the Venetian *terraferma* – were regularly given religious commissions. Perhaps the market segment for which Van Rijck painted was too small to enable several Northern artists who were simultaneously active in and around Venice to earn a satisfactory living there, working as they did in areas of interest that partly overlapped. But whether or not these were among the reasons for Van Rijck's temporary return to Holland, the call of Italy must have been strong. However, we do not know whether he actually went to Naples, nor what he produced in Italy during the later years.

Despite the variety of styles, an individual artistic personality emerges from Van Rijck's paintings and drawings. At the same time they enable us to understand why his appeal in Italy may have been less than that of Paolo Fiammingo and Lodewijck Toeput, although his work was certainly of an acceptable level. On the other hand, he was praised by Van Mander, who considered him a great master in compositions and in portraits.⁵³ At present there are relatively few works to confirm Van Mander's opinion: fewer than twenty pieces, including a handful of paintings and the additions proposed here, but no individual portraits. In other words, our knowledge of Van Rijck and his *oeuvre* remains rather fragmentary.

NOTES

¹ K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 298v. Cf. K. van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. by H. Miedema, Doornspijk 1999, vol. VI, pp. 102-106, for commentary.

² Van Mander, *ibidem*.

³ Haarlem, Gemeentearchief, Notarieel Archief E. van Bosvelt 54, fol. 288v, dated 1 September 1605 (see The Hague, RKD, archival notes A. Bredius). I am most grateful to Fred Meijer and Irene van Thiel-Stroman for their permission to use this and the following data (see notes 4 and 5), which will be included in the latter's contribution to the new catalogue of paintings in the Frans Halsmuseum.

⁴ Haarlem, Gemeentearchief, Notarieel Archief W. van Triere 103, fol. 149r, dated 6 October 1632 (see The Hague, RKD, Archival notes A. Bredius). However, as the kitchen piece in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, signed and dated 1621, has hardly any Italian elements and a much more Northern character than Van Rijck's painted and drawn kitchen-pieces to be discussed below, it was in all probability painted in Holland. For this painting, E. Gemar-Koeltzsch, *Luca Bild-*

Lexikon. Holländische Stillebenmaler im 17. Jahrhundert, herausgegeben von K. Ertz und Chr. Nitze-Ertz, Lingen 1995, vol. III, p. 870, no. 343/2, ill. in vol. I, p. 187.

⁵ Haarlem, Gemeentearchief, Notarieel Archief W. van Triere 106, fol. 10v, dated 17 February 1635, (see The Hague, RKD, archival notes A. Bredius).

⁶ See F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts. ca. 1470-1700*, Amsterdam 1949, vol. XXI, p. 84, nos. 1-8, pp. 85-86, nos. 9-16; vol. XXII, ill. on pp. 98, 99.

⁷ A. Zuccari, 'Aggiornamenti sulla decorazione cinquecentesca di alcune cappelle del Gesù', *Storia dell'arte*, L (1984), pp. 27-28, 32 for the documents, including the payments from 26 October 1588 to 7 January 1589 to 'mastro Pietro Fiamengho pittore' for the execution of 'paesi'; L. Russo in M. L. Madonna (ed.), *Roma di Sisto V. Le arti e la cultura*, Rome 1993, pp. 181-183, also for the other painters working in the chapel.

⁸ B.W. Meijer, 'Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608: alcune considerazioni finali', in *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608*. Atti Convegno Internazionale

Bruxelles 24-25 febbraio 1995, Bollettino d'Arte, Supplemento al n° 100 (1997), p. 121, fig. 5.

⁹ See *infra*, the animals in one of the drawings in Frankfurt and the discussion of *The Three Angels Appearing to Abraham*, a drawing in the Fris Luger collection (figs. 11, 16). It should be pointed out that, whereas the fresco has a Flemish air, the works by Van Rijck are, as far as we know, more akin to the art of the Northern Netherlands.

¹⁰ Inscribed *PI R F Prag* (or *Praga*) in *vreeden Rijck* (rich during peace), a pun on the name of the artist: *Rijck* means rich. T. Gerszi, *Netherlandish Drawings at the Budapest Museum. Sixteenth Century Drawings*, Amsterdam-New York 1971, no. 218, ill.; T. Gerszi, in *Pragum 1600*, exh. cat. Villa Hügel, Essen; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna 1988, p. 375, no. 237, ill.; T. Gerszi, *Művészet 11. Rudolf Prágai Udvarában. Rajzok és Metszetek a budapesti Szépművészeti Múzeum és a bécsi Albertina anyagából*, Budapest Szépművészeti Múzeum 1991, p. 27, no. 19, ill. See also T. Gerszi in *Rudolf 11 and Prague*, exh. cat. Castle, Prague etc. London, New York 1997, p. 435, no. L221, ill. Gerszi compares the drawing with Salviati's *Allegory of Peace* in the Sala dell'Udienza, Palaz-

zo Vecchio, Florence, painted about half a century earlier than Van Rijk's version of the theme. She also observes that the inscription "rich during peace" may be a reference to "the financial burden of Rudolf II's campaign against Turkey". (See W. Leitsch, 'Rudolph II und Südosteuropa 1593-1606', *East European Quarterly*, 6 (1974), p. 301ff.). However, there is no indication that the drawing contains more than a general reference to peace.

¹¹ Lawrence, Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, panel 79 x 62 cm, inscribed on the medal lion: *Petrus Van RICK (?) IN ET FFF;* on the medallion suspended from Salome's necklace, an embracing couple. Provenance: Sale A. C. Bowring et al. Sotheby's, London, 23 February 1955, no. 24, ill.; Central picture galleries New York 1966 [*The Connoisseur*, May 1966, ill.]. See E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic*, London-New York 1969, pp. 46-47, fig. 51; Ch. Neuringer, 'Art and the Unconscious', *Register of the Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas*, V:7 (Spring 1979), pp. 33-34, fig. 3.

¹² Cf. Luini's *Salome*, Paris, Musée du Louvre (A. Ottino della Chiesa, *Bernardino Luini*, Milan 1960, fig. 121).

¹³ A. Houbraken, *De Grootte Schoneburgh der Nederlandse Konstsbilders en Schilderessen*, 's-Gravenhage 1718, I, p. 178: "Hubertus Grimani, anders gezeit Hubrecht Jacobsz. geboren te Delft, was in zyne Jeught tot het reizen geneigt, hebbende wel negen of rien jaren te Venetien aan 't Hof doorgebragt by den Hartog, van wien, hy den bynaam van Grimani aangenomen heeft, dien zyne nako melingen hebben aangehouden. Hy was een goed portraitschilder...". Houbraken derived his information from D. van Bleyswijk, *Beschrijvinge der stad Delft*, Delft 1667, vol. II, p. 169f. See Van Mander 1604, ed. Miedema, *op.cit.* (note 1), vol. VI, p. 104.

¹⁴ See, for instance, U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig 1907-50, XVIII, p. 258.

¹⁵ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Notarile Testamenti, Notaio Vettor Maffei Busta 618, no. 396: "Item ordino che si dia a Tirian Scultore et a Uberto l'andrese pittore mei domestici amici et servitori per una volta sola in segno di amore ducati cento per uno, a quali per le sue buone qualità, et per il loro valore nella loro arte, vorrei far ogni gran bene et perciò li raccomando a'mici heredi per quel favore che potranno a questi duo mei

amici". M. Mantovanelli Stefani, 'Il testamento di Giovanni Grimani patriarca d'Aquileia. Glosse a una fonte per il collezionismo veneziano rinascimentale', in Idem, *Arte e committenza nel Cinquecento in area veneta. Fonti archivistiche e letterarie*, Padua 1990, p. 42. Part of the testament has also been cited by others, see O. Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice*, London 1972, p. 311; M. Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires à Venise*, Rome 1992, pp. 236-237.

¹⁶ See M. Hochmann, 'Le Mécénat de Marino Grimani Tintoret, Palma le Jeune, Jacopo Bassano, Giulio del Moro et le décor du palais Grimani; Veronèse et Vittoria à San Giuseppe', *Revue de l'Art*, 95 (1992), pp. 41-51. Huybrecht Jacobsz. was back in Delft in 1598. See Van Mander 1604, ed. Miedema *op.cit.* (note 1), vol. VI, p. 104.

¹⁷ It has been suggested that this small *Giudizio* painting by Huybrecht Jacobsz. was either after a Zuccaro copy of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, or after Zuccaro's *Last Judgment* in the cupola of Florence cathedral. However, as was the case with the other two copies mentioned in the will, it is more likely that this, too, reproduced a Grimani commission, perhaps Zuccaro's lost *Distribution of Justice* on the vault of the staircase in the Palazzo Grimani, engraved in 1566 by Cornelis Cort. For the engraving, see M. Sellink, *Cornelis Cort 'constich plaedt-snijder van Horne in Hollandt' accomplished plate-cutter from Hoorn in Hollandt*, exh. cat. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam 1994, no. 65, ill. For the other suggestions of identification, see Mantovanelli Stefani, *op.cit.* (note 15), pp. 40-42.

¹⁸ Mantovanelli Stefani, *op.cit.* (note 15), pp. 41ff., 53.

¹⁹ A. Foscari, M. Tafuri, *L'Armonia e i Conflitti. La chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna nella Venezia del '500*, Turin 1983, pp. 132-133, fig. 93.

²⁰ For the preparatory drawings, see Foscari, Tafuri, *op.cit.* (note 19), p. 133, fig. 91; E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque. Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari 1500-1600*, exh. cat. Milwaukee Art Museum; National Academy of Design, New York, 1989-90, Milwaukee 1989, pp. 173-175.

²¹ Inv. no. 1241, panel (pear), 29,8 x 58,4 cm. Purchased in 1888. See Mantovanelli Stefani, *op.cit.* (note 15), pp. 40-42, fig. 3, who identified the painting in the National Gallery with the one mentioned in Grimani's will.

²² L. Lanzi, *Storia pittorica dell'Italia*, (Bassano 1795-1796), ed. Florence 1968, I, p. 319: "Stette ventanni in Italia e a Venezia fu condotto dal Patriarca Grimani a cui dipinse cari ritratti e la rinomata Maddalena condotta da S. Marta al tempio a udire la predica di Cristo". See Mantovanelli Stefani, *op.cit.* (note 15), pp. 42-43. According to Lanzi the painting went to 'Sig. Slade' in England. Lanzi's statement was repeated by A. L. Mayer, *Die Sevilaner Malerschule. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 48-49. See also F. Sricchia Santoro, 'Pedro de Campaña in Italia', *Prospettiva*, 27 (1981), p. 85. N. Dacos, 'Fortune critique de Pedro Campaña - Peeter de Kempeneer. De Pacheco à Murillo et à Constantin Meunier', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, LIII (1984), pp. 91-117, p. 101 observes rightly: "Bologna avait le mérite de rectifier les sources de la culture italienne de l'artiste, qu'il ne fallait pas chercher à Venise comme l'avait suggéré Angulo en s'appuyant sur Lanzi".

For De Kempeneer, F. Sricchia Santoro in N. Dacos, B.W. Meijer (eds.), *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Artistes des Pays Bas et de la principauté de Liège*, exh. cat. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, Brussels-Ghent 1995, pp. 241-245, with other titles.

²³ See *supra*.

²⁴ The print bears the following inscriptions: *Nativitas Salvatoris nostri (between the two saints); Anno 1604 (below the two saints); Cum privi. S. Ca. M. Petrus van Rijk invento J. Matbam sculptor et excudit (at the bottom)*. H. Noë, 'Annotazioni sui rapporti fra la pittura veneziana e olandese alla fine del Cinquecento', *L'enezia e L'Europa. Atti del XI III Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte Venezia 12-18 settembre 1955*, Venice 1955, p. 302, fig. 199; B.W. Meijer, *Rondom Rembrandt en Vlietman. Artistieke betrekkingen tussen Amsterdam en Venetië in prent en tekening*, exh. cat. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 's-Gravenhage 1991, pp. 112-113, no. 48, ill., with further bibl.

²⁵ Meijer, *op.cit.* (note 24), p. 106, for some examples, some of which were, or were known, in Holland.

²⁶ See, for example, *The Nativity*, painted by Jacopo in 1568 for the church of San Giuseppe at Bassano (now Museo Civico); L. Alberton Vinco del Sessa in B. L. Brown, P. Marini (eds.) *Jacopo Bassano*, exh. cat. Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 1992-1993, Bologna 1992 (2nd ed.),

p. 129-131, no. 46, ill. Bassano had derived some of these elements from Titian, notably from the master's woodcut version of the *Nativity*. Meijer, *op.cit.* (note 24), no. 13, ill.

²⁷ See, for example, Veronese's altar piece in San Giuseppe, Venice, one of his most Bassanesque works, painted in 1582-83. T. Pignatti, F. Pedrocco, *Il Veronese*, Milan 1995, vol. II, pp. 446-447, no. 340, ill.

²⁸ Canvas, 198 x 288 cm, at lower right inscribed: *Petrus van Rijck/In. et fecit 1604*. Noë, *op.cit.* (note 24), p. 302; R. Klessmann, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig. Die holländischen Gemälde*, Braunschweig 1983, p. 181, ill.; P. Verbracken in *Joachim Beuckelaer - I Het markt en keukenstuk in de Nederlanden 1550-1650*, exh. cat. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent 1986-87, Bruges 1986, p. 159, no. 31, ill., also for the moralistic-religious connotations of the painting, which in the background shows the welcoming of the cripple, the blind and the poor invited to the great banquet as related in *Luke*, 14: 16-24, exhorting the rich to be altruistic, which also contains elements of warning against *Luxuria*. According to others it represents the parable of the Royal Wedding party (Matthew 22: 1-14). See also Gemar-Koeltzsch, *op.cit.* (note 4), vol. III, p. 870, no. 3411, ill.

²⁹ The relation to Beuckelaer and Vincenzo Campi has already been pointed out by G. T. Faggin, 'Sulla traccia di Dirck de Vries, pittore neerlandese a Venezia sullo scorcio del Cinquecento', *Paragone*, 165 (1963), p. 60.

³⁰ For a similar figure, see the serving-boy in *The Supper at Emmaus* at Crom Castle, as in note 33, *infra*. For Jacopo Bassano's dependence on Northern examples, F. Rossi, 'Una cucina di Jacopo Bassano e il suo modello nordico', *Verona Illustrata*, 7 (1994), pp. 57-64. For Venetian influence on Van Rijck see Meijer, *op.cit.* (note 24), pp. 110-112, nos. 47, 48.

³¹ H. Hymans, *Les vies des peintres de Carel van Mander*, Paris 1884, II, p. 330, note 1, commenting on Van Mander, *op.cit.* (note 1), fol. 298v.

³² St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. no. 7833; pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 267 x 140 mm, at the lower left, monogram *PI'R* and above the door at the left: *wie weet of waer is 1605*. Meijer, *op.cit.* (note 24), pp. 110-111, no. 47, ill., with further bibl. A. Larionov in *Master Drawings from the Hermitage and Pushkin Museum*, exh. cat. Pierpont Morgan Library,

New York, New York 1998, p. 98, no. 48, ill.; A. Larionov, *Dutch and Flemish Old Master drawings in the Hermitage. A brief history of the collection*, St. Petersburg 1999, p. 52, no. 23. The drawing was acquired by Catherine the Great in 1769 with the collection of Count Heinrich Brühl from Dresden.

³³ Alberton Vinco del Sessa, *op.cit.* (note 26), pp. 166-167, no. 62, ill.

³⁴ Alberton Vinco del Sessa, *op.cit.* (note 26), pp. 164-165, no. 61, ill.

³⁵ Faggin, *op.cit.* (note 29), pp. 54-64 and idem, 'Un nuovo "mercato" di Dirck de Vries', *Arte Veneta*, XIX (1965), pp. 156-157, attributed the first paintings to De Vries, offering a starting point for later attributions. Cf. B. W. Meijer, 'A proposito della Vanità della ricchezza e di Lodovico Pozzoserrato', *Toeput a Treviso. Lodovico Pozzoserrato. Lodovico Toeput, pittore neerlandese nella civiltà veneta del tardo Cinquecento. Atti del Seminario Treviso 6-7 novembre 1987*, S. Mason Rinaldi, D. Luciani (eds.), Asolo 1988, pp. 117-119, particularly fig. 20, for a kitchen piece. (Although S. Fossaluzza in these proceedings (p. 45) does not mention the source of his attribution of two paintings to Dirck de Vries, the attributions were first made by the present writer during the symposium. In his oral contribution to the symposium, Fossaluzza presented the two paintings with their previous attribution to Pozzoserrato. However, on the same occasion he did provide me with a colour photograph of one of the two paintings sold at Sotheby's in 1976, and afterwards with Zabert at Turin as Toeput). Another kitchen piece by De Vries is in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 37.2651 (Sale Sotheby's New York, January 11, 1991, no. 17). For De Vries also Meijer, *op.cit.* (note 24), pp. 90-93, nos. 40, 41.

³⁶ A 17th-century example is Willem Drost. Cf. B. W. Meijer, 'Over Kunst en kunstgeschiedenis in Italië en de Nederlanden', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 44 (1993), p. 15.

³⁷ Hollstein, *op.cit.* (note 6), vol. XI, p. 220, no. 63; W. L. Strauss, *The Illustrated Bartsch 4 formerly 3 [part 2] Netherlandish Artists: Matham, Saenredam, Muller*, New York 1980, p. 181, 196 (181), ill. (inscribed *PI'R pinxit; J. Matham sculp. et excud.*).

³⁸ Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 921, canvas, 59 x 137,5 cm, as Venetian, 16th century.

³⁹ The story is told in *Matthew* 14: 13-21; *Matthew* 15: 32-38; *Mark* 6: 30-44; 8: 1-9; *Luke* 9: 10-17; *John* 6: 1-15.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, Christ's right hand and the left hand of the woman sitting in the left foreground with a child.

⁴¹ Inv. no. 3944, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 50 x 172 mm; inv. no. 2945, pen and brown ink, brown wash; 43 x 171 mm, both as Bassano.

⁴² Pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 195 x 209 mm. L. Bantel, *The Alice M. Kaplan Collection*, New York 1981, pp. 84-85, no. 35, ill. The drawing was attributed to Van Rijck by J. Bruyn. K. G. Boon, *The Netherlandish and German Drawings of the XVth and XVIth Centuries of the Frits Lugt Collection*, Paris 1992, vol. I, p. 368, under no. 208, does not accept this attribution. However, although some figures and objects are executed in a somewhat more sketchy manner than those in the signed drawing in St. Petersburg (fig. 7), it is otherwise quite similar to the latter. The two sheets are undoubtedly by the same hand, but the former Kaplan drawing may be slightly earlier.

⁴³ Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. C 1035-36, pen and brown ink, brown wash, over a sketch in black and red chalk, 186 x 286 mm. W. Wegner, 'Bemerkungen zu Zeichnungen niederländischer Künstler um 1600', *Miscellanea I. Q. van Kesteren Altena*, Dresden 1969, p. 90, fig. 1 (on p. 297); S. Mason Rinaldi, 'Variazioni sul tema della Susanna', *Toeput a Treviso...*, *op.cit.* (note 35), pp. 93-95, fig. 6. S. Mason in *Il Rinascimento a Venezia e la pittura del Nord ai tempi di Bellini, Dürer, Tiziano*, exh. cat. Palazzo Grassi, Venice, Milano 1999, p. 606, no. 188, ill.

⁴⁴ For this artist, see the various contributions in *Toeput a Treviso...*, *op.cit.* (note 35). Some of these contributions have a rather approximative approach to the problems of attribution. See also T. Gerszi, 'The Draughtsmanship of Lodewijk "Toeput"', *Master Drawings*, XXX (1992), pp. 367-395.

⁴⁵ Inv. no. RP-T-1994-163. Pen and brown ink, brown wash over a sketch in black chalk, 224 x 337 mm, at the lower left, monogram *PI'R*. M. Schapelhouman, P. Schatborn, *Tekeningen van oude meesters. De verzameling van Jacobus A. Klaver*, exh. cat. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Zwolle 1993, p. 30, no. 10, ill. The drawing was donated to the Rijksprentenkabinet in 1994 (*Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 42 (1994), p. 363). For Tintoretto's painting in Vienna, see R. Pallucchini, P. Rossi, *Tintoretto. Le opere sacre et profane*, Milano 1982, no. 200,

figs. 262-264. I would like to thank Marijn Schapelhouman for his assistance.

⁴⁶ Pen and brown ink, 190 × 270 mm. Attributed to Toeput by L. Mengozzi, *Il Pozzoserrato*, preface by L. Coletti, Venice 1958, pp. 42-43, fig. 65. See also Mason Rinaldi in *Toeput a Treviso...*, *op.cit.* (note 35), pp. 93-94, fig. 6.

⁴⁷ Pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk, 244 × 176 mm. Boon, *op.cit.* (note 42), no. 208, pl. 123.

⁴⁸ For these works by Toeput see L. Larcher Crosato, 'I piaceri della villa nel Pozzoserrato', *Toeput a Treviso...*, *op.cit.* (note 35), pp. 71-77; Gerszi, *op.cit.* (note 44), p. 378. On Paolo Fiammingo see S. Mason Rinaldi, 'Paolo Fiammingo', *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte*, 11 (1978), pp. 45-80; B.W. Meijer, 'Paolo Fiammingo tra indigeni e "forestieri"', *Prospettiva*, 32 (1983), pp. 20-32. On his work repre-

senting pastimes, Meijer, *op.cit.* (note 35), pp. 110-111, 119.

⁴⁹ According to Boon, *op.cit.* (note 42), p. 368, under no. 208, the similarities of the sheet in Paris to Pozzoserrato's sheet of the *Garden of a Villa* in the Albertina in Vienna – a preliminary drawing for one of his frescoes of the months in Villa Chiericati-Mugna-Lambert at Longa di Schiavon near Vicenza (see W. Wegner, 'Drawings by Pozzoserrato', *Master Drawings*, 1 (1963), no. 4, pp. 28-29, pl. 24) – and another sheet by him, *Jenus and Cupid* in the Kunstmuseum in Basel (Mengozzi, *op.cit.* (note 46), p. 38, fig. 52), indicate Toeput's authorship of the sheet in the Lugt collection. But in my eyes the latter two drawings are quite different in style and execution and not by the same hand as the drawing of the *Banquet*. The fact that the latter, and the sheet in Vienna, were both formerly in the collection of Ludwig Zatzka in Vienna (L.2672 and Suppl.), and before that, in the 18th

century, in the collection of Conte Gianazei at Udine, both of whom owned other Toeput drawings (see Meijer, *op.cit.* (note 35), p. 121, note 95) does not eliminate the differences between these sheets.

⁵⁰ Black chalk, squared for transfer in black chalk, remnants of framing in red chalk, 310 × 463 mm. Boon, *op.cit.* (note 42), no. 145, pl. 154.

⁵¹ *Genesis* 18: 1-16.

⁵² The rather stout woman with a dog on her lap in the left foreground and the long, neat lines of the folds of her drapery compare rather well with those of the personification of *Peace* (fig. 2), despite the more mannerist impact of the latter. As such, the mannerist impact probably indicates an earlier date of origin of this sheet.

⁵³ Van Mander, *op.cit.* (note 1), fol. 298v ("in ordonantien en conterfeyselen").