



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 Rembrand* 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.'¹ 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.'² 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 Rembrand* 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.'³ 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 II in Rembrandt's *Night Watch*

The Night Watch portrays the militiamen of District II, 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).⁴ Rembrandt



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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,⁵ 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.⁶ The four hundredth anniversary of Rembrandt's birth – 2006 – provided the incentive to finish it.⁷



Fig. 35
BALTHAZAR FLORIS,
Map of Amsterdam,
Detail with District II,
1625. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RP-P-1892-A-17491d).

Fig. 34
Installation of the
'Night Watch' in
the Rembrandt-
zaal, c. 1885.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
RMA-SSA-F-00612).



Fig. 36
BALTHAZAR FLORIS,
Map of Amsterdam,
Detail with District II,
1625, with indications
of fourteen residences
of the sitters in the
'Night Watch'.

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*.⁸ Frans Banninck Cock, however, came from the cadet clan.⁹

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):



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



1.

'FRANS BANNING COCQ,
LORD OF PURMERLAND AND
ILPENDAM', CAPTAIN

Dr Frans Banninck Cocq, Knight in the order of St Michael (France 1648),¹⁰ 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 1575-1633),¹¹ apothecary in Amsterdam, and Lijsbeth Fransdr Banninck (1581-1623).

MARRIED Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 23 April 1630 Maria Overlander van Purmerlant (1603-1678) (fig. 38).¹²

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. 39
WYBRANT DE GEEST,
attr.), *Marriage
Portrait of Frans
Banninck Cocq
(1605-1655)*, 1630.
Oil on canvas,
198.5 x 121 cm.
Collection Museum
Het Prinsenhof, Delft
(photo: Tom Haartsen,
Ouderkerk aan de
Amstel).

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: lawyer

OFFICES AND POSTS: commissioner for Matrimonial Affairs 1632/1633/1636, commissioner for Petty Affairs 1634/1635/1641/1643/1644/1650, councillor 1634-1655, alderman 1637/1640/1642/1645/1646/1648/1649, commissioner for the loan office 1638/39, burgomaster 1650/1651/1653/1654, comptroller 1652, trustee of orphans 1652, lieutenant District I 1635, captain District II c. 1639-c. 1646, colonel c. 1646-1650, governor Handboogdoelen 1648-1654.

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 150,000¹³

ADDRESS: Singel in 'de Dolphijn' (no. 140/142).¹⁴

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).¹⁵ According to another custom in Holland that had not yet fallen into disuse, he was given both his forename 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



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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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 Schaepe Pieterszn (1599-1655), who proved himself not averse to highly exaggerated anecdotes: 'Jan Cock, arrived in this country from Bremen, *et ostiatim mendicasse dicitur* (begged, so they say, from door to door); taken on out of compassion by the apothecary in 'de Witte Doos', residing in Warmoesstraet.¹⁹ Subsequently married, *invitis parentibus vel consanguinis* (against the will of her parents and blood relations) ...'.²⁰ 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.²¹ 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

Fig. 40
GERRIT LUNDENS,
Copy after
Rembrandt's
'Night Watch'.
Oil on panel,
66.5 x 85.5 cm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam,
on longterm loan
from the National
Gallery, London
(inv. no. SK-C-1453).



house 'de Dolphijn' on the Singel. This house was in District IV, where in 1628 Jan Claeszn van Vlooswijck (1571-1652) had succeeded Volkert Overlander as captain of the militia after Overlander's election as burgomaster. Van Vlooswijck'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.²² 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 I, where he then became lieutenant. It seems very likely that Frans Banninck Cocq was promoted to captain of District II by means of an exchange of officers' places in early 1639.²³ 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.²⁴ 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 Bartholomeus 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 Schaep's negative comments, that led to Frans Banninck Cocq's being painted as a complacent upstart in the literature²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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 Schaep's derogatory remarks about Banninck Cocq's origins that he was jealous of his career. Schaep 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)



Fig. 42
JACOB BACKER (attr.),
*The Company of
District v Commanded
by Captain Cornelis de
Graeff (1599-1664) and
Lieutenant Hendrick
Laurenszn (1588-1649).*
Copy after the painting
in fig. 5 with the
addition of Cornelis
de Graeff's two sons
Pieter (1638-1707) and
Jacob (1642-1690),
and also including
militiaman Hendrick
Janszn Cruywagen
(1598-c. 1660) who
was cut away from the
original canvas, 1642.
Oil on canvas, 367 x
511 cm. Present where-
abouts unknown.



to paint copies of them (figs. 40, 41).²⁷ 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).²⁸ 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.

Fig. 41

GERARD LUNDENS
OR
BARTHOLOMEUS
VAN DER HELST
*The Four Governors of
the Handboogdoelen
(archers' civic guard),*
(copy after the

painting in fig. 45).
1653, Oil on canvas
49 x 68 cm.
Musée du Louvre,
Paris (copyright
Réunion des
Musées Nationaux,
Jean-Gilles Berizzi).



II.

'WILLEM VAN RUYTENBURCH
VAN VLAERDINGEN, LORD OF
VLAERDINGEN', LIEUTENANT

Mr Wilhem van Ruytenburch, Lord of the town of Vlaardingen and Vlaardingerambacht, Babberspolder, Nieuwenhoorn, Nieuwe Goote, Ouden Nieuw-Kraeyertspolder and Brielse Nieuweland 1627.

Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk 13 August 1600, died (The Hague or Vlaardingen) 1652. Son of Pieter Gerritszn (van) Ruytenburch (1562-1627), Lord of the town and manor of Vlaardingen 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-Vlaardingen 1678).²⁹

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 II.³⁰

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:³¹ 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 Gerritszn 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.³² 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 Gerritszn moved to a house he had built in O.Z. Achterburgwal, which he called 'Ruytenburch' (no. 45/47). Thereafter he was known as Pieter Gerritszn 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.³³ 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 Gerritszn van Ruytenburch purchased the manors of Vlaardingeng and Vlaardingerambacht from Charles, Prince de Ligne, Count of Arenberg (1550-1616), and in 1615 he bought the manor of Ter Horst by Voorschoten from Lamoraal, Prince de Ligne (1563-1624),³⁴ while in 1612 Frans Banninck Cocq's father-in-law acquired the manors of Purmerland and Ilpendam from the same man.³⁵

Fig. 43

Publication of the banns of Frans Banninck Cocq and Maria Overlander van Purmerent on 4 April 1630, ACA, DTB, no.435, f. 151.

Handwritten document in Dutch, likely a marriage banns publication, dated April 4, 1630. The text is written in a cursive script. At the bottom, it reads "Fr. Banninck Cocq's maria overlander" and "van purmerent".

Imitating noble families like Van Wasenaer van Duivenvoorde, the Lord of Vlaardingeng called himself Wilhem van Ruytenburch van Vlaardingeng and in 1630 the daughter of Burgomaster Overlander signed her marriage certificate Maria Overlanders van Purmerland (fig. 43).³⁶ 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 beaks and without legs' (in other words, heraldic martlets).³⁷ 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.³⁸

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 Gerritszn van Ruytenburch built a brick house he called 'het Hof of Vlaardingen, which was completed in 1618.³⁹ In 1612 Frans Banninck Cocq's father-in-law had 'het Hof' built in IJpendam; this house was extended by Frans Banninck Cocq.⁴⁰ 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,⁴¹ substantially refurbished and enlarged.⁴²

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 IJpendam 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 *piéd à terre* near the stadholder's court in The Hague; possibly with his brother-in-law, the lawyer Adriaen Pauw (1585–The Hague 1653).⁴³ Although it is true that Wilhem van Ruytenburch became a member of the city council in 1639 and was an officer in District II, 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.⁴⁴

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).⁴⁵ This was a double-fronted house in District xx. On 1 February 1639 Gerbrand Claeszn Pancras (1591–1649), who had held the rank of lieutenant in District II 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,⁴⁶ succeeded him as the lieutenant of District II. In contrast to Lieutenant Pancras, a soap-maker who lived in 'de Spiegel' at no. 83 Damrak,⁴⁷ the new lieutenant, like Captain Frans Banninck Cocq, lived outside his civic guard district.

III.



'JAN VISSCHER CORNELISEN',
ENSIGN

Baptized Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 22 June 1610, buried Amsterdam Oude Kerk (sanctuary) 29 July 1650, son of Cornelis Janszn Visscher (1584-1610/1614), merchant, and Hillegont Jans (1584-1654).

UNMARRIED

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: merchant

OFFICES AND POSTS: ensign District II
1637-1650

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:⁴⁸ grandmother
Jannetje Cornelis of Nieuwezijds
Achterburgwal f 2,000

ADDRESS: N.Z. Achterburgwal on the
north corner of Molsteeg (= Spuistraat
125a).⁴⁹

It seems that Jan Cornelisz Visscher lived on the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal all his life. He lost his father at a very early age and was brought up as an only child in the house of his grandmother Jannetje Cornelis (1554-1641).⁵⁰ His mother and grandmother were both widowed young, and from 1628 onwards they shared a modest house on the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal on the north corner of Molsteeg.

Jan Cornelisz Visscher must have become ensign in the autumn of 1637, as the successor to Gerrit Claeszn Cops (c. 1597-1637), who was buried in the Oude Kerk on 17 August 1637. Gerrit Claeszn Cops was a brother of Lieutenant Gerbrand Claeszn Pancras⁵¹ and lived in the parental home 'de Blauwe Engel' on the Nieuwendijk (no. 196, the third house north of Gravenstraat).⁵² Cops had been ensign for just a few months, having succeeded Tatick Janszn Cat (1576-1638),⁵³ who had retired on reaching the age of sixty.⁵⁴ Tatick Janszn Cat

lived in his grandparents' house 'de Drie Witte Leeuwen' in Damrak (no. 66).⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ Here, however, this must have been an archaic observance that the Remonstrant Pancras family continued to honour.⁵⁷

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 uncle⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ Like his father, uncle and grandfather, he was destined for trade from childhood.⁶⁰ 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':⁶¹

*So we see Visscher, who held the
banner high:
But when the fury struck the city on
the IJ
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 Corneliszn 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 burgo-master in August 1650.⁶²

According to Jan Vos, the ensign was of 'Bikker's blood'. His grandmother, Jannetje Cornelis, was the granddaughter of Jacob Claeszn 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.



IV.

'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
(Antwerp 1571-after 1641).

MARRIED: Amsterdam Oude Kerk
20 August 1623 Else 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/
633/1634/1636/1637/1640/1641, regent
of the Nieuwezijds Huiszittenhuis
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 Wagen' (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'. In the same will, the eldest son, Rombout 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,⁶⁹ 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. Huiszittenhuis, 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 cloth-makers’ 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.⁷⁰

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 Cornelisz 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.⁷¹



Fig. 44
JACOB BACKER (attr.),
*The Regents of
the Nieuwe Zijds
Huiszittenhuis*
(the institute for
the outdoor relief
of the poor). c. 1650.
Oil on canvas,
272 x 312 cm.
Rijksmuseum
Amsterdam
(inv. no. SK-C-442).

V.



'REIJNIER ENGELEN', SERGEANT

Reijnier Janszn Engelen.⁷² 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 cloth-makers' 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 II before 1640

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:⁷⁴ Nieuwendijk f 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) cloth⁷⁶ 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.

VI.

'BARENT HARMANSEN'

Bernardus Bolhamer. Born Amsterdam 1589, buried Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 23 July 1661, son of Herman Corneliszn (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) f 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 Corneliszn 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 1598.⁸³ It would appear that shortly before her death Alida Bolhamer 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.⁸⁴

When Barent Hermanszn Bolhamer bought his own house in District II in N.Z. Voorburgwal near Sint Nicolaassteeg in 1616, he was a merchant in groceries.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ They lived there together until the end of his life.

VII.

'JAN ADRIAENSEN KEIJSER'

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

MARRIED: Amsterdam Oude Kerk 20-10-1615 Anna Garniers (1598-1678).⁸⁷

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: cellerman (1615), vintner (1619), wine broker (1625-1659), merchant (1632),⁸⁸ steward of the Handboogdoelen (1654-1664).

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

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:⁸⁹ f 4,000

ADDRESS: [Sint Nicolaasstraat]

Jan Adriaenszn Keijser started out as a cellerman, 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 1659.⁹⁰ 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 burgomasters⁹¹ and Frans Banninck Cocq had continued in the post of presiding burgomaster in 1654. Keijser succeeded Catharina de Wolf, who had died in December 1653.⁹² 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.⁹³

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.⁹⁴

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 1620/1622.⁹⁵ In the address book of the brokers' guild he is recorded around 1625 'in Dirck van Assenburch, now moving to the Blauburgwal'.⁹⁶ This



Fig. 45
 BARTHOLOMEUS
 VAN DER HELST,
*The Four Governors
 of the Handboog-
 doelen (archers'
 civic guard)*, 1653.
 Oil on canvas,
 183 x 268 cm.
 Rijksmuseum,
 Amsterdam
 (inv. no. SK-C-3).

last address was outside District II 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 4,000.⁹⁷ 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,⁹⁸ and after his appointment as steward he moved to the Handboogdoelen on the Singel.

VIII.

'ELBERT WILLEMSZ'

Elbert Willem Louwerisznszn/Elbert Willemszn Swedenrijck. Born Amsterdam 1589, buried Amsterdam Zuiderkerk 4 November 1644. Son of

Guilliam Louwerijszn (Antwerp 1561-1629) merchant/fishmonger of Amsterdam, and Truitje Elberts (1564 -....).

MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 5 April 1626 Elisabeth Lenaerts (1607-1667).⁹⁹

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: merchant

OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:¹⁰⁰ Nieuwendijk (no. 196) f 20,000

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

Elbert Willem Louwerisznszn'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 Louweriszn 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 IJsbrents (...-1600) was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on 4 January 1600, the bells remained silent.

Elbert Willem Louweriszn entered the world in his grandfather Albert Ghijsbertszn's house 'de Vergulde Engel' on the Nieuwendijk (no. 196, the fourth house north of Gravenstraat), which he rented.¹⁰¹ In 1593 Guiliam Louweriszn became the owner of the house. At that time the sign of the 'Bos van Teijlingen' hung over the door,¹⁰² but he replaced it with the sign of his fishmongers' shop 'de Drie vergulde / gecroonde Stockvissen', three gilded or crowned stockfish.¹⁰³ Elbert Willem Louweriszn died in this house in 1644 at the age of fifty-five.

Guilliam Louwerijszn's family were merchants, and there were branches of the family in Antwerp, Hamburg and Amsterdam.¹⁰⁴ In Amsterdam Guilliam Louwerijszn 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 Louweriszn was a merchant and in 1644 he left his business, worth *f* 90,000, to his children.¹⁰⁵

After his death Elbert Willem Louweriszn appears for the first time under the name of Swedenrijck, a surname that may already have been in use for some time.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷

IX.

'JAN CLASEN LEIJDECKERS'

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).¹⁰⁸

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: merchant/shopkeeper
[cloth merchant]

OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:¹⁰⁹ Damrak
f 5,000

ADDRESS: Damrak in 'de Gilde Cam'
(no. 81)

The nature of Jan Claeszn Leijdeckers's business has not come to light. He may, like his brother Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers (1584-1653),¹¹⁰ have been a cloth merchant. He frequently borrowed money,¹¹¹ 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.¹¹² 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 her whole and entire property, nothing excepted, consisting of jewellery, gems, gold and silverware, paintings, beds, linen, woollens, china, copper and pewter, cupboards, chests and other items'.¹¹³ 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 liability to debts beyond the assets descended' and declared to the Board of Orphans that they would deposit 'anything that remained';¹¹⁴ this, however, never happened. The rented

house 'de Gilde Cam' opposite Papenburg in Damrak¹¹⁵ was vacated.

The Leijdeckers brothers had fallen on hard times,¹¹⁶ unlike their brother-in-law, the goldsmith Jan Pieterszn van den Eeckhout (Harlingen 1584-1652). His marriage to Grietje Claes Leijdeckers (1586-1631) produced a son, who grew up to be the painter Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621-1674), at whose baptism on 22 August 1621 Jan and Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers were present as witnesses. After the death of Gerbrand van den Eeckhout's mother, his father deposited f 6,000 with the Board of Orphans for their children with Jan Claeszn Leijdeckers's agreement.¹¹⁷ A few years later the young Gerbrand van den Eeckhout became one of Rembrandt's pupils, remaining with him until around 1640.

X.

'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).

MARRIED: Haarlem Grote Kerk
7 December 1621 Wijntje Cornelis
Braber (Rotterdam-1664).¹¹⁸

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: cloth merchant

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,¹¹⁹
lieutenant District XXI 1650-1652

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:¹²⁰ Nieuwendijk
(no. 181) f 10,000

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.¹²¹

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.¹²² 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.¹²³

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.¹²⁴ 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

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 Simonszn 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 Bronckhorst, 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 Voorburchwal opposite Nieuwstraat in this city, at the request of Mr Louys Crayers, as guardian of Titus van Rhijn, son of Saskia van Uylenburch and Rembrandt van Rhijn, 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 Rhijn, artist, along with other persons of their company and troop, being sixteen in number, in a painting, now hanging in 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

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 Steenhuyzen (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 Jacobszn 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 Jacobszn (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 Gerritszn of Nieuwendijk (no. 196) f 15,000

ADDRESS: Nieuwendijk in 'het Vergulde Spoor' (no. 196, the fifth house north of Gravenstraat).¹⁴⁰

Jacob Dirckszn 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 Gerritszn 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 Corneliszn 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 Huguenszn, 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 Hoof (1629-1680).

RELIGION: Remonstrant
 PROFESSION: merchant in groceries,
 burgher 17.1.1641,
 OFFICES AND POSTS: sergeant
 District XXI 1650
 REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: 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 Menno-nite 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'.¹⁴⁷ They each put a sum of f 8,000 into the business.

Fig. 46

Anonymous
 (formerly attributed
 to FERDINAND BOL),
 Portrait of Walich
 Schellingwou
 (1613-1653).
 Oil on canvas,
 114.5 x 93 cm.
 The State Hermitage
 Museum, St. Petersburg



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.¹⁴⁸

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)¹⁴⁹ 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.¹⁵⁰ 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),¹⁵¹
 and Duyfje Walichs (1580-1624).

MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk
 1 January 1641 Margarieta Backers
 (Haarlem 1618-1687).¹⁵²

RELIGION: Reformed
 PROFESSION: wine merchant
 OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown
 REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:¹⁵³ father Jan
 Theuniszn Schellingwou of Nieuwen-
 dijk (no. 198) f 28,000
 ADDRESS: Nieuwendijk on the north
 corner of Gravenstraat (no. 198).¹⁵⁴

Walich Schellingwou came from a family that had been in the cloth trade on the Nieuwendijk for eighty years.¹⁵⁵ 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.¹⁵⁶ 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 1645.¹⁵⁷ 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 liability to debts beyond the assets descended'.¹⁵⁸

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.¹⁵⁹ 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 1641.¹⁶⁰ 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:--.¹⁶¹ 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.¹⁶² 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.¹⁶³

XVI.

'JAN BRUGMAN'

Jan Brughman. Baptized Amsterdam Oude Kerk 6 July 1614, died Beverwijk 1 September 1652, son of Jan Pieterszn Brughman (1582-1622), cloth merchant, inspector of weights and measures 1609/1613/1618/1619, Nieuwezijds Huiszittenmeester (1620-1622), lieutenant District II (1620-1621), and Marritje Adriaens Hardebol (1582-[Beverwijk] c. 1639)

MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 3 March 1637 Cecilia Boelen (1618-1650).¹⁶⁴

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: cloth merchant

OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:¹⁶⁵ mother

Herengracht in 'de Hardebol' (no. 98)
f 180,000

ADDRESS: Damrak in 'de Vergulde
Hardebol'/'het Vergulde Hoofd' (no. 64)

Jan Brughman was part of Amsterdam's *jeunesse dorée*. His family were among the richest merchants in District 11 and in 1631 they had the highest tax assessment.¹⁶⁶ 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 1591.¹⁶⁷ 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.¹⁶⁸ The surname Brughman – possibly derived from their address near Brugsteeg – came into use alongside Groenlaken in the early seventeenth century. His son Jan Pieterszn Brughman (1582-1622) continued to use the name Groenlaken.¹⁶⁹ Jan Pieterszn Brughman lived in the house owned by his father-in-law Willem Adriaenszn Hardebol (Neerpelt-1624) on the Nieuwendijk near Baafjessteeg (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'.¹⁷⁰ 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 1650.¹⁷¹

We know a sister of militiaman Brughman, Catharina Brughman (1611-Haarlem 1677), and her husband Tieleman Roosterman (Goch 1608-Haarlem 1673) from two portraits painted by Frans Hals in 1634.¹⁷² 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.¹⁷³

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 1619,¹⁷⁴ receiver of the customs and excise duties of Weesp,¹⁷⁵ sheriff there, and Aeltje Jacobsdr Hoynghe (1582-Weesp, after 1641).

UNMARRIED

RELIGION: Reformed

PROFESSION: merchant and grocer
(1639)

OFFICES AND POSTS: provost marshal
(1651)

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631:¹⁷⁶ father in Weesp f 4,000; the heirs of grandfather Jacob Gerritszn Hoynghe f 35,000¹⁷⁷ and uncle Thomas Jacobs Hoynghe on the Nieuwendijk f 20,000.¹⁷⁸

ADDRESS: Damrak¹⁷⁹

Claes van Cruysbergen was the grandson of two regents: Jacob Franszn Oetgens (...-1595)¹⁸⁰ and Jacob Gerritszn Hoynghe (1555-1625).¹⁸¹ We know Hoynghe between 1589 and 1625¹⁸² as captain of District III

(portrait in Pieter Isaacxzn's militia portrait of 1596 and Paulus Moreelse's of 1616).¹⁸³ This maternal grandfather Hoynghe 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 II). He was a syndic of the clothmakers' guild ten times. His business was continued at the same address by one of his sons.¹⁸⁴ Claes van Cruysbergen 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 1645.¹⁸⁵ 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 Cruysbergen, provost marshal of the militia in this city, appeared at the request of Mr Louys Crayers, as guardian of Titus van Rhijn, son of Saskia van Uilenburch, 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.'¹⁸⁶

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).¹⁸⁷

MARRIED: Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk 10 September 1623 Hillegont Coenen (1596-1674).¹⁸⁸

RELIGION: Reformed

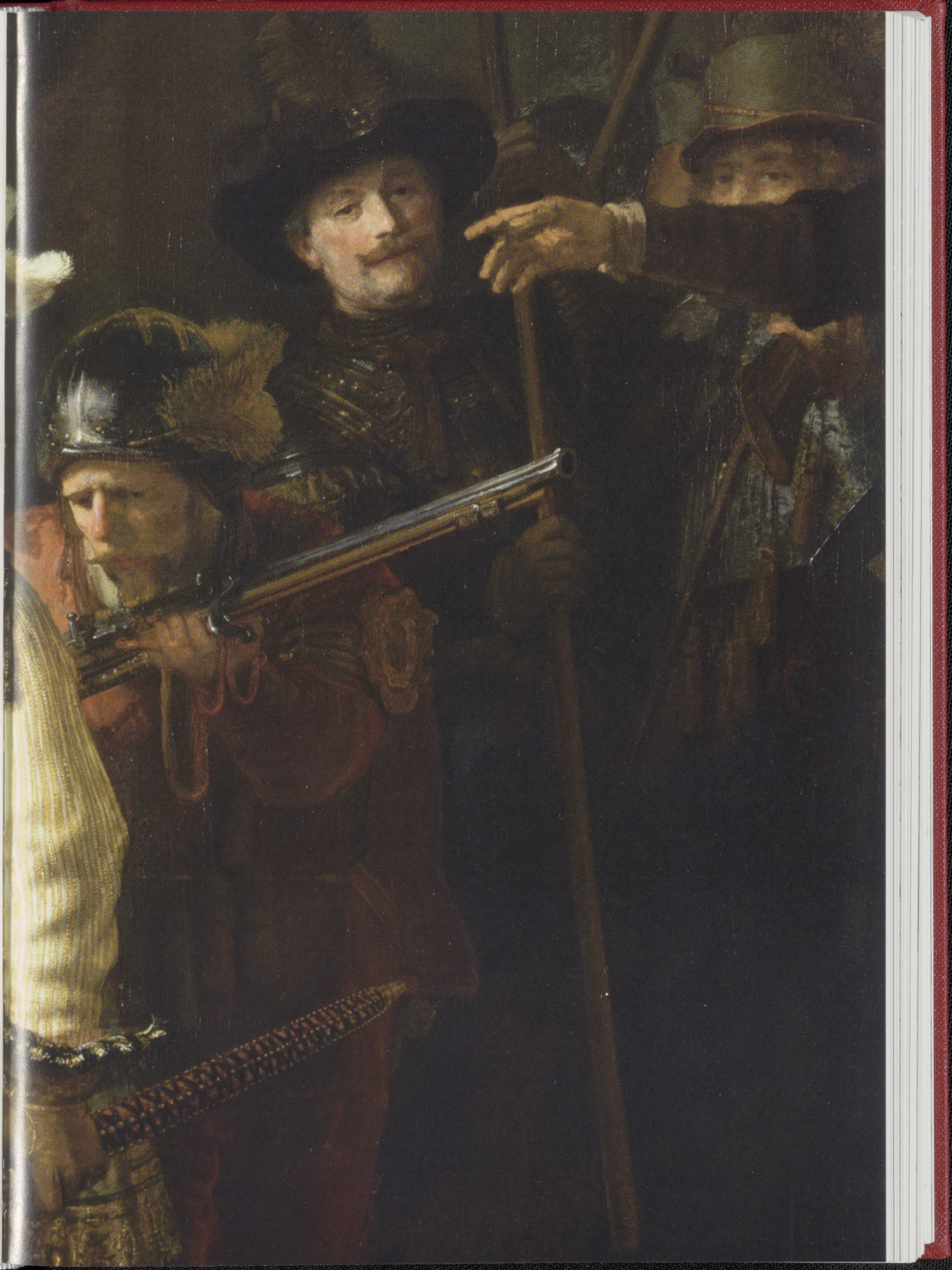
PROFESSION: broker (1623)

OFFICES AND POSTS: unknown

REGISTER OF TAXES 1631: uncle Isaac Florianus f 25,000.¹⁸⁹

ADDRESS: Rouaanse Kade, Singel, at the sign of 'de Keurvorst van Brandenburg' (no. 97).

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 ...).¹⁹⁰ 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,¹⁹¹ Paulus Harmenszn Schoonhoven lived in a succession of rented houses,¹⁹² until he bought a house in District II 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).¹⁹³ Claes Moyaert, who must also have been a militiaman in District II, does not appear in *The Night Watch*.



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 position 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):

AGE 20-30: militiamen XV, XVI and XVII (nos. 18, 23 and 32)

AGE 30-40: militiamen I, III and XIV (nos. 1, 3 and 10)

AGE 40-50: militiamen II, IV, VII, IX, X, XIII and XVIII (nos. 2, 5, 20, 22, 24, 29 and 33)

AGE 50-60: militiamen V, VI, VIII, XI and XII (nos. 4, 7, 8, 9 and 25)

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 bandoleer and charge cases, the firearm over his shoulder and the musket-rest in his hand, he is portrayed as a musketeer.¹⁹⁴ This is entirely consistent with the fact that wealthy militiamen paid for their own weapons. Militiamen Walich Schellingwou (1613-1653) and Claes van Cruysbergen (1613-1663) (nos. 18 and 23) were both twenty-nine years

Fig. 47
Walich Schellingwou
(1613-1653). Detail of
fig. 46.

Fig. 48
Walich Schellingwou.
Detail of the 'Night
Watch' (fig. 3).



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.⁹⁵ (figs. 47, 48) 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 Cornelisz 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

Fig. 49
Rombout Kemp.
Detail of the 'Night
Watch' (fig. 3).

Fig. 50
Rombout Kemp.
Detail of fig. 42.



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 Amstelkring¹⁹⁶ he was identified as no. 22 in 1927 and by later authors as no. 25, but these identifications were rejected by Haverkamp Begemann in 1982.¹⁹⁷ 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.¹⁹⁸ 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 Leijdeckers (1597-1640). Leijdeckers 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

Fig. 51
Detail of the
'Night Watch' (fig. 3)
(no. 24).

Fig. 52
Detail of
J. DE GHEIJN,
Wapenhandelinghe,
1608.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv.no.
RP-P-08-52.721).



Rembrandt has faithfully followed the print by De Gheyn, who portrayed the musketeer with downcast eyes (figs. 51, 52).¹⁹⁹ Might this man with his blond moustache and goatee beard be Leijdeckers, 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.²⁰⁰ 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.²⁰¹ 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 1653.²⁰² Assuming that this portrait was painted posthumously after *The Night Watch*, the fifty-two-year-old Harman Jacobszn Wormskerck is a likely candidate for this guardsman.²⁰³ 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,²⁰⁴ 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.²⁰⁵ 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 Swedenrijck (1589-1644) and Barent Harmansen Bolhamer (1589-1661). Since Swedenrijck was taxed on assets twice as high as Bolhamer's in 1631 – f 20,000 as against f 10,000 – we might be able to identify him as the musketeer (no. 9) and Bolhamer as the pikeman (no. 25). Pikeman Barent Bolhamer wears a cuirass with epaulettes and an inappropriate hat in *The Night Watch*, while for his part musketeer Elbert Swedenrijck is tricked out in a very unusual helmet.

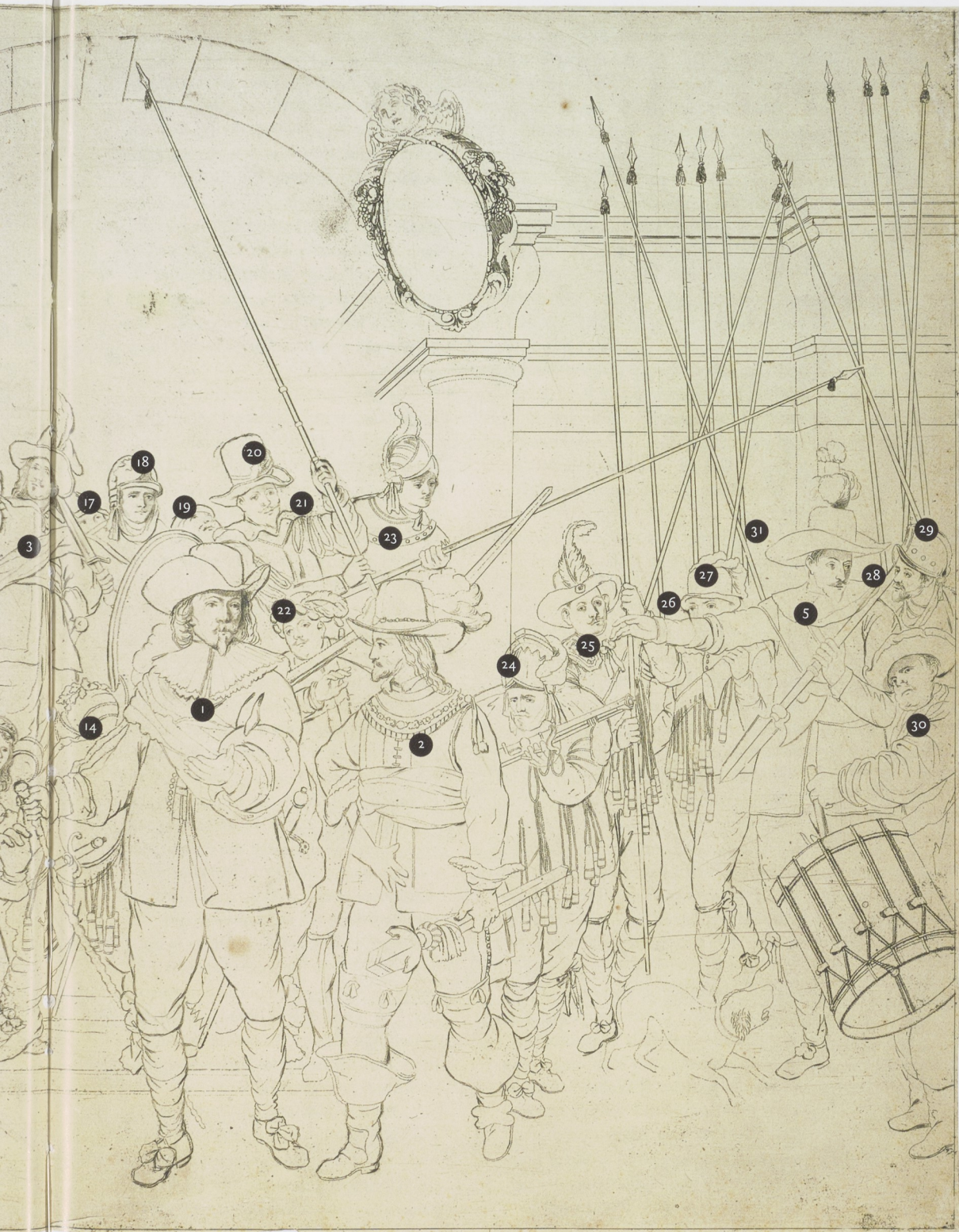
People believed they could make out above the glowing girls in the painting peacock feathers that might be decorating a peacock pie, and so it was previously thought that they were the young daughters of Jacob Pieterszn Nachtglass (1577-1654),²⁰⁶ the steward of the Kloveniersdoelen.²⁰⁷ The steward's older daughter, Geertruyt Nachtglass (1607-[1690]), who succeeded her father between 1654 and 1659,²⁰⁸ 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 Cornelisen (1610-1650), ensign
- 4 (V). Reijnier Engelen (1588-1651), sergeant
- 5 (IV). Rombout Kemp (1597-1653), sergeant
- 6 Musketeer
- 7 (XI). Jan Pietersen Bronckhorst (1587-na 1666), rondassier
- 8 (XII). Harman Jacobsz Wormskerck (1590-1653), rondassier
- 9 (VIII). Elbert Willemszn Swedenrijck (1589-1644), musketeer
- 10 (XIV) Jan van der Heede (1610-1655), 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 (XVII). Claes van Cruysbergen (1613-1663), rondassier
- 18 Head of a man
- 19 Head of a man
- 20 (X) Jan Ockersen (1599-1652), pikeman
- 21 Head of a man
- 22 (VII). Jan Adriaenszn Keijser (1594-1664), sword bearer
- 23 (XV). Walich Schellingwou (1613-1653, pikeman
- 24 (IX). Jan Claesen Leijdeckers (1597-1640), musketeer
- 25 (VI). Barent Harmanszn Bolhamer (1589-1661), pikeman
- 26 Head of a pikeman
- 27 Musketeer
- 28 Head of a man
- 29 (XVIII). Paulus van Schoonhoven (1595-1679), pikeman
- 30 Jacob Joriszn (1591-after 1646), drummer
- 31 Head of a man
- 32 (XVI). Jan Brughman (1614-1652), musketeer
- 33 (XIII). 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 Schellingwou'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 militiamen that did not do justice to the militiamen. The fact that Frans Banninck Cocq 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 Rem-

brandt 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,²¹⁵ 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

- 1 C. Busken Huet, *Het land van Rembrandt*, The Hague 1965 (reprinted 1888), p. 518.
- 2 P. Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer. De schutters van Holland, 1550-1700*, Hilversum 1994, p. 11.
- 3 Busken Huet 1965, op. cit. (note 1), p. 508.
- 4 J.A. Jochems, *Amsterdams Oude Burgervendels (schutterij) 1580-1795* (Amsterdam 1888), p. 29-30.
- 5 A. van Schendel & H.H. Mertens, 'De restauraties van Rembrandt's Nachtwacht' in *Oud-Holland* 62 (1947), p. 1-52, p. 36-38.
- 6 E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton 1982, p. 120, where this study was announced before 1981.
- 7 For the extensive literature on *The Night Watch* see P.J.J. van Thiel, D.J. de Bruyn Kops, J. Cleveringa, W. Kloek & A. Vels Heijn, *Alle schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam. Volledige geïllustreerde catalogus*, Haarlem 1976, pp. 469-470. Of the literature published since then I refer to: P.J.J. van Thiel, 'Beschadiging en herstel van Rembrandts Nachtwacht', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 24 (1976), pp. 4-13; E. van de Wetering, C.M. Groen & J.A. Mosk, 'Beknopt verslag van de resultaten van het technisch onderzoek van Rembrandts Nachtwacht', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 24 (1976), pp. 68-98; C.J. de Bruyn Kops, 'De inlijsting van Rembrandts Nachtwacht in het verleden en de nieuwe lijst', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 24 (1976), pp. 99-119; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton 1982; G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt, zijn leven, zijn schilderijen*, Maarssen 1984, pp. 209-224, 228, 231, 259, fig. 230; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *Dossier Rembrandt*, Amsterdam (Rembrandthuis) 1987, pp. 48-51; J. Bruyn, B. Haak, S.H. Levie, P.J.J. van Thiel, E. van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings III* (1635-1642), Dordrecht, Boston & London 1989 (hereafter abbreviated as *Corpus*); G. Schwartz, *The Night Watch*, Amsterdam & Zwolle 2002 (revised 2nd edition: Amsterdam 2008). H.T. Colenbrander, *The Nightwatch. Captain Frans Banninck Cocq: 'Pugno pro Patria!'* in: M. Roscam Abbing (ed.), *Rembrandt 2006: Essays* (Leiden 2006), pp. 9-30.
- 8 J.E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795*, Haarlem 1903-1905, pp. 39-45.
- 9 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 41-42 as descendants of Mr Jacob Banninck (c. 1470-c. 1529), notary, secretary 1505-1521 and councillor c. 1529.
- 10 G. Ploos van Amstel, 'Unde venis, Ploos van Amstel? Verdichtsel en waarheid over een afstamming', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 107 (1990), k. 178-283, k. 264.
- 12 Where no town or city is mentioned, the reference is generally to Amsterdam.
- 12 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 406. Childless; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'De familie van Pieter Corneliszn Hoof', *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor*

- Genealogie* 35 (1981), pp. 68-108, esp. pp. 84-85. In 1691 and 1709 the following portraits of Frans Banninck Cocq and his wife were recorded at Ilpenstein Castle: '1 (life-size portrait) of Lady Maria Overlander, his daughter, Lady of Purmerlant and Ilpendam. 1 ditto of the Lord Burgomaster Frans Banningh Cock, her husband.' See also F.G.L.O. van Kretchmar, 'Aantekeningen bij de portretten Hooft', *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 35 (1981), pp. 109-124, esp. pp. 123-124. The full-length, life-size marriage portraits of Frans Banninck Cocq and his wife were rediscovered in Delft in 2002, see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Frans Banninck Cocq in ere hersteld', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 89 (2002) 6, pp. 12-16; *Ibid.* 'Toen hingen er burgers als vorsten aan de muur' in: N. Middelkoop (ed.), *Kopstukken. Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600-1800*, Bussum 2002, pp. 46-63, pp. 50-51; *Ibid.* *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten. Godsdiens en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam*, Rotterdam 2006, pp. 327 and 333; J. Vos, *Alle de Gedichten*, Amsterdam 1662, pp. 165-166: *Den Eed. Gestr. Heer FRANS BANNING KOK, Ridder, Heer van Purmerlandt en Ilpendam, Burgermeester en Raad t'Amsterdam. Door van der Helst geschildert. Dit is van Purmerlandt, een van de Hooftpilaaren Daar 't Raadhuis vast op staat: zyn ongekreukte moedt laat zich niet aan het Y, door woest geweldt, vervaaren. Een die de Vryheidt mint ontziet geen hartbloedt. Zyn trouw verstrekt een schildt voor 't oog der watersteeden. Geen starker wallen dan de trouw der Overheeden. Mevrouw MARIA OVERLANDER, Gemaalin van den Eed. Heer BURGERMEESTER KOK, &c. Dus toont Maria zich, door 't maalen der penseelen. Begeert gy d'eedle deught, het loffelijk verstandt, En 't liefelyk gemoedt, drie goddelyke deelen, Die zy omhelst, te zien? zoo zoekt van Purmerlandt In geen vergulde lyst: maar by haar huisgenooten. De gaaven worden in geen schildery beslooten.* Neither of these portraits by Van der Helst has so far been found.
- 13 J.G. & P.J. Frederiks, *Tax register van den tweehondersten penning voor Amsterdam en onderhorige plaatsen over 1631*, Amsterdam 1890, p. 36, f. 157 no. 98 and p. 16, f. 66v no. 198. This tax was half a percent of capital. The capital here was converted accordingly.
- 14 I.H. van Eeghen, 'De restauratie van Singel 140-142', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 54 (1967), pp. 88-93.
- 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 Maaik 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 (1605-1655), de captain van "De Nachtwacht"', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 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 IV: a fox in a thicket and II and III: a swan (ACA, archive 5057, Topographical Collection, O.Z. Voorburgwal, item 26-4-1581). The Benningh arms were a blue cross moline on gold.
- 18 D.J. Roorda, *Eeuw tegen eeuw*, Groningen 1971, p. 17; H. van Dijk & D.J. Roorda, 'Sociale mobiliteit onder regenten van de Republiek', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 84 (1971), pp. 306-328, esp. p. 323.
- 19 Warmoesstraat no. 159, see J.G. Kam, *Waar was dat huis in de Warmoesstraat*, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 381, 383.
- 20 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 406, note c.
- 21 In the Rijksmuseum collection there is an escutcheon of Frans Banninck Cocq (it reads F BANNIGH COCQ) showing his forebears' quarterings. These include the Hooft arms, which are obviously in the wrong place. Until now no one has been able to explain these 'foreign' Hooft arms, see J. Leeuwenberg, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum*, The Hague 1973, p. 232. However, Frans Banninck Cocq's father had a Hooft 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 Janszn Cocq had a Hooft grandmother. It would thus appear evident that a Cock-Hooft 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 Janszn 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 Hooft 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 Hooft family, the order of the family coat of arms can be explained. The arms of the father's side, Cock, Frijtagh, Hooft 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 Hooft 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: I: a fox in a thicket in natural colours on silver and II: a silver swan on red.
- 22 Knevel 1994, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 343-345.
- 23 From 1621 onwards Pieter Reael (1569-1643) was captain of District II (he lived in District XIX-N.Z. Voorburgwal in 'de Gouden Reael' (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 Claeszn Pancras was elected burgomaster, so that his place as an officer became vacant. The man then made lieutenant was Wilhem van Ruytenburch, brother-in-law of a brother of Captain Reael (Jacob Reael (1590-1639) married to Machtelt van Ruytenburch (1597-....) (Elias 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 (Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 265, note 1). Joannes Wtenbogaert lived on the Singel (no. 324) in District I. 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 I, 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 Banningh family by Pieter de Graeff (1638-1707), and it was probably this that put J.E. Elias 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.
- 25 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Op zoek naar Romulus and Remus. Zeventiende-eeuws onderzoek naar de oudste magistraat van Amsterdam' in: *Van polder tot polis. Liber amicorum van Drs. P.H.J. van der Laan, Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 87 (1995), pp. 43-70, esp. pp. 53-54 (see further note 18).
- 26 Colenbrander 2006, op. cit. (note 7), p. 11.
- 27 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), p. 19 note 35.
- 28 W. Martin, 'Backer's Korporaalschap uit den Kloveniersdoelen te Amsterdam', *Oud-Holland* 56 (1933), pp. 220-224.
- 29 She was buried in Vlaardingen in August 1678. Children: (see Elias 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) 4. Adriana (The Hague Gr.K 8 December 1632-after December 1701) 5. Elisabeth (The Hague Gr.K 10 December 1634-19 January 1697) 6. Jan ([The Hague] 1635-The Hague 22 February 1719) 7. Gerardus Constantinus (OK 8 March 1640-Purmerend 10 May 1701) 8. Willem (NK 11 June 1643-....) 9. Albertus (Vlaardingen 6 December 1643-Delft 6 January 1688) 10. Catharina (Vlaardingen 16 September 1646-....) 11. Alida [Vlaardingen]-before 9 April 1653).
- 30 ACA, archive 5059, collection of manuscripts, no. 43 f. 44, 21-8-1647: Gerrit van Helmont, captain in Wilhem van Ruytenburch's place. His post as captain of District II was vacant in 1647. See Jochems 1888, op. cit. (note 4), p. 30.
- 31 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 70, f. 305v and 306 nos. 181-183.
- 32 Kam 1968, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 198-200; J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomste, aanwas, geschiedenis*, Amsterdam 1767, III, p. 29.
- 33 P. de Vries, 'Amsterdamse regenten in de zeventiende eeuw', *Ons Amsterdam* 25 (1973), pp. 74-82, esp. p. 82.
- 34 Elias 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. Henricx), no. 18, f. 119v-121, 14-3-1626) Wilhem van Ruytenburch was granted the manors of Vlaardingen and Vlaardingerambacht 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 Voorshotsen, in Voorshotsen', in: *Historische studiën*, The Hague 1971, pp. 19-45, p. 23; E.M.C.M. Janson, *Kastelen in 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 Ipendam from the heavily encumbered property of Lamoraal van Egmond (....-1617) see Elias 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 (Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 266). The list of

- 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 1630 (fig. see n. 16 p. 32).
- 37 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Lamberti), no. 594 (microfilm 4939), f. 541; J.G. Frederiks, 'De lieutenant Ruytenburch van Rembrandt's "Nachtwacht"', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* (1891), pp. 19-20 and 27-28.
- 38 Seal as alderman: ACA, archive 5057, Topographic collections, Goudsbloemstraat 10-6-1641.
- 39 J.P. ter Brugge, 'De buitenplaats "Het Hof" te Vlaardingen' in M.A. Struijs, *Vlaardingen en Vlaardingers-ambacht. Een heerlijkheid*, Vlaardingen 1990, pp. 25-38, esp. pp. 29-31.
- 40 R. Meischke, 'Buitenverblijven van Amsterdammers voor 1625', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 70 (1978), pp. 82-106, esp. pp. 88-89.
- 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.
- 42 Meischke 1978, op. cit. (note 40), pp. 92-93.
- 43 H.P. Förling, 'De landsadvocaten en raadpensionarissen der Staten van Holland en West-Friesland, 1480-1795', II, *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 28 (1974), pp. 242-266, esp. pp. 249, 250.
- 44 According to an eighteenth-century note, the painting portrayed *Willem van Ruyhtenburg ... met syn vrouw Alida Jonckheyn en seven van syn kinderen, gelyk in 't leven: Pieter van Rhyuytenburg, syn oudste soon, in het bruyng geschildert ... Een dogter [Catharina, 1646], schoon in haar tydt, in het blauw geschildert ... Adriana van Ruytenburg [1632-na 1701], in het wit satijn ... Elisabeth van Ruytenburg [1634-1697], gekleed met roodt frueel met een strik in het haar ... Jan van Ruytenburg [1635-1719], speelt met hondt met swarten ooren ... Een soon [Gerard Constantijn, 1640-1701], met de Roe van Justitie geschildert ... Een soon [Albert, 1643-1688], met een witte pluym, spelende met een hondt ...]* (Willem van Ruyhtenburg ... with his wife Alida Jonckheyn and seven of their children, all living at the time: Pieter van Rhyuytenburg, 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], playing with a dog with black ears ... A son [Gerard Constantijn, 1640-1701], painted with the Rod of Justice ... A son [Albert, 1643-1688], with a white feather, playing with a dog ...) See M.C. Sigal, 'Een verdwenen (?) schilderij van het geslacht van Ruytenburg', *De Navorscher* 76 (1927), p. 189.
- See also Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 425-435; A.G.M. de Haan, 'Het huis aan de gracht; Herengracht nr. 19 en 19a', *Jaarboek Die Haghe* 1974, pp. 149-173. The same thing happened in the case of the highly influential Baerdesen family (Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 47, 48). In 1607 Wilhem Baerdesen (1563-Alkmaar 1619) added to the estate near Heilo acquired by his ancestors by buying the manors of Warmenhuizen and Kabbendam from Lamoraal van Egmond. He had IJpendam Castle built in Heilo (Meischke 1978, op. cit. (note 42), p. 90). He had lived in Alkmaar since 1590.
- 45 H.F. Wijnman, 'Beschrijving van elk pand aan de Herengracht met zijn eigenaars en bewoners', in: *Vier eeuwen Herengracht*, Amsterdam 1976, p. 465.
- 46 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 352.
- 47 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 403; Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 6, f. 23 no. 1; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Een grote concentratie van zeepzieders aan het Damrak. Amsterdamse zeepziederijen in de 16e en vroege 17e eeuw', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 83 (1991), pp. 45-112, esp. pp. 73-74 and 70-71.
- 48 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 8, f. 33v 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 f 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 Cornelisz Ringh, to the merchant Jan Karlson (Hoorn,-1594).
- 51 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Gijsberts), no. 36, f. 202v, 21-6-1606, will of Claes Gerbrandz Pancras and Anna Quintings. Children: Gerbrant, Marietgen, Niesgen, Lijsbeth and Jan. Gerrit was named after his grandfather Gerrit Janszn Cops (1541-1597) (Elias 1903, p. 405). In 1631 Anna Quintings and her children (Nieuwendijk 196) 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 wederopersoproer (1535)', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 71 (1979), pp. 18-37, esp. pp. 36-37.
- 53 He was the son of Jan Banningh Janszn, who married Oob Taticx (1544-1620), daughter of Tatick Vastert and Gierte Ciercx, in the Oude Kerk on 8 May 1575 (see Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 8). 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 capitale 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 f 62,000.
- 56 I.H. van Eeghen, 'Het luiden van kerkklokken in Amsterdam', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 41 (1954), pp. 43-46, 79 and *ibid.*, 'Concurrentie tussen de Oude en Nieuwe Kerk bij het begraven van rooms-katholieken', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 56 (1969), p. 126.
- 57 Burgomaster Gerbrant Claeszn 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 1480 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. 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).
- 59 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. Lamberti), no. 586, f. 327-328, 5 February 1649: will of Jan Cornelisz Visscher, bachelor, merchant.
- 60 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', f 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 Ameland, had left f 53,838 (ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Meerhout), no. 229, f. 121-124v, 5 June 1626).
- 61 *Dus ziet men Visscher, die het vaandel heeft gezweit: Maar toen het woeste heir de Stadt aan 't Y deedt vreezen, Heeft hy van spyt zyn vaân en leeven afgeleit. Zoo toont de jongeling zich van Bickers bloedt te weezen: Dien Bikker, die zyn Staat, tot heil van 't volk verliet. Een vrye ziel gedooft niet dan een vry gebied.*
- 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.
- 62 J.E. Elias, *Geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsche Regentenpatriciaat*, The Hague 1923, p. 136, note 3.
- 63 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 Aechte 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 Servaes. 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.
- 64 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henricxz), 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 Cocq, Lord of Purmerlant and Ilpendam, and Cornelis de Graeff, Lord of Polsbroeck, of the Nieuwe Sijts Achterburgwal near Molsteeg' (Oude Kerk).
- 65 Children: 1. Aert (OK 11 September 1625-ZK 17 September 1625). 2. Dierckjen (OK 27 August 1626-NK 24 November 1661), unmarried. 3. Clara (NK 27 June 1628-NK 3 December 1660), unmarried. 4. Aert/Artus (NK 10 February-NK 18-October 1694), ensign, unmarried. 5. Joannes (NK 9 February 1631-NK 6 March 1656), unmarried. 6. Amerentia (NK 26 October 1632-NK 16 September 1707), married 1666 notary Salomon van der Sluys (1634-1679). 7. Child buried OK 13 January 1635. 8. Elsje (NK 18 May 1636-before 1700), married 1671 Minister Arnoldus Oortcampius (1635-before 1700). 9. Josyna (OK 31 March 1639-NK 14 May 1639).

10. Rombout (NK 16 September 1640-young).
11. Josijntje (NK 25 November 1642-NK 5 January 1643). 12. Nicolaes (NK 25 November 1642-NK 26 April 1688), unmarried.
- 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.
- 68 J.G. Kam, 'De Nieuwendijk van de Oudebrugsteeg tot Zoutsteeg van 1543-1805', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 53 (1961), pp. 95-128, esp. p. 125; ACA, archive 5062 Register of Conveyances no. 74 (formerly 3 R), f. 358, 15 September 1700.
- 69 *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 1937, k. 263; Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 307.
- 70 ACA, archive 378 (Nieuwe Kerk), no. 49, register of graves, f. 225 'het eerste Chooertje nr. 5 en 6'; 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).
- 72 J.G. van Dillen, 'De sergeants en schutters van Rembrandt's schuttersopdracht', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 31 (1934), pp. 97-110.
- 73 Daughter: Aeltje van Engelen (NK 18 August 1626-(Vreeswijk a/d Vaart) after 1671), married 1650 Fredrick de Veer (Utrecht, 1624-Vreeswijk a/d Vaart and buried Utrecht Geertekerk (notification 18 November 1667), canon of the chapter of Sint Jan, receiver of taxes and tolls of the Vaart.
- 74 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 25v no. 40.
- 75 Kam 1961, op. cit. (note 68), p. 122; J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildwezen van Amsterdam*, III (1633-1672), Amsterdam 1974, p. 237, no. 453, 25 August 1639. The house was purchased after 1606 (conveyance on 20 May to Yem Gijsbertszn) by Jan Engelszn, since he was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on 18 January 1621 from an address on the Nieuwendijk opposite Sint Nicolaasstraat; 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 gildwezen van Amsterdam*, II (1612-1632), Amsterdam 1933, p. 555, no. 979, 29 November 1624; *ibid.*, p. 603, 11 August 1626, where Reijer Engelszn, 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, no. 4, f. 238-239, 5 October 1657; ACA, archive 5066, Voluntary Transfers of Title, no. 12, f. 128-130v, 8 December 1656.
- 78 *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, IV, 1918, k. 489/491.
- 79 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 8, f. 30v no. 105.
- 80 Herman Corneliszn was the son of a baker, Cornelis Adriaenszn, and Trijn Barents, the daughter of the secondhand dealer Barent Hendrickszn; Van Dillen 1941, op. cit. (note 55), p. 114, f. 75; H.W. Alings, 'De Leeuwenburch', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 45 (1958), pp. 56-60.
- 81 ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, no. 786, Register of Deposits, no. 15, f. 273v, 1 April 1611. The children were: Barent (21), Aeltje (12) and Adriaen (nine).
- 82 See C.W. Delforferie, 'Brieven van legitimatie 1588-1794', *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 30 (1976), pp. 180-206, and *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 31 (1977), pp. 120-143.
- 83 See note 81.
- 84 Collateral tax – a 20% tax on heirs in the collateral line – should actually have been paid, but Alida managed to avoid this too through her marriage. Jan van Kempen married again in 1668, His second wife was Anna Maria Daemen (1646-1725), a sister of the man who was later vicar apostolic (1707) Adam Daemen (1670-Cologne 1717).
- 85 ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 24 (formerly 37), f. 190v, 10 April 1616. *Idem*, archive 5067, Accounts of voluntary transfer of title, no. 39, f. 242, 6-5-1700. Alida Bolhamer's heirs sold the house.
- 86 ACA, archive 5044, Treasury Extraordinary, no. 273 (Register of Tax Assessments 1650/52), f. 70; archive 5062, conveyance no. 132 (formerly 6 C), f. 291v, 9 May 1758.
- 87 Children: 1. Berber (NK 17 July 1618-died young) 2. Adriaen (NK 2 February 1621-after 1660), unmarried 3. Berber (NK 6 November 1622-died young) 4. Barbelte (NK 16 February 1625-died young) 5. Pieter (NK 2 February 1627-died young). 6. Johannes (NK 6 March 1629-NZK 10 December 1685), married 1659 Susanna Maria de Ree (1642-1679). 7. Geertruyt (NK 14 July 1630-after 1666), married 1665 Christoffel Schram (1638-after 1666). N.B. Children buried NK 24 August 1620, 8 July 1621 and 13 October 1622.
- 88 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary W. Cluyt), no. 348, f. 159, 3 October 1919; List of Amsterdam wine merchants: no. 161. 'Jan Adriaenszn Kayser aan de Sinter Claes brug'; ANA (notary W. Cluyt), no. 355, f. 73v, 17 July 1632.
- 89 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7 f. 28 no. 71.
- 90 ACA, archive 366, Guild Archive, no. 1071, f. 80.

- 91 Wagenaar 1765, op. cit. (note 32), II, p. 74.
- 92 ACA, archive 5044, Treasury Extraordinary, no. 274 (tax register 1653-1655), f. 241v.
- 93 Wijnman 1976, op. cit. (note 45), p. 445.
- 94 *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, x, 1937, k. 623-625.
- 95 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'De schutters op Rembrandt's Nachtwacht', in: *Blaeu Erf. Het restauratieproject van Stadsherstel*, Monumenten monografieën no. 3, 1984, pp. 12-13. Children of Jan Keijser buried in the NK 24 August 1620, 8 July 1621 and 13 October 1622.
- 96 ACA, archive 366, Guild Archive, no. 1085.
- 97 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 28 no. 21.
- 98 ACA, archive 366, Guild Archive no. 1086, no. 59.
- 99 Children: 1. Guilliam (NK 18 July 1632-OK 1 June 1691), married 1669 Elisabeth Kuysten (1651-1708). 2. Geertruyt (OK 18 January 1635-NK 18 November 1680), married 1656 Mathijs Pelsers Jacobszn (1626-1675). 3. Maria (NK 22 June 1636-Leiden after 1674), married 1657 Johannes Brouwer (1630-Leiden before 1674), lawyer in Leiden.
- 100 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 27 no. 62; *ibid.*, p. 65, f. 283v no. 70 father's legacy f 20,000.
- 101 Van Dillen 1941, op. cit. (note 55), p. 125, f. 101.
- 102 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Heijlinck), no. 44, f. 56v-58v, 12-3-1593.
- 103 ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 34 (formerly E), f. 25-25v, 4 March 1629.
- 104 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1040, f. 226, 18 November 1634.
- 105 ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, Register of Deposits, no. 26, f. 257v, 26 July 1645.
- 106 ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, Register of Burials, no. 20 (Zuiderkerk), 4 November 1644; Kam 1961, op. cit. (note 68), p. 126 no. 205.
- 107 Wijnman 1976, op. cit. (note 45), pp. 260-261.
- 108 Children: 1. Marya (OK 30 March 1623-OK 9 May 1623). 2. Marytje (OK 26 March 1626-OK 29 March 1626). 3. Child buried OK 16 April 1627. 4. Pieter (NK 15 April 1629-young). 5. Claes (OK 25 April 1630-young). 6. Maritje (NK 4 June 1631-(NK 12 May 1660)). 7. Claes (NK 27 September 1633-(NK sanctuary 1 December 1641)).
- 109 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 6, f. 23 no. 3.
- 110 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary N. Jacobszn), no. 385, f. 471, 7 December 1622.
- 111 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. 142/3, 1 March 1631 f 1600.
- 112 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Bosch), no. 989, f. 158, 20 December 1640.
- 113 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. Bosch), no. 992 B, f. 25, 30 December 1640.
- 114 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 liability to debts beyond the assets descended; ACA, archive 5004, Register of Burials Board of Orphans no. 10 (Nieuwe Kerk), 19 April 1640.
- 115 See note 107; ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 44 (formerly Z), f. 94v, 13 June 1650.
- 116 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. van Banchem), no. 323, f. 60, 27 March 1643: the guardians of Jan Claeszn Leijdeckers's children versus Willem Claeszn Leijdeckers concerning two judgements relating to debts in the amount of f 4,675 and f 1,050; 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 Vicq; 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 the office of the poor relief board, the O.Z. Huiszittenhuis (ACA, ANA (notary J. van Winter), no. 2282/IV, f. 58, 17 April 1655 and ACA, archive 5072, Insolvent Estates Office, no. 362, f. 175 ff., 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. Warnartszn no. 664, f. 231, 20 June 1630), seller of imported beer (1633-notary J. Warnartszn, no. 667, f. 194, 23 March 1633) and commissioner of inspection (1638-notary J. Warnartszn, no. 702, 7 April 1638).
- 117 ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans Deposit no. 22, f. 13, 11 February 1633; Gerbrand van den Eekhout became sergeant in District xxv in about 1655.
- 118 Children: 1. Heijltje (NK 28 February 1623-OK 20 November 1626). 2. Trijn (OK 20 October 1624-OK 22 September 1655), married 1648 Thomas Verbeeck (Haarlem 1624-1674), wool dealer /cloth merchant in 'de Spaanse Wolbael' on the Nieuwendijk. 3. Ocker (NK 16 August 1628-after 1652), cloth merchant. 4. Cornelis (NK 15 October 1628-after 1652). 5. Heijltje (OK 13 March 1631-OK 23 November 1679), unmarried. 6. Aechtje (NK 31 July 1633-OK 7 August 1705), married 1651 Johannes Vincent

- (1626-after 1681). 7. Geertruyt (OK 7 August 1636-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).
- 119 Wagenaar 1765, op. cit. (note 32), II, p. 353; National Archive, The Hague, States of Holland, no. 1206 (copy Reading Room ACA) tax register 1562 Nieuwe Zijde, f. 101: Heijligeweg: Duyf Adriaen Ockers v1 dwellings propter 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 Heijligeweg; *ibid.*, f. 163, 15 April 1651. Jan Ockers bought two parcels of land in Kleine Palmstraat for f 2,600.
- 120 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), f. 7, f. 25v no. 37.
- 121 ACA, archive 1561, Judicial Archive, no. 273 (confession 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 1)', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 79 (1988), pp. 35-55, esp. p. 48-49.
- 122 ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, no. 780, Register of Deposits, no. 9, f. 134, 9 August 1569.
- 123 The painter Jan Adriaenszn Ockers (1584-1653) remained Catholic, but his wife Margrietje Symons (1585-1623) 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.
- 124 Kam 1961, op. cit. (note 68), pp. 120,121; ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 16 (formerly 27), f. 51, 24 May 1606: Ocker Janszn, clothe 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 'het Groene Claverblat', Nieuwendijk.
- 125 Jochems 1888, op. cit. (note 4), p. 55.
- 126 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. de Barij), no. 1672, 17 August 1666; Jan Pieterszn 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).
- 127 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 Pieterszn 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.
- 128 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 8, f. 33 no. 142.
- 129 ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 59 (formerly 2 X), f. 55v, 11 October 1697: sale of the house f 6,000.
- 130 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1048, p. 85, 28 January 1648; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary P. Carelszn), no. 725, p. 377, 14 October 1631.
- 131 *Compareerde Sr Jan Pieterszn, laeckencoper, out omtrent tseventich jaren, woonende op de Nieuwesijds Voorburchwal tegenover de Nieuwstraat hier ter stede ende heeft ten versoecke van Sr Louys Crayers, als vooght over Titus van Rhijn, zoone van Saskia van Uylenburch ende Rembrandt van Rhijn, bij ware Christelijcke woorden in plaetse van eede geattesteerd, getuyghet ende veclaert hoe waer is: dat hij attestant door Rembrandt van Rhijn, konstschilder, is geschildert en geconterfeijt geworden neffens andere persoonen van hunne compagnie en corporaelschap tot sesien int getall in een schilderije, nu staende op de groote sael in de Kloveniersdoelen ende dat yder van hen, nae de geheugenisse, die hij attestant daer noch aff heeft, van schilderen wel heeft gecost dooreen de somme van hondert gulden, d'een wat meer d'ander wat minder, nae de plaats, die sij daer in hadden. Alle 't welck etc. Jan Pieterszn, laeckencoper.* ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary N. Listingh), no. 2613, f. 403, anno 1659; W.L. Strauss & M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York 1979, p. 446: 1659/16.
- 132 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 125. Child: 1. Bartholdus (NK 16 March 1627-NK 10 September 1653), married 1649 Debora Blaeuw (1629-1702).
- 133 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 26 no. 46.
- 134 Kam 1961, op. cit. (note 68), p. 125.
- 135 J.E. Elias, 'Het Fonds Wormskerck', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 40 (1944), pp. 138-161, esp. p. 141.
- 136 Wijnman 1976, op. cit. (note 45), pp. 453-454.
- 137 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 125.
- 138 Children: 1. Dirck (19 November 1626-NK 12 July 1716). 2. Geertruy (14 February 1628-March 1666). 3. Joannes (17 June 1629-NK 13 August 1633). 4. Maria (7 August 1632-November 1684). 5. Joannes (14 May 1635-NK 15 May 1689). 6. Jacobus (12 December 1638-NK 23 March 1640); ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Lamberti), no. 576, f. 872, 21 May 1629: will of Jacob Dirckszn de Roy, cloth merchant, and Marritje Jan Bontendr, residing on the Nieuwendijk at the sign of 'de Drie Stampers'.
- 139 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 27 no. 60.
- 140 ACA, Conveyance, no. 34 (formerly E), f. 25v, 1629: purchase; ACA, Conveyance, no. 51 (formerly 2 H), f. 64, 14 October 1660: sale.
- 141 Great-grandparents Jacob Meijndertszn (....-1574/83), beer importer from 't Heck, and Marie Jochems (....-after 1607). ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J.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 Thomasdr.
- 142 Gerret Symonszn Bont (...-1593), cloth merchant of Nieuwendijk (Van Dillen 1941, op. cit. (note 55), 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 Amstelodamum* 72 (1980), pp. 23-43, esp. pp. 41-43.
- 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): 1. Josina (Rem. 12 July 1644-OK 27 March 1664). 2. Elisabet (Rem. 29 October 1649-OK 4 November 1649). 3. Jan (Rem. 24 December 1650-OK 10 May 1652). 4. Lysbet (Rem. 7 June 1652-OK 11 July 1652). 5. Lysbet (Rem. 22 October 1654-NK 1 January 1694), married 1675 Dirck Pater (1643-1691).
- 147 The house belonged to the grandfather of militiaman 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 (1989), pp. 63-82, esp. p. 63-64.
- 150 ACA, archive 5028, Burgomasters' Archive, no. 505 (Resolutions of the Court-Martial no. 1 (1650)).
- 151 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenbogaert), no. 1880, f. 325-328, 9 December 1645: statement by Jan Teuniszn Schellingwou, provost marshal in the guardroom at Heiligewegspoort, that Jan Hendricx Pancras, clerk in the second troop of Captain Jacob Jacobszn Roch, did the rounds with an incorrect sidearm.
- 152 Children: 1. Gijsbert (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. Adriaen (NK 23-12-1646-NK 6 November 1649). 5. Joannes (NK 29 September 1648-OK 5 August 1675), unmarried.
- 153 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 7, f. 26v no. 53.
- 154 This house belonged to his stepmother Aeltje Jans, who was first married (1607) to Jacob Hendrickszn Cloeck (1579-1624) and in 1626 married Jan Teuniszn Schellingwou (see ACA, Conveyance no. 18 (formerly 29), f. 9v, 18 February 1608); ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 75 (formerly 3 S), f. 28 ff., 14 July 1701: sale.
- 155 Kam 1961, op. cit. (note 68), p. 110 (Nieuwendijk 135).
- 156 Antonis Janszn Schellingwou, syndic of the clothmakers' guild 1583-1585, 1587-1588, 1590, 1593, 1594; Pieter Antoniszn Schellingwou, inspector of weights and measures 1600, 1602, 1604, 1605, 1611 and syndic of the clothmakers' guild 1591, 1592, 1596, 1598, 1601, 1603; Jan Anthoniszn Schellingwou, inspector of weights and measures 1606, 1607, 1612, 1615, 1616, 1620, 1625 and syndic of the clothmakers' guild 1609, 1610, 1613, 1614, 1618, 1619, 1621, 1623, 1624, 1626, 1627.
- 157 Wijnman 1976, op. cit. (note 45), p. 239.
- 158 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenbogaert), no. 1914, f. 967 ff., 15 August 1653.
- 159 ACA, ANA, no. 5075 (notary D. van der Groe), f. 431-452, 20 August 1706: Will of Antony Schellingwou, in which he bequeathed to his niece Alida Schellingwou (1685-...): *de conterfeytselens van mijn ouders en familie uyt mijn moeder, moeye en broeders huys gekomen, en het groote stuk daar mijn vader en moeder ende kinderen in geschildert zijn, als mede de cleijne stukyens conterfeijtsel door Maas en Musscher geschildert van mijn selfs en mijn broeder Gijsbert en mijn broeder Nicolaas Schellingwou en sijn huysvrouw, welke laatst genoemde kleijne conderfeijtsels mijn vrou sal mogen indien sij het begeert.* (f. 448). (The portraits of my parents and family that came from the house of my mother, aunt and brothers, as well as the small portraits painted by Maas and Musscher of myself and my brother Gijsbert and my brother Nicolaas Schellingwou and his wife, which last small portraits my wife may have if she so wishes.)
- 160 A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680)*, *Rembrandt's Pupil*, Groningen 1982, p. 176 R 127; I. Linnik, 'Zur Identifizierung eines weiteren Schützen in der Kompanie des Kapitän Frans Banning Cocq auf Rembrandts Bild 'Die Nachtwache'', *Essays in Northern European Art, Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann*, Doornspijk 1983.
- 161 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenbogaert), no. 1914, f. 979.
- 162 *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, IX, 1933, k. 975.
- 163 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 322.
- 164 Children: 1. Joannes (NK 2 May 1638-young). 2. Margriet (NK 2 February 1640-young). 3. Joannes (NK 16 February 1642-Beverwijk 24 December 1668). Unmarried (see J. Belonje, *Genealogische en heraldische gedenkwaardigheden in en uit de kerken der provincie Noord-Holland*, Utrecht 1928, II, p. 147). 4. Govert (NK 25 October 1643-young). 5. Govert (NK 29 July 1646-young). 6. Margriet (NK 26 November 1648-young); ACA, archive

- 5075, ANA (notary L. Lamberti), no. 680, f. 938-940, 3 January 1637: marriage settlement; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Lamberti), no. 586, f. 347-351, 26 February 1649: will; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenbogaert), no. 1866, f. 155-166, 30 October 1649: will; *ibid.*, f. 208, 23 January 1650: codicil Cecilia Boelen; ACA, archive 5073, 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. 59v, 29 March 1667.
- 165 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 41, f. 180 no. 13; *ibid.*, p. 69, f. 301v no. 121 and 122. Uncle Hendrik Boelen (inspector of weights and measures in 1587 and 1600, syndic of the cloth-makers' 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.
- 167 Kam 1961, op. cit. (note 6), p. 110.
- 168 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henricx), no. 12, f. 30, 5 April 1608: will of Pieter Janszn Groenlaken (inspector of weights and measures 1605, 1606), buried Nieuwe Kerk (sanctuary) 11 April 1608) and Lysbeth Dircx; ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henricx), no. 12, f. 226v-229v, 17 May 1611: will Lysbeth Dircx, widow of Pieter Janszn Groenlaken.
- 169 S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, Bristol 1974, III, p. 54.
- 170 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary S. Henricx), no. 17, f. 102v-103v, 6 August 1627: will of Adriaen Willemszn 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 Chapel), 28 February 1650. ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary F. Wtenbogaert), no. 1888, f. 17, 6 July 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. Wtenbogaert), 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. Wtenbogaert), no. 1893, f. 60-64, transfer of Jan Brughman's accounts.
- 172 Slive 1974, op. cit. (note 169), III, p. 54.
- 173 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 8), p. 193; H.F. Wijnman, *Uit de kring van Rembrandt en Vondel*, Amsterdam 1959, p. 7.
- 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.
- 176 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 74, f. 324 no. 14.
- 177 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 15, f. 61.
- 178 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 11, f. 42v.
- 179 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary J. van de Ven), no. 1956, f. 225v, 17 August 1640: statement about civic guard silver.
- 180 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 101-102.
- 181 Elias 1903, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 202-203.
- 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. 180). 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, *Amsterdams 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 623; 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 55), 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 Gerritszn Hoyng, Thomas Elbertszn; ACA, Conveyance no. 48 (formerly 2D), f. 240, 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. Nicolaes van Cruysbergen, provoost der burgerije hier ter stede ende heeft ten versoecke van Sr Louys Crayers, als vooght over Titus van Rhijn, zoone van Saskia van Uilenburch, geprocreeerd bij Rembrandt van Rhijn, geattesteert, getuycht ende verclaert hoe waer is: dat het stuck schilderije staende op de Cleuveniersdoelen door den voors Rembrandt van Rhijn geschildert ende daerin hij attestant mede is geconterfeijt, van schilderen wel heeft gekost de som van sestienhondert guldens. Gevende hij attestant voor redenen van weten-*

- schappe, dat hij sijne portie daer mede toe heeft betaelt ende sulckx verscheijde maelen alsdoen heeft hooren seggen. ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary N. Listingh), no. 2613, f. 415, anno 1659; Strauss & Van der Meulen 1979, op. cit. (note 131), 1659/19.
- 187 ACA, archive 5001, DTB, no. 453, f. 349, 7 April 1640.
- 188 Children: 1. Neeltje (NK 15 May 1624-NK 3 September 1624). 2. Child buried NK 5 February 1625. 3. Neeltje (NK 29 June 1625-young). 4. Herman (NK 23 August 1626-NK 22 November 1673), married 1654 Aaltje Pruys (1631-1673), married for the second time, in 1675, Maria de Peerel (Antw. 1634-....); (for her and her first husband Dirck Wilre see W.H. Vroom, 'Dirck Wilre in Elmina' and F. Binder & N. Schneeloch, 'Dirck Dirckszn en Willem Godschalk van Focquenbroch (?) geschilderd door Pieter de Witte Elmina in 1669', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 27 (1979), pp. 7-29. 5. Symon (NK 14 November 1627-NK 25 January 1680), married 1654 Dieuwertje Verlaen (1635-after 1695). 6. Neeltje (NK 22 September 1630-NK 23 April 1714), unmarried. 7. Petronelle (NK 5 April 1633-....). 8. Johannes (NK 14 January 1635-Sloterdijk 10 July 1711), minister, married 1660 Catelijntje van Dinteren (1641-....). 9. Dieuwertje (NK 1 February 1637 NK 27 June 1712), married 1666 Sybrant Bolck (1620-1680), tanner, married for the second time, in 1684, Jacobus Heijblock (1623-1690), literary man, married for the third time, in 1696, Daniel Tielemans (1639-1705), merchant 10. Marritje (NK November 1639-NK 1 December 1640).
- 189 Frederiks 1890, op. cit. (note 13), p. 4 f. 9v.
- 190 Isaac Florianus (1572-1645), notification of intended marriage 17 April 1599 Marritje Symons (Goes 1576-after 1611).
- 191 Isaac Florianus's daughter, Maria Florianus (1600-1679), first married in 1621 the grocer from 'de Rooide Meulen' (Damrak no. 49) Pieter Merchijs (Rotterdam 1581-1624), and married for the second time in 1628 the chemist Pieter van de Venne (1599-1670) of Damrak no. 94. Pieter Merchijs was a cousin of Anna Garniers (daughter of the confectioner Roelant Garnier (Ypres,-1599) and Barbara Merchijs (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 Amstelodamum* 80 (1988), pp. 26-59, esp. pp. 42, 43. The Amsterdam City Archive recently purchased the portrait of Maria Florianus by Johannes Thopas, see B. Gerlagh, 'Portret van een oudere dame, mogelijk Maaïke Martens (c. 1581-1635)', *Bulletin van de Vereniging Rembrandt* 16 (2006) 2, pp. 16-19. Wrongly identified here.
- 192 Rokin (1623), Lauriergracht (1624), Bloemgracht behind the Orphanage (c. 1625); Guild Archive no. 1085, N.Z. Achterburgwal (1632).
- 193 ACA, archive 5062, Conveyance no. 37 (formerly O), f. 293v, 17 August 1639.
- 194 In his reconstruction of the weapons, Gary Schwarz (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, 81.4 x 71.4 cm); *Corpus* 1989, op. cit. (note 7), III, p. 468). The man in the portrait is about forty years old, which means that it cannot be Jan Brughman.
- 195 Linnik 1983, op. cit. (note 160), pp. 139-141. The inventory of Walich Schellingwou'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.
- 196 H. Gerson, 'Enkele weinig bekende schilderijen in het museum Amstelkring', *Oud-Holland* 65 (1959), pp. 79-81, esp. p. 80: Gerrit Claesz Bleker.
- 197 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), p. 31, note 22.
- 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 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), fig. 62 right.
- 200 W. Martin, *Van nachtwacht tot feeststoet*, Amsterdam & Antwerp 1947, p. 29.
- 201 M. Carasso-Kok & J. Levy-van Halm, *Schutters in Holland, Kracht en zenuwen van de stad* (Haarlem 1988), pp. 168 and 198, no. 17.
- 202 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), p. 30.
- 203 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), p. 30, note 21.
- 204 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary C. Ijpelaer), 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)(e) 1601-1634, and steward of the Cloveniersdoelen 1637-1654, buried Amsterdam NK 5 May 1654 (Nieuwe Doelenstraat), son of Pieter Jacobszn Nachtglas, timber merchant and master carpenter, brewer in 'het Nachtglas', Singel (no. 200), (owner), councillor 1595-1602, factory inspector and treasurer 1596-1602, and Aechte Claes Hooft, 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 Lambertszn, corn chandler, op 't Water, governor N.Z. Huiszittenhuis 1589-1608, and his first wife Geertgen Sackels.
- Children: 1. Pieter Jacobszn Nachtglas (baptized OK 5 October 1600), assistant merchant employed by the Dutch East India Company in Batavia 1636. 2. Elbert Jacobszn Nachtglas (NK 28 May 1602-NK 15 February 1655), painter, was in Rome in about 1625. 3. Claes Jacobszn Nachtglas (OK 8 January 1604-NK 30 August 1604). 4. Claes Jacobszn Nachtglas the Elder, (OK 3 July 1605-c. 1635). 5. Geertruyt Nachtglas (NK 25 November 1607-'s-Gravenhage after 25 February 1690), steward of the Cloveniersdoelen 1654-1659, married 1668 Henric Wolffsen (Wolffius) (1615-1684). 6. Claes Jacobszn Nachtglas the Younger (OK 10 December 1609-before 8 September 1636). 7. Aechtje Nachtglas (NK 15 January 1612-NK 14 May 1659 (from the Kloveniersdoelen). 8. Jannetje Jacobs (NK 23 March 1614-c. 1635). 9. Trijntje Nachtglas (NK 7 May 1619-NK 4 October 1655). S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *Van Amsterdamse burgers tot Europese aristocraten*, Amersfoort 2008, pp. 290-292.
- 207 F. Schmidt-Degener, 'Het genetisch probleem van de Nachtwacht III. De uitvloeisels van het onderwerp, sectie 2', *Onze Kunst* 29 (1916), pp. 61-84, esp. pp. 44, 45; C. Tümpel, 'Beobachtungen zur "Nachtwache"', in: O. von Simson & J. Kelch (eds.), *Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung*, Berlin 1973, pp. 162-175, esp. pp. 169-170.
- 208 G.W. Kernkamp (ed.), *Hans Bontemantel, De regering van Amsterdam soo 't civiel als crimineel and militaire (1653-1672)*, The Hague 1897, I, p. 182.
- 209 Strauss & Van der Meulen 1979, op. cit. (note 131), 1659/22; T. Visser-Wilberg, *Rembrandt auf Papier. Werk und Wirkung*, Munich 2001, pp. 235-238 with fig. of the funeral notice.
- 210 ACA, archive 5075, ANA (notary L. Lamberti), no. 603, f. 66-67, 30 July 1646; Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), p. 32 note 25; J.H. Giskes, 'Iedereen werd opgetrommeld', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 67 (1980), pp. 54-61, esp. p. 61.
- 211 ACA, archive 5001, DTB, no. 457, f. 154, 11 January 1642 and no. 474, f. 382, 22 May 1655; ACA, archive 5073, Board of Orphans, no. 797, Register of Deposits, no. 26, f. 169, 11 October 1644 and no. 27, f. 123v, 2 August 1647.
- 212 I.H. van Eeghen, 'De aantekeningen van Jan Vogelesangh' in *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 52 (1965), pp. 4-7; Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 11-12, note 9.
- 213 Strauss & Van der Meulen 1979, op. cit. (note 131), 1659/21; Dudok van Heel 2002, op. cit. (note 12), pp. 54-55 and Dudok van Heel 2006, op. cit. (note 12), pp. 340-345.
- 214 He could have used it as a payment towards the debt on his house in 1640.
- 215 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "'Gestommel" in het huis van Rembrandt van Rijn. Bij twee nieuwe Rembrandtakten over het opvijzelen van het huis van zijn buurman Daniel Pinto in 1653', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* (1991)1, pp. 2-13, esp. p. 4.

