



The Night Watch and the Entry of Marie de' Medici

A New Interpretation of the Original Place and Significance of the Painting

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We know of a considerable number of group portraits of the militia companies of the Kloveniersdoelen, or musketeers' guild. Gerard Schaepe described thirty-five in 1653.¹ The last six of these hung in the large upper room of the newly-built extension to the guild's headquarters, the Doelen; they were the company of District XIX under the command of Captain Cornelis Bicker (1592-1654) by Joachim von Sandrart (1640) (fig. 1), that of District XVIII under Captain Albert Bas (1598-1650) by Govert Flinck (1645) (fig. 2), Captain Frans Banninck Cocq's company of District II by Rembrandt (1642) (fig. 3), the company of District IV under Captain Jan Claeszn. Vlooswijck (1571-1652) by Nicolaes Eliaszn. Pickenoy (1642) (fig. 4), that of District V commanded by Captain Cornelis de Graeff (1599-1665) by Jacob Adriaenszn. Backer (1642) (fig. 5) and, lastly, the company of District VIII under Captain Roelof Bicker (1611-1656) by Bartholomeus van der Helst (1643) (fig. 6). Since there were six companies attached to the Kloveniersdoelen – the Handboogdoelen and Voetboogdoelen (the archers and the cross-bowmen) each had seven – this means that in the space of five years (1640-1645) all the companies



were represented by a group portrait in the upper chamber. It would seem safe to assume that there was a concerted approach to painting these works.

The series of group portraits was added to regularly from 1531 onwards, with three striking interruptions: 1535-1552, 1566-1579 and 1616-1632. These lacunae were always the consequence of political unrest – the Anabaptist rebellion of 10 May 1535 and the change of government in 1538, the Iconoclasm of 23 August 1566 and the dissolution of the militias the following year, and the 'civil war' of 1617-1619 with the removal of the government by Prince Maurice on 5 November 1618. In 1909, writing in *Oud-Holland*, Professor J. Six put forward the notion that Marie de' Medici's royal visit to Amsterdam in September 1638 might have both prompted and been the subject of the six group portraits in the Kloveniersdoelen's great hall.² Thereafter, there was scarcely an author who did not latch on to this hypothesis – until 1967, when Marijke Kok, writing in the *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, rejected Professor Six's ideas and suggested the theory that the completion of the great hall in the new Kloveniersdoelen building could have occasioned the



Fig. 1
 JOACHIM VON SANDRART, *The Company of District XIX Commanded by Captain Cornelis Bicker* (1592-1654) and Lieutenant Frederick van Banchem

(1580/85-1647), 1640. Oil on canvas (cut down), 343 x 258 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. SK-C-393). The other sitters are Ensign Pieter Vinck (1607-...), Sergeant Willem Ijsbrantszn

Kieft (1595-c. 1670), Sergeant Jacob de Vries (1573-1654), and the militiamen Guilliamo (Willem) van Erpecum (1614-1666), Willem Muylman (1590-1670), Ijsbrant Vinck

(1576-1643), Pauwels Ras (...-before 1654), Salomon van Exel (Antwerp, 1577-...), Jan Seulijns (Aken, 1599-1642), François Wouters (Antwerp, 1577-1643), Gerrit Stoffelszn van Tricht

(1607-1640), Lenart Cornelis (...-...), Broer Janszn (1580-1652), Symon van Alckemade (...-after 1655), Bartholomeus van der Wiere (1605-1660) and Gijsbert van Wieringen (Woerden, 1607-1654).



Fig. 2
GOVERT FLINCK,
*The Company of
District XVIII Com-
manded by Captain
Albert Bas (1598-1650)
and Lieutenant Lucas
Conijn (1597-1652)*, 1645.
Oil on canvas (cut
down), 347 x 244 cm.

Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam
(inv. no. SK-C-371).

commissioning of the six militia paintings.³ She had been struck by the fact that Frans Banninck Cocq, Roelof Bicker and Albert Bas were not yet the captains of their companies in September 1638. To this she might have added the fact that Wilhem van Ruytenburch was not then a lieutenant of District II, nor did Jan Michielszn Blaeu (1588-1648) yet hold that rank in District VIII.⁴ Since then the mention of Marie de' Medici's name in connection with the commission for *The Night Watch* has been taboo, but Kok's hypothesis is not entirely watertight either. Before we examine the various possibilities, let us reiterate quite categorically here that there is nothing in the tradition to tell us why the numerous militia portraits were painted for the various civic guard companies in Amsterdam. Whereas in Haarlem, for instance, it was customary for militia officers, who served according to a rota, to have their portrait painted as a group when they stood down from their posts,⁵ in Amsterdam this practice did not exist⁶ because the civic guards were organized in a completely different way and officers could remain in their posts indefinitely.

There had traditionally been three civic guards in the city, the old civic guard and the more recent guilds of archers and cross-bowmen. The guild of the old civic guard ran into financial difficulties in the early sixteenth century and was disbanded in 1516.



Fig. 3

REMBRANDT
VAN RIJN,
*The Company of
District II Com-
manded by Captain
Frans Banninck Cocq
(1605-1652) and
Lieutenant Wilhem
van Ruytenburch*

(1600-1652) known
as the 'Night Watch',
1642.
Oil on canvas
(cut down),
363 x 438 cm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam
(inv. no. SK-C-5).





The guards' headquarters, the Doelengebouw in Oude Doelenstraat, was sold to pay the debts. In 1522 this civic guard was re-formed and brought up to date as the Kloveniersschutterij and the city placed a building in one of the towers of the city wall at its disposal. This move was one element of the modernization of the city militia, a process long resisted by the archers and cross-bowmen but one which, with the arrival of firearms, could no longer be stopped.⁷ When Gerard Schaep described the Amsterdam militias in 1653, he listed the Kloveniersdoelen after the Handboogdoelen and Voetboogdoelen. This demotion from the oldest to the 'youngest' militia can only have served to heighten feelings of jealousy among the three civic guards.

It must to some extent have been this rivalry that spawned the phenomenon of the secular militia portrait, with the Kloveniersdoelen and Handboogdoelen taking the lead in 1531, followed by the Voetboogdoelen in 1533.⁸

Fig. 4

NICOLAES ELIASZN PICKENOY,
The Company of District IV Commanded by Captain Jan Claeszn van Vlooswijk (1571-1652) and Lieutenant Gerrit Hudde (1595-1647), 1642.
Oil on canvas (cut down), 340 x 527 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. SK-C-1177). The other sitters are Ensign Jan Witsen (1603-1650), Sergeant Hillebrant Bentes (1591-1655), Sergeant Andries Dirkszn van Saanen (Leiden, 1588-1652), and furthermore the militiamen Jan Bentes (15..-1659), Willem Symonszn Moons (1594-1677), Jan Huybertszn Codde (1608-c. 1648),

Roelof Roelofszn de Lange (1604-1679), Ijsbrant van de Wouwer (Hoorn, c. 1587-1647), Johannes Looten (1612-1676), Ulrick Petersen (...-...), Jacob Corneliszn. Bleijenberg (1587-1665), Pieter Harbers (Gouda, 1607-1680), Pieter Tonneman (1590-New York, after 1664), Eelbert Huybertszn Kriek (1606-1654), Hendrick Janszn van As (...-...) and Nicolaes Kuysten (1605-1668).



Fig. 5

JACOB BACKER,
*The Company
 of District v
 Commanded by
 Captain Cornelis de
 Graeff (1599-1664)
 and Lieutenant
 Hendrick Laurensz
 (1588-1649), 1642.*
 Oil on canvas (cut
 down), 367 x 511 cm.
 Rijksmuseum,
 Amsterdam
 (inv. no. SK-C-1174).
 The other sitters
 are Ensign Joachim
 Janszn Scheepmaker
 (...-1657), Sergeant
 Theunis Janszn Vis
 (1605-1653), Sergeant
 Jan Gerritszn van
 Leeuwarden (1590-...)
 and the militiamen
 Marten Canter
 (...-1672), Hans van
 der Elst (Rotterdam,
 c. 1595-after 1674),
 Warnar Wiggertszn
 (...-...), Adam

Gerritszn (...-...),
 Hendrick Janszn
 Cruywagen (1598-
 c. 1660), Hendrick
 Rijcksen (...-...), Elias
 de Haes (Beverwijk,
 1603-1650), Cornelis
 Corneliszn Karsse-
 boom (1608-1646),
 Barent Brunewinkel
 (...-...), Willem Janszn
 Midlum (Grotebroek
 1596-1670), Hendrick
 Pauwelszn (...-...),
 Jan Gerritszn Parijs
 (1596-after 1649),
 Gerrit Bruyningh
 Koeckebacker (...-...),
 Hendrick Aertszn
 de Keijzer (1610-...),
 Jan Jacobszn Lansman
 (1615-1666), Willem
 Janszn Buys (...-...), Jan
 Evertszn van Heerden
 (Heerde, 1581-...) and
 Jan Evertszn Matthijs
 (...-...).

There was a practical reason, too. At the beginning of the century the old Voetboogschutters had had themselves immortalized in a stained glass window in St George's Chapel in the Oude Kerk,⁹ but there was no room for a second window with militia officers' portraits in their chapel.¹⁰ From the art historical perspective, this process coincided with the liberation of the portrait from the religious context in general, something that had already happened in Flanders and Italy.

Handboogdoelen	Voetboogdoelen	Kloveniersdoelen
1531		1531
1533	1533	1532
1535		1534

Since 1522 the Kloveniers militia had been able to use the tower known as 'Swijgh Wtrecht' in the medieval city wall, at the end of what is now Nieuwe

Doelenstraat (fig. 7). Their shooting range was across the street, and so the building became known by the Dutch word for this, the Schietdoelen. The tower and the Schietdoelen were linked by a footbridge over the road. The Kloveniers were the least comfortably accommodated of the three civic guards. By the early seventeenth century the Kloveniersdoelen had become too small to hold all the militiamen since their numbers had grown enormously as a result of the great flood of immigration into the city since the Alteration, and it became necessary to extend the complex. But when was the new facility built? In her study Marijke Kok states that the Kloveniersdoelen's new great hall was completed in or shortly before 1638: 'very well built new'. She based this on Caspar Barlaeus's *Blyde inkomst der ... doorluchtigste Koninginne Maria de Medicis* of 1639, a translation of the Latin edition published the year before.¹¹ This is why the new annex to the Doelengebouw was recently dated to 1639.¹² But is this conclusion correct?

From the notes about the Doelen made by Hans Bontemantel (1613-1688) we know that the steward of the Kloveniersdoelen, Bartholomeus Philipsz (1575-1636),¹³ did 'such good trade that the great hall was built on'.¹⁴ Bartholomeus Philipsz was steward from 1627 to 1636. It appears from the city records that the city council, which was accustomed to hold official banquets in the Doelen on a regular basis, did not dine in the Kloveniersdoelen between 1625 and 1627.¹⁵ This is an important indication that it was in this precise period that the Kloveniersdoelen was being extended. The new building does not appear on the well-known map of the city by Balthazar Florisz (c. 1591-c. 1645) of 1625, but its site has already been marked on the map (fig. 7). It would therefore seem that the new building was finished in 1627, when Bartholomeus



meus Philipsz became steward. It is also shown on a map of the construction of a new sewer for the hospital that is dated to the same year (fig. 8). It gives the external dimensions of the building as 66 x 36 feet (= 18.68 x 9.88 m),¹⁶ while a map of 1713 gives the interior dimensions as 63 feet ... (illegible) inches x 31 feet 9 inches

Fig. 7
BALTHAZAR FLORIS,
Map of Amsterdam,
Detail with the
Nieuwe Doelenstraat
and the buildings of
the Kloveniersdoelen,
1625. Amsterdam City
Archives (ACA).





Fig. 6

BARTHOLOMEUS VAN DER HELST, *The Company of District VIII Commanded by Captain Roelof Bicker* (1611-1656) and Lieutenant Jan Michielszn Blaeuw (1588-1648), 1643. Oil on canvas (cut down), 235 x 750 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. SK-C-375). The other sitters are Ensign Pieter Hulft (1612-1671), Sergeant Dirck de Lange (1607-1671), Sergeant Joachim Rendorp (1608-1678) and the militiamen Hendrick Janszn Velthoen (1599-1674), Jan Joriszn Eenhoorn (1614-1660), Coenraet Rogiers Ramsden (1607-1654), Johannes Rombouts (1617-1667), Willem Janszn Steenwijck (1613-after 1678), Jan Hulft (1610-1677), Claes Rotterdam (1617-1680), Clement

Sorgen (Delft 1599-1671), Jan Martszn Troost (Rotterdam 1593-1669), Hendrick Janszn Dommer (1596-1667), Paulus van Walbeek (1591-1673), Jan Corneliszn Moyaert ([Durgerdam] 1603-1669), Hendrick Joriszn Fuyck (1612-...), Abraham Pieterszn Kroock (1596-1658), Cornelis Wilkens (1599-1666), Adriaen Joriszn Eenhoorn (1603-1655), Isaac van de Venne (c. 1595-1658), Jan Corneliszn Pronck (1615-1678), Gerrit Jacobszn Indischeraven (1598-1649), Dirck Joosten Rijskamp (Egmond op den Hoef 1595-1654), Reijnier Redinckhoven (1611-1672), Wijnant Arentszn Oppijn (1595-1655), Cornelis Wilkens Junior (1635-after 1674) and Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670).

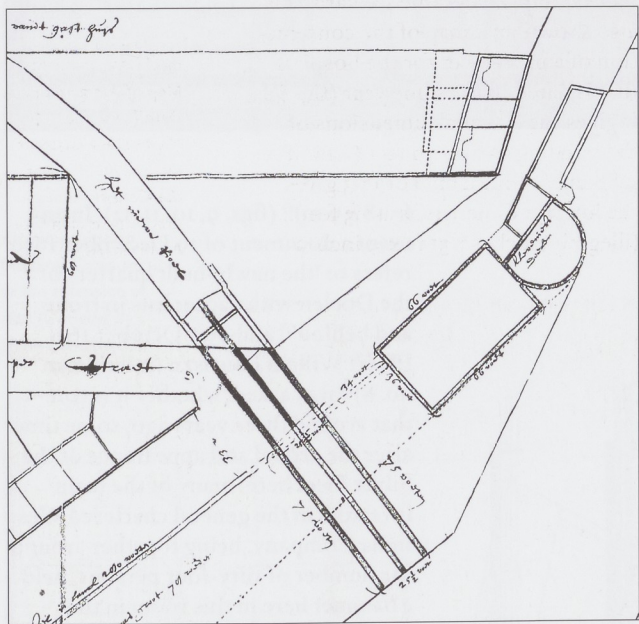


Fig. 8

Map of the Gasthuis area and the Nieuwe Doelenstraat, showing the design of a new sewer for the Gasthuis and the new Kloveniersdoelen building to the Amstel River, 1627. ACA

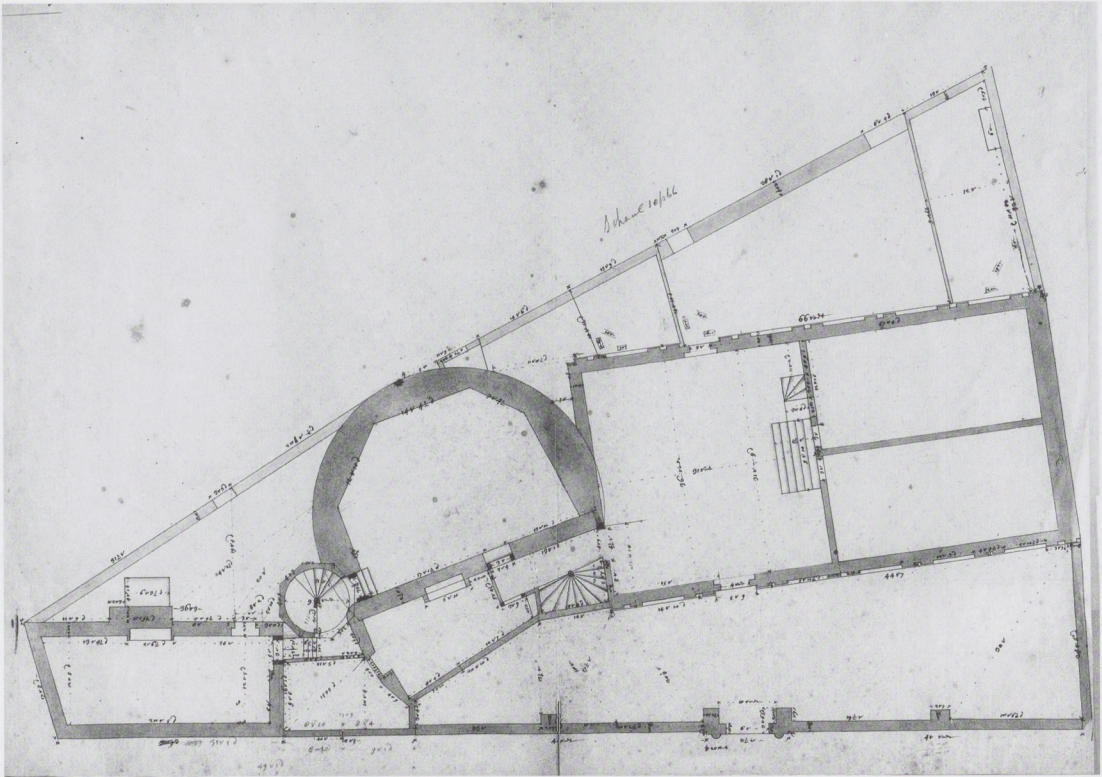
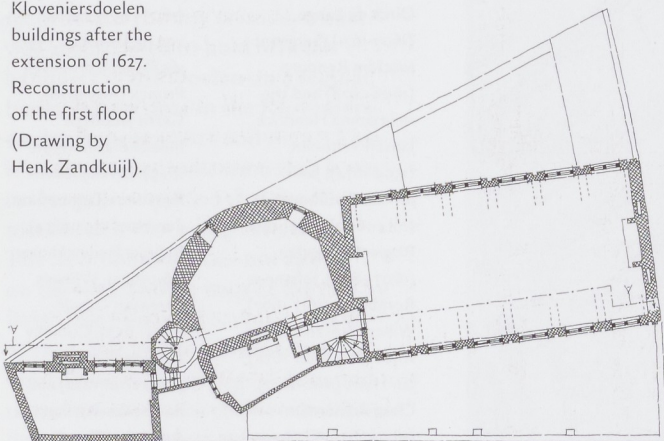


Fig. 9
Map of the Kloveniers-
doelen, 1713. ACA,
General Structural
Drawings Collection,
Nieuwe Doelenstraat
24, drawing no. 3.

Fig. 10
Kloveniersdoelen
buildings after the
extension of 1627.
Reconstruction
of the first floor
(Drawing by
Henk Zandkuijl).

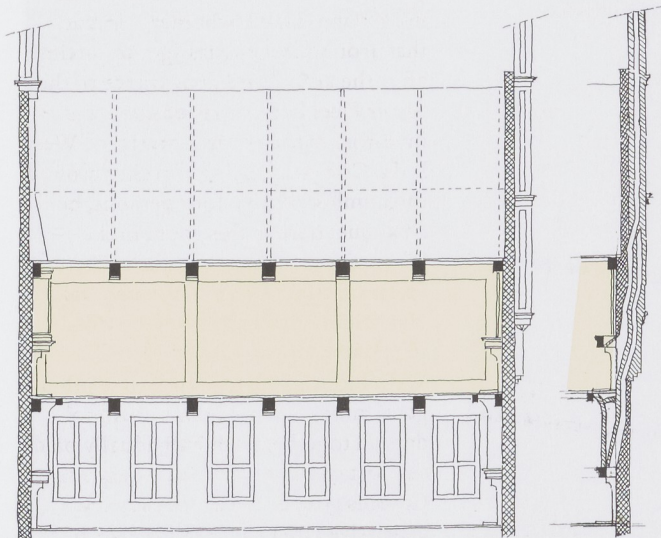


(= 18 x 9 m)¹⁷ (figs. 9, 10, 11, 12). In any event a document of 19 December 1630 refers to 'the newly-built quarters of the Doelen with vacant lots in front and behind'¹⁸ and on 7 October 1631 Elbert Willem Louiszn (militiaman no. 8)¹⁹ was asked 'whether it is true that around three years ago, some time after the arrival and appearance of the Silver Fleet here, many of the main investors in the general chartered West India Company, being together around the number of fifty-four persons, held a banquet here in this room in the Kloveniersdoelen in honour of Pieter Pieterszn Hein [1588-1629], general, Hendrick Corneliszn Lonck [1568-1634], admiral of the fleet of said West India Company, and some other gentlemen ... Which main shareholders all together each individually paid the cost of this to the tune of eighteen Carolus guilders each.'²⁰ This very expensive banquet must have been

Fig. 11
Cross-section of the
Kloveniersdoelen
buildings after the
extension of 1627.
(Drawing by Henk
Zandkuijl).



Fig. 12
Kloveniersdoelen
building. Cross-section
of the extension of
1627 (Drawing by
Henk Zandkuijl).



held in January 1629 and it would seem that the company was received in the new great hall.

If the old buildings of the Kloveniersdoelen were too small to accommodate all the militiamen in the early years of the seventeenth century, it seems reasonable to assume that after 1616 there was likewise little space on the walls in which to hang new portraits. Shortly after the new building was completed and the rooms were refurbished, the old tradition of the militia group portrait was revived and from 1630 onwards the stream of portraits resumed with the company of District III under Captain Allert Cloeck (1588-1645) by Thomas de Keyser (1632), the preliminary study for which is dated 27 November 1630 (fig. 13),²¹ the lost painting of the company of District XVI commanded by Captain Hendrick Dirckszn Spiegel (1598-1667) by Jacob Adriaenszn



Backer (1638) and the portrait of the company of District xx under the command of Captain Dirck Tholingh (1589-1654) by Nicolaes Eliaszn Pickenoy (1639) (fig. 14).²² These were followed by the series of six paintings for the great hall and Govert Flinck's portrait of the four governors of the Kloveniersdoelen (1642). The paintings of 1632 and 1639 hung in the entrance hall above the staircase to the great hall, while the third work, the one done in 1638, had been given a place downstairs opposite the windows in the king's chamber.²³ This means that the walls of the old and new rooms on the ground floor of the complex were probably full.

If Marie de' Medici's visit and the completion of the great hall of the Kloveniersdoelen are rejected as immediate causes of the commissioning of the six militia portraits for this room, the possibilities appear to have been exhausted. Let us look a little deeper into the history to see if we can find enlightenment. Between

Fig. 13

THOMAS DE KEYSER,
*The Company of
District III Com-
manded by Captain
Allert Cloeck (1588-
1645) and Lieutenant
Lucas Jacobszn
Rotgans (1587-1646),
1632.*
Oil on canvas,
220 x 351 cm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam
(inv. no. SK-C-381).

The other sitters are
Ensign Claes Cloeck
Nanningszn (1591-
1647), Sergeant Gerrit
Pieterszn Schagen
(Monnikendam
1587-1661), and the
musketeers Michiel
Colijn (1584-1637),
Hans Walschaert
(1588-1636), Jan
Kuysten ('s-Hertogen-
bosch 1572-...), Adolph
Forckenbeeck

(Münster ...-1689),
Aris Hendrickszn
Hallewat (...-...),
Hendrick Colijn (1582-
1651), Hademan van
Laer (Deventer 1584-
after 1647), Dirck
Pieterszn Pers (1580-
1662), Frederick
Schuylenburch (1599-
...), Thomas Jacobszn
Hoyng (1594-1632)
and Julius van den
Bergen (...-...).

Fig. 14

NICOLAES ELIAS
PICKENOY,
*The Company
of District xx
Commanded by
Captain Dirck
Tholingh (1589-after
1654), Lieutenant
Pieter Adriaenszn
Raep (1581-1666)*

and Ensign Frederick
Bontemantel
(1611-1644), 1639.
Oil on canvas,
202 x 340.5 cm.
Amsterdam
Historisch Museum,
Amsterdam
(inv. no. SA-7314).

1620 and 1650 Amsterdam had twenty civic guard companies²⁴ divided between the three Doelen. In his notes about the militias, Gerard Schaepe gives us the distribution of the captains among the Doelen for 1630 to 1636.²⁵ The various companies, it should be noted, did not always occupy the same Doelen. Hendrick Dirckszn Spiegel's company, which was quartered in the Handboogdoelen in 1636, was part of the Kloveniersdoelen in 1638 (the militia piece by Jacob Backer in the king's chamber), but soon moved out again. The rotation of the companies among the Doelen was intended to prevent them from establishing their own military and political power base in the city. From 1636 onwards Gerard Schaepe was working outside Amsterdam and he consequently ceased to keep his list, so we do not know the precise rotation of the companies for subsequent years. For 1636 Schaepe listed the captains of the Kloveniersdoelen in the following order: Pieter Reael of District II, Albert Cloeck of District III, Jan Claeszn van Vlooswijck of District IV, Matthijs Raephorst of

District v, Dirck Tholingsh of District xx and Cornelis Weijer of District xiv.

When we look at the militia portraits in the great hall, we find that only the companies of District II (under their new captain, Frans Banninck Cocq), District IV (under the old captain, Jan Claeszn van Vlooswijck) and District v (under Captain Cornelis de Graeff, who was appointed on 25 June 1638) remained in the Kloveniersdoelen after 1636, while the companies of District VIII (under the newcomer Roelof Bicker) and District XVIII (under the new captain, Albert Bas) of the Voetboogdoelen, and the company of District XIX (under the old captain, Cornelis Bicker) of the Handboogdoelen had come in. By then, all those companies that had had their portraits painted in 1632, 1638 and 1639 had gone from the Kloveniersdoelen. To sum up, shortly after Marie de' Medici's visit there were six companies associated with the Kloveniersdoelen – and none of them was represented by a group portrait on the wall! This situation changed in 1642, when portraits of the three old companies (of Districts II,



iv and v) were simultaneously hung on the rear wall; the new companies were given a place on the less prestigious side walls. If we combine Gerard Schaeep's notes about the placement of the companies stationed in the Kloveniersdoelen between 1630 and 1636 with the changes that we are now aware of, it becomes clear that the order of the paintings was dictated by the seniority of the companies:²⁶ Frans Banninck Cocq (District II), Jan Claeszn van Vlooswijck (District IV) and Cornelis de Graeff (District V). Seniority was determined by the date the company was assigned to the Doelen, not by the appointment of the captains.²⁷ In the Kloveniersdoelen only the three companies whose portraits had been hung from left to right

on the rear wall still remained. They were assigned their place on the walls by the same principle of seniority, not by ballot.²⁸ Their position was fixed, so that we can deduce from the positioning of the other three paintings the order in which they were stationed at the Kloveniersdoelen: firstly Roelof Bicker's company of District VIII, followed by Cornelis Bicker's company of District XIX and, lastly, Albert Bas's company of District XVIII. This sequence is broadly confirmed by the dates on the paintings.

All the objections outlined above notwithstanding, it cannot be denied that shortly after Marie de'Medici's visit to Amsterdam, when the queen's entourage was received in the great upper hall of the Doelen and the walls

Fig. 15
ISAAC DE
MOUCHERON,
*Firework Island in the
River Amstel on the
occasion of the visit
of the Muscovite
Ambassadors, with
the Klovenierdoelen
buildings in the
background.* 1697.
Etching, 372 x 460 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-AO-28-55).



had been hung with tapestries rented for the occasion, there seems to have been a concerted move to commission paintings of the six companies for the great hall.²⁹ The huge size of these militia portraits was unique; nothing approaching it has been seen since. In this connection let us try to reconstruct the story of the building and decoration of the new annex.

The Decoration of the Great Upper Hall of the Kloveniersdoelen

We have now established that work on the new building commenced in about 1625. The aim was to create a larger space that could be used for grand receptions and for the official banquets. This reception room was to remain the most important in the city until the new Town Hall, the present-day Palace in Dam Square, was built. There is a record stating that when the Nieuwe Doelenstraat was constructed, 'the city government also had a considerable building constructed with this tower'.³⁰ The construction of public buildings was undertaken by the *fabriekambt*, the forerunner of the public works department, for which the city sculptor, Pieter Hendrickszn de Keyser (1595-1676), the city carpenter, Hendrick Jacobszn Staets (1558-c. 1628) and the city mason, Cornelis Danckerts (1561-1634), had joint responsibility. At this time the municipal carpentry yard was at the corner of Rokin and the Nieuwe Doelenstraat. The new building's façade on the Amstel was the principal aspect and it could be seen from a great distance. The frontage on the water, above the ground floor, consisted of two floors of six bays, each with a large window – two casements with high fanlights – flanked by double Doric pilasters (fig. 15). Now the Kloveniersdoelen complex has been absorbed into the Hotel Doelen and the exterior walls have been altered but, as renovation work in the nineteen-seventies



Fig. 16
Original window
frame of the exterior
wall of the first floor
of the Kloveniers-
doelen, found during
renovation work at
the Hotel Doelen
during the 1970s.

revealed, the structure of the great hall still exists internally. At that time part of the façade on the Doelenstraat side was exposed, revealing the wall on which *The Night Watch* hung. A ground floor window that had been bricked up was found in the same wall. It corresponded with the windows in the Amstel frontage and was flanked by the same order of pilaster. A still intact window frame of one of the casement windows on the first floor, with the tall fanlights missing, was also found. This window had been bricked up too (fig. 16).

The upper room must have measured 17.9 x 9 metres; the wall on which *The Night Watch* hung is 45 cm thick, plus 10 cm for the pilasters (fig. 17). There were fireplaces in the centre of each of the short walls, while on the tower side, the northeast, was the door through which one entered the great room by way of a wide spiral staircase leading from the entrance hall below. The upper room had a panoramic view over the Amstel, which was at its widest just there. At that time the view was not obstructed by the new buildings on the infill in the Amstel, to the west of Staalstraat.

Fig. 17
Detail of fig. 16
showing the hinges
of the shutters and a
double brick pilaster
on the right.

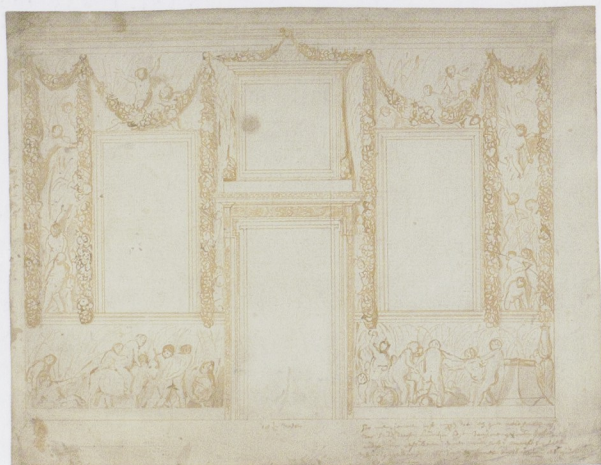
In view of its classical proportions, Haverkamp Begemann compared the Doelen's new building with the Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace in London, which was completed in 1622, about five years before the new hall in the Doelen.³¹ Ten years later, Rubens provided ceiling paintings for this great reception room in line with the architect's plans. Pieter Hendrickszn de Keyser was familiar with the classical ideas and principles of the Banqueting House, because his brother-in-law Nicholas Stone (1568-1647) was master mason to the king and had been responsible for the building works.³² And in 1624-1625 Jacob van Campen (1596-1657), the architect who later designed the new Town Hall, had supplied a design in the same classical style for the Coymans family's house on the Keizersgracht (no. 177).³³ Haverkamp Begemann describes the new hall in the Kloveniersdoelen as Holland's counterpart to the Banqueting House. Inigo Jones, the architect of the Banqueting House, had not confined his work solely to the exterior of the building but had also concerned himself with the interior and its decoration. Since Jacob van Campen similarly took a growing hand in the interiors of his buildings in the sixteen-thirties and supervised their decoration, we are justified in

asking whether there might have been a plan of this kind for the great hall of the Kloveniersdoelen which, like the decorative scheme for the Banqueting House, was not carried out until much later.³⁴ Might there, moreover, have been a link with the Marie de' Medici cycle that Rubens painted for the new wing of the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris between 1622 and 1625? Be this as it may, in the renovations of the municipal orphanage, the Burgerweeshuis in Kalverstraat (now the Amsterdam Historical Museum), Jacob van Campen had already used the Ionic order in Scamozzi's treatise on orders for the chimney wall of the regents' room with three marine paintings by Abraham Verwer (c. 1585-1650) of 1634 (141 x 187, 137 x 124 and 139 x 126 cm);³⁵ it was according to these principles that the Banqueting House and the Coymans House were also designed.³⁶

The governors of the Doelen were responsible for their running, and we may assume that it was they who decided to commission the decoration of the great hall soon after Marie de' Medici's visit. The tapestries used to decorate the room for the banquet may have inspired them to adopt an integrated approach to their prestigious reception space. In order to achieve this it was necessary to begin by making alterations to the interior. We do not know what the hall looked like in the seventeenth century,³⁷ but we do have an idea of how the palaces and country houses that were somewhat comparable in terms of status were decorated and furnished for Stadholder Frederick Henry in the sixteen-thirties (fig. 18). We also know that the militia paintings were hung in a symmetrically balanced way in the Handboogdoelen. It was recently established that they were usually positioned in pairs to preserve visual harmony and uniformity in the rooms.³⁸

The windows on the street side had to be bricked up so that the huge militia portraits could be hung on the

Fig. 18
JACOB VAN CAMPEN
(attr.), *Design for
a wall decoration
for the Gallery of
Castle Buren, c. 1636.*
Drawing, 324 x 424 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-T-00-305).



rear wall, and the wall on the northeast side had to be made flat in order to accommodate Van der Helst's painting of Roelof Bicker's company. As was the custom of the time, no account of the decoration of the interior had been taken during the construction of the building. Not one of the works from the great hall has an original seventeenth-century frame.³⁹ We therefore have to consider the possibility that in line with the classical design principles of the sixteen-thirties the militia pieces were actually incorporated in panelling that brought the room together into a single impressive entity.⁴⁰ The same was done with the marine paintings in the regents' room in the Burgerweeshuis and Ferdinand Bol's paintings in the house of the Widow Martens in Utrecht.⁴¹ This idea would seem to be confirmed by a notary's deed of 19 July 1642, in which two carpenters, Grismund Claesen (1602-....) and Johannes Doots (1601-....), declared that they had installed the militia portrait by Nicolaes Eliaszn Pickenoy (District IV) and that 'some days ago [they] installed the painting or likeness of the company of the honourable Captain Jan Claass van Vlooswijcq in the great hall of the new Cluveniersdoelen and secured it in its permanent surround'. This statement was witnessed by two carpenter's mates, Dirck Pieterszn Clapmuts and Jan Jacobszn.⁴² No frame-maker was involved in installing this work.

All three of the militia portraits on the back wall are dated 1642, as is Govert Flinck's portrait of the governors. These four paintings must have been the basic ensemble for the room, Flinck's overmantel painting of the governors being installed first.⁴³ The dimensions of the first three now differ from one another, but they may originally have been the same size – roughly 975 x 540 cm – so they could be incorporated in panelling reaching from the skirting to the beams or the ceiling.⁴⁴ Not one of these works has

come down to us in an original seventeenth-century frame; moreover they have all survived in a cut-down form. This was not always because they had to be reduced to fit into a smaller space, as was the case with *The Night Watch* in 1715. Damage would also have been an important reason for cropping the canvases, and this damage would have been all the greater if they were removed from old panelling in 1715.⁴⁵

Flinck's portrait of the governors was hung above the fireplace on the southwest side of the room. This left two equally sized expanses of wall between the windows and the fireplace and between the fireplace and the back wall for Joachim von Sandrart's painting of 1640 and a second by Govert Flinck dating from 1645. Should anyone still doubt that the paintings were incorporated in panelling, we can point here to the difference in the sizes of the works on either side of the chimneybreast – Joachim von Sandrart's at 343 x 258 cm and Govert Flinck's at 347 x 244 cm. They are essentially the same height, but Flinck's work is narrower by 14 cm (equivalent to half an Amsterdam foot of 28.3 cm). This could be the consequence of the wainscoting on the wall on the Doelenstraat side which meant there was less room between the fireplace and the wall.

The next militia painting, Bartholomeus van der Helst's portrait of the company of District VIII under the command of Captain Roelof Bicker, was installed in 1643. The dating of this work is a problem. The Rijksmuseum's catalogue of its collection in 1934 shows the signature in facsimile as *B. vander Helst f. 1630*,⁴⁶ whereas the 1976 catalogue interpreted the year as 1639.⁴⁷ In 1636 the company of District VIII was still part of the Voetboogdoelen under Captain Albert Coenraedts Burch (1593-1647). He was replaced on 28 June 1638 by Joris Joriszn Backer (1607-1666). At the time of Marie de' Medici's visit, the company was

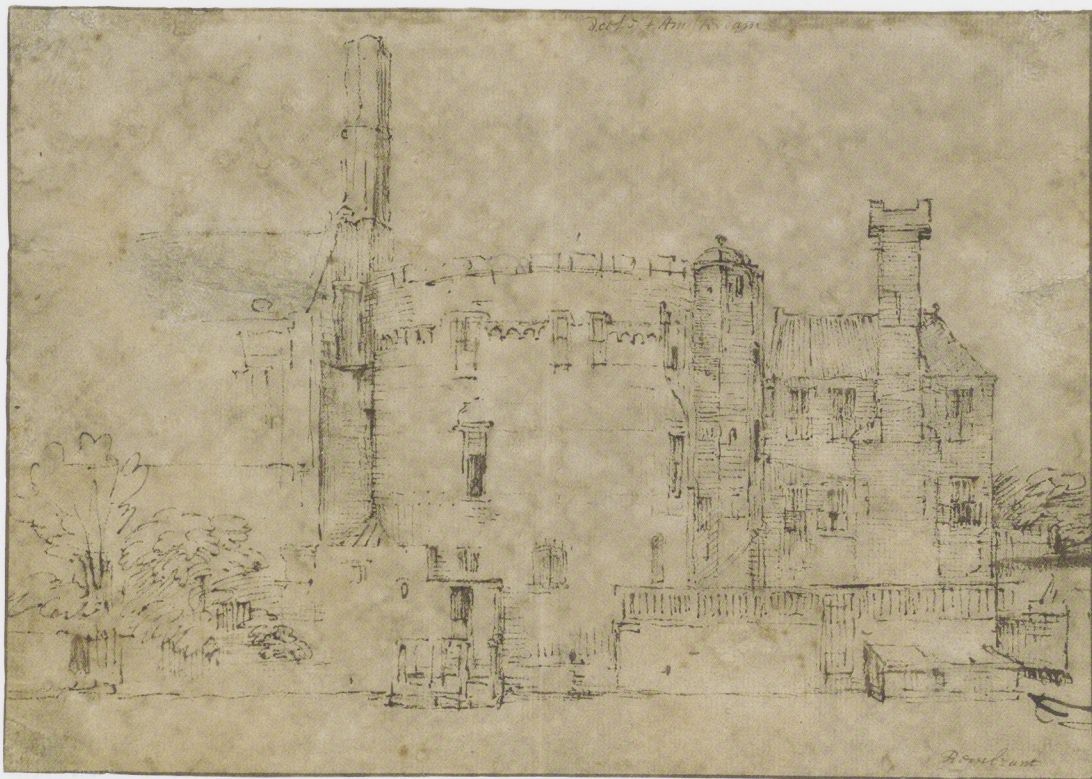


Fig. 19
REMBRANDT
VAN RIJN,
The buildings of the
Kloveniersdoelen,
showing the chimney
along the outside
wall of the extension,
c. 1650-1655.
Drawing, 166 x 235 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-T-1969-222).

commanded by Captain Backer, supported by his lieutenant Pieter Evertsen Hulft (1578-1639). Hulft died on 11 November 1639, and Jan Michielszn Blaeuw (1588-1648) was appointed to succeed him. The date of Blaeuw's appointment – after November 1639 – does not square with a date of 1639 for the painting, for he is portrayed in it. We do not know, moreover, when the company was transferred from the Voetboogdoelen to the Kloveniersdoelen. 1639 is thus not an acceptable date for the painting. It makes more sense to follow Gerard Schaep, whose notes of 1653 give the year the work was painted as 1643. The same date appears on the name plate with the militiamen's names, which dates from around 1715. When the painting was restored in 1983 it was discovered that the signature had been touched up; after overpainting had been removed, all that remained was a faint, unclear signature. The youngest

'militiaman' in the picture is the pikeman, Cornelis Willekens the Younger, who was baptized in the Oude Kerk on 29 April 1635. The boy in the painting looks more like a lad of seven or eight than a tot of three or four. Taking all this into account, we can safely assume that Van der Helst's work for the Kloveniersdoelen was completed around 1643, exactly as Schaep said in his notes. This means that the painting was definitely part of the planned scheme for the great hall.

This extraordinarily wide painting by Bartholomeus van der Helst (235 x 750 cm!) covered virtually the whole of the northeast wall of the room, where it hung above the door and the fireplace. Reconstructions of the great hall assumed a wide hearth running almost the whole length of the wall,⁴⁸ but experts maintain that a fireplace like that would not have worked, it would simply have filled the room with smoke. There must have been an ordi-

nary fireplace, and the chimneybreast would have been in the way of this painting. This meant demolishing the chimney so that the wall could be made flat, and leading the flue up through the outside wall. The external chimney is clearly shown on Rembrandt's drawing of the old tower and the new building (fig. 19).⁴⁹

The last work, Govert Flinck's painting of the company of District XVIII under Captain Albert Bas was put up in 1645 (fig. 2). It was given a spot in the least favourable place, between the fireplace (with Flinck's overmantel painting of the governors) and Rembrandt's *Night Watch*. Because of this dark position Flinck – in contrast to Rembrandt – deliberately opted for a light palette. Now, in principle, the decoration of the great Doelen hall was complete. A harmonious space had been created, with a continuous frieze of guardsmen who were a permanent presence at the gatherings and looked down on the festivities from all round the room.

How, though, does the course of events outlined here relate to Joachim von Sandrart's portrait of Captain Cornelis Bicker's company (fig. 1), which is dated 1640 and was given its place between the windows and the fireplace? This is the painting in which

the bust of Marie de' Medici occupies such a prominent place that in 1909 it led Professor Six to believe that her visit in 1638 must have been the cause and the subject of the whole decorative scheme of the great hall. Sandrart's painting presents us with a great many puzzles. On 21 August 1641 the great diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706) noted in his travel journal that he had seen a portrait of Marie de' Medici in Amsterdam: 'In the Doole, there is paynted a very large table Maria de Medices her statue to the breast, supported by fower royal Diademes, the Worke of one Vandall, who hath set his name thereon. 1. sept. 1638.'⁵⁰ This entry in the journal is rightly associated with the bust of Marie de' Medici in Sandrart's group portrait of the militia company of Cornelis Bicker, beneath which there was a poem by Vondel (figs. 20, 21, 22), but Evelyn did not say in which of the three civic guard headquarters he had seen the painting. In 1636 the company of District XIX was still part of the Handboogdoelen. Did Evelyn see Sandrart's work there in 1641, or was it already hanging in the Kloveniersdoelen, where the company was transferred on a date we do not know? Christian Klemm, who published a monograph on the painter in 1986, believed that the canvas, which now

Fig. 20
Detail of fig. 1,
The Bust of Maria
de' Medici before
restoration.

Fig. 21
Detail of fig. 1,
The Bust of Maria
de' Medici during
restoration.

Fig. 22
Detail of fig. 1,
The Bust of Maria
de' Medici after
restoration.



Fig. 23

JOACHIM VON SANDRART, *The Company of District xix Com-manded by Captain Cornelis Bicker (1592-1654) and Lieutenant Frederick van Banchem (1580/85-1647)*, 1640. Oil on canvas (cut down), 343 x 258 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (inv. no. SK-C-393). Reconstruction with later additions.



measures 343 x 258 cm, originally hung in *The Night Watch's* place and had to be altered later to fit into its new location.⁵¹ This hypothesis does not really hold water, because it is probable that the windows on the street side had not yet been bricked up in 1640. If the work was already in the Kloveniersdoelen in 1641, it would certainly not have been hanging in the great hall, although it could have been in one of the downstairs rooms. The restoration in 1984 revealed that the original painting was horizontal, that it had at some time been cut down by the removal of pieces of canvas from the left and the right, and that a strip about 35 cm deep had been added across the top. The militiamen on the sections that had been cut away were painted in again on the part that was left and the composition of the whole thing was adapted

to the new format (fig. 23). As a result, the picture fitted into its new home between the windows and the chimney in the great hall of the Doelen. The extension at the top has been taken to be a nineteenth-century addition, probably dating from 1806.

In that year the painting was moved from the burgomaster's room in the old city hall, where it had hung since 1715, to the council chamber of the new city hall (fig. 24). As the new location for the painting was considerably lower than its previous one in the old city hall, it had to be reduced in height by about 30 to 40 centimeters to fit its new position. It is possible that so much canvas was removed on this occasion that a new piece had to be added. We have already seen that Sandrart's work is essentially the same height as Flinck's on the other side of the mantelpiece (343 and 347 cm). Both paintings were transferred to the burgomasters' chamber in the Town Hall in 1715. What the literature on the canvas has not mentioned until now is that the changes – the repainting of the guardsmen who had been cut off – were not made by Joachim von Sandrart himself and that all the heads in the original work were retouched by the same unknown hand.⁵² Marie de'Medici's bust was rotated a quarter turn, so that she looked not at the Captain but at the militiamen in the hall (figs. 20-22). It would consequently seem that Sandrart was unwilling or unable to alter his painting himself or, more probably, that it was done after he left Amsterdam for good in about 1642. One remarkable point is that Sandrart mentioned the work in the Kloveniersdoelen in his *Teutsche Academie* of 1675, but said not a word about the alterations to the canvas, nor about the decoration of the hall as a whole, mentioning only Flinck's painting of the governors of the Doelen in the hall.⁵³ Joachim von Sandrart was last recorded as a resident of Amsterdam in April 1642,

and he may have left the city before his painting had been installed on the wall between the window and the chimney. He undertook frequent commissions outside the Republic from 1641 until he settled permanently in Nuremberg in 1645.⁵⁴ Were the changes made by his workshop assistants during one of their master's absences abroad?⁵⁵ Or was Govert Flinck responsible for them? He, after all, painted the governors in 1642 and Albert Bas's company in 1645. This, at least, is not very likely, for the alterations seem too weak for Flinck. The poor results of the retouching led Martin to refer to 'the feeble Sandrart' in 1932; in his view the painting was not worthy of a place in any of the Rijksmuseum's galleries.⁵⁶ Only a reconstruction of the hall with all seven paintings could do justice to Sandrart's work.

The scheme for the great hall was conceived as a unified sequence of militiamen flowing from one painting to the next. In Jacob Backer's work they stood on a flight of steps leading up to the guards in Bartholomeus van der Helst's painting, which hung above the door and the fireplace. The building on the right of Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy's central work continues into Jacob Backer's painting, which hung to its right. It would not be surprising if further research were to uncover the fact that these two works were painted in the same studio, perhaps that of Pickenoy, Rembrandt's neighbour in the Sint Antoniebreestraat.

Political Display

Was the idea for the decoration of the great hall conceived during or shortly after Marie de' Medici's visit? Arguing against this is the fact that Frans Banninck Cocq was not the captain of the company of District II at that time. During the royal visit in September 1638 his predecessor Pieter Reael (1569-1643) was still its commanding officer. It was he – the oldest officer in post – and his company who



Fig. 24

Reconstruction of the decoration of the council room of the city hall at the Prinsenhof, including the militia paintings by Sandrart en Flinck.

had the honour of being the first to greet Marie de' Medici on her entry.⁵⁷ He was also one of the senior officers who – with Captain Jan Claesz van Vlooswijk of District IV and others – were responsible for organizing the decoration of the great hall in the Doelen. Might it be that the commission for *The Night Watch* had already been awarded under Frans Banninck Cocq's predecessor? In 1638 Pieter Reael was in the process of divesting himself of his posts and duties. In that year he had transferred the post of receiver of taxes to his nephew Joannes Wtenbogaert (1608-1679) and he must have resigned his command as captain on his seventieth birthday in 1639.⁵⁸ In 1639 Wtenbogaert was in direct contact with Rembrandt.⁵⁹ Could the commission to paint *The Night Watch* have gone to Rembrandt by this route?

So was the royal reception of Marie de' Medici in Amsterdam the incentive for – if not the subject of – the decoration of the Doelen's great hall? Her visit to Holland had been controversial. As the exiled widow of a head of state she had absolutely no right to this honour, which was the prerogative of the Counts of Holland and the Orange stadholders. As a queen in exile she was permanently broke; in political circles in The Hague she was known as 'La Rouïna Madre'. Accor-

ding to Busken Huet in 1882: 'She was a pathetically humiliated sovereign; a ruin of a body; a ruin of State, destitute and disreputable. That the Amsterdam patricians were proud to receive her – a queen mother, a Medici – was typical of their character.'⁶⁰ Political bodies in The Hague were distinctly displeased by her presence in the Republic, and the States had officially informed the cities of Holland that the queen would not be received at the country's expense.⁶¹ Amsterdam ignored this directive and defied central government. It was a flexing of its civic muscles by a city state that cost Amsterdam more than eight thousand guilders. Marie de'Medici's visit was an event without precedent, in which all the militia companies with a full complement of men had taken part in the pouring rain. This could not have contrasted more sharply with the muted receptions accorded Prince Maurice on 23 May 1618 and Prince Frederick Henry on 10 April 1628, when in their capacity as stadholders they visited a politically divided city on the IJ. In 1638 unity had been restored in Amsterdam and this was celebrated with great ostentation aimed pointedly at The Hague. It is telling that neither the High Government in The Hague nor the House of Orange was honoured in any way during the festivities.⁶² There were homages to the kings of France, the rulers of Florence and the Habsburg emperors. One was specifically included on the initiative of the burgomasters as a subtle political reference to the 'imperial crown' – traditionally a symbol of the free imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire – that the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian had granted Amsterdam in the presence of the seven German electors.⁶³ It was in the very year of Marie de'Medici's visit that Amsterdam had placed the blue Rudolphine crown on top of the Westertoren, thus, according to a new myth, displaying its independence as a city (fig. 25).⁶⁴ Viewed in that light,

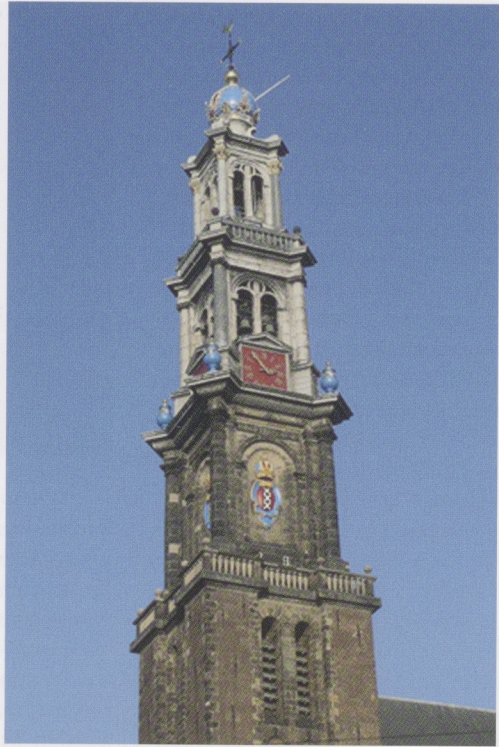


Fig. 25
The spire of the
Westerkerk with its
recently restored
colour scheme.

the motivation for commissioning *The Night Watch* and the other militia portraits for the great hall in the Kloveniersdoelen was not the reception of Marie de'Medici, but the idea underlying the civic festivities for which the queen had served as the catalyst: a demonstration of the civic might and political independence of Amsterdam. The burgomasters had behaved like the rulers of the Republic, just as the Medicis – who started out as cloth merchants and bankers – governed Florence. Alongside king and emperor they honoured a daughter of the other city state and a descendant of Maximilian, who had donated the crown of his realm to the city of Amsterdam. 1638 also saw the publication of Caspar Barlaeus's commemorative book with prints of the festivities by the best artists. The Amsterdam burgomasters and the queen were portrayed together in the book; presenting the burgomasters as the equals of a royal personage

had never been done before and was never to be repeated.⁶⁵ It was in response to the visit that the plans for a new Town Hall in Dam Square were conceived; John Evelyn saw the initial designs in 1641.⁶⁶ In this euphoria of independence the officers of the civic guards must have wanted to create a permanent record of the event by decorating their great hall with pictures of the companies who had turned out on that day. It was not the old queen who was important, but the Amsterdam militiamen as burghers of a world city who had brought lustre to the occasion, and that was what they wanted to show off in the Kloveniersdoelen. This could also be the reason why Cornelis Bicker's company took their painting with them when they were transferred to the Kloveniersdoelen.

The Night Watch as tableau vivant

In his thesis *Praal en Propaganda* in 1975, Snoep was the first to make a

tentative move towards reviving the link between Marie de' Medici's visit and *The Night Watch*. 'An argument in favour of the disputed view that Rembrandt's *Night Watch* might have derived its subject from Marie's entry could well be that the architectural structure in the background, clearly visible in Lundens's sketch, could be the underside of the theatre gate that had been built on the Varkenssluis before the entrance to Oude Doelenstraat. Taking into account the mirror-image effect of the print (fig. 26) by Savry after Martsen de Jonge, one could locate Rembrandt's militia parade opposite the Varkenssluis on the Fluwelen Burgwal. Another detail in the print, the balustrade beside the canal, seems to recur as a hardly coincidental motif in *The Night Watch*.⁶⁷ Wilhem Martin had rejected this notion, first put forward in 1909 by Professor Six, in 1947, because in his view Rembrandt did not follow the architecture of the

Fig. 26
SALOMON SAVRY
AFTER JAN MARTSEN
DE JONGE,
*Joyous Entry of
Maria de' Medici at the
Vijgendam*, engraving,
294 x 383 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-OB-76.460).



theatre buildings.⁶⁸ We now know that Rembrandt never literally copied his print examples, but interpreted them to suit his own purposes. And *The Night Watch* was no exception. According to original programme for the event, the company of District II commanded by Captain Pieter Reael should have stood on the Nieuwebrug by Damrak, but the queen had let it be known that because of the rain she preferred to make her entry into the city in a carriage rather than by boat. She consequently arrived not by water but through the Haarlemmerpoort and along the Nieuwendijk to Dam Square. The companies formed up beside the water had to take up new positions along the Nieuwendijk. This means that the company of District II would have stood along the Korte Nieuwendijk from the Haarlemmerpoort and not along the Fluwelenburgwal.⁶⁹ However, this would not have stopped Rembrandt from using the print as the starting point for *The Night Watch*. He altered the austere architecture of the gate in his own way, just as he had

done in 1639 in the background to the portrait of Andries de Graeff (1611-1678), which is likewise not a classical entrance.⁷⁰ Rembrandt did not present a topographically accurate situation in *The Night Watch*. It has been pointed out ad nauseam that the building is not a gate because it does not allow any light through and, like the theatre above the gate, it is enclosed at the back. If, in the building in the background, Rembrandt made an allusion to both the gate and the upper story of the theatre with the *tableau vivant* by combining the two elements in the painting into a single stage-like background, this would tell us the motive for the painting. Rembrandt united reality and fiction, present and past of the entry into a harmonious whole and showed respect for the age of the institution. He placed the company as a *tableau vivant* on the ground in front of the gate of the theatre building: 'the young Mr van Purmerlandt as Captain orders his lieutenant, Mr van Vlaerdin- gen to march out his company of civic guards,' just as on 1 September 1638

Fig. 27
Reconstruction
of the gate on the
'Night Watch'.

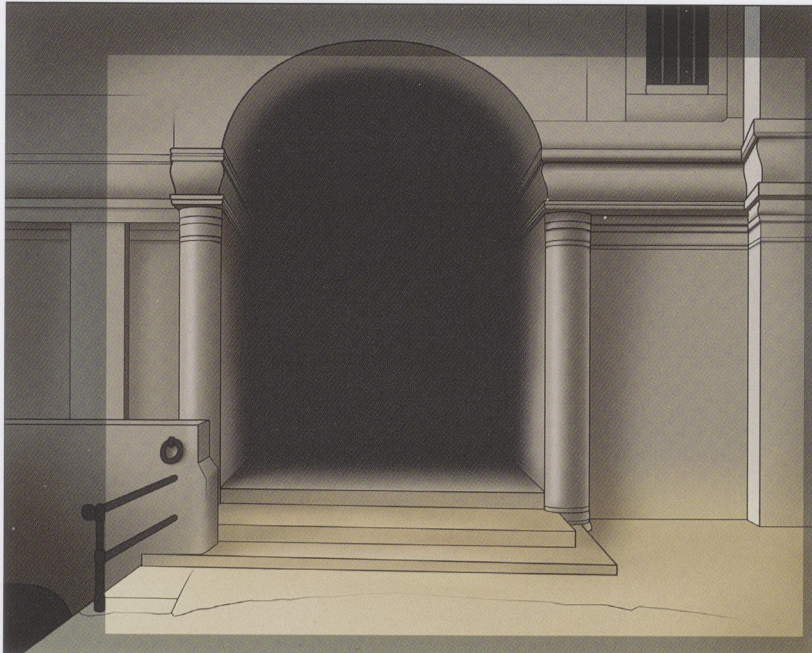


Fig. 28

WYBRANT DE GEEST
(attr.),
*Marriage Portrait of
Frans Banninck Cocq*
(1605-1655), 1630.
Oil on canvas,
198.5 x 121 cm.
Collection Museum
Het Prinsenhof, Delft
(photo: Tom Haartsen,
Ouderkerk aan de
Amstel) (detail of
fig. 35).



Fig. 29
Frans Banninck Cocq
(detail of fig. 3).

Captain Pieter Reael instructed his lieutenant Gerbrand Pancras to take up a new position by the Haarlemmerpoort. On that day, Frans Banninck Cocq as lieutenant with the company of District I under the command of Captain Cornelis de Vrij (1580-1650) lined up on the Damsluis (= Vijgendam) in front of the first theatre gate (fig. 26).⁷¹ So that the tableaux vivants on top of the theatre gates could be seen by the public passing by in the street, they were built up step-wise on different levels.⁷² This terraced effect can be recognized in *The Night Watch*, or at least in Gary Schwartz's reconstruction of the space in 2008 (fig. 27).⁷³ Such steps would not be possible in real gatehouses, so the building in the background cannot be identified as a triumphal arch either.

Fantasy and Reality in the 'Guardsmen's' Dress

How did Rembrandt construct his *tableau vivant* of the company? It begins with the illusion that the captain and his lieutenant are depicted as ordinary citizens with their symbols of office, the swagger-stick and the spontoon or half-pike; the captain as a civilian and the lieutenant as a military man. Captain Banninck Cocq is elegantly dressed according to the conventions in decent black with a soft millstone ruff lavishly trimmed with lace, which

has a slightly old-fashioned air – very similar to the outfit he had worn for his wedding in 1630 (fig. 28, 29). Like the captains in the other militia portraits for the great hall, Banninck Cocq would have been wearing a blue sash trimmed with gold lace and braid, but Rembrandt must have changed its colour to red, so that the captain, in his black, red and white costume – the city's colours – symbolizes the city itself. In the same way the shadow of his hand points to the city's coat of arms embroidered on Ruytenburch's camisole.⁷⁴ Thus the painting became an explicit homage to the city. By painting Lieutenant Wilhem van Ruytenburch in golden yellow with blue accents, Rembrandt associated him with the colours of the arms of the Kloveniersdoelen, in the same way as the gold-trimmed blue sashes of the guards in Backer's painting.⁷⁵ And by giving (in order of rank) Captain Banninck Cocq a red sash, Lieutenant van Ruytenburch a white one and Ensign Visscher a blue one, Rembrandt also echoed the tricolour of the Republic.⁷⁶ Sergeant Engelen's sash, in contrast, was painted a dull grey and Sergeant Kemp's was omitted altogether (see my other article, nos. 4 and 5). Of the others, Ensign Visscher, Sergeant Kemp and Van der Heede, the standing militiaman in red (see my other article, no. 10), are portrayed in civilian dress, as

are militiamen Brughman and De Roy (see my other article, nos. 32 and 33) on the piece of *The Night Watch* that was cut off in 1715. Ensign Visscher's clothes were lovingly kept by his mother. When she died, 'an Oriental chest' was found in the attic. In it, among her son's clothes, were 'a brocade suit' and 'a pair of coloured satin sleeves', and elsewhere in an oak chest there were 'two white plumes with a crest of black feathers' and 'a blue sash with gold lace'.⁷⁷ We can see them all in the portrait of the ensign in *The Night Watch*, including the two white ostrich feathers and the black aigrette on his hat. Sergeant Rombout Kemp's militia accessories, 'two white plumes, a black aigrette and a blue silk sash with gold lace', were also preserved in an oak chest.⁷⁸ Earlier authors thought that the ostrich feathers and crest on Sergeant Kemp's hat were an odd ornament for a hat and suggested that they were the remains of a helmet that had been painted out,⁷⁹ but recent research has revealed that these feathers were indeed part of the original plume on the hat.⁸⁰ The inventory confirms this and, moreover, it is similar to that worn by the ensign. In 1680 Sergeant Kemp's son, Artus Kemp (1630-1694), who succeeded Ensign Visscher between 1650 and 1665, still owned 'a bunch of plumes' and 'a blue sash with silver lace'.⁸¹ Rembrandt omitted his father's blue sash. The only guardsman about whose kit for his service with the militia we know more is Walich Schellingwou:⁸²

an embroidered belt with a black strap *f* 5:--:--
 a blue parade sash, half-width, with a plume *f* 12:--:--
 and in the passage there were:
 a guard pike, an arquebus, a dagger and a swordfish backword, together *f* 10:--:--
 in the mezzanine room:
 a backword with some glasses and a flask *f* 3:--:--
 and in the back room:

2 Japanese backwords and 2 canes, together *f* 30:--:--
 A gorget *f* 2:--:--

In *The Night Watch* we see Walich Schellingwou wearing his gorget and thrusting his guard pike forward (no. 23), but his blue sash was also left out.⁸³ The helmet he is wearing, however, does not appear on his inventory. Other militiamen sometimes had even more accoutrements at home, witness a brother of the deceased guardsman Leijdeckers, Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers (1584-1653). In 1642 the entrance hall of his house on Lauriergracht contained 'an oak gun case, burnished black armour, two daggers with their sheaths, a musket, a partisan, an embroidered strap of gold and silk with a belt with silver gilt fittings, and a black canvas bandoleer with round charge cases, while in the clothes attic there was 'an old bandoleer with charge cases'.⁸⁴ Is it a coincidence that as a musketeer the militiaman we have identified as Jan Leijdeckers (see no. 24 in my other article in this Bulletin) wears just such a bandoleer with charge cases? The most important militiaman in *The Night Watch*, however, is Jan van der Heede (no. 10), the musketeer dressed head to toe in red, who also wears such a bandoleer with charge cases, thus emphasizing the role of the musketeers with their firearms. In the discussion of the red militia suit in the *Corpus*, it is observed with reference to the other civic guard paintings that the middle class in the mid seventeenth century no longer wore red clothes, and that the colour was used at this time chiefly for accessories.⁸⁵ The red outfit, it is suggested, harks back to an earlier time. Nevertheless, it is possible that this is simply a contemporary cloth suit. Van der Heede's clothes are the same silhouette and cut as the Captain's. His loose soft ruff and cuffs without lace were still fashionable in the sixteen-thirties, and the decorative appliqués at the knees

of his breeches were in vogue around 1640.⁸⁶ Red was a popular colour in the military and, in consequence, in court circles in The Hague. It was also one of the colours favoured by younger men, as we can see in the work of Van der Venne, Buytewech and Dirck Hals.⁸⁷ Although red and other colours are not otherwise found in the clothes of the young guards in *The Night Watch* and the other militia portraits, this can be explained by the fact that the people of Amsterdam had become so wealthy that they had turned to wearing gold and silver brocades. Captain Frans Banninck Cocq has gold brocade sleeves under his black coat and Ensign Visscher wears a silver brocade suit with coloured silk sleeves. These are the fabrics that are also shown off by the men in the other militia paintings. The remark about the red clothes in the *Corpus* is consequently misplaced, for rather than concentrating on Captain Roelof Bicker's red riding cloak, which is carried by his black page, one should point to the musketeer on the left with his striking red breeches in Van der Helst's work. Furthermore, Rembrandt also painted musketeer Jan

Leijdeckers in red. Rembrandt most probably wanted to emphasize their military role by painting the two musketeers in red. This idea is more or less confirmed by the fact that the militiamen (nos. 10, 14 and 24) represent three stages in Jacob van Gheyn's treatise on arms drill, the *Wapenhandelinge* of 1607,⁸⁸ with the two militiamen (nos. 10 and 24) pictured in red and the supernumerary (no. 14) in a purple suit in the old-fashioned Spanish mode of the sixteenth century. We have no way of knowing whether Jan van der Heede and Jan Leijdeckers really did wear red suits rather than the usual everyday grey garments, but in Van der Heede's case this would certainly not have been at odds with the colours worn by young men. Rembrandt portrayed Jan van der Heede and Jan Leijdeckers in monochrome red, giving the former a few old-fashioned touches in his dress, which he took from a number of sources including a print of standard-bearers by Goltzius of around 1582/85 (fig. 30).⁸⁹ These include the creases in the hat,⁹⁰ the braiding under his soft ruff and a decorative appliqué in the crotch of his breeches (fig. 31). His hat



Fig. 30
H. GOLTZIUS,
*Standard Bearer
Facing Right*, 1587.
Engraving,
275 x 190 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-OB-4639).

Fig. 31
Detail of fig. 3.
(the militiaman in red)



was originally taller, like those of the ensign and Sergeant Kemp.⁹¹ By making these changes to Van der Heede's dress Rembrandt has presented us with a dating problem. Did he intend them to create a transition to the past?

In the same first row directly behind the captain and the lieutenant as the two musketeers (nos. 10 and 24), there is a boy with a powder-horn (no. 11) and two supernumeraries as musketeers (nos. 11 and 27), while on the far left in the background, partially concealed, there is another extra (no. 6) and two militiamen (nos. 9 and 32) as musketeers. Again Rembrandt turned to De Gheyn's *Wapenhandelinghe* for two of them (nos. 9 and 27).⁹² The *Wapenhandelinghe* had already been used in 1615 as a model for a portrait of the six-year-old Prince Frederick of Denmark (1609-1670)⁹³ by Pieter Isaaczxn (1568-1625). The idea of showing different aspects of arms drill in a single militia portrait was not new; Haverkamp Begemann gives several examples of it,⁹⁴ and we see in a Haarlem militia portrait painted in 1594, in other words long before the publication of the *Wapenhandelinghe*, that the muskets are being held in a number of different positions.⁹⁵

Immediately behind the red musketeers between the captain and the lieutenant we see the sword-bearer (no. 22) recoiling from the shot let off by one of the musketeers (no. 14). Officially he should have preceded the captain with raised sword, but his subordinate rank meant that he could not occupy a prominent position in *The Night Watch*, so Rembrandt placed him behind the senior officers. The row behind is chiefly occupied by the pikemen, with the two halberdiers (nos. 8 and 18) flanking the ensign.

In the back row, reflecting the *tableaux vivants* staged for Marie de'Medici when she entered the city, Rembrandt introduced helmets into his work. Helmets and cuirasses were certainly worn by musketeers and

pikemen during exercises, but for the ceremonial entry the vast majority of the militiamen lined up along the route in their finest civilian clothes, as the prints clearly show (fig. 32). In the front row in these prints are the musketeers with their weapons and musket-rests, accompanied by their powder-boys. They can all be identified by their bandoleers with charge cases. On the other side of the street we see the pikemen with their pike-staffs standing in line. In the prints they all, without exception, wear hats with feathers and there is not a single helmet to be seen. Nevertheless Barlaeus reported that some men turned out in armour.⁹⁶ By introducing the helmets in line with an older custom into his painting, Rembrandt clarified the other functions of the civic guard. He must have decided later that the helmets were too dominant and so he changed three of them into strange, outmoded imaginary hats (nos. 20, 25 and 27), in keeping with the *tableau vivant* nature of *The Night Watch*.⁹⁷ The militiamen's helmets seem to be more or less current types, but Rembrandt embellished them with decorative elements. The helmet worn by Sergeant Engelen (no. 4), in particular, comes from Rembrandt's world of history painting.⁹⁸ Engelen also wears a plain cuirass and grasps his 'antique' halberd in his mailed fist.⁹⁹ Pikeman Schellingwou (no. 23) wears an imaginary parade helmet,¹⁰⁰ which accords with our earlier finding that he did not own a helmet. Musketeer no. 14 is a supernumerary wearing a morion of a Spanish or Italian type of around 1590, which goes splendidly with his padded hose in the outdated Spanish fashion of the previous century.¹⁰¹ He is also equipped with a dagger and a left-handed poniard of a type no longer in use. This carries us further into the world of the *tableau vivant*, to which the glowing girls behind this musketeer belong. We saw that Rembrandt had added a few late sixteenth-century



accents to musketeer Van der Heede's outfit. In Sergeant Engelen's case, the combination of the cuirass and the old-fashioned, broad-striped dark blue sleeves refers to an even earlier period in the sixteenth century than Van der Heede's clothes. His halberd, which is more than a century old, is a reference to ancestral times. Rembrandt thus contrasted the older sergeant in his archaic dress with his younger colleague Kemp (no. 4) in his modern clothes. When he portrayed Kemp in a hat and Engelen in a helmet, was Rembrandt indicating that the former had command of the musketeers while the latter commanded the pikemen?¹⁰² The anomalous sixteenth-century soft hat with the notched brim worn by the sword-bearer Keijser (no. 22) also seems to have been taken from one of the *tableaux vivants*, that of the marriage of Marie de' Medici's parents, where the sword-bearer features prominently in the foreground with upraised sword.¹⁰³

In 1988 Bas Kist pointed out that the pikes, which were about six metres long in reality, are too short in *The Night Watch*,¹⁰⁴ but here again Rembrandt was following the examples in the prints of the *tableaux vivants*.¹⁰⁵ Pickenoy and Backer, in contrast, did paint the pikes the right length (figs. 4, 5). Kist's conclusion about the depiction of weapons in *The Night Watch* is not positive, but it is significant in this context. 'Overall it can be said that as a source of knowledge about weapons, and certainly about details of them, this painting is not very important. Rembrandt was undeniably a mediocre recorder of weapons. But no matter how inadequately some of them are rendered, they are indispensable to an understanding of Rembrandt's painting.' Another of Kist's comments also calls for particular attention here. 'High above Banning Cocq and Van Ruytenburch rises a man in a tall hat. He wears a steel gorget around his neck and grasps an extraordinary

Fig. 32
SALOMON SAVRY,
*Joyous Entry of
Maria de' Medici
at the Oudezijds
Voorburgwal in front
of the Hoogstraat.*
Engraving,
297 x 388 mm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-08-76.459).

weapon that resembles nothing so much as a cavalry lance. It is possible that his lance, like Van Ruytenburch's cavalry dress, refers to the fact that the Amsterdam militias acted as mounted escorts on occasions like Marie de'Medici's entry into the city.¹⁰⁶ Here Kist points to an innovation in the militia portrait – the lieutenant's cavalry dress. A year later Bartholomeus van der Helst painted Captain Roelof Bicker rigged out in the same way. To mark the visit an *ad hoc* guard of honour led by the Catholic lawyer Cornelis van Davelaar (1582-1640), Lord of Petten, had been put together from among the city's elite. We do not know whether the two officers were members of the mounted guard for the entry in 1638. The first records of the names of honour guardsmen are found in a print of the next ceremonial entry, that of Queen Henrietta Maria of England on 20 May 1642. As officers of a militia-company Van Ruytenburch and Bicker are not listed among them in that year.¹⁰⁷ May we conclude from this that Frans Banninck Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch do not in fact symbolize the civilian and the military, but rather the civic guard and the mounted guard on parade for Marie de'Medici's entry?

Conclusion

The Night Watch is not a classical variant of the usual militia portraits for the great hall of the Kloveniersdoelen, nor is it a history piece glorifying the civic guard. Over the years numerous elements in the painting have been analyzed without any consensus being reached about the work. Links were suggested between *The Night Watch* and Marie de'Medici's visit to Amsterdam (Six 1909), the play *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* by Joost van den Vondel (Hellinga 1956), and the completion of the new building for the Kloveniersdoelen (Kok 1967); the painting has been interpreted as a triumphal entry (Tümpel 1973, Haverkamp Begemann

1973, Caroll 1975) and as a role portrait, focusing particularly on the girls as the bearers of the company's emblems (Haverkamp Begemann 1982), and finally an association was made with the promotion of Frans Banninck Cocq to Captain 'Pugno pro patria' (Colenbrander 2006). All these authors had elements of the meaning of the painting in their hands, but no interpretation was accepted as a satisfactory solution.

Marie de'Medici's visit was neither the incentive for nor the subject of *The Night Watch* despite the inclusion of a portrait bust of the queen with a poem by Vondel in Sandrart's painting of 1640. As we have seen, that work was not painted for the great hall of the Kloveniersdoelen. There are, though, indirect references to Marie's entry, such as the cavalry dress that refer to the guard of honour. Any association with *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* is generally rejected. The links to the Schouwburg were also untenable, although it cannot be denied that the painting has something to do with theatre. Around 1638 proved to be incorrect as the date of completion of the great hall of the new civic guard headquarters, but the decoration of the hall might well have been undertaken in the wake of Marie de'Medici's visit. For *The Night Watch* to be a painting of a triumphal entry there would have to be a triumphal arch, but that is not what we see in the background.

'The Triumph of Mordecai', a theme that is repeatedly cited as essential to a proper understanding of *The Night Watch*, likewise gives us nothing to go on. It was this very theme that had been misused for political ends in the disturbances surrounding the reappointment of Jan Claesz van Vlooswijk as captain of District IV in 1628.¹⁰⁸ The pamphlet of 1628 opposed the authority of the court-martial, in this case the captain and burgomasters.

Frans Banninck Cocq's acceptance of the command of the company of

District II cannot have prompted the work. This would, after all, not do sufficient justice to Wilhem van Ruytenburch who, like Banninck Cocq, was promoted to his new rank shortly after Marie de' Medici's visit. To date no one has come up with a convincing or even plausible argument demonstrating that appointments and promotions could have been a motive for the painting of militia portraits.¹⁰⁹ So far the idea of seeing the painting as a role portrait presents the best chances of a satisfying interpretation of the painting. But is there nothing else? A role portrait as a *tableau vivant* after examples of the prints of the visit of Marie de' Medici, with the prints in Jacques de Gheyn's *Wapenhandelinghe* for the roles, and prints by Hendrick Goltzius for the historical accents? An allegory of the Kloveniersdoelen, more than a century old, in the form of a *tableau vivant*?

When *The Night Watch* hung in the corner of the great hall of the Kloveniersdoelen, the effect would have been of the captain and lieutenant emerging from the darkness of the corner at the moment the order to march is given and the drummer beats the drum, causing the dog to cringe in fright. In short, the company is in action.¹¹⁰ Sergeant Kemp is still conferring and

Sergeant Engelen has not actually started to move yet.¹¹¹ Behind the captain his men line up by falling in from left to right. The girls also walk towards the procession to take their places.¹¹² Shield bearer Wormskerck has to break off his conversation to fall in beside the ensign. Confusion is about to make way for order.¹¹³ Rembrandt had taken up a position in the middle of the room,¹¹⁴ so that one would have seen the company, led by the captain, moving off from the dark corner. To reinforce this effect he had painted the guardsmen more or less in monochrome by sacrificing colour and detail.¹¹⁵ The view through the gateway was also surrendered so as not to divert the viewer's attention to the

distance. Rembrandt exploited the position of his painting in the corner to achieve the maximum effect. In all the other paintings in the great hall, the militiamen sit or stand completely passively. Rembrandt was the only artist to picture a company in action at the expense of portraits of the guardsmen. He must have wanted the captain and his lieutenant to occupy as prominent a place as they would were this a history painting of authority. The full impact of *The Night Watch* only becomes clear in a reconstruction of the hall (fig. 33).

From May 1635 to May 1637 Rembrandt lived in the Nieuwe Doelenstraat (at no. 20), virtually next door to the Kloveniersdoelen (no. 24). It is even possible that during this period he served as a militiaman in District XVI under the command of Captain Hendrick Dirckszn Spiegel. Jacob Adriaenszn Backer painted the company of District XVI for the Kloveniersdoelen. The painting was dated 1638 but is now lost, so that we do not know whether Rembrandt appeared in it as a guardsman. Rembrandt himself painted a standard-bearer in 1636.¹¹⁶ This ensign was painted not in contemporary dress but in an antique costume for which Rembrandt used a print by Teodoro Filippo di Liagno (1589-1629) as his example.¹¹⁷ This was highly unusual at the time. What did he mean by it? Did he want to explore a new concept for a militia portrait in this *modello* as promotion?¹¹⁸ Whatever the truth of it, it did not immediately lead to a commission for a militia painting; perhaps he did nothing further with this new vision until 1642, when he used it in *The Night Watch* even though this had not been specifically agreed.

The painting is not an arranged snapshot. Given the way Rembrandt organized and rigged out his figures, it is, rather, a veneration of the company of District II with its illustrious past, or perhaps of the captain and the lieutenant. Working from the foreground back, he added more and more old

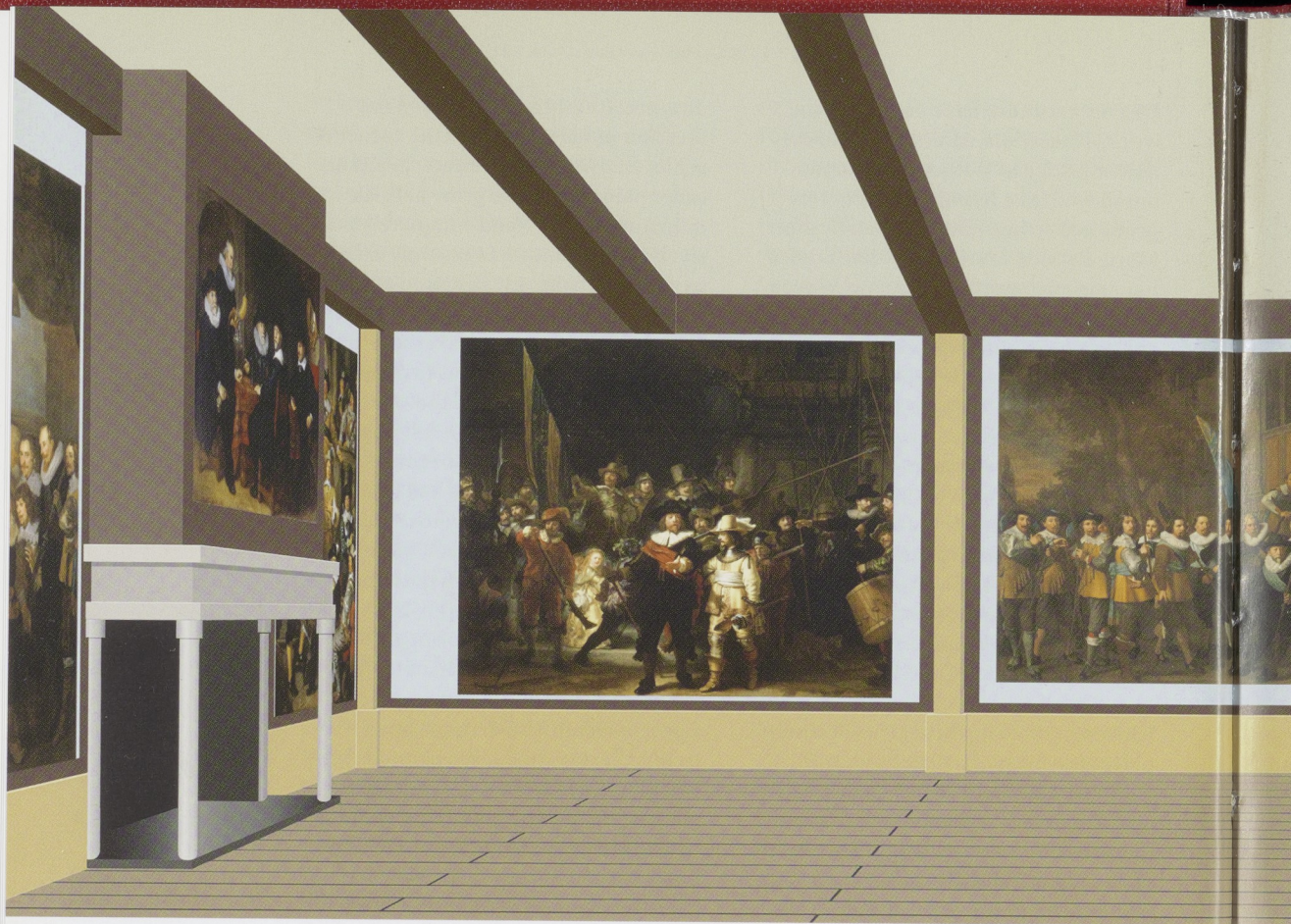


Fig. 33
Reconstruction of
the new hall of the
Kloveniersdoelen
(reconstruction by
Ineke de Graaff
Grafisch ontwerp en
advies, Amsterdam).

accents in dress and weapons, without any pretence at accuracy, in order to create the illusion of the past and of tradition. Rembrandt had many appropriate examples to draw on – the prints by Goltzius and De Gheyn, Nolpe’s allegorical *tableaux* during Marie de’Medici’s entry – and he used them just as he used his treasury of prints of biblical subjects from previous centuries in his religious works.¹¹⁹ One thing, however, must by now be clear: without Marie de’Medici’s visit to Amsterdam in 1638 *The Night Watch* would not have existed in its present form.



NOTES

- 1 P. Scheltema, 'De schilderijen in de Drie Doelens te Amsterdam, beschreven door G. Schaep, 1653', *Aemstels Oudheid* 7 (1885), pp. 1-141, esp. pp. 135-139.
- 2 J. Six, 'Een tekening van Bartholomeus van der Helst', *Oud-Holland* 27 (1909), pp. 142-148.
- 3 M. Kok, 'Rembrandts Nachtwacht: van Feeststoet tot Schuttersstuk', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 15 (1967), pp. 116-121.
- 4 He succeeded Luitenant Pieter Evertszn Hulft (1578-1639), who died on 11 November 1639.
- 5 C.C. van Valkenburg, 'De Haarlemse schuttersstukken', *Jaarboek Haerlem* 1958, pp. 59-68. In Haarlem the officers of the two civic guards were appointed for three years at a time and they were not eligible for immediate reappointment. The fact that they all stood down at the same time was an incentive to have themselves immortalized together. This situation was unknown in Amsterdam (p. 64).
- 6 C. Tümpel, 'De Amsterdamsche schuttersstukken', in: M. Carasso-Kok & J. Levy-van Halm (eds), *Schutters in Holland. Kracht en zenuwen van de stad*, Zwolle 1988, pp. 74-103, esp. p. 90. With the exception of the militia portrait by Johan Spilberg of 1650 portraying Captain Jan van de Poll with his troops on the occasion of his promotion to colonel on 25 August 1650.
- 7 P. Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer. De schutters van Holland, 1550-1700*, Hilversum 1994, pp. 28-30.
- 8 Associating the rise of the militia portrait with the advance of the Reformation, on the other hand, reveals a lack of historical understanding, see Tümpel 1988, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 79-80.
- 9 B. Bijtelaar, 'Het Sint Joriskoor van de Oude kerk', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 51 (1959), pp. 15-36, esp. p. 24.
- 10 In 1650 the number of civic guard companies in Amsterdam was increased from twenty to fifty-four and it became impossible to continue the tradition of the militia group portrait – there was simply no longer room on the walls to hang these paintings. It was the end of a century-old tradition in Amsterdam.
- 11 C. Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes*, Amsterdam 1639.
- 12 P.T.E.E. Rosenberg, 'Doelengebouwen en doelenterreinen in de Hollandse steden' in: M. Carasso-Kok & J. Levy-van Halm, *Schutters in Holland, Kracht en zenuwen van de stad*, Haarlem 1988, pp. 54-73, esp. p. 69.

- 13 G.W. Kernkamp (ed.), *Hans Bontemantel, De regering van Amsterdam soo in 't civiel als crimineel en militaire (1653-1672)*, I, The Hague 1897, p. 182.
- 14 Bartholomeus Philipszn (OK 15 August 1575-NK 17 January 1636) was originally a municipal musician (1599, 1602) and writer (1600), and later the excise officer for wines (c. 1615). He succeeded Andries Jochemszn Prippelnagel (1566-1620), who was buried in the Zuiderkerk on 22 April 1620, and his son Jacob Prippelnagel (1594-1626), buried in the Zuiderkerk on 12 November 1626, as steward of the Kloveniersdoelen. On 9 October 1599 the banns were read for his marriage to Janneken Jans (1574-1637), who was buried from the Kloveniersdoelen in the Nieuwe Kerk, with a peal of bells, on 4 July 1637. Will of 2 August 1629 before notary S. Henricx (Amsterdam City Archives (hereinafter ACA), archive 5075, Amsterdam Notarial Archives (hereinafter ANA), no. 29, f. 37v).
- 15 ACA, archive 5014, Municipal Accounts 1624, f. 33 f 78:--:--:, f. 34v f. 77:--:--:; ACA, archive 5014, Municipal Accounts 1628: f. 37 f 66:--:--:; ACA, archive 5014, Municipal Accounts 1629: f. 48v f 192:18:--:; ACA, archive 5014, Municipal Accounts 1630: f. 46 f 86:10:--:; 1632: f. 62v f 201: 2:--:; ACA, archive 5014, Municipal Accounts 1633: f. 66 f 484:10:--:.
- 16 B. Bakker, M. van Berge-Gerbaud, E. Schmitz & J. Peeters, *Landscapes of Rembrandt. His Favourite Walks*, Bussum 1998, pp. 177-180, map III.
- 17 ACA, General Structural Drawings Collection, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 24, drawing 3.
- 18 ACA, archive 5039, Treasury ord. no. 180, f. 252v: issue of the lots on the southeast side of Nieuwe Doelenstraat, lot no. 27. The building was called 'Gulde Water' (ACA, archive 5044, Treasury extra ord. no. 256 (tax assessment register 1653-1655), f. 194v). The fact that the new premises appear on the tax assessment register in 1647 (ACA, archive 5044, Treasury extra ord. no. 254, f. 194v) also indicates that the building had been completed before 1632.
- 19 This and subsequent numbering of the figures in *The Night Watch* refer to the numbering of the people in my other article on p. 43 in this Bulletin.
- 20 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary P. Carelszn), no. 725, f. 367, 7-10-1631.
- 21 Carasso-Kok & Levy-van Halm 1988, op. cit. (note 12), p. 378, note 1.
- 22 P.J.J. van Thiel, D.J. de Bruyn Kops, J. Cleveringa, W. Kloek & A. Vels Heijn, *Alle schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam. Volledige geïllustreerde catalogus*, Haarlem 1976, p. 217, no. C 403; A. Blankert & R. Ruurs, *Amsterdams Historisch Museum, schilderijen daterend van voor 1800*, Amsterdam 1975, pp. 113-114, no. 143;
- J. Bikker et al., *Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, volume 1: artists born between 1570 and 1600*, Amsterdam 2007, I, pp. 306-310, cat.no. 236 (SK-C-1177); Norbert Middelkoop, *De oude meesters van de stad Amsterdam. Schilderijen tot 1800*, Bussum 2008, p. 235 (SA 7314).
- 23 ACA, archive 5059, Manuscript Collection no. 43 (Gerard Schaep Notes), f. 5-8.
- 24 J.A. Jochems, *Amsterdams Oude Burgervendels (schutterij) 1580-1795*, Amsterdam 1888, p. 2.
- 25 ACA, archive 5059, Manuscript Collection no. 43, f. 54v; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Night Watch*, Princeton 1982, p. 57 note 20. NB there is no question of an error in Schaep's list. These were the captains and their districts: KLOVENIERSDOELEN: Pieter Reael (II), Allert Cloeck (III), Jan Claeszn van Vlooswijck (IV), Matthijs Raephorst (V), Dirck Tholigh (XX) and Cornelis Weijer (XIV); VOETBOOGDOELEN: Jacob Bicker (VII), Jacob Rogh (IX), Cornelis van Dronckelaer (XII), Jacob Symonszn de Vries (XVIII), Reijnier Reael (XI), Albert Coenraedszn Burgh (VII) and Jacob Hoogkamer (X); HANDBOOGDOELEN: Cornelis Bicker (XIX), Willem Backer (XVII), Hendrick Dirckszn Spiegel (XVI), Dirck Geurtszn van Beuningen (XV), Ernst Roeters (XIII), Cornelis de Vries (I) and Hendrick Reijnst (VI).
- 26 D.C. Meijer suggested this seniority as early as 1896, see E. Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 59 note 26.
- 27 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 59 note 26.
- 28 For earlier opinions see Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 59 note 26.
- 29 Marie de'Medici took her meals at 'het Prinsenhof'.
- 30 C. Beudeker, *Oudheden van Amstelredamme met aantekeningen opgehelder, meerendeels door Abraham Rademaker getekent, benevens korte beschrijvinge van de oude Schutters Doelen der zelve stad uit liefhebberij vergaderd en beschreven door Christoffel Beudeker*, Amsterdam s.d., II, f. 142v-143v.
- 31 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 55.
- 32 A.W. Weissman, 'De schoonzoon van Hendrik de Keyser', *Oud-Holland* 38 (1920), pp. 155-164, esp. p. 159.
- 33 K. Ottenheim, 'Architectuur', in: J. Huiskens, K. Ottenheim, G. Schwartz & Jacob van Campen, *Het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 154-199.
- 34 Q. Buvelot, 'Ontwerpen voor geschilderde decoratieprogramma's', in: Huiskens 1995, op. cit. (note 33), pp. 121-153.
- 35 Blankert & Ruurs 1975, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 344-346, no. 473. NB: two of the three paintings were not described in the catalogue, but they are in N.E. Middelkoop, *De oude meesters van de stad Amsterdam*, Bussum 2008, p. 253.

- 36 R. Meischke, *Amsterdam Burgerweeshuis*, The Hague 1975, pp. 88-89, 214-215.
- 37 The 1748 print of the interior (Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), fig. 34) is a fiction.
- 38 L. Leermakers, *Eenheid in de Doelen: reconstructies van de plaatsing van de schutterstukken in de Amsterdamse Handboogdoelen* (provisional title), to be published in 2009.
- 39 C.J. de Bruyn Kops, 'De inlijsting van Rembrandts Nachtwacht in het verleden en de nieuwe lijst', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 24 (1976), pp. 99-119, esp. p. 101.
- 40 *Corpus* III 1989, pp. 434, 451. For the seventeenth-century endeavour to achieve harmony in the interior see P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland*, New Haven & London 1978.
- 41 Research by Margriet van Eikema Hommes has demonstrated that around 1660 Bols's paintings were incorporated in panelling that extended from the skirting-board to the ceiling beams, see M. van Eikema Hommes, assisted by J. Bikker, G. Fige & P. Roelofs, *Uijt liefde tot haer huys. De zaalschilderingen van Ferdinand Bol voor Nieuwegracht 6, Utrecht* (provisional title), Amsterdam 2009 (forthcoming).
- 42 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary C. Touw), no. 1422, f. 196 (film no. 1385, f. 97v); Blankert & Ruurs 1975, p. 108.
- 43 J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der bau-, Bild- und Malherey-künste*, Nuremberg 1679, II, book 3, p. 319: *Flinck hielte sich lange Jahre auf bey dem berühmten kunsthändler Ulenburg dem er viel ausbündige herrliche contrafäte von eigner Hand hinter lassen. Darunter auch auf des Claveniers Doelen er derdselben Stads-Burgermeister in halber Figur sehr natürlich und wahrhaft gebildet neben andern Stucken mehr*. This means that the painting was done in Uyenburch's workshop. Nowhere does Sandrart mention the paintings on the rear wall. With thanks to Norbert Middelkoop for this information.
- 44 Rembrandt: 363 x 438 cm, Pickenoy: 340 x 527 cm, Backer: 367 x 511 cm; Flinck: 203 x 278 cm. A calculation of the original measurements is problematic, particularly if Lundens's copy is taken as the starting-point. See *Corpus* III 1987, op. cit. (note 40), p. 434.
- 45 W. Martin, *Van nachtwacht tot feeststoet*, Amsterdam & Antwerp 1947, p. 24. The fact that the Pickenoy lost far more in the height than either *The Night Watch* or Backer's work – 23 to 27 cm – is probably a function of the fact that it was hung in a lower-ceilinged room in the Prinsenhof (p. 25, note 1).
- 46 *Catalogus der schilderijen - pastels - miniaturen - aquarellen tentoongesteld in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1934, pp. 123-124.
- 47 Van Thiel 1976, op. cit. (note 22), p. 267, no. C 375.
- 48 J.J. de Gelder, *Bartholomeus van der Helst*, Rotterdam 1921, p. 63; adopted in Martin 1947, op. cit. (note 45), p. 15 and Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), fig. 35; G. Schwartz, *The Night Watch*, Amsterdam 2002 (revised edition: Schwartz 2008), p. 7, fig. 11.
- 49 Bakker et al. 1998, op. cit. (note 16), p. 178, fig. 2 and p. 106.
- 50 E.S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, London, New York & Toronto 1959, p. 26.
- 51 C. Klemm, *Joachim von Sandrart. Kunstwerke und Lebenslauf*, Berlin 1986, pp. 76-81.
- 52 Restoration reports of 1983 and 1984. With thanks to Manja Zeldenrust. Klemm illustrates the painting in his book without the last join at the top of the painting (Klemm 1986, op. cit. (note 51), p. 79).
- 53 Sandrart 1675, op. cit. (note 43), p. 13. G. Schwartz, 'De geneugten van de kunstgeschiedenis', *Het Financiële Dagblad*, 1 May 1999, p. 17.
- 54 Klemm 1986, op. cit. (note 51), p. 339.
- 55 W. Martin, 'Backer's Korporaalschap uit de Kloveniersdoelen te Amsterdam' in *Oud-Holland* 50 (1933), pp. 220-224, esp. p. 220.
- 56 Martin 1933, op. cit. (note 55), p. 220.
- 57 Kok 1967, op. cit. (note 3), p. 118.
- 58 See note 23.
- 59 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Mr. Johannes Wtenbogaert (1608-1680). Een man uit een remonstrants milieu en Rembrandt van Rijn', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 70 (1978), *Liber amicorum I.H. van Eeghen*, pp. 146-169, esp. p. 154.
- 60 C. Busken Huet, *Het land van Rembrandt*, The Hague 1965 (reprinted ed. 1882), p. 507.
- 61 D. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16^{de} en 17^{de} eeuw*, Utrecht 1974, pp. 39-76, esp. p. 40.
- 62 Snoep 1974, op. cit. (note 61), p. 64.
- 63 Historically, Maximilian did not grant the use of an imperial crown on the city coat of arms in 1489. See, among others, S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'De blauwe keizerskroon op het wapen van Amsterdam', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 80 (1993), pp. 1-21.
- 64 Snoep 1975, op. cit. (note 61), p. 63.
- 65 Snoep 1975, op. cit. (note 61), p. 45; N. Middelkoop (ed.), *Kopstukken. Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600/1800*, Bussum 2002, pp. 158-159, no. 47.
- 66 De Beer 1959, op. cit. (note 49), p. 26.
- 67 Snoep 1975, op. cit. (note 61), p. 44.
- 68 Snoep 1975, op. cit. (note 61), p. 168, note 59.
- 69 J. Wagenaar *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen*, 4 vols., Amsterdam 1760-1788, I, p. 534.
- 70 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Toen hingen er burgers als vorsten aan de muur' in Middelkoop 2002, pp. 46-63, esp. p. 54; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten: godsdienst en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam*, Rotterdam 2006, p. 340.

- 71 ACA, archive 5050, Manuscript Collection, no. 43, f. 40.
- 72 Snoep 1975, op. cit. (note 61), p. 50.
- 73 Schwartz 2002, op. cit. (note 48), p. 36, fig. 37.
- 74 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 76-77; the arms of Amsterdam are a red field with a vertical black bar bearing three silver St Andrew's crosses.
- 75 The arms of the Kloveniersdoelen were a golden claw on a blue field.
- 76 *Corpus* III 1985, op. cit. (note 40), p. 461 denies the function of the colours because the captain's sash is red, not orange. By making the sash red, Rembrandt must have intended it to serve two functions. The Amsterdam regents and captains of the civic guard were, moreover, not adherents of Orange.
- 77 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary C. van der Hoop), no. 2542, f. 66-67, 1654; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt en de vaandrig van de Amsterdamse schutterij. Diende Rembrandts 'vaandeldrager' uit 1636 als 'modello?' in *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 93 (1993) 2, pp. 15-24, esp. p. 20.
- 78 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 78, note 17. The statement that Kemp owned a helmet is an error.
- 79 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 78.
- 80 *Corpus* III 1989, op. cit. (note 40), pp. 439 and 448.
- 81 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary W. Sylvius), no. 4877, f. 400-402v, 1 July 1690.
- 82 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenbogaert), no. 1914, f. 967 ff., 5 July 1653:
een geborduyrde draechbant met een swarte drachbant f 5:--:--
Een blauwe optreck sluyer halve breete met een pluym f 12:--:--
 and in the passage there were:
een wacht pieckje, een roer, een degen ende een sweertvis houwertgen, t same f 10:--:--
 in the mezzanine room:
een houwer met wat glaesen ende een colff f 3:--:--
 and in the back room:
2 Japonse houwers en 2 rottinghen, t same f 30:--:--
Een ringkraach f 2:--:--
- 83 According to B. Kist, 'Een curieus militair tafereel' in *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (1988), pp. 1-23, esp. p. 19, his pike is too short because a standard pike was six metres long, but this would have been the shorter guard pike, which was just kept in the passage at home.
- 84 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1062, f. 194-199v, 19 July 1642: *een eecke houtte geweercas, een swart gebruyneert harnas, twee degens met hare scheden, een musquet, een bartesaen [= partisan], een geborduert hengsel van gout en sij met een riem met silver vergult beslagh, een swart lakense bandelier met ron maten* and in the clothes attic *Een oude bandelier met maten*.
- 85 *Corpus* III 1989, op. cit. (note 40), p. 479.
- 86 The loops at knee-height are probably not a reference to sixteenth-century fashion details, and could in fact be spare charge cases. See Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), fig. 70 second pikeman from the right.
- 87 M. de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy. Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 100.
- 88 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 85 note 46; Kist 1988, p. 13.
- 89 W.L. Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius 1558-1617. The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts*, New York 1977, pp. 274-275, no. 161 and pp. 352-353, no. 215.
- 90 The x-ray shows that the hat was originally taller, like the ensign's, see: *Corpus* III 1989, op. cit. (note 40), p. 444, fig. 7.
- 91 *Corpus* III 1989, op. cit. (note 40), p. 444, fig. 7.
- 92 H.T. Colenbrander, *The Nightwatch. Captain Frans Banninck Cocq: 'Pugno pro Patria!'* in: M. Roscam Abbing (ed.), *Rembrandt 2006: Essays*, Leiden 2006, pp. 9-30, esp. p. 15, fig. 1c.
- 93 Canvas, 139 x 108, anno 1615, Frederiksborg Museet). In this portrait of the prince, which shows him wearing his first pair of breeches, he holds the musket and musket-rest in one hand while doffing his hat in greeting with the other. These are actions he would have been incapable of at that age. Even an adult militiaman would not have been able to hold such a heavy weapon in that way (see: J. Roding & M. Stompé, *Pieter Isaacs (1569-1625). Een Nederlandse schilder, kunsthandaelaar en diplomaat aan het Deense Hof*, Leiden 1997, pp. 40-41, fig. 15; M. Bøgh Rasmussen, 'Maiestatistis regiae pictor – Pieter Isaacz, portrait painter by appointment to His Majesty', in: B. Noldus & J. Roding, *Pieter Isaacs (1568-1625). Court Painter, Art Dealer and Spy*, Turnhout 2007, pp. 138-149, esp. 146, no. 71.
- 94 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 86, 87.
- 95 Carasso-Kok & Levy-van Halm 1988, op. cit. (note 12), pp. 111, 242-243, no. 62.
- 96 Barlaeus 1639, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 32-33.
- 97 *Corpus* III 1989, op. cit. (note 40), p. 448.
- 98 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 9, 89-90; Kist 1988, op. cit. (note 82), pp. 16-17.
- 99 Kist 1988, op. cit. (note 83), pp. 16-17.
- 100 Kist 1988, op. cit. (note 83), p. 19.
- 101 Kist 1988, op. cit. (note 83), p. 13.
- 102 It is in any event not a sign of a difference in character. Knevel 1994, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 120-122; Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 79.
- 103 Snoep 1975, op. cit. (note 61), p. 55, fig. 23.
- 104 Kist 1988, op. cit. (note 83), p. 19.
- 105 Snoep 1974, op. cit. (note 61), p. 56, fig. 25.

- 106 Kist 1988, op. cit. (note 83), p. 22.
- 107 The captain of District xx, Diederick Tholinck (1589-after 1654), was appointed in 1642 to assemble a mounted guard of honour for the entry of Queen Henrietta Maria of England. He must have handed command of his company to his lieutenant for the parade during the entry. It is more than likely that Van Ruytenburch and Bicker had already been members of the mounted escort in 1638. Knevel 1994, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 342-345. Only militiamen are listed, like Hendrick Jansz Cruywagen under Cornelis de Graeff and Jan Rombouts, Coenraet Rogiers Ramsden, Jan Pronck and Abraham Pieterszn Croock under Roelof Bicker.
- 108 C. Tümpel, 'Beobachtungen zur "Nachtwache"' in: O. von Simson & J. Kelch (eds.), *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, pp. 162-175, esp. p. 174; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Rembrandt's Nightwatch and The Triumph of Mordecai' in: J. Bruyn, J.A. Emmens, E. de Jongh & D.P. Snoep, *Album amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, The Hague 1973, pp. 5-8; Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 101-105.
- 109 Tümpel 1973, op. cit. (note 108), p. 173; Tümpel 1988, op. cit. (note 6), p. 91. In 1616 Captain Hoyng had held the rank of captain for more than twenty years.
- 110 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 105-110.
- 111 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 29 thinks that he appears to be giving an order, but it is more likely that he is pointing to something. It is for the captain to give the orders.
- 112 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 105. The girls and the musketeer firing his weapon (see my other article, no. 14) are not moving in opposing directions. Like the girls, the musketeer will fall in and follow his captain after firing the shot.
- 113 E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. Quest of a Genius*, Zwolle 2006, pp. 45-48.
- 114 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 60, fig. 39.
- 115 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 25), p. 69.
- 116 Canvas, 118.8 x 96.8 cm, *Rembrandt f 1636*, private collection Paris, see *Corpus* III 1989, op. cit. (note 40), pp. 224-231 (A 120).
- 117 De Winkel 2006, op. cit. (note 87), pp. 171-172, figs. 72-73.
- 118 Dudok van Heel 1993, op. cit. (note 63), pp. 15-24.
- 119 C. Tümpel 1969, 'Studien zur Ikonographie des Historien Rembrandts. Deutung und Interpretation der Bildinhalte', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 20 (1969), pp. 107-189. De Winkel 2006, op. cit. (note 87), pp. 191-270. In composing *The Night Watch*, for instance, Rembrandt used prints of officers and standard-bearers by Goltzius dating from the 1580s, and prints from De Gheyn's *Wapenhandelinge* of 1607, not forgetting the prints in *Medicea Hospes* of 1638.