

‘The Wise Let the Sword Rest, but not Rust’: Celebrating an Armed Peace on a Civic Guard Portrait

Author

Tom van der Molen

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Abstract

Amsterdam civic guards are posing as armed keepers of peace and order on Govert Flinck's *Company of Captain Joan Huydecoper and Lieutenant Frans Oetgens van Waveren* from 1648-50. That peace and order was deeply rooted in self-interest and conceived by them as a prerequisite for the arts. This deliberate portrayal of the men as peacekeepers actively silences the fact that they also participated in trade wars and colonial activities and/or profited of them, either directly or indirectly. In depicting these men in this way Flinck addressed to their needs as well as his own. The painting proved a very important step in the course of his successful career. Flinck – and other artists from the 17th century – played their part in immortalizing the 17th century in Amsterdam as a peaceful and prosperous 'golden age'. The stories of war and conflict meanwhile were at the same time effectively silenced by the same people that profited of them.



Figure 1: Govert Flinck (1615-1660), *Company of Captain Joan Huydecoper and Lieutenant Frans Oetgens van Waveren*, 1648-50 (Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 7318).

Introduction

The Amsterdam seventeenth-century painter Govert Flinck (1615-1660) painted an appealing and convincing scene in his large group portrait (265 x 513 cm) painted between 1648 and 1650. Two groups of armed men, some of them partially dressed in armor, meet each other in a cityscape (see figure 1). Shots are fired, in the background an open fire is raging. Through all the fire, arms and armor it might not immediately be apparent to modern eyes that these men are actually celebrating peace: the signing of the treaty of Münster in 1648 that ended the eighty-years war between the Dutch Republic and Spain. The fire in the top right corner is celebratory, as are the gun shots. In the bottom center of the painting, on a painted sheet of paper, a poem by Jan Vos (1610-1667) used to be visible (it has now become largely illegible), that evokes a similar tension between war and peace:

*“Here goes Van Maarsseveen, heading eternal peace,
As his father once headed first in the State’s war,
Spirit and courage, the power of free cities,
Cast off old grievances, but not the armor,
Thus one guards at the IJ after murder and destruction,
The wise let their sword rest, but not rust”.¹*

The painting is one of many civic guard group portraits (see paragraph two for a discussion who the civic guards were and why they were depicted in group portraits) that were painted in Amsterdam between the early sixteenth century and ca. 1650. When he painted this work, Flinck had already established himself as one of the leading portraitists in Amsterdam. He had even painted civic guard paintings before, in 1642 and in 1645.² This civic guard painting, however, reflects more clearly on themes of war and peace than any other civic guard painting. War and peace within the city, but ultimately also far beyond.

The men portrayed – and above all the captain of this company of civic guards, Joan Huydecoper (1599-1661, the man in black in front of the left group of civic guards, holding the commanders' baton, see figure 6, no. 1) – were thus immortalized by Flinck and Vos as vigilant peacekeepers, their arms and bravery guaranteed a peaceful city. But the tensions between war and peace in this painting run deeper than just external appearances. The men that desired to be remembered as keepers of the peace had lives that were more complex than – and sometimes plainly contradicted – the images of themselves that were evoked in the group portrait by Govert Flinck. This essay will explore the tensions between image and reality, between war and peace and between propaganda and truth that a closer look at this painting can offer. Flinck has conceived an image of these men that is selective and at times sharply conflicts with their actual biographies. He is offering an ideal, disguised as a realistic portrait, that conforms to contemporary ideas of the relationships between the ruling class, peace and art. The inclusion of his own likeness within the group portrait (right behind the captain, see figure 6) seems to acknowledge those ideas. What were those ideas around peace, war and art, how are they displayed and how do they relate to the realities of what these men actually did in their lifetimes? By analyzing who these civic guards were and why they had their portraits painted, we will get more insights into what ideas were prevalent about the relationship between war, peace, order, prosperity, and art and how they related to reality. Finally, I will also reflect on the role of the artist. This leads to a deeper understanding of the painting discussed, but also of ideas around war and conflict in seventeenth century Amsterdam.

Civic Guards: Their Role in Society and Their Group Portraits

In early modern Amsterdam, citizens formed cooperative paramilitary units called the civic guards. From 1578 onwards, service in a civic guard company was obligatory for men between the ages of eighteen and sixty. There were notable exceptions, Jews were not admitted at all and anabaptists

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were exempt, because their religion forbade them to bear arms. The largest group not represented in the civic guard though – besides women – were those not wealthy enough to pay for their own equipment, a prerequisite for joining the civic guards (Prak 169-170). The working classes were thus effectively excluded as well. Civic guard companies were organized by city district. Between 1620 and 1650 there were twenty such districts. The civic guards in Flinck's painting are representatives of city district 1, located between the Singel and the southern city wall.³ The civic guards kept the order in their own district and, in principle, could be employed for the city's defense. In principle, because this never actually happened in Amsterdam.

The companies had an important social function for the coherence of the upper layers of a certain city district, but the most important goal for the civic guard companies was keeping order. Order implies hierarchy, so it should not come as a surprise that the order seventeenth century civic guards kept also served their self-interest. Order was a prerequisite for the trade that formed the basis for their riches and protected their accumulated wealth and power. This becomes abundantly clear in the role of the civic guards in quelling revolts in the city such as the revolt in 1696, called the 'aansprekersoproer' (Prak 167-168). A new burial tax caused widespread rioting in the city. The houses of burgomasters and other city officials were plundered. The civic guard was called upon to restore order. They did so, with considerable violence. Many rioters were killed and two of them were hanged from a window of the weighing house on Dam square as a deterrent for other would-be rioters.



Figure 2: Reynier Arondeaux, *Medal remembering the quelling of the 'aansprekersoproer' revolt in 1696, 1696* (Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. PA 438).

The civic guards were rewarded for restoring order with a medal (see figure 2). One of the Latin inscriptions on the medal translates to: *For restoring the peace the council of Amsterdam grants her citizens, on account of ancient bravery and trusted fidelity, this memorial medal.* The civic guards in this and other cases effectively formed armed protection of the self-interest of the upper and middle classes of Amsterdam.

In 1696 the habit of commissioning group portraits of civic guards had already ceased to exist. In fact, the painting by Flinck is one of the last of such commissions.⁴ From the early sixteenth century onwards, an impressive number of civic guard portraits had been made, of which Rembrandt's *Night Watch* of 1642 is the most famous. The paintings functioned as decoration of the 'Doelens', the buildings where the civic guards convened to practice and to celebrate together. There they served a dual function, first as a remembrance of who served as a civic guard (and implicitly also who was entitled to a place in the city magistrature), secondly, to give the present civic guards the sense of continued tradition of 'ancient bravery and trusted fidelity', to again quote the inscription on the medal above.⁵ Not every civic guardsman was depicted on the walls of the civic guard buildings. Only a small minority of officers and other civic guards who could afford to have their likeness immortalized have been portrayed. These men are therefore part of the more privileged layers of society, but are surprisingly diverse nonetheless, as we will see below.

The Civic Guards Portrayed by Govert Flinck

We know the names of almost all of the men depicted in the civic guard portrait discussed here, thanks to a framed wooden nameplate intended to be displayed below the frame of the painting itself (see figure 3). The numbered list of names corresponds to small numbers painted on the portrait itself (Middelkoop 1: 817-18). It opens up the opportunity to analyze who the portrayed men were and what their respective roles in society were. This is important, because it allows us to assess their actual roles in war, conflict and peace within and outside the city, beyond their proposed self-image in the painting.



Figure 3: Unknown maker, *Nameplate for Govert Flinck's company of Joan Huydecoper*, ca. 1650 (Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. KA 28881).

Joan Huydecoper is clearly the main character of this painting (see figure 6 for his position on the painting and that of others mentioned in this essay). As the company's captain, he is the highest-ranking officer in the painting and the poem by Vos is dedicated specifically to him. In the middle background he even had his own house depicted.⁶ It is therefore safe to say that the initiative of commissioning the painting came from him. Huydecoper was a member of the absolute elite of Amsterdam's society. Shortly after this painting was finished, he would become one of the four burgomasters of Amsterdam (then a yearly rotating position) for the first of six times (Elias 1:384-385; Kooijmans 113-116). Others depicted, such as the brothers Frans (1619-1659) and Nicolaes (1622-1684) Oetgens van Waveren came from similar high circles. They are depicted here as the lieutenant and ensign of the company and were sons of Anthony Oetgens van Waveren, who served as a burgomaster multiple time as well (Elias 1:331-332). They were all members of a select segment of families within the city that combined wealth with political power. For them, the civic guards simultaneously functioned as a steppingstone towards public office and as direct control of the monopoly on violence.

But not all of the civic guards belonged to that absolute top layer of Amsterdam society. Pieter Meffert for example, the man adjusting his stockings on the small staircase in the center of the painting, was a producer of playing cards, which would perhaps suggest him to be of modest means to modern ears, but he was affluent enough to buy a house on the Reguliersbreestraat in 1630 and a piece of land to build a manor near Ouderkerk aan de Amstel in 1649.⁷ That certainly did not mean he was on the same level of wealth as Huydecoper or the Oetgens van Waveren brothers, let alone their level of political influence. In the top row, between Joan Huydecoper and Nicolaes Oetgens van Waveren, Aart Jansz Verlaen (unknown-1678) is depicted.⁸ He was a cabinet maker, which again suggests a modest background, but, like Pieter Meffert, he must at least have been well-to-do enough to be able to afford to pay for his likeness in Flinck's painting. This is confirmed by the tax register of 1674, where he pays seventy guilders in taxes, which indicates that his assets at the time were worth 14,000 guilders (Kohier van de 200ste penning 276v). This is nowhere near the capital others accumulated, such as Nicolaas Oetgens van Waveren who was worth 170,000 guilders according to the same tax register (Kohier van de 200ste penning 279v). It can therefore be concluded that the men in the painting belong to different social and economic classes, from the affluent middle class upwards.

Apart from class distinctions, it is striking that among the civic guards depicted are at least two catholic merchants: Jacob Cornelisz van Campen (1598-1668) and Rogier Ramsden (circa 1610/11-circa 1665). In 1648 they were not allowed to publicly practice their faith and were barred from holding any public office. These limitations of their freedom, rights and privileges apparently did not stop them from proudly posing as members of the civic guard company. The order and peace the civic guards kept might have been contrary to their religious practices, but it did offer them access to a network of neighbors (who could also be customers or business partners). Perhaps even more important, they too were proud participants in the city's commercial success and therefore the law and order that the civic guards aimed to guarantee was in their interest as affluent merchants as well. Again, a safe and peaceful city was good for trade. This was, in fact, the core message of art and literature in Amsterdam around 1650, as will be shown below.

Peace, Prosperity, and Art in Amsterdam in the 17th Century

On 20 October 1653, a group of painters, poets and 'lovers of those arts' convened in the very room where Flinck's civic guard portrait then hung, in the large hall of the *Voetboogdoelen*, one of the three civic guard buildings in Amsterdam.⁹ Among the other paintings in that room was Bartholomeus van der Helst's *Company of Captain Cornelis Witsen and Lieutenant Johan Oetgens van Waveren Celebrating the Treaty of Münster*, also made in 1648-50 (see figure 4), which, like Flinck's group portrait, has a poem by Jan Vos painted on it, addressing the theme of peace:

*"Bellona loathes blood, and Mars damns the thundering
Of the pregnant metal; the sword caresses the sheath:
Thus offers brave Witsen to noble Van Waveren
on the eternal treaty the horn of Peace".¹⁰*

Poetry also played an important role during the meeting in 1653. In the course of the event poems were recited, most of them were written by Thomas Asselijn (1620-1701).¹¹ A year later they were published under the heading *Op de vereenighingh van Apelles en Apollo* (On the union of Apelles and Apollo) (Asselijn 25-30).¹² The book with poems of the two meetings in 1653 and 1654 are exceptional sources, because they shed an interesting light on the ideas that were prevalent in these circles in Amsterdam at the height of its economic and cultural power. As the title of the collection of poems suggests, the main theme was the relationship between the visual arts and poetry, but – more interesting for the theme of this essay – peace



Figure 4: Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Company of Captain Cornelis Witsen and Lieutenant Johan Oetgens van Waveren Celebrating the Treaty of Münster*, ca. 1648-50 (Rijksmuseum, on loan).

was explicitly formulated as a prerequisite for the functioning of both forms of art. Of four allegorical festoons displayed during the festivities one was dedicated to peace. Its epigram articulated the first step of the idea that peace was needed for the arts to flourish, namely that peace leads to prosperity. The design drawing of that festoon by painter Cornelis Brisé (1622-1670) is dominated by cornucopias, symbols of prosperity (see figure 5). Below the drawing an inscription affirms that idea: ‘The festoon of peace, depicting prosperity’ (‘t feston van vrede; uijt beeldende den oovervloet). The poem by Asselijn, written on the drawing but also published in the volume of texts a year later, also stresses the importance of peace for prosperity. Later in the program of the meeting, Asselijn elaborated on this in his poem *Merkurius, uyt last der Goden, beveelt Mars en Hercules de kunst met den staat te beschermen* (Mercury, in name of the Gods, orders Mars and Hercules to protect the arts and the state). In this allegorical poem Mercury tells Mars and Hercules that Jupiter orders them (as protectors of the state) to protect the art lovers in Amsterdam from the violence of war. The final sentence of this poem finally connects peace, trade, prosperity and art: “Here (in Amsterdam) is the stock exchange, and the money, and the love of the arts”.¹³ While making these connections Asselijn introduces the allegorical weaponized protectors of the peace in the guise of Mars and Hercules. It would be reasonable to assume that those present (and in fact Asselijn himself) associated these classical protectors with the civic guards in the group portraits that hung around them, while these words were recited, especially since two of those paintings, as we have seen above, had poems painted on them with a similar message of armed peace.

It is also interesting to point out that Asselijn lets Mercury ask to specifically protect the ‘minnaars’ (lovers (of art)), because it is they who can use their prosperity (that had earlier been posited because of peace) to commission poetry and art.

Returning to Flinck’s civic guard portrait, the roles of armed peace-keeper and art lover merge in the person of captain Joan Huydecoper. He let himself be portrayed as the equivalent of Asselijn’s Mars or Hercules, while at the same time clearly demonstrating his role as a Maecenas of the arts. Not only did he allow Flinck to paint a self-portrait directly behind his own likeness, immediately next to Flinck the notary and playwright Joris de Wijse has been portrayed. The inclusion of Huydecoper’s mansion on the painting might also be read as alluding to him as an employer of the architect, Philips Vingboons (ca. 1607/08-1678). The same can be said about the poem by Jan Vos. The connections between bringing peace and protecting the arts that Asselijn put into words a few years later are therefore already very present in the painting. When in 1654 a second gathering took place in the same great hall under the title *Broederschap der Schilderkunst* (*Fraternity of the Art of Painting*) Huydecoper was the guest of honor. In the long poem by Asselijn recited in that year, Mercury, Apollo and Pallas Athena have a long conversation on the rightful place of the art of painting in Amsterdam. Peace, prosperity and the arts are again considered as dependent on each other, but now with the addition that peace and prosperity were also dependent on good governance (Asselijn 7-24). Huydecoper was one of the four burgomasters that year.



Figure 5: Cornelis Brisé, *Festoon of Peace*, 1653 (Amsterdam, City Archives, inv. no. 010097001195).

The texts of the gatherings in 1653 and 1654 provide an interesting view on the ideas that were formulated around peace, prosperity and the arts. To the artists and art loving merchants that were part of the gatherings (Flinck included), it was clear that art could only flourish thanks to the affluent and powerful elite of the city and that art therefore also was in service of those rulers and their ideas. The civic guard painting therefore clearly reflects Huydecoper's ideas around war and peace, his own role in it and of that of his peers. Those ideas were rooted in reality (Huydecoper indeed was a captain of the civic guards, a burgomaster and he commissioned art, for example), but the more general ideas of himself as a bringer of wise governance and peace are at least debatable. Moreover, the order the civic guards brought to the city was, as already discussed above, an order that protected their own positions of power and wealth. But even more contrasting is the proclaimed ideal of peace and prosperity with the wars waged, territories occupied, and people oppressed and enslaved at the same time.

Between Peaceful Traders and Rapacious Colonists

Peace at home was indeed a prerequisite for prosperity, the claim that Asselijn makes in his poems of 1653 and 1654 sounds more than logical. In the poems, he alludes to the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654) twice.¹⁴ In 1653 the English succeeded in blocking Dutch harbors for a couple of months. According to a calculation by the burgomasters (mayors) of Amsterdam, 1200 merchant- and fishing ships were lost: a huge blow to Dutch trade (Israel 788-789). The suggestion that peace brings prosperity (or that war prevents prosperity) thus comes from a lived experience. This, however, ignores the fact that prosperity was often captured by means of war as well. The very peace that Huydecoper and his fellow civic guards are celebrating on the painting in 1648 ended a decades-long war with Spain. The war had many negative consequences, but it had also provided the Dutch Republic (and many Amsterdam merchants) with the opportunity of conquering a colonial trade empire on that same Spanish and the Portuguese (who were under Spanish rule until 1640). War in this case had eventually also provided prosperity.

Joan Huydecoper had been a director of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) from 1634 and served as counsel at the Amsterdam admiralty from 1653. His father had been one of the first shareholders of the company, while also being one of the first traders on South America (Van Dillen 81, 92, 133). Huydecoper might therefore have been an advocate for order and peace as a civic guard at home, but he was part of and profited from the systems that waged colonial wars to gain monopolies of goods, and profit



Figure 6: Detail of Govert Flinck, *Company of Captain Joan Huydecoper and Lieutenant Frans Oetgens van Waveren*, ca. 1648-50 (Amsterdam Museum, inv. nr SA 7318). Note: 1. Joan Huydecoper, captain; 2. Joris de Wijse, 3. Govert Flinck, painter; 4. Aart Jansz Verlaen; 5. Nicolaes Oetgens van Waveren, ensign; 6. Pieter Meffert; 7. Frans Oetgens van Waveren, Lieutenant

at the expense of others. The involvement with colonial trade would last for generations within the Huydecoper family.¹⁵

The fact that Huydecoper was profiting from and participating in these violent systems of trade makes his posing as a peacekeeper feel like a hollow gesture from today's point of view. And the same is true of others on the painting, in various ways. The grandfather of the brothers Oetgens van Waveren, Frans Hendricksz Oetgens van Waveren, was one of the first major shareholders of the VOC, like Huydecoper's father (Van Dillen 191). Both their father and Frans Oetgens van Waveren himself were councilor to the admiralty, the navy of the republic that was crucial in conquering trade ports. The father of the sergeant Jacob van Campen, too, was involved in colonial trade. They owed their position of power and wealth at least in part to aggressive colonial trade. That same position offered them the privilege of immortalizing themselves as bringers of peace.

The Position of the Artist

For Govert Flinck, the *Company of Joan Huydecoper* was his third and final civic guard portrait.¹⁶ These commissions were considered honorable and were very profitable as well. It also offered the painter to come into contact with powerful and affluent men. For Flinck these connections seem to have played a role in the most prestigious commissions he received in his career, for decorations of the new Town Hall on Dam square.¹⁷ Joan Huydecoper was one of the key overseers of the building process. He might well have secured these jobs for Flinck, effectively living up to his pose of Maecenas on the civic guard portrait a couple of years earlier.

Flinck delivered an appealing and convincing group portrait, it is one of the highlights of the whole production of the Amsterdam civic guard portraits, together with, for example, the above-mentioned *Company of Captain Cornelis Witsen and Lieutenant Johan Oetgens van Waveren Celebrating the Treaty of Münster* by Van der Helst and of course Rembrandt's *Night Watch*. But it would be shortsighted to only consider the painting from an aesthetic perspective. As demonstrated above, the painting also served a clear, propagandic message about the men depicted. Flinck played a role in this as well, as the inventor of the desired image, but also in posing deliberately behind the main character, giving Huydecoper credibility as a Maecenas (see figure 6).

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A seventeenth century painter like Flinck was somewhere between being a pure craftsman, an artisan of luxury goods and an autonomous artist in a more modern sense of artistry. As for the civic guard portrait, we can assume that, more than anything else, he was an executor of Huydecoper's ideas. He was, however, part of the systems described above: he profited from the peace and prosperity that his benefactors enjoyed and he was present at the festive meetings where ideas about its beneficiary effects on the arts were shared. And chances are high that he agreed. Flinck was not just a neutral image maker who made esthetically pleasant paintings, he was deeply rooted in the ideas of his own times and immortalized them, together with the faces of the civic guards he portrayed.

Conclusion

The painting *Company of Captain Joan Huydecoper and Lieutenant Frans Oetgens van Waveren* by Govert Flinck offers a convincingly painted, appealing group portrait of a group of civic guards in 1648. But it also conveys the message of how wealthy and powerful men in Amsterdam thought of war, peace, order, prosperity, and art. Their own role is presented as keepers of peace and order and as lovers of art. In doing so, they omitted parts of their own identity and actions that put those claims in perspective, or even contradicts them. Flinck's talent as a painter made for an attractive painting, but also a convincing depiction of the ideological message.

It is noteworthy that the ideal among the elites of Amsterdam around 1650 was peace and order, while at the same time they were responsible for war, conflict and suffering elsewhere. That their spectacular legacy of cultural heritage has predominantly stressed their ideals has, in part, made a later nationalistic idealization of their times as a peaceful and prosperous 'golden age' possible. The stories of war and conflict meanwhile were silenced by the same people that profited from them.

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Endnotes

- ¹ "Hier trekt van Maarseveen de eerst' in d'eeuwge vrede. // Zoo trok zijn vaader d'eerst' in 't oorlog voor de Staat. // Vernuft en Dapperheidt, de kracht der vrye steede', // Verwerpen d'oude wrok, in plaats van 't krijgsgewaadt. // Zoo waakt men aan het Y na moorden en verwoesten. // De wijzen laten 't zwaardt wel rusten, maar niet roesten". (Vos 1:540-541). Translation by the author.
- ² The two paintings are *Governors of the Arquebusier Civic Guards*, 1642. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan from the city of Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-C-370 and *Company of captain Albert Dircksz Bas and Lieutenant Lucas Pietersz Conijn*, 1645. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan from the city of Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-C-371
- ³ Middelkoop published maps of the division of city districts in his book on Amsterdam group portraits (Middelkoop 2:474-477).
- ⁴ Middelkoop cites the peace of Münster, lack of wall space and the increase of the number of companies from 20 to 54 as possible reasons the tradition was discontinued (Middelkoop 195-197).
- ⁵ For more reflection on contemporary perspectives on these civic guard portraits see Van der Molen 192-216, in particular 196 and 208 on the staged continuing tradition of the Huydecoper family in particular.
- ⁶ Although occasionally recognizable architecture was included in the background of civic guard paintings, Huydeoper was unique in showing his own home in the painting.
- ⁷ He bought the house called *De Zevenster* in 1630. (Kwijtscheldingen 1630). He bought an adjacent plot and houses in 1639, which makes clear that his house on the Breestraat was near the (now disappeared Pietersteeg), probably hnear where currently Regulierbreestraat no. 18 is located (Kwijtscheldingen 1639). When he was buried in 1662, the house had been rebaptized "De gekroonde kaert" (Begraafregisters 1662).
- ⁸ The name plate reads Van Lier as the last name. However, on a note in the family archive of the Ortt family, alternatives to some of the names on the plate are mentioned. Among them is Aart Jansz Verlaen.

In the book on Govert Flinck that I will publish in 2023, a more elaborate discussion of the men on the painting and the new insights the note offers will appear (Correspondentie familie Ortt 1800-1966).

Theodoor Huydceoper was a director for the West-India Company in Elmina, the notorious castle in present-day Ghana from where enslaved Africans were transported to the Americas. (Elias 1:518-519)

⁹ ‘Schilders, poëten en liefhebbers der zelfver Konsten’ (Asselijn 25)

¹⁶ For the other two, see note 2.

¹⁰ Belloone walgt van Bloedt en Mars vervloecht het daavren// Van’t zwangere metaal; het zwaardt bemint de scheë:// Dies biedt de dappre Wits aan d’eedele van Waavren,// Op ‘t eeuwige verbondt, de hooren van de Vree. (Vos 1:543). Translation by the author. In the book (but not on the painting) Vos added two lines: ‘Zoo vlecht de strijdtbre Leeuw zijn lauwren met olyven. Wie dat de vreë bevecht begeert ook vry te blyven’ (Thus the vigilant Lion interweaves his laurels with olives. Who fights for peace, also desires to remain free). Here the theme of weaponized peace that was the main subject in the poem on Flinck’s painting is repeated. For this painting also see Van Gent 198-202

¹⁷ *Manius Curius Dentatus refuses the presents of the Samnites*, 1656 and *Solomo prays for wisdom*, 1658 are still in situ in the now Royal Palace. In 1659 Flinck received the commission to paint twelve paintings for the galleries in the Town Hall. Flinck’s death in February 1660 prevented him from starting that commission. (Scheltema 2:76).

¹¹ He was the brother of painter Jan Asselijn (ca. 1610-1652)

¹² See for a further discussion of this meeting and the one a year later at the same location Van der Molen 2013

¹³ Mercurius, uyt last der Goden, beveelt Mars en Hercules de Kunst met den Staat te beschermen.// De groote Jupiter, op zynen Troon gezeten// Laat door myn heyl’ge mondt, dit groot Orakel weten;// Dat nu de Wapen=Godt, en Alkumenaas Zoon// (Handt-haavers van den Staat, gezeten voor den Troon// Der eedle Kunst-goddin,) haar Minnaars zal bewaaren, // Voor ’t gruwelyk geweldtr der Zee-geweldenaren.// Op dat haar godtheydt hier in rust en vryheydt zy, // En bloeyt gelyck de Stadt aan dit gezegende Y; // Laat *Romen* dan op Kunst en haer Aeloudtheydt brallen, // En Tivoli op al zyn groote Waatervallen, // En Naples op het Graf van Maaroo, en haar gunst, // Hier is de beurs, en ’t geld, en liefde voor kunst (Asselijn 29)

¹⁴ ‘Maar als zy ’t hoorde laatst zo donderen in zee’ (When she recently heard it thunder that much at sea) in the *Festoon of Peace*. Asselijn 1654, p. 26 and ‘(...)’t gruwelyk geweldt der Zee-geweldenaren’ (the awful violence of the Sea-tyrants), in *Mercurius, uyt last (...)* (Asselijn 29).

¹⁵ His son was a director of the VOC and councilor to the admiralty as well. A later descendant, Jan Pieter