Frans Banninck Cocq’s Troop in Rembrandt’s *Night Watch*

The Identification of the Guardsmen

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In 1882, after two centuries of vilification by art critics, someone at last had something positive to say about *The Night Watch*. In *Het land van Rembrandt* Busken Huets wrote: ‘Rembrandt’s Anatomy Lesson, his *March to the Rifle Range* [in other words *The Night Watch*] are poems. Even Frans Hals’s famous *Governors of the Old Men’s House* does not have the inimitable quality of Rembrandt’s *Syndics*. He saw ordinary people and ordinary things in an extraordinary way. His art is the constant application of a process of glorification.’ This observation is a reflection of the nationalism of the nineteenth century with its particular focus on the heroic deeds in the struggle for freedom against Catholic Spain. It is in this spirit that Rembrandt’s militia portrait currently graces the 2001 paperback edition of Pieter Geyl’s classic work of the nineteen-thirties, *The History of the Dutch Speaking Peoples 1555–1648*. In 1994, in his study of the civic guards of Holland, *Burgers in het geweer*, Paul Knevel wrote: ‘nowadays the painting is part of the canon of generally accepted masterpieces in the history of art.’ This was not, of course, an original thought; for more than a century the painting has hung on the high altar of Netherlandish art in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 34), totally divorced from the context for which it was created in 1642. Elsewhere in *Het land van Rembrandt* Busken Huets observed: ‘one finds the names of the subjects of various works and various militia portraits in catalogues, but without any appreciable benefit to our knowledge. The real protagonists of these broad canvases, we feel, are the painters whose signatures they bear.’ Nineteenth-century authors were concerned with the great men who had led the fight for liberty or defined the culture of the century. Today, we tend to be much more interested in the ordinary citizens without whose efforts the Republic would not have become what it did. Did the militiamen in *The Night Watch* fight for their country or contribute to the Republic in some other way? An investigation into the identity and background of the people in Rembrandt’s masterpiece is long overdue.

**The Officers and Guardsmen of District 11 in Rembrandt’s *Night Watch***

*The Night Watch* portrays the militiamen of District 11, an area on the west side of the city between Damrak and Singel, which was bounded to the north by O.L. Vrouwesteeg, Nieuwe Nieuwstraat, Korte Lijnbaansteeg and Lijnbaansteeg, and to the south by Zoutsteeg, Gravenstraat and Mol- en Torensteeg (fig. 35, 36). Rembrandt
did not paint the whole company, only those who could afford to pay for it. We know the names of these paying militiamen because they are listed on a shield that was added to the gate in the background of the picture in about 1653. The darkening of the old varnish had rendered these names illegible by the eighteenth century, but in 1947, after the discoloured layers of varnish of the previous centuries had been removed in modern, bolder restorations, all the names emerged from the obscurity of ages. The most recent research into the militiamen was done at that time, but it left a great many questions unanswered. The study of the guardsmen presented here was undertaken for Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann’s book on The Night Watch in 1979, but it was not completed. The four hundredth anniversary of Rembrandt’s birth – 2006 – provided the incentive to finish it.
One of the most remarkable results is the change in the captain’s name – from Frans Banning Cocq to Frans Banninck Cocq; in the course of the research it emerged that the Banningh and Banninck families belonged to different governing dynasties in Amsterdam. The Banningh family had been members of Amsterdam’s ruling elite for a full century longer, so it was regarded as much more distinguished. The similarity in the names led to considerable confusion and a century ago they were erroneously lumped together as a single large Benningh family in De Vroedschap van Amsterdam. Frans Banninck Cock, however, came from the cadet clan.

Since the personal details of the militiamen and their officers are extremely important to a future discussion of the painting, this is where we shall begin. We shall take as our starting point the names painted on the shield in the gateway (fig. 37):

DR Frans Banninck Cocq, Knight in the order of St Michael (France 1648), Lord of Purmerland and Ilpendam 1631.

Born in Amsterdam on 23 February 1605 and baptized Oude Kerk 27 February 1605, died Amsterdam 1 January 1655 and buried Oude Kerk (sanctuary) 6 January 1655. Son of Jan Janszn Cock (Bremen 1575-1613), apothecary in Amsterdam, and Lijsbeth Fransdr Banninck (1581-1623). Married Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 23 April 1630 Maria Overlander van Purmerland (1603-1678) (fig. 38).

Fig. 38
Wybrant de Geest, attr.), Marriage Portrait of Maria Overlander (1603-1678), 1630. Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 121 cm. Collection Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (photo: Tom Haartsen, Ouderkerk aan de Amstel).

Fig. 37
Detail of fig. 3 (shield).

Fig. 39
RELIGION: Reformed
PROFESSION: lawyer

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: father, Jan Cock of Sint Anthonisbreestraat (= Jodenbreestraat no. 7) f 60,000; mother-in-law, the Widow Overlander, of Herengracht (no. 125) f 150,000. According to another custom in Holland that had not yet fallen into disuse, he was given both his fore-name and his surname. By giving their newborn son these names his parents very clearly established the pretensions that should later enable him to lay claim to a place in the government of Amsterdam, since the Bannincks and their connections had had seats on the city council for some generations. His premature death had meant that the

The man who was later to be the captain in The Night Watch was born in 'de Gloeyende Oven', a house in Dijkstraat. Dijkstraat was part of a new, modern city district that was built on the east side of the city in 1586. Frans Banninck Cocq (fig. 39) grew up in the same district – in Sint Anthonisbreestraat, opposite what was to become the Rembrandt House. Although he was the firstborn son he was named not after his paternal grandfather, in accordance with the custom of the time, but his maternal grandfather, Frans Banninck (1544-1582) of 'de Blinde Wereld', Vijgendam (= Damrak no. 95).
infant’s grandfather, Frans Banninck, had risen no further than alderman in the years 1579, 1581 and 1582. He was not yet forty when he died, so the post of burgomaster had never come within his reach. In preparation for his intended career in government, Frans Banninck Cocq studied law, graduating in Poitiers.¹⁶ His degree certificate of 1626 correctly has his name as Franciscus Banninck. Later the name of Banninck often appears as Banningh in documents and the same spelling is found in The Night Watch; this has caused considerable confusion with the much more important and older ruling family of almost the same name. The arms on the seals used by the two families are, however, completely different.⁷ He signed himself Frans Banninck Cocq.

In the history literature Frans Banninck Cocq is often cited as the prime example of a son of immigrants who rose swiftly in an oligarchy of regents that was not yet wholly closed to outsiders.⁸ This view is not well-founded since it fails to do justice to the workings of the rules of kinship in which the male line did not always come first. In support of this thesis authors often quote the words of Gerard Schaep Pieterszn (1599-1655), who proved himself not averse to highly exaggerated anecdotes: ‘Jan Cock, arrived in this country from Bremen, et ostiati mendicasse dictur (begged, so they say, from door to door); taken on out of compassion by the apothecary in ‘de Witte Doos’, residing in Warmoesstraat.⁹ Subsequently married, invitis parentibus vel consanguinis (against the will of her parents and blood relations) ...’.¹⁰ This last is manifestly untrue, for the bride was accompanied by her mother when notice of the marriage was given. Her mother was also a witness at the baptism of Frans Banninck Cocq in the Oude Kerk on 27 February 1605.

Frans Banninck Cocq owed his career in Amsterdam politics to his extended relationship with the Hooft family.¹¹ When his father Jan Janszn Cock came to Amsterdam in 1590 as a boy of fifteen, he had relatives there. At the notification of his marriage on 30 August 1603 he appeared before the Matrimonial Affairs commission with his cousin Willem Pieterszn Hooft (1549-1605). This means he was related to the well-known libertine burgomaster Cornelis Pieterszn Hooft (1547-1626) and his son the historian Pieter Corneliszn Hooft (1581-1647). Willem Pieterszn Hooft was also an uncle by marriage of the bride Lijsbeth Fransdr Banninck. It must have been Hooft who arranged such an eligible Amsterdam partie for his cousin. She was the only child of his sister-in-law’s first marriage. When Frans Banninck Cocq looked around for a suitable partner after his return from France he, too, found her in the Hooft family circle. On 23 April 1630 he married the elder of the two daughters of the extremely wealthy burgomaster Volkert Overlander (1571-1630), Lord of Purmerland and Ilpendam, and Geertruyt Hooft (1578-1636).

Every office up to the highest levels of authority was now open to him. In 1633 Cornelis de Graeff (1599-1664), later one of the most powerful of all Amsterdam’s burgomasters, occupying the position of magnificat, became his brother-in-law. A few months after Frans Banninck Cocq married Maria Overlander, his father-in-law died and he was enfeoffed with the manors of Purmerland and Ilpendam in his wife’s name. From then on he was known as Lord of Purmerland and Ilpendam. From 1632 onwards he held posts in the government every year. In 1650, alongside Cornelis de Graeff, he was awarded the highest authority as burgomaster and even held the post of presiding burgomaster twice. Both men had been civic guard captains in the Kloveniersdoelen – the musketeers’ guild – and from 1642 onwards the portraits of their companies hung together on the rear wall of the great hall.

As his father-in-law’s successor, Frans Banninck Cocq moved into his
house ‘de Dolphijn’ on the Singel. This house was in District iv, where in 1628 Jan Claeszn van Vlooswijk (1571-1652) had succeeded Volkert Overlander as captain of the militia after Overlander’s election as burgomaster. Van Vlooswijk’s appointment had sparked violent anti-Remonstrant riots because the Reformed militiamen would not accept him as their officer on account of his Remonstrant beliefs. The burgomasters nonetheless retained him as their captain, with Gerrit Hudde (1595-1647) as his lieutenant, and the rebellious militiamen were disciplined. This meant that there was no opening as an officer for Frans Banninck Cocq in District iv. This must have been why a vacancy outside the district was sought — and found in 1635 in the neighbouring District 1, where he then became lieutenant. It seems very likely that Frans Banninck Cocq was promoted to captain of District 11 by means of an exchange of officers’ places in early 1639. This was common practice in the time of the Republic to ensure one way or another that important posts were kept in the family.

As we have seen, Frans Banninck Cocq was a typical regent in a society in which the ruling clans set the tone. The names he was given make this only too clear. It is one of the reasons why he compiled two volumes, bound in red velvet, of the ‘Genealogy of the Lords and Ladies of van Purmerlandt and Ilpendam’, in which he included genealogies of the Banninck, Hem, Hooft, Overlander and Boelen families with a selection of family coats of arms. They were families related to him and from whom he derived his claims to a place at the highest levels of Amsterdam government. By way of illustration he included pictures of his house ‘de Dolphijn’ in Singel and the ‘House at Ilpendam’, as well as drawings of The Night Watch and of one of Bartholomew van der Helst’s portraits of the governors of the Handboogdoelen from 1653, and a copy of the militia portrait by Cornelis van der Voort of around 1610 in which his father-in-law appears as the ensign. He was proud of this. It is these two albums, in conjunction with Gerard Schap’s negative comments, that led to Frans Banninck Cocq’s being painted as a complacent upstart in the literature and meant that in 2006 one could still read in an essay about The Night Watch that Rembrandt and Frans Banninck Cocq both had a burning ambition. However there is absolutely nothing to indicate that Banninck Cocq had carved out a path to the top by illegitimate means. His career followed a perfectly normal course within the system of ruling families. Conflating Rembrandt’s ambitions and those of Frans Banninck Cocq in The Night Watch turns the captain into a caricature. It is evident from Gerard Schap’s derogatory remarks about Banninck Cocq’s origins that he was jealous of his career. Schap himself did not have any close relations among the governing elite. As a Calvinist, moreover, he was a member of a religious denomination that was barred from the city government by the libertines. Proud of his career with the civic guard, Frans Banninck Cocq had included in his albums drawings of paintings in the militia headquarters and had commissioned Gerard Lundens (1622-1686)
to paint copies of them (figs. 40, 41). Cornelis de Graeff similarly had Jacob Backer’s 1642 militia portrait in the great hall of the Kloveniersdoelen copied for himself, getting the artist to include portraits of his two small sons as guardsmen (fig. 42). De Graeff was equally proud of his militia career. The inscription in the album beside The Night Watch, ‘Sketch of the painting in the great hall of the Cleveniers Doelen, in which the young Lord of Purmerlandt, as captain, gives the order to his lieutenant, the Lord of Vlaeringen, to march out his company of citizens’, tells us that Frans Banninck Cocq acted as the captain of the company within the system.

Mr Wilhem van Ruytenburgh, Lord of the town of Vlaardinghen and Vlaardinghenambacht, Babberspolder, Nieuwenhoorn, Nieuwe Goote, Oud en Nieuw-Kraeyertspolder and Brielse Nieuweland 1627.

Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk 13 August 1600, died (The Hague or Vlaardinghen) 1652. Son of Pieter Gerritsz van Ruytenburch (1562-1627), Lord of the town and manor of Vlaeringen 1611, Ter Horst 1615 and Heemstede c. 1620, merchant in groceries, member of the Board of Orphans 1616-1627, and Aeltje Pieters (1561-before 1626).

Married: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 17 February 1626 Alida Jonckheyn (1609-Vlaardinghen 1678).

Religion: Reformed

Profession: lawyer

Offices and posts: councillor 1639-1652, alderman 1641, commissioner for Matrimonial Affairs 1642/1643/1646, lieutenant 1639 and captain 1646-1647 District 11.

Register of taxes 1631: Herengracht (no. 196/198) f 60,000; wife f 34,000; mother-in-law f 210,000.

Address: Herengracht in ‘het Blauwe Huys’ (no. 196/198).
When Wilhem van Ruytenburch was baptized plain Willem on 13 August 1600 his parents were known simply as Pieter Gerritsz and Aeltje Pieters. His forebears were merchants in groceries on the Dam in the last house in Warmoesstraat, then a prestigious address. The house was mentioned in a document dating from 1402 and was known as ‘Rutenburch’ in 1538, when it was owned by his great-grandfather. The house is no longer there. It was demolished in the early twentieth century. On the site where it stood there is now the national monument to the casualties of the Second World War. In 1606 Pieter Gerritsz moved to a house he had built in O.Z. Achtenburgwal, which he called ‘Ruytenburch’ (no. 45/47). Thereafter he was known as Pieter Gerritsz Ruytenburch or, with an even more distinguished ring, as Van Ruytenburch. Van Ruytenburch Senior was also a merchant in groceries, that is to say a seller of spices and other Oriental products. This had been a highly lucrative business in Amsterdam since the centre of this international trade shifted from Antwerp to the north.

Authors have often wondered why in the seventeenth century the merchants of Amsterdam, men like Frans Banninck Cocq and Wilhem van Ruytenburch, assumed distinguished, aristocratic-sounding titles of usually recently purchased manors and not of old, inherited estates. The fact that bearing noble titles was part of the aristocratic cultural pattern in the seventeenth century does not explain this phenomenon, since the Amsterdam regents had attached relatively little importance to it up to this point. We must seek the reason in the fact that there had always been very little private land ownership outside Amsterdam, so people had to find land elsewhere to put their money into. This is one of the reasons why so many new Amsterdam rich invested in polder land. There was no immigration into Amsterdam of noble families who brought land with them, and it often took several generations before estates of any significance were acquired.

A highly unusual situation arose during the Twelve Years’ Truce, when an exceptionally large number of manors became available because many people from the Southern Netherlands divested themselves of property in the north which had been released during the truce. Among the sellers were several members of the aristocracy with vast estates in Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht. The merchants of Amsterdam were the most important potential buyers of their land. In 1611 Pieter Gerritsz van Ruytenburch purchased the manors of Vlaardingen and Vlaardingerambacht from Charles, Prince de Ligne, Count of Arenberg (1550-1616), and in 1615 he bought the manor of Ter Horst by Voorschten from Lamoraal, Prince de Ligne (1563-1624). While in 1612 Frans Banninck Cocq’s father-in-law acquired the manors of Purmerland and Ilpendam from the same man. "

Imitating noble families like Van Wassenaer van Duivenvoorde, the Lord of Vlaardingen called himself Wilhem van Ruytenburch van Vlaardingen and in 1630 the daughter of Burgomaster Overlander signed her marriage certificate Maria Overlanders van Purmerlant (fig. 43). But this was still not enough for Wilhem van Ruytenburch.

In 1632 he persuaded a sixty-year-old woman to declare that he sprung from the aristocratic Van Ruytenburch family of Budel, in Kempen, Brabant,
and that his ancestors had fled from there to escape religious persecution, bearing in their coat of arms 'three blackbirds without heaks and without legs' (in other words, heraldic martlets). On the grounds of this fallacious statement Wilhem van Ruytenburch added the martlets to his coat of arms along with the castle (burcht) with lozenges (ruiten) used by his forebears – a device taken from the family’s shop sign, which he quartered with the lion of Vlaardingen.

With these purchases of manors and domains the new owners suddenly also acquired rights and duties that had previously been the preserve of the nobility. In Van Ruytenburch’s and Overlander’s cases, there were no great houses in their manors from which they could exercise their authority, and so shortly after they purchased the estates they built manor houses like castles on them. On his land to the east of the harbour of Vlaardingen Pieter Gerritsz van Ruytenburch built a brick house he called ‘het Hof’ of Vlaardingen, which was completed in 1618. In 1612 Frans Banninck Cocq’s father-in-law had ‘het Hof’ built in Ilpendam; this house was extended by Frans Banninck Cocq. Similarly, after he inherited ‘het Hof’ in Vlaardingen along with his father’s estates, Wilhem van Ruytenburch had this house, where he spent a good deal of his time, substantially refurbished and enlarged.

Managing such extensive holdings required a good deal of care and attention, so that many gentlemen spent the summers at their country houses not just because it was more pleasant than staying in town, but also – perhaps primarily – so that they could keep an eye on the management and administration of their estates. The more distant these estates were from Amsterdam, the more their owners tended to settle closer to their property permanently so that the ties to Amsterdam were loosened. This was not an issue in Frans Banninck Cocq’s case, since Purmerland and Ilpendam are a mere stone’s throw from Amsterdam, but the situation was very different for Wilhem van Ruytenburch. As early as the sixteen-thirties he must have had a pied à terre near the stadholder’s court in The Hague; possibly with his brother-in-law, the lawyer Adriaen Pauw (1585-The Hague 1653). Although it is true that Wilhem van Ruytenburch became a member of the city council in 1639 and was an officer in District 11, he was in no way a man of significance in Amsterdam because he did not belong to one of the ruling families on either his father’s or his mother’s side. He had a brief, relatively unimportant career in the city. In 1647 he settled permanently in The Hague and Vlaardingen. There, around 1650, he had his portrait painted, with his wife and their seven children, by Mijtens or an artist in his circle; this family portrait was hanging in the dining room of ’de Hof’ in Vlaardingen in the eighteenth century. The next generation of Van Ruytenburchs belonged to the landed gentry of Holland.

At the time of his marriage to Alida Jonckheyn, Wilhem van Ruytenburch was still living in his father’s house, ‘Ruytenburch’ in the O.Z. Achterburgwal, but as so often happened at that time, he then moved in with his mother-in-law in ‘het Blauwe Huys’ on the Herengracht (no. 196/198). This was a double-fronted house in District xx. On 1 February 1639 Gerbrand Claesz Pancras (1591-1649), who had held the rank of lieutenant in District 11 since 1632, was elected burgomaster, and in consequence his place as an officer became vacant. Wilhem van Ruytenburch, as a brother-in-law of a brother of the captain, succeeded him as the lieutenant of District 11. In contrast to Lieutenant Pancras, a soap-maker who lived in ‘de Spiegel’ at no. 83 Damrak, the new lieutenant, like Captain Frans Banninck Cocq, lived outside his civic guard district.
lived in his grandparents’ house ‘de Drie Witte Leeuwen’ in Damrak (no. 66). The two ensigns died in quick succession and were buried with the tolling of the bells of the Oude Kerk, which would generally indicate that they were Catholic. Here, however, this must have been an archaic observance that the Remonstrant Pancras family continued to honour.

Ensign Jan Cornelisz Visscher, a sturdy bachelor – an ensign always had to be a well-to-do and unmarried young man – was the company’s showpiece, but he was also a man with a sound education, an enquiring mind and broad interests. In the house on the N.Z. Achterburgwal there were more than fifty paintings of various subjects and there was a large and diverse library that Jan Cornelisz Visscher had inherited from a Mennonite uncle and then added to himself. The inclusion of books of music and a portfolio of drawings tells us that he was also interested in art and music. Jan Cornelisz Visscher was a merchant by profession. Like his father, uncle and grandfather, he was destined for trade from childhood. The family’s trading interests were concentrated primarily on the old Hanseatic region around the Baltic.

Ensign Visscher was still a bachelor when he was interred in the sanctuary of the Oude Kerk on 29 July 1650. Not long after his death, the Catholic poet Jan Vos (1610-1667) wrote the following verse on the portrait of ‘Mr Jan de Visscher, Standard-Bearer of the Civic Guard in Amsterdam’:

So we see Visscher, who held the banner high:
But when the fury struck the city on the I
Sadly he laid down his flag and life alike.
Thus the young man proved he was of Bikker’s blood:
That Bikker who left his State for the people’s good
A free soul cannot live but in a free place.
Anyone who interprets this verse to mean that Ensign Visscher died in a skirmish during Prince William II’s attack on Amsterdam in the summer of 1650 is mistaken, because the prince’s attack on the city was planned on the day of Jan Cornelisz Visscher’s funeral. The troops who became lost on Hilversum Heath in a severe thunderstorm on that day did not appear at the gates of the city, which were already heavily defended, until 30 July, one day after his funeral. In a typical example of the mentality of the Amsterdam magistracy, there was no fighting; instead they negotiated with the prince. As a consequence of these negotiations, the leader of the powerful Bicker family, Burgomaster Andries Bicker (1586-1652), and his brother had to withdraw from politics, in so doing saving the city. The new leader in Amsterdam politics was Cornelis de Graeff, who succeeded in getting his brother-in-law Frans Banninck Cocq elected burgomaster in August 1650.62

According to Jan Vos, the ensign was of ‘Bikker’s blood’. His grandmother, Jannetje Cornelis, was the granddaughter of Jacob Claesz Smit, from whom the Boelen, Bicker and De Graeff families were descended.63 There must have been very close ties with the Bicker family, however, for shortly after Ensign Visscher’s death, his mother, Hillegont Jans, made Andries Bicker, his wife and his two sons her universal heirs in her will.64 Viewed in this light it would seem that Jan Visscher was a protégé of the Bickers.

‘ROMBOUT KEMP’, SERGEANT

Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk
4 January 1597, buried Amsterdam
Nieuwe Kerk 27 October 1653. Son of
Aert Kemp (Den Bosch 1559-1620),
cloth merchant of Amsterdam, deacon
1598/1602/1606, and Clara Jacobs
(Ántwerp 1571-after 1641).
MARRIED: Amsterdam Oude Kerk
20 August 1623 Elsje van Baersdorp
(Leiden 1602-1669).65
RELIGION: Reformed, deacon
1625/1631
PROFESSION: cloth merchant
OFFICES AND POSTS: inspector of
weights and measures 1630/1635,
syndic of the clothmakers’ guild 1631/1
633/1634/1636/1637/1640/1641, regent
of the Nieuwezijds Huiszitrenhuis
1635-1653, sergeant before 1640, and
lieutenant 1646 District II.
REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:66 mother
in Nieuwe Waalseiland f 60,000
ADDRESS: Nieuwendijk in ‘de
Brabantse Waalseiland’ (no. 199).
Like Ensign Visscher, Sergeant Kemp
must have been a cultivated man. With
his air of distinction, he stands out
in Rembrandt’s civic guard portrait.
His simple dignity derives from his
orthodox Calvinist background. He
was well-read, as we can infer from the
legacy his mother left to him in her will
of 16 July 1641,67 which included ‘all
the Latin books, with all his father’s,
brothers’ and his own written books,
provided he makes them accessible and
freely available to her [other] children’.68
In the same will, the eldest son, Rom-
bout Kemp, received as a bequest the
parental home, which his father had
purchased shortly after Rombout’s
birth, for the sum of f 14,000;68
namely the ‘house and parcel called
“de Brabantsche Wagen”, standing on the Nieuwendijk with the portrait of the testatrix, her late husband and all her children in a painting hanging in the same’. This family portrait of the couple and their nine children – eight boys and one girl – is now lost.

Although Rombout Kemp’s wife came from the ruling elite of Leiden and was related through her mother to members of the Amsterdam government, he never held high office. Because of their Calvinism and their support for the clerical parties, these Amsterdam relations were no longer among the influential families in the Town Hall. He did, though, become a governor of the poor relief organization, the N.Z. Huizittenhuis, in 1635, and we know of him in that capacity from a portrait of the governors painted by Jacob Adriaenszn Backer in 1650 (fig. 44). His eminence in the wool and cloth trade is reflected in the fact that he was a syndic of the clothmakers’ guild seven times between 1631 and 1641. In 1653 he was buried in the Wardens’ or Drapers’ Chapel in the Nieuwe Kerk in a double grave he had purchased there. 69

The fact that he occupied a prominent position in the district despite his lack of influential connections is evidenced by his promotion to lieutenant as the successor to Wilhem van Ruytenburch. It must have been thanks to the esteem in which Rombout Kemp was held that his oldest son Artus Kemp (1630-1694) succeeded Jan Corneliszn Visscher as ensign in 1650. He continued in the post of ensign until 1665, when he relinquished it – probably because he went to live outside the district in that year. In 1680 Artus Kemp, having become ‘feeble-minded’, was placed under legal restraint. 70

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**Fig. 44**

JACOB BACKER (attr.),
The Regents of the Nieuwe Zijds Huizittenhuis (the institute for the outdoor relief of the poor). c. 1650.
Oil on canvas, 372 x 312 cm.
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (inv. no. SK-C-442).
Reijnier Janszn Engelen. 77 Baptized Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 19 January 1588, buried Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 24 April 1651, son of Jan Engelszn (1557-1621), cloth merchant, inspector of weights and measures 1607/1608/1611/1612/1618/1619, syndic of the clothmakers’ guild 1615/1618, and Aeltje Reijers (1557-....)

MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 27-4-1624 Willemken Wijnants (1603-[Utrecht] after 1651). 73

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: cloth merchant

OFFICES AND POSTS: Sergeant in District 11 before 1640

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: 74 Nieuwendijk £ 6,000.

ADDRESS: Nieuwendijk in ‘de vergulde Boogh’/‘de Voetboogh’ (no. 189) 75

We actually know very little about Sergeant Reijer Janszn Engelen. This is probably because his only daughter married a canon in Utrecht and the ties with Amsterdam were severed. Reijer Janszn Engelen is seems to have kept a low profile. Unlike his father, he did not rise to become a syndic of the clothmakers. A fine imposed on him in 1624 for selling unauthorized (non-loden) cloth may have prevented him from attaining a position of trust in the guild. He must have risen to the rank of sergeant, to which he was appointed later than Rombout Kemp, because of his seniority among the militiamen. He worked on the Nieuwendijk all his life. Not long after The Night Watch was completed he moved to the Londense Kaai on the Singel in ‘de Voetboogh’ (no. 63), 77 which was in District III, and would have been replaced as sergeant at that time.

Bernardus Bolhamer. Born Amsterdam 1589, buried Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 23 July 1661, son of Herman Cornelisz (1558-before 1611), carpenter, and Trijn Barents (1563-1626).

UNMARRIED (?) 78

RELIGION: Catholic

PROFESSION: grocer

OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: 79 N.Z.

Voorburgwal in ‘het Huys te Utrecht’ (no. 91) £ 10,000

ADDRESS: Singel near the Jan Rodenpoortstoren (no. 155).

Barent Hermanszn Bolhamer came from a Catholic family. His parents had been neighbours on the N.Z. Voorburgwal; his mother lived in ‘Leeuwenburg’ on the southern corner of Dirk van Hasselsteeg (no. 61) and his father lived next door (no. 63). 80 They were married by the Court on 12 June 1586. Barent was the oldest of their three children. 81 There is no record of a marriage or wife of Barent Hermanszn Bolhamer. After his death one Alida Bolhamer (1616(?) -1667) proved to be his heir. She may have been his illegitimate daughter, but there is no record of any recognition of her by the States of Holland. 82 When giving notice of her marriage on 25 February 1667, Alida deposed that she was fifty years old. A few months later, on 6 September 1667, she was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk. Her husband, the butter merchant Jan Cornelisz van Kempen (1632-1691), was considerably younger. It is not inconceivable that Alida Bolhamer was in fact much older than she claimed and that she was actually Barent Hermanszn Bolhamer's
sister Aeltje, who was born in 1598. It would appear that shortly before her death Alida Bolramer went through a marriage of convenience with the thirty-three year younger Van Kempen in order to keep her family’s capital out of the hands of unbelievers.

When Barent Hermansz Bolramer bought his own house in District II in N.Z. Voorburgwal near Sint Nicolaassteeg in 1616, he was a merchant in groceries. He lived in this house with his sister until 1635, when a new house on Singel near the Jan Rodenpoortstoren was finished and they were able to move into it. They lived there together until the end of his life.

VII.

‘JAN ADRIAENSZ KEIJSER’

Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk 4 December 1594, buried Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 31 January 1664. Son of Adriaen Lourenszen (Ghent 1568-c. 1604), stonemason of Amsterdam, and Giertje Jan Keijser (1567-after 1631)

MARITAL: Amsterdam Oude Kerk 20-10-1615 Anna Garniers (1598-1678).

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: cellarman (1615), vintner (1619), wine broker (1625-1659), merchant (1632), steward of the Handboogdoelen (1654-1664).

OFFICES AND POSTS: [capitaine d’armes of District II]

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: 4,000

ADDRESS: [Sint Nicolaasstraat]

Jan Adriaensz Keijser started out as a cellarman, a wine merchant’s assistant. He gave this up in 1625 when he registered with the Guild of Brokers to deal in wines and he did not resign his guild membership until 1659. Keijser evidently made good use of his contacts in the civic guard, since it appears that in 1654 on the recommendation of Frans Banninck Cocq – once his captain and in that year governor of the Handboogdoelen – he was granted the stewardship of the Handboogdoelen on the Singel. The stewards were appointed by the burgomasters and Frans Banninck Cocq had continued in the post of presiding burgomaster in 1654, Keijser succeeded Catharina de Wolf, who had died in December 1653. We know his predecessor as the young woman who presents the senior officers with the valuable drinking horn in Bartholomeus van der Helst’s 1652 portrait of the governors of the guild (fig. 45). Jan Adriaenszn Keijser’s knowledge of wines will doubtless have counted in his favour. One of his sons, Johannes Keijser (1629-1685), later became a wine merchant and in 1670 he was able to move into a house of his own on Herengracht (no. 144), where he hung out the sign of his trade, ‘het Vergulde Bos Druiven’ – the gilded bunch of grapes.

On 12 April 1658 Jan Adriaenszn Keijser, as his uncle, accompanied the genre painter Gabriel Metsu (Leiden 1629-1667) to the town hall for the publication of the banns of his marriage to Isabella de Wolf (Enkhuizen 1631-….). The artist and his wife were Catholic. Gabriel Metsu was the youngest son of the third marriage of Keijser’s sister-in-law Jacquemijntje Garniers (1590 – Leiden 1651), who earned her living as a midwife in Leiden.

Jan Adriaenszn Keijser is the most itinerant of the militiamen in the portrait. He never owned a house of his own. In 1615 he was living on the N.Z. Voorburgwal. In 1619 he is recorded near Sint Nicolaasbrug opposite Sint Nicolaasstraat in N.Z. Voorburgwal, but he and his wife soon moved to a house on the Nieuwendijk opposite Sint Nicolaasstraat (near no. 193), where he can be placed in 1620/1622. In the address book of the brokers’ guild he is recorded around 1625 ‘in Dirck van Assenburch, now moving to the Blauburgwal’. This
last address was outside District 11 and we may assume that Keijser soon returned to an unknown address in the district. In the 1631 Register of Taxes he appears as Jan Adriaenszn, back in Sint Nicolaasstraat with an assessment for taxes on a capital of f 4,000. He may have been at this address while The Night Watch was being painted, but we do not know this for certain. In 1648 we find him on the Singel near the Jan Rodenpoort, and after his appointment as steward he moved to the Handboogdoelen on the Singel.

VIII.

‘ELBERT WILLEMSEN’

Elbert Willem Louwerisznzn/Elbert Willemszn Swedenrijck. Born Amsterdam 1589, buried Amsterdam Zuiderkerk 4 November 1644. Son of Guilliam Louwerijszn (Antwerp 1561-1629) merchant/fishmonger of Amsterdam, and Truutje Elberts (1564-...).

MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 5 April 1626 Elisabeth Lenaerts (1607-1667).

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: merchant

OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: Nieuwendijk (no. 196) f 20,000

ADDRESS: Nieuwendijk in ‘de Drie vergulde/gecroonde Stockvissen’ (no. 196, the fourth house north of Gravenstraat).

Elbert Willem Louwerisznzn’s parents submitted their notice of marriage to the Court on 9 April 1588, which means that they were not then Protestants. It would seem that his mother was still Catholic, for when her father Albert Ghijsbertszn (....-1589) was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on 4 January 1589, the bells were tolled...
for him for two hours. Elbert Willem Louwerisznszn must have been born not long after this and he was called after his recently deceased grandfather; he must have been baptized a Catholic at home. But from 1591 onwards his brothers and sisters were baptized as Protestants in the public Church, and when his grandmother Lieuf IJsbrants (.....-1600) was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on 4 January 1600, the bells remained silent.

Elbert Willem Louwerisznszn entered the world in his grandfather Albert Ghijbertszn's house 'de Vergulde Engel' on the Nieuwendijk (no. 196, the fourth house north of Gravenstraat), which he rented. In 1593 Guilliam Louwerisznszn became the owner of the house. At that time the sign of the 'Bos van Teijlingen' hung over the door, but he replaced it with the sign of his fishmongers' shop 'de Drie Vergulde / gecroonde Stockvissen', three gilded or crowned stockfish. Elbert Willem Louwerisznszn died in this house in 1644 at the age of fifty-five.

Guilliam Louwerijzsnszn's family were merchants, and there were branches of the family in Antwerp, Hamburg and Amsterdam. In Amsterdam Guilliam Louwerijzsnszn appears in the records as a merchant and fishmonger, the latter occupation clearly referring to the fishmongering business owned by his father-in-law, who was known as a pedlar and fish-seller. Elbert Willem Louwerisznszn was a merchant and in 1644 he left his business, worth £90,000, to his children.

After his death Elbert Willem Louwerisznszn appears for the first time under the name of Swedenrijck, a surname that may already have been in use for some time. His descendants continued to use the name Swedenrijck. In 1665 his extremely wealthy son Guilliam Swedenrijck (1633-1691) had the house known as 'Swedenrijck' (no. 462) built in the bend of the Herengracht near Spiegelstraat.

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**IX.**

**‘JAN CLASEN LEIJEDECKERS’**

Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk 20 May 1597, buried Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 27 December 1640. Son of Claes Garbrandtszn (1566-1602), cobbler, and Marie Willems (.....-1606).

**MARRIED:** Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 10-4-1622 Maria Pieters (van der Males) (1603-1641).

**RELIGION:** Reformed

**PROFESSION:** merchant/shopkeeper

**OFFICES AND POSTS:** unknown

**REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:** Damrak £5,000

**ADDRESS:** Damrak in ‘de Gilde Cam’ (no. 81)

The nature of Jan Claeszn Leijddeckers’s business has not come to light. He may, like his brother Willem Claeszn Leijddeckers (1584-1653), have been a cloth merchant. He frequently borrowed money, and on his death his financial situation proved to have been parlous. Having fallen ill, he sent for a notary on 20 December 1640 to draw up his will. A week later, on 27 December, he was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk, leaving an ailing widow and two children. Just a few days after this – on 30 December – his wife, faced with her husband’s numerous debts, ceded ‘all the stock of her shop, and moreover over her whole and entire property, nothing excepted, consisting of jewellery, gems, gold and silverware, paintings, beds, linen, woolens, china, copper and pewter, cupboards, chests and other items’. On 19 April 1641 Marritje Pieters followed her husband to a grave in the Nieuwe Kerk. The guardians of her children accepted her estate ‘without hability to debts beyond the assets descended’ and declared to the Board of Orphans that they would deposit ‘anything that remained’; this, however, never happened. The rented
house 'de Gilde Cam' opposite Papenbrug in Damrak\textsuperscript{16} was vacated.

The Leijdeckers brothers had fallen on hard times,\textsuperscript{16} unlike their brother-in-law, the goldsmith Jan Pietersz van den Eckhout (Harlingen 1584-1652). His marriage to Grietje Claes Leijdeckers (1586-1631) produced a son, who grew up to be the painter Gerbrand van den Eckhout (1621-1674), at whose baptism on 22 August 1621 Jan and Willem Claesz Leijdeckers were present as witnesses. After the death of Gerbrand van den Eckhout’s mother, his father deposited \( f6,000 \) with the Board of Orphans for their children with Jan Claesz Leijdeckers’s agreement.\textsuperscript{17} A few years later the young Gerbrand van den Eckhout became one of Rembrandt’s pupils, remaining with him until around 1640.

\textbf{X.}

\textbf{‘JAN OCKERSEN’}

Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk 22 January 1599, buried Amsterdam Oude Kerk 19 March 1652. Son of Ocker Janszn (1554-1623), cloth merchant, and Heijlken Goverts (1566-1617).

\textit{Married:} Haarlem Grote Kerk 7 December 1621 Wijntje Cornelis Braber (Rotterdam 1622-1644).

\textit{Religion: Reformed}

\textit{Profession:} cloth merchant

\textit{Offices and Posts:} inspector of weights and measures 1634/1635/1636/1640/1641/1643/1644/1647/1649, syndic of the clothmakers’ guild 1638/1639/1644/1645/1646/1648/1651, governor of the Ockershofje,\textsuperscript{19} lieutenant District xx1 1650-1652

\textit{Register of Taxes} (1631).\textsuperscript{20} Nieuwendijk (no. 181) \( f10,000 \)

\textit{Address:} Nieuwendijk in ‘het Groene Claverblat’ (no. 181)

Jan Ockers’s family is for ever associated with a famous incident in the history of the Dutch Reformed church in Amsterdam. On 22 August 1566, during the iconoclastic attack on the Oude Kerk, his grandmother’s sister, Weijn Adriaen Ockersdr (....-1568), had been anything but a passive observer. While her maid pulled down the chandeliers and curtains in the church and helped to remove the statues from their niches, she had ‘thrown her slipper ... through the glass of the altar of Mr Simon, the pastor’. This act of throwing her shoe at the image of the Virgin Mary became so notorious that artists in a later era used it to illustrate the Iconoclasm. In March 1568, after the Duke of Alva had come to the Netherlands to restore order, she was arrested for her action and interrogated under torture. She was sentenced to ‘execution by water’, and on 22 June 1568 she was taken out on to Dam Square and drowned in a wine cask of water.\textsuperscript{21}

In 1567 his grandfather Jan Willemszn (....-in exile 1569), who had been a soap-maker in ‘het Groene Claverblat’ on the north corner of Zoutsteeg off Damrak (no. 84) since 1542, had not felt safe, unlike his sister-in-law, and had fled abroad with his children. His wife, Trijn Adriaen Ockersdr (....-1595/98), stayed behind in Amsterdam to look after his affairs.\textsuperscript{22} The events of 1566 and the years that followed did not cause the whole family to become Protestant. The eldest son Adriaen Ockers (1549-1608), father of the artist Jan Adriaenszn Ockers (1584-1653), for instance, remained faithful to the Catholic church.\textsuperscript{23}

The youngest son, Ocker Janszn (1554-1623), was a Protestant. He was a cloth merchant on the Nieuwendijk in ‘de Vier Baersen’ (no. 181), where he had hung his father’s old sign of the green cloverleaf again.\textsuperscript{24} In this same house his eldest son, militiaman Jan Ockers, continued his father’s business in the cloth trade. His eminent position in the trade is evident: between 1638 and 1651 he was a syndic of the
clothmakers’ guild seven times. When the boundaries of the districts were redrawn in 1650, Jan Ockers became the lieutenant in District xxi.¹²⁵

The boundaries of the districts were now fixed at the line running from the Kloveniersdoelen, the great hall in the Kloveniersdoelen and that each of them, to the best of the witness’s recollection, each paid for the painting the sum of one hundred guilders, one a little more, the other a little less, according to the position they had in it.¹³¹

XI.

‘JAN PIETERSEN BRONCHORST’

Born Husum 1587, died [Maarssen] after 17 August 1666,¹²⁶
Married: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 13 May 1614 Aeltje Huybrechts (Neerpelt 1575-1655),¹²⁷ widow of Jan Simonsz Schouten (Dulmen 1575-1613), cloth-shearer in Dirk van Hasseltsteeg (1603), clothmaker (1613).
Religion: Reformed
Profession: cloth-shearer (1614), cloth merchant and clothmaker
Offices and Posts: unknown
Register of Taxes: 1631:¹²⁸ N.Z. Voorburgwal (no. 94) f 6,000
Address: N.Z. Voorburgwal near the Korte Lijnbaansteeg in ‘de Blauwe Pot’ (no. 94)¹²⁹

In Amsterdam deeds we generally encounter Jan Pieterszn Bronchorst, who worked his way up from cloth-shearer to cloth merchant, as ‘Jan Pieterszn, cloth merchant’.¹³⁰ This is how he appears in the famous statement he made about the payment for The Night Watch: ‘Mr Jan Pieterszn, cloth merchant, about seventy years of age, residing in Nieuwesijds Voorburgwal opposite Nieuwstraat in this city, at the request of Mr Louys Crayrs, as guardian of Titus van Rijn, son of Saskia van Uylenburgh and Rembrandt van Rijn, appeared and attested, testified and declared to be the truth by true Christian words instead of by oath that he, the party appearing, was painted and portrayed by Rembrandt van Rijn, artist, along with other persons of their company and troop, being sixteen in number, in a painting, now hanging in the

XII.

‘HARMAN JACOBSEN WORMSKERCK’

Born Deventer 1590, died Amsterdam 9 January 1653, buried Nieuwe Kerk 15 January 1653.
Married: Alkmaar Grote Kerk 2 August 1624 Judith Steenhuyesen (1587-1666).¹³²
Religion: Reformed, deacon 1630, elder 1642/1645/1649
Profession: cloth merchant, dean of the clothmakers’ guild 1628
Offices and Posts: unknown
Register of Taxes: 1631:¹³³ Nieuwendijk (no. 201) f 25,000
Address: Nieuwendijk in ‘het Groninger Wapen’, later called ‘de Oyevaer’ (no. 201).¹³⁴

In a very short space of time Herman Jacobszn Wormskerck was ‘so richly blessed by the Lord’ with ‘worldly goods’ that he was able to retire from business in 1641-1642. He handled his business and his looms over to his wife’s nephew and gave him f 60,000 at 4% as starting capital for the wool and cloth trade. This nephew joined forces with his neighbour, Sergeant Rombout Kemp, who was a syndic of the clothmakers’ guild at that time.¹³⁵

Towards the beginning of 1642 Wormskerck and his family moved from the Nieuwendijk to a house in the small bend in the Herengracht (no. 166), which he had bought for f 36,000 on 9 January 1642.¹³⁶ In gratitude for his wealth, the deeply religious Herman Jacobszn Worms-
kerck named his house 'Soli Deo Gloria'. On his death Herman Jacobsz Wormskerck left numerous bequests to religious institutions and established a scholarship for ministers, intended for young men of good family who were to come from Deventer and Amsterdam in turn. Wormskerck and his wife left an estate worth f 370,150.137

XIII.

‘JACOB DIRCKSEN DE ROY’

Born Amsterdam 13 June 1601, buried Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 6 March 1659. Son of Dirck Jacobsz (1574-1601), beer importer, and Mary Thomasdr (1579-1601).

Married: Amsterdam Court 18 January 1626 Maria Jan Bontendr (1602-1667).138

Religion: Catholic

Profession: cloth merchant

Offices and posts: governor of the Roman-Catholic Aged Poor Relief Office 1628-1654, inspector of weights and measures 1639/1642/1645/1648/1650/1655/1656, syndic of the clothmakers’ guild 1640/1643/1646/1647/1649/1654/1657/1658, governor of the Schouwburg (theatre) 1641/1642/1651

Register of taxes 1631,139 the heirs of his father-in-law Jan Gerritszoon of Nieuwendijk (no. 196) f 15,000

Address: Nieuwendijk in ‘het Ver­ guilde Spoor’ (no. 196, the fifth house north of Gravenstraat).140

Jacob Dircksen de Roy came from a family of beer importers, most of whom were Protestants.141 After his parents died of the plague in 1601, he was brought up as an only child by Catholic relatives of his mother and educated as a Catholic. Jacob Dirckszn de Roy owed his social standing to his marriage to the daughter of the cloth merchant on the Nieuwendijk, Jan Gerritszoon Bont (1565-1627), whose father had been a cloth merchant there before him and was a syndic of the clothmakers’ guild many times between 1572 and 1591.142 Jacob Dirckszn de Roy was taken into the Bont family’s long-standing cloth business. His father-in-law’s concern for their poor made him a highly respected man in Catholic society at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He organized the collection of money and its distribution among the poor adults of the cautiously and quietly reorganizing Catholic community. Their organization was not yet entirely visible during this period, but under his son-in-law Jacob Dirckszn de Roy, who succeeded his father-in-law as ‘regent’, the Roman Catholic poor relief office became fully functioning.143

Jacob Dirckszn de Roy was also a respected and prominent figure in the city’s cultural life. He was one of the early governors of the theatre, the Schouwburg, in 1641/1642 and 1651/1652. The Board of Governors of the Schouwburg was predominantly Catholic, and so we find him there alongside the Catholic painter Claes Cornelisz Moyaert ([Durgerdam] 1591-1655) and the Catholic poet and playwright Jan Vos (1610-1667). This interest in the theatre was shared by his children.144

XIV.

‘JAN VAN DER HEEDE’

Born Driebruggen 1610, buried Amsterdam Oude Kerk 11 May 1655. Son of Aert Hugensz, Bailiff of the Lange en de Ruige Weide (documented 1592-1621), and Margaretha Amels van der Heede.145

Married: Rotterdam Court 19 July 1643 Anna van Hoorn (1619-1666).146 She remarried 1665 Arnout Hellemans Hooft (1629-1680).
THE OIL

SCHELLINGWOU

Anonymous

burg

Museum,

114.5

(1613-1653)

Portrait

FERDINAND

Fig.

on

State

X

93

canvas,

46

of

Walich

Schellingwou

(1613-1653).

Oil on canvas,

114.5 x 93 cm.

The State Hermitage

Museum, St. Peters-

burg

RELIGION: Remonstrant

PROFESSION: merchant in groceries,

burgher 17.1.1641,

OFFICES AND POSTS: Sergeant

District xxi 1650

REGISTER OF TAXES 1651: unknown

ADDRESS: Damrak on the north corner of Zoutsteeg (no. 84)

When Jan Aertszn van der Heede came to Amsterdam in the sixteen-thirties, he had various relatives there who were merchants and merchant in groceries by trade. On 7 February 1635 he signed a contract with the Mennonite merchant Gijsbert Lambertszn Schouten (Weesp 1614-1661) to set up a grocery company together ‘in the house rented by them for the purpose, situated by the water on the north corner of Soutsteegh, where they will live together and do their best to promote the aforesaid trade’. They each put a sum of f 8,000 into the business.

Their contract stipulated, among other things, that they would run a joint household, but that ‘each must pay for his clothing out of his private means’. The company was to commence on 1 May 1635 and continue for eight years. At the end of the eight years the contract was not renewed by the partners and they each continued in business independently. Schouten settled in ‘de Gulden Meulen’ (Damrak no. 49) and Jan van der Heede rented ‘de Rode Molen’ (no. 71), a few houses further along. This house in which Van der Heede lived was in that part of District II that became District xxi in the reorganization of the districts in 1650, and he became sergeant of the new district at that time. At the time of his death he was living on the Singel in ‘de Swarte Caeter’, a house he rented from the Schepel family.

xv.

‘WALICH SCHELLINGWOU’ (fig. 46)

Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk

21 March 1613, buried Amsterdam

Oude Kerk (Lady Chapel) 5 July 1653, son of Jan Theuniszn Schellingwou (1579-1657), cloth merchant, inspector of weights and measures 1606/1607/1612/1615/1616/1620/1625, syndic of the clothmakers’ guild 1609/1610/1613/1614/1618/1619/1621/1623/1624/1626/1627, provost marshal (1626), and Duyfje Walichs (1580-1624).

MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk

1 January 1641 Margarieta Backers (Haarlem 1618-1687).

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: wine merchant

OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown

REGISTER OF TAXES 1651: father Jan Theuniszn Schellingwou of Nieuwendijk (no. 198) f 28,000

ADDRESS: Nieuwendijk on the north corner of Gravenstraat (no. 198).
Walich Schellingwou came from a family that had been in the cloth trade on the Nieuwendijk for eighty years. Between 1583 and 1627 there had almost permanently been a member of the family among the syndics of the clothmakers' guild that supervised the wool trade. His father Jan Theunisz Schellingwou may have retired from the cloth trade at the end of the sixteen-twenties, since from 1626 onwards he was recorded as provost marshal, in other words a man charged with maintaining discipline in the civic guard.

Like so many of the families who had prospered in trade, the Schellingwous moved from the Nieuwendijk to the prestigious new Herengracht, where they bought the houses called 'de Son' and 'de Maen' (the Sun and the Moon, nos. 181 and 183) in 1645. There was not enough storage space for Walich Schellingwou's wine stock so he rented the cellars of the civic guard Wormskerck in 'Soli Deo Gloria' on the other side of the canal (see militiaman no. 12). When Walich Schellingwou died there in 1653, only forty years old, the first English War was at its height and in view of the uncertain times, his widow accepted his estate 'without hability to debts beyond the assets descended'.

The inventory of his estate lists two portraits of him. In the hall of the Herengracht house there were 'Two portraits of the deceased and his wife', and in the inner room 'A painting of the deceased with his wife, children and brother-in-law'. These family portraits were still in the possession of a son at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The heirs probably died young and the portraits came on to the art market. In 1772 the portrait of a man was acquired as a Rembrandt from the Crozat Collection in Paris for the collection of Catharine II of Russia. The canvas (114.4 x 93 cm.) has a forged signature 'Rembrandt f.' and a date of 1641. That was the year Rembrandt was working on The Night Watch. The date could actually be correct, which means that the portraits of Walich Schellingwou and his wife could have been their marriage portraits. They married on New Year's Day 1641. The pendant is lost. The group portrait of the family dating from around 1650 with four or five sons can likewise not be traced.

Among the entries of outstanding debts in the inventory we find the artist Bartholomeus Breenbergh (Deventer 1599-1657) with a sum of f 26:10:--. In 1633 Bartholomeus Breenbergh married a cousin of the family, Rebecca Schellingwou (c. 1610-1667). In the sixteen-twenties, during the Counter Reformation, she, her mother and her brothers had secretly returned to the Catholic church. Two of her brothers worked as priests in Amsterdam. This conversion was all the more remarkable because the Schellingwous and their relatives had been among the earliest Protestant families and had held countless posts in the church since the Alteration. Grandfather Walich Syvertszn (1542-1606) had even been a parish elder in exile in Emden.

### XVI.

#### 'JAN BRUGMAN'

Jan Brugman. Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk 6 July 1614, died Beverwijk 1 September 1652, son of Jan Pieterszn Brugman (1582-1622), cloth merchant, inspector of weights and measures 1609/1613/1618/1619, Nieuwezijds Huiszittenmeester (1620-1622), lieutenant District II (1620-1621), and Marrjitte Adriaens Hardebol (1582-[Beverwijk] c. 1639) MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 3 March 1637 Cecilia Boelen (1618-1650). RELIGION: Reformed PROFESSION: cloth merchant
Jan Brughman was part of Amsterdam’s *jeunesse dorée*. His family were among the richest merchants in District II and in 1631 they had the highest tax assessment. In 1640 Jan Brughman inherited a fortune that enabled him to purchase a manor in Beverwijk. In 1650, after the death of his wife, he retired from the cloth trade and settled there permanently. He was not granted long to enjoy his rural retreat, for he died there in 1652 at the age of thirty-eight.

On 28 October 1578, shortly after the Alteration, when Jan Brughman’s grandfather submitted the notification of his marriage in Amsterdam, he was still simply Pieter Janszn (Neerpelt ...-1608). He had set himself up on the Nieuwendijk near Nieuwe Brugsteeg (no. 135) in the house of the grandfather of militiaman Schellingwou, whose house he had bought in 1591.

There he hung out the sign of his trade – a green cloth or ‘Groene Laken’ – and he was consequently sometimes referred to as Pieter Janszn Groenlaken. The surname Brughman – possibly derived from their address near Brugsteeg – came into use alongside Groenlaken in the early seventeenth century. His son Jan Pietersz Brughman (1582-1622) continued to use the name Groenlaken. Jan Pietersz Brughman lived in the house owned by his father-in-law Willem Adriaenszn Hardebol (Neerpelt ...-1624) on the Nieuwendijk near Baasjessteeg (no. 197), where the sign ‘de Hardebollen’ had hung during his father-in-law’s time. Brughman himself, however, put out the sign of the ‘Twee Groene Lakenen’. In 1640 Jan Brughman, who was the third generation of cloth merchants, inherited the house behind the ‘Twee Groene Lakenen’, the ‘Vergulde Hardebol’ (no. 64) in Damrak, where he lived until 1650.

We know a sister of militiaman Brughman, Catharina Brughman (1611-Haarlem 1677), and her husband Tielem an Roosterman (Goch 1608-Haarlem 1673) from two portraits painted by Frans Hals in 1634. A cousin of Jan Brughman, Nicolaes Seys Paeuw (1607-Beverwijk 1640), was the landlord of Rembrandt’s employer Hendrick van Uylenburgh (Krakow c. 1585-1661) in St Anthonisbreestraat.

XVII.

‘CLAES VAN CRUIJSBERGEN’

Baptized Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 26 February 1613; buried Amsterdam Oude Kerk (Bowmen’s Chapel) 16 May 1663. Son of Frans Jacobszn van Cruysbergen (1581-Weesp 1640), merchant of Amsterdam, church warden Nieuwe Kerk 1609, brewer in the ‘Twee halve Maenen’ in Weesp 1610, receiver of the customs and excise duties of Weesp, sheriff there, and Aeltje Jacobsdr Hoyngh (1582-Weesp, after 1641).

UNMARRIED

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: merchant and grocer

(1639)

OFFICES AND POSTS: provost marshal

(1651)

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: father in Weesp f 4,000; the heirs of grandfather Jacob Gerritszn Hoyngh f 35,000 and uncle Thomas Jacobs Hoyngh on the Nieuwendijk f 20,000.

ADDRESS: Damrak

Claes van Cruysbergen was the grandson of two regents: Jacob Franszn Oetgens (....-1595) and Jacob Gerritszn Hoyngh (1555-1625). We know Hoyngh between 1589 and 1625 as captain of District III.
(portrait in Pieter Isaacxzn’s militia portrait of 1596 and Paulus Moreelse’s of 1616). This maternal grandfather Hoyngh had been a cloth merchant on the Nieuwendijk in ‘de Swarte Leeuw’ (no. 158), a few houses north of Nieuwe Nieuwstraat (the boundary of District 11). He was a syndic of the clothmakers’ guild ten times. His business was continued at the same address by one of his sons. Claes van Cruiysbergen did not become a cloth merchant, but set up in business at the beginning of 1639 as a merchant in groceries at Damrak, where he is documented between 21 May 1639 and 2 October 1645. In 1647 he was no longer living in Damrak and in 1650 we find him on the Singel (no. 62) in a rented house. He appears to have given up his business at about this time. On 5 February 1651 he became provost marshal of the civic guard, and this is how we know him from his statement about The Night Watch of 1659: ‘Mr Nicolaes van Cruiysbergen, provost marshal of the militia in this city, appeared at the request of Mr Louys Crayres, as guardian of Titus van Rhijn, son of Saskia van Uilenburgh, procreated by Rembrandt van Rhijn, and attested, testified and declared as true that the painting in the Cleuveniersdoelen was painted by the said Rembrandt van Rhijn and that he the witness is among those portrayed in it, the painting of it having cost the sum of sixteen hundred guilders. The witness gave as his reason for knowing this that he had paid his share of it and had heard it said several times.’

Paulus Harmenszn Schoonhoven went from Goes to Amsterdam in 1616 to learn the trade from his uncle, the broker Isaac Florianus (Antwerp 1572-after 1631 ...). In 1623 he was enrolled in the Guild of Brokers and worked in the business for more than half a century. His oldest son, Harman Schoonhoven (1626-1678), shared his profession from 1646 onwards. Like the broker and militiaman Jan Adriaenszn Keijser, who was related to Florianus through his wife, Paulus Harmenszn Schoonhoven lived in a succession of rented houses, until he bought a house in District 11 on 17 August 1639. This house was on the Singel, on the Rouaanse Kade, where Schoonhoven became the neighbour of the painter Claes Corneliszn Moyaert in ‘de Olyphant’ (no. 95).

Claes Moyaert, who must also have been a militiaman in District 11, does not appear in The Night Watch.

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**XVIII.**

**‘PAULUS SCHOONHOVEN’**

Born Goes 1595, died Amsterdam 8 July 1679 and buried Nieuwe Kerk 12 July 1679. Son of Herman N.N. (....-after 1623) and Aeltje Symons (....after 1640).
Position of the Militiamen in *The Night Watch*

On the surviving name plates on the civic guard portraits, the names of the militiamen were not listed according to their postion in the painting, but to their length of service in the company, so we do not know which name belonged to which man. The officers in these group portraits are the only people who can be identified by their attributes, and *The Night Watch* followed this pattern: the swagger-stick for the captain, the spontoon or half-pike for the lieutenant, halberds for the sergeants, the banner for the ensign and the two-handed sword for the capitaine d’armes. This leaves us with the problem of identifying the ordinary militiamen in *The Night Watch*. Now that we know the dates of the births and deaths of all the members of the company, however, it is possible to divide them into age groups; we can then seek the identities of the individual militiamen within these groups (fig. 53):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Militiamen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>XV, XVI and XVII (nos. 18, 23 and 32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>I, III and XIV (nos. 1, 3 and 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>II, IV, VII, IX, X, XIII and XVIII (nos. 2, 5, 20, 22, 24, 29 and 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>V, VI, VIII, XI and XII (nos. 4, 7, 8, 9 and 25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the ordinary militiamen, the youngest, Jan Brughman (1614-1652), was by far the wealthiest. This enables us to identify the opulently dressed young man with the large lace collar and long blond curls on the piece of *The Night Watch* that was cut off (no. 32) as Jan Brughman. With his bando-leeer and charge cases, the firearm over his shoulder and the musket-rest in his hand, he is portrayed as a musketeer.”

This is entirely consistent with the fact that wealthy militiamen paid for their own weapons. Militiamen Walich Schellingwou (1613-1653) and Claes van Cruiysbergen (1613-1663) (nos. 18 and 23) were both twenty-nine years...
old in 1642 so that there would seem to be little point in trying to identify them individually, were it not for the fact that in 1983 Irina Linnik succeeded in identifying the pikeman (no. 23) as Walich Schellingwou. That leaves Claes van Cruysbergen as the shield-bearer with the backsword (no. 18).

Things are made easier for us in the next age group, between thirty and forty, because we already know who the captain and the ensign are. This means that the thirty-two-year-old bachelor Jan van der Heede (1610-1655) must be the guardsmen in red (no. 10). According to the French rules of fashion, bachelors were not bound to wear the decent black of gentlemen of rank, but could dress in more colourful clothes, as did Ensign Visscher, too. We shall return to this. In 1643 Van der Heede married a Remonstrant woman in Rotterdam, after which black, as worn by Captain Banninck Cocq and Sergeant Kemp, would have been his normal garb in public. Van der Heede would have worn the then current flat collar, one trimmed with lace on festive occasions, like militiaman Jan Brughman and the man beside him (nos. 32 and 33). Compared with Jan Brughman, Van der Heede had a rather old-fashioned beard and his hair is not as modishly long. This may have had to do with his country origins – he was born in the little village of Driebrugge. His wife was born in Amsterdam. In 1665 she married again; her second husband was the son of the Bailiff of Muiden, Pieter Corneliszn Hooft (1581-1647).

The largest age group – seven men in all – is that between forty and fifty. Fortunately this group includes two of the officers: the forty-two-year-old lieutenant Wilhem van Ruytenburch (1600-1652) and the forty-five-year-old sergeant Rombout Kemp (1597-1653) (nos. 2 and 5) are part of this group. In The Night Watch Van Ruytenburch wears the garb of a cavalryman and
Kemp appears in civilian dress with an old-fashioned millstone ruff, which marks him out as conservative. On the grounds of a portrait of Jacob de Roy (1601-1659) and his family by the Haarlem painter Gerrit Bleeker (c. 1593-1656) in Museum Amstelkring he was identified as no. 22 in 1927 and by later authors as no. 25, but these identifications were rejected by Haverkamp Begemann in 1982. Despite the family coat of arms on the frame, the identification of Jacob de Roy and his family in Bleeker's painting is false. This cannot be him. It is more likely that, of the militiamen in their early forties, the man dressed in elegant black (no. 33) on the piece cut off in 1715 is the forty-one-year-old Catholic regent Jacob Dirckszn de Roy. A typically Dutch pudding-face similar to no. 33's can be recognized in the man with the tall hat behind Captain Banninck Cocq (no. 20). May we identify this man with a lance as the two years older Jan Ockersen (1599-1652)? He wears a cuirass with an outmoded tall hat that does not go with it. His collar is open, in contrast to the formal millstone ruff worn by the old-fashioned Sergeant Kemp. It was not until 1650, when Jacob Backer painted Rombout Kemp as one of the governors of the N.Z. Huiszittenhuis, that we see him in the more modern flat collar (figs. 49, 50).

On the grounds of this analysis we appear to have identified four of the seven over-forties, which leaves us with Jan Keijser (1594-1664) and Paulus van Schoonhoven (1595-1679), who were forty-seven and forty-eight respectively in 1642, plus Jan Leijddeckers (1597-1640). Leijddeckers died at the age of forty-three before the painting was finished in December 1640. Did Rembrandt indicate in any way in the painting that one of the men was no longer alive? The musketeer blowing out the pan of his musket (no. 24) is the only guardsman who is not looking at anybody, which almost makes him a supernumerary. Here
Rembrandt has faithfully followed the print by De Gheyn, who portrayed the musketeer with downcast eyes (figs. 51, 52). Might this man with his blond moustache and goatee beard be Leijdinkers, a man in his early forties? The red clothes he wears would not reflect the reality.

Was militiaman Keijser someone who already had a close relationship with Banninck Cocq in 1642 (no. 22) or do we have to say that we cannot tell which of the two men in their late forties (nos. 22 and 29) is which? As the company sword-bearer, militiaman no. 22 had a special ceremonial role. According to Martin, the sword-bearers were among the dignitaries who accompanied the captain with a raised two-handed sword at public ceremonies. The role of sword-bearer was the prerogative of the ‘capitaine d’armes’, a subaltern responsible for looking after the company’s weapons and equipment. Nowadays we would call him a quartermaster. The cap he wears is certainly not part of his ceremonial dress as a sword-bearer. It is quite conceivable that Jan Keijser held a junior officer’s rank. Paulus van Schoonhoven, on the other hand, who was one of the most recently enrolled militiamen, would not yet have been considered for a rank, so that he can be identified as the guardsman next to Sergeant Kemp (no. 29).

Another identification would appear to be possible on the basis of a half-length copy of one of the men in their fifties (no. 8) painted by Bartholomeus van der Helst in 1653. Assuming that this portrait was painted posthumously after The Night Watch, the fifty-two-year-old Harman Jacobsz Wormskerck is a likely candidate for this guardsman. The copy would have been made for his widow. When she died in 1666, their only child, Bartholdus Wormskerck (1627-1653), had already died childless. His widow remarried in 1673. Her second husband was Burgomaster Joannes Hudde (1628-1704), whose estate in 1705 included a portrait of ‘Mr Wormskerck’ without a pendant, which means that this portrait could have come on to the art market early in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century it was in England, where it was copied. In this latter group of men in their fifties we have identified the fifty-four-year-old sergeant, Reijnier Engelen (1588-1651), and the fifty-two-year-old Harman Wormskerck (1590-1653), between whom we may be able to recognize the oldest guardsman, the fifty-five-year-old Jan Pieterszn Bronckhorst (1587-after 1666), as the man with the white beard (no. 7). This leaves the musketeer (no. 9) and the pikeman (no. 25) as the two fifty-three-year-olds, Elbert Willemszn Swedenrijk (1589-1644) and Barent Harmansen Bolramer (1589-1661). Since Swedenrijk was taxed on assets twice as high as Bolramer’s in 1631 – f 20,000 as against f 10,000 – we might be able to identify him as the musketeer (no. 9) and Bolramer as the pikeman (no. 25). Pikeman Barent Bolramer wears a cuirass with epaulettes and an inappropriate hat in The Night Watch, while for his part musketeer Elbert Swedenrijk is tricked out in a very unusual helmet.

People believed they could make out above the glowing girls in the painting peacock feathers that might be decorating a peacock pie, and so it was previously thought that they were the young daughters of Jacob Pieterszn Nachglaas (1577-1654), the steward of the Kloveniersdoelen. The steward’s older daughter, Geertruyt Nachglaas (1607-[1690]), who succeeded her father between 1654 and 1659, certainly worked in her father’s business, but she was thirty-five in 1642, which makes her rather on the old side to be one of the girls. As a guest at the Kloveniersdoelen, Rembrandt must have known her well. When he ran out of drawing paper after his bankruptcy, he used the back of the funeral announce-
Fig. 53
LAMBERTUS CLAESSENS,
Etching of The Night Watch,
first state. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam.

1 ([i]). Frans Banninck Cocq
(1605-1655), captain
2 ([ii]). Willem van Ruytenburch
(1600-1657), lieutenant
3 ([iii]). Jan Visscher Cornelissen
(1610-1650), ensign
4 ([iv]). Reijnier Engelen
(1588-1651), sergeant
5 ([v]). Rombout Kemp
(1597-1653), sergeant
6 Musketeer
7 ([vi]). Jan Pietersen Bronckhorst
(1587-na 1666), rondassier
8 ([vii]). Harman Jacobszn Wormskerck
(1590-1653), rondassier
9 ([viii]). Elbert Willemszn Swedenrijk
(1589-1644), musketeer
10 ([ix]). Jan van der Heede
(1610-1653), musketeer
11 Powder boy
12 Girl in gold and blue
13 Girl in gold and blue
14 Musketeer
15 Head of a man
16 Self-portrait
17 ([x]). Claes van Cruiysbergen
(1613-1663), rondassier
18 Head of a man
19 Head of a man
20 ([xi]). Jan Ockersen (1599-1652),
pikeman
21 Head of a man
22 ([xii]). Jan Adriaenszn Keijser
(1594-1664), sword bearer
23 ([xiii]). Walich Schellingwou
(1613-1653), pikeman
24 ([xiv]). Jan Claesen Leijdeckers
(1597-1649), musketeer
25 ([xv]). Barent Harmanszn Bolthamer (1589-1661), pikeman
26 Head of a pikeman
27 Musketeer
28 Head of a man
29 ([xvi]). Paulus van Schoonhoven
(1595-1679), pikeman
30 Jacob Joriszn (1591-after 1646),
drummer
31 Head of a man
32 ([xvii]). Jan Brughman (1614-1652),
musketeer
33 ([xviii]). Jacob Dirckszn de Roy
(1601-1659)
34 Child
ment for her sister Aechtje Nachtglas (1612-1659) for a sketch of Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (John 8: 3-8). 209

Aside from the names on the oval shield on The Night Watch, we can identify the man playing a drum roll (no. 30) as Jacob Joriszn (1591-after 1646), who had served as drummer under Frans Banninck Cocq’s command. 210 From a statement dated 30 July 1646 which he made with his colleague Josua Jacobszn (1576-1647), the drummer under the command of Captain Jacob Jacobszn Roch (1586-1670) of District ix, we know that he earned forty guilders a year. Drummer Jacob Joriszn should not be confused with the trumpeter of the same name. 211 The drummer signed with a mark, whereas the trumpeter signed his name.

It is obvious that a drummer whose annual pay was just forty guilders could not afford to have his portrait painted in The Night Watch and that he is therefore not mentioned among the paying militiamen. According to Jan Pieterszn Bronckhorst’s statement in 1659, the sixteen militiamen ‘each paid for the painting the sum of one hundred guilders, one a little more, the other a little less, according to the position they had in it.’ This statement came from the very man who occupies the least important place in the painting. The fact that the militiamen paid f 1,600 is confirmed by another statement made in the same year. Rembrandt was an expensive painter because the portraits were life sized. In 1632, for instance, Thomas de Keyser was paid only f 61 for a portrait of one of the militiamen in his significantly smaller painting (220 x 351 cm) in the Kloveniersdoelen. 212 We do not know what the captain and the lieutenant paid for their magnificent portraits, for both men had been dead for some time in 1659 and could no longer be called upon for their testimony in order to establish Titus’s inheritance.

We would probably not be far wide of the mark if we were to assume that each man paid f 500 for his portrait — the sum Andries de Graeff (1611-1678) had to pay for his full-length life-size portrait in 1639. 213 It would explain their dominant position in the painting and would mean that Rembrandt could have received around f 2,600 for The Night Watch. This sum could have been paid in advance. 214 Militiaman Jan Leijdeckers, who died in December 1640, is in the painting, but his portrait seems to have been conceived after the print by Jacques de Gheyn rather than from life.

The civic guard was a military organization of burghers. Each militiaman had a specific position and duty. Rembrandt recorded the role and the authority of the officers very clearly in his painting. Among the junior officers the capitaine d’armes with his two-handed sword at his side is in the centre of the picture, but we do not have a single source that identifies Jan Keijser as a holder of this particular rank. In a military organization it would be inconceivable for someone to be portrayed in a rank he did not hold. This makes the painting a document for Jan Keijser’s rank. What about the rondassiers — the shield-bearers? Their duties included protecting the ensign and the banner. In The Night Watch they are shown on either side of the ensign. At twenty-nine, Claes van Cruysbergen would have been well up to the task, but would the fifty-three-year-old Harman Wormskerck not have been a bit too old for the job? Or was it simply a role for him in the composition? No musket was listed in Walich Schellingwouw’s estate inventory, but there was a guard pike with which he was portrayed as a pikeman.

Were the militiamen happy with their portraits in this work? One only had to look around the Great Hall of the Kloveniersdoelen to see that it did not show them off in the same way. In his book on the theory of art, Samuel
van Hoogstraten said of The Night Watch that in the painting Rembrandt was more concerned ‘with the larger picture of his conceiving than with the individual portraits he had been commissioned to make’. He wrote that in 1678, and he was in a position to know, as he had been one of Rembrandt’s pupils in the sixteen-forties. Compared with the other paintings in the Great Hall there was an unprecedented imbalance between the senior officers and the militiaen that did not do justice to the militiaen. The fact that Frans Banninck Coq was satisfied and commissioned a copy of the picture of his company comes as no surprise, but he was the only one. Why did Harman Wormskerck’s widow not go to Rembrandt in 1653 for a copy of the portrait of her late husband? At that time, with the English War at its height, Rembrandt could certainly have done with the money. Had he been unable to accept the commission because work on his house caused by the shoring up of his neighbour’s property made it too dusty for him to paint, or was he simply not asked? The man who got the job was Bartholomeus van der Helst, for decades one of the city’s leading portraitists, along with Govert Flinck, Jacob Backer and Ferdinand Bol. Van der Helst’s painting of Roelof Bicker’s company in the Great Hall must have been a wonderful advertisement for him. In 1642 Rembrandt’s portrait commissions dried up for years.

NOTES
4 J.A. Jochems, Amsterdamse Oude Burgervendels (schutterij) 1580-1795 (Amsterdam 1888), pp. 29-30.
6 E. Haverkamp-Begemann, Rembrandt: The Nightwatch, Princeton 1982, p. 120, where this study was announced before 1981.
9 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 41-42 as descendents of Mr Jacob Banninck (c. 1470-c. 1529), notary, secretary 1505-1521 and councillor c. 1529.
11 Where no town or city is mentioned, the reference is generally to Amsterdam.

75

13 J.G. & P.J. Frederiks, Tax register van de tweehonderdsten penning voor Amsterdam en onderhorige plaatsen over 1613, Amsterdam 1890, p. 38, f. 157 no. 98 and p. 16, f. 166 no. 198. This tax was half a percent of capital. The capital here was converted accordingly.


15 J.W. Verhey, Nieuwendijk and Damrak in 1557, Amsterdam 1980, p. 100, illustrated in a gouache by Johannes Thopas (1650-60, 240 x 191 mm., Amsterdam City Archive (hereafter abbreviated as ACA); see B. Gerlagh, ‘Portret van een oudere dame, mogelijk Maaieke Martens (c. 1581-1635)’, Bulletin van de Vereniging Rembrandt 16 (2006) 2, pp. 16-19, fig. p. 17. On the top and in the gable there is a globe as the symbol of ‘de Blinde Wereld’ (the Blind World).

16 ACA, archive 76, De Graeff family archive no. 117.

17 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, ‘Frans Banninck Cocq (1603-1653), the captain of “De Nachtwacht”, Maandblad Amsterdam 79 (1992), pp. 28-33, p. 31 with fig. Frans Banninck’s other seal, simply ‘a fox in a thicket’ (ACA, archive 5073, no. 1357, Board of Orphans drawer 97, item 9-7-1579) was not illustrated. In his seal of 1581 he quartered his arms: I and II; a fox in a thicket and II and III: a swan (ACA, archive 5057, Topographical Collection, O.Z. Voorburgwal, item 24-4-183). The Benninck arms were a blue cross moline on gold.


19 Warmoesstraat no. 159, see J.G. Kam, Waar was dat huis in de Warmoesstraat, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 181, 183.


21 In the Rijksmuseum collection there is an escutcheon of Frans Banninck Cocq (it reads ‘F BANNING COCCQ’) showing his forebears’ quartingts. These include the Hooff arms, which are obviously in the wrong place. Until now no one has been able to explain these ‘foreign’ Hooff arms, see J. Leeuwenberg, Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum, The Hague 1973, pp. 232. However, Frans Banninck Cock’s father had a Hooff cousin (Amsterdam see Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 406 (note c)). In view of these two pieces of information it is very likely that Jan Janszoon Cock had a Hooff grandmother. It would thus appear evident that a Cock-Hooff married couple (who may or may not have used this surname) moved from Amsterdam or the Zaanstreek – at the time of the troubles around 1567 – to Bremen, where their son Jan married a Frijtagh girl. Jan Janszoon Cocq was born in Bremen in 1575, at a time when many refugees from Holland were sheltering there. However it is remarkable that Frans Banninck Cocq did not go into this relationship with the Hooff family in greater detail in his family records (see the album of Frans Banninck Cocq in the Rijksmuseum). If we accept the lineage on the father’s side from the Hooff family, the order of the family coat of arms can be explained. The arms of the father’s side, Cock, Frijtagh, Hooff and an unknown name, must have been on the left, with those of the mother’s side, Banninck, Haeck, Hem and Van Campen, on the right. In order to camouflage the empty quartering with the unknown name on the father’s side, the arms of Hooff and the arms of Van Campen were switched and the Van Campen quartering was supplemented with the maternal arms of Den Otter. This immediately indicated the extremely distinguished descent from the Den Otter and
Boelen families, from whom the Bicker and De Graeff families derived their social standing. NB, the maternal Banninck quartering is shown on it: a fox in a thicket in natural colours on silver and 11: a silver swan on red.

23 From 1621 onwards Pieter Reael (1569-1643) was captain of District 11 (he lived in District XIX-N.Z. Voorburgwal in 'de Gouden Rael' (no. 212) (see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Mr Joannes Wtenbogaert (1608-1680), een man uit remonstrants milieu, and Rembrandt van Rijn', Jaarboek Amstelodamum 70 (1978), pp. 146-169, esp. p. 146, note 3), where he had been a lieutenant prior to 1621, see Jochems 1888, op. cit. (note 4), p. 39. On 1 February 1639 his lieutenant Gerbrand Claeszoon Pancras was elected burgomaster, so that his place as an officer became vacant. The man then made lieutenant was Willem van Ruytenburch, brother-in-law of a brother of Captain Reael (Jacob Reael (1590-1639) married to Machelt van Ruytenburch (1597-...)) (Elia 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 352). Pieter Reael turned seventy in 1639. In 1638 Reael had advanced a sister's son, Joannes Wtenbogaert, by passing on to him the receivership of the Gemene Landsmiddelen, which had been in the family since 1581 (Elia 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 265, note 1). Joannes Wtenbogaert lived on the Singel (no. 324) in District 1. Given this, it is quite conceivable that Pieter Reael also promoted his nephew Wtenbogaert as an officer by relinquishing his position as captain to Frans Banninck Cocq in return for the post of lieutenant in District 1, which would then become free and could be taken by Joannes Wtenbogaert. This complicated exchange could have taken place in 1639 shortly after Marie de Medici's visit, when Pieter Reael was still serving as captain. He had been governor of the Kloveniersdoelen since 1636.

24 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam on loan from the De Graeff family. These family records are remarkably reliable. They include a correct Banninck lineage, which was later wrongly extended to include the Banninck family by Pieter de Graeff (1638-1707), and it was probably this that put J.E. Elia on the wrong track in 1903 when treating the Benningh family in De Vroedschap van Amsterdam (see note 6). What is notable is that when discussing the Hooft family he does not make the relationship with the Cock family clear (see further note 21); Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), p. 26, note 13.
29 She was buried in Vlaardingen in August 1678. Children: (see Elia 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 425-428) 1. Pieter (OK 27 April 1627-1669)
2. Adriana (NK 10 June 1629-NK 12 July 1629)
3. Albertus (NK 16 June 1630-NK 13 January 1634)
7. Gerardus Constantinus (OK 8 March 1640-Purmerend to May 1701)
8. Willem (NK 11 June 1642-...)
30 ACA, archive 5039, collection of manuscripts, no. 43 f. 44, 21-18-1647: Gerrit van Helmont, captain in Willem van Ruytenburch's place. His post as captain of District II was vacant in 1647. See Jochems 1888, op. cit. (note 4), p. 39.
31 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 70, f. 305v and 306 nos. 181-183.
33 P. de Vries, 'Amsterdamsche regenten in de zeventiende eeuw', Ons Amsterdam 25 (1973), pp. 74-82, esp. p. 82.
34 Elia 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 430; F.W.G. Landman, Het ambacht van Vlaardingen, Rotterdam 1927, p. 28. According to Pieter van Ruytenburch's will (ACA, archive 5075, Amsterdam Notarial Archive (hereafter abbreviated as ANA) (notary S. Henrichs), no. 18, f. 159v-161v, 14-3-1626) Willem van Ruytenburch was granted the manors of Vlaardingen and Vlaardingemambacht with a marriage settlement of f 50,000. His daughter Anna (married to Dr Adriaen Pauw (1585- The Hague 1653), Lord of Heemstede et al. was granted 1/4 part of the manor of Heemstede for f 40,000 (see J.L ter Gouw, 'Het ambacht Voor- schoten, in Voorschoten', in: Historische studiën, The Hague 1871, pp. 19-45, p. 25; E.M.C.M. Janson, Kastelen en om Den Haag, The Hague 1971, pp. 53-56. In 1612 Frans Banninck Cocq's father-in-law had purchased the manors of Purmerland and IJpendam from the heavily encumbered property of Lamoraal van Egmond (1601-1612) see Elia 1903, p. 274, The father of Cornelis de Graeff (Frans Banninck Cocq's brother-in-law) had bought the freehold manor of Zuidpolsbroek in Utrecht in 1610, likewise from Charles, Prince de Ligne, Count of Arenberg (Elia 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 166).
Amsterdam citizens who bought property from the de Lignes and Egmonds during the Twelve Years' Truce is a long one.

35 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 274.

36 ACA, archive 5001, Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths (hereafter abbreviated as DTB) no. 435, p. 151, 4 April 1620 (fig. see n. 16 p. 32).


38 Seal as alderman: ACA, archive 5057, Topographic collections, Gouwdsbloemstraat 10-6-1641.


41 Notarial Archive Vlaardingen (notary J. Dwinglo), no. 2, 12 March 1634, no. 14, 30 July 1645 and 30 June 1647. Wilhem van Ruytenburch entered into leases. Ibid. no. 3, 26 September 1635: will of Wilhem van Ruytenburch and Aelken Jonckheins. Archive of the Lord of Vlaardingen, item 6 June 1637: agreement between Wilhem van Ruytenburch and the town regarding the offices of sheriff and bailiff.


44 According to an eighteenth-century note, the painting portrayed Willem van Ruytenburgh ... met syn vrouw Alida Jonckheyn en seven van syn kinderen, gelyk in 't leven: Pieter van Rhuytenburg, syn oudste soen, in het bruyn geschildert ... Een dogter [Catharina, 1646], schoon in haar tyd, in het blauw geschildert ... Adriana van Ruytenburg [1632-1701], in het wit satijn ... Elisabeth van Ruytenburg [1634-1697], gekleed met roodt fruvel met een strik in het haar ... Jan van Ruytenburg [1635-1719], speelt met hondt met swarten ooren ... Een soen [Gerard Constantijn, 1640-1701], met de Roe of Justitia geschildert ... Een soen [Albert, 1643-1688], met een witte pluyen, speelende met een hondt ... (Willem van Rhuytenburgh ... with his wife Alida Jonckheyn and seven of their children, all living at the time: Pieter van Rhuytenburg, his oldest son, painted in brown ... A daughter [Catharina, 1646], beautiful in her day, painted in blue ... Adriana van Ruytenburg [1632-after 1701], in white satin ... Elisabeth van Ruytenburg [1634-1697], dressed in red velvet with a ribbon in her hair ... Jan van Ruytenburg [1635-1719].


48 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 8, f. 33 no. 152.

49 ACA, archive 5062, conveyance registers no. 47 (formerly 2 C), f. 79v, 16 September 1655. Sale of the house by the Bicker family for 3,750. The conveyance of 3 April 1628 has not survived.

50 10 January 1579. Jannetje Cornelis's notification of intended marriage, assisted by her brother Dirck Cornelisn Ringh, to the merchant Jan Karlson (Hoorun, ...1594).

51 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Gijsberts), no. 36, f. 20v, 21-6-1606, will of Claes Gerbrandszn Pancras and Anna Quintings. Children: Gerbrant, Marietgen, Nielsen, Jisabeth and Jan. Gerrit was named after his grandfather Gerrit Jansz Ops Cops (1541-1597) (Elias 1903, p. 405). In 1631 Anna Quintings and her children (Nieuwendijk 1969) were assessed for f 10,000 (Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 27 no. 57).

52 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Twee tekeningen van het wederopersproeoir (1535)', Jaarboek Amstelodamum 71 (1979), pp. 18-37, esp. pp. 36-37.

53 He was the son of Jan Banningh Jansz, who married Oob Tatiecx (1544-1620), daughter of Tatiecx Vastert and Gierte Ciercx, in the Oude Kerk on 8 May 1575 (see Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 3). ACA, ANA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans deposit register, no. 783 (no. 12), f. 232, 15 December 1598. Children, Anna and Geertgen.
See also S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, Van Amsterdamse burgers tot Europese aristocraten, Amersfoort 2008, pp. 975-976.

54 ACA, archive 5059, Manuscripts Collection, no. 43 (Schaep), f. 39; Jochems 1888, op. cit. (note 4), p. 30.

55 J.G. van Dillen, Amsterdam in 1585; het tax register der capitate impositie in 1585, Amsterdam 1941, p. 92; f. 92; Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7; f. 24 no. 18: ‘Tatick Janszn ende 2 susters’ assessed at £ 62,000.


57 Burgomaster Gerbrant Claesz Pancras of Nieuwendijk was buried in the Oude Kerk on 6 November 1649 and the great bell tolled for two and a half hours.

58 The inventory of the library of the Mennonite merchant Tijmen Janszn Visscher (....-1627), comprising a thousand books with copies dated 1460 and later (theology 274, manuscripts 29, astronomical and mathematical works (including Dürer’s Proportions of 1528) 112, scholastics 11, history 131, law 101 etc.), is in ACA, archive 5073, no. 1458, Drawer 415 of the Board of Orphans.

59 Tijmen Janszn Visscher was also interested in mathematical instruments and drawings (ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary P. Carels), no. 720, f. 255, 10 August 1626).

60 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary C. van der Hoop), no. 2542, f. 66-76, 20 October 1654: inventory of Hillegont Jans; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Lambert), no. 486, f. 327-328, 5 February 1649: will of Jan Cornelisz Visscher, bachelor, merchant.

61 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Gijsberts), no. 3, f. 24-26, 20 February 1614: will of Jan Cornelisz Visscher (....-1618) (merchant) married Annetje Jacobs (....-1625) in 1579, in which they left Jan Cornelisz, the surviving child of Cornelis Janszn the Elder, ‘the testators’ deceased son’, £ 2,000 to be put out to interest. Jan Cornelisz Visscher was permitted to invest these moneys ‘in trade at his discretion and by the grace of God to earn his living by this means’. Anna Jacobs’s father, Jacob Obbes van Amelop, had left £ 53,828 (ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Meehout), no. 229, f. 121-124v, 5 June 1626).

62 Dus ziet men Visscher, die het vaandel heeft gesweeit: Maar toen het woeste heer de Stadt aan ’t Y deelt wreezen,

Heeft hy van spyt zyn vaan en leven afgeleit. Zoo toont de jongeling zich van Bikkers bloedt te wezen.

Dien Bikker, die zyn Staat, tot heil van ’t volk verligt. Een vrye ziel gedoogt niet dan een vry gebiedt.

J. Vos Alle de gedichten van Jan Vos, Amsterdam 1726, p. 203. No portrait of Jan Cornelisz Visscher is listed in Hillegont Jans’s inventory (see note 59), so we may assume that Vos had the ensign in The Night Watch in mind.


64 ACA, archive 5073, no. 779, Register of Deposits Board of Orphans no. 8, f. 330, 6 August 1567. Cornelis Dirckszn in ‘de Ringh’ granted his two children Dirck (15 years old) and Jannetgen (13 years old) by Hillegont Claesdr f 3,000 as their maternal inheritance against the surety of his house ‘de Ringh’ in the O.Z. Armsteeg. The grandmother agreed with this deposit. She was Aecht Jacobsdr (Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 120 – widow of Claes Pieterszn Hil) with Claes Pieterszn Overlander (nephew) as guardian and Andries Boelen, nephew by marriage (see Elias 1903, p. 113). See also note 50. ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Gijsberts), no. 27, f. 6, 4 January 1607: marriage settlement between Cornelis Janszn Visscher, supported by his parents, and Hillegont Jans, supported by her mother Jannetje Cornelis and her guardians Lourens Volckaerts and Hendrick Serae. The bride brought f 1,000 in with 1/4 share in the house called ‘de gouden Ringh’ in the O.Z. Armsteeg. The bridegroom contributed f 3,000. Ensign Visscher was probably buried in one of Andries Boelen’s graves in the sanctuary, which belonged to Bicker.

65 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henriczcz), no. 19, f. 15v, 22 June 1628: will of Jan Visscher, 17 years old, in which he appoints his mother his universal heir. ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary G. van Borselaar), no. 1484, f. 240, 22 October 1650; f. 269, 14 January 1651; f. 295, 21-3-1651 and f. 434, 23 December 1651. ACA, ANA, archive 367, Municipal Orphanage no. 175 (at the back of 15 October 1654): ‘Was buried Hillegont Jans, widow of Cornelis Janszn Visscher, cousin of the late Burgomaster Bickers, Frans Banning Coq, Lord of Purmerland and Ijpendam, and Cornelis de Graeff, Lord of Polsbroek, of the Nieuwe Sijts Achterburgwal near Molstege’ (Oude Kerk).


10. Rombout (NK 16 September 1640-young).
66 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 27, f. 114v no. 22.
67 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Bosch), no. 989, f. 170, 16-7-1641.
69 ACA, archive 5062 Register of Conveyances no. 74 (formerly 3 R), f. 338, 15 September 1700.
70 ACA, archive 378 (Nieuwe Kerk), no. 49, register of graves, f. 223 'het eerste Choorstje nr. 5 en 6';
70 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary W. Sylvius), no. 4877, f. 400-402, 1 July 1680, and ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary C. Winter), no. 6723, f. 713, 10 July and 16 July 1704; carried over.
71 ACA, Archive Sheriffs appointment (reg. 44, f. 114), 12 July 1680 (N.B. lost) (see ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary W. Sylvius), no. 4877, f. 400, 1 July 1680).
73 Daughter: Aeltje van Engelen (NK 18 August 1626-Vreewijk a/d Vaart after 1671), married 1650 Fredrick de Veer (Utrecht, 1624-Vreewijk a/d Vaart and buried Utrecht Geerterkert (notification 18 November 1667), canon of the chapter of Sint Jan, receiver of taxes and tolls of the Vaart.
75 25 August 1639. The house was purchased after 1606 (conveyance on 20 May to Yem Gijsbertsz) by Jan Engelsz, since he was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on 18 January 1621 from an address on the Nieuwendijk opposite Sint Nicolaasstraat;
75 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van den Ven), no. 1106, f. 174v, 22 November 1653. ACA, archive 5067, Accounts of Voluntary Transfer of Title, no. 4, f. 160, 9 September 1655; sale of the house for f 10,000.
76 J.G. van Dillen, Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het geldwezen van Amsterdam, 11 (1612-1621), Amsterdam 1933, p. 555, no. 979, 29 November 1624; ibid., f. 603, 11 August 1626, where Reijer Engelsz, cloth merchant and cutter, is mentioned.
77 The Londense Kaai was on the east side of the Singel between Korsjessteeg and Lijnbaanssteeg. ACA, archive 5044, Treasury Extraordinary, no. 272 (tax register 1647/49), f. 113; ACA, archive 5067, Accounts of Voluntary Transfer of Title,
Wagenaar 1765, op. cit. (note 32), II, p. 74.
2 ACA, archive 5044, Treasury Extraordinary, no. 274 (tax register 1623-1634), f. 241v.
6 ACA, archive 566, Guild Archive, no. 1083.
8 ACA, archive 566, Guild Archive no. 1086, no. 59.

10 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 27 no. 62; ibid., p. 69, f. 283v no. 70 father’s legacy f. 20,000.
12 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Heijlinc), no. 44, f. 58v-58r, 13-1193.
13 ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 34 (formerly E), f. 55-15v, 4 March 1639.
14 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1040, f. 226, 18 November 1634.
15 ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, Register of Deposits, no. 26, f. 257v, 26 July 1645.
16 ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, Register of Burials, no. 20 (Zuiderkerk), 4 November 1644; Wijnman 1976, op. cit. (note 45), pp. 260-261.

18 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 6, f. 23 no. 3.
19 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary N. Jacobszn), no. 286, f. 471, 7 December 1622.
20 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. van Banchem), no. 299, f. 115v-116, 31 August 1628 f. 1800; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. van Banchem), no. 304, f. 142v, 31 March 1631 f. 1600.
21 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Bosch), no. 986, f. 158, 20 December 1640.
22 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Bosch), no. 992 B, f. 35, 30 December 1640.
23 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Bosch), no. 992, f. 42, 29 March 1641: deed of guardianship; ibid., f. 64, 1 July 1641: deed accepting the estate ‘without ability to debts beyond the assets descended; ACA, archive 5004, Register of Burials Board of Orphans no. 10 (Nieuwe Kerk), 10 April 1640.

See note 107: ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 44 (formerly Z), f. 94v, 13 June 1650.

25 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. van Banchem), no. 323, f. 289, 28-12-1642. Settlement in respect of Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers’s debt of f. 2,100 to F. de Vroo, ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1062, f. 194-199v, 19 July 1642: inventory of the estate of Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers, residing on Lauriergracht; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. de Vos), no. 1189, f. 174v-175, 28 November 1641: transfer by Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers of his whole estate, on account of debts, to his brother-in-law Johan van den Broek, Knight of St Michael. See further deeds sworn before notary F. van Banchem, ACA, archive 5075, ANA, no. 322, f. 301, 28 July 1642; f. 301v, 29 July 1642 and 302v, 4 August 1642; ACA, archive 5063, Alderman’s Records, no. 33, f. 261v, 4 November 1641: loan f. 2,255. After his financial crash Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers became a servant at the office of the poor relief board, the O.Z. Huizittenhuis (ACA, ANA (notary J. van Winter), no. 2282IV, f. 58, 17 April 1653 and ACA, archive 5072, Insolvent Estates Office, no. 362, f. 175ff, 12 November 1634: inventory); Frederiks 1890, p. 62, f. 270 no. 90: Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers in Kalverstraat f. 9,000.

Cornelis Claeszn Leijdeckers (1592-1640) was a hide seller (1614), merchant (1630-notary J. Warnaertszn, no. 664, f. 231, 20 June 1630), seller of imported beer (1633-notary J. Warnaertszn, no. 667, f. 194, 23 March 1633) and commissioner of inspection (1628-notary J. Warnaertszn, no. 702, 7 April 1638).

ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans Deposit no. 22, f. 13, 11 February 1653; Gerbrand van den Eekhout became sergeant in District xxv in about 1655.

Janszn, Aeltje
Pieterszn
2-5-1614:
Kerk
owned
1672,
Ocker
5001,
bought
them
of
remained
S.A.C.
land
to
conveyance
Adriaen
National
(1626-after
Childless.
ACA,
The
Brouwer),
51,
5075,
1961,
Reformed
'artist
f.
1,950
Claverblat
79
7.
Deposits,
5073,
pp.
3937,
5075,
16,
1765,
1681).
(1626-after
1681). 7. Geertruyt (OK 7 August
1626-after
1652). 8. Marritje (NK 18 October
1639-OK 6 December 1680), married 1665 Pieter
Cans (1639-1684), broker. 9. Jan (NK 9 June 1643-
OK 15 August 1648). 10. Govert (OK 9 June 1647-
24 November 1647).

Wagenaat 1765, op. cit. (note 32), II, p. 353:
National Archive, The Hague, States of Holland,
no. 1206 (copy Reading Room ACA) tax register
1561: Nieuwe Zijde, f. 101: Heiliggeweg: Duuyf
Adriaen Ockers vi dwellings proper te Deum;
conveyance no. 44 (formerly Z), f. 141v, 6 January
1651: Jan Ockers, cloth merchant, sells for f 4,500
to burgomasters and treasurers 6 dwellings on
the west side of the inner Heiliggeweg; ibid., f. 163,
15 April 1653. Jan Ockers bought two parcels of
land in Kleine Palmstraat for f 2,600.

Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), f. 7, f. 25v no. 37.

ACA, archive 1561, Judicial Archive, no. 273
(conference book), f. 68v-71, 8 March 1568;
74v-76, 22 March 1568; 105v, 21 June 1568. For
the family's involvement in the Reform movement see
S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Als Justus van Maurik
dit eens had geweten. Zes eeuwen geschiedenis
van Damrak no. 49 (volume i)', Jaarboek Amsterdam

ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, no. 786,
Register of Deposits, no. 9, f. 74v, 9 August 1569.

The painter Jan Adriaensz Ockers (1584-1653)
remained Catholic, but his wife Margrijetje
Symons (1585-1622) must have been a member
of the Reformed church. Their children, among
them the artist Adriaen Ockers (NK 14 February
1621-(Kortenhoef), after 1696), were baptized in
the Reformed faith.

Kam 1961, op. cit. (note 68), pp. 120,121; ACA,
archive 5062, Conveyance no. 16 (formerly 27),
f. 51, 14 May 1606: Ocker Janszn, cloth
merchant, bought the house and land 'de Vier
Baersen' on the Nieuwendijk; ACA, archive
5001, DTB, no. 1044, f. 87v, 26 May 1623.
Ocker Janszn buried in the Oude Kerk from
't het Groene Claverblat', Nieuwendijk.


ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. de Barij), no.
1672, 17 August 1666; Jan Pietersz Bronckhorst
owned two graves in the sanctuary of the Nieuwe
Kerk (E 179 and 180) near the grave of Michiel
de Ruyter (ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary
N. Brouwer), no. 3937, f. 345, 2-11-1678).

Childless. ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans,
no. 787, Register of Deposits no. 16, f. 176,
2-5-1614: Aeltje Huyberts, widow of Jan Schouten,
deposited f 1,950 for her children. Guardian Jan
Pietersz Brughman (see militiaman 16). On the
notification of her marriage on 13 September 1603
Aeltje Huyberts was accompanied by her uncle Pieter
Janszn, who must be the Pieter Janszn Groenlaken
who was the grandfather of militiaman 16.

Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 27 no. 60.

ACA, Conveyance, no. 34 (formerly E), f. 23v,
1629: purchase; ACA, Conveyance, no. 51
(formerly 2 H), f. 64, 14 October 1660: sale.

Grand-parents Jacob Meijndertsz (....-
1754[83]), beer importer from 't Heck, and Marie
Jochems (....-after 1607). ACA, archive 5075,
ANA (notary J. Pylorius), 16-9-1607. Great-
uncle Jan Dominicus (1563-c. 1612), beer importer,
married 1583 Neel Jacobs. ACA, archive 5073,
Board of Orphans, no. 784, Deposit, no. 13,
f. 256v, 10 June 1603, Dirck Jacobszn, beer
importer, and Marie Thamastrd.

142 Gerret Symonszoon Bont (…-1593), cloth merchant
of Nieuwendijk (Van Dillen 1641, op. cit. (note
53), p. 110, f. 65), syndic of the clothmakers’ guild
1572, 1574-1577, 1581-1583, 1585, 1586, 1589-1591.
143 H.C. de Wolf, Geschiedenis van het R.C. Oude-
Armenkantoor te Amsterdam, Hilversum &
Antwerp, 1966, pp. 26ff.
144 M.M. Toth-Ubbens, ‘De barbier van Amsterdam’,
Antiek 10 (1975), pp. 381-411, esp. p. 406; S.A.C.
Dudok van Heel, ‘Jan Vos (1610-1667), Jaarboek
145 N. Plomp, ‘Drie eeuwen Van der Heede’s in het
oosten van Holland’, Jaarboek Centraal Bureau
voor Genealogie 39 (1985), pp. 53-100, esp. p. 84.

146 Children (see Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 449):
2. Elisabet (Rem. 29 October 1649-OK 4 Nover-
ember 1649). 3. Jan (Rem. 24 December 1650-
OK 10 May 1652). 4. Lyset (Rem. 7 June 1652-
OK 11 July 1652). 5. Lyset (Rem. 22 October
1654-OK 1 January 1694), married 1675 Dirck
Pater (1643-1691).

147 The house belonged to the grandfather of militia-
man Jan Ockers (no. 10).
148 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Bruyningh),
no. 608, 7 February 1635.
149 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, ‘Als Justus van Maurik
dit eens had geweten. Zes eeuwen geschiedenis
van Damrak 49’, Jaarboek Amstelodamum 81
150 ACA, archive 5028, Burgomasters’ Archive,
no. 505 (Resolutions of the Court-Martial no. 1
(1650)).
151 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wten-
bogaert), no. 1880, f. 325a-28, 9 December 1645:
statement by Jan Teunisz Schellingwou, provost
marshal in the guardroom at Heiligewegspoort,
that Jan Hendrick Pancras, clerk in the second
troop of Captain Jacob Jacobszn Roch, did the
rounds with an incorrect sidearm.

152 Children: 1. Gijbert (NK 5 January 1642-
OK 9 June 1688), unmarried. 2. Antony (NK
10 May 1643-OK 14 August 1710), married 1666
Margarita Kick (1647-1723), childless (see Elias
1903, p. 732). 3. Nicolaes (NK 13 December 1644-
OK 2-7-1686), married 1683 Maria Commersteijn.
4. Adriëen (NK 23-12-1645-OK 6 November
1649). 5. Joannes (NK 29 September 1648-OK
5 August 1675), unmarried.
83
5075. ANA (notary L. Lambertii), no. 680, f. 938-940, 3 January 1617: marriage settlement; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Lambertii), no. 586, f. 347-351, 26 February 1649: will; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenboogaert), no. 1866, f. 155-166, 30 October 1649: will; ibid., f. 208, 23 January 1650: codicil Cecilia Boelen; ACA, archive 5075, Board of Orphans, no. 799. Deposit no. 28, f. 87; 13 July 1650: Jan Brughman deposited f 40,000 for his son Jan, his maternal inheritance; ACA, archive 5046, Collateral Succession, no. 2, f. 39v, 29 March 1667.

165 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 41, f. 180 no. 13; ibid., p. 69, f. 30v no. 121 and 122. Uncle Hendrik Boelen (inspector of weights and measures in 1587 and 1600, syndic of the clothmakers' guild 1596, 1598, 1599, 1601, 1602) and heirs of father Govert Boelen of Keizersgracht OZ, for f 80,000 and f 40,000 respectively.

166 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 25 no. 33 Catharina Adriaens Hardebol, widow of Cornelis van Lockhorst, f 250,000 + f 600 inheritance from her husband.


168 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henrix), no. 12, f. 30, 5 April 1608: will of Pieter Jansz Groenlaken (inspector of weights and measures 1605, 1606), buried Nieuwe Kerk (sanctuary 11 April 1608) and Lysbeth Dirix; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henrix), no. 12, f. 236-239, 17 May 1611: will Lysbeth Dirix, widow of Pieter Jansz Groenlaken.

169 S. Slive, Frans Hals, Bristol 1974, III, p. 54.

170 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henrix), no. 17, f. 102v-103v, 6 August 1627: will of Adriaen Willemsz Hardebol, cloth merchant (inspector of weights and measures 1606, 1610, 1614, 1616, 1617, 1620, syndic 1608, 1609, 1611).

171 ACA, archive 5004, Register of Burials Board of Orphans no. 16 (Nieuwe Zijds Chapels), 28 February 1650. ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenboogaert), no. 1888, f. 6, 7 June 1651: Jan Brughman, residing in Beverwijk, sold David Willicqueau, cloth merchant, a weaving loom three ells long outside Bullebacksluis, which had come from his mother; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenboogaert), no. 1914, f. 501-504, 28 July 1651 and f. 539, 28 August 1651: goods (clothing and silver) sent from Beverwijk to be sold at public auction; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenboogaert), no. 1893, f. 60-64, transfer of Jan Brughman's accounts.


174 ACA, archive 5068, Voluntary Transfer of Title, no. 6, f. 3, 4 January 1619.

175 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. van Banchem), no. 321, f. 32v-33, 29 January 1641.


177 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 15, f. 61.

178 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 11, f. 41v.

179 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1936, f. 225v, 17 August 1640: statement about civic guard silver.


182 Jochems 1888, op. cit. (note 4), p. 24. Although Hoyng had been appointed burgomaster by Prince Maurice at the time of the change of government in 1618 and should have stood down as captain, he was retained as an officer (see Wagenaar 1767, op. cit. (note 32), III, p. 186). This meant that as a Counter Remonstrant and member of the religious faction he could continue to exercise control over the civic guards and in 1620 could dismiss his lieutenant after he had spoken disparagingly of the government (see Jochems 1888, op. cit. (note 4), p. 30; Knevel 1995, op. cit. (note 2), p. 148).

183 A. Blankert & R. Ruurs, Amsterdam Historisch Museum, schilderijen daterend van voor 1800, Amsterdam 1975, p. 150 no. 194. Around 1900 the Rijksmuseum’s restorers replaced the captain’s head on the grounds that it was a badly-restored area of damage. In so doing they probably reversed, for aesthetic reasons, a case of historical damage, since the head could well have been deliberately mutilated because of Captain Hoyng’s religious affiliation (see Van Thiel 1976, op. cit. (note 7), p. 397, C.62; Dudok van Heel 2006, op. cit. (note 12), p. 256). N. Middelkoop & T. Van der Molen, Glorious Amsterdam, The Old Masters of the City of Amsterdam, Bussum 2009, p. 229 (SA 7373).

184 Van Dillen 1941, op. cit. (note 53), p. 112, f. 71. Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 11, f. 42v no. 97; ACA, Conveyance no. 5 (formerly 11), f. 76, 10 May 1585; purchase by the father-in-law of Jacob Gerritsz Hoyng, Thomas Elbertsz; ACA, Conveyance no. 48 (formerly 2D), f. 249, 9 May 1657: Laurens Hoyng sold the house.

185 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1053, f. 161v, 21 May 1639; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1056, f. 82, 17 December 1639; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1075, f. 68, 2 October 1645.

186 Compareerde den E. Nicolaas van Crayssenbergh, provoost der burgerij hier ter stede ende heeft ten versoeecke van Sr Louys Crayres, als vooght over Titus of Rhijn, zoome van Saskia van Uilenburch, geprocreëerd bij Rembrandt van Rhijn, geasserteert, getnacht ende verclaert hoe waer is: dat het stok schilderij staende op de Cleveniersdoelen door den voors Rembrandt van Rhijn geschildert ende daerin hij attestant mede is geconterfeit, van schilderen wel heeft gehoord de som van zestienhonderd guldens. Gevende hij attestant voor redenen van weten-
schappe, dat hij zijne portie daar mede toe heeft betuelt ende sulckx verschijende naelen alsdoen heeft hooren seggen. ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary N. Listinigh), no. 2613, f. 415, anno 1659; Strauss & Van der Meulen 1979, op. cit. (note 131), 1659/19.

ACA, archive 5001, DTB, no. 453, f. 349, 7 April 1640.


189 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 10), p. 4 f. 9v.

190 Isaac Florianna (1572-1645), notificaition of intended marriage 17 April 1599 Marritje Symons (Goes 1576-after 1611).

191 Isaac Florianna’s daughter, Maria Florianna (1600-1679), first married in 1623 the grocer from ‘de Kooode Meulen’ (Damrak no. 49) Pieter Merciefs (Rotterdam 1581-1624), and married for the second time in 1628 the chemist Pieter van de Venne (1599-1670) of Damrak no. 94. Pieter Merciefs was a cousin of Anna Garniers (daughter of the confectioner Roelant Garniers (Ypres, ....-1599) and Barbara Merciefs (Antwerp, 1568-before 1613). Dudok van Heel, ‘Als Justus van Maurik dit eens had geweten. Zes eeuwen geschiedenis van Damrak no.49 (volume 2), Jaarboek Amsterdadam 80 (1988), pp. 26-59, esp. pp. 42, 43. The Amsterdam City Archive recently purchased the portrait of Maria Florianna by Johannes Thopas, see B. Gerlagh, ‘Portret van een oudere dame, mogelijk Maaike Martens (c. 1581-1633)’, Bulletin van de Vereeniging Rembrandt 16 (2006) 2, pp. 16-19. Wrongly identified here.

192 Rokin (1623), Lauiergracht (1624), Bloemgracht behind the Orphanage (c. 1625); Guild Archive no. 1085, N.Z. Achterburgwal (1932).

193 ACA, archive 5062, Conveynance no. 37 (formerly O), f. 239v, 17 August 1639.

194 In his reconstruction of the weapons, Gary Schwartz (Schwartz 2002, op. cit. (note 7), p. 29 fig. 41) failed to include no. 32’s gun, bandoleer and charge cases. The Rembrandt Research Project has pointed to the close resemblance between the portrait of militiaman Brughman in The Night Watch and an anonymous portrait in Los Angeles (Corpus 1986, op. cit. (note 7), III, pp. 305-311 A 130 (panel, 8.1 x 7.1 cm); Corpus 1989, op. cit. (note 7), III, p. 498). The man in the portrait is about forty years old, which means that it cannot be Jan Brughman.

195 Limnik 1981, op. cit. (note 160), pp. 139-141. The inventory of Walich Schellingenwou’s estate (see note 156) lists ‘Two portraits of the deceased and his wife’ in the hall of the Herengracht house, and ‘A painting of the deceased with his wife, children and brother-in-law’ in the inner room.


198 The painting is signed G. Blecker pinxit 1641. At that time there were six, not two, living children in the family. The man’s flat collar is too modern for 1628, when he did have just two children. The couple in this portrait must be citizens of Haarlem.

199 Havercamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), fig. 62 right.


204 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary C. Iljelaer), no. 5336, f. 1615, 12 August 1705.

205 This copy is now in castle Leslie in Glaslough (Ireland) (see W. Pfeiffer & M. Heron, In the Houses of Ireland, London 1988, p. 221).

206 Jacob Pieterszn Nachtglas, baptized Amsterdam OK 2 May 1577, merchant, brewer in Singel in ‘het Nachtglas’ (no. 16) (1601-1634), and steward of the Cloveniersdoelen 1677-1654, buried Amsterdam NK 5 May 1654 (Nieuwe Doelenstraat), son of Pieter Jacobszn Nachtglas, timber merchant and master carpenter, brewer in ‘het Nachtglas’, Singel (no. 201), (owner), councillor 1595-1602, factory inspector and treasurer 1596-1602, and Aechte Claes Hoof, married Amsterdam NK 29 August 1599 Catharina Claes van der Meij alias old Trijn Claes, born Amsterdam 1576, buried NK 23 March 1649 (Cloveniersdoelen) daughter of Claes Lambertszn Vermeij (van der Meij) alias...
Claes Lambersz., corn chandler, op 't Water, governor N.Z. Huiszittenhuis 1589-1608, and his first wife Geertgen Sackels.


208 G.W. Kernkamp (ed.), Hans Boner namel, De regering van Amsterdam soo in 't civiel als crimineel en militaire (1653-1672), The Hague 1897-1, p. 182.


211 ACA, archive 5001, DTB, no. 457, f. 154.


214 He could have used it as a payment towards the debt on his house in 1640.