REMBRANDT'S CONSPIRACY OF JULIUS CIVILIS AND THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC AFTER 1648

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ABSTRACT

Rembrandt's The Conspiracy of Julius Civilis, painted for the Town Hall of Amsterdam, reflects the political situation prevailing in the United Provinces following the treaty which was concluded in 1648 in Spain.

The revolt of the Batavians against the Romans was viewed by seventeenth-century Dutch Republicans as a precursor of their own struggle to wrest independence from the Spanish. Because of the evolution of the unique political structure, which pitted a centrist House of Orange against the more particularist interests of the Provinces, the domestic union was continually faced by threat of dissolution. The contrasting views of sovereignty in the Dutch Republic can be observed through a study of Rembrandt's Civilis.

A study of some of his other works confirms this thesis. Rembrandt definitely exhibits an awareness of the intricacies of sovereignty in the Dutch Republic.

RESUME

La conjuration de Julius Civilis, le tableau peint par Rembrandt pour l'Hôtel de Ville d'Amsterdam, réflète la situation politique qui existait aux Provinces Unies après la signature du traité de paix de 1648 avec l'Espagne.

La révolte des Bataves contre les Romains fut perçue par les républicains hollandais du dix-septième siècle comme un événement comparable à leur propre lutte pour l'obtention de leur indépendance de la domination espagnole. En raison de l'évolution particulière, ou le cheminement politique du pays fut tant déchiré entre l'option centralisatrice de la Maison à l'Orange, et les tendances plus régionales des instances provinciales, l'unité du pays était devenue très précaire -- ces opinions divergeantes au sein de la république sont évoquées dans la toile de Rembrandt. D'ailleurs, quelques autres oeuvres du Maître suggèrent que Rembrandt était très sensible au problème de la souveraineté politique aux Provinces Unies.

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INTRODUCTION

Rembrandt's Conspiracy of Julius Civilis, painted to hang in the Town Hall of Amsterdam, would have been his largest history painting and certainly an important one. It was to be part of the cycle depicting the revolt of the ancient Batavians against the Romans, a theme commonly regarded by seventeenth century Dutch Republicans as a precursor of their own struggle to gain independence from Spanish domination. In a painting meant to be an integral part of a grand and unique artistic undertaking located in the midst the governmental offices of his adopted town, Rembrandt would have felt especially compelled to create an image of power and courage in that elevated genre for which he had trained in Leiden.[1] This surely would have been the greatest of Rembrandt's history paintings.

While the relationship of Rembrandt and Vondel is largely conjectural, they both clearly agreed that history painting was the supreme mode of artistic expression. The poet expresses views to which Rembrandt would surely adhere:

> A history painting...in all its parts perfect, so that nothing is lacking, not in composition, drawing and painting of the figures...not in the application of the paints, not in nude and clothed figures, not in the depiction of the passions, nor ornament...such a history painting has the power to please and enflame the eyes and attention of virtuous connoisseurs and lovers of art in their insatiable study of this divine miracle work; because the longer the viewer fixes his eyes on it and the more accurately he looks at and through it, the more he discovers what is worthy of study and what creates amazement: because everything in it is fixed, wrought and executed according to the demands of nature and all things balance one another.[2]

The above passage from Vondel's Preface to his tragedy, Adam in Exile, begins the introductory chapter of a recent catalogue of an Exhibition,

which helped to re-emphasize the importance of Dutch History Painting. Rembrandt is often excluded from the general disdainful relegation of Dutch painting to categories of genre, still-life, landscape, and portraiture, and he has only rarely received attention as an artist fully in touch with the social and political milieu of his time.

The use of an allegorical language of representation has obscured much that is meaningful in Dutch seventeenth-century painting.[3] However, in the case of Rembrandt, the idea that great events played an inconsequential role in the history of seventeenth century Dutch painting is patently incorrect.[4] Not only does he make reference to historic events of his own day, but he clearly exhibits an awareness of their larger significance for the stability and freedom of the United Provinces.

The complexity of the iconographic sources Rembrandt used in his Civilis and the fact that most of the composition was lost when the painting was cut down shortly after its completion make a thorough analysis extremely difficult and account for the limited nature of most studies of the work, which are of necessity largely conjectural. However, the great importance of the commission and the removal of the canvas soon after it had been hung add to the fascination of this project.

By examining carefully Rembrandt's use of iconographic sources, both traditional and contemporary, and by studying some of his works from other times in his career, certain patterns of interest or concern begin to emerge. It is not so much the exact interpretation of the works that is to be addressed here, it is rather the establishment of Rembrandt's clear involvement in political matters of his age.

The political atmosphere in which Rembrandt had produced the

Civilis was turbulent and was broken periodically by factional upheavals. The political character of the nation that was established after the Peace of Munster in 1648 was unique; Rembrandt's artistic expressions were as well.

Rembrandt had chosen to live in a city of enormous commercial and political consequence in the Netherlands. In addition, to judge from the inventory of his large and varied collection, he appears to have had an inquisitive mind that absorbed and relished data from a multitude of iconographic and formal sources.[5] Białostocki has commented on this aspect of Rembrandt's work:

> This inherent ambiguity, which is the consequence of Rembrandt's method of transforming traditional symbols and iconographic conventions, not only into very personal inventions, but also into terms of mood and light, gives them a peculiar richness; and being rich and giving us deep aesthetic satisfaction, they are also elusive; only rarely are we able to say precisely what these pictures mean.[6]

The multiple levels of meaning that seem to characterize Rembrandt's works are what gives them their power and depth. This paper attempts to penetrate the layers of meaning in the Civilis, with particular emphasis on the political aspects of mid-seventeenth-century Amsterdam, foremost among which is the question of sovereignty. Supportive data includes other works of Rembrandt which have also addressed similar political problems.

CHAPTER I

AMSTERDAM'S NEW TOWN HALL - A POLITICAL VICTORY FOR THE CITY

1. The Historical Context

To evaluate properly any of Rembrandt's paintings, the importance of the historical context in which he worked must not be overlooked. This is especially true in the case of the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis, both because of the painting's location and its subject matter. The painting was installed not long after the restoration in May 1660 of Charles II to the throne of England, an event which parenthetically exacerbated the deepening conflicts over the education of Prince William III of Orange, heir presumptive to the titles and honors of his forebears.[7] At this very time the wisdom of retaining the positions of Stadholder and Captain-General was questioned along with the nature of sovereignty as it had developed in the United Netherlands. Rembrandt's painting may reveal his awareness of these and other political questions, for here he has portrayed most clearly the majesty of personal leadership, an image not without controversy in the Dutch Republic.

In fact, the very proposal to build a new town hall grew out of dynamic contradictions within the socio-political fabric of the Netherlands. Although a new town hall was needed,[8] it was only when the Treaty of Munster was signed between Spain and the United Provinces in 1648 and the themes of peace and unity adopted for the complex that the existing plans were expanded to their final more elaborate scale.[9]

Contrary to much rhetoric of the day, the peace proclaimed by the Treaty of Munster was not universally sought. The battle over its achievement points out one of the great divisions within the political structure of the United Provinces. The Treaty of Munster had been adopted altogether against the wishes of the Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, who wished to pursue the war with Spain and thereby to expand his own dynastic power.[10] From the time he had entered the alliance in 1635 with France and England to conduct the fight against Spain, Frederick Henry had entertained grandiose ideas of expanding his political position and that of his family. Believing that he would ultimately acquire parts of the Southern Netherlands in a final negotiated peace with Spain, the Stadholder was anxious to fight on to victory.

No longer satisfied to function essentially as a military leader, the political role his half-brother, Maurice, had envisioned for the Stadholder,[11] Frederick Henry aspired to a grander position in European political life. In effect, he sought a status equal to that of a monarch. He had succeeded in elevating the position of his family, which was not one of royalty, having arranged the marriage in 1641 of his son William II to Mary, the daughter of the English King, Charles I.[12]

By forging this dynastic link with the English sovereign, Frederick Henry had aroused the suspicion within the Regents Party that he was truly out to create a monarchy in the United Provinces comparable to those seen in other European nations. His attempt to have the States General declare its opposition to the English Parliament and to offer both financial and military assistance to Charles I[13] seemed to confirm the Regents' fears. Naturally, the States of Holland opposed this overt support for the Stuarts,

believing that once the English monarch had regained his position, the House of Orange would ultimately be dominated by the stronger English King to the detriment of the interests of the Province of Holland. The bloody English Civil War had proved of enormous economic benefit to Holland, since the volume of English trade had been greatly curtailed. An early end to the conflict would reduce the newly found revenues enjoyed by the great cities of Holland, especially of Amsterdam. However, Frederick Henry had little choice: Charles I had surrendered to Parliamentary forces in May 1646; French enthusiasm for the alliance with the Dutch had waned. The Prince of Orange was thus forced to withdraw reluctantly his objections and to permit the resumption of negotiations for peace.

After Frederick Henry's death in March 1647, his son, William II, again tried to end efforts to obtain a settlement. Yet, the political power of the new Stadholder was no match for the commercial interests of the powerful cities of Holland, which were much better served by the negotiated peace.

The treaty was concluded in 1648 in an atmosphere of rancor and distrust. In pressing for the resolution's acceptance, the delegates to the States General, for the first time, accepted a simple majority vote and not the unanimity as was usually required.[14] In actual fact, the peace of Munster was a clear violation of the 1635 treaty with the French, which had stated that neither party would conclude peace with the Spanish without consulting the other.[15] Thus, the town hall project came to represent not simply a victory of the United Provinces over the Spanish but as well a moral triumph for Amsterdam in her struggle for political power.

The Town Hall project was then planned during a period of extreme conflict between Holland and the Orangeists(1648-1655).[16] William II continued to further his father's political ambitions. He intended to abrogate the Peace of Munster, to renew the treaty with the French, and to render aid to his in-laws, the Stuarts, who were engaged in a desperate attempt to restore their dynasty in England.

However, an internal political crisis, not unrelated to William II's desire to help the Stuarts, soon arose and nearly brought civil war to the United Provinces. Critics have suggested that the dynastic relationship between the House of Orange and the Stuarts was responsible for the near fatal clash between the Prince and Holland that occurred in 1650.[17] One year previously, in 1649, Charles I was beheaded, an event that had significant repercussions in the Dutch Republic. The populace was deeply shocked. Even those generally not supportive of the Royalist position registered outrage. Vondel expressed popular sentiment when he wrote that, "the hosts of Hell have built their throne in England."[18] Even the Calvinist clergy joined in the clamor against the crime. Four clerics in The Hague addressed themselves to: "this unheard-of parricide, that accursed destruction of the holy, annointed head, and that utterly deplorable murder of this one king of the Reformed Faith."[19]

Despite this unfavorable public reaction to the events in London, the States of Holland were anxious to remain on amicable terms with the English Parliament. Laws were passed condemning the clergy for meddling in politics, and forbidding them to address foreign potentates as a body, to discuss affairs of Great Britain from the pulpit, and to carry correspondence across the sea.[20]

The common people, traditionally the group in the Netherlands most loyal to the House of Orange, remained vocal in their outrage at the murder of the English King. Aitzema, a contemporary witness of the events, in an ironic comment, wrote, of a Dutch public, which was, "full of compassion for one man but has dry eyes for the thousands lost in the English struggle."[21] Thus, the States of Holland had a difficulty in restraining public anger at the beheading of the English monarch and in maintaining the peace that had been achieved at Munster against the continual objections of William II.

Another event connected with the relationship between England and the United Provinces also increased the antagonism between Holland and the House of Orange. The refusal of the States General to receive Strickland, the Ambassador from the English Commonwealth, precipitated a crisis in Holland. Claiming that the Union of Utrecht had recognized provincial rights to dispatch emissaries, the States of Holland sent its own mission, headed by Gerard Schaep, to London.[22] This precipitous action by the States of Holland was a serious challenge to Stadholder William II, who was intent upon achieving his own policies. It is evident that William II's actions underline the structural weakness inherent in the loosley knit ties that bound the United Provinces together. In effect, did the Prince have the right to decide for the Provinces a foreign policy based on his own political ambitions?[23]

The conflict between Orange and Holland soon focused on the control of the military troops. In order to curb the Stadholder's readiness to engage in foreign exploits requiring a large standing army, Holland reduced the number of troops she had maintained, preferring to invest in the

outfitting and protection of the merchant fleet. William II and the States General recognized Holland's action as a threat to the Stadholder's control of the military, which some thought to be his only authentic function. In order to bypass the powerful States of Holland, William had the States General send him and other delegates to the towns of Holland to elicit support from their delegates to the Provincial Assembly for his position on the importance of maintaining a strong army. His action, ignoring as it did the States of Holland, was seen by some as a violation of provincial sovereignty; others saw it as a natural and necessary response to a threat to national unity brought about by Holland's summary dismissal of her troops.[24] The reception of the Stadholder was restrained in most cities; in Amsterdam the Prince was even refused admittance to the city.

The boldness of sending the Schaep Mission to London and the disbanding of the militia units convinced William that only a coup d'état would shatter Holland's obstinance.[25] On 30 July 1650, six deputies of the States of Holland were arrested in a government building in The Hague; William also planned to attack Amsterdam, but, because of unexpected weather conditions, the city received advanced warning and prepared to open the dikes. However, before any great damage was done, compromise was worked out by which new magistrates more acceptable to the Stadholder were installed in Amsterdam, and the six prisoners held in Lovenstein Castle were released upon their agreements to resign from their municipal offices.

Although the episode appeared to have been a victory for William II's policies, it had frightened the leaders of Holland. When William II died suddenly on 6 November 1650 leaving only a posthumous son born eight days later, the wary Regents seized complete control of the government and

refused to consider appointing William III as his father's successor. Thus, because of the vehemence of the actions taken by William II in 1650, the power of the House of Orange was effectively curtailed for years.

The first Stadholderless Period (1650-1672) was a time of frequent and increasing tensions between the Republican and Orangeist forces with both grappling for political control. The unworkable nature of the political balance was obvious to all. Holland was unable to establish a new constitutional basis for the government during the "Grand Assembly," she had convened at The Hague between January and August 1651. Summoned by Holland, this gathering was an attempt to circumvent the States General, which was still controlled by friends of the late Prince William II of Orange. This body, modelled on the group that met in Utrecht in 1579, had tried to outline the first truly workable constitution for the Republic.[26] Most provinces however refused to cede control of their deputies or to permit them to make any binding decisions, fearing that Holland would usurp their individual powers much as William II had attempted to do. The Assembly was therefore incapable of acting decisively. In the absence of either a constitutionally defined central government or a powerful individual leader, real political power reverted to the ruling oligarchies of the towns of Holland.

The antagonism between Amsterdam and the Orangeist faction had culminated in 1650 in the planned seige of Amsterdam, but it had a long and bitter history which resulted from the conflicted nature of sovereignty that had evolved in the Northern Provinces. The tenuous political union stemmed from a complex administrative system consisting of the States General, Councils of State, regional governments, and the Stadholderships.

This innately chaotic governmental structure arose because of the non-specific character of the Union of Utrecht, a measure proclaiming the union in 1579, but adopted under the pressures of war, with only a vague understanding of later constitutional repercussions.[27] Incredibly, this imprecise document was to last as the only constitutional basis for the Seven United Provinces for nearly two centuries.

In Europe, the Eighty Years War (1566-1648) resulted in a re-distribution of political power. Throughout Europe, the balance of power was shifting toward new, more localized monarchies. With cities growing in size and in economic and political importance, the older forms of government were changing. Monarchs throughout Europe were attempting to create new nation-states that were strong and influential. In this largely aristocratic, absolutist age, only Holland had a different political configuration. Only there was the merchant class able to exercise any real control.[28] There, one encountered a unique group authority. Often the balance of power was held by the elitist, oligarchic middle class which dwelt in the cities of Holland.

In Amsterdam, the city's rise came in the aftermath of the decentralization of political powers which followed the breaking away from Hapsburg domination.[29] The interests of Amsterdam were no longer tied to those of other corporate bodies. For example, in a ten year period during the revolt, Amsterdam remained apart from the rest of Holland, which earlier had sided with the Prince of Orange. The recalcitrant city had even opened her city gates in 1572 to welcome the Duke of Alba and his Spanish troops.[30]

However, the economic strain of maintaining the Spanish army became too burdensome and by 1578 Amsterdam was party to the Treaty of

Satisfaction, which reunited her with the other cities of Holland in opposition to Spain. Yet, the pro-Spanish magistrates of Amsterdam, always anxious to maintain their integral power, refused to cede control of the militia to Holland. Ultimately, the rebellious magistrates were exiled and men with less obvious sympathies for Spain were installed. The "Alteratie", as the political change has been known, was recognized as a bloodless revolution which had effected a stronger city government.[31]

Other municipal pecularities also made Amsterdam's government unique. Here, Burgomasters, sheriffs, and bailiffs were not elected by a city council, often at the direction of the Stadholder, as was common elsewhere. Rather, present and past officials of the City government made those appointments. Therefore, a few very powerful families were able to control the city's government.[32] The oligarchy so formed was certainly not democratic or representative, but it did mark the establishment of a new type of city government more powerful and independent than most others, and one that warranted and demanded a role in determining its own sovereignty.

Thus, during the uneasy period in which the new nation was being consolidated, Amsterdam acted from a position of strength and pursued her own interests, which were mainly commercial ventures. Precisely because of her economic vitality, Amsterdam was able to wield a measure of political power usually reserved for larger entities, such as the States of Holland or the States General.

2. The Town Hall Project

Thus the town hall project was conceived of and carried out by a city government generally independent of the Orange court, and in large measure, even defiant of it. Although the Town Hall had been planned since

1639,[33] it was only when Amsterdam and the other cities of Holland triumphed by securing the Treaty of Munster that the project acquired its ultimate grandeur.[34] The Peace of 1648 brought greater tranquility to Amsterdam, for the Spanish gave up all territorial claims and the Scheldt River was closed, a measure insuring the continued economic prosperity of the Northern Provinces. Indeed, it was hoped that a golden age of peace had arrived. The burgomasters of Amsterdam took this opportunity to construct the most grandiloquent architectural project ever attempted in Calvinist Holland. The new Town Hall planned for Amsterdam was meant to rival in magnificence the architectural wonders of other famous merchant cities like Antwerp and Venice.[35] It was consciously intended to reflect the scale and grandeur of antique architecture, and so to reveal Amsterdam's new commercial and political power.

In the hands of the architect, Jacob van Campen, the city of Amsterdam, symbolically represented the New Jerusalem and the New Rome. Joost van den Vondel wrote that themes chosen to decorate the town hall would best be selected, "from God's sacred pages, and the antiquity of the Romans."[36] The planners of the program knew from ancient history that Augustus had dedicated his Town Hall to peace. Amsterdam's own civic center was thus to be equated with the Town Hall of Latium which Virgil's Aeneid described as having been decorated with statues of Latin kings.[37] Furthermore, Vondel related the area around the new Town Hall to St. Mark's square and to the Field of Mars.[38] Thus, all elements in the town hall project were meant to be part of an overall design and could not be viewed in isolation. Everything was part of an involved and extended symbolism.

The entire governmental complex was to be an allegorical depiction

of the military success and moral triumph of the Dutch state and people.[39] The architect, Jacob van Campen, exhibited a knowledge of classical symmetry and balanced harmony he had come to know through his study of Palladio's designs.[40] The whole Town Hall, its architecture, sculpture, and painting was meant as a complex and all-encompassing symbol of the city of Amsterdam. National, civic, and personal moralities were to be reflected in this orderly display. Ideally, the visitor was meant to be impressed by his own role in this small, created universe.

Art was used to create a symbolic world. On the spandrels of the arches between the halls and the galleries the four elements appeared in relief, two on each arch in conformity to Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, which had been translated into Dutch as recently as 1644.[41] The symbolic creation of this micro-universe was continued in the Grand Burgerzaal, where the seven planets and Cybele, the great mother of the gods, stood with their attributes, each protectively guarding the appropriate governmental department. Even the tiled floor over which the visitor walked participated in the universal symbolism, for there were depicted maps of the known world.

Thus, the town hall's decoration was conceived in a triumphant spirit; yet, its purpose was above all serious and practical, for this project was to give the citizens of Amsterdam a chance to perceive visually the nature of their great city and people. It was intended to impress its inhabitants with a perfect model of morality and justice based on elevated classical ideals.

To display the present glory of Amsterdam, parallels with the historic and classical past were stressed. The emphasis was on continuity with the heroic past. Even in the architecture, the past was made manifest.

Van Campen's new plan included seven arched entry doors on the facade, a feature retained from the old town hall; yet, these seven doorways might also allow for allegorical embellishment, for they might symbolize the seven provinces, thus emphasizing the Republican, non-centralized form of government.[42] This concept was extremely important to Amsterdam's burgher class then so deeply engaged in their struggle against an absolutist House of Orange, a struggle which had become more intense after the events of 1650.

The effect of the architecture and decoration of the Town Hall was not one of mere classical order and tranquility. The sculptural decoration as well as the architecture itself used contrasts of light and shadow, deep and shallow space to create a lively and clearly baroque impression. The plan to involve the spectator in an immediate and physical way was far from classical in spirit; often the sculptural decoration breaks forward in order to meet the viewer in a clearly non-classical way. Yet, throughout, the classical detail and structure remain strong enough to hold the powerful forces in check.

Clearly, this wedding of classical restraint with a Baroque expansiveness would have been inconceivable without knowledge of Rubens's work. Katherine Kremantle has revealed numerous adaptations of the Flemish artist's designs in the decorations of Amsterdam's Town Hall.[43] Rubens did not himself influence directly the choice of decorative details used in the building, but he was responsible for Van Campen's basic approach to baroque monumental decoration. Rubens had introduced to the Netherlands a form of grand decoration based on a symbolic use of all elements of architecture, sculpture, and painting, to which he added the particularized realism that

was derived from the northern tradition.[44] He thus created decorative programs of unprecedented emotional impact.

The Town Hall of Amsterdam provided the greatest opportunity that would arise in the Northern Provinces for the application of the decorative approach developed by Rubens. In his earlier building projects, Jacob van Campen had shown little immediate acquaintance with Rubens's ideas, although the design of a tympanum on the facade of the Honselaarsdijk Palace may derive from Rubens's sculptural and painted putti.[45] Instead, van Campen had relied on the kinds of decorative solutions reached by Mantegna, Veronese, and Palladio,[46] whose works he had studied in Italy.

When the palaces of Frederick Henry were being constructed during the 1620's and 1630's, there was little technical knowledge of Rubens's court decorations since the resumption of the war with Spain in 1621 had largely curtailed the exchange of artistic information between the North and South.[47] Thus, Rubens's influence on taste in the Northern Provinces was profound, although it was stylistically somewhat retarded. Certainly the preference for the international court style as practised by Rubens is evident in any analysis of the palace decorations[48] or of the painting collection owned by Frederick Henry and Amalis von Solms.[49]

However, in the 1640's, knowledge of Rubens's projects was more widely disseminated. When Constantine Huygens visisted Jacob van Campen in 1640, he may have conveyed a more intimate knowledge of Rubens's work.[50] In addition, Theodore van Thulden may have transmitted the more technical aspects of Rubens's decorative schemes to artists in the United Provinces.[51] Yet, in 1641, many residents of Holland saw personally Rubens's ceiling at Whitehall which had glorified the reign of James I, since they were present

at the wedding of William II, the son of the Stadholder, to the English Princess, Mary, the daughter of Charles I.[52]

Partly because the status of the Stadholdership under Frederick Henry had increased so tremendously after the marriage of his son to the English Princess, the decoration of his palaces contained more overt symbols emphasizing the sovereign powers to which he aspired.[53] Van Campen was encouraged to use the comprehensive approach to design which was so carefully refined by Rubens. Indeed, it was not until the decoration of the palaces of Frederick Henry, that the idea of truly integrating a series of allegorical paintings with the architecture was attempted in the Northern Provinces.[54]

It was only after the death of Frederick Henry in 1647 that a truly cohesive decorative project came into being in the United Provinces. It was then that Amalia von Solms encouraged a more faithful emulation of Rubens's work. She saw to it that the scenes of Frederick Henry's triumphs depicted in Huis ten Bosch were based on similar scenes from the Life of Marie de Medici at the Luxembourg Palace.[55]

However, this monument was an anomaly, since there was little opportunity for the House of Orange to engage in grand-scale building projects during the brief Stadholdership of William II (1647-50) or during the Stadholderless Period (1650-72) as the House of Orange had little authority, inclination, or money to initiate major constructions. It is only in the decoration of the Town Hall of Amsterdam that the method Rubens had developed could be applied in this, the greatest expression of Dutch baroque monumental decoration.

In the designs for the Town Hall, van Campen used an imagery drawn

from a variety of traditional sources. In the pedimental sculpture, the personification of the Sea pays tribute to Amsterdam in a way strongly reminiscent of the iconography of river gods that goes back to classical times. On the ceiling of the Chamber of Justice, female personifications of Amsterdam are seen, one holding the Nemean lion's skin and the club of Hercules and another disguised as Mercury, an arrangement that may derive from Rubens's images of Minerva Destroying Lust and Hercules Destroying Discord done for the Banqueting House in Whitehall.[56] In another portion of the ceiling, Amsterdam is personified as a young woman in the clouds, bearing the scepter with the all-seeing eye that Carel van Mander recognized as the traditional symbol of wise government.[57]

The Town Hall was to be one magnificent statement of civic worth extended in space. The conception went beyond earth or real time. The stress placed upon the four elements and the planets further served to emphasize the all-encompassing nature of the extended conceit. In his poem, Inwydinge van't Stadthuis t'Amsterdam (On the Inauguration of the Town Hall of Amsterdam) of 1655, Vondel saw that the incomplete town hall symbolized Amsterdam's risen glory.[58] On a practical level, the building was to accommodate the various governmental departments in more fitting comfort than had previously been possible; yet, equally important, Vondel called attention to the moral function of the building which was to nourish civic life and encourage good government and citizenship.[59]

Traditional themes used to decorate town halls[60] had immortalized the nature and power of the State and encouraged virtue within its populace. Typical themes had been portraits of great leaders and certain Biblical stories which proclaimed good counsel and emphasized the covenant

existing between God and his chosen people, a most important concept in Netherlandish political theories which developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[61] A painting which stressed this special spiritual bond is Ferdinand Bols's Moses, located above the southern fireplace in the Schepenskamer or the Magistrate's Chamber.[62] A number of other themes of special typological importance were depicted. Localized historical and contemporary events significant for the development of the state, much as the granting of privileges and battle scenes also appeared regularly. Judgement scenes were given prominence in areas specifically designated for the judicial aspect of the city's government.

Notable in the decoration of Amsterdam's Town Hall however is a new emphasis on the heroic characters found in Roman history and literature. So, it is entirely fitting that Jan Lievens's painting, Quintus Fabius Maximus Orders His Father to Dismount, appears above the fireplace in the Burgomaster's Chamber (Burgemeesterskamer). The painting shows that the honor inherent in a political office is to be regarded above even the natural deference of son to father, and so presents to the visitor and office-holder alike an image of the invulnerability of political order.

Similarly, in the Burgomaster's Council Room (the Oud-Raad), two Roman Consuls, cited for their adherence to duty despite threats and bribes, were presented as models for the Burgomasters, who were the Roman Consuls's Dutch equivalents. Above the northern fireplace, Ferdinand Bols's, The Intrepidity of Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in the Camp of Pyrrhus shows that the promise of gold and even the fear engendered by the appearance of a strange and unknown animal, an elephant, can be no threat to an official who resolves to exercise his office with honor.

Opposite, over the southern fireplace, Govaert Flinck's painting, Marcus Curius Dentatus Refuses the Gifts of the Samnites, reflects the idea that a noble man can be satisfied with even a modest meal of turnips and will reject any bribes that would compromise his honor. The poet, Jan Vos emphasized that the foundation of the State lies in steadfast adherence to personal morality in his commentary on this painting when he stated, "The sincere Marcus chooses his turnips before his enemy's gold. Where self interest vanishes, City and State are built."[63] Roman history thus provided examples of the subordination of personal benefit to a concept of duty to the State.

The association with antiquity was appealing, for the Netherlanders found in the ethical and moral values of the Romans a guide and justification for their own sense of civic virtue. Themes depicting the antique or more specifically Roman virtue of fidelity to the state were especially appropriate in the Dutch Republic. The traditional Roman virtues of constancy, simplicity, justice, industriousness, severity, and uncorruptability were given prominence in the new Town Hall, for they were seen by the burghers to parallel those values they themselves held dearest. It is therefore clear that in the mid-seventeenth century when Dutch writers or artists depicted Rome or the Roman Empire, there was always implied a direct reflection of Amsterdam and the Dutch Republic.

The emphasis on the Roman virtues of civic life can be related to a general trend in the baroque period toward a more conscious historicism. At this time, medieval chronicles, fantastic myths, and ancient tales were supplanted by a somewhat more rigorous attitude to facts.[64] As the status of history itself matured, past events became valued as a way of lending

dignity and authenticity to present day happenings. In order to enhance the value of contemporary matters, an association with great deeds of the past was emphasized. Thus, a typological view of historic facts came to dominate. Just as episodes in the Old Testament were seen to prefigure those in the New, the citizens of Amsterdam came to regard incidents occurring earlier in history as precursors of happenings in their own day.[65] Thus, contemporary events could partake of the reverence accorded deeds of the past.

3. The Batavian Theme

Nowhere is the paralleling of past and present made more graphically clear than in the increasing emphasis given the story of Julius Civilis and his leadership of the Batavians in their revolt against the Romans. A new, more critical attitude toward historic events which had developed since the Renaissance,[66] fostered the desire for a stronger national identity. As the Dutch tried to place themselves and their new Republic in an historic context, they looked for local traditions to supplement their emulation of Roman civic ideals. The conduct and actions of the ancient Batavians became standards by which contemporary residents of the Republic judged themselves.

Growing attention to the theme of the Batavian revolt reflects the need to impart an authenticity to the government which had evolved after the partition of the Netherlands. The compulsion to cite historic antecedents for the establishment of a viable nation from only seven of the original seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands is one reason for the increasing popularity of the Batavian theme in the later part of the seventeenth century, when all hope for an ultimate reunion with the southern provinces had been abandoned.

The earliest mention of the Batavians had been found in the writings of Caesar; but, it was Tacitus who had most fully described their exploits in his Histories IV and V. An erroneous translation of a passage from his Germania, chapter XXIX, had led seventeenth century residents of Holland to believe that they were the direct descendents of those Germanic tribesmen Tacitus had described living on an island in the Rhine River.[67]

However, it was only after Tacitus had been translated into the vernacular that stories of the Batavians entered into the popular imagination. The Histories were published in Dutch in 1614 in Adriaen van Strieck's Van t'beghin der eerster volcken van Europen, in-sonderheyt vanden oorspronck ende saecken der Neder-landren.[68] In 1616 Leonardus Fenacolius published a translation containing the Annals, the Histories, the Germania, and the Agricola; other volumes soon followed. By far the most influential of all Dutch editions of Tacitus's work was the considerably more accurate translation by Pieter Cornelisz which was written between 1623 and 1635.[69]

As Henri van de Waal pointed out, the Dutch saw the Romans of the Republic as models on which to base their own concepts and ideas of civic behavior, while elsewhere in the North the Romans were regarded as the destroyers of indigenous civilizations.[70] The Dutch were proud of the special recognition given to the Batavians by the Romans and were especially drawn to Tacitus who emphasized the noble nature of that association as in the following passage from the Histories where he described the independent Batavians as:

> Part of the Chatti so long as they lived across the Rhine, then, being expelled by a civil war, they occupied the edge of the Gallic bank which was uninhabited, and likewise an island close by, which is washed by the ocean in front but by the Rhine on its rear and sides. Without having their wealth exhausted -- a thing which is rare in alliance with a stronger people -- they furnished our empire only men and arms. They had long training in our wars with the Germans; then later they increased their renown by service in Britain, whither some cohorts were sent, led according to their ancient custom by the noblest among them.[71]

The growing sense of national identity, which was fostered by a new emphasis on the story of the Batavians, acquired a decidedly intellectual aspect when Hugo Grotius, the highly esteemed jurist and scholar, published his Liber de antiquitate reipublicae Batavicae in 1610.[72] Claiming Tacitus as his primary source, he portrayed the Batavians as allies, not subjects of the Romans.[73] Grotius sought to establish continuity between the political structures of the Batavians and those of the modern Dutch. He emphasized the independent political tradition of the region and argued for the sovereignty of the Provinces of Holland and Friesland, envisioning for them an ideal aristocratic government similar to the one he believed the ancient Batavians had developed.[74] His treatise stated that modern Dutch law, based as it was on values instituted by the Great Privilege of 1477, which had strengthened local governments at the expense of the central authority then disintegrating after the death of Charles the Bold, continued to support the political tradition of a loosely confederated political union that he felt had originated at the time of the Batavians.[75]

Grotius concluded that, at an early date, the Dutch had devised a political system in which leaders did not exercise absolute power; rather, they governed only with the consent of the people.[76] Since the tenth century, the Counts of Holland, who he emphasized were independent princes and not vassals of the Holy Roman Emperor, were actually chosen by the

people, although generally the law of primogeniture was respected. From the time of Diederic of Friesland, the first Count of Holland, leaders were required by statute to submit to an oath of loyalty to those they governed and to swear to uphold the constitution.[77]

Then, as was common in seventeenth century Dutch literature, these events of the past became the arguments used in the present. Applying the age-old principle, that had its beginning at the time of the Counts of Holland, to contemporary affairs, Grotius showed that Philip II of Spain had precipitated the revolt against Spain when he violated his implied compact with the people of the Netherlands and tried to change the ancient political system.[78] Thus, the events of the past were used to justify the rebellion and the usurpation of Hapsburg authority.[79]

The emphasis on the Batavian story was important chiefly because of its typological application to the contemporary situation. By 1611, Johan Issaksz.Pontanus had made clear the link between Julius Civilis, commander of the Batavians, and William the Silent, leader of the Dutch. His analysis of the Batavian rebellion which he included in his historical account of Amsterdam began by parallelling the two struggles in which, "the present revolt of the Dutch against the Spaniards, led by the Prince of Orange, is compared with that which took place in past times under Claudius Civilis, when these same Batavians or Dutchmen were vexed by the Roman yoke, which was not at all unlike the Spanish one."[80]

The surfacing of a great national hero like Julius Civilis, who had united his people at a time of enormous political difficulty and had conducted a revolt against a strong and well-equipped adversary, had been acknowledged to have been a precursor of the rise to power of William the Silent, who won independence from Spain. The following passage from Melchior Fokkens's

Beschrijvinge van Amsterlredam of 1662 shows that this association was always foremost in the minds of the author and reader alike: "So the Batavians (striking exemplars of present-day Dutchmen) won their liberty by force of arms, just as in our time under the leadership of the arms of Nassau.... Here Civilis was a prototype of Nassau...."[81]

The level of popular interest in Julius Civilis was always tied to the contemporary political situation in the Seven United Provinces. In 1588, Hadrianus Junius had only mentioned Civilis in his Batavia.[82] In the next year, Pieter Cornelisz. Bockenberg, included a brief discussion of Civilis in his Prisci Bataviae et Frisiae Reges. Johan van der Dies's Bataviae Hollandiaeque Annales of 1601 was also spare in its descriptive passages that deal with the Batavian leader. Yet, after the publication of Grotius's book in 1610, that is just after the Twelve Years Truce had been proclaimed, there was a proliferation of Batavian histories which recounted the exploits of the Batavian chieftain. It was only after the de facto recognition of the independence of the Seven United Provinces that real interest was seen in the story of Civilis and his leadership of the Batavian revolt, for it was only then that such a national story was required. Only then could the Dutch truly view themselves as an independent nation.

The new literary attention to the story of the Batavians produced a concomitant body of visual works that made the historic reality of the Batavians and Julius Civilis all the more relevant, all the more real. In 1594, the historian, Olfert Dapper reported that a triumphal arch was constructed to honor the victorious return to Amsterdam of Prince Maurice who had just captured the town of Groningen.[83] Not surprisingly, a Batavian theme was depicted. Dapper recorded that the scene alluding to Maurice's

victory over Spain had "represented Claudius Civilis, with some Romans under his feet...."[84] The following caption by Hendrik Laurensz. Spieghel accompanied the scene on the arch and again reveals how easily episodes from the Batavian rebellion against Rome were associated with events of the contemporary Dutch revolt against the Hapsburg forces of Spain: "As from the Rhineland and from the neighboring regions of the Betuwe Claudius Civilis drove the mighty power of Rome, so may the Netherlands regain their freedom now through the Hero Nassau."[85]

An especially forthright image showing the parallel between the Batavians and the Dutch is seen on the title page of Pontanus's Historiae Glericae libri XIV published in 1639. There, William the Silent stands beside his prototype, Julius Civilis (fig. 3); both leaders were regarded as the saviors of their respective nations.

The most extensive exposition in graphic form of the Batavian story occurred in 1612. Perhaps due to the additional interest Grotius's recent volume had generated, Antonio Tempesta had engraved a series of thirty-six prints after drawings by Otto van Veen, which was entitled, Batavorum cum Romanis Bellum. The frontispiece (fig. 4) shows "Batavia" and "Roma" clasping hands in reconciliation, a direct allusion to the Twelve Years Truce.[86] The series was extremely well received, for shortly after the prints were published Otto van Veen was commissioned by the magistrates in The Hague to produce twelve paintings of the same subjects. In January 1613, 2,200 guilders were paid for these paintings, which were to serve, "as an ornament of the Meeting Room of their Mightinesses."[87] When the authorities in The Hague sought to commemorate the start of the Twelve Years Truce, which had resulted from the United Province's successful

struggle to reject Spanish sovereignty, no more appropriate allegorical subjects could be found than these scenes showing the triumphant campaigns of the Batavians against the Romans.

Later, in a similar atmosphere of triumph after the Peace of Munster had been adopted in 1648, images from the past were again understood to allude to contemporary events and personages. This description by Olfert Dapper of the three civic performances, which were part of the celebration held on 5 June 1648 in Amsterdam to commemorate the victory over Spain, reveals how the conduct of the revolt against Philip II led by the forces of Orange had become inexorably linked for the Dutch with the deeds of their own valiant Batavian ancestors as well as with heroic Roman models of virtue and statesmanship:

> In the first Koster represented the royal qualities of Prince William, in the form of Amphion; in the second, Prince Maurice, in the likeness of Numa Pompilius; in the third one saw his Highness Frederick Henrik, illustrated by the great Fabius Maximus. In the fourth opening the very happy Stadholder, his Highness Prince William, appeared in the figure of Augustus. In the fifth the prudent care of the illustrious State was shown before our beseiged freedom. In the sixth Representation Mars was fettered; Vulcan forbidded his armor, and soldiers paid and partly dismissed.
>
> The six middle representation, were all illustrations of the origin of the Batavians, and their war against the Romans.
>
> In the first representation a camp in a wood was shown, consisting of people who found with Bato, the Prince of the Chatti, here a Fatherland for their descendants between two wide rivers....
>
> In the second representation the pact between C. Julius Caesar and the Batavians was sworn, and our ancestory given the name of allies of the Roman people.
>
> The third representation was the state-desire of the Romans, who in the time of Emperor Vitellius broke the pact by improper commands and the vexing of the natives.
>
> In the fourth representation Julius Paulus, a Batavian of royal family, was unjustly brought to death, and his brother Claudius Civilis expelled.
>
> In the fifth one one saw the wrong avenged, and freedom restored by the craft and bravery of Civilis, who destroyed the winter camp of the Romans in Batavia.
>
> The sixth representation was the joy of the Batavians over the result of the war, and the conclusion of the peace with Cerialis, the

general of Vespasian.

By the first Representation of the final six, executed by J. Vos, was shown Europe armed, by the second, the fighting Princes; in the third, the eternal peace-freedom; by the fourth, the sworn peace; by the fifth, the secure Netherlands; and by the sixth, the Mother of peace, the blessed Amsterdam.[88]

The creators of these eighteen tableaux have used events from classical history and from the national or Batavian past to heroicize persons and events in their own time. Struggles from the past were viewed as precursors of the contemporary battles against Spain which at last had resulted in a victorious independence proclaimed by the Treaty of Munster.

However the most elaborate and exalted use of the Batavian theme came in the decoration of the new Town Hall in Amsterdam. In his poem of 1655 which praised the still incomplete Town Hall, Vondel clearly noted that the revolt of Julius Civilis was to be one of the subjects of the paintings in the first floor galleries:

One sees here Burgerhart, the chief of the Batavians,
Fight against the eagles, and Caesar's banners of war,
As champion of his Right, with unpraised blade.
One sees there the triumph, and mutual action.
The Tiber comes to know the power of the Lower Rhine,
Embraces his ally, whereupon Fame her feathers
Unfolds with a sound, roars there to earth;
While the Batavian bears no yoke of Rome,
But shines in the freedom, won through his weapons.
Thus Teacitus honors this people, created of virtue.[89]

From the above passage it is clear that the four scenes already decided upon were, Fighting the Romans, Victory, Peace Negotiations, and the State of Peace. Apparently, the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis was then not one of the scenes being considered.

The problem of determining who was responsible for creating the elaborate iconographic scheme in the Town Hall has not been definitively resolved. Vondel has often been credited with devising the program; however,

in the 1660 preface to his Parnasloof, a translation of the Aeneid, Vondel cited Cornelis de Graeff as the originator of the Town Hall plan.[90] According to Vondel, it was de Graeff who proposed that the story of the Batavians decorate the Galleries:

> From these ideas was your Judgement enriched.
> As you compared your grandfather's time with the ancient time,
> When under Burgerhart, sprung from King's blood
> Stepped from Caesar's host, in forest foliage was resolved
> to free the neck from the Latin metal yoke.[91]

De Graeff would indeed have been well qualified to create such a refined and well thought out plan. He was active in city government, having been appointed Burgomaster frequently during the period from 1643 to 1662. Furthermore, he was involved in the building project itself, for he was on the committee originally formed to consider the feasibility of constructing a new Town Hall. According to Vondel, he was familiar with classical literature, as well, having read Virgil and Tacitus; he had even conversed in Latin on his death bed,[92] a definite sign in the seventeenth century that he possessed an exceptionally well developed intellect.

By August of 1659 the Town Hall project had progressed far enough to see Govaert Flinck commissioned to decorate the galleries in preparation for the visit by Amalia von Solms and other dignitaries who would be in Amsterdam at the time of the marriage of Frederick Henry's daughter to the Prince of Anhalt.[93] In several days Flinck was able to provide four provisional watercolor sketches on linen which would give the visitors an idea of how the finished project might look. By 28 November 1659, the Burgomasters were apparently well pleased with Flinck's work, for at that time they contracted for, "twelve pieces for the gallery of the town hall, two each year at 1000 guilder apiece."[94] There were to be eight lunettes

decorated in all, four with episodes concerning the revolt of the Batavians, and four others depicting, "heroes who have accomplished praiseworthy deeds for their country; as David and Samson among the Hebrews, and M. Curtius and Horatius Cocles among the Romans."[95]

The following lines composed by Vondel in 1659 at the time of Amalia's visit state that the first of Flinck's illustrations depicted the Conspiracy in the Shaker Forest: "See Burgerhart, a handful of conspirators in shadow of a wood, at a forest banquet, with one oath oppose Rome."[96]

Later, in honor of another visit to the Town Hall by members of the House of Orange, including nine-year-old Prince William III of Orange, Vondel composed short verses describing two of the sketches which were to be placed on their wooden frames for the edification and enjoyment of the visitors. His comment on the scene of the Conspiracy shows that he had taken the opportunity to praise the House of Orange allegorically:

> Here you see in Burgerhart the Grandeur of Orange
> He opposes Rome, and enters into oath-alliance
> So Willem set himself against Spain
> Freedom, long oppressed, finally speaks from his mouth.[97]

Certainly Flinck provided the city fathers with what they desired, a dignified and ordered historic pageant; yet his work only mildly rejects the momentous and dramatic nature inherent in this night scene. Flinck's extant sketch (fig. 5) reveals that his design was based on Antonio Tempesta's illustration in the Batavorum cum Romanis Bellum. It seems almost certain that the authorities had prescribed that Tempesta's series serve as the model on which the Batavian paintings in the Town Hall were to depend.[98]

Although Flinck has compressed and simplified his night-time

conspiracy by having a single Batavian swear an oath with Civilis instead of the several groups that exchange hand shakes in Tempesta's, neither he nor Ovens later, could capture the true mystery and drama inherent in the scene. The momentous and near sacred nature of this event would be assessed and realized altogether differently by Rembrandt.

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE OF REMBRANDT'S CONSPIRACY OF JULIUS CIVILIS IN THE TOWN HALL

1. Rembrandt's Commission

On 2 February, 1660, Govaert Flinck died suddenly, leaving only the four preliminary Batavian sketches he had designed for the visit of Amalia von Solms to the Town Hall and a nearly completed painting of the Conspiracy in the Shaker Forest, destined for a lunette in one of the galleries. The commission was then re-distributed among several artists. Jan Lievens was to paint the Elevation of Brinio, while Jacob Jordaens was to produce the Nocturnal Ambush and the Conclusion of Peace. Rembrandt was apparently commissioned to replace Flinck's nearly finished canvas of the Conspiracy with one of his own.

Compounding modern difficulties in understanding Rembrandt's participation in the Town Hall project is the near total lack of documentation concerning his commission.[99] There is no mention whatever of Rembrandt's connection with the Town Hall project in any of the city's accounts, although Flinck's initial contract of 28 November 1659 is well documented.[100] After Flinck's death, the city treasurers reported on 13 January 1661 that, "the burgomasters have agreed with Jan Lievens and Jacques Jordaens, that they each shall do a painting of Claudius Civilis in the ovals in the gallery for the sum of 1200 guilders each...."[101] The payment to Lievens for Brinio Elected Leader of the Canninefates was made on 23 March 1661,[102] while Jordaens delivered the first of his three paintings to the Town Hall on 17 June 1661.[103]

In contrast, nothing indicates precisely when Rembrandt was asked to take part in the project. Perhaps the commission for the important conspiracy scene was not reallocated with the others in January because there had initially been some thought of using Flinck's nearly completed canvas.[104] When that was deemed unfeasible, the burgomasters may then have turned to Rembrandt. Regardless of when he received his commission, it is probable that Rembrandt had started work on his painting considerably later than either Lievens or Jordaens.

The best confirmation of this theory is the existence of the Munich drawing (Hdg. 409), widely recognized as the only authentic document which reflects the original character of Rembrandt's large composition (fig. 2).[105] Isabella Henrietta van Eeghen's discovery in 1956 that the drawing was done on the back of part of an invitation to a funeral which bore the date 25 October 1661, seems to indicate that Rembrandt was still at a preliminary stage in his work on the painting at some time after that date.[106] Thus, whether the drawing is considered a preparatory sketch[107] or a notation made between two phases of the developing composition,[108] Rembrandt was evidently still working on his painting months after Lievens and Jordaens had completed theirs.

This lack of documentation concerning Rembrandt's work in the Town Hall is perplexing. Since no records actually link Rembrandt directly with the commission, the fragment of the painting now in Stockholm (fig. 1) and the drawing in Munich (fig. 2) must yield the only date that may reveal Rembrandt's intentions for his Civilis.

Modern knowledge of the existence of the fragment of Rembrandt's Town Hall painting came only at the end of the nineteenth century when the

Dutch archivist Nicholas de Roever identified the painting now in the Swedish National Museum in Stockholm with Rembrandt's Town Hall painting.[109] De Roever had recognized that the canvas in Stockholm closely resembled one Melchior Fokkens's Beschrijvinge der wijdt-vermaarde koop-stadt Amsterlredam had described to have been painted by Rembrandt for the Town Hall.[110] Clearly, Rembrandt's Civilis must have been in place by 21 July 1662, for Fokkens's description in his guidebook bearing that date speaks of the first of the Batavian paintings which decorated the galleries of the Town Hall in the following way:

> Civilis administered them all the Oath, cursing those who flagged, on which was drunk around a large golden Chalice with Wine, and all promised to follow him where he led them. This worked out so far, Envoys were sent directly through the entire Land; first to the Canninefates, in order to make the outrage known to them; he received too very secretly the English on his side, and this was shown in the first Painting painted by Rembrandt.[111]

De Roever recognized that the description corresponds exactly to the Stockholm fragment. Two months later it was obvious that quite another painting had been positioned above the door to the Burgomaster's Council Room off the North Gallery of Amsterdam's new Town Hall. In a poem, "On the Joyful Meal," composed for a banquet held on 24 September 1662 to honor the visiting Maxmilian Heinrich of Bavaria, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Joost van den Vondel had described a very different painting showing Civilis exhorting his countrymen to revolt.[112] It is known that this was the canvas completed in four days[113] by Juriaens Ovens for which he had been paid forty-eight guilders on 2 January 1663, "for making of a sketch of Govaert Flinck to a complete composition" (fig. 6).[114]

To date, no documentation has adequately revealed why Rembrandt's painting was removed from its position in the Town Hall gallery,[115] or why,

once removed, it was never returned.[116] Most often, the rejection of the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis is blamed on Rembrandt's outdated stylistic values.[117] Although it is true that Rembrandt's aesthetic standards did differ from those gaining currency in the latter part of the seventeenth century in the United Provinces and elsewhere,[118] an examination of the iconographic content of the painted image itself may better reveal reasons for the painting's apparent unsuitability. Certainly, Rembrandt's Conspiracy of Julius Civilis exhibits an ideal of a powerful individualized leader, equipped with the attributes of royalty and displaying characteristics that are both religious and political in nature.

Perhaps Rembrandt's painting created an image of a leader too powerful for the burghers to accept, an image too immediately identifiable with contemporary political conflicts, especially that which existed between the Orangeists, who would centralize power in the hands of one national government largely controlled by the States General and the Prince of Orange, and those led by the regents of the great urban centers, who wanted political power dispersed through a looser association of sovereign provinces and largely independent towns. The burghers of Amsterdam may have been more comfortable with the painting started by Flinck and finished by Ovens, for its imagery and mood was closer to the classicized compositions originally developed by van Veen and Tempesta in the engraved series, Bastavorum cum Romanis bellum, on which the town fathers had probably wanted all the artists to rely.[119] There, the conspirators acted more as equals united in their oath-taking. The emphasis was on the conspiracy as an episode in the epic struggle leading to independence; it is unclear which of these figures is the leader. In contrast, Rembrandt has placed

all emphasis on Civilis himself. X-ray analyses of the painting reveal that as Rembrandt continued to develop his image, Civilis became more and more isolated.[120] Civilis had clearly become the dominant motif in the painting, a situation even more apparent in the fragmentary remains of the original canvas. It is as if all the painting's meanings crystallizes in this one figure.

Rembrandt's whole approach was very different than Flinck's quiet carefully ordered composition. His basic conception of the scene would not permit him to render it as a simple narrative. As in all his works, Rembrandt examined the subject matter closely and uncovered layers of meaning often ignored. By making associations between iconographic images drawn from a variety of traditional and contemporary sources he was able to deepen his message and increase his painting's impact.

By far the most striking and personal aspect of Rembrandt's composition was his depiction of Civilis himself. Posed almost frontally, he stares with his one eye, directly out at us exhibiting an intensity that is riveting. In direct defiance of classical ideals traceable back as far as Apelles, where such a gross deformity would never be shown,[121] Rembrandt gave palpable unity to the composition through the sheer power of this timeless effigy.

Certainly Rembrandt knew how others had represented Civilis. He surely must have had access to Flinck's preliminary sketches. The inventory of his possessions drawn up in 1656 at the time of his bankruptcy confirmed that he owned two books of prints by Tempesta.[122] It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Batavian series might have been among them. Certainly elements in a number of Rembrandt's works show the clear influence of

Tempesta's prints after Otto van Veen's designs.[123] Furthermore, it seems reasonable that Rembrandt would have had access to van Veen's painted Batavian series in The Hague at least as early as his work there for the Stadholder (fig. 8).[124]

However, the Batavian painting Rembrandt produced was far different than any of those other interpretations. Van Veen, Tempesta, Flinck, and Ovens had all observed the rules of classical decorum and had carefully portrayed Civilis in profile, as prescribed by Pliny the Elder,[125] so that they might conceal the deformity of the lost eye and further idealize the ancient hero. But, Rembrandt, as he had done in his study of Biblical stories, chose to produce something more than a mere pleasing and easy image; instead, he went directly to the text, to Tacitus, and chose to portray the Batavian chieftain with literal accuracy.

Obviously, Rembrandt's idea of beauty was very different from the other classicizing artists involved in the Town Hall project. For Rembrandt, beauty arising from decay, age, or imperfection was all the more striking. Perhaps this is why he had sketched the burned-out ruins of the old Town Hall, but never the grand new building which was erected on the Dam. Perhaps too, it is precisely the effect of the contrast between Civilis's blind eye and the intense gaze of the remaining eye that so clearly reveals his powerful personality. This look which so affects us has even greater impact because it is juxtaposed to the unresponsiveness of the other vacant socket.

2. Iconography

Much of the power of Rembrandt's great composition is still visible in the fragment of the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis now in Stockholm, but

by uncovering some of his specific formal and iconographic sources it may be possible to better understand his original thoughts for this, the greatest of his history paintings.

a. The Architectural Setting

As has been shown, Rembrandt was faithful to the text of Tacitus as had been no other interpreter of the story of Julius Civilis. Therefore, a particular significance must be attached to his decision to confine the scene within an architectural setting, even though Tacitus stated clearly that the Batavians had met outside in the Shaker Wood to proclaim their opposition to Roman domination.[126] Certainly his decision to place the oath swearers in an architectural space which is separated from the out-of-doors by three massive arched openings has formal benefits. It allows for a more easy relationship of pictorial space to the real architectural space of the Town Hall. The spectators are thus involved in the oath-taking in a most immediate way. Yet, there may be other reasons why Rembrandt had deviated in this way from Tacitus. The centralized area Rembrandt has created may also elicit memories of circular structures built by the Romans, and so may lend the scene an appropriately evocative classical setting.

However, of even greater importance is the way Rembrandt has used an age-old imagery employed by the Church. Setting the event in what appears to be a vaulted chapel-like area, Rembrandt has evoked a number of Christian symbols. The representation of an altar under a tri-partite arch was often part of a scheme traditionally meant to depict the sanctuary of a church.[127] He thus used the soaring architecture and vaulted space to underline the ceremonial, almost sacramental nature of

the event depicted in this monumental work.

Several previous works by Rembrandt show that he had explored possibilities of such architectural settings when he wished to emphasize the importance of a specific religious event. In the 1631 Presentation of Christ in the Temple, figures are surrounded and exalted by placement within the vast space created by Rembrandt's architecture. The illumination of the central group against the dark recesses of the distant architectural setting focuses attention on the main characters seen in the background to the right. A number of formal elements in the group near the High Priest are similar to ones seen in the central group in the Civilis. Here the golden throne functions as will the curtain in the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis, for it eliminates distractions and focuses the viewer's attention.

Two years later, in 1646, Rembrandt delivered a Circumcision of Christ to STadholder Frederick Henry.[128] Although the original has been lost, the copy now in Brunswick shows some startling parallels to details in Rembrandt's drawing (Hdg. 409). Again, as in the Adultress, the high priest stands frontally and exhibits a bearing remarkably like that of Julius Civilis. The priest stands on steps surrounded by people united in their attention to and participation in a sacred rite, a grouping that would be repeated in the Civilis. There may even be some association between the kneeling figure holding the basin in the Circumcision and the figure standing before the table in the Civilis who offers his pledge by raising the wine cup to his chieftain.[129]

b. The Last Supper

The Last Supper is always cited as an important iconographic source for Rembrandt's painting. His absorption with the theme can be seen

indirectly in the large number of works which deal with the dramatic possibilities of grouping people around a table.[130] However, the most obvious evidence of Rembrandt's interest in the subject is his series of drawings after Leonardo's Last Supper.[131] In Rembrandt's copy, now in the Lehmann Collection in New York (fig. 9),[132] the faint underdrawing showing the head of Christ inclined to the right and the presence of a dog in the right foreground have been shown to confirm Rembrandt's use of one of the earliest prints done after Leonardo's Cenacolo, which has been attributed alternatively to The Master of the Sforza Book of Hours, to Fra Antonio Monza, and to Zuan Andrea (fig. 10).[133]

As Rembrandt reworked that drawing, going over it with a softer chalk, in about 1635, according to Lord Kenneth Clark, changes seem to reflect an encounter with another copy after Leonardo which had more faithfully captured the character of the original than did the Sforza engraving.[134] Lord Clark posits that Rembrandt continued to explore variations on Leonardo's composition, citing a fragmentary drawing (fig. 11) in which Rembrandt has concentrated on the group to the left of Christ. Rembrandt then adapted what he had learned from his careful study of the copy after Leonardo and went on to create a new asymmetrical grouping in which Christ was positioned to the right of center (fig. 12).

However, the modifications Lord Clark has attributed to Rembrandt's use of a better copy of Leonardo's Cenacolo may have been due to contact with another quite different type of Last Supper. The addition of a curtain behind Christ in the Lehmann drawing is similar to one seen in the Last Supper Giorgio Ghisi had engraved after Lambert Lombard's painting (fig. 13).[135] The changes Lord Clark recognized in the 1635 drawing may actually

reflect the disposition of figures at the right end of the table in Ghisi's engraving. There, the heads of two figures seated at the far right are placed on a higher level than is that of the Apostle Matthew. In contrast, in Leonardo's work or in the earlier Lehmann drawing, Matthew's head is positioned above the two others. The introduction of the asymmetrical placement of the curtain in the Lehmann drawing and the general deviation from balance in the drawings of 1635 also may derive from Rembrandt's knowledge of the Ghisi engraving or another work in the same tradition.

In the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis one can see the survival of elements that may have been inspired by Ghisi's print.[136] Clearly, Rembrandt has relied on a Last Supper image in which the Apostles are seated around a table, rather than behind a long trestle table, a traditional format often employed in the decoration of monastery refrectories.[137]

In Rembrandt's drawing (Hdg. 409, fig. 2), the figure on the steps at the left who holds up his hand with two fingers raised to swear his oath to Civilis may be an unconscious memory of the Christ seen in Ghisi's print where he gestures with two fingers raised toward heaven. However, this image presents a very usual problem that occurs when dealing with Rembrandt's work. Like many others that he employs, the exact derivation of this image seems ellusive.[138] Many traditional religious scenes contain similar figures making such a heavenward gesture.[139] Later in this discussion other non-religious images which may have supplied more immediate models for Rembrandt will be presented.

More directly related to the Ghisi composition are the figures of the "priest" to the left of Civilis, who pledges his loyalty by placing the index and middle fingers of his right hand on the hilt of Civilis's

broad sword, and the man with the pearl earring to the right of his leader, who uses his open left hand to touch the sword and thereby to affirm his fidelity. The gestures of both men seem to reflect those made by the Disciples to the right and left of Christ and St. John, one of whom places his hand on Christ's shoulder, while the other touches the arm of St. John. Even the foreground figure seen in Stockholm fragment, which was probably added after the painting was cut down,[140] may be related to a similar figure at the center of Ghisi's engraving, who is seen from the back with one hand raised, his palm facing the table.

An important aspect of Lord Clark's analysis of Rembrandt's 1635 series of drawings is his recognition of the influence of those initial compositional experiments on Rembrandt's painting done in the same year, Samson Asking Riddles of his Wedding Guests (fig. 14). There, Samson's turning away from his bride who is seated at the center of the table to participate in activities to his left may be an adaptation of the Apostle Matthew's gesture seen in Leonardo's Last Supper, which Rembrandt had retained in the Lehmann drawing.[141] The asymmetry of the placement of the bride and the piling up and compression of the figure group around Samson seem also to reflect Rembrandt's exploration of dramatic figural groupings in his 1635 variation on Leonardo's composition, and again appear to show other elements not found in Leonardo's painting but seen in the Ghisi composition and other works like it.

Rembrandt's painting, Samson Asking Riddles of his Wedding Guests, is important in this discussion not only because his reliance on the Last Supper theme is revealed, but also because it shows a clear influence of Otto van Veen's Garden Party of the Batavian (fig. 15).[142] The painting

thus documents Rembrandt's acquaintance with the painted series at an early point in his career. Since it is known that van Veen's paintings were placed in the Meeting Room of the States General in The Hague from 1613,[143] it is reasonable to assume that Rembrandt had access to the paintings while he was in The Hague in 1632 to paint the portrait of Amalia von Solms.[144]

Yet, Kurt Bauch has suggested that Rembrandt's familiarity with van Veen's painted series dates to an even earlier point in his career. Bauch has convincingly shown that Rembrandt's 1623 painting, Peter's Denial of Christ (fig. 16), now in Tokyo, clearly reflects van Veen's Julius Civilis at the Seige of Castra Vetera (fig. 17).[145] In both compositions, a central grouping of armed men is illuminated by a light source that is obscured by the shadowed form of the foremost figure. The two scenes include similar secondary figural groups that are gathered around a fire in the darkened middle distance.

Van Veen's soldier silhouetted by the campfire was especially fascinating to Rembrandt. Throughout his career, Rembrandt used similarly profiled figures who have been emphasized by their placement before a brilliantly lit background.[146] Peter's Denial of Christ is one of the most direct examples; yet, undeniably, van Veen's Julius Civilis at the Seige of Castra Vetera continued to remain a source of inspiration; surely it was a source Rembrandt considered as he was developing ideas for his Conspiracy of Julius Civilis. There, the memory of Van Veen's back-lit figure remains.

A number of features in van Veen's Garden Party of the Batavians have clearly influenced Rembrandt's Samson Asking Riddles of his Wedding Guests. Two of the guests in Rembrandt's painting derive from van Veen's

seated foreground figures of a man with his arm around the waist of a woman, both of whom are seen from the back.[147] The conversational groups seen at the right in both paintings are so self-absorbed that they effectively isolate the focus attention on the more central female figures.

Both Samson's bride and the woman behind the table in van Veen's Garden Party face us directly while they sit with their arms folded across their massive bodies. These women are impressive in their bearing and have great formal and iconographic significance.

Isolated female figures of this sort were not unknown in Netherlandish art; both the bride in Breughel's Peasant Wedding Feast (fig. 18)[148] and the related bridal figure that was present in Hieronymous Bosch's The Marriage at Cana (fig. 19),[149] have been emphasized by the placement of a cloth of honor behind them. The two compositions derive from the same "Wedding Feast" tradition that leads ultimately to van Veen's Garden Party and to Rembrandt's Samson Asking Riddles of his Wedding Guests.

Figures like these isolated women had other roles in the art of the Netherlands.[150] However, of special significance in this discussion are similar young women who were used to represent the young Dutch Republic or Hollandia in allegorical paintings and political prints.[151] Elizabeth McGrath recognized that such a female figure had represented the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, or Belgica in Joachim Wtewael's series of allegorical drawings that catalogue the political history of the Netherlands during the revolt against Spain.[152] Marital imagery is especially clear in his drawing of The Maid Courted (fig. 22).

What is perhaps the earliest painted representation of this female symbol of the Union[153] is seen in Jan Tengnagel's Allegory of the Prosperity of the Republic under Maurits of Orange (fig. 23). A similar allegorical use of a young maiden to represent the Netherlands is seen in the 1616 painting by Adriaen van de Venne which depicts the Truce of 1609 (fig. 24).[154] Again the young woman takes part in a marital image, for here the truce has been depicted symbolically as a village wedding unifying the Seven United Provinces and Spain.

Both van Veen's Garden Party and Rembrandt's Samson asking Riddles of His Wedding Guests come out of a tradition of elegant banqueting scenes, but in the Netherlands, apparently innocuous genre scenes like these commonly contained hidden allegorical messages, not readily apparent to the viewer in the twentieth century.

The Garden Party of the Batavians has as its progenitors Venetian "fête Champetres" or "feast of the gods" scenes which have apparently secular and essentially erotic purposes. These scenes had their origin in illustrations done in connection with the Provençal courts of love, "cours" and "debats d'amore," and in literary works such as the Roman de la Rose.[155] Medieval "plaisance" tapestries of love scenes in gardens have also been cited as sources for these sixteenth and seventeenth century outdoor feast scenes.[156]

In the North especially, such images usually contained veiled moral lessons. Van Veen's painting is similar to certain Northern outdoor banqueting scenes such as Pieter Pourbus's Feast of Love (fig. 25) or Franz Hals's Banquet in a Park (fig. 26). Not uncommonly, these scenes referred to certain biblical stories, such as the life of Mary Magdalene or the

Prodigal Son. For instance, Hals's work has been shown to have been based on a print in David Vinckboon's series, The Life of the Prodigal Son, which he had engraved in 1608.[157]

Even purely religious scenes were treated in the same fashion. In Dirck Barendsz's Mankind before the Last Judgement (fig. 27),[158] the intermingling of secular feasting and the Last Supper is again clearly manifest. The appearance of the Last Judgement scene in the background underscores the didactic message which is often only implied in Northern allegories.

In addition, mythological scenes in the North, portray the same mix of secular and religious imagery. A brief review of some representative scenes bear witness to the assertion. In Joachim Wtewall's The Judgement of Paris (fig. 28) painted in 1615, the banquet of Pelius and Thetis in the background is obviously derived from Raphael's Marriage of Cupid and Amor. In Cornelis Cornelisz, van Haarlem's Marriage of Pelius and Thetis (fig. 29), the feast scene has been pushed into the background again. In both scenes the bride, related as we have seen to similar figures in Breughel, Bosch, van Veen, and Rembrandt, presides over a table whose derivation from the Last Supper or Feast at Cana is unmistakable. This example shows how the pure delight in erotic and playful subject matter could overpower the original intentions of such themes. It must be stressed that in the North the moral allusions were generally retained. A more exhaustive study of Rembrandt's Samson might reveal that the underlying threat of betrayal, which was an important part of the biblical story, may have had an especially significant contemporary meaning, perhaps relating to the political conditions in Holland at that time.[159]

The complexity of these images arose because of the traditional

blending of moralism with simple genre scenes that took place in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fact that apparently secular feasting scenes may actually contain moral or religious ideas arises from the fundamental character of the Last Supper image. The Last Supper is an event central to Christian belief. Although it was not one of the first images to be illustrated by Christian artists, it soon became important because it was perceived both as a major narrative episode in the Passion of Christ and also as a liturgically significant moment by which the eucharistic celebration within the Christian community was instituted.[160] In the sixth century, both aspects of the Last Supper were represented.[161] The Codex Purpurenis Rossanensis (fig. 30) contained scenes showing Christ and the Disciples seated at a table as well as Christ's distribution of Communion to the Apostles, an activity seen as the traditional beginning of the Church.

These Communion of the Apostles illustrations, which probably evolved in Syria,[162] depict the Eucharist being celebrated at an altar, beneath a ciborium as was common in the Eastern Church. An early example of this format is seen in the Stuma Paten (fig. 31), crafted in Constantinople in the second half of the sixth century. The architectural setting contains basic formal elements that reappear over the centuries. In the Golden Gospel of Heinrich III (fig. 32), made at Echternach about 1043-1046, the image of Christ distributing wine and bread to the Apostles repeats essentially the same form seen in the paten, although here the ciborium has been expanded into a more elaborate architectural setting. So strong is this formula, that even in Rembrandt's Conspiracy of Julius Civilis, a composition far removed historically from the Last Supper, the arched

architectural setting, the prominent wine cup, and the altar-like table remain.

In narrative scenes of the Last Supper the Apostles and Christ were seated at a table where they shared a meal. The earliest example of this type of Last Supper, found in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna[163] (fig. 33), is clearly an adaptation of pagan banquets (fig. 34) or religious feast scenes from which the Early Christian Agape or communal meal itself had derived.[164] Taken together as a community, this meal was distinct and separate from the sacrament of Communion.

From late medieval times, Christ's indication of the treacherous Judas was the episode most frequently portrayed.[165] Ultimately, Judas was isolated from the other disciples on the far side of the table.[166] Often he was shown receiving the sop from Christ or stretching out his hand toward the dish. This form of Last Supper is seen in the Pericope of Heinrich II (fig. 35). The formal similarity between Judas in this miniature illustration and the cup-bearer in Rembrandt's Conspiracy of Julius Civilis is remarkable. When the two compositions are compared, a number of other formal parallels can be perceived. Both scenes take place before a tripartite architectural opening adorned with a curtain. Even the juxtaposition of hands within the scenes is similar. In the Last Supper in Heinrich II's manuscript, Christ's use of a two finger blessing is similar to the gesture of the "priest" figure to Civilis's right who pledges his loyalty by touching his leader's sword with the index and middle fingers of his right hand. The man to Civilis's left who uses an open right hand to touch gently his chieftain's blade as he acts his part in this momentous sacred ceremony may have evolved from the kind of gesture displayed by the Apostle

Peter whose raised right hand crosses behind Christ's own hand which is raised to bless the bread and wine on the table in the Pericope illustration.

The frequent reappearance of such motifs is not surprising, for they had great power and were found to be appropriate even in non-religious scenes like Rembrandt's Civilis. About the year 1100, the Last Supper image showing Judas, isolated in front of the table, had been transmitted to secular feast scenes.[167] The banquet scene in the Alexander Manuscript (fig. 36) reveals that by the fourteenth century Judas had been transformed into a servant.[168] Thus, the complicated image of the Last Supper derives from secular feast scenes and influenced subsequent interpretations of such banquets. This intermingling of motifs may better be understood if the Last Supper miniature in the Limoges Gospels (fig. 37) is examined. Here, the Judas figure appears almost to carry the dish, much as the lay servitor had done in the Alexander Manuscript.[169] Again, this kneeling figure approaching from below is close to the image created by Rembrandt in his great Batavian history painting.

The question of whether Rembrandt might have been seeking to elicit conscious memories of the Last Supper by his use of these motifs may be resolved when the significance of the Last Supper is itself considered. The event was not merely a last meal of farewell that Christ shared with his followers. It symbolized Christ's sacrificial death by which a new covenant between God and man was confirmed. Furthermore, it was understood to anticipate a future meal and an eternal life of Salvation with Christ in Paradise.[170] A visual amalgamation of the complex significance of the biblical account can be found in Hans Bruggemann's predella done for the altar of the monastery at Bordesholm which shows the types of images that

had become part of Last Supper iconography.[171] For example, the scene depicting The Love Feast of the First Christians (fig. 38) clearly brings to mind Otto van Veen's Garden Party of the Batavians. In addition to the Love Feast of the First Christians and the Last Supper (fig. 39), he had carved a Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek (fig. 40), a scene commonly known from the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, the Biblia Pauperum, and other typological handbooks.

Of particular importance in this discussion is Bruggermann's panel of the Passover Night Supper (fig. 41), because the Last Supper had occurred on the night of Passover. Like the Jewish commemoration of the liberation from Egyptian bondage, the Last Supper underscored contemporary man's belief in the reality of salvation; both were known as "festivals of freedom."[172] For the Christians, the miracle of Passover was a prototype of mankind's spiritual salvation which occurred only because of Christ's sacrifice. Just as Passover marked a covenant between God and the Jewish people, the Last Supper recognized the beginning of a new covenant between God and all men.

One detail of the traditional Jewish observance of Passover may have been known to Rembrandt. The Passover meal had originally been taken while standing, to emphasize the fact that the Israelites had eaten in haste on the night of the Exodus.[173] Perhaps, this idea is reflected in Rembrandt's original plans for his Civilis,[174] which had shown the Batavians standing in what might easily have been an upper room, since tree tops are visible through the arched openings behind Civilis. To elicit new power for his image of the ancient Batavian leader and his

cohort, Rembrandt may indeed have intended a direct reference to that last meal of Christ and his disciples. By clearly alluding to the Passover meal he may also have wanted to impart to his image greater authenticity. He would thereby also reinforce and exalt the nature of the Dutch people struggling for their independence in the seventeenth century. In the Passover meal, the Last Supper, and in the Batavian Banquet in the Shaker Wood, each group is truly instituting and affirming a pact. Each event confirms the group as a cohesive unit. These types of iconographic images may have been extremely useful to Rembrandt as he proceeded to compose his Batavian scenes.

As a scholarly painter well-versed in the allegorical tradition, Rembrandt must have been aware that out-of-doors banqueting scenes created automatic allusions to the Last Supper, since the Last Supper itself was known to be an archetypical "love feast." Rembrandt, however, does seem to have wanted to strengthen the idea of union and covenant by his allusion to the Last Supper. He may also have wanted to emphasize the idea of Judas's betrayal of Christ. Since conspiracy and treachery were integral elements of the Last Supper story, these ideas would be appropriate in depicting the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis. It might also have reinforced Rembrandt's allusion to a more contemporary political conspiracy which will be discussed later.

It is only in Rembrandt that the origin and meaning of the communal meal and Judas's isolation at the Last Supper again have regained their real significance. By combining coherently various iconographic images, Rembrandt was able to add a profoundly spiritual element to what had been mere idealized narrative in the hands of the other interpreters of the Batavian theme.

c. Raphael's Stanza Decorations

It was natural that Rembrandt would search for appropriate iconographic sources when he approached the Town Hall commission, since his problems were iconographic as well as formal. Never before had he worked on such a large painting or on one that was so much a part of an architectural complex. Certainly the engravings after Raphael's Stanze decorations offered solutions to the problems inherent in decorating round-headed panels within a great building.[175] Raphael's placement of dramatic episodes in the Vatican public rooms[176] as in the School of Athens, The Expulsion of Heliodorus, The Mass of Bolsena, The Coronation of Charlemagne, and The Oath of Leo, provided useful prototypes.

Raphael's architectural settings integrating real and fictive space invite the viewer's participation. In all scenes, some device is used to keep the viewer's eye from being lost in the distant recesses of the painted architecture. In the School of Athens, his method is least obvious, for there a barrier of figures holds the eye to the middle ground. The most evident formal solution to the problem is found in the Mass of Bolsena where a choir screen functions as does the curtain in the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis. In each of the other lunettes some type of curtained barrier compresses the visual field and focuses the viewer's attention on the drama depicted.

It may be that Rembrandt first adopted the idea of grouping his figures in a semicircle across a flight of wide but shallow steps from Raphael's Disputa. In both Raphael's fresco and Rembrandt's compositional drawing, steps terminate at either side; in a balustrade in the Disputa and in sculptural animal figures which may be lions in Rembrandt's

sketch. The griffin-like creatures on the throne of the Pope in Raphael's fresco may have been transformed into lions in the Civilis, creatures far more appropriate as symbols in the Dutch Republic.

The influence of Raphael on Rembrandt's design has been noted by a number of authors.[177] Rembrandt collected both drawings and prints by Raphael. In the account of his holdings listed at the time of his insolvency in 1656, four entries dealing with Raphael's work appear.[178] Prints after Raphael's Stanze decorations were widely known; both the School of Athens and the Disputa had been engraved in Antwerp as early as 1550 by Ghisi.[179]

As has been noted previously, Rembrandt may have been influenced by Ghisi's engraving and was most certainly influenced by van Veen, his distinguished predecessor. Van Veen shared with Rembrandt a reliance on Raphael's designs for certain elements found in their Batavian series. Probably the most immediately striking example is Van Veen's youth who was seen from the back holding a jug at the right in the painting and on the left in Tempesta's engraving, after his The Banquet of Claudius Civilis. In both cases this figure stands close to a seated man whose face is seen in profile. A similar figure, seen from the back, mounts the steps in the Disputa. He, too, is juxtaposed to an older seated man whose face is also seen in profile, here Pope Gregory.

In Rembrandt's Civilis both figures reappear in front of the table; a young man stands to the right of a seated older man who holds a wide-bowled cup as he swears his loyalty to Julius Civilis. Both are lit by the glowing table top before them. Nordenfalk's comments on the X-rays of the fragment of the painting now in Stockholm, reveal that there had originally

been a much closer correspondence between Rembrandt's figures and those of Raphael and Van Veen.[180] The leg of the standing man would not have been concealed by the chair's cushion, and his profile was to have been more pronounced. In this case he would have more closely reflected Raphael's figure and van Veen's youth.

Other figures found in Rembrandt's Julius Civilis can be related to the Disputa. The man who stands on the steps in Rembrandt's drawing and swears his oath to Civilis with his hand raised may have been inspired by a similar figure to the right of the altar in the Disputa, who indicated the manifestation of the Trinity. Finally, the old man with the red cap who seems to lean forward in order to have a better view of what is transpiring at the head of the table at the far right of the Stockholm painting, may be a faint reflection of the observer who leans forward on the balustrade at the far right of the Disputa.

Another important feature that Rembrandt may have absorbed from Raphael's Disputa was the effect of radiating light.[181] In the Disputa, light rays spread out from God the Father, from Christ, and from the Dove of the Holy Spirit. The same idea of central-radiance is a basic component of the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis. Rembrandt's table glows with a brilliant, almost white light. Although his table is not an altar as it is in Raphael's Disputa, in some ways it functions like one. The crystal chalice on Civilis's table is reminiscent of Raphael's monstrance.

The glowing radiance enveloping Rembrandt's Batavian patriots seems to be connected to the dynamic power projected from the theological exposition presented in the Disputa. It almost appears as if these ancestors of the Dutch were being shown as mystical participants in some

preordained event which was to be fulfilled only in the present period of prosperity and freedom by their heirs who stood below and symbolically took part in this timeless ritual.

This poetic linkage between the seventeenth century Dutch and their Batavian ancestors is just the impression the planners of the Town Hall had hoped to elicit when they chose to use the theme of the Revolt of the Batavians to decorate the galleries in the new building. The relevance of the theme to the political entity of the Seven United Provinces has already been discussed. One can only imagine the nationalist sentiment Rembrandt's painting might have aroused in the viewers. By having Civilis stare out so forthrightly, Rembrandt had united the painted and real participants in this homage to the nation.

The formal solutions Rembrandt discovered in Raphael's Stanze decorations were important, but the fact that Raphael's paintings in the Vatican apartments depicted scenes that were not simply narrative, but which contained real commentaries on the political events of the time in which they were designed, had an equal influence in Rembrandt's Conspiracy of Julius Civilis. Although Rembrandt used a number of motifs taken from the Disputa, the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura have themes that are more philosophical and abstract in orientation than is true of the paintings in the other rooms. As would befit a room designed both as the Papal Court of Justice and as the Pope's library, the paintings in the Stanza della Segnatura refer to the highest ideals of culture and display the new ideals of Julius II's reign.[182]

In the two later decorative programs, Raphael had quite clearly used past heroic events to parallel contemporary happenings in order to

enhance the status of the Pope.[183] It is these depictions of more concrete events that may have proved of interest to Rembrandt.

The Stanza d'Eliodoro was commissioned by Pope Julius II after he had driven the French invaders out of Italy in 1512, and it clearly reflects the Pope's exploits. The Expulsion of Heliodorus, based on an event from the Book of the Maccabees, refers to Julius's battle to expel a rebellious Cardinal who had joined the French in an attack against the good leadership and righteousness of the Papacy. The Mass at Bolsena, commemorates the miraculous help Julius II received in 1516 after praying at the site of the miracle. The Pope's ultimate success in battle showed the efficacy of his deep faith in the sacrament. The Liberation of Saint Peter from Chains symbolized the freeing of the Papacy from the French invaders. Tradition held that the Pope was praying at the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli at the time the French were routed. To emphasize the contemporary application of the theme, Peter was given the features of Pope Julius II. In the Repulse of Attila,[184] the fifth century defeat of the Huns by Pope Leo I was shown to have been accomplished through the miraculous intervention of Saints Peter and Paul. Again, this scene makes pointed reference to Julius's resistance to the French invasion, and may even refer specifically to the delivery of Rome from destruction at the hands of Louis XII in the summer of 1511.

In the Stanza dell'Incendio, contemporary events enhancing papal authority are once more underlined. The Fire in the Borgo refers to Pope Leo IV's extinguishing of a serious fire in 847 by making the sign of the cross. That action symbolizes a time of peace that had arrived with the accession of Leo X to the throne of Peter. The Sea Victory at Ostia

depicted a naval incident that had occurred in 849 when Pope Leo IV won a sea battle against the Saracens, and probably reflects Leo X's plan for a contemporary crusade against the Mohammedans who were then posing a grave threat to the Papal States. The Coronation of Charlemagne shows Leo III crowning the Emperor and may be a direct reference to the treaty between Leo X and Francis I, whereby the French king pledged to defend the Church. In The Oath of Leo III, Francis I is this time answering a slanderous charge before Leo X. The intent behind this scene was to underline the supremacy of the papacy in the wake of an assault upon it by rebellious French clerics.

Raphael's Stanza decorations provided Rembrandt with solutions to formal problems and also suggested a way to have events of the heroic past allude to contemporary happenings. It will later be shown that the specific theme of threatened rebellion to the rightful political authority has great bearing on Rembrandt's Civilis and on some of his other works, since the struggle to create a viable and stable government in the Netherlands was one of the great conflicts of Rembrandt's age.

d. Traditional Political Propaganda

Court or government artists have always stressed the ruler's association with God or with the heroes of the miraculous past. Raphael had provided the Popes with an opportunity to emphasize the manner in which their own lives had paralleled great historic and religious events, so that their position was strengthened in the political and military arenas.

The use of religious and secular imagery to elevate the ruler to a status comparable to that of a divinity has a long history.[185] Medieval

rulers and their artists had linked local historical events with those of the Christian or even the pagan past. Scenes of a temporal coronation, were in essence the investiture of God's appointed representative on earth and as such were important religious rites. At times, this concept of the divinely appointed ruler was boldly manifest, as in the Byzantine Coronation of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (fig. 42), or in the West, in The Crowning of Henry II and Queen Kunigunde (fig. 43). In both examples, the rulers actually exist in the same physical realm as Christ. In other works, the linking of royal persons with the realm of the divinity is more subtly portrayed by the simple device of the hand of god blessing the annointed, as in the Crowning of a Prince Standing Between Two Church Dignitaries (fig. 44). Sometimes, however, the association between God and Man is only implied, since the ruler takes for himself the attributes and surroundings appropriate for Christ or for God. In the fourteenth-century English Coronation of Ordo (fig. 45), the image of the ruler as God's representative on earth is clearly manifest. In this manuscript page the ruler, seated on his throne surrounded by his court, is portrayed as God had been in traditional representations of Christ or of God the Father Enthroned (fig. 46).

The intermingling of royal portraits and religious scenes used a traditional imagery that had originated in the Roman cult of the Emperor (fig. 47).[186] The Emperor was seen to be a new Jupiter or a Sol-Helios, a concept of rulership based on the god-kings existing in eastern parts of the Empire.[187] These powerful images were then appropriated by Christian artists, especially when they wished to portray Christ or God the Father. Later, Europeans again transformed these scenes into royal portraits

(fig. 48). Increasingly, with the autocratic development of nation states in the seventeenth century, such imagery was employed to legitimize and stabilize the new European thrones.[188]

Although the ruler in the Christian era used images designed to serve political needs similar to those of the Roman God-Emperors, he did not present himself as an actual god, even though it was understood that he had been miraculously chosen. In order to authenticate his right to be seen in such a way, examples of God-appointed rulers were frequently cited. Two important human prototypes traditionally recognized as God's representatives and who had, in addition, biblical sanction were the Old Testament kings, David and Solomon.[189] Both King Solomon and King David were to appear in the decorative program planned for the galleries in the Town Hall,[190] where Rembrandt's Civilis was also to hand. In the Town Hall the city's officials sought to enhance the validity of their own power by associating themselves with heroes of both the classical and national past, and with great Biblical leaders like David and Solomon.

The link between secular leaders and religious tradition was especially important in the Northern Netherlands especially after the political break with Spain. It was fundamental that national union find a new rationale based on Calvinist doctrine to supplant the earlier Catholic support of the Divine Right of Kings. The answer lay in Calvin's teachings regarding the Ruler. In Chapter 20 of Book IV of his Institutes of a Christian Religion, Calvin stated that, "Solomon, by connecting the king with the Lord, attributes to him a kind of sacred veneration and dignity."[191] The Calvinistic attitude to the ruler, prince, or magistrate, was one of reverence, for they were seen to be the instruments of God's will. They

were recognized to have been appointed by the Lord, and to act as the vice-regents of Christ on earth. In the following passage, Calvin clearly outlines his understanding of the relationship between the ruler and the people:

> Subjects ought to be induced to submit to princes and governors, not merely from a dread of their power, as persons are accustomed to yield to an armed enemy, who they know will immediately take vengeance upon them if they resist; but because the obedience which is rendered to princes and magistrates is rendered to God, from whom they have received their authority....[192]

Because the United Provinces had no monarchy, with a single political leader or an "eminent head" to use a phrase, found so often in contemporary political tracts and pamphlets,[193] as was generally true elsewhere in Europe, the controversy over the specific nature and exercise of the shared sovereignty in the Seven United Provintes occupied the greatest intellects of the age.[194] Battles had raged between those supporters of a theocracy who viewed the ruler as the supreme agent of God from whom all authority, both religious and secular derived, and those more liberal religious partisans who wanted to maintain a more separate secular authority either independent of or in control of a powerful Calvinist clergy.

Another aspect of the sovereignty debate in the Northern Provinces was the idea of consent, a reality which had long been part of local humanist traditions. As was previously mentioned, Grotius had stated that the Counts of Holland had ruled only with the approval of the people. Erasmus, almost a century before, had stated in his The Institution of the Christian Prince, written in 1516 for Emperor Charles V, that, "It is consent makes the Prince."[195]

In previous times, Emperors and Popes had claimed to control the spiritual and temporal power over vast numbers of subjects, but with the

dissolution of these huge empires of power blocks, the individual, localized ruler adopted the attributes once appropriate only for those great leaders. The new rulers of the nation states of Europe came to see themselves as representative of their whole nation and accordingly clothed themselves in suitably allegorical trappings.

In the Netherlands, however, a unique problem arose, for, as support for the Hapsburg rulers was withdrawn, political control had to be divided between the House of Orange and independent Provincial governments. This is the source of a fundamental conflict that was built into the political structure of the Seven United Provinces.

It was in this conflict ridden atmosphere that Rembrandt and the other Town Hall artists worked. Most chose to present politically innocuous, almost superficial works which never touched the political questions of the day. In the secret meeting between Civilis and the other Batavians, Rembrandt has orchestrated a gathering far different from the well-ordered banquets seen in the print by Tempesta or in the paintings of van Veen, Flinck, or Ovens. By presenting the Batavians as "bargers and peat cutters,"[196] as well as more prosperous or even clerical types, Rembrandt appears to have portrayed a cross section of Dutch society, united only in their pledge to maintain a singular resistance to the Romans. Here the parallel with the contemporary national situation in the Republic of the Netherlands is unmistakable.

The war with Spain was a threat to the existence of the Netherlands. That external danger brought together diverse factions; yet, the goals of the divergent groups remained at variance. In order to focus upon the idea of union against the common foe, Rembrandt had relied upon a number

of traditional images. However, his use of a contemporary pamphlet illustration underscores the political overtones implied by his Civilis.

e. Use of a Contemporary Political Print

A unique aspect of Rembrandt's treatment of the Civilis theme is his emphasis on the sword oath. Just as he had questioned the implications of his pictorial sources, he also went to the original text of Tacitus for an authentic description of the scene he was about to illustrate. In the Histories, Tacitus related that, after having urged those gathered at the banquet in the sacred grove to take up arms against the Romans, Civilis, "taking advantage of the impression he had made, bound them all in a solemn league, with oaths and imprecations, according to the custom of barbarians."[197]

In earlier representations by van Veen, Tempesta, and Flinck, and in Oven's later painting, the oath was conducted in a Roman manner (fig. 49), by the clasping of hands.[198] In contrast to his fellow artists, Rembrandt approached the text directly and depicted the barbaric ritual by choosing to use the more dramatic sword oath, in which each warrior unleashes his own sword in a private oath of allegiance to his chieftain.[199] Although this type of oath-taking was rarely seen in the seventeenth century, Henri de Waal notes the following examples, an engraving by C.J. Visscher illustrating P.C. Hooft's play, The Conspiracy of the Sons of Brutus (fig. 50), which was presented in Amsterdam in 1609 to celebrate the start of the Twelve Years Truce; the tragedy of Aran and Titus, written by Jan Vos in 1641; an illustration to Jan Bara's play, Herstelde Vorst of 1650; a print by Experens Sillemans, The Execution of Gerard van Velsen or the Death of Count Flors V, that had been published by Cornelis Danckertz; and

perhaps, Shakespeare's Hamlet.[200] However, of particular significance to this discussion is a title page from a pamphlet of 1623 which describes a conspiracy against Prince Maurice of Orange (fig. 51), which Schmidt-Degener had recognized in 1919 to have influenced Rembrandt's Civilis.[201]

Rembrandt's use of the sword oath underlines the nature of sovereignty being instituted by this gathering in the Shaker Wood. Traditionally a sword had symbolized the ruler.[202] The emblem of a lion holding a sword commonly represented the United Provinces in visual media.[203] In political theory, the ruler was seen to possess the Imperium, that is the only rightful authority to marshal the forces of the state to enforce the law.[204] Although others may have authority in certain realms, it is the ruler alone who possesses the only force strong enough to uphold legal authority. One of his solemn duties is to compel obedience, as a necessary attribute of his office.[205] The battle over who possessed the Imperium was a central consideration at the time of the chaos and political infighting that permeated the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.[206] Therefore, Rembrandt's pointed attention to the oath in "barbaro ritu" lends an air of historical authenticity to his painting and also epitomizes the very idea of sovereignty.

Rembrandt's use of the print from a pamphlet describing the conspiracy against Prince Maurice of Orange may indicate Rembrandt's intention to have his painting understood as a contemporary political allegory. In the lower left panel of the pamphlet illustration, a figure reaches out with his sword toward a semicircle of kneeling men whose swords touch their leader's. One figure pledges not only with his sword but also with his left hand raised, two fingers extended in the usual gesture of oath-taking.

The man standing to the left of the central group in Rembrandt's drawing bears a striking resemblance to this figure who pledges his loyalty to Civilis.

That Ovens's composition, which had replaced Rembrandt's in the Town Hall, also contains such a figure swearing his oath to Civilis, may indicate that he had adopted the figure from Rembrandt's Civilis. However, it seems more likely, in view of Ovens's rapid completion of Flinck's painting, that the image of this oath-swearer was already present in Flinck's nearly completed work.[207] Quite simply, Rembrandt may have been attracted to the powerful image in Flinck's unfinished canvas, and then have been led to examine other works which also contained similar powerful images such as Last Supper scenes, Raphael's Disputa, classical images, and a contemporary political illustration of the Conspiracy against Maurice.

It is difficult to determine precisely how Rembrandt's conflation of these particular scenes should be evaluated. Although the association of ideas implied by Rembrandt's varied choice of sources was never as consistent or as rationally based as in an artist like Rubens, a definite iconographic pattern can be discerned in his Civilis.

In view of Rembrandt's general rigor when he appraoched his subject matter, it seems reasonable to assume that he would have examined earlier illustrated conspiratorial scenes as part of his preparation to paint the Civilis. Conspiracy and deceit were even themes he encountered in his exploration of the Last Supper. Although the illustration by Claes Jansz, Visscher for the Conspiracy of the Sons of Brutus (fig. 50) may have suggested the use of a curtain drawn behind the conspirators, none of the previously mentioned sources but the print from the pamphlet illustrating the conspiracy

against Maurice contains figures so similarly disposed as are found in Rembrandt's Civilis. One must therefore assume that Rembrandt used this print as the primary source for his sword oath.

However, it remains to assess if he was attracted only by the formal arrangement of the figures in the print or if its use implies some deeper political meaning. The pamphlet, entitled Death Ends in Conflagration,[208] relates to a 1623 conspiracy involving the sons of John of Oldenbarnevelt, who had engaged in a plot with several Armenian clerics and others to avenge the death of their father, four years earlier.[209] The execution of the Advocate in 1619 had polarized the Dutch,[210] although a large proportion of the populace had supported Maurice in his attempt to preserve a strong Union that many felt had been jeopardized by Oldenbarnevelt when he sought to obtain greater powers for the States of Holland with himself in the position of leadership.[211]

In the view of many, Oldenbarnevelt had threatened to upset a very delicate political balance. It was a threat to the Union which Maurice countered and extinguished. For example, the popular atmosphere in the wake of Maurice's determined action is clearly described by one historian in the following passage:

> The name of the dead statesman had become a word of scoffing and reproach; vagabond mountebanks enacted ribald scenes to his dishonor in the public square and streets; balladmongers vieled blasphemous libels upon him in the seeing ears of his widow and children. For Party hatred was not yet glutted with the blood it had drank.[212]

The two sons of Oldenbarnevelt, united with others to destroy Maurice, whom they perceived as the source of their personal distress.[213] They planned to attack the Prince during one of the daily drives he took unattended by bodyguards. In the center of the upper register of the print

is the scene of the planned murder. Maurice is presented traditionally, standing frontally with one hand placed on his right hip while in the other he holds a marshal's baton which rests on his left hip. He is being harrassed from all sides; in the background is the coach in which he was to be trapped and murdered. The two panels below illustrate a banquet of the conspirators on the left, while on the right the plotters have met in a kitchen to melt lead which they then model into the bullets to be used to kill Maurice. The lowest field is divided into three regions by the placement of a stone archway, which represents the prison in which the guilty were housed before their deaths. Through the arch is seen the executions of those conspirators; to the left of the archway the assassins are engaged in the sword-oath against Maurice. At the right, a blindfolded Justice sits with her attributes, a sword and scales, while before her an angel ushers the condemned conspirators away.

Analysis will show the importance this work had in the iconography of Rembrandt's Civilis. His Julius Civilis seems in part to reflect the power of the statue-like Maurice who stands hieratically at the top of the pamphlet illustration; Rembrandt's Civilis seems to unite both the monumentalized Maurice of the upper register and the figure who accepts the gestures of loyalty from those kneeling around him at the lower left. In the scene of the planned attack, a gunman at the left, who points a weapon at Maurice, may even have suggested the "priest" standing to the left of Civilis, who touches the hilt of his leader's broadsword. In Rembrandt's drawing this figure had originally worn a broad-brimmed hat quite similar to the one worn by the would-be assassin.

In the banquet of the Armenian conspirators a glow seems to permeate

the surface of the table and light the faces of those gathered around, in much the same way as can be seen in the Civilis. Thus, Rembrandt's "banquet of priests and adventurers,"[214] to use Schmidt-Degener's phrase, closely mirrors the similarly composed body of conspirators plotting against Maurice, which was so faithfully delineated in the pamphlet illustration.

In order to determine what significance Rembrandt's use of the political print showing the Conspiracy against Prince Maurice of Orange might have had, the conflict between the Prince and Oldenbarnevelt must be analyzed. In the Northern Provinces, the common association between the Princes of Orange, including Maurice, with Julius Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, has been mentioned in an earlier chapter; the parallel between the Batavian action against the Roman betrayal of agreements and the Dutch battle against the Spanish, who under Philip II, had vitiated certain basic political understandings and thereby forfeited her claims to sovereignty in the Netherlands, has also been acknowledged. Yet, what the association of the Civilis with the illustration of the Conspiracy against Maurice may indicate will have to be explored.

Sovereignty as it had developed in the Northern Netherlands was unique. A basic structural, actually constitutional, weakness was built into the system.[215] The Union of Utrecht, proclaimed in 1579, had outlined a structural association that would facilitate the military venture against Spain, but its purpose had never been the establishment of the machinery for a viable government. Although William the Silent had rallied military support, he was unable to overcome provincial self-interest and consolidate political power. Instead of establishing a strong central government, a number of smaller groups continued to struggle over who

should exercise sovereignty in the Republic. Periodically, the tenuous balance of political forces was upset. The clash between Prince Maurice and John of Oldenbarnevelt was an early and dramatic upheaval. Yet, it did have a part in determining the future political character of the Republic.[216]

To fully understand the antagonism between Maurice and Oldenbarnevelt, the political situation from 1585, the year both rose to power, must be reviewed.[217] After a power vacuum was created on 26 July 1581 when the States General finally renounced Philip II's claim to sovereignty over the Netherlands, the opposing forces began their struggle for control.

The dissolution of political stability became acute after the abdication of Charles V in 1555. His son, Philip II, took a far more partisan position, always subordinating the interests of the Netherlands to those of Spain. His oppressive attempts to crush the Calvinists had further undermined his approbation in the Netherlands.

Vocal opposition to his measures soon coalesced, and in 1564, a group headed by William I, the Prince of Orange, the Count of Egmont, and the Count of Horn, was formed to gain concessions from Spain. A league of lesser nobles, headed by William's brother, Louis of Nassau and Hendrik, Lord of Brederode, presented to the representatives in Antwerp of the government of Philip a petition for the withdrawl of the Inquisition and the edicts against heresy. Meeting at a banquet in 1566, the nobles formed a confederacy, and called themselves "the Gueux" or "the Beggars."[218] The group supported the cause of independence and soon provided martyrs in the quest for freedom.

The unprecedented reign of terror that swept the Netherlands after the Duke of Alba was appointed governor culminated in the execution of the

Counts of Egmond and of Horn and the outlawing of William of Orange. Because the Spanish were unable to impose their will on a hostile people, the course of the conflict soon changed. By 1572 the only town in Holland still controlled by Hapsburg forces was Amsterdam.

Due to the rapid collapse of Spanish political power, William of Orange was able to pressure Philip's government into beginning negotiations for peace. On 8 November the Pacification of Ghent was signed; the document restored "a firm and perpetual Union" and called for the expulsion of Spanish troops from the Netherlands.[219] Because of their problematic nature, the religious differences were not then addressed. However, a formal Union of the Netherlands was proclaimed at Brussels on 9 January 1577.

This precarious Union did not last long, for William was soon forced to ally himself with the more extreme elements of the revolution. In reaction, Philip II sent in the Spanish Army led by Alessandro Farnese, who became Regent after Don John of Austria died. Factional differences had not been resolved, and on 7 January 1579, Hainaut, Artois, and Douai formed a separate union at Arras, which sought to defend the Pacification of Ghent and to preserve the Catholic religion. In opposition, the protestants founded the Union of Utrecht to insure the free expression of the Calvinist faith. However, only when the Union of Arras withdrew officially from the Union established in Brussels and submitted itself to the Spanish King's authority was the hope for a unified Netherlands finally crushed.

The Spanish, led by Farnese, were militarily successful and by 1586 had reconquered all of the Southern Netherlands. Philip II had again outlawed William the Silent, who continued to seek support for the Revolt

from other nations. When the arrival of the Duc d'Anjou, who had agreed to assume the sovereignty of the Netherlands, was imminent, the States General was forced to openly and officially reject the sovereignty of Philip II when they approved the Verlatinge, a document which outlined the tyrannies which had caused Philip to forfeit his sovereign right.

Because of the Duc d'Anjou's limited capacity for leadership his real power was severely limited; Holland and Zealand never accepted his authority. After his embarrassing failure to conquer Antwerp in a misadventure referred to as the "French Fury", Anjou returned to France. In the meantime, William the Silent continued to organize the resistance and was about to accept Holland and Zealand's offer to become their Count, another step toward the consolidation of his power, when he was assassinated on 10 July 1584 by a Catholic fanatic.

The Dutch, in desperate need of strong leadership to counter the new Spanish assaults, offered sovereignty to Henry III of France, the Duc d'Anjou's elder brother, but he refused the offer. Elizabeth of England was then approached. She too declined, but because she feared the powerful Spanish army, that had completed their reoccupation of the Southern Netherlands by reconquering Antwerp, she agreed to send to the Dutch Republic a detachment of troops led by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[220]

In the meantime, two new political leaders had emerged. In November of 1585, Prince Maurice of Orange, the seventeen-year-old second son of William the Silent, had been appointed Stadholder of Holland.[221] Since March of the same year, John Oldenbarnevelt had been the Advocate of Holland and was beginning to consolidate his own power base.[222]

The Dutch had initially cooperated with Leicester; the States General even appointed him Governor General, a position he accepted against the wishes of his Queen; Leicester desired to create a more strongly unified state in place of the loosely associated Dutch provinces. However, because he did not understand that Holland, by far the strongest and most influential Province, warranted special consideration,[223] the Earl lost the support of the influential burghers of Holland. His overemphasis of strict Calvinist values alienated many in the non-Calvinist community which still composed a majority of the population. His prohibition against trade with Spain was a fatal mistake because he failed to realize that such commerce generated the capital needed to continue the war. Furthermore, his military prowess was substantially inferior to that of Farnese. Continually compelled by Elizabeth to seek peace, he became even more unpopular in the United Provinces. Finally, after the failure of his Coup d'Etat, he was forced from the Netherlands in disgrace.

Thereafter, the Dutch no longer expected foreign rulers to become involved in the internal politics of the Netherlands. It had finally been realized that the United Provinces would never actually become a monarchy.[224] The Union of Utrecht, flawed as it was, stood as the only formal link between the Seven Provinces. That agreement, which had served only to bring the Provinces together after the collapse of the Hapsburg central authority, did not contain any directives as to what form a new government should take. A loose confederation was created in which sovereignty was shared between the Prince of Orange and the Estates of the various provinces, a makeshift arrangement that would periodically cause major dislocations.

By this time, Prince Maurice, a brilliant general inspired by Roman

military science, had reorganized the small army in the North and had created a well-equipped and efficient body of troops with which he achieved notable military success. In 1596 he had even achieved a de facto recognition of Dutch independence, for the United Provinces had been accepted as an equal when he had formed an alliance with France and England.

Two years later, Henry IV of France broke the alliance and concluded peace with the Spanish, although he continued to lend financial support to the Dutch Republic. When James I of England announced in 1604 that he had also concluded peace with Spain, leaving only the United Provinces to continue the war, Oldenbarnevelt became convinced that the Dutch would have to end the war. On 9 April 1609 his negotiations were concluded in the Twelve Years Truce.[225]

The conclusion of the Truce had brought to the United Provinces a respite from the pressure of international warfare; but, domestically it had generated one of the most strife-filled periods the nation would ever know. It is to these dangerous years that Rembrandt's use of the print illustrating the conspiracy against Maurice refers.

As would be true in 1648 when the Treaty of Munster was signed, the Truce of 1609 was achieved despite the strong objections of the House of Orange. For the Prince of Orange, peace with Spain meant that the Republic had retreated from the position espoused in the Pacification of Ghent, which stated that all seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands should ideally be reunited. By engaging in negotiations with Spain, the Seven United Provinces had, in effect, agreed to the partition of the Netherlands, a situation Maurice was correct in fearing might become permanent.[226] The Prince and his supporters wanted to pursue the war until they were

able to attain their goal of a United Netherlands composed of all seventeen original provinces.

The Armenians or Remonstrants had split away from the Gomarists or the Counter-Remonstrants, and later had confronted them in a wide-ranging struggle, whose linch-pin was the strictness with which Calvinist teachings were to be interpreted.[227] The conflict raged between those Calvinists who were rigid aherents of orthodox dogma and those who were more tolerant of religious divergence. The ferocity of the battle between the Armenians and the Gomarists arose from the associated problem of the relationship between the Church and the State. The orthodox Calvinists, the Gomarists, believed that the State was meant to serve the Church; it was regarded as the vehicle of God's plan on earth. Ironically, the political power and involvement of the orthodox clergy paralleled that of the hated Papacy. The Gomarists believed that dissent had to be stifled and that their control of even the State was to be absolute.

The Armenians, on the contrary, looked to the State to protect their individual rights and opinions. They saw the State as the only body powerful enough to control a dominating Calvinist clergy. The Remonstrance, the petition the Armenians had sent to the States of Holland in 1610, outlined the opposition to orthodox beliefs concerning the doctrine of predestination. By submitting the theological dispute to a body of lay persons, they had acknowledged the supremacy of the State even in religious matters. The Counter-Remonstrants denied absolutely that any secular body could have such power.

The Remonstrants went to the Advocate, John Oldenbarnevelt, and to the States of Holland for support, while the Counter-Remonstrants appealed

to the Prince of Orange and the States General. The Stadholder had worked easily with the Advocate during the long years of warfare, but he now saw his authority being challenged by Oldenbarnevelt. Although he was disinterested in the doctrinal aspects of the matter,[228] by July 1617, Maurice supported the Gomarist position, which stressed a stronger central authority.

On 3 August 1617 the States of Holland issued the drastic Sharp Resolution, that had been drafted by Oldenbarnevelt. The measure boldly opposed the convening of the National Synod at Dort, which the States General had called to settle the doctrinal disputes. Furthermore, it attempted to create a provincial army of militia paid by the towns. The establishment of such a force of Waardgelders would of course undermine the authority of the Captain-General, Maurice. The threat became more serious when Holland tried to persuade the army of the Republic, headed by Maurice, not to attack the Wardgelders in Utrecht, after the States General had ordered the group disbanded. These actions of the State of Holland had thus converted what had been a difference in doctrinal approach into a serious constitutional conflict that pitted the provincial government against the central government.[229] It was Holland's clear challenge to the Union led by Prince Maurice.

On 29 August 1618 after a full year of extreme tension, Maurice had the leaders of the opposition, including the Advocate Oldenbarnevelt and the jurist Hugo Grotius, arrested in the Binnenhof at The Hague. A special tribunal composed of twenty four judges was set up by the States General, and on 13 May 1619, condemned Oldenbarnevelt to death and the others to life imprisonment in Lovenstein Castle. Although the trial of Oldenbarnevelt

had bypassed the usual judicial system, and had violated some of the terms of the Union of Utrecht, it clearly reflected the will of a majority of the people, who wanted a strong central government.[230] The question of whether provincial sovereignty was absolute or if it should be subordinated to that of the States General had been answered, for the present at least, in favor of Maurice.[231] If the States General did have such a higher authority, then the specific court that tried Oldenbarnevelt was not, as Rowan has pointed out, "a legal monstrosity used to perpetuate Judicial murder, but a constitutionally defensible body exercising its judgement in exceptional circumstances."[232]

With Oldenbarnevelt silenced, Maurice enjoyed almost unlimited power in the United Provinces. Yet, he, like William the Silent, could not really improve the constitutional situation or break the hold of the urban oligarchies on the government of Holland. Unlike his brother, Frederick Henry, Maurice did not aspire to become a monarch; he remained essentially a military leader, whose goal was the ultimate reunification of the Northern and Southern Netherlands. In 1621 the Prince refused to extend the Twelve Years Truce, and chose to resume the war with Spain. Public interest was again channeled toward an external threat and not to the nation's deeply rooted internal problems which had culminated in the clash between Maurice and Oldenbarnevelt.

The conflict between the Advocate and the Prince had played an important role in determining the nature of the Dutch state. Maurice's victory over the Advocate had changed the United Provinces from a very loose confederation of independent Provinces to a more closed union with a stronger central government. Historians have even recognized Maurice's

actions as equivalent to a coup d'état.[233]

When Rembrandt chose to rely so heavily on a contemporary political print, depicting the conspiracy against Maurice, he was alluding to a period in which factionalism threatened the Republic. His personal view of the incident described in the pamphlet is still not entirely clear. Perhaps he would have acknowledged that the defeat of Oldenbarnevelt and the consolidation of sovereign powers by the Prince of Orange was a real step toward the birth of the nation of confederated states, which had only been implied at the time of the Union of Utrecht. Rembrandt's use of the print might thus add to the theme of Unity in the Civilis.

Perhaps, something more personal lies behind Rembrandt's use of a thirty-eight-year-old print that was so politically charged. At the time of the beheading of Oldenbarnevelt, Rembrandt was a thirteen-year-old student at the Latijnse School in Leiden, and might easily have developed a sympathy for one of the two major factions. Two curious items listed in the inventory of his collection in 1656 probably relate to his point of view about the dispute. At that time he possessed two death masks of Prince Maurice of Orange.[234] When they were acquired or if they had a personal meaning for the artist will probably never be known.

Although Rembrandt's ownership of the masks of the Prince may indicate his fondness of Maurice, it is equally possible, and perhaps more probable, that Rembrandt had sympathized with the Remonstrants and Oldenbarnevelt as had his parents and siblings.[235] Certainly the more liberal views of the Remonstrants would be more in keeping with what is known about Rembrandt's character. If Rembrandt did side with Oldenbarnevelt, then his use of an apparent self-portrait in the Civilis

may indicate his wish to lead symbolically the opposition to the Prince. Is it possible that Rembrandt's acquisition of the death masks of the Prince show his perverse delight in owning heads of a leader, who had been largely responsible for costing the Advocate, Oldenbarvelt, his?

While it is fascinating to speculate on Rembrandt's personal reaction to the execution of Oldenbarnevelt and the later vengeful conspiracy against Maurice, it is unfortunately impossible to establish with certainty a specific partisan viewpoint he had held. Quite clearly, however, the use of the print depicting the Conspiracy against Maurice alludes to a past internal crisis that reflects a fundamental problem in the Dutch Republic—the constitutional weakness of the government. An examination, in the next chapter, of some works in which Rembrandt also explored the question of political order and stability may ultimately bring greater insight into the specific meaning of his Conspiracy of Julius Civilis.

CHAPTER III

OTHER WORKS BY REMBRANDT THAT REFLECT CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS OVER SOVEREIGNTY

An examination of several of Rembrandt's other works may reveal his awareness of the political consequences of the battle for sovereignty. Only in one of these compositions does Rembrandt use blatant political argument; yet, even there, the interpretation remains clouded by ambiguities. The purpose of examining these other works is to determine the depth of Rembrandt's political awareness and involvement. It will become apparent that Rembrandt was profoundly conscious of the political events that surrounded him, a fact that his reliance on the illustration from the pamphlet describing the conspiracy against Maurice confirms. Certainly, Rembrandt recognized that his nation was faced with a fundamental question of survival. In the United Provinces the threat of dissolution was very real; factionalism might indeed succeed in shattering the provincial union where the Spanish had failed.

1. The Concord of the State

Political union was an ideal not easily attained in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. It was a theme that had fascinated Rembrandt throughout his career. His most obvious allusion to the subject is his one clearly political allegory, the Concord of the State, (fig. 54) which was signed and dated 1641.[236] Rembrandt had kept the oil sketch until 1656, when it was sold with the rest of his possessions at auction.[237] Since Rembrandt had probably compiled the information contained in the list used

for the legal proceedings against him,[238] it seems safe to assume that the title was assigned by the painter himself.

The Concord is generally understood to represent four cornerstones on which the Seven United Provinces were based—Religion, Justice, Political Order, and Military power.[239] At the left of the panel, clearly political symbols are presented. There, a blindfolded Justice figure holds scales which are slightly out of balance. With her sword she pins a crown to the seat of an empty throne. Near her is a chest, which represents the treasury or the riches of the land.[240] Linked by a chain to the empty throne on one end and to a wing-shaped pulpit inscribed with the motto "Soli deo Gloria" on the other, is a lion whose left forepaw covers five arrows, one of which is positioned at an angle to the other four. Ranging along the cloth or carpet draped between the throne and the pulpit are emblems of some of the towns of Holland, with Amsterdam's having achieved prominence because it was positioned in front of the pulpit and was both the largest and the only one adorned with a helmet. These coats of arms are linked together by the motif of two clasped hands. Above the pulpit rises a broken tree, behind and to the left of which an unarmed figure on horseback rides at the head of a military column. In the foreground, are horsemen who are oriented in various directions.

While the meaning of this work as a whole is unclear, a number of the individual elements have been successfully analyzed. The more obvious symbols to the left of the reclining lion, the column, Justice figure, throne, and the treasury, are generalized allusions to political order. However, the specific action of the Justice figure has been a subject of great controversy. Can her gesture be a valiant attempt to hold the crown on

the throne? Does she thus maintain the sovereignty of the nation? Or, is she engaged in an aggressive act, such as piercing a royal pretender to leadership of the Netherlands? Can this be the throne of the Hapsburg Emperor?[241] Or, is it rather the empty throne of the Counts of Holland?[242] While theories abound, the painting unfortunately does not provide suitable proof of any.

A gnarled and near-dead tree, from whose lower trunk signs of vegetative life sprout, almost surely refers to the emblem of Prince Maurice, whose personal motto was, "Tandem fit surculus arbor", or "the twig at length becomes a tree".[243] This tree and its promising new shoot was an important symbol of hope, first used by Maurice after the murder of his father, William the Silent, in 1584. His great nephew, William III, would find the image even more appropriate, since he had been born eight days after his father William II had died leaving the infant Prince as the only hope for the survival of the House of Orange. The meaning of other details may be uncovered when some of Rembrandt's iconographic sources are examined.

Dr. J. Q. van Regteren Altena revealed information that helps to illuminate Rembrandt's method of combining diverse sources in order to create his own multi-faceted images. He has cited and analyzed two political prints Rembrandt may have used in composing the Concord of the State.[244] In one of the prints, The Allegory on the Struggle against Spain with the Truce in Sight (fig. 55), a chaotic and disjointed political reality in the foreground surrounds the lion "Fortitudo", whose legs are chained together. The creature is tied with light string to the Hapsburg columns of wordly and papal authority. The peace promised by the Twelve Years Truce appears in the distance, where a bundle of pillars topped by a crown symbolizes the

unified state. Above, a benevolent Christ, who appears in the form of the sun, radiates protective power over the area blessed by the prospective peace.

Regteren Altena has convincingly shown that a number of elements from the print of 1608 were adapted for use by Rembrandt in the Concord. Even the compositional organization of both works is similar. At the far left side of Rembrandt's sketch the tall pillar-like structure behind the Justice figure may allude to the Hapsburg columns seen in the print.[245] J.D.M. Cornellisen has suggested that the articles of the Union of Utrecht may be seen hanging from the pillars, further emphasizing the political theme of the panel.[246]

The Justice figure in Rembrandt's Concord may have been inspired by the figure enthroned at the left of the print, who leans on a down-pointing sword, as does Rembrandt's Justice. The curvilinear arms and back of the throne, as well as the structure that rises up over the head of the person seated there, may also be echoed in the Concord of the State, for Rembrandt's Justice appears almost oppressed by some structure or objects behind her. The monkey seen in the print may have evolved into the strange griffins or monster-like creatures that seem to hover behind Rembrandt's Justice.[247]

Regteren Altena proposes that "Fortitudo", the lion who is linked to the Hapsburg columns, has influenced Rembrandt's animal.[248] The net which is stretched beind the lion in the print may have become the carpet on which Rembrandt's lion rests. The many examples of immoralities and human weaknesses seen in the chaotic foreground of the Allegory on the Struggle against Spain with the Truce in Sight,[249] are meant as a plea for greater moral control, which would bring the honorable peace promised in the background.

That Rembrandt had this particular print in mind as he composed the Concord gains further support from the fact that a radiant sun seems about to dispel the cloudy and threatening sky seen in the center of his panel. In much the same way, Christ, who has taken the form of the Sun, has risen above the Truce promised in the print. Although Rembrandt has rearranged the elements he took from the print, he has issued the same warning against discord and political division.

The chained lion had attracted Rembrandt primarily because it was suggestive of limitations on freedom the nation would face if internal conflicts continued. Both in the print and in the Concord of the State, the lion is not entirely free; one must agree with van Hamel, who perceived that, in Rembrandt's painting, the struggle for freedom was not yet won.[250]

The threat of political fracture is again the image presented in a 1618 illustration (fig. 56) of the Armenian Testament. In the central tower-like area which indicates the conflict between the Armenians and the Counter- Remonstrants, interpretations of historic events by the two factions are contrasted. In the foreground, a cloth bearing the coats of arms of the seven provinces is stretched between two winged angels, while at its center, a large lion rises upward holding the banner in its massive jaws. Regteren Altena suggests that the angels, with their wings so prominently displayed, may have been interpolated into the pulpit-form seen in Rembrandt's sketch.[251] This print, like the one previously mentioned, emphasizes the inherent danger to the nation such sectarian divisions would present. It was therefore an appropriate iconographic source for Rembrandt.

Regteren Altena has convincingly shown that prints by Antonio

Tempesta had provided a number of images important to Rembrandt as he developed the Concord.[252] The Medieval Spanish story of the Seven Sons of Lara was an appropriate source since it contained a hidden political allegory which paralleled the Spanish struggle to expel the Moorish invaders with the contemporary attempt by the United Provinces to free themselves from Spanish domination. When the King's sister tried to console Gonzalas Gustos over the loss of his seven sons she did so by stressing that she had lost twelve children. The poignant incident was intended to emphasize the tragic division of the Netherlands into the Northern and Southern Provinces. The symbolic death of the seven brothers was a constant and popular theme in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century; it was the subject of Vondel's play, The Brothers, written in 1639, only two years before Rembrandt had painted The Concord of the State.[253]

Regteren Altena may be correct when he suggests that Rembrandt had used Tempesta's illustration (fig. 57) of the scene in which the severed heads of the young boys are lying on a carpet spread out before their father.[254] The display of the coats of arms along the cloth that was draped between the throne and the pulpit in the Concord may evidence a dependence on Tempesta's print. Salomon Kraft would rather see as Rembrandt's source for this image a number of prints in which emblems of the cities of Holland were hung along the fence that had traditionally surrounded the symbolic lion of the Netherlands of Holland (fig. 58).[255] As is so often the case, Rembrandt seems to have composed his unique image of the political Union of the cities of Holland from a conflation of these and possible other sources.

Frequently, the delicate political interrelationships that

characterized the United Provinces were indicated by scenes in which provincial or municipal coats of arms had been strung together on thin cords. The delicacy of the strings used to link the emblems alluded to the ever present threat of the destruction of the nation as a viable entity. An especially apt graphic display that revealed the political reality of the Netherlands is found in Hans Collaert's print, Belgicae torn Apart (fig. 59). There, an angel has to strain to hold together two ends of a cord on which are displayed provincial emblems. The ephemeral nature of the Union is clear.

In another print which allegorizes the Pacification of Ghent (fig. 60), two maidens, "Charity" and "Divine Order," hold the ends of a string from which the provincial coats of arms hang. Here, the nation's unity has been threatened, since the "Tree of Peace" has been split in two by sectarian quarrels.

Clearly, many of the images Rembrandt included in the Concord of the State originated in an iconography made familiar in such popular political prints.[256] Rembrandt's image of the union of the cities of Holland contains in it a specialized motif. He has linked the coats of arms to one another, by using clasped hands. Numerous illustrations include the motif. It was especially common in illustrations alluding to the Pacification of Ghent, which had occurred in 1576 (figs. 61-64).

Even earlier, these "clasped hands" had a significant role in historical symbolism in the Netherlands. Members of the Gueux, the group founded in 1566 by Louis of Nassau to resist Spanish excesses, chose to wear medallions which bore on one side the portrait of Philip II of Spain and the inscription, "En tout fidelles au roy," while, an image of clasped

hands and the legend, "La besace jus ques a porter," were found on the other (fig. 65). The image served to convey the group's cohesiveness and loyalty. It also reveals that at that point they were not ready to reject the sovereignty of Philip II.

Ultimately, the use of this image can be tracked back to the Roman Republic. Coins minted in "the year of the Four Emperors," a time of great unrest, carried the clasped hands.[257] Later, the Emperor Nerva had employed the motif as a kind of numismatic propaganda. He issued a coin (fig. 66) bearing clasped hands at a time he needed to elicit support from a disenchanted and rebellious Pretorian Guard.[258] It would appear that the use of the clasped hands motif had not changed; even Rembrandt found in it a perfect symbol to indicate a dreamed of political harmony and concord.

In the print, Belgicae Torn Apart by Hans Collaert, discussed earlier in a different context, "clasped hands" are encircled by a laurel wreath which is held within the arms of an angel, who is attempting to hold together the ends of a cord on which the emblems of the provinces are strung. Here, the seventeen Netherlandish Provinces are represented as Belgica, who is being brutalized by foreign invaders, who have cut out her heart. The unity of the Seventeen Provinces established by the Pacification of Ghent, to which the linked coats of arms and the clasped hands allude, seems doomed to destruction. When Rembrandt chose to use this iconographic image in the Concord of the State, he could both allude to the hope for a strong Union and warn of the imminent threat of political dissolution.

While this motif does express some of Rembrandt's purposes, the group of armed horsemen to the right in the painting clearly is the key to understanding the essential meaning of Rembrandt's painting. The proper interpretation of their actions, which has so puzzled scholars,[259] would allow for a complete iconographic analysis of the painting that has so far

eluded those who have studied the work. Schmidt-Degener's initial idea that Rembrandt's painting had reflected a poem by Starter, "The Marching-Out of the Civic Guard of Amsterdam to Assist the Town of Zwolle,"[260] has been reexamined and expanded by Clara Bille.[261] Her discussion of the theme of the poem, which proposes that a nation's strength depends more on a unified and well-armed populace than on strong fortifications, shows that it would perfectly agree with the apparent emphasis on the theme of union that Rembrandt's title implies. The motto that the banderole seen at the top of the Zwolle engraving carries, "Eendracht Maeckt Macht" or "Unity gives Power", further supports the hypothesis that the print may have influenced Rembrandt's sketch. In Bille's interpretation, the throne would be that of the Hapsburg King, Philip II, who had forfeited his right to rule in the Netherlands. Bille agreed that the tree is an emblem of the Prince of Orange, who had led the battle against the Spanish, and she identifies the horseman riding in the distance as one of the members of that noble house. The problematic group of horsemen in the foreground are identified as the Amsterdam's Civic Guard contingent, who are about to ride away and help defend the town of Zwolle.

While Bille's interpretation of the Concord as a unified struggle against the Spanish enemy may be a possibility, other elements in the painting suggest greater political dissonance and argue against her reading of many of the symbols. For example, the lion, whether it is meant to represent Holland or the Netherlands as a whole,[262] is chained and restricted. In addition, the bundle of arrows beneath his left forepaw has been broken apart, and the arrows lie scattered.[263] One of the five is canted at a pronounced angle to the others and is clearly indicative of disunity.

Rather than accept Bille's theory that the riders are about to mount their horses and ride away, Haak's alternative suggestion that the horsemen are dismounting appears to conform better to the political situation in the years around 1640.[264] Certainly, it appears that Rembrandt's intention was to convey the idea of confusion; horses are turned in every conceivable direction. One animal at the right even appears to be foaming at the mouth, an indication surely that he had just ended a ride.

Although Bille's argument concerning the actions of the military contingent may be questioned, her identification of the lance carrier as Andries Bicker, the Burgomaster of Amsterdam (fig. 67) is tremendously useful in trying to determine the meaning of the panel.[265] The emblem of Amsterdam, the three crosses of St. Andrew, is clearly visible on this rider's saddle-cloth. Although Bickerwas a captain of the Civic Guard during its expedition to Zwolle, his presence in Rembrandt's painting does not necessarily confine the subject matter to that particular event from the past. It may rather reflect a number of more immediate political situations.

The group of horsemen perhaps allegorize the opponents of the Prince of Orange. In 1638, Andries Bicker had become the most powerful Burgomaster in Amsterdam, after the death of the more moderate Jacob de Graeff. The open antagonism to Frederick Henry was led by Bicker. So virulent was his hostility that, in 1639, the States General was compelled to ask the Vroederschap, the municipal Council, to restrain the Burgomaster.[266]

During the period in which Rembrandt must have been engaged in work on the Concord of the State, 1640/41, the States of Holland, and the city of Amsterdam in particular, stood in bitter opposition to the

Stadholder. Initially, Amsterdam had supported Frederick Henry's military ventures, since the city benefitted financially from the increased traffic in supplies and armaments used during the war against Spain. Gradually, however, the city grew to fear the Prince's increasingly bold military ventures. Rather than create a large army to fight on the southern and eastern borders, Amsterdam wanted funds diverted to the maritime fleet and to measure protectives of trade. When Frederick Henry sent a delegation to discuss the establishment of a College of the Admiralty, a centralized organization that would monitor sea trade, Amsterdam refused to accept the representatives, preferring to retain control herself.[267] When the States of Holland discharged some of the troops in her pay, it had become clear that the goals of Holland were essentially opposite to those of the Stadholder. As had happened so often in the Netherlands, the particularist needs of a Province took precedence over the larger political considerations espoused by the Prince of Orange. The political situation in 1641 was so disastrous that Frederick Henry had actually considered using military intervention to subdue Amsterdam.

Thus, the period in which Rembrandt must have been working on the Concord coincided with an especially critical time in the relationship between the Prince of Orange and Holland. The powerful cities were then contesting the sovereign power of the Stadholder. It seems likely then, that the Concord of the State is meant as an allusion to the conflict between a defiant Holland and Frederick Henry. The five arrows beneath the lion's paw in the sketch may signify the five provinces of which Frederick Henry was Stadholder. That may explain the curious use of only five arrows and not the seven one might expect if they were to refer to the provinces that

composed the Republic. In the sketch, the tree which was the emblem of the House of Orange has been juxtaposed to a portrait of the leader of the political opposition. There, Bicker and his troops dismount,[268] clearly referring to the very real conflict between Holland and the Prince over the control of the militia. When Rembrandt created his painting, the threat of dissolution of the Union was very real; in 1639, a state paper had even claimed that no union then in fact existed.[269]

Although it seems clear that Rembrandt was exploring the theme of threat to the Union by stressing conflicts, it is still not known for whom the sketch was made. Some scholars have suggested that it was made in preparation for an engraving which was never completed;[270] others claim it was a preparatory sketch for a larger painting, perhaps even a chimney piece.[271]

To evaluate Rembrandt's sketch properly the person for whom it was commissioned will have to be discovered. Since the Concord of the State was produced at a time when Frederick Henry was busily planning the decoration for his palaces, Rembrandt's sketch might well have been a modello for some abandoned or rejected project ordered by the Stadholder. Perhaps, it was destined for the gallery in Frederick Henry's ancestral castle of Buren, for which the Prince had ordered thirteen pictures of battles and sieges in 1642. Ultimately, it was Jacob Backer, an early pupil of Rembrandt's, who was commissioned to paint a chimney piece, The Liberty of the Republic; however, a tantalizing similarity exists between the title of this painting and Rembrandt's sketch. Formally, though, the two works are quite different; Backer's simple allegorical figure is nothing like Rembrandt's complex and difficult statement.

If the Concord of the State is to be related to the House of Orange at all, it may have some association with the marriage of Frederick Henry's son to the English Princess, Mary. Although it may be no more than coincidence, Rembrandt's sketch and a medal struck in 1642 to celebrate the marriage of William II exhibit strong formal similarities (fig. 66). On the medallion, Frederick Henry appears seated on a throne and holding a ribbon from which the coats of arms of the various provinces hang. Beside him, in roughly the same position here as Amsterdam's helmetted coat of arms had occupied in the Concord, stands the Prince's own armor and emblem. In the background, the image of Frederick Henry riding to battle is highly reminiscent of the leader of the troops, seen in the distance in the Concord. In both the medal and in Rembrandt's sketch, troops appear to the right of the throne or pulpit and are understood to be moving behind it and to the left, following their leader.

While no data proves that Rembrandt's painting was actually done for Frederick Henry, Salomon Kraft's argument that the Concord of the State was an attempt to raise support for Amsterdam and for the anti-Orange sentiment, then so strong in Holland, can not be proved.[272] He apparently has neglected the fact that Rembrandt's continued work for the House of Orange makes the production of such a powerful piece of negative propaganda most unlikely. It does not seem reasonable Rembrandt would even contemplate producing so blatant an attack on a patron who had employed him over such a long period.

Although specific evidence concerning Rembrandt's political allegiance is lacking, it is clear that he exhibited an interest in political questions throughout his life. Although his contacts with the House of

Orange are largely undocumented,[273] evidence can prove that the association must have existed throughout most of Frederick Henry's Stadholdership.

Rembrandt's works were in the Orange collection before 1632, since five paintings by Rembrandt and his associate Lievens were recorded in the inventories of the Prince's palaces of that year.[274] Additional information seems to suggest Rembrandt's association with the House of Orange may go back to the late 1620's, because in the second edition of his Beschryvinge der Stadt Leyden, published in 1641, Jan Orlers reveals that a painting similar to Rembrandt's Scholar was bought by the Prince of Orange and given to the English Ambassador as a gift for King Charles I.[275] This may have been a gift presented to Sir Dudley Carleton at the time he gave up his ambassadorship in 1628.[276]

The inventories of the Princes of Orange, and especially of Frederick Henry, reveal great interest in Dutch artists, although the taste for Flemish masters still predominated.[277] Frederick Henry's Secretary, Constantine Huygens, had directed the Prince's attention to the young painters, Rembrandt and Lievens. Huygens had been aware of the talented Leiden artists as early as 1629 or 1630, for he had praised the young painters in his fragmentary autobiography probably written between 1629 and 1631.[278] Huygens's association with the two must however date to an earlier time, since his portrait painted by Jan Lievens is generally dated to the winter of 1626/27. We do not know how or when the association of the painters and the Prince's secretary might have started.

One certain measure of how well regarded Rembrandt had been by the House of Orange was his commission to paint the Passion Series. Huygens, a well known connoisseur and the artistic advisor to the House of Orange,

was instrumental in obtaining the commission for Rembrandt.

In a provocative, although far from convincing hypothesis, Else Kai Sass has identified one of the figures in Rembrandt's The Elevation of the Cross, as a portrait of Constantine Huygens.[279] Since it is assumed that the Elevation was painted in Amsterdam in 1634, and it is known that Huygens then resided at The Hague, Sass theorized that Rembrandt may have worked from a sketch done previously, perhaps even one done in The Hague in 1632 when he was there to paint the portrait of Constantine's elder brother, Maurice Huygens, who had just been appointed Secretary of the State Council of Holland.[280]

However, Rembrandt's presence in the Hague in 1632 can be more securely documented. His first known commission from the House of Orange was the 1632 Portrait of Amalia von Solms which was to be the companion to the 1631 Portrait of Frederick Henry by Gerard van Honthorst.[281]

The fact that Rembrandt had received this early commission from the House of Orange for such an important portrait, indicates how well respected was the young artist from Leiden. It is therefore not difficult to imagine that Rembrandt might have painted the portraits of both Maurice and Constantine Huygens while he was already in the exciting atmosphere of the Court at the Hague. Although many attempts have been made to identify some of the male portraits by Rembrandt with a lost painting of Constantine Huygens, none of the comparisons have proved conclusive. What the portraits of Amalia, Maurice Huygens, and the possible portrait of Constantine Huygens do reveal, is that Rembrandt had definitely established a relationship with the Orangeist circle in The Hague as early as 1632.

Other evidence also reveals that Rembrandt had access to the palace

and collections of the Prince in the early 1630's. In a letter to Constantine Huygens in 1636, which discussed the Passion Series, Rembrandt revealed the depth of his knowledge of the Palace of the Stadholder in Noordeeinde. Rembrandt wrote, "It (the Ascension) will show to the best advantage in the gallery of His Excellency since there is a strong light there."[282] He apparently had the freedom to examine the art collection of the House of Orange, since his 1634 painting of Artemisa or Sophoniba has been shown to reflect Rubens's Artemisia known to belong to Amalia von Solms in 1632.[283]

However, Rembrandt's association with the princely quarter may have arisen not only through the good offices of Constantine Huygens. He may have established a variety of contacts with the House of Orange through his wife's family. Saskia's father, Rombertus van Uylenburgh, had been an important burgomaster of Leeuwarden in Friesland, and was apparently present at dinner with William the Silent on the evening the Prince was assassinated in 1584.[284] Saskia's father had also been a member of the delegation sent to England to offer sovereignty to Elizabeth I in 1587.

Another of Rembrandt's documented associations with the Orangeist circle was his commission in 1635 to paint the portrait of Anthony Coppol, a former ambassador to Poland and England and the Pensionary of Flushing. Coppol, who had been a secret agent for Frederick Henry, was related by marriage to Saskia's family; his brother Francois was married to Saskia's sister Tatia.[285] Indeed, it may be that the van Uylenburghs were early advocates of the Princes of Orange. The importance of Saskia's family for establishing Rembrandt's contacts with the Mennonite and Socinian communities is well known; they may have played a similar role in his

attachment to the House of Orange.

The enumeration of Rembrandt's various Orangeist contacts is not meant to suggest that he was a Royalist or a fanatical supporter of the House of Orange. On the contrary, he continued to enjoy the patronage of a broad spectrum of Dutch society. He had painted some of the great preachers of his age, including the Mennonite, Cornelis Claeszoon Anslo and the Englishman, John Elison. Especially significant, he painted the Remonstrant leader Jan Uylenbogaert on his return from his exile in Antwerp, which had been imposed in 1618 by Prince Maurice. Rembrandt continued to paint powerful municipal leaders. In 1659 for example, he had done the portrait of Andries de Graeff, the Burgomaster of Amsterdam.[286]

While it is not easy to determine how deep Rembrandt's loyalty to the House of Orange went, it is not difficult to establish a varied contact that lasted through fourteen of the years of Frederick Henry's Stadholdership, from Rembrandt's commission to paint Amalia's portrait in 1632 to his final delivery of the last two paintings done in 1646 for the Prince, The Adoration of the Shepherds and the Circumcision.

2. The Militiae Company of Captain Franz Banning Cocq and the Triumph of Mordecai

Two other works, which were completed shortly after the Concord, also deal, peripherally at least, with some of the more contentious aspects of the social and political relationships that existed in the Dutch Republic.

Rembrandt's Militia Company of Captain Franz Banning Cocq (fig. 67) was one of the seven group portraits, produced between 1638 and 1645, which were commissioned to hang in the Great Hall of the Civic Guard's new Guild House, the Cloveniersdoelen, in Amsterdam.[287] The painting is a salute to the Civic Guard company, which was one of those whose long tradition of service to the city dates back to the time just after the Spanish were expelled from Amsterdam. The painting may simply be an exaltation of the Militia, parenthetically including emblematic references to weaponry used by the guardsmen, some even derived from illustrations found in manuals on the loading of fire arms.[288]

The revolutionary nature of Rembrandt's group portrait was alluded to in the family album of the Captain who had commissioned the work. That volume contains a watercolor copy of the painting as well as the following description:

> A sketch of the picture in the great room of the Civic Guard House, wherein the young Seigneur of Purmerlandt (Banning Cocq's title) as Captain gives orders to the Lieutenant, the Seigneur of Vlaardingen (Willem van Ruyterburgh's title), to have his company march-out.[289]

The emphasis on the marching-out of the troops was clearly a radical departure from more traditional group portraits of Guardsmen, which had shown them in repose. Because Rembrandt's civic guardsmen are in action, many authors believe an allegorical meaning must underlie this apparent portrait.[290]

Regteren Altena has revived Schmidt-Degener's original thesis[291] which held that the Concord of the State had been a preliminary study for the Militia Company.[292] Believing that the Militia Company had originally depicted a company of riders, Regteren Altena claimed that the Militia Company commemorated the vist to Amsterdam of Marie de Medici in 1642;

this long held opinion has at last been disproved.[293]

Beets also related the Militia Company to the Concord of the State, and suggested that Rembrandt used Tempesta's illustrations of Tasso's Gerusaleme Liberata as a source for both of his history paintings.[294] Beets's idea would be even more attractive if a transfer of meaning could be shown to accompany the transfer of forms. Tasso's poem, dealing as it does with the epic struggle to recapture the Holy City of Jerusalem, would indeed have been an appropriate source for Rembrandt, when he portrayed the men of the Civic Guard as vigilant defenders of their town.

Although an allegory is probably implied in Rembrandt's Militia Company, it seems doubtful that every detail should be made to conform to an elaborate construction, like the one outlined by Hellinga.[295] Although he appears to be correct when he suggests that Rembrandt has adopted details from Vondel's play, Gysbrecht van Aemstel, which the artist may have seen in 1630 at the opening of Amsterdam's new theater, he is clearly wrong when he states that Rembrandt's allegory is meant as a clear-cut and all-inclusive symbol. As is the case so often, Rembrandt appears to have evoked a number of iconographically different images in order to impart as complex an imagery as is possible to his portraits of these guardsmen.

It matters little whether the leader of the group, Captain Banning Cocq, represents a second Gysbrecht van Aemstel, who epitomized Amsterdam's triumph, or a modern Goffredo, Tasso's hero, seeking to secure the Holy City. The painting was meant to evoke images that would reflect honor on the civic guard and thereby to exalt the city of Amsterdam.

E. Haverkamp Begemann had emphasized that both the Triumph of Mordecai (fig. 68) and the Militia Company,[296] are depicted as triumphal marches.

Each work refers to the honored past of these companies of militia, which were founded in 1579 to safeguard the towns of the Netherlands from Spanish attack. Professor Begemann presents evidence that relates the theme of Mordecai's Triumph to contemporary Militia companies in Amsterdam. A pamphlet, De Croon der Schuttery van de beroemde Coopstadt Amstelredam, published in 1628, was written to support the right of a militia company to appoint its own captain.[297] While the general argument was part of the complex struggle between the Remonstrants and Counter Remonstrants, the pamphlet specifically contended that the Magistrates of Amsterdam did not have the right to compel the militia to accept a Remonstrant Captain without their agreement. The merits of that sectarian argument are not important, for, by 1642, the polemic discussion had lost much of its earlier bitterness.

Of special importance in the present analysis, is the pamphlet's emphasis on the story of Haman's downfall, which was understood to parallel the defeat and expulsion of the Spanish from the Northern Provinces in 1578. The pamphlet's support for the Militia Company's right to act against an unpopular decision of the Magistrates of the city was compared to the United Province's justified rejection of Spanish control. When Rembrandt cited Mordecai's discovery of Haman's treachery and disgrace and Mordecai's ultimate vindication and triumph, all Dutchmen recognized the allusion to the story of the United Provinces's victory over the Spanish. Just as Philip II's actions had negated his claims to rule over the Netherlands, so too, Haman's treachery had caused the forfeiture of his position in Jerusalem. In both the Triumph of Mordecai and in the Militia Company of Captain Banning Cocq, the questions of the independence and trustworthiness of city officials has been addressed. Again, the idea of threatened conspiracy against a leader has

been raised. Just as the militia companies had helped win the independence of the Netherlands, Mordecai had saved the Jews from Haman's evil plans.

3. Christ Presented to the People

As is true with so many of Rembrandt's works, his etching of Christ Presented to the People (fig. 69) has yet to receive a definitive interpretation. It was obviously a composition Rembrandt had struggled over, as the changes he introduced to his plate after the fifth state attest (fig. 70). These changes could not have been mere formal considerations; profound meaning must have been attached to the removal of the crowd, the alteration of herm figures, and the addition and later erasure of the bizarre giant seen below the platform on which Christ stood.

The general emphasis on the idea of guilt appears to be Rembrandt's major theme. Emanuel Winternitz's idea that the removal of the crowd was meant to suggest that the responsibility for Christ's death was to be shared by all who viewed the work is probably correct.[298] His further statement that the herm figure on the right had been changed from "Fortitudo" to "violencia" is not as well argued.[299] Yet, it must be agreed that the more restless character of the body of the herm and the barbaric nature of the face in the later state seem to suggest the triumph of the chaotic force of the mob run wild.

Henri van de Waal's counter suggestion that this herm is a representation of Ompahle, the Queen of Lydia, is an interpretation that would see that the etching represented the world turned upside-down.[300] There, Justice is encased in her architectural niche, while the figure of Omphale or of Violencia, steps forward to rule. Surely, the world Rembrandt has

created is a world turned turned end over end; here, the just suffer, while the guilty go free.

The great giant seen below the tribune, added in the sixth state, is a puzzling figure. Rather than understand this person as Adam, as Winternitz suggested,[301] the figure can more clearly be understood as Discord. Van de Waal has cited a similar representation of Discordia, who had appeared imprisoned beneath scenes from the life of Saul and David, which were part of the festive decoration at the time of the entry of the Duke of Anjou into Antwerp on 19 February 1582 (fig. 71).[302] Such an image of Discord would add to the impression of a world out of control, a world in chaos.

In this connection then, Ida Lindenborg's suggestion that Rembrandt's Christ Presented to the People reflects the execution of Charles I of England, may indeed have validity.[303] Certainly there appear to be similarities between portraits of Charles I, which circulated after his beheading, and Rembrandt's Christ, especially as he appears in the later states of the print. The remark by Winternitz, that it was rather unusual to have Christ of the Ecce Homo presented without a crown of thorns,[304] may indicate that Rembrandt was using a secular source for his scene.

Although Rembrandt has been shown to have used a number of iconographic and formal sources as he composed his plate, the similarity between Rembrandt's etching and contemporary prints showing the execution of Charles should not be discounted. The illustration, cited by Lindenborg,[305] from, Vollständiges Englisches Memorial (fig. 72), which appeared in Amsterdam in 1649, exhibits a number of elements also found in Rembrandt's print.

The architecture of Inigo Jones's Banqueting House, which was flanked by two smaller houses, may have influenced Rembrandt's building;

certainly, it did not reflect that found in Lucas van Leyden's print or in any other source. The crowd that seems to press forward for a better view of the center of the platform on which the English King was to be killed may have influenced the surging crowd in Rembrandt's print.

While the great central portal seen behind Christ in Rembrandt's print may derive from other sources, certain of the architectural details may come from the print showing the execution of the English King. The balustrade on the roof of the Banqueting House is similar in essence to that introduced on the right in Rembrandt's etching. The same type of windows may also derive from the 1649 print. Similarly the windows, from which people observe the event, have been seen in Lucas van Leyden's print (fig. 73), but the figure of the man who places his elbows over the edge of the railing may have been interpolated into the man leaning out of the window at the right side of Rembrandt's plate.

Certainly too, the mob that seems to converge from both sides toward the center of the stage on which the English King was about to die, is similar to Rembrandt's surging crowd. Rembrandt may even have adopted specific figures from the print. Perhaps, the old man turned away from the execution in the print of 1649 may have influenced Rembrandt's bearded old man seen at the right, in front of the tribune. However, his active pose must derive from another source. The horseman, who wears a plumed hat in the 1649 print, may have been transformed into the gentleman at the left of Rembrandt's work who wears an elaborate feathered cap. Even the group of observers raised on a platform to the right of the illustration of Charles I's execution may have become the crowd seen looking out from windows at the right of Rembrandt's print.

If Rembrandt was this profoundly affected by the murder of Charles I, he was not alone in the Netherlands. There, the feeling of revulsion and disgust was quite widespread, in part because many Royalist exiles had settled there to take advantage of the relative tolerance traditionally accorded by the city of Amsterdam to all factions. For many Royalists, the execution of an "anointed" king was a crime second only to the death of Christ on the cross.[306] Almost immediately, the association of the martyred King with Christ was made manifest in paintings, prints, coins and medallions. The most famous of these memorials to Charles I was the frontispiece illustration to the Eikon Basilike (fig. 74), presumably the autobiography of the King. Amsterdam had a special association with this publication, for in 1649 seventy editions of the work had been published there by English exiles.[307]

As with many political events, the death of Charles I of England tended to divide the States of Holland from the Orangeists. Although the Regents of Holland did fear the extremist Cromwellian elements in England, they sought to maintain good relations with the English and tried to downplay the death of Charles. In contrast, the Orangeists, urged on by their English Royalist relatives, especially Mary Stuart, wife of Stadholder William II, wanted to use the death of the English king as an excuse for the Dutch to break with Cromwell and to declare subsequently that Charles II was the rightful English king.[308]

Yet, Rembrandt did not have to look abroad for actual incidents on which to base his print. Scenes of execution were common in the Dutch Republic. One of the most well publicized and notorious was the execution of the murderer of William the Silent in 1584. It is possible that a print showing the execution (fig. 75) may have influenced Rembrandt's portrayal

of Christ before the People. Certainly, the character of both crowds was similar. In fact, one figure seen on the right, rushing forward with his hand extended, may have influenced the impressive bearded old man in Rembrandt's print who was retained, as we have seen, even in later states, when the rest of the foreground figures had disappeared. In the illustration of the execution in the Marketplace in Delft, this is the only figure who is isolated in space; there are no other figures close to him. The related figure in Rembrandt's plate is also the only figure isolated in such a way.

Might there be a further association of Rembrandt's print with this execution in Delft? The only known portrait of the murderer of the Prince of Orange (fig. 76) seems to exhibit the same, almost oriental, facial features seen in the figure of Barabbas in Rembrandt's Christ before the People. While this is of course not conclusive evidence that can assure Rembrandt's use of this political print, it is highly suggestive of such a use.

Henri van de Waal has attempted to establish that Christ before the People was located on a canal and called attention to a print by Claes Jansz Visscher, which depicts an execution in front of the Gravenstein, in Leiden, in 1623 (fig. 77). The print thus proves that Rembrandt was aware of a Court of Law, which was surrounded by a canal from his childhood days in Leiden.[309]

Yet, the print van de Waal had cited proves again that Rembrandt had been aware of the incident involving the threat upon the life of Maurice of Orange. Rembrandt's apparent use of the print in this case supports more strongly the idea that he also employed that other political print depicting the plot as he composed his Civilis. He certainly was familiar with the print detailing the execution on 21 June 1623 of one of

the conspirators who had plotted against the life of Prince Maurice of Orange; indeed, he may have witnessed the execution. While the influence of the print of the execution has been established, the precise significance of that influence remains to be determined. Was the figure of Christ meant to allude to the innocence of the Prince? On the contrary, perhaps it was the execution of the conspirator that was seen as the violation of justice; was this execution, like the murder of Christ, some terrible result occurring in a world turned upside down?

4. The Phoenix and a Portrait of a Boy

Another example of how Rembrandt may have used his art to comment on sovereignty is seen in his etching, The Phoenix (fig. 78). Schmidt-Degener sees this as a personal emblem by which Rembrandt could show his own ultimate triumph over financial ruin and bankruptcy.[310] However, it has also been suggested that the Phoenix refers to the survival of the House of Orange after the death of William II through the person of his posthumous son, William III.[311] These hopes for the Orange dynasty were seen in 1655 and 1657 on medallions which bore the impression of young William III on one side, and the Phoenix rising from the ashes on the other (fig. 79).[312]

In support of this theory that Rembrandt's Phoenix should have a political and not a personal interpretation, Emmens has identified an eel on the coat of arms seen on the pedestal above which the Phoenix rises.[313] The eel, a symbol of the elusive or slippery quality of political power, can be seen in Zincgreff's emblem book (fig. 80) as are many of the symbols Rembrandt uses.[314]

Govaert Flinck has included in his Allegory on the Memory of Frederick Henry (1584-1647), Prince of Orange, with the Portrait of His

Widow Amalia van Solms, 1654, a similar phoenix[315] Behind the central motif showing Amalia being consoled by the symbols of hope, an anchor and a twig from an Orange tree, a soldier is seen to be mourned by three children. There, a phoenix rises from a pedastle, which is similar to the one seen in Rembrandt's print. The allusion understood by all who saw the painting was to the birth of William III eight days after his father, William II, had died. Here, the symbol is meant as the hope for dynastic regeneration.

If this apparent support for the cause of William III seen in the Phoenix etching truly reveals Rembrandt's attitude at that time, it may be that the Norton Simon Portrait of a Boy (fig. 81) painted at approximately the same time as the Phoenix, also alludes to William III. In nineteenth century literature it was so regarded.[316] The elaborate story of how the supposed portrait of Prince William III had been acquired in Holland in the early nineteenth century for the Spenser family of England is as quaint as it is utterly unreliable.[317] Modern scholarship properly rejects the apocryphal nineteenth century history of the painting, but must the identification of the portrait also be discarded?

Surely, the older association of the portrait with Titus,[318] Rembrandt's son, can not be correct. If, the most generally agreed on date of 1655 is accepted,[319] then the identifcation with Titus is unlikely, as any comparison with other portraits of the fourteen year-old will attest.[320] It would then seem more appropriate to refer to the painting as a Portrait of a Boy.

It remains to determine whether the painting can be identified as a portrait of William III with any security. A major problem in analyzing

the work is the fact that the object to the child's left is undecipherable. There have been opinions that the object is a toy, a bird or even a monkey. When questioned, authorities at the Museum in Los Angeles stated that X-rays of that portion of the painting reveal nothing that might clarify Rembrandt's intentions.[321]

Yet, certain similarities between Rembrandt's Boy and known portraits of William III can be shown. The same center parted hair is tucked up under a close fitting cap in a three-quarter portrait of William III with his aunt Marie, which was done by Gerard van Honthorst in 1653 (fig. 82). A painting by A. Hannemann painted a year later (fig. 83) reveals the same hair style, with the addition of a more elaborate plumed hat. In a 1653 painting, done in the studio of Gerard van Honthorst (fig. 84), the young prince is represented as a hunter in pseudo-Roman garb and has been crowned by laurel leaves in anticipation of his heroic future. Here, the insignia of the order of the Garter, granted him in 1653 by his uncle, the exiled Charles II, is seen hanging from a blue ribbon. Portraits of William III with even clearer political overtones were also produced. A print of 1653, shows William III playing with a docile lion with his left hand while he holds a baton of command in his right. On a nearby table lies a crown, alluding to the monarchical intentions of his supporters (fig. 85).

Likenesses of the child were more widely circulated by way of smaller articles of use, such as china (fig. 86) and glass ware. A flute glass is especially important (fig. 87) for on one side is represented William III holding a baton and wearing a plumed hat and the ribbon bearing the medal of the Order of the Garter. On the opposite side of the glass is a tree stump with one branch curling upward, an emblematic representation

based on the personal device of Prince Maurice, the great uncle of William III. This motif, used by members of the House of Orange, graphically emphasizes how important the young Prince was for the future of the dynasty.

The question of the status of the Prince had acquired an international overtone. In 1653, both the English and the Dutch wanted to end their war, but, in order to agree to peace, Oliver Cromwell demanded certain concessions from Holland. In addition to economic sanctions he demanded from the Dutch, he wanted a guarantee against the restoration of the House of Orange to the important positions of Stadholder and Captain General, for he saw the House of Orange as the puppet of Stuart exiles. Secretly, two representatives of Holland agreed that no member of the House of Orange would ever be appointed Stadholder or Captain-General. When the measure, the Act of Seclusion, was brought to the States of Holland in May 1654, the Grand Pensionary, Johan de Witt, swore all members to secrecy. Yet, details of the agreement were leaked, and the Orangeists, a rather large segment of the population, were outraged because the action was an assault on the honor of the House of Orange, to whom the Union owed so much. In addition, they saw the Act of Seclusion as Holland's violation of the federal covenant implied by the Union of Utrecht. By negotiating on her own with a foreign power, Holland had broken the laws of the Union. The widespread popular indignation accelerated the general movement to support young William III.

As example, in 1654, the Province of Overijssel appointed William III as Stadholder and Captain-General.[322] A medal struck to commemorate the Prince's new office shows on one side a portrait bust of the new Stadholder based on Adriaen Hannemann's painting and on the other, the Prince dressed in Roman costume and holding a marshall's baton while he converses with

the goddess of Wisdom, Minerva (fig. 88).

While Rembrandt's Portrait of a Boy may have been influenced by the many portraits of Prince William III, then in such wide circulation, he also must have recognized the source from which such representations come, for surely the influence of Hans Holbein the Younger's Portrait of Edward VI (fig. 89) can be seen. Holbein was the first to portray princely children in this way, posed frontally and wearing an elegant plumed hat.[323] Rembrandt has used the same frontal pose, something not generally seen in the portraits of William III. Holbein's setting off of the child's chubby face by the use of a squared neckline was also incorporated in Rembrandt's figure.

Furthermore, it is possible, although undocumented, that Rembrandt saw Holbein's work in Holland, since it went there in 1649 as part of the Arundel Collection. After the death of Lady Arundel in 1654, the painting was valued by Jacob Campen, Paulus Bos, and M. Withoos,[324] and Rembrandt may have had access to the work at that time. Another way Rembrandt may have become acquainted with the royal portrait was through an engraving made in 1650 by Hollar after he had examined the Arundel collection.[325]

It seems probable that Rembrandt used both Holbein's portrait of the English Prince and contemporary portraits of William III to create his Portrait of a Boy. Although such sources would be appropriate for a portrait of the Prince of Orange, a secure identification of Rembrandts portrait with William III can not be established. Surely, there are similarities between the heavily lidded eyes, the wispy, center-parted hair, the chubby cheeks, and the shape of the mouth seen in the portraits of William III and Rembrandt's Boy. One major problem in making the

identification is the fact that no frontal portraits of William III can be found in order to make a proper analysis. A resemblance does appear to exist between Rembrandt's Boy and childhood portraits of some of William III's close relatives. In Sir Anthony van Dyck's Portrait of the Five Children of Charles I (fig. 90), William's uncle, Charles II, stands frontally, in a way very similar, to the boy in Rembrandt's portrait. Even the full cheeks, typical of the Stuart children, are reminiscent of those of Rembrandt's boy. In addition, Van Dyck's 1628/29 portrait of William II (fig. 91), bears a striking likeness to the child in Rembrandt's painting. Thus, the two portraits may have been of father and son.

Thus, Rembrandt's elaborately dressed boy, whether he is Titus, the Prince or another child altogether, has been modelled on portraits of an English Prince and those of Prince William III of Orange. Probably, this work was intended as more than a simple portrait. Certainly, none of the many portraits of Titus were so elaborately or royally dressed. Rembrandt surely had an allegorical meaning in mind to which the object to the child's left would have alluded.

5. Man with a Falcon (Count Floris V)

Another of Rembrandt's paintings that apparently used historical allegory to present a theme relevant to contemporary political situations, is his Man with a Falcon (fig. 92). Valentiner has convincingly identified the painting as a portrait of the thirteenth century Count Floris V, who was betrayed and then murdered by his former associates, Gerard van Velsen and Gysbrecht van Amstel.[326] They had vowed to kill the Count, ostensibly because of his allegedly scandalous personal behavior. Feigning friendship,

the conspirators had lured the Count to Utrecht with the promise of a day of falconing, his favorite pastime. Instead he was seized, imprisoned in the Castle Muiden, and killed.

This medieval tale of the betrayal of a beloved Prince was extremely popular, and Rembrandt could have come across it in numerous examples in the literature of the seventeenth century. The exploits of Count Floris V had been described in Hooft's often produced play, Gerard van Velsen, which was written in 1612.

However the tale of Count Floris V was not always interpreted as the murder of a rightful and honored ruler. Henri van de Waal stressed that,after the Peace of 1648 had made attacks on the Spanish enemy unnecessary, anti-tyrannical literature then directed its criticismtoward the House of Orange whom the leaders of the towns of Holland felt might too easily establish a dictatorship if given a chance.[327] Van de Waal showed that treatises on constitutional law often used stories of the usurpation of power by the Counts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as illustrations of the dangers inherent when too much authority acrued to one political leader,such as the Stadholder in the Netherlands.

As already seen, the threat to a rightful ruler is a theme Rembrandt had explored more than once. His use of the print from a pamphlet describing a conspiracy against Maurice of Orange as a source for his Civilis and the general nature of the iconography of the Concord of the State show similar concerns for the stability of a national government which is also implied in this allegorical portrait.

6. The Equestrian Portrait

Another painting which reveals Rembrandt's awareness of the political position of the House of Orange is his Equestrian Portrait (fig. 93), While the man portrayed has not yet been definitively identified, several theories have particular merit. Since Prince William III of Orange was the only notable male visitor to Amsterdam at the time the painting was produced, it has been suggested by one author that he is seen in the carriage in the background of the painting.[328] If that is the case, the man depicted on horseback would then be one of the honorary escorts of the young prince.

An elaborate equestrian portrait of this kind was so unusual in an essentially bourgeois Republic that it was long thought to represent Marshall Turenne, the great French military leader.[329] It was difficult to believe that this elaborately dressed man was anything but a foreign nobleman. However, Bredius I. H, van Eeghen, Valentiner, Bauch and others believed this portrait was the painting described in the 1681 inventory of the Amsterdam merchant, Frederick Rihel as, "the portrait of the deceased on horseback."[330] An opposing hypothesis by R. van Luttervelt suggests that the rider is Jacob de Graeff, the son of the late Burgomaster, Andries de Graeff.[331] Van Luttervelt mentions a 1660 print showing the Entry of Mary Stuart into Amsterdam which includes a portrait of Jacob de Graeff (fig.94). The possible conflict between the apparent age of the rider in Rembrandt's painting and de Graeff's age of eighteen at the time of the Prince's visit is explained by van Luttervelt to have arisen because the face and hat of Rembrandt's rider had been badly over-painted. In addition, recent

scholarship reveals that the painting was probably done, three or even five years later than the actual event it depicted.[332] Thus the sitter's age might more easily be accepted as a portrait of de Graeff's in his early twenties. The costumes, including the jabot, about which so much has been written,[333] are amazingly similar in the 1660 print by van Luttervelt and in the painting by Rembrandt.

It was perhaps as a result of the impact of the serious new attention being given to the status of the young Prince in the early 1660's that the portrait was undertaken three or more years after the actual visit of the Prince. The fact that the young man, a member of a family so involved in Amsterdam's city government, chose to have himself depicted while welcoming the Prince of Orange, over whom so much conflict had raged, may indicate that, even within the municipal leadership, there was a new more positive emphasis on the young Prince of Orange.

The identification of the portrait with Jacob de Graeff may have greater probability when it is remembered that it had been his father, Andries,[334] the Burgomaster, who had invited the Dowager Princess Amalia and her grandson to Amsterdam in 1661. The visit was not simply to be a social event; rather, it was intended to smooth feelings between the Orangeists and the States of Holland which had intensified over the Prince's status in the wake of his uncle Charles II's restoration to the throne of England and the death of his mother soon after.[335] Thus, the Prince's second visit in 1661 may have been one of the factors compelling young de Graeff to have his portrait painted in his role as the commander of the Second Company of the honor guard that had accompanied William through Amsterdam and to the road which led to Leiden.

After the English Republic collapsed, the hopes of those who supported the Prince of Orange were renewed. During his visit to The Hague on his way to England (24 May-2 June 1660) Charles II had chosen not to intercede in a very direct way for his sister's son, William III. He did not press the States of Holland to elevate the boy to the Captain-Generality or to the Stadholdership. In this he had been advised by his sister Mary and many Orangeist supporters, who feared that William Friedrich, the son-in-law of Amalia von Solms, would be appointed William III's lieutenant and might thereby usurp great power. This split within the Orange circle was of course exploited by De Wit and the States of Holland.

The Princess of Orange used many pressures to compel the leaders of Holland to aid her son. To gain support from Holland, Mary even tried to use the warmth with which the Prince had been welcomed to Haarlem and to Amsterdam, the subject which is shown in Rembrandt's painting. However, The Grand Pensconary de Wit, claimed that the appointment of the Prince would be undesirable at that time and suggested instead, that "His Highness (be) adopted as Child of State."[336]

Upon her failure to convince de Wit, the Princess turned to others for aid. In her attempt to interest Amsterdam's officials in her cause, she visited Cornelis de Graeff, ex-burgomaster of Amsterdam, who was the uncle of de Wit's wife. He was sympathetic himself, but ultimately retreated from supporting the Prince once he learned other burgomasters would not join him.

Attempts to elicit support in other Provinces proved more successful. In August 1660, Zealand proposed that the States of Holland pledge their support for the Prince's appointment as Captain-General. Furthermore, they

wanted him named "First Noble" on his eighteenth birthday. In fact, only Leiden, Enkhuizen, and most nobles voted for the measure; however, the act forbidding the Prince's appointment as Stadholder was declared null and void.[337]

With the sudden death of Mary on 3 January 1661, the question of the Prince's education again became acute, because in her will, she had named her brother Charles II, the King of England, as her son's guardian. This, the States of Holland utterly opposed. Instead, the States of Holland announced their intention to undertake the Prince's education, "to bring him up in the practice of all the virtues which might lend him fit for the functions, dignities, and offices which had belonged to his predecessors."[338] They added the proviso that he should not become Captain-General until he came of age, although some delegates, especially in those from Zeland, still supported his immediate accession to the Captain-Generality.

In the midst of the wrangling over the Prince's education, the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, Andries de Graeff, father of Jacob, invited the Dowager Princess, Amalia, and her grandson to the city for a visit. While she was there, de Graeff diplomatically pointed out to her that the Prince was not yet ready for the responsibilities of higher office and proposed that the States of Holland appoint a committee of education which would train the Prince for the duties of the Stadholdership. De Graeff served on this committee until his death in 1664. It may be that these interests of Jacob de Graeff's father may have influenced the younger man's commissioning of his own portrait.

As time went on, the position of the young Prince improved. Popular opinion more and more supported his cause. During the second Anglo-

Dutch war, many had wanted to negotiate peace with England and then to elevate the Prince to the Captain-Generality. Indeed, some naval crews had even refused to fight without sailing under the Prince's flag;[339] in a riot in Leiden, traditionally an Orangeist city, hoards of women attacked military recruiters, tearing their drums to shreads, while shouting, "The devil take the States, Drum for the Prince."[340] Various handbills, critical of de Wit for obstructing the Prince, were circulated. It had even been reported to the States of Holland that the Prince's tutor had committed a near treasonable act by toasting the Prince with the words, "To the King of Holland and his Lieutenant."[341]

Indeed, by 1663, the conflict over the status of the young Prince came to include the Church authorities, many of whom were traditional supporters of the Prince. The orthodox faction was bitter over the meddling in their offers by those they termed "political commissars."[342] The States of Holland had tried to weaken both the Church and the House of Orange by requiring that a prayer recited in Churches should in future mention "Their Noble Great Mightinesses" (the States of Holland) before "Their High Mightinesses" (the House of Orange), the Prince was not to be mentioned at all. Thus, the absolute sovereignty of the province was to be proclaimed. The prayer implied a principle of secular control of the church and was a direct insult to the House of Orange.[343] Holland's new prayer caused great indignation in the United Provinces. It even became necessary for de Wit to assure the Minister, Veth, in May of 1663, that the States of Holland did not intend to challenge the Synod of Dort.[344] As has previously been seen, these types of conflicts were endemic to the political system of the Netherlands, and had occurred before in the history of the United

Provinces. Maurice's difficulties with Oldenbarnevelt and William II's clash with Amsterdam were times of similar battles over sovereign rights.

A final event may have had some influence upon the way Rembrandt chose to portray the man on horseback. In 1662, an incident took place in The Hague, which showed how important the status of Prince William III was, even in the international sphere. Louis XIV of France, then cultivating a good relationship with de Wit, showed his disdain for the young Prince by having his own coachman cut off the carriage in which the Prince was riding, thus making him wait until the French monarch had passed.[345] This affront to the Prince of Orange may have influenced Rembrandt and young de Graeff in their choice of how the portrait was to be designed. It certainly shows Rembrandt's sensitivity to minute political detail and reveals his awareness of the complexities surrounding the question of sovereignty in the United Provinces. Therefore, this equestrian portrait may be both a symbol of the independence of the Dutch and song of praise to the young Prince. By having himself depicted with the Prince in this way, De Graeff was also able to take part in a celebration of the independence of the Dutch nation.

7. History Painting

The last of the paintings to be discussed is one of Rembrandt's earliest works (fig. 95), yet, it may reveal information that will greatly aid in the interpretation of the Civilis and its role in the Town Hall complex. The subject matter is even more problematic than most of Rembrandt's other works. Nine authors have offered suggestions as to the subject depicted. While none can be accepted without some reservations, an exploration of a few may be useful to establish Rembrandt's awareness of the political

atmosphere in the United Provinces. Although some authorities believe the painting may represent a scene from the Old Testament,[346] most generally, it is recognized as a scene from Roman history. Certainly the event depicted derives from traditional Roman "allocutio" scenes which show an Emperor addressing his troops (fig. 96).[347] Rembrandt could easily have learned of such a format from his teacher Pieter Lastman (fig. 97). Rubens had also provided magnificent models of this traditional Roman oration in scenes from his Life of Decus Mus.[348] Certainly suggestive of Rembrandt's scene is Decius Mus relating his Dreams (fig. 98). In the Death of Decius Mus (fig. 99) other elements are present which may have influenced Rembrandt. The unfortunate enemy, men, women, and children, who have been brought before the bier of the Consul are similar to those who submit to Rembrandt's leader.[349] Rembrandt's painting has been said to depict either the Judgement of Manlius Torquatus's son[349] or The Clemency of Titus.[350] W.L. Schuylenburg was the first to suggest that the painting might refer to the Justice of the Consul L. Junius Brutus.[351] In this tragic story, from Livy, the consul was compelled to sentence his own two sons, Titus and Tiberius, to death, because they had taken part in the conspiracy led by the Tarquinians. Elements in the painting might lend support to this theory. The two figures kneeling before the imposing man holding the scepter may indeed be those condemned sons. Livy's story also emphasized the fact that some of the conspirators were bound to the stake and beaten; that may be the punishment occurring inthe background of Rembrandt's painting. The arms heaped in the lower left corner of the painting would also conform to this interpretation of Rembrandt's painting.[352]

However, there are elements that make this theory less than

satisfactory. First, why are the two condemned sons still armed? And, what is the significance of the man with the raised hand, who appears to be swearing allegiance to Brutus?

Another story from Roman history, with a theme not dissimilar from that of L. Junius Brutus, might conform somewhat better to elements found in Rembrandt's painting. Unfortunately, no theory solves all the puzzling questions the painting has posed.

Kurt Bauch has suggested that the early painting of Rembrandt's may depict the Consul Cerealis standing before the gates of Trier, just after he had subdued the town.[353] Here, he pardons the German legions which had sided with the rebellious inhabitants of the town. This interpretation would more fully accommodate the actions of the two kneeling figures and the man standing before the Consul. At this historic moment the men would have been permitted to retain their arms, while the confiscated weapons in the foreground would be symbols of the military subjugation of Trier by the Consul.

This act of pardoning, which is being recorded by a scribe, seated behind the table, might surely have aroused in those forgiven a desire to re-pledge their loyalty to the magnanimous leader, as does the standing man who is swearing his fidelity in the traditional method, by extending the two fingers of his raised right hand. The figures bound to the pillar in the background, who are being beaten (?), would also be appropriate in the story of the Consul Cerealis. This interpretation still does not explain however, the strange appearance of the animal atop the column.

Bauch has recognized that there is in Rembrandt's painting an influence of Tempesta's 1612 print after Otto van Veen's design of the Consul Cerealis

and the German Legions (fig. 101).[354] Clearly, there are many formal similarities between the two compositions. Both show the same basic juxaposition of the Consul and those whom he would pardon. There are gestures in common as well. Rembrandt seems to have adopted from Tempesta's print, the German who reacts to Cerealis by raising his hands in a gesture of astonishment or surprise. Another soldier is deeply moved and holds his hands to his chest in a gesture of submissive devotion. The print also may have suggested the discarded weaponry, in the foreground, although on a more modest scale than is seen in Rembrandt's painting. The silhouetted lances and halberds may have come from Tempesta, as does the architectural setting. Both scenes also employ a flight of steps, which emphasizes the division in rank between the Consul and those he pardons.

We may come closer to understanding what significance the painting might have had for Rembrandt if we recognize that it may contain contemporary portraits. It has long been recognized that the figure seen behind the scepter is a self-portrait. However, it also appears that the other figures may be portraits of persons whose identities can be determined. The man holding the scepter, who has precipitated the dramatic event, bears an uncanny resemblance to known portraits of Prince Maurice of Orange. Michiel Jansz. van Mierveld's portrait of 1617 (fig. 102) shows the same wisp-like mustache and beard, although the goatee is less noticeable in Rembrandt's painting. The head appears to be of the same rather elongated shape, and a certain somber, almost morose quality apparent in portraits of Maurice is also visible in Rembrandt's Consul. The eyes too appear of a similar shape, although in Rembrandt's painting the figure gazes downward, while in Miervelt's painting Maurice gazes to his right and out at us.

One facial feature that seems to conflict in the two figures is the shape of the nose. In Rembrandt's painting the Consul's nose appears broken, or bent slightly downward at its midpoint. In Mierveldt's portrait, the bridge of the nose appears straight and even exhibits the slightest upturning. However, in other portraits of Maurice (fig.103), the minor deviation in the line of the nose is similar to the shape seen in Rembrandt's figure. Although this second print of the Prince was derived from Miervelt's painting, the slight variations in the execution of the portrait seem to show facial characteristics closer to those seen in Rembrandt's figure. The lines etched into the face are more pronounced in this print than in Miervelt's 1617 painting, which may have lost some of its fine detailing during cleanings over the years. In addition, prints would have been more easily obtained by Rembrandt. The 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's property indicates that he then possessed a book of portraits by Miervelt. The portrait of Maurice was undoubtedly among them.[355] Both the figure in the print and Rembrandt's Consul show the same line leading downward from the corner of the mouth and parallel crease running from the side of the nose toward the jaw line.

Perhaps the portrait of Maurice which most clearly resembles Rembrandt's figure is the 1625 painting by Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne, which shows the fifty-eight year-old Stadholder in death (fig. 104). Here, the still features resemble closely those of the figure in Rembrandt's painting. In this posthumous portrait, the bony nose of the corpse is of the exact shape as seen in Rembrandt's consul. The closed eyes are even shadowed in the same way as are those of the downward-gazing Consul. Perhaps the goatee, a feature so pronounced in other portraits of Maurice,

was ommitted from Rembrandt's figure precisely because of his direct use of this likeness of Maurice; in the deathbed portrait, the beard was hidden by the fur collar and ruff drawn up around the head of the dead Prince. The strange helmet of Rembrandt's Consul may even have been inspired by the cap the deceased Prince is seen to wear in van de Venne's painting.

One curious fact known about Rembrandt's association with Maurice has already been mentioned. His inventory of 1656 shows that he then possessed two death masks of Prince Maurits of Orange.[356] When he obtained them or how is not known. Perhaps, the fact that he did own these peculiar objects lends credibility to the idea that his interest in the Prince was such that he might have included his portrait in a painting depicting a Roman military hero.

The association of Prince Maurice with the Roman Consul in Rembrandt's painting is made even more probable if one can identify other persons in the painting. To the Consul's right, a man, whose profiled head is set off by a dark feathered hat placed at a sharp angle, stands behind the pile of weapons and holds what appears to be the baton of a marshal. A comparison of this profiled figure with portraits of Prince Frederick Henry, the younger brother of Maurice, seems to reveal similarities. This man is important, for he continues to wear his hat and does not remove it in the presence of the Consul, as does the man standing and swearing his loyalty to Cerealis. Yet, he does show deference to the Consul, for he stands one step below his leader. The profile portrait by Honthorst (fig.105), for which Rembrandt would later paint a companion portrait of Amalia von Solms, seems similar indeed to this figure in Rembrandt's early history painting. Although Rembrandt's figure is less clean shaven than is Honthorst's, the beard and mustache is

present in both paintings. Even the deep crease running almost straight down from the corner of the mouth is similar in both compositions. There also appears to be a peculiar fold of skin above the upper eye lid, which slightly over hangs the eye at its corner.

There are other portraits of Frederick Henry which make the identification with Rembrandt's portrait even more likely. In one half-length portrait, Frederick Henry stands before a table on which is displayed his helmet, a clear reference to his military exploits (fig.106). He holds firmly in his right hand the baton of command, just as does the figure in Rembrandt's painting, who stands behind a pile of arms. It is not at all difficult to understand how Rembrandt might have composed his figure. Indeed, a print after A. van de Venne's 1619 painting (fig.107) may have suggested even more of the details found in Rembrandt's painting because, here, Frederick Henry is not dressed in armor.

It is also possible that the wide sash drawn about Frederick Henry's torso in the print, inspired the white garment knotted at the back of Rembrandt's figure. In the same way, the stove pipe hat, adorned with the wisp of a feather, may have broadly suggested the hat worn by Rembrandt's figure. The arched doorway in the background of the print may have even suggested the similarly shaped archway seen behind Rembrandt's self-portrait in the Roman history scene, for both openings are cut off by the intervention of similar vertical wall elements.

A third figure in Rembrandt's painting can perhaps be identified. The man who stands to the right of the scribe and gazes out at the viewer may be a portrait of Constantine Huygens. This man leans his right hand on a walking stick which rests on the first of the steps leading to the

platform on which the consul stands. It may be that Rembrandt found it appropriate to represent Constantine Huygens, who was appointed secretary to Frederick Henry in 1625 when the Prince became Stadholder after the death of his brother, Maurice. In addition, Rembrandt may have included Huygens's portrait as a tribute to the connoisseur who had so early recognized the quality of his work.

If this figure does represent Huygens, he surely is given an appropriate position near the scribe whose hand Huygens own nearly touches, thus emphasizing his position as Secretary to the Prince. There are several portraits of Huygens important in identifying this figure.[357] Significantly, two are by Jan Lievens. The painting (fig. 108), probably done in the winter of 1626/27, now in the Museum at Douay, shows a man of similar facial type to the one in Rembrandt's painting. There, is seen the same mustache and light growth of beard. In both figures the eyes are a notable feature. Yet in Lievens's portrait, they appear more prominent because of the more definite profiled pose of the head. Both also show the prominent lower lip of which Huygens wrote in his autobiography.[358] One important aspect of the portrait is Lievens's great emphasis on the elegance of his sitter's hands.

A later sketch by Lievens of Huygens, done in 1639 (fig. 109), gives a better idea of the man's individual features, even though it was drawn ten years later than the painting under discussion. The eyes in the sketch are close to those of Rembrandt's figure. We even see the somewhat protruding under lip which so concerned him in his autobiography. The hair too falls over the forehead in a similar fashion in both this sketch and in Rembrandt's painting.

In order to get another idea of Huygens's appearance at a time

closer in date to that of Rembrandt's painting, a 1625 print by W. Delff done after Miervelt's painting must be examined (fig. 110). Here the expression in the eyes and the conformation of the facial features seem similar to those of the man standing before the Roman Consul in Rembrandt's painting. These prints after Miervelt's portraits were important because they provided physiognomic details of these notable persons before there is any actual proof that Rembrandt had made personal contact with them. In a 1639 painting by H. Hanneman, Huygens stares directly out as he does in the painting by Rembrandt (fig. 111).

A last portrait of Huygens that may have had some influence on Rembrandt's work is Thomas de Keyser's 1627 portrait, which shows Huygens in his study receiving a note from an aide (fig. 112). Here, the angle at which the head is positioned is very similar to that in Rembrandt's work, although the direction in which the eyes look is very different.

The setting for this portrait is more elaborate than the other discussed, and the painting provides several elements Rembrandt may have adopted for his own composition. As had Lievens, de Keyser emphasizes Huygens's hands. Indeed, Huygens's left hand in the de Keyser appears almost as a mirrored image of his right in Rembrandt's painting. In both works that hand is closely juxtaposed to a quill pen, perhaps a reference to Huygens's important position as the Stadholder's personal secretary. Even the placement of Huygens's hand at the corner of a table covered by a carpet is common to the two works.

If Rembrandt's painting was indeed influenced by this composition of de Keyser's done in 1627, then the dating of Rembrandt's work of 1626 would have to be incorrect. The date of the Rembrandt's painting has never

been entirely assured, since the third digit is not quite legible. However, on personal inspection, the date appeared to be 1626.

Some scholars feel that Rembrandt has reworked an unfinished painting of Lastman,[359] while others profess to have seen differences in style, which indicate that Rembrandt worked on this painting over a period of many years.[360] If that is true, it becomes unclear what relation the date, 1626, has for any of the individual figures found in the painting. The foreground figures do indeed appear to date from a later stage in Rembrandt's artistic development, for the three identified portraits appear to have been painted in a rather different technique than is seen in Rembrandt's other early works, which can be firmly dated to about 1625 or 1626. For example, The Stoning of St. Stephen and the Ass of Balaam Balking before the Angel, both show a less smooth handling of paint, similar to that seen in some of the less prominent figures in this History painting.

The assumption, that Rembrandt worked on the three figures we have analyzed at some time after the 1626 date, will allow us to consider the possibility of an influence of de Keyser's Portrait of Huygens on the figure in Rembrandt's painting. It might also permit the identification of the small child seen between Frederick Henry and Maurice as Frederick Henry's son, William II, who was born in 1626. Since this is not the portrait of a child of less than a year of age, the 1626 date must be ignored at least in regard to this section of the work.

A print showing Frederick Henry and Amalia von Solms with their children (fig. 113), may illuminate Rembrandt's portrayal of the child, William II. Certainly there is a similarity between the chubby faced William II, who stands under his father's hand which gently rests on the

boy's head, and the child in Rembrandt's painting, whose head is juxtaposed to the powerful hand holding the baton, the symbol of the Stadholdership which would be passed from father to son.

It is of interest to note however, that the way Frederick Henry's left arm and hand rest on his son's head is just the way Huygens's hand had rested on his walking stick. Perhaps, Rembrandt had compressed the two figures in the family portrait group into the figure of the Prince's secretary in his painting. He then removed William II from beneath his father's hand and substituted instead, the spear originally held by the child. This new image was then reversed and transformed into the figure of Huygens.

If Rembrandt did include portraits of Maurice, Frederick Henry, and William II, then the painting, ostensibly based on an episode from Roman history, may be meant as a sort of apotheosis of the House of Orange. Here, the past, present, and future heads of the House of Orange appear raised above their countrymen, who kneel and heartfully pledge their devotion to the dynasty. One known painting even depicted and exalted the House of Orange in just this way: there, members of the dynasty, from William the Silent to the young William III, have met in the timeless realm of pictorial space (fig. 114).

A recent, and quite strongly argued, interpretation of Rembrandt's painting appears both to contradict and to support what has been discussed so far. In 1953, J. G. van Gelder proposed that Rembrandt's 1626 painting was not an illustration from Roman History, as was generally agreed, but rather, an episode from Greek history. He believed the work represented Palamedes before Agamemnon.[361] Recently, others have explored more deeply van Gelder's original hypothesis.[362]

Palamedes being brought before Agamemnon was a story of revenge. Odysseus, having been angered by Palamedes who had shown him to have behaved as a coward, vowed to avenge himself. By fabricating a letter that appeared to have come from Priam of Troy offering a bride to Palamedes if he would abandon the Greek cause, Odysseus hoped to implicate the blameless Palamedes. After making sure that Agamemnon had found both the false letter and a large cache of gold, Odysseus stood by as his leader, Agamemnon, ordered that Palamedes be stoned to death. According to the new interpretation, it is Palamedes who stands before Agamemnon without weapons. He is accompanied by Ajax and Oates. Next to Agamemnon stands the villainous Odysseus; his young son, Telemachos, is behind him.

There is much in this interpretation that is attractive. It even has explained the sheep which was stranded on top of the column in the background. The animal served to localize the story in Leiden, which was a major center for the manufacture of woolen cloth.

The idea that Rembrandt may have been given additional impetus to create this work after the performance, in 1625, of Vondel's controversial tragedy, Palamedes, adds another dimension to the interpretation. Vondel's play was clearly intended as an allegory on the unjust death of the Advocate of Holland, John of Oldenbarnevelt.[363] Therefore, Rembrandt's painting may have been meant to refer to that incident. In that case, the figure, identified here as Maurice of Orange, has assumed his proper role.

Details present in the painting make it clear that Rembrandt consciously intended to suggest a reference to contemporary events. Some of the clothing worn by the persons depicted can be dated to the seventeenth century. The presence of two guns, which point from the circular tower

in the distance also must allude to a contemporary conflict. Shot or smoke can be seen in that area as well. Since firearms were unknown at that time, their presence here must indicate Rembrandt's wish to make a contemporary allusion.

If, as has been suggested, the painting had been commissioned by the historian, Petrus Scriverius, who was a supporter of the Remonstrants in Leiden, it may mean that Rembrandt was closely associated with that faction at least during his early years in Leiden. The painting may have even been a pendant to Rembrandt's Stoning of St. Stephen. Both works would then have referred to the conflict between Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant forces.

This new interpretation of the painting, which surfaced late in the research process, requires a separate and intensive study which cannot be undertaken at this time. However, the clear indication of Rembrandt's association with an known Remonstrant faction in Leiden does have an effect on the interpretation of some of his other works. The etching of Christ Presented to the People is certainly one composition that may be intimately concerned with the conflict between Maurice and Oldenbarnevelt. The number of drawings depicting beheadings may also relate to the events which Rembrandt may have witnessed in his youth in Leiden.

Certainly, Rembrandt's use of the print depicting the conspiracy against Prince Maurice of Orange by the sons of Oldenbarnevelt must be regarded as more than a purely formal choice by the artist. Because we can now be almost sure that Rembrandt had sided with the Remonstrants, his use of the oath swearing against Maurice must have been meant as a clear reference to that period of bitter conflict in the United Provinces.

Thus, it is not surprising that Rembrandt's Conspiracy of Julius Civilis was rejected. He had not displayed an idealized glorification of the event as others had. Rather, through a layering of iconographic elements he built up an image that was part exaltation and part warning. It was a Last Supper-like banquet that inspired hope. Yet, even at the Last Supper, the seed of betrayal and murder was present. Rembrandt's use of the contemporary print showing the conspiracy against Maurice served to localize an intensify the image of betrayal and treachery. It was these negative aspects that may have irritated the commissioners of the work.

The present examination of Rembrandt's Civilis and his other works has attempted to show that the artist was sensitive to the political realities of his day and expressed them in his paintings. While much of what has been discussed is speculative, a general pattern of political interest has been revealed. A number of areas needing more in depth study have been uncovered. By continuing to focus in future studies on the political aspect of Rembrandt's work, a more detailed understanding of his creative appraoch may emerge.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1]K. Bauch, Der Frühe Rembrandt und Seine Zeit. Studien zur geschechtlichan Bedeutnung seeves Frühstils, Berlin, 1960.

[2]Washington, National Gallery, Detroit Institute of Arts, The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Gods, Saints and Heros: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt, 1980, 15.

[3]The catalogue mentioned in the above footnote attempts to revive interest in Seventeenth Century Dutch History painting, a subject generally neglected by modern criticism.

[4]J. Rosenberg, S. Slive and E.H. ter Kuile, Dutch Art and Architecture 1600 to 1800, 1966, 170.

[5]K. Clark, Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance, New York, 1966, 193-209.

[6]J. Białostocki, "Rembrandt's 'Terminus'," Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, 28, 49.

CHAPTER I: NOTES

[7]For the discussion of historical events and the more complex problems dealt with in this section, see especially, P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, London, 1970. Geyl's analysis of a multitude of details helps to clarify the often contradictory events of the period; Grew's The House of Orange, London, 1947, gives a somewhat more intimate glimpse of the House of Orange; van Zuylen van Nyvelt's Court Life in the Dutch Republic 1638-1689, London, 1906, is useful as well for gaining an understanding of the historic milieu.

[8]B. Haak, Rembrandt: His Life, His Work, His Time, New York, 1969, 301.

[9]K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam, Utrecht, 1959, 32.

[10]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 30.

[11]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 1-2.

[12]That Frederick Henry had achieved his end, rhetorically at least, is proved by the kinds of effusive verses that surrounded the wedding of William II and Mary Stuart. Vondel had praised the young prince as one of "those who God as helmsman are ordained to serve the commonweal." Even the poet, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, who was the son of a Regent family, referred to Prince William as "a royal bridegroom," while he referred to himself as "the prince's subject," implying at least a clear disregard of the sovereignty of the States of Holland.

[13]For Frederick Henry's attempt to bind the political fortunes of the United Provinces to those of the English Monarchy see, P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 26-29.

[14]H. H. Rowen, The Low Countries in Early Modern Times, New York, 1972; for an exceptionally perceptive analysis of the weaknesses that were part of the governmental structure of the United Provinces, see, J. H. Huizinga's Dutch Civilisation in the Seventeenth Century and Other Essays, London, 1968, 28-29. Huizinga states that the government, that had evolved in the United Provinces after the Union of Utrecht, had been based on Medieval concepts of municipal liberty, in which all major decisions are required to be unanimous; the survival of this archaic concept handicapped the government of the United Provinces, since it was thus deprived of a rational basis, needed in the modern age.

[15]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 30.

[16]The period here considered runs from the approval of the final plans on 18 July 1648 to the inauguration of the still unfinished building, on 29 July 1655.

[17]The historian, Lieuwe van Aitzema (1600-69), held the opinion that the English question was the main cause of the break between the Prince and Holland. See P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 60.

[18]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 46.

[19]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 46.

[20]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 46.

[21]Quoted by P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 47.

[22]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 58; P. Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. I, 14.

[23]P. Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, 13-18.

[24]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 62-65.

[25]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 61.

[26]P. Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, 21-22.

[27]In his Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century, 28, J. H. Huizinga has shown that the failure of the Union of Utrecht to establish a viable national government in the seven United Provinces stemmed from its original character as an ad hoc military alliance, which was essentially concerned with the pursuance of the struggle for independence.

[28]See D. Regin, Traders, Artists, Burghers: A Cultural History of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century, Assen, 1976, 1-13 for a brief but highly informative account of the social and political atmosphere in the United Provinces. Although criticism has been raised about Regin's emphasis on the "Bourgois" nature of Dutch culture, his discussion is useful.

[29]D. Regin, Traders, 12.

[30]D. Regin, Traders, 5.

[31]The Alteratie has been recognized as the only true revolution in the Netherlands. See Regin, Traders, 5.

[32]K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam, Utrecht, 1959, 16.

[33]B. Haak, Rembrandt, 301. On 28 January 1639 the motion to build a new Town Hall was adopted.

[34]On 18 July 1648, a larger, more elaborate building plan for the Town Hall was approved. See K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 32.

[35]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 35.

[36]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations of the Town Hall of Amsterdam, Evanston, Illinois, 1974, 106.

[37]For Vondel's references see citation in K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 52.

[38]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 35.

[39]The use of the language of antiquity is discussed by K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 36. "The language of the new building was rhetorical, and was based on the language of antiquity with scholarly exactness in so far as this was understood and could be adapted to new purposes."

[40]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 100.

[41]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 44.

[42]Possibly, van Campen relied more on Italian sources. Both Vitruvius's basilica at Fano and the Capitol Palace have been suggested as influences on the architect. See K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 39.

[43]K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall, Utrecht, 1959.

[44]K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall, 131.

[45]K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall, 135.

[46]On a visit to the north of Italy (1615-21), Jacob van Campen was led to abandon his pursuit of painting in order to study architecture. He had been influenced especially by Veronese who worked in the decorative tradition developed by Mantegna; K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 136, remarks on van Campen's special interest in Palladio's Villa Barbaro at Fano.

[47]K. Fremantle, 137; J. G. van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 3, 1950-1951, 103-149 also stated that Rubens's visits to Holland in 1613 and 1627 were too brief and diplomatically involving to allow for any real artistic interchange with local artists.

[48]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 173; see also D. F. Slothouwer, De Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik, Leiden, 1946.

[49]See C. W. Fock, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century,"Apollo, 110, 466-475; for the inventories of their collections see S.W.A. Drossoers and T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Inventarissen van de imboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes 1597-1795, 3 volumes, 1974-76.

[50]Huygens and Jacob can Campen had a personal relationship that can be securely dated back as far as 1623. See B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations of the Town Hall of Amsterdam, Evanston, Illinois, 1974, 32-38.

[51]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 137; Theodore van Thulden had engraved Rubens's designs for the decoration for the Triumphal entry into Antwerp of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, which was published with Gevartius's description in 1641; van Thulden was Rubens's pupil and had assisted his

master on some of the decorations of the Torre de la Parada; van Thulden's ceiling over the stairs in Honselaarsdijk Palace, which he had painted in 1647 replaced earlier work done in 1638. He clearly has introduced the decorative style of Rubens's, which had been absent from the North during the overt hostilities.

[52]See J.G. van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," Nederlandsche Kusthistorisch Jaarbock, 3, 1950-51, 103-149.

[53]C. W. Foch, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century," Apollo, 110, 470.

[54]Slothower, 70, states that the gallery in Honselaarsdijk contained, in addition to portraits of royal persons and their palaces, allegorical scenes. There was only the beginning of a feeling for the kinds of total decorative programs envisioned by Rubens.

[55]According to Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 138, it was Constantine Huygens who had suggested that the central hall in Huis ten Bosch be named "the Oranjezaal" or the Hall of the House of Orange; it was he who had envisioned a symbolic scheme detailing the late Prince's heroic life in a manner similar to Rubens's treatment of the French Queen, Maria de Medici.

[56]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations of the Town Hall in Amsterdam, 128.

[57]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 127.

[58]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 60.

[59]K. Fremantle, Baroque Town Hall, 60.

[60]Consult U. Lederle, Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen in Deutschen und Niederländischen Rathäusern, Dissertation, Philipsburg, 1937.

[61]See D. Nobbs, Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disciples in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650, Cambridge, 1938.

[62]Rembrandt's painting, Moses Showing the Table of Laws to the People, has been cited as one of the five works that show Rembrandt's attempt to obtain commissions for paintings in the new Town Hall; the other four were: The Tribute Money, Quintus Fabius Maximus Asking His Father to Dismount, Mars in Full Arms, and a painting that is identified as either Athena or Bellona in Full Armor; H. van de Waal, Drie eeuwen Vanderlandsche Geschied-Mitbeelding 1500-1800: een iconologische Studie, 217-218.

[63]Quoted by B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 118.

[64]H. van de Waal, Drie eeuwen Vanderlandschen, 53-54.

[65]For an enlightening analysis of the changes in iconographic forms see H. van de Waal, Drie eeuwen Vanderlandsche, 15-24.

[66]Although there was a greater awareness of historic details, the heroic and exalted nature of events was pre-eminent; "In other words there was a fundamental difference between the historian, whose business was factual reality and the poet whose concern was philosophical 'truth'. See H. van de Waal's "Holland's Earliest History as Seen by Vondel and his Contemporaries", Steps toward Rembrandt, Collected Articles 1937-1972, Amsterdam and London, 1974, 44-45.

[67]K. Fremantle, 49; this self-deception is just one example of what H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen,103, sees as the struggle of the Dutch provinces for priority within the Republic.

[68]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 181, gives a good brief summary of this expanding literary tradition.

[69]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 181; K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall, 50, adds that Hooft's translation had not been published until 1684.

[70]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 97.

[71]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 182.

[72]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 183.

[73]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 184.

[74]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 183.

[75]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 102-3; J. H. Huizinga, Dutch Civilization, 30, discusses Grotius's assumption that in medieval times the Estates had delegated powers to the Dukes of Courts, thus making them by tradition weak and without real or historic power.

[76]C. Butler, The Life of Hugo Grotius, 64.

[77]C. Butler, The Life of Hugo Grotius, 64.

[78]For information on the contractual theories of Grotius and his contemporaries see F. J. C. Hearnshaw, The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centures, 140.

[79]This is another manifestation of the mythological orientation of the period.

[80]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 185.

[81]H. Van de Waal, "The Iconological Background of Rembrandt's 'Civilis'", Steps Toward Rembrandt, 32.

[82]See B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 184-5, for a summary discussion of the increasing number of volumes which deal with Julius Civilis.

[83]H. van de Waal, "Holland's Earliest History as Seen by Vondel and his Contemporaries," Steps Toward Rembrandt, 49.

[84]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 185.

[85]H. van de Waal, "Holland's Earliest History," Steps toward Rembrandt, 50.

[86]K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall, 50.

[87]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 187.

[88]B. Buchbinder-Green, Painted Decorations, 186-87.

[89]B. Buchbinder-Green, Painted Decorations, 81.

[90]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 230 cites Bergomaster Cornelis de Graeff as the auctor intellectualis of the iconographic program in the Town Hall.

[91]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 191.

[92]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 192.

[93]For information on the proposed competition for commission in the Town Hall see H. Schneider, "Govaert Flinck en Juriaen Ovens in Het Stadhius to Amsterdam," Oud Holland, 42, 1925, 215.

[94]H. van de Waal, "The Iconological Background," Steps Toward Rembrandt, 32.

[95]H. van de Waal, "The Iconological Background," Steps Toward Rembrandt, 32.

[96]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 193.

[97]Quoted by B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 196.

[98]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwe, 230, raises this possibility when he mentions Vondel's citation of the printed series by Tempesta in the preface to his 1663 tragedy, The Batavian Brothers.

CHAPTER II: NOTES

[99]C. Hofstede de Groot, Die Urkunden über Rembrandt (1515-1721), The Hague, 1906, 294, cites Fokkens's description of the painting "in situ", on 21 July 1662; Hofstede de Groot cites the financial contract between Rembrandt and Lodewijck van Ludick of 28 August 1662, which may deal with the Civilis, Urkunden, 298.

[100]H. van de Waal, "The Iconological Background," Steps Toward Rembrandt, 32.

[101]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 225.

[102]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 225.

[103]See Max Rosen, Jacob Jordaens - His Life and Work, 204.

[104]It seems reasonable to make this assumption; however, H. van de Waal suggests that Rembrandt was the first to receive a Commission in the Town Hall. See H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 224.

[105]The opinion of Otto Benesch, The Drawings of Rembrant, London, 1954-7, that there are four authentic drawings is generally disputed today; E. Haverkamp-Bergemann, "Eine unbekannte Vorzeichung zum 'Claudus Civilis'". Neue Beitrage zur Rembrandt-Forschung, edited by Otto von Simson and Jan Kelch, Berlin, 1973, discusses the possibility that a drawing in Edinburgh may be related to the Civilis.

[106]I. H. van Eeghen, "Rembrandt's 'Claudius Civilis' and The Funeral Ticket," Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, 25, 1956, 55-57.

[107]See C. Muller Hofstede; "Hdg 409; Eine Nachlese zu den Munchener Civilis-Zeichnungen," Konsthistorisk tidskrift, 25, 1956, 42-55.

[108]K. Bauch, recognizes that the drawing was done before the changes; B. Haak, also sees it as an intermediary notation; C. Nordenfalk argues that the X-rays reveal that the Munich drawing was done after Rembrandt had changed some of the elements in his painting; E. Haverkamp-Begemann proposes that the Edinburgh drawing predates the one in Munich.

[109]N. de Roever, "Een 'Rembrandt' op't Stadhius;" Oud Holland, 9, 1891, 297-306; and 10, 1982, 137-146.

[110]M. Fokkens, Beschrijvinge der wijdt-vermaarde Koop-Stadt Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 1663.

[111]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 201.

[112]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 204, has cited these lines from Vondel.

[113]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 226.

[114]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 201.

[115]The contract Rembrandt negotiated with Lodewijck van Ludick on 28 August 1662 suggests that some sort of repainting may be the reason for the removal of Rembrandt's Civilis from the Town Hall, C. Hofeted de Groot, Urkunden, 298.

[116]See A. Noach, "De maaltijdt in his Schakerbosch en de versiering van hit stadhuis," Oud Holland, LVI, 1939, 145-47. His argument that the painting Rembrandt produced did not conform to the architecture of the lunette is generally rejected. S. Slive states that there is really no evidence to support the idea thus the painting was actually rejected, Rembrandt and His Critics, The Hague, 1953, 78-79.

[117]See J.A. Emmens, Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst, Utrecht, 1968.

[118]See the comments reported in S. Slive, Rembrandt and his Critics.

[119]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 230.

[120]See C. Muller Hofstede, "Hdg. 409, Eine nachlase zu den Munchen Civilis-Zeichnungen," Konsthistorisk tidshrift, 25, 1956, 42-55.

[121]B.A. Rafkin, "Rembrandt in the Academy," Art News, 69, 1970, 79.

[122]K. Clark, Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance, 202; see entries 207 and 210.

[123]For example, K. Bauch, Der Frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit, Berlin, 1960, 97-99 sees influence in The Consul Cerealis and the Roman Legions; I.J.Q. Regteren Altena, "Retouches aan ons Rembrandt-buld. III," Oud Holland, 67 (1952), 41, shows Tempesta's influence on The Concord of the State; Regteren Altena sees other influence on the Night Watch, consult his "Quelques remarques sur Rembrandt et la "Ronde de Nuit," Actes du XVIIme Congrès international d'histoire de l'art, Amsterdam, 1952, 413.

[124]Just as Rembrandt's letters to Constantine Huygens had revealed his knowledge of the Palace, it is likely that Rembrandt had access to the government buildings in The Hague as well.

[125]For the importance of classical ideals during this period see J. Gantner, Rembrandt und die Verwandlung Klassichen Formen, Bern and Munich, 1964.

[126]Tacitus's text is clear on this point.

[127]B. Abou-El-Haj, "Consecration and Investitute in the Life of Saint Amand Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. ms. 502," Art Bulletin, LXI, 1979, 346.

[128]The account book of the House of Orange of 29 November 1646 stated that 2,400 guilders were paid to Rembrandt for this painting and one other; see H. Gerson, Rembrandt Paintings, New York, 1969, 90.

[129]At one time the Civilis drawing in Munich (Hdg. 409) was said to be a circumcision.

[130]This fascination can be seen in works as diverse as the Supper at Emmaus, Samson's Wedding Feast, or even The Syndics.

[131]See D. Benesch, The Drawings of Rembrandt, figs. 443, 44, 445.

[132]See The Pierpont Morgan Library, Rembrandt Drawings from American Collections, New York, 15 March-16 April 1960, for more information on this important drawing.

[133]The identification of the artist as Antonio de Monza is proposed by W. Weisbach, Rembrandt, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, 197; The Master of the Sforza Book of Hours is suggested by A.M. Hind, Early Italian Engraving, London, 1938-48, Part II, V, 88; while Zuan Andrea is supported as the draughtsman by J. Gantner, Rembrandt und die Verwandlung Klassichen Formen, 31.

[134]K. Clark, Rembrandt, 53-56.

[135]A. M. Hind, A History of Engraving and Etchings, New York, 1967, 99, discusses Ghisi's visit in 1550 to Antwerp; while there, Hieronymus Cock published his Last Supper, which was based on a painting by Lambert Lombard.

[136]C. Nordenfalk, "Some Facts about Rembrandt's Claudius Civilis," Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, 25, 1956, 75, points out that the Civilis had influenced the artist Louis Masreliez's Last Supper Altarpiece for the Romfartuna Church in Sweden; apparently, even in its fragmentary state, the painting had revealed something of Rembrandt's iconographic source.

[137]G. Schiller, The Iconography of Christian Art, Greenwich, Connecticut, 1971, 37.

[138]See J. Bialostocki, "Ikonographische Forschungen zu Rembrandt's Work," Munchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, 8, 1957, 195-219, for an analysis of some of the problems to be faced when dealing with Rembrandt.

[139]For an analysis of the genesis of this gesture in the classical world see H.P. L'Orange, The Iconology of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, Oslo, 1953, 171-2.

[140]See for example, C. Müller-Hofstede, "Zur Genesis des Claudius Civilis-Bild," Neue Beitrage, 26.

[141]K. Clark, Rembrandt, 57.

[142]C. Nordenfalk, "Some Facts," 79.

[143]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 188.

[144]See H. Gerson, "Rembrandt's Portret van Amalia van Solms," Oud Holland, 84, 1969, 244-249.

[145]K. Bauch, Der Frühe Rembrandt, 119.

[146]These types of figures were also present generally in the Caravaggisti, in J. Pynas, A. Elsheimer, and even in Rembrandt's teacher P. Lastman; such influences must also have affected Rembrandt's figures.

[147]C. Nordenfalk, "Some Facts," Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, 25, 1956, 79.

[148]A suggestion from my advisor Professor Thomas L. Glen led to the initial examination of the formal similarities between this work and the bride in Rembrandt's painting of Samson's Wedding Feast.

[149]F. Grossmann, "Notes on Some Sources of Breughel's Art," Album Armcorium J. G. van Gelder, The Hague, 1973, states that even contemporary critics, such as Lodovico Guiccindini, Vasari, and Ludovico Domenius Lupsonius recognized Breughel's dependence on Bosch; D. Bax, Bosch's Picture-Writing Deciphered, has cited two illustrations of secular feast scenes that show a peculiar similarity to Rembrandt's painting. (figs. 20,21).

[150]For example, see E. de Jongh, "Vermommingen van Vrouw Wereld in de 17 des eeuw," Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder, 198-206.

[151]K. Bauch, Der Frühe Rembrandt, 75-79, cites a few of these figures.

[152]E. McGrath, "A Netherlandish History by Joachim Wtewael," Journal of the Warburg Courtauld Institute, 38, 1975, 182-217.

[153]See Washington National Gallery of Art, The Detroit Institute of Arts, and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Gods, Saints, and Heroes - Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt, 1980-81, 70.

[154]K. Bauch, Der Frühe Rembrandt, 78.

[155]H. van de Waal, "The Iconological Background," Steps toward Rembrandt, 30.

[156]J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, and E. H. ter Kuile, Dutch Art and Architecture 1600-1800, Baltimore, 1966, 70.

[157]J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, and E. H. ter Kuile, Dutch Art, 70.

[158]See C. Harbison, The Last Judgement in Sixteenth Century Northern Europe, New York, 1974.

[159]This is an area needing much more detailed research.

[160]G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Volume two, 27-28.

[161]G. Schiller, Iconography, Volume two, 28.

[162]G. Schiller, Iconography, Volume two, 28.

[163]G. Schiller, Iconography, Volume two, 30.

[164]G. Schiller, Iconography, Volume two, 31.

[165]G. Schiller, Iconography, Volume two, 34.

[166]J. Schiller, Iconography, Volume two, 35.

[167]L. H. Loomis, "The Table of the Last Supper in Religions and Secular Iconography," Art Studies - Medieval, Renaissance, and Modern, 1927, 76.

[168]L. H. Loomis, "The Table of the Last Supper," Art Studies, 76; Loomis gives as another example of this secularization of religious art. She shows that the image of the Virgin, who is lying on the bed of the Nativity, has evolved into the Lover who dreams, with chin on hand, of the beloved in scenes from the Roman de la Rose, 73.

[169]L. H. Loomis, "The Table of the Last Supper," Art Studies, 76.

[170]G. Schiller, Iconography, 25.

[171]G. Schiller, Iconography, 38.

[172]J. Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art, 189.

[173]J. Hall, Dictionary, 189.

[174]This would be wholly in keeping with H. van de Waal's theories which stress the importance of typological representation in art of the seventeenth century.

[175]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 231.

[176]For the analysis of Raphael's themes in the Vatican apartments I have relied primarily on L. Dussler, Raphael, New York, 1971.

[177]C. Muller Hofstede,"Zur Genesis des Claudius Civilis-Bildes," Neue Beiträge zur Rembrandt-Forschung, 29.

[178]See K. Clark, Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance, 201-202, entries 196, 205, 206 and 214.

[179]C. Karpinski, "At the Sign of the Four Winds," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 18, 1959, 9-10.

[180]C. Nordenfalk, "Some Facts," Konsthistorisk Tidskrift, 25, 1956, 78-79.

[181]For some other aspects of light in Rembrandt's work see H.M. Rotermund, "The Motif of Radiance in Rembrandt's Biblical Drawings," Journal of the Warburg Courtauld Institute, 15, 101-121.

[182]L. Dussler, Raphael, 69-70.

[183]Dussler, Raphael, 78-86.

[184]H. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 231, states that Rembrandt had done a drawing after Raphael's Meeting of Leo I and Attila; see O. Benesch, The Drawings of Rembrandt, VI, 391; no. A 105A.

[185]M. Levey's chapters on the "Propaganda for the Prince" in his Painting at Court, New York, 1971, 81-114 is extremely enlightening.

[186]See P.G. Hamburg, Studies in Roman Imperial Art with Special Reference to the State Beliefs of the Second Century, Princeton, 1965; H.P. L'Orange, The Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, Oslo, 1953; H.P. L'Orange, Art Forms and Civic Life in the Later Roman Empire, Princeton, 1965.

[187]H. P. L'Orange, The Iconography of Cosmic Kingship, 165.

[188]M. Levey, Painting at Court, 90, discusses the "Secular Mystique" by which the secular ruler in his exalted status had come to represent the nation as a whole.

[189]M. Levey, Painting at Court, 15.

[190]B. Buchbinder-Green, The Painted Decorations, 194.

[191]G. Mosse, Calvinism, Authoritarian or Democratic, 3.

[192]G. Mosse, Calvinism, 3.

[193]An intensive study of contemporary political pamphlets, tracts, and broadsides might reveal more of Rembrandt's political awareness; for this, access to the archives in the Netherlands is a necessity.

[194]D. Nobbs, Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disciples in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650, Cambridge, 1938, contains a most extensive account of these years of theological argument.

[195]M. Levy, Painting at Court, 90, speaks of the mutual contract Erasmus envisioned for the ruler.

[197]A. Murphy trans. Tacitus: Historical Works: Vol. II, New York, 224.

[198]See R. Brilliant, Gesture and Rank in Roman Art - The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage, 19-20.

[199]For the iconographic background of the sword oath see J. Baechtold and E. Staubli, "Eid," Handworterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens, 1929/30, 667.

[200]H. van de Waal, "Iconological Background," Steps Toward Rembrandt, 38, note 15.

[201]F. Schmidt-Degener, "Rembrandt en Vondel," De Gids, 83, 1919, (See page 33 of reprinted version.)

[202]H. P. L'Orange, The Iconography of Cosmic Kingship, 39, reveals that the sword had been a royal attribute since late Sassamian times.

[203]S. Kraft, En Rembrandt-Tavlas, 8-16.

[204]D. Nobbs, Theocracy and Toleration, 67.

[205]D. Nobbs, Theocracy and Toleration, 66-70.

[206]D. Nobbs, Theocracy and Toleration.

[207]See discussion Neue Beitrage zur Rembrandt-Forschung, 4[illegible], where J.G. Van Gelder, supports H. van de Waal's idea that Ovens clung to Flinck's composition, see H. van de Waal's Drie Eeuwen, 227.

[208]F. Muller, Bibliothek van Nederlandsche Panfletten, Amsterdam, 1958, 253; The pamphlet, no. 2012 entitled, "'t Conspiratius Collagie,

verclaert den Moordt ende Brandt, ontsteken in Hollant," carries the following description, "met gegraveerden, titelplaat, waarop in 6 vakken de zamerzwering en de voltrokken straf wordt voorgesteld- Het verhaal loopt tot na de teregtstelling van Slatius. See F. Muller, De Nederlandsche Geschredenis in Platten, Amsterdam, 1863-1870, 196 , no. 1482.

[209]J. L. Motley, The Life and Death of John of Oldenbranvelt, 423.

[210]For this period consult J.L. Motley, The Life and Death of John of Oldenbarnevelt.

[211]See P. Geyl, History of the Netherlands, 38-63, for a history of this difficult period.

[212]J. L. Motley, The Life and Death of John of Oldenbarnevelt, 423.

[213]J.L. Motley, The Life and Death of John of Oldenbarnevelt, 425.

[214]F. Schmidt-Degenen, "Rembrandt en Vondel" (offprint from De Gids, 83, 1919, 32); translation mine.

[215]J:H. Huizinga, Dutch Civilization, 28-30. See also P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, 216.

[216]H.H. Rowen, The Low Countries in Early Modern Times, 114-116.

[217]P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555-1609, 23-203.

[218]See H.H. Rowen, The Low Countries, 30-33, for a passage from Oeuvres de Ph.D de Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde Ecrits politiques et historiques, which is a transcription of the oath sworn by the members of the confederacy.

[219]H.H. Rowen, The Low Countries, 60, includes a translation of the agreement, 59-64.

[220]P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, 196-197.

[221]Maurice, born in 1567, was appointed Handholder in the absence of his elder brother Philip William, born in 1554, because the latter had been arrested by the Duke of Alba and had then been held hostage in Spain.

[222]See J.L. Motley, The Life and Death of John Oldenbarnevelt, for a detailed account of the Advocate's life.

[223]P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, 210-212.

[224]P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, 213, shows that this was the period in which the theory of the absolute and independent sovereign rights of the States of Holland were formulated.

[225]H.H. Rowen, The Low Countries, 112-113, has published a highlighted version of the document.

[226]P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, 251-253.

[227]D. Nobbs, Theocracy and Toleration.

[228]H.H. Rowen, The Low Countries, 115, relates the remark attributed to Maurice that he did not know whether predestination was green or blue.

[229]E. Dumbauld, The Life and Legal Writings of Hugo Grotis, 12.

[230]E. Dumbauld, The Life and Legal Writings of Hugo Grotius, 12.

[231]P. Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, 73, mentions the fact that Fred Henry and his mother Louise de Coligny had always leaned

toward the Armenians and France.

[232]H.H. Rowen, The Low Countries, 125 has cited this idea which appears in Jan Tex's biography of John Oldenbarnevelt.

[233]F.J.C. Hearnshaw, "Hugo Grotius," The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, New York, 1967, 134.

[234]K. Clark, Rembrandt, 291 and 206; entries 196 and 287.

[235]W.L. Strauss and M. van den Meulen, The Rembrandt Documents, New York, 1979, 57.

[236]That F. Schmidt-Degener (1912) was the first to give a complete analysis of this painting and to determine the date of 1641 have been noted by Hamel, De Eendraet van het Lant," Amsterdam, 1945, 4.

[237]See K. Clark, Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance, 198, for no. 106 which lists "One Unification of the Country by the same, "to have been in "The Room behind the Saloon."

[238]B. Haak, Rembrandt, 73.

[239]See for example the passage from the catalogue of the Bogmans - van Beuningen Museum, which is quoted in H. Gerson, Rembrandt Paintings, 496.

[240]See for example S. Kraft, En Rembrandt-Tavlas, 6.

[241]C. Bille and Neumann are among the scholars supporting this theory.

[242]J. Six, Cornellisen and J. van Hamel adhere to this interpretation.

[243]See for example a flute glass in the Buckley Collection. W. Buckley, European Glass, London, 1926, no. 57A.

[244]J. O. Regteren Altena, "Retouches aan ons Rembrandt-beeld III," Oud Holland, 67, 1952, 38-41.

[245]J.A. Regteren Altena, "Retouches aan ons Rembrandt-beeld III," Oud Holland, 67, 1952, 38.

[246]S. Kraft, "En Rembrandt-Tavlas Politiska Backgrund," Vitterhets historie-och antikvititsahademien, Stockholm. Historisk Arkiv, 10, 1956, 5.

[247]My perception of these creatures may be due to the poor quality of the reproductions from which I am working. A personal inspection of the painting would be required to ascertain if there is something of this nature present in the panel.

[248]J.Q. Regteren Altena, "Retouches III," Oud Holland, 38-39.

[249]J.Q. Regteren Altena, "Retouches III," Oud Holland, 39.

[250]J. van Hamel, Eendracht van bet Land, Nijmegen, 1941, 35.

[251]J.Q. Regteren Altena, "Retouches III," Oud Holland, 41.

[252]J.Q. Regteren Altena, "Retouches III," Oud Holland, 41-45.

[253]One area that might prove fruitful in a more intensive analysis is the possible relationship between Rembrandt's work and contemporary plays, especially those by Vondel. See H. van de Waal, "Rembrandt at Vondel's tragedy 'Gibsbrecht van Aemstel,'" Steps Toward Rembrandt, 72-89.

[254]J.Q. Regteren-Altena, "Retouches III," Oud Holland, 45.

[255]S. Kraft, "En Rembrandt-Tavas Politiska Bakgrund," Vitterhets, 11.

[256]Although J. van Hamel was unable to discover much new information in his exploration of political prints, pamphlets and tracts of the period during the study of the iconographic meaning of the Concord, this appears to be one area that may yield new and useful data in the future.

[257]P. Gustaf Hamberg, Studies in Roman Imperial Art, 22.

[258]See R. Brilliant, Gesture and Rank in Roman Art - the Use of Gesture to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage, 105, for a discussion of this representation of Fides and Concordia.

[259]The historic development of ideas about these troops have been summarized in S. Kraft, "En Rembrandt-Tavlas Politiska Bakgrund," Vitterhets; J.Q. Regteren Altena, "Retouches III," Oud Holland; J. van Hamel, Eendracht van het Lant.

[260]C. Bille, "Rembrandt's Eendracht van het Land Land en Starters, 'Wt-trecking' van de Borgery van Amsterdam," Oud Holland, 71, 1956, 25.

[261]C. Bille, "Rembrandt's Eendracht van het Land," Oud Holland, 25.

[262]See S. Kraft "En Rembrandt-Tavlas," Vitterhets, 8-16.

[263]See P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 62, for a pertinent quote.

[264]B. Haak, Rembrandt, 173.

[265]C. Bille, "Rembrandt's 'Eendracht,'" Oud Holland, 30.

[266]J. J. Murray, Amsterdam in the Age of Rembrandt, 35.

[267]S. Kraft, "En Rembrandt-Tavlas," Vitterhets, 17.

[268]While this interpretation can not be proved, it appears to best fit with the other iconographic details of the work.

[269]Quoted by J. van Hamel, Eendracht van het Lant, 1.

[270]J.A. Regteren Altena, "Retouches IV", Oud Holland, 59, believes that this was a sketch for an engraving which was later reworked into The Hundred Guilders Print, see also H. Gerson, Rembrandt, 76.

[271]F. Schmidt Degener, believed that the work had been the sketch for a chimney piece for the Shooters Guild for the Civic Guard Hall in Amsterdam; he furthermore was the first to associate this work and The Night Watch: sur "Een meeningsverschil bet reffende de Endracht van hit Lant" Oud Holland, 31, 1913, 76-80.

[272]S. Kraft, En Rembrandt-Tavlas.

[273] For the seven letters to Huygens concerning the Passion Series, see H. Gerson, Seven Letters by Rembrandt, The Hague, 1961.

[274]C.W. Fock, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century",Apollo, 110, 469.

[275]C. White, "Did Rembrandt ever visit England?", Apollo, 76, 179.

[276]C. White, "Did Rembrandt ever Visit England?", Apollo, 76, 179.

[277]C.W. Fock, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art," Apollo, 110, 467-470.

[278]For Huygens' autobiography su J.A. Worp, Bijdragen en Medelachingen man het Historisch genootschap, XVIII, 1897, 1-122.

[279]C.K. Sass, Comments on Rembrandt's Passion Paintings and Constantine Huygens' Iconography, Copenhagen, 1971, 26.

[280]E.K. Sass, Comments on Rembrandt's Passion Paintings, 30.

[281]See A. Staring, "Vraagotukken der Oranje-Iconograhie. III: Counterfeitts Rembrandt Frederick en Amalia?" Oud Holland, 68, 1953, 12-24; H. Gerson, "Rembrandt's Portret van Amalia van Solms," Oud Holland, 84, 1969, 224-249.

[282]H. Gerson, Seven Letters of Rembrandt, The Hague, 1961.

[283]H. Gerson, Rembrandt Paintings, 491.

[284]J. van Hamel. Eendracht, 20.

[285]J. Q. Regteren Altena,"Retouches III,"Oud Holland, 49.

[286]C. Hofstede de Groot, Die Urkunden über Rembrandt (1515-1721). The Hague, 1906, 255.

[287]C. Tumpel, "Beobachtungen zur Nichtwache," Neue Beitrage zur Rembrandt-Forschung, 163.

[288]C. Tumpel, "Beobachtungen zur Nachtwache," Neue Beitrage zur Rembrandt-Foreschung, 167-169.

[289]H. Gerson, Rembrandt, 72.

[290]See Hellinga, Rembrandt fecit 1642, Amsterdam,1956, for what is probably much too elaborate an allegorical interpretation of the painting.

[291]J.Q. Regeteren Altena, "Quelques Remarques sur Rembrandt de la Ronde de Nuit," Actes du 17eme Congres International d'histoire de l'art, Amsterdam, 1952, 407.

[292]See comment on Schmidt-Degener's analysis in J.Q. Regteren Altena's "Quelques Remarques," Actes du 17eme Congres, 406-407.

[293]E. Haverkamp-Begemann, "Rembrandt's Night Watch and the Triumph of Mordecai," Album Americorum J.G. van Gelder, The Hague, 5, has cited M. Koh's definite proof that the Night Watch did not commemorate the company's participation in the festivities on the occasion of the Triumphal Entry of Maria de Medici into Amsterdam in 1638; see M. Koh, "Rembrandt's Nachtwatch: van Feeststoet tot Schutterstuk," Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 1967, 116-121.

[294]J.Q. Regteren Altena, "Quelques Remarques sur la ronde de nuit," Actes du 17eme Congres, 413, has cited Beets's assertion that Rembrandt used Tempestas engraving of Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata as he searched for forms with which to express his history pieces.

[295]It is widely agreed that Hellinga has gone too far in the direction of allegorical interpretation in his analysis of the Night Watch; see his Rembrandt fecit 1642.

[296]E. Haverkamp Begemann, "Rembrandt's Night Watch and the Triumph of Mordecai," Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder, 5-8.

[297]E. Haverkamp-Begemann, "Rembrandt's Night Watch," Album Amicorum, 6-7.

[298]E. Winternitz,"Rembrandt's 'Christ Presented to the People' - A meditation in Justice and Collective Guilt," Oud Holland, 84, 1969, 190.

[299]E. Winternitz, "Rembrandt's 'Christ Presented to the People," Oud Holland, 184.

[300]H. van de Waal, "Some Possible Sources for Rembrandt's Etching 'Ecce Homo' (1655)." Steps toward Rembrandt, 186-187.

[301]E. Weinternitz, "Rembrandt's 'Christ Presented to the People'," Oud Holland, 186.

[302]H. van de Waal, "Some Possible Sources," Steps, 184.

[303]I. Lindenborg, "Did the Execution of Charles the First Influence Rembrandt's Ecce Homo? - A tentative investigation," Print Review, 1974, 18-25.

[304]E. Winternitz, Rembrandt's 'Christ Presented to the People'," Oud Holland, 179.

[305]I. Lindenborg, "Did the Execution of Charles the First Influence Rembrandt's Ecce Homo?" Print Review, 22.

[306]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 46.

[307]R. Strong, Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback, 32.

[308]P. Geyl. Orange and Stuart, 55.

[309]H. van de Waal, "Some Possible Sources for Rembrandt's etching, Ecce Homo (1655)," Steps Toward Rembrandt, 183.

[310]F. Schmidt-Degener, "Rembrandt en Vondel," (offprint from) De Gids, 1919, 19.

[311]J. A. Emmens, Rembrandt en de regels van de Kunst, Utrecht, 1968, 203.

[312]N. Chevalier, Histoire de Guillaume III, Amsterdam, 1967.

[313]J.A. Emmens, Rembrandts en de Regels van de Kunt, 203.

[314]J.W. Zincgreff, Emblemata, Frankfurt, 1624.

[315]Washington National Gallery of Art, The Detroit Institute of Arts, and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Gods, Saints and Heroes, Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt, 1980-81, 164-66.

[316]C. Brown, "Rembrandt's 'Portrait of a Boy,'" Connoisseur, 217.

[317]See C. Brown, "Rembrandt's Portrait of a Boy," Connoisseur 193, 217.

[318]A. Bredius, Rembrandt Paintings, London 1969, no. 119.

[319]Only if the dating of the painting to 1655 is questioned can the possibility that it is a portrait of Titus be considered; C. Brown, Rembrandt's portrait of a Boy, Connoisseur, 219 believes that the painting was one left unfinished in the late 1640's; his strongly stated opinion makes a definite judgement against Brown difficult; the matter requires greater study and a personal inspection of the painting.

[320]A comparison with portraits of Rembrandt's son done about 1655, such as the portrait in The Wallace Collection in London (Br. 123), proves that the Portrait of a Boy in the Norton Simon Collection in Los Angeles is not a portrait of the same child.

[321]Information concerning the X-rays was obtained in a telephone conversation with the museum's staff.

[322]New York. The Pierpont Morgan Library, William and Mary and Their Home, 1979, 86-87; figure 41.

[323]Washington National Gallery Exhibition, March-April, 1965.

[324]Washington, D.C. National Gallery, Exhibition,March-April, 1965.

[325]Washington, D.C. National Ga-lery, Exhibition, March-April, 1965.

[326]W.R. Valentiner, "Rembrandt's Conception of Historical Portraiture," Act Quarterly, 11, 1948, 124.

[327]H. van de Waal, "Holland's Earliest History as seen by Vondel and his Contemporaries," Steps toward Rembrandt, 58.

[328]R. van Luttervelt, "De Grote Ruiter van Rembrandt," Oud Holland, 8, 1957, 217.

[329]See London, National Gallery, Acquisitions' 1953-62, 1963, for a discussion of the historic interpretations of this painting.

[330]See H. Gerson, Rembrandt, 504 for a summary of these opinions.

[331]R. van Luttervelt, "De Grote Ruiter van Rembrandt," Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 8, 1957, 185-219.

[332]H. Honour, "An Equestrian Portrait by Rembrandt", Leeds Art Calendar, 7-8.

[333]H. Honour, "An Equestrian Portrait by Rembrandt", Leeds Art Calendar, 7-8.

[334]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 145.

[335]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 139-140.

[336]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 140.

[337]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 141.

[338]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 141.

[339]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 194.

[340]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 196.

[341]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 197.

[342]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 187.

[343]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 187.

[343]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 187.note 74.

[344]P. Geyl, Orange and Stuart, 187 note 74.

[345]M. Grew, The House of Orange, 136.

[346]For a summarization of all interpretations see Leiden. Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal," Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626, 1976-77, 66.

[347]R. Brilliant, Gesture and Rank in Roman Art, 197.

[348]J. Held, The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens, Princeton, New Jersey, 1980, 20-30.

[349]See W.R. Valentiner, "The Rembrandt Exhibition in Holland, 1956," Art Quarterly, 19, 1956, 404; F. Saxl, "Rembrandt and Classical Antiquity," Lectures, 1957, I, 298-301.

[350]See F. Schmidt-Deginer, "Rembrandt's Clemency of the Emperor Titus," Oud Holland, 58, 1941, 106-11; A. van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen, 261; G. Knuttel, "Rembrandts earliest Works," Burlington Magazine, 77, 1955, 44.

[351]W. C. Schuylenburg, Catalogues der Schildenjen van het Central Museum, Utrecht, 1933, 329; see also, W. Stechow, "Romische Gerechtsdarstellungen bei Rembrandt und Bol," Oud Holland, 46, 1929, 134; O. Benesch, "Rembrandt and Ancient History," Art Quarterly, 22, 1959, 310.

[352]See R. Brilliant, Gesture and Rank in Roman Art, 152, for a discussion of the imagery used to depict submission and defeat.

[353]K. Bauch, Der Frühe Rembrandt, 99.

[354]K. Bauch, Der Frühe Rembrandt, 99.

[355]K. Clark, Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance, 204; no. 246.

[356]K. Clark, Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance, 201 and 206; no. 188 and 287.

[357]See H.E. van Gelder. Ikonografie von Constantijn Huygens en de Zijner, The Hague, 1957.

[358]E. K. Sass, Comments on Rembrandt's Passion Paintings and Constantijn Huygen's Iconography, Copenhagen, 1971, 28.

[359]H. Gerson, Rembrandt Paintings, 488.

[360]G. Knuttel, "Rembrandt's Earliest Works," Burlington Magazine, 97, 155, 44-49.

[361]J. G. van Gelder, "Rembrandt's Vroegste Ontwikkeling," Mededelingen der Konninklinjke Nederlandsche Akademia van Wetenschappen, 16, 12-13.

[362]Leiden. Stedeljk Museum. "De Lakenhal's Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626, 1976-77, 66-68.

[363]For something of the controversy surrounding Vondel's play, see J. A. Barnouw, Vondel, New York, 1925, 59-65.

[364]Leiden, Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal's Geschildert tot Leyden Anno 1626, 1976-77, 68.

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Images en couleur

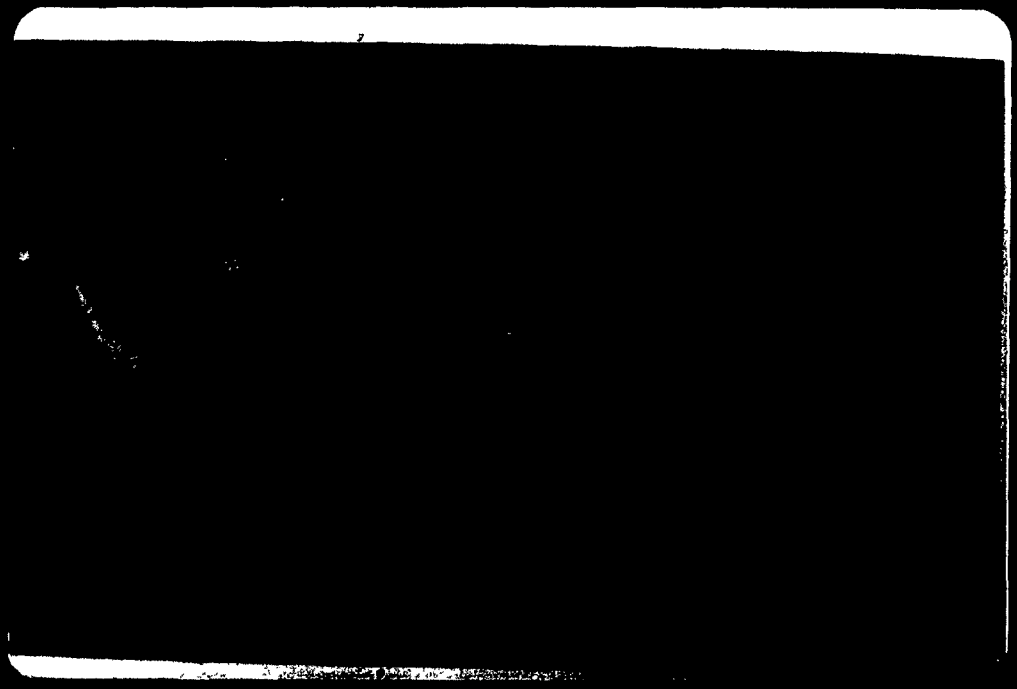

Figure 1

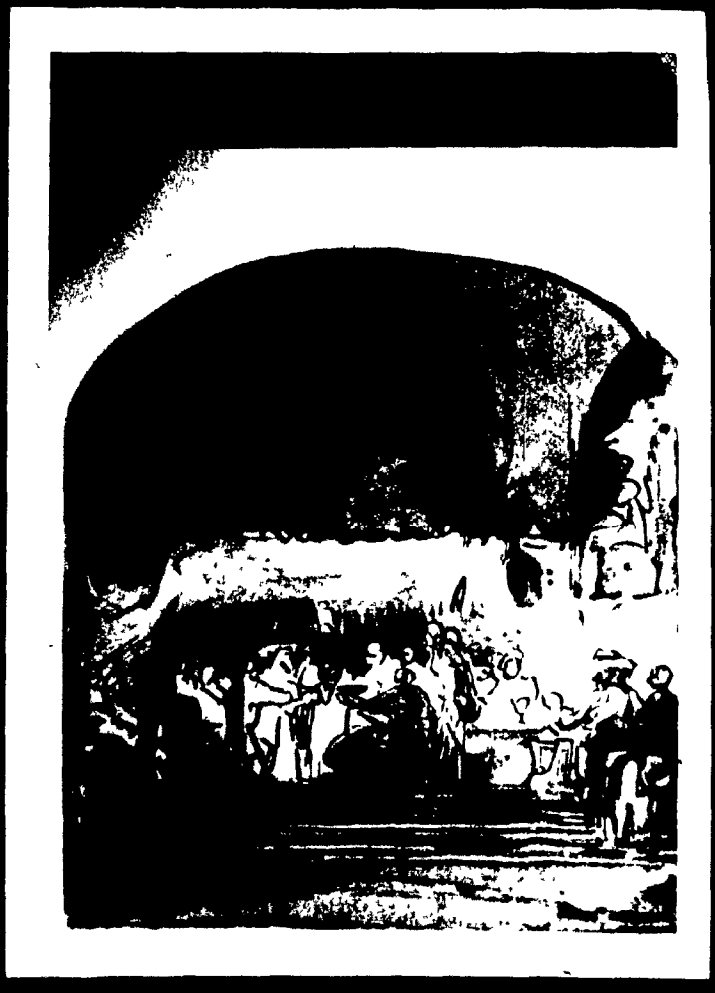

Figure 2

Figure 3

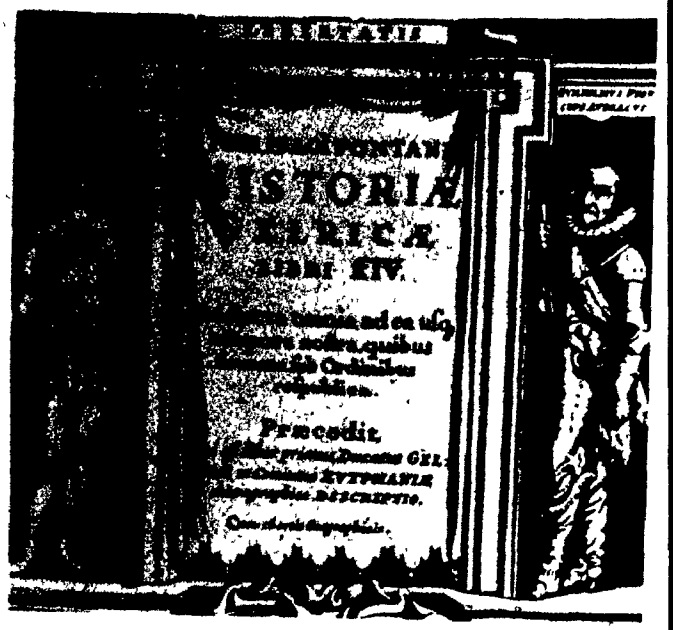

Fig. 1. Influence of the typological interpretation of history. Contemporaries compared to similar personages of national history: Claudius Civilis as precursor of William the Silent. Title page to J. I. Pontanus, Historiae Gelricae, 1639 (detail)

Figure 4

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Figure 5

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Figure 7

Figure 8

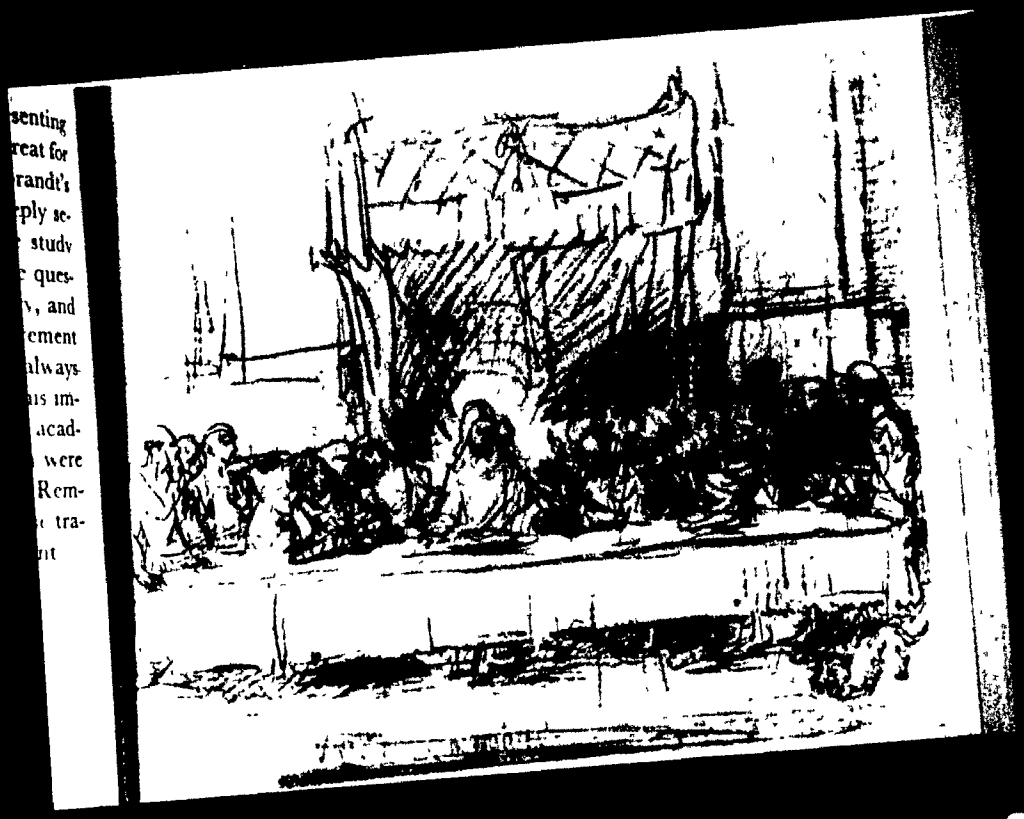

Figure 9

Sixteenth Century The Last Supper, after Leonardo da Vinci. [Engraving]

Figure 10

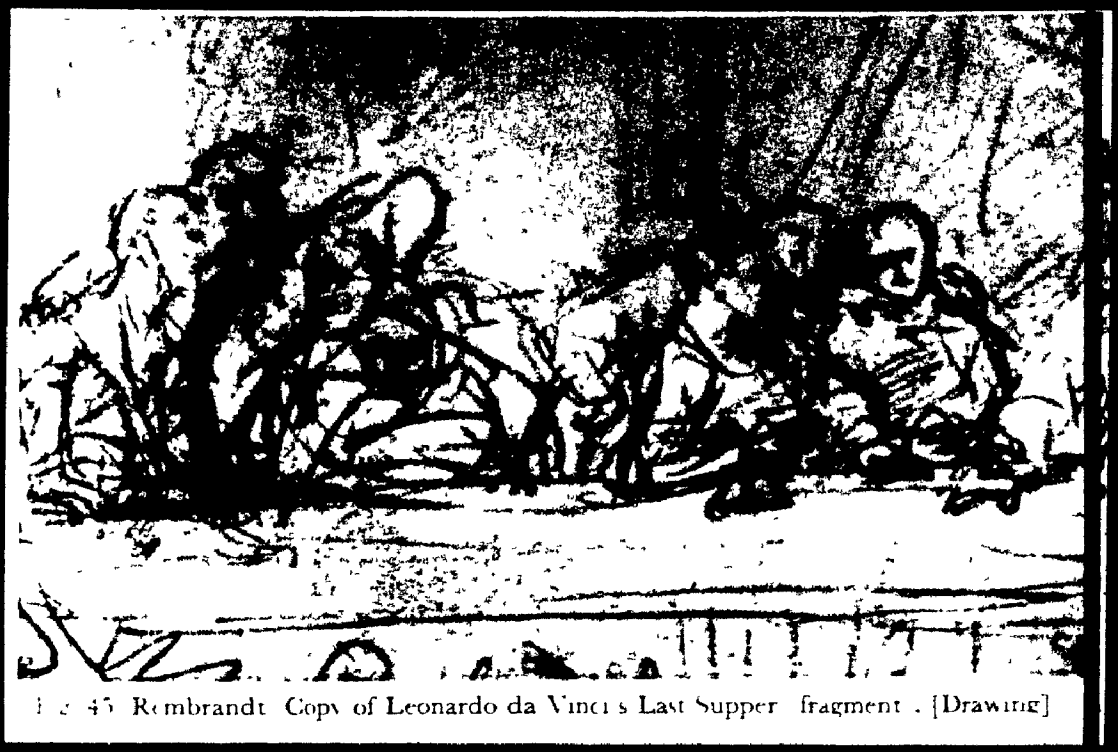

Fig. 45 Rembrandt. Copy of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper (fragment). [Drawing]

Figure 11

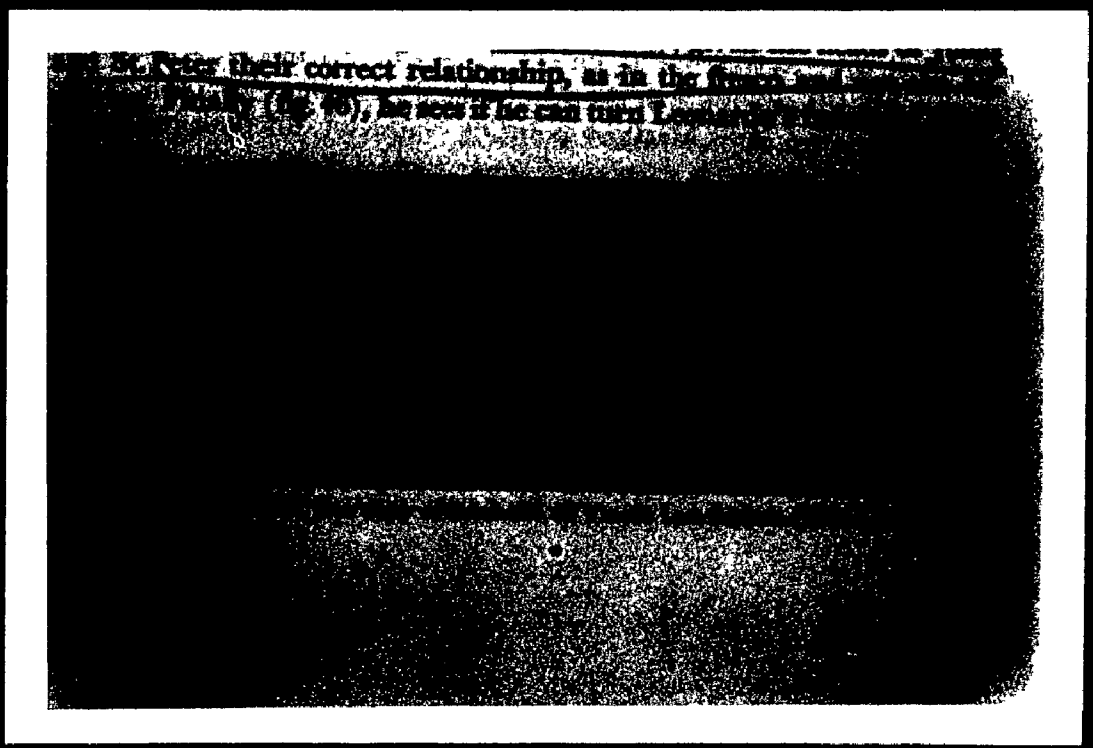

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

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Figure 19

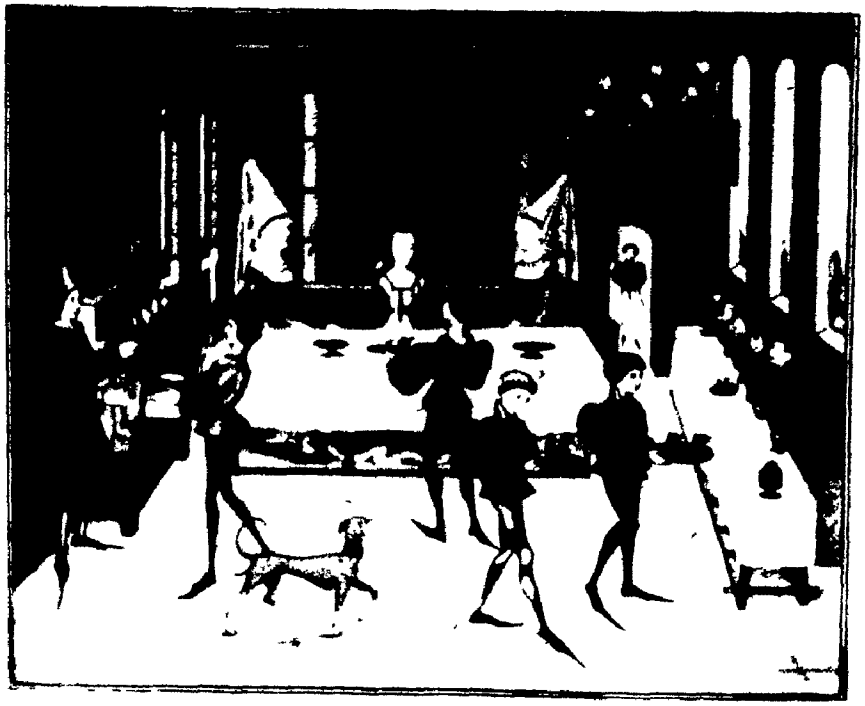


Figure 20

Figure 21

a—Wtewael, *The Maid Courted* Vienna, Albertina (*pp* 182-3, 191-3)

Figure 22

Figure 23

Figure 24

Figure 25

Figure 26

Figure 27

Figure 28

Figure 29

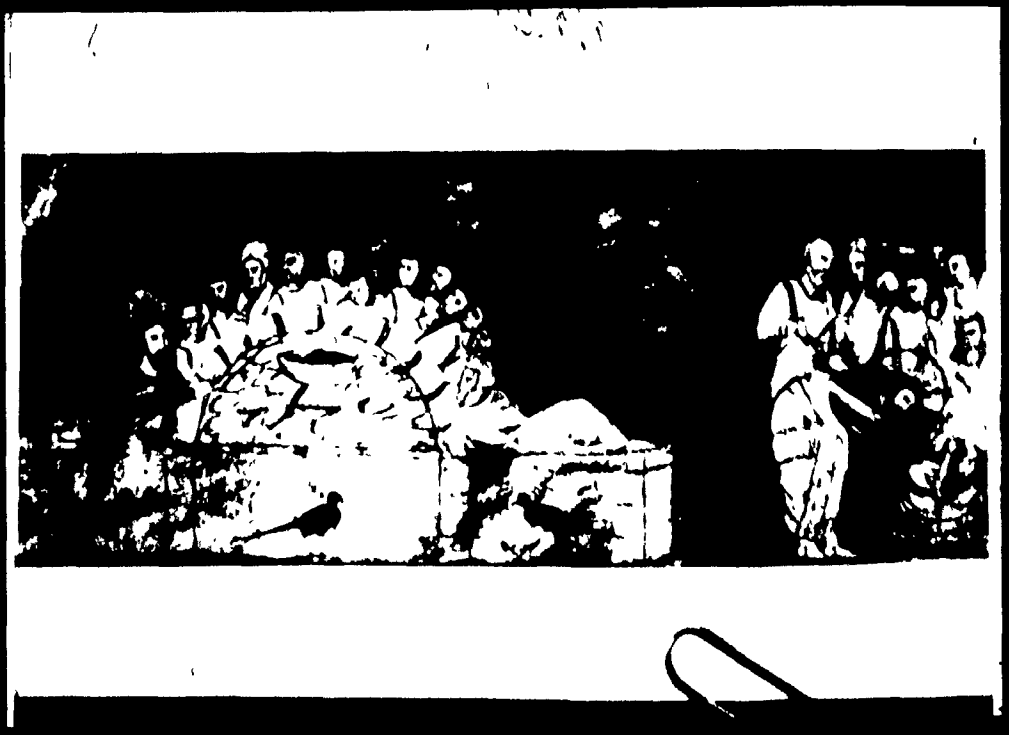


Figure 30

Figure 31

Figure 32

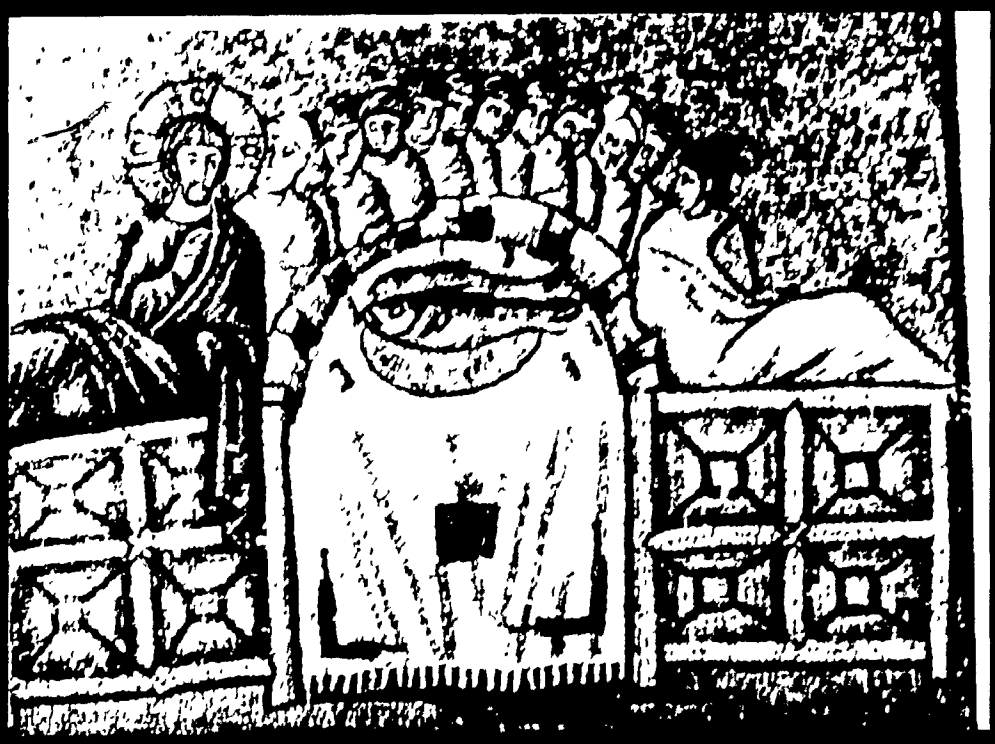
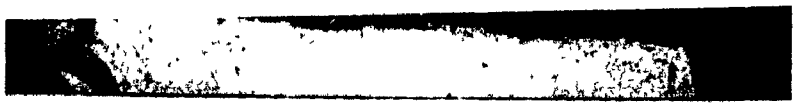


Figure 33



20. The Last Supper. Ballyqklisse, Soandere

21. Celestial Banquet. Fresco, Appian Way

Figure 34

Figure 35

11 Feast

Figure 36

Figure 37

Figure 38

Figure 39

Figure 40

Figure 41

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 44

Figure 45

Figure 46

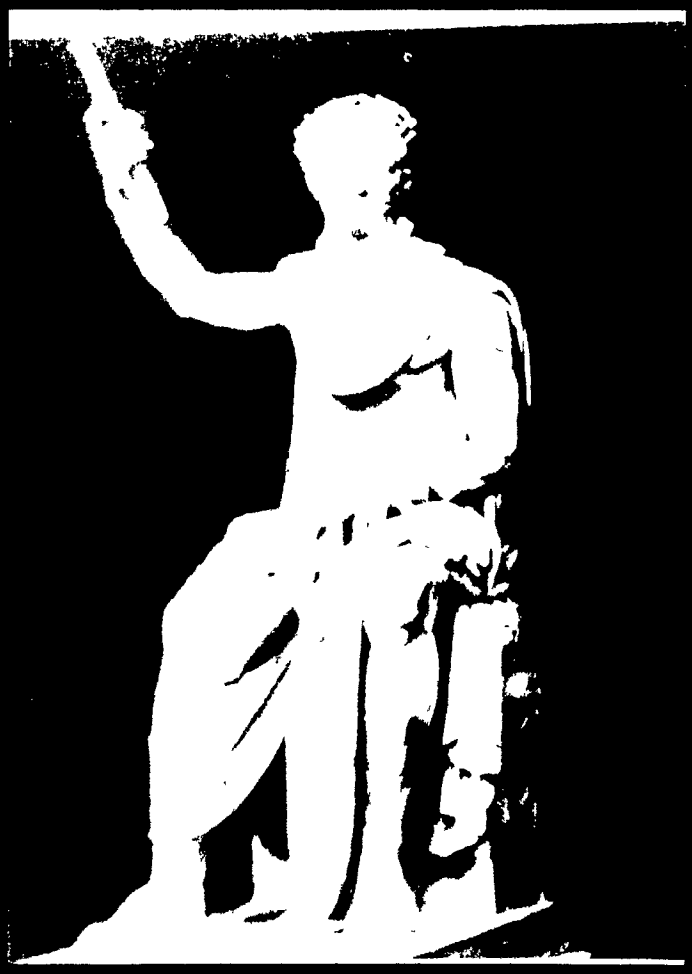


Figure 47

Figure 48

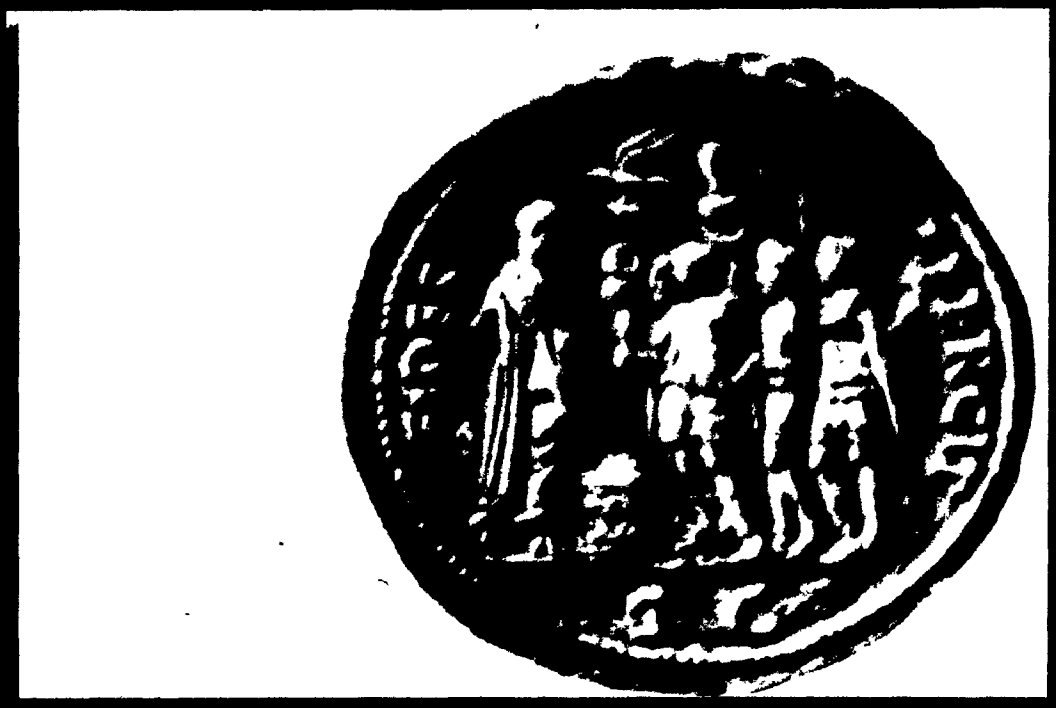


Figure 49

Figure 50

18. Titelblatt einer Flugschrift von 1628. Die Verschwörung gegen den Prinzen Moritz von Oranien.

Figure 51

h Fig. 3.9. AE of Trajan with [illegible] Fig. 3 [illegible]

Figure 52

Figure 53

Figure 54

Figure 55

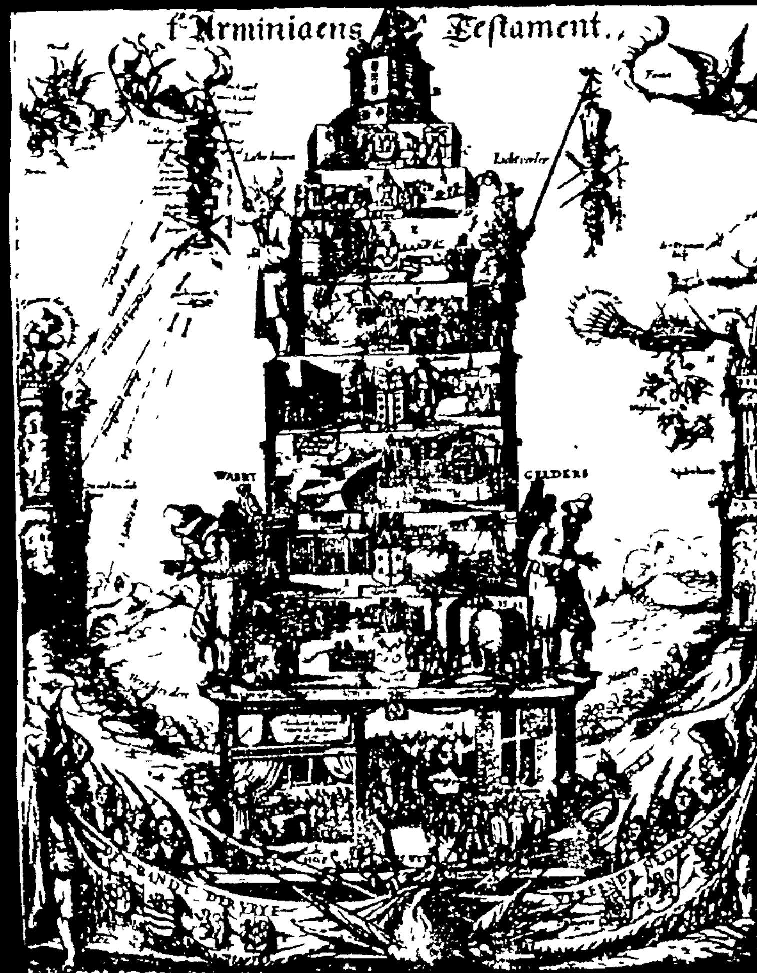
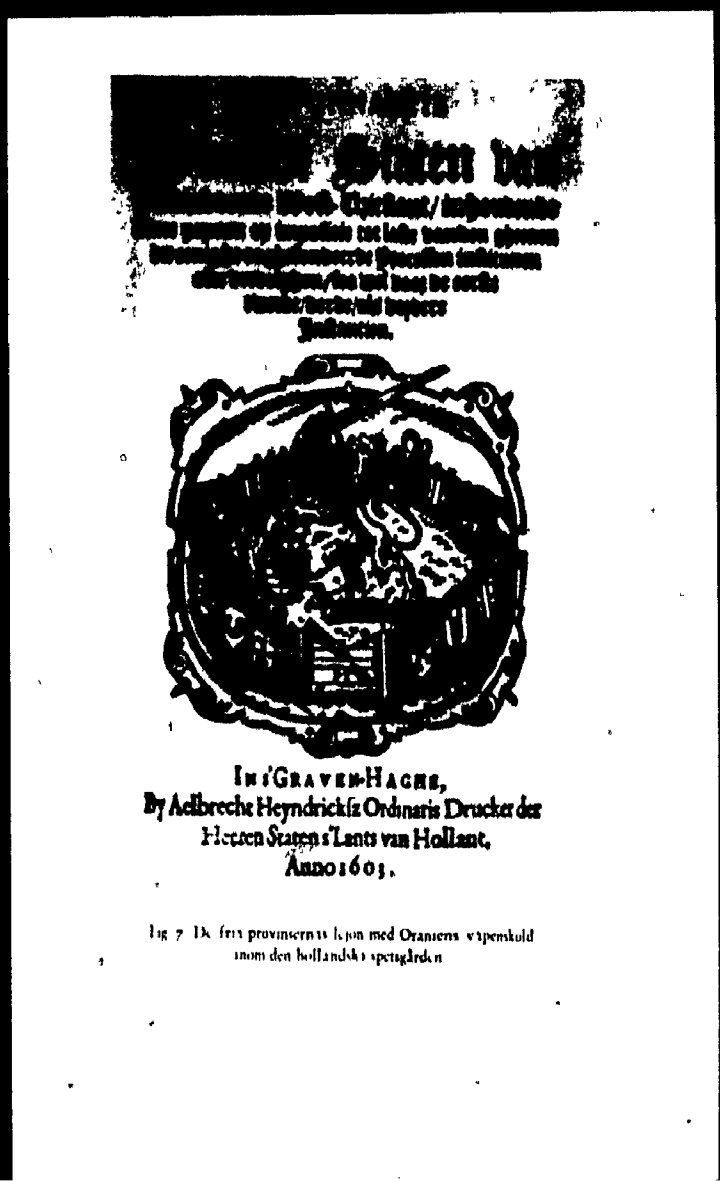


Figure 56

Figure 57



In 's GRAVEN-HAGHE,
By Aelbrecht Heyndrickſz Ordinaris Drucker der
Heeren Staten s'Lants van Holland,
Anno 1603.

Figure 58

Figure 59

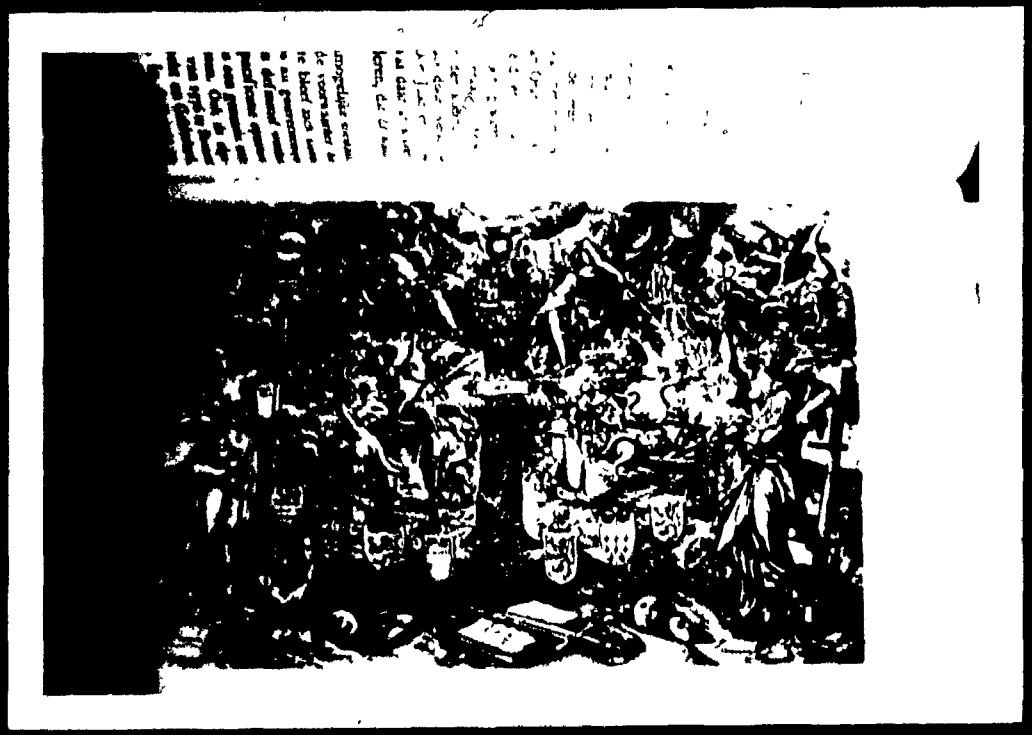


Figure 60

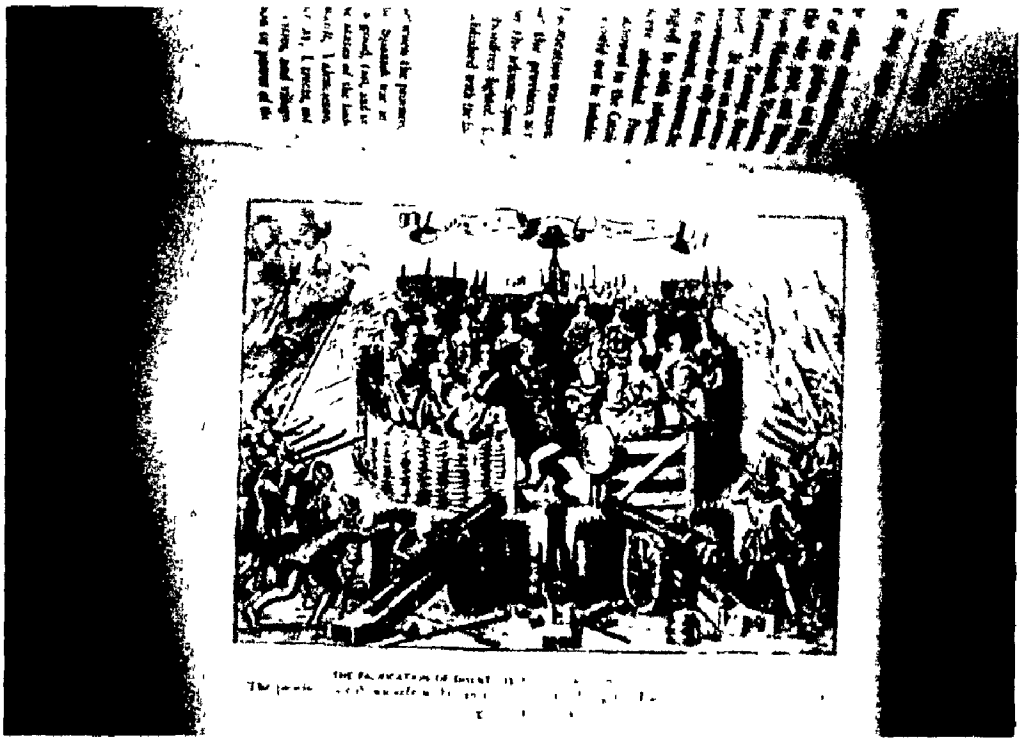


Figure 61

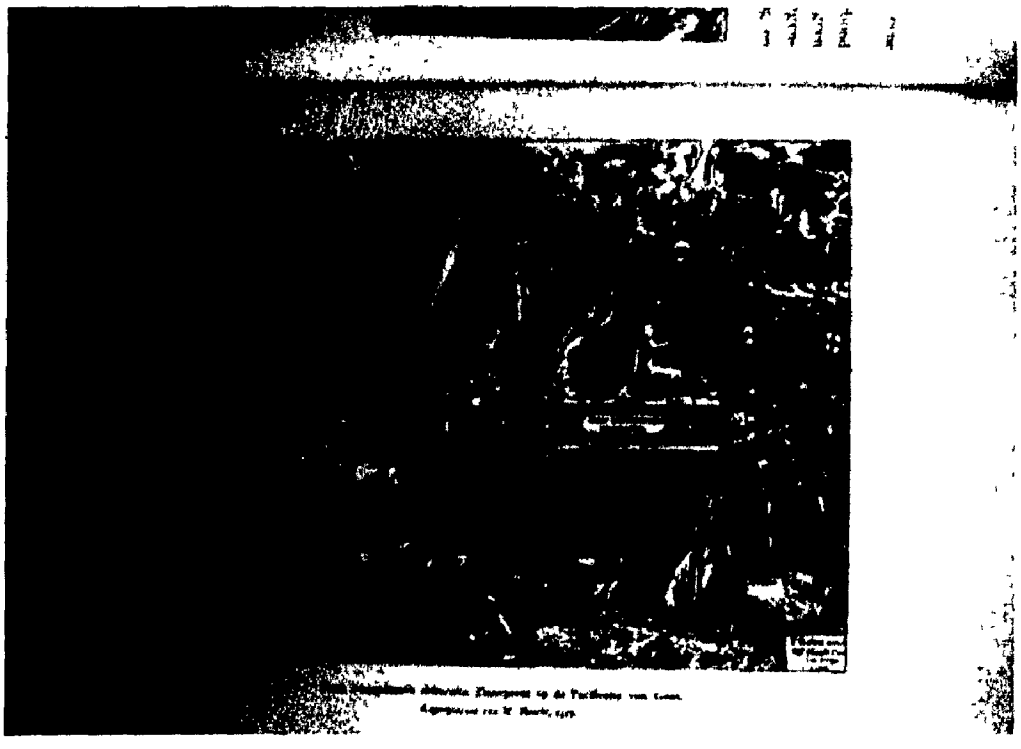
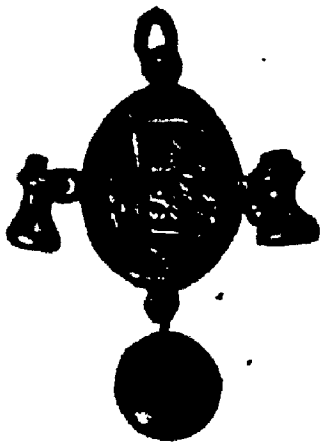


Figure 62



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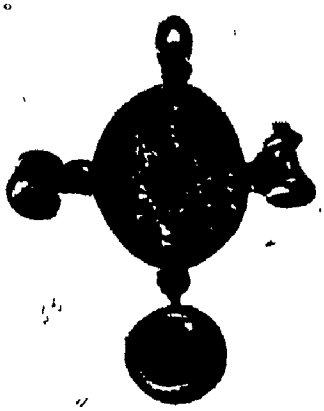

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Figure 63

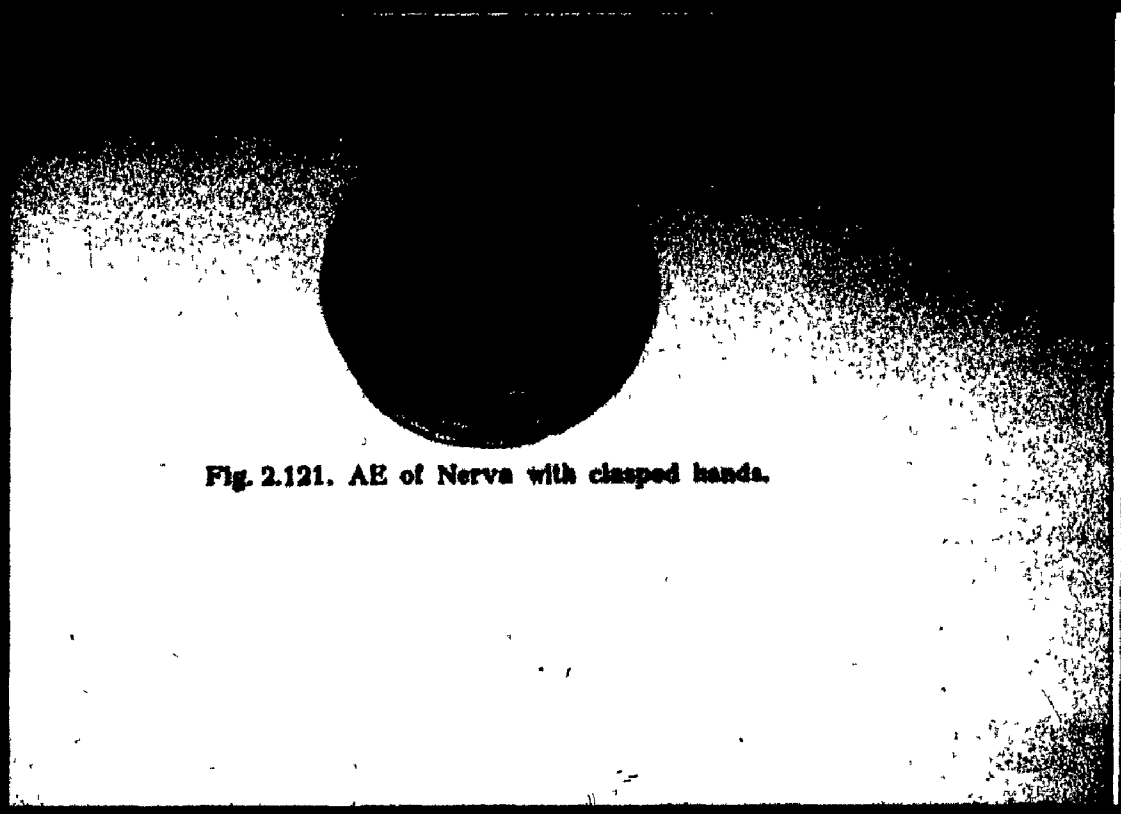


Fig. 2.121. AE of Nerva with clasped hands.

Figure 64

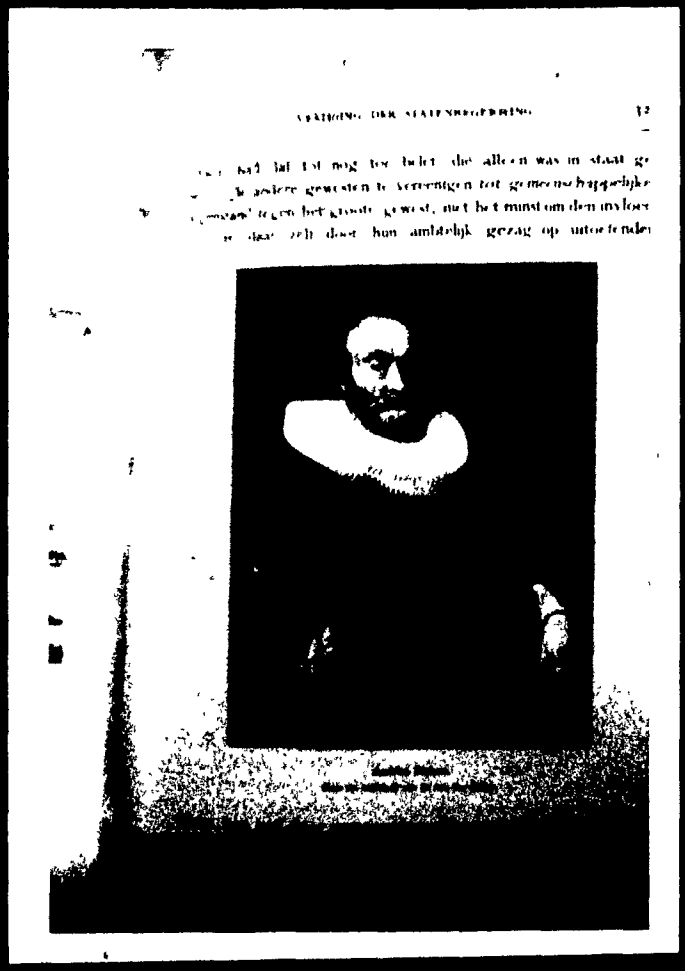


Figure 65

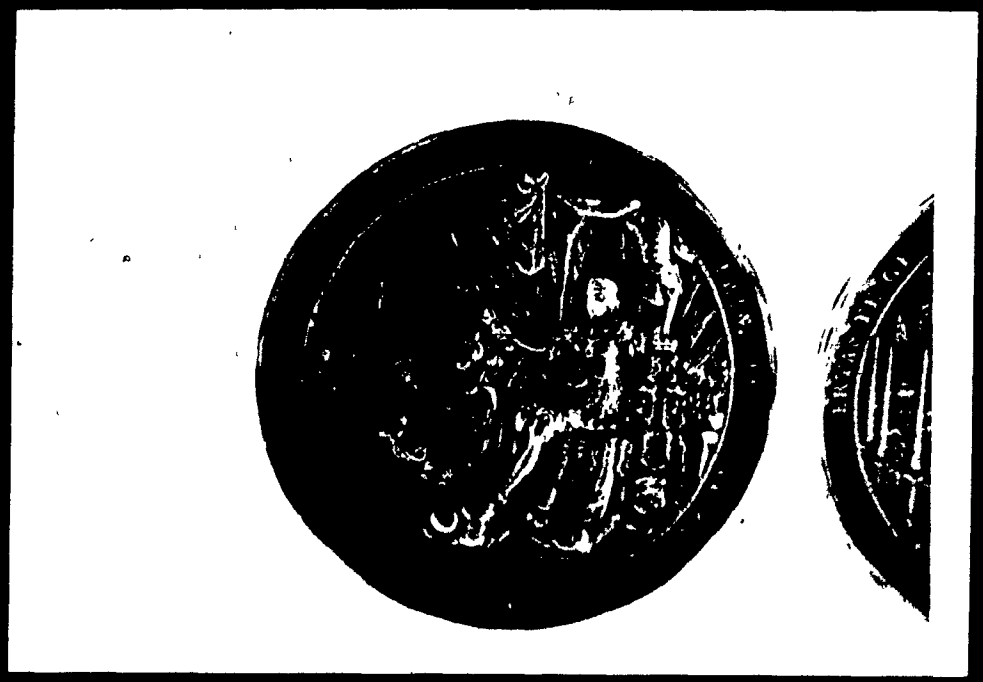


Figure 66

Figure 67

Figure 68

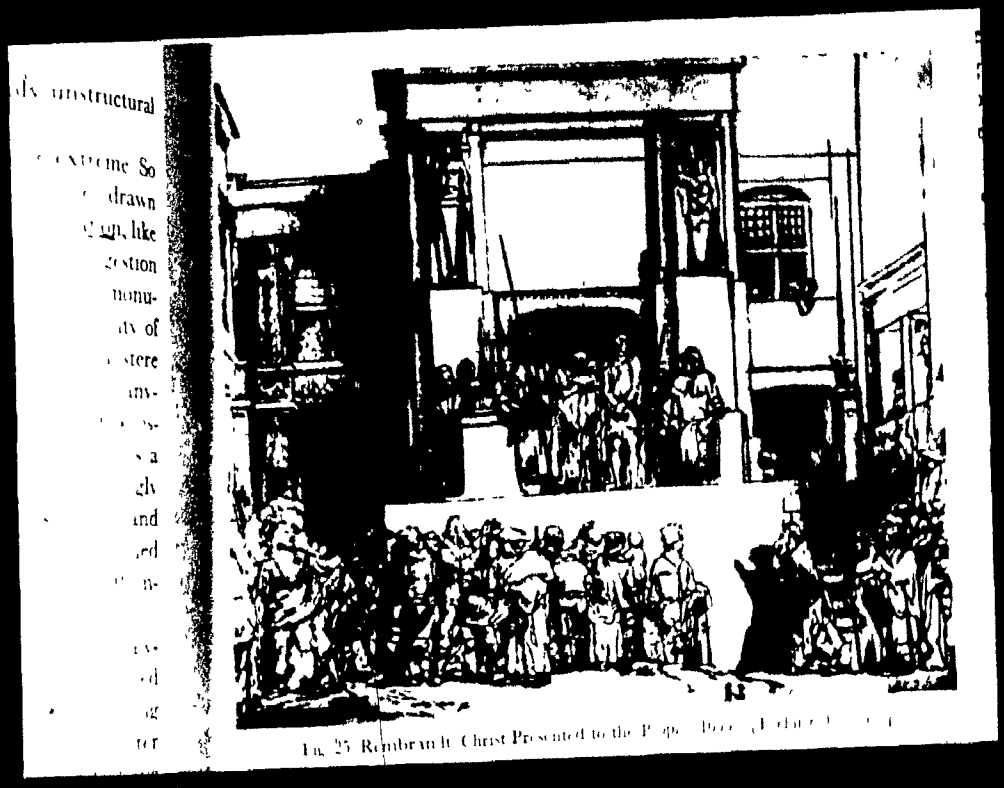


Figure 69

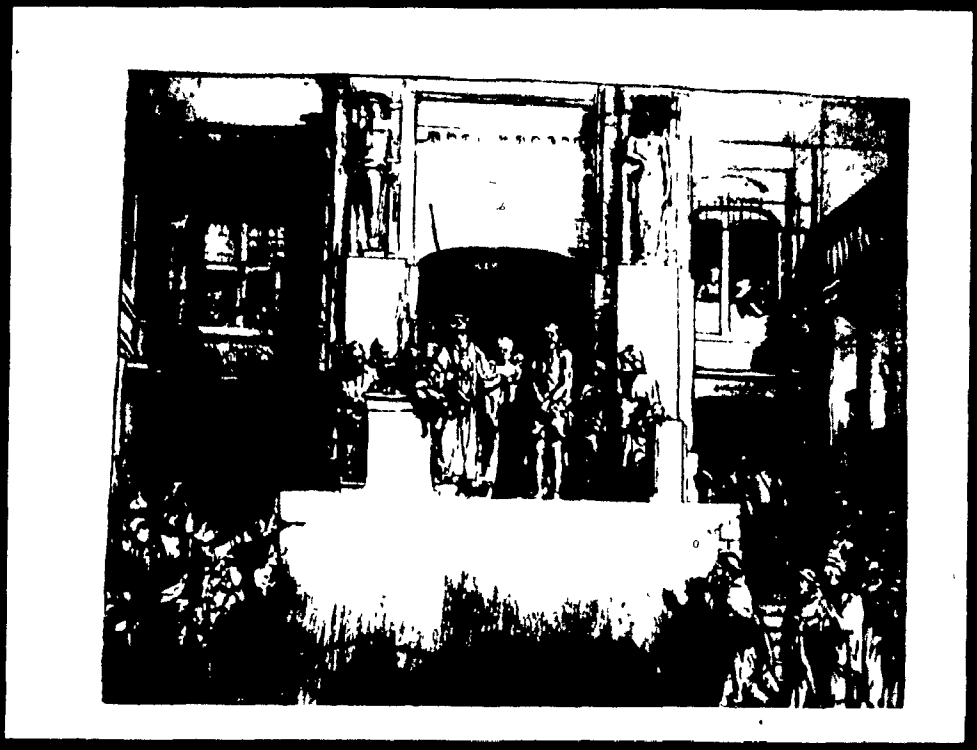
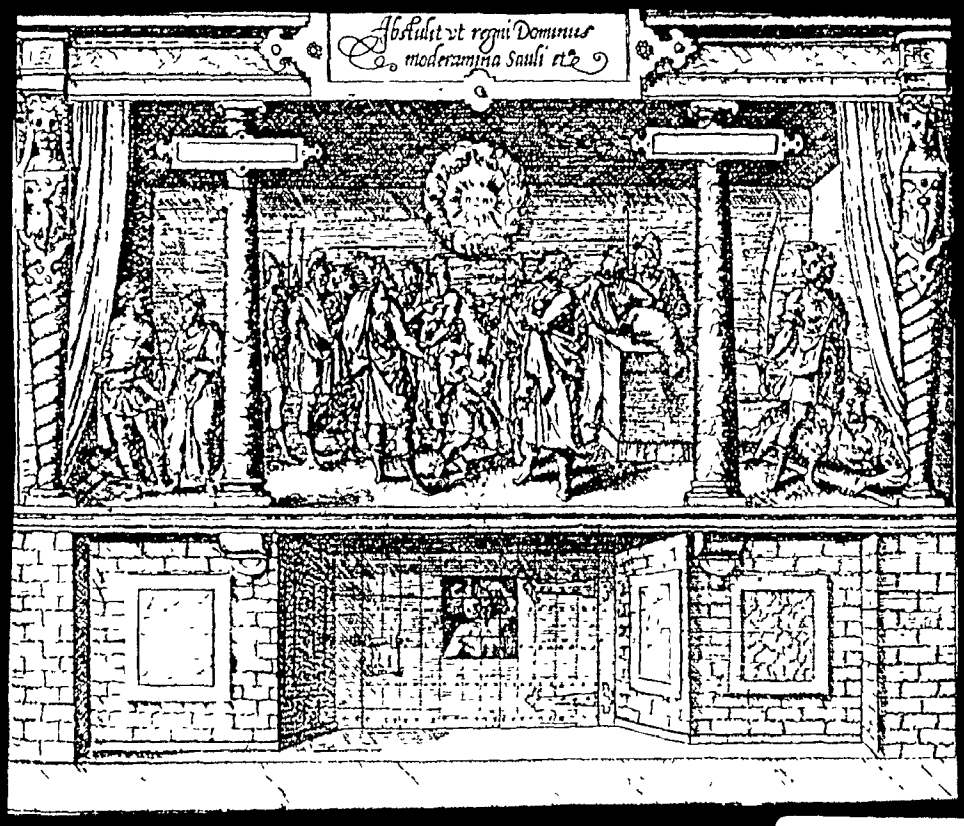


Figure 70



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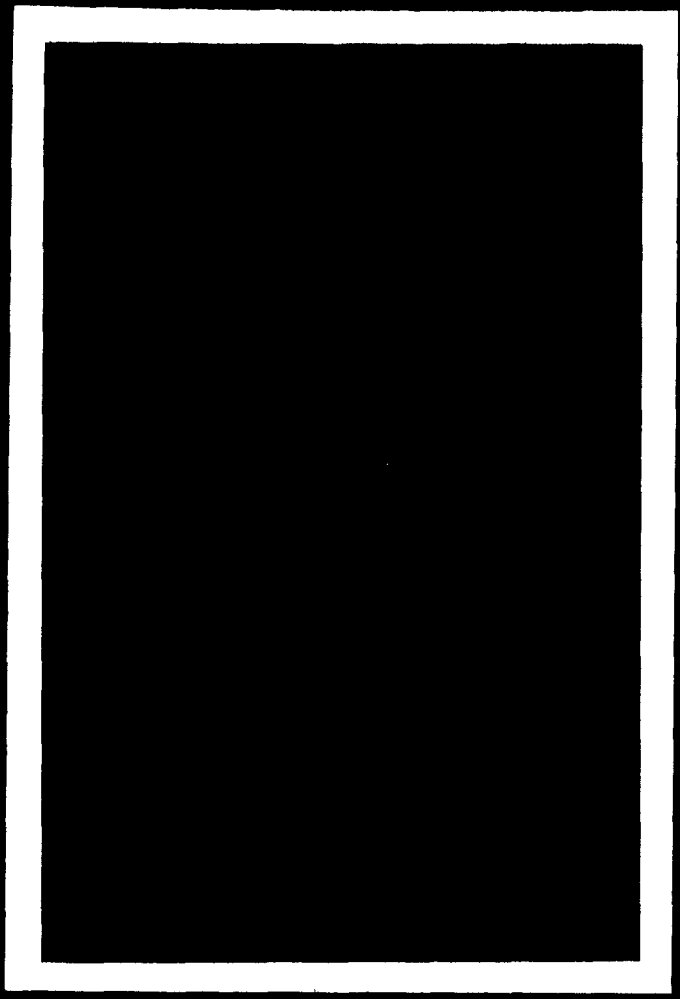

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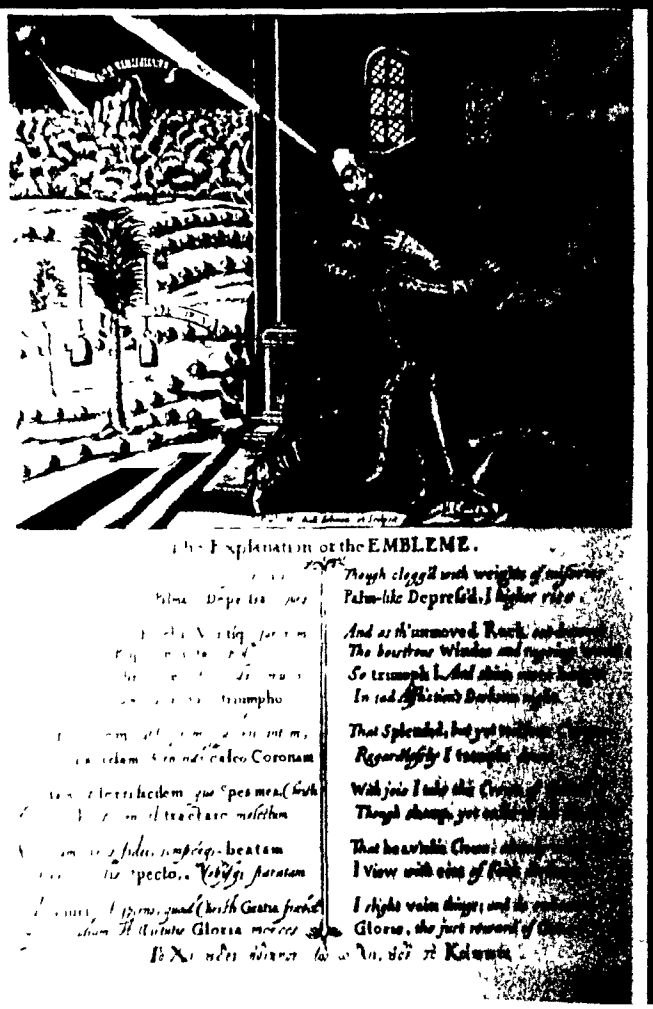


The Explanation of the EMBLEME.

84

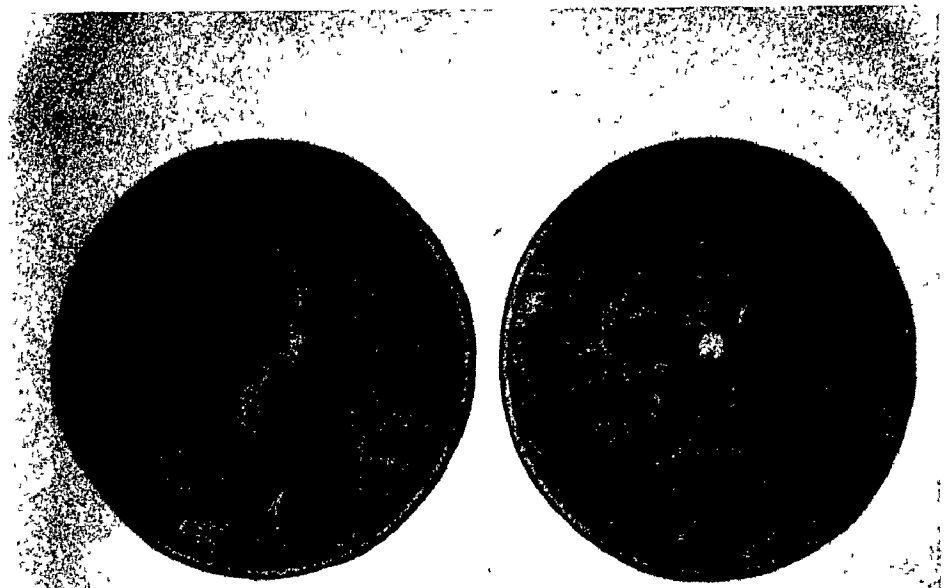
Figure 75

Figure 76

5 Claes Jansz. Visscher, *An Execution in Front of the Gravensteen, Leiden* Etching, 1623.

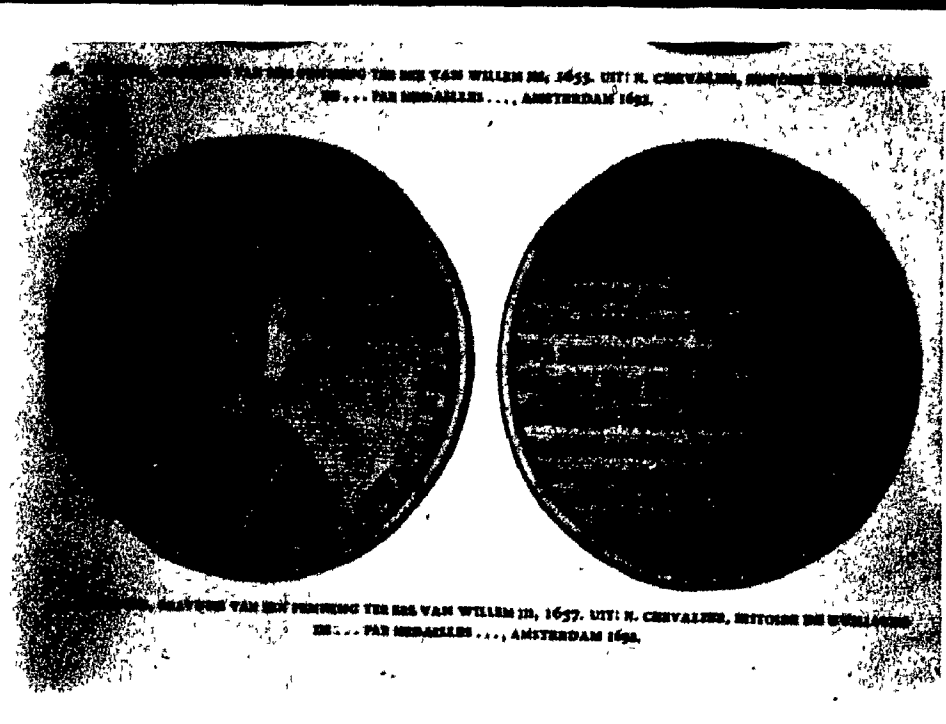
Figure 77

Figure 78



[illegible], GRAVURE VAN EEN PENNING TER EERE VAN WILLEM III, 1655. UIT: N. CHEVALIER, HISTOIRE DE GUILLAUME III . . . PAR MEDAILLES . . ., AMSTERDAM 1692.

Figure 79



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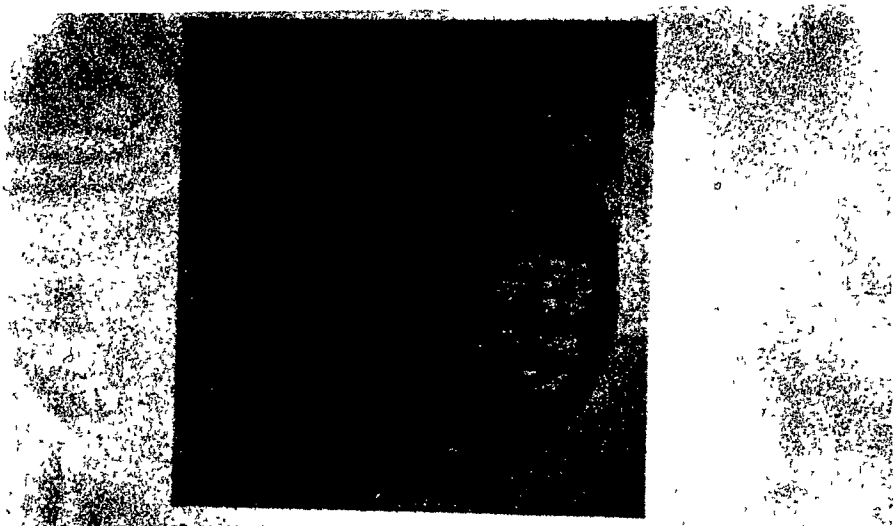


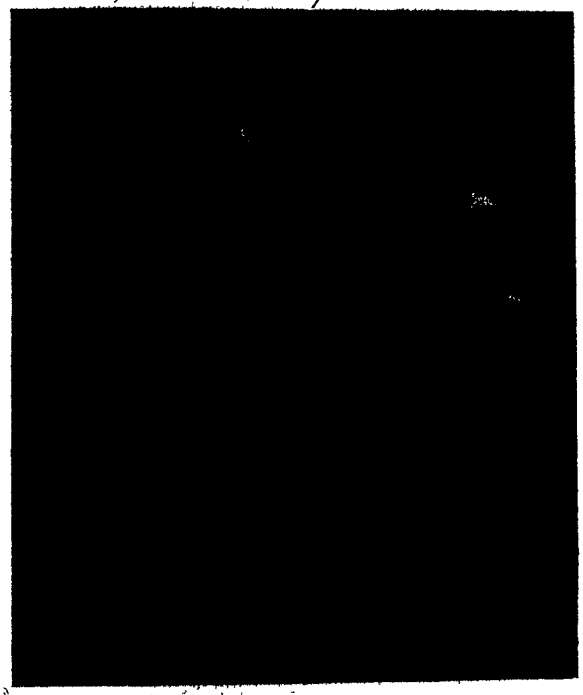
MATTHEUS MERIAN, „CITIUS CAPIAR QUAM TENEAR". GRAVURE
AUS: J. G. ZINCGREFIUS, EMBLEMATUM ETHICO-POLITICORUM
CENTURIA, HEIDELBERG 1666.

Figure 80

Leinwand 65 x 56 cm

Los Angeles, Smlg. Norton Simon

Figure 81

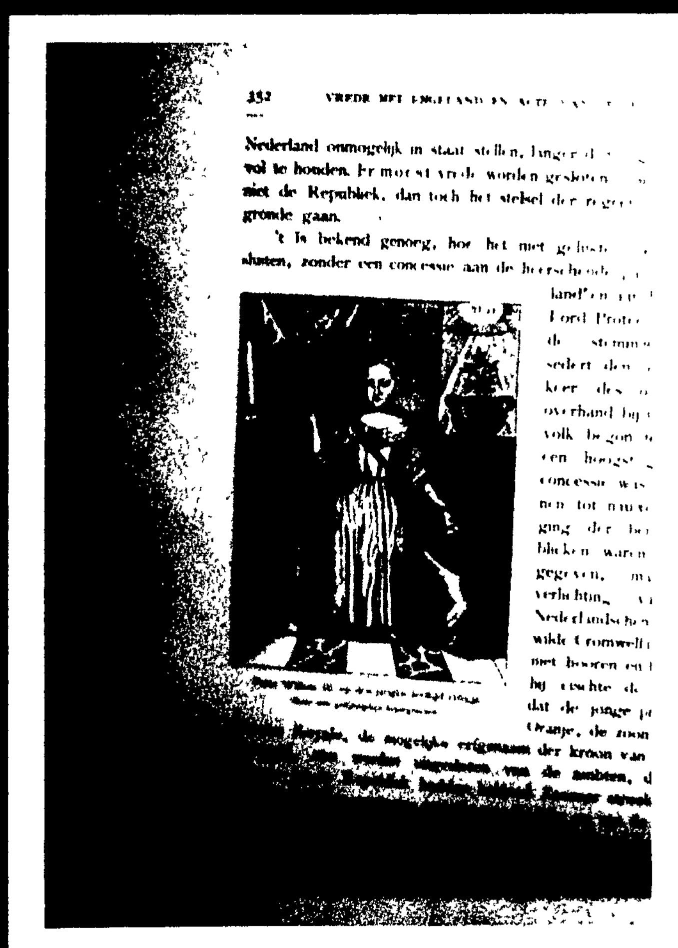


exemplaar van dat type, in enkele gevallen ook

Figure 82

Figure 83

Figure 84



352 VREDE MET ENGELAND EN ACTE [illegible]

Nederland onmogelijk in staat stellen, langer [illegible] vol te houden. Er moest vrede worden gesloten [illegible] niet de Republiek, dan toch het stelsel der regee[illegible] gronde gaan.

't Is bekend genoeg, hoe het met geslo[illegible] sluiten, zonder een concessie aan de heerschende [illegible] land" en [illegible] Lord Protec[illegible] de stemmi[illegible] sedert den [illegible] keer des [illegible] overhand bij [illegible] volk begon [illegible] een hoogst[illegible] concessie was [illegible] nen tot naar[illegible] ging der be[illegible] blicken waren [illegible] gegeven, [illegible] verlichting [illegible] Nederlandschen [illegible] wilde Cromwell [illegible] niet hooren en [illegible] hij eischte de [illegible] dat de jonge p[illegible] Oranje, de zoon [illegible] Engelsche, de mogelijke erfgenaam der kroon van [illegible] voor goed uitgesloten van de ambten, d[illegible]

Figure 85

Figure 86

Figure 87

Figure 88

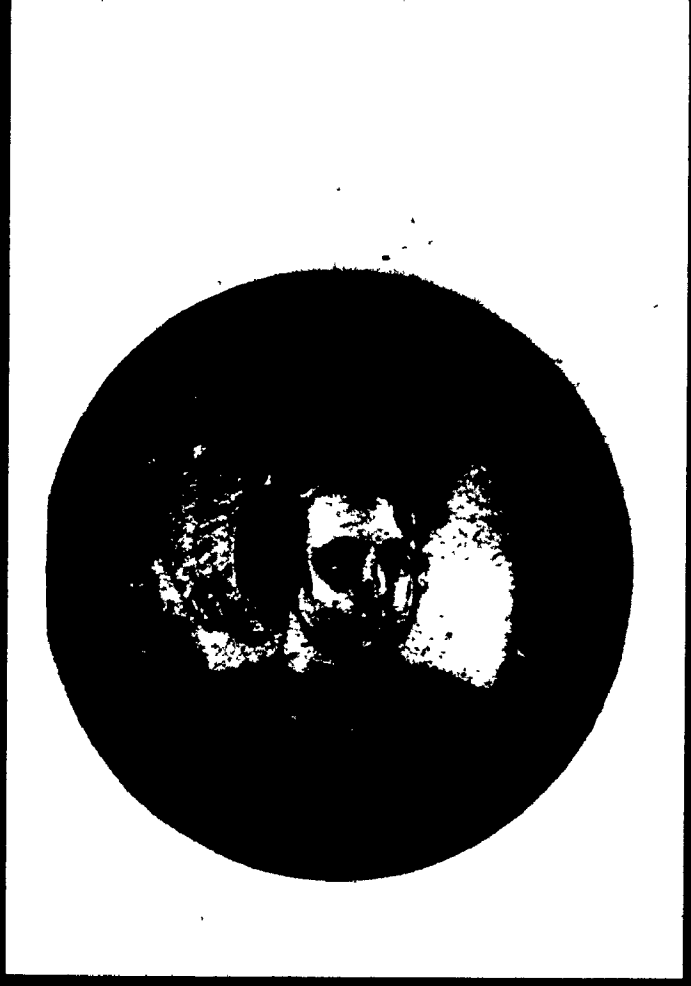


Figure 89

Hans Holbein *Edward VI as Prince of Wales*
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

Figure 90

across the Tiber by Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) Oil
3 43m Formerly in the Gemäldegalerie Berlin Destroyed
subject that because of its symbolism of freedom much
ces of Orange

8 *William II of Orange* by Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641)
1628–29 Oil on canvas 1 175 × 1 02m Stift Mosigkau near
Dessau

Figure 91

Figure 92

Figure 93

Figure 94

COLOURED PICTURES
Images en couleur

Figure 95

Figure 96

Figure 97

Figure 98

Figure 99

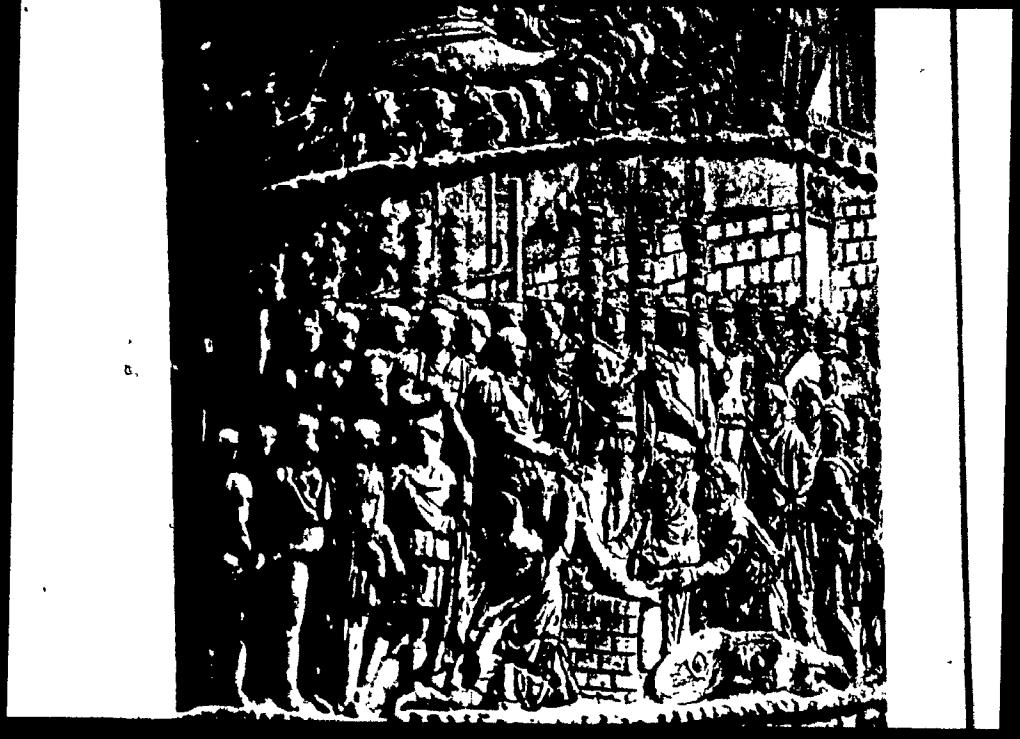


Figure 100

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Figure 101

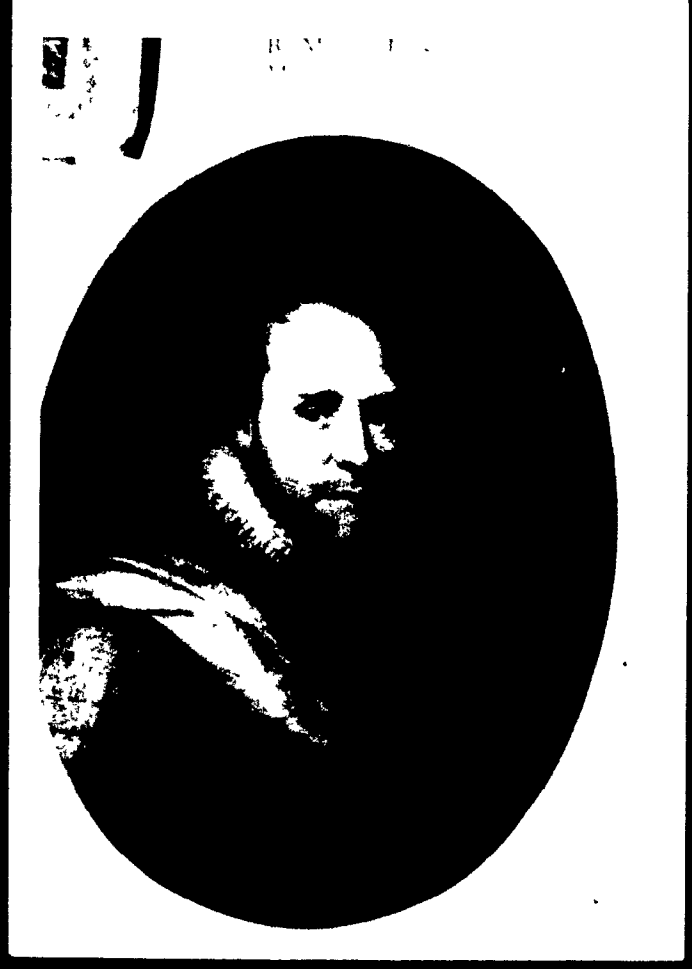


Figure 102

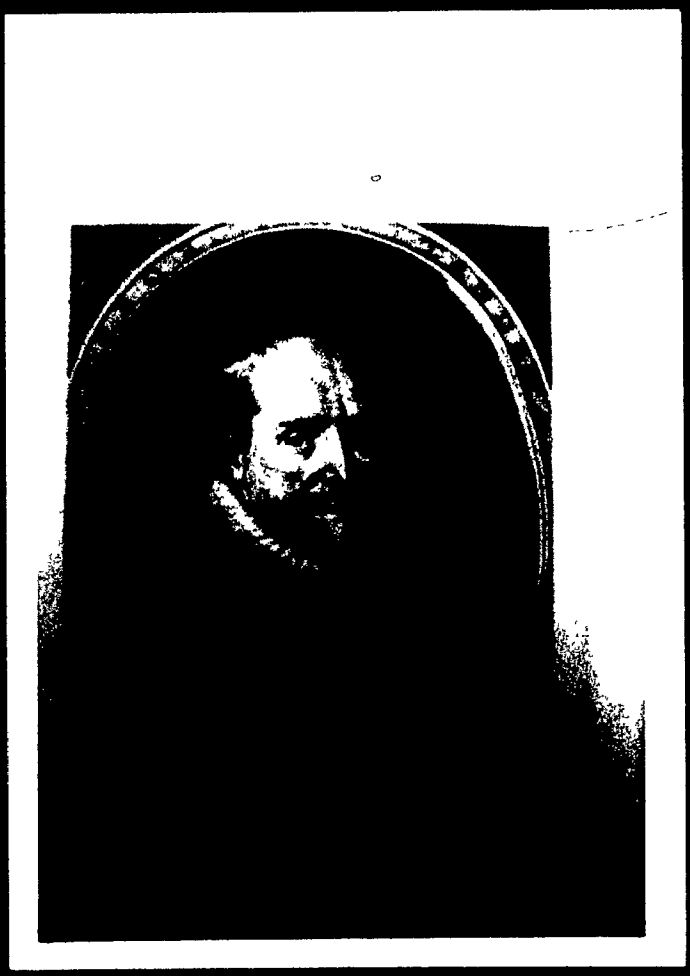


Figure 103

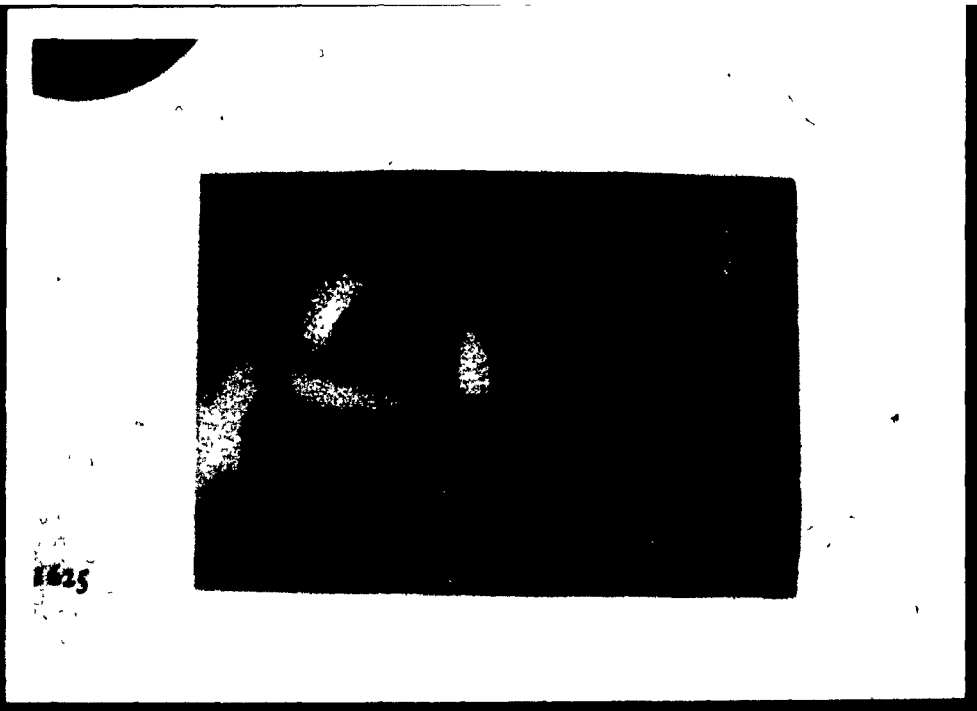
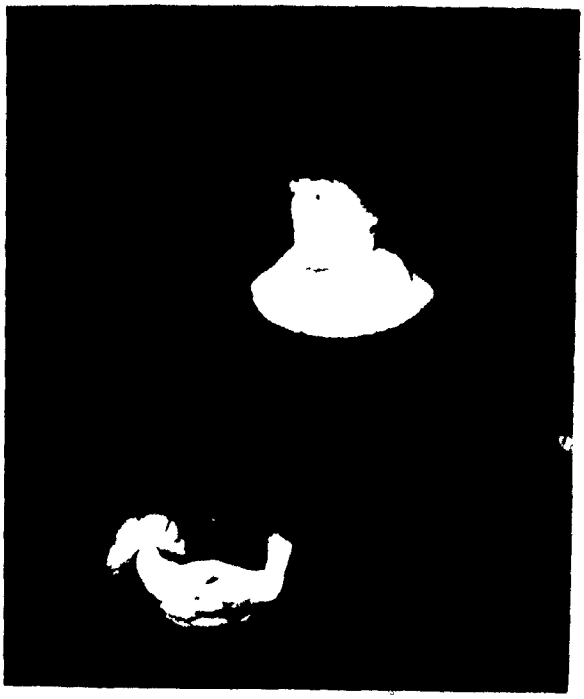


Figure 104

Figure 105

Figure 106

Figure 107



took place the following year, and credit for
Rembrandt's friend, Jan Lievens. By the winter
had reached the ears of Constantyn Huygens,
ge, who commissioned a portrait from the young
me criticism among Huygens's friends but the

Figure 108

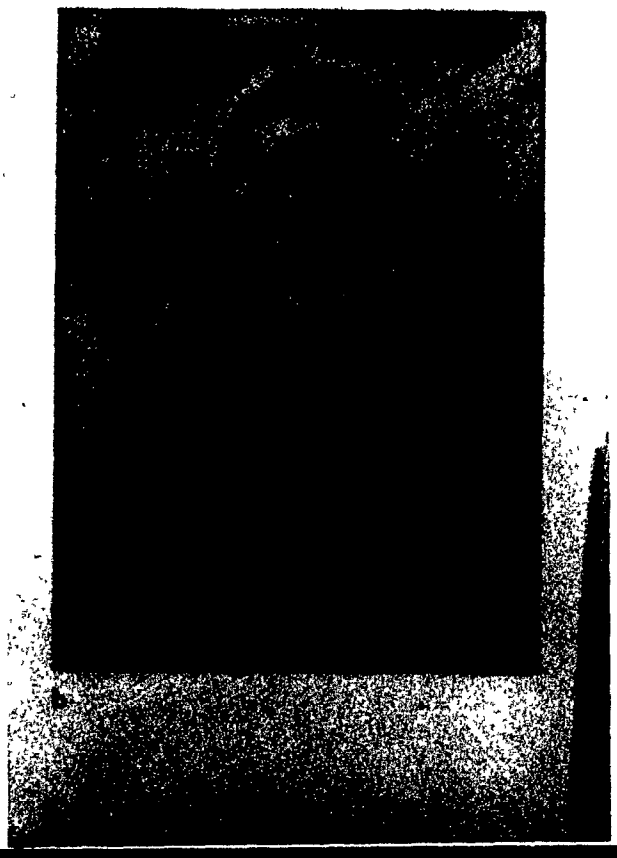
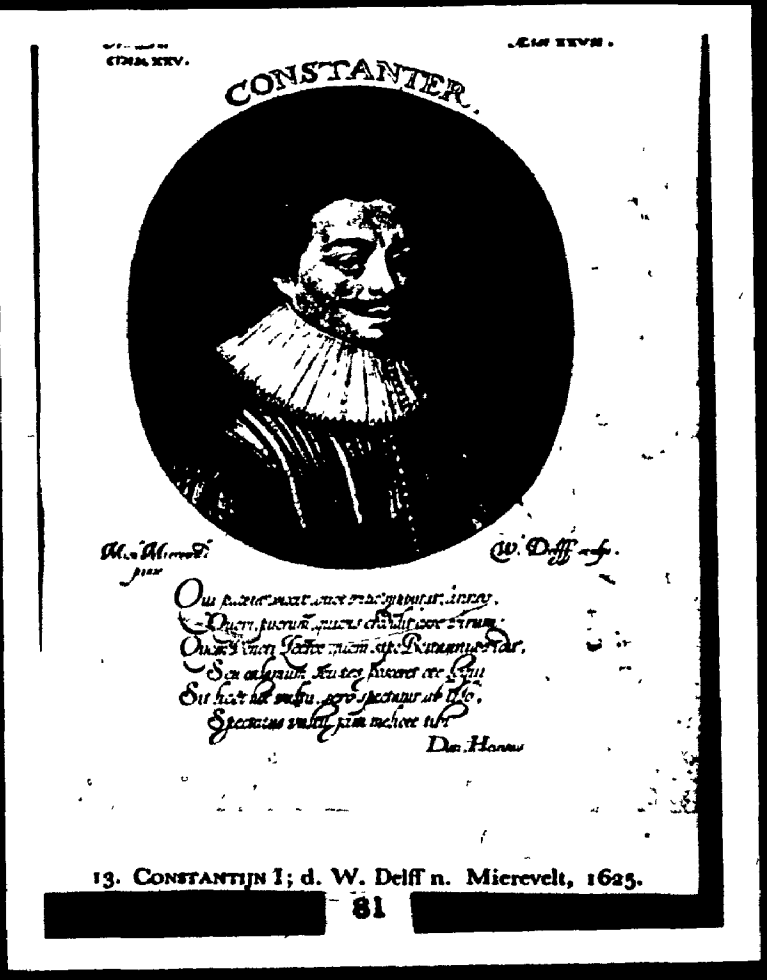


Figure 109



13. CONSTANTIJN I; d. W. Delff n. Mierevelt, 1625.

Figure 110

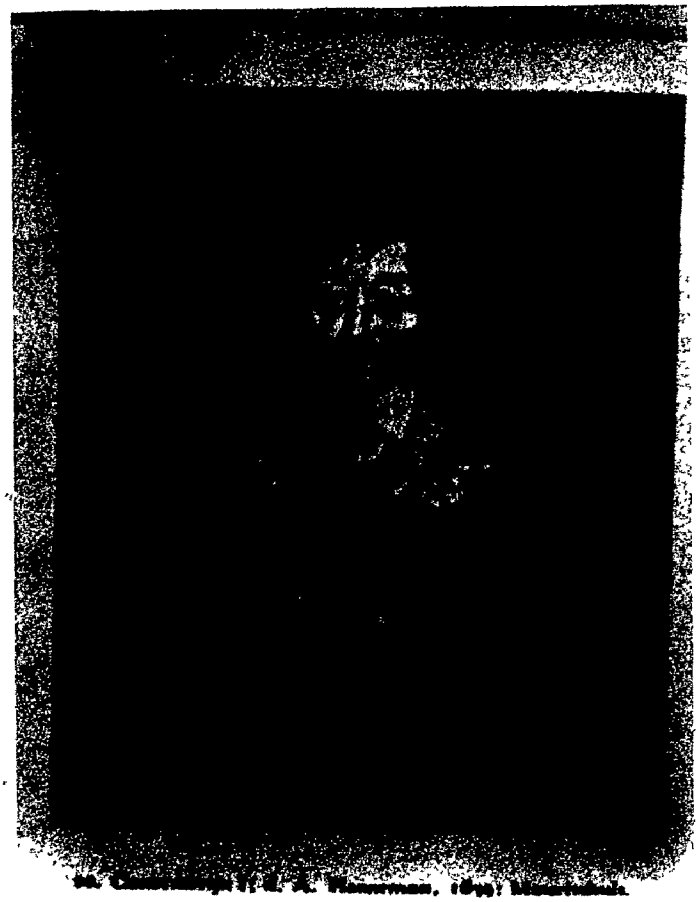


Figure 111

Figure 112

Figure 113

Afb 11 Cat 148

Willem I Maurits Frederik Hendrik Willem II en Willem III

Figure 114