

**Special Section:  
The Federal Constitutional Court's *Lisbon Case***

**"And they shall Beat their Swords into Plowshares" – The Dutch  
Genesis of a European Icon and the German Fate of the Treaty  
of Lisbon**

*By Stephan Leibfried & Karin van Eleren\**

For my grandparents Europe meant peace,  
for my parents prosperity,  
for my generation it stands for some practical  
advantages  
like traveling without border controls and  
stipends to study abroad.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Esther de Lange, 34, Member of European Parliament from The Netherlands, CDA, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 4 June 2009, p. 3



**Image 1:**  
1950 Marshall Plan Poster Contest Winner, by  
Reyn Dirksen



**Image 2:**  
Detail from Abraham Storck, The “Royal Prince”  
and other Vessels at the *Four Days Battle, 1-4  
June 1666* (National Maritime Museum,  
Greenwich, London), ca. 1670. In the foreground  
we see the sinking English ship.

## A. Introduction

The poster “All Our Colours to the Mast” by Dutch artist Reyn Dirksen<sup>2</sup> has served as an icon of European integration since the 1950s, when it won first prize in a competition administered by the US Marshall Plan agency.<sup>3</sup> Dirksen was presented the prize in the *salle de l’horloge* of the French Foreign Ministry on 15 May 1950. Just a week earlier, the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, had held a speech in which he laid the groundwork for the Treaty of Paris, which was signed on 18 April 1951. This was the treaty that created the European Coal and Steel Community, the first institutional step towards the creation of the

<sup>2</sup> Born Haarlem, The Netherlands, 1924–1999.

<sup>3</sup> See image 1.

European Community and the commencement of a project of political integration that continues to this day.

In Dirksen's poster, European unity takes the form of a ship. The ship as a political metaphor was by no means original, but had ancient roots in many cultures. Dirksen was inspired by the 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch flagship, *de Zeven Provinciën* or The Seven Provinces, paintings of which appeared in every Dutch school book.<sup>4</sup> The Seven Provinces participated in three of the four Anglo-Dutch wars over trade route dominion, and some of the earliest and finest depictions of it date from the second of these (1665-67).<sup>5</sup> It is most remembered for the Battle of Chatham in June 1667, a Dutch attack on the English naval base in Chatham, on the Medway River, several miles from the North Sea coast and not far from East London. A resounding victory for the Dutch, the battle is known to the English as the "Raid on the Medway" and to the Dutch as the "Excursion on the Medway." In the following centuries, as the Dutch nation state evolved, the battle, its flagship, and its leader, Admiral Michiel de Ruyter (1607-76), took on almost legendary status. De Ruyter was immortalized in a nineteenth century song that Dutch school children sing to this day: "*In een blauwgeruite kiel, draaide hij aan't grote wiel*" ("In a blue checkered shirt he turns the large wheel," though at first at the ropemaker's). Even the British writer Rudyard Kipling paid tribute to the admiral; in his 1911 poem *The Dutch in the Medway*, Kipling credits Dutch enterprise and honor, and blames English hedonism, laziness, and neglect for the loss, using the seventeenth century battle as a cautionary tale for his own time, with its looming German menace.



**Image 3:**

Excerpt from Willem v.d. Velde de Oude, *Krijgsraad voor den 4daagschen zeeslag aan board v/h AdmiraalSchip van M.A de Ruyter "de Seven Provinciën" 10. Juni 16666* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). This drawing was the original model for all later paintings of The Seven Provinces.

<sup>4</sup> Reported in *Het Parool*, *Nieuws van de Tag*, and other Dutch newspapers on 16 May 1950. We are grateful to Loes Dirksen, Reyn Dirksen's wife, for making documents from his estate available, including newspaper clippings and photos from 1950.

<sup>5</sup> See images 2 and 3.

How did an icon for European integration arise out of this history? And why is Dirksen's poster such a fitting symbol for twentieth century Europe? Does it serve us yet, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

**B. ". . . neither shall they learn war any more"<sup>6</sup>**

The Seven Provinces was a war ship, and its use as a political metaphor or reference would naturally seem to suggest state aggression or defense. How did Dirksen turn this seventeenth century military flagship into a symbol of European unity in the twentieth century? First, he disarmed it, denuding it of its canons and turning it into a civilian ship, dedicated to peaceful activities. Then he went a step further, and mounted the winged god Mercury, the Roman god of merchants, as galley figure on the ship's bow. Though Mercury, and his Greek predecessor Hermes, was also the god of travelers and thieves, the Dutch press interpreted this in no uncertain terms, calling the winged figure "a symbol of economic cooperation." The ship no longer brings to mind the wars of the Dutch Golden Age, but rather the flourishing world trade and prosperity. Dirksen also reshaped the ship into a swift clipper ship, like those used for the transport of perishable goods in the mid-nineteenth century. His transformation of The Seven Provinces was almost prescient in the way that it mirrored the process of European integration it was inaugurating: in 1951, a common market for coal and steel—heretofore war industries; in 1954, a failed attempt to create a European Defense Community, i.e. to form a European state directly; and finally, in 1957, the common market for goods and labor, which would later include capital and services.

Peace and prosperity through trade was the explicit message of Dirksen's poster, and despite the war looming in Korea, it captured European hopefulness in the early 1950s. But Dirksen's European merchant ship carried another, more profound, layer of symbolism, one that was implicit in the old illustrations of The Seven Provinces and surely part of what inspired him, whether he recognized it in so many words or not: the "ship of state". Why, after all, hadn't he chosen a steamship for his



**Image 4:**

The upper stern of The Seven Provinces is decorated with the state seal of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands surrounded by the seals of each of the seven provinces. In the Republic's seal, the lion holds seven arrows, representing the seven provinces. Federalism is the ship's *Leitmotiv*. (Photo of the rebuilt The Seven Provinces stern at Batavia Warf, Lelystad, The Netherlands.)

<sup>6</sup> Book of Micah 4:3.

poster, the merchant boat of his time? Ships were Dirksen's passion, and he did much of his graphic arts work for Dutch steamship companies. Perhaps he simply had the clever idea of turning the European flags into sails, and The Seven Provinces was the sailing ship that immediately came to mind. Perhaps he wanted to evoke the pre-industrial roots of European dreams of unity. More likely, he found inspiration in both the concept and the physical depictions of the old flagship: it was the first symbol of Dutch unity—and its triumph—at a time when the very existence of The Netherlands was at risk. It bore the name of the fledgling "federal" union, its coat of arms *and* those of its provinces, on its stern<sup>7</sup>. Perhaps its three Dutch flags gave him the idea for his multi-flagged ship, or perhaps he was remembering de Ruyters' famous 1676 declaration from his history lessons: "En daar de heeren staaten hunne vlagh betrouwen, sal ik mijn leven waagen" ("And where messieurs governments sacrifice their flags, I will wager my life").<sup>8</sup>

Ship imagery has been used throughout Europe since ancient times, both as a metaphor for ancient or evolving modern states, and as a metaphor for the Roman Catholic Church. Both uses are apparent in Frans Schillemans' 1620 etching *The Ship of State*.<sup>9</sup> In The Netherlands, the ship-of-state metaphor saw wide use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as it was useful in establishing an identity for the fragile young Republic of the Seven Provinces. The Republic (1581-1795) was the first state in modernity that owed its existence to a successful revolt. It was also one of the earliest manifestations of a federal type of state, though it lay outside the modern continuum of confederations (*Staatenbund*) and federations (*Bundesstaat*). At the time, people referred to their state as a "*Bund*"—with a greater sense of belonging and solidarity among citizens of the provinces than one would find in a confederation, and with more power concentrated at the provincial and metropolitan level than in a federation.<sup>10</sup>

In Dirksen's poster, with Europe just emerging from World War II, the old ship-of-state metaphor functioned much as it did for the seventeenth century Republic of the Seven Provinces: It established an icon for peaceful cooperation between sovereign nation states that went beyond the old system of international politics, which was responsible for two world wars. In the minds of the Christian-Democratic politicians of the time, that cooperation would eventually lead to a European federalism. But in contemporary Europe, that goal is hotly debated, the actual nature of the European Union is the subject of confusion and contention, and it may be that the most apt model is one that, like the

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<sup>7</sup> See images 2–4.

<sup>8</sup> A few months later, De Ruyter was struck down by a cannonball off the coast of Sicily, during the Franco-Dutch war.

<sup>9</sup> See the Postscript for a discussion of this etching.

<sup>10</sup> Later, with the establishment of the Batavian Republic (1795-1815) under Napoleon, the *Bund* was transformed into a more unitary state.

seventeenth century Dutch *Bund*, falls outside the modern confederation-federalism continuum.<sup>11</sup>

In 1950, Dirksen's imagined European federation began with the tiny Benelux states, which had agreed on the free flow of currencies and a free trade area with a common external tariff in 1943, while their governments were still in exile. The full-fledged Benelux Treaty didn't go into effect until 1958, but Dirksen depicted the "Benelux vanguard" as three triangular jib-sails in the bow, with the great European powers riding behind it on the foremast, the Mediterranean nations—Turkey, which was included in the Marshall Plan, among them—on the mainmast, and the Northern European nations on the mizzenmast.

Dutch newspapers called attention to the fact that, unlike the paintings of *The Seven Provinces* that inspired it, Dirksen's Europe ship had its bow *toward* the viewer; it was emerging, according to the journalists' descriptions, out of the darkness of the past and into the light of the future, navigating the high seas and overcoming all hindrances. The reports noted that the old paintings of war ships typically showed them from the stern end and heading north—perhaps because the painters were usually viewing them from shore, heading off into battle. Unlike the "embedded journalists" who go to war with the troops nowadays, artists were seldom included on the battle ships. De Ruyter did allow the painter Willem van de Velde to sail with the fleet in 1666, but the artist nevertheless chose to paint a stern view of *The Seven Provinces*.<sup>12</sup> The newspapers made much of Dirksen's reversal of this traditional position in the Marshall Plan Poster, noting that it symbolized a momentous change in European orientation: the winds were blowing from the east, and the ship was now heading west.

### C. Wherewith European Unity: German Sovereignty and the Constitutional Court's *Lisbon Case*

Members of the jury for the poster contest in 1950 did not know the names and nationalities of the artists; even if they had, they probably wouldn't have imagined that the Dutch entry was inspired by a seventeenth century war ship, let alone a relic of Anglo-Dutch conflict and symbol of the Raid on the Medway. The British members of the jury would certainly not have been amused. Even now, the history of Dirksen's Marshall Plan poster image is not well known. None of the many galleries, museums, foundations and



**Image 5:**  
The young Reyn Dirksen (1950).

<sup>11</sup> Stephan Leibfried, Susan M. Gaines and Lorraine Frisina, 10 GERMAN LAW JOURNAL 311-333 (2009).

<sup>12</sup> See image 3.

research institutions that display the poster in Europe and the United States seem to have a record of it—even among EU bureaucrats and politicians, who have long employed the image as an icon for integration, there is little knowledge of its rich background—or just how deeply well-suited to that role it is. Dirksen’s poster connects hundreds of years of strife and regional and finally global warfare to a half century of cooperation and peace in Europe. Its creation reflects the biblical saying “and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares,”<sup>13</sup> making it a fitting symbol of European integration in the twentieth century.

And what of the twenty-first century? In the face of the global financial and economic crisis, and of member states' failure to approve a European constitution, the wind seems to have gone out of Europe's sails. The EU appears to have lost all ability to set and hold a course, and is slowly regressing into something that resembles the European Free Trade Association of the 1960s, rather than a political union of 27 that can take a place among the major world powers. On 30 June 2009, the German Constitutional Court could have taken the helm and helped to set a new, more productive course for Europe, using its decision on the Treaty of Lisbon to define a European legal space where 21<sup>st</sup> century problems can be effectively solved. But it didn't. Instead, it cleaved to a conservative interpretation of container-state public law that freezes it in its nineteenth and twentieth century form.

In the *Solange Cases* of 1974 and 1986 the German Constitutional Court assumed authority as the protector of individual rights under the *Grundgesetz* (Basic Law or Constitution) with respect to European Union actions, setting itself up in an adversarial position *vis-à-vis* the European Court until such time as the Union might acquire similar rights protections. In the *Maastricht Case* of 1993, the German Court set itself the role of “gatekeeper” with respect to jurisdictions, deciding case by case what is *ultra vires* for European Union actions. With the *Lisbon Case*, it asserts the absolute immutability of certain parts of the *Grundgesetz* with respect to European law. Ironically, the Court used the constitution's immutability clause (Art. 79 (3) of the Basic Law) to justify the ruling. In so doing, it created an implicit analogy between the Nazi takeover and European integration, because the immutability clause was originally designed to protect the constitution from the sort of perversion and distortion that occurred during Hitler's reign. Such a decision completely ignores the history and very nature of contemporary German sovereignty. The rise of a modern, democratic Germany after 1958 was in large part due to its participation in building a cooperative European Community, and it was only in this context that Europe and the Four Powers were able to accept a reunified Germany in the early 1990s. In other words, the national sovereignty that was attained in 1991 was based on Germany's commitment to and involvement in the European Union: It was an inherently *relative* sovereignty, a sovereignty that presumed, from the outset, some *Bund*-like or federalist characteristics

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<sup>13</sup> *Book of Micah* 4:3.

and that was *embedded in the European Union*. The Court also pointed out that, given the potentially irreversible nature of many components of European integration, the right to leave the Union—in the Court's eyes the "reversibility of integration"—in the Treaty of Lisbon may offer scant recourse and little or no insurance for national sovereignty. One wonders if this is just an *obiter dictum*, or if it signifies a reversal of the 1993 *Maastricht Case*, in which the Court approved participation in one of the most irreversible components of integration imaginable, the Economic and Monetary Union with the Euro.

Indicative of the Court's predilection to set itself up as the key-holder to German participation in European federalism, it recommended that it should be given exclusive competence to decide the constitutionality of European Court of Justice (ECJ) cases under German constitutional law. If the Court wants to insure that it doesn't fall into a permanently adversarial role with respect to the ECJ, it might do well to bring some of its own difficult cases to the ECJ, to decide whether they conform to European law.

When it came to the actual details of the Treaty of Lisbon, the Court's ruling was on more solid ground. It found two groups of clauses that would effectively curb democratic participation in a way that might present real problems for EU governance and legitimacy. In several instances the Treaty allows for the expansion of EU jurisdiction without approval by member state parliaments. Furthermore, it allows for a number of changes in the procedural rules for legislation—*e.g.* the requirement for a unanimous vote may be replaced by one for a qualified majority—again without democratic approval at the member state level. Of course, since these instances are all spelled out in the Treaty, one might argue that the parliamentary approval of the Treaty of Lisbon already represents *de facto* democratic approval.

The Court's *Lisbon Case* relied on a strict nineteenth century "container-state" definition of nation state sovereignty and on the century of *Staatsrecht* that grew up around it, treating fifty years of Europeanization (and globalization) as if it were an ephemeral and passing phenomenon. The Court did pay lip service to the possibility of German participation in some form of European federalism. Calling on Art. 146<sup>14</sup> of the Basic Law, the Court claimed that the only constitutionally acceptable road would require ratification of a new constitution by the German people. The problem, of course, is that no political entity can or will ever call for such a vote. European federalism is not a foundational event, but a gradual, piecemeal process of accrual of shared competencies and responsibilities—not designed by systems thinking, but created by the art of muddling through. As Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde noted: The *Grundgesetz* used to be neutral on the issue of

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<sup>14</sup> In translation: "This constitution will lose its validity at the moment that another constitution is accepted by the German people by its own free will." This clause is an artifact of 1949, when the *Grundgesetz* was created without approval by the German people. It was intended to allow for creation of a new constitution at the time of reunification, but in the act, East Germany was simply accepted into the existing German Federation and the *Grundgesetz* remained unchanged.



European Federalism, but with the *Lisbon Case* the Court has reinterpreted it. The Court has, we note, left the door *de jure* open, but it is *de facto* closed.<sup>15</sup>

In February 2009, as plaintiffs presented their argument that the Treaty of Lisbon was at odds with the Basic Law, one of the judges commented: "Jetzt geht es um die Wurst!"<sup>16</sup> Directly translated: "Now it's all about the sausage!" The sausage, of course, is German statehood and what the honorable judge meant was that it was in a neck or nothing race with Europe. He clearly saw nation state sovereignty as an absolute value and the European Union as an external threat. But he's worried about the wrong sausage.<sup>17</sup> The major problems that Germany faces in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are not contained within its borders. The moment of truth has come, not for German sovereignty, but for the ship of Europe. The union of twenty-seven nations is at the end of its ropes, under siege on all sides: from the danger of war in surrounding regions, the global financial and economic crisis, the huge economic disparities between and within its member states, and its perennial failure to take the next step and adopt a constitution for itself. Neither the "practical advantages" that parliamentarian Esther de Lange refers to in our epitaph, nor the more profound rewards of her forbearers, are sustainable without a stable Union that can *simultaneously and effectively* address issues of peace, prosperity, and social and institutional cohesion.

Surely it is time to put aside our nineteenth century concepts of unabridged nation state sovereignty, which makes confederation and federation into a mutually exclusive dichotomy, and look instead to fresh ideas—to an embedded, pooled, dual, interlaced, or floating (*Schwebezustand*) sovereignty. And perhaps here the lessons of the sixteenth century Dutch *Bund*—or, for that matter, the nineteenth-century German experience with the *Deutscher Bund* (1815-1866), the *Norddeutscher Bund* (1866/67-1871) and the *Deutsche Reich* (1871-1918)—can be of use. Reyn Dirksen's ship of Europe may seem outdated, but its message is as vital as it was in 1950: "All our colors to the mast" may in fact be the only way to meet the challenges of this, still young, century.

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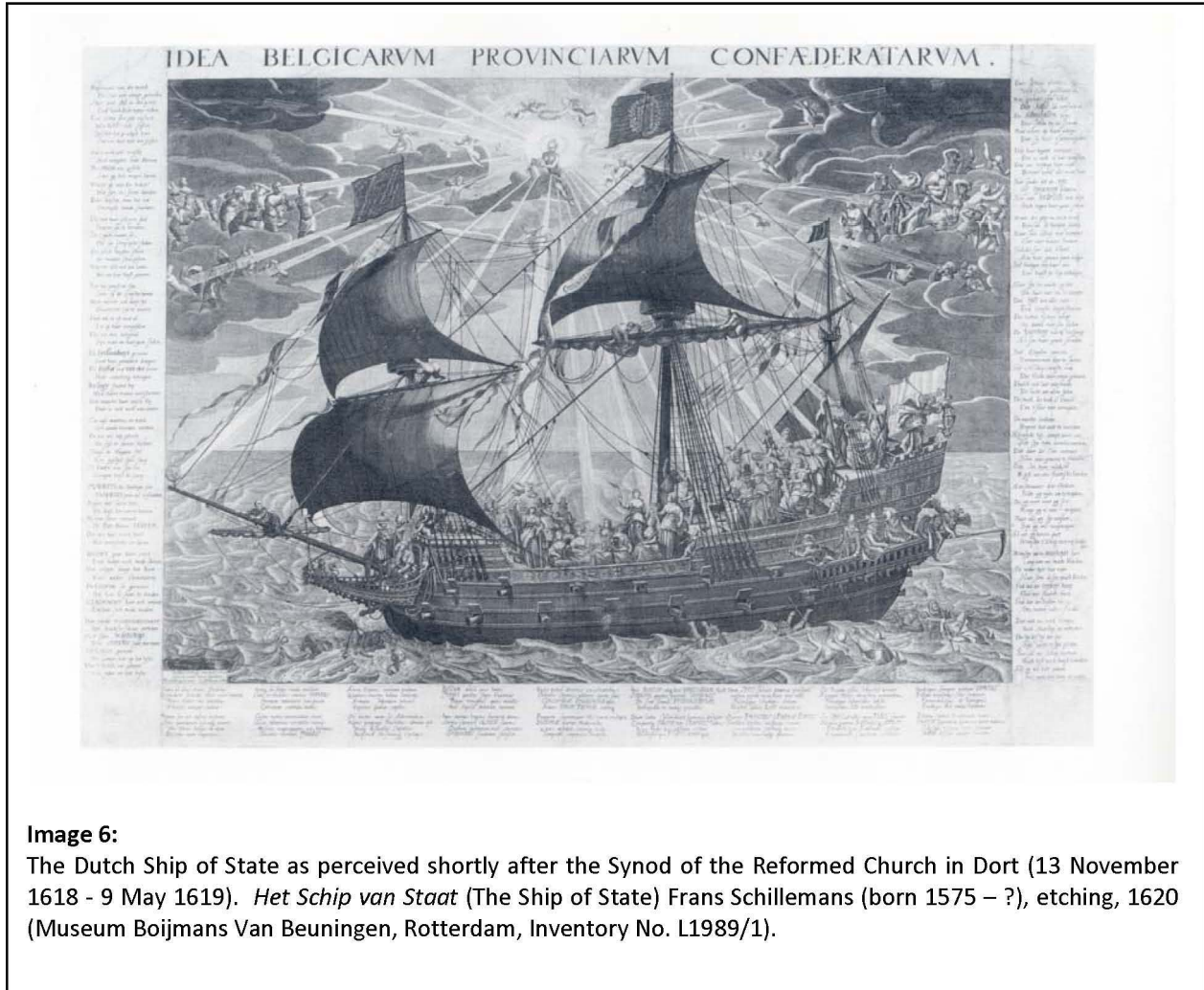
<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, Udo DiFabio, the Court's rapporteur for the *Lisbon Case*, has written extensively on the doctrine of "open statehood."

See UDO DIFABIO, *DAS RECHT OFFENER STAATEN. GRUNDLINIEN EINER STAATS- UND RECHTSTHEORIE* (1998).

<sup>16</sup> FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 30 May 2009 pp. 1, 12 ("More than just a warning shot").

<sup>17</sup> Could it be that the Court is really just in search of an *Extrawurst* for Germany, in search of a special treatment as one of the EU's crucial founding members and its long-term financier?

#### D. Postscript: The Roots of the Ship of State Image in Dutch History



**Image 6:**

The Dutch Ship of State as perceived shortly after the Synod of the Reformed Church in Dort (13 November 1618 - 9 May 1619). *Het Schip van Staat* (The Ship of State) Frans Schillemans (born 1575 – ?), etching, 1620 (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Inventory No. L1989/1).

When Schillemans created his ship of state, medieval Europe was poised on the cusp of modernity. On the one hand, the Eighty Year War with Spain was near its end and the Dutch Republic was stepping out from under the hegemonic rule of the Catholic Church; on the other, it was asserting itself as a Protestant nation and affirming an overlap between church and state that rivaled any the Catholic Church had struggled to impose in and after the Investiture Controversy of the eleventh and twelfth century. Use of the ship as a metaphor for the state can be traced back to Ancient Greece; its use as a symbol for a

religious congregation or hierarchical entity seems to date back to the rise of Christianity to dominance in Roman times and may refer back to Noah's Ark. In Schillemans' etching, the two metaphors converge, as they often did in medieval times.<sup>18</sup>

Schillemans' idyllic ship of state was created in celebration of the Church conservatives' triumph at the Synod, the Council of Dort, which had been convened in 1618 to settle a long-standing dispute between factions of the Dutch Reformed Church, with wide-reaching political and religious consequences. Since 1604, followers of the theologian Jacobus Arminius had been struggling with followers of Franciscus Gomarus over the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. The conservative Gomarists maintained that God had predetermined the eternal fate of the universe and everything in it, and humans were predestined for salvation or damnation no matter what they did in their lives, whereas the Arminians maintained that God's grace was contingent on human choice, with salvation for the faithful and damnation for the unfaithful. The Gomarists did not tolerate Catholics, Jews or other Protestant denominations. But the struggle was intimately tied to the struggle over the nature of the young state. The Arminians hailed from the urban bourgeoisie and were generally aligned with their cities' provincial leaders, and in favor of a religiously tolerant, loosely federalist state. The Gomarists, on the other hand, belonged to the land-owning nobility and supported—particularly in wartime—the extant central power structure, headed by Prince Maurice of Nassau, who led the revolt against Spain. When the Synod decided for the Gomarists, Arminian pastors who did not repent were deported, and politically prominent Arminians and their sympathizers were eliminated: The respected statesman and mayor of Rotterdam, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, was beheaded immediately, and the prominent Rotterdam jurist and founder of international public law, Hugo Grotius, had all of his possessions confiscated and was sentenced to life imprisonment. (A few years later, his wife helped him escape in a bookcase, and he fled to Antwerp and Paris.) By the time the flagship that Dirksen used as a model for his Marshal Plan poster was built in 1666, the Republic of the Seven United Provinces had acquired a less centralized and more *Bund-like* system of government, religious tolerance was on the rise, and the church's hold on the state was beginning to weaken. But Franz Schillemans' 1620 Ship of State was clearly a celebration of Church—that is Calvinist—rule.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The English word "nave," derived from the Latin word for ship, to describe the main body of a church appears to have come into use during this period, and also the German *Kirchenschiff*.

<sup>19</sup> On the historical context of the revolution and secession from Spain see MICHAEL NORTH, *GESCHICHTE DER NIEDERLANDE* (2003, pp. 22 ff.; pp. 37-43 on the political construction). On the religious conflicts in a broader context see, for example, GEORG DENZLER and CARL ANDRESEN, *WÖRTERBUCH DER KIRCHENGESCHICHTE* (2004, entries "Dordrechter Synode", "Arminianismus", "Sozianer", "Calvinismus", "Reformierte Kirchen"). For an in-depth study of this period of religious and political strife see JONATHAN I. ISRAEL, *THE DUTCH REPUBLIC. ITS RISE, GREATNESS, AND FALL* (1995, 223-398). He characterizes the Synod as the climax in the process of routing Arminian opposition out of all public functions in the church, city councils, universities, and general political bodies of the Republic. Before this time, the political system was quite decentralized, with the province of Holland, which included the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, being the most powerful. Afterwards, it was centralized under the prince and

According to art historians, Schillemans was inspired by the ancient Latin poem, *O navis referent*,<sup>20</sup> which was written by Horace in the first century B.C. and is referred to along the bottom of the image. Along the margins of the etching, there are descriptive poems in Dutch that refer to its symbols. The ship is at full sail. The flag of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces and a pennant with the Dutch lion flutter from its masts. It displays a ribbon with the axiom *Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt* (With unity small things may grow), and another with Prince Maurice's Motto, *Tandem fit surculus arbor* (Eventually the acorn becomes an oak.) Seven women are seated in the middle of the ship, each holding a coat of arms from one of the provinces. They are surrounded by four virtues: Love, with a flaming heart and a laurel wreath, Peace, holding a lamb, Faith, with a cross, and Patience, with a horse's bit. To their left is a hatless man with a long beard, who art historians believe represents the chairman of the Synod of Dort, the theologian Johann(es) Bogerman. Prince Maurice is standing at the helm with a couple of important functionaries and the virtue Justice, with her scales. More virtues are riding in the stern: Love and her children, Unity with a bundle of arrows, Prudence with a bowl and vase, Might, with a pillar, Victory, with a spear, and Glory, with a trumpet. Several admirals are in the bow of the ship, accompanied by the virtue Hope. And the vices, Avarice, Tyranny, and Deception, are in the water, trying in vain to slow the ship's progress. Truth is in the sky, surrounded by angels. A golden halo surrounds her head, its rays shining down on the ship, as she points to a page in the State Bible. In the clouds to her left and right, infidels in the form of American Indians and Turks hold up their hands to ward off the bright, holy northern light.<sup>21</sup>

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religiously homogenized. Isreal describes a 1618 *coup d'état* by Prince Maurits then completed and sealed at the Dort Synod.

<sup>20</sup> *Carmina* 1, 14.

<sup>21</sup> See also HET RIJK VAN NEPTUNUS: MARITIEME PRENTKUNST ROND DE GOUDEN EEUW (Elly Bos and Maartje de Haan, eds., 1966) (explanation of image no. 11) and ANDRÉ WEGENER SLEESWYK, DE GOUDEN EEUW VAN HET FLUITSCHIP 126 (2003).