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ANIMATING THE AMSTERDAM TOWN HALL

The Amsterdam Town Hall is frequently discussed as the ultimate showcase for the prosperity and the prestige of the seventeenth-century city of commerce, as well as for the excellence of its rulers. Over the course of the previous two centuries, town halls across the Low Countries had indeed established their role as tokens of republicanism through which rich cities expressed themselves as city states. This chapter will clarify that the Amsterdam Town Hall continued this tradition, but developed new means of persuasion to proclaim the power of the city and her burgomasters. To do this, we shift focus beyond the building itself, investigating instead a considerable number of the hundred laudatory poems and the hundreds of images of the building that had started to appear even earlier than its construction works (initiated in 1648), going on until long after its inauguration in 1655. By emphasizing the visual and textual representations of the building we want to point out that through these different media the building's overwhelming impact not only became a topic of discussion, but was given additional power and meaning. Texts and images presented the building as a living being. Thus, the Town Hall was more than a mere showcase: artists and writers presented it as a supernatural force that supported the city and the municipality in acquiring eternal fame.

By looking at texts and images praising the Town Hall in order to 'construct' the building even further, so going beyond the actual construction, we follow Louis Marin's idea of the 'composite portrait' as he discusses it in his *Portrait du Roi*.¹ Marin is essentially concerned with texts and images which despite their variety can be brought together to study how Louis XIV was defined as the King of France. Marin concentrates on medals designed by the Petite Académie and links these to diverse texts, such as La Fontaine's fables, Pascal's *Pensées*, Louis's memoirs, as well as Félibien's description

of Versailles.² By bringing these sources together a portrait of the king can be brought to the fore, of course not a real painted portrait, but a construction of texts and images that create a multifaceted, powerful image of the king. Similarly, an ensemble of texts and images of the Town Hall can be studied together to construct the portrait of that building which at the same time serves as a portrait of Amsterdam and the municipality. To put it more concretely, in what follows we will show just how poems, drawings, prints, and paintings construct the building as a living being in order to concisely and powerfully define the rich city and its government.

In the beginning

Historians and architectural historians have for decades devoted attention to historical predecessors of the Amsterdam Town Hall. Thomas Fröschl, for example, pointed to the fact that the town halls in the late medieval and early modern cities of the Low Countries have to be seen 'als Sinnzeichen eines wie immer gearteten "republikanische" Inhalts, einer republikanischen Idee'.³ The town halls were eminent means for the cities to present themselves as sovereign city states and to minimize or even neglect the importance of higher political structures, from the Burgundian-Habsburg rule to the political embedding in the provinces and the States General. Recently, Nathan van Kleij has clarified in his dissertation that we also have to look beyond the facades of

4.1

Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde,
The Dam in Amsterdam, Antwerp, KMSK.
1668. Courtesy of the KMSK Antwerp.
Detail of fig. 4.3.



4.2

Jacob van der Ulft, *Idealized View on Dam Square*,
Amsterdam, Collection Atlas Splitgerber,
City Archives. 1653. Public domain.



the buildings. He showed that fifteenth-century town halls functioned as public spaces that were not only utilitarian, but also carried symbolic meaning to underline the *res publica* of the city.⁴

In line with such findings, scholars concentrating on the Amsterdam Town Hall have put forward that the building was more than a series of rooms to execute political, juridical, and administrative responsibilities.⁵ Katharine Fremantle's monograph on the building, *The Baroque Town Hall*, retains – more than sixty years after its publication – its relevance. She emphasizes that the building was designed as a statement, made in visual terms but comparable to a vast oration, concerning the city's history and status, its civic life, and the ideals of its

government. It was to testify to the city's glory and to its civic virtues, and in doing so was to confirm and encourage them. This statement was expressed — more completely than its makers can have realized — by means of the relation of the building to its surroundings and of its arrangement and use, and in terms of its symbolic decoration, of its architectural and sculptural forms, and of the baroque design of its decorative scheme, in which the citizens who visited the building or did business or worked there were themselves included.⁶

Pieter Vlaardingbroek elaborates on the idea of the building as a public statement by scrutinizing how step by step the burgomasters and the architect van Campen constructed 'the Palace of the Republic'.⁷ The further the plans and the

actual construction evolved, the more the burgomasters grew in confidence, as the building strengthened their position and the status of the city. If we look at the years before the laying of the foundation stone in 1648, Vlaardingerbroek points out that they made an increasing budget available and expropriated more and more houses to enlarge the building plot, all in order to reinforce their building's palatial grandeur. Moreover, at the very start, the proposed designs show that the burgomasters had the choice of what statements the building would make. One of the proposals, by Philips Vingboons, for example, was inspired by Michelangelo's Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitoline Hill, thus emphasizing republican Rome as a predecessor of the city's rule. However, this reference faded into the background in favour of allusions to the Bible. In the design of Van Campen and in the actual construction, an aura of biblical rule prevailed over republican references by expressing characteristics of the Temple and especially the Palace of King Solomon, as found in the imaginative, but influential reconstructions by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando. Van Campen himself makes this reference explicit in his preface to a publication on the sculpted interior of the Town Hall by writing that just as once the Queen of Sheba was overwhelmed by the wisdom and grandeur of the biblical ruler as expressed in his magnificent Temple and Royal Palace, all visitors to the Town Hall are filled with awe for the extraordinary accomplishments of the Amsterdam burgomasters.⁸

Next to the church

If we take the references to the Temple and Palace of King Solomon into further consideration, new light can be shed on a drawing by Jacob van der Ulft dated 1653 upon which many later drawings, prints, and paintings were to be based (fig. 4.2). In the drawing we see the building in a finished state, which was far from reality in that year. Next to the Town Hall we see that the New Church has a high tower. Thus, Van der Ulft shows the plans that were made after a fire in the church in 1645, but were never carried further than the foundation and the first ten metres of the tower. The drawing is often used as an illustration of the fierce fight between the advocates of a grand Town Hall and the so-called 'religious faction' in the city government, headed by Burgomaster Willem Cornelis Backer, which was in favour of crowning the New Church with the

highest tower in the Dutch Republic.⁹ On the surface the fight was about how to spend the financial means available, but the real conflict was about whether Calvinism or the commercial spirit was the most important characteristic of the city.

However, Van der Ulft made the drawing a year after Backer's death, which was also the year when the construction work on the tower stopped. We can see the drawing as an attempt to promote the restart of the construction, but also to avoid placing the tower in immediate competition with the Town Hall. Just as with Solomon's Royal Palace and Temple, 'the Palace of the Republic' and the highest church tower in the Republic reinforce each other in supporting a harmonious society in an ideal future. The draughtsman presents the planned tower shoulder to shoulder with the Town Hall, both in full completion, to show how religion and civic rule go hand in hand. The style of the two drawn buildings is different, as would have been the style of the actual buildings, reflecting the difference in their functions, a religious and a governmental one.¹⁰ However, van der Ulft uses the same colours for both buildings and brings the two together as a perfect match.

Since other draughtsmen, as well as printmakers and painters copied and adapted this drawing time and again for over a century, it has profoundly marked the 'composite portrait' of the building. In most of these images the tower has disappeared, as the plans were increasingly covered with dust.¹¹ But van der Ulft is influential in connecting the Town Hall with its direct environment, Dam Square. The square was named after the legendary dam in the river Amstel where fishermen once settled, thus founding Amstel-dam. On this respectable place, van der Ulft and his followers stage Amsterdam citizens, as well as people from foreign countries, involved in trade. Merchandise is supplied by boat. It is sold on the market stands or weighed in the Weigh House and then carried in all directions. Further, the square is populated by patricians (*regenten*) in their traditional white collars, black cloaks, and black hats immersed in peaceful conversation.

So, on the very spot where it had all started for Amsterdam, Van der Ulft shows people involved in governing and trading. They are harmoniously shown together with the Town Hall to be, as if the building were indeed guarding their very activities. Many artists have followed Van der Ulft in visualizing the Town Hall as the guardian of an idealized, harmonious Amsterdam society. However, as we will indicate, more was going on than mere spectatorship: artists in

4.3

Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde,
The Dam in Amsterdam, Antwerp, KMSK.
 1668. Courtesy of the KMSK Antwerp.

fact experimented in showing the building as the embodiment of civic rule. In what follows, we will discuss how artists created images of the building that contemporary viewers could see as a grand living being closely related to the power of the city and its rulers.

A portrait by Berckheyde

Amongst the most famous examples of Van der Ulft's influence are several paintings by Gerrit Berckheyde. No fewer than thirty-six works by him depicting the Town Hall are preserved.¹² One of the earliest of these, now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, dates from 1668 (figs 4.1 and 4.3).¹³ Like Van der Ulft, this painter shows the vivacity of groups of people immersed in conversation and trade on Dam square. Berckheyde uses painterly techniques to the full in order to visualize the palatial allures of the Town Hall. Just as in the drawing of Van der Ulft, the viewpoint is

chosen in such a way that the Weigh House blocks most of the New Church. But due to the fact that the tower has disappeared, Berckheyde gives full prominence to the Town Hall. Further in contrast with Van der Ulft, he places the Weigh House in deep shadow while throwing full light and a lighter, more varied shadow on the Town Hall. He makes the most of the whiteness of the latter's facade by contrasting it with the dark stone of the former. Berckheyde enhances the prominence of the corner and middle bays by bringing them further forward than they are in the actual building. He also carefully represents the colossal composite columns running over two floors, as well as the splendid festoons in between the floors. This all results in a rich play of chiaroscuro. Besides, the painter pays attention to the fact that the pediment is sculpted in stone whiter than the rest of the facade. In this way, the building is monumentalized into a palace.

Besides the emphasis on the building's monumentality, the building is 'portrayed', as it seems to have characteristics



similar to those of human sitters. Thanks to the perspective used, the Town Hall appears to recline a little. Thus, the central bay and the carillon suggest a human head that is proudly held high. It is also remarkable that the vanishing point of the perspective is not in the middle, but has moved slightly to the left. Due to this shift away from the centre, the building seems to turn a little in order to look in a certain direction. The idea of the Town Hall being portrayed as a person is certainly not new; it was suggested in the laudatory poem *On the Town Hall of Amsterdam painted by the illustrious Painter Gerrit Berckheyden of Haarlem* (*Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam, Geschildert door den vermaerden Schilder Gerrit Berckheyden van Haerlem*). The poem was written by Pieter Rixtel, a townsman of the painter, and published in 1669, just a year after the painting was done.¹⁴ Only a few modern art and literary historians have read the poem, and if they have done so, they have labelled it 'a long verse full of clichés' ('een lang en clichématig vers').¹⁵ However, in our opinion Rixtel's laudatory poem is totally the opposite: it is a clever play in which architecture, portraiture, and poetry are closely connected.

At the very start of the poem, Rixtel observes that in Berckheyde's painting the building is painted from the 'shoulders' and writes that this is done precisely in the same way as persons might lift up their head proudly, since in the painting the Town Hall raises 'bravely the Marble Crown of His Head, on Shoulders of White Freestone' ('moediger zijn Marm're Kruyn, op Schouderen van Witte Arduyn').¹⁶ By accentuating these materials, Rixtel brings not only painted portraits to mind, but marble portrait busts as well. The seventeenth-century reader could have thought of the busts of the burgomasters by the sculptor of the decorations of the Town Hall, Artus Quellinus, or by sculptors from his studio. Frits Scholten and Michael Hoyle have shown that in the 1660s the burgomasters appropriated more and more aristocratic and even royal trappings with their busts, coming closer and closer to examples by Bernini.¹⁷

A phoenix

After a few introductory verses, Rixtel uses a prominent means of his own medium, the stylistic device of personification, to the full to animate the building. The poet transforms the Town Hall into a living being directly addressing the reader to speak about his portrait. The speaking building praises Berckheyde

for – among other qualities – showing how 'the Sun caresses my Brow' ('de Zon my 't Voorhoofd streelt'). However, it is far from easy to grasp what kind of living being is actually speaking here. It is not evident if the reader is listening to an animated object, a living human, or a supernatural being. This ambiguity comes directly to the fore when the personification of the Town Hall presents himself to the reader:

I am, from the Ashes of my Predecessor,
Risen up like a Phoenix,
When he, while the Dam was being roasted,
Stormed and devoured by the Flame,
Saw how his Sparks filled the Air,
The Roof, and the Tower, faltered,
And crashed, as a Thunder,
With Wall, and Facades, down,
On the street, while the Stones,
Bewail his glowing Downfall
And groan for the heavy thud,
That broke even the hardest Rocks.

Ik ben, uyt Voorzaets rokende Asschen,
Gelyck een Phaenix, op-gewasschen,
Toen hy, by t' roosten van de Dam,
Bestormt, verslonden, door de Vlam,
Zyn Vonken zaghe de Lught vervullen,
Het Dak, en Tooren, suysse-bollen,
En storten, als een Donder, neer,
Met Muur, en Gevelen, om-veer,
Op Straet geploft, terwijl de Steenen,
Zyn gloeyende ondergange beweenen,
En steenen om dien swaren smak,
Die selfs de hartse Keyen brak.¹⁸

In a direct address to the reader, the Town Hall describes himself as a phoenix. In Christian theology, the phoenix served to symbolize Christ's resurrection. In a similar vein, Rixtel interprets the ashes of the old Town Hall in 1652. Its burning down became part of Amsterdam's collective memory, as it had been eternalized in countless descriptions and images by, among other writers and artists, Joost van de Vondel and Rembrandt van Rijn (fig. 4.4).¹⁹ In his comparison with the phoenix, however, Rixtel has to deal with the fact that the old Town Hall is not a living body that dies to give life to his new body, but inanimate architecture that is destroyed. He has to animate the old building and even uses this to his advantage. The speaking Town Hall places himself explicitly in a direct



4.4

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Old Town Hall after the Fire*, Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis. 1652.

4.5

Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *The Old Town Hall of Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum. 1657. Public domain.



4.6

Gerrit Adriaensz
Berckheyde, *The Dam in
Amsterdam*, Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum. 1672. Public
domain.



sequence with his so-called 'Voorzaet', which means 'ancestor', as well as the 'predecessor in an office, in a government'.²⁰ So, by using this word, the new building and the old are animated as living bodies that hold an office.

Directly after his reference to the phoenix, Rixtel lets the Town Hall speak about a second portrait, not of his current body, like the one by Berckheyde, but of his previous body, the medieval building. The portrait of the old Town Hall to which the poet refers is by Pieter Saenredam and is now on display in the Gallery of Honour at the Rijksmuseum, but was in the seventeenth century prominently hung in the Burgomasters' Chamber of the new Town Hall (fig. 4.5).²¹ He lets the speaking Town Hall discuss this painting:

That old Building, demolished by Fire,
Laid for a long time in Ashes and Debris,
And was no longer mentioned, if
Its view would not have been visible on Panel
With Saenredam's Brush and Paint:
This Saving-Spirit, let him, before he died,
Reborn, and before he was subjected,
He took him from the Death, who destroys it all.

Dat oudt Gebouw, gesloopt aen Vonken,
Lagh langh in Assche, en Puyn, versonken,
En wiert niet meer genoemt, indien
Het sigh niet op 't Paneel liet zien,
Door Saenredams Pençeel en Verven:
Die Spaer-Geest, heeft het, voor zyn sterven,
Herbooren, en, eer 't lagh gebukt,
De Doodt, die 't al vernielt, ontruikt.²²

Just as a deceased person is kept alive thanks to his or her portrait, the speaking Town Hall holds that Saenredam has successfully kept the old Town Hall alive. Thanks to the painting hanging in the chamber of the burgomasters, the respectability of the old Town Hall is physically incorporated in the succeeding embodiment of civic rule, the new Town Hall. The old phoenix had to die for a resurrection to be possible, but – by virtue of the painting – the honour attached to the old building is transferred to his new body. The portrait of the old Town Hall makes sure that the room of the Burgomasters can 'still shine, thanks to the old splendour' ('nogh glans trekt, uyt dien ouden prael').

Varied experiments

Thanks to Rixtel's poem, we get a precious view of the multi-layered ideas regarding the impact of paintings of the new Town Hall. Moreover, it shows how a text and an image contribute together to the 'portrait of the building', in a way comparable to the 'composite portrait' of the king as constructed under Louis XIV. In the case of the French king, as well as that of the Town Hall, the sitter is idealized. Reality is not negated, but transcended to create a supernatural body strengthening political rule. Whereas Rixtel offers us a privileged insight into this mechanism by making an explicit link between the locus of the phoenix, and a portrait of the old and one of the new Town Hall, other images cannot be straightforwardly linked to specific texts. Nevertheless, these images make it evident that artists could experiment in portraying the building. This varies from emphasizing the Town Hall's dignity and virtuousness, just as expressed in portraits of honourable men and women, to turning the building into a divine presence. But we can still speak of a composite 'portrait of the building', because together these images 'construct' the building, going beyond the actual architectural construction. They reinforce the building's identity by visualizing it as a living being closely connected to civic rule.

We can begin to show this with another painting by Berckheyde, one that he made in 1672 and where the portrayal of the Town Hall is taken a step further by manipulating perspective and colour, as well as the size of the figures even more (fig. 4.6). Compared to the 1668 painting, the artist has chosen a viewpoint closer to the building. The Town Hall here gets full attention, with only a small part of the Weigh House and the transept of the New Church noticeable and the houses on the Dam left aside. The patricians, citizens, and foreigners on Dam Square are still there, but the crowd is less individualized. The dominant dark group on the left seems to topple into a dark puddle of water, falling into nothingness in front of the building. Thus, the focus is completely put on the Town Hall: Berckheyde indeed seems to have taken Rixtel's idea of a portrait into further consideration. Moreover, the building is twisted more than in the 1668 painting and seems to lean slightly backwards. This brings to mind the many portraits in three-quarters profile with the sitter's head fiercely held upright. The size of this work, too, not even a fifth of the 1668 painting, raises the idea of an individual portrait far more than its predecessor does.

By looking at the 'composite portrait' of the Town Hall, we have to be careful not to be misled by that term, as more than portraiture *stricto sensu* was involved in creating this portrait. It did certainly not restrict itself to paintings of the building that have close correspondences with portraits. Other artists contributed to the 'composite portrait' without

producing portraiture, as they experimented in other ways to create the impression that the building was a living being embodying civic rule. They could bring the building to life by suggesting a supernatural presence.

For this, we can look at the work of another Haarlem painter, Hendrick Mommers, who was inspired by van der Ulft's drawing as well, but went a different way than Berckheyde. His view of Dam Square dating from c. 1665 is now in Dyrham Park (fig. 4.7). Three variants are still preserved; all four paintings have large formats.²³ In comparison with Berckheyde, Mommers plays in a different way with the rendering of light. With the exception of a ray of sunshine on some figures in the foreground, only the Town Hall receives full light, much more than the New Church behind the sombre Weigh House. The facade of the Weigh House that faces the viewer is in the shade. The Town Hall is pointed in the same direction, but it seems to radiate a sharp white light, strangely illuminating a rectangular space right in front of the building. The artist may have wanted to emphasize the use of white stone for the facade or to suggest that the space in front of the building was paved with white stones. A similar strangeness can be found in paintings of the Town Hall by Jan van Kessel (fig. 4.8). In a work of 1668, now in the collection of De Nederlandsche Bank, we see how the brightness of the Town Hall is emphasized by putting it in contrast with thunderclouds behind it.²⁴ The dark water of the Damrak in the front lights up thanks to the reflection of the radiant Town Hall which surpasses in brightness the sun shining on the boats. As in Mommers's paintings, the grey Weigh House blocks the Town Hall, and the former does not get the same lighting as the latter, although oriented towards the same direction.

Were Mommers and Van Kessel clumsy in the rendering of light, unable to get coherent lighting on all the facades, or was something else going on? A laudatory poem on the Town Hall by Constantijn Huygens suggests the latter. In his congratulations of 1657 addressed to the Amsterdam burgomasters, Huygens writes:

God, who ordered you to combine Power and Splendour
with Reason,
God may give you that you can show in the Building
Who you are with Reason and Pleasure.

God, die u Macht en Pracht met Reden gaf te voeghen,
God gev' u in 't Gebouw met Reden en Genoeghen
Te thoonen wie ghij zijt.²⁵

In the eyes of Huygens, then, the Town Hall is more than the embodiment of civic rule: the building is the actual proof that God allows the rulers of Amsterdam to present their power in



4.7

Hendrick Mommers,
*Market Scene before the
Dam*, Gloucestershire,
Dyrham Park. c.1665.
National Trust.
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4.8

Jan van Kessel, *View of
the Dam and the Town Hall*,
Amsterdam, Collection
De Nederlandsche
Bank. 1668. Courtesy
of Collection De
Nederlandsche Bank.

4.9

Elias Noski, 'Stone engraved with Huygens's poem', Amsterdam, Koninklijk Paleis, 1660.
Photo courtesy Stichting Koninklijk Paleis Amsterdam. Photograph: Tom Haartsen.

full magnificence, as He once did with biblical kings by letting them build their royal palaces. Thus, the building can be seen as the embodiment of the direct connection between the burgomasters' splendid rule and God's grace. The burgomasters themselves must have been receptive to this view, as they displayed the poem beautifully engraved in black marble in their chamber in the Town Hall, opposite Saenredam's portrait of the old Town Hall (fig. 4.9).²⁶

The connection between this poem and the paintings of Mommers and van Kessel is less direct than that between the works of Berckheyde and Rixtel. It seems, however, that the artists and the poet had a similar message to convey, and that the strange, bright light radiating from the building in the paintings equally expressed the idea that the Town Hall was the embodiment of the supernatural involvement of God blessing the excellent rulers of Amsterdam and their position of dominance in the Dutch Republic and beyond.

Conclusion

By giving their new Town Hall a palatial allure, the burgomasters of Amsterdam sought to express and strengthen the high status of the city and her government. Their endeavours were further reinforced by texts and images of the building. We have clarified that these representations worked in a way similar to Marin's concept of the 'portrait du roi'. Where medallions and a rich diversity of texts constructed a composite portrait of Louis XIV, we saw how texts and images of the Town Hall further constructed the building, even before the actual construction had been accomplished. Texts and images of the Town Hall were easily reproduced and disseminated, thus trumpeting to the world the fame and prestige of the new building and its founders. Moreover, the burgomasters conceived the new Town Hall as the embodiment of Amsterdam's dominant position on the national and international stage.

We saw how Jacob van der Ulft started a tradition in which the Town Hall was presented as guarding regional and international trade on Dam Square, as well as the governance of the patricians. Pieter Rixtel's discussion of Gerrit Berckheyde's 1668 painting allowed us to go beyond this tradition and grasp how the building could be seen as a living being. By making reference to a painting rather than to the architecture



of the new Town Hall itself, the poet could present the old and new Town Halls as two living beings consecutively embodying Amsterdam's rule. This idea of embodiment continues in diverse experiments in the visual arts from the 1660s onwards. In a 1672 painting, Berckheyde excelled in presenting the Town Hall as a human being portrayed in its full dignity. Painters such as Hendrick Mommers and Jan van Kessel went a step further and presented the building as an entity radiating a bright light. By again relying on a laudatory poem, this time by Constantijn Huygens, we have advanced the hypothesis that the light was intended to create the suggestion of a divine blessing of civic rule. Thus, the animated building strengthening the political position of Amsterdam and its rulers is emphasized as being a supernatural body.

- ¹ Marin, *Le portrait du Roi*.
- ² For a review of Marin's *Le portrait du Roi*, see Burke, 'Flattery'.
- ³ Fröschl, 'Selbstdarstellung und Staatssymbolik in den europäischen Republiken der frühen Neuzeit an Beispielen der Architektur und bildenden Kunst'. Cf. Van der Ploeg, 'Representatieve aspecten van het raadhuis in de Nederlanden' and De Jong, 'Visible Power? Town Halls and Political Values'.
- ⁴ Van Kleij, 'Beyond the Façade: Town Halls, Publicity, and Urban Society in the Fifteenth-Century Low Countries'.
- ⁵ For the latest book on the subject with extensive bibliography, see Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt, *The Amsterdam Town Hall in Words and Images*.
- ⁶ Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, p. 21.
- ⁷ Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek*. Cf. Vlaardingerbroek, 'The Palace of the Republic'.
- ⁸ Vlaardingerbroek, 'The Palace of the Republic', p. 72.
- ⁹ Von der Dunk, *Toren versus traditie*, and Van Tussenbroek, *De toren van de Gouden Eeuw*.
- ¹⁰ Ottenheim, 'The Attractive Flavour of the Past'.
- ¹¹ Nevertheless, images of the plans for the highest church tower of the Republic next to the Town Hall still turn up in the eighteenth century, e.g. in a compilation of images of the seats of power, *Les forces de l'Europe, Asie, Afrique et Amerique*, XIII, plate 292.
- ¹² Giltaij and Jansen, *Perspectieven*, cat. no. 61, pp. 287–89, and Van Suchtelen and Wheelock Jr., *Hollandse stadsgezichten uit de Gouden Eeuw*, pp. 82–85.
- ¹³ Stapel, *Perspectieven van de stad*, pp. 58–59.
- ¹⁴ Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', pp. 36–40. See *Hollandse stadsgezichten*, cat. no. 9, for a discussion of the extent to which Rixtel praised this very painting.
- ¹⁵ Giltaij en Jansen, *Perspectieven*, p. 287. Only in the context of Pieter Saenredam, whose painting of the old Town Hall Rixtel praises, is some attention given to the poem. Darnell, 'A Voice from the Past', and Schwartz and Bok, *Pieter Saenredam*, p. 242.
- ¹⁶ Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', p. 36.
- ¹⁷ Scholten and Hoyle, 'Quellinus's Burgomasters', pp. 87–125.
- ¹⁸ Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', p. 37.
- ¹⁹ Funke, 'Die Amsterdamer Rathausbrandkatastrophe'.
- ²⁰ Lemma 'voorzaat' in the online *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.
- ²¹ Darnell, 'A Voice from the Past'.
- ²² Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', p. 37.
- ²³ One of them was offered in 1995 at the Auction Philips, Son & Neal, a second in 1999 at Christie's Amsterdam, and a third in 2005 at Finarte-Semenzato Milaan. See RKDimages (<https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images>), 'Mommers, Hendrick'.
- ²⁴ Cf. A painting by van Kessel from 1669, now in the National Gallery of Ireland: <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/11748/the-dam-at-amsterdam>.
- ²⁵ The poem can be found in Worp's edition of Huygens's manuscripts: *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens naar zijn handschrift uitgegeven*, VI, p. 108. Our translation.
- ²⁶ See Bussels, Plezier, and Van Vaeck, 'Amsterdam sierlijk verbonden met God', pp. 261–90.